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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

SENATE

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 1967

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O merciful God, whose law is truth and whose statutes stand forever, we beseech Thee to grant unto us, who in the morning seek Thy face, the benediction which a sense of Thy presence lends to each new day. Unite our hearts and minds to bear the burdens that are laid upon us.

In a difficult and desperate era, be Thou our pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, as patiently and obediently we follow the kindly light.

May we close our national ranks in a new unity, as deadly peril threatens the birthright of our liberties.

As servants of Thine, and of the Nation, and of the peoples of this shattered earth, save us from false choices and guide our hands and minds to heal and bind and bless.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., March 7, 1967.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, March 6, 1967, was dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 273) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, with respect to the lease and transfer of tobacco acreage allotments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 273) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, with respect to the lease and transfer of tobacco acreage allotments, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING THE SESSION OF THE SENATE TODAY

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, under the chairmanship of the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to consider executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Genevieve Blatt, of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. MONRONEY, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

Robert E. Hampton, of Maryland, to be a Civil Service Commissioner.

Forty-nine postmaster nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

FEDERAL COAL MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Elzie H. Wooten, of Tennessee, to be a member of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

WILLIAM CROOK, DIRECTOR OF THE VISTA VOLUNTEERS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I am gratified by the Senate's confirmation today of Mr. William Crook as an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to be in charge of the VISTA program.

Bill Crook has served as regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Southwest with offices in Austin, Tex., and has done a magnificent job under the difficult circumstances that have surrounded the birth of the war on poverty. His wisdom and integrity have been unquestioned, and his performance has won high praise from all those who share his high purposes and those of the Office of Economic Opportunity. I am sure we shall benefit from the broader services his new position will allow him to make to the Nation.

Bill Crook was the successful president of a private school when he came to Government service. He was successful as an administrator and as an educator. His tact, skill, broad compassion for people, make him an ideal administrator of the VISTA program.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the National Library of Medicine.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH RUSSIA—AMENDMENT

EXECUTIVE AMENDMENT NO. 1

Mr. TALMADGE submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to Executive D, 88th Congress, second session, Consular Convention Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report on Orderly Liquidation of Stocks of Agricultural Commodities Held by Commodity Credit Corporation

A letter from the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on orderly liquidation of stocks of agricultural commodities held by the Commodity Credit Corporation and the expansion of markets for surplus agricultural commodities, dated February 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Report on Advisory Committees Assisting in Carrying Out Functions of Social Security Act

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on advisory committees assisting in the carrying out of the functions of the Social Security Act, for the calendar year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Finance.

Report of U.S. Information Agency

A letter from the Director, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Agency, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Report of U.S. Advisory Commission on Information

A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, dated February, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Authorization of Funds for Federal Committee for Development Planning in Alaska

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the appropriation of funds to carry out the activities of Federal Committees for Development Planning in Alaska (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

MEMORIAL

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a memorial signed by Olen Pendergraft, M.D., and sundry other persons of the State of Oklahoma, remonstrating against the ratification of the Consular Treaty with Russia, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS OF ARKANSAS LEGISLATURE

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be inserted at this point in the Record the text of House Concurrent Resolution No. 45 of the 66th General Assembly of the State of Arkansas and the text of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 13 of the 66th general assembly. These resolutions express views of the respective houses of the general assembly regarding proposals to restrict the sale and shipment of firearms and regarding the dimension of the Federal-State highway program.

I call these resolutions to the attention of the Senate for consideration in connection with legislation on these subjects, and ask that they be appropriately referred.

The concurrent resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record, and appropriately referred.

The concurrent resolution relating to the sale and shipment of firearms was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

"House Concurrent Resolution No. 45

"Expressing opposition to the Dodd bill and other restrictive gun legislation

"Whereas, the Constitution of the United States guarantees the people of this country the right to bear arms, and

"Whereas, Arkansas is a sports-minded State, and thousands of citizens of this State possess firearms used for hunting and other recreational purposes, and

"Whereas, the right to possess and bear firearms is essential to the protection of persons and property, and the possession thereof by large numbers of our citizens is a deterrent to crime, and

"Whereas, since the tragic and unfortunate death of President Kennedy there has been a concerted effort in the Congress of the United States to pass restrictive gun legislation, yet testimony of experts has indicated that this legislation would not accomplish any purpose other than to deprive the citizens of their right to possess and bear arms as guaranteed by the Constitution: Now, therefore

"*Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the sixty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, the Senate concurring therein:*

"That the Congress of the United States is respectfully requested to refrain from the passage of the proposed Dodd bill or similar legislation that would limit the rights of citizens of this country to possess and bear arms, it being the consensus of the General Assembly that adequate legislation now exists on the statue books to protect the public against gun abuses.

"*Be it further resolved* that upon adoption hereof, a copy of this Resolution shall be furnished the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate of the United States Congress, and to each member of the Arkansas Congressional delegation."

The concurrent resolution relating to the dimension of the Federal-State highway program was referred to the Committee on Public Works, as follows:

"Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 13

"Urging Congress to restore all Federal-aid highway funds which have been reduced by order of the President

"Whereas, by order of the President of the United States, the amount of federal aid highway funds authorized by the Congress and programmed for distribution to the states for highway purposes have been severely reduced and such reduction in federal highway funds was not contemplated by the states and will result in serious curtailment of progress contemplated for construction this year; and

"Whereas, the State of Arkansas has geared its highway planning to provide for steadily increasing construction under promises, announced policies, budgets, statutes, and urging of federal government, resulting in the employment of a heavy proportion of construction engineers and consultant engineers; and

"Whereas, the private construction industry has increased its employment and capital investments to meet anticipated highway construction programs; and

"Whereas, the federal aid cut-back will create employment difficulties in both state government and private industries, and in addition, many private construction contractors will face serious economic loss of their capital investment if anticipated projected construction projects are not fulfilled; and

"Whereas, the federal aid cut-back of approximately Twelve and one half Million Dollars ($12,500,000), in funds previously anticipated for construction in this State, will mean a reduction of approximately Twenty Million Dollars ($20,000,000) in anticipated highway construction in this State; and

"Whereas, in order to meet the anticipated requirements of federal aid matching obligations, the Arkansas General Assembly met in Special Session in the Spring of 1965 and enacted a comprehensive highway user tax program designed to make available adequate funds to meet the state's obligations under the projected federal aid highway program; and

"Whereas, the people of this State assumed this additional tax burden in order to carry out an adequate highway program and to match contemplated federal funds, and

"Whereas, the federal aid cut-back will severely curtail this State's efforts to achieve an adequate highway transportation system and to fulfill its obligations to complete the portion of the Interstate Highway System located in this State: Now, therefore

"*Be it resolved by the Senate of the sixty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, the House of Representatives concurring therein:*

"That the Congress of the United States is respectfully requested, at the earliest possible date, to devise and approve legislation which will restore all federal aid highway funds to the level of projected authorization of expenditures in effect and contemplated in November, 1966, prior to the cutback thereof as ordered by the President of the United States.

"*We further resolve* that upon adoption hereof a copy of this Resolution shall be furnished the Director of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and to each member of the Arkansas Congressional Delegation."

RESOLUTION OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, the 28th Legislature, first session, of the State of New Mexico is presently meeting in Santa Fe. The State house of representatives has adopted a memorial entitled "A House Memorial to the Congress of the United States Declaring Support for and Urging Early Enactment of Legislation To Transfer Title to the Navajo Tribe in Trust of Certain Lands in Northwestern New Mexico."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in full at this point in the Record and that it be referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, as follows:

A House Memorial to the Congress of the United States Declaring Support for and Urging Early Enactment of Legislation To Transfer Title to the Navajo Tribe in Trust of Certain Lands in Northwestern New Mexico

Whereas, some twenty-four thousand Navajo people, citizens of the state of New Mexico as well as members of the Navajo Tribe, living in what is known as the "off-reservation" area in McKinley and San Juan counties and the westernmost parts of Rio Arriba, Sandoval and Valencia counties in northwestern New Mexico, are faced with a steadily worsening economic situation because of an inadequate land base and the intermingling of their lands with federal lands on which they have exclusive grazing privileges but which they do not own, and the peculiar title status of the federal lands which prevents the development of multiple use potentials on the federal lands and the adjoining Navajo owned lands; and

Whereas, this peculiar land title and land use arrangement in this area keeps the entire Navajo population in a chronically depressed condition economically, which in turn creates a drag on the economy of the entire area; and

Whereas, the Navajo Tribe, through the use of its own funds, has made maximum efforts to acquire additional lands for this part of its population and has expended two million one hunderd ninety-one thousand twenty-one dollars twenty-nine cets ($2,191,021.29) over the past two years, but the Tribe's declining income is bringing this land acquisition program to a close while the need for additional lands is still great; and

Whereas, transfer of title in trust to the Navajo Tribe of the following lands: railroad relinquished and reconveyed lands, two hundred thirty-seven thousand one hundred thirty-one, two-hundredths arces; agricultural resettlement lands, seventy thousand, two hundred sixty-seven, twenty-four hundreths acres; United States Government (bureau of Indian affairs) reserves, five thousand, four hundred fifty-two eighty-seven hundredths acres, would permit the Tribe, with the assistance of the bureau of Indian affairs, to include this whole "off-reservation" area in significant ways in the Tribe's overall economic development programs, opening the entire area up to recreation and tourist developments, town developments which will encourage industry to come in to provide jobs, and such developments will increase the purchasing power of this large and steadily growing Navajo population and will thus provide a major stimulus to the economy of the total area, Navajo and non-Navajo alike; and

Whereas, bills are being introduced in the ninetieth session of the United States congress to transfer title to these lands to the Navajo Tribe in trust and such legislation will require no federal appropriation since these lands are now owned by the federal government, and transferring title to these lands to the Navajo Tribe in trust will permit the bureau of Indian affairs to participate in the overall development of the entire area with federal funds which would far exceed revenues which could be realized through taxes on these lands if title were transferred in fee:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of New Mexico that its strong support of federal legislation to transfer title of these lands to the Navajo Tribe in trust is hereby declared, and that it urges early enactment of this legislation; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this memorial be transmitted to the secretary of the interior, to the New Mexico delegation to the Congress of the United States and to the director, bureau of land management, federal building, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Signed and sealed at the capitol, in the city of Santa Fe.

Bruce King,
Speaker of the House.
Albert Romero,
Chief Clerk of the House.
[seal] Ernestine D. Evans,
Secretary of State.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. KUCHEL:

S. 1193. A bill to amend section 612 of title 18, United States Code, relating to the publication or distribution of political statements, in order to require more complete identification of persons responsible for publishing political statements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Kuchel when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. ERVIN (for himself, Mr. Jordan of North Carolina, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Fannin, Mr. Hickenlooper, Mr. Talmadge, Mr. Hollings, Mr. Byrd of Virginia, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Long of Louisiana, Mr. Eastland, Mr. McClellan, Mr. Stennis, Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, Mr. Hill, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Ellender, and Mr. Dodd):

S. 1194. A bill to define the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the inferior courts ordained and established by the Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States in criminal prosecutions involving admissions or confessions of the accused; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Ervin when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. LONG of Missouri:

S. 1195. A bill to establish the Office of Administrative Ombudsman to investigate administrative practices and procedures of selected agencies of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Long of Missouri when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FULBRIGHT:

S. 1196. A bill for the relief of Katherine Robbins; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fulbright when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 1197. A bill for the relief of Dr. Lucio Arsenio Travieso y Perez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 1198. A bill to assist in the provision of housing for low income families by providing Federal guarantees for certain obligations issued by local housing agencies; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1199. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide tax incentives for the rehabilitation of rental housing for low-income families; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1200. A bill to amend section 115 of the Housing Act of 1949 relating to rehabilitation grants for individuals and families, and to authorize financial assistance for the rehabilitation of substandard residential properties, acquired by localities as the result of code enforcement activities or otherwise, in order to assist in the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for low- or moderate-income persons; and

S. 1201. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make grants to States and localities donating property, or according tax benefits, to private organizations engaged in the provision of housing for low-income families; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. Javits when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. INOUYE:

S. 1202. A bill for the relief of certain individuals employed by the Federal Aviation Agency at Wake Island; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 1203. A bill for the relief of Dr. Timoteo L. Galvez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. INOUYE (for himself, Mr. Allott, Mr. Metcalf, and Mr. Moss):

S. 1204. A bill to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to provide that Federal buildings shall be designed and constructed to maximize fallout protection and that non-Federal construction financed in whole or in part with Federal funds may be designated to maximize fallout protection; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. Inouye when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MONDALE (for himself and Mr. McCarthy):

S. 1205. A bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make payments in advance of determination of performance to producers participating in the wheat program; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. Mondale when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SCOTT:

S. 1206. A bill for the relief of Lt. Col. Samuel J. Cole, U.S. Army (retired); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EASTLAND:

S. 1207. A bill to authorize an additional 41,000 miles for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. Eastland when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CURTIS (for himself and Mr. Hruska):

S. 1208. A bill to amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 so as to reduce from 6 to 4 months the period for which daylight saving time shall be in effect; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Curtis when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HOLLINGS (for himself, Mr. Ervin, and Mr. Jordan of North Carolina):

S. 1209. A bill to exempt certain schoolbus drivers from the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Hollings when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 1210. A bill for the relief of Dr. Bambran Aravind Adyanthaya;

S. 1211. A bill for the relief of Sister Fara (Guiseppina Perrone); and

S. 1212. A bill for the relief of John L. Dean; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1213. A bill to provide for a study with respect to establishing an expanded volunteer national service system; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

S. 1214. A bill to provide an equitable system for fixing and adjusting the rates of pay of wage board employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. Brewster when he introduced the last two above-mentioned bills, which appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. BAYH:

S. 1215. A bill authorizing modification of the existing projects for the Illinois Waterway, Illinois and Indiana, and Indiana Harbor and Canal, Indiana; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. Bayh when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS:

S.J. Res. 49. Joint resolution to designate April 28–29, 1967, as "Rush-Bagot Agreement Days"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Javits when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

STRONGER LAWS AGAINST FRAUD IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the true value of an American's right to vote is his freedom to exercise it according to his individual conscience without pressure, intimidation, duplicity, or deceit. When votes are mistakenly cast by reason of false or fraudulent propagada, they threaten not only the existence of that right but also representative government itself. Willful deception in any form must not be allowed to influence and to mislead the American voter.

During the primary campaigns in California last year, a contemptible effort at such deception was attempted. The vehicle for this fraud was a crafty duplication of the official ballot.

In my State, the local registrar of voters is obligated by law to send to registered voters an official ballot for each party listing its candidates in the primary. This ballot does not have any crossmarks indicating for whom the registrant should vote, but serves as a guide to the voter in freely determining his own decision on election day. The conspirators involved in this fraud made an underhanded attempt to duplicate these official ballots, and further, placed crossmarks by the candidates they supported. In this manner, they sought to induce the recipient to vote in a certain fashion by tricking him into the false belief that that was what the "official" political party organization had decided. Thousands of these privately printed, fraudulent ballots were directed to California voters. Postcards accompanying the ballots stated, "take your marked sample ballots to the polls," and were falsely designated as having been sent from "Democratic headquarters."

A number of attempts were made to restrain the distribution of the spurious sample ballots, but these efforts came too late. In many instances, voters never received the official sample ballots but only the fraudulent ones. The consequence was that a number of voters felt compelled by the apparently official ballot to vote according to the crossmarks. One woman, who had received such a ballot and had served on numerous precinct boards, stated:

> If it fooled me, even with my service on a precinct board, I wonder how many people are being fooled who don't have my experience in this field?

How many other voters were fooled? The very thought that votes were induced by such fraud and deceit raises serious implications for our free election process. No political candidates should be allowed to undermine the sanctity of the ballot box by employing deception or by seeking to mislead the people. The voter has a right to know what is, in fact, campaign advertising and what is not.

Many States, including California, have enacted laws which seek to strike at these attempts to mislead the voting public. The Federal Government also has sought to protect the purity of Federal elections. The Corrupt Practices Act, the Hatch Act, and many other similar laws have been enacted by Congress under its assigned constitutional powers in this area. But enacting a law and enforcing it may well be two different matters.

Section 612 of title 18 under the United States Code relates to the publication or distribution of political statements. It provides that any such statement should contain the names of the persons, associations, committees, or corporations responsible for the publication and the names of the officers of each such association, committee, or corporation. But section 612 fails to state where the names should appear, how they should appear, and what officers should be named.

To require a person's name to appear on such a publication and yet allow him the liberty of hiding it in small print in an inconspicuous part of the publication is, in effect, no requirement at all. Section 612 also fails to require the publication to state that it is in fact a political advertisement and further, does not specifically relate to the fraudulent ballot situation I have just described. The consequence is a law of good intentions but little effect.

The bill I introduce would amend section 612 to require the name of the responsible person or group, the name of the group's principal officer and their addresses to appear in the form of a notice to voters. It further relates this requirement specifically to the use of facsimile ballots.

Mr. President, I hope that the members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary will give this legislation their urgent attention. It is our responsibility as the duly elected representatives of the voters to protect their right and their freedom to vote as they wish. Properly to fulfill that responsibility, we have the power to enact effective laws preventing the undermining or the corruption of our basic rights.

I believe my proposal will provide the added protection Federal laws require if the sanctity of the ballot box is to be preserved and the national interest protected.

Mr. President, I sent my bill to the desk. I ask that it be appropriately referred. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in full at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cannon in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1193) to amend section 612 of title 18, United States Code, relating to the publication or distribution of political statements, in order to require more complete identification of persons responsible for publishing political statements, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Kuchel, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1493

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 612 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"§ 612. Publication or distribution of political advertisements and facsimiles of ballots

"(a) It shall be unlawful for any person willfully to publish or distribute or cause to be published or distributed, or for the purpose of publishing or distributing the same, knowingly to deposit for mailing or delivery or cause to be deposited for mailing or delivery, or, except in cases of employees of the Post Office Department in the official discharge of their duties, knowingly to transport or cause to be transported in interstate commerce any card, pamphlet, circular, poster, dodger, advertisement, writing, or other statement relating to or concerning any person who has publicly declared his intention to seek the office of President or Vice President of the United States, or Senator or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, Congress, in a primary, general, or special election, or convention of a political party, or has caused or permitted his intention to do so to be publicly declared, which does not contain the names of the person or persons, associations, committees, or corporations responsible for the publication or distribution of the same, the names of the principal officer or officers of each such association, committee, or corporation, and the addresses of the responsible person or persons, principal officer or officers, or principal office of such associations, committees, or corporations. The requirement of this subsection shall appear on each surface, page, or fold of the material, or on the front and back surface thereof, in type or lettering at least half as large as the type or lettering of the name of such candidate or in ten-point roman type, whichever is larger, in a printed or drawn box and set apart from any other printed matter, in the following manner:

NOTICE TO VOTERS
(Required by law)

This is a paid political advertisement.

(Name of person, association, corporation, and so forth)

of ---
(Address)

is responsible for the publication and distribution of this material.

Principal officer: ---------------------------
Address: -------------------------------------

"(b) It shall be unlawful for any person willfully to publish or distribute or cause to be published or distributed, or for the purpose of publishing and distributing the same; knowingly to deposit for mailing or delivery or cause to be deposited for mailing and delivery, or, except in cases of employees of the Post Office Department in the official discharge of their duties, knowingly to transport or cause to be transported in interstate commerce any facsimile or representation of any portion of a ballot, or of any portion of the voting panel of a voting machine, to be used in any primary, general, or special election involving the office of President, Vice President, Senator, or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, Congress which does not contain, in addition to the information required by subsection (a), in type or lettering at least half as large as the type or lettering of the name of such candidate or in ten-point roman type, whichever is larger, the following statement: 'This is not an official sample ballot'. This subsection shall not apply with respect to a sample ballot published or distributed pursuant to the requirements of the law of any State.

"(c) Whoever violates any provision of subsection (a) or (b) shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

(b) The table of sections at the beginning of chapter 29 of such title is amended by striking out

"612. Publication or distribution of political statements."

and inserting in lieu thereof

"612. Publication or distribution of political advertisements and facsimiles of ballots."

THE ADMISSION OF VOLUNTARY CONFESSIONS OF GUILT IN CRIMINAL TRIALS

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Mr. Jordan of North Carolina, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Fannin, Mr. Hickenlooper, Mr. Talmadge, Mr. Hollings, Mr. Byrd of Virginia, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Long of Louisiana, Mr. Eastland, Mr. McClellan, Mr. Stennis, Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, Mr. Hill, Mr, Hayden, Mr. Ellender, and Mr. Dodd, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill which would have the effect of reestablishing the very sensible and sound rule that the voluntary confession of an accused in a criminal case shall be admissible in evidence against him on his trial.

Some days ago I introduced a constitutional amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 22, to rectify the recent Supreme Court decisions in the Escobedo and Miranda cases. These two decisions stretch the words of the fifth and sixth amendments far beyond their true meaning and virtually make it impossible to secure the conviction of self-confessed criminals in cases where the prosecution has to rely upon their voluntary confessions of guilt. Since introducing the constitutional amendment, I have come to the conclusion that Congress has a more direct route by which it can afford protection to the law-abiding citizens against the consequences of these two decisions.

It is to be remembered that these two decisions, Miranda and Escobedo, were decisions in which four of the nine Justices filed vigorous dissents. Justice Harlan appraised the majority decision in the Miranda case aright when he declared in his dissenting opinion that—

> The decision of the court represents poor constitutional law and entails harmful consequences for the country at large.

It is provided in article III, section 2, of the Constitution that the Supreme Court "shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make."

It seems clear that under article III of the Constitution, Congress has the constitutional power to define the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and to define the jurisdiction of all inferior courts created by it under this article of the Constitution.

For this reason, I have decided to take a direct approach rather than to rely solely upon the constitutional amendment route. My bill would curtail the jurisdiction of the Federal court in cases involving the admission of voluntary confessions, and I can see no other practical way by which we can afford protection to the law-abiding citizens against the present tendency of five of the nine Justices to render decisions which free self-confessed criminals from the consequences of their acts.

I think my bill protects the rights of the accused as far as they ought to be protected. Under section 1, involving confessions in the Federal court, the accused has at least 2 days in court, one in the Federal district court and the other in either the U.S. court of appeals or the Supreme Court. Of course, this section puts a necessary limit on the power of the court of appeals or the Supreme Court to review the case by stating that they cannot review the ruling admitting a confession if the trial court finds it to have been voluntarily made. Surely, the trial judge who sees the witnesses and can observe their demeanor upon the stand has a far better opportunity to reach a correct decision than the ivory-towered judges who read a cold printed record.

The second section of my bill allows the accused at least 2 days in court, one in the trial court and the other in the highest appellate court of the State having jurisdiction to review the case. It provides, in effect, that the decision of the highest court of the State affirming the ruling of the State trial court admitting a confession as voluntary cannot be reviewed by either the Supreme Court or any other Federal court. This will put an end to the endless number of habeas corpus writs by Federal district courts in cases where the Supreme Court of the State has affirmed the ruling of the State trial court admitting confessions in evidence in criminal cases.

The reasons which prompted my introduction of this bill, the rising crime rate and the unrealistic rules which the Supreme Court has placed on our police, are the same as those which prompted my introduction of Senate Joint Resolution 22 dealing with the Miranda case. When I introduced this amendment I made several statements which detailed my objections to the Miranda case and gave my reason for the urgent need to rectify this decision. These statements are found on pages 1173–1174 of the Congressional Record for January 23, 1967.

Already the effects of the Miranda case are being felt around the country. Reports from many district attorneys from all over our Nation indicate that the percentage of criminal suspects who now refuse to make confessions or statements is greater than before the Miranda case.

Recently, in New York a man who admitted killing his wife and five children was set free because the New York court could not use his confession because of the Miranda decision. I should like to associate myself with New York District Attorney Aaron A. Koota's comments on this case. He said:

> The United States Supreme Court has weighted the scales of justice heavily in favor of the criminal suspect. I am not a prophet, but the handwriting on the wall indicates a trend on the part of the court to outlaw all confessions made to police. If and when that melancholy day comes, the death knell of effective criminal law enforcement will have been sounded.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to repeat my final remarks when I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 22: I urgently appeal to you to join me in supporting this bill. Our thousands of dedicated and honorable law enforcement officers deserve this vote of confidence; and the people of America, sick and tired of criminals going unpunished and crime increasing, demand it.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my proposed bill and a news story from the New York Times of February 21, 1967, be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and the article will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1194) to define the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the inferior courts ordained and established by the Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States in criminal prosecutions involving admissions or confessions of the accused, introduced by Mr. Ervin (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1194

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SEC. 1. That the sole test of the admissibility of an admission or confession of an accused in a criminal prosecution in any trial court ordained and established by the Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States shall be its voluntary character and neither the Supreme Court nor any inferior appellate court ordained and established by the Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States shall have jurisdiction to reverse, vacate, modify, or disturb in any way a ruling of such a trial court in any criminal prosecution admitting in evidence as voluntarily made any admission or confession of an accused if such ruling is supported by any competent evidence admitted at the trial.

SEC. 2. Neither the Supreme Court nor any inferior court ordained and established by the Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States shall have jurisdiction to review or to reverse, vacate, modify, or disturb in any way, a ruling of any trial court of any State in any criminal prosecution admitting in evidence as voluntarily made any admission or confession of an accused if such ruling has been affirmed or otherwise upheld by the highest court of the State having appellate jurisdiction of the cause.

The article presented by Mr. ERVIN is as follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 21, 1967]

CONFESSED SLAYER OF WIFE AND FIVE CHILDREN FREED—JUDGE IN BROOKLYN CONFORMS RELUCTANTLY WITH HIGH COURT PROTECTION OF DEFENDANTS

(By F. David Anderson)

A man who admitted slaying his wife and five small children walked out of a Brooklyn courtroom yesterday, free, because the only available evidence against him was his own confession.

The defendant, Jose Suarez, 22 years, a factory worker, was arrested on April 27, 1966. Questioned by the police, he signed a statement, acknowledging having killed his own common-law wife, Maria Torres, 24; their children, Yvette, 4; Nancy, 3; and Jose, 11 months, and also Harry Santiago, 5, and Maria Antonio, 2.

Suarez said in the confession that after his wife had cut his leg with a knife during an argument, he seized the weapon and stabbed her and the children more than 100 times. That was on April 23 in their home at 301 Hooper Street.

THREE KEY RIGHTS AT ISSUE

On June 13 the United States Supreme Court ruled in the landmark Miranda case that a defendant in custody must be informed of his rights. These include the right to remain silent if he wishes to, the right to consult a lawyer and the right to a warning that anything he says may be used against him at trial.

Suarez was advised on none of these points, since New York State law at the time did not require it. However, the Miranda decision applied to him, inasmuch as it was made retroactive to cover all defendants who had not yet been tried,

Last month, three men were freed in murder trials here by State Supreme Court justices after rulings that they had not been informed of their right to counsel before they confessed.

On Jan. 20 Charles Wright of 554 West 150th Street won dismissal of homicide charges, but he was sentenced to 30 to 40 years in prison on a plea of guilty to first-degree rape.

Ten days later, Marvin Fitzgerald of 620 Lexington Avenue and Billy Bunche, no known address, were released in a similar case. Bunche was freed, but Fitzgerald was held on a charge of violating probation.

SEVEN-MONTH SEARCH IN VAIN

For seven months the office of District Attorney Aaron A. Koota and the police sought, without success, to obtain evidence other than the confession against Suarez. A grand jury finally indicted him on Nov. 4. One week later, with a lawyer, Suarez retracted the confession and pleaded not guilty.

"I daresay that if his questioning had conformed with the requirements of Miranda, this defendant would be in Sing Sing prison serving several life sentences," Assistant District Attorney Nathan R. Schor told the court, yesterday. "I am now constrained to ask for dismissal of the indictment."

Suarez stood at the defense table, his head bowed. At no time did he speak or even look up. Frank Ortiz, his lawyer, was beside him.

State Supreme Court Justice Michael Kern then spoke.

"Unfortunately the general public doesn't understand the law. Even an animal such as this one, and I believe this is insulting the animal kingdom, must be protected with all the legal safeguards.

"This is a very sad thing. It is so repulsive it makes one's blood run cold and any decent human being's stomach turn to let a thing like this out on the street."

Leaning forward, Justice Kern addressed the prosecutor. "Are you sure, I ask you most seriously, whether his [confession] is all you have in this case?"

Mr. Schor replied: "I say reluctantly, with a heavy heart, that we simply have no alternative. There is no other evidence."

Suarez was led away in handcuffs for routine processing before his release. An hour later he was a free man.

Mr. Ortiz spoke briefly outside the court. "He's absolutely not going to stay here," he said of his client. "Someone might kill him. His father is coming from Puerto Rico to take him home. This is terrible, I agree, but what can you do under the circumstances?"

Last night Mr. Koota issued the following statement:

"The United States Supreme Court has weighted the scales of justice heavily in favor of the criminal suspect. I am not a prophet, but the handwriting on the wall indicates a trend on the part of the court to outlaw all confessions made to police. If and when that melancholy day comes, the death knell of effective criminal law enforcement will have been sounded."

ADMINISTRATIVE OMBUDSMAN

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, just 1 year ago today, the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, of which I am chairman, heard the Honorable Alfred Bexelius, the Swedish ombudsman, explain the meaning and operation of the ombudsman's office. When the subcommittee first began looking at this concept, the term "ombudsman" was, indeed, a strange one. Today, ombudsman is becoming a common word. Basically, as my colleagues well know, ombudsman literally means "one who represents." But the office and institution of ombudsman means much more. It has been described by many as a combination redtape cutter, complaint bureau, and citizen's defender against bureaucracy.

The interest is nationwide. At the municipal level, several cities are considering ways to adapt the ombudsman to their municipal government. Senators HART, of Michigan, and KENNEDY of New York have joined me in cosponsoring legislation for a District of Columbia ombudsman. At the State level, bills to create ombudsmen have been introduced in more than a dozen States. In my own State of Missouri, there is a proposal before the State legislature to create a ombudsman for Missourians.

At the Federal level, my Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure has held the first public congressional hearings on the concept of ombudsman, and in the House, Congressman HENRY REUSS has recently introduced his bill, H.R. 3388, to create a congressional form of ombudsman.

Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure is vitally concerned with the way in which Federal agencies deal with American citizens. Our efforts have been directed toward helping secure every citizen's right to efficient and just government. Our investigations have ranged from administrative due process to invasions of privacy.

As many of my colleagues know, the subcommittee has uncovered countless cases of invasions of privacy by such organizations as the Food and Drug Administration, Internal Revenue Service, the Post Office Department, and others. We have discovered instances of lack of administrative due process in such agencies as the Federal Trade Commission and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. We have worked for enactment of a revised Administrative Procedure Act because of the problems of agency delay. This session, Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and I are cosponsoring S. 518, a bill to amend the Administrative Procedure Act to modernize and make more efficient certain agency practices and procedures. We have been conducting hearings on this urgently needed bill yesterday and today.

We are constantly looking for new and fresh approaches to the problems which are inherent in administrative agencies. One new and fresh approach is the ombudsman. Accordingly, I am today introducing a bill which would create in the Federal Government the Office of Administrative Ombudsman.

The administrative ombudsman would be appointed by the President and would have jurisdiction to investigate the administrative acts—including actions, omissions, decisions, recommendations, practices, and procedures—of the following agencies: Internal Revenue Service, Social Security Administration, Veterans' Administration, and the Bureau of Prisons. It is our opinion that the great bulk of citizens' complaints arise in connection with the above-mentioned agencies. This, of course, does not mean that other agencies are faultless. Nor, I hasten to add, does it mean that we are trying to "pick on" these four agencies. On the contrary, if the experience of Scandinavian and New Zealand ombudsmen have any relevance, we will probably find that a great majority of complaints, although submitted in good faith, are unfounded. As I pointed out in my opening remarks at our hearings on ombudsman last year:

> Let me say at the outset that these hearings are not being held because we are unhappy with our system of government, or generally with our government employees. On the contrary, it is my belief that we have

a very workable system. And our Federal civil servants are, with some exceptions, a most dedicated and effective group. It is for this very reason that I am interested in the concept of Ombudsman. As we will no doubt hear this morning, the great majority of complaints which the Ombudsman receives are unfounded. Thus, the Ombudsman not only finds faults and corrects wrongs, he also absolves civil servants and government agencies from wrongful charges and unfair accusations of fault. The net result is to create respect for their government.

After the ombudsman has investigated a complaint, he may report back to the complainant, and call the matter to the attention of the erring agency official, the appropriate committees of the House and Senate and to the head of the Administrative Conference. Although the President has not yet found a suitable Chairman to head up this Administrative Conference of the United States, it is our hope that the post will be filled shortly.

Thus, the ombudsman will have broad investigatory powers but limited enforcement powers. In effect, he will be an arm of the Congress, similar to the General Accounting Office which primarily handles fiscal matters, and similar to the other ombudsmen of the world who are responsible to their parliaments.

Congress must now consider the question of whether we can have an ombudsman to handle all or many of the problems and complaints aimed at the Federal Government. In answer, I would like to quote from Professor Gellhorn's new book, "When Americans Complain":

> *What Have We to Lose?* The wrecks of earnest reforms lie all about us. They remind that accomplishment may not soar as high as hope . . . But even though a grievance bureau, no matter how well qualified, could not blow away the citizenry's irritations, it would support a thoroughly reasonable expectation of improvement. Finding out whether that expectation accords with reality would cost very little money. It would necessitate virtually no organizational restructuring. The external critic is one of those promising experiments that can be tried without committing its proponents so deeply they can never afterward bear to admit failure. Of course, the experiment would be unlikely to succeed without top-notch personnel, some understanding supporters (journalists among them), and a public service that, if not altogether friendly, is at least not actively antagonistic. Those are not forbidding conditions.

Mr. President, I introduce this bill today, not so much with the idea that our Administrative Ombudsman will be a panacea for the ills of Government, but with the hope that it will begin to stimulate discussion of this very worthwhile concept at all levels of Government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert, at this point in the Record, a very interesting chart which appeared in the February 17 issue of News Focus, a publication of Newsweek, directed to high school students. This chart, and the accompanying explanation, explains in very simple terms how our Administrative Ombudsman might function.

There being no objection, the chart was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[Chart from News Focus, Feb. 17, 1967]

How an Ombudsman Might Function

Citizens direct complaints *about:*

Social Security;

Internal Revenue Service;

Veterans' Administration; and,

Bureau of Prisons.

To the ombudsman, an independent official with jurisdiction *over:*

Failure to act;

A fault or error;

Arbitrary use of power;

Injustice resulting from application of an inflexible law; and,

Failure to communicate adequately with complainant.

The ombudsman sends a letter of inquiry to the agency.

If the agency's answer is unsatisfactory, *he can:*

Examine agency's files;

Conduct hearings; and,

Call in agency's representatives to testify.

If complaint proves justified, he can recommend appropriate action. If unjustified, he can explain the agency's action to the complaining citizen.

[From News Focus, Feb. 17, 1967]

Government: An Ombudsman for Every Man

"You can't fight City Hall" is one of the most venerable of American aphorisms. In an age when Big Government is growing inexorably bigger, the saying has perhaps never been more pertinent; the more complicated a government becomes, the more helpless its citizens seem to feel. As far back as 1809, Sweden tried to deal with the problem by creating a champion for the civic underdog, called "ombudsman" or "representative." This official's function is to grapple with other officials on behalf of the wronged—or merely confused—citizen. Sweden's current ombudsman, 63-year-old Alfred Bexelius, is a former judge who, like his 30 predecessors, was chosen by Parliament and owes no allegiance to the executive branch of government. He has virtually unlimited access to official records, permitting full review of administrative actions. If a citizen's complaint is justified, Bexelius usually can obtain redress informally, but he also has the authority to prosecute errant bureaucrats. The Ombudsman idea has spread to several other nations, and lately it has been imported to this country. Michigan and New York's Nassau County already have put the concept to work, but their ombudsmen have less power than the Swedish model, and furthermore are appointed by the very adminstration with which they are supposed to joust. In Washington, congressmen have been discussing three different proposals to establish ombudsmen on the national level. But proponents believe that an ombudsman would work better within the more intimate confines of local or state government, and ombudsman offices have been proposed in California, New York City and elsewhere. Critics of bureaucracy would do well to note, however, than an ombudsman can defend "City Hall" as well as the taxpayer. And in Sweden, the ombudsman's reports show that, more often than not, City Hall has the right on its side.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, I today introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to create an Administrative Ombudsman of the United States. Also, I ask that the text of the bill be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1195) to establish the Office of Administrative Ombudsman to investigate administrative practices and procedures of selected agencies of the United States, introduced by Mr. Long of Missouri, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1195

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subchapter III of chapter 5 of title 5 of the United States Code is amended by renumbering section 576 as section 577, and inserting a new section 576 entitled "Administrative Ombudsman."

Sec. 2. As used in this Act, the term—

(a) "Ombudsman" means the Administrative Ombudsman duly appointed and serving under the provisions of this Act.

(b) "Office" means the Office of the Administrative Ombudsman established by this Act.

(c) "Agency" shall include the Social Security Administration, Veterans Administration, Internal Revenue Service and the Bureau of Prisons, and any officer, employee, or member thereof acting or purporting to act in the exercise of his official duties.

(d) "Administrative act" includes any action, omission, decision, recommendation, practice or procedure.

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby created an establishment of the Government to be known as the Administrative Ombudsman, which shall be independent of the Executive Department and under the direction and control of the Administrative Conference. There shall be in the Office an Ombudsman and a Deputy Administrative Ombudsman who shall be appointed by the Ombudsman and shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Ombudsman. During the absence or incapacity of the Ombudsman, or at any time at which there is no Ombudsman, the Deputy shall act as Ombudsman.

(b) The Ombudsman shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of five years. In no case shall any person hold the office for more than four full terms. The Ombudsman shall receive compensation in an amount equal to that of the Chief Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. The annual rate of basic compensation of the Deputy Ombudsman shall be $22,500.

(c) The Ombudsman and the Deputy Ombudsman appointed under this Act shall be chosen, without regard to political affiliation, from individuals specially qualified to perform the duties of the Office. Each individual so appointed shall be an individual who:

(1) has been admitted to the practice of law before the highest court of any State, possession, territory, Commonwealth, or the District of Columbia, and is a member of the bar of that court in good standing;

(2) is of good moral character, and possesses a good reputation for professional legal competence, personal integrity, diligence in the performance of duty, and freedom from personal bias or prejudice;

(3) has not, within the five-year period immediately preceding his appointment, served as a Member of Congress or as an appointed officer of any agency as defined in this Act;

(4) is a citizen of the United States.

(d) No person may serve as Ombudsman or Deputy Ombudsman while a candidate for or holder of any elected office, whether municipal, State, or Federal, or while engaged in any other business, vocation, or employment.

(e) The Congress of the United States, by two-thirds vote in each House, may remove the Ombudsman from Office, when in the judgment of the Congress, he has become permanently incapacitated, or has been guilty of any felony, misconduct, or any other conduct involving moral turpitude, and for no other cause and in no other manner except by impeachment.

(f) Subject to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, the Ombudsman may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be required for the performance of the duties of the office. The Ombudsman shall promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the duties imposed upon him by this Act, and he may delegate authority for the performance of any such duty, except those specified in section 6 of this Act, to any officer or employee of the office. Such regulations shall include procedures for receiving and processing complaints, conducting investigations, and reporting his findings.

(g) The Ombudsman is authorized to charge a nominal fee for the investigation of complaints, and to waive any such fee when, in his opinion, a financial hardship may result to the complainant.

SEC. 4. (a) The Ombudsman shall have jurisdiction to investigate the administrative acts, practices, or procedures, of any agency as defined in section 2(c). Where necessary, the Ombudsman may exercise his powers under this Act without regard to the finality of any administrative act.

(b) Upon his own motion or upon any oral or written complaint of any person, the Ombudsman shall conduct or cause to be conducted, in such manner as he shall determine to be appropriate, a full and complete investigation of any matter which is an appropriate subject for investigation under section 5 of this Act, unless, in his opinion—

(1) there is presently available an adequate remedy for the grievance stated in the complaint, whether or not complainant has availed himself of it;

(2) the complaint relates to a matter that is outside the jurisdiction of the Ombudsman;

(3) complainant does not have a sufficient personal interest in the subject matter of the complaint;

(4) complainant has had knowledge of the action complained of for too long a period before the complaint was submitted; or

(5) the complaint is trivial, frivolous, vexatious, or not made in good faith.

(c) If, with respect to any complaint the Ombudsman decides not to investigate, he shall inform the complainant of that decision and his reasons therefor; except that he shall not be required to divulge matters which would invade the privacy of any individual, or interfere with legitimate governmental activities. In the event he decides to investigate, he shall notify the complainant and the agency concerned in writing of that fact. The Ombudsman shall not be prohibited from making on-the-spot investigations of agency proceedings and activities, subject to proper notice to an appropriate official.

SEC. 5. (a) For purposes of this Act, an appropriate subject for investigation by the Ombudsman is an administrative act, practice or procedure, of any agency which might be—

(1) contrary to law or regulations;

(2) unreasonable, unfair, or oppressive;

(3) based wholly or partly on a mistake of law or fact;

(4) based on improper or irrelevant grounds;

(5) unaccompanied by an adequate statement of reasons;

(6) performed in an inefficient manner; or

(7) otherwise erroneous.

(b) In carrying out his duties under this Act, the Ombudsman may investigate to find an appropriate remedy, or to make routine checks of the operations of any agency or agencies covered under this Act. The Ombudsman may undertake, participate in, or cooperate with general studies or inquiries, whether or not related to any particular administrative agency or any particular administrative act, if he believes that they may enhance knowledge about or lead to improvements in the functioning of administrative agencies.

(c) In any investigation under this Act, the Ombudsman may (1) make inquiries and obtain any and all information from the agency or agencies as he deems necessary; (2) enter to inspect the premises of an agency; and (3) hold private hearings with both the complaining individual and agency officials.

(d) Subject to the privileges which witnesses have in the courts of the United States, the Ombudsman may (1) compel, at a specified time and place, by subpena, the appearance and sworn testimony of any person whom the Ombudsman has reasonable cause to believe may be able to give information relating to a mater under investigation; and (2) compel any person to produce documents, papers, or objects which the Ombudsman has reasonable cause to believe may relate to a mater under investigation. The Ombudsman is authorized to bring an action in a district court in which the complainant resides, or has his principal place of business, or in which the agency is situated, in order to enforce the aforementioned powers.

SEC. 6. (a) Prior to rendering any opinion or making any recommendation that is critical of any agency or person, the Ombudsman shall consult with that agency or person. The Ombudsman shall allow that agency or person a reasonable period of time to take the necessary or appropriate action indicated, or to file a statement of explanation with the Ombudsman.

(b) If, after any investigation conducted by him under this Act, the Ombudsman finds that (1) a matter should be further considered by the agency; (2) an administrative act should be modified, amended, or cancelled; (3) a statute or regulation on which an administrative act is based should be amended or repealed; (4) reasons should be given for an administrative act; or (5) and other action should be taken by the agency, he shall submit his views and recommendations to the agency. The Ombudsman may request the agency to notify him within a specified time, of any action taken by the agency on his recommendations. Any agency so requested shall be required to comply with such request.

(c) Within sixty days following the submission of his views and recommendations to any agency under subsection (b) of this section, the Ombudsman shall transmit copies thereof, together with copies of the agency's reply, to the head of the concerned agency, to the Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States and to the appropriate Committees of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. The Ombudsman is further authorized to take such action as he may determine feasible to make such information available to the general public.

(d) The Ombudsman shall notify the complainant in writing of any action taken by him and by the agency with respect to his complaint.

SEC. 7. (a) If, in carrying out his duties under this Act, the Ombudsman determines that any employee or officer of any agency has been guilty of a breach of duty or misconduct in connection with his duties as an employee or officer of such agency, the Ombudsman shall refer the matter to the appropriate authorities in the Department of Justice.

(b) The Ombudsman shall, on or before March 1 of each calendar year, submit to the President, to the Congress, and to the head of the Administrative Conference a written report concerning his activities under this Act during the preceding calendar year.

SEC. 8. (a) No proceeding, decision, or report of the Ombudsman conducted or made in accordance with the provisions of this Act shall be challenged, reviewed, quashed, or called into question in any court. No action, civil or criminal, shall lie against the Ombudsman or against any person holding any office or appointment under the Ombudsman, for anything the Ombudsman or such persons may do, report, say in the course of the exercise, or intended exercise of their functions under this Act, unless it is shown that they acted in bad faith. The Ombudsman shall not be called to give evidence in any court, in any proceeding of a judicial investigation of his functions.

(b) Any letter addressed to the Ombudsman and written by any person in custody on a charge of, or after conviction of, any offense under the laws of the United States, or by any inmate of any institution under the control of the Bureau of Prisons, shall be immediately forwarded, unopened, to the Ombudsman by the institution where the writer of the letter is detained or of which he is an inmate.

(c) The provisions of this Act shall be in addition to the provisions of any other law or regulation under which any remedy or right of appeal is provided for any person, or any procedure is provided for the inquiry into or investigation of any matter, and nothing in this Act shall limit or affect any such remedy, right of appeal, or procedure. The powers conferred on the Ombudsman by this Act may be exercised by him notwithstanding any other provision of law to the effect that any administrative action or omission shall be final or that no appeal shall lie in respect thereof.

SEC. 9. Any person who willfully obstructs or hinders the Ombudsman in the proper exercise of his powers under this act, refuses or willfully fails to comply with any lawful requirement of the Ombudsman under this Act, or willfully makes any false statement or misleads or attempts to mislead the Ombudsman in the exercise of his powers under this Act, shall be fined not more than $1,000.

SEC. 10. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, not in excess of $100,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act.

KATHERINE ROBBINS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill for the relief of Katherine Robbins of Conway, Ark.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1196) for the relief of Katherine Robbins, introduced by Mr. FULBRIGHT, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ANTISLUM HOUSING PROGRAM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a series of bills designed to expedite housing rehabilitation in urban slums by drawing on the combined resources of Federal, State, and local government and private enterprise.

I wish to emphasize that this is a comprehensive network of measures designed to deal with the basic housing emergency in the slums and ghettos of the United States, as a result of very extended study and preparation, including the poverty hearings, hearings on problems of the cities by the appropriate subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, and other work which my staff and I have been doing over the years.

The measures which I am introducing would provide:

First. A Federal guarantee of bonds issued by local housing authorities for the purpose of making low-cost, long-term loans for rehabilitation of low-income housing;

Second. A rapid writeoff for depreciation under the Federal tax laws of the cost of rehabilitating housing occupied by low-income families;

Third. Federal advances of up to two-thirds of the cost of rehabilitation of substandard properties acquired by local authorities as the result of code enforcement activities if they are to be used for later sale or rental to low-income families. The Federal Government would then be repaid as the local authorities receive rental income or sell the rehabilitated property;

Fourth. Federal grants of up to 50 percent of net tax abatement granted by any local government to assist in providing low-income housing under the provisions of the plan.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 5 additional minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **JAVITS**. Mr. President, along with many others, I have become increasingly distressed at the critical proportions of the inadequacy of decent, safe, and sanitary low-income housing in our urban areas, and at the prospects of improving this situation under present programs.

I believe that if we are to make truly appreciable progress in eliminating the urban slum, we are going to have to start with the structures that are already there; we are going to have to make maximum use of rehabilitation, and we are going to have to give incentives to the owners of these buildings themselves to make the first effort. We must also provide local housing authorities and city governments with financial and taxing techniques to greatly increase their efforts in rehabilitation.

Accordingly, I hope that the series of urban rehabilitation and tax incentive proposals I introduce today will act as a catalyst for the essential concerted action by Federal, State, and local governments and private enterprise to expedite the job of rebuilding the central cities and give this enormous task a greater chance of success.

The plain facts are that all the Federal and State programs now in existence to provide low- and middle-income housing have not been able to make an appreciable dent in the hard-core problem of the urban ghetto. These programs should continue, of course. What I am proposing now is that we use modern financial and taxing techniques to enlist the entire community in this fight, which should be the concern of the entire community.

The census of housing in 1960 indicated that in urban areas 4.3 million units were considered substandard—or 10.5 percent of the entire inventory. In New York City, for example, local estimates are that in 1965 there were still 43,000 old law tenements built prior to 1901, containing approximately 950,000 persons. About as many persons live in this substandard housing as live in the entire city of Baltimore. More than 11,000 aging one- and two-family homes used now for multifamily purposes are considered to be in an advanced state of deterioration by the New York City Building Department.

The proposals introduced today, taken together, place what I believe to be the proper shared responsibility on the Federal Government, the localities, and the private sector; it is clear to me that a proper mix of all three is needed to do the job. For example, with regard to the bond guarantee program, the Federal Government adds its prestige and financial support to the local public agency which administers the program best suited to the community, and the private sector gets the job done to the eventual benefit of the many low income persons throughout the country who are denied the very essentials of decent housing.

There is strong precedent for the concept of shared responsibility throughout existing housing legislation, particularly the congressional declaration of national housing policy in the Housing Act of 1949, which states:

> The policy to be followed in attaining the national housing objective shall be: (1) private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; (2) governmental assistance shall be utilized where feasible to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need; (3) appropriate local public bodies shall be encouraged and assisted to undertake positive programs of encouraging and assisting the development of well-planned, integrated residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production, at lower costs, of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life.

It is just this balance of responsibility which I hope to foster in this and other proposals which I will later introduce.

The bills seek to strengthen the hand of local government. The use of local governmental agencies in the bond plan has the merit of working within the confines of existing and newly created State authorities rather than bypassing them through exclusively Federal programs, and the guarantee approach will stimulate the sale of local bonds. The guarantee plan will strengthen local housing agencies where they already exist and act as an incentive for their creation where they are not now in existence.

The fast depreciation writeoff will contribute to the making of a more livable city and undoubtedly add to property valuations. In the event that the city finds itself in the position of owning property as the result of code enforcement, the Federal Government will lend up to two-thirds of the cost of rehabilitation of substandard residential property for use by low-income families. Thus, cities will be encouraged to implement strong code enforcement programs. The cities also will be more likely to grant certain tax abatement on low-income housing, knowing that the Federal Government will bear half the burden.

This set of proposals places the responsibilities clearly on the line for all concerned. If the Federal Government keeps its promise through bond guarantee, tax incentive, and the advance programs, then the responsibility will be on those at the local level—both the municipality and the private citizen—to do the job of remodeling many parts of our cities into places where all people will take pride in living.

I believe that the series of proposals—coupled with improved technological advances in speeding up the rehabilitation process—can make the greatest contribution toward the improvement of many of our slums and ghettos.

THE FEDERAL GUARANTEE PROPOSAL

Under this bill, loans by local agencies would be authorized from the proceeds of federally guaranteed bond sales in varying amounts—100 percent for nonprofit borrowers, 90 percent for limited dividend borrowers, and 80 percent for all others—of the development cost of a project with up to 50-year maturity and at an interest rate based on the cost to the agency of floating the bond in the private market plus not more than one-half of 1 percent. The latter would be returned to the Federal Government for the establishment of a guarantee fund.

The local housing bonds which the Federal Government will guarantee are already tax exempt, so we avoid the usual Treasury Department opposition where Federal tax abatement is sought. The bill also provides that the occupants of the proposed housing developments have the opportunity to acquire—either individually or as members of a group—their dwelling units. It is my desire to encourage such home ownership for low-income persons. In addition, borrowers will be asked to adopt all practicable methods, including utilizing the services and labor of eligible occupants, to reduce the cost of dwellings sold or rented to these occupants.

The proposal is similar to the successful pattern of the New York State Mitchel-Lama program established in 1956 and the pioneering program of the New York State Housing Finance Agency, which has sold $334,530,000 in long-term obligations on the open market to permit financing of privately owned housing at rentals low enough to make modern housing available to a great part of the population that previously could not afford new housing.

The Federal guarantee would be expected to provide an incentive to the sale of housing bonds at an even lower interest rate then, for example, the New York State Housing Agency issues its bonds, and thereby would provide a basis for lower rentals and sales. The New York State Housing Finance Agency program is presently financed by issuance of revenue bonds which are not guaranteed by the State, nor are its obligations part of the debt of the State. It is anticipated that a Federal guarantee of these revenue bonds would lower the interest rate by three-tenths to five-tenths of a point, which is a considerable savings on bond issues, which may run as high as a billion dollars. An even lower interest rate would be likely in localities whose bonds have been considered to carry a higher risk, and thus, in order to sell, require payment of higher interest. Moreover, the Federal guarantee would be of assistance to those States whose credit has been burdened with efforts to finance the heavy costs of urbanization.

The New York State commissioner of housing and community renewal, James Gaynor, testified in 1965 before the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee that the availability of such Federal guarantees would enable the State to broaden the scope of its housing program by lowering even further present favorable interest rates. At a time when private lenders do not have sufficient funds to loan—as happened during last year's tight money crisis—the local housing agency can take up the slack.

ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION FOR REHABILITATORS

The rehabilitators will be allowed a rapid writeoff of their costs for rehabilitation. My proposal would allow a 5-year depreciation writeoff of the cost, with a special bonus of 20 percent in the first year. This bonus is similar to that permitted under present law for tangible personal property.

I believe that this tax treatment deals realistically with the problem of dilapidated housing. If we want the job done, we must give some incentive to the owners. It should be pointed out that this tax incentive is actually a revenue creating proposition. At present, neither the Federal Government nor the local governments are getting a great deal of tax revenue from these buildings. However, the tax incentive would spur rehabilitation and thus could increase not only the value of the property but also the capacity of the property to bring in income through rentals. The immediate revenue loss to the Government may very well be recouped in part by increased taxable income of groups, such as contractors, who will be doing work that would not otherwise be done. Of course, the Federal Government is merely deferring the tax liability of the rehabilitator in that when he later sells the property he will be selling and paying tax on a more valuable property.

The rehabilitator who receives the tax deductions is limited in his use of the rehabilitated property by the following:

First, the property must be used for the housing of low-income families for at least the 5-year period; second, no tax deduction would be allowed for any repair of any portion of the property which has been cited by a locality as failing to meet local code standards; third, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, for a period not in excess of 60 months, shall receive satisfactory assurances that rents, charges, capital structure, rate of return, and methods of operation provide reasonable return on the investment to the owner This rental limitation is similar to the method used by FHA in its rental programs; that is, housing for elderly, relocation housing.

To insure the immediate impact of this program, it is suggested that it be limited to 3 years to induce owners to do the job now.

ADVANCES TO CITIES FOR REHABILITATION OF CITY-OWNED PROPERTIES

Increasingly, cities are finding themselves in possession of slum properties acquired through various means of code enforcement, condemnation, in rem proceedings, et cetera. In many instances the city does not have the available capital to make use of these properties and they simply sit idle. Hundreds of such structures exist in New York City. We must, however, make use of all available property, and therefore, I propose that the Federal Government advance to the city up to two-thirds of the cost of rehabilitating city-owned substandard, residential properties. When the city receives income—either through rental or sale of the property—my proposal requires the amount of the advance to be repaid by the city to the Federal Government. I think this will act as an incentive to arouse the cities to make use of many vacant buildings in need of rehabilitation. The rehabilitated properties will be available only to families of low or moderate income and every reasonable opportunity will be given to the tenants to purchase their dwelling units. It is my hope that this proposal will encourage local code enforcement, and I have expressly provided that no city shall be eligible for this assistance unless they have a satisfactory code enforcement program. I propose that the Federal Government create a revolving loan fund with a $50 million authorization to begin this program. It may be increased as the effects of the program are demonstrated.

This proposal also will change the existing limitations on rehabilitation grants. Under existing law, an individual who receives such a grant cannot earn more than $3,000, no matter where he lives, and his repairs cannot exceed $1,500. These figures are unrealistic in today's economy. I propose to place a more equitable limitation on income eligibility and to increase the funds available per person to $3,000 or actual cost—whichever is lower. The upper limit on income eligibility would be that applicable to persons eligible for public housing in the particular community. This will take into consideration the varying purchasing power of incomes in different locales.

GRANTS FOR TAX ABATEMENT

In order to assist the often overburdened localities to give certain tax abatement for low-income housing, I propose that the Federal Government make matching grants to States and local public agencies for up to 50 percent of State and local tax abatement. Such tax abatement would permit substantial reductions for rental rates in such housing. I have recommended this program be initiated with a $15 million authorization. It was estimated that in New York City, for example, where real estate taxes on a $12,500 unit amount to approximately $400, a Federal matching grant under this proposal would result in a reduction of $41.50 per month on the rent of a single unit.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy] has presented an interesting, long-range plan for dealing with problems of the slums. The plan I am proposing can be done now, and builds on what we have, which has been a broken down program which must be rehabilitated. It marries private enterprise and Government programs. The Government-guaranteed funds would be utilized by private enterprise for rehabilitation at a very modest cost, which will result in the most rehabilitation for the least money. I hope these bills, which have been very carefully thought out, will have the urgent consideration of the Congress at an early time.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills, introduced by Mr. Javits, where received, read twice by their titles, and referred, as indicated:

S. 1198. A bill to assist in the provision of housing for low-income families by providing Federal guarantees for certain obligations issued by local housing agencies; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1199. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide tax incentives for the rehabilitation of rental housing for low-income families; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1200. A bill to amend section 115 of the Housing Act of 1949 relating to rehabilitation grants for individuals and families, and to authorize financial assistance for the rehabilitation of substandard residential properties, acquired by localities as the result of code enforcement activities or otherwise, in order to assist in the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for low- or moderate-income persons; and

S. 1201. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make grants to States and localities donating property, or according tax benefits, to private organizations engaged in the provision of housing for low-income families; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ACT OF 1950, RELATING TO FALLOUT PROTECTION

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, and Senators Allott, Metcalf, and Moss, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to provide that Federal buildings shall be designed and constructed to maximize fallout protection and that non-Federal construction financed in whole or in part with Federal funds may be designated to maximize fallout protection.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1204) to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to provide that Federal buildings shall be designed and constructed to maximize fallout protection and that non-Federal construction financed in whole or part with Federal funds may be designated to maximize fallout protection; introduced by Mr. Inouye (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, in the second session of the 89th Congress, both the Senate and House approved the Military Construction Authorization Act of 1966, now Public Law 89-188.

That act contains a significant but little-noticed section 608 which requires that all construction under the act, with certain exceptions, shall utilize "slanting" techniques developed jointly by our colleges and universities, the American Institute of Architects, and the Office of Civil Defense. "Slanting" techniques are a method of design which will increase the degree and amount of protection from nuclear fallout at little or no additional cost.

Today, I am introducing a bill amending the Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, which prudently and logically extends the policies we have already accepted in section 608 of the Military Construction Authorization Act of 1966 to other Federal construction. Recipients of Federal aid for construction projects may, if they wish, also avail themselves of the provisions of this bill.

The proposals contained in this bill are in accord with the President's policy and with Bureau of the Budget Circular A-11.

The bill provides that all new construction of any structure owned or occupied by any department or agency of the United States shall be designed to maximize fallout protection where it can be done without impairing the purpose or effectiveness of the structure. There is a limitation in the bill on expenditures for this purpose of not to exceed 1 percent of total construction cost.

The bill's second section contains a similar but optional provision which allows any recipient of Federal financial assistance to determine whether he will incorporate such safeguards in construction for which Federal aid has been granted.

My studies have indicated that already a great many schools and commercial buildings have been designed and constructed using the so-called slanting techniques to increase the quantity and dual purpose of shelter available without cost or at costs of substantially less than 1 percent. In the case of hospitals or smaller structures such as one-story schools, expenditures may be somewhat higher.

This bill will aid in providing dual-purpose shelter in many areas where it is greatly needed. For example, in schools it may offer protection for pupils, staff, and nearby residents. In many of the smaller cities and towns, particularly in the South and West, adequate shelter space in the heart of the town is in very short supply. These deficiencies would be lessened if we required all new Federal construction in these areas to be designed for the maximum shelter.

This bill also would provide the necessary Federal leadership and example to encourage State and local governments and private builders to include maximum shelter in their construction.

Over the past few months we have become greatly concerned by reports of Soviet anti-ballistic-missile systems and in the matter of our response. I do not seek to propose an answer to that problem. But we cannot close our eyes to it nor to the fact that today five nations—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, Communist China, and France—have nuclear capability, and 11 other nations have the potential to become nuclear powers if they chose to make the effort.

Mr. President, I am not an alarmist; I hope that nuclear war will never come. A wise man, however, does not wait until it rains to repair his roof. Neither should a wise government put off action to protect its people until the emergency is already upon it.

The Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs are in agreement that a fallout shelter program will save more lives at less cost than any other program the United States can buy. This bill, if enacted into law, will be a step in that direction at the least possible cost.

Let us, therefore, follow the advice of King Solomon, when he said:

> A prudent man sees danger and hides himself; the simple go on, and suffer for it. (Proverbs 22: 3.)

AMENDMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1949, RELATING TO THE WHEAT PROGRAM

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I introduce for myself and my colleague from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], legislation to provide clear and express authority for the Secretary of Agriculture to advance up to 50 percent of wheat certificate payments at the time the farmer signs up in the wheat program.

This authority merely places the wheat program on a par with the feed-grains program, under which similar authority has been exercised for the last several years.

Advance payments under the voluntary feed-grains program are intended to permit farmers to buy the seed, fertilizer, or farm equipment necessary for planting the desired crop. The wheat farmer must also incur substantial costs for seed and fertilizer and other expenses of planting, and should also have the benefit of advance payments when he signs up to cooperate with the program.

Many farmers must have bank loans or credit advanced to them for these expenses if they do not have the advance payments. In today's high-interest, tight-money situation, it is essential that wheat farmers be given a portion of the program payments in advance to help meet their production needs.

For example, the Farmers Union states that in 1965, when interest rates were lower, Minnesota farmers reported they paid more on interest payments than they did for feed and seed, or for fuel. Farmers throughout the United States pay over $2½ billion in interest alone on their farm loans annually.

Mr. President, I ask that this bill be received and appropriately referred.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1205) to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make payments in advance of determination of performance to producers participating in the wheat program, introduced by Mr. Mondale (for himself and Mr. McCarthy), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

AUTHORIZATION OF AN ADDITIONAL 41,000 MILES FOR THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF INTERSTATE AND DEFENSE HIGHWAYS

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the highways of this country are directly connected with the deaths and injuries of thousands of Americans each year. The preventable slaughter which takes place each day on our roadways is tragic and we must take immediate steps to halt it.

In the last session of Congress we placed a number of safety requirements on the manufacture of automobiles. This move will undoubtedly result in the savings of lives, but it is not the complete answer to making highway travel safe.

Let me say that I feel the American driver is probably the finest and most skilled operator of a motor vehicle in the world. Our citizens are raised with the automobile and its operation as a way of life. The years of experience the average American driver logs is further proof of this skill. Our automobiles are certainly the envy of the rest of the world and with the safety standards set for them they are undoubtedly the safest vehicles being built today.

Mr. President, it only stands to reason that if our drivers are skillful and our automobiles safe then some other factor must be contributing to the great loss of life and personal property we continue to experience. The highways of this country are not suited, with some exceptions, to the modern automobile and the demands of increased traffic.

The Federal Interstate System presently under construction, and I might add, sadly behind schedule, does not provide for the rapidly increasing highway needs of the Nation. The new Interstate System, even though incomplete, has already presented us with dramatic results regarding highway safety. Statistics from portions of the completed Interstate Highway System reveal that the accident rates have been drastically reduced from the rate experienced on the same route before rebuilding. The decline in fatal accidents in some areas has been as high as 40 percent. If such dramatic decreases in highway deaths result from modern dual-lane high-speed highways, then we must give a top priority to the additional construction of more such roads.

Mr. President, we cannot continue to ignore the price we are paying in human lives and property loss.

The National Safety Council recently released some figures on highway deaths, injuries, and property losses which are very somber. On February 10 at a meeting in Chicago the Safety Council reported:

> With the number of vehicles, drivers, and miles traveled all reaching record highs, traffic accidents in the United States in 1966 killed 52,500 persons, the National Safety Council reported today. The Council estimated the cost of the accidents at $9.8 billion.

> The death rate of 5.6 fatalities for every 100 million miles of travel equaled that for 1964 and was up slightly from the 5.5 registered during 1965. The lowest figure on record is 5.2 deaths per 100 million vehicle-miles, in 1961. A decade ago, for 1956, the rate was 6.3.
>
> The death toll of 52,500 was a 7-percent increase from the previous record of 49,000 in 1965. Deaths for December 1966 alone came to 4,780, down 3 percent from the 4,950 who were killed in December 1965.
>
> December's travel figure of about 80.5 billion miles brought the year's total to 935 billion miles, the most ever. This was a 47-billion-mile increase, or 5 percent, over 1965. Increases during 1965, 1964, and 1963 had been 41, 42 and 38 billion miles respectively.
>
> In addition to the deaths, the Council estimated there were 1.9 million disabling injuries from traffic accidents. Of the total $9.8-billion economic loss, $3.3 billion came from damaged and destroyed property, the remainder from wage losses, medical expenses, and overhead cost of insurance.

Mr. President, it is our duty to do everything in our power to reduce this dreadful toll.

I believe the day is coming when we must undertake the task of dual-laning every mile of this Nation's primary highway system. This must ultimately be done if we are to meet the demands of our growing population and its dependence on safe highways.

I recognize that for the moment this is perhaps too ambitious while our Nation is locked in a life and death struggle against communism in Vietnam. But, those who die on our highways are as much a loss to the Nation as those who perish on the battlefields. We must begin to stop the slaughter on our roads and I believe the most important step we can take at this time is to build additional miles of interstate highways.

Mr. President, I am today introducing a bill to provide for the doubling of our present interstate highway mileage. This bill would provide for the construction of 41,000 miles of modern highways and further it would provide the funds to begin this construction immediately.

The present Interstate System is lagging behind schedule partly because inflation has seriously eroded the trust fund established to finance the system. In addition, many of the States have had difficulty providing the matching funds required under the present program.

The bill I am placing before the Senate provides for the financing of this additional interstate mileage through Federal bonds. These bonds would mature over a 50-year period and if the present inflationary trend continues, the interest rate will be paid by inflation and the bonds will be interest free for all practical purposes.

Mr. President, this bill also provides that the income from these bonds be tax exempt much as State and municipal bonds are at present. This should create a ready market for the bonds and provide the funds needed for rapid highway construction. We have learned much about the construction of modern highways from the problems met and solved in the construction of the present Interstate System. This knowledge should allow us to lower construction cost on the new highways. We will be capitalizing on our past mistakes and we will be receiving new and safe highways at a bargain.

In addition, I would like to point out that the new interstate highway mileage which this bill proposes would serve to link small- and medium-sized cities together and to provide access to markets for rural agriculture and decentralized industries. Too many of our rapidly growing small cities have been completely ignored by the present Interstate System and while it provides vital links between major cities, it leaves vast areas isolated and their population stranded. These areas and the people who are living in them deserve the safety provided by our most modern highways. It is indeed sad to consider that a family killed while traveling over outdated and hazardous highways might have been saved if they had been able to route their travel over modern and more safe roads.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1207) to authorize an additional 41,000 miles for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, introduced by Mr. EASTLAND, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN SCHOOLBUS DRIVERS FROM APPLICATION OF FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT OF 1938

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, today I am sending to the desk a bill to further amend the Fair Labor Standards Act in order to correct what I believe was an oversight on the part of this Congress and the Department of Labor.

In September of last year, Congress amended the act. When they did 3,500 student schoolbus drivers in South Carolina and many more in 15 other States were forced out of work and deprived, in many instances, of the wherewithal to continue their education.

Additionally, my State, along with several others, saw another heavy strain placed upon already limited budgets.

South Carolina has recently joined North Carolina and Maryland in testing the constitutionality of the entire act as it applies to State and local governments, but the problems of schoolbus drivers is an urgent one and one that deserves to be considered separately and on its own merits.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended, provides a minimum age of 18 years for any occupation which the Secretary of Labor "shall find and by order declare" to be particularly hazardous for 16- and 17-year-old persons or detrimental to their health or well-being, Department of Labor Order No. 2—motor vehicle occupations—was issued some 27 years ago—1940—and under the definitions of this order driving a schoolbus is a hazardous occupation.

This is simply not true, and the statistics prove it.

In South Carolina our student busdrivers have driven 400 million miles over the last 14 years without one single death of either a student passenger or student driver.

South Carolina's student drivers have driven the equivalent of 16,000 trips around the world without the loss of a single life. I submit that in view of these facts, the student riding with a student busdriver is safer than he would be riding in the family car.

Additionally, I have here the results of a study which I should like included in the RECORD with my remarks, prepared by the University of North Carolina Highway Safety Research Center at the request of Governor Moore. This study states that North Carolina's student drivers have a comparable safety record.

On the basis of this evidence, I see no reason why the operation of a schoolbus "for a public elementary or secondary school" should be designated a hazardous occupation and the bill which I intend to introduce will correct this.

Secondly, we are concerned with the application of the minimum hourly wage insofar as it applies to student schoolbus drivers. Our officials in the department of education at the State level do not feel they could obtain the necessary qualified adult drivers who would have comparable skills and could match the safety records of our present student drivers at any price, but certainly not at anything approaching the minimum wage.

Any increase in the pay of South Carolina schoolbus drivers would by necessity come out of the educational budget—a budget already stretched to the breaking point in an effort to provide every dime possible for the advancement of education in our State.

South Carolina, in terms of per capita income is a poor State—ranking 48th—and yet in terms of educational effort by the State, we rank near the top—devoting nearly 60 percent of our State budget to the educational effort.

In the past 8 to 10 years, we have undertaken an ambitious and comprehensive program to upgrade our educational system at all levels, including the institution of technical training to supplement our existing system.

We have constructed new school buildings, cafeterias, and libraries, and have raised teachers' salaries at a record rate. This has produced a steady drain on the limited financial resources of our State and the implementation of these new amendments places us in the difficult position of seeing this drain become even more critical or complying by sacrificing educational progress.

This is a sacrifice that South Carolinians do not feel is necessary. I have received numerous resolutions, petitions, and individual letters from Governor McNair, of South Carolina, various State departments, education associations, citizens groups and private individuals, including the student busdrivers, asking that our present system be retained, and I ask unanimous consent that a sample of each of these be included in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

All of this points to one inescapable conclusion, there is no need for a change in our present system. There is quite obviously no problem of safety involved. The many petitions and resolutions show there is no demand for a reform from the public and the student drivers themselves are certainly not in favor of the change. Nor is anyone being unfairly treated.

Our student drivers are currently being paid $35 per month with an additional safety bonus of 2 months' pay. The budget and control board recently recommended a pay increase of $10 per month which coupled with the safety bonus would provide $495 per school year.

This would be at least equal to and probably in excess of the minimum hourly rate, but under this system does not involve the additional administrative expense of keeping exact records of hours worked and retains the highly desirable feature of the safety incentive.

Mr. President, these facts as I have presented them lead me to believe that the inclusion of these schoolbus drivers was the result of an oversight on the part of Congress and the Department of Labor.

Secretary Wirtz has in effect recognized this by suspending the "hazardous occupation" provision of the act until the end of the school year. This bill seeks to make this suspension permanent.

I ask that this bill be printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks and appropriately referred.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the bill and correspondence will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1209) to exempt certain schoolbus drivers from the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, introduced by Mr. HOLLINGS (for himself and other Senators) was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1209

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 3 (1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is amended by inserting before the period at the end of the first sentence thereof a comma and the following: "or by virtue of the employment of any student by a State or political subdivision thereof as a busdriver for a public elementary or secondary school".

(b) Section 13 (a) of such Act is amended by substituting a semicolon and the word "or" for the period at the end of paragraph (14) thereof and by adding immediately after such paragraph the following new paragraph:

"(15) any employee employed as a busdriver for a public elementary or secondary school by a State or a political subdivision thereof.".

The correspondence presented by Mr. HOLLINGS is as follows:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
Raleigh, January 23, 1967.

Hon. WILLARD W. WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
U.S. Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I herewith transmit to you a document entitled "Pupil Transportation in North Carolina Public Schools", which has been prepared at my request by Dr. Charles F. Carroll, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and which contains statements from the Honorable A. Pilston Godwin, Jr., Commissioner of Motor Vehicles and the Honorable B. J. Campbell, Director of the North Carolina Highway Safety Research Center, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

This document reflects the origin and scope of the pupil transportation system in North Carolina from 1917 through 1967. The selection, training, employment and supervision of student drivers is described and other pertinent safety factors are discussed. The safety records of the student drivers in North Carolina are set forth.

I want to take this occasion to emphasize the pride which we in North Carolina feel in the safety record of our student drivers. They are active participants in our statewide safety program and by their training and experience, make a significant contribution to the great strides which North Carolina is making in all phases of highway safety. I am aware that you will thoroughly examine the role which student drivers occupy and I am hopeful that you will conclude that the student drivers between the ages of 16 and 18 should be exempted permanently from the order which prohibits their continued participation in this fine program.

Please be assured that I stand ready to provide you with such information as may be helpful to you in the final determination of this matter.

With best wishes and warmest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

DAN MOORE.

PUPIL TRANSPORTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I. ORIGIN OF THE STUDENT DRIVER PROGRAM IN NORTH CAROLINA

The student school bus driver program originated with the beginning of motor vehicle transportation in North Carolina in 1917. Thus the program has been tried and tested for 50 years. Through the years millions of students have been transported to and from school in buses driven by student drivers. In 1933 the North Carolina General Assembly recognized the advantages and safety of student drivers and *officially* authorized the employment of high school students as drivers. High school students have willingly assumed this responsibility and are recognized as having a praiseworthy record both within the State and the Nation.

II. SCOPE OF PUPIL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, 1966–67

In the current school year, 1966–67, approximately 9,200 school buses will be driven 62,000,000 miles to transport an average of approximately 600,000 elementary and high school students—51% of the State's public school enrollment—to and from school daily. At the beginning of the year approximately 93% of the drivers employed are 16- and 17-year-old students. At the close of the school year approximately 65% of the drivers are in this age category, the others having attained their 18th birthday.

III. SELECTION OF STUDENT DRIVERS

North Carolina's student drivers are carefully selected. Before any prospective student driver is considered for school bus service, he (she) must have taken and successfully passed the course in "Driver Education" provided by each secondary school in the State. Considerable care is exercised by local school officials in screening and selecting students to train for the driving of a school bus. Even though a student is selected to take the training it does not necessarily mean he will be employed to drive a bus. Local school officials have full authority to discharge any incompetent driver.

IV. TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT, AND SUPERVISION OF STUDENT DRIVERS

The training program is conducted by the Office of the State Commissioner of Motor Vehicles. In addition to having acquired a motor vehicles operator's license, the applicant is given eight hours of classroom training in the operation of a school bus; auditory, visual, and physical examinations; and six or more hours of actual on-the-road training with a school bus. Each prospective driver must pass successfully a rigid written examination and driving test when the course is completed in order to become eligible for opportunity to be employed to drive a bus. After having passed the training course a person is issued a certificate stating that he (she) is competent to drive a school bus loaded with students over the highways and streets of North Carolina. From the list of available certified drivers, the school principal nominates those to be employed by the county or city board of education. Through this procedure most student drivers of questionable competence are eliminated. Once a driver is employed he is placed under the immediate supervision and direction of the school principal.

V. SAFETY FACTORS IN THE TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT

Recognizing that safety is the most important single aspect of school transportation, North Carolina many years ago adopted School Bus Specifications that far exceed Minimum Standards for School Buses as recommended by national conferences on school transportation. Some of the requirements are: All school buses are governed to 35 miles per hour, maximum speed; these vehicles are equipped with oversize power brakes and four flashing warning signals to signify that the bus is stopped to take on or discharge pupil passengers; the body is equipped with a convex mirror to provide a panoramic view immediately in front of the vehicle in order that the driver may easily see smaller students crossing in front of the bus; each bus is equipped with a flashing stop arm (semaphore) to indicate that it is in the process of receiving or discharging pupils; and many safety features are incorporated in the construction of the bus body such as additional longitudinal and vertical members to make the body as safe as possible within weight limitations.

In order to insure that school buses are kept in a safe condition each vehicle is seen every other school day by a qualified mechanic who inspects it for the operation of its brakes, lights, horn, mirrors and steering mechanism. In addition to these inspections these vehicles are inspected carefully once each calendar month during the school year by members of the State Highway Patrol who make a written report of their findings. If any repairs or adjustments are needed on any vehicle they are made before the bus is dispatched for its next trip.

VI. ADVANTAGES OF STUDENT DRIVERS TO THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Based upon 50 years' experience with student drivers, North Carolina officials feel that definite advantages accrue to the State's public school transportation system through the services of students as drivers. Some advantages are:

1. Through the opportunity to screen applicants school officials have more firsthand information about each individual and can be more selective in terms of ability, character, dependability, et cetera.

2. The place of residence of the driver of a school bus is of significant importance. It is far more likely that a student driver will live near the beginning of the bus route, thus keeping at a minimum the mileage the bus shall travel daily.

3. Students are usually familiar with the bus operations and bus route.

4. Students are readily available for more intensive training.

5. Substitute drivers can be trained and made available on short notice.

6. Effective supervision by the school principal is possible. Students accept and follow directions most readily.

7. Students are immediately available for special driver meetings and emergencies.

8. Students are usually in good physical condition, mentally alert, and react quickly.

9. Student drivers park buses during the day on the school site, thus providing ready access to the buses for:

a. Servicing, inspection, and correction of defects by mechanics.

b. Inspecting by the State Highway Patrol at regular intervals.

c. Cleaning interior of the bus, bus windows, and safety lights, signals.

VII. ADVANTAGES TO STUDENT DRIVERS

Fifty years' experience with student bus drivers reveals that such values and advantages as these accrue to students:

1. From an educational standpoint the student driver has an opportunity to develop responsibility, management, leadership, and ability to work with people. He (she) learns also to collect accurate data, keep records, and make various reports.

2. Through service as a driver students earn extra money for necessities. In many instances these earnings, especially for economically-deprived students enable students to remain in school.

3. Experience reveals that one of the best recommendations for post-high school employment is a satisfactory record as a student driver.

VIII. SAFETY RECORD OF STUDENT DRIVERS IN SCHOOL BUS TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Student drivers in North Carolina have achieved a commendable safety record. The training required of the students, the specifications governing the purchase and maintenance of equipment, the supervision given the drivers and the equipment, and the personal pride of the students in the program have created within the State a safe and respected school transportation system. This appraisal is supported by:

A. A study entitled "School Bus Accidents in North Carloina", financed by funds from the U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Accident Prevention, Bureau of State Services, and the Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., June, 1964. (See Appendix A.)

B. A letter dated January 17, 1967, from the Honorable A. Pilston Godwin, Commissioner of the Department of Motor Vehicles, to Dr. Charles F. Carroll, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. (See Appendix B.)

[From the University of North Carolina Highway Safety Research Center]

APPENDIX A. BRIEF ON SCHOOL BUS ACCIDENT DATA

There are two relevant questions on the issue of prohibiting student school bus drivers. The first is whether school bus driving *per se* is a hazardous occupation from which youngsters should be protected. The second question is whether there is evidence that safety benefits would accrue to North Carolina if student bus drivers were replaced by adults.

With respect to the first question it is obvious that driving *any* motor vehicle involves a certain low level hazard. However, North Carolina accident data, suggest that school bus driving is no more hazardous than driving any other vehicle on the highway, and probably is less so.

With respect to the second question, evidence relating specifically to North Carolina experience shows that safety benefits would not automatically accrue by changing from student to adult school bus drivers.

In a recent study* accident rates for student and adult school bus drivers in North Carolina were compared. The number of accidents in each age group was tallied, and the number of route miles each group drove was calculated. This was done by recording the length of each school bus route in the state, multiplying this by the number of trip-days during the school year, and computing the total number of route miles driven by each age group. From these mileage and accident figures, an accident rate for each group was calculated. The difference between the accident rates of adults and students was tested for statistical significance, and was found not to be significant. In other words the observed difference was well within the bounds of a chance fluctuation, and therefore not subject to being interpreted as a true difference. On the basis of analysis of accident experience specific to the situation in North Carolina, we conclude that the likelihood of accident involvement for our student drivers is not different from our adult drivers, and therefore there are no grounds for asserting that a benefit in terms of accident reduction would accrue to North Carolina from a change from student to adult drivers.

APPENDIX B

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES,
Raleigh, January 17, 1967.

Dr. CHARLES F. CARROLL,
Superintendent, Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N.C.

DEAR DR. CARROLL: This Department is the repository of the reports of motor vehicle accidents occurring in North Carolina. I have had an examination made of motor vehicle accident reports and am pleased to respond to your request for data relating to motor vehicle accidents in which North Carolina public school buses have been involved.

Your records probably disclose that approximately 9,200 public school buses are in operation in this State; and that they travel approximately sixty-one million miles annually transporting public school children. Our records indicate that 92% of North Carolina public school buses are operated by high school students and that 65.6% of that group of school bus drivers are not less than 16 nor more than 17 years of age. The remaining 34.4% of North Carolina public school bus drivers include student drivers who are over 17 years of age and the adults who operate school buses.

The reports of "school bus accidents" submitted to this Department include: (1) Any collision between a school bus and an animate or inanimate object, regardless of the extent of dollar damage involved; and (2) Any visible or invisible complained of injury sustained by a public school student and sustained while the student is enroute from his home to the school or return therefrom, and in the proximity of the school bus, even though neither the school bus driver nor school bus was actually involved in the infliction of the complained of injury.

The following is a table of "school bus accidents" reported to this Department during the indicated school years:

Year:	
1961–62	486
1962–63	584
1963–64	625
1964–65	633
1965–66	635

There was an increase of approximately 200 school buses during each of the above mentioned five school years.

As mentioned above, the 16–17 year old public school bus drivers account for 65.6% of all public school drivers. During the 1965–66 school year there were 204 public school bus accidents in which the driver was charged with a traffic law violation. In 75% of those instances the 16–17 year old drivers were charged and the remaining 25% of the violations were charged against the student drivers who were more than 17 years of age and the adult drivers.

A comparison of the records of sixteen-eighteen year old non-public school bus drivers with those of bus drivers of the same age grouping discloses that traffic law violations charged to non-bus drivers runs slightly more than five times as high as those charged to bus drivers.

All North Carolina public school bus drivers are nominated with extreme care by public school officials and are trained, licensed and supervised with the same degree of care by this Department. Consequently, all candidates for public school bus operator's license are several times screened and appraised for qualities of maturity and responsibility.

I am highly pleased with the excellent safety record accomplished by North Carolina's student school bus drivers.

Sincerely,

A. PILSTON GODWIN, Jr.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Columbia, February 24, 1967.

HON. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: We are deeply concerned over the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 as amended and enacted on September 23, 1966. As you know, South Carolina has entered a suit with Maryland and a number of other states to test the constitutionality of this Act. We are particularly concerned with the part of the Act that takes away the exemptions of the states and the political subdivisions of states from the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Referring specifically to the problem of school bus drivers in South Carolina we have operated in this state a basic student bus driver program since 1951. The school people and the people in general in this State have been impressed with the efficiency and the safety record of our student drivers. These young drivers have exemplified dependability of a higher degree than was expected by many of our citizens at the beginning of this program. In a great many instances the income earned by these student drivers has been the difference between their remaining in school and becoming a school drop out.

When we became aware of the passage of the Act as passed in 1966 we contacted Secretary Wirtz with particular reference to the provision which declared school bus driving a hazardous occupation for those under eighteen years of age and Secretary Wirtz has suspended this part of the Act until the end of this school year. We estimate that over 3,500 of our school bus drivers are between sixteen and eighteen years of age. To replace these drivers with adults who would be anywhere near as efficient and alert as our present drivers would, we think, be a great and unnecessary expense for the people of South Carolina to bear and we are doubtful as to our ability to replace them with the kind of drivers we need at any cost. The feeling of the people in education with reference to the student driver program was well expressed in a Resolution adopted by the County Superintendents of Education in a meeting held this month. The same Resolution was adopted by the State Educational Finance Commission (an advisory board on school transportation to the State Board of Education) at a meeting on February 2. The

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* "School Bus Accidents in North Carolina" by B. J. Campbell, J. K. Kihlberg and Susan Lieberman.

State Board of Education also approved the Resolution at a meeting on February 10. This Resolution was forwarded to Secretary Wirtz and also to each member of Congress.

To be specific about our young school bus drivers in South Carolina—

(1) These drivers are selected by the local school districts and approved by the county board of education.

(2) South Carolina law requires that all bus drivers have a regular driver's certificate and they successfully complete a comprehensive bus driver training course and be issued a bus driver's certificate before being employed as a school bus driver.

(3) This training is given by qualified instructors employed by the Division of Schoolhouse Building, Planning and Transportation. This Division also has forty county supervisors of transportation who devote part of their time to the driver training program.

(4) The training is composed of twelve hours of classroom instruction and a minimum of six hours of behind the wheel and observation time in a school bus. All drivers must demonstrate the fact that they can drive a school bus satisfactorily before certification, as well as pass a comprehensive examination of traffic safety rules and regulations.

(5) The bus driver training program is under the immediate supervision of a supervisor of bus driver training and safety and in addition to our regular driver training instructors the following people participate in our training course: the school principal or superintendent, the county supervisor of transportation, and the area supervisor of transportation.

(6) The employment of student drivers simplifies the matter of supervision inasmuch as they are in school all day and are available for regularly scheduled meetings or for emergency meetings as may be necessary.

(7) Each school is encouraged to select and have trained an average of one and one-half to two drivers per bus. Students are more readily available to serve as substitute drivers than are adults.

(8) School busses in South Carolina are maintained through a system of state owned and operated maintenance shops. Mechanics go to each school daily to inspect busses and carry out a preventive maintenance program. Gasoline tankers also go to schools daily or every other day to gas busses. The county supervisor of transportation or shop foreman inspects all busses in the county once a month and the state highway patrol inspects all busses twice a year.

(9) A medical policy with $3,000 medical benefits and $2,000 death benefits is carried on all students riding the busses. This costs 16.2¢ per student per year. Liability in the amount of 25-5-5 is carried on all school busses at a cost of $30.62 per bus per year.

(10) All school busses in South Carolina are equipped with governors to limit speed of busses to thirty-five miles per hour. Our bus specifications exceed national standards. The stop arm is used for loading and unloading students.

(11) The school people in South Carolina feel that driving a school bus helps a student to develop qualities of leadership, dependability and the ability to get along with people and the experience a student gets in driving a bus has often been helpful in securing permanent employment after the driver finishes his education.

(12) There has not been a student nor a student bus driver killed while riding in a school bus since 1953. Since this involves a total mileage of over 400,000,000 miles of travel, we think the record speaks for itself. We operate in South Carolina 5,100 school busses over regular routes, transporting 344,264 children to and from school each day. The mileage traveled by these busses last year was 37,719,693. Last year our school bus driver training instructors trained 7,548 prospective school bus drivers.

This letter is with particular reference to our school bus driver program but the new Act affects more than this program. I am referring to the effect on hospitals, schools and our state operated maintenance shops for our transportation system. Anything that you and the other members of our South Carolina Delegation can do to alleviate this unnecessary and expensive problem facing the people of South Carolina will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

ROBERT E. MCNAIR.

CHARLESTON, S.C.,
January 14, 1967.

Senator ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am a student at St. Andrews High School at Charleston. Where I drive a school bus. This so called law about being 18 years old to drive a bus. A lot of my friends and myself stand to lose their bus and $35.00 a month which is the only money we get for a month. I stand to lose something I have dreamed about since I was in the first grade just because I was born a year late. Driving a bus may seem a small thing but it is every thing to me and 5500 others. Please sir if you can write me back and put some light on the subject.

Looking for your help.

ROBERT A. KNIGHT.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Columbia, February 17, 1967.

Hon. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: We are sure that you are aware of the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 as it was amended and passed by the Congress in September, 1966. The Act as amended will have far reaching effects on schools and other divisions of Government in South Carolina if it is fully implemented and enforced by the Wage and Hour Division of the Federal Government.

The enclosed Resolution was passed by the State Board of Education at its regular meeting on February 10. The Resolution sets forth in general terms our problems as far as our student school bus drivers are concerned. This Resolution was also passed by the State Educational Finance Commission (an advisory commission to the State Board of Education) at its regular meeting on February 2. The Resolution was also passed by the County Superintendents of Education at a meeting held on February 7.

In addition to the problems of student bus drivers the State Board of Education and the Department of Education are also faced with an additional expenditure for bus maintenance if the maintenance shops come under the Wage and Hour Law. The school districts are faced with the problem of lunch room workers and all other employees of the school, part time as well as full time, coming under the Wage and Hour Law. The record keeping involved in all of this is enormous and there are other compelling reasons why in some instances a strict enforcement of the law would be impractical and expensive and would work undue hardship on the State, its political subdivisions and on certain individuals.

As you are aware, the State of South Carolina has joined with Maryland and several other states for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of the amendments in this Act with particular reference to those amendments taking away the exemptions of the states and their political subdivisions.

The Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Willard Wirtz, at the request of Governor McNair and others, has suspended the eighteen year old requirements of the Act as far as our bus drivers are concerned until July 1, 1967. We certainly think that this temporary suspension should be made permanent as stated in the Resolution.

Any help that you can give us with these problems will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

CYRIL B. BUSBEE,
Secretary and Administrative Officer to the State Board of Education.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Congress of the United States in September, 1966 passed certain amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and one of these amendments was a section bringing the employees of a State or a political subdivision thereof under the provisions of the Act for employees in a hospital, institution or school; and

Whereas, the Secretary of Labor in 1940 did declare that the occupation of a motor vehicle driver and helper a hazardous occupation for minors between sixteen and eighteen years of age; and

Whereas, State and political subdivisions thereof were exempt from the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act until September, 1966 the State of South Carolina in 1951 instituted a state system of transportation which had as a fundamental base the use of student drivers sixteen years of age and above; and

Whereas, it has been the experience of the school people in the State of South Carolina that these student drivers have performed with a high degree of proficiency since the program was initiated in 1951; and

Whereas, the safety record of these student drivers has been excellent as shown by the fact that not one child has been killed while riding in a school bus in South Carolina since 1953; and

Whereas, these young people have sharper vision, quicker reaction capability, are more physically fit and mentally alert than older persons; and

Whereas, these young student bus drivers have exemplified qualities of leadership, good citizenship and dependability beyond the norm for high school students we believe that their influence on the children transported is wholesome and beneficial; and

Whereas, in some cases the income earned by these student drivers is the difference between remaining in school and becoming a school drop out; and

Whereas, approximately ninety-seven per cent of our bus drivers are students, it is not economically sound nor feasible for the State to employ adult drivers because the type of adults who would perform as well as the student bus drivers are not available even at higher salaries. Since more than fifty per cent of pupils attending schools in South Carolina are transported, additional costs for this purpose can become unbearable;

Be it, therefore, resolved by the State Board of Education of South Carolina that they do wish to go on record as endorsing the continuance of our present student bus driver program in South Carolina and they do request the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Willard Wirtz, to make permanent his suspension of the hazardous driving provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act; and

Whereas, in addition to the copy of this resolution being sent to the Honorable Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, we feel that this matter is of such import to the citizens of South Carolina that a copy of this resolution should be sent to our Senators and

Members of the House of Representatives with the request that they concern themselves about this matter and do anything in their power to either get the act amended or the ruling suspended as it applies to the State of South Carolina and its schools.

SOUTH CAROLINA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
Columbia, S.C., February 8, 1967.

Senator ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: Enclosed please find a copy of a resolution adopted by the South Carolina Association of County Superintendents on February 7, 1967.

Sincerely,

HENRY E. BONNER,
President, South Carolina Association of County Superintendents.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States in September, 1966 passed certain amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and one of these amendments was a section bringing the employees of a State or a political subdivision thereof under the provisions of the Act for employees in a hospital, institution or school; and

Whereas, the Secretary of Labor in 1940 did declare that the occupation of a motor vehicle driver and helper a hazardous occupation for minors between sixteen and eighteen years of age; and

Whereas, State and political subdivisions thereof were exempt from the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act until September, 1966 the State of South Carolina in 1951 instituted a state system of transportation which had as a fundamental base the use of student drivers sixteen years of age and above; and

Whereas, it has been the experience of the school people in the State of South Carolina that these student drivers have performed with a high degree of proficiency since the program was initiated in 1951; and

Whereas, the safety record of these student drivers has been excellent as shown by the fact that not one child has been killed while riding in a school bus in South Carolina since 1953; and

Whereas, these young people have sharper vision, quicker reaction capability, are more physically fit and mentally alert than older persons; and

Whereas, these young student bus drivers have exemplified qualities of leadership, good citizenship and dependability beyond the norm for high school students we believe that their influence on the children transported is wholesome and beneficial; and

Whereas, in some cases the income earned by these student drivers is the difference between remaining in school and becoming a school drop out; and

Whereas, ninety-seven percent of our bus drivers are students, it is not economically sound or feasible for the State to employ adult drivers because the type of adults who would perform as well as the student bus drivers are not available even at higher salaries. Since more than fifty percent of pupils attending schools in South Carolina are transported, additional costs for this purpose can become unbearable;

Be it, therefore, resolved by the county superintendents of education in South Carolina that they do wish to go on record as endorsing the continuance of our present student bus driver program in South Carolina and they do request the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Willard Wirtz, to make permanent his suspension of the hazardous driving provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act; and

Whereas, in addition to the copy of this resolution being sent to the Honorable Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, we feel that this matter is of such importance to the citizens of South Carolina that a copy of this resolution should be sent to our Senators and Members of the House of Representatives with the request that they concern themselves about this matter and do anything in their power to either get the act amended or the ruling suspended as it applies to the State of South Carolina and its schools.

JANUARY 15, 1967.

Hon. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We citizens of the Mount Pleasant Community of Richland County Columbia South Carolina, do hereby register protest by this petition to the Federal Regulation calling for the elimination of our 16 to 18 year old School Bus Drivers. Our young drivers have been carefully selected on the basis of merit and have excellent driving records. These youngsters grow up to be responsible citizens because they have assumed real responsibility for which they are rewarded in kind. This is the American way. Let us continue it.

Signed by:

John H. Sherwood, Box 232, Route 1, Columbia, S.C.

David E. Meekins, Route 1, Box 171-C, Blythewood, S.C.

Mrs. F. E. Roof, Sr., Route 1, Box 234, Columbia, S.C.

Mrs. C. W. Price, Route 1, Box 223-A, Columbia, S.C.

H. B. Epting, Route 1, Blythewood.

Julian Ballentine, Route 1, Box 216, Columbia, S.C.

John S. Jones, Jr., Route 1, Box 185, Blythewood, S.C.

William M. Cunningham, Route 1, Blythewood, S.C.

Frank S. Roof, Jr., 1608 Charles Drive, Columbia, S.C.

Rebecca C. Fetner, 612 Glenthorne Road, Columbia, S.C.

Mrs. Frank E. Roof, 1608 Charles Drive, Columbia, S.C.

Mr. & Mrs. R. C. Catoe, Blythewood, S.C.

Mrs. Dollie Harriet, Blythewood, S.C.

Mrs. J. L. Sharpe, Jr., Blythewood, S.C.

Ruby Lever Core, RFD #1, Box 186, Columbia, S.C.

Bobby L. Sharpe, RFD #1, Blythwood, S.C.

John L. Sharpe, Jr., Route #1, Blythewood, S.C.

R. L. Lever, Route 1, Box 223-B, Columbia, S.C.

C. W. Price, Route 1, Box 223-A, Columbia, S.C.

EQUITABLE SYSTEM FOR FIXING AND ADJUSTING THE RATES OF PAY OF WAGE BOARD EMPLOYEES

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I am today reintroducing my bill to establish a uniform Wage Board program.

This legislation would provide noncivil service blue-collar Government workers with benefits similar to those enjoyed by their fellow employees in the civil service, and also an equitable system of setting and adjusting compensation. In addition, uniform standards for departments and agencies would be set up and allowances made for more extensive appeals from grading decisions.

Further, my bill is designed to provide for equitability in wage scales—like pay for like work within a given area. Also, basic to its provisions is that which would allow employee organizations to have a voice in both the administration of the Wage Board system and the conduct of the Wage Board surveys.

Mr. President, I feel this legislation is very much needed and I urge my colleagues to give it their favorable consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1214) to provide an equitable system for fixing and adjusting the rates of pay of Wage Board employees, introduced by Mr. BREWSTER, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

THE CALUMET-SAG NAVIGATION PROJECT

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill authorizing certain modifications of the existing projects for the Illinois Waterway, Ind. and Ill., and the Indiana Harbor and Canal, Ind. The purpose of this measure is to permit the United States to participate in the cost of highway bridge construction for phase II of the Calumet-Sag navigation project in accordance with principles of the Truman-Hobbs Bridge Act, as amended.

Although the Calumet-Sag project was originally authorized in 1945, the tremendous costs which would have to be borne by local jurisdictions has prevented any major progress being made in the Indiana section of this important waterway. When completed it will link Indiana Harbor in East Chicago, as well as the cities of Hammond and Whiting, with the port of Chicago. It will greatly facilitate the movement of bulk cargo through this very highly industrialized and heavily populated area.

Mr. President, the effect of my bill would be to extend the same kind of Federal aid for highway bridge construction in Indiana under phase II of the Calumet-Sag project as was provided for the State of Illinois under the earlier phase I. This assistance, I believe, would be equitable and proper. The benefits to be derived from the project will greatly surpass the cost. If this important waterway is to be completed within a reasonable period of time, it is essential that additional help be provided for the construction of highway bridges. Therefore, I urge that prompt attention be given to this measure.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1215) authorizing modification of the existing projects for the Illinois Waterway, Ill. and Ind., and Indiana Harbor and Canal, Ind., introduced by Mr. BAYH, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

JOINT RESOLUTION HONORING RUSH-BAGOT AGREEMENT

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution commemorating the signing of the Rush-Bagot Agreement on April 28–29, 1817, in Washington, D.C. The still-operative agreement provided for naval disarmament along the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain. The principle of disarmament gradually extended to border fortifications, so that today—150 years later—this exemplary agreement is the oldest arms limitations treaty in the world. As a result of the foresight of then Secretary of State Richard Rush and then Acting Foreign Affairs Minister of Canada, Charles Bagot, the United States and Canada today enjoy the longest unfortified boundary on the globe—5,525 miles long, including Alaska.

The Rush-Bagot Agreement is one of the most significant steps in the development of peaceful relations between the United States and Canada. The unfortified boundary between our two countries is a tribute to the honor and integrity of both nations and should serve as a symbol to the rest of the world of the harmony and understanding which can be achieved by two sovereign governments. It is thus especially fitting that we give the Rush-Bagot Agreement the national recognition and admiration it deserves.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 49) to designate April 28–29, 1967, as Rush-Bagot Agreement Days, introduced by Mr. Javits, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1181) to exempt a member of the Armed Forces from service in a combat zone when such member is the sole surviving son of a family, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1012) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing the name of the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] be added as a cosponsor of the bill, S. 217, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to designate within the Department of the Interior an officer to establish, coordinate, and administer programs authorized by this act, for the reclamation, acquisition, and conservation of lands and water adversely affected by coal mining operations, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson] be added as a cosponsor of the joint resolution—Senate Joint Resolution 30—to establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to astronauts who lose their lives in line of duty in the U.S. space program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the junior Senator from the State of Colorado [Mr. Dominick], be added as a cosponsor to S. 827, a bill to establish a nationwide system of trails, and for other purposes, and that his name be listed at the next printing of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARING ON COPYRIGHT REVISION

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, as chairman of the standing Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Committee on the Judiciary, I wish to announce that the subcommittee has scheduled additional hearing dates for the consideration of S. 597, for the general revision of the copyright law. In addition to the dates previously announced, hearings will be held on April 4, 6, 11, and 12, commencing at 10 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building.

The subcommittee, as previously announced, will commence hearings on this bill on March 15 and the hearings will continue on March 16, 17, 20, and 21. The March hearings will be held in room 3302, New Senate Office Building.

HEARING ON JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, as chairman, I wish to announce that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will conduct an open public hearing, starting at 9:30 a.m., Monday, March 20, on S. 1161, a bill to establish the John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site in Massachusetts.

I am a cosponsor, with the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], of this bill, which would preserve as a national historic site the house where President Kennedy was born and lived for the first 3 years of his life.

The bill will enable the family of President Kennedy to make a gift of this property to the Federal Government. It authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the property, maintain it as a national historic site, and to allow access to it for the public.

The bill also authorizes the National Park Service to conduct a study to develop a suitable plan for the site, which is located on Beals Street in Brookline, Mass.

Senator Cooper and I believe this to be appropriate and important legislation, and my purpose in scheduling this early hearing is to facilitate prompt action by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and by Congress. Any Member of the Senate or the public wishing to submit a statement to the committee is welcome to do so.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON NOMINATION OF BERT T. COMBS, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE, SIXTH CIRCUIT

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Tuesday, March 14, 1967, at 10:30 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, on the nomination of Bert T. Combs, of Kentucky, to be U.S. circuit judge, sixth circuit, vice Shackelford Miller, Jr., retired.

At the indicated time and place persons interested in the hearing may make such representations as may be pertinent.

The subcommittee consists of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], and myself, chairman.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 4) authorizing the President to proclaim "National CARIH Asthma Week."

The message also announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Rivers, Mr. Philbin, Mr. Hébert, Mr. Price of Illinois, Mr. Bates, Mr. Arends, and Mr. O'Konski were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

OPERATION GOVERNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that the Federal Government now has a very effective public relations group promoting the better understanding of operation and workings of our National Government. I refer to Operation Government, a committee composed of wives of Members of the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives, the Supreme Court, and the Cabinet.

The committee is developing a television series on the workings of the Federal Government. For too long the workings of the Federal Government have been misunderstood and incorrectly labeled. The work of this committee can make a tremendous contribution in making the American people more aware of the responsibilities and complexities of the three branches of Government established under the Constitution.

Operation Government deserves our wholehearted support. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks two statements which give more details on the objectives and accomplishments of this worthwhile organization. The first is a news release from the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Inc., and the second is a statement released by Mrs. Charles Vanik in October of last year.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Television Series on Three Branches of Government Announced by "Operation Government" and Group W

Washington, D.C., Oct. 1.—The production of a series of sixty half-hour educational television programs, designed to serve as an illustrated primer on the three branches of the federal government was announced today by Mrs. Charles A. Vanik and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford, Co-chairmen "Operation Government," and Donald H. McGannon, Chairman and President of Group W (Westinghouse Broadcasting Company).

In making the announcement, Mrs. Vanik and Mrs. Ford, who are the wives of Congressman Vanik (Ohio) and Congressman Gerald Ford (Mich.), cited "the pressing need for more and better educational material to serve the general public's heightened interest in knowing more about the operation of the government. 'Operation Government', a bi-partisan committee composed of wives of members of Congress, the Senate, the Supreme Court, the Executive branch and of experts in the educational television field was formed over two years ago to assure the production of this type of critically needed television program. We are gratified that Group W has undertaken the considerable commitment necessary to bring this project to fruition."

In outlining the scope of the television series, Mr. McGannon said, "the programs will draw upon the resources and talents of great teachers and will utilize techniques of graphics, film and other devices of demonstration which can add interest, appeal and clarity to an educational television program.

"We look upon this project as an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to generating more creative relationships between the constituent and his government. We believe television can contribute much in this regard and commend the vision and initiative of the 'Operation Government' committee in seeking out this medium as a primary educational vehicle," Mr. McGannon said.

In addition to Co-chairmen Mrs. Charles A. Vanik and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford, members of the "Operation Government" committee are: Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey, Mrs. Stewart L. Udall, Mrs. Carl Albert, Mrs. William H. Ayres, Mrs. Jonathan B. Bingham, Mrs. Hugo Black, Mrs. Hale Boggs, Mrs. John W. Byrnes, Mrs. Edmond Campbell, Honorable Edith Green, Mrs. Fred R. Harris, Mrs. Chet Holifield, Mrs. Warren G. Magnuson, Honorable Catherine May, Mrs. Henry S. Reuss, Mrs. John J. Rhodes, Mr. Mark E. Talisman and Mr. Nick Zappel.

The television series will be produced on videotape by Group W which will broadcast the program on its stations and make it available without cost to television stations throughout the country. In addition a film version will be made available for classroom and another non-theatrical use.

The first 30 programs will be ready for broadcast beginning in the fall of 1967; the second 30 ready by fall 1968.

A team of eminent political scientists has been recruited to serve as consultants to the series: D. B. Hardeman, Professor of Political Science, Trinity College; Hugh Le Blanc, Professor of Political Science, George Washington University; Howard Pennyman, Professor of Political Science, Georgetown University and William Prendergast of the Republican Conference. Pre-production meetings with this team of consultants have already taken place.

The beginnings of "Operation Government" were outlined by Mrs. Vanik, Mrs. Ford and Mark E. Talisman, who was instrumental in the formation of the committee and conceived and outlined the original proposal to utilize television in achieving the aims of the committee. Mr. Talisman is Administrative Assistant to Congressman Charles A. Vanik of Ohio.

Work on the project began three years ago with the first formal committee meeting taking place six months later and the initial meeting with Group W one year after that. Throughout this period representatives of WETA, the educational television station in Washington, D.C., worked closely with the committee members in an advisory capacity.

In addition to surveying the major functions of the three branches of government, the series will reveal many behind-the-scenes aspects—committee work, staff work, etc.—which are not apparent to the casual visitor to Washington, D.C. In this way the series will serve to better prepare visitors to appreciate and understand the nation's capitol when they visit.

The series will also serve as an aid in voter preparation and as a means of improving the interplay between government and citizen through better mutual understanding.

The series will be produced for Group W by Michael Sklar under the supervision of Richard M. Pack, Senior Vice President, Programming, Group W.

During the past 15 years Mr. Sklar has produced many important documentaries for National Educational Television, the CBS Television Network and for Group W. He served as Executive Producer of the Intertel series, producing documentaries in Mexico, England and other international locations. At CBS, Mr. Sklar was producer of the distinguished science series, "Conquest."

The Group W stations are: WBZ, WBZ-TV, Boston; WINS, New York; KYW, KYW-TV, Philadelphia; WJZ-TV, Baltimore; KDKA, KDKA-TV, Pittsburgh; WOWO, Ft. Wayne; WIND, Chicago and KPIX, San Francisco.

Statement of Mrs. Charles A. Vanik on "Operation Government"

Mr. Speaker, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I shall endeavor to briefly tell you about the purposes which brought together our representative group of the distaff side of the government in this series of television programs on the operation of government.

As wives of legislators, administrators, and judges, we have been answering questions—yes, explaining as best we could all that goes on—and why. These inquiries impressed us with the great hunger for information. Everyone desires to know better the various processes by which laws are created, administered, and judged.

We want to see the vital processes of the American government displayed as they really are. We feel the government is a warm, dynamic, living thing. We want to excite public interest in these processes and the events which they make. We want these things to be as real to those who see this program as it is to those more fortunate to be on the scene—to live in this atmosphere charged with change.

American government is more than a textbook subject or a civics course. It is a system of producing prosperity, equality, social progress, and justice through order. The teacher can present the organization of government and the dogma of democracy. Our task is to implement—to breathe life and experience into words otherwise silent. Our experience here has revealed the color and the excitement of the nerve center of our government. We would like to transfer these experiences to the classroom and to the home.

We endeavor to correct the common stereotyped concept of the politician or the public official. We know these men and women for their courage, their integrity, and their public concern. These truths should also be shown. They will serve to attract young people and new people to the dignified challenge of public service. Government is a cherished and an honorable calling. We endeavor to strengthen the voice of that calling and to make it loud and clear.

Now we come to the question of how we propose to develop this series.

A program outline was developed with WETA in an advisory capacity, and was presented to our Committee at its first meeting two years ago. Our Committee, bi-partisan by nature—as are our politics, agreed unanimously that this presentation should be a lively, realistic approach to our system of government.

This was no simple task! Which should we seek first—foundation help or a director-producer? Should we use actors or should we keep it authentic by using actual participants in government? Our decision was finally made in the direction of a professional broadcasting company known for its contribution to education. The uniqueness of this program is the desire of our Committee to be helpful in working with Westinghouse to bring our cameras into contact with vital proceedings, and into the offices of key people in government today. Perhaps the contrasting of an urban Congressional office with that of a Congressman from a rural district would point up the different problems encountered by each.

The structure will be lecture type with frequent use of historic and recent film clip—and other innovative TV technique. The first thirty half-hour programs will be on the Legislative Body, and the next thirty on the Executive and Judiciary Bodies of government.

The first series will be ready in September 1967 and the second series by September 1968. For those school areas without access to TV, 16-millimeter film will be made available. A copy of this news release has been sent to every Congressional office, and we anticipate a cooperative, harmonious climate throughout the Congress, spurring research and production toward our goal.

At this time, I would like to introduce our very able and charming Co-Chairman. Despite her busy schedule, she has managed to give this project her full support. She will introduce the four professors appointed by this Committee to work closely with the producer of "Operation Government," and those members of our Committee who were able to be here today.

Mrs. Gerald R. Ford . . .

OPERATION GOVERNMENT

Cochairmen

Mrs. Charles A. Vanik (Ohio), Mrs. Gerald R. Ford (Michigan).

Members

Mrs. Carl Albert (Oklahoma), Mrs. William H. Ayres (Ohio), Mrs. Johathan B. Bingham (New York), Mrs. Hugo Black, Mrs. Hale Boggs (Louisiana), Mrs. John W. Byrnes (Wisconsin), Mrs. Edmond Campbell, Mrs. Frank Church (Idaho), Mrs. Everett Dirksen (Illinois), Mrs. Peter Dominick (Colorado), Hon. Edith Green (Oregon).

Mrs. Len Jordan (Idaho), Mrs. Fred R. Harris (Oklahoma), Mrs. Chet Holifield (California), Mrs. Warren G. Magnuson (Washington), Hon. Catherine May (Washington), Mrs. Eugene McCarthy (Minnesota), Mrs. Winston Prouty (Vermont), Mrs. Ogden Reid (New York), Mrs. Henry S. Reuss (Wisconcin), Mrs. John J. Rhodes (Arizona), Mrs. Stewart L. Udall.

Executive director

Mr. Mark E. Talisman.

Consultants

Dr. D. B. Hardeman (Trinity College), Dr. Hugh LeBlanc (George Washington University), Dr. Howard Pennyman (Georgetown University), Dr. William Prendergast (Republican Conference Committee), Mr. Nick Zappel (U.S. Senate Commerce Committee).

TOTAL MOBILIZATION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the presentation of the administration's message on Selective Service to the Congress yesterday reminded me of the anecdote of the week carried on May 15, 1966, in the Washington, D.C. Post's "Potomac" magazine. It related the total mobilization order by Haile Selassie to the Ethiopians when Mussolini invaded that country only 32 years ago. Gen. Lewis Hershey, Director of Selective Service for our Nation, is reported to have it framed, and hanging on a wall of his office.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Anecdote of the Week

Gen. Lewis Hershey, director of Selective Service in World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, has had framed and hung on his wall the mobilization order issued by Haile Selassie to the Ethiopians when Mussolini invaded that country in 1935. It reads:

"Everyone will be mobilized, and all boys old enough to carry a spear will be sent to Addis Ababa. Married men will take their wives to carry food and cook. Those without wives will take any woman without a husband. Women with small babies need not come. The blind and those who cannot walk, or from any reason cannot carry a spear, are exempt. Anyone found at home after the receipt of this order will be hanged."

REGIONAL REDEVELOPMENT FOR THE GOOD OF ALL VERSUS RATIONING OF SCARCITY

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on March 1, 1967, the Colorado River Board of California met to discuss the Colorado River Basin project. I ask unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the board at that meeting be printed at this point in the Record.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that sundry editorial comments on the "stripped down" central Arizona project plan, recently proposed by Secretary of the Interior Udall, be printed at this point in the Record. It is interesting that the scheme has run into editorial criticism in Secretary Udall's home State of Arizona.

There being no objection, the resolution and the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Resolution of the Colorado River Board of California, March 1, 1967

I

The Colorado River Board of California recommends enactment of S. 861, 90th Congress, introduced by Senator Kuchel of California and Senator Moss of Utah, and counterpart bills in the House, as introduced by Congressman Hosmer (HR 6271) and others. These bills agree in principle with those introduced by Chairman Aspinall of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and Chairman Johnson of that Committee's Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

The foregoing bills all embody the following features, which the Colorado River Board has repeatedly endorsed, and which were contained in the bill reported out by the House Committee in the 89th Congress:

1. Recognition of the necessity for meaningful steps to augment the inadequate flows of the Colorado River.

2. Adequate protection for the states and areas of origin of water exported to the Colorado, including full protection of the priorities of those areas in perpetuity.

3. Recognition of the Mexican Treaty burden as a national obligation, and that an appropriate share of the cost of importing water should be allocated to the performance of that Treaty. Whenever importations are accomplished to the extent of 2.5 million acre feet annually, both basins should be relieved of the danger of curtailment of their own uses to perform the Nation's Treaty obligations to Mexico.

4. Balancing of the operation of Lake Mead and Lake Powell, so that the benefits of wet years and the burdens of drought shall be equitably distributed between Upper Basin and Lower Basin reservoirs. We recommend the language of the Kuchel-Moss-Hosmer bills in this respect.

5. Authorization for construction of the five projects in Colorado.

6. Reimbursement of the Upper Colorado River Basin fund for payments out of that fund to compensate reduction of the power operations at Hoover Dam occasioned by filling of Lake Powell.

7. Authorization for construction of Bridge Canyon (Hualapai) Dam and Power Plant, and creation of a basin account to help finance the Central Arizona Project and importation works, fed by revenues from Hualapai Dam and by revenues from Hoover, Davis and Parker Dams after they have paid out.

8. Authorization for the construction of the Central Arizona Project, as part of the regional plan, but on the condition that if the water supply of the Colorado River is insufficient to satisfy the requirements of the projects already in existence or heretofore authorized by Congress for construction in Arizona, California and Nevada, then shortages shall be borne as provided in those bills. The effect is that California must bear the first burden of shortage, sacrificing nearly one million acre feet of constructed capacity whenever the supply shrinks to 7.5 million acre feet annually; but that the Central Arizona Project shall bear the next share of the shortage if the supply shrinks below 7.5 million acre feet before imported water arrives. To this end the priorities of existing and authorized projects will be protected as against the proposed Central Arizona Project, but only until works have been constructed to import at least 2.5 million acre feet annually. The protection to existing and authorized projects in Arizona and Nevada would be unrestricted in quantities, but the protection to California's existing projects would be restricted to 4.4 million acre feet annually, to give effect to a limitation to which California agreed at the time of enactment of the Boulder Canyon Project Act.

II

The Colorado River Board of California recommends against enactment of the bill recommended by the Secretary of the Interior in his report on the Aspinall bill. The Secretary's proposal fails to protect the interests of any state other than Arizona. It abandons the regional solutions proposed by the Secretary in the last Congress, and which the seven states accepted in the bill (HR 4671) reported out of committee in the 89th Congress.

California followed and supported the Secretary's leadership then, and regrets his abandonment of it now. California has not changed her position. We hope that unity among the seven states can be reestablished under the leadership of Chairman Aspinall within the framework of the principles the seven states agreed upon last year which this resolution restates.

[From the Riverside (Calif.), Enterprise, Feb. 5, 1967]

Udall Undercuts the Water Plan

The fight for comprehensive regional treatment of the West's water problems is by no means lost. But it has been made much more difficult by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall's surprising retreat from the basics of the seven-state plan agreed upon last year.

Mr. Udall's new plan would satisfy Arizona interests that are pushing for more water for Phoenix and Tucson. Also it will come as a relief to conservation groups that have been fighting the proposed Hualapai and Marble Canyon dams on the Colorado River.

But it would do so at the expense of a guarantee that California will retain a survival ration of 4.4 million acre feet of water annually from the Colorado until such time as that river is reinforced by an annual flow of 2.5 million acre feet diverted from the Pacific Northwest.

The Udall plan also torpedoes a regional study of the feasibility of sending south a small portion of the water that now cascades down the Columbia and spills, unused, into the Pacific. In its place would be a much more general study to be made on a nationwide basis by a national water commission yet to be created. That's a format for endless delay.

Finally, by eliminating the hydroelectric dams in favor of a more constricted output of steam-generated power, the Udall program removes a large source of public revenue that would have underwritten both the Central Arizona project works and at least the early stages of the Pacific Northwest development. The Secretary says the three Arizona counties that stand to benefit could pay for the Central Arizona Project.

But how is the larger program to be financed? The Secretary doesn't say.

What he has undercut here is an infinitely delicate and finely balanced compact among the seven states of the Colorado River watershed. The compact ended decades of unproductive feuding between California and Arizona, but only by virtue of the guarantee to California of interim Colorado River water and the prospect of fresh water from the Northwest.

It is clear that the Udall plan serves neither California's rock-bottom needs nor the newfound unity among the Colorado Basin states.

Having failed to secure proper leadership through the executive branch it now becomes important for the seven states to stick together, for Arizona to be persuaded of the long-run dangers of trying to go it alone, and for the battle for a rational regional water plan to be pressed harder than ever in Congress. The campaign that has been going badly in the Interior Department can still be won on Capitol Hill.

[From the Tucson, (Ariz.) Citizen, Feb. 7, 1967]

New CAP Plan Baffles State

Gov. Jack Williams expressed bewilderment last week when he was advised of a drastically revised Central Arizona Project proposed by the Johnson Administration.

The Arizona governor could have added that he was stunned. He, as were most Arizonans, was caught completely off guard by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall's proposal which reduces the seven-state regional plan to a three-county Arizona plan. Sen. Paul Fannin was wise to call at once for a meeting of Arizona's congressional delegation with state leaders.

The last session of Congress considered a blockbuster $2.1 billion regional water plan to develop water resources in the lower Colorado River Basin. The Central Arizona Project was part of the regional plan. So were two dams on the Colorado River, Hualapai and Marble Canyon dams.

The bill made more progress than ever before, but it still died in committee. Some of the seven states, including Arizona, vowed to renew the quest for vital water in the 90th Congress.

So far Arizona and two other states have introduced bills which are modified versions of the last session's seven-state regional plan. Arizona's, for instance, whittled the bill down by eliminating one of the two controversial dams opposed by the conservationist Sierra Club.

These states and Congress in general were caught by surprise by Secretary Udall's unexpected $719 million scaled-down plan. Reaction generally was complete bewilderment, but among Arizona legislators bewilderment slowly has turned to anger.

Secretary Udall's plan, if translated into legislation, means that Congress will enact legislation which would increase costs of water users and real property taxpayers in just three counties of one state.

And, this is what makes Arizonans angry. If the CAP is going to be an Arizona affair only, why is this a matter just for Congress to decide? And why is it necessary to abandon the Marble Canyon Dam, which would not spoil the Grand Canyon and which would help finance CAP?

Certainly, Arizona is in a better position than Congress to determine how to proceed with a project that will be of benefit to the entire state, not just to three of the state's counties as Secretary Udall's plan suggests.

[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune, Feb. 7, 1967]

Canyon Fight

When he announced that the Administration was dropping its plans for building two controversial dams in the Grand Canyon area, Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall denied that this represented capitulation to conservationists who opposed them.

"This is not a big victory for anyone," Udall said. "It's a victory for common sense."

If the new Colorado River development plan represents a "common sense" approach, why didn't the Administration propose it last year?

[From the Torrance (Calif.), S. Bay Daily Breeze, Feb. 13, 1967]

A Rationing of Scarcity

Dividing scarcity is an exercise in futility, yet this is what Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall now proposes for the Colorado River Basin.

Three years ago the Secretary endorsed a sensible regional water conservation plan that included a guarantee of all the states' basic rights to water.

It included the Central Arizona Project to bring water to Phoenix and Tucson and *lifted sights to the time when water would* have to be imported into the basin from other sources.

Importation of water studies depended in a large part on funds to be obtained from the sale of power to be generated at proposed Marble and Bridge (Hualapai) Canyon Dams.

Now, in an astonishing reversal, Mr. Udall has abandoned this imaginative and realistic regional approach in favor of a Central Arizona plan without the dams, but with construction of a thermal power plant. It is a retreat from pressure opposing the two dams in the name of "conservation."

And it is a plan that will again divide the *basin into sectionalism, set neighbor state* against neighbor state in a fight for water that does not exist and put the Interior Department further into thermal generation, where it does not belong.

There simply is not enough water in the Colorado basin to serve the needs of the 190,000-square-mile area. The river produces about 16.5 million acre feet of water a year. Demand on this source is about 17.8 million acre feet.

Without outside sources of water, construction of the Central Arizona Project would direct 1.2 million acre feet to Phoenix and Tucson and cut California's fundamental right to 4.4 million acre feet in half. It is a plan the Golden State could not tolerate.

There fortunately is a sensible compromise between the original plan for a regional program and the unthinkable extreme of Mr. Udall. It is in the measure introduced by Sen. Thomas Kuchel, Republican of California, patterned after a bill approved by the House Interior Committee last year.

It would reinstate the original regional approach, but construct only the Hualapai dam, 80.8 miles downstream from Grand Canyon National Park at the headwaters of Lake Mead. As a concession to "conservationists" Marble Canyon dam, 12.5 miles above the eastern boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, would be eliminated. California's basic water rights, fundamental in any plan, would be protected.

It is a minimally essential plan to protect the regional approach and provide long-range water needs of the Colorado River basin that should be approved by Congress.

POLITICS AND THE LONG SEARCH FOR PEACE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial which was published in the Sunday Star of Washington, D.C., on March 5, 1967, entitled "Politics and the Long Search for Peace."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Politics and the Long Search for Peace

The past week produced what might be called two confrontations on the conduct of the war in Vietnam.

The first one, essentially an effort by the congressional doves to move in on the shaping of military policy, was easily crushed by administration forces. In fact, if one does not count the hours of windy and nonsensical oratory, the effort never got off the ground. The second came in the form of the speech by Senator Robert F. Kennedy. His speech seems to have made no imprint on the President's thinking, but as to this the final results may not be in.

Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, supported by Senator Fulbright, led the initial charge. They wanted the Senate, in voting more money for the conflict, to go on record as calling for a declaration of war if the bombing in the North continues or if our troop commitment in Vietnam goes above the 500,000-man mark. The Senate was not about to buy this, and it finally settled for a substitute proposal by Senator Mansfield which amounts to little more than stamping a senatorial O.K. on the substance of what the President has been doing. When this *fund authorization measure got over to the* House the doves tried again. A Democrat, George E. Brown Jr., of Califorinia, offered an amendment proclaiming it to be the "sense of Congress" that none of the authorized funds, about $4.6 billion, be used "to carry out military operation in or over *North Vietnam.*" This was defeated by a vote of 372 to 18, and that was that.

Since the Kennedy effort, which had been in the build-up process for several weeks, was in the form of a speech, no congressional action was called for and none was taken. The reaction from the other end of Pennsylvania avenue, however, was prompt and emphatic. It boiled down to this: Thank you, but we are not interested.

The New Yorker began by saying that the President is entitled to "our hopeful sympathy, our understanding and our support in the search for peace." He added that "for years, President Johnson has dedicated his energies in an effort to achieve an honorable peace." Senator Kennedy wants to help the President in his search, and there is no reason to question the sincerity of his own desire for peace. At the same time, it would be naive not to recognize that the senator was also staking out for himself a position in this search for peace which differs in significant respects from that of the President.

For example, after the warm praise of the President's dedicated efforts, Kennedy said: "The question is whether we are doing everything possible to reach that goal"—a peaceful settlement. Obviously, the New Yorker's position is that we, and this means the President, are not doing all that is possible. How else is one to construe this Kennedy remark: "Commenting on the period of the New Year's truce, Prime Minister Wilson said that 'one single simple act of trust could have achieved [peace.]' We can and should perform that act."

The implication here is that our government has not done all that might have been done. But the British Prime Minister was calling for an act of trust from Hanoi—not from us. Did Senator Kennedy not understand this?

Well, so much for such personal political image-making as Senator Kennedy may have had in mind. What about the merits of the proposals which he has finally put on the table?

The speech as a whole and the Kennedy peace plan in particular are notably imprecise.

For one thing, the senator does not deal with the role of Peking in any attempt to end the Vietnamese war. There are those who doubt that Ho Chi Minh is a free agent, who think that he is so dependent on Red China for military help that he could not make peace if he wanted to. It is strange that Senator Kennedy did not see fit to explore this aspect of the problem in depth.

He seemed to bank primarily on the notion that Soviet Premier Kosygin, in contrast to North Vietnamese spokesmen, is not now calling for a permanent and unconditional end to the bombing as a precondition to peace talks and is saying instead that negotiations "would begin" if we simply halt the bombing.

This strikes us as quite a free-wheeling interpretation of anything that Kosygin has said. In any event, what reason is there to believe that the Soviet Premier can speak with any assurance for Hanoi? It is believed on good authority that when Kosygin was meeting in London with Wilson, the Russian leader sent a message to Hanoi urging some reciprocal gesture in response to our peace overtures. If such a message actually was sent, it was either ignored or rejected by Hanoi.

One must hope, earnestly hope, that Kosygin will come down strongly on the side of peace negotiations. Perhaps he will. But there is nothing that we know of—unless something new and firm should emerge from U Thant's talk with Hanoi representatives in Burma—which indicates that he can swing Hanoi to the side of peace. Nor does Senator Kennedy suggest that he has any such information.

In this situation it is exceedingly doubtful, to say the least, that any good purpose would be served by embracing the Kennedy proposals. In brief, these are that we should halt the bombing and say we are ready to negotiate within the week, that if negotiations should be started some non-existent "international group" would watch to see that neither side acts during the talks to improve its military position, and that if the passage of "substantial time" and events "prove" that our adversaries do not sincerely seek a negotiated solution but are merely stalling we can then "reexamine our entire military strategy." Senator Kennedy evidently thinks little harm could result from trying this. General Westmoreland, our commander in Vietnam, disagrees. He says that any pause in the bombing "will cost many additional lives and probably prolong the conflict."

President Johnson also disagrees. In his letter to Senator Jackson, after reviewing the long record of bad faith on Hanoi's part and his own fruitless efforts to settle the war, the President declared: "But right now I wish friend and neutral and adversary to know that we shall persist with our operations in the South—we shall persist with our operation in the North—until those who launched this aggression are prepared to move seriously to reinstate the agreements [of 1954 and 1962] whose violation has brought this scourge of war to Southeast Asia."

This, we believe, is both the right attitude and the only one which holds any real promise of an end to the fighting.

It is possible, if there is no early change for the better in Vietnam, that Senator Kennedy has hit upon a formula which may in time bring him some political dividends. But in our view it is a formula that will contribute nothing whatever to a just and honorable settlement of the war.

THE WAR ON CRIME

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the letters to the editor which were published in the Sunday Star of Washington, D.C., on March 5, 1967, all of which refer to the war on crime.

There being no objection, the letters to the editor were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Letters to the Editor: the War on Crime

Sir: I'd like to see more intelligent, unemotional thinking such as your editorial "Crippling His 'War on Crime.' "

As a former government investigator who never used a "bug" but who saw the filth and fear of organized crime from up close, I too have wondered how "Our laws (will) be respected" and "Order (will) be maintained" if law officers are not allowed to use the best equipment available against organized crime.

I conclude, as you did, that President Johnson doesn't know what he is talking about and is receiving phony advice. Nor is the President alone. Every court which seeks out excuses to free a criminal whose "rights" have been violated must face that same conclusion.

E. H.

Sir: As a Negro businessman in the Washington area, I am very much concerned with the increased robbery and vandalism of stores and banks, etc. It has come to a point where white and colored merchants are leaving the city through fear and lack of protection.

There is no color barrier for robbery and vandalism. If this increased crime isn't stopped, this city will be out of food stores, drug stores, banks, etc. As an example, the stores that are closed in the Kenilworth area and the Anacostia area have caused hardships on families that have no transportation. They have to pay 50 cents to ride a bus to obtain a loaf of bread or a small box of aspirin. This should be something to think about.

I strongly believe parents and Community leaders should stress the importance of these establishments as an asset to their community. If something isn't done fast, the Nation's Capital will be a ghost town for businesses.

David Brown.

Sir: James J. Kilpatrick's column, "Judge Pine Dissents Once More" was a very fine article commenting on some of the points made by Judge Pine in the Minority Report.

Mr. Kilpatrick quotes Judge Pine, "I have felt that one of the immediate, urgent ways to repress crime was swift, certain and impartial justice. My experience has caused me to believe that once wrongdoers are convinced that the law is not to be trifled with and that they will be called to account for their misdeeds, crime will decrease."

Mr. Kilpatrick opened his next paragraph with these words, "His colleagues did not share that old-fashioned view." This could leave the impression that the Judge stood alone in his views and this was not the case. I have serious doubts that the views are "old fashioned" but I strongly supported them in Commission proceedings and still do.

I repeatedly expressed in Commission meetings and in statements elsewhere that there is no substitute for swift, firm, and yet just enforcement of the law with less attention to technicalities which seem aimed primarily at protection of the wrongdoer and not the general public. I am proud to have participated with the Judge in his Minority Report on this and other matters.

Donald S. Bittinger,
President, Washington Gas Light Co.

Sir: Your editorial entitled "Ammunition for the War on Crime" was a welcome expression of sound judgment in a serious and dangerous situation.

But there exists great objection to, and absolutely no intention of treating the "crime cancer," itself, and excising it once and for all, namely—by prompt and adequate punishment of all criminals.

Instead, precious time is again being lost in various proposed "treatments" or "studies" into "why" this "crime cancer" developed and how to create a climate or conditions in which there will be no criminals.

Marshall F. Ross, Jr.

Sir: I was reared and educated in the District, and lived there through two World Wars when every room was jammed with the military and civilians from everywhere. Even then I was never afraid to go out at night to concerts, theater, movies, art exhibits, classes, club or visits. Now as a widow living alone in an apartment (and there are thousands of us) I cower behind triple-locked door and locked and braced windows night after night. Great Society indeed! I'd settle for a much lesser adjective.

E. K. Day.
Arlington.

Sir: The President's message to Congress on crime, together with the report of the Commission on District of Columbia Crime and the National Crime Commission findings presage serious consideration of the subject by the Congress and probable enactment of legislation.

It seems to me that there is one main failure that permeates these documents. They adopt the creed that most crime is the outgrowth of poverty, slums and ghettos, unemployment, discrimination and, in general, social and economic deprivation. Thus they adopt the cult of personal irresponsibility: No one is responsible for what he really is and does or for his criminal behavior. Society is the culprit, and delinquencies of individual's character can only be corrected if society reforms itself and conquers (with money, boards and commissions) the social ills that beset us.

I might suggest that basically the breakdown in law and order may be attributed to wrong-headed public policies, including calamitous court decisions; to a soft-headed approach toward, and grossly inefficient handling of, the problems of the apprehension and punishment of criminals; to the notion that sympathy should be shown to bad men, rather than to the victims of their depredations; to an innate hostility toward, and defiance of, the police, and to a failure on the part of many citizens to discharge their civic responsibilities.

The time is here for tough action; the day has gone by for pampering or excusing the criminal. Innocent victims and law-abiding citizens must be protected; or else.

Allen C. Phelps.

Sir: You printed in this column, recently, a letter in which the statement was made that "Poverty, noneducation, even slums, have nothing to do with crime." This statement is preposterous, and even more so as one tries to think it through. If poverty, etc., have nothing to do with crime, why does Harlem have, and maintain, year after year, a higher crime rate than any of the middle class communities?

Poverty has everything to do with crime, for poverty is synonymous with inadequate housing, broken homes, bad schools, and welfare, all of which compound an already unhealthy situation. Stronger laws, and law enforcement are certainly needed, but this cannot be an end to the crime problem in itself.

Bernette Golden.

Sir: It is not at all surprising that young punks have made certain areas of the District of Columbia places of terror. For years they have known that anytime they were caught by the police, the cry of "police brutality" would protect them. They have for years openly defied the policemen, and they have received the support of the courts in this.

Instead of requiring reasonable care of property where they live, many tenants are allowed to tear up the places where they live and then cry for sympathy. A case in point is the public housing project recently reported and pictured in your paper. These had been well built and in good condition when the tenants moved in.

Newspaper, radio and television editorials are demanding increased trash and garbage collection—now that burning has been stopped at Kenilworth. Pictures of refuse clogged backyards and alleys are being shown as feeding and breeding places for rats. Why has no one had the courage to say that it is the responsibility of the people themselves to keep their garbage and trash in covered cans and not just throw it out-of-doors? Even if the D.C. Sanitation Department had daily collections, the rats would still multiply from garbage thrown out each day.

C.W.B.

IMPROVING SLUM SCHOOLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., on March 5, 1967, entitled "Improving Slum Schools."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IMPROVING SLUM SCHOOLS

Federal Education Commissioner Harold Howe's refusal to endorse the U.S. Civil Rights Commission plea that Congress require "racial balance" in the nation's schools should encourage a swift legislative burial for this ill-conceived proposal.

No doubt Howe, in his congressional testimony the other day, was expressing the firm view of the administration on the subject, which is cause for gratification.

The significance of Howe's testimony was increased, however, by the fact that he takes a back seat to no one as an advocate of educational parks, school busing and other means of bringing about a greater racial balance in schools. He has made this position abundantly clear in the past. Indeed, he took pains the other day to let Congress know he agreed with the Civil Rights Commission view that to provide "quality education one must provide desegregated education."

But Howe went on to say that the "practical problems" in dealing with precise percentages is "the kind of issue we ought to go slow on." His agency could not support the Civil Rights Commission proposal, he said, as a condition of federal aid. And of course he is right.

Having made this point, we wish that Howe had turned more forcefully to the practical alternative. The best hope of overcoming the severe deficiencies which exist in many predominantly Negro schools, particularly in the slum areas of cities, is to concentrate in these schools drastically improved teaching programs, the best teachers and a great deal more money. Lamenting racial imbalances which in many cases are impossible to change, and which reflect the whole pattern of modern urban society, will never get the job done.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ARTICLE "THE EMBARRASSED AMERICAN" EMPHASIZES NEED OF SENATE RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Mr. William Korey of New York City has long been one of the most able advocates of Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions.

In the October 31, 1964, issue of Saturday Review, Mr. Korey, in an article entitled "The Embarrassed American," traced the long and tragic route of U.S. abdication of international human rights leadership.

The passage of time has merely served to compound the record of American embarrassment. A total of 27 additional nations have ratified the four Human Rights Conventions since publication of Mr. Korey's article. Where then 55 nations had ratified the Convention on Slavery, the total is now 67. Where 43 nations had then ratified the Convention on Political Rights of Women, the total is now 50. Where then 68 nations had ratified the Convention on Forced Labor, the total now is 75. In addition, as of now 69 nations have ratified the Convention on Genocide.

By way of contrast, when the Genocide Convention was first considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a total of only five nations had ratified.

Since the committee first started its deliberations, the amazing number of 64 nations have ratified the Genocide Convention. But the United States stands conspicuous—not for our leadership, but for our absence. The Senate has let the United States down by our continuing failure to ratify a single one of the Human Rights Conventions.

Mr. President, William Korey's article "The Embarrassed American" presents an eloquent and persuasive case for U.S. ratification of the Human Rights Conventions. I commend it to my colleagues. I request unanimous consent that Mr. Korey's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Review, Oct. 31, 1964]

THE EMBARRASSED AMERICAN

(By William Korey)

Last January an important United Nations organ was the scene of a little-noticed but significant exchange that embarrassingly bared a vital defect in America's aspiration to be a champion of international human rights. The debate in the U.N. Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had come to center on the need to establish essential international implementation machinery for reporting upon and eliminating racial and ethnic discrimination. Not uncharacteristically, the Soviet member expressed strong opposition to the establishment of international machinery, while the American member took the lead in urging "forceful measures of implementation."

On the defensive throughout the sharp debate, the Soviet spokesman finally pointed out "that the United States had not ratified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide or the Convention on Slavery."

The suggestion of brazen hyprocrisy was clear to all. With an obvious air of discomfort, the American replied that he could only "regret, of course, that my country has not ratified the Convention on Genocide."

This was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that America's failure to ratify international human rights conventions would be flung in her face. And yet the embarrassment that has plagued American diplomacy in the field of international human rights was by no means historically inevitable; indeed, in the circumstances that prevailed in the early years of the United Nations, it seemed not only logical but indeed inexorable that the United States would assert leadership in creating a global structure of human rights.

The establishment of the rule of law on an international scale was at the very heart of our postwar political activity and diplomacy. The Nuremberg Tribunal, of which we were a major architect, was dedicated to the thesis that men had an unwritten common set of standards that required obedience, and that central to this standard was the respect for human dignity. Parallel to the trials of those charged with "crimes against humanity" was the vigorous action of the American delegation at the U.N. to elaborate, on the one hand, an "international bill of rights" composed of both a universal declaration and binding covenants on human rights and, on the other, an effective treaty that would brand as an international crime "acts committed with an intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such."

On December 9, 1948, the General Assembly voted unanimously to adopt the Genocide Convention, and two days later the United States appended its signature. The United States leadership in drafting the convention was reflected in the text itself, which was formulated in terms of familiar Anglo-American legal theory and couched in language of traditional American common law concepts. Thus the convention perserves the principle of territorial jurisdiction over criminal acts. Furthermore, the crucial Article III of the convention, which specifies the acts that are subject to punishment, draws upon the language of common law crimes long accepted in American law. Most important, it was the United States that insisted that a specific intent to commit genocide must be proved, and Article II explicitly states that the act must be coupled with a clearly indicated intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group before it can be called genocide.

The Genocide Convention constituted a vital cornerstone in the structure of the rule of law. As the Prime Minister of Australia, Herbert V. Evatt, then noted, "In this field relating to the sacred right of existence of human groups, we are proclaiming today the supremacy of international law once and for all." Deterrence of the crime was to be the principal object. Experts writing in the *Yale Law Journal* observed: "The knowledge that constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, and private individuals are equally susceptible to punishment and that genocide is not to be considered a political crime for purposes of extradition, might well swing the weight needed to deter offenders from their initial step."

For a time, it seemed that U.S. ratification would come swiftly. On June 16, 1949, President Truman transmitted the Genocide Convention to the Senate, asking for its consent. A subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings in January and February 1950, during which an Administration spokesman, Deputy Undersecretary of State Dean Rusk, testified that ratification was necessary to "demonstrate to the rest of the world that the United States is determined to maintain its moral leadership in international affairs and to participate in the development of international law on the basis of human justice."

In May 1950 the subcommittee reported favorably on the convention to the full committee, but at the same time, to meet some objections from segments of the legal profession as well as from conservative political forces, the subcommittee recommended that four "understandings" and one "declaration" be embodied in the resolution consenting to ratification. One "understanding" (later termed a "reservation") was designed to clarify the words "in whole or in part" in the key section of the convention defining genocide. Some feared that a single lynching might be sufficient to bring the clauses of the treaty into play. The "understanding" explicitly noted that the genocidal acts must be done "in such manner as to affect a substantial portion of the group concerned." A second "understanding" aimed at meeting criticism of language in Article II, which included in the definition of acts of genocide the "causing [of] serious . . . mental harm to members of the group." The subcommittee proposed that "mental harm" be defined as a "permanent physical injury to mental faculties." The third "understanding" took account of concern registered in some quarters that the phrase "complicity in genocide" (one of the acts to be punished) was too vague. The subcommittee defined it as "participation before and after the facts and aiding and abetting in the commission of the crime of genocide." The final "understanding" was minor.

The most important clarification was designed to meet objections that the treaty might deleteriously affect federal-state relations by sapping the authority of states on criminal matters. The proposed "declaration" met the constitutional issue by noting that the Senate considers ratification "to be an exercise of the Federal Government to define and punish offenses against the law of nations, expressly conferred by Article I, Section 8, Clause 10, of the United States Constitution. . . ."

But even these clarifications—which many thought unnecessary since they were self-evident—failed to elicit positive action by the full committee. A resurgent nativism, expressed in the McCarthy movement, was already in full swing, developing into a powerful force that in turn provided sustenance and support to those who felt that our sovereignty might be undermined by the United Nations and the legal instruments it was forging.

The newly elected Eisenhower Administration put an end to all further discussion of the Genocide Convention and, indeed, any other human rights convention. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told the Senate Judiciary Committee in April 1953 that genocide "could better be reconsidered at a later date," arguing that the Soviet Union had not yet ratified the treaty. But even when the USSR did accede to it in 1954, no change in Dulles' policy was forthcoming. The Secretary of State had already told the Senate that, with reference to the protection of global human rights, the Administration favored "methods of persuasion, example, and education rather than formal undertakings," such as U.N. human rights treaties. The Dulles formulation was aimed at depriving the influential supporters of Senator John Bricker of a major argument in their efforts to restrict the treaty-making powers of the President. Bricker's followers had raised an alarm over possible U.S. ratification of the proposed U.N. Covenants on Human Rights.

However, the disintegration of McCarthyism as an effective political force and the collapse of Bricker's efforts did not prompt either the Administration or the Senate to take any step in reasserting American leadership in the human rights field. What has been described as a "lingering Brickeritis" appeared to infect the body politic of American life while our spiritual credo concerning the dignity of man remained scarred.

In the meantime, the United Nations and its specialized agencies moved ahead, usually by unanimous vote, in drafting conventions on particular rights. Among these were: the status of refugees (1951); the political rights of women (1953); the status of stateless persons (1954); the abolition of slavery, the slave trade, and institutions and practices similar to slavery (this was a supplementary convention adopted in 1956); the abolition of forced labor (adopted by the International Labor Organization in 1957); the nationality of married women (1957); discrimination in employment and occupation (by ILO in 1958); discrimination in education (adopted by UNESCO in 1960); the reduction of statelessness (1961); and consent to marriage and minimum age of marriage (1962).

The failure to ratify any of these conventions has inhibited the United States in contributing to the creation of legal norms in the human rights fields, especially those that would be applicable to the newly established states of Africa. It is well known that these states consciously model their constitutions upon U.N. instruments, and the absence of the U.S. among the ratifiers cannot but affect their attitude to these conventions. Furthermore, the failure to accede to U.N. Conventions has precluded the possibility of our complaining effectively about the implementation of any convention by a ratifying power. Only those who are contracting parties to cenventions are in a position, in most instances, to blow the whistle on violators of treaty obligations assumed by an acceding state.

Certainly the American government is becoming more keenly aware of the difficulties confronting it as a world leader by its abstinence in ratifying human rights conventions. Its posture, after all, is determined not only by military might and industrial capacity, but also by its moral pronouncements on freedom and equality. At a time when the growing number of human rights issues are competing for world attention, U.S. leadership is under constant scrutiny by both friend and foe in respect to the sincerity with which it makes commitments and adheres to them on matters involving human rights.

Last year the White House took a major step forward in consonance with the deepening awareness of the interrelationship between our national interest and international conventions on human rights. On July 22 President Kennedy submitted to the Senate three human rights conventions: the political rights of women, already ratified by forty-three countries; the supplementary convention on the abolition of slavery, ratified by fifty-five countries; and the ILO convention on the abolition of forced labor, ratified by sixty-eight countries. The three conventions that were chosen for submission were the least likely to arouse resistance in the Senate on constitutional grounds. None of them pose any problems with respect to the delicate balance of federal-state relations.

Yet it is apparent that neither the present Administration nor its supporters in the Senate are exerting strong pressures in behalf of the three conventions. Fourteen months have elapsed since the conventions were submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and, thus far, the committee has not even bothered to schedule hearings on the subject or to appoint a subcommittee to study them.

As for the Genocide Convention, which has now been ratified by sixty-seven countries, no progress at all has been evident. Although last year a White House spokesman stated that "we share the views that prompted President Truman to urge consent of the Senate for United States ratification," no Senator could claim that he was being pressed on this issue by the Administration.

Recently courageous voices have been raised urging that we "think about the unthinkable" and that we shunt aside the myths that hinder our grasp of reality and impede the effective articulation of our foreign policy. Is it too much to ask of these voices that they apply the same courage in dealing with the myths surrounding human rights issues?

Next year, 1965, will be celebrated as International Cooperation Year—the twentieth anniversary of the U.N. Charter. One of the best ways of commemorating the year would be the ratification of U.N. human rights treaties, for they testify to the cooperative forward march made by mankind in establishing the rule of law on an international scale. The U.N. Preparatory Committee on ICY has already suggested that member states be asked "to give consideration to the early ratification" of these treaties. Dare we think about the "unthinkable" and move in this direction?

CUTTING GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS TO THE STATES UNDER THE TABLE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has revealed to me that it is discontinuing during the current fiscal year the practice of reallocation of funds under many of the principal programs under its jurisdiction. In the past, where a State had not used all the money allotted to it under a grant program in health, education, or welfare, the money not used has been reallotted to the other States on a proportionate basis.

The programs affected include aging, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, adult basic education, library assistance, chronic diseases, community health practice and research, dental services, and general health.

HEW anticipates that some $78 million of funds appropriated by the Congress will not go to the States by virtue of its suspending this reallotment procedure.

This new HEW policy has its unfortunate aspects. In the first place, the States were not consulted nor, as a matter of fact, were they ever informed once the policy went into effect. My own State of New York is particularly concerned in this regard.

Second, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare did not consult with the Congress on this new policy. The authorizing committees, while not mandating reallotment, nevertheless have authorized it in program after program with the view that this authorization would be employed as it has in the past.

Third, when the Congress appropriates funds for use in a health, education, or welfare program it is our intention that the funds be used for that purpose. I favor at least giving these programs the benefit of what we have willed to spend.

This $78 million cut by the HEW in appropriated funds going to the States will have its impact on ongoing and on future plans. Consultation with the States and with the Congress is most assuredly merited. This is budget cutting under the table. If programs are to be cut back, all concerned in our representative form of government and in our open society should be made aware of it.

One final observation, Mr. President. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has not as yet, I am advised, formulated its policies with respect to reallotment for the next fiscal year, fiscal year 1968, which begins July 1, 1967. I hope that the Department, in reaching its decision, will operate openly, consulting with and informing both the appropriate congressional committees and the States, rather than just make its own unilateral decisions, and deprive the States which need it, like my own State of New York, of the reallocation which has been traditional with the operation of the Department. The situation demands no less than that.

MILITARY PROCUREMENT

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives relating to S. 665.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, which was, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

TITLE I—PROCUREMENT

SEC. 101. In addition to the funds authorized to be appropriated under Public Law 89–501, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated during the fiscal year 1967 for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles in amounts as follows:

Aircraft

For aircraft: for the Army, $533,100,000; for the Navy and the Marine Corps, $1,784,300,000; for the Air Force, $1,303,000,000.

Missiles

For missiles: for the Army, $6,100,000; for the Navy, $48,700,000; for the Marine Corps, $2,100,000; for the Air Force, $45,000,000.

Tracked Combat Vehicles

For tracked combat vehicles: for the Army, $62,200,000; for the Marine Corps, $4,200,000.

TITLE II—RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST, AND EVALUATION

SEC. 201. In addition to the funds authorized to be appropriated under Public Law 89–501, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated during the fiscal year 1967 for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States for research, development, test, and evaluation, as authorized by law, in amounts as follows:

For the Army, $40,000,000;

For the Navy (including the Marine Corps), $40,000,000;

For the Air Force, $33,000,000; and

For Defense Agencies, $22,000,000.

TITLE III—MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

SEC. 301. The Secretary of each military department may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, which are necessary in connection with military activities in southeast Asia, or in support of such activities, in the total amount as follows:

Department of the Army, $288,500,000;

Department of the Navy, $140,000,000; and

Department of the Air Force, $196,000,000.

SEC. 302. The Secretary of each military department may proceed to establish or develop installations and facilities under this Act without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529), and sections 4774(d) and 9774(d) of title 10, United States Code. The authority to place permanent or temporary improvements on land includes authority for surveys, administration, overhead, planning, and supervision incident to construction. That authority may be exercised before title to the land is approved under section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U.S.C. 255), and even though the land is held temporarily. The authority to acquire real estate or land includes authority to make surveys and to acquire land, and interests in land (including temporary use), by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

SEC. 303. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the purposes of this title, but the appropriations for public works authorized by section 301 shall not exceed: Department of the Army, $288,500,000; Department of the Navy, $140,000,000; Department of the Air Force, $196,000,000, or a total of $624,500,000.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House of Representatives, and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon; and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. JACKSON, Mrs. SMITH, and Mr. THURMOND conferees on the part of the Senate.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, this is a time of rapid change. We are no longer the Nation today that we were two decades ago, when Congress enacted the Selective Service law.

In the last 50 years we have been involved in four major wars. We think in military terms today of a national defense budget of more than $75 billion.

Nevertheless the key element of our national security is the citizen soldier, the young American who must bear the burdens of defense under the direction of his Government as interpreted in the Selective Service System.

The President has now made his recommendations on the revision of the draft law. He proposes that it be extended for 4 years. At the same time he has directed the Director of Selective Service and the Secretary of Defense to develop a fair and impartial system of selection, with 19-year-olds to be drafted first.

This is a vital and controversial subject. It is not easy to determine what is the fairest system when not all American young men are needed. But it is a matter that must be considered and decided by Congress.

For my own part I have not decided details as to what is the wisest course. But I respectfully commend the President for presenting the Congress a thoughtful and constructive possible approach to this problem.

RICHMOND COMBINED ENTERPRISES, INC.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, on March 1, 1967, I had the opportunity of visiting the facilities of a thriving business venture in Centerville, Ind. This firm. Richmond Combined Enterprises, Inc., performs mechanical and electronic assembling, drilling, packaging, and wiring, and serves, in effect, as an auxiliary labor force to private industry. Using only handicapped labor, it bids on contracts in the open market, fully in accord with the true competitive spirit of American business.

Richmond Combined Enterprises started operations in 1961 with a capital investment of only $1,125. In its first year, gross sales totaled $19,000. Five years later sales had jumped to $97,000—a fourfold increase. This remarkable record was achieved without a single lost-time accident during the 5-year period.

This Horatio Alger success story is even more impressive in light of Richmond Combined Enterprises' unique purpose. Richmond Combined Enterprises was formed to provide permanent employment for the so-called hard-core handicapped—men and women who ordinarily find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure employment directly in private industry. Richmond Combined Enterprises' success should serve as a showcase and inspiration to all of us, but in particular to those employers who have an opportunity but may be reluctant to hire qualified handicapped workers.

Despite their handicaps, Richmond Combined Enterprises workers have evidenced, in the words of Combined Enterprises' president, Mrs. M. E. Cleghorn—

> A fervent desire to be self-supporting without special privileges.

Once again the profit motive has produced socially desirable results.

Spurred on by its early successes, Richmond Combined Enterprises has begun a training program looking toward the placement of its workers in private industry. In 1966 10 Richmond Combined Enterprises graduates were successfully placed and three already have received promotions. Among those handicapped who have been employed in this venture are persons suffering severely from arthritis, spinal and limb impairments, deafness, epilepsy, heart trouble, diabetes, and blindness.

Mr. President, this is truly a remarkable demonstration of the worthwhile contribution which many handicapped persons can make to our economy as well as to their own sustenance and well-being. I am pleased to invite attention to this successful enterprise and to commend those who are directing it for their initiative and resourcefulness. Keep up the good work, Richmond Combined Enterprises.

COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENTS INSPIRED BY CUMMINS ENGINE CO.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, as the problems of urban living become more and more complex, the effort necessary to improve the quality of life will require the cooperation of all segments of the economy. In my own State of Indiana an outstanding example of a business dedicated to community development is Cummins Engine Co. The achievements of this firm, under the able leadership of its civic-minded president, Mr. J. Irwin Miller, should serve as a model to other industrial concerns. Columbus, Ind., has become a better place in which to live because of Cummins' willingness to participate fully in community life.

As a direct result of efforts by this industry to enhance the architectural beauty of schools, public buildings, and churches, the citizens of Columbus have received many lasting benefits. Civic pride is everywhere evident. And esthetics does pay, as Columbus' employers have discovered: employees work better under improved and pleasant working conditions. Job recruiting, for example, has been made easier. Prospective employees are amazed at the rare combination of beauty and functionalism that mark the Columbus skyline.

What we see here in a town of 25,000, Mr. President, is an effort by farsighted individuals, aided by a progressive community leadership, to deal with the often neglected problems of quality living. And it has been, by all accounts, a very successful effort. One such account, praising Mr. Miller and his dedication to civic betterment, recently appeared in the Wall Street Journal. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in full at the appropriate place in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Designing Company: Cummins Lures Good Architects to Columbus, Finds It Pays

(By Peter H. Prugh)

Columbus, Ind.—Several blocks from this community's downtown area, a low, almost windowless elementary school with a broad, sweeping stairway entrance is in the final stages of construction. Nearby, excavation has been completed for a new public library, designed by I. M. Pei, architect for the John F. Kennedy Library at Harvard. Also in the area is a large modernistic church built in 1941 by the late Eliel and Eero Saarinen. Eero, the architect for New York's CBS building and Washington's Dulles Airport, is further represented here by a bank building on the town's main street and another soaring church finished three years ago on the outskirts.

Five other new school buildings by distinguished American architects dot this community, and plans for two others are already under way. In addition, the town boasts a handsome community golf course, designed by Robert Trent Jones, with an elegantly modern clubhouse.

Small Midwestern county seats may have many virtues, but they aren't usually known for significant contemporary architecture. What, then, are schools, churches, banks and other buildings by some of the nation's leading architects doing in this southern Indiana town of 25,000?

The unusual architectural patrons of Columbus are Cummins Engine Co., large maker of heavy duty diesel engines, and J. Irwin Miller, Cummins chairman and a member of a prominent local family whose considerable fortune was made in banking and in Cummins.

Mr. Miller, a former president of the National Council of Churches, and his family were instrumental in getting the Saarinens to design two churches in Columbus. But the burst in architectural activity here mainly dates from the middle 1950s, when the Cummins Foundation, set up by the company, made an offer to the school board to pay all architectural fees for new local schools to encourage more creative building designs; the board accepted. Under the arrangement, the school board selects the architect from a list of six first-ranked American architects submitted by a disinterested panel of two architects. No architect can be chosen more than once, and the architect is also given responsibility for recommending landscaping and interior furnishings for the school.

A GIFT TO COLUMBUS

More recently, the foundation has broadened its offer to include other public buildings in Columbus, and more than $800,000 has been spent for architectural fees and related costs since the program began. In addition, Cummins Engine itself paid for the 18-hole golf course and clubhouse on farmland near Columbus at a cost of $1.5 million, then donated it to the community.

Not all interest in Columbus architecture has been centered on new structures, however. The Irwin Union Bank & Trust Co., of which Mr. Miller is chairman, is pushing a program to rehabilitate the rows of ornate, late 19th century buildings that line Washington Street, the town's main downtown thoroughfare, in conjunction with an urban renewal program.

Mr. Miller conceived of the school architectural fees program when the community's need for new schools became painfully obvious in the 1950s.

The 57-year-old executive indicates that the fees program wasn't merely prompted by civic mindedness. The town needed strong educational facilities and an interesting living environment to attract talented management and research people to work for Cummins. "If Columbus isn't an above-average community, we can't stay here," he remarks.

The company obviously plans to stay. A huge $22 million research and engineering facility, designed by Chicago architect Harry Weese, will soon be completed. The company has also had a recent large influx of young management personnel.

For example, when Berton J. Goldstein, 28, came to Columbus from Atlanta for a Cummins job interview last year, he says he expected "to see a factory in the middle of some farms." His wife, who knows something about architecture, began "overwhelming me with names" of the various designers after she saw the buildings, says Mr. Goldstein, who's now in charge of Cummins product publicity. An executive for Arvin Industries Inc., another large local company, says Arvin's prospective employees are usually shown some of the town's architectural landmarks as part of its recruitment program.

The new buildings have met with considerable praise from art critics. The magazine Architectural Forum notes that the community "has more than 20 buildings that have Eckardt, a critic for the Washington Post, attracted national attention." Wolf Von Eckardt, a critic for the Washington Post, wrote that the new buildings have "made this still rather messy, car-drowned Midwestern city . . . into a showcase of the country's most handsomely designed modern schools, churches and other community buildings."

Local reaction to the architecture is mixed, probably partly because Cummins, with about 8,000 employes here, cannot help dominating the community somewhat. "I think they could find enough good architects in the state of Indiana without going out of state to find them," says Peter Zaharakos, an operator of a picturesque ice cream and soda parlor on Washington Street. Some of the new schools "go to excess," he feels. And recently county officials turned down a Cummins Foundation offer to pay the architectural fees for a new children's home. Nevertheless, residents of the town proudly escort visitors around to see the various buildings.

Ralph Neville, principal of McDowell School, designed by John Carl Warnecke & Associates, of San Francisco, and completed in 1960, says the school produces a "relaxed atmosphere" for both teacher and pupil. The school is made up of four buildings connected by walkways, and features wide glass windows and numerous peaked roof sections. Since the building was finished, the surrounding low-income neighborhood has noticeably perked up through rehabilitation and some new construction.

Clarence Robbins, superintendent of the Bartholomew Consolidated School Corp., which includes Columbus, claims that the handsome new schools help attract good teachers. More than 40% of the teachers here have advanced degrees or are working on them, he says. Despite some complaints by citizens, he says the buildings haven't proved overly costly to build or maintain. An elementary school completed here in 1963 under the Cummins program cost $15.48 a square foot, Mr. Robbins notes. The state average that year was $15.44.

Behind the Cummins program, however, is a long-range view of the importance of good, functional architecture, which goes far beyond building costs per square foot. "Anybody who's traveled around the world can see how long buildings can last if they're really done well," comments Mr. Miller, who feels that American architecture is now in one of its best periods. "But mediocre buildings have short lives. It's expensive to be mediocre."

CHEAP SCHOOLS, LOW STANDARDS

It's particularly dangerous to build shoddy schools, he says, because children learn not only from what they read and hear, but also from what they see around them. A cheap school building that "just tries to get by" can have the effect of producing "cheap standards" in other areas. "You can't tell a guy in our diesel factory you want accuracy to one ten thousandth of an inch if he works in a cheap building with poor lighting."

Like many other observers, Mr. Miller is worried about the seemingly insoluble problems facing many of America's major cities. Even in Columbus, he fears that the town still hasn't adequately prepared for its future. "But if any city can solve its problems, a town of 25,000 ought to be able to. Here, there's a chance to make a difference."

Those who feel good architecture is an unnecessary frill should take a look at Columbus. Although the town still has its share of jangling signs, ugly buildings, traffic jams and other problems, the new architecture has boosted community pride and created an atmosphere that makes citizens concerned about how their town looks. All this seems to illustrate a saying of Winston Churchill's, which Mr. Miller is fond of quoting: "First we shape our buildings, then our buildings shape us."

THE NEED FOR IMPROVED DIET

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, there appears to be good scientific evidence that, although the people of the United States have available to them a great variety and quantity of foodstuffs, a number of people lack an adequate intake of vitamins and minerals in their diet. It is well known that even overweight persons may lack adequate nutritional balance because certain high caloric foods may have little nutritional value.

In recent years much progress has been made in fortifying food with the addition of minerals and vitamins to make up a part of those nutrients lost in processing, especially in such staple items as flour and milk. The development of values for certain nutrients by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council has proved to be a valuable guide for large-scale food planning.

In addition various vitamin and mineral supplements have been developed and made available to the public in a form easy to purchase and consume but entirely separate from regular foods. The convenience and value of taking supplementary minerals and vitamins in the form of tablets, pills, or liquid are obvious. Some controversy has arisen, however, on the need, extent, or kind of regulation which the Food and Drug Administration should impose on the labeling which the packages for supplementary minerals and vitamins must bear.

Last June 18 the Food and Drug Administration issued regulations which, among other things, would have mandated that all vitamin and mineral supplements include a label declaring that the foods people eat contain an abundance of vitamins and minerals, and that there is "no scientific basis for recommending routine use of dietary supplements" except for specific medical purposes. These regulations, which have gone into effect on December 15 if there had been no opposition, have been somewhat revised and their effective date postponed until after a hearing has been held to permit interested parties to testify.

An article which examines and comments on this whole problem has recently come to my attention. It was written by Dr. W. A. Compton, president and chief executive officer of Miles Laboratories, Inc., and was published in the Journal of Commerce for November 22, 1966. In order that other Senators may read this analysis, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WIDE MALNUTRITION IN UNITED STATES UNDERSCORES IMPROVED DIET NEED

(By W. A. Compton, M.D., president and chief executive officer, Miles Laboratories, Inc.)

Anyone with enough determination to grope through the confusion obscuring contemporary American dietary habits is bound to stumble over a paradox: Despite the overwhelming abundance of food in this country, many people at every economic level are suffering from malnutrition.

The forms taken by malnutrition can be surprising too. Superficially, one wouldn't think of inadequate nutrition in connection with the overweight. However, it is a fact, according to leading nutrition authorities that obesity is the commonest instance of malnutrition among Americans.

WEIGHT WITHOUT BALANCE

Obesity may be due to an overspecialized diet, heavy in the so-called empty calories from foods with high caloric, but little or no other, nutritional value, such as alcoholic beverages. Daily vitamin and mineral supplements have been recommended as the simplest way of ensuring proper nourishment for the obese during their reducing period when they must consume fewer calories every day than they burn up. Once they have reached desirable body weight, however, they must then learn to live with a diet which is in nutritional balance with their needs.

It is entirely possible to eat enough food to satisfy the appetite and fail to get all the nutrients needed for good health. Although we should select enough of the proper foods that provide all the necessary nutrients, too many of us do not, for all sorts of reasons. Teen-agers who live on french fried potatoes, pizzas, candy and soft drinks, older people who have lost interest in eating, businessmen who rush to the office without breakfast, members of ethnic groups whose diets are unbalanced because of tradition, and people afflicted with a sweet tooth all risk malnutrition.

Numerous studies have shown that essential vitamins and minerals are lacking in many diets, and for good reason. As a group, these nutrients are found abundantly in some foods, but in small quantities, or not at all in others. Moreover, the nutritive makeup of a given food may not be consistent, due to variations used in seed, soil conditions, cultivation and harvesting and the destructive effects of storage, processing and cooking. In fact, there is still a great need to study the amount of various nutrients actually available by the time food reaches the table.

Finally, the key factor is the individual. What does he select? How much of what he selects does he actually eat? How efficiently does his system utilize what he eats? And, does what he eats fulfill his needs?

Confronted with all these variables, the average person connot be certain that he is meeting his dietary requirements regularly.

WHY VITAMINS, MINERALS?

The role of vitamins in body chemistry is complex and critical. Vitamins are needed both for the production of sufficient enzyme materials and as enzyme helpers. Some vitamins are essential for growth and development, and others are needed for the proper use of our food.

The body does not produce vitamins, so they must be taken in from the outside. Some vitamins can be stored in the body for subsequent use; others cannot. Ultimately, inadequate vitamin intake can lead to vitamin deficiency which may cause health problems requiring medical diagnosis and attention.

Fortunately, the American diet has improved so greatly during the past half century that certain diseases due to vitamin deficiency—for example, pellagra—have virtually disappeared. Others, such as scurvy and rickets, still do occur in some areas of the country. But these extreme examples of deficiency only point up the far more common situation of inadequate vitamin intake of a milder degree which may be disguised by apparent health and normal body weight.

Minerals also function in enzyme systems as well as being building blocks in the body's tissues, for example, calcium in bone, iron in blood. Mineral deficiencies are not uncommon among otherwise healthy segments of the population.

Anemia due to lack of available iron in the diet, for example, is the most common deficiency disease in this country. Iron balance is precarious indeed for infants, growing children, adolescents, and females during pregnancy and menstruation, according to a recent study of experts in iron metabolism. Some authorities, in fact say that iron supplementation should be mandatory for females of child-bearing age.

Other studies point up such mineral deficiencies as evidenced by the continued prevalence of goiter due to low iodine content of soil and water in certain geographic areas.

DIET OFTEN INADEQUATE

The history of nutrition improvement in the United States by means of food fortification, enrichment and finally vitamin and mineral supplementation has been marked by growing awareness on the part of nutritional experts that there is a wide gap between the food people actually eat as opposed to what they should eat.

At the beginning of World War II, it became evident that the nutritional status of the country as a whole was only adequate, and that sizable segments of the population were either deprived of vitamins and minerals or even ill with vitamin deficiencies. Through the efforts of the National Research Council and its Food and Nutrition Board, a food enrichment program was developed. Food enrichment, in this sense, involves returning only those nutrients to a food that have been lost in processing.

This effort was directed mainly toward certain staple, inexpensive, high-caloric foodstuffs (chiefly flour) which were major items in the diet of poor people. Later, some foods were "fortified" by the addition of nutrients not naturally present or present only in small quantities. Thus, for example, milk, by the addition of certain vitamins, has been made more nearly a complete food.

Meanwhile, the Food and Nutrition Board established values for certain nutrients, including vitamins and minerals, designed as a guide for food planning for large population groups. These values have come to be known as "Recommended Dietary Allowances" (RDA's).

Another milestone in nutritional progress was marked by the introduction of the concept of supplementation; supplements supply the daily requirements of certain vitamins and/or minerals in a convenient form, for example a pill, powder, tablet or liquid. It suffers from none of the variables such as are involved in getting food to the table. Additionally, the supplement is independent of foods and, therefore, of calories, a factor of major importance to dieters. Vitamin-mineral supplements are not magic pills or cure-alls, but they can and do play an important role in maintaining the health of the nation.

CONTROVERSY DEVELOPS

Like any other historical process, the progress of vitamin and mineral supplementation and its acceptance by regulatory agencies, the medical profession and the genral public does not proceed without controversy.

Currently, scientific experts, medical groups, another government agency, the pharmaceutical industry and its trade associations have taken issue with the Food and Drug Administration's new regulations regarding supplements. The FDA would require the following statement on the label of vitamin-mineral supplements:

"Vitamins and minerals are supplied in abundant amounts by the foods we eat. The Food and Nutritional Council recommends that dietary needs be satisfied by foods. Except for persons with special medical needs, there is no scientific basis for recommending routine use of dietary supplements."

This FDA label statement has been based upon the false premise of an "average American diet," arrived at by dividing the total foodstuffs consumed in this country by the total population. Such an "average" diet does not exist, is not practical, nor would it be acceptable. With more freedom of choice than in any other country, Americans as a whole do not understand, much less conform to, the rules of good nutrition.

The RDA's of the Food and Nutrition Board are clearly a recognition by the scientific community of the need for adequate vitamin and mineral intake. It is important to note that the FDA has not and certainly could not challenge the need—and in its Regulations has actually adopted the substance of the RDA requirements. In this respect, the current controversy then is reduced to the narrow ground of whether the consumer can practically and does in fact obtain his necessary intake of vitamins and minerals from his diet, and, equally necessary, whether he can be certain or can be assured by others that this is so on a day in and day out basis.

FDA LABEL MISLEADING

Dr. W. H. Sebrell, Jr., Director of Columbia University's Institute of Nutritional Sciences a Chairman of the National Research Council—Food and Nutrition Board's Committee on Recommended Dietary Allowances, has called the label statement "objectionable and misleading," a viewpoint shared by most nutritional and medical authorities as well as some government officials.

George Mehren, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture said that the statement is inaccurate, adding, "It will give the consumer a false sense of security that, regardless of his food habits, he will have an adequate diet."

He further cites the most recent nationwide survey indicating that "48 per cent of households have diets that do not fully meet the NAS-NRC recommended dietary allowances in one or more nutrients."

At stake in this controversy are the results of long years of research devoted to improving American health. The FDA stand that "vitamins and minerals are supplied in abundant amounts by the foods we eat" confuses what we might eat with what we do eat. It is vital to the public interest that this error does not reverse the painstaking progress made in nutritional insurance through supplementation with vitamin-mineral preparations.

Supplements are insurance against inadequate consumption of vitamins and minerals. It would be ideal to pinpoint supplementation to those individuals who specifically need it—and then only at the time when the need exists—this is neither practical nor economical. To accomplish such a program, dietary histories, clinical examinations, and biochemical tests would have to be run on every man, woman and child—not once but every time there was an appreciable change in menu or conditions. The surest and least expensive alternative is simply the use of vitamin and mineral supplements every day. Any opponent of this concept must be prepared to propose an alternative which is superior—none has been forthcoming.

Supplementation may be a forerunner of broader nutritional progress for the entire world. Malthus' dire predictions about world population outrunning the food supply are liable to be confirmed in the foreseeable future, and the time may come when many people may have to obtain their total nutrition in forms unlike foods as we know them today.

However unappetizing a prospect this may be, its rationale will be similar to that of present-day vitamin and mineral supplementation—supplying necessary nutrients in a reliable, economical, available form to people who want them.

IMMIGRATION REFORM ACT

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, after 1 year of experience under the historic Immigration Reform Act which Congress passed in 1965, statistics recently released by the Department of State show that immigration from all over the world has been more evenly distributed than under the old immigration law.

These figures show that 34.7 percent of all quota immigrants came from northern Europe, 32.5 percent from southern Europe, and 19.9 percent from Asia and the Pacific.

Undoubtedly, the new law has considerably eased the heavy backlog of immigrants coming from the extremely oversubscribed areas of the world—southern Europe, and the Asia-Pacific area.

I am tremendously encouraged by all of this evidence indicating the unmistakable progress we are making to cut the backlog and correct the gross inequities of our past immigration policies, as we celebrate the first anniversary of the historic Immigration Reform Act.

Among the key provisions of that law were: First, the elimination of the national origins system and the Asia-Pacific Triangle, which were harshly racially discriminatory; and second, allowing the reallocation of a pool of unused quota numbers from undersubscribed countries—mainly from Western Europe—to nations having huge backlogs of persons wishing to immigrate to the United States—largely in southern Europe and Asia-Pacific areas.

Although the Immigration Reform Act did not become effective until December 1, 1965, figures released in the annual report of the Visa Office of the Department of State's Bureau of Consular Affairs show that immigration from the Asia-Pacific area increased from 3,536 in fiscal year 1965—July 1, 1964–June 30, 1965—to 25,115 in fiscal 1966—July 1, 1965–June 30, 1966.

The fiscal 1966 figure of 25,115 for Asia and the Pacific counts only quota immigrants and does not include nonquota immigrants, immediate relatives, and other adjustments.

When these nonquota numbers are added to the quota figures, another aspect of the dramatic impact of the new law may be seen. These overall totals show that thousands of families were reunited last year as a direct result of the new law.

The total number of immigrants admitted in fiscal 1966, including quota as well as nonquota numbers, was 311,356—129,797 quota immigrants, and 181,386 nonquota. This compares with 287,679 in fiscal 1965—102,892 quota, and 184,787 nonquota.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that table I of the Visa Office report, showing immigrant visas issued, adjustments of status, and refugees admitted or adjusted, for fiscal years 1962–66, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE I.—*Immigrant visas issued, adjustments of status, and refugees admitted or adjusted, fiscal years 1962–66*

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Immigrant total	278, 884	291, 936	277, 684	287, 679	311, 356
Quota	95, 149	103, 846	106, 381	102, 892	[1] 129, 970
Visas issued	89, 464	98, 162	99, 727	95, 425	108, 086
Adjustments [2]	5, 685	5, 684	6, 654	7, 467	14, 684
Refugees [3]					7, 200
Nonquota [4]	183, 735	188, 090	171, 303	184, 787	181, 386

[1] Discrepancy of 173 between this table and table X.

[2] Adjustments of status: Aliens who entered the United States as nonimmigrants may, under certain circumstances, have their status adjusted to that of a permanent resident. Such an alien does not obtain an immigrant visa from a consular officer but is accorded permanent resident status at the discretion of the Attorney General subject to the availability of an immigrant visa number.

[3] Refugees: Conditional entries and adjustments of status provided in sec. 203(a) (7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

[4] Nonquota: Including symbol "K" visas issued pursuant to special public laws.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, on the basis of these total figures, seven countries, which formerly had relatively small quotas, showed significant increases in 1966 admissions—quota and nonquota—from 1965, as follows:

	1965	*1966*
Greece	3, 303	14, 586
Italy	12, 520	38, 427
Portugal	2, 277	15, 802
China	4, 773	21, 285
India	668	3, 179
Philippines	3, 208	9, 981

When nonquota is added to quota for the Asia-Pacific area, the figure is 38,373 for fiscal 1966.

These large increases reflect only the very large backlogs which developed for intending immigrants from southern Europe and from Asia and the Pacific—particularly from Asia and the Pacific—because under the old law, Asia-Pacific quotas were infinitesimal compared to those of other areas.

It is expected that next year, when these backlogs are cleared up, immigration from southern Europe and the Asi-Pacific area will level off.

The Asia-Pacific share of the total worldwide figure of the 129,797 quota immigrants who entered the country was 19.9 percent, or about one-fifth. Under the old law, quota immigration from the Asia-Pacific Triangle was limited to 2,390, or about 1.53 percent of the total.

I should note that persons of Asian and Pacific descent make up a mere 62/100 percent of America's total population, or about 1,100,000, persons, according to the 1960 census.

Europe, of course, as in the past, continues to contribute the largest bulk of immigration to this country. The European total of 102,732 is 79 percent, or nearly four-fifths, of all immigration to the United States.

Altogether, including nonquota, there were 120,584 immigrants from Europe.

Immigration from northern Europe—including such nations as Britain, Germany, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries—totaled 45,099 out of 119,467, leaving 74,388 numbers to be allocated to the pool. Thus, northern Europe's share of the worldwide total was 34.7 percent, more than a third.

Southern European immigration totaled 42,259—32.5 percent of the worldwide total, nearly one-third. These immigrants came from countries such as Italy, 20,000 quota, 4,967 nonquota; Greece, 6,583 quota, 2,336 nonquota; Portugal, 7,383 quota, 1,634 nonquota; and Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Spain.

Huge backlogs also plagued these southern European nations, so that they drew heavily from the pool of unused quota numbers—31,960 numbers.

According to the State Department figures, of the 25,115 quota immigrants from Asia and the Pacific, 3,217 were drawn from quotas under the old law, and 21,844 were from the pool of unused quota numbers.

The largest groups of Asia-Pacific quota immigrants came from four nations and the South Pacific, in the following order:

First. Immigrants from China totaled 12,821, with 100 quota numbers and 12,721 from the pool—about half of the Asia-Pacific total.

Second. Immigrants from the Philippines totaled 3,186, with 100 quota numbers and 3,086 from the pool—about 13 percent of the Asia-Pacific total.

Third. Immigrants from India totaled 2,071, with 100 quota numbers and 1,971 from the pool—about 8 percent of the Asia-Pacific total.

Fourth. Immigrants from Japan totaled 786, with 185 quota numbers and 601 from the pool—about 3 percent of the Asia-Pacific total.

Fifth. Immigrants from the South Pacific totaled 685, with 475 quota numbers and 210 from the pool—about 2.7 percent of the Asia-Pacific total.

According to State Department figures, the allowable quota for Europe was 149,472, but only 69,677 of these numbers were used. The remaining 79,795 was allocated to the pool, from which mainly southern Europeans drew 33,055.

Total immigration from Europe was 102,732 for fiscal 1966.

The quota for Africa was 4,274, of which only 1,156 was used; 3,118 went into the pool, from which was drawn 712.

African immigration totaled 1,868.

Worldwide, of a total of 158,411 annual allowable quota under the law, 129,797 immigrants were admitted in fiscal year 1966; 74,186 visas were issued to authorized areas, and 84,225 unused numbers were placed in a pool—out of which 55,611 quota visas were issued to oversubscribed areas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that table X of the Visa Office report, showing the use of immigrant visa numbers by country or area of birth or quota chargeability for fiscal year 1966, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE X.—*Use of immigrant visa numbers (by country or area of birth or quota chargeability), fiscal year 1966*

Quota area	Annual quota	Quota numbers		Pool numbers used	Total numbers used [1]
		Used	Not used		
EUROPE					
Albania	100	100		57	157
Andorra	100		100		
Austria	1,405	866	539	2	868
Belgium	1,297	751	546	3	754
Bulgaria	100	88	12	137	225
Czechoslovakia	2,859	1,319	1,540	81	1,400
Danzig, free city of	100	76	24		76
Denmark		855			855
Greenland					
Total	1,175	855	320		855
Estonia	115	73	42		73
Finland	566	353	213		353
France		2,201		8	2,209
French Guiana		1			1
Guadeloupe		69			69
Martinique		46			46
Reunion					
Comoro Islands					
French Polynesia		11			11
French Somaliland		1			1
French Somaliland and Antarctic territory					
New Caledonia		1			1
St. Pierre and Miquelon		6			6
Wallis and Futuna Islands					
New Hebrides					
Total	3,069	2,336	733	8	2,344
Germany	25,814	12,936	12,878	4	12,940
Great Britain and North Ireland		19,277		3	19,280
Aden		78			78
Antigua		152			152
Bahamas		100			100
Barbados		327			327
Basutoland					
Bechuanaland					
Bermuda		85			85
British Guiana		354			354
British Honduras		310			310
British Solomon Islands					
British Virgin Islands		186			186
Brunei		1			1
Cayman Islands		61			61
Dominica		87			87
Falkland Islands					
Fiji Islands		195			195
Gambia		1			1
Gibraltar		15			15
Gilbert and Ellice Islands					
Grenada		159			159
Hong Kong		641		12	653
Maldive Islands					
Mauritius		3			3
Montserrat		90			90
Great Britain and North Ireland—Continued					
Pitcairn Islands					
St. Christopher, Nevis, Anguilla		139			139
St. Helena		2			2
St. Lucia		78			78
St. Vincent		92			92
Seychelles		19			19
Southern Rhodesia		58			58
Swaziland					
Turks and Caicos Islands		2			2
Zanzibar		6			6
Total	65,361	22,518	42,843	15	22,533
Greece	308	308		6,275	6,583
Hungary	865	794	71	294	1,088
Iceland	100	56	44		56
Ireland	17,756	2,998	14,758		2,998
Italy	5,666	5,666		14,334	20,000
Latvia	235	146	89		146
Liechtenstein	100	7	93		7
Lithuania	384	245	139	9	254
Luxembourg	100	54	46		54
Malta	100	100		151	251
Monaco	100	6	94		6
Netherlands		2,021		1	2,022
Netherlands Antilles		100			100
Surinam		70			70
Total	3,136	2,191	945	1	2,192
Norway	2,364	1,455	909		1,455
Poland	6,488	6,488		511	6,999
Portugal		438		6,945	7,383
Angola				3	3
Cape Verde Islands				106	106
Macao				124	124
Mozambique				2	2
Portuguese Guinea					
Portuguese India				4	4
Portuguese Timor					
Principe and Sao Tome					
Total	438	438		7,274	7,712
Rumania	289	289		1,118	1,407
San Marino	100	90	10		90
Spain		250		768	1,018
Fernando Po					
Ifni					
Rio Muni					
Spanish Sahara					
Total	250	250		768	1,018
Sweden	3,295	1,773	1,522		1,773
Switzerland	1,698	1,441	257	1	1,442

See footnote at end of table.

TABLE X.—*Use of immigrant visa numbers (by country or area of birth or quota chargeability), fiscal year 1966*—Continued

Quota area	Annual quota	Quota numbers		Pool numbers used	Total numbers used [1]
		Used	Not used		
U.S.S.R.	2,697	1,669	1,028	61	1,730
Yugoslavia	942	942		1,951	2,893
European total	149,472	69,677	79,795	33,055	102,732
ASIA					
Afghanistan	100	26	74		26
Arabian Peninsula	100	26	74		26
Asia-Pacific [2]	68	68			68
Bhutan	100		100		
Burma	100	100		81	181
Cambodia	100	11	89		11
Ceylon	100	74	26		74
China	100	100		12,721	12,821
Chinese persons [3]	105	105			105
Cyprus	100	100		142	242
India	100	100		1,971	2,071
Indonesia	200	200		51	251
Iran	100	100		268	368
Iraq	100	100		407	507
Israel	100	100		340	440
Japan	185	185		601	786
Jordan	100	100		82	182
Korea	100	100		440	540
Kuwait	100	1	99		1
Laos	100	8	92		8
Lebanon	100	100		186	286
Malaysia	400	176	224	1	177
Muscat and Oman	100		100		
Nepal	100	5	95		5
Pakistan	100	100		190	290
Palestine, Arab	100	100		532	632
Philippines	100	100		3,086	3,186
Saudi Arabia	100	7	93		7
Syria	100	100		76	176
Thailand	100	92	8	1	93
Turkey	225	225		457	682
Vietnam	100	100		1	101
Yemen	100	87	13		87
Asian total	3,883	2,796	1,087	21,634	24,430
AFRICA					
Algeria	574	123	451		123
Burundi	100	4	96		4
Cameroon	151		151		
Central African Republic	100	1	99		1
Chad	100		100		
Congo (Brazzaville)	100		100		
Congo (Kinshasa)	100	15	85		15
Dahomey	100		100		
Ethiopia	100	64	36		64
Gabon	100	1	99		1
Ghana	100	74	26		74
Guinea	100		100		
Ivory Coast	100	1	99		1
Kenya	100	80	20		80
Liberia	100	58	42		58
Libya	100	68	32		68
Malagasy Republic	100	4	96		4
Malawi	100	4	96		4
Mali	100		100		
Mauritania	100	3	97		3
Morocco	100	100		104	204
Niger	100		100		
Nigeria	149	99	50		99
Rwanda	100	7	93		7
Senegal	100	4	96		4
Sierra Leone	100	16	84		16
Somali Republic	100	5	95		5
South Africa, Republic of	100	100		99	199
South West Africa	100	7	93		7
Sudan	100	65	35		65
Tanganyika	100	18	82		18
Togo	100	2	98		2
Tunisia	100	79	21	24	103
Uganda	100	16	84		16
United Arab Republic	100	100		485	585
Upper Volta	100		100		
Zambia	100	38	62		38
African total	4,274	1,156	3,118	712	1,868
NORTH AMERICA					
Jamaica [2]	35	35			35
Trinidad and Tobago [2]	47	47			47
North American total	82	82			82
OCEANIA					
Australia		100		156	256
Christmas Island					
Cocos Islands					
Papua					
Total	100	100		156	256
Nauru	100		100		
New Guinea	100	1	99		1
New Zealand		100		11	111
Cook Islands					
Total	100	100		11	111
Pacific Islands	100	100		43	143
Tonga, Kingdom of	100	96	4		96
Western Samoa	100	78	22		78
Oceania total	700	475	225	210	685
Grand total	158,411	74,186	[4]84,225	55,611	129,797

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[1] The total amount of visa numbers used necessarily differs from the total volume of visas issued since the latter include unused issued visas from which the numbers were recaptured in accordance with sec. 206 of the act.

[2] Quotas abolished on Dec. 1, 1965, the effective date of Public Law 89-236.

[3] Numbers transferred to the quota for China upon the abolition of the Asia-Pacific triangle provisions under Public Law 89-236.

[4] This total constitutes the immigration pool for fiscal year 1967.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, among the many thousands of cases in which immigrants benefited under the new law are the following:

A native of Poland, admitted to this country as a displaced person and then naturalized, finally located his parents—who were living in the Soviet Union. The new act permits parents of citizens to be admitted without any numerical restriction, and their visa applications were quickly approved.

A native of China was admitted to the United States and saw his brother for the first time in 42 years. He was a resident of Hong Kong and faced a long wait for a quota number. But since the new law provides that unused quota numbers from other countries will be reassigned to those with long waiting lists, he got one.

A skilled electrical engineer, working on research projects sponsored by the U.S. Air Force, faced an uncertain future. He was from Korea, the quota of which was very oversubscribed. The new law enabled him to become a permanent resident, because he had a profession which the Department of Labor had determined to be in short supply—in other words, he would not be filling a job which an American would have had.

A physician from Lebanon had performed noted heart surgery and research since coming here in 1959. Because the old quota for Lebanon was filled, he could not become a permanent resident—until the new law went into effect in December 1965.

A physicist from Italy now at work in a satellite tracking project, and a doctor from Japan who was a distinguished teacher and specialist in diseases of the ear, were also permitted to stay in the country under the new law.

Mr. President, our Nation has been the great pilot demonstration of the most influential principles and ideals in history. The American philosophy of the inherent equality of all men, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin is an ideal worthy of our great Nation.

I am overjoyed that at long last, in our immigration policies and laws, we are living up to that ideal, and that all the world can continue to look to America as the bastion of freedom and opportunity.

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, last fall Senator Robertson, then chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, went to San Francisco to address the American Bankers Association. While at that meeting, he spoke first at the national bank division on October 24, and then at the second general convention session on October 26.

Senator Roberston was introduced to the American Bankers Association General Convention Session by Mr. Archie K. Davis, immediate past president of the American Bankers Association and chairman of the board of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., of Winston-Salem, N.C. It was a privilege for Mr. Davis to present Senator Robertson to this distinguished group, and it is a privilege for me to make available to the Senate and the country the tributes to Senator Robertson and Senator Robertson's remarks.

Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks made at the national bank division meeting of the American Bankers Association on October 24 and the remarks made at the second general convention session on October 26 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, DURING THE SECOND GENERAL CONVENTION SESSION OF THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 26, 1966, BY PAST PRESIDENT ARCHIE K. DAVIS

Mr. DAVIS: Ladies and gentlemen, as this convention draws to a close, it is our high privilege to welcome and to pay tribute to a great American. By any standard of measurement, our honored guest has led a remarkably successful life.

He is now completing 50 years of continuous public service. He has served seven years in the Virginia State Senate, four years as Commonwealth's Attorney for Rockbridge County, six years in the Governor's Cabinet of the Commonwealth, fourteen years in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and twenty years as United States Senator from Virginia.

He has served in Congress longer than any other Virginian in the history of that great Commonwealth save and except for Howard Smith.

Our honored guest today has never been repudiated on a single issue in his native state. In his remarkably long career of public service, he has achieved great distinction in the field of taxation, trade and banking.

In the House he was one of the outstanding champions of the whole reciprocal trade agreements. He co-authored and assisted in the preparation of twelve tax bills including those bills which financed our participation in the Second World War.

In the Senate, he was the author of the Financial Institutions Act of 1957. In my judgment and in the judgment of many, this is the greatest single piece of banking legislation in this century, except perhaps for the creation of the Federal Reserve by our distinguished Senator's associate from Virginia.

He has served as Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee since 1959. I think it is a matter of documented evidence that since that date not one single bill that has been reported out favorably by his committee has been repudiated by the Senate, nor has there been a major revision of a single bill reported out by that committee.

He serves as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Defense Production in the Senate and is Acting Chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee.

The accomplishments and the successes of this distinguished citizen, as great as they have been, are not necessarily the true mark of the man but rather in my judgment the real man is to be found in his deeply religious background, in his rare sense of duty and obligation and in his genuine dedication to public service, and in his continuing and endless pursuit of the ideals of a true patriot.

The fact that he has been a public servant for fifty years constantly exposed to the glare of publicity, accountable always to the people, constantly involved in the legislative process which, as you well know, requires that delicate balance between political pragmatism and principle without the sacrifice of principle.

There has never been a question about where this public servant stands. There has never been a question about his courage under fire, nor of his determination in pursuit of worthy goals and of the manner in which he handles power with true humility.

These are the marks of a great man and of a good man and of a man of character. I feel that it is coincidentally appropriate that I should have this privilege today of paying tribute to a great Virginian. You see, we in North Carolina have been nurtured in the art of paying tribute for nigh, well now over 300 years.

Of late some of my banker friends in Virginia have felt that I was drifting away from a proper position of deference to my friends in the state just to the north. I think that is the only explanation for their unprecedented support of my candidacy as President of the American Bankers Association about two years ago.

They were aware of the fact that the President must travel the country, that he must see and that he must learn from observation.

May I say I have traveled; may I say I have learned; and now I can say that I do know that the oldest, the first permanent English settlement in America was at Jamestown, Virginia, that the Father of Texas was none other than Stephen F. Austin of Virginia, and when that great state became involved with Mexico to the South, it was none other than a Virginian, Sam Houston of the Senator's own county, Rockbridge County who came to their rescue in the great battle of San Jacinto.

I know it was George Rogers Clark of Albemarle, Virginia who was the great defender of Kentucky and the conquerer of the Northwest. I know for instance that James Rumsey of Virginia was the first to operate a steamboat successfully. It was not Robert Fulton of New York.

I know that it was Lewis and Clark, also of Albemarle County, also of Virginia, who explored the Great Northwest. They were the first white men to see and explore the great state of Idaho. I know that the first white man to be buried in the soil of Iowa was Sergeant Floyd of the Commonwealth of Virginia. He was attached, Senator, to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

I know that Daniel Boone who was born and raised within fifteen miles of my home in the great state of North Carolina was a North Carolinian, but I have now been to Fort Defiance, Missouri. That is where his mortal remains rest. That was the site of his last home and the historic marker says of Daniel Boone that he spent practically all of his life, without mention of North Carolina, he spent practically all of his life in Kentucky and Pennsylvania and that the historic objects and artifacts and furniture in his home which is restored and preserved there in Fort Defiance came from his ancestral home in Virginia.

Then only two months ago I learned that in order to acquire a bride, he had to go to Fincastle, Virginia, in order to get his marriage license, Senator.

I now know if there were to be three future Presidents of the United States engaged in a battle on American soil it had to be in Virginia.

As a matter of fact, it was just about eleven miles north of Salem, Virginia, known as the Battle of Hanging Rock, and there participating in the battle were Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield and William McKinley—all future Presidents of these United States.

Now, Senator, I have taken the liberty of indulging in these historic thoughts for the simple reason that I might make a confession, if I may say, to purify my soul so that I may pay proper tribute to a great Virginian and at the same time explain why, Senator, we continue to hold onto twenty square miles of territory that lie just above the parallel of 36 degrees, 30 minutes that divides the Commonwealth of Virginia from North Carolina.

Ladies and gentlemen, that piece of land has been under dispute and under litigation for 300 years. Only in January of 1965 as recently the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of North Carolina named the 8th Joint Commission hopefully to see if they could resolve that dispute.

I would only say by virtue of the comments I have made about the great history of Virginia that, Senator, that is North Carolina's chief claim to fame. North Carolina owns twenty square miles of the sacred soil of Virginia, and we don't aim to release it.

Senator, will you join me here.

[The audience arose and applauded.]

Senator, on behalf of your many friends in The American Bankers Association and friends all over this nation it is a rare personal privilege for me to present to you this tray as a token of our commendation and of our love and our affection for a great statesman, a great Virginian and a great American, and on this tray is inscribed the following:

"To the Honorable A. Willis Robertson, United States Senator from the Commonwealth of Virginia, Chairman, Senate Banking and Currency Committee, in recognition of his thirty-four consecutive years of distinguished service to the nation as a member of the United States Congress and in tribute to his profound and courageous advocacy of sound financial legislation, presented on behalf of the Banking Community at the 92nd Annual Convention of The American Bankers Association, San Francisco, California, October 26, 1966."

Ladies and gentlemen, the distinguished Senior Senator from the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Honorable A. Willis Robertson.

[Applause]

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, CHAIRMAN, BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

Senator ROBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, Mr. Former President, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen: This is a happy moment in my life.

Think of a mountaineer who has lived in the shadows of the Blue Ridge Mountains all of his life, who thought a bank was a large institution if it had a capital of $100,000. Being given the tribute of the bankers of the greatest nation in the world as having made some contribution to the banks in the billion dollar class as well as to those in the thousand dollar class, I shall always treasure the memory of the twenty years that I have been privileged to work for and with you.

I feel I can say with Kipling:

> "I have eaten your bread and your salt
> I have drunk your water and wine
> That death shall die once beside
> The lives you lived have been mine."

If I have been able to learn anything about the principles of banking, it is due to the fact that in my opinion the type of honesty we need in the small country banks is the type we need in the big city banks. The type of sound money we need in the country banks is the type that all bankers need.

And the private enterprise that has permitted the United States to have the only free banking system in the entire world—think of that—the only really free banking system in the world—is needed in the metropolitan areas as well as in our country areas.

I have no words to adequately express my deep appreciation of the more than kind and generous and flattering introduction that has been given to me to this fine audience. I can assure my friend Archie we appreciate North Carolina more than he realizes.

We know that while the first permanent settlement of Jamestown, there was a settlement down at Madeo. The Indians wiped it out and all we have left of that memory is a Scuppernung Virginia Dare Wine named for the first little white girl born in the United States.

Of course, we are proud of George Washington. As Archie said, Virginia has sent some really great men to Texas—it is a great state—Austin—Sam Houston.

Well, we couldn't let Texas claim Washington. You know this fellow from East

Texas says Washington's father used to live in East Texas and he went out in his backyard one day and he found somebody had chopped on his cherry tree. He called little George and said, "George, did you chop on my cherry tree?"

He said, "Pop, you know I can't tell a lie."

Pop said, "George, if you can't tell a lie, Texas is no place for us; we will move to Virginia."

[Laughter and applause]

But, oh, how we have cherished this neighbor of North Carolina. They have not understood us when somebody down there is speaking of South Carolina on one side and Virginia on the other side. "North Carolina is the valley of humility between two mountains of conceit."

Well, I hope we don't feel that way. Of course, about Virginia, it may be like the old man in Mississippi told Senator Stennis, he said, "Senator, I am going to write a fair and impartial history of the war between the states—from the southern viewpoint." (Laughter.)

Now, I hope we are not proud of what we are not entitled to be proud of. Some people think this old man from Virginia was not unduly proud of his folks when he went to the Baptist bishop and the Baptist preacher read "The kingdom of heaven was like the lamps of the ten Virginians who went forth to fete the bridegroom, and five of them wise and five of them were foolish.

"Would you be good enough to recapitulate" the Virginian asked. The preacher replied—"That number was ten from Virginia who went forth to fete the bridegroom—five were wise and five foolish."

He said, "Brother, the scripture lesson doesn't sound familiar. I don't want you to think I question anything in the Good Book, but it seems to me the percentage of foolish Virginians was too high."

North Carolina followed Washington in battle and it was the battle of Cowpens and Guilford and under Morgan in the long drives that drove the British under Cornwallis under that peninsula at Yorktown where they expected to rendezvous at the French fleet and that is where Washington won his victory.

He won a victory for us on land. He was a moving spirit for the adoption in Philadelphia, the greatest instrument ever struck off by the hand of man. He was unanimously chosen to be pilot of our ship of state when it was launched upon the troubles of international waters of international conflict and he gave us some good advice and we have deliberately ignored his advice.

He said, "Don't become entangled in the wars of other nations."

My goodness alive, I went over to Europe in 1949 to investigate the Marshall Plan. I came back and said it was just being wasted, we ought to cut it a billion dollars and end it in two more years. They cut it a billion dollars and in two more years they changed the name and it went bigger and better from there on.

Now we are committed, as the first great speaker said this morning, to a war and we don't know where the end is or how we are going to get out.

Now, in that war, it is like this little church out in Virginia where the preacher from the city came out to preach and somebody yelled "Fire!" And they started out the windows and door. There was a curtain behind the pulpit. The preacher thought he would make it a leisurely exit out the back door and found a blank wall. He said, "Dammit, there is no back door in this church."

We can either lay down and play dead or fight our way out of Vietnam. We have 325,000 men there—3,000 a month—it is costing us two billion dollars a month and it will go up another billion dollars.

Now, the first speaker said we ought to either cut down our spending or increase our taxes or do both if we are going to finance this war. Make no mistake, they gave us an estimate of expenditures early in the year of $115 billion, 700 million.

A Wall Street Journal said we cut it $650 million. I think it would be nearer to say we cut it about $400 million, but we added back-door financing that totaled about $3 billion.

The July estimate of the Department of the Treasury was that the revenue would be $111 billion. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation last month said $116 billion and they tell me that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget is now estimating perhaps $118 billion. And still we don't have a balanced budget.

As one speaker said, last year was our biggest year before we got into all of this war spending and we didn't balance the budget then. We had ten years of prosperity. If you don't balance the budget in your period of great prosperity, when will you? An Echo answers, "Never."

The first speaker, head of the biggest business organization in the world, head of a great oil company, he said, "We ought to increase taxes or cut expenditures or do both."

The exponents of the great society say we ought to increase spending and decrease taxes. My friends from Florida, particularly Henry Coleman, will tell you, if you ask them, this story he likes to tell and I promised I would tell it to you for his benefit.

It has barnacles, but I will tell it anyway. This elderly preacher was preaching, "God created heaven and earth and grass grew over the face of the earth. And God said, 'Let there be light.' And there was light. And God created the seas, the land, the trees, the flowers, the birds and bees, shrubs, but God was not satisfied and he wanted a man. So God created Adam, the first man and made him out of mud and set him up against the fense to dry."

At that point, a false friend from the rear said, "Wait a minute, parson, did you say Adam was the first man?"

He said, "Yes, brother, that is what the Good Book says and that God created him out of mud and set him up against the fence to dry, that is what God did.

The false friend said, "Parson, who created the fence?"

The preacher said, "Brother, them is the kind of questions that hurt religion."

Well, I don't know what the answer is going to be to this inflationary problem, but I am telling you that we are definitely headed for expenditures of $10 billion next year above anticipated revenue even on the most optimistic basis.

Now, Mr. Wright said, if we don't take corrective measures we will have harmful inflation that may be followed by a recession. So I told a great audience here of the national bank Division Monday afternoon that I hope we don't have any such recession. I know if one comes in an election year they will knock the bung hole out of the Treasury before they let it happen and I told the bankers that if we do let inflation take the wings of the morning, with the possibility of some headache afterwards that would be called a recession, I wanted the bankers to be as brave as the old soldier from Georgia who was serving under Lee at Appomattox when they were blown up by a mine. He was telling his grandchildren about it, and he said

"Boys, when we were blown way up in the air we passed our captain coming down and he hollered to us, 'Rally boys, as soon as you hit the ground.'"

You are a great organization. I have enjoyed working with you. Archie told you that I had never had a bill repudiated. Well, you know, some people call politics the art of the possible, and after you have served for six years in the State Senate and 34 years in the Congress, you learn some things about the technique of legislation and you get an idea of what to leave out of a bill if you want to put it through. (Laughter.)

I am glad my name is connected with some bills which were helpful to the bankers and proud of that record. I hope that before the Congress overhauls and enacts a whole system of new laws and regulations for you, that you will give some of our new laws a chance to be tried out, because I think they might operate successfully.

I don't think that we have reached a perfect banking system, but I do say you are meeting the challenge of your day and generation.

You have financed the biggest developments that the world has ever seen.

I believe you are going to meet the challenge of the future, whatever it may be. I would be false to every impulse if I did not acknowledge the leadership in this period that is being given by the great State of Oklahoma where your new president, Jack Conn, comes from. I think Bob Kerr is one of the greatest men I ever served with in 34 years. He was a leader in the Senate when he was suddenly taken with heart trouble.

I used to play college football. I played every game for two years as tackle without a substitute. I admire Bud Wilkinson's winning teams there in Oklahoma.

Now, you send us the leadership of the ABA in Jock Conn—well, before that, one of your girls from Oklahoma won the beauty contest.

President CONN. Not me.

Senator ROBERTSON. One of your Oklahoma girls won it. I love to hunt and fish but I want everybody to know that I admire nature in all of her visible forms. (Laughter.)

Then in this economic situation here you furnish the leadership of the biggest banking organization in the world and the leadership of the biggest business organization in the world.

Well, what a change from the days of Carter Glass. Back in 1934 frankly I may not have known what best to do but I voted to revalue the gold and silver. We were in the Great Depression and I thought money had just gotten too tight.

Carter Glass did not agree with me. A man from Oklahoma who was then teaching at Cornell, a great school, was a leader in recommending a revision of gold and silver.

Carter Glass got peeved with him and he said, well, the Doctor used to be a professor of agronomy at the University of Oklahoma and he knows more about manure than money. But Oklahoma soil has changed. You are giving us national leadership and we are proud of it and I am happy to say may God smile on us.

I am not going to say good by to this group with whom I have worked for so long. I am merely going to say until we meet again.

I want to emphasize this one thing—the war is serious, inflation is serious, but disrespect for law can be more serious to us in the end than anything else.

We have the power to win this war and I am for winning it. I don't believe in just staying over there. (Applause.)

We have got the knowledge and I hope the courage to win the war against inflation and I am for winning that war, but I want to tell you that this business of disrespect for law and order—I attended a meeting at Teheran some weeks ago and heard a wonderful address by the speaker of the House of Commons and he says the hallmark of a good society is the supremacy of the law, a law separated from politics, a law which all citizens are equal.

He said that is what Magna Carta means to the British. I said the same principles are in our Constitution if we recognize it.

I am disturbed by the crime rate and the disrespect for law. Those are things that you bankers have to face up to—inflation, the war, and this trend to moral degeneracy.

One of the greatest men I have ever been privileged to know was Woodrow Wilson. I served under him when he was my Commander-in-Chief in World War I. His heart was broken when we turned to materialistic things and rejected the League of Nations and the World Court and things of that kind.

In September 1923, Wilson wrote a piece called, "The Road Away from Revolution." In this article he said, "The sum of the whole matter is this, our civilization cannot survive materially unless it be redeemed spiritually. It can be saved only," he said, "by becoming permeated with the spirit of Christ and being made free and happy by the practices which spring out of that spirit. Only thus", said he, "can discontent be driven out and all these shadows lifted from the road ahead."

My friends, the Great God of Hosts be with us yet, lest we forget—lest we forget. I thank you.

(Standing Ovation.)

President Conn. Senator, the applause of this audience bespeaks our feeling, and our heart. Now you know why he is perhaps the greatest chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee we have ever had. We are honored beyond words to express to you our sincere appreciation for your presence here this morning.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON DURING THE NATIONAL BANK DIVISION MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—OCTOBER 24, 1966

Comptroller of the Currency Saxon. I would like to say one world about a man who has been a key factor over many years and who really originated the reform which I have carried out, Senator A. Willis Robertson. (Applause.)

It was his interest in the original Financial Institutions Act in 1956 which began the process of change which the Senator recognized we must have if we were to have an effective and moving banking system.

I had the privilege of serving with him and the banking committee which he appointed as assistant counsel and secretary.

None of us can ever repay to Willis Robertson the debt we owe him, not because he ever specifically favored this industry against others, but because of the healthy, constructive attitude he always took to all types of institutions within the perspective and responsibility of his committee.

President Hinkle: Any banker faced with the task of introducing our next guest speaker would certainly be torn by conflicting sentiments, and I am no exception. At one and the same time, I am proud to have this opportunity to make the introduction and sad because the man I am introducing is ending a long and distinguished career of public service.

Let me be very candid for a moment. The American Bankers Association, the banking community, you and I, are losing a most effective, articulate, dedicated disciple of sound banking practices alive today. We are saying good-bye to a friend who has on innumerable occasions protected our industry from those who would have undermined it, whether intentionally or not. This man will be difficult to replace in the Senate of the United States and as Chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. He will never relinquish his place in our memories. Senator A. Willis Robertson has done too much to make commercial banking the vital, vibrant industry it is today to be ever forgotten by any of us. His contributions to us over the past quarter of a century are too numerous to detail but just let me note two of the highlights. If he had done nothing else, his authorship of the Financial Institutions Act of 1957 and the Bank Merger Acts of 1960 and 1966 would have sufficed to assure his reputation.

The Financial Institutions Act, even though it was never enacted in its unit form, is probably the most significant banking measure of our time. In the decade since its introduction, many of its sections have been adopted into law and it continues to furnish the basis for proposals to codify and modernize the laws under which financial institutions operate.

The second issue concerns banks mergers. In 1960 under Senator Robertson's able direction Congress passed a law that everyone thought would end the confusion surrounding bank mergers. Because of certain court decisions, however, the situation again became chaotic and some 2,000 mergers were placed in jeopardy. In the face of overwhelming odds, Senator Robertson went to work and this year achieved clarifying amendments placing bank mergers in their proper legal perspective.

We can never adequately thank this man for what he has done for all of us. All we can do is wish him many, many years of health, happiness, and that good hunting and fishing he loves so much but for which until now he has had so little time.

It is with pleasure, sincere pleasure, and a little sadness that I give you a very great man, the Honorable A. Willis Robertson.

(The Audience arose and applauded)

Now, Senator, as a very small token of our appreciation, we would like to present you with this portrait, on my left and on the audience's right, the inscription of which reads as follows:

"A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, United States House of Representatives, 1932–1946 United States Senate, 1946–1966 Presented with esteem and gratitude by the National Bank Division, American Bankers Association, October 24, 1966." (Applause)

ADDRESS BY HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, CHAIRMAN, BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE, U.S. SENATOR, VIRGINIA

Senator Robertson. Mr. President, Honored Guests, Members of a great financial group, I have no words to adequately express my deep and sincere appreciation of the high honor which you have just paid me and of the more than kind introduction you have given me to this great audience.

I don't deny that I have a manuscript. Some of you know I really like to talk in what I call my native tongue. I have a funny kind of memory—if I don't write it out I can remember it and if I do, I can't, but when they write you, "Please send us three copies of what you are going to say one week or ten days in advance," you have to write it out.

I know that I am going to violate the principle of the congressman who came down into the hills of Virginia. He read a speech for a solid hour and everybody walked out on him, except one old farmer, and the Congressman said to the old farmer, "I hope you like my speech." The farmer said, "Congressman, let me tell you something. If you didn't know what you were going to say well enough that you had to read it, how the hell do you think I am going to remember it."

To emulate the example of my distinguished friend who preceded me, I appreciate his treatment of me, and I want to say you have had the services for five years of an able lawyer, a skillful administrator of the banking laws. He has rendered you a great service and, in the words of St. Paul, "He has fought a good fight." I will put the emphasis on the "good." I will let some of the state officials emphasize the "fight." He has done a fine job for the national banks. I hate to see him go. And I am going to start out like he did without any glasses on.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been attending a lot of your conventions, and this is the biggest audience that I have ever been privileged to address. I have spoken to your National Bank Division, your State Bank Division, and once or twice to the General Assembly. This is a grand and inspiring audience, but I can't be unmindful of the fact of how many men in this audience know so much more of banking than I do and I am up here to tell you about banking and how I think you ought to prepare to meet the challenges of the future.

Well, I am soon going to be in the position of Mr. William Brown of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, who survived the great Johnstown flood.

When Mr. Brown passed to the great beyond, St. Peter met him at the gate and said, "I hope you are going to be happy in Heaven."

Mr. Brown said, "St. Peter, the thing that would make me happiest in Heaven would be to get a great audience together that I could tell about the great Johnstown flood."

St. Peter said, "That will be easy enough. We will have the audience for you at 11 o'clock tomorrow."

Mr. Brown said, "St. Peter, I am the happiest man in the world, to think I will have an audience to tell about the great Johnstown flood."

St. Peter said, "That is all right. Just remember this: Noah is in your audience."

[Laughter]

James Saxon worked with you for five years. I worked with him for 30 years. As a matter of fact, for the 34 years I have been in the Congress I have been connected in one way or another with fiscal and monetary matters. For ten years, I was on the House Ways and Means Committee studying taxes and things of that kind and then on the Appropriations and Banking and Currency Committees. I have been exposed to a lot of information about banking, and I would be awfully dumb if I had not learned something about it, but I realize there are so many things to be learned and so much that I don't know and I can't begin to express to you my deep feeling of gratitude for the kind and generous remarks about what I have done to promote the interests of the bankers.

My theme this afternoon will deal with the fact that there will be changing conditions, we will have new problems, but there are certain fundamental principles that do not change, and they are the principles that I want to see you bankers embody in your daily lives and carry forward into the generations that you will serve after I am dead and gone.

A month ago I was in Teheran, the capital of Iran, the ancient Persia, one of the greatest empires of all times, which extended from India even into Ethiopia. I was privileged to be a delegate from the American Congress to the Interparliamentary Union—a meeting of representatives of the bodies through which self-government is carried out in the democratic nations of the world.

At this meeting, Dr. Horace King, Speaker of the British House of Commons, one of the oldest of the parliaments of the world, paid a tribute to Iran and to Persia. After referring to the wisdom and tolerance of Cyrus the Great and other great men of Persia, he went on:

"And if the days of the great Persian Empire were days of absolute monarchy, they were also days when all were subject to the Law—the Bible speaks of the Laws of the Medes and Persians—when there was good government and when man, the individual, was respected. The hallmark of a good society is the supremacy of law, the separation of law from politics, and the equality of all citizens before the law. This is what Magna Carta means to Britain."

The importance of the Biblical references to the laws of the Medes and the Persians does not lie in the specific laws the Bible describes—the law which provided that Vashti should come no more before Xerxes and should lose her royal estates, or the law, decreed by Darius and violated by Daniel, that anyone who prayed, during the next 30 days, to any God or man but Darius, should be cast into the den of lions. Certainly, these laws, and no doubt many of the other specific laws of the Medes and the Persians were foolish or evil—or so they seem to us. But this is not what is important in the Biblical stories.

What is important—and what Mr. Speaker King emphasized—was the principle stated in the Book of Daniel that "no decree or statute which the king establisheth may be changed," not even by King Darius himself, however, much he may have regretted his ill-advised decree. It was this respect for law, not the specific laws he decreed, which gave Darius reason to say in the great monument he erected that his God had brought him help "because I was not wicked, nor a liar, nor was I a tyrant, neither I nor any of my line. I have ruled according to righteousness."

Mr. Speaker King was right, too, when he pointed out that the principle that no man is above the law is based on respect for the individual. The supremacy of the law, the separation of law from politics, and the equality of all citizens before the law—the hallmarks of a good society—are all based on this respect for the individual.

Respect for the individual is a vital element in the basic principles of our society today—in Christianity and its Old Testament forerunner, in our democratic form of government, and in our free economic system.

As we look back at our history, and forward to future developments, we must remember how the Apostle Paul called upon the Corinthians to distinguish between things temporal and things eternal. We must distinguish between the basic principles of our society today, which we must preserve forever, and the application of those principles to current problems, which will vary from time to time.

That fundamental principle is illustrated in the growth and development of banking in the United States. It has been marked by many changes in the size and structure of the banking system, in the regulation of banking, and in the activities and functions of banks. But the principal purpose of the banking system has not changed, and neither has the moral code of personal conduct.

It is still true, as it was when Alexander Hamilton recommended the creation of a national bank in 1791, that banks should be "nurseries of national wealth." Over the years they have proved their ability to carry out this task. By channeling savings into productive investment, they have assisted in the financing of commerce and industry, and of government and the public generally; and by creating money, they have provided the bulk of the money supply needed to carry on the nation's financial transactions.

This has not, however, been an easy or uneventful process. It has involved experimenting with measures to cope with our changing problems. For instance, the careers of the first and second Banks of the United States, which attempted to fulfill the role of central banks, were marked by political and financial controversy, and the experiment was ended by Andrew Jackson amid charges of favoritism and monopoly.

The era of "free banking" which followed, when banks could be organized and could operate with virtually no control or supervision, was in effect a period of monetary anarchy. The bank notes issued freely by these banks flooded the country with excessive supplies of irredeemable money. The handicaps businessmen, the government, and the public suffered in trying to carry on their businesses are suggested by a description of bank notes in Hunt's Merchants' magazine for January, 1863:

"The frequently worthless issues of the State of Maine and of other New England States, the shinplasters of Michigan, the wildcats of Georgia, of Canada, and Pennsylvania, the red dogs of Indiana and Nebraska, the miserbly engraved rags of North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, and Virginia, and the not-soon-to-be-forgotten 'stumptail' of Illinois and Wisconsin . . ."

It was not until the National Currency Act and the National Bank Act were passed that we began to have an effective and workable currency and a countrywide system of banks that could provide adequate but restrained financial assistance to the nation's developing industry and commerce.

The national bank system was intended and expected to replace the state bank systems, particularly after a prohibitory tax was imposed on state bank notes. But the development of demand deposit banking provided unforeseen opportunities for the state banks, and as a result the dual banking system developed. In fact, in the 1920's, when state banks began to set up branching systems, it was feared that sweeping extension of state branch bank systems might jeopardize the continued existence of national banks. This threat was ended by the McFadden Act of 1927 and the Banking Act of 1933, which permitted national bank branching in accordance with the branch banking rules established by the various states.

The Federal Reserve System was established in 1913 in an effort to provide a more flexible money supply, adapted to the needs of a growing economy. The national banks, in spite of their advantages, did not have adequate facilities for providing either a growing or an elastic supply of money and bank credit. This system was revised somewhat in 1933 and 1935, and about the same time Federal Deposit Insurance was undertaken to safeguard the country's money from the risks and disasters that developed in the 1920's and came to a climax in the widespread bank failures of the early 1930's.

In recent years, much attention has been given to the problems of competition and concentration among commercial banks and to some extent among various deposit-type institutions. In the belief that banking was exempt from the antitrust laws, at least for all practical purposes, the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 was enacted after 18 years of effort. This Act was intended to reduce the threat of undue concentration posed by large bank holding companies, sometimes crossing state lines. I am proud to have handled this bill in the Senate in 1955 and 1956, and I am proud to have handled the 1966 amendment which eliminated two major loopholes, made a number of administrative improvements in the law, and coordinated activities under the act with the antitrust laws.

I am also proud to have handled the Bank Merger Act of 1960, which for the first time gave clear authority to the Federal bank regulatory authorities to approve or deny bank mergers, on the basis of both competitive and banking factors.

When the Supreme Court handed down its unfortunate and erroneous decisions in the Philadelphia and Lexington, Kentucky, bank merger cases, I sponsored a bill, which became law early this year after a long and arduous legislative course.

The act wrote new rules, applicable both to the banking agencies in decisions under the Merger Act and to the courts in cases under the antitrust laws, which require the agencies and the courts to consider both competitive factors and the public interest.

This new law is now being considered by several courts—the recent decision in the Crocker-Anglo case is the first to be handed down. I trust the final result this time will be in accordance with the intentions and expectations of the Congress.

The whole field of banking and monetary policy has been under review for more than a decade. In 1956 I undertook a broad review of the laws applicable to banks and other financial institutions, with the help of an experienced and imaginative advisory committee.

The Financial Institutions Act of 1957, which grew out of this study, would have codified and brought up to date the entire body of law in this field. Although the bill, which passed the Senate, did not become law, virtually all its provisions have since been enacted in other bills.

In the past year or so banks have been faced with serious problems resulting from efforts to contain inflationary tendencies by monetary policies alone. Increasing demands, stimulated by the Viet Nam conflict, as well as by private credit expansion, have resulted in greater use of productive capacity and fuller employment, in rapidly increasing demands for credit, particularly by industry and by Federal and state governments, and in strong upward pressures on wholesale and retail prices.

The Federal Reserve Board has done its best to prevent these tendencies from resulting in an inflationary explosion, but needed, and should have had, help from the Government by a substantial reduction in domestic spending. Too late to prevent price increases and higher interest rates, will be a bill next year to increase personal and corporate income taxes.

What will the future bring? We are a growing nation, and obviously banking and other financial institutions will grow and develop—perhaps not as rapidly as in the past decade of unprecedented boom. We may expect improvements in mechanical and management processes, but no mechanical device can take the place of able, trained and dedicated leadership.

Even if we cannot foretell how banking will develop, we can make some suggestions as to the underlying principles which should guide this development within the framework of our free enterprise society, our democratic way of life, and our desire for growth and improvement in living standards.

The fundamental principle, of course, is that banking must continue to serve the changing needs of commerce and industry, of the government and the public. Banks must continue to be nurseries of national wealth and must continue to provide our country with a flexible money supply. Banking must constantly justify its existence by its service to the country and the people.

Banking must be competitive—competitive in its own field and competitive with other financial institutions—if it is to provide the best service to its customers. A multiplicity of banks, large and small, state and national, is an effective, practical guarantee of continued competition in banking.

Bankers must always recognize that they are the custodians of other people's money. Bankers must be responsible in the conduct of their own banks, and they must take responsibility for the conduct of other bankers and the entire industry.

Bankers should also undertake their share of responsibility, as bankers and as citizens, for good state and Federal banking laws and regulation and for sound fiscal and monetary policies.

On a broader scale bankers should, as bankers and as citizens, undertake their share of responsibility for management and labor, for politics and government, and for our free enterprise economy, and democratic way of life.

Bankers should be among the first to recognize the importance of the principles noted by Mr. Speaker King—the supremacy of law, the separation of law from politics, the equality of all citizens before the law, and above all respect for the individual—and they should be strong leaders in every effort to preserve and promote these indispensable aspects of our way of life.

While my official connection with your

operations will end on January 2nd, I am not going to say good-bye, but only until we meet again, because I shall always take an interest in everything that affects you.

Thank you.

[The audience arose and applauded.]

President HINKLE. It is always a pleasure to have Senator Robertson on our program and this year is no exception.

THE RHODE ISLAND HOSPITAL TRUST CO.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in this period of strain and change on the national scene, I am proud to salute an institution that has withstood the toughest tests of 100 years of service—the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co. of Providence.

Mr. President, the Providence Sunday Journal Business Weekly, February 12, 1967, has described the many accomplishments of this fine bank which ranks 111th among the 300 largest banks in the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD as noteworthy for our fellow Americans, all of whom are affected by the activities of institutions like the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOSPITAL TRUST CO. MARKS 100TH YEAR OF GROWTH, SERVICE TO RHODE ISLAND

(By Joseph L. Goodrich)

If, as some say, the first hundred are the hardest, then Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co. should have some pretty smooth sailing in the years ahead.

This year is Hospital Trust's one hundredth. In retrospect, the bank grew substantially despite four national financial panics, the great depression of the 1930's, three major wars and two big hurricanes.

The bank, whose 100 years makes it New England's oldest trust company, is now the second largest commercial bank in Rhode Island and ranks 111th among the 300 largest banks in the United States.

Hospital Trust was chartered on May 29, 1867 by the General Assembly and although it did not open its doors for business until sometime in January, 1868, its corporate organization was established in 1867.

Its initial capitalization was $500,000. In spite of the rough going caused by the convulsions of the national economy, the bank was able to grow soundly and significantly. Today the bank has eight million dollars in $10 par value capital stock outstanding. Its capital accounts, which include capital stock, surplus, undivided profits and reserves, exceed 44.7 million dollars.

In this 100th year, growth is continuing. On Feb. 3 the bank's total assets went over the half-billion mark for the first time in its history. On that date the total was $505,217,000 or 19.1 million more than the total at the end of last year.

While the 505.2 million is only a one-day internal figure which would be subject to some adjustment for reporting purposes, nevertheless, it was accomplished without Federal Reserve Bank borrowing and Hospital Trust executives regard it as a significant milestone in the bank's growth.

Hospital Trust's 100th anniversary observance will be launched officially by Clarence H. Gifford Jr., president, at the bank's annual stockholders' meeting Thursday.

On that same day and for four weeks thereafter, the bank will place on display in its main banking hall an 1867 carriage borrowed from the Rhode Island Historical Society, and will display in its trust department, a large model of the steamboat Bristol, borrowed from the Newport Historical Society.

Next Sunday, the bank will sponsor a special anniversary supplement in the Providence Sunday Journal to focus public attention on the celebration.

These are the first in a series of 100th anniversary events which will be sponsored by the bank. One of the highlights will be the publication late in May of a hard-cover book entitled "The First Hundred Years" written for the bank by Florence Parker Simister, a writer and researcher who has gained considerable renown for her "Streets of the City" series presented for many years over Radio Station WEAN, one of the Providence Journal stations.

The book, which will include many illustrations, including a reproduction on the jacket of a painting by Maxwell Mays showing the bank's main office in 1912, traces the development of Hospital Trust from 1867 to the present.

Theme for the year-long observance is "It's been a colorful century . . . and tomorrow's is even brighter." But it also was a century of challenges and pitfalls, some of which were peculiar to a young, somewhat immature America and may never occur again.

The original purpose of organizing Hospital Trust was to provide a source of income for the Rhode Island Hospital, hence explaining the bank's name. Originally, the bank was to pay the hospital one-third of any net income above a six per cent return. Subsequently, the hospital agreed to modify this in exchange for 100 shares of stock. Today, the hospital continues to be a major stockholder.

Mrs. Simisters' book follows the development of the bank from its start in rooms on the second floor of the then Mechanics Bank Building at 37 South Main St. She took a look behind the scenes and found that the bank has been a rock of stability in this state in times of national economic turmoil.

Most banks today are pretty smug about what they regard as their modern approach to customer relations. They pride themselves at being more considerate of the public than were their 19th century predecessors. A year or so ago, Hospital Trust, for example, had a promotion campaign stressing "Blue Ribbon" treatment of customers, using the slogan "You're First With Us at Hospital Trust."

EMPHASIS ON GOOD MANNERS AN OLD TRADITION AT BANK

In Mrs. Simister's book, this blue ribbon treatment of customers is disclosed as sort of old hat for Hospital Trust. It was doing this 85 years ago.

In 1882, Robert H. I. Goddard, the second generation of Goddards to serve on the bank's board of directors, laid down the principles for the blue ribbon treatment during the few months he was serving as temporary president of the institution.

In a directive written for employes that year, he reminded that "it is the little acts of kindness and courtesy which give to an institution of this kind character and popularity in the community. . . ."

Stressing that "knowledge of good manners is as important in a bank office as a knowledge of accounts, especially for those coming in contact with the public," Mr. Goddard wrote that "a foolish question or remark from a customer will not be considered as an excuse for the slightest rudeness of manners."

He directed that a clerk is bound all the more to assist or give information "in a courteous and kindly spirit" when a customer or "any person visiting the banking rooms" shows a lack of knowledge of business methods.

Modern bankers have regarded themselves as the discoverers of this customer relations approach. Mrs. Simister's book shows that they were almost a century late.

Hospital Trust was only six years old when it weathered its first national financial panic. That was in 1873 when a "monetary convulsion" swept the country, causing runs on banks in major cities and bringing about the collapse of the A & W Sprague Manufacturing Co. empire in Rhode Island. At least 15 banks in the state failed, suspended operations or reorganized as the result of the failure of the giant Sprague family textile operation.

Representatives of the Hospital Trust played an active role in efforts to salvage the wreckage. The whole state was shaken by the experience, and directors of Hospital Trust took steps to strengthen the bank against any similar eventualities in the future.

In May, 1884, another financial convulsion swept the country, and again Hospital Trust weathered the storm. The bank continued to grow and in 1891, the bank moved into a building at 15 Westminster St. which in 1918 would be replaced by the first section of the present Hospital Trust Building.

The bank came through the financial panic of 1893 and weathered the one in 1907 while 10 other banks in the state were forced to liquidate.

In 1929, the stock market crash heralded the beginning of the worst financial storm. By November, 1930, there were 62 bank closings in the nation and it became evident the economy was sinking into a deep depression. By 1932 there were 3,500 bank failures. Then in March, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a bank holiday. During it, Rhode Island banks issued script to keep business going. When the banks in the state were permitted to reopen, they found that public confidence had not been shaken.

Hospital Trust has operated through three major wars—the Spanish-American, World War I and World War II—and has been in the middle of two hurricanes. The first, coming in 1938, had sent a tidal flood into its basement vaults, causing extensive damage to bank records and securities and the contents of safe deposit boxes. Learning from the first one, Hospital Trust adopted protective measures and came through Hurricane Carol in 1954 with minimum damage.

The bank owes its ability not just to survive but to grow in the face of adversity to the sound banking practices of its leaders, starting with William Binney, a Providence lawyer and first president of Hospital Trust, who is regarded as the organizer of the bank, and continuing with presidents like Alexander Farnum, Herbert J. Wells, who retired in 1919 after service as president for 35 years, and Thomas H. West Jr., who departmentalized the various banking functions.

In celebrating its first hundred years this year, Hospital Trust will be paying tribute to that early leadership in focusing on the present day successes of the institution.

Other events planned include the 100th Anniversary Dinner for Hospital Trust directors, officers, board of managers and members and wives at Agawam Hunt May 12. A businessmen's forum is planned for later this year.

At the end of this month, the bank will publish a 38-page booklet entitled "Capitol Hill" which will contain a rundown on state legislators, the state's governors, state offices and the Rhode Island congressional delegation.

The bank already has introduced its new corporate symbol consisting of a modernistic combination of the letters "H" and "T." The symbol appears on the front cover of the 1966 annual report. This symbol will appear on tie clips and pins to be worn by members of the 892 members of the Hospital Trust staff during the year.

STATE DEPARTMENT ASSURANCES

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, yesterday I received a letter from Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach giving me certain assurances with respect to the proposed Consular Treaty.

For the present I shall restrict my observations on this letter to the statement that this letter is an improvement on the February 17, 1967, letter of Assistant Secretary Douglas MacArthur II to me on this subject.

Because of the interest in this matter, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of Secretary Katzenbach be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, March 6, 1967.

Hon. MARGARET CHASE SMITH,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR SMITH: I am writing in response to some of the questions you raised with respect to the proposed Consular Treaty with the U.S.S.R.

As you know, the treaty itself does not provide for the opening of new consulates but merely states the rights and conditions under which consular officials operate in the two countries. One set of provisions provides that the consulate officials acquire the same immunity from legal processes customarily associated with embassies and diplomatic representatives. Another set of provisions deals with the rights of consular officials to have immediate notification and access to citizens who are accused of wrongdoing by the authorities of the other state. These provisions are of particular interest and importance to the United States, and they would come into effect immediately upon signing of the treaty and irrespective to the opening of any consulates.

Under these provisions, U.S. officials performing consular services (including those performing such services now in the embassy in Moscow) would be entitled to immediate notification and continuing access to American citizens in difficulty with Russian authorities. We now have no such rights and under Russian law a person can be held for months without the right to notify his embassy, without charges being placed against him and without the right to counsel. Under the proposed treaty, the Russians would have to notify us within 48 hours of an arrest and we would have continuing access after a period not to exceed two to four days.

There are two interesting ironies in this situation. The first is that under the terms of the treaty, the Russians would be giving to American citizens rights far in excess of those provided under their own law to their own citizens. The second is that the Soviet Union acquires no rights under these provisions in the U.S. which they do not already enjoy and which we could not, even if we desired to do so, withdraw. Under our Constitution, a person traveling in this country is entitled to all the rights provided for in the treaty. So in this respect we are gaining important rights in the U.S.S.R. which we don't presently have, and they are getting no fundamental rights in the U.S. which they do not presently enjoy as a matter of Constitutional law.

I believe the rights gained for the U.S. are significant. About 18 thousand Americans annually visit the U.S.S.R.. Only about one thousand Russians visit the U.S.A. While a relatively few numbers get into difficulty with Soviet authorities, it is a matter of great importance for those who do that they have assurances of protection by their government.

With respect to the actual opening of the consulates, there has been no agreement with the Soviet Government, in the negotiations on the Consular Convention or separately, for the opening of any consulates in either country. We have no present plans for taking such action. If and when in the future the Department of State should consider proceeding toward the opening of a consulate, I can assure you that we would consult fully with the Foreign Relations Committee and other interested Senators before reaching any decision. The views of the Committee and of the Leadership on both sides of the aisle would be among the important considerations we would take into account in making a final determination.

I wish also to give further assurance that, in the event of our proposing to agree to the establishment of a Soviet consulate in this country, we would discuss the question with the municipal authorities of any American city under consideration as the site, since the views of the municipality would, of course, be important in reaching any final determination. As the Secretary stated in his testimony on the Consular Convention before the Foreign Relations Committee, we would not wish to proceed with the opening of a consulate against the will of the responsible local authorities.

In the event a Soviet consulate were established in this country, we would insist that the number of Soviet consular personnel enjoying immunities under the Convention be limited, and in no case would it exceed the number of Americans to receive identical immunities in the consulate we would open in the Soviet Union.

We are firmly convinced that this Convention is essential to obtain those rights we need to protect Americans traveling in the Soviet Union. We are also convinced it is in our national interest. I hope you will find it possible, in the light of these assurances, to give the Convention your support.

Sincerely,
NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH.

TRIBUTE TO SECRETARY McNAMARA

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, we in this body are quite aware of the truly significant service which has been rendered this Nation by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. His achievements in the high office he holds are great, as were his achievements before entering the service of his Government. Yet, to many he remains a puzzle, as reporter Joseph Alsop says in his column, "Matter of Fact," which I have taken from the Washington Post. But, far from being "a human computer," as he is often reported to be, our Secretary of Defense is, in Alsop's words, "exceedingly humane, generous, and kindly." But he is efficient, too. He has done his job efficiently, applying technology as never before to the maintenance of our Military Establishment.

Mr. President, Joseph Alsop's column on Robert McNamara, "The New Harpalus," is a good portrait of a good man who is doing a good job. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW HARPALUS

(By Joseph Alsop)

Leaving for the Far East, for yet another on-the-spot look at the war, this reporter finds himself obsessed with the puzzle of Robert S. McNamara.

Here, to begin with, is an innovator of historic dimensions, quite on a par with Alexander the Great's hunchbacked cousin, Harpalus, who literally invented the profession of Defense Minister (at any rate in the West, for they had defense ministers in China long before). Yet almost no one understands the real nature of McNamara's innovations.

They chiefly have to do with what may be described as the problem of Nelson's "Victory" versus the "Poseidon" missiles. The keel of "Victory" was laid in Great Chatham's wars and the ship cost a mere 70,000 pounds; yet "Victory" was still fit to serve as Nelson's flagship and to lead the British line at Trafalgar.

In contrast, America's "Polaris" submarine fleet was completed hardly more than a couple of years ago, at cost of many billions of dollars. Yet these submarines must now be modified, at a cost of still further billions, to receive the new "Poseidon" missiles.

In other words, technological development has now accelerated to an almost frightening degree; and this acceleration in turn continuously demands new defense choices of life-and-death importance and truly staggering cost.

From the time of Harpalus until the time of McNamara, however, there had been hardly any change in the old way of making defense choices.

The old way was for the services' senior officers to make defense choices by hunch, by rule of thumb, and in the light of their own past experience. This was all very well until technology accelerated too greatly. But it was by no means well, when cavalry generals began to have to make choices about airplanes, or when big-bomber generals had to make choices about missiles.

Worse still, inter-service rivalries, ingrained bad habits and the sheer vastness of the Defense Establishment made the problem I have been trying to define the biggest, most tangled administrative problem in the history of the U.S. Government.

Almost miraculously, McNamara cut straight through the tangle, with an exceedingly simple though radical solution.

Briefly, he substituted statistical compilation and logical analysis for hunch, rule-of-thumb and the dictates of by-now-always-obsolete experience.

This was a wholly new way of making defense choices, never before attempted. At first it caused great pain and outrage, but it is the heart and essence of the McNamara reforms at the Pentagon.

History suggests that very great military innovations, such as the McNamara reforms, tend in the end to have very great social-political consequences. Certainly the innovations of Harpalus had such consequences, and so have many others in the past. About this matter, however, one must rather apprehensively wait and see, except in one respect.

In brief, the McNamara reforms produced completely ready, completely trained armed forces—the first such forces the United States has ever had in peacetime. For good or ill, this in turn produced the Vietnamese war. For we should have been most unlikely to enter the war, if the armed forces had not been completely ready. And if we had entered the war with unready forces, as in Korea in 1950, the result would have been catastrophic.

Such, then, is the right way to measure Robert McNamara's achievement. In the light of history, it may appear still greater than it does today for the reasons above-noted. Meanwhile, however, McNamara remains a puzzle, because this strange man is not what he seems.

Far from being a human computer, as so often reported, he is exceedingly humane, generous and kindly—unless provoked to sternness by inefficiency, which he detests. Far from being narrow and mechanical, he is a man of the widest interests, close, indeed, to being learned. And far from being a hawk with blood-stained talons, he has been about the strongest single influence on the side of keeping the Vietnamese war sanely limited, both in methods and in aims.

The real reason why he is an obsessive puzzle at the moment, however, is that he is so obviously far less at ease as a War Minister, than he used to be as a Defense Minister. He does not speak with the same clear voice as in the past. He is reluctant to claim progress. He is hesitant to hail accomplishment.

Partly, no doubt, this is because it must always be difficult for a truly humane man to be a successful War Minister. Yet one suspects in fact that the real trouble is that once you get into a war, statistical compilation and logical analysis lose much of their value, while hunch, rule-of-thumb and past experience walk in the other door. Here, perhaps, is the true source of McNamara's visible unease, which by no means diminishes the immense debt that is owing to him.

VIETNAM ROADS SAFE FOR DRIVING

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, there are many ways to measure our successes in Vietnam to date, but in a news analysis carried Sunday in the Washington Post, Reporter Ward Just provided us with a down-to-earth measurement. He was supporting the views of Presidential Assistant Robert Komer, who returned to Washington recently to say the situation in Vietnam has improved considerably in recent months. Just measured that improvement in roads—roads once too dangerous to travel, but now safe for even American civilians. The key Route 1, the late Bernard Fall's "Street Without Joy" should soon be open from Hue all the way south to Bongson, he reported. Those who have been in Vietnam know that this, indeed, will be a milestone, when this major highway, along with the others already secured, is safe for travel.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 5, 1967]

Progress in Viet War: Roads Become Safe for Driving

(By Ward Just)

Saigon.—When presidential assistant Robert Komer returned to Washington from Vietnam recently, his report to the White House was that the situation in Vietnam has considerably improved in recent months.

Shortly before leaving at the end of his visit here, Komer said he was encouraged by the progress being made.

"While we still face many problems," he said, "they are increasingly the problems of success rather than those of averting catastrophe."

There have been official expressions of optimism in the past, and most of these have proved unfounded. Vietnam is a graveyard for optimists. But at the moment, Komer's views parallel those of most observers here.

The problem for American officials in Vietnam has always been one of measurement. In a war where territory won is not held, how is progress measured? The dead have been piling up at an appalling rate for two years, yet nothing seems to change. Where is the improvement? Where are the grounds for optimism?

The answer is: roads.

In the Central Highlands, it is now possible to drive from Kontum to Pleiku to Banmethout, a distance of about 150 miles spanning three provinces.

From Quinhon, an adventurous driver can motor south 200 miles through Phuyen and Khanhhoa Provinces to Phanrang, the seaport only 100 or so miles northeast of Saigon. The road is rutted, and a vehicle is liable to receive an occasional—but very occasional—sniper round, but the road is open.

American civilians now drive without fear of ambush to Vungtau—the fishing village called Cap St. Jacques by the French, and resembling a down-at-the-heel Cannes. Elements of the U.S. 173d Airborne Brigade protect the road.

Haunghia Province to the west of Saigon, once one of the most dangerous provinces in South Vietnam, is gradually yielding to battalion-sized American sweeps. American civilians now drive through Haunghia to Tayninh and on to the Cambodian border.

Lt. Gen. Stanley R. (Swede) Larsen, commander of the I Field Force (corresponding to the South Vietnamese II Corps) and Lt. Gen. Jonathan Seamen, commander of the II Field Force (corresponding to the South Vietnamese III Corps) promised Komer during his visit that the Saigon-Dalat route will soon be open to traffic.

Last summer, a Vietnamese traveling on a local bus from Saigon to Dalat was stopped no fewer than five times by Vietcong units collecting taxes.

In the Mekong Delta, knowledgeable Americans say it is safe to drive from Saigon to Camau, the capital of southernmost Anxuyen Province.

In the northernmost I Corps, Marine commandant Maj. Gen. Lewis W. Walt says he will soon open Route 1—the late Bernard Fall's "Street Without Joy"—from Hue all the way south to Bongson in northern Binhdinh Province. Route 1 is a highway of immense economic importance that spans five provinces.

The opening of roads does not mean the winning of the war in Vietnam, but it is a beginning. One experienced American official, a normally skeptical observer not given to optimism, says the situation here is now comparable to the early months of 1963.

If that judgment sounds depressing, it should be remembered that the situation had been steadily deteriorating from 1963 until recently. To compare today's situation with 1963 is to say that matters have greatly improved.

SAN ANTONIO IS CLEANEST TOWN IN AMERICA

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. Clean has had it. The new cleanliness champion is San Antonio, Tex.

Last week San Antonio was voted the American city with the most outstanding cleanup and beautification program in the country. This is the second time San Antonio has won this prize, having won first place in 1955. San Antonio has won 19 awards in 17 years of competition in the contest.

Congratulations are in order for James E. Whiteaker, president of the Beautify San Antonio Association, and the other officers and directors of the association who were in Washington for the contest—Mrs. S. E. Cockrell, O. P. Schnabel, Emil Mori, Ed Davis, Mrs. E. B. Jobe, Mrs. Mary Spencer, and Gene Neely.

In addition to being clean, San Antonio is a beautiful city with a rich heritage. The city is planning a great celebration of its 250th anniversary in 1968 with the HemisFair 1968 Exposition.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Wednesday, February 22, San Antonio Express on San Antonio's winning the Cleanest Town Contest be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

San Antonio Wins Cleanest Town Prize Over 233 Competitors

(By John L. Moore)

Washington.—A smiling band of Texans headed for home Tuesday, happy that San Antonio has the best clean-up and beautification program in the country, and bearing the Trigg Trophy to prove it.

The selection of San Antonio as winner of the award, over 232 other contestants, came as a complete surprise to the city's delegation at the National Cleanest Town Achievement Conference, which ended Tuesday.

"We heard rumors that some place in Utah had won," said Mrs. S. E. Cockrell Jr., a San Antonio city councilwoman. "Of course, we were pleased that our city had won a trophy earlier as one of the best entries. But we were hoping to win the big one, too, and when San Antonio got it we were thrilled."

In San Antonio, Chamber of Commerce Vice President David Straus praised the local association, a division of the Chamber of Commerce, and said "every citizen of San Antonio owes a vote of thanks to the hard-working members."

"We feel this will let everyone all across America know that San Antonio is not a 'drab city' as some choose to describe it, but a city of beauty and charm which takes pride in itself and holds high the standard of cleanliness," he added.

His reference to the phrase "drab city" alluded to a recent comment included in William Manchester's book, "Death of a President."

This is the second time San Antonio has won the first prize in the beautification competition. It won first place in 1955. In all, San Antonio has won 19 awards in 17 years of competition in the national contest.

Surprised or not, Mrs. Cockrell managed to get in a few plugs for San Antonio when she accepted the Trigg Award from Orville Freeman, secretary of agriculture. She accepted for Mayor W. W. McAllister and James E. Whiteaker, president of Beautify San Antonio Association. Whiteaker was present.

She told the audience that the HemisFair city's beautification efforts had been spurred by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's April 1 visit to turn on the new aesthetic lighting along the San Antonio River Walk.

Mrs. Cockrell said the First Lady's interest in natural beauty has been a strong incentive to clean-up efforts in cities all over the country.

In her acceptance remarks, Mrs. Cockrell also attributed San Antonio's success to the May 9 beautification conference sponsored by the City Council as a follow-up to last year's White House conference, the efforts of Beautify San Antonio Association, garden club and neighborhood programs, and beautification projects at the five military bases in the area.

Another big factor, she said, is the "total citizen effort" in San Antonio to tidy up for the thousands of visitors who will be attracted to the city in 1968 by HemisFair.

Mrs. Cockrell was a panelist at the three-day conference on the role of government in beautification. As a panelist she sat at the head table next to Charles Haar, undersecretary of housing and urban development, who recently visited the city.

This afforded Mrs. Cockrell an opportunity to get more information about participation in the "model cities" program, in which San Antonio is interested. She also met Dan Ogden, assistant director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and promised to send him material about the River Walk for possible inclusion in a new book about urban beautification.

The whole conference, she said, "was a good opportunity to sell San Antonio, which I love."

Others taking part were Whiteaker, O. P. Schnabel, Emil Mori, Ed Davis, Mrs. E. B. Jobe, Mrs. Mary Spencer and Gene Neeley, all officers or directors of the association.

DR. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, at great intervals in the history of men there flashes across humanity's horizon a personality and mind unique in the gifts it possesses and in a class by itself in how it utilizes those gifts. Such a man was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who has been called father of the atom bomb.

I knew Dr. Oppenheimer when he was Director of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in my home State of New Mexico, where American nuclear physics gained its first maturity, and where he supervised that awesome, terrible birth that has changed the direction of human history.

He was in many ways a Rennaissance man, or, to put it more simply, a master of many disciplines. Not satisfied with being a giant in his chosen field, he extended the reach of his knowledge and tendrils of his intellectual curiosity into the cultural world, always asking why such a thing was so.

Not a mere creator and masterer of our environment was Dr. Oppenheimer. He can never be classified with those men who destroy in the name of science, and then step back to piously proclaim that they were not responsible for uses to which the fruits of their minds were put. He had a deep awareness of the moral consequences of human behavior that went hand in hand with his curiosity, his quest for truth, and his desire to aid his fellow man to evolve to a higher plane of existence.

He had a fire within him to impart his knowledge to those who sought to learn, and became, as a result, that exceptional man who was not content to sit in lonely laboratory solitude, but rather one who sought to attract bright, inquiring minds so he could aid them in their search for enlightenment. Throughout his career he was sought out continually by the most brilliant of our youth who wished to not only mature as scientists, but as men and women of conscience, humanity, and love for their fellows.

The Enrico Fermi prize is quite possibly the height of heights to a physicist. This he attained, and rightly so. But he reached heights as a man that matched his successes as a man of science.

For he dared ask questions that others would not ask. He felt in his heart of hearts that man is responsible for his actions to his fellows and afterward. How different he was from those men of the last Great War who laid the priceless gifts of their minds upon the altars of tyranny without thinking twice of the horrors that would be wrought by others who seized those fruits with such eager, bloodstained hands.

Mr. President, Dr. Oppenheimer loved our country with a passion that is indescribable. One had to feel it emanating from the man to plumb even a small part of the depths of his feeling. When his clearance was withdrawn it did not mean he had been disloyal. Dr. Oppenheimer was incapable of disloyalty to this Republic.

It was this love of country that allowed him to remain silent after this occurrence. It was because of that feeling that he never vocalized his disappointment or asked for favor. His silence was acceptance of the verdict of his contemporaries on the subject of his entitlement to continued clearance.

His name and honor are unbesmirched, and history's verdict will bear out the truth of that statement. May I remind each of us here that the future gazes at acts of the past with a terrible objectivity. Many wither under that tranquil scrutiny. Robert Oppenheimer will thrive under it.

Mr. President, a man who has the intellectual honesty to match his pure intellect is too rare, and when he is gone, there is a void in the collective conscience of mankind matching the gaping hole such a man's departure leaves upon the world of scholarship and research. In the case of Dr. Oppenheimer, our loss is painfully evident on all scores.

Rather than repeating customary things said when a man of talent and character passes from among us, let us remain aware of those lessons his life and behavior teach all of us.

For human gifts can be human curses. Each creation of man's mind can devastate his fellows as well as bless them. Man carries within him seeds of his own destruction as well as those of his salvation.

Dr. Oppenheimer has left us a heritage as well as an awesome force. If we do not understand the former, we can never fully enjoy the blessings of the latter. His life is a warning as well as a beacon. We are running out of time in which to do our homework and learn our lessons.

He shall be remembered. A man turbulently brilliant, frighteningly wise, amazingly accomplished, not to be soon forgotten.

May he find the surcease in death that he searched for so unavailingly in life.

CENTENNIAL OF U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, the U.S. Office of Education was recently described as "the place where the action is."

This description, coming as the Office marks its centennial anniversary on March 4, is a succinct summing up of our national drive to assure full educational opportunity throughout the land.

In successive pieces of pioneering and reinforcing legislation, the Congress has provided our educational system with new and visionary tools for improvement. The object has been far more than a narrow search for better systems of teaching specific subjects.

President Johnson, in his recent budget message and in the 1967 budget itself, summed up both the reasons for this new emphasis and its goals when he said:

> Our Nation's greatness depends upon the full development of the talents and abilities of its citizens. . .
>
> Education is an essential investment for social and economic progress in our Nation.

In pursuit of the fullest possible social and economic progress, we have passed, and the Federal Government has implemented such recent legislation as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Higher Education Act, the Library Services and Construction Act, and legislation concerning specific areas of study such as the Health Professions Act.

This list is far from complete. It does, however, point out the increasing commitment of the Nation toward education as a means of improving our national life.

This vast commitment has benefited from and generated interest by gifted educators and public servants all across the country.

We have given the Office of Education the key task of directing our program of Federal assistance to education. In so doing, we have considerably widened the responsibility of the Office.

Its main function of past years, that of collecting and disseminating data on education, has broadened into a vigorous and far-reaching program of research at every level of learning. Experimentation in education, sponsored by the Federal Government, is one of our most promising avenues toward the broad social advancement that is the ultimate aim of the whole educational effort.

Effective education, we hope, can assist us in the eradication of poverty, in the advancement of equal opportunity, in the wiping away of prejudice, and in the total marshaling of our national assets for the betterment of our Nation and all the individuals in it.

Most recently, we have turned our attention to the role education can play in helping us meet our growing world responsibilities and in understanding the thought and actions of other nations.

The International Education Act of 1966 is our newest program in education legislation. Several Federal agencies are to jointly establish a center for educational cooperation to coordinate governmental activities in fields of international education. A system of grants for instruction and research in international studies and related fields was established by the act and awaits funding.

In all truth, this Nation has demonstrated convincingly its stalwart conviction that our schools, whether they serve the toddler or the adult, must be brought to the highest level of efficiency and service.

I wish to add a bit of special emphasis here on technical and vocational education, which the U.S. Office of Education is working on so effectively throughout the Nation.

Mr. President, I have a special hope for this type of education, for as we are well aware, most of our young people do not continue on to college and university. It has been one of the tragedies of our time that uncounted thousands of youngsters have been trapped in the college preparatory courses, without enough access to the technical and vocational education that would have prevented their dropping out of school.

Now we are aware of the needs of these youngsters who are already out of school or on the verge of dropping out. Now we are helping to construct technical and vocational education facilities that will draw them as well as the underemployed and those whose skills have been dated by technology into these institutions, where they can be converted from dropouts and people on welfare into taxpayers and contributors to their communities and States.

Through acts like the Technical and Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Smith-Hughes Act, George Barden Act and the Economic Development Administration we are putting up and helping to maintain, equip and staff these facilities, meeting localities and States a good part of the way.

In my home State of New Mexico, these programs promise much for the future of people who have had but little to look forward to. With any kind of good planning and cooperation, we shall be able to create a series of these schools, each serving students drawn from several school districts.

The efforts of the U.S. Office of Education are an integral part of that effort, which holds so much for so many. It is through the Office of Education that we have had so much success. Therefore, I wish to pay them my most sincere compliments on their centennial.

It is vastly encouraging, therefore, to know that the Office of Education is where the action is.

Although the Federal Government remains a junior partner to the State, local and private agencies that direct and administer our system of education, its contribution can be immense.

The amount of money we spend and the number of man-hours we devote to education on the Federal level, though large in quantity, are small in proportion to the problems they seek to resolve. They are small also in terms of the dividends they can pay if properly used.

But the "action" represented by the Office of Education—constructive thought and careful experimentation, as well as a continuing receptiveness to new ideas and techniques—can have a beneficial effect that multiplies geometrically as its results are disseminated.

In sum, all this is a tangible pledge of our earnest desire that our Nation's mighty resources shall be bent to constructive ends, the chief of which remains fulfillment of the individual.

ANTICRIME LEGISLATION

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I welcome this opportunity to cosponsor and endorse the President's proposed program against crime and commend him for the farsighted crime message which he sent to Congress on February 6, 1967.

There are certain national objectives which are vital to every citizen of this country, and the elimination of crime is one of the foremost among these objectives. We cannot sit back and expect the existing law enforcement agencies to solve the problem without aid from Congress and from all the citizens of the United States.

At the heart of the program is the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. This legislative proposal recognizes that crime is essentially a local problem that must be dealt with by local and State governments. The magnitude of the problem, however, demands that Federal assistance on a substantial scale be thrown into the fight.

The proposal will provide an effective means of lending Federal support without infringing on the independence and autonomy of the local authorities.

The additional resources which would be available under the bill to both Federal and local authorities will facilitate better training for law enforcement personnel, acquisition of modern equipment and facilities, incorporation of innovative techniques for apprehension of the lawless, and improvements in rehabilitation processes and procedures.

The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967 will not solve all of the problems. No simple or easy solution is available.

It will, however, firmly commit the Federal Government to a role of leadership and support. Within the framework of our established and traditional separation of responsibilities, it will let all levels of Government work together to fight the common enemy—crime and lawlessness.

I believe this proposal to be a sound, imaginative approach which will make a substantial contribution to the life of our society.

Coupled with the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967 are several other valuable legislative proposals designed to aid in eliminating crime.

First, firearms control legislation. All citizens of the United States are aware of the danger presented by the possession of firearms by irresponsible and criminal members of our society. We have nothing to fear from the possession of firearms by responsible citizens in the pursuit of the legitimate goals of recreation or self-protection.

However, as I have repeatedly pointed out in the past, we must prevent indiscriminate purchase of weapons and control their use, so that our citizens are protected from their unlawful and destructive use.

We must deter crime and acts of violence by making more difficult the acquisition of dangerous weapons for use as instruments of crime.

The proposed firearms control legislation provides for licensing of firearms dealers in interstate commerce. It will also provide for keeping a record of all firearms purchases, to serve as an effective law enforcement tool as well as help to prevent weapons from getting into irresponsible hands.

I welcome this legislation and urge its adoption.

Second, legislation on criminal rehabilitation. In order to have a complete program of law enforcement, it is not sufficient simply to apprehend the criminals. Once they are brought before the processes of justice, we must have effective methods to rehabilitate the offenders.

We are all aware of the appallingly high rate of recidivism. The 89th Congress enacted legislation designed to improve rehabilitation. The instant proposal will create a U.S. correctional service which combines in a single agency the responsibility for supervision of convicted persons while in prison, on probation or parole, or in halfway houses.

These rehabilitation programs are presently very fragmented, being handled by a multiplicity of Government agencies. Under the proposed law, the new service will be able to unify all aspects of rehabilitation efforts and to develop a complete, overall program. This undoubtedly will make vastly more efficient and effective the rehabilitation process.

Third, legislation to establish a Federal Judicial Center. This center would study the problems of judicial administration and find means of eliminating the backlog of cases which crowd many of our court calendars. Our Nation's courts always have been institutions of which we can be proud, and this proposal is admirably designed to insure that our courts continue to meet the challenge of our society.

Fourth, wiretapping and eavesdropping legislation. It seems to me to be both fitting and proper that the President should include in his package of anticrime bills the use of wiretapping and eavesdropping.

I strongly believe, as I have repeatedly pointed out before, that the right to privacy guaranteed all Americans under the fourth amendment to the Constitution should be unequivocally and firmly secured to all.

The dignity of each individual, and in fact our whole way of life, demand that our citizens be guaranteed freedom from all forms of eavesdropping.

The proposed Right of Privacy Act of 1967 would prohibit all wiretapping public and private, except when the security of the Nation itself is at stake.

Even within this very narrow area in which electronic surveillance might be allowed, the bill prohibits the use of any information obtained by wiretapping or eavesdropping as evidence in judicial or administrative proceedings.

Another section of the bill would prohibit the manufacture, shipment, or advertisement of electronic surveillance devices, in order to cut off their supply to wiretappers and eavesdroppers.

While I am in basic accord with all provisions of this bill, it is my hope that, when the bill is taken up by the Judiciary Committee, language will be included to provide for the strictest possible control and supervision by the Federal courts of any electronic surveillance which might be allowed in the national interest.

In each of the four aspects I have mentioned, the administration's anticrime program is one of great scope and promise, designed to help fight crime on all fronts. I, for one, will wholeheartedly support the program and urge all fellow Members of Congress to join in this support. Our citizens must be freed from the menace of crime and our society made safe for the pursuit of happiness by all of our citizens.

THE OTHER WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, we are engaged in two wars in Vietnam. One war is being fought in the headlines with bombs and bullets and guns and men. But there is another war in Vietnam—the quiet war which may be as important, even more important than the fighting war. That is the war against fear, disease, degrading poverty, disorganization and anarchy, against hopelessness.

The American people ought to know that in spite of the most adverse and dangerous conditions, encouraging progress is being made in winning that other war in Vietnam.

I base my statement on the recent comments of Mr. David Lilienthal, a respected American figure, and Mr. Robert Komer, Special Assistant to the President, who have just returned from an on-the-spot inspection of our efforts in Vietnam. These gentlemen clearly indicated that there is a new and encouraging atmosphere in Vietnam today. A cross section of the people now believe that there is a future for their country—a future after the military conflict is over. That hope for the future is, in my opinion, a direct result of the success of U.S. efforts in fighting the other war.

Some dramatic statistics indicate the new turn of events. In 1963 the Government of Vietnam began an amnesty program for Vietcong members who chose voluntarily to leave their jungle hiding places for rehabilitation and return to normal Vietnamese life. In 1965, there were 11,000 returnees. In 1966 that figure almost doubled to more than 20,000. In 1967 that figure is expected to double again.

These are known figures. There are more Vietcong who just desert and return to their villages. In 1966 alone, some 684,000 refugees moved from insecure areas to relatively secure areas. Another three-fourths of a million refugees simply migrated to the cities seeking better opportunity.

These facts are dramatic. They indicate a growing disillusionment with Communist promises and Vietcong terrorism. They indicate a feeling by the enemy that a stable Vietnam Government is here to stay. They indicate the growing success of civilian economic, education, health, political, and security assistance programs which the American people support.

In March or April a new constitution for Vietnam will be completed. Local elections are soon scheduled to start. Runaway inflation has been halted. The critical rice shortage is being overcome. Roads, the lifeline of the country, once closed, have been opened and secured for the movement of goods and people. Imports under the food for freedom program more than doubled from 1966 to 1967.

The United States and other countries have helped expand Vietnam's industrial base with some 800 new industrial plants reported in 1966 employing 75,000 people. Vietnam is beginning to meet its own internal needs for certain domestic products. Local public administration has been improved. Thousands of refugees have been given short-term vocational training programs. New schools and hospitals have been built. Private U.S. firms have invested some $5 million in joint business enterprises. Medical and nursing training has been provided for Vietnamese doctors and nurses.

But beyond all these facts, there is a change in Vietnam, something intangible, something in the hearts and the minds of many Vietnamese. It is the feeling that today there is a future for the Republic of Vietnam. There is a future for its children. There is hope of emerging from feudal poverty and ignorance. And there is the belief that present military problems will be overcome.

Call it emerging democracy. Call it a freer and more secure atmosphere. Call it what you will. The war of the Vietnamese—for his own future, his own independence, his own higher standard of living, his own human dignity—is being won. And when it is won, finally, military victory will be a part of it. For a people determined to stand by itself will never be beaten by guns or bombs or bullets.

I believe history will record these years as the proudest in American life. We have given not only our soldiers to defend Vietnam, but our brains, our food, our tools, and the expertise of Americans from all walks of life to see to it that Vietnam succeeds. I believe that President Johnson deserves the fullest credit and public support for his efforts in the other war in Vietnam. I believe that long after every American soldier has left Vietnamese shores, there will remain living monuments to the vision, the compassion, and the greatness of the American spirit.

EXTENSION OF THE DRAFT

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the President's message on selective service, while far-reaching, has at its heart one basic conclusion—this Nation must continue a Selective Service System. This conclusion is correct.

Without selective service, what assurance would we have of meeting sudden national security commitments? No Member of this body need be reminded of Korea in 1950, Berlin in 1961, or Vietnam in 1965.

Without the draft, the services would lose a large proportion of the better educated entrants into service. We badly need such men in our modern mechanized forces. The Defense Department says that 58 percent of recent enlistees with post-high-school education volunteered because of the draft.

Some simple statistics summarize the whole problem. With volunteers alone, our Active Forces would be little more than 2 million. Our Active Forces now stand at 3.3 million. If the war goes on, they could reach 3.5 million by the middle of next year.

While we all look to the day when the need for such forces will subside, that day appears far distant. Until its coming, the Nation, I am sure, will share the conclusion that a system of selective service must continue.

What is urgently needed now, however, is not only the extension of a Selective Service System, but one that is as equitable as possible to all potential draftees.

Many plans have been proposed, and all deserve our most thorough study. I am especially anxious that any plan to eliminate undergraduate deferments be studied critically. This was one area in which the Advisory Commission on Selective Service Laws differed sharply.

While we agree, I am sure, that the draft must be continued, we must be aware of the need for public dialog on the question of ending deferments and other aspects of the proposed changes in the Selective Service System.

WELFARE AND PENSION FUND DISCLOSURE ACT

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on February 20, 1967, I introduced S. 1024 a bill to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act, which is the subject of a thoughtful and well-considered editorial published in the Wall Street Journal on March 3. I commend its message to the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial entitled "Policing Pension Funds."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICING PENSION FUNDS

One sound idea in President Johnson's consumer message to Congress, it seems to us, is for tighter policing of private pension plans.

The plans have grown so large and so important that plainly there should be greater concern about them. Little known less than three decades ago, they now cover 26 million employes and have amassed reserves of $90 billion.

As the President said, "The vast majority of welfare and pension plans are managed wisely by able officials, who follow the strictest code of fair dealing." Abuses exist, however; a few in company-run funds, but most flagrantly in those administered by union officials.

One union, for example, kept a large part of a plan's funds in a certain bank; in return, the union's officers got personal loans on favorable terms. In other instances union officials or their friends have borrowed directly from the pension fund to finance questionable ventures.

As things stand now, the beneficiaries—the employes—have sharply limited protection against pension trustees who maltreat their trust. A number of funds are handled by banks or insurance companies, which are closely and generally effectively supervised by state or Federal agencies or both. But many plans have no such protection.

Since the Federal Government in effect partly subsidizes the pension programs with special tax concessions, it has an obligation to see that these privileges are not misused, even though it often misuses its own regulatory functions. Under existing law, at any rate, pension trustees merely report the classes of their investments, not the specific uses of the funds. In many states employes have little if any legal recourse if funds are mismanaged.

In the circumstances, President Johnson's chief recommendations seem unobjectionable. Certainly it's difficult to think of any reason why pension plans should not be required to file complete annual reports on their investment operations; mutual funds long have done so, with no noticeable detriment to their growth.

Moreover, it appears reasonable to stipulate that pension funds should be audited once a year by independent public accountants. This procedure, followed routinely by most business firms of any size, would not be an excessive burden for funds that play so large a role in the future security of so many Americans.

In principle, at least, there also is little reason to quarrel with giving the Government—failing a practical alternative—adequate authority to look into suspected abuses of pension funds. If this power is properly circumscribed and reasonably used, there should be no cause to object to it in practice.

Wisely, we think, Mr. Johnson bypassed some other proposals that have been made for regulation of the pension funds. Thus more knowledge is needed before all pensions can be made "portable," allowing workers to take their pension rights with them when they change jobs. For one thing, it could work quite a hardship on relatively new funds which have accumulated only small reserves.

A good deal more study will be needed, too, before any sort of reinsurance setup can be established, protecting employes should their company go out of business. So far no one has advanced any very clear ideas as to how such a system would work, if it could be made to work at all.

As a starter, it seems sensible to insure, in so far as possible, that the funds are ably and honestly handled. Private plans are becoming an increasingly important adjunct to Social Security. And it's conceivable that healthy growth of pension funds could even help head off limitless expansion, and eventual wrecking, of the Social Security System itself.

Perhaps the Federal Government isn't an ideal choice as pension protector. Self-regulation is more appealing, and for most it's working. But it isn't for the notorious exceptions, and it is becoming clear that some authority should take on the job.

FIREARMS CONTROL

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in an editorial published on February 28, the Baltimore Sun commented that President Johnson's proposed gun control measure, which I introduced, followed a commonsense approach. That is clearly the case.

What makes more sense than proper procedures designed to keep weapons out of the hands of the criminal, the unbalanced? Thousands of persons are slain by firearms in this country each year, and thousands more are wounded.

I ask unanimous consent that the thoughtful editorial entitled "Firearms Control" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIREARMS CONTROL

Advocates of gun-control legislation, though perhaps more numerous than those who oppose such legislation, have lacked the means to make themselves heard. Now it may be possible to remedy this defect. A group of leading citizens, including J. Millard Tawes, Maryland's former governor, have founded an organization in Washington to be known as the National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy.

The Johnson Administration's bill to restrict mail-order and over-the-counter sales of firearms, similar to the measure defeated last year, offers a common-sense approach to gun control. It would create effective regulations while doing little, if anything, to deny sportsmen the right "to keep and bear arms" for hunting purposes. Maryland and some other states have laws to regulate over-the-counter sales of guns, but until the Federal Government acts the nation will have no regulatory policy worth the name.

MESSAGE OF LT. GEN. F. T. UNGER, U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER, AT OPENING OF 33D SESSION OF RYUKYU ISLANDS LEGISLATURE

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, on February 3, 1967, at the opening of the 33d session of the Legislature of the Ryukyu Islands Government, Lt. Gen. F. T. Unger, the new U.S. High Commissioner, delivered a message emphasizing harmony in the Ryukyu Islands. He said the United States has two objectives—advancing the general welfare of the people of Okinawa and maintaining an effective military base—leading toward ultimate reunification with Japan.

High Commissioner Unger is successor to Lt. Gen. Albert Watson, who returned to the United States last August after accomplishing an enviable record of economic and social development, and after building a stronger friendship bridge between the American administration and the people of the islands.

I am sure that Okinawa is in equally good hands under the leadership of General Unger.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his message be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MESSAGE OF HIGH COMMISSIONER F. T. UNGER TO THE LEGISLATURE, GOVERNMENT OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS, 33D SESSION

Mr. Speaker and Members of the Legislature, thank you for inviting me to address this opening session of the 33d Legislature. It is a pleasure to be here to speak to you, and through you to the people of the Ryukyu Islands.

As you know, I have lived among you for only a short period of time. This week marks the completion of my third month in office as the United States High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands.

I came to Okinawa with the dual objectives of advancing the welfare and well-being of the people of these islands, and of maintaining the effectiveness of the American military base. In the three months I have been here I have learned that the people of these islands also have two major objectives. The first is the improvement of their own welfare and well-being, and the second is their ultimate reunification with Japan.

It is obvious that you and I share the same objective of improving the livelihood of the people of the Ryukyu Islands.

Upon analysis, your objective of ultimate reunification with Japan is not incompatible with my objective of maintaining an effective military base. The President of the United States has said that Okinawa will be restored to full Japanese sovereignty just as soon as the security of the free nations in this part of the world will permit. Until that day arrives, and as a prerequisite for setting up conditions that will hasten the arrival of that day, the United States and the free nations of the Far East—Japan, and our other friends—must be capable of deterring aggression against their peoples and territories. An essential and indispensable part of that deterrent capability is the maintenance of an effective military base here in the Ryukyus. In this sense, the function of the military base is consistent with your goal of achieving the reunification of these islands with Japan.

Thus, we are both working for the welfare and well-being of the people, and we are both looking forward to the earliest possible date when circumstances will permit reunification with Japan. In this context, you and I are striving for the same objectives.

Our greatest opportunity for progress, however, lies in the field of improving the livelihood of the people of the Ryukyus, because reunification with Japan depends largely upon factors beyond your control and mine. Any change in the present governmental arrangement is a matter for determination by the Governments of Japan and the United States and, hence, is not a matter for those of us here to decide. Within the existing framework, however, I pledge you the greatest degree of cooperation in working towards a goal we here can attain—increased authority for the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

I have promised that I will delegate to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands an increasing amount of authority as fast as you create the necessary laws and means to exercise that authority. In keeping with this promise, I have already forwarded to the Chief Executive a list of 29 items of High Commissioner legislation which I shall rescind as soon as you pass enabling legislation and establish the requisite machinery to handle these functions.

In the field of economics, I extend my sincere congratulations to Chief Executive Matsuoka and his administration, to the legislators who supported his program, and to the leaders of the Okinawa business community for the tremendous progress achieved during the past year. Look about you; evidence of progress is everywhere, and this progress was brought about through mutual cooperation and effort.

In Fiscal Year 1966, which ended last June 30th, phenomenal progress was made in all sectors of the economy. The economic growth was unprecedented in Ryukyuan history with the Gross National Product recording $435.5 million, an increase of 18 percent over the $369.1 million of the previous year. This was the largest annual gain ever recorded for these islands. National Income rose to $401.9 million, a gain of 18.2 percent over the previous year, and Per Capita Income increased from $364 to $426, a rise of 17 percent over Fiscal Year 1965. These figures are not just cold statistics; they symbolize the efforts and industry of your people. The results show what can be achieved by Ryukyuan-American cooperation and dedication to common goals.

An intelligent and objective analysis of this record reveals that the role of the United States was a key one. The tremendous financial input of United States expenditures and activities in Fiscal Year 1966 was $239.5 million, which more than counterbalanced the external trade deficit caused by imports of $267.8 million and Ryukyuan exports of only $79.1 million. The benefits of this tremendous United States input have contributed immeasurably to your enviable position of full employment. Externally, these benefits are obvious to the casual observer, and are reflected daily in the great increase in the number of privately owned vehicles; more households with television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, and air conditioners; the quantum jump in personal consumption expenditures and personal savings. All of these are significant indicators of a higher standard of living for the people of the Ryukyu Islands.

The Government of the Ryukyu Islands is to be congratulated also for the very significant gains made in the social field during the past year. The creation of a retirement annuity plan and a medical insurance system were major steps forward. In public health, the new Okinawa Central Hospital was opened—one of the most modern medical facilities in the Far East. In education, a new commercial institute and a new trade and vocational school came into being and began the development of new skills and techniques for the youth of the Ryukyu Islands, in order to give them a better chance of finding gainful employment in the community. There were also constant efforts to raise the scholastic standards, and to improve the welfare of the teachers. Already, using accepted barometers of educational progress, the Ryukyus are on a par with some of the more progressive prefectures of Japan in such areas as the modernization of school buildings, the number of classrooms available, and the number of pupils per teacher. In fact, your vocational training establishments are among the most advanced in the Far East. In the matter of teachers' salaries, the starting pay for elementary and junior high school teachers compares most favorably with the pay scales in Japan. It is true that Japanese teachers enjoy, in some respect, greater fringe benefits than their counterparts here. However, where gaps do exist, I firmly believe that effective and appropriate remedies can be found.

I wish now to add a few words on the matter of law and order. Recently crimes involving both Americans and Ryukyuans have increased. We all regret this. I know that each of you subscribes to the principle that no one is so big that he is above the law, and no one is so small that he cannot look to the law for protection. To make this principle work, I firmly believe that we must not only develop a greater respect for the law, but we must also detect and deter the crime-prone elements in every echelon of our society. For my part, I have doubled the military police protection in those areas where there is the greatest potential for lawlessness and disorder. The Executive Branch of the Government, for its part, has provided additional police to participate in the joint walking patrols. For your part, I hope that you will support the efforts of your Executive Branch and not permit the subject of law and order to become enmeshed in politics, because this area affects the lives and well-being of each of your constituents and every inhabitant of these islands, regardless of nationality or party affiliation. Together, we can root out the evil of lawlessness. I am confident that through our mutual cooperation we can achieve a new level of respect for law and order in these islands.

This leads me to my final point. The confusing news from Communist China and the situation in the Far East in general make the United States base in the Ryukyu Islands essential to the security of the Ryukyus and Japan. Until this picture clarifies, I urge you to devote a considerable portion of your time and energy in planning for that day when the situation in the Far East will allow reunification with Japan. Pending the arrival of that day, we can promote the continued progress of the people of the Ryukyu Islands by working diligently and harmoniously together. Admittedly, problems will arise which will take our combined efforts to solve, but I can assure you of the fullest cooperation on the part of the United States Civil Administration in finding just solutions. I have confidence in your wisdom and ability to shoulder the political responsibilities entrusted to you, and I am confident that this, the 33d Session of the Legislature, will establish an enviable record of progressive legislation to promote the welfare and well-being of all the people of the Ryukyu Islands.

Thank you.

MRS. LIBBY HIRSH, PRESIDENT, BALTIMORE COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, one of Baltimore's contributions to the success of our foreign policies is Mrs. Matthew H. Hirsh, president of the volunteer association, the Baltimore Council for International Visitors.

Libby Hirsh and the council are the gracious hosts for more than 1,500 foreign visitors to Baltimore each year.

Her good works include service for Federal agencies, including the State Department, who seek expert assistance in arranging visits for visitors to our Nation.

She is a remarkable woman whose remarkable career is a demonstration of the invaluable services that private citizens can contribute to their Government. She is one of those citizens whom the late President held up as an ideal when he said:

> Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.

Some highlights of Libby Hirsh's career have been described in an article entitled "Feminine Gender," which was published in a recent issue of Baltimore Magazine.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEMININE GENDER

(By Anne Hitch)

She keeps executive office hours 10 to 4, but takes a portfolio of work home at night; juggles weekly office schedules for a dozen women; assumes final responsibility for some 1,500 visitors to Baltimore each year and receives no salary whatsoever.

She is Mrs. Matthew H. Hirsh ("Call me Libby, won't you?"), president of the all-volunteer Baltimore Council for International Visitors (BCIV), one of the busiest women in town and certainly one of the best informed on the hows and wheres to get things done.

She's more than well acquainted with the specialized services of the major community organizations—she's been on a good number of their boards. She can match press contacts with the best of local public relations men and has three scrapbooks of BCIV clippings to prove it.

Yet her sole concern is simply to make an international visitor's stay in Baltimore a little more pleasant.

Requests for BCIV help come from government agencies in Washington as well as from Maryland-based interests. The State Department may be programming a tour of the country's major industries by a group of young Scandinavian political leaders. The schedule for visiting Baltimore's plants and mills is set up, but could the council arrange a dinner for the men in local homes one evening? Or perhaps a special afternoon at the Walters Art Gallery or a trip aboard the Port Welcome?

The requests come in by mail, telephone and sometimes urgent telegram to the little BCIV office (rent and expenses paid by donations from supporting and individuals and organizations) in the Aurora Federal Building. A corps of telephoning and letter writing volunteers make the arrangements from an amazingly detailed cross reference card file of business and industrial contacts, and the more than 500 host families in the greater Baltimore area.

Every family is categorized according to languages spoken, number and ages of children, husband's field, travel abroad, number of visitors that can be accommodated for a meal or overnight. Each guest and the date of his visit is duly recorded on the back of the card.

The file has expanded appreciably since it was first compiled three years ago from the lists of families that had registered for international guests through the United Nations Association of Maryland, the YWCA International Center and the Red Cross.

"These three groups in particular had been working on hospitality for international visitors," Mrs. Hirsh begins. "Several of us who were on more than one of the boards realized that there was not only duplication of services, but a whale of a lot yet to be done.

"After a few discussion meetings we decided to try some kind of coordinating effort. And as we started looking for someone among us to head this new project, we realized everyone was gainfully employed except me. So I agreed to take on the job for one year.

"That was three years ago."

The fledging organization opened its first office in the kitchen of her brownstone home on Mt. Vernon Place. "We used the Red Cross mailing facilities, the 'Y' for a return address and my home phone number."

Scarcely more than a year later the committee had grown to council size and had earned recognition as an affiliate of COSERV, a nationwide network of international visitor organizations.

The kitchen office has been abandoned for some time now, of course, and the Hirshs have moved into a tenth floor apartment overlooking the city at 3900 North Charles. But her home telephone number still appears on the official welcoming letter sent out to every visitor.

"It's only an emergency number now," she relates, "and really there aren't too many emergencies. Once in awhile a visitor may call if he's not able to cash a check or if he's become ill during the night.

"Generally, though, after a visitor's arrived, the major problems are over. But if he somehow gets lost from the group or should he get here a day ahead of time, I'm in for a rather lengthly session on the phone."

Her husband, senior vice president of J. Shoeneman, Inc., fully understands the phone calls and the meetings and the unpredictable home schedules—he's a committee veteran, too. This year he is devoting his "leisure time" to the education committee charged with the administration of Friends School.

"In our Friends Meeting we have no minister, so we have to do everything by committees," Mrs. Hirsh observes, "Committee work becomes part of our lives."

Some of her early work was with the Stony Run McKim board, and for some time she chaired the Ladies McKim Committee. And when her daughter was a Girl Scout, Mrs. Hirsh served a stint as a troop leader. That daughter has married and moved to Cleveland now, leaving Mrs. Hirsh in her self-designated "post parental" period, the time in their lives that most women reserve for volunteer work.

But Mrs. Hirsh's volunteering dates back to her years at Goucher College when she managed to spare some time each week to help out at the Baltimore Museum of Art.

"The museum was a natural choice," she recalls. "I can't remember a time as a child when I wasn't taking a Saturday course in painting or drawing at the Maryland Institute. I started the classes while I was in elementary school and went right on through the high school years at Forest Park."

It followed, then, that she major in art history for her B.A. at Goucher and go on to earn a master's degree in fine arts from Johns Hopkins University.

And in 1946 she went off the volunteer roster at the museum to take a salaried job there.

"Officially I was in the curator service, but in actuality I did all kinds of work from cataloging to painting signs and mounting prints. In those days, you know, the museum was very much like BCIV is today—everyone doing everything."

Since leaving the museum staff in 1952 Mrs. Hirsh has continued as a volunteer there on occasion, and goes to the exhibits and special events as often as she possibly can.

"My free evenings are regretably few," she explains, "but I do try to take in the museum and the symphony, too."

International visitors is a year-round business. There is no seasonal letdown for either the council or its president.

"We do take one trip each year for just a few weeks—but maybe someday I'll just take off on a two year trip around the world to return the visits of some of the people who have been here."

She pauses momentarily, silently calculating.

"Yes," she resumes brightly, "in two years I just might be able to see a goodly share of them."

THE OUTSTANDING YOUNG MAN AWARDS TO FIVE MARYLANDERS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the Baltimore Junior Association of Commerce has presented its annual Outstanding Young Man awards to five Marylanders who are truly outstanding as citizens in service to their community. The five are:

Stephen E. Ambrose, associate professor of history at Johns Hopkins University and author of "A History of West Point";

Brother Anthony Ipsaro, S.M., superintendent of schools of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, with responsibility for the education of more than 75,000 young people;

Robert C. McAllister, television producer at Baltimore television station WJZ-TV, who is well known for his highly popular children's programs in Baltimore and selfless efforts to entertain children in Baltimore hospitals;

Paul S. Sarbanes, attorney at Venable, Baetjer & Howard, a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and one of the State's most promising young political figures;

George S. Wills, associate director of public relations at Johns Hopkins University and an exceptionally active member of the Commission on the General Assembly and the Constitutional Convention Referendum Commission.

These five gentlemen represent the ideals of citizenship which are the only real foundation of our republic and democracy. I add my congratulations to those which they have already earned.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "The Jaycees' Outstanding Young Men of the Year," which was published recently in Baltimore Magazine, be printed in the RECORD to give a fuller account of these citizens' careers and contributions.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE JAYCEES' OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN OF THE YEAR

Five young men were honored by the Baltimore Junior Association of Commerce last month at its annual Outstanding Young Man Award Luncheon. The luncheon speaker was the Archbishop of Baltimore, Lawrence Cardinal Shehan.

The program is held each year to give recognition to outstanding young men in the community who have made lasting contributions in business, professional and community activities. The five winners this year were chosen from a group of 32 nominees. They were: Stephen E. Ambrose, Associate Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University; Brother Anthony Ipsaro, S.M., Superintendent of Schools of the Archdiocese of Baltimore; Robert C. McAllister, television producer at WJZ-TV; Paul S. Sarbanes, attorney at Venable, Baetjer & Howard and member of the House of Delegates; George S. Wills, Associate Director of Public Relations at Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Ambrose is considered one of the foremost young historians in the country. He has a long list of publications to his credit, and besides teaching a full schedule of classes, he is associate editor of the Eisenhower Papers project at Hopkins. One of the most extensive historical projects ever undertaken, it will involve studying some 15,000,000 documents and papers. A favorite of his students, he recently made news by leading his military history class over a Gettysburg battlefield to prove that Pickett's famous charge lasted only 20 minutes. His most recent book, "A History of West Point," has received wide critical acclaim.

Brother Ipsaro, who entered the Marianist Order in 1949, is currently working on his Ph. D. at Catholic University. After serving two years as principal of the new Cardinal Gibbons High School, he was named assistant to the superintendent of schools for the Baltimore Archdiocese, and last year, at the age of 34, was named superintendent. The system includes over 61,495 elementary students and 14,000 high school students. Among the community activities which he has served are the Red Cross, Baltimore Safety Council, Baltimore Chapter of the Maryland Association for Retarded Children, and the Bon Secours Hospital School of Nursing.

Robert McAllister developed an interest in magic at an early age and went into broadcasting in his native Norfolk, Va., at the age of 18. He specialized in children's programs, and in 1964, he came to Baltimore and joined the staff of WJZ-TV. His six-times weekly program, "The Bob McAllister Show," has become the highest rated children's program in the Baltimore-Washington area. In addition, he frequently entertains at children's hospitals in the area. He has served as honorary chairman of the Junior Orioles and of the Muscular Dystrophy Association's "Carnivals for M.D." program, which has raised $15,000 for research in the past two years.

The son of Greek immigrants, Mr. Sarbanes is a native of Salisbury, Md. He graduated from Princeton, where he was a scholarship student, with highest honors. As a Rhodes Scholar, he studied in England for three years, then took his LL.B. degree from Harvard Law School. Besides being a practicing attorney, he has served public assignments at all levels of government, including the federal; he was assistant to Walter W. Heller, President Kennedy's chief economic adviser. He is vice president of the City-County Democratic Club, a member of the board of the Citizens Planning and Housing Association and Mt. Royal Improvement Association.

Mr. Wills is a graduate of McDonogh School and Penn State, following which he received an M.A. from the University of Virginia on a Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship. He is now working on his Ph. D. at Hopkins in political science. He is chairman of the Commission on the General Assembly (Wills Commission), member of the Constitutional Convention Referendum Commission, chairman of the March of Dimes and president of the Maryland Young Democrats. In 1963 and 1964, he served as special agent for the Office of Naval Intelligence and is now a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve.

THE HEADSTART PROGRAM

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as one of the most popular and successful of all the war on poverty programs, Project Headstart has many boosters and many advocates. Those who carry the message best are those who know the children this program touches, and who listen to the earnest adults who share the task of opening a new world to poor, deprived children. Writing in the Baltimore Sun, Albert Sehlstedt, Jr., of the Washington bureau of the Sun, recently brought this program to life in terms of the people in it. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD his series of three articles on "Breaking the Wall."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Feb. 11, 1967]

BREAKING THE WALL, I—HEADSTART: A BOLD ATTEMPT TO SNAP THE POVERTY CYCLE

(By Albert Sehlstedt, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, February 10.—The Federal Government has found a promising approach to a labyrinth of social problems that go by the name of poverty.

The approach is Head Start, a national effort to prepare poor children for elementary school.

DISCOURAGEMENT

A suggestion that anyone needs to be prepared for an education that is by definition elementary may seem odd to middle-class people, or middle-aged people who vaguely remember the first day of school as an unsettling experience, but hardly an insurmountable one.

However, to a child who does not know the difference between yellow and blue; who has never heard of *Peter Rabbit;* who has to be told that a cloud is a cloud—to such a child, the beginning of an elementary education can be the beginning of discouraging incomprehension, frustration and, finally, defeat.

Putting aside altruistic considerations, defeated people are a costly burden to the nation. Their failures take many forms which drain state and local treasuries, too.

But helping poor children is not a new idea, and kindergartens and nursery schools are a part of the national life.

GOES BEYOND

Head Start, however, goes beyond these familiar ideas of assistance and schooling for small children.

Head Start reaches into the family and invites parents to become involved with helping their children.

"One of Head Start's primary goals is to make parents more aware of what young children are like, what they need, and how, as parents, they play a decisive role in their children's growth processes," according to an evaluation of the program by the Early Childhood Education Council of New York.

BREAKTHROUGH

"If this part of the work with parents is successful, the program will achieve a major breakthrough in improving child-rearing practices," it is stated in the evaluation written by Mrs. Clara Fox, project director of Integrated Pre-School and Parent Opportunity Centers in New York.

"It will affect not only those directly involved, but parents and children throughout the community," Mrs. Fox wrote.

"Furthermore, as parents become less anxious in relationships with their children and begin to experience some of the joys of parenthood, they become more stable and feel less guilty, harassed and oppressed.

"They become more capable of coping with life's problems."

INNOCENT VICTIMS

Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which oversees the national Head Start program from Washington, has observed that children are the most innocent victims of poverty, but are also most easily removed from its grasp.

"By meeting their need for attention and affection, by tending to medical needs that drain their energy, by opening their minds to the world of knowledge, we can set them on the road to successful lives," Shriver has said.

"We can break the vicious cycle that would turn them into poverty's parents.

"This is Head Start."

Head Start is more. It is popular.

Indeed, its success on the domestic front in the Johnson Administration invites comparison with enthusiasm for the Peace Corps as an international project in the Kennedy Administration.

What everybody seems to like about Head Start is the subject matter at hand; children.

Last year, for example, President Johnson asked Congress for $310,000,000 for Head Start. Congress gave him $352,000,000.

"Project Head Start is like having a prayer answered," said a Head Start teacher from Kentucky. "This we had hoped and dreamed for during all our years of teaching, but never expected to see."

"LESS TEARFUL"

Another teacher commented: "I see more children less tearful, less fearful. I see more smiles, more working together with classmates and adults. . . . The interaction of a child with a helpful adult may be the most important factor in all these gains."

Though Head Start is directed federally, it is applied locally.

The program works through 7 regional offices covering the 50 states, but individuals and organizations in various cities and towns set up the local units that deal directly with the pre-school children.

The organizations are known as Community Action Agencies, established with OEO funds. These agencies are composed of civic leaders, people from the fields of education and labor, and other interested groups; and from the poor, themselves.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

A community action agency may administer a Head Start project, or delegate the administration to another nonprofit group, civic, fraternal or religious, or to a school board. School boards, in fact, administer about 70 per cent of the Head Start projects in the country.

Washington contributes 80 per cent of the necessary money for a local Head Start project. The remainder is raised locally, but can be in the form of "in kind" contributions; that is, volunteer work by local people, or the furnishing of school supplies or a building to house the project.

Head Start got under way nationally in mid-1965 with 200,000 volunteers and with 561,000 children taking a short (eight-week) summer course. The number of children was five times as many as expected. Last summer, Head Start attracted 573,000 youngsters.

There are now 94,000 children in a year-long Head Start program, and OEO expects to have 170,000 in this course by the end of June.

To date, more than 1,300,000 children have had a summer course or full year's instruction under Head Start.

However, there are 3,000,000 poor children who enter the first grade each year. To reach all of them, more teachers, more classrooms and more money would be needed.

The blueprint for Head Start was a report to Sargent Shriver prepared two years ago at his request by a planning committee composed of some of the nation's top specialists in the fields the proposed work would encompass.

Dr. Robert E. Cooke, chairman of the department of pediatrics in the Johns Hopkins University school of medicine, was the committee chairman.

The report was entitled "Improving the Opportunities and Achievements of Children of the Poor," and it made a number of points. Among them:

"There is considerable evidence that the early years of childhood are the most critical points in the poverty cycle. . . .

"It is clear that successful programs of this type must be comprehensive, involving activities generally associated with the fields of health, social services and education. . . .

URGENCY CITED

"The need for an urgency of these programs is such that they should be initiated immediately. . . ."

The Cooke committee listed the objectives of the work to be done, including:

1.—Improving a child's health and physical ability.

2.—Helping his emotional and social growth by encouraging self-confidence, spontaneity, curiosity and self-discipline.

3.—Improving the child's mental processes and skills.

4.—Developing in the child and his family a responsible attitude toward society, and giving society an opportunity to help.

5.—Increasing the sense of dignity within a child and his family.

The committee recommended, too, that the child's parents should be involved in the program for their own benefit as well as the youngster's.

BREAKING THE WALL, II—CHILDREN FIND WHOLE NEW WORLD

(By Albert Sehlstedt, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11—Miss Wendy Burk, 27, pretty and dressed in a sweater and slacks, speaks knowledgeably about small children. She has fifteen.

They are her charges from 8:30 in the morning until they go home in the early afternoon from their Head Start School in a drab neighborhood near the Capitol. All the children are about 4½ years old.

CHILDREN UNAWARE

Head Start is a nation-wide project to prepare pre-school children for the first grade, and in a larger sense, to free them from a cycle of poverty they entered at birth.

Miss Burk deals with children many parents would not recognize.

The Head Start youngster is not necessarily obstreperous, delinquent or stupid, but unaware; unaware of many things other children take for granted, like building blocks, paints and paste, and what can be done with various kinds of toys.

More importantly, Miss Burk's children may also be unaware of intangible things, such as the fun of imagining you are somebody else or dramatizing a fairy tale.

And most important, the children can be unaware of the indescribable satisfactions of living that simply come from talking to other people, listening to them and loving them.

WALL BUILT UP

Miss Burk, and the people who help her at the Head Start school, try to bring these things to children who sometimes have built up a wall between themselves and the rest of the world because of material, cultural and spiritual deprivations that all too often accompany poverty.

"Their major handicap is a lack of play, of conversation and inter-relationships with adults and other children," Miss Burk said. "That is what these children need more than anything else.

"Children learn to talk by talking to their mothers. But their mothers may be too tired, or lack the time, or talking is just not a value to the mothers." She stressed the word "value."

"TOLD TO BE QUIET"

"These children at home are very subdued; put in front of a television set and told to be quiet. They are rarely talked to or held.

"This is what we try to make up for. We do a lot of talking. We try to give them information as we go along. We are always subtly throwing in information," she said.

The children will go for walks and climb on a statute in a park, not just for fun, but so they will begin to understand what a statute is.

Miss Burk talked about the children one day after they had gone home.

FORMER WAREHOUSE

She sat in a large room, once part of a warehouse.

The place was clean, with a tile floor and well-painted walls made of brick and cinder-block.

Around the floor were tricycles, a hobby horse and a wagon.

A low table held clay for modeling. Another table was for painting, and another was a table for eating breakfast and a mid-morning snack, and lunch before the children went home.

But the most fascinating thing about the room was that it was split level, for some reason, with a sloping ramp joining the two levels. The ramp was great for riding a bike down.

The room had another advantage. There was plenty of open space; more than active kids might find even in an affluent suburban living room or play room.

At one end of the room was a kitchen with a big refrigerator, stocked with meats and vegetables. The kitchen shelves were lined with cream of wheat, corn flakes, jellies and lots of peanut butter.

WHOLESOME FOODS

Mrs. Wille Mae Atkins, the cook, often helps to introduce the children to wholesome foods, appetizingly prepared, and sometimes new to the youngsters.

The children will hesitate over some vegetables, claiming not to like them, though they may have never tasted them. Persuaded to give it a try, they can become ravenous.

Parents are encouraged to visit the school, stay the whole day if possible, and offer their criticism or advice.

Most parents spend one day a month at the school so they will be able to apply at home some of the things learned about adult relationships with children.

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

The school is operated by the Guy T. O. Hollyday House, named for a Baltimorean and former United States commissioner of housing. Hollyday House has been helping the neighborhood since 1958 and was operating a pre-school program before the Federal Head Start project began.

The daily routine begins with a play period followed by a snack at 9:30 A.M.

"Go-out time" follows, if the weather is good.

"We take a walk in the neighborhood and teach them about the clouds, the shade, churches and stores, or construction projects, and we take nature walks," Miss Burk explained.

A WALK WITH MISS BURK

A walk with Miss Burk and the children can be uneventful for an adult until he gradually realizes how much the kids enjoy it.

And one of the reasons they enjoy it ultimately becomes clear even to an observer long set in his ways.

Everything the children see and hear is, to them, worth talking about. The sidewalk, the curbstone, an alley to be explored, an open door swinging back and forth in the wind, a steep pile of dirt to be climbed.

The pile of dirt was really steep, about 10 feet high, and tightly packed so that the pebbles imbedded in the surface made it slippery. It was tough going up and even tougher coming down.

Some of the children hollered with delight. Others were quiet and seemed a little worried about the steepness. But everybody made it and obviously enjoyed it. It was Everest, for that morning at least.

They all seemed fairly normal children playing on a cold day, except that one boy had shoes but no socks. A few had no gloves and they tried to keep their hands warm by putting them in the hip pockets of Miss Burk's slacks as they all walked along, but that did not work very well.

Miss Burk was asked later to assess these children, as she saw them, and to discuss their strength and weaknesses.

"FALSE STRENGTH"

"They have a false strength, which is a certain measure of independence," she replied.

"They are out on the streets playing, and left to take care of themselves, unlike middle-class kids who may be too attached to mother.

"They are tough little kids. This is a strength, and a sad thing, too. We have had to teach them kindness and gentleness. They find out a new kind of people exist.

Then Miss Burk's face lighted up.

"What's so great about them is their spontaneity," she said.

FIGHTS, SOMETIMES

They also fight among themselves, but she thought that represented a need for physical contact.

It is apparent that Miss Burk and many people like her answer some of their needs by simply being there.

At one point during the course of a busy morning, she knelt on the floor to talk to a very small little girl.

The child reached up with both hands and grasped Miss Burk's long brown hair and tried to tie it beneath the teacher's chin.

The gesture seemed to reflect an intimacy and confidence that had already helped to give the child a head start.

BREAKING THE WALL—III: HEADSTART CHALLENGES CONVENTIONAL EDUCATION IN UNITED STATES

(By Albert Sehlstedt, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—Head Start, a Federal program to prepare poor children for elementary school, has been called a "fresh breeze in American education."

The Government is now considering ways to extend the program into the early grades of elementary school. The "fresh breeze" may become, for a time a wind of controversy.

PARENTS INVOLVED

Local reaction of teachers and school boards may not be universally favorable at first, if ever. But in the long run, the results could benefit elementary education generally.

One unusual aspect of Head Start has been the degree to which it involves parents in what may loosely be described as the Head Start classroom.

Mothers and fathers of Head Start pupils are encouraged to visit class sessions when possible and help professional teachers and volunteers bring to the youngsters some of the fundamentals of childhood; playing with paints; experimenting with clay; listening to stories, and, thereby, learning what every boy and girl should know before their regular education begins.

Suppose parents came into the more formalized atmosphere of the first, second and third grades of a typical elementary school?

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

That would be a step toward involving schools, school systems and educators more deeply in the affairs of the community, because the parents would bring with them their points of view. After a period of awkwardness and hesitation, the parents—particularly poor parents long-fearful of resentful of authority and its symbols—might begin to develop a rapport with the school, its teachers and administrators.

The school would eventually become a community center, perhaps.

Government officials are thinking about these things now.

Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which directs Head Start, said in a November speech in Milwaukee that the present school system, especially in cities, is "critically inadequate to meet the needs of children of poverty."

The inadequacies, as Shriver sees them, can be enumerated by listing the remedies he suggested.

1. Reduction of the present teacher-student ratio to correspond to the ratio now used in Head Start; one teacher to every fifteen children.
2. Bringing more adults into the classroom by using new sources of education manpower, such as teacher aides and volunteers. "Head Start has proved that the very presence of interested adults does much to motivate the child and give him the incentive to succeed," Shriver said.
3. Establishment of tutorial assistance for children, using students from high school and college to help the elementary pupils.
4. Involving parents in the activities of every public school. "This," said Shriver "does not mean the traditional P.T.A. meetings in the auditorium at night; rather the establishment of neighborhood councils and community associations which could find the schools open to them during the day."
5. An adequate amount of necessary equipment and supplies, such as books, toys, films and electronic learning aids.
6. Training programs to open up a new education career called child development specialist; a person who would work exclusively in the primary grades diagnosing obstacles to a youngster's progress and asking when necessary, for the help of psychologists, sociologists or reading specialists.

Shriver was not suggesting that all these changes occur immediately.

"Any urban school system, with imagination and a reasonable use of resources could, however, tackle the job one grade at a time; the first grade next year, the second grade the year after, and so on," he said.

Shriver was talking about a plan that was first called Project Keep Moving, but is now referred to as Follow Through. Either way, the idea is the same; to bring the benefits of Head Start into the lower grades of the elementary school.

President Johnson, in his budget message to Congress, requested $135,000,000 for fiscal year 1968 (beginning this July 1) "to continue special services to these children in the primary grades, so that they will not lose the benefits of Head Start experience."

Shriver's remarks in Milwaukee reflected to some degree the observations of a specialist in the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

In a paper on prekindergarten education programs, Dr. Minnie Perrin Berson discussed Head Start and then looked to "potential changes in elementary education."

NUMBER OF POSSIBILITIES

Dr. Berson cited a number of possibilities, including:

1. Institutes and workshops to give kindergarten and primary school teachers broader child development backgrounds.
2. A trend toward staffing preschool and primary programs with child development specialists.
3. Staffing elementary schools to include neighborhood aides, volunteers and teacher interns.
4. New design in school buildings with spaces for younger children and parents.
5. An expanded school-community role for the elementary school principal.

All of this sounds like a lot of money and it is. It would probably mean large new outlays in a Federal budget that has earmarked $11,000,000,000 next year for aid to all education, training and allied programs.

But there are those who argue that it is worth it.

Dr. Berson looks at the situation this way: "If it's an expenditure, it's high. If it's an investment, it's very cheap."

She said it costs about $3,500 a year to maintain a prisoner behind bars; $2,500 a year to keep a family on relief, and $1,700 a year to help train a delinquent child for a useful life.

MORAL AND FISCAL

The implication here, of course, is that those dollars could be much better spent—both from a moral and fiscal standpoint—on helping children before they become tax eaters, as opposed to tax payers, as President Johnson has put it.

From a purely educational point of view, the Federal approach to Head Start and to Follow Through may herald a new era in American public education, with far more parents involved in the school and more emphasis on the development of the individual child.

Dr. Berson has used the phrase "vital community center" in discussing what a school of the future may be and its relation to the area it serves.

ADAPT TO CHILD

As some people see it, there would also be more emphasis on adapting the school curricula to the child, rather than having the child adapt to the school. The latter may be more convenient to the teachers and principal but less beneficial to the child.

To the extent that these ideas become realities, there could develop opposition from some teachers and school administrators, motivated not only by a reluctance to change but also by very practical reasons for maintaining past practices.

Washington is not the repository of all wisdom, it has been argued, and the development of a national approach to education may benefit New Jersey but cause problems in Wyoming, or vice versa.

Among the people who recognize their limitations are some of those in the Federal Government associated with Head Start and thinking about its application to the elementary grades.

They recognize that they face some difficult problems. But they also believe there is considerable room for improvement in the early education of American children.

THE POLLUTION SCANDAL

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the able Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] has written a horror story entitled "The National Pollution Scandal," which has been published in the February 1967 issue of the Progressive magazine. The horror story is an account and an accounting of how we have destroyed our rivers and lakes, even our streams and ponds, by making sewers of them.

Senator Nelson documents the price we now must pay to reclaim this no longer natural resource, our water. The price is measured in the billions of dollars, but we must pay it because the survival of the Nation depends upon it. The need for what Senator Nelson proposes is undebatable.

Senator Nelson's article is the most excellent description I have yet read of what truly is a national scandal—the poisoning of our waters. I commend it to the attention of the Senate and the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE NATIONAL POLLUTION SCANDAL

(By Senator Gaylord A. Nelson)

The natural environment of America—the woods and waters and wildlife, the clear air and blue sky, the fertile soil and the scenic landscape—is threatened with destruction. Our growing population and expanding industries, the explosion of scientific knowledge, the vast increase in income levels, leisure time, and mobility—all of these powerful trends are exerting such pressure on our natural resources that many of them could be effectively ruined over the next ten or fifteen years.

Our overcrowded parks are becoming slums. Our birds and wildlife are being driven away or killed outright. Scenic rural areas are blighted by junkyards and billboards, and neon blight soils the outskirts of most cities. In our orgy of expansion, we are bulldozing away the natural landscape and building a cold new world of concrete and aluminum. Strip miners' shovels are tearing away whole mountains and spreading ugly wastes for miles around. America the affluent is well on the way to destroying America the beautiful.

Of all these developments, the most tragic and the most costly is the rapidly mountain pollution of our lakes and streams.

Perhaps the pain is more intense for a Senator from a state like Wisconsin, bordered on three sides by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, blessed with 8,000 inland lakes and hundreds of rivers and trout streams. Actually, our state seems rather fortunate at the moment. A yachtsman on Lake Superior can raise a bucket of water still crystal-clear and cold enough to drink with delight. Canoeists on the St. Croix or Wolf Rivers still shoot through frothing rapids of sparkling water, and catch fish in the deep, swirling pools.

But the bell is tolling for Wisconsin just as for all the nation. A recent survey of twelve major river basins in southeastern Wisconsin found not a single one fit even for the partial body contact involved in fishing of wading. A competent governmental agency concluded that 754 miles of rivers in this region had been turned into open sewers. Beaches along Lake Michigan, a vast blue sea with seemingly limitless quantities of fresh water, are being closed to swimmers. A sordid ocean of pollution is pouring into the Mississippi from the Minneapolis-St. Paul urban complex. The first serious signs of pollution are soiling Lake Superior, and our small inland lakes are, one by one, becoming murky and smelly and choked with algae.

Elsewhere, all across the nation, the same tragedy is being enacted, although in many areas the curtain already has come down. The waters are already ruined.

Every major river system in America is seriously polluted, from the Androscoggin in Maine to the Columbia in the far Northwest. The rivers once celebrated in poetry and song—the Monongahela, the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Rio Grande—have been blackened with sewage, chemicals, oil, and trash. They are sewers of filth and disease.

The Monongahela, which drains the mining and industrial areas of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, empties the equivalent of 200,000 tons of sulfuric acid each year into the Ohio River—which in turn is the water supply for millions of people who use and re-use Ohio River water many times over.

National attention has been centered on once beautiful Lake Erie, the great lake which is the recreational front yard of Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit, and which supplies water for ten million Americans.

A Public Health Service survey of Lake Erie made the shocking discovery that, in the 2,600 square mile heart of the lake, there was no dissolved oxygen at all in the water. The lake in this vast area could support no desirable aquatic life, only lowly creatures such as bloodworms, sludgeworms, sowbugs, and bloodsuckers.

Along with the germs and industrial acids which pour into Lake Erie are millions of pounds of phosphates, a major ingredient in detergents. Each pound of phosphate will propagate 700 pounds of algae. Beneath the waters of this great lake, largely hidden from sight, a hideous, cancer-like growth of algae is forming. As algae blooms and dies, it becomes a pollutant itself. It robs the lake of still more oxygen—and it releases the phosphate to grow another crop of algae.

Lake Erie is a product of its tributaries. A Public Health Service study of these American sewers is horrifying to read.

The Maumee River flows from Fort Wayne, Indiana, through Defiance and Napoleon, Ohio, and on to Toledo, where it joins the lake. Even as far upstream as Fort Wayne, the river has insufficient oxygen to support anything but trash fish and lower organisms, and as it flows toward Lake Erie conditions get steadily worse. The count of coliform bacteria runs as high as 24,000 times the allowable maximum under Federal drinking water standards. The concentration of carbolic acid, a byproduct of steelmaking, runs up to 137 times the allowable maximum. A packing company dumps 136 pounds of oil per day into the Maumee River. A plating company dumps thirty-eight pounds of cyanide per day. Defiance, Ohio, closes its sewage plant entirely for one to two months each year, and all its raw sewage goes directly into the Maumee.

Below Defiance, foundry dumps cinders and ashes into the river. The Maumee is joined by the Auglaize River, which is even more polluted than the Maumee, and is especially rich in ammonia compounds.

At Napoleon, Ohio, the city draws its drinking water from the sordid Maumee, and a soup company draws off ten million gallons a day for soup processing. (The firm assures me that its modern water treatment plant, complete with carbon filters, can "polish the water to a high quality.")

Below Napoleon, things get really bad. Forty per cent of samples taken by the Public Health Service showed presence of salmonella, an intestinal bacteria that can cause severe illness. As the Maumee flows into Lake Erie at Toledo, it gets its final dose of pollution—the effluent from the Toledo sewage plant and what the Public Health Service describes as "oil, scum, metallic deposits, and toxic materials."

Another Lake Erie tributary—the Cuyahoga—which flows into the lake at Cleveland, is described by the Public Health Service as "debris-filled, oil-slicked, and dirty-looking throughout." It is loaded with coliform bacteria and salmonella. It is so polluted with oil that it frequently catches fire. Structures known as "fire breaks" have been built out into the river to fight these blazes. In the Cleveland harbor, the Public Health Service could find virtually no conventional aquatic life. However, the sludgeworms which thrive on organic matter were well represented—400,000 per square meter on the harbor bottom.

That is the story of Lake Erie, and although it is so shocking and disgusting as to deserve urgent national attention, it is not unique. Southern Lake Michigan, ringed with oil refineries, steel mills, and municipal sewage outfalls, may be even worse. Scientists estimate that it would take 100 years to replace the polluted water of southern Lake Michigan, and some consider the pollution in this area irreversible.

We have our own Wisconsin pollution scandal in Green Bay, a magnificent recreational body of water in northeastern Wisconsin, widely known as a yachtman's paradise and site of a multimillion dollar resort industry. This "Cape Cod of Wisconsin" is threatened with ruin by a tide of pollution which is moving up the bay at the rate of more than one mile per year. The pollution comes from rivers such as the Fox, the Peshtigo, the Oconto, and the Menominee, which drain large areas of Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

The experience in Lake Erie, Lake Michigan, and Green Bay, has convinced many experts of this chilling fact: It is a definite possibility that the Great Lakes—the greatest single source of fresh water in the world—could be effectively destroyed by pollution in the years ahead. If this were to happen, it would be the greatest natural resource disaster in modern history.

That is the outline of this new American tragedy. The obvious question now is, what can be done about it?

First, I think we must learn what a complex and widespread problem we face in water pollution. Like crime, like death on the highway, pollution is a social problem which extends throughout our society. There is no single villain, and there is no simple answer. It must be attacked for what it is—a sinister byproduct of the prosperous, urbanized, industrialized world in which we live.

We must take care not to ride off in pursuit of just one villain—such as city sewage, or industrial waste, or detergents, or toilet wastes from boats; this is a battle which must be fought with skill and courage on many different fronts. Nor should we be fooled by the strategy of many polluters, who argue, in effect: "That pollution which we cause is minor compared to the big, nationwide problem. Why not leave us alone and go after the big offenders?" Even some of the lesser offenders in the pollution crisis could ruin us in time.

The primary sources of pollution are these:

MUNICIPAL SEWAGE—Despite heroic efforts and heavy investments by many cities, our municipal sewage treatment plants are woefully inadequate. Some cities have no treatment at all; others remove only part of the pollutants found in sewage. As a result, the effluent discharged by our cities today (treated and untreated) is equivalent to the *untreated* sewage from a nation of seventy-five million people.

INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION is roughly twice as big a problem as municipal sewage. Despite tremendous investments in research and treatent plant construction by some industries, the overall record is terrible. Some industries feel they cannot remain competitive if they spend heavily for treatment plants. Communities and states are reluctant to push them too far. As a result, industrial wastes (treated and untreated) now discharged into our waters are presently equal to the *untreated* sewage of a nation of 165 million people.

SEPTIC TANKS—Vast sections of the nation have no sewer collection or treatment system at all. In such areas, underground septic tanks, often poorly made and undersized, are expected to distribute wastes into the soil. They overflow into natural watercourses, they leak bacteria and detergents into underground wells, and they are destroying lakes by filling them with nutrients that foster heavy growths of algae.

SHIPS AND MARINE TERMINALS—In selected areas, the discharge of toilet wastes, oil, garbage, and rubbish from ships and shoreline installations is a major problem. For some reason, this form of pollution is widely tolerated and enforcement of laws forbidding it is virtually nonexistent.

PESTICIDES—The terrifying prospect of spreading poison all over the globe confronts us. We now use more than 700 million pounds a year of synthetic pesticides and agricultural chemicals of 45,000 varieties. This volume is expected to increase tenfold in the next twenty years. Many of these poisons persist forever in the environment, and their concentration builds up geometrically as they progress through the food chain (water, seaweed, fish, birds, mammals). DDT residue has been discovered in penguins in Antarctica, in reindeer in Alaska, in seals, and in fish caught in remote areas of the Pacific Ocean. One part of DDT in one billion parts of water will kill blue crabs in eight days.

SILT—One of the most serious pollutants all over the world is the dirt which washes into our waters from off the land. This somewhat natural problem is disastrously aggravated by contemporary trends—widespread clearing of land for subdivisions and shopping centers; construction of highways and parking lots (which cause rapid runoff) and the intensive development of lakeshores and riverbanks. Controlling surface runoff and the siltation which it causes is complicated by our patchwork of political boundaries and the lack of coordinated government planning

DETERGENTS, FERTILIZERS, AND OTHER CHEMICALS—Some of these commonly used substances pass through even good waste treatment systems and become persistent pollutants. Such pollution can be eliminated only by changing the composition of such substances, regulating their use, or devising new removal techniques.

Obviously, any nation-wide problem made up of so many elements is extremely difficult to attack. Yet I believe that the rapidly accelerating destruction of our natural resources is our number one domestic problem, and the greatest of all our resource problems is water pollution. If we are to meet this pollution threat, if we are to save the waters of America and preserve this most indispensable part of our natural environment, we must make the war on pollution a high priority matter at every level of government—local, state and Federal—and we must insist that private industry do likewise.

Baffling and complicated as the pollution problem is, it is not insoluble. There is no reason in the world why a great and prosperous nation, with the money and know-how to shoot man to the moon, cannot prevent its lakes and rivers from being destroyed and its life-giving water supplies endangered.

Just as there is no single cause of pollution, so is there no single solution to the problem.

Consider the question of what to do about municipal sewage and industrial wastes. Why do we tolerate a situation where these two sources alone pour into our waters each year the equivalent of the completely untreated sewage of a nation of 240 million persons?

In the case of municipal sewage, it is largely a matter of lack of money, aggravated in some cases by a shocking lack of public concern. There are now more than 1300 communities which have sewer systems but discharge their wastes into the waters without any treatment at all. These communities have a population of more than eleven million people. How such a condition could exist in the year 1966—when it is generally illegal to throw a gum wrapper out of a car window—is inconceivable.

We have another 1300 communities—with almost seventeen million population—which treat their wastes but in a completely inadequate manner. In most cases, these are communities which use what is known as "primary" treatment. They screen their sewage and let the solids settle out, but they do not remove dissolved solids, salts, chemicals, bacteria, and special problems such as detergents. Every community should have what is known as "secondary" treatment, under which sewage—after primary treatment—is held in holding tanks, brought into contact with air and biologically active sludge, so that bacteria have a chance to consume the pollutants.

The Conference of State Sanitary Engineers estimates that it would cost $1.8 billion to provide adequate sewage collection and treatment for these communities which now have no treatment or completely inadequate treatment.

But even this would still leave us with a massive municipal pollution problem. Even good secondary treatment removes only eighty per cent to ninety per cent of the pollutants. Chicago, for instance, with a good secondary treatment plant, discharges treated effluent which is equivalent to the untreated, raw sewage of one million people. It dumps 1,800 tons of solids per day into the Illinois waterway. At the rate the pollution load is increasing it is estimated that even if all communities have secondary treatment plants by 1980, the total amount of pollutants reaching watercourses would still be the same as today. Obviously, we need a massive program to build highly effective city sewage treatment plants.

It is also obvious that local property taxes cannot support such a gigantic investment, and that if we wait for communities to do this on their own, it will never be done. Most state budgets also are severely strained, so much of this burden is going to have to be borne by the Federal government—if we want the job done early enough to be effective.

The Senate Air and Water Pollution subcommittee estimates that it will cost $20 billion to provide secondary treatment in plants serving eighty per cent of the population and more advanced treatment in plants serving the other twenty per cent. We have had a Federal program to assist communities in building such treatment plants for the past ten years, but it has been inadequate. It has recently been greatly improved, but it is still inadequate. In the past it has provided grants of up to thirty per cent within the limits of available funds. The most recent act—the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966—authorizes a total of about $3.6 billion over the next five years (150 million in 1967, $450 million in 1968, $700 million in 1969, $1 billion in 1970, and $1.25 billion in 1971). A community can get a grant for up to fifty per cent of the cost of a project, provided the state pays twenty-five per cent and provided water quality standards have been established.

New York needs an estimated $1.7 billion for new sewage plants. The new law would give it a total of only $307 million. Ohio needs $1 billion and would get $180 million. Wisconsin needs $286 million and would get $75 million.

If we are serious about the Federal government paying fifty percent of the cost of eliminating municipal pollution, then Washington must provide $10 billion—not $3.6 billion—and even then we will be expecting our hard pressed states and communities to come up with another $10 billion.

Personally, I think it is unrealistic to expect the states and localities to assume a burden of this size. And I do not think the nation can sit by and wait while its communities struggle to build up the financial resources and the political courage needed to do the job. I think we should get sewage treatment plants built the way we are getting interstate highways built—by offering ninety per cent Federal financing. I have introduced legislation which would establish such a program.

The municipal sewage problem is complicated by another problem—combined storm and sanitary sewers. By combining storm water and human wastes in one sewer system, many cities build up such a tremendous load during rainstorms that their sewage treatment plants cannot handle it. They have had to install automatic devices which divert the combined sewer loads directly into lakes or streams whenever it gets above a certain level. In this manner, sixty-five billion gallons of raw, untreated sewage goes into our lakes and rivers each year.

Most cities are separating storm and sanitary sewers in new subdivisions, but the task of separating the sewers in the older areas is a staggering one. Complete separation would cost an estimated $30 billion. It would cost $160 per resident in Washington, D.C., $215 in Milwaukee, $280 in Concord, New Hampshire. It would cost Wisconsin an estimated $186 million, Indiana $496 million, Michigan $970 million, New York and Illinois about $1.12 billion each. These are only general estimates of the direct costs and they do not take into account the disruption of traffic and the local economy caused by ripping up miles of underground sewers.

In the hope of avoiding such costs, the Federal government has underwritten several research projects to see if this problem cannot be met in some other way—through temporary underground storage of sewer overflows, for instance, or by building smaller sanitary sewer pipes inside existing storm sewers.

The staggering problem of *industrial* pollution is virtually untouched today by our Federal anti-pollution programs, even though industry contributes twice as much pollution to our waters as do municipalities. If we do not step up our industrial waste treatment plant construction, the pollution effect of industrial wastes alone by 1970 will be equal to the untreated, raw sewage from our entire population.

Industries are widely criticized for dumping wastes into our waters, and this criticism is often justified. They are pressured by local, state, and Federal officials. But some industries are able to avoid a serious crackdown against them by threatening to move. Most industries argue—sometimes effectively—that they cannot be expected to make massive investments in treatment plants if their competitors—often in different part of the country—are not forced to do so.

I have come to the conclusion that the threat of enforcement alone is not going to solve our industrial pollution problem. We must provide direct financial assistance to see to it that the plants are built. I have introduced legislation to provide both loans and grants of up to fifty per cent to industries whose size and economic circumstances prevent them from assuming the full burden of providing their own facilities. I think such assistance should be carefully limited and should be for a short period, but I do not think we can avoid it. We are going to pay the cost of industrial pollution in one way or another—in the cost of the manufactured product, in taxes, or in ruined water resources.

But massive construction programs alone are not going to solve our municipal and industrial pollution problems. We need a tremendous expansion of Federally supported research to find completely new answers. Our whole waste disposal system, from the household toilet to the municipal sewage treatment plant, is a holdover from another era. The system should be studied and redesigned, using the latest scientific techniques, and fitted into a coordinated, nation-wide system of waste disposal. Research grants should be made to private industry and universities to develop new methods and devices to refine, use, neutralize, or destroy pollutants. We should compute what our present waste disposal systems are costing us—including the loss in natural resources destroyed—and what alternative systems would cost.

Compared with municipal and industrial pollution, the other pollution problems I have mentioned are statistically small. For that reason, they are often ignored. But we cannot safely do that. Even if we managed to contain the flood of municipal and industrial pollution, the other sources could do fatal damage to our environment.

Septic tanks must be controlled at the state and local level, and in many areas I think we must forbid new installations and work to replace existing ones with sewer systems. For instance, once an inland lake is ringed with cottages with septic tanks, it is doomed. Septic tanks must drain somewhere and in most lakeshore settings the natural drainage flow is into the lake. At the very least, this drainage will fertilize the lake, cause the rapid growth of algae, and turn the lake into a murky, foul smelling mess.

Ship pollution is certainly serious enough to justify Federal action, even though such suggestions cause howls of protest from those who insist it "isn't practical." Why is it practical to install retention facilities on buses, house trailers, and aircraft but not on boats and ships? Obviously, we are willing to allow wastes to be dumped into our water supplies which we would never tolerate being dumped onto the land. We need Federal laws to require suitable facilities on all vessels using our navigable waters, and we need a better enforcement system to crack down on such disgraceful practices as dumping oil and pumping out oily ballast tanks on the Great Lakes and in our rivers.

The siltation problem can be controlled only through strict zoning and land use controls. We have got to prevent intensive development of our shorelines if we are to save our waters. Once a large portion of the natural vegetative cover is destroyed, the water resource is in danger. I believe that the Federal government should provide financial assistance to those willing to carry out soil conservation practices along our lakes and streams on a scale large enough to be meaningful.

Pesticides, detergents, and exotic new chemicals will plague us for years to come. New treatment systems may offer some hope for removing these substances, but I think they must be controlled directly. Those which cannot be removed safely in normal treatment processes, and those which have chemical structures which cause them to persist in our environment and to threaten fish, wildlife, and human health; should be banned or their use strictly regulated.

In speeches in some twenty-three states in the past four years, I have called for an emergency, crash program to fight water pollution. I have offered my estimate of the cost of conquering water pollution as $50 to $100 billion over the next decade. It now appears I may have been conservative. The Public Health Service now estimates that it will cost some $20 billion to clean up the Great Lakes alone, and the total national cost is now estimated at $100 billion.

But everywhere I have gone I have found the public willing to pay this cost to save their waters. In fact, I think the public is far ahead of local, state, and Federal officials in facing up to this crisis. I think that citizens in most communities would support a sharp crackdown on local polluters of every variety. I think they want their states to establish high water quality standards, and then enforce them. I think they can be shown the need for bold regional action to deal with those vast interstate pollution problems (such as on the Mississippi and the Great Lakes) which obviously are too big for any community or any state to handle.

And I think that the citizens of America now recognize that the destruction of the major river networks of the nation, the threatened destruction of the Great Lakes, and the slow ruination of our treasured inland lakes and trout streams is a calamity of such gigantic proportions as to deserve the urgent attention of all citizens and prompt action by the national government.

SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S AIR POLLUTION PROGRAM

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, one of the most urgent matters before the 90th Congress is the nationwide problem of air pollution. This is a dangerous health problem to just about every city dweller in the country—for no metropolitan area has escaped unscathed.

The President's program has been very enthusiastically received, and deservedly so. I believe that President Johnson has offered the Congress and the American people a comprehensive and thorough program for air pollution abatement.

These are sound proposals. Emission control levels for industry should be fixed. Regional air quality commissions are needed. Annual vehicle inspections are vital. Research on fuel additives is extremely essential. The establishment of regional commissions to enforce air pollution control measures is long overdue. These, and other Presidential recommendations, will help the American people overcome this dangerous and inexcusable health menace.

As an example of the kind of support the President's program has engendered nationally, I ask unanimous consent that four editorials on this subject be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Denver (Colo.) Rocky Mountain News, Jan. 15, 1967]

Breathe Deep: Breathe Deadly?

Less than 24 hours after President Johnson in his State of the Union message called for "regional airsheds" to attack the problem of air pollution, the need for some such remedy was underscored by grim statistics.

Dr. Leonard Greenburg reported a study financed by the U.S. Public Health Service showed that higher death rates from respiratory cancer in Northern Staten Island, N.Y., probably resulted in part from air pollution produced by industrial complexes in neighboring New Jersey.

In the northern area, Dr. Greenburg said, the death rate among white males 45 years and older was 55.4 per 100,000 as against 40.2 in the central and southern areas of the island that were less exposed to pollution.

Dr. Greenburg, former New York City air pollution control commissioner, also said the Thanksgiving Day smog that blanketed the New York area could have been a "disaster" if it had lasted longer. He warned that air pollution, if permitted to continue, would produce a nation of "respiratory cripples."

Although New York is one of the most populous and industrially concentrated areas of the country, the air pollution menace has grown so pressing that even wide-open-space states such as Colorado admit to grave problems.

President Johnson's proposal for a "total attack on (air) pollution at its source" is urgent. And it is one domestic program from which all will benefit. Congress should give his "regional airsheds" plan high priority.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Jan. 31, 1967]

New Push in Air Pollution War

Congress should assign high priority to President Johnson's request for new weapons to wage a winning war against air pollution.

Unless action is taken now, that war will be lost within 10 years, the President warned in his special message to Congress yesterday.

Mr. Johnson had strong support for his assessment of the situation. The fact is that the war right now is going poorly.

Recent events have demonstrated that the ever-growing numbers of people, industries and automobiles are fouling air at a rate far beyond nature's tolerance. The once-rare instances of concentrated, polluted air collecting and laying a smothering blanket over American cities are now becoming frequent.

Efforts of local governments to control all the many forms of air pollution have been unsuccessful. To cope with today's emergency conditions, federal help and federal standards such as those outlined by President Johnson are needed.

The President very wisely acknowledged that federal action alone cannot solve the problem. He proposed legislation to set pollution emission limits for industries in interstate commerce but also proposed that such legislation encourage individual states to set equal or more stringent limits.

With his additional recommendation for the establishment of regional commissions to enforce air pollution control measures, the President also wisely heeded warning signals raised by the recent National Conference on Air Pollution. That December session in Washington gave voice to the idea that regional control of pollution is desperately needed over "air sheds" which extend beyond local and state boundaries.

Cost of regional control commissions and new research to abate the foul air menace would add an estimated $18 million a year to the cost of existing federal antipollution efforts.

This would be a small sum to pay for a significant contribution to the health and welfare—and the future—of America and Americans.

[From the Providence (R.I.) Journal, Feb. 2, 1967]

A Tough Plan for Checking Air Pollution

Much interest has been focused on the deplorable condition of the air we breathe. The matter has been explained in articles, discussed at forums, and been made the subject of legislation at federal, state and local levels. The hazard of contaminated air was brought home to the millions in the New York metropolitan area over Thanksgiving when a poisonous blanket of smoke and fumes settled over the region.

Yet, as President Johnson pointed out in his message to Congress, for all the attention that has been paid to the subject and all the corrective steps that have been taken, the pollution problem is getting worse. "We are not even controlling today's level of pollution," he warned, "and we shall have lost the battle for clean air unless we strengthen our regulatory and research efforts now."

In an effort to catch up with the need, the President has proposed an Air Quality Act of 1967. The heart of the proposed act is a provision that would give the federal government authority to fix emission standards of industrial plants. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare would designate "those industries in interstate commerce that are nationally significant sources of air pollution," and would fix acceptable industrywide emission levels. The states would be encouraged to adopt equivalent levels—or stricter ones. As a final resort, the federal government would step in and impose penalties against culprits in those states which had failed to adopt and enforce satisfactory standards.

This is bitter medicine. It represents an extension of the federal authority and, as such, it probably will be resisted in some quarters. But when the proposal is measured against the size of the peril we face, one must conclude that the medicine is none too strong. Those who are poisoning our air must be checked, and the President has suggested one way that this might be accomplished.

Industrial pollution, of course, is only a part of a very large and complicated problem. President Johnson has recognized that stepped-up efforts also are needed against other parts of the problem. He urges more initiative to make regional air compacts effective. He calls for more research on the problem of air pollution caused by motor vehicles. He asks industries, the universities and local governments to increase their efforts in the war against polluted air.

Much more was included in this message which the President entitled *Protecting Our National Heritage*. He spoke of highway safety, the need for more national parks, the problem of our polluted streams, the promise of oceanographic research and even of the possibilities of tapping underground hot springs as a source of useful power.

But the President's emphasis was on the hazard of air pollution, an emphasis that was entirely appropriate in the light of the growing peril we face from the air we breathe.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Feb. 1, 1967]

COMBATING A KILLER

It kills. It aggravates illness. It corrodes machinery. It defaces buildings. "It may shorten the life of whatever it touches, and it touches everything."

"It" is air pollution, which President Johnson in a special message to Congress Monday called a problem that "emerges from our success as a modern nation."

Clearly, air pollution would not be so acute a menace if this nation had not grown so large and so prosperous, if fewer automobiles were on the road, if industry were not burning so much fuel. But population continues to boom, and we hope prosperity will, too. In short, the present pollution dilemma can only grow worse if we continue our present power consumption methods uncorrected.

Air pollution need not be the ugly handmaiden of prosperity, though. Ways have been discovered to remove most hydrocarbon emissions from auto exhausts at reasonable costs, for instance. Industry is learning to reburn some of its once-wasted gases from burning fuels, and thus keep them from spewing into our atmosphere. Future research doubtless will establish new ways to reduce pollution.

A severe problem exists. Methods of treatment are known or are not far distant. The question then remains: How do we assure that the cures are applied?

President Johnson offered an intelligent start. His message to Congress recognized that clean air is a problem national in scope and thus demands national standards and federal assistance. But it encourages the states to become active partners or even take the lead in fighting pollution. And it recognizes the important contributions private industry has to make in the field.

Basically, the President's proposals fall into three categories: standards, enforcement and research.

At present, industry and other polluters in general have no well defined levels of what constitutes dangerous pollution. Local standards, where adopted, cannot be effective unless neighboring areas and states likewise have strict standards, for air movement recognizes no man-made boundaries.

Mr. Johnson recommends, then, that the secretary of health, education and welfare designate those industries which are significant sources of air pollution, and that the secretary promulgate industrywide safe-emission levels. States would have the opportunity to adopt these standards—or stricter ones.

The President proposed finding new ways of enforcing these standards, including regional commissions such as those helpful in the effort to control water pollution.

Finally, a widespread research effort would be begun, involving all levels of government, private enterprise and universities. Research would study effects of present fuels and look for possible alternative fuels. Industry, said the President, has an especially important role, for "It is in private laboratories, and in private board rooms, that the crucial decisions on new fuels, new control technology and new means of developing power and locomotion will be made."

Congress should provide the tools for getting to work on the vital problem of preserving a healthy environment.

INCREASED MINIMUM FARM WAGE

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, Secretary of Labor Wirtz has dealt another blow to the farmers of California and the housewives of America by his action in raising from $1.40 to $1.60 the minimum wage which California farmers must offer in order to be eligible for foreign supplemental harvest labor.

For 2 years now the Secretary has been blindly pursuing a program that imposes impractical, cumbersome, and ever-changing requirements upon our farmers and, in effect, denies them badly needed harvest labor. The Secretary has justified this program by saying it would bring unemployed domestic workers from the cities to the farms. This has not been the case, as anyone who would take the trouble to examine California harvest labor problems would realize.

The Secretary's action today in raising his arbitrarily imposed minimum wage is particularly outrageous for the following reasons:

First. First and foremost the Wirtz program in the past two years is a proven failure. No statistics have been advanced, nor could they be, to show that Wirtz' program has achieved its objective of bringing domestic workers from the city to the farms. Everybody agrees, and always has, that all available and willing domestic workers should be employed before any foreign workers are used. But the Secretary's program has not brought forth more domestic workers. This is the simple, basic fact to remember and he should admit that his scheme is a dismal failure instead of imposing increasingly ridiculous hardships upon our Nation's farmers and California's largest industry.

Second. Let Mr. Wirtz and the administration he represents make no mistake of this: the Nation's housewives are acutely aware of the rising costs of food. It is an awareness reinforced every time they shop. We hear much talk from President Johnson about inflation, and it seems appalling that the Secretary of Labor should so brashly contribute to the inflation which other agencies of Government are attempting to combat. I said years ago that the housewives would pay to the tune of $1 billion for Mr. Wirtz' sociological experiment. It now appears that, with the Secretary's continuing stubbornness, my earlier estimate will spiral upward.

Third. The people of California are justly outraged by the discrimination Mr. Wirtz has shown against them in setting the wage rates. The Texas minimum wage rate imposed by the Secretary remains at $1.15; Florida's has been raised to $1.35; but California must go to $1.60. In addition to this, during the past 2 years other States have consistently received a substantial percentage of the amount of foreign labor they formerly received, whereas California has been permitted less than 20 percent. The people of California are well aware of this discrimination, and I believe they are able to express themselves at the polls, and will do so.

Fourth. Secretary Wirtz is clearly exceeding his authority in imposing a minimum wage on farmworkers. There has always been an excellent argument that the Secretary had no such authority—that it is Congress responsibility to apply minimum wages. This argument is now conclusive since within the past 6 months the Congress has acted and has, in fact, extended minimum wage coverage to farmworkers. It seems astounding that the Secretary should apply a $1.60 minimum wage to California farmworkers when only a few months ago Congress itself decided that the minimum wage for farmworkers should be $1—and, in fact, the industrial minimum wage is only $1.40. I am sure that Secretary Wirtz cannot deny that if Congress, the responsible body, were presented with this question they would never endorse the action he has today taken.

In summary, it is time that Secretary Wirtz acknowledge the failure of his experiment and permit our Nation's farmers to return to their job of producing food at a reasonable price for the housewives of America and a hungry world.

THE 446TH TROOP CARRIER WING, 924TH AND 925TH TROOP CARRIER GROUPS, ELLINGTON AIR FORCE BASE

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have reprinted in the RECORD the text of a resolution adopted by the South Houston City Council.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the City of South Houston, Harris County, Texas, has met in a lawfully constituted body this day to consider business relative to the City of South Houston;

Whereas, it has been brought to the attention of this council that the 446th Troop Carrier Wing, the 924th and 925th Troop Carrier Groups (Reserve) of Ellington Air Force Base is slated for deactivation by October of 1967; and

Whereas, the fine record of this outstanding Reserve Unit has been outlined in the press of this city, and before various civic groups; and

Whereas, the civic, cultural, economic and social contribution of the officers and men of the Unit who live in South Houston has been of great benefit in making the City of South Houston a better place in which to live; and

Whereas, the military contributions being made by the said 446th Troop Carrier Wing to the cause of national defense, and the humanitarian contributions made in times of natural disaster are a vital and continuing need to this nation's well being;

Be it now resolved by the City of South Houston, Texas, that the City Council of South Houston, Texas, acting with consent of and on behalf of the citizens of said city, do hereby and hereon go on record this day as opposing any move to deactivate, reduce, reassign or relocate any or all of the members or functions of the 446th Troop Carrier Wing (United States Air Force, Reserve), Ellington Air Force Base, Texas.

To duly attest thereof, the Secretary of the City of South Houston, Texas, is hereby authorized and ordered to make this Resolution a proper part of the official minutes of the City Council meeting of this date; and is further authorized and ordered to transmit a duly notarized copy of this Resolution to the Texas delegation of Congress and Senate in Washington, D.C., as well as to the Chairman of the Armed Forces Committees of House and Senate. She is also authorized and ordered to transmit a copy of this Resolution to the Governor of the State of Texas.

BELLAMY AWARD

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as the senior Senator from Oregon, I am very proud that one of my young constituents, Mr. Charles Swanson, president of the student body of Lincoln High School in Portland, Oreg., has won the Bellamy Gold Medal Award.

I wish to congratulate Mr. Swanson, and I wish to congratulate Mr. Edwin Schneider, principal of Lincoln High School, for his stewardship in the operation of the program at Lincoln High, which resulted in its having been selected as an outstanding secondary school.

Mr. President, in the February 1967 issue of the monthly publication of Portland Post No. 1, Portland Post Contact, American Legion and Auxiliary, there appears an article concerning the presentation of the Gold Americanism Award for student representation, and I ask unanimous consent that the article and the address by Mr. Swanson which he delivered at the 25th annual Bellamy Award presentation on October 14, 1966, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland Post Contact, February 1967]

OREGON STUDENT RECEIVES GOLD MEDAL

Presentation held at Englewood, Colo., October 12 to 14, 1966, was awarded to Charles "Chuck" Swanson, Student Body President of Lincoln Hi School during their regular assembly of January 23, 1967.

The late Senator Richard Neuberger, on behalf of the Director of the Award Program, Dr. Margarette S. Miller of Portsmouth, Va., presented the Sixth Bellamy Award to Lincoln Hi School in 1947, and this school will hold the honor for the State of Oregon for a 50-year period.

The Bellamy Award honors Francis Bellamy, author of the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and the free public schools in the United States. Each year an outstanding secondary school is selected from one of the 50 states and represents their state for a 50-year period.

Gold and Silver Americanism Medals are awarded to those young people who excelled in their roles as ambassadors of their schools, communities and states. Students are judged on attitude, cooperation, courtesy, interested in the program and associated activties, merit, personality, promptness and the fulfillment of all outlined obligations, plus extra points for initiative and promptness. Deadlines have to be met for applications, speeches, travel schedules, publicity releases and specified correspondence.

A silver Americanism Medal was awarded to Wallace W. Respess Jr. of Pantego Hi School, Pantego, N.C., which received the 15th Bellamy Award in 1965 and an honorable mention Silver Medal was awarded to Joel P. Hoxie of West Hi School, Waterloo, Iowa. The Iowa school received the 21st Bellamy Award in 1962.

The 1966 Gold Medal Award Winner, Chuck Swanson, was sponsored by Portland Post #1 of The American Legion. The 1965 Medal Award was presented to Edwin C. Schahill of Arsenal Technical Hi School, Indianapolis, Ind., which received the 7th Bellamy Award in 1947 was sponsored by the 11th District of the American Legion.

BELLAMY AWARD ADDRESS

(By Charles Swenson, student body president, Lincoln High School, Portland, Oreg., at 25th annual Bellamy Award presentation to the State of Colorado Oct. 14, 1966)

On April 29, 1869, the people of the little struggling frontier town of Portland, Oregon saw forty-five students and two teachers initiate free public secondary education. Vociferous opposition had met this step. A vocal minority in the community opposed free public education of any kind, especially on the secondary level. But the majority of the early Portland citizens met and authorized Portland High School, predecessor of Lincoln High School. If those who questioned the establishment of such a valuable institution could only have lived to follow the progress of that humble infant school. They would have seen it outgrow five locations, as through the years it was called upon to serve the educational needs of ever increasing numbers of young people. They would have seen it blossom from its meager beginnings into one of the outstanding secondary schools in the country, one proud to be a recognized member of a group of such impressive high schools as are represented here today.

The graduates of Lincoln High School are themselves a testimony to the value of a Lincoln education. Two Rhodes Scholars and four Woodrow Wilson Fellowship winners have been produced. Among individuals who proudly point back to Lincoln as their high school are the late Richard Neuberger, former United States Senator; Nathan Twining, former chairman of the National Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Senator Neuberger's wife, Maureen, a former Lincoln teacher, served as United States Senator. Not only do the alumni give an indication of the stature of our school, but also the impressive list of distinguished speakers heard personally by contemporary Lincoln students give an insight into our school's continuing prestige. Such leaders as United States Senator Wayne Morse, both Richard and Maureen Neuberger, Oregon Governor Mark Hatfield, and Arthur Fleming, President of the University of Oregon.

The cultured aspect at Lincoln is far from lacking. A Littman Statue of young Abe Lincoln stands outside the auditorium. A sculpture piece, Shorebird's Landing, done by Thomas Hardy, provides the subject of a beautiful fountain on the campus.

As old as Lincoln High School is, present day students are learning through a modern curriculum including several of the latest innovations in teaching, encouraged by modern facilities. In 1952, Lincoln moved to its present building located on a ten-acre campus.

The independence and responsibility of our students is typified by the thriving student government. The progressive nature of the Student Cabinet is reflected in the recent development of classroom honor system and such student-sponsored programs as a speaker on the new morality and a symposium on Viet Nam policy by the University of Oregon debating team.

We at Lincoln are proud and privileged. But the present student body must recognize that as privileged as we are to be benefactors of great traditions, every generation of students, including our own, must continue those traditions, by our work in the classroom, on the athletic field, in student activities, and through responsible citizenship. I represent Lincoln High School, the city of Portland, and the state of Oregon in congratulating you, Cherry Creek High School, on your outstanding service to the country and your students. Welcome to the Bellamy Award Family of Schools!

THE EDUCATION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the November 1966, issue of the magazine Audiovisual Instruction, contains two articles regarding aspects of special education for the handicapped child, which in my view, can be most helpful to Senators who are interested in supporting adequate funding of educational programs designed to provide exceptional children with education specifically designed to meet their needs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "The Education of Handicapped Children: An Exploration Into Instructional Materials," by Dr. James W. Moss, and "Now See This—New Media Bring the Start of a New Era in Communication for the Deaf," by John A. Gough, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Audiovisual Instruction, November 1966]

THE EDUCATION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN: AN EXPLORATION INTO INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

(By James W. Moss)

The responsibility of children is to learn, and the responsibility of the schools is to make this learning possible and meaningful. It is a simple fact that some children find learning easier than others. By the same token, some children are more difficult to teach than others. A child who is physically or intellectually handicapped represents a challenge to the teacher because of the unique learning problems this child brings with him to school. The numbers of such children are not known, but the prevalence has been estimated at roughly 10 percent of the school-age population. Prevalence figures, however, can be misleading with reference to the problems involved. An emphasis on the prevalence of handicapped children usually leads to an emphasis on the school management problems engendered by such a figure. While a high prevalence figure may suggest and indeed cause management problems, there may be an inverse relationship between the prevalence figures cited and the degree of instructional problems.

That the problems involved in instructing the more severely handicapped children are monumental is true, to say the least. The cost of instruction for such a child runs from two to four times as high as the cost for the average child. The teacher of the handicapped must be a specialist; she must have the training, the resources, and the specialized tools necessary for her profession.

Although many of the educational materials used with average children can be modified for use with the handicapped, the teacher of the handicapped requires many items not found in the stockroom of the normal school building. While it is not the purpose of this article to present a catalog of necessary materials for the instruction of the handicapped, a few examples can be cited to demonstrate the range of materials needed.

Children who are deaf require the extensive use of visual aids. The typical sound movie is of little value in these classes. Movies for use with older deaf youngsters must be captioned to be understood. Specialized audiovisual materials such as films for use in the teaching of lipreading must be developed. Visual aids can be used to remind the deaf child of the structure of language and to develop a vocabulary which he never hears.

The blind child must learn without seeing; therefore the teacher of the blind must depend heavily upon audio materials. Since the blind child is deprived of the wide variety of stimulating material so necessary to keep his attention focussed on learning, there is a need for a wide range of materials on tape to maintain the attention of this child. The need for material in Braille is fully recognized, but the blind child spends many years learning to learn through Braille. Other materials must be specifically developed for a child who learn through his fingertips.

While the physically handicapped child with normal intelligence may have no difficulty assimilating material presented to him, the problems of presentation are often severe. Special devices must be developed to enable the cerebral palsy child to hold a pencil, to turn a page, to sit upright in a chair so that learning may be possible. Special educational materials must be developed to motivate the severely physically handicapped child to want to learn when he may see little opportunity to make use of his learning.

Materials which can be handled by clumsy fingers and which present complicated concepts in a simplified form are needed by the severely mentally retarded. The less severely retarded often need a wide range of audiovisual materials that enables the teacher to present a concept time and time again without boring repetition.

Audiovisual materials such as those mentioned above are but a few examples of the many specialized instructional aids required to teach the handicapped. Not mentioned are language development materials needed for helping the speech impaired or non-anxiety-producing materials for use by the emotionally disturbed.

The U.S. Office of Education is committed to improving the education of handicapped children. Such a commitment requires a major emphasis on the development, field testing, and dissemination of instructional materials. This commitment has been demonstrated in part by the development and support of a network of instructional materials centers throughout the country. The network includes 10 such centers at the present time with projections for a total of 15.

The instructional materials centers have been specifically designed to serve as focal points for the distribution of information relative to such instructional aids. It is the purpose of these centers to assure that every teacher of a handicapped child is familiar with the latest and most useful materials to help her in the challenging tasks she faces. As these centers become better developed, they will engage in the field testing and evaluation of materials as well as the preparation of manuals for the use of materials with handicapped children. Research-related information will be funneled through USOE's ERIC system, including the ERIC Clearinghouse for the Handicapped operated by the Council for Exceptional Children, directly to the instructional materials centers. The centers themselves will be linked by a communication system which will provide teachers with information located anywhere within the system.

The combination of the ERIC system, the instructional materials centers system, and the National Laboratory Program should insure that the teacher of the handicapped child will be a better teacher in the years to come. This concentration of resources on the effective utilization of instructional materials is but a part of the Office of Education's program to improve the education of handicapped children. The demonstration of effective programs wherein the latest techniques and materials may be observed in practice can be supported through funds available under the research and demonstration program for the handicapped and under funds available through Title III of Public Law 89–10. The Office of Education is supporting a number of specific projects designed to develop and field test materials for the handicapped. Outstanding among these is the project at the Human Resources Center on Long Island where a trained staff is developing materials for the physically handicapped child. Another example is a curriculum development project at Yeshiva University in New York for the preparation of materials for the mentally retarded. There are a variety of research projects designed to study the effectiveness of teaching aids in all areas of the handicapped.

The teacher of the handicapped child is no longer working alone in an isolated classroom. The frontline crusaders of the war on ignorance are now supported by an army of technicians and professionals who will see to it that effective tools for teaching are available. A new development is underway which adds a human touch to an already very human problem. In a sheltered workshop in Milwaukee retarded young adults are working under contract to produce instructional materials for use by teachers of handicapped children. Whereas the history of special education may be thought of as the blind leading the blind, the future may be characterized by the handicapped helping the handicapped.

[From Audiovisual Instruction, November 1966]

Now See This: New Media Bring the Start of a New Era in Communication for the Deaf

(By John A. Gough)

Special adaptations of audiovisual materials and techniques to help deaf people overcome their educational and cultural lag is the work of a U.S. Office of Education program called Captioned Films for the Deaf. Originated by a deaf man and first operated as a private philanthropy, the program was turned over to the government in 1959.

Since the first year when a budget of $85,000 was provided to lease and caption Hollywood feature pictures, the service has taken on a greatly changed appearance. Growth of the budget to $3 million for the current year and a broadened authorization under P.L. 89–258 now finds the Captioned Films Branch involved in much more than films.

Despite these changes, the original purpose of providing worthwhile entertainment continues. Available on free loan to more than 1,400 groups of deaf persons are some 200 sound feature pictures to which captions or subtitles have been added. About 50 new titles are added yearly.

Subtitling is done on a special machine designed for the Office of Education by a Washington studio. This device not only superimposes the subtitles but also surrounds them with a shadow-like effect that makes the caption easily readable regardless of the background.

Groups who wish to borrow the films must first register with the Office of Education and be certified for services. There is no requirement as to age; the only limitations are that users must be deaf, must agree to exercise care in the use of the films, must charge no admission to showings, and must return the films promptly, paying the postage. During the first half of 1966, audiences at captioned film showings numbered more than 175,000.

The 1965 amendment to the basic act made marked changes in the focus of the program. Although retaining its original name, the Captioned Films service is now in fact an educational media program with recreation as a subsidiary function. Another significant change in the new law was to make the materials and services available not only to the deaf, but to parents of deaf children, to social and rehabilitation workers with the deaf, and to employers of hearing-impaired persons.

Actually, these services to the nondeaf have not had a significant start as yet. The major activity at present is that of supplying educational materials and media equipment to some 35,000 deaf children in more than 400 schools and classes throughout the United States. Items supplied on loan include filmstrips, movies, overhead projectors, filmstrip projectors, and screens. Many of the materials provided are especially produced for the instruction of deaf children. These include films for teaching lipreading and fingerspelling, special filmstrips for reading instruction, and records for auditory training.

Most of the work of the Captioned Films Branch is carried on under contract, supervised by a professional staff of seven people in the Office of Education. Contracts cover acquisition and captioning of films, production of materials, distribution services, and training in the use of media and research.

To distribute materials, 60 depositories are operated, chiefly in schools for the deaf across the nation. Each depository serves the area immediately around it. Three major centers in New York, Indiana, and Colorado circulate the entertainment films. Each of the three is managed by a deaf man.

Film production for the program is contracted with both commercial producers and university production facilities. Last year, a package for auditory training done by a commercial producer won a blue ribbon award in a language arts competition. Entitled *Sights and Sounds*, the package consists of records, filmstrips, and test booklets to give practice in learning to discriminate between environmental sounds heard on the farm, in the city, and in the home.

At The University of Nebraska, under the direction of Robert Stepp, a series of films for teaching lipreading is being produced for use in 8 mm cartridges. Original films were shot in 8mm by Frank Withrow of the Illinois School for the Deaf. Mr. Stepp is now reshooting them in 16mm in preparation for national distribution.

A new production venture this year involves development and telecasting of more than 100 half-hour television shows for the adult deaf. Produced and aired by the Twin City Broadcasting Company in Minneapolis-St. Paul, the films cover a wide variety of subject matter, both recreational and educational. They are seen two times per week between 6:30 and 7 P.M. National distribution of these and other programs is planned as part of future program growth.

At the John Tracy Clinic in Los Angeles, kinescopes to demonstrate the teaching of speech are in the initial taping stage. Another TV project involved Station WQED in Pittsburgh, where 10 kinescopes were made to demonstrate teaching techniques applicable to instruction of deaf children.

Training of teachers of the deaf in the use of new media took a significant step forward this summer when the Captioned Films program arranged for summer institutes at three major universities. These included the Universities of Nebraska, Tennessee, and Massachusetts. The institutes are modeled after NDEA institutes but are open only to teachers of the deaf. Plans call for repeating these sessions next summer. Ninety teachers are presently receiving training.

At the New Mexico Foundation, Las Cruces, New Mexico, another kind of training activity is going on. Here, under the direction of Marshall Hester, a year-round in-service training program is based. With the help of assistants, Mr. Hester conducts demonstrations and short courses in schools for the deaf throughout the West. The program has been likened to a traveling road show.

Using a rental truck, Mr. Hester and his staff transport a load of equipment and materials to a school and then set up and put on practical demonstrations in which teachers become participants as well as observers. During the last school year, this performance played locations as widely separated as Milwaukee and Los Angeles.

Research carried on under the Captioned Film Act differs from other USOE programs. It is concerned chiefly with testing ideas or materials that are generated within the program. A principal project, known as Projet LIFE, is concerned with the development of reading instruction for young deaf children through the use of programed instruction. Harley Z Wooden, formerly executive secretary of the Council for Exceptional Children, is project director. The contract is with the National Education Association, with subcontracts at Ohio State University and Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas. Now in its fourth year, the project is a long-term effort to solve the extremely difficult educational problem of accelerating the reading abilities of the deaf.

Under yet another contract, Edward Garrett and Kay Rigg of the State University of New Mexico have developed a new device for the deaf called the Dialcom. This is designed to permit two totally deaf persons to communicate by telephone. The apparatus in prototype form is about the size of a set of bathroom scales and attaches to the side of a telephone with a small suction cup on the end of a wire. This picks up signals from inside the telephone.

On the Dialcom, the user sees a panel of lighted digits that are activated by dialing from another telephone similarly equipped. Cued to a code, these numbers permit two individuals to communicate back and forth readily. After testing of the instrument and completion of code experimentation which is now going on, the apparatus will become another educational medium available on loan for the deaf.

Other research and development projects also underway include a library survey of schools for the deaf, a study of the visual perception of deaf children, and the development of prevocational guidance materials for deaf teen-agers. Contrary to popular belief, the perception study is bringing up evidence that loss of hearing is often accompanied by diminished visual abilities. This inquiry is going on at New Mexico State University and is expected to develop a basis for production of remedial materials and techniques.

These varied projects do not exhaust the agenda of Captioned Films activities, but are representative of the many facets of the program. Because of the relatively small size of the population group served, prospects are good that a heavy saturation of new media will occur within but a few years. A three-year plan calls for every classroom for the deaf in the nation to be equipped with overheads, filmstrip projectors, and then more sophisticated types of equipment. A thousand of each of the basic projects will be released this fall, with more to come.

Response of the deaf to the program has been uniformly enthusiastic. The entertainment films have brought a new dimension into their cultural and recreational life, and the instructional materials are seen as a real boon for increasing educational achievement. Robert Schmitt, director of programs for the deaf in the Houston, Texas, city schools, calls the overhead projector the greatest contribution to the education of the deaf since the invention of the hearing aid.

Most other teachers are equally enthusiastic about the entire new media program. Teachers of the deaf often split over the question of strictly oral versus some combination of oral and manual communication for the deaf. These differences largely disappear when they see an opportunity to help overcome the three- to five-year achievement lag which besets most deaf children. Using materials that are especially designed to meet the needs of deaf children and equipment that helps to speed the communication process, teachers find increased hope for success in their work.

Next year marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the education of the deaf in America. During those long years, many deaf children have been lifted to a successful place in life. Few have had to suffer the stigma of dependency, but relatively few have struggled far beyond the rudiments of an education. For most, communication is just too difficult.

Today the situation is beginning to change. The revolution in communication techniques is having its effect on the world of the deaf as well as on that of the hearing. The steps being taken by the Captioned Films program in helping apply these techniques and others yet to come, mark the dawn of a new era. It is perhaps too much to suggest that the ears of the deaf will be unstopped. But it is no exaggeration to say that modern technology and research are breaking down the barriers which for centuries have set the deaf man apart from his hearing brothers.

EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN THE 90TH CONGRESS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the February issue of Phi Delta Kappan, the journal of Phi Delta Kappa, the professional fraternity for men in education, carries an article entitled "Education Legislation in the 90th Congress," under the byline of Dr. Samuel Halperin.

Dr. Halperin wrote this article in his capacity as a private citizen and as an educator, but in view of his service both with the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in the field of legislative liaison, the article contains insights into the probable legislative outlook for education in the current session which, to my mind, merit careful consideration by those concerned with maintaining the progress in this important area which has characterized the last few years.

I commend it to Senators as the viewpoint of a highly intelligent and well-informed educator.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Education Legislation in the 90th Congress

(By Samuel Halperin)

(Note.—Mr. Halperin is Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He prepared this article at the request of Kappan editors, however, in his private capacity as an educator and observer. No official support or endorsement by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is intended or should be inferred.)

The 90th Congress of our republic convened in Washington on January 10. What education legislation can we expect from it?

Any speculation on this question must take into account the great strides in education legislation made by the 88th and 89th Congresses. Their records are impressive. They enacted more than 30 education statutes. Federal funds for education were $3 billion a year when President Kennedy took office. They had increased to $5 billion when President Johnson succeeded him. Today the federal government is spending more than $10 billion for education. In the five years from 1961 to 1966, the budget of the U.S. Office of Education multiplied 11 times.

The most enduring fact is that this expanded federal activity largely reflects certain basic socio-economic realities of life in mid-century America. Education is now widely viewed—perhaps too optimistically—as a solution to virtually every national problem, including military security, manpower shortages, unemployment, and civil rights. More important, the aspirations of the American people have crystallized in the form of demands for more and better education. Everyone has his favorite statistic to demonstrate the change. Mine is that only 17 percent of all high-school-age youths completed grade 12 in 1920 while 72 percent do so today. This staggering change, while leaving much to be achieved, represents no ephemeral whim of national policy, but rather a basic restructuring of values in our society.

Moreover, education is now an annual $50 billion growth industry employing three million teachers, professors, and administrators—the largest single occupation group in the nation. This means that education is a potent political force, generating its own demands in the marketplace for the distribution of national resources. Thus support for increased educational expenditures is rooted in both transformed societal values and new political-economic realities. Future federal aid may vary in pace and in quality, but it will be virtually impossible to reverse the present trend. Neither Karl Marx's state nor federal aid to education is likely to wither away.

What effects will the recent congressional elections have on prospects for aid to education? Many observers have contended that the candidacy of Barry Goldwater in 1964 was largely responsible for the election of an unusually large number of the new Democratic congressmen who enacted so much landmark legislation in 1965 and 1966. In any case, it cannot be doubted that the 90th Congress will contain fewer members likely to vote for new departures in social welfare programs. Some 35 hardcore House votes for liberal programs were lost in the fall elections and perhaps an additional 20 marginal votes will now be harder to obtain. This suggests that we shall see fewer innovative and controversial programs than in the past, fewer new enterprises such as the National Teacher Corps, Economic Opportunity Act, Model Cities Act, and the Rent Supplement Program.

But if solid, underlying support for expanding American educational opportunity really does exist, as I argue it does, it will be channeled some place. The most logical possibility is that it will flow into the expansion of existing, more traditional programs with a solid, bipartisan base of support. Thus we can probably expect future increments in such programs as vocational education, impacted areas, education of handicapped children, and the like. The new Congress will likely consider additional ways to expand these programs and make them more effective.

The new political climate in Washington suggests certain other features of the immediate future:

1. The principal struggle in education will shift from the process of authorization to that of appropriation. Very few Americans understand the federal system of "quadruple jeopardy" under which programs must first be authorized by both houses of Congress and then run the appropriations gauntlet in those same bodies. Even some fairly knowledgeable participants in the political area often fail to follow through to secure the dollar for hard-won legislative enactments. (Indeed, it is probably true that the types of political skills and alliances needed in the appropriations area are different from those required in the initial authorization stage.)

To illustrate the importance of the appropriations process, we need only to recall the vast disparities between the funds appropriated by the Congress for fiscal year 1967 and those authorized for fiscal year 1968. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, for example, received $1.05 billion for the current year while next year's authorization is $2.32 billion. Title III received $135 million versus next year's authorization $515 million. Fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers were funded at the level of $30 million in fiscal year 1967 against an authorization in 1968 of $275 million. Dozens of other examples could readily be cited.

Simply stated, the point is this: Administrations may not request all of the funds that Congress has authorized. Appropriation committees may not vote all of the funds that Congress has authorized. Educators may not get all they had expected. There is nothing automatic or certain about federal funds for education. Educators must recognize the realities of the appropriations process.

2. Closely related to the issue of appropriations is the issue of evaluation. Educators have long said, "Give us the dollars to work with and we'll show you what we can do." In a political arena where there are never enough dollars to meet all demands, it will be increasingly important that we educators demonstrate the effectiveness of what we are doing.

It has been estimated that at least $100 billion will be required to cope with problems of water pollution, $10 billion for hospital modernization, and $15 billion for the backlog of elementary and secondary school construction, not to mention the staggering costs of urban renewal, mass transportation, manpower training, highways, parks, air pollution control, and a host of other essential public services. In short, dollars and new legislative programs in the future will flow not only to those who are organized for political advantage but to those who can demonstrate that their work has made a beneficial impact on the lives of people. In the competition for scarce resources, persuasion is central in a democratic society. The importance of having the right facts at the right time must not be underestimated.

3. Increasingly, one hears complaints about the existence of too many education programs, too many agencies administering education-related activities, and generally too much fragmentation for the good of American education. For example, why should there be three separate Office of Education programs to purchase printed and published instructional materials and audio-visual aids? Why do we need a Title II of ESEA without a matching requirement and a Title III of NDEA and Section 12 of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, each with a 50-50 matching provision? Above all, why do we need three sets of state plans, voluminous guidelines and regulations, and endless forms when one set could as easily serve the same educational purpose? We can expect the 90th Congress to take a close, hard look at the consolidation of educational programs. I believe the new Congress will also try to "tidy up" and perfect existing federal commitments to American education.

The key issue, it seems to me, is not simply how do we get the neatest administrative direction for our various educational programs, but how do we maintain the innovative thrust and high standards that have been built into some of the newer education programs? While there is undoubtedly a need for consolidation of many of the diverse and fragmented programs into more manageable statutes, we can expect a lively congressional debate in the near future on the adequacy of the public school system to administer the new federal programs with imagination and effectiveness.

4. In this connection, it will be interesting to observe congressional consideration of a forthcoming proposal to reorganize the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare into three sub-cabinet-level departments. Will the new Department of Education simply be an upgraded Office of Education with higher level nomenclature? Will it be given education-related functions now residing elsewhere in HEW (e.g., student financial aid programs)? Will it incorporate educational programs now dispersed throughout the federal government, such as Operation Head Start, the education of American Indians, the College Housing Loan Program, curricular programs in the National Science Foundation, and the like?

In any case, as Congress considers the proposed reorganization of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, we are assured of interesting debates on the state of American education.

EXPIRING LEGISLATION

On a more certain note, we know that the 90th Congress will be asked to extend several public laws expiring on June 30, 1967: P.L. 815, relating to school construction in federally affected areas; the educational television program (P.L. 87-477); features of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act relating to Indian education and support for children in schools operated by the Department of Defense; disaster relief (P.L. 89-313); and, most controversial of all, the National Teacher Corps. On the last bill, the struggle will center around Administration efforts to make this program more acceptable to certain educational critics without at the same time diluting the innovative features of its teacher recruitment and teacher training objectives.

Further, if precedent is any guide, we can expect that some legislation expiring on June 30, 1968, will be considered by the Congress next year. In this way, educators will be given a year's lead time to plan new programs on the basis of congressional mandates. High on the list of likely prospects for renewal in 1967 are such statutes as the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the Higher Education and National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Acts of 1965.

Experienced Congress-watchers know that with such a lengthy agenda it is highly likely that substantial improvement in existing statutes will be made. Congress seldom resists the temptation to authorize new programs as amendments to or perfections of existing laws whenever the latter come up for renewal. The host of new authorities added to P.L. 89-10 by the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966 (for example, programs for adult education and for handicapped, migrant, foster, delinquent, and Indian children) offer vivid testimony to that prospect. Incrementalism is a prime characteristic of the legislative process; interests excluded from support today—if they work hard enough—frequently manage to gain inclusion "the next time around."

NEW LEGISLATION

The year 1967, at least as much as 1966, will be dominated by issues of national security and economics. The state of the domestic economy and the intentions of Ho Chi Minh will obviously have great influence on the shape of the Administration's legislative recommendations. Nevertheless, the imperatives of modern political leadership require that presidents identify national needs and propose new legislation to meet those needs.

While it is too early at this writing to predict the exact shape of President Johnson's legislative initiatives in the 90th Congress, following are some of the areas which have been discussed in recent days:

Efforts to provide "follow-up" for graduates of Head Start and other preschool programs, so that initial education gains may be retained in the early years of schooling.

A rounding out of legislative authorities needed to give the physically and mentally handicapped children of America their first full opportunity for quality education and training.

Additional measures to promote innovation in occupational education so that more young people receive an effective introduction to our changing occupational structure.

Support and encouragement for local school districts to develop planning and evaluation capabilities better to meet their present and projected educational responsibilities.

Comprehensive authority to support the training of educational manpower—both professional and semiprofessional and at all levels of education—required to staff our expanding educational system.

The 90th Congress promises to be a busy one for education and the federal legislative process. Whether in extension and modification of existing statutes, in consolidation and perfection of present commitments, in reorganization and restructuring of the agencies administering federal programs, or in the consideration of wholly new legislative enactments, educators will have a big stake in the work of the 90th Congress.

FEDERAL SUBSIDIZATION OF PHYSICAL FITNESS RESEARCH

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Dr. H. Harrison Clarke, research professor of physical education at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg., recently brought to my attention an article entitled, "Federal Subsidization of Physical Fitness Research," which was written by Dr. Clarke in his capacity as research consultant for the President's Council on Physical Fitness.

In my view, Dr. Clarke's discussion can be helpful to many of my colleagues and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article, which appeared in the September 1966 issue of the Physical Fitness Newsletter, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL SUBSIDIZATION OF PHYSICAL FITNESS RESEARCH

(By H. Harrison Clarke, research professor of physical education, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg.)

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT NEEDED

A truly great society must rest basically upon physically fit children and adults. Continuance of a generally low level of physical fitness is a shocking waste of human resources. Upon mandate from Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, and before him from Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, the President's Council on Physical Fitness is concerned with the physical fitness of all Americans—all 200 million of them.

The United States of America should be pre-eminent in the world on its sponsored physical fitness program. In order to reach this goal, the Council recognizes that existing findings of physical fitness research must be mobilized, disseminated, and applied and that physical fitness research must be stimulated, supported, and conducted. In this way only can the most effective physical fitness processes and practices be proposed.

Federal support of research into the nonmedical aspects of physical fitness for the common man is infinitesimal. Presently, the United States is a laggard in federal support of such research, being exceeded by far by Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Sweden, West Germany, Canada, and other nations. Physical fitness research in the U.S.A. is confined almost exclusively to University physical education research laboratories. These laboratories have meager financial support; studies are largely dependent upon the completion of the thesis requirement by graduate students. Physical education research specialists are mostly teachers of research methodology and advisers of graduate thesis. Thus, physical fitness research in this country is largely student supported.

The very fact, however, that physical education research is and has been in progress for some time in the universities of the nation provides a launching pad for orbiting an expanded physical fitness research program. Many graduate departments of physical education now have well-established comprehensive research laboratories. Associated with these laboratories are well prepared and experienced professors with local, national, and international reputations as scientists in this field. Financial support in the form of subsidies is desperately needed to blast off a physical fitness research program and keep it in orbit.

SOURCES OF FEDERAL SUBSIDIES

During the summer and fall of 1965, by visitation and telephone communication, the writer surveyed federal agencies likely to be concerned with research into the non-medical aspects of physical fitness. The government agencies were the National Institutes of Health, the U.S. Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Department of Defense.

In general, exceptions admitted, the present interest of government support of physical fitness research may be summarized as follows: Extensive research is being conducted at opposite poles of the physical fitness continuum: at the upper pole, the physical fitness needs of astronauts, flight personnel, submariners, underwater demolition frogmen, and those subjected to special stresses; at the lower pole, the medical care of sufferers from heart disease, cancer, arthritis, infectious diseases, metabolic diseases, neurological conditions, blindness, mental aberrations, and others. Very little physical fitness, research for the benefit of the great mass of humanity between the poles receive federal support.

From the 1965 survey conducted, the federal agencies presented below are potential sources for subsidization of physical fitness research.

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) is one of nine institutes within the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the arm of the Public Health Service which has primary responsibility for support of bio-medical research and, the training of research personnel. Established in 1963, this Institute is concerned with the health status, needs, and problems of individuals. NICHD differs from earlier institutes in that its attention is focused on the complex health problems and requirements of the whole person rather than any one disease or part of the body. The principal directions of its research interests find expression in eight major program areas: Reproductive Biology, Prenatal Biology, Growth and Development, Aging, Mental Retardation, Congenital Malformation, Developmental Pharmacology, and Human Communication. The programs for Growth and Development and Aging have greatest potentialities for some physical fitness research.

Growth and Development

The major emphasis of the Growth and Development Program is on factors involved in normal or optimal growth and development. The focus is on the determination of physiological, physical, intellectual, social, and behavioral development during infancy, childhood, and adolescence. The scope of the research program includes, among others, growth patterns, neurophysiological aspects of development, physical growth, and developmental statuses predictive of later development and outcomes. When indicated, the multidisciplinary approach is encouraged.

From the standpoint of physical fitness research, the Growth and Development Program is interested in developmental physiology. A phase of developmental physiology is exercise physiology. Proposals acceptable in the area of exercise physiology should be experimental rather than observational in nature and should employ highly sophisticated techniques of evaluation.

Aging

This program strives to understand the biological, social, and behavioral processes that account for the general decrease of vigor and fitness experienced by mature individuals in varying degrees with advancing years. Studies of the progressive changes that take place in a cell, a tissue, an organ system, a total individual, or a group of individuals over a period of time are encouraged. Special attention is given to investigations of the middle years of adult life.

Procedure

For research grant application and information, address the Division of Research Grants, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Bethesda, Md. Applications for research grants are accepted any time, but are reviewed three times a year. Deadlines for receiving applications for the three review times are October 1, February 1, and July 1. Applications should be submitted at least six months before the desired beginning date of an approved grant.

Each application is reviewed for scientific merit, qualifications of the investigator, and adequacy of facilities by an appropriate study section of the Division of Research Grants. Study section recommendations are submitted to the National Advisory Child Health and Human Development Council for final review. This Council then recommends approval of those applications judged as meriting support to the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service.

U.S. Office of Education

The Bureau of Research of the United States Office of Education (USOE) contains five divisions, each with three or four branches, 17 in all. The divisions are: Elementary-Secondary Research, Adult and Vocational Research, Higher Education Research, Laboratories and Research Development, and Research Training and Dissemination. The Bureau supports two classes of research as follows:

Project Support: clearly delineated research activity or set of activities to solve a particular problem in education. Projects are usually planned and initiated by investigators who submit them as proposals. When it is necessary to balance the total research programs, however, the Bureau may invite proposals in critical areas.

Program Support: when proposed research requires a concentration of professional resources on a general area in education over an extended period of time. This support is used for the activities of Research and Development Centers, Educational Laboratories, and training of educational researchers.

USOE is interested in physical education research, which includes physical fitness as a primary objective of this field in schools and colleges. The nature of physical fitness studies of import to the Bureau of Research include the construction of evaluative instruments, normative studies, activities and programs designed to bring about changes in physical development, the relation of physical fitness to scholastic achievement, mental health, and personal-social adjustments, and the like. By nature of their mission, basic research into components of physical fitness, exercise physiology, and cellular changes do not come within their purview.

USOE support is also possible for the activities of Research and Development Centers, Educational Laboratories, training of scientists, and in other ways. These programs allow long-term staff commitments and continuous development and adaptability, and provide for liaison with the education community. Research and development centers and educational laboratories employ interdisciplinary approaches to education problems.

Procedure

For research grant application and information, address the Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.; these proposals are routed to the Research Analysis and Allocation Staff. Proposals received are first reviewed by Office of Education staff. Those proposals which show promise of contributing to educational improvements are reviewed by a panel of nongovernment experts. Once approved, a Project Officer is assigned to each proposal.

U.S. Army

Army Research Office

Army research studies in the area of physical fitness are particularly related to the relation of man to machines and of man to weapons and to physiological adaptations to stress and to physical and mental fatigue. About 50 per cent of the research sponsored by this office is through contracts with universities. The university research is physiologically and psychologically oriented at a high level of sophistication. Their principal investigators are mostly members of medical advisory boards and panels known to the Army Surgeon General's Office.

Project requests should be directed to: Medical Research and Development Command, Army Surgeon General's Office, Washington, D.C. It would be best for the individual seeking a research contract with the Army Research Office to make direct contact with a staff member who is familiar with the field as well as with military requirements.

Natick Laboratories

Two U.S. Army research laboratories exist at Natick, Mass. Both of these laboratories have interests in studies pertaining to work and exercise.

USARIEM: The physical fitness interests of this laboratory are related to cardiovascular adaptations associated with the fitness of the soldier, to development of valid methods for assessing physical fitness, to preselection of troops for specific strenuous types of activity, to development of techniques for inducing optimal physical fitness, and to interactions between physical fitness and military performances in environmental extremes of heat, cold, and terrestrial altitude.

Psychological Laboratory: This laboratory is concerned with research on the compatability between man and his environment; a program of basic research in human capabilities is also undertaken. Anthropometric surveys of both United States and foreign military personnel are conducted and the data used in the design and sizing of military clothing and equipment.

Research proposals should be submitted to U.S. Army Natick Laboratories, Natick, Mass. In preparing the proposal, the *Commerce Business Daily* may be consulted, as this publication contains descriptions of all Natick research contracts. When submitting an unsolicited proposal, it is advisable to discuss the project in advance in order to insure that it fits within the Natick research program.

U.S. Navy

Office of Naval Research

The Office of Naval Research (ONR) carries forward a broad program of scientific research and exploratory engineering for the purpose of making available to the Navy new and improved technological approaches in the performance of its missions. This work is being conducted in part by ONR's own laboratories and in part under contract with universities, nonprofit institutions, and industrial establishments. Two ONR divisions, Biological Sciences and Psychological Sciences, have potentials for physical fitness research.

Biological Sciences Division: From the standpoint of physical fitness, the Physiology Branch of the Biological Sciences Division is interested in research related to: (a) the fitness needed by the soldier to work better in a military situation; (b) physical fitness as related to stress, altitude, heat, and cold; (c) swimming as related to underwater demolition and swimming with packs; and (d) maintaining the physical fitness of crew members on submarines. This branch is concerned with nerve and muscle function, respiratory and circulatory physiology, nutrition and metabolism, and stress physiology.

Phychological Sciences Division

The Physiological Psychology Branch of this division sponsors research pertaining to the psychological, physiological, and neurological factors in sensation, orientation, emotion, motor activity, maturation patterns of behavior, and the psychological measures pertinent to these fatcors. The research interests of this branch also include psychophysiological processes associated with attention, discrimination, cognition, and adaptation under normal and stressful conditions; and, the psychological, physiological, and psychopharmacological mechanisms of enhancement, maintenance, or inhibition of behavior.

A brochure pertaining to the Contract Research Program of the Office of Naval Research may be obtained from the Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C., or from ONR Branch Offices in Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Pasadena, and London, England. Resident Representatives are located at other points within certain of the Branch Office areas, as listed in the brochure. Because the Branch Offices provide direct liaison between the Office of Naval Research and scientific institutions in their area, each has a scientific department composed of a chief scientist and several associated scientists who maintain contact with scientific developments in their respective areas.

U.S. Marine Corps

The U.S. Marine Corps maintains a Naval Medical Field Research Laboratory at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. This Laboratory is operational for the Marine Corps and does not usually subsidize outside studies. Physical fitness research projects, however, could be contracted if the proposals are valuable to the mission of the Marine Corps and the Camp Lejeune laboratory does not have the time and resources to carry them out.

Physical fitness study proposals may be discussed with the Coordinator of Physical Training for Marine Corps, Headquarters, Marine Corps, Arlington, Virginia. Formal applications should be made to: Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has three offices of advanced research and technology and a manned space center. Only a very limited number of small contracts have been awarded for studies related to physical fitness; these projects involved the effects of over-conditioning of astronauts after flights and the muscle deconditioning effects of prolonged bed rest.

REASONS FOR GRANT APPLICATION REJECTIONS

Great care should be taken in preparing research proposals for submission to federal agencies for support, as proposals received are many and rejection rates are high. While any one agency may not represent them all, the experience of the National Institutes of Health will illustrate this situation. During a single fiscal year, NIH received 6000 competitive applications for grant of funds to initiate or continue projects in medical and related biological research. Of this number, approximately 2000 were disapproved. The causes of rejections for a sample of 605 disapproved applications were analyzed. Twenty-six shortcomings were listed; the following causes applied to 8 per cent or more of the proposals:

	Percent
Proposed tests, or methods, or scientific procedures were unsuited to the stated objective	34. 7
Problem is of insufficient importance or was unlikely to produce any new or useful information	33. 1
Investigator did not have adequate experience or training, or both, for this research	32. 6
Description of the approach was too nebulous, diffuse, and lacking in clarity to permit adequate evaluation	28. 8
Overall design of the study had not been carefully thought out	14. 7
Investigator appeared to be unfamiliar with recent pertinent literature or methods, or both	13. 7
Investigator's previously published work in this field did not inspire confidence	12. 6
Requirements for equipment or personnel, or both, were unrealistic	10. 1
Proposed research was based upon a hypothesis that rested on insufficient evidence, was doubtful, or was unsound	8. 9
Problem more complex than the investigator appeared to realize	8. 1
Statistical aspects of the approach had not been given sufficient consideration	8. 1

NEEDED PHYSICAL FITNESS RESEARCH

A Committee of Research Consultants appointed by the President's Council on Physical Fitness* has identified the major needs in physical fitness research and has proposed the physical fitness research projects that should be undertaken. From the "needs" statement, the broad physical fitness problem areas considered particularly significant are given here.

1. What is meant by physical fitness? What components of physical fitness can be identified and defined?
2. What are the best means of measuring the components of physical fitness? What combination of these would yield an appropriate assessment of physical fitness? Should national achievement scales for those measures be established for the two sexes at the different ages from childhood through adulthood?
3. How much physical fitness is needed generally in today's society and specifically for the many work tasks required of various segments of society?
4. How can individuals who are deficient in basic physical fitness components best be identified and subsequently improved?
5. Are marked changes in some or all of the components of physical fitness accompanied by measurable changes in accomplishments in such areas, for example, as school achievement, work output, or personal-social adjustments?
6. What are the effects over the life span of a physically active life upon the well-being of man?
7. What effect has phyically vigorous activity on stress adaptation and for prevention of degenerative diseases and neuropsychiatric disorders? Is regular exercise a factor in the preservation of health into later life or in postponing death?
8. What types of physical fitness regimens are either effective or ineffective in developing and maintaining specific components of physical fitness? What quantitative physical fitness changes can be produced by different training programs?
9. How can people be motivated to exercise, to participate regularly in vigorous physical activities?
10. What are the effects of protracted regimens of physical activity upon the physical growth of children and adolescents?
11. What factors affect strength decrement and strength recovery following strenuous exercise? How may recovery from strength decrement be speeded?
12. What chronic changes can be induced in the intact muscle when it is stimulated repeatedly or subjected to training regimens? What makes a muscle stronger when it is repeatedly exercised in certain ways? What is the nature of the biochemical fatigue process following repeated contractions? How can the fatigue process be modified or reversed?

In the light of research suggested, additional insight into the nature of physical fitness and its essential components should result. Some physical fitness components have been reasonably well identified in recent years; these are muscular strength, the endurance to do sustained muscular work, and total-body endurance (or the capacity for turnover of biochemical energy during exercise). Additional physical fitness components should be isolated, assessed, and studied.

Both muscular strength and muscular endurance are related to the volitional force the muscles can apply. However, strength and endurance are sufficiently different so that a measure of one does not substitute as a measure of the other. Both components are essential in acquiring and maintaining a vigorous and alert organism.

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*Ellsworth R. Buskirk, Anna S. Espenschade, Franklin M. Henry, A. W. Hubbard, G. Lawrence Rarick, and H. Harrison Clarke, Chairman.

The metabolic aspects of exercise as measured by maximum oxygen intake have been studied to some extent with respect to age, sex, and level of physical condition. Howver, only preliminary work has been done to investigate the basic mechanisms responsible for changes in maximum oxygen intake during heavy exercise. Nor do we know how it is affected by physical exercise and training, or by detraining.

The President's Council on Physical Fitness wishes to encourage scientists in physical education, exercise physiology, growth and development, medicine, education, and other allied fields to engage in obtaining answers to the many physical fitness problems cited. A copy of "Proposed Physical Fitness Research Projects" prepared by the Council's Committee of Research Consultants will be sent upon request to the writer.

TREATY NONSENSE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "Treaty Nonsense," published in the Oregonian, of Portland, on February 13, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Treaty Nonsense

The controversy over ratification of a consular agreement with the Soviet Union would be ridiculous were it not that it lays bare the fact that many Americans oppose having anything to do with Communist governments.

The United States and the Soviet Union exchange ambassadors and recognize each other's governments. They exchange cultural and trade missions. The two nations have joined in the nuclear test ban treaty and in the Antarctica treaty and the U.S. Senate is due soon to ratify the space treaty. They are working toward a treaty to inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons. A recent agreement on regulation of the Russian fishing fleets off American coasts will be signed in a couple of weeks.

All these have been considered by most Americans, we believe, as in the American interest. The hope of many is that gradually, as Soviet belligerence lessens, additional areas of agreement will be reached which will provide some basis for hope that ways other than war to end disputes may be found.

The placing of one or two Soviet consulates in the United States and one or two American consulates in the U.S.S.R. to look after the interests of citizens and to regulate trade ought to be routine. Chief opposition is based on a charge that Russian consulate officials would engage in espionage, a charge the Russians might also make against U.S. consulate officials there.

But the Soviet Union already has about 450 officials stationed in this country who may engage in espionage if they can get away with it. The apprehension that a dozen more will make J. Edgar Hoover's life unbearable cannot be taken very seriously. In fact, consular officials would be much easier to watch than secret agents.

This is a tempest in a teapot. A majority of Americans, we believe, favor these calculated efforts to reach areas of understanding with the Communist nations. The Senate should ratify the treaty and get on with more important business.

THE CIA AND CRIME

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, on February 20, Mr. Edward P. Morgan, speaking on the American Broadcasting Co. network, commented on the recent activities of the CIA and the revelations over the President's commission on the Nation's problems with crime.

Mr. Morgan suggested these two widely different subjects do have a relationship. It is his feeling that in spite of the grave situation which confronts us in regards to crime, the Nation is not lost. But, he says, we are not helping our image as a nation of upright adults or as Americans by allowing the use of a secret agency to infiltrate and use our unions, our foundations, and our students in questionable ways.

Recently at the hearings of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Henry Steele Commager said:

> Without intellectual freedom, absolute, uncontaminated, and beyond suspicion, we cannot achieve the ends which our society is dedicated to achieving.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire text of Mr. Morgan's radio editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Edward P. Morgan and the News

February 20, 1967.

There is a connection, strange as it may seem, between the continuing revelations about the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and the revelations over the weekend of the President's commission about the nation's problem with crime.

Emerging facts in these seemingly widely separated fields demonstrate a crumbling of the crust if not some of the core of the American society. The basic reason for the existence of the CIA is to help strengthen the national security, to protect our society. But look for a moment at the society it is assigned to protect! Here are some parts of the picture of America, developed by the National Crime Commission, which the average American never sees, or at least never focuses on:

In 1965, drunkenness accounted for one out of every three arrests in the land.

"In at least three states, justices of the peace are paid only if they convict and collect a fee from the defendant, a practice held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court 40 years ago."

Only a fraction of one percent of the total budget of the criminal justice system in the U.S. is spent on research and almost no research at all has been conducted in organized crime—one of the most sinister problems of law enforcement.

Police training, police salaries and police manpower are all woefully inadequate but just to fill positions already authorized, 50,000 policemen must be recruited in 1967.

Young people commit a disproportionate share of crime and their proportion of the population is dramatically increasing.

But the salvaging of these youths is not succeeding.

In the correctional system, there is a critical shortage of probation and parole officers, teachers, caseworkers, vocational instructors and group workers.

Less than three percent of all personnel working in local jails and institutions devote their time to treatment and training.

Approximately one-fourth of the 400,000 children detained in 1965 for such things as truancy, smoking, running away from home were held in adult jails, often among hardened criminals.

In the United States today, one boy in every six is referred to the juvenile court.

Probably 40 percent of all male children living in the U.S. today will be arrested for crimes—other than traffic offenses—during their lives.

Grave as these findings are, they do not add up to the conclusion that the country is going to Hell in a handbasket, that the republic is not worth saving, so the Defense Department, the State Department and the CIA might as well close up shop and go home. Not at all. This is a strong, rich, resourceful and resilient nation and its citizens are attached to it with varying degrees of pride and devotion that are usually lumped under the not always definitive label of patriotism. But Americans have been having trouble with their feelings about American civilization lately and this is where the machinations of the CIA behind a series of supposedly pure and respectable fronts come in—especially as they have involved that important, rebellious, idealistic, confused but stubbornly hopeful section of the population called American youth.

Most if not all foreign countries have long since downgraded Americans and their government as—however rich and powerful—no more perfect than the next state, particularly their own. So the damage to the image of America by the revelation that U.S. agents use various disguises and devious means like everybody else to spy may not be so devastating in other world capitals. But the damage at home could well be incalculable.

Suspicion and cynicism toward the federal government have been steadily growing among the population, fertilized by such juicy scandals as the Bobby Baker case, the Adam Clayton Powell saga and by the bitterly controversial war in Viet Nam. Liberals seem most alarmed about the latter, conservatives about the former. Cumulatively the credibility of the federal government is being questioned from almost every quarter. This is very dangerous. And one of the most alarming things about the whole CIA furor is that apparently nobody in a position of command in the White House or at lower levels of the executive branch stopped to think what the impact would be on Americans when the secret finally came out—as it had to and now has—that foundations, labor unions and youth groups (and one wonders what revelations about what other institutions are to come) have been infiltrated covertly by agents of a government which is supposed to be of, by and for the people. It is no good trying to rationalize it in the name of expediency. It simply does not wash. There is an insidiousness about secrecy that can be lethal.

"Without intellectual freedom, absolute, uncontaminated and beyond suspicion," Historian Henry Steele Commager testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today, "we cannot achieve the ends which our society is dedicated to achieving."

When the Administration of four presidents overlook that, it is time to pause and gravely ponder. But not despair. Let's not pretend any more that we're intrinsically better than everybody else. (Don't forget the crime report, poverty and racial prejudice.) Let's not forget either that we've got a system which gives us elbow room to try harder for improvement. It won't work if we don't.

This is Edward P. Morgan saying good night from Washington.

SUSPENSION OF 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, with increasing frequency businessmen are calling attention to the problems they are facing as the result of the suspension of the 7-percent investment tax credit last fall.

Many individuals and corporations have written to me expressing the economic hardships which have been imposed on them as the result of that congressional action.

Just recently, George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, attacked the suspension of the tax incentive for business investment. He alleges the move was a "misguided attempt to combat inflation" and represented a "giant step backward."

Champion went on to say the action "could produce a serious slowdown in orders for capital goods in the second half of this year, which might be precisely the wrong time for such a development."

Many opinionmakers declare the 7-percent tax credit should be restored immediately, and that the 7-percent figure should be increased to 10 percent as soon as is practical after the fighting in Vietnam ceases.

In our talk about what to do after the Vietnam war in order to prevent a recession, I think this is a valid and practical suggestion.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter to me from the Highway Trailer Industries, Inc., the "Truck Newsletter Weekly," and the article from the Wall Street Journal pertaining to the tax credit suspension be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGHWAY TRAILER INDUSTRIES, INC.,
Edgerton, Wis., February 27, 1967.
Hon. GAYLORD A. NELSON,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR NELSON: Because I know of your interest in doing whatever is possible not only in maintaining the overall economic well-being of Wisconsin but, wherever possible, in enhancing the economy's future growth, I want to bring to your attention a situation which very likely is bringing about the opposite of what you want to happen in our state.

Highway Trailer Industries employs over one thousand persons in Edgerton and Stoughton. Sales amount to approximately thirty-five million dollars. Our annual payroll for the combined two cities is about seven and one-half million dollars. Since this company came under new management direction in April of 1965 we have not had a layoff of production personnel. This contrasts with frequent fluctuations in employment averaging about 70 people a month under the previous management.

In the past four months, however, we have found it increasingly difficult to maintain steady employment. In December, to prevent a layoff, I authorized the building of 200 truck trailers without having a customer for them. We still have not been able to move this inventory.

We are now faced with the imminent need to reduce our work force. The prime reason for this arises from our customers failing to follow the practice, customary at this time of the year, of placing orders for new trailers.

In almost every instance where we have queried customers as to the reason for the delay in ordering new equipment they have cited the suspension of the 7% tax credit on new investments as the main reason for not buying at this time.

I assume that you and your staff are keeping abreast of the deteriorating effect this suspension is having on the economy throughout the country. There is hardly a day that goes by that I don't read in one or more of the trade journals covering our field of interest about the adverse effect the suspension is having on the trucking industry.

And, now, today, in two widely varied papers, the Wall Street Journal and the Truck Newsletter Weekly, an insight is given into the effect the elimination of tax credit is having on freight car manufacturers and on producers of trucks. They are indicative of our own situation in the allied field of trailers. In turn, our situation is going to affect employment very soon in Wisconsin.

Also in today's Wall Street Journal, the lead article details the concern now being expressed over the condition of the civilian aluminum market. This, to, is a reflection of the postponed investment in our kinds of products which use a considerable amount of that metal.

I suggest that as a responsible member of Congress you use your powers of persuasion to accelerate the restoration of the 7% tax credit before the nation's overall economy and that of Wisconsin's in particular undergoes a severe decline.

J. T. COLLIFLOWER,
President.

[From the Truck Newsletter Weekly, Feb. 27, 1967]

GROSSES TUMBLE IN WAKE OF CUTBACKS

As mentioned in the Newsletter several weeks ago, and now confirmed, it has been necessary to cut back on truck production in several cases because of the slow down in advance ordering. In the wake of the cut back announcements comes the even more disturbing news, as revealed in a Newsletter survey, that dealers are beginning to shave their grosses to bare minimums. As this tendency develops it is beginning to stir retaliatory action from other dealers, consequently seriously threatening gross profits.

A characteristic reaction from a Ford dealer was: "I lost a deal for five trucks yesterday to a Chevrolet dealer who my customer claimed was willing to sell him the two ton trucks involved in the deal for $50 over tissue. I told him if he could get that kind of deal he better go grab it, thinking I would call his bluff. But he came back in the next day and showed me the order and he got the deal at the $50 over he said he was offered. I don't like to lose any business, frankly, but at the same time I can only afford to let something like that go by occasionally, and then I'm going to start cutting my prices to $25 and $30. I'll keep that business no matter what I have to do. And then we'll see how they react to it."

Other dealers too tell us that the gross profits being accepted for vehicles, on which delivery can't be expected for several months, are "ridiculously low." Said a dealer in Houston, Texas, "For a time we thought the grosses on the light duty stuff was about as ridiculously low as it could get, but now in the last six to eight weeks we find that the grosses are being whittled down on everything from stepvans, which we can't get, to the mediums and in some cases to the heavy duty stuff. I can't make any sense out of what dealers are doing to themselves, but it's very real and it's very sickening. This could be a lousy profit year. At this rate there won't be any profit."

The total picture remains spotty. We have heard from areas of the Midwest that the sales picture on light duties "looks as if it is showing a substantial gain over last January." Other areas of the country show no more uniformity than can be found within any one city of the country. For instance, around Philadelphia, where a check of dealers indicates one dealer doing "about the same amount of volume as we did last year at this time," and another dealer not more than five or six miles distant, claiming it is "one of the worst February's I have seen in all my 30 years in this business."

An industry observer told the Newsletter: "There is no doubt in my mind that if all the indicators remain relatively stabilized at their current levels, 1967 will be a 'fair' year for truck retailing. It won't be great nor will it be dreadful. The most difficult problem the retailer will have to cope with is actually squeezing a profit out of 1967. There is no doubt in my mind that he is going to be faced with a good volume year that just won't produce much profit, unless he has his finger on every expense leak in his business. And I don't care much what the factories continue to tell us about how great business 'could be' in 1967. They will get their volume, or close to it, I have no doubt, so that their profit needs will be almost met. But the retailer is going to have a tough time of it, and he better get his expenses in line now."

CUTBACKS IN HEAVY DUTIES CAUSE CONFUSION

The announced cutbacks in heavy duty truck output have caused some confusion among dealers and suppliers. Dealers wonder why cutbacks are announced at this time, since so many heavy duties are still on long delivery times. A White dealer told the Newsletter: "Obviously the over ordering on the part of the factory for parts to assemble some of the housing industry special models has caught up to them. But wouldn't you think the inability of that segment of the economy to rebound would have been evident before this, and that, in turn, ordering could have gone forward to meet heavy duty demands in another section of the economy. We are still subject to unconscionable waiting times for so many models. Why couldn't someone, with all their talent at the time, have foreseen this possibility and prepared ahead for it. I know once the problem has developed you can't work a solution over night, but it should have been anticipated."

In still another area, suppliers to body builders and distributors find themselves with equipment on hand for which there is no demand now, or in the foreseeable future. This means a further dampening effect on the total industry. The domino effects are obvious.

Meantime, it is interesting to note that when White announced its 1966 sales and earnings "at records higher than previously estimated," J. N. Bauman, president of White, stated that extensive pre-buying of heavy trucks occurred in 1966, reflecting to "some extent the long delivery-time buildup as backlogs rose to the equivalent of six months' output." He reportedly continued that currently backlogs are estimated as equal to about 2½ months, *"which is about where we would like to maintain it."*

FLEET BUSINESS OFF

On top of all the other bad news at this time of year comes the pessimistic view, turned up in a Newsletter survey, that fleet buying is slipping back. A Chevrolet dealer in New York who deals in big fleets of trucks told the Newsletter: "There is no doubt in my mind that fleet business for our truck department will be way off this year. I personally have talked to a number of my accounts and frankly, they just don't have any intentions of buying this year. This will have a considerable affect on our total business, even if the retail end of our truck business remains on a pretty high level, which I must say I expect. But fleets did a lot of advance buying last year, it now develops, and they just don't see any need for trucks now."

From the West Coast similar reactions emerged. Fleet buying at this point in the year is obviously off. Whether this trend will continue is anyone's guess. With some indicators pointing to a revitalization of home building over the next several months, a number of specialists in that field are looking for increased buying on this front, but the total does not look too promising right now. Contributing factors in this situation are said to be the 7% tax credit suspension, tight money, the general deflation in the boom which has existed over the last few years, and the tendency of fleets to squeeze more mileage out of current equipment rather than commit themselves in this period of uncertainty to new purchase plans.

CHASE CHIEF ATTACKS ENDING OF 7-PERCENT TAX CREDIT

George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, has attacked the present Washington Administration for its suspension last fall of tax incentives for business investment. Champion has been quoted as saying that the suspension was a "misguided attempt to combat inflation" that represented a "giant step backward."

In Champion's opinion the action "could produce a serious slowdown in orders for capital goods in the second half of this year, which might be precisely the wrong time for such a development." Champion then added that he thinks the former tax credit of 7% should be restored "immediately," and that it should be increased to 10% "as soon as the fighting ends in Vietnam."

At about the same time as the above announcement official Washington has been taking notice of what one official called an "air pocket" in the economy in the latter part of 1967, which is causing authorities there to consider restoring the tax credit ahead of schedule. The fear, of course, is that many businesses will delay purchases of trucks, machinery and other equipment usually eligible for the credit until early 1968 when it would be in force again. Right now it is being said that the overall economic outlook come late spring or early summer probably would be the major influence on any decision in this area, although earlier surveys on the capitol-spending plans of business could be a key signal.

[From the Wall Street Journal,
Feb. 27, 1967]

SLOW TRACK FOR SUPPLIERS: ORDERS FOR RAIL EQUIPMENT SAG SHARPLY; PRODUCERS BLAME TAX-CREDIT SUSPENSION

(By Todd E. Fandell)

CHICAGO.—The railroad-equipment industry, historically plagued by cyclical ups and downs, is currently highballing toward another low point.

But this time, rather than being done in by the vagaries of the economy, competition or customers, the industry claims it's largely the victim of the law. Specifically, railroad-equipment makers blame the Defense Emergency Tax Act of 1966, which sought to cool off the economy by suspending the 7% investment tax credit.

The act apparently succeeded all too well as far as the railroad-equipment industry is concerned. Just six months ago, the industry was breezing along at full throttle with steadily increasing backlogs extending up to a year or more into the future. Recent surveys, however, indicate a startling decline from a year ago of $1,250,000,000, or about 80%, in orders for freight cars and locomotives.

Implications of this practical halt in equipment orders from railroads are obvious. Although most of the equipment companies are still operating at full tilt, due to big order backlogs, the months ahead spell sagging sales and profits, layoffs, plant closings and a long, arduous return to normal operations once the railroads decide to resume ordering.

EFFECT ON OTHER INDUSTRIES

Steel mills, which sell about 5% of their production to rail suppliers, and other industries anticipate disruptions in their operations as a result.

Railroads themselves have generally been hesitant to blame the investment tax credit suspension alone for their decreased expenditures. In cutting its 1967 capital outlays by 57% to about $80 million from $187.5 million, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, for example, also cited tight credit and the increasing adequacy of its car fleet. "It would be a serious mistake to assume that we'd suddenly come through with a slug of big orders the minute the tax credit was reinstated," comments an executive of one big Western road. But, he hastens to add: "It sure would help."

In any case, the crisis has succeeded in banding together the railroads and all their suppliers—a rare achievement—in an effort to win reinstatement of the credit, currently scheduled for next Jan. 1, at the earliest possible date. Even a mid-year restoration of the credit, possibly in exchange for the proposed 6% income-tax surcharge, might be too late to avoid serious disruptions of the industry, rail-equipment officials say.

MEET WITH OFFICIALS

A week ago, about three dozen representatives of the Association of American Railways, the American Railway Car Institute and the Railway Progress Institute (an association of railway-supply companies) descended on Washington for a full day of discussion with the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Treasury Secretary Fowler and Transportation Secretary Boyd.

In these sessions, industry officials painted a grim portrait:

—A Railway Progress Institute survey shows that between last Oct. 11, the effective date of the credit suspension, and Dec. 31, railroads ordered only 2,759 freight cars and 57 locomotives, down 78% from 12,593 cars and off 84% from 359 locomotives ordered in the year-earlier period. Orders for signaling, communications and other equipment fell an average of 30% to 40%.

—A recent AAR survey of the 43 largest railroads, which account for 94% of all railroad spending, indicates these roads expect to order only 16,651 new and rebuilt freight cars in 1967, down from 91,874 cars last year and 87,555 in 1965. Locomotive orders are expected to tumble to 166 from 1,204 in 1966 and 1,228 in 1965 for these 43 roads.

—Another study, of roads that account for about 89% of total freight car fleet ownership, indicates car orders will decrease by 72,959 units this year and locomotive by 982, with the dollar amount down about $1,210,000,000.

DECLINE OF $1 BILLION

The various estimates don't match up precisely, but they're reasonably close. The most optimistic guess of total 1967 car orders from all sources—railroads, leasing companies and private lines—produced by a random sampling of rail-equipment industry officials is 27,000 new and rebuilt cars, down from 102,342 in 1966. At an average cost of better than $15,000 each, this would represent a decline of more than $1 billion in car orders alone.

Because of the huge car order backlogs existing when the tax credit suspension became effective, sales of rail-equipment makers this year are expected to fall only slightly compared with the order decline. Railroads took deliveries of about $1.2 billion of freight cars in 1966, with other car buyers adding another $300 million. With new car deliveries this year expected to be about 75,000, down from 89,883, total car expenditures are expected to drop to about $1.2 billion, but it's the last half of this year and first half of next year that car builders say they're concerned about.

Most major freight-car producers expect their order backlogs to keep them reasonably busy for some months. Pullman-Standard division of Pullman Inc., perhaps better situated than most builders because of the great demand during 1966 for the types of cars it builds, doesn't expect trouble until the fourth quarter. An executive of the American Car & Foundry division of ACF Industries Inc. predicts it will be mid summer—"perhaps August or September"—before the worst comes and "we have to think about layoffs and plant closings unless there's a radical change in certain areas of our business."

Despite such backlogs, however, many rail-equipment concerns, especially the smaller car fabricators and component-supply companies, are already feeling the pinch. Although full-fledged layoffs have occurred in only a few spot situations so far, work forces have been reduced significantly, mostly through attrition, in the past few months, says Nils Lennartson, president of the Progress Institute. Such job reductions are measured only in the thousands so far, but layoffs covering tens of thousands are imminent and by next Jan. 1 present estimates indicate that work forces in railway-equipment plants will be down 60% to 75% from levels at the start of this year, he says.

REDUCTIONS AT BUCKEYE

Typical of concerns already affected in the industry is Buckeye Steel Castings Co. of Columbus, Ohio, a supplier of heavy components for railroad cars. Since October, Buckeye has reduced its hourly plant payroll to 1,300 workers from 1,600 mostly by attrition, and may be under 1,000 workers by April, says J. W. Henderson Jr., president and general manager. "So far, our profitability hasn't been hurt; we've lost a lot of marginal workers, overtime is down, January shipments were a 24-year high and first quarter profit may be the best in 10 years," he says. "But after that layoffs are imminent; we've already asked all our customers to help us stretch out delivery times to the last minute to make our backlog last."

Buckeye is far from an isolated example. Bethlehem Steel Corp. last week closed down a freight-car buiding line for six days at its Johnstown, Pa., plant for what a spokesman called "a temporary curtailment of piggy back car production for inventory adjustment." A big Midwestern plant of a major car builder says it's in the process of cutting employment during the first quarter to 1,400 men from 1,750, as its order backlog starts to dwindle rapidly. "I wish you could tell me how to tell our shareholders that we just had a record year, anticipate a fine first quarter and then things will go completely to hell," laments the president of one company.

The nation's three major producers of locomotives, which last year produced more than $300 million of diesel engines for the railroads, expect to be hit hard by the investment credit suspension. Impact at the 9,000-man plant of General Motors Corp.'s Electro-Motive division at La Grange, Ill., which builds more than half the nation's locomotives, "undoubtedly will be substantial," says a spokesman. Current orders will carry production into summer but a major softening of business in midyear and especially in the last quarter is anticipated, he says.

The rail-equipment industry is aware that, as the situation stands, it might expect a spate of orders from railroads next January when the tax credit is reinstated. But this could be too late. "The problem of a supplier later coming back into production after he's forced to close down is a difficult one," says W. Ashley Gray Jr., president of General Steel Industries Inc. and the Railway Progress Institute. Most rail-supply concerns estimate it would take at least six to nine months to resume normal, efficient production after going down for 30 days or more, he says.

PROBLEM OF REHIRING

Problems involved include rehiring and retaining of employes, reopening supply lines, engineering time and administrative requirements, Mr. Gray notes. "The tax credit suspension could easily cost this industry thousands of its best skilled workers and disrupt its operations for years, to say nothing of lost production," says another official.

The railroad industry and its suppliers almost succeeded in winning an exemption last October from the tax credit suspension, failing at the last minute as other groups tried to obtain similar privileges and created a problem at drawing the line. The rail industry argued the legislation was at cross-purposes with a firmly declared Federal Government policy to resolve economic bottlenecks created by the nation's chronic freight-car shortage, which reached record proportions last year. Railroads had, in fact, been exempted from Government requests for voluntary capital-spending restraint early in 1966.

Some critics contend the railroads are holding back on equipment spending to prove they were right last fall. "It's an awfully costly way to make your point," says one supply-concern official. William T. Taylor, chairman of ACF, not joining in such sharp criticism, thinks the railroads can't afford to forgo for much longer the 20% return on investment they can earn on some types of freight cars. Likening the halt in car orders to the Green Bay Packers calling time out in the middle of a crucial touchdown drive ("They know it is fatal to kill momentum"), Mr. Taylor says he's hopeful the rails will end their buying slowdown soon "because of very clear economic justification."

SAVINGS FROM DELAY

But most observers say the rails can't be faulted for the hard economics of their decisions to defer spending. Orders placed during the suspension period are subjected, in effect, to a 14% "sales tax" (at a 50% tax rate, loss of 7% credit is equivalent to a 14% deductible sales tax), they say. Credit carryovers and other accounting methods can, in many cases, make current orders even more costly, they add. One big Western railroad is said to have deferred $93 million in orders because it can save more than $20 million by waiting until 1968.

The extent of the decisions to postpone spending, however, has surprised even the railroads themselves. In seeking an exemption last fall, they argued that removal of the investment tax credit, a major incentive for heavy car-building programs in recent years, could cut $500 million from 1967 budgets, which at the time were expected to exceed 1966 spending levels slightly. The cutback, based on present indications, appears likely to be more than double such estimates, which were called "inflated" and "overly pessimistic" at the time.

The cutback also comes right after the first year in more than a decade in which the railroads made marked progress toward resolving their car shortages. New and rebuilt cars placed in service in 1966 exceeded retirements by 26,853 units, halting a long and steady decline in the number of freight cars in service.

It was the continuing demand for cars and the economic resurgence of the railroads over the past five years that caused the rail-equipment industry to predict an end to its cyclical past and a long period of heavy capital expenditures by railroads. For the long pull, the equipment builders have lost little of this enthusiasm, pointing to recent "conservative" forecasts that railroad spending for cars will average $1.3 billion to $1.7 billion a year over the next 10 years.

THE BRAIN DRAIN

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, we in Wisconsin are very fortunate in having published in Appleton, Wis., an excellent newspaper, the Post-Crescent.

Recently an editorial entitled "The Brain Drain Grows" was published in that newspaper. I was especially interested in it because I cosponsored a bill in the last session of Congress, which was authored by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], designed to discourage professionally trained and educated foreign students from remaining in or emigrating to the United States.

Recently, Anthony Crosland, the British Education Minister, was quoted as saying that the brain drain to this country has counteracted all of the United States recent efforts in the field of foreign aid.

The British Minister indicated that we should give serious discussion to the problem which is being created when we continue to support the transferral of scarce talent from poorer countries.

Defense Secretary McNamara has said that scientists want to come to America because they are appreciated here. This is probably true, but it is questionable whether we should support this argument.

Mr. Crosland then suggests that the basic reason why sought-after brains are moving from every part of the world to the United States is that we are the richest country in the world and can pay more for brains. This is the reason, not the difference in education systems or in emotional appreciation.

I agree with the editorial writer of the Post-Crescent that it is not simple to solve the problem of emigration of these individuals to the land of the good life. We need their ideas here, too. But each one of those who stays here is a double loss for his own homeland. Ways should be sought to induce them to return to their own countries where they can use the knowledge they have gained, and where they can assume responsibility and leadership in improving living standards for their countrymen.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE BRAIN DRAIN GROWS

There is new evidence that the "brain drain" of educated people desperately needed in the underdeveloped countries is expanding.

About two-thirds of the 100,000 foreign students studying in the United States come from the poorer nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Many are the recipients of aid either from their own governments or through various American programs. A survey conducted by the Institute of International Education last year showed that more than 10 per cent intend to remain in the United States after they completed their studies.

But other statistics indicate that the percentage of those who do remain is much higher. Figures of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service show that 30 per cent of Asians here on temporary student visas later apply for permanent ones. Of the 905 foreign students at the University of Iowa between 1950 and 1960, almost 500 stayed in the United States. Officials in Iran say that 60 per cent of their students make up their minds to stay away from their homeland. The Educational Council of Foreign Medical Graduates estimates that up to 25 per cent of foreign doctors in training here will stay.

The problem is somewhat increased by the changes in the United States immigration policy. The changes were aimed at getting away from the national origins percentages whereby residents of northern Europe had far larger quotas for immigration to this country than people from other parts of the world. But the new policy stresses skills and vocations which are in short supply in this country. We can use more medical people, high level educators and similarly highly trained personnel. But the underdeveloped countries need them desperately.

It is not only the higher standard of living in America that persuades so many foreign students to change their national allegiances. The same factor that brought widespread immigration in the last century—oppression at home—is a major reason.

It is not a simple problem to solve even by restrictions that refuse permanent visas to students from nations which need them at home. The new citizens, like the waves of immigrants from a variety of countries in the 19th Century, are healthy for the United States. We need their ideas and their very difference. But each one who stays is a greater loss to his own land and the opportunities to improve living standards there.

DRUG QUALITY STANDARDS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, every Member of Congress has received and undoubtedly seen a booklet on drugs published by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association entitled "Compulsory Generic Prescribing—A Peril to Our Health Care System." The PMA represents about 140 of the major pharmaceutical manufacturers in this country.

There is considerable interest in the issues involved in drug costs, drug quality, drug efficacy, and the system of drug development, manufacture, and distribution in this country. The PMA booklet, in part, is evidence that there is this increased interest.

Drug quality and drug standards are discussed at some length by the PMA booklet. These drug standards may appear in the "official compendia" under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and comparable State food and drug laws. The American Pharmaceutical Association, the national professional society of pharmacists, founded in 1852, publishes one of these official compendia—the National Formulary—and has done so before there was a Federal food and drug law. Dr. Edward G. Feldmann, who serves as director of the National Formulary and as director of the APhA scientific division, has taken strong exception to some of the PMA allegations depreciating these drug standards established by the National Formulary. For the information of other members who have received the PMA booklet, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Feldmann's letter to the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The National Formulary,
March 3, 1967.

Mr. C. Joseph Stetler,
Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Joe: In response to your request for comments on the PMA booklet entitled "Compulsory Generic Prescribing—A Peril to our Health Care System," I feel obligated to reply to certain statements and implications which appear in the booklet relative to the National Formulary, the adequacy of the National Formulary standards, and certain related considerations.

Differences may, and often do, exist between the drug products of different manufacturers. The September and October 1966 editorials in the *Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences* adequately support this statement and represent my thoughts on this issue. Consequently, I do not take issue with your stand that drug products may in fact vary in certain respects from manufacturer to manufacturer. I do, however, take issue with statements which attempt to support this position by criticizing or otherwise attempting to discredit the National Formulary and the standards provided therein. It is in this vein that the majority of the following comments are offered:

1. Booklet page 2—Under the Arabic numeral 1, it is implied that because two drug products exhibit certain differences which keep them from being identical—while at the same time they both meet the standards set for them—this demonstrates a shortcoming or failing of the established standards. This overlooks the fact that although two drugs might indeed have certain differences in their properties, the differences may not have any clinical significance whatever. The standards which are included in the compendia treat only those factors which are deemed by qualified experts to be pertinent for the purposes of testing a drug to establish its adequate quality. (The use of the term "minimum standards" in this same paragraph of the booklet is discussed under item #3 below.)

2. Booklet page 3, third full paragraph—The "generic name" does refer to the active chemical ingredient. However, it may also define the finished product by simply adding the dosage form designation as for example, "aspirin tablets."

3. Booklet page 4, third full paragraph—The term "*minimum* standards" with emphasis on the word "minimum" is used in this paragraph with highly misleading implications. It suggests that the compendia specifications and standards are extremely weak; that is, that they are of minimum value in assuring the quality of the particular drug to which they apply. However, anyone familiar with these standards knows that this is certainly not the case. On the contrary, the so-called "minimum standards" of the N.F. and U.S.P., at the very least, reflect the highest quality levels generally consistent with present day manufacturing practices. I would further point out that the National Formulary standards are voluntarily established by committees and panels which include many prominent industry scientists who are highly knowledgeable regarding what constitutes adequate and desirable drug specifications and standards. Furthermore, the compendia are continually soliciting recommendations with a view toward improvement of these official standards. If the pharmaceutical industry or any given individual manufacturer does not feel that adequate standards appear in the N.F. for any particular drug, then this need only be brought to our attention in order that such deficiency might be rectified, if indeed it does exist. To my knowledge, no recommendations have been made to the National Formulary regarding tightening of N.F. standards which have not been acted upon and which are not currently effective. On the other hand, our committees and panels frequently consider and suggest tightening specifications. It is our general practice to consult with pertinent manufacturers regarding the appropriateness of such revisions prior to taking final action upon them. In certain cases, the revisions are not implemented because industry supplies data to demonstrate that it cannot meet a tighter standard under the best conditions of "good manufacturing practice." In summarizing this point, therefore, I would repeat that the N.F. standards generally represent the most comprehensive and stringent specifications which our committees of knowledgeable pharmaceutical scientists—working in consultation with the pertinent manufacturers—feel can be reasonably and properly applied to a particular drug. If you or your member firms are in a position to recommend specific improvements in any specifications or standards, such recommendations should be directed to our attention where they will promptly receive our careful consideration, as they always have in the past.

4. Same paragraph—It is stated that drugs and other materials recognized in the U.S.P. and the N.F. "should conform" to the compendia standards. This is somewhat of an understatement inasmuch as by federal law such drugs and drug product ingredients are required to conform to the compendia standards.

5. Same paragraph—It is stated that "in a relatively few instances (the U.S.P. and the N.F.) state how much active ingredient a drug product should contain." Drug products are covered by monographs for dosage forms in the compendia. Virtually without exception all such compendia dosage from monographs include a rubric definition which specifies both the minimum and the maximum quantity of the required therapeutically active ingredients. Furthermore, an assay is also included in such monographs to provide a means of determining compliance with the rubric definition requirement.

6. Booklet page 4, 4th full paragraph—Again, we find reference to "strictly *minimum* standards" with the word "minimum" emphasized. See my comments under point #3 above.

7. Same paragraph—Characteristics of drugs or drug products—including particle size, solubility, the nature of the inactive ingredients, and other characteristics of the nature listed in this paragraph—are often covered in compendia monographs when it has been established that such characteristics will influence the suitability or effectiveness of the drug, and when some means of accurately and objectively determining the physical characteristics are available or can be developed.

8. Booklet page 5, 2nd full paragraph—It is stated that "excessive pressure used in manufacturing tablets may make them so hard they fail to disintegrate." This, of course, is true and precisely for this reason, a disintegration time limit (and the appropriate procedure for its determination) is provided in virtually every N.F. and U.S.P. tablet monograph.

9. Booklet page 5, 4th full paragraph—This statement regarding standardization of techniques and equipment (along with the Levy-Nelson study and the Sadove study which are subsequently described) make a very convincing argument that much needs to be done by industry to standardize the variables which are alluded to. This is especially significant since even prominent brand name manufacturers have been known to make many changes in their drug products without changing their brand names for those products. Such changes have included all or virtually all of the physical characteristics listed in the fourth paragraph on page 4 of your booklet (particle size, solubility, the nature of the inactive ingredients, coloring agents, flavoring, tableting pressures, and surface properties, etc.). Indeed, in one instance that I know of, a brand name (Sucaryl)—which originally applied to a product containing only a single active ingredient (cyclamate)—was subsequently applied to a combination drug product containing two active ingredients (cyclamate and saccharin). It would appear that the pharmaceutical industry should make a concerted effort to standardize these variables rather than to be content with deploring the fact that such variables presently exist.

10. Booklet page 7, first full paragraph—As Editor of the *Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences,* I should point out that this is a monthly publication and, therefore, there is no issue identified as November 11, 1963. This should simply be referred to as November, 1963.

11. Booklet page 9, first full paragraph—It is true that many chemicals are produced and marketed in the various grades listed and that conceivably a manufacturer could use a grade lower than N.F. or U.S.P. However, the federal drug law does not allow use of grades which do not comply with N.F. or U.S.P. standards. Consequently, if a manufacturer were to do so, this would be a violation of the law. Hence, this is simply an enforcement matter.

12. Booklet page 10, last paragraph carrying over to top of page 11—It is stated that analyzing every batch of every product made by every company is "an obvious impossibility." While I will not comment upon whether such a practice would be desirable or not, *I do not agree that this is impossible.* Antibiotics represent the largest single group of drugs currently on the market and they are now subject to certification procedures which require FDA analysis of each and every batch intended for drug use. It would seem that such procedures could be readily extended to other drugs, although admittedly this would be a large undertaking in terms of personnel and facilities.

13. Booklet page 15, 6th full paragraph—It is stated that "if the physician is compelled to prescribe by generic name, he would have no control as to which product is provided to his patient." It would seem that this does not necessarily follow inasmuch as the physician need only specify the name of the pertinent manufacturer in the same manner as referred to on page 10, paragraph 2 of your booklet.

In conclusion, I trust that you will find these comments to be constructive as well as informative. I would particularly like to reiterate that the existence or position of the official compendia is not necessarily incompatible with your contention that certain differences may exist in drug products manufactured by different firms. Therefore, in light of this, I feel that it is a gross disservice to the cause of drug quality when efforts are made to discredit or otherwise detract from the National Formulary or its content.

Sincererly,

EDWARD G. FELDMANN, Ph. D.,
Director.

THE FEDERAL INVESTMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Commission on Federal Relations of the American Council on Education on January 26, 1967, met in Washington to discuss policy and proposals relative to the role of the Federal Government in the financing of higher education in this country.

A summary of that discussion is contained in a publication entitled "The Federal Investment in Higher Education—The Need for a Sustained Commitment."

The American Council on Education which was founded in 1918, is composed of many educational organizations and institutions and therefore can be considered as one of the major voices for higher education in this country. I think, therefore, that Senators will find the position of the organization as set forth of interest and I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FEDERAL INVESTMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The last five Congresses and three Administrations have demonstrated, since the enactment of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, a conviction that the Nation's security, welfare, and continued prosperity depend heavily on its system of higher education. This conviction has led to the investment of increasingly large sums in programs designed to strengthen and expand that system.

Higher education, in turn, has responded in a way never before equaled in any age or in any country to meet the Nation's demands for the education of unprecedented numbers of students, for research in virtually all fields of knowledge and for service in the solution of increasingly complex problems.

The relationship which has thus evolved is different from any previously known between a government and its academic community. It has given rise to problems for which we are still seeking solutions and will undoubtedly generate new ones as the relationship is worked out. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Federal Government must continue to depend heavily on higher education to undertake a multitude of tasks. Higher education must, in turn, rely heavily on the Government to provide strong and sustained financial support. In times of crisis it may be possible to postpone or slow down programs which, while highly desirable, are not vital to the Nation's welfare. But the duties that higher education must perform cannot be set aside. Young people must be taught; manpower must be trained; faculties must be kept intact; answers to complex problems must be found. If higher education is to plan efficiently and accomplish its tasks, it must count on a steady flow of support. The fitful turning on and off of a faucet is not a method of economy; it is a guarantee of waste, both in dollars and in human resources.

In the paragraphs that follow, the American Council on Education presents its views on actions that should be taken by the Federal Government to help strengthen higher education so that it can meet the demands the nation is making on it.

ACADEMIC FACILITIES

It has been apparent for almost two decades that one of higher education's critical problems is to expand rapidly enough to meet the pressure of numbers. Every projection made in the past has underestimated the number of young people who would seek education beyond the high school. Even more grave is the underestimation of the number of years of education required by our increasingly complex society. Graduate and other postbaccalaureate schools are the most rapidly growing segment of higher education, and there is no likelihood that such expansion can or should be reversed. Indeed, in some areas, such as medicine and health-related disciplines, the gap between demand and capacity to meet it is growing disastrously.

For these reasons we believe, as we have in the past, that the Federal Government should give massive assistance to higher education for the construction of facilities. This is not a glamorous or exciting proposal; it does not have in it the glitter of innovation. But higher education cannot perform its tasks unless it has an adequate plant in which to perform them.

In making this proposal, we are handicapped by inadequate data. Nowhere are there figures on which to base solid estimates of the total need for facilities either now or in the decade ahead. The funds provided by the 89th Congress for studies by the state commissions should, however, help to provide some of these data. Pending the results of these studies, we continue to hold that construction at a current annual rate of at least $3 billion will be required.

Matching requirement

Titles I and II of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (HEFA) stipulate that the Federal share in meeting the development cost of facilities may not exceed one-third in the case of a four-year college or university facility or 40 percent in the case of a public junior college. We recommend that the permissible maximum for a Federal grant be raised to 75 percent for all types of facilities under this act.

Experience with the program to date indicates that many institutions cannot participate in the program because they are unable to secure the necessary matching funds. Often these are the very institutions which seek to educate large numbers of students for whom the economic barriers to college are considerable and for whom Federal student aid programs have been enacted. The present high ratio of the non-Federal to the Federal share forces upon institutions some harsh alternatives: they resign themselves to the decision that expansion is impossible; or raise their fees so that the students themselves will pay for the cost of the buildings; or divert income from gifts, which should be used to strengthen their educational programs, to investment in bricks and mortar.

We do not advocate the establishment at this time of a minimum Federal share. The state commissions were established in the belief that such a mechanism, working within well-defined guidelines, is the one best suited to determine the needs within each state. If this mechanism is to work, it must be accorded some degree of flexibility. Certainly the goal of the commissions should be to move toward assigning the maximum Federal share authorized by the Congress. But to establish a minimum would place them in a strait jacket and deny them the exercise of judgment in the allocation of funds.

Emphasis on expansion

The most significant feature of the HEFA is its emphasis on expansion of enrollment capacity. We believe that the emphasis is, in general, a proper one. Nevertheless, the terms of the act virtually preclude participation by institutions which, for a variety of sound reasons, are unable to expand. They can be healthy and vigorous only if they limit the size of their student bodies in relation to the resources available to them. Opportunity should be provided within the act for institutions to expand certain parts of their programs, even though their total enrollment may not expand. In addition, there should be a provision to enable institutions with stable enrollments to participate so that they may better perform their tasks. They need support in their efforts to eliminate obsolete and costly plant, to renovate existing plant, and to construct modern plant both to meet the needs of new curricula and to gain an efficiency and economy of operation often impossible under existing conditions.

HOUSING

Equal in importance to the need for academic facilities is the need for college housing and related facilities. Access to higher education is severely curtailed if, in residential colleges, the number of living spaces is inadequate. In institutions serving large numbers of commuting students, provision of student centers and eating facilities is similarly essential. Existing housing facilities are overcrowded, and more and more students are daily traveling great distances to and from the campus because no housing is available nearby. The result is inordinate waste in both dollars and effectiveness of education.

An independent study, conducted under American Council auspices, suggests that approximately $1.5 billion per year will be needed for college housing for the next ten years. Not all of this demand need be supplied through Federal, or indeed any form of subsidized, support. In fact, some of it may well be supplied through commercial, profit-oriented enterprise.

Nevertheless, we believe it essential that the Federal Government assure the availability of a minimum of $1 billion per year for the next ten years in the form of long-term, low interest loans for the construction of housing facilities. The need is as great in sparsely settled rural areas, where the student must obviously travel to the institution, as in urban areas, where transportation is becoming increasingly complex and expensive and where the urban circumference is expanding.

In general, housing and related facilities, such as student centers, can be financed appropriately through loans. If forty- or fifty-year loans at no more than 3 percent interest are provided, they can be self-liquidating through reasonable room charges to students. We believe that in the future, as in the past, providing these loans under Government auspices requires only a small investment of public funds.

To date the Federal College Housing Loan Program can be regarded as a profit-making enterprise. There have been no defaults; the interest charged has more than covered the cost of money to the Treasury and of administrative expenses. At the moment, a maximum interest charge of 3 percent would require a small subsidy by the Government. Nevertheless, in terms of actual outlay, probably no supporting program for higher education is less expensive to the taxpayer in relation to value received than the college housing program.

We recognize the impact on the Federal budget of an annual $1 billion program of direct loans. We will gladly support any reasonable proposals to lighten that impact. Possibly the Participation Sales Act provides the proper approach. Perhaps there are other ways to engage the commercial money market, such as providing interest subsidies, that offer better hope. Our concern is to construct the necessary housing and make it available to students at reasonable prices. We are convinced that this can be done with minimum expense to the Treasury.

STUDENT AID

The development of federally supported student aid programs has been, and continues to be, an important priority. In the main, legislation enacted through the National Defense Education Act (student loans) and the Higher Education Act of 1965 (opportunity grants, work-study, guaranteed loans) provides an ideal mechanism for assuring that all who can profit from higher education, regardless of their circumstances, shall have access to it. We urge continuation of all these programs. We also urge a careful reassessment of certain specific provisions.

NDEA loan program

The backbone of all of the Government's programs for student aid is unquestionably the NDEA Student Loan Program. Its growth from a $6 million appropriation in 1959 to an authorization of $225 million for fiscal year 1968 is evidence of both its utility and its acceptance. Nevertheless, this very growth suggests the need for reassessment.

One cannot ignore the impact that Federal programs of this magnitude have on the administrative budget. It seems appropriate, therefore, that new ways of funding the program be explored. We believe that, as in the case of loans for academic and housing facilities, we may well have reached the time when we should turn to the commercial market for some of the funding. Here again the Participation Sales Act may offer a viable method. There are undoubtedly ways by which institutions' needs for loan funds may be met through the commercial market. We are convinced, however, that institutions must directly control sufficient funds to make direct commitments to needy students so that they, in turn, may be assured adequate funds to continue their education.

At the present time almost $100 million in institutional funds are locked in the NDEA loan program because of the required 10 percent institutional share. Return on the investment of these funds is unavailable to the institutions for their general purposes since it must be plowed back into the loan program. We do not suggest that funds already committed be unlocked. They, along with the Federal capital contribution, can now provide a revolving fund of approximately $1 billion for student loans. Nevertheless, we must find a new approach so that institutions will not have to tie up an ever-increasing percentage of their own funds in the NDEA loan program. We urge that, whatever method is devised for providing the Federal capital contribution, institutions be relieved of having to put up a matching share. If, in order to assure proper stewardship and proper collection procedures, it is deemed necessary that institutions have some stake in the program, we would urge that it be limited to a responsibility for 10 percent of losses incurred through bad debts.

Forgiveness of loans for borrowers who later go into certain occupations is deeply embedded in the act. Nevertheless, as forgiveness is extended to more fields, we view it with increasing misgivings. We have never been sure whether the provision of forgiveness for those who go into public school teaching is a recruiting device or a recognition that teaching has traditionally been an underpaid profession. The rapid extension of the forgiveness concept to private school teaching, to college teaching, to nursing, and to the practice of medicine in certain areas may well be undermining the whole concept of a loan as something that should be repaid. It unduly complicates the problems of those responsible for collection. Furthermore, it establishes a precedent for extending the concept to many other fields which are equally important to the public interest and which at the moment are equally underpaid. We would urge that the forgiveness concept not be extended to loans in any other field and that the Congress give serious consideration to eliminating existing forgiveness programs and move instead toward larger grant programs open to needy students regardless of the fields they wish to enter.

Work-study

The enactment of the work-study program, established first in the Office of Economic Opportunity and later in the Office of Education, has provided an essential element in the financial aid package that can be offered by institutions to needy students. It has given many students an alternative to heavy indebtedness. It has made possible the creation of meaningful jobs. It has often enriched students' academic programs by providing work related to their career objectives. Nevertheless, as increasing numbers seek support through this program, the non-Federal matching requirement will become increasingly burdensome, particularly as colleges and other nonprofit enterprises under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act will be required to pay a minimum wage of $1.00 per hour in February 1967, with a gradual increase to $1.60 per hour in 1971. We urge that the Federal share of support for the work-study program continue to be pegged at 90 percent for any employment in nonprofit enterprise. Such a provision should assure dynamic growth in the program commensurate with the increasing numbers of students requiring such employment. We also urge that because of the complex administrative and record-keeping requirements of the program, institutions be allowed to use up to 5 percent of their Federal allocation for administrative expenses, whether the work is performed on their own campuses or in other public or nonprofit enterprises.

Opportunity grants

The purpose of the Opportunity Grants Program of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is to provide a base of financial support for needy students comparable to that base which more fortunate students can expect from their parents. The emphasis in the program has been on need rather than, within reasonable limits, on quality of performance, although an amendment to the original act does provide an incentive for academic achievement. We believe that the purpose of the program should remain unchanged. However, a number of provisions in the legislation prevent the financial aid officer from bringing to bear all of the programs at his disposal to assist a given student to balance his budget.

The act requires no more than one-half of the students' need may be met by an opportunity grant and that in no case may this grant be more than $800 (with the exception that an upperclassman who has already demonstrated outstanding achievement may therefore receive a $200 incentive award). The exception is that the colleges and universities will endeavor to find assistance for deserving students from other sources. Unfortunately, however, college financial aid officers are limited by the act in the sources at their disposal. We urge that these officers be permitted to draw not only upon NDEA loan funds, state scholarships, and private sources, but also upon money the student will earn through work-study or borrow through the guaranteed loan program. The proscription against using other Federal fund sources serves in part to defeat the worthy purpose of the Opportunity Grants Program. If financial aid officers are to meet the needs of all applicants and make sufficient use of all available funds, they must be provided the maximum flexibility.

Guaranteed loan program

In 1965 the Council supported legislation that would provide a guaranteed loan program available to all students who wish to go on with their education. We advocated consideration of a program that would provide a small Federal subsidy of interest while a student is in college, with the expectation that he would pay a reasonable but unsubsidized rate of interest after graduation and during the repayment period.

As enacted, the program calls for a full Federal subsidy of interest while the student is in college and a heavy subsidy during the repayment period. Furthermore, the program contains no limitation that would prevent borrowing by students who are able to attend college without a loan. In fact, both colleges and lenders are prohibited from rejecting a loan application on the basis of lack of need.

To date, because of high interest rates, the program is barely off the ground. Banks are unable to lend, except in token amounts, at the rate specified in the legislation. In general, states have not come forward with guarantee funds, so that most of the guarantee money has come from Federal appropriations advanced temporarily to the states, which they must later repay.

It is our hope that these problems will eventually be resolved, but even before they are, we would urge a full examination of the program's provisions. At present there is no legal basis for rejecting any applicant regardless of private assets available to him. This means that approximately 85 percent of all college students are automatically eligible to borrow $1,000 per year and to have all the interest on their loan paid by the Federal Government. The only limitation is the willingness of some lending institution to make the loan. A precise computation of the cost of this program is difficult, but we believe that if allowed to go on without restriction, it could result in a drain on the Treasury of several hundred million dollars per year. If there is, as there must be, a finite percentage of the gross national product available for the support of higher education, we believe that expenditures of this magnitude for what is at best a peripheral program are unwarranted.

We believe that the Congress should consider whether a need provision should be introduced into the legislation and whether the current level of interest subsidy is justified. Furthermore, we believe that fixing in legislation a specified interest rate, such as 6 percent, regardless of the conditions of the money market, is a mistake. We urge that the Congress consider proposals from the commercial lending organizations that would introduce sufficient flexibility in interest rates to enable lenders to provide funds for the program at least on a break-even basis.

COLLEGE TEACHER EDUCATION

If higher education is to meet the needs of increased numbers of students, an adequate supply of college teachers is obviously essential. Experimentation with the new media, with various approaches to independent study, and with other new techniques may well alter traditional concepts of proper student-teacher ratios. On the other hand, the expanding service functions performed by higher education are likely to offset gains made in teaching efficiency. There is no prospect of an appreciable reduction in the shortage of college teachers in the foreseeable future.

NDEA fellowships

The brilliantly conceived fellowship program established in 1958 under the National Defense Education Act has become the foundation for the production of college and university teachers. It has made possible the expansion of existing doctoral programs and inspired the establishment of new ones. It has made more effective the doctoral programs supported by other Federal agencies, such as the National Science Foundation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. That some students supported by the program do not, in fact, enter college teaching need not be a matter of concern, for they enter fields equally vital to the national welfare. We urge that the program be maintained and that it continue to focus on those who intend to earn the Ph. D. or equivalent degree. The university world demonstrably has sufficient need for manpower educated to this level and to make funding the program at the authorized level of 7,500 new fellowships per year a matter of first priority.

A new fellowship program

It is apparent, however, that the NDEA fellowship program alone will not produce an adequate supply of college teachers, particularly those who aspire to careers in undergraduate instruction. The doctorate will probably continue to be regarded as essential for many who will devote their lives to the academic world, particularly in universities that emphasize research and graduate instruction.

There is, however, an increasing need, especially in the two-year colleges but also in the four-year undergraduate colleges, for those whose primary, or even sole, objective is to teach. Yet at the moment there is no Federal program, and few private ones, designed to prepare them for that career.

We urge the enactment of new Federal legislation which would award fellowships to institutions that wish to develop programs leading to a variety of sub-doctoral programs. These programs need not necessarily be regarded as terminal, for recipients might well wish to go on later to the doctorate. The programs should include, but not be limited to, traditional academic disciplines. There is, for instance, an acute shortage of teachers qualified to instruct in post-high-school subprofessional and vocational fields. The legislation to provide such a program should be sufficiently broad to permit a variety of experimental approaches, including the support of internships in college teaching.

NDEA institutes

We again urge that Title XI of the National Defense Education Act be amended to permit programs for college teachers. It is essential that those who devote their lives to undergraduate teaching in instruction-oriented institutions have opportunity to keep abreast of their fields. Summer, and occasionally year-long, institutes can serve just such a purpose. Such opportunities have for years been made available through the National Science Foundation, with highly beneficial results; logic requires that similar opportunities be made available in programs of the Office of Education.

COST-SHARING AND MATCHING REQUIREMENTS

We believe the time has come for a wholesale review of the fiscal relationships between the Government and higher education. It is a truism that Federal programs have been enacted on an *ad hoc* basis, without a master plan or indeed often without any plan at all except to meet an obvious need on a crash basis. It is also a truism that both higher education and the Government have benefited. Nevertheless, as programs have increased in number and size, financial strains have developed that constitute a growing problem.

Most Federal programs require the commitment of institutional funds; virtually none pays full costs. As a result, some Federal programs tend to weaken rather than strengthen parts of the total system of higher education:

1. Federal programs are concentrated in a small number of institutions, chiefly those that have been able to provide the additional funds and resources required. Thus, the natural gravitation of Federal funds toward "centers of excellence" has been automatically, and perhaps inadvertently, increased.

2. Since the amount of discretionary funds available to even our strongest institutions is finite, current Government policies in effect draw institutional funds from programs not being supported by the Government in order to finance those being supported by the Government.

3. Since neither private philanthropy nor state appropriations are growing as rapidly as Federal programs, the deficit occasioned by Government matching requirements is more and more being met through increased charges to students.

Cost-sharing in research

Of particular concern is the current Government-wide policy, written into legislation, that requires institutions to share in the costs of research supported by Federal grants. The Bureau of the Budget has interpreted this as requiring sharing "on more than a token basis." This requirement is siphoning tens of millions of dollars of institutions' discretionary funds into immediate and long-range Government missions. A surface plausibility for the policy is offered in the argument that there is a mutuality of interest between the Government and the university. But this is no truer of higher education than it is of industrial corporations. It is argued that cost-sharing spreads funds further and thus provides support for a greater volume of research. This argument is valid only from the limited perspective of an individual agency. The funds siphoned into Government-supported research might instead be used to support research in other academic fields. Compulsory cost-sharing, carried to its logical extreme, would make it impossible for institutions to engage in any research except that which attracts Government support.

Many institutions will choose to share in the cost of all programs. All will choose to share in the cost of some. Furthermore, all institutions engaged in research underwrite hidden costs, not readily identified and often not allowed in the auditing process. But cost-sharing should be voluntary and determined by each institution in the light of its own available resources. Otherwise, the desirable and inevitable growth of research, both basic and applied, in efforts to solve increasingly complex problems can lead only to a weakening of the institutions that must conduct this research.

Matching requirements

There is possibly more justification for matching requirements now embodied in most non-research programs supported by the Federal Government. Here again, however, the test should be whether the requirement will strengthen the institution or weaken its financial stability and divert funds from programs of the institution's choosing into those which the Government suggests they "ought to be doing." We do not advocate the abandonment of the matching concept. We do advocate that the institutional share be kept sufficiently modest to enable all institutions to participate and to avoid locking institutional funds into Government programs. Of special concern are programs that require an increased institutional share, after initial seed money has been provided by the Government, as programs mature. This is particularly onerous in student aid programs designed to bring into higher education more and more students with inadequate financial resources.

HEALTH PROGRAMS

Universities' responsibility for the Nation's health requires special attention, for it is in this area that the three functions of higher education—teaching, research, and service (patient care)—are most clearly inseparable. The demands for more and better-prepared members in each of the health professions, for more knowledge that will be useful in the prevention and cure of disease, and for more effective ways to provide medical care are pressing, and higher education has a key role to play in meeting them.

It is of fundamental importance that the Federal Government coordinate, so far as possible, the administration of the many programs designed to meet in part the health needs of our society. For example, the construction of a modern medical center may involve grants from the Health Research Facilities Program, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Program, the Hill-Burton Program, the National Science Foundation, the Community Mental Health Program, and the National Medical Library Assistance Act. Under such circumstances it is obviously essential that policies, procedures, and timetables be coherent. Since funds authorized for each of these construction programs fall short of the demonstrated national need, we urge, at the least, full appropriations of the authorized sums.

The Health Professions Educational Assistance Act provides operating funds through basic improvement grants, contingent on expansion of enrollment in the entering class. In expanding enrollment in these professional schools, higher education committed itself to expenditures on a continuing basis. It is, therefore, vital that the Federal share of this increased expenditure be provided on a stable basis at the level authorized. The act also authorizes special improvement grants which could, if appropriated, be the salvation of a number of professional schools seriously threatened by rising costs and increased demands.

The partnership between the Federal Government and institutions of higher education—as well as some other institutions—in health-related research has been increasingly effective over a period of years and offers the greatest long-range promise for meeting the health needs of society. The continued success of this national research effort will depend upon continued financial support that increases at least as fast as automatically rising costs.

GOVERNMENT RESEARCH POLICY

There can be little doubt that one of the most productive features of the Government-higher education relationship has been the advancement of knowledge—in science, in technology, and in health-related areas. Modest strides have been made in educational research, and at least a start has been made in the arts and humanities. But many fields classified as social sciences have been relatively neglected. In view of the potential contribution these fields can make to the solution of a host of social problems, it is essential that greater support be provided them.

In the main, the strides made through research have been possible because of the project system. Without this system, it might well have been impossible to increase the volume of research effort without an inordinate waste of public funds. Nevertheless, the project system has certain weaknesses. It tends to divert the loyalty of the researcher from the institution to the agency supporting him. It tends to encourage the researcher who thinks like his colleagues and to discourage the one with a new and imaginative approach. It tends to make it difficult for the young researcher to gain support until he has somehow established a reputation. And most of all, it tends to place a greater and greater administrative burden—including proposal-writing, grant-chasing, and reporting—on those who should be the most free to pursue their own inquiries.

We would urge, therefore, that as the Federal budget for research increases, greater amounts be earmarked for institutional grants. That this approach too can be productive is amply documented by the success of our agricultural research programs. The institutional grant program of the National Science Foundation and the General Research Support provided by the National Institutes of Health are promising ventures in this field. So too is the NASA sustaining program. The recent leveling-off of Federal support of academic research is a matter of grave concern, and we urge that serious attention be given this problem. The project grant should probably continue to be the basic mechanism for the support of research, but as funds increase, greater support should be provided for institutionally determined research.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

In the preceding paragraphs we have discussed the Federal investment in higher education category by category. We have done so because Federal programs have developed in just this way and because each program contributes to the strengthening of our colleges and universities. The strengthening has, however, been uneven. Many institutions with a potential for making major contributions to educating young people, to advancing knowledge, and to providing essential services have virtually been bypassed. Even in strong universities imbalances have been created.

One greatly encouraging effort to provide broad institutional support is to be found in the National Science Foundation's University Science Development Program, recently supplemented by two new programs designed to assist colleges and individual departments. We commend these programs and urge increased support for them.

These programs, however, are themselves an extension of the project system. We recommend that the next major step forward in the Federal effort to strengthen higher educaton be in the support of institutions as institutions. For unless additional financial resources are made available, the quantity of higher education in this country cannot be improved; in fact, it cannot be sustained.

One might argue that the consumer—the student instructed—should pay more of the cost. But historically this has not been the policy followed by institutions, and it can be argued that if it had been, only the affluent would have had access to higher education. It can also be argued that cost of instruction should determine the level of institutional fees, with the Government's role limited to providing financial aid for students unable to meet the cost. Because of the enormous expense of administering massive student aid programs, such an approach is probably the most expensive way of meeting the problem. Rather, the Government should seek ways to reduce the necessity of charging over higher student fees.

What is needed, we believe, is a new program supporting general institutional development. Proper safeguards should be written into the legislation to exclude support of the sectarian activities of church-related institutions. Obviously, too, there should be some form of quality control if funds are not to be wasted on substandard programs. Regional accrediting programs can offer this control.

Higher education must, of course, continue to seek support from many sources. But the addition of Federal funds to those derived from state and local appropriations, from gifts, and from fees will enable each institution to strengthen its total educational effort. And as each institution is strengthened, the whole system of which it is a part will be better able to meet the Nation's needs.

(NOTE.—*This document presents the official views of the American Council on Education as determined by its Board of Directors at a meeting on January 26, 1967. The stated policies and proposals were developed by the Council's Commission on Federal Relations, which has primary responsibility in this area of concern.*)

LETTER OF FORMER PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS REGARDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, evidences continue to arise of the destructive effects of the Vietnamese war on areas of our national life and policy which are not directly related to the war. Apart from the unspeakable agony of the Vietnamese people and a loss of American lives now approaching 200 a week, the war has damaged our relations with allies and alienated great numbers of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—people whose own poverty and memories of colonialism give them a strong sense of identification with the long-suffering people of Vietnam.

In the long run, perhaps the most destructive effect of this cruel war will be the disillusion and alienation of the socially conscious younger generation—in our own country and throughout the world—whose ideals and energy are the best hope of all of us for a better world.

In our own country there is a widening and deeply distressing gap between our national leadership and the educated and socially conscious younger generation. The cause of this mounting alienation is the war in Vietnam, which has undermined the inspirational powers of an administration which otherwise has done more to advance the aspirations of youth than any other national administration of the last generation. Some months ago groups of both student body presidents and Rhodes Scholars expressed their apprehension about the war which our country is fighting in Vietnam.

Now a body of over 800 former Peace Corps volunteers, in restrained and measured language, have respectfully expressed their concern about the effects of the Vietnamese war in a letter to the President of the United States. The former volunteers are fearful—as I am—that American policy in Vietnam is undermining our country's ability to contribute to a more peaceful and bountiful world. Further, they are afraid—as I am—that American policy in Vietnam is causing an erosion of trust in our Government on the part of those Americans who want to believe in the high purpose and constructive world role of the United States—an erosion of trust which threatens to undercut the enthusiasm so necessary to the vitality and effectiveness of the Peace Corps itself and, beyond that, to discourage creative and dedicated people from participating at all in overseas programs of the U.S. Government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of this significant and disturbing letter to the President of the United States signed by 800 former Peace Corps volunteers.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 6, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: During its early years, the Peace Corps was fortunate in having your guidance as Chairman of its National Advisory Council. As former Volunteers who served during and since that time, we would like to express our appreciation for your support and direction and for your continued interest in the Peace Corps as President.

We write not as representatives of any group, but as individuals from many backgrounds who have had very different experiences. Our points of view vary widely, but we share your hopes for a more peaceful and bountiful world. We are united by those hopes, and by the conviction that American policy in Vietnam is seriously undermining the contribution America can make toward achieving that kind of world. Further, we wonder if you are fully aware of the erosion of trust in our Government which that policy is causing among many Americans who, like us, want to believe in the high purpose and constructive world role of the United States.

A good deal of this erosion is caused by the growing impression that the United States is unclear about its goals in Vietnam and is not facing realistically the alternatives available to it. American actions often seem unconnected to the rhetoric used to describe what we are doing, a situation that invites cynicism and suspicion about American rhetoric—and goals—in places far removed from Vietnam itself. We have observed how American efforts can be hampered by such suspicions even in places where these efforts are most constructive.

Our observations among returned Peace Corps Volunteers confirm the report of the Student Body Presidents that the United States may find ". . . some of her most loyal and courageous young people . . ." unwilling to serve in the Armed Forces in Vietnam. We are, moreover, fearful that if the disenchantment accelerates, it will undercut the enthusiasm so necessary to the vitality and effectiveness of the Peace Corps itself. There are creative and dedicated people who will be reluctant to participate at all in overseas programs of the Government, a state of affairs that would be unfortunate for the United States and tragic for those Americans who would thus be deprived of what should be one of the great experiences of their lives.

We know the vision of the world that motivated yourself, President Kennedy, Vice President Humphrey, Sargent Shriver and other American leaders to create the Peace Corps; the same vision inspired many of us to join. It is because we see the fulfillment of that vision threatened that we are prompted to report to you our feelings.

On behalf of the eight hundred signators, this letter is submitted by the executive committee.

Mr. FRANCIS ANDREW,
Chairman.
Mr. ERIC REUTHER,
Member.
Mr. BURT SEGALL,
Member.
Mr. E. PHILLIP LEVEEN,
Member.
Mr. ALBERT C. ULMER,
Member.

Abbott, Samuel, Oakland, California.
Abramson, Robert, Newton, Mass.
Adam, Suzanne, San Francisco, Calif.
Adams, Cynthia, Boston, Mass.
Adorno, Mrs. Paul, Philadelphia, Pa.
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Alamprese, Rose, El Tuna, Pa.
Albritton, Robert R., Santa Monica, Calif.
Alderman, Kate, Bloomington, Ind.
Allen, David C., Providence, R.I.
Allen, Hamilton, Providence, R.I.
Allen, Mrs. Irene Bristol, Providence, R.I.
Allensworth, Diane, Paulding, Ohio.
Allensworth, John, Paulding, Ohio.
Alther, Roxanne, New York, N.Y.
Anderson, Ward, Denver, Colo.
Anderson, Andy, Washington, D.C.
Andrew, Francis E., Chicago, Ill.
Andrew, Hazel M., Chicago, Ill.
Angle, Burt, Madison, Wisconsin.
Arndve, Robert, Stanford, Calif.
Asmundson, Mary, Davis, Calif.
Atkinson, Joel, Tallahassee, Fla.
Attebury, Rich, Eugene, Oregon.
Axelrod, Robert George, New York, N.Y.
Ayala, Anne Okada, Waimea Kauai, Hawaii.
Ayala, Stephen Charles, Rodeo, Calif.
Bach, John, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Baker, Fred, Michigan.
Baldwin, Melinda, Racine, Wisc.
Ballantine, Harden, New York, N.Y.
Ballwanz, Howard, New York, N.Y.
Bane, Mary Jo, Foxboro, Mass.
Banfield, Joan, New York, N.Y.
Barbur, Marilyn Jean, San Francisco, Calif.
Baron, Richard J., Chicago, Ill.
Bartholomew, Susan G., Minneapolis, Minn.
Bastone, Mike, New York, N.Y.
Baumstone, Carol, Iowa City, Iowa.
Baumstone, Robert, Iowa City, Iowa.
Baxter, Marybell, Tulsa, Okla.
Baylor, Jim, San Francisco, Calif.
Beal, John, Chicago, Ill.
Beatty, David, Chicago, Ill.
Bechtol, Ronald, New York, N.Y.
Beck, Bruce, Madison, Wisc.
Beckwith, Merle, Los Angeles, Calif.
Beechem, Sara Gay, La Jolla, Calif.
Beemer, Halsey, Pittsfield, Mass.
Beemer, Jane, Pittsfield, Mass.
Beery, Sara J., New York, N.Y.
Beklotz, Perry, New York, N.Y.
Bell, Doug, Washington, D.C.
Bemis, Michael, Madison, Wisc.
Benjamin, Martin, Chicago, Ill.
Berezen, James, Denver, Colorado.
Bergthold, Gary, Bakersfield, Calif.
Bergthold, Linda, Pasadena, Calif.

Bernstein, James, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Berry, LeVele, Washington, D.C.
Bestock, Paul, Chicago, Ill.
Bestol, Paul, Chicago, Ill.
Biesemeyer, David, New York, N.Y.
Binder, Jim, Los Angeles, Calif.
Bing, Ann H., Oakland, New Jersey.
Bloom, Leonard, New York, N.Y.
Blumberg, Rae, Evanston, Ill.
Boegli, Janet, Washington, D.C.
Boehm, Gerold, Lacrosse, Wisc.
Boerst, William J., Jamestown, N.Y.
Bordene, Mary, Philadelphia, Pa.
Botarelli, Vincent, North Haven, Conn.
Botkin, Daniel, Somerset, N.J.
Botkin, Ellen C., Somerset, N.J.
Bowden, Joyce Mallard, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
Boyan, Bouglas, Rutherford, N.J.
Boyer, Jeff, Washington, D.C.
Bradford, Al, Mobile, Ala.
Bradley, John M., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Brainard, Joel, Baltimore, Md.
Brandon, Terry, Wichita, Kansas.
Brandt, Max H., Los Angeles, Calif.
Briscoe, John A., Lakeville, Conn.
Brodkey, Dean, Los Angeles, Calif.
Brooks, E. Edwin, Orange, Va.
Brown, Aubry III, New York, N.Y.
Brown, Caroline, Washington, D.C.
Brown, Dorothy, Bakersfield, Calif.
Brown, Ethel M., Washington, D.C.
Brown, Jerald R., Iowa City, Iowa
Brown, Pat, Highland, Ind.
Bryant, G. D., Cambridge, Mass.
Buddenhagen, John M., New York, N.Y.
Budharber, Susan, Portland, Ore.
Buff, Steve, Chicago, Ill.
Bugbee, John, Bloomington, Ind.
Bugbee, Mary, Bloomington, Ind.
Bunce, Barbara, Saratoga Springs, Fla.
Burke, William, New York, N.Y.
Burnett, Frederick W., Jr., New Paltz, N.Y.
Burnstein, Judy, New York, N.Y.
Burr, Timothy, Fairfield, Conn.
Bussenmyer, Jay, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Byrd, Joan, Lakeland, Fla.
Byrne, Patrick, New York, N.Y.
Campbell, Kathy, Paoli, Pa.
Caracao, Jack, New York, N.Y.
Carroll, Kent, Tonawanda, N.Y.
Carter, Tom, Portland, Ore.
Carverse, Howard, San Francisco, Calif.
Case, Claude, Phoenix, Ariz.
Case, Harold, Santa Maria, Calif.
Catlett, Catherine, New Orleans, La.
Cederberg, Nancy, Asland, Wisc.
Chacki, Donald, New York, N.Y.
Chambliss, Ida B., Atlanta, Ga.
Chandler, Geffrey, San Francisco, Calif.
Charbonneau, Jerry, Detroit, Mich.
Charleton, Vern, New York, N.Y.
Chatfield, Mike, Los Angeles, Calif.
Checki, Donald, New York, N.Y.
Clare, Randall, San Francisco, Calif.
Clark, Daniel, New York, N.Y.
Clauson, Herb, Rockford, Ill.
Clem, Judy, Huntsville, Ala.
Clyde, George H. Jr., Santa Barbara, Calif.
Cochran, Virginia, New York, N.Y.
Coel, Enid, New York, N.Y.
Coffeen, Kenneth, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Coit, Mrs. Karen, Cambridge, Mass.
Coit, Robert, Cambridge, Mass.
Colbert, Vera, Macon, Ga.
Collazo, Dora, New York, N.Y.
Collie, Jim, Washington, D.C.
Collier, Ann, Washington, D.C.
Collier, John, Washington, D.C.
Collier, Sally, Fort Myers, Fla.
Condy, Pete, New York, N.Y.
Conners, Lucy Anne, New York, N.Y.
Conroy, Mike, New Orleans, La.
Corcoran, Patricia, Richmond Hill, N.Y.
Countryman, Karen, New York, N.Y.
Courtright, Karen, Littleton, Colo.
Coventry, Philip, Atlanta, Ga.
Craven, Forrest, Vallejo, Calif.
Craven, William D., Hellertown, Pa.
Cravotto, Rudy, San Francisco, Calif.
Crawford, Charlotte, New York, N.Y.
Crepeau, Richard, Minnesota.
Crespi, Robert, Mastic Beach, N.Y.
Crew, Alan, New York, N.Y.
Cross, Harry, San Francisco, Calif.
Crosts, Trudy, Denver, Colo.
Cull, William H., Chicago, Ill.
Cunningham, Anne, Baltimore, Md.
Cytron, Sally, Beverly Hills, Calif.
Dahl, Barbara, San Francisco, Calif.
Damon, Paulette, Iowa City, Iowa
Damon, Phillip, Iowa City, Iowa.
Danfield, Joan, Kansas City, Mo.
Darling, Douglas, Tulsa, Okla.
Daugavietis, Raymond, Grand Haven, Mich.
Dauwen, John J., New York, N.Y.
Davenport, Henry, Mamaroneck, N.Y.
Davenport, Sally, Los Angeles, Calif.
Davis, Joyce, New York, N.Y.
Day, Billie, Denver, Colo.
Dean, Gail, Chicago, Ill.
Defour, James, Philadelphia, Pa.
DeHef, Dennis, Chicago, Ill.
Delia, Gabriella, Bloomington, Ind.
DeMille, Joyce, Denver, Colo.
Deming, Kay, Philadelphia, Pa.
Demos, John P., Somerville, Mass.
Dennison, Robert, New York, N.Y.
Dennison, Susan, New York, N.Y.
Dethman, K. V., Portland, Ore.
Detlef, Carol Ann, Chicago, Ill.
DeWerth, Patricia, New York, N.Y.
Diamond, David, Keene, N.H.
Dichter, Thomas, Croton-on-the-Hudson, N.Y.
Dietrich, Bruce, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dimock, Wynne, Marietta, Ga.
Dintenfass, Mark L., Iowa City, Iowa.
Dintenfass, Phyllis H., Iowa City, Iowa.
Dixon, Gale, Portland, Ore.
Dixon, Mike, Detroit, Mich.
Dodson, Elizabeth, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dorsey, David B., Wheaton, Ill.
Dowell, Robert, Chicago, Ill.
Dragisic, John, Jr., Spokie, Ill.
Dresser, Herbert, Baltimore, Md.
Drexht, Harry, Bronx, N.Y.
Duberstein, Michael, Los Angeles, Calif.
Dubetsky, Alan, Chicago, Ill.
Dubinsky, Irwin, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dunetz, Nancy S., New York, N.Y.
Dunn, James, Waukesha, Wisc.
Dunn, Marcy, Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Dymo d, Rosetta, Washington, D.C.
Dynn, James, New York, N.Y.
Eagle, Barbara, Birmingham, Mich.
Eagle, Herbert J., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
Edwards, Daniel, El Centro, Calif.
Edwards, Linda, Brewster, Wash.
Edwards, Maurice E., Nashville, Tenn.
Eichhorn, Douglas L., Wellesley, Mass.
Eichhorn, Mary L., Wellesley, Mass.
Engelberg, Allan A., Los Angeles, Calif.
English, John, Tulsa, Okla.
Ennes, Judy, New York, N.Y.
Entenman, George, Chicago, Ill.
Fagen, David G., Chicago, Ill.
Fair, June, New York, N.Y.
Fann, Sally, Houston, Texas.
Farah, Mark, New York, N.Y.
Feibert, Larry, Detroit, Mich.
Feld, Stanley, Philadelphia, Pa.
Feldblum, Amy, Syasset, N.Y.
Felstead, Darme, Mesa, Ariz.
Feltz, Lawrence L., Elgin, Ill.
Fielding, Audry, Washington, D.C.
Fielding, David, Washington, D.C.
Fine, Paul, New York, N.Y.
Fisher, John B., East Aurora, N.Y.
Fishkin, Bernard, Philadelphia, Pa.
Fitzgerald, Stephanie, New York, N.Y.
Fitzpatrick, Peter A., Lexington, Mass.
Fitzpatrick, Ted, Washington, D.C.
Flexner, William A., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Florsheim, Steven, New York, N.Y.
Foley, Doug, Stanford, Calif.
Forsyth, Natalia, Hubbard, Ohio
Fox, H. Ernest, San Francisco, Calif.
Francis, Mark, San Francisco, Calif.
Franke, Larry, Indianapolis, Ind.
Franklin, John W., Darien, Conn.
Franklin, Peter, New York, N.Y.
French, Mirian, San Francisco, Calif.
Fuller, M. Elaine, Birmingham, Ala.
Gabiou, Jeffrey Joseph, Chicago, Ill.
Gale, Mike, Los Angeles, Calif.
Gallery, Marcia Lee, Chicago, Ill.
Galoger, Ethan, New York, N.Y.
Gannaway, Nancy, San Francisco, Calif.
Gans, Majorie, Washington, D.C.
Gardfalo, V. James, Oneida, N.Y.
Garrity, Milton, Cambridge, Mass.
Garrity, Nancy, El Paso, Texas
Gelenter, Abbot, New York, N.Y.
George, Rosemary, Norwalk, Calif.
Gibbons, Mary, New York, N.Y.
Gibney, Jon, Philadelphia, Pa.
Gibson, Catherine, Tulsa, Okla.
Gilligan, Frank, New York, N.Y.
Gilman, Charles, Evanston, Ill.
Gingras, Edward J., Dumont, N.J.
Goetz, Mrs. Julie Anne, Cambridge, Mass.
Goetze, Rolf, Cambridge, Mass.
Goldberg, Maxine, Madison, Wisc.
Goldberg, Michael, Madison, Wisc.
Golden, Jeffrey, Madison, Wisc.
Goldschmidt, Mary, Drexel Hill, Pa.
Goldsmith, Richard N., Chicago, Ill.
Gonzales, Gilbert, Alhambra, Calif.
Googins, Sally, Novato, Calif.
Gore, Peter H., New York, N.Y.
Gorell, Richard, Chicago, Ill.
Gould, Andrew, Stanford, Calif.
Grace, Elizabeth, Flushing, N.Y.
Gradke, Robin, Madison, Wisc.
Graf, William, Maplewood, N.J.
Graham, Beverly, San Francisco, Calif.
Gray, Harold S., Claremont, Calif.
Green, Mark, Washington, D.C.
Greenfield, Jan, Bloomington, Ind.
Greg, Diane, San Francisco, Calif.
Greiner, Mary Anne, New York, N.Y.
Greiseo, Larry, Gresham, Oreg.
Griffin, Mary, Evanston, Ill.
Grigartis, Patricia E., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Grobe, Douglas, Phoenix, Ariz.
Grossman, Neil K., New York, N.Y.
Gruberg, Edward R., Champaign, Ill.
Grunnet, Patricia, Tulane, Calif.
Guild, Stephen, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Grunbaum, Dorien, New York, N.Y.
Hagerman, Janet K., Denver, Colo.
Haley, Andy, Washington, D.C.
Hamilton, Bob, Upper Darby, Pa.
Hamilton, George Roger, San Francisco, Calif.
Hamilton, Thomas, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hammond, John, Jr., Chicago, Ill.
Hanna, Jeanne, Woodside, N.Y.
Hansen, David, Palm Bay, Fla.
Hansen, Andrew M., New York, N.Y.
Hanson, June A., New York, N.Y.
Harla, Leon, New York, N.Y.
Harrington, Eugene, Houston, Texas.
Harris, John, San Francisco, Calif.
Harris, Thomas, New York, N.Y.
Harrison, Gayle, San Francisco, Calif.
Hart, Lucy B., Eugene, Oreg.
Hartwell, Alfred, Honolulu, Hawaii.
Hatch, John, Los Angeles, Calif.
Hawthorne, Bill, San Francisco, Calif.
Hawthorne, Lee, New York, N.Y.
Hawthorne, Mark, New York, N.Y.
Hecker, Susan, New York, N.Y.
Hegan, James, New York, N.Y.
Hegler, Roger, Baton Rouge, La.
Helwig, Jeff, Kans.
Hemphill, Alan, Sarver, Pa.
Hepper, Laura, Philadelphia, Pa.
Herrin, Martha, Indianapolis, Ind.
Herron, Margaret, San Francisco, Calif.
Herron, William, Whitestone, N.Y.
Herschi, Sharleen, Rexburg, Idaho
Herzburg, Dorothy Cruz, San Francisco, Calif.
Herzburg, Hershel Z., San Francisco, Calif.
Heurich, William, New York, N.Y.
Hiers, Thomas G., Darlington, S.C.
Higdon, Joe, Washington, D.C.
Higgins, Ann E., San Francisco, Calif.
Higgins, James J., Evanston, Ill.
Hodge, Datherine, Frankfort, Ind.
Hord, Roger, Lake Oswego, Ore.
House, David, Gresham, Ore.
Howard, Karen L., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Howard, Theodore B., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Howe, Larry, Palo Alto, Calif.
Hoyt, Timothy, New Providence, N.J.
Hudson, Grover, Los Angeles, Calif.
Hughes, Kathy, New Orleans, La.
Huitric, Roger A., San Francisco, Calif.
Hunter, Larry, Bloomington, Ind.
Hurwitz, Milton H., Arlington, Va.
Hutchinson, David, Syracuse, N.Y.
Hutchinson, Duke H., Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
Hyat, Barbara, Portland, Ore.
Hyat, Judson, Portland, Ore.
Ingle, Clyde R., Syracuse, N.Y.
Ingle, Eva P., Syracuse, N.Y.
Irish, Dick, Washington, D.C.
Irish, Sally, Washington, D.C.
Jablonski, James, Stevens Point, Wisc.
Jackson, Niles, Chicago, Ill.
Jackson, Phyllis, New York, N.Y.
Jacobi, Robert, Bedford, N.Y.
Jacobs, Nina, Atlanta, Ga.
Jager, Thomas K., Chicago, Ill.
Jameson, Kenneth, Denver, Colo.
Jameson, Penny, Denver, Colo.
Jason, Robert, Bluefield, W. Va.
Jelinski, Jack, Minocqua, Wisc.
Jenkins, Martha M., New York, N.Y.
Jennings, Henry L., Frankfort, Ind.
Jewell, Michael, Washington, D.C.
Johnson, Anita, Bloomington, Ind.
Johnson, Bill, New York, N.Y.
Johnson, Glenderlyn A., New York, N.Y.
Johnson, Karen, Washington, D.C.
Johnson, Stephan, New York, N.Y.
Johnson, Willard, Mendota, Ill.
Johnston, Becky, New York, N.Y.
Jones, Alfred F., New York, N.Y.
Jones, Cedran, San Francisco, Calif.
Jones, Helen M., Berkeley, Calif.
Jones, Kirby, Bedford, N.Y.
Julian, Willard, New York, N.Y.
Kafoury, Gretchen, Portland, Ore.
Kafoury, Steve, Portland, Ore.
Kase, Mary Ellen, Washington, D.C.
Katz, Frank, Stanford, Calif.
Katz, Marlaine, Stanford, Calif.
Kedl, Kent, New York, N.Y.
Keesinger, Tom G., Chicago, Ill.
Keith, Rachel, Chicago, Ill.
Kellenberger, J., Eugene, Ore.
Kelley, Nancy, La Canada, Calif.
Kelley, Paul, San Francisco, Calif.
Kelly, Kathleen, New York, N.Y.
Kennedy, Geraldine, Los Angeles, Calif.
Kennedy, Jim, Los Angeles, Calif.
Kennedy, John C., Boston, Mass.
Kennedy, Mrs. John C., Boston, Mass.
Keramidas, Harry, Detroit, Mich.
Kern, John, Madison, Wisc.
Keyerleber, Joseph, Palo Alto, Calif.
Keyes, Meredith, Cambridge, Mass.
Kianka, Ed, Trenton, N.J.
King, Harlan W., San Francisco, Calif.
Kinsey, Bill, Washington, D.C.
Kinsley, Dale, Illinois
Kinsley, Jane, Illinois
Kirlin, John, Los Angeles, Calif.
Kitson, Beverly, E. Hampton, Mass.
Kitson, David, E. Hampton, Mass.
Klein, John, Madison, Wisc.
Knauss, William, Detroit, Mich.
Knudsen, Carmelli, San Francisco, Calif.
Knudsen, Mark, San Francisco, Calif.
Kobrin, Rosalyn, Bronx, N.Y.
Kolb, James, Cambridge, Mass.
Kolodz, Tom, Chicago, Ill.
Komarmy, Joe, Bakersfield, Calif.
Kopecky, Nancy, Detroit, Mich.
Kral, Thomas, Berwyn, Ill.
Krueger, Jo Ann, Wansan, Wisc.
Kruenpel, Beverly, Independence, Iowa.
Kruenpel, Kenneth, Independence, Iowa.
Kulappki, John J., Milwaukee, Wisc.
Kurtz, Steve, Woodbine, N.J.
Lair, Mary Christina, San Francisco, Calif.
Lake, Sharon, Rapid City, S. Dakota.
Landrum, Roger, Boston, Mass.
Lange, Roberta, Exeter, Calif.
Lapp, Douglas M., Springfield, Ill.
Larcade, John, New York, N.Y.
Larson, Charles, Washington, D.C.
Larson, Frances, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Lavelle George C., Minneapolis, Minn.
Lavicka, Judith, New York, N.Y.
Laws, Nancy, Mercer Island, Wash.
Lebenson, Elizabeth, New York, N.Y.
Lederman, Robert, Bronx, N.Y.
Lee, Brownie, New York, N.Y.
Lee, Ronald Demos, San Francisco, Calif.
Lemkin, Jane, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lemkin, Richard H., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lennon, Jean, Chicago, Ill.
LeVeen, Debra, Los Angeles, Calif.
LeVeen, Phillip, Los Angeles, Calif.
Levine, William, Chicago, Ill.
Levison, Eliot, Palo Alto, Calif.
Levy, John, Syracuse, N.Y.
Levy, John, San Francisco, Calif.
Levy, Kaye, Syracuse, N.Y.
Lewis, Walter, Greenville, Miss.
Lezar, Keith, San Francisco, Calif.
Lieberman, Pam, San Francisco, Calif.
Lieberman, Steve, San Francisco, Calif.
Limbert, John, Washington, D.C.
Lipson, Charlette, New York, N.Y.
Loffe, Judy, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Logsdon, David, New York, N.Y.
Long, Carolyn, Milton, Mass.
Longcore, Randall, Bloomington, Ind.
Longley, Charlie, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Lord, Jack, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lord, John G., Swarthmore, Pa.
Lother, Kevin, Westport, Conn.
Lowry, Heath, Portland, Ore.
Lowry, Jeanie, Portland, Ore.
Lund, Michael, Rockford, Ill.
Lundstedt, Jeff, New York, N.Y.
Lynn, Nancy, San Francisco, Calif.
Lyon, Judson M., New York, N.Y.
MacBain, Bruce, Chicago, Ill.
MacBain, Carol Joan, Chicago, Ill.
MacKethan, Toi, Fayetteville, N.C.
MacNamara, Barbara J., Washington, D.C.
Mahle, Philip, Rockford, Ill.
Maidenberg, Michael, Marion, Ind.
Malin, Dicht, Chicago, Ill.
Malloni, Pauline, Bronx, N.Y.
Mann, James Q., Clovis, Calif.
Marinkovich, Tom, Los Angeles, Calif.
Mark, Jerry, Iowa City, Iowa
Marrero, Ora, New York, N.Y.
Marshall, Donna, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Marshall, William, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Martin, Joyce, New York, N.Y.
Martin, Sue, San Francisco, Calif.
Martinchek, Emma Jean, White Haven, Pa.
Mason, Georgiana, New Orleans, La.
Mason, Patsy, Hartford, Conn.
Mathes, Paul, San Francisco, Calif.
Mathews, Mary, Detroit, Mich.
Matro, Mary Cavas, Nixon, N.J.
McAuliff, John, Washington, D.C.
McClain, Howard, Washington, D.C.
McClain, Priscilla, Washington, D.C.
McClearey, Karen, Atlanta, Ga.
McClelland, Dan, Amherst, Mass.
McCloud, Catherine, New Orleans, La.
McClusky, Jon, Western Spring, Ill.
McIntyre, Michael, Attleboro, Mass.
McKar, Susan, New York, N.Y.
McNulty, Janet, Chicago, Ill.
Means, Joan, Los Angeles, Calif.
Meara, Alice May, Chicago, Ill.
Melinkovich, Georgyn, Pacific Palisade, Calif.
Menon, Meryl B., Wallingford, Conn.
Meyers, John, Freeport, Ill.
Mikkelsen, Lawrence K., Jr., Tacoma, Wash.
Miller, Frank J., Passaic, N.J.
Miller, Lucille C., New York, N.Y.
Miller, Pamela, Des Moines, Iowa.
Miller, Rhoda, Englewood, N.J.
Miller, Thomas, New York, N.Y.
Mirin, Leonard, New York, N.Y.
Miron, David, Philadelphia, Pa.
Miron, Mrs. David, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mitchell, Barbara, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mjaanes, Rolf, Madison, Wisc.
Moeller, Myra, Detroit, Mich.
Morgan, Nelson A., Jr., Smithfield, N.C.
Morin, Molly, Washington, D.C.
Morrison, Joe, Tonawanda, N.Y.
Morrison, Sam, San Francisco, Calif.
Morse, Wendell, Jr., Harrisburg, Vt.
Moulton, Dan III, N. Brookfield, Mass.
Muirhead, John, Chicago, Ill.
Mullins, Patti, Washington, D.C.
Mullins, Tom, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Mundstak, Jay, Detroit, Mich.
Murphy, Jim, New York, N.Y.
Murphy, Paul, Bloomington, Ind.
Murphy, Penny, Bloomington, Ind.
Murray, Jerry, Revere, Mass.
Myers, Ivan E. II, Wheeling, W. Va.
Myers, Rosemary, New York, N.Y.
Nagle, Michael E., Chicago, Ill.
Naiman, Howard, New York, N.Y.
Nash, Deanna, Palo Alto, Calif.
Nash, Joel E., Palo Alto, Calif.
Nathan, Barry, Washington, D.C.
Neher, Clark, Los Angeles, Calif.
Nevadomsky, Joseph, San Francisco Calif.
Newhall, Tony, Palo Alto, Calif.
Newman, Paul, New Haven, Conn.
Nibling, Herm, Iowa City, Iowa.
Nowlan, Wayne, Chicago, Ill.
Nowok, Doris, San Francisco, Calif.
O'Connor, Jeanne, Portage, Wisc.
O'Connor, Kathy, Washington, D.C.
O'Connor, Theron, Portage, Wisc.
Offner, Carl, Darien, Conn.
Ogren, Nichel, San Francisco, Calif.
Olafson, Freya, Ithaca, N.Y.
Olsen, Bob, Bloomington, Ind.
Olson, Carl E., Chicago, Ill.
Olson, Judy, New York, N.Y.
Oman, Larry, Monroeville, Ind.
Omo, Carol, Washington, D.C.
Omo, Larry, Washington, D.C.
O'Neal, Gary S., New York, N.Y.
O'Neill, Judith Ann, Pittsburgh, Pa.
O'Neill, Vin, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Onken, Carl, New York, N.Y.
Onken, Mrs. Carl, New York, N.Y.
Opin, Kenneth S., Boston, Mass.
Oppenheimer, Peter, Palo Alto, Calif.
Oppenheimer, Robert, San Francisco, Calif.
Orr, Joseph A., Chicago, Ill.
Orr, Patricia, Chicago, Ill.
Ott, Genevieve, New York, N.Y.
Packer, Bonnie, New York, N.Y.
Packer, Freeman, New York, N.Y.
Palmberg, Thomas, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Paneras, Charles, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Pankratz, Audrey, Marshfield, Wisc.
Parker, Jerry, Portland, Ore.
Parsons, Joyce, Southampton, Mass.
Paschall, Stephen, New Haven, Conn.
Paterson, Noel, Philadelphia, Pa.
Paterson, Mrs. Noel, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pearle, John T., Chicago, Ill.
Pearson, Robert, Washington, D.C.
Pearson, Rosiland, Washington, D.C.
Peebles, Patrick A., Chicago, Ill.
Peterson, Thomas H., Santa Monica, Calif.
Peterson, William J., Aurora, Ill.
Pfankuch, Marjorie, Menasha, Wisc.
Phillips, Sandra L., Kettering, Ohio.
Pierce, Leslie P., Boca Raton, Fla.
Pierce, Nancy, Bloomington, Ind.
Pierson, Vrijmore, Newton, Mass.
Plitt, William, Baltimore, Md.
Pollard, Freeman, New York, N.Y.
Poole, Mary, Hendersonville, N.C.
Porter, Edward A., Weymouth, Mass.
Portugal, Pamela, San Francisco, Calif.
Potter, Bruce, Washington, D.C.
Prather, Emelie, Los Angeles, Calif.
Prather, George, Los Angeles, Calif.
Price, Virginia, New York, N.Y.
Pyne, Maureen, New York, N.Y.
Rabinoff, Roberta, Denver, Colo.
Radloff, James, Wausau, Wisc.
Randle, David, Lebanon, Ind.
Rattan, Georgiana, New York, N.Y.
Rattan, Roger B., New York, N.Y.
Raymond, Nancy, Pontiac, Mich.
Reardon, Mary Ann, Evanston, Ill.
Reavton, David, Washington, D.C.
Rebev, Vera, Dayton, Ohio.
Redfield, Jerry, Lake Bluff, Ill.
Reed, Martha, Warren, Pa.
Reggy, Mae, Washington, D.C.
Rehwald, Mary, Rockford, Ill.
Reidy, Elaine, Waterbury, Conn.
Reingold, Leslie, Los Angeles, Calif.
Renenour, David, New York, N.Y.

Reningen, Vernon, Minnesota.
Reuther, Eric, San Jose, Calif.
Richardson, Michael, Hyde Park, Vt.
Richey, Vern K., Charleston, Ill.
Ridenour, David, New York, N.Y.
Rieder, Mrs. Corinne, Cambridge, Mass.
Riemer, Connie, Washington, D.C.
Robbins, Wendy, Darien, Conn.
Roberti, Dick, Los Angeles, Calif.
Roberti, Jackie, Los Angeles, Calif.
Robinson, Leonard, Jr., Greensboro, N.C.
Rohrs, Gary, New York, N.Y.
Ropee, Ann, New York, N.Y.
Rork, Patricia, Bethesda, Md.
Rosen, Charles, Chicago, Ill.
Rosen, Ruthi, Richmond, Va.
Ross, Peter, San Francisco, Calif.
Royal, Ruth, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Rucker, Henry, Washington, D.C.
Russell, David, New York, N.Y.
Ryan, Fran, San Francisco, Calif.
Ryan, Judy, Randolph, Wisc.
Safran, Joan, Detroit, Mich.
Saggese, Vivian Gold, Elmhurst, N.Y.
Salant, Michael, Palo Alto, Calif.
Salenas, Rudy, Los Angeles, Calif.
Samiljan, Jim, Stanford, Calif.
Sample, Barbara, New York, N.Y.
Sampson, Mrs. Gloria, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Santaniello, Andrea, New York, N.Y.
Sarrel, Bernard, New York, N.Y.
Scarpitti, Patricia, Kent, Ohio.
Schafer, John C., East Arlington, Vt.
Schechtman, Anna, Los Angeles, Calif.
Scheper, Nancy, New York, N.Y.
Schickele, David, San Francisco, Calif.
Schiers, Ruth Dygert, New York, N.Y.
Schimmel, Gordon, Battle Creek, Mich.
Schlochauer, Marianne, Stamford, Conn.
Scholnick, S. M., Swampscott, Mass.
Schrand, Ann, Riva, Md.
Shrawder, Connie, New Orleans, La.
Schwadron, Harley, San Francisco, Calif.
Schwinn, Gerald, Washington.
Seaton, David, New York, N.Y.
Segall, Burton A., New York, N.Y.
Segall, Mary, New York, N.Y.
Seidel, James Stephen, Little Neck, N.Y.
Seymour, Jennifer, New York, N.Y.
Seymour, Martha, New York, N.Y.
Shadbolt, Christi, San Francisco, Calif.
Shadbolt, Larry M., San Francisco, Calif.
Shaheen, Paul, Detroit, Mich.
Shapiro, Harold, Chicago, Ill.
Sharp, William Frederick, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Shields, Richard, Chicago, Ill.
Shrawder, Connie, New Orleans, La.
Shurtleff, William Ray, New York, N.Y.
Silver, Harvey, De Kalb, Ill.
Silvernail, Patricia Wand, Troutdale, Oreg.
Sims, Barbara, Rocky River, Ohio
Sloan, Daniel A., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Smith, Bob, Washington, D.C.
Smith, David, Chester, Conn.
Smith, Espinola, New York, N.Y.
Smith, Gregg, Washington, D.C.
Smith, Hoyt A., Bixby, Okla.
Smith, Hugh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Smith, Mary, Chester, Conn.
Smythe, Marianne K., New York, N.Y.
Smythe, Robert B., New York, N.Y.
Snee, Carole A., Woodland Hills, Calif.
Snodgrass, John M., St. Louis, Mo.
Sorenson, Ronald, New York, N.Y.
Sorrel, Bernard, New York, N.Y.
Southworth, William, Chicago, Ill.
Spangler, Stephen, Toledo, Ohio
Spaulding, Ruth, Greensburg, N.C.
Spear, Thomas J., New York, N.Y.
Spencer, Betty, San Francisco, Calif.
Spencer, Maurice, Kalkaska, Mich.
Stallman, Kenneth, Eagle River, Wisc.
Stanley, Dave, Vienna, Va.
Starkweather, Frank, Saginaw, Mich.
Stein, Carol, New York, N.Y.
Stephani, Carol J., San Francisco, Calif.
Steppe, Thomas, Washington, D.C.
Stevens, Hope Batchelder, Chicago, Ill.
Stevens, Philips, Evanston, Ill.
Steward, Ruth, Santa Monica, Calif.
Stockton, Robyn, New York, N.Y.
Stone, Janet, New York, N.Y.
Stork, Joseph, New York, N.Y.
Strassburg, Paul, New Haven, Conn.
Strauch, Judith, Berkeley, Calif.
Strauss, Douglas, New York, N.Y.
Strauss, Leonard, Palo Alto, Calif.
Swann, Howard, San Francicsco, Calif.
Swanson, Thomas A., New York, N.Y.
Tadevic, Jule Anne, Chicago, Ill.
Tadlock, Chuck, Chicago, Ill.
Talcott, Janet, Seattle, Wash.
Tandy Miles, Austin, Texas
Taub, Mara, New York, N.Y.
Taylor, Bob, Middletown, Conn.
Taylor, Elizabeth, Denver, Colo.
Teller, Bob, Los Angeles, Calif.
Teller, Joseph, Los Angeles, Calif.
Tener, Jeffrey, Bemus Point, N.Y.
Thomas, David, Chicago, Ill.
Thomas, Mike, San Francisco, Calif.
Thomas, Ralph, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thomas, Timothy, New Orleans, La.
Thompson, C. Wayne, New York, N.Y.
Thompson, Ruth S., New York, N.Y.
Thomsen, Michael A., Pennington, Calif.
Thomson, James T., Stevens Point, Wisc.
Tierney, Paul, Cambridge, Mass.
Timberg, Tom, Washington, D.C.
Timmel, Sally, Cincinnati, Ohio
Titz, Mike M., Attleboro, Mass.
Todd, Fred, Truro, Mass.
Todd, Sue, Chapel Hill, S.C.
Tonskemper, Sue, Los Angeles, Calif.
Torgersen, Eric, Iowa City, Iowa.
Torphy, Helen, Lynn, Mass.
Torphy, John, Madison, Wisc.
Unger, Burton, Port Washington, N.Y.
Vanda, Cynthia, Philadelphia, Pa.
Van Horn, David, Milton, Wisc.
Varnum, Carole, Washington, D.C.
Veatch, Mrs. Laurelyn, Evanston, Ill.
Veech, Jay Alexander, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Vigo, Anthony W., Jr., Berkeley, Calif.
Vincent, Vincent, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Vittatow, Pat, Boston, Mass.
Vittatow, Richard, Boston, Mass.
Vogt, Natalie, New York, N.Y.
Vulgaris, Matina, Washington, D.C.
Wagenius, Dwight, Minneapolis, Minn.
Wagner, Lowell E., Chicago, Ill.
Wald, Rita, New York, N.Y.
Walker, Mamie L., Maltapan, Mass.
Waller, Wayne, San Francisco, Calif.
Walsh, Barbara, Middletown, Conn.
Walsh, Peter, Washington, D.C.
Ward, Haskell, Los Angeles, Calif.
Wardle, Alison, Omaha, Nebraska
Watson, Don, New Haven, Conn.
Watson, Ellen, Stanford, Calif.
Watson, Roger, Stanford, Calif.
Waye, Bonny L., Needham, Mass.
Weintraub, Myles, New York, N.Y.
Weintraub, Neil, Easton, Pa.
Wells, Jesse C., San Francisco, Calif.
Wernet, Robert, Honolulu, Hawaii
West, Georgia, Madras, Oreg.
White, Elizabeth, Middleburg, N.Y.
White, Esther, Richmond, Va.
Whitson, William L., San Francisco, Calif.
Wie, Bill Van, Wheeling, W. Va.
Wie, Gail Van, Watertown, N.Y.
Wilder, Barbara, Los Angeles, Calif.
Wilder, Norma, Los Angeles, Calif.
Wilkins, Jean, Madison, Wis.
Will, Jon N., Chicago, Ill.
Williston, Patricia, New York, N.Y.
Willson, John, Chicago, Ill.
Willson, Linda, Chicago, Ill.
Wilson, Eva Lynn, San Francisco, Calif.
Wilson, Gloria, New York, N.Y.
Wilson, James W., Durham, N.C.
Wilson, James, Chicago, Ill.
Wilson, Linda, Weiser, Idaho.
Wilson, Patricia, New York, N.Y.
Wingert, Katherine Brown, Chicago, Ill.
Winklemen, John, Los Angeles, Calif.
Wise, Hugh, Princeton, N.J.
Witty, Richard, New York, N.Y.
Witty, Susan, New York, N.Y.
Wohl, Gary, New York, N.Y.
Wohlner, Ellis, Detroit, Mich.
Wohlner, Joan, Detroit, Mich.
Wolff, Laurence, New York, N.Y.
Wurken, C. Vander, New York, N.Y.
Wylie, Ken, Detroit, Mich.
Yager, Thomas, New York, N.Y.
Yarrow, Ruth, Ithaca, N.Y.
Young, Bradford, Madison, Wisc.
Young, Carroll U., Stanford, Calif.
Young, James G., Jr., Boston, Mass.
Young, Richard G., New York, N.Y.
Zalla, Thomas, Covington, Ky.
Zank, Richard, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Zeitz, Carol, New York, N.Y.
Zenbrano, Robert, St. Paul, Minn.
Zipf, Henry, Cambridge, Mass.
Zips, Henry, New York, N.Y.
Ziskind, Louis, New York, N.Y.

SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on January 20, 1967, Secretary Freeman delivered to the Southwest Agricultural Forum in Tulsa, Okla., a most significant policy address.

In the speech, he set forth the long-range goals of the Department of Agriculture, and he warned of consequences which might follow unless steps are taken now to develop the legislative base of future agricultural prosperity.

Mr. President, I believe this is an important speech which deserves widespread attention. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGRICULTURE 2000

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman at the Southwest Agricultural Forum, Tulsa Civic Assembly Center, Tulsa, Okla., January 20, 1967)

You may have noticed by the title that my talk today will go beyond the boundaries of this conference's prime concern—the decade immediately ahead. It will. But in doing so I hope to expand the dimension in a manner that enhances the importance of the next ten years—rather than diminishes it.

Man's fascination with Tomorrow is as old as man himself.

From the dawn of his imagination, he has tried to peer behind the "curtain's magic fold" to where Bret Harte said "the glowing future lies unrolled."

He has speculated about the future for profit, for amusement, out of simple curiosity . . . and sometimes for reasons bigger than himself.

And sometimes, he has, indeed, looked into Tomorrow.

Tennyson said he "dipt into the future, far as human eye could see" and "saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be."

Tennyson was a romantic. A more pragmatic poet turned his inner eye upon Tomorrow and declared that the future has never been . . . that it remains for man to make it.

The towers of Tomorrow, he said, are built upon the foundations, of Today.

We're gathered here in Tulsa to try to turn back a corner of the "curtain's magic fold" . . . to peer into the future of American agriculture . . . to determine whether the flowing prospects many foresee will, indeed, materialize . . . to decide whether we have built the foundations for the towers of Tomorrow . . . and to anticipate, if we can, the problems we may be called upon to solve.

In just 33 years we'll turn the corner into the 21st Century. What will it be like, American agriculture in the Year 2000?

No one really knows, of course. There are too many intangibles . . . too many uncertainties. But predictions are being made, and perhaps we should examine them.

As I stand here—about to tell this group what may or may not happen in their own chosen field—I'm reminded of the story of the Army sergeant who had made an excellent reputation lecturing to enlisted men on a certain subject. His captain called him in, complimented him, and said he had been chosen to lecture to a special group.

The sergeant walked into the lecture room and gazed out over the biggest collection of brass hats he had ever seen gathered in one place. Every man in the room outranked him.

Embarrassed, he tried to think of a modest beginning. "There are thousands of men in the Army who know more about this subject than I do," he began. Then, realizing he was destroying his reputation as an expert, he blurted out, "But I don't see any of them in this room!"

Well, I make no pretense of being an expert prognosticator. All I can do is tell you what some experts foresee for agriculture in the year 2000.

So, let's jump to the turn of the new century and take a look at what they predict we'll find.

Some envisage the Year 2000 as the time when the American farmer finally is freed from the arduous and time-consuming demands of planting and harvesting . . . a time when he, too, enjoys leisure for the pursuit of recreation, entertainment, advanced learning, and he and the world he inhabits can provide true parity of education and opportunity for his children.

Some see him sitting in an air-conditioned farm office . . . scanning a print-out from a computer center . . . typing out an inquiry on a keyboard which relays the question to the computer.

The computer center, which he may own in partnership with other farmers, perhaps through his cooperative, helps him to decide how many acres to plant to what crop, what kind of seeds to sow, what kind and how much fertilizer to apply, exactly what his soil condition is, and what day to harvest what crop.

The experts say the fields on this hypothetical farm will bear a surface similarity to the fields of today . . . but a surface similarity only. They see a land carefully graded and contoured to control erosion and the use of precious water. They see a soil bearing nutrients to meet the specific needs of each crop, and treated to control harmful organisms, weed and plant diseases.

They foresee virus-free plants, bred by geneticists to give higher yields in a much-shorter growing period and to mature at the same time. The stalks on these plants, they say, will lend themselves to mechanical harvesting, and new uses will be made of the parts of the plant once discarded at harvest.

The experts envision all the field work on this farm carried out by automated machinery, directed by tape-controlled programs, and supervised by television scanners mounted on towers.

They predict that weather will no longer be the incalculable threat it remains in our time, for satellites will provide long-range forecasting—providing time to prepare for, divert or dissipate damaging storms.

They say robot harvesters will complete the farming operation with high-speed picking, grading, packaging and freezing . . . and will then transport the produce to transportation depots for distribution to retail warehouses.

While many find this picture of the future exciting, others find it depressing. Some contend that automation and the computer will excise the soul from farming . . . will destroy its joy, dull its satisfactions, and chill the ageless intimacy between man and his land.

But others say No. They say the farmer of the 21st Century will be more deeply, intricately, and learnedly involved with the land than ever before. They point out that no computer can give a learned answer until it is asked a learned question . . . that no robot tractor can operate until a skilled human being programs it to operate.

And they contend that the joy and satisfaction of farming will come—as it always has—from the successful interplay between the farmer and his soil.

By the year 2000, optimistic visionaries say, this interplay will have become so successful that yields of today will be doubled or tripled . . . that corn yields, for instance, could run from 300 to 500 bushels to the acre.

Ah, yes, the critics counter, but what good automation, what good maximum efficiency, what good bigness, what good record yields . . . if the producer cannot *own* the land he works? How much joy, how much satisfaction, how much ageless intimacy with the soil can a farmer reap from land that is not his?

For how, they ask, could one farmer ever hope to own a farm that big, that automated . . . that incredibly expensive?

If there is one troublesome nettle in agriculture's garden of tomorrow, this is it. Financing the farm of the future through the methods of today would be impossible, for the farms of the Year 2000 will require investments of millions—not thousands—of dollars.

The inexorable nature of the technological revolution dictates that the farms of the future will be bigger, will be better, and will be far more costly to own and to operate.

The issue then is this: If nothing is done now to insure the creation of a dynamic, new, creatively flexible system of financing farms and farming, the farms of tomorrow will *not* be owned by the farmers who work them. If this is what we want . . . we do nothing.

If this is what we do *not* want . . . if we agree that farming is, indeed, a way of life, and not just a means to make a living . . . if we agree that it is important that the family farm system continues to make a key contribution to the strength and health of this nation . . . then we will adjust our credit systems for tomorrow.

This we have done before. This we can do again.

And now, let me turn my attention to the consumer of tomorrow. What will Agriculture/2000 mean to the housewives of America?

It will mean better foods, more nutritious foods, better tasting foods, a bigger variety of foods . . . and still at a reasonable cost, thanks to an efficiency of operation which continues to hold unit production costs to a minimum.

By the Year 2000, the consumer should be able to buy her whole milk according to whatever butterfat content she desires. She'll choose meat cuts with hardly any fat. She'll receive more protein per portion of cereal. And all of these changes will come about through the miracle of genetics . . . by breeding cows and meat animals and cereal grains to meet specific dietary and taste requirements.

And how will she shop?

Most likely, she'll go to a pushbutton supermarket. There she'll drop a coded card into a slot beside the commodity she selects and punch a button. Impulses travel two ways—to a cash register where her bill is totaled, and to a central warehouse where the order is assembled. The completed order will await the customer at her car.

I said this was a speculative sketch. In a few moments I'll point out some of the pitfalls which lie before this optimistic concept of tomorrow's agriculture. But in the meantime, bear in mind that this sketch scarcely touches the surface of the wonders of the future.

As I think of the other fantastic advances predicted for the years ahead—advances I haven't mentioned—I'm reminded of the story about the two soldiers from an inland State who one day found themselves on a transport ship going overseas.

Standing on the deck, one of them gazed out over the vast expanse of ocean and said, "That's the most water I've ever seen in all my life. I never thought there was that much water in the world."

To which the other soldier replied, "Heck, you ain't seen nothin' yet. That's just the top of it!"

And that's the way it is in agriculture. We "ain't" seen nothin' yet.

But the question is . . . are we ready for it? Have we laid those foundations of Today to build those towers of Tomorrow? If we haven't, there'll be no towers of Tomorrow, for as Marcus Aurelius observed many centuries ago, "That which comes ever after conforms to that which has gone before."

So now let's take a quick look at "what has gone before."

In the brief history of our young nation, we've seen the prestige, the influence, and the prosperity of agriculture wax and wane time and time again. Farmers built this nation. They pushed back its frontiers. They won its independence. And they created its government.

In Colonial Days, 90 percent of the working Americans were engaged in agriculture, 90 percent lived on the land, and an overwhelming percentage of the national income came from farm production.

Then came the cyclical changes in the farmer's fortune. When demand outstripped farm production, the farmer gained in income and importance. When production outstripped demand, his income and his influence declined.

In the past quarter century, the cycle has come full circle once again. Throughout World War II and the Korean conflict, farmers produced to intense demand. Their importance was acknowledged and their efforts were rewarded. But the technological advances which had enabled the farmer to meet wartime production demands were to do him in when the Korean conflict ended.

By the middle of the 1950's, the genius of the American farmer had produced the supreme irony. He had become an object of derision and the target of epithets. He was accused of feeding at the public trough, of contributing to high taxes, federal deficits, strained family budgets, and inflation. For a time flogging the farmer threatened to eclipse baseball as the nation's favorite pastime.

By 1960, overproduction had robbed the farmer not only of prestige but had cost him dearly in earnings. By the close of that year, we had a stockpile of 1.4 billion bushels of wheat and 85 million tons of feed grains, and net farm income had plummeted $2.4 billion in just eight short years. In the meantime costs were rising steadily and the cost-price squeeze tightened.

The outlook was so grim that some observers held out little hope. They foresaw political abandonment of the farmer, punitive farm legislation, continued price and income depressing surpluses, little social and economic legislative concern for his unique conditions, further loss of prestige, a decline in farm living standards and farm production and a resulting loss of natural resources as a product of human neglect.

None of these things happened.

Instead, in six event-filled years, American agriculture turned the corner from gloom to promise.

We began to look on agriculture not as an isolated problem segment of the American economy but in terms of its contribution to the whole economy. We began to view abundance not as a liability but as an opportunity. We focused attention on agriculture as a success story.

Politicians did *not* abandon the farmer. Despite the fact that his representation in the Halls of Congress has diminished in the face of population shifts and redistricting, recognition by urban Congressmen of the farmer's new importance was such that five major pieces of farm legislation were passed in the first six years of this decade. Many in this banquet hall helped to pass this legislation.

Each of these was designed to meet specific needs and solve specific problems. The record since their passage is evidence of their effectiveness.

The surpluses of the Fifties are gone—replaced by sensible reserves. By the end of November, the Commodity Credit Corporation investment in farm commodities was down to $4.55 billion, a reduction of $1.9 billion from the previous year, and about $4 billion less than the peak investment years of 1956 and 1959.

Government is reverting to the role of referee in the marketplace—an insurer of equity instead of a participant—and, except for a brief period during the Forties, the market is freer today than it has been for 30 years.

In place of the "little concern" predicted in 1960 for rural America, social and economic measures have been enacted since that time which concentrate on the countryside's special problems and special needs. I speak now of the struggle to build a viable, balanced economy in rural America, of which farming per se is an integral part.

Rural development programs, better community facilities, new homes, improved schools, medical services, expanded electric and telephone service, water and sewer installations, and a resulting variety of new off-farm jobs are helping to bring to an ever-increasing number of rural nonfarm and small farm Americans parity of opportunity.

Let me digress here for a moment. Gradually this nation has come to realize that one of our greatest assets in an increasingly crowded world is space. We are coming to understand that we can make *another* place in the countryside for those who, for one reason or another, cannot find a rewarding place in commercial agriculture. We don't *have* to dump these people into our already-crowded, problem-beset cities.

More than that . . . perhaps we can help relieve the strain on our cities. There are many frustrated urban dwellers who are eager to return to a new countyside—a countryside with opportunity.

Space, fresh air, sun, sky, and water can be "packaged and sold" . . . sold to the industries that can bring jobs to rural America . . . sold to city people who seek outdoor recreation—a chance to get back to Nature—and are willing to pay for it.

So . . . as we look ahead to the Year 2000, we can see a new kind of America—an America where the giant arms of industry extend into the countryside, there to profit by adequate space, adequate power, water and communications, adequate and eager manpower; an America where more and more Americans can live happier, healthier lives where they *want* to live—*in Countryside, U.S.A.*

And now let me turn once again to those gloomy predictions made back in 1960, the predictions that luckily went awry.

Farm living standards were supposed to decline. They did not. They improved because farm income increased . . . and farm income increased because surpluses diminished, the number of consumers grew, the amount of consumer income climbed, farm exports skyrocketed, and Government price support and incentive payment programs moved ahead with the times.

From the 1960 level of $11.7 billion, net farm income jumped to more than $16.1 billion in 1966 . . . the second highest mark in history . . . and gross farm income at $49.2 billion and net income per farm at $4,900 set all-time records.

Of even greater significance was the accelerated graduation into "adequate size" class by family farms in recent years. One measure of "adequate size" is gross sales of $10,000 a year or more. Since 1959, nearly 200,000 farm families have moved into that class. Studies indicate that at that level they are gaining on city workers and approaching parity of income.

But let me make it emphatically clear at this point that, despite steady progress the last six years, the farmer's income *still lags far behind that of other Americans.*

On a per capita basis, the farmer's income is $1,700. Other Americans earn $2,610 on an average per capita basis.

Farm prices, though up last year, have been down the last few months, and today are *less* than they averaged between 1947 and 1949. At the same time, food costs are 35 percent *higher.*

This the farmer bitterly resents—and properly so.

This discrepancy *must be corrected.* It must be corrected because it is unfair to the farmer and therefore wrong. It must be corrected because if farmers don't get a fair return commensurate with the other segments of society, we will lose our best farmers. If that happens the entire nation, not just the farmer, will be hurt.

And now let's look at the final gloomy prediction made in 1960—that farm mechanization and production efficiency would stage a ruinous retreat in the face of continued economic decline and political rebuff.

Once again the prediction was wrong.

From 1960 to 1965, investment in farm machinery *increased* by more than $5 billion.

In the past ten years, farm production per man-hour has doubled. Today, a third fewer people on farms, harvesting one-ninth fewer acres, produce one-fifth more than a decade ago. The average farm worker now supplies food and fiber for 37 persons, 22 more than he could less than a generation ago. In comparison, a farm worker in Russia feeds only seven, and a farm worker in France only fourteen.

In four and a half decades, U.S. productivity per acre has increased 82 percent and output per breeding animal has almost doubled. One hour's farm labor now produces five times more than it did in 1921.

The productive capacity of the American farm has provided this nation's consumers with the best diet in the world . . . at the lowest cost in terms of percentage of take-home pay—the only realistic measure.

Moreover, the exploding technological revolution in American agriculture has been of vital importance to the poorer nations of the world, for the resulting abundance has often meant the difference between life and death for millions of people overseas. Last year, our country shipped a fifth of its total wheat production to India, alone, and exported two-fifths more to other nations. Yet American consumers suffered no shortage of bread.

I hope this remarkable record of accomplishment in the Sixties is convincing enough proof that American agriculture has, indeed, built its foundations of Today for the towers of Tomorrow.

In this year of 1967, we are embarked on a New Era in Agriculture . . . and we've set sail in a sound ship.

But there are reefs and shoals ahead.

Earlier, I said that historically the fortunes of agriculture in America have been tied to the production-demand ratio. When demand moved ahead of production, farmers prospered for prices were strong. When production moved ahead of demand, the reverse was true.

In recent years, government has used a number of management tools and programs to slow agricultural output expansion, move toward fair income for producers, and make better use of our abundance.

First, the rate of output expansion has been held down by a system of largely voluntary government programs, which strengthened the market and also helped farmer income by means of commodity price supports and direct payments.

Second, our Government joined with private groups to develop new and expanded commercial markets—bringing successive new records in dollar exports in seven of the past eight years.

Third, we have carried on one of history's great humanitarian efforts under Food for Peace—a continuous stream of life-saving food and fiber that since 1955 has averaged about $1.5 billion a year. In addition, in the last six fiscal years we have distributed commodities valued at $2,439,000,000 to needy families, schools, and institutions in the United States. In the same period, our cash donations to the school lunch and special milk programs totaled $1,253,000,000, and Food Stamps given to needy American families were valued at $158,000,000.

Fourth, commodities produced beyond the limits of what the commercial market could absorb at support price levels—and beyond Food for Peace needs—moved into government-held stocks.

In the past six years, these stocks have declined. In fact, the combination of efforts I have just listed—bolstered by new legislation and the support of the farm and business communities—has brought an end to the mountainous surpluses of the Fifties. Prices have been strengthened, and farm income has been sharply boosted.

I only wish I could tell you that all our problems are solved—that the balance in agriculture we are enjoying for the first time in half a century will continue—and that future farm production will keep steady pace with demand.

I can't do that. We must all accept the fact—here and now—that the technological revolution in agriculture is really just beginning . . . and that the production potential it promises for tomorrow staggers today's imagination.

Bear in mind that in 1966—with relative supply-demand balance in the marketplace—your government in effect "bought" about 60 million acres out of production. Even with large increases in plantings to meet world demand and build reserves of wheat and feed grains to safer levels, our programs will continue to help farmers hold 30 to 35 million acres out of production in 1967.

If all that acreage, plus the steadily accelerating production per acre, were turned loose . . . the result would be chaos.

If we ignore the lessons of history, and let supply outrace demand again, we could plunge ourselves right back into the predicament of 1960, a predicament it has taken us six years to overcome.

We can only avoid this predicament by the disciplined use of judgment, reason and vision, for we know that adjusting farm output expansion to effective demand in the years immediately ahead will be infinitely more difficult than it has ever been before.

Yet adjust it we must.

This we can do in the New Era of American Agriculture. For by trial and error, and in the traditional pragmatic American way, we have developed the necessary tools. With cooperation among producers, the trade, agribusiness and government—we can hold a workable balance between supply and demand, maintain economic strength in agriculture, and encourage continued scientific and technological breakthroughs . . . and do it with accelerating efficiency.

For many years now, I have been talking about a National Food Budget. This implies a careful advance determination of what demand will be—how much must be provided for commercial use at home and abroad, and how much must be produced for needy, hungry people at home and overseas.

With the inducements of voluntary programs, our farmers can then set the stage to produce it. Thus they will produce for use . . . real use . . . and not for storage.

Farmers will be able to move acreage in and out of production as it is needed . . . and the market will return fair parity income to the family farm of adequate size.

Admittedly, we can't be precise about this. Weather variations, for example, can make an enormous difference in production. With 70 million acres growing feed grains, a 10-bushel-per-acre variation means 700,000,000 bushels difference in available feed grains. Nevertheless, we can make allowance for such variations, and the free market and the farmers' holding power can carry most of our reserve.

The next few years are both crucial . . . and promising. I say crucial because it is so important that the farmer and his government use the new farm programs wisely and efficiently. If they do—and get good results—then Congress undoubtedly will improve and extend these programs in 1969. I say promising, because the population and income explosions taking place around the world almost certainly will continue to stimulate a strong demand for food.

Prices, then, should be good . . . and income should grow for both the farmer and for the agribusiness which serves him and the consumer.

In such fashion—and with the balance that comes from mature judgment based on experience—we can look forward to a future of abundance for America . . . and prosperity for the farmer and for those who fashion and move his produce to the tables of the world.

I conclude, then, on a note of positive optimism.

I envision the income of farm operators as commensurate with their contribution to American society—income fully comparable with that earned by other business owners, executives, and managers.

I envision a vast flow of the products of American farms to Africa and Latin America, as well as to Europe and Asia—sales for dollars through regular commercial channels.

I envision the continued contribution of American food aid, technical and capital assistance to the developing nations of the world until that time when they are able to sustain themselves.

I envision an American countryside rich in beauty—with the doors wide open to economic opportunity—a countryside which once again will exemplify the good life.

Agriculture's journey to the Year 2000 can be a useful . . . and a pleasant one. I think it will.

ALLEGHENY AIRLINES ACHIEVES NOTABLE RECORD DURING 18 YEARS OF CARRYING PASSENGERS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, at 7 a.m. on Monday, March 7, 1949, a twin-engine DC–3 bearing the insignia of All American Airlines pulled away from a gate at Washington National Airport; thus opening the first page on a major chapter in the log of American commercial aviation.

It was the first passenger flight of what is today Allegheny Airlines and marked the transition of this progressive carrier from airmail pickup and delivery, begun in 1939, to its first tentative step into the rapidly emerging field of transporting people by air.

Allegheny carried about 35 passengers that first day and only 809 during the month of March 1949.

On March 1, 1967, Allegheny boarded 6,753 passengers—or more than eight times the number carried during the entire month of March 1949.

Allegheny's bold step into passenger service was made with a fleet of 10 Douglas DC–3 piston engine aircraft.

Today, the airline's fleet consists of one DC–9 fanjet, 17 Convair 580 jet props, 10 F–27J jet props, and seven Convair 440 piston engine aircraft. An additional seven Convair 440's are in various stages of conversion to jet-powered configuration and by mid-1967 the airline will be 100 percent jet powered.

Plans call for the fleet to consist at yearend of six Douglas DC–9 series 30 fanjets, a 100-passenger extended version of the present 75 passenger model, 33 Convair 580, and 10 F–27J.

An additional six DC–9 series 30 jets are slated for delivery during 1968 and options are held on six more.

Allegheny's initial passenger routes served 45 cities in seven States, while today's system brings modern jet-prop planes and jet-powered air service to more than 60 cities in 13 States, including West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

During its first month of operation, Allegheny flew 39,817 scheduled revenue miles over its 579-mile system. For comparison purposes, the February 1967, scheduled revenue-mile total was 1,494,970, flown over a system including slightly more than 2,000 unduplicated route miles.

These comparative statistics highlight how Allegheny Airlines has emerged as a leader in the regional airline industry and is providing the excellent service to many small and intermediate size cities that would otherwise very likely be without scheduled airline service.

Allegheny further solidified its position of leadership during 1966 by becoming one of the first two regional airlines to top 2 million passenger boardings in a single year, and led the industry in boardings of airmail, freight, and express.

THE DECLINE IN WHEAT PRICES

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, numerous comments and statements have been made and editorials have been written in recent weeks concerning the decline in wheat prices. As usual, attempts are made to find a whipping boy.

And, as usual, the most convenient target is the administration, Secretary Freeman, and the Department of Agriculture.

The latest and most erroneous explanation for the decline of wheat prices and the speculative fluctuation of the wheat market is that the Department of Agriculture seriously miscalculated in forecasting in the 1966 world wheat crop last summer.

It is charged that the Department underestimated world production of wheat and that when the total production figures were finally announced in January, this had a depressing effect on the market.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

This morning I checked with Secretary Freeman's office and I have been furnished with a copy of an official USDA release dated July 18, 1966, which states:

> On the basis of present indications, a record world wheat crop is in the making . . . The prospective world crop is forecast at 9.4 billion bushels, compared with a near record in 1965 of 9 billion bushels and the previous record in 1964 of 9.3 billion bushels.

Mr. President, in the interest of accuracy and truth, I ask unanimous consent that the entire release be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, July 18, 1966]

PROSPECTS SEEN FOR RECORD WORLD WHEAT CROP

On the basis of present indications, a record world wheat crop is in the making, the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported today.

The prospective world crop is forecast at 9.4 billion bushels, compared with a near record in 1965 of 9 billion bushels and the previous record in 1964 of 9.3 billion bushels.

In making the report, the Department emphasized that its appraisal covers prospects not only in countries where harvest already has begun, but also in Southern Hemisphere areas where planting is just being completed.

Prospects for record production in Canada overshadow the recent forecast of a U.S. wheat crop only slightly above average, the Department said.

Australia has seeded more than 20 million acres to wheat—2 million above the previous record.

Argentina's wheat acreage is estimated at over 16 million acres—20 percent above a year ago and the largest since 1950.

The wheat outlook in the Soviet Union has been described as "good." Production is expected to be substantially above the 1965 crop of 1.7 billion bushels, and could well approach the 1964 total of 2.1 billion.

Communist China is an exception to the generally favorable wheat situation in major producing areas. Production this year will be even smaller than last year's poor crop. The drought that began in the winter of 1964–65 still persists in the northern part of the winter wheat belt.

Reports indicate that Canada's crop could well total 750 million bushels—some 25 million above the previous record set in 1963. Canadian farmers seeded a record 30 million acres. The crop, now heading, has made favorable progress throughout wide areas of the Prairie Provinces as a result of warm weather and adequate moisture.

Australia's wheat acreage is at a record or near-record level in all states, with most of the increase in New South Wales and Western Australia. Crops are off to a good start, but in areas affected by drought last year adequate followup rains will be needed to assure satisfactory yields.

The Argentine Government encouraged growers to seed a large acreage this year because of short carryover supplies. Timely rains have improved prospects.

The Soviet Union, despite the fact that it is buying about 150 million bushels of wheat this year, mainly from Canada, is expected to harvest a crop in excess of 2 billion bushels. Production in the relatively small winter wheat area was good. Weather data, observers' reports, and press dispatches indicate that prospects also are favorable for the 120 million acres seeded to spring wheat.

Western Europe's harvest may approach the record outturn of 1965. France's wheat acreage was down 11 percent but weather has favored high yields. West Germany's crop will be good.

Prospects in Eastern Europe outside the Soviet Union also are good.

Turkey is expected to harvest a record crop this year, and production will be large in Iran. Gains in these countries will more than offset reduced output in some other Eastern Mediterranean and North African countries.

India's wheat crop, harvested early this year, was good. (The shortfall in India's food grain production was mainly in other crops, such as rice, sorghums, and millets.) Pakistan's wheat harvest was a good average crop. Japan's crop will be below normal, due both to reduced acreage and yields.

Mr. MONTOYA. In addition, Mr. President, in October 1966, the Foreign Agriculture Circular, an official publication of the Department of Agriculture, reaffirmed its previous forecast of another record world wheat crop.

These forecasts were made available to all the press and the grain trade and wheat producers had access to this information.

As it turned out, the Department's forecasts in July were remarkably accurate and there is absolutely no basis for anyone to imply that the decline of wheat prices was caused by inaccurate forecasts.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 355) to improve the operation of the legislative branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will resume the consideration of the bill.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I observe the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The pending business is the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may require to the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio, the time not to be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

WE SHOULD SCRAP PRESENT SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the time has clearly come to correct the inequities and remove the uncertainties created by our present draft laws. President Johnson has proposed that 19-year-olds be drafted first under a national lottery plan; this reform and others in our Selective Service System should be implemented as soon as possible.

When the present Selective Service Act was passed in 1948, it was assumed that the obligations of military service would be borne equally by all young Americans. However, as the President clearly pointed out in his message to the Congress, the selective service system has drifted from its original concept of equality. Apparently too many professional athletes secured deferment as did too many who were exempted to attend college or because they had married.

For example, deferments too frequently favor those who can afford to attend college and those whose educations qualify them to enter critical occupations, so-called. The plain fact of the matter is that today young men with financial resources or with parents with financial resources are in a better position to secure deferment from the draft by going to college or by marrying young and having children.

Furthermore, the present system of assigning draft quotas to each State which in turn assigns quotas to local draft boards is inequitable. This results in thousands of different criteria for deferment. For instance, a local draft board in Ohio may decide to induct a young man who, if he lived in another State—or for that matter in another jurisdiction in Ohio—would be deferred. Since available pools of eligible draftees differ from one draft board jurisdiction to another, consideration given to the problems of individual potential draftees varies from one draft board to the next.

Although there are broad national outlines establishing deferment criteria under present law, the interpretation of these criteria and the pressures for meeting draft quotas vary considerably. At present too much discretion is given to members of local selective service boards.

President Johnson's proposal to reverse the order of induction, to start at the bottom of the age scale or close to it, instead of the top, makes sense. For those eligible to be drafted, the decision, one way or another, will come earlier and therefore will be less disruptive to their family lives and careers. Many of the problems raised by deferments claimed for married men and those with dependents will be avoided.

All Americans fervently hope that the peacetime draft can eventually be done away with and military needs met by trained volunteers. However, as President Johnson pointed out, we cannot realistically expect to meet our present commitments or our future requirements with a military force relying exclusively on volunteers. Therefore, during our involvement in the conflict in Vietnam it is of utmost importance that the selective service laws operate fairly. As they are now constituted, they no more meet our military requirements in this grim war period than would horse cavalry, B-25's of World War II, or Krag Jorgenson rifles used at the turn of the century.

Mr. President, some Members of the Congress disagree with the President's plans and have indicated that they will do their utmost to thwart his efforts to bring our antiquated draft laws up to date. I am hopeful that these Congressmen—in particular the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee—will not be allowed to cripple the President's freedom to improve the selective service system. It is perhaps noteworthy that many of those most violently opposed to President Johnson's attempt to reform our selective service laws are also those who urge escalation and expansion of the war in Vietnam and bombing more targets in north Vietnam. In fact most if not all of them favor unrestricted warfare against North Vietnam and even bombing airfields in Red China. They seem eager to send more young American boys to fight a war in a land 10,000 miles from our shores which is of no strategic importance to the defense of our Nation. They have urged sending more warplanes and risking the precious lives of more of our pilots in bombing targets in or near Hanoi and Haiphong. However it appears that they are now unwilling that this burden be borne fairly and equally by all young Americans, regardless of race or family resources.

Mr. President, in this grim period of international anarchy, the Nation requires that young men must serve. However, in this land of equals, men must be selected as equals to serve. We must have the fairest system that can be devised for making that selection. There is no one pat answer. I believe that the suggested changes set forth by the President yesterday will go far toward establishing a fairer, more logical, and more equitable method for inducting young men into our Armed Forces.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 355) to improve the operation of the legislative branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may require to the distinguished President pro tempore of the Senate, the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to temporarily setting aside the pending amendment to consider the amendments of the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona?

The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I send to the desk two technical amendments relating to sections 102 and 103 of the bill, S. 355, and I ask for their immediate consideration.

I have been advised by the manager of the bill that it is the intent of the Special Committee on the Organization of the Congress that these sections not apply to the Committee on Appropriations. These two technical amendments will assure what is the intent of the committee. I have cleared these amendments with the manager of the bill, the chairman of the special committee, Mr.

MONRONEY, and I ask that they be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 11, after line 24, insert the following:
>
> "(i) The foregoing provisions of this section do not apply to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives."
>
> On page 14, after line 3, insert the following:
>
> "(f) The foregoing provisions of this section do not apply to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives."

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require.

For the past 20 years the Congress has operated under the provision of section 133(a) of the original act which provides that the provisions applying to standing committees of the House and Senate specifically exempt the Committees on Appropriations.

I read from section 133(a) of that act:

> Each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives (except the Committees on Appropriations) shall fix regular weekly, biweekly, or monthly meeting days for the transaction of business before the committee, and additional meetings may be called by the chairman as he may deem necessary.

The bill then in subsections (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f) of that section details what each such committee shall do.

We have repeatedly discussed this in the debate on the pending bill. In fact, amendments have been offered by other committee chairmen to give them the same exemptions that the Appropriation Committee has enjoyed from the blanket committee procedures provided in the act of 1946 and also in the pending bill. In addition, the pending bill provides proposed rules and regulations and requirements for the Committee on Appropriations.

It is crystal clear throughout the entire proceedings of the past 20 years and from the act of 1946 that the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations were exempt from these restrictions.

The language that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has offered will restate that so that there can be no question concerning this practice.

The committee agrees to accept the amendments.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Arizona.

The amendments were agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA].

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I yield myself 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, technically the pending amendment has for its purpose the deletion of title V of S. 355.

In reality and effect, it calls for deferring action on amending the Federal Regulations of Lobbying Act of 1946 until a more thorough and complete plan of revision of that act can be placed before the Congress.

Such a revision is in process of preparation by the Department of Justice. This is being done pursuant to the President's recommendation—in his state of the Union message—for tightening our laws regulating lobbying.

That revision will be wider in scope than the amendments contained in title V. The transmittal to Congress of the recommendations will occur at an early date. I have been informed to that effect by the newly confirmed Attorney General.

The Senate should await the arrival of the President's recommendations.

It should not take action on title V at this time.

POWER AND DUTY OF CONGRESS TO REGULATE LOBBYING ACTIVITIES

The power and the duty of Congress to legislate regulation of lobbying activities is not doubted. Assurance of proper conduct in lobbying activities is imperative to maintain the integrity of the basic governmental process, to wit, legislating. It is necessary in order to warrant continued public confidence in the legislative branch of the Government.

The 1946 enacted Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act was an effort to legislate in this field. It did not seek to prohibit lobbying. But it did seek a "modicum of information" from those who for hire attempt to influence legislation or who collect or spend funds for that purpose. It sought to bring to Congress information as to who is being hired; who is putting up the money; and how much.

Such legislation is desirable and legitimate in principle. However, it does have its limitations of two general characteristics: first, constitutional, so that none of the guarantees in our organic law will be violated in the provisions of that law. Secondly, inasmuch as it is made into a criminal statute with penalties of fines and imprisonment, the requirements and requisites of criminal statutes should be abided by.

THE 1946 ACT NEEDS COMPLETE REVISION

The 1964 act has not been effective or workable. The history of its litigation and of its enforcement or lack of any effective enforcement clearly shows this.

No conviction has ever been secured under it in a contested case in the 20 years of its history.

As I remember the figures, some four prosecutions were had under the act and there was only one conviction. That was as a result of a plea of guilty.

Large parts of it have been held unconstitutional. In fact, the bulk of the ground sought to be covered by the act as originally written by Congress has been nullified by the Supreme Court. Parts have been held constitutional, but only after deletion by the Supreme Court of much language—and adding other language. These facts clearly stand out in the language of the Harriss case and in the actual holding of the court therein.

TITLE V AMENDMENTS WERE NOT SUITABLY PROCESSED

Congress is deeply indebted and highly grateful to the Special Committee on Organization of the Congress for its monumental labors in formulating the pending bill of S. 355.

It delved into a subject long in need of treatment. It studied a long list and large variety of perplexing, vexatious problems relating to the national legislative process. They have been patient and conscientious in their labors. For all this they are to be commended.

That committee was sensitive to and aware of the inadequacies of the present statute regulating lobbying. It courageously undertook to propose amendments which it believed would improve the present law. They are contained in title V of the pending bill.

This Senator respectfully suggests, however, that the title V amendments will not achieve the desirable and declared goal of making the law workable, effective, and enforceable. The amendments do not sufficiently restructure and revise the present law to overcome the proven failure and breakdown as a meaningful statute of regulation with criminal penalties attached.

A number of understandable reasons account for this inadequate result.

No hearings were held nor any testimony taken on title V provisions.

There was no testimony taken on title V provisions, with the exception of some testimony given prior to their formulation by a gentleman from the Congressional Quarterly. With that exception, so far as I know, no hearings were held on these title V amendments.

The Department of Justice was not asked for its opinion or recommendations. If there have been any communications, they certainly do not appear in the RECORD, and the Senate has not been informed in that regard.

The Comptroller General was not called upon for his analysis and suggestions. Title V seeks to confer upon him the duty of administering the act and to vest in him certain duties and powers.

Neither the bar generally nor any of its associations was given an opportunity to be heard on the wisdom, merit, or soundness of the proposed amendments after they were formulated. It is true that they had time to appear. But not knowing what specific amendments were to be proposed, the bar would certainly be warranted in thinking that nothing would be done on this matter, particularly in view of the message from the President in his state of the Union message.

At this point, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a resolution of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia, which bears the date of February 3, 1967, on this score.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE BAR ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WITH RESPECT TO TITLE V, S. 355, 90TH CONGRESS

BACKGROUND

It has come to the attention of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia that the proposed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967, S. 355, contains, in Title V, a series of amendments to the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. The bulk of the provisions of S. 355 relate solely to the internal organization and operation of the Congress, its members, committees and staffs; Title V, however, would, if enacted, have a far reaching impact on members of the public who seek to exercise their Constitutional right of petition to Congress.

While the Bar Association recognizes the need for some modification of the Regulation of Lobbying Act, it is seriously concerned that the amendments proposed in S. 355 require further study and revision, and the evolution of additional legislative history in order to protect the public. The Bar Association wishes to take an active and immediate part in the necessary work.

Among other matters, the Title V amendments would broaden the scope and application of the Act by changing the word "principal" to "substantial", a change which would inject a whole new set of ambiguities into the statute, ambiguities which should be minimized in the statute itself and which also require the development of an adequate and comprehensive legislative history to aid in construction.

In addition, Title V would commit the administration of the Regulation of Lobbying Act to the Comptroller General, who, as an agent of the Congress, would be authorized to promulgate regulations under the Act having the force and effect of criminal statutes, without providing the members of the public with the protection afforded by the Administrative Procedure Act in the rulemaking process in the Executive Branch.

Now therefore:

The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, through its Board of Directors, hereby resolves,

(1) That the Administrative Law Section of the Association, through its appropriate subcommittee, is hereby authorized and requested to convey at once, to the appropriate individual members of the Congress, to the appropriate staffs and committees of Congress, and to the Department of Justice and other officials, the concern of the Association with respect to the matters set forth above, and is further authorized and requested to confer and work with such officials in an effort to develop proposed statutory revisions and an adequate legislative history through hearings and otherwise in order to avoid the aforementioned problems inherent in the present Title V of S. 355, and

(2) The Administrative Law Section, through the appropriate subcommittee, is requested forthwith to develop, and within sixty days to propose, for consideration by the Bar Association, such revisions in the Regulation of Lobbying Act as such Section may, on the basis of the work accomplished pursuant to paragraph (1) above, deem to be necessary and appropriate to accomplish the basic purposes of the Act, while avoiding the aforesaid problems inherent in the present Title V of S. 355.

Approved by the Board of Directors this third day of February, 1967.

By *RAYMOND F. GARRATY,*
Executive Secretary.

Mr. HRUSKA. It is legitimate that they should be heard from. Some of these attorneys will be engaged in activities that may be construed as lobbying, and therefore will call for one type of registration or another. Some of these attorneys are called upon to advise clients, some of whom are attorneys from other jurisdictions, some of whom are lay people or professional people, desiring to come to Washington in regard to the business of Congress. So they have a legitimate interest.

The failure to invite and consider consultation with interested Government departments and agencies, and with qualified nongovernmental witnesses, is regrettable. It is an invariable practice in congressional committee procedure to request comment from departments and agencies affected by proposed legislation of this nature and impact. It is always prudent to get outside witnesses qualified in the field. Reservation is always made by the committee as to its judgment on any evidence adduced or testimony given. But such hearings are frequently productive of usable and solid guidance when and if suitably adapted to the task at hand.

It should be noted that the Department of Justice did prosecute one case completely through the Supreme Court. It had other experience with the act. Yet, neither any representative of the department nor any member of the bar who participated in any of that litigation was called upon to testify.

Further, members of the bar who were active in the Harriss case are still in practice and available for expression of their views. So are other members of the bar.

But none of these were called to testify. The result is committee recommendation of amendments which were not processed with sufficient thoroughness and discernment to be of great effectiveness or value.

TITLE V AMENDMENTS ARE INADEQUATE

Those amendments are a patchwork of an Act which has a dismal judicial and enforcement history. They approach the task piecemeal and in fragmentary fashion.

First. The amendments do not come to grips with the basic difficulty with the present Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. This difficulty has always been lack of definition as to what is meant by the language "to influence directly or indirectly the passage or defeat by the Congress of the United States." Until Congress can describe more precisely what is meant by it, anyone seeking to comply with the Act will have an almost insurmountable problem, even with the best will in the world, in knowing what, if anything, must be reported in order to avoid the potential criminal penalties prescribed. The Supreme Court had great difficulty with this point. It resorted to actually adding and subtracting certain words to produce the result it desired. This tortured construction is not clarified, or even mentioned, in title V. It should be.

Second. The Supreme Court also had great difficulty with the word "principal" and "principally" in the language of section 307 which makes the act applicable to any person who directly or indirectly, solicits, collects, or receives money or any other thing of value to be used principally, to aid, or the principal purpose of which person is to aid in the accomplishment of any of the following purposes."

Here, too, it indulged in semantic gymnastics, with a frolic into the field of legislative history and intent, in order to arrive at what the Court held to be its understanding of what Congress meant to say and provide. It even expanded the phrase "the principal purpose," so that it now—under the opinion—refers to any contribution which "in substantial part" is used to influence legislation. Perhaps the addition of language at this point was to compensate for words deleted elsewhere.

When title V substitutes "substantial" and "substantially," respectively, for "principal" and "principally," is any good accomplished? Or does it additionally confuse the situation in view of some of the other language changes wrought by the opinion? On this score, Congress should not speculate and conjecture in the limits of its own concepts and understanding. We should seek and consider the guidance and assistance of those skilled in the art. This element has been denied Congress in the present state of proceedings.

Change of "principal" to "substantial" in the amendments of title V simply compounds vagueness. The new word is one of the most meaningless words which can be used in legislation. In recent consideration of legislation, the Attorney General testified that "substantial" meant anything more than minimal. There are Court cases holding that one-forty-eighth or about 2 percent are a substantial part of the expenditures of an organization.

This is another factor making title V amendments inadequate and the objectionable is this:

Title V vests administration of the act in the Comptroller General. I am aware that the committee and its staff had every good faith in doing that. The Comptroller General is an arm of Congress. He is not included in the organization of Congress itself, but is removed therefrom by a statute, the terms of which give him the capacity for objectivity. But this amendment confers on the Comptroller General the power to promulgate regulations which could have the force and effect of criminal statutes, the violation of any of which would be punishable upon conviction by a fine not exceeding $5,000, or imprisonment for not more than 12 months, or both. The regulations would also be in a field heavily fraught with serious and substantial constitutional implications.

One of the most fundamental rules that Congress has been following for a long time has been that it is a dangerous and highly undesirable practice to allow any agency or department of Government outside of Congress to prescribe regulations which would subject individuals to conviction by fine or by imprisonment if they were violated.

That principle has been violated here. Not only has that principle been violated, but note also that the Comptroller General was not included under the Administrative Procedure Act. One section of that act has to do with rulemaking. It provides that the public is entitled to participate in the process of rulemaking. In this instance, because the Comptroller General is outside the Administrative

Procedure Act he would not be required to invite the public to participate in rulemaking. Second, the Administrative Procedure Act deals with review by the courts. It is important that these points be considered and that Congress consider them.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. MONRONEY. The act as written does not make the Comptroller General an enforcer. It makes him an administrator of the act. Any criminal prosecution made under the act would have to be taken through the Department of Justice, which would receive its report from the Comptroller General. I wish to make that point for the legislative history.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MONRONEY. It is important to this discussion.

Mr. HRUSKA. Yet the Comptroller General is going to formulate the rules and regulations. There would be no appeal from them to the courts under the Administrative Procedures Act.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator misses the point. Only when the Department of Justice finds a complaint made by the Comptroller General, who is the administrator of the act, to be meritorious, can any prosecution take place.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MONRONEY. Therefore, it is the Department of Justice that is the enforcer of the provisions, and it is, of course, subject to all possible restraints of law that obtain in the enforcement of any law. In other words, the Comptroller General is acting as agent for the Congress, reporting to the Department of Justice.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MONRONEY. He cannot bring charges. He must depend on the Department of Justice to take any action brought.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator from Nebraska gets the point clearly and completely. The point of the Senator from Oklahoma has to do with enforcement of the regulation. The point I make relates to the formulation of the regulation. There the Comptroller General is not subject to the Administrative Procedure Act.

The bill last year did not have the *words describing the Comptroller General* as an agent of Congress. That language expressly takes him out of the Administrative Procedure Act. I have been informed, and I believe that qualifying language removing him from the Administrative Procedure Act was not in the *bill as originally reported.*

We should determine what the Attorney General thinks, what the bar associations think, and what Congress thinks about this.

This phase deserves a hard look and *serious study with a view of improvement.*

Constitutional implications and difficulties pervade this subject deeply and substantially.

To be sure, the Supreme Court upheld the Lobbying Act as constitutional. But *this was done at a terrific price. Some* language of the act was deleted and other language inserted. The Court struck out entirely as not covered by the act several types of "lobbying" which are expressly contained in the act. It struck out only a part of activities in other types of "lobbying" as under the act.

The end result was very disappointing. First of all, in the language of Justice Jackson, who dissented:

> The clearest feature of the Court's decision is that it leaves the country under an Act which is not much like any Act passed by Congress.

Mr. President, that is about the size of it. Serious questions, constitutional in nature, enter into this matter. There is no question about that.

The first amendment guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of press. Their ramifications pervade the act. The Harriss case gives us little guidance on this point. One of the conclusions reached by Justice Jackson was:

> I think we should point out the defects and limitations which condemn this Act so clearly that the court cannot sustain it as written, and leave its rewriting to Congress. After all, it is Congress that should know from experience both the good in the right of petition and the evils of professional lobbying.

Second, the act was in reality rendered ineffective and unenforceable. It was shorn of much intended coverage.

In its 20 years of existence not a single conviction was obtained under it in a contested case.

In spite of all these factors, the committee report on title V is all but silent on constitutional considerations.

The only reference which it does make to constitutionality is an erroneous one. In seeking to justify its repeal of section 310(b) of the present act, the report declares that this subsection "has already been nullified by a Supreme Court decision which found it unconstitutional; and thus its repeal is technical only."

The fact is that in the only case the Supreme Court spoke upon the point was the Harriss case. It did so in these words at page 647 of the opinion:

> This section, the appellees argue is a patent violation of the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and the right to petition the government.
>
> We find it unnecessary to pass on this contention.

And the Court did not pass on it.

The Senate would do well to pay heed to the admonition of Justice Jackson:

> However, to reach the real evils of lobbying without cutting into the constitutional right of petition is a difficult and delicate task for which the Court's action today gives little guidance. I am in doubt whether the Act as construed does not permit applications which would abridge the right of petition, for which clear, safe and workable channels must be maintained. I think we should point out the defects and limitations which condemn this Act so clearly that the Court cannot sustain it as written, and leave its rewriting to Congress. After all, it is Congress that should know from experience both the good in the right of petition and the evils of professional lobbying.

The Harriss case gave little guidance. It could not sustain the act as written. It proceeded to rewrite it, disregarding *vast portions of the original text;* and almost totally rejecting the Government's theories and concept of construction and interpretation of the law.

Now comes title V—It seeks to impose upon the wreckage of the Lobbying Act some changes which do not reach the core of the problem but which do add to the confusion and ambiguities, instead of reducing them.

In view of all this, the Senate would act responsibly and wisely in deferring action on the subject of amendment till arrival of the President's recommendations. Suitable committee referral and processing would be most necessary to prepare the revision of the act for action by this body as a whole.

Mr. President, I have prepared, and include in my statement an analysis and commentary on the case of *United States* v. *Harriss*, 347 U.S. 612, which was decided in 1953.

I ask unanimous consent that the analysis be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES V. HARRISS

The 1946 Act was held constitutional by the Supreme Court in the case of United States vs. Harriss, 347 U.S. 612 (1953). However, the grounds for the decision were labored and somewhat strained. It was a 5 to 3 decision, one Justice not participating. Dissent was vigorous. Justice Douglas in his dissent commented on the view adopted by the Court:

"The difficulty is that the Act has to be rewritten and words actually added and subtracted to produce that result."

In his dissent, Justice Jackson stated on this point:

". . . I recall few cases in which the Court has gone so far in rewriting an Act."

And in the closing sentence of that dissent is the following:

". . . I think we should point out the defects and limitations which condemn this Act so clearly that the Court cannot sustain it as written, and leave its rewriting to Congress. After all, it is Congress that should know from experience both the good in the right of petition and the evils of professional lobbying."

To reach the real evils of lobbying without cutting into real and substantial constitutional rights is a difficult and delicate task; and one which was not executed very satisfactorily in the law's present form.

Congress should address itself to a rewriting. But it should await the President's recommendations before doing so.

Upon receiving them, reference should be made to a regular committee processing and *consideration* in due course by the Congress.

The appellees in the Harriss case were charged by information with violation of the Lobbying Act. One of the defenses asserted was that the Act is so vague and indefinite as to be unconstitutional. It was argued that this statute either forbids or requires the doing of an act in terms so vague that men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning and differ as to its application. No one may be required to at peril of life, liberty or property to speculate as to the meaning of penal statutes. All are entitled to be clearly informed as to what the State commands or forbids. If it is so *vague, then it fails to meet the standards* required by due process of law.

It was contended that the Act plainly applies (1) to persons who pay others to present views to Congress either in committee hearings or by letters or communications to Congress or Congressmen, and (2) to persons who spend money to induce others to communicate with Congress. Justice Douglas in his dissent (at page 629) wrote:

"The Court adopts that view, with one minor limitation which the Court places on the Act—that only persons who solicit, collect or receive money are included. The difficulty is that the Act has to be rewritten and words actually added and subtracted to produce that result."

Justice Douglas then pointed out that Section 307 makes the Act applicable to anyone who "directly or indirectly" solicits, collects or receives contributions "to be used principally to aid, or the principal purpose of which person is to aid" in either (1) the "passage or defeat of any legislation" by Congress, or (2) "to influence directly or indirectly the passage or defeat of any legislation" by Congress.

Thereupon the Justice undertakes to explain how the Court disregarded large portions of the scope of the language of the statute, obviously holding them to be beyond constitutional limits, how the Supreme Court deleted certain words from its interpretation of the Act, and inserted other words.

Section 302(e) of the Act contains an all inclusive definition of "legislation", Justice Douglas pointed out. It means, "bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House. Hence, when certain activities for passage or defeat of any legislation are dealt with in the Act, such reference would include not only pending or proposed legislation, but any matter within the legitimate domain of Congress.

But as Justice Douglas pointed out, the Court drew the line between "direct communication with Congress" and all other activities pertaining to the legitimate domain of Congress, but in which pressures might be brought upon it, nevertheless. Yet the Act is as much concerned with one as with the other.

Then the Justice turned his attention to the subject of influencing "directly or indirectly" the passage or defeat of any such measure in Congress. He wrote as follows, starting at page 630:

"What contributions might be used 'principally to aid' in influencing 'directly or indirectly, the passage or defeat' of any such measure by Congress? When is one retained for the purpose of influencing the 'passage or defeat of any legislation?'

"(1) One who addresses a trade union for repeal of a labor law certainly hopes to influence legislation.

"(2) So does a manufacturers' association which runs ads in newspapers for a sales tax.

"(3) So does a farm group which undertakes to raise money for an educational program to be conducted in newspapers, magazines, and on radio and television, showing the need for revision of our attitude on world trade.

"(4) So does a group of oil companies which puts agents in the Nation's capital to sound the alarm at hostile legislation, to exert influence on Congressmen to defeat it, to work on the Hill for the passage of laws favorable to the oil interests.

"(5) So does a business, labor, farm, religious, social, racial, or other group which raises money to contact people with the request that they write their Congressman to get a law repealed or modified, to get a proposed law passed, or themselves to propose a law.

"Are all of these activities covered by the Act? If one is included why are not the others? The Court apparently excludes the kind of activities listed in categories (1), (2), and (3) and includes part of the activities in (4) and (5)—those which entail contacts with the Congress.

"There is, however, difficulty in that course, a difficulty which seems to me to be insuperable. I find no warrant in the Act for drawing the line, as the Court does, between 'direct communication with Congress' and other pressures on Congress. The Act is as much concerned with one as with the other.

"The words 'direct communication with Congress' are not in the Act. Congress was concerned with the raising of money to aid in the passage or defeat of legislation, whatever tactics were used. But the Court not only strikes out one whole group of activities—to influence 'indirectly'—but substitutes a new concept for the remaining group—to influence 'directly.' To influence 'directly' the passage or defeat of legislation includes any number of methods—for example, nationwide radio, television or advertising programs promoting a particular measure, as well as the 'buttonholing' of Congressmen. To include the latter while excluding the former is to rewrite the Act.

"This is not a case where one or more distinct types of 'lobbying' are specifically proscribed and another and different group defined in such loose, broad terms as to make its definition vague and uncertain. Here if we give the words of the Act their ordinary meaning, we do not know what the terminal points are. Judging from the words Congress used, one type of activity which I have enumerated is as much proscribed as another."

When Congress reaches a point of considering amendments to a statute which falls under such severe criticism, note should be made thereof and appropriate action engaged in. The decision in the Harriss case was 5 to 3 in the Supreme Court. One judge did not participate. It should be clear in any event, however, that the reasoning and the logic of what Justice Douglas spelled out should receive the earnest attention and best efforts of Congress toward the goal of attaining a more satisfactorily written law which prescribes certain conduct under pain of severe penalties by way of fine and imprisonment.

FIRST AMENDMENT CONSIDERATIONS

The need for being specific and clear in statutes of this kind becomes especially apparent when we reach the field of the First Amendment. It provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people . . . to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Justice Douglas raises the question as to whether Congress can require one to register before he writes an article, makes a speech, files an advertisement, appears on radio or television, or writes a letter seeking to influence existing, pending or proposed legislation; or in fact any matter within the legitimate domain of Congress, and not pending legislation alone. On this point, he wrote:

"That would pose a considerable question under the First Amendment, as *Thomas* v. *Collins*, 323 U.S. 516, indicates. I do not mean to intimate that Congress is without power to require disclosure of the real principals behind those who come to Congress (or get others to do so) and speak as though they represent the public interest, when in fact they are undisclosed agents of special groups. I mention the First Amendment to emphasize why statutes touching this field should be 'narrowly drawn to prevent the supposed evil' (see *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut*, 310 U.S. 296, 307) and not be cast in such vague and indefinite terms as to cast a cloud on the exercise of constitutional rights. Cf. *Stromberg* v. *California*, 283 U.S. 359, 369; *Thornhill* v. *Alabama*, 310 U.S. 88, 97–98; *Winters* v. *New York*, 333 U.S. 507, 509; *Joseph Burstyn, Inc.* v. *Wilson*, 343 U.S. 495, 504–505.

"If that rule were relaxed, if Congress could impose registration requirements on the exercise of First Amendment rights, saving to the courts the salvage of the good from the bad, and meanwhile causing all who might possibly be covered to act at their peril, the law would in practical effect be a deterrent to the exercise of First Amendment rights. The Court seeks to avoid that consequence by construing the law narrowly as applying only to those who are paid to 'buttonhole' Congressmen or who collect and expend moneys to get others to do so. It may be appropriate in some cases to read a statute with the gloss a court has placed on it in order to save it from the charge of vagueness. See *Fox* v. *Washington*, 236 U.S. 273, 277. But I do not think that course is appropriate here.

"The language of the Act is so broad that one who writes a letter or makes a speech or publishes an article or distributes literature or does many of the other things with which appellees are charged has no fair notice when he is close to the prohibited line. No construction we give it today will make clear retroactively the vague standards that confronted appellees when they did the acts now charged against them as criminal. Cf. *Pierce* v. *United States*, 314 U.S. 306, 311. Since the Act touches on the exercise of First Amendment rights, and is not narrowly drawn to meet precise evils, its vagueness has some of the evils of a continuous and effective restraint."

The guarantees provided for in the First Amendment are highly prized by all Americans. Again, in view of the very persuasive fashion in which Justice Douglas wrote, it would behoove Congress to very seriously and earnestly apply its own talent and wisdom to the issue of constitutionality of the 1946 Lobbying Act. The responsibility of construing constitutionality of any of its measures belongs as totally and compellingly to the Congress as it does to the Executive or the Judiciary. It is submitted that Congress would be derelict if it did not recanvass this field now that it is getting into the subject of amending and revising an Act which underwent such severe stress and strain as the Lobbying Act of 1946.

MORE ON VAGUENESS

Justice Jackson in his dissent observed that the clearest feature of the Harriss case was that it began with an Act so mischievously vague that the Government charged with its enforcement did not understand it, because some of the Government's most important assumptions were rejected by the Court's interpretation. He went on to observe, at page 633:

"The clearest feature of the Court's decision is that it leaves the country under an Act which is not much like any Act passed by Congress. Of course, when such a question is before us, it is easy to differ as to whether it is more appropriate to strike out or to strike down. But I recall few cases in which the Court has gone so far in rewriting an Act."

Justice Jackson pointed out that Congress enacted a statute to reach the raising and spending of funds for the purpose of influencing Congressional action directly or indirectly. The Court entirely deleted "indirectly" and narrowed "directly" to mean "direct Communication with Members of Congress." These two constructions leave the Act touching only a part of the practices Congress expressly deemed sinister. Then he observed, (page 635):

"One may rely on today's narrow interpretation only at his peril, for some later Court may expend the Act to include in accordance with its terms, what today the Court excludes. . . . The ex post facto provision of our Constitution has not been held to protect the citizen against a retroactive change in decisional law, but it does against such a prejudicial change in legislation. As long as this statute stands on the books, its vagueness will be a contingent threat to activities which the Court today rules out, the contingency being a change of views by the Court as hereafter constituted."

It should seem obvious to any reasonable mind that it is not wise to leave the scope of a criminal act such the one under scrutiny, close to impinging on the right of petition, dependent upon judicial construction for its limitations.

JUSTICE JACKSON'S ADVICE TO CONGRESS

In the final paragraph of his dissent, Justice Jackson concluded that to reach the evils, real evils, of lobbying without cutting into the Constitutional right of petition is a difficult and delicate task "for which the Court's action today gives little guidance." He stated a doubt whether the act as construed does not permit applications which would abridge the right of petition for which clear, safe, and workable channels must be maintained. His dissent concluded as follows:

"I think we should point out the defects and limitations which condemn this Act so clearly that the Court cannot sustain it as written, and leave its rewriting to Congress. After all, it is Congress that should know from experience both the good in the right of petition and the evils of professional lobbying."

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I have furnished a copy of my statement to the Senator from Oklahoma. He was kind enough to furnish me with a copy of his statement.

By way of summary, I wish to say that the 1946 Lobbying Act has proven to be faulty and inadequate. There are highly compelling reasons for its revision. Not a patchwork treatment. But a thorough, deliberate revision. One which will receive analysis and comment by law enforcement officials, officials who will administer the new law, and members of the bar who will be called upon by their clients for advice as to what acts and conducts are prohibited, those which are required, and of those which are allowable. Upon introduction of such a revision there should be such hearings and study as will permit the congressional committees to make an intelligent and durable decision as to the final content. A reporting thereof should be made to Congress for its enactment with such amendment as the judgment of Congress will call for.

Title V as now before the Senate does not consist of such a revision, nor was it processed as here described.

Mr. President, the Senate should defer further action on amendment of the 1946 Lobbying Act until the President's recommendations are transmitted to Congress. We have been informed that this should be soon.

Meantime, title V should be deleted from further consideration or action as a part of S. 355.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. President, title V of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 amends the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. This act, which was a part of the 1946 reorganization bill, was the first comprehensive congressional effort to provide disclosure requirements for individuals and groups representing special interests in the legislative process.

The existence of lobbying is as old as our Government itself. Our Founding Fathers made mention of it in the Federalist Papers. As early as 1852, the House of Representatives considered restrictions on lobbyists. A Lobby Registration Act was passed by the Senate in 1928—but died for lack of action in the House. Both Houses passed lobby laws in 1935 but could not agree in conference. Legislation was passed to regulate interest groups in the public utilities and maritime field. But, despite this long background, virtually all lobby registration requirements currently in effect flow from the 1946 Reorganization Act.

It seems to me that after all this long history of trying to cope with lobbyists, we only seem to be effective in coping with them when Congress, in seeking to reorganize this machinery, determinedly feels that Congress is entitled to have an honest look at what is going on behind the scene in this right of petition, or lobbying activities, or whatever we may call it.

Certainly, the act has not been completely effective, but I feel that it cannot be written off as something inconsequential because the registration under the act of 1946, according to the highly respected Congressional Quarterly No. 599, in 1949 and 1950 expenditures show about $10,303,000.

Of course, this is not the complete story. It is not as effective as we would like to have it, but it is not inconsequential to have 600 lobbyists register and report the amounts of funds in the performance of their lobbying activities.

We should try to strengthen the bill in the lobbying section. I would prefer amendments from the floor rather than an effort to strike from the bill and kill the provisions for improvement in the lobbying law.

With respect to having this section stricken from the bill—and make no mistake about it, call it what we will, it is a motion to strike—we do not know whether the Committee on the Judiciary will ever report legislation or not. The history is not very encouraging because in all the years of existence of this Government we have had virtually nothing to regulate lobbying coming from the Committee on the Judiciary.

Efforts have been made in other committees. The Judiciary Committee today, even though it is under different leadership, does not and will not be able to promise that we will correct the matters that urgently require attention.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I am glad to yield, on the Senator's time.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. I do not think there is any quarrel with the objectives which the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma seeks in the regulation of lobbying.

My question is this: Has the Department of Justice rendered an option in writing in reference to title V of this proposed act?

Mr. MONRONEY. The Department of Justice has not rendered any opinion; nor have we felt that it was necessary to ask them for a decision on a rule that affects the operation of Congress itself.

I have no better authority for this statement than the statement made by Justice Jackson in the Harriss decision:

> After all, it is the Congress that should know from experience both the good in the writing of peace petitions and the evils of professional lobbying.

The best experts in this case are the Members of Congress that are firmly aware of the activities, that are firmly concerned with the activities, that thoroughly know about it. This did not originate from outside of Congress. It originated from inside Congress. It originated with the first Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress in 1946, and it passed strongly in both Houses.

The joint committee considered this subject a long time—12 men, six from each body. Of course, we are now bringing it before the men who know the most about the problem now, not the Justice Department, but the Members of the Senate.

We are concerned with the problem of what goes on on Capitol Hill. This is our jurisdiction, and our right to protect or at least to identify the sources of money and the forces of men trying, for pecuniary reasons—which they have a particular right to do—to pursue the influencing of legislation. We feel that Congress has the right to know who these forces are. We also feel that the public, as the boss of Congress, has the right to know what is being spent in the many efforts being made to influence legislation. That is all this act provides; namely, to require registration of the men and the money which is being spent in the attempt to influence the passage or advocacy of certain interests.

Mr. CURTIS. Who will enforce it?

Mr. MONRONEY. The enforcement will be by the Justice Department. And the supervision and administration will be by the Comptroller General. The Comptroller General acts as the agent of Congress, to receive these reports so that they will be meaningful in disclosing information to Congress about the men and the money involved in this practice.

Instead of having the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, as before, as agents of Congress, we specify the Comptroller General because we feel that he has the facilities and the accounting experience to prepare meaningful reports which can be condensed and will be easy to file.

This is the reason why the Comptroller General is given certain powers to prescribe the kind and the format of registration. This has been one of the ways in which the act has been evaded. If the Senator has inspected the lists available—and they cover the whole waterfront—he will note that nothing is given us, nothing is clear as to the accounting procedures concerning how the money was spent. One of the largest lobbying organizations—perhaps the largest in the country—says, "We just do not know how to file our statements. Here are all of them—here are all the records for the 50 States." It is hard to break down.

We are trying to provide for a regular form for the filing of these expenses. That is all it amounts to.

Mr. CURTIS. Let me point out again, that there is no quarrel with a good law dealing with this subject, but in light of the long list of difficulties which the Justice Department has had in court in enforcing existing law, I, as one Senator, would have been helped had they been called upon to express their view on what is being attempted here to improve existing law.

Mr. MONRONEY. We do not have to rely solely upon the Justice Department. We know. We know because we have the Supreme Court's decision on the matter. We know the limitations by what the Court has said. That is what the committee is trying to do in perfecting the amendment.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I am glad to yield, on the Senator's time.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator from Oklahoma states that all this does is require the registration of lobbyists so that they will tell where they get their money and for what purpose.

Mr. President, we have no assurance that that will be true, because there is no one in the Department of Justice who can vouch for that construction. Whether this will be the effect of the amendments has not been tested in hearings or otherwise.

The President of the United States, has expressed the idea that the present act is not good enough, that it must be tightened. He has instructed his Attorney General to write a revision, a revision wider in scope than is contained in title 5 of the pending bill. It seems to me that pretty well disposes of the idea we can rely with blind confidence upon the alleged adequacies of the amendments contained in title 5.

Mr. MONRONEY. The recommendations of the joint committee have been in cold type and in broad circulation since last summer, sometime before the President determined that revisions to the 1946 act were needed. The Senator may have better information than I on what the Justice Department is going to propose, but I say that it is our duty to police our own "shop," to get the infomation, and not pass the buck downtown.

The President is not supposed to run the Senate, and no one believes that more strongly than the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], or his colleague [Mr. CURTIS] on that side of the aisle; so it does not register as a valid argument with me that we should wait until the President sends legislation up to us.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, when he says that title V is simply a rule governing our own affairs, I would most respectfully differ with my colleague. It is a subject that the public is deeply interested in, just as they are interested in statutes intended to prevent corrupt practices in the judiciary, or in the executive or in any other place. After all, it will not be Members of Congress who will go to jail for violation of this act, it will be a member of the public. This is an act pertaining to those who want to take advantage of their constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and the right to petition. They have the right to know what is the rule which they must follow, so that they will know when they are within the law and when they are not. The amendments in title V do not meet the ordinary requirements of a criminal statute.

Mr. MONRONEY. I would say to my distinguished friend from Nebraska that I stated clearly that it is the duty of Congress to require a disclosure regarding efforts to influence legislation, and then to make this material public to the people of the United States.

That is our responsibility. This is the whole thrust of title V.

As I know the Senator realizes, upon reading what the policy of disclosure shall be, of what goes on in the influencing of legislation, as to who and how much is being spent, Congress is the proper source to provide the information so that the great newspapers and other publications can make it available to the people of the United States.

Our purpose is not to hide, but to disclose. There is no requirement in our bill to restrict or confine the activities of people who are properly employed to legitimately petition the Congress. We require only that they state who employs whom and how much they are spending and for what cause they are lobbying. This is a very cheap price to pay in a great democracy in return for the right of people, under the right of petition, at all times to talk to Members of Congress, to chairmen of committees, to members of the staffs, and others. But we do have a right to ask for these disclosures. I do not think we have to sit back and wait for the executive department to prod us into doing it.

The act of 1946, which has been in effect over 20 years, has been of some help. Granted that the court has invalidated part of it, it has helped. I think we should now correct the defects in the act. The amendment which we are considering will destroy the provisions intended to correct the known fallacies or defects in the act. We are not trying to bring about a new act. We are trying to bring about a correction, which I shall discuss in a few moments, in order to make the act effective, as I know all the members of the joint committee want, and as I know most Members of the Senate want.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, on my time?

Mr. MONRONEY. Yes. I would appreciate the Senator's using some of his time.

Mr. HRUSKA. It is not as simple as the Senator from Oklahoma says it is; namely, that the Supreme Court has construed it and everybody knows exactly what the situation is and all we have to do is patch it here and there.

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Douglas discussed five situations. The act of 1946 covered influence, direct or indirect. The Supreme Court knocked out indirect influence and construed direct influence of Congress to mean confrontation, face to face, between a lobbyist and a Member of Congress. In his dissenting opinion the Justice asked when it should be considered that one is retained for the purpose of influencing the passage or defeat of any legislation in regard to these situations:

> (1) One who addresses a trade union for repeal of a labor law certainly hopes to influence legislation.
>
> (2) So does a manufacturers' association which runs ads in newspapers for a sales tax.
>
> (3) So does a farm group which undertakes to raise money for an educational program to be conducted in newspapers, magazines, and on radio and television, showing the need for revision of our attitude on world trade.
>
> (4) So does a group of oil companies which puts agents in the Nation's capital to sound the alarm at hostile legislation, to exert influence on Congressmen to defeat it, to work on the Hill for the passage of laws favorable to the oil interests.
>
> (5) So does a business, labor, farm, religious, social, racial, or other group which raises money to contact people with the request that they write their Congressman to get a law repealed or modified, to get a proposed law passed, or themselves to propose a law.

I have read those words from his decision verbatim. Justice Douglas also said:

> Are all of these activities covered by the Act? If one is included why are not the others? The Court apparently excludes the kind of activities listed in categories (1), (2), and (3) and includes part of the activities in (4) and (5)—those which entail contacts with the Congress.

With that statement, can it be said that everybody knows its meaning, and that all one has to do is to register? If the act had been tested in hearings so as to know how it was going to work—which had not been done in 1946 or in 1966—we would have found many defects. The language of Justice Douglas in his dissenting opinion is pretty conclusive on that point.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I am delighted that the Senator from Nebraska has raised this point, as it is a very important point which the bill recognizes. We accept the fact that in Harris decision the Supreme Court ruled that direct lobbying was covered under the act. We are not trying to overturn that decision. There is no question that some acts or circumstances of indirect lobbying by certain persons or groups is not included in this act. That is crystal clear. But there are other problems. We proceeded on the idea of "principal." That seemed to be good language when Bob LaFollette wrote it into the 1946 act. Now, under the Supreme Court decision, "principal" would require that 50 percent or more of the activities of a man or organization be concerned with lobbying. We know that lobbying is not the principal activity of many lobbyists. They do not devote most of their efforts toward it. For that reason we have, I think wisely, modified the language to read "substantial," rather than "principal." This is the concept utilized with relation to tax cases and as applied to tax-exempt foundations.

It is high time we have an act that is subject to normal, reasonable interpretation, and I suspect that the Supreme Court, when the bill is passed, will further interpret the language to some degree, when cases reach it, as they undoubtedly will.

Three important improvements are provided. The last relates to the Comptroller General.

One of the great failures of the previous acts was that while Congress passed an act providing for reporting, it established no guidelines as to the form in which such activities should be reported. It seems to me that a rather standardized form would be beneficial to the lobbyist, as to what information we feel is essential concerning amounts of money or costs of services in the interest of pieces of legislation. If we are going to do what I know the Senator from Nebraska as a Member of the Senate, wants to have done; namely, to tell the public what firms or persons are engaged in lobbying activities, to do those things that we would like to have done, we would prefer to have the reporting in such form that the amounts can be totaled and the people can know the amounts being spent.

For those reasons, we are trying to correct three defects in the law which we have found make the act ineffective.

When the test of the act began in the lower courts, registrations fell from a high of 600 to below 384. The amounts reported to be spent fell from a reporting of $10 million to $4 million.

Does anyone believe that less lobbying is going on now than previously, that there is a smaller number of lobbyists, that less money is being spent now than in 1949, when the first test of the act of 1946 began? I do not see how anyone could believe that. That is why we are proposing these provisions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, how much time do I have left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 41 minutes remaining.

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia in the chair). The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. MONRONEY. After the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress was organized in March 1965 we announced hearings to take testimony on proposals for congressional reorganization, including modifications to the 1946 act.

We had testimony from a representative of the Congressional Quarterly, the only private publication which has systematically reviewed and publicized lobby registrations since 1946. He strongly urged strengthening of the 1946 act, more effective administration and enforcement, and wider public dissemination of registration information. References to this testimony appeared in the joint committee's interim reports of July 8, 1965, and January 19, 1966.

I remind the Senator that the joint committee also had available the various studies of the Lobby Regulation Act which had been conducted since 1946. Hearings were held before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments—now the Government Operations Committee—in 1948. I happened to be one of the witnesses in those hearings.

The House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities conducted a major study in 1951 under the chairmanship of Representative Frank Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. The Buchanan committee had some 10 separate volumes of hearings and issued 12 reports and proposed legislation during their deliberations.

In 1956, then Senator John F. Kennedy conducted hearings before the Governmental Reorganization Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee, accummulated information from over 200 registered lobbyists, and proposed remedial legislation.

The following year, Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN chaired a Special Committee to Investigate Political Activities, Lobbying, and Campaign Contributions. This eight-member, bipartisan committee included such distinguished present Members of this body as Senator ALBERT GORE and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON and equally eminent former Members as John F. Kennedy, Senator Styles Bridges, Senator Barry Goldwater, Senator Edward J. Thye, and Senator William A. Purtell. The McClellan committee took testimony from 146 witnesses and issued a final report proposing sweeping reforms in the 1946 lobbying law.

In 1965, the Senate Rules and Administration Committee reported an original bill modifying the 1946 act to provide for administration of the lobby registration law by the General Accounting Office.

In addition to these congressional studies, the committee had available to it the leading Supreme Court decision interpreting the 1946 act, United States against Harriss, the studies of this legislation prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, and the multitude of articles written by lawyers and political scientists analyzing the weaknesses of the act and recommending various modifications.

Mr. President, I have set forth this background at some length so that the Senate will realize that the recommendations of the joint committee as contained in S. 355 were carefully studied with proper foundation. Indeed, an analysis of our proposed amendments indicates that they follow the consensus reached by critics of the act over the past 21 years. Let me add that the joint committee's report, including these proposals, was published on July 28, 1966, and a bill with the provisions identical to those contained in S. 355 was introduced in both Houses last session. So I am not in sympathy with those who argue that this matter requires additional consideration before Congress can be prepared to act.

Before discussing the act's shortcomings and the proposed improvements contained in title V of this bill, let me outline briefly what the Lobby Registration Act does not do:

It does not prohibit, limit, or penalize lobbying activities in any way. Those who seek to influence legislation are limited in the scope of their activities only by the general criminal statutes. The Lobby Act simply requires registration to identify their interest.

It casts no stigma on private individuals and groups who play such an important part in the legislative process. Its disclosure requirements are far less arduous than those required of public companies by the Securities and Exchange Commission and such registration carries no implication of past or potential wrongdoing.

It does not affect the constitutional right of petition—or even require the registration—of those who spend their own funds for lobbying purposes. The act applies only to those who solicit or receive the funds of others.

It does not—as construed by the Harriss decision—cover many activities clearly designed to influence legislation unless those activities involve "direct communications with Members of Congress" through personal contact or inspiring such communications by others. In other words, the scope of the act is limited and does not include much grassroot lobbying which may build public sentiment for or against legislation and have great impact on the eventual legislative result.

It does not apply to those who appear before congressional committees or assist others in the preparation of testimony.

It does not include newspapers or periodicals which editorialize or carry advertisements calculated to influence legislation.

But the act does have an important purpose. Perhaps it was best stated by Chief Justice Warren in the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Harriss case:

> Present-day legislative complexities are such that individual Members of Congress cannot be expected to explore the myriad pressures to which they are regularly subjected. Yet full realization of the American ideal of government by elected representatives depends to no small extent on their ability to properly evaluate such pressures. Otherwise, the voice of the people may all too easily be drowned out by the voice of special-interest groups seeking favored treatment while masquerading as proponents of the public weal. This is the evil which the Lobbying Act was designed to help prevent.
>
> Toward that end, Congress has not sought to prohibit these pressures. It has merely provided for a modicum of information from those who for hire attempt to influence legislation or who collect or spend funds for that purpose.

The act has been criticized from its inception as failing to meet its intended ends. The 1948 Government Operations hearings sounded a warning note although no specific changes were recommended. The 1951 Buchanan committee concluded that the act was disclosing only a small fraction of actual lobbying expenditures and should be radically modified. The 1954 Harriss decision made it clear that the Supreme Court would construe the act strictly with the result that many individuals, and groups with obvious legislative interests would be beyond its purview. The Kennedy proposals in 1956 advocated far more sweeping revisions than included in S. 355. The McClellan 1957 study suggested extending the act to grassroots lobbying, and the sending of false communications to Members. The 1965 original bill from the Rules and Administration Committee echoed the McClellan proposal that GAO administration of the act was necessary.

While the critics have been many, there is a central theme underlying the criticism. In fact, there is little disagreement as to the major problem areas and surprising unanimity as to the desirable approach in their solution. The major shortcomings of the 1946 Regulation of Lobbying Act are as follows:

First, the group for which registration is required is so limited that many with important legislative interests do not register. The 1946 act requires registration only by those who solicit, collect, or receive money or other consideration, "to be used principally to aid, or the principal purpose of which person is to aid," the influencing of legislation. Although the Supreme Court in the Harriss case made some effort to hold that lobbying activities need not be the sole or main purpose of the registrant, the "principal purpose" test has provided a convenient escape hatch for those with both legislative and nonlegislative activities who prefer not to register, and I think the statistics I gave a moment ago prove that point. Indeed, many groups seem to interpret "the principal purpose" as a majority test—that registration is not required unless more than half of their activities are legislative in nature.

Second, the definition of "lobbying" as interpreted by the Supreme Court is limited to "direct communication with Members of Congress on pending or proposed Federal legislation." This definition does not include many grassroots activities which are even more difficult to identify than direct contact, and which may carry an equally important public opinion impact. Thus, pamphleteering and other propagandizing by interest groups to gain greater public response for a particular economic or political philosophy are clearly beyond the purview of the act. Likewise, the act does not require registration of expenditures for national advertising which may result in substantial pressures on Members.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has again expired.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. MONRONEY. Third, such registration information as is obtained is confusing because each registrant is the judge of the amount of expenses he allocates to legislative activities. Thus, the apparent "big spender" may actually have more conscience rather than more influence.

Fourth, the act is poorly administered from the standpoint of providing maximum public attention and availability of information. The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate, the designated custodians of information, have neither the facilities nor the mandate to provide tabulations geographically, by type of interest, or for specific legislation. Unfortunately, there has also been a tendency to discourage public dissemination of the registration—a result never intended by the act.

We proposed that the Comptroller General would have a location where these various reports, when made, can be examined by the public and the press, and not put away in some congressional official's office, where there is no room for the public or the press to work or to have any kind of knowledge of where to find these papers.

Fifth, and perhaps most important of all, the law simply is not enforced. The Clerk and the Secretary are not and cannot be policing officials to determine if registrations are accurate and if others are evading registration. The Department of Justice, while carrying prosecuting responsibility for the criminal sanctions, has made no effort to police registrations since 1952.

This lack of enforcement obviously penalizes the conscientious registrant and rewards the individual or group less candid about legislative activities, and is doing so today, because many of the men who register today are men who may not be engaged principally in lobbying activities, but who feel honor-bound to carry out the spirit of the act. So it is the conscientious who are being penalized, and if we do not correct the act, they will continue to be penalized, while those who are willing to gamble that they can continue to evade the act will not be required to file anything until such time as the Committee on the Judiciary is prepared report out an effective registration bill.

The McClellan committee succinctly set forth the problem:

> Two of the most persistent and serious criticisms of the 1946 statute are that (1) no provisions are made for administering the act, and (2) the words "principal purpose" have been interpreted to mean main or primary purpose, thus negating the aims of the drafters. Unless corrective action is taken with respect to these two basic defects, all students of the subject agree that no effective statute is possible.

Now let me turn to the solutions provided by title V of S. 355.

First, section 307 of the act—the "principal purpose" test—would be amended to require registration by those soliciting, collecting, or receiving money or other consideration "a substantial part of which is to be used to aid, or a substantial purpose of which person is to aid" the influencing of legislation. In other words, the threshold of the act would be widened.

Such a test is clearly constitutional. Indeed, the language of the Supreme Court in the Harriss case leaves much doubt as to whether the Court intended the principal purpose requirement to create such a glaring loophole in the law. Chief Justice Warren addressed himself to this question in the following language:

> There remains for our consideration the meaning of "the principal purpose" and "to be used principally to aid." The legislative history of the Act indicates that the term "principal" was adopted merely to exclude from the scope of Sec. 307 those contributions and persons having only an "incidental" purpose of influencing legislation. Conversely, the "principal purpose" requirement does not exclude a contribution which in substantial part is to be used to influence legislation through direct communication with Congress or a person whose activities in substantial part are directed to influencing legislation through direct communication with Congress. If it were otherwise—if an organization, for example, were exempted because lobbying was only one of its main activities—the Act would in large measure be reduced to a mere exhortation against abuse of the legislative process. In construing the Act narrowly to avoid constitutional doubts, we must also avoid a construction that would seriously impair the effectiveness of the Act in coping with the problem it was designed to alleviate.

But despite our intentions in 1946 and the apparent support of the Supreme Court in the 1954 Harriss decision, the principal purpose exclusion has, without question, been a major escape hatch for multipurpose organizations with major legislative interests. The failure of such organizations or their agents to register distorts the intent of the act, leaves these groups unidentified, and makes the remaining registration information most incomplete and misleading in the tabulation of spending totals.

To those who assert that "substantial" is too vague a test, I would point out that this criteria has been used for many years in Federal law. It is an integral part of the Internal Revenue Code. Tax exemption is provided for contributions to charitable and educational organizations "no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation." It is the criteria on which the tax exempt status of such organizations themselves are determined. Tax exempt organizations lose their status where "a substantial part" of their activities "is attempting to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise."

The term "substantial" has also been applied in determining applicability of such other legislation as the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Taft-Hartley Act.

Now you may ask "What is substantial?" Does it mean so many dollars or a specified percentage of the individual or organization's total activity? The answer must be determined on a case-by-case basis. A $1,000 expenditure might be substantial for an individual with a $10,000 annual salary and quite substantial to an organization with a million-dollar annnual Washington office budget. For the same reasons, a rigid percentage test is impractical. But to say that this makes the test too vague is to ignore the Supreme Court decisions on this and other laws and the entire body of laws and regulations which have been built up in many fields of Federal regulatory activity.

If we believe that interest groups who directly influence legislation should be registered—and I am one that does—it is not enough to throw stones at the proposed test for registration. We must also examine the alternatives. We could, I suppose, have adopted the viewpoint of the 1956 Kennedy bill which would have required registration by an individual spending "any portion of his time" on legislative activities. We could have adopted a monetary test such as the proposal of the Buchanan committee requiring registration by those spending over $1,000 annually or the McClellan committee proposal requiring registration by those spending over $300 a quarter. But while these tests are certainly definite, they also result in the required registration by many individuals and companies with rather incidental legislative activity. After careful consideration, we concluded that the descriptive "substantial" test was more in keeping with congressional intent than a rigid requirement on a dollar or percentage basis.

Let me add that the individuals and groups who are presently evading the intent of the 1946 act—and who would feel compelled to register under the provisions of this law—are well aware of the extent of their own legislative interests. They come to Capitol Hill to participate in the legislative process—and registration of that intent should create no stigma. They are and should be regarded as honorable and knowledgeable men. But I cannot sympathize with—and frankly do not understand—their reluctance to identify the nature and extent of their constituency. Nor is it desirable for some to register and others to remain silent. The proposed "substantial purpose" test would make it far more likely that the vast majority of those with continuing legislative contacts would become subject to the act.

The second problem under the 1946 act is a proper definition of what constitutes lobbying. Following the passage of that law, there were many who feared that virtually every activity which molds public opinion at the grassroots level—with an inevitable effect on Members of Congress—would be within the registration requirement. On this basis, there was legitimate concern as to the constitutionality of the statute under the first amendment right of a citizen to petition his government.

In the 1954 Harriss decision, the Supreme Court made it clear that these fears were unfounded. In interpreting section 307, the section identifying persons to whom the law was applicable, the Court stated as follows:

> We believe this language should be construed to refer only to "lobbying in its commonly accepted sense"—to direct communication with members of Congress on pending or proposed federal legislation. The legislative history of the Act makes clear that, at the very least, Congress sought disclosure of such direct pressures, exerted by the lobbyists themselves or through their hirelings or through an artificially stimulated letter campagin. It is likewise clear that Congress would have intended the Act to operate on this narrow basis, even if a broader application to organizations seeking to propagandize the general public were not permissible.

I do not quarrel with the Court's interpretation of congressional intent. It makes it clear that "direct communication with Members of Congress on pending or proposed legislation" can be either by personal contact or by artificially stimulated mail. If we know the source of funds of those who see us directly and the source of financing of the volumes of manufactured mail which comes to us on controversial national issues, we are in the best possible position to evaluate the credibility of the appeal.

Again, let me emphasize that our approach to this problem is neither new nor revolutionary. The 1957 McClellan bill would have gone substantially beyond the scope of the 1946 act. It would have required registration by any person or organization spending $50,000 in presenting a program to the public "a substantial portion of which is intended, designed, or calculated to influence legislation." In other words, it would have required registration by those engaged in general grassroots lobbying as well as those making personal contact or stimulating letter campaigns on specific legislation. The Buchanan committee—which predated the Harriss decision—had assumed that grassroots lobbying was and should be covered by the act. Since S. 355 does not expand the definition of lobbying to this extent, it can hardly be regarded as rash or intemperate in this area.

The third shortcoming of the 1946 act is the wide variation in the amounts allocated by organizations and individuals as lobbying expenditures from their total budget. Some groups have compounded this difficulty by simply filing their entire budget and stating that they cannot weed out the legislative dollars. Obviously, this makes for a chaotic situation in attempting to tabulate expenditures by groups or evaluate the relative spending of various organizations.

Since this is a determination made by the registrant and—like the preparation of an income tax return—is bounded only by a clear showing of an attempt to avoid or evade the law, some variety is inevitable. However, S. 355 would take a major step forward in regularizing registrations by giving the registrant an option. He can either file the amount of his contributions or expenditures applicable for lobbying purposes or, if that proportion cannot be ascertained with reasonable certainty, he can file total receipts and expenditures with an estimate as to the part allocable to lobbying activities.

As a result of this provision, organizations would have some desirable flexibility in their method of reporting. But, in either event, it would be now possible to make tabulations more accurately reflecting spending totals.

The fourth problem of insufficient publicity to registrations and the fifth problem of faulty enforcement go hand in hand. It is apparent to everyone—Members of Congress, those registering under the act, and the press and public—that failure to establish clear-cut responsibility for administration and enforcement of the law is an almost fatal defect.

Virtually all critics of the act are in agreement that the proper agency for administration is the General Accounting Office under the direction of the Comptroller General. The 1957 McClellan bill would have transferred these responsibilities to GAO. The bill reported by the Rules and Administration Committee in 1965 carried the same provision. The former Comptroller General, Joseph Warren, stated in 1957 that they were in a position to administer the act. The Acting Comptroller General made a similar statement in 1965. The description of the powers and duties of the Comptroller General as contained in S. 355 are virtually identical to the 1965 bill.

Under proposed section 310, the Comptroller General as the agent of the Congress is authorized to develop and prescribe methods and forms for filings and statements required under the act and to promulgate regulations for its administration. He is specifically directed to make reports and statements available for public inspection. Such reports are to be retained for a period of not less than 5 years. The Comptroller General is also to make studies and recommendations to Congress for further improvements in the law and to transmit to Congress annually a full and complete report on its administration. The present provision requiring that this information be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is retained.

The Comptroller General would also ascertain whether persons within the purview of the law had failed to file reports or had filed incomplete or inaccurate information. Where necessary, he is directed to refer information on failures to properly register to the Department of Justice for action. The Justice Department, as it should under existing law, must then determine if action should be taken under the penalty clause of the act.

S. 355 also deals with two other areas which have been of constant concern since the passage of the 1946 act. The first is that of contingent fee agreements. I think the danger of an employment agreement which makes compensation dependent on the passage or defeat of specific legislation is rather apparent. Early Federal cases on lobbying held that such arrangements were so inherently compromising as to be unenforceable and against public policy. The lobbying laws of 21 States prohibit contingent fee contracts. The 1950 Buchanan committee and the 1956 Kennedy bill flatly prohibited contingent fee lobbying.

Our committee considered this problem at length and concluded that we should not prohibit these arrangements as per se evil. Some small organizations may not be able to afford full-time legislative representation and a contingent fee may be their only means of securing an experienced advocate for their position. Still, Members of Congress and the public as well, are entitled to an unusually careful disclosure. S. 355 adds additional language to the registration requirements of section 308 in the 1946 act to provide, in filing with the Comptroller General, a detailed description of these contingencies.

I say it is a good act and does not need to wait, or to be chopped out of this bill, on the slight chance that the Judiciary Committees may be able to agree on reporting legislation that will adequately correct these defects.

We feel that we have already done so, and I believe that Senators who have studied the hearings, the reports, and the other matters that we have submitted will agree.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a brief question, on my time?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. How many hearings were held on the specific contents of title V of this bill, after they were formulated?

Mr. MONRONEY. No hearings were held on any section of the bill.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator has answered the question.

Mr. MONRONEY. The bill was reported, as was the Reorganization Act of 1946——

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator has answered my question.

Mr. MONRONEY. After careful consideration by the joint, bipartisan committee, and we have made, I think, approximately 100 corrections or changes that had been sought by the Members by floor amendment. That is why I say that I would object to chopping this section out of it, and trusting to the good offices of some other committee to pick it up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, before the Senator begins, I ask unanimous consent that we may have a quorum call, not to be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in reviewing the statement made in opposition to my amendment and in favor of title V, I find that I can make no legitimate quarrel with virtually any of it.

This is because it goes to the proposition of the necessity for a good lobbying act. It also explains in great detail that the present law has not been enforced and has fewer registrants under it now than before.

I say amen to that because that is the record. However, any argument that title V cleans up the defects in the present law fails.

The proposal does not deal with the basic difficulty which concerns a definition of what is meant by directly or indirectly influencing legislation.

Nothing is mentioned about this. But this is the point with which the Supreme Court had such difficulty. That produced a very sorry result.

Attention has been called to the fact that various hearings have been held in past years.

However, not a single word has been heard to date on the specific provisions of title V. We have no idea of what the Department of Justice thinks of it.

It is a custom, and it has been ever since George Washington's day, that when we have a bill pertaining to the Department of Justice, we in the Judiciary Committee call in the Attorney General and give him an opportunity to be heard. He is the chief law enforcement officer.

The Attorney General has not had a chance to be heard.

We can talk all we want concerning the extensive hearings that have been had. The unchanged fact is that not one single word of testimony is found in the Record on the precise provisions of title V.

It is rather ironic when it is suggested that reports under the bill ought to be made public. Yet, in the language of title V of the pending bill, the registration is placed under the Comptroller General. The Comptroller General is not covered by the Administrative Procedure Act. It is that act which contains the provisions passed by Congress that protects the right of the public to know and forces the executive departments to disclose.

The fact still remains that this law will be enforced through regulations which are promulgated by the Office of the Comptroller General who is not governed by the Administrative Procedure Act.

The fact remains that the pending bill is deeply colored and deeply permeated with constitutional questions of the most serious kind.

Not a bit of consideration was given to the constitutionality of title V in light of the present act, as it has been construed by the Supreme Court. No testimony; no judgments. It seems to me, and it seems to those who oppose title V, that this presents great difficulty.

Now, then, as to efforts to kill this lobbying act: If it is intimated that the Committee on the Judiciary will bury this bill, and therefore we should not send it to that committee, could not the question be asked with equal logic. Why this resistance to an effort to open the merits and demerits of this bill to a candid, above-the-board, public examination in a committee? One position would be as justifiable as the other.

The President's recommendation should be received, not for the purpose of acceptance but for the purpose of serving as a starting point to pass a good, complete, and tighter lobbying bill. If we send it to the Committee on the Judiciary and the bill does not come back, it will mean that the bill was judged to be no good, after having been subjected to those legislative procedures to which we have subjected all other bills.

It is a poor argument, indeed, that we must pass this title on the basis of expediency. That otherwise no bill will be passed. This title is not deserving of the approval of either the House or the Senate on the basis of its present record, and I hope that the Senate will reject it at this time—by way of deferment, not by way of killing it. The Senate will do this by adopting Amendment No. 120, which would postpone temporarily, consideration by Congress of this subject.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hollings in the chair). The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Nebraska, who is a very learned member of the Committee on the Judiciary, has made several references to the application of the Administrative Procedure Act.

This act is designed to afford protection to members of the public who will be regulated by various governmental agencies. The act does not apply to Congress or its officers, employees, or agents. It has uniformly been held that the Administrative Procedures Act does not apply to the General Accounting Office since it functions as an arm of Congress.

Section 310 as proposed in S. 355 provides that the Comptroller General shall administer the lobby law "as the agent of the Congress." We do not believe that it is intended nor desirable that the Comptroller General be subject to the Administrative Procedures Act when he acts in this capacity. In this connection, I have received a letter on March 2 1967, from Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats, recommending that the act not be made applicable to the functions of the General Accounting Office in carrying out the provisions of title V of S. 355. I ask unanimous consent that Comptroller General Staats' letter appear in the Record at this place in my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., March 2, 1967.

Hon. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
Cochairman, Committee on the Organization of the Congress, Congress of the United States.

DEAR MR. COCHAIRMAN: This is in reference to the inquiry by Mr. Pierson of your staff concerning our recommendation that the Administrative Procedure Act not be made applicable to the functions of our Office in carrying out the provisions of "Regulation of Lobbying" in Title V of S. 355.

In the event that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 2 U.S.C. 261 *et seq.*, is enacted along the lines of S. 355 to provide for the transfer of certain functions of the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House in the regulation of lobbying, to the Comptroller General we strongly recommend the nonapplicability of the Administrative Procedure Act to the new functions of the Comptroller General. This is accomplished by section 506(b) of the bill which provides that the Comptroller General shall be acting as the agent of the Congress in carrying out the functions transferred.

Reasons for so providing are:

(1) We have consistently taken the position that the Administrative Procedure Act does not apply to our Office. Our functions in issuing audit reports, settling claims, and advising Executive Departments by way of legal decisions, do not directly affect the public at large and thus we have not staffed to carry out administrative hearings of the type that would be needed under the Administrative Procedure Act.

(2) The proposed change in the law would make no change in the administrative requirements of the act except to make affirmative provision for the investigation of violations. Thus, the enactment of such legislation would—in effect—be a transfer of functions from the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House to the Comptroller General. Under the present lobbying law the Administrative Procedure Act does not apply because that Act does not apply to the Congress. Thus, inasmuch as this would still be a function carried out for the Congress, the same exclusion from the Administrative Procedure Act should continue.

(3) Alleged violations of the Act are in the

> final analysis for consideration by the Department of Justice.
>
> We have no objection to the transfer of administrative responsibilities of the Lobbying Act from the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House to the General Accounting Office. As was stated in our reports of July 12, 1957, and August 5, 1965, to the Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary, on similar bills, our Office is agreeable to taking on the administrative responsibilities which Title V of S. 355 imposes.
>
> If there is any further information desired on this matter, please advise.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> ELMER B. STAATS,
> *Comptroller General of the United States.*

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the reason why the Administrative Procedures Act should not apply is that the Comptroller General is only the administrator of the act—not its enforcer. An examination of the functions of section 310 indicates that they are primarily concerned with the mechanics of registration. They include developing and prescribing forms for the filing of statements and promulgation of regulations for such administration; making reports and statements available for public inspection; making studies and recommendations to Congress; and retaining copies of reports and statements for a period of not less than 5 years. In this area, the Comptroller General replaces the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, who formerly had the job of receiving the reports from those who desired to register or who felt that they were under the compulsion of law to register.

Needless to say, neither of these congressional officers has been under the Administrative Procedures Act in the administration of this bill.

Responsibility for enforcement lies with the Department of Justice. The Comptroller General's function as specified in section 310 is limited to notification of persons who fail to file or have filed incomplete or inaccurate reports that their registration does not appear satisfactory and reference to the Department of Justice for appropriate action of failures to register or improper registrations. The act provides no authority to the Comptroller General to require registration or impose penalties for failure to register.

Responsibility for prosecution of violations under the act rests with the Department of Justice and the penalties remain the same as in the 1946 act—a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than $5,000 or imprisonment for not more than 12 months or both. For this reason, I see no need for the imposition of the Administrative Procedures Act on the Comptroller General and believe that it would establish a dangerous precedent to place an agent of Congress within the purview of this act.

I point out, on another phase of the matter—whether this subject has been inadequately studied or not: I mentioned earlier the study that was done by the McClellan committee in 1957. The McClellan committee, not in a speech on the floor or in an informal statement, but in its final report, stated:

> The "principal purpose" interpretation is almost universally regarded by students of the subject as erroneous and in conflict with the intent of the La Follette-Monroney committee. The provision, however, has been seized upon by groups which most people would consider as being extremely influential in the area of legislative activity, as an excuse for exemption from the act. Some of them have, on advice of counsel, refused to register and others, protesting that they are not engaged in lobbying and are not properly under the act, have registered more or less under protest. Scholars have generally urged that "substantial" or "significant" be substituted for "principal purpose" as a test of applicability, with administrative rulings provided to determine whether the statute is intended to encompass particular situations.

I do not contend, as I believe was intimated by my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Nebraska, that we believe that when we pass this Lobby Registration Act, no other committee, no other persons or groups in the Senate or in the House, can modify, change, amend, or even repeal the act that we proposed in 1946 or that we propose now to modify and correct in line with the Supreme Court's decisions.

I am certain that the Committee on the Judiciary has the right to begin hearings on this section in the bill the day after this act passes. If the committee so desires, it can summon everyone in the Justice Department, if it wishes to get what they know about the matter, in addition to what we know and have learned in various congressional investigations extending over many years and chaired by distinguished jurists such as the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] and many others who have had this matter under careful, long-term hearings.

Fundamentally, three things need to be done. There are three defects in the present law. No one that I know of has raised any significant objection to the remainder of the bill, other than these three items. If we do not amend the bill in these three particulars at this point, we will be leaving an ineffective bill; and I doubt seriously that, with all the understanding of the law and all the investigation the Committee on the Judiciary may have, they will repeal the Lobby Registration Act. I believe that they will be in favor of a Lobby Registration Act if they study the matter and come to grips with it.

Mr. HRUSKA. Is anyone contending for a repeal of the Lobbying Act?

Mr. MONRONEY. Today, by striking title V, we would be repealing the provisions that correct the 1946 act. In the pending bill, we would update the present law.

Mr. HRUSKA. I come back to my question: Is anyone calling for repeal of the Lobbying Act?

Mr. MONRONEY. The amendment of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska calls for the striking out of the provisions that amend the Lobbying Act of 1946.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is correct. Is that a repeal of the 1946 act?

Mr. MONRONEY. I am saying that it is a repeal as far as our effort to bring the act into line with our current needs.

Mr. HRUSKA. It is a contradiction of terms, because a law cannot be repealed until it has been enacted, and title V has not been enacted.

Mr. MONRONEY. It strikes the provision from the bill.

Mr. HRUSKA. It would leave the 1946 act intact.

Mr. MONRONEY. And defective, as the Senator said clearly.

Many lobbyists have failed to register because of their interpretation of the words "principally engaged in." Hundreds of lobbyists evade registration. They will not evade registration if we have the courage to write into the bill, as amendments to the 1946 act, a definition which is more inclusive. We substitute "substantially."

Mr. HRUSKA. On the contrary, hundreds of people engaging in activities which would be called lobbying under the language of the 1946 act would still not be required to register. Why, Mr. President? Because the Supreme Court has said that any indirect efforts at influencing legislation are no longer a part of the statutes of the Nation. It does not matter whether it is "principally" or "substantially," or anything else.

The greater part of the language in the 1946 act has been nullified by the Supreme Court. The amendments in title V do not touch upon that part nullified by the Supreme Court.

Mr. MONRONEY. It is not necessary for us to refer to it. We do not attempt to override the Supreme Court.

Mr. HRUSKA. I would like to override the Supreme Court, because I think many activities constitute real lobbying. Some of them are pernicious and vicious, and were excluded by the Supreme Court, although it was the intent of Congress to include them. When the Senator from Oklahoma served on the committee 20 years ago, direct as well as indirect influence was meant to be included; not merely the buttonholing of a Member of Congress.

I want to see that provision reinstated in the law and made effective constitutionally. A violation of the law would be a criminal offense, but Congress would write the language and not the Comptroller General.

Mr. President, that is the basis of our objection to the amendments in title V.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Comptroller General has nothing to do with prosecution.

Mr. HRUSKA. I did not say that he did. I said he will make the regulations under title V. He will make the regulation, the violation of which will subject the violator to criminal penalty.

Mr. MONRONEY. We expect to prescribe the penalties that are necessary and he only administers the act.

As to the definition of "lobbying," the language used in the Supreme Court in reporting this matter was:

> We believe this language should be construed to refer only to "lobbying in its commonly accepted sense"—to direct communication with Members of Congress on pending or proposed federal legislation. The legislative history of the Act makes clear that, at the very least, Congress sought disclosure of such direct pressures, exerted by the lobbyists themselves or through their hirelings or through an artificially stimulated letter campaign. It is likewise clear that Congress

> would have intended the Act to operate on this narrower basis, even if a broader application to organizations seeking to propagandize the general public were not permissible.

I do not quarrel with the Court's interpretation of congressional intent. It makes it clear that "direct communication with Members of Congress on pending or proposed legislation" can be either by personal contact or by artificially stimulated mail. If we know the source of funds of those who see us directly and the source of financing of the volumes of manufactured mail which comes to us on controversial national issues, we are in the best possible position to evaluate the credibility of the appeal.

This act can be made enforceable to discourage pernicious, illegal, or undesirable types of lobbying activities. It will be effective as to the degree of information that is made available concerning who is lobbying, and who is employing them as lobbyists, and how much they are spending for that purpose.

I do not think that is too much to ask, and there is no reason to postpone at this time, the inclusion of these fundamental corrections which all studies made in recent years by the Senate and the House of Representatives advocate as being necessary to regularize this matter.

With reference to the record of the Committee on the Judiciary, this interest is rather new found on their part. I am, of course, most pleased to see the interest of distinguished members of the Judiciary Committee in giving attention to this important issue. Historically, this committee has been slightly less enamored with lobbying problems. Bills on lobbying were introduced and referred to the Judiciary Committee in the 60th, 62d, 63d, 64th, 67th, 68th, 70th, 71st, 72d, 73d, 74th, and 76th Congresses—and none of these bills were ever reported. The limited lobbying bills passed by Congress prior to 1946 were reported by other committees. The 1946 act was a product of a special committee on reorganization. Lobbying proposals since 1946 have customarily been referred to the Government Operations Committee as a part of that committee's jurisdiction over the Legislative Reorganization Act. A few have also, however, been referred to the Judiciary Committee since 1946 but with similar results as respects lack of action as in previous Congresses. The last bill on the act which was referred to that committee was in the 82d Congress.

The Committee on the Judiciary, by its interest shown in the past and by the various changes that have taken place, would not necessarily be the only committee that would have a legitimate claim to conduct this matter.

It has been suggested by many persons that we would be invading the rights of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives which has shown some interest in helping to modify and correct the Lobbying Registration Act.

I have before me a letter addressed to the Honorable JACK BROOKS, who is a member of the joint committee of the House of Representatives, which was written by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary in the House of Representatives, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER. The letter reads:

> U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
> COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
> *Washington, D.C., March 7, 1967.*
>
> The Honorable JACK BROOKS,
> *House of Representatives,*
> *Washington, D.C.*
>
> DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROOKS: In response to your question about Title V of the current Legislative Reorganization Bill, I would say that, in my opinion, it is perfectly legitimate for your Joint Committee on Organization of the Congress to make recommendations for improvement of the 1946 lobbying act. Although it is true that under ordinary circumstances such proposal would be referred to the House Judiciary Committee, the special mandate contained in S. Con. Resolution 2, I feel, clearly gives the Joint Committee jurisdiction to make recommendations in this area.
>
> I hope these remarks are helpful to you.
>
> With best wishes, I am,
> Sincerely,
> EMANUEL CELLER,
> *Member of Congress.*

Mr. President, we do not have a conflict of jurisdiction as far as the House of Representatives is concerned. We are recommending simple and direct, modifications of the act which are long past due and yet which have not been reported by any other committee of the Congress, although the need for them has existed for several years.

We are now trying to correct the deficiencies of the act after careful consideration of these defects which have caused as I have shown by statistics, a vast decline in the number of those who register and the vast amount of money which has been expended on lobbying activities.

This does not help Congress. Through all these years, the Judiciary Committee was perfectly capable, if it so desired, of introducing legislation, of conducting its own hearings, and of having legislation on the matter perhaps some 3, 4, or 5 years ago following the handing down of the Harriss decision.

Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Nineteen minutes remain to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Nebraska has more time remaining than I have. Does he wish to use any of his time?

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I have no requests for time.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I would like to have about 5 minutes.

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I have one point. Although I am not raising it for action at this time, it has seemed to me, in view of a recommendation made to this Congress by the Committee on Reorganization, that has to do with control or regulation of lobbying activities, we should start to think about one Federal statute that is now mostly honored in the breach. If it is not enforced—and I am not at all sure that it should be enforced—it should be eradicated from the books. I refer to the United States Code, title 18, "Crimes and Criminal Procedure," section 1913, "Lobbying With Appropriated Moneys." I read that section:

> No part of the money appropriated by any enactment of Congress shall, in the absence of express authorization by Congress, be used directly or indirectly to pay for any personal service, advertisement, telegram, telephone, letter, printed or written matter, or other device, intended or designed to influence in any manner a Member of Congress, to favor or oppose, by vote or otherwise, any legislation or appropriation by Congress, whether before or after the introduction of any bill or resolution proposing such legislation or appropriation; but this shall not prevent officers or employees of the United States or of its departments or agencies from communicating to Members of Congress on the request of any Member or to Congress, through the proper official channels, requests for legislation or appropriations which they deem necessary for the efficient conduct of the public business.
>
> Whoever, being an officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, violates or attempts to violate this section, shall be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and after notice and hearing by the superior officer vested with the power of removing him, shall be removed from office or employment.

Mr. President, that means that department heads and other official members of the executive department may quite properly make any request of the Congress for legislation that they wish, and that, of course, committees—as we always do—may call for opinions or reports on proposed legislation. But it was also clearly intended to raise a bar to having employees or members of the executive branch come to the Hill and travel the offices or call Members from the floor to lobby for various measures in which the executive departments, or in which they, may be interested.

I am not sure that is a necessary statute. I am not sure that we in the legislative branch should put ourselves in an ivory tower and say that people and employees downtown, or from our States, should not be perfectly free to come and talk to a Senator. I do not think there are any Senators who are so weak-kneed as to be swayed, although they may be somewhat pestered and annoyed.

As a member of the committee of which the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] is also a member, the Commerce Committee, I remember we had a rather controversial bill on the floor last year, the truth-in-packaging bill. I remember that a very charming and nice lady, head of the agency handling this matter, was posted in the reception room to talk to Senators about various amendments.

I am sure she did it with the best of intentions. Others do this too, and I think she did it with the welfare of the country at heart. I am sure she was not aware of this statute. However, if we are going to keep this statute on the books, it should be observed. If it is not to be observed, I think, in the interest of reorganization, it should be repealed and stricken from the books.

I raise the question. I am not trying to challenge or annoy my friend from Oklahoma, who has done a magnificent job, and for whose bill I am going to vote. But I wonder if this question was considered.

When we are attacking the whole proposition of regulating lobbying activities, I wonder if we should not take a careful "look-see" again at the question of the lobbying activities of members of the executive departments and agencies, and decide whether or not we want this statute to be continued and to be enforced. We should decide whether we want to relax it to make it more practical, or whether we want to repeal it. I do not think we are handling the situation until we handle that problem. That is one thing which, perhaps among many others, should be given careful attention by the Committee on the Judiciary.

I thank the Senator for yielding. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] has two or three questions to raise which I think may amplify the record. To further clarify the intent of Congress, I ask that he may have the opportunity to ask the questions and to have them answered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Oklahoma for yielding to me.

Title III of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 is essentially a criminal statute. How many convictions have there been under this statute?

Mr. MONRONEY. There have been three convictions. Several years ago, following the Harriss case, the Justice Department stopped making any efforts at enforcement because of the feeling that the Harriss case had left the door wide open because of the word "principally." It was felt it would be impossible to enforce the act, and that only those who were principally engaged in lobbying activities were required to register.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. With respect to those large gaps that were brought to light in the Harriss decision, the Court held that the act only applied to groups or persons who solicit, collect, or receive contributions.

What does the act, as we are considering it today, do to clarify that matter?

Mr. MONRONEY. We make no changes with respect to those who spent their own funds. This is an effort to require the registration, and thus the disclosure, of funds paid to professional lobbyists for their efforts in behalf of or against legislation, or general representation of special interests on matters that may or may not be then pending before Congress.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. So those groups or individuals who spend their own money, who do not solicit or collect money, will not be covered under the legislation being considered today; is that correct?

Mr. MONRONEY. That is correct. We want to know what amounts are being paid, to whom payment is being made, and for what purposes the money is being used. That is the only purpose of the Lobby Registration Act.

We do not say they cannot raise such funds. We do not say that they cannot maintain offices here, to publicize and to use all honest means to advocate the passage of defeat of legislation, or for the cultivation of support for legislation, if their activities are reported.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The Court held that the act applied only to persons who solicited, collected, or received contributions for the main or principal purpose of influencing the passage or defeat of legislation, and that only such persons would be required to register.

Mr. MONRONEY. That is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. What does the legislation before us require in that regard? I refer to the "principal purpose" test.

Mr. MONRONEY. This is one of the most important parts of the amendment: to make it possible to secure information from more than a minimum of those who are engaged in lobbying; because the 1946 act has the qualification of "principal purpose." The McClellan committee, after long and careful study of the "principal purpose" test, commented—their comment is so clear in this regard that I think it should be reiterated—as follows:

> The "principal purpose" interpretation is almost universally regarded by students of the subject as erroneous and in conflict with the intent of the La Follette-Monroney committee. The provision, however, has been seized upon by groups which most people would consider as being extremely influential in the area of legislative activity, as an excuse for exemption from the act. Some of them have, on advice of counsel, refused to register and others, protesting that they are not engaged in lobbying and are not properly under the act, have registered more or less under protest. Scholars have generally urged that "substantial" or "significant" be substituted for "principal purpose" as a test of applicability, with administrative rulings provided to determine whether the statute is intended to encompass particular situations.

For that reason, we have changed the provision from "principal" to "substantial" purpose. We feel that that is a term well understood and widely used in Federal statutes, and that with its use, the Court's interpretation would require those who are not now required to register—because more than 50 percent of their activities do not involve lobbying activities—who engage in a considerable amount of lobbying activity as a part of their objective, to register.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The Court held, under the Harriss decision, that only those groups or persons who attempted to influence the passage or defeat of legislation through direct communication with Members of Congress would be covered.

Does the legislation before us today clearly define the area of communication? Does it, for example, include mere informational contacts with Members of Congress?

Mr. MONRONEY. The Court's decision in this regard involved a distinction between directly and indirectly seeking to lobby. There is a very hazy and very tenuous area—we call it grassroots lobbying—where a man might be paid a certain fee for making a speech to a club, or to advocate the passage of legislation before a Farm Bureau meeting, or something of that nature. That is secondary lobbying, and the Court held that that was not properly covered by the act, and limited the application of the act to "directly."

That means, then, that we will not be engaging in trying to regulate a vast area of chamber of commerce activity, promotion of public dams, or many other things that would be very difficult—in fact impossible—to control with lobby registration.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. What, if anything, does S. 355 say in further clarification of this point?

Mr. MONRONEY. Because we do not elaborate further on it, the Supreme Court decision in the Harriss case stands as the law; and it is limited, of course, to direct lobbying.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. One of the principal objections to the 1946 act, as it related to lobbying, was with regard to the administration of the act. While the Department of Justice would prosecute, it was given no mandate to investigate.

Under the act we are considering today, what agency will be given the mandate to investigate?

Mr. MONRONEY. This is a very important part of the act. The administration actually is what we are talking about, because the task was put on the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House, neither of whom had facilities or the staff, or were given any power, in the first act, to prescribe the format for registration, or the type of information that would be required or sought in the registration of lobby expenses. The lack of facilities at the Capitol made it difficult for the press or for individuals coming in to look up these filings, and made impossible wide dissemination of this information, which is so valuable if you are going to make a Lobby Registration Act effective and shed the light of day as to what goes on in lobbying activities by requiring complete disclosure.

Therefore, we would transfer this function to the Comptroller General, who acts as an agent of Congress, replacing the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House, in receiving these reports. We give him power to prescribe the format of the registration, that is, what information will be sought which he deems to be important; and to recommend, if he finds evidence of evasion, to the Department of Justice that they investigate a particular case. Where it is suspected that reports are inaccurate or dishonest, or fail to reveal the extent and nature of the lobbying activity, he can call on the Department of Justice, and they will investigate and determine whether charges under the act shall be brought against the people in question.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The Senator says "where it is suspected." By whom?

Mr. MONRONEY. By the Comptroller General, who would have the right to submit to the Department of Justice, whatever evidence he might have of evasion which the Department would take up de novo and determine whether it is worthy of investigation and prosecution.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Then the Comptroller General would be empowered to investigate?

Mr. MONRONEY. He would be empowered to investigate what he believes to be evidence of the evasion of the purposes of the act.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The Department of Justice would still prosecute?

Mr. MONRONEY. It would have all the responsibility from then on. It is not an indictment. It is not a charge. It is not the filing of legal information as such on which prosecution would be based. It would have to be found by the Department of Justice to be worthy of that action.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Under the present law, each registrant is the judge of the amount he will file. What would the pending provision provide?

Mr. MONRONEY. He would also be the judge of whether he were to file at all, as the case may be. As I have tried to point out, since the first local court cases were had in this matter—and it was apparently a Supreme Court decision, to which court the case finally worked its way through the lower courts—the number of registrants has decreased by more than half.

Significantly, the amount of money being spent and reported before those cases was over $10 million. That amount has decreased to the extent that approximately $4 million is being reported as having been spent. Does anybody think there is less expensive lobbying going on at the present time than there was in 1950?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. How would this be corrected under the provisions of S. 355?

Mr. MONRONEY. In S. 355, because of our substitution of "substantially engaged," these men will not then be able to use as an excuse the fact that they are not principally engaged in lobbying activities, which generally means that it is not a majority of its activity.

The major step would be regularizing registrations by making the registrant either file the amount of his contribution or expenses applicable for lobbying purposes or, if that cannot be ascertained with reasonable certainty, he can file total receipts for expenditures with an estimate as to the amount allocable to lobbying activities.

This will enable him, where he cannot separate them, to say that he did receive *x* dollars and to estimate that, for example, 30 percent of this was spent in behalf of lobbying activities.

Mr. HRUSKA. I suggest that if the Senator from Oklahoma would like to, he may use 5 or 10 minutes for a closing statement and I would then follow him. I have no request for time.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, a great many lawyers receive retainers from clients, and their clients come in occasionally and ask them to write or contact a Senator or Representative either in favor of or against a proposed piece of legislation. The lawyer complies with that request, and, of course, he is attempting to influence legislation. Does the lawyer have to register as a lobbyist and file a report?

Mr. MONRONEY. I think it would depend on whether he was writing to 500 Representatives and Senators and was engaged in substantial activities in behalf of legislation. That is the test—"substantial."

I believe that "substantial" is a rather clearly understood term in the courts.

If an attorney were merely advising his client or writing a letter to a single Member of Congress, he would not be under this provision. If his action involved a group of clients, on many matters, he would not be under the provision. However, it would seem to me that if he did engage in widespread activities, he should then register.

The provision would not prevent him from writing a letter. Incidentally, whatever legal work an attorney does in drafting bills or in helping to prepare a statement for his client's appearance before a committee certainly is not, by specific exemption, lobbying activities.

Mr. ERVIN. The thing that worries me about it concerns how one is to know what is going to be construed as being substantial. While that is a very substantial word, it is very insubstantial in its precise meaning.

I came up here once as a practicing lawyer one day to lobby for one bill. My sole objective was to contact the North Carolina delegation in the House.

I was uncertain about the meaning of the lobbying law and did not want to get into Alcatraz or any like institutions. So, I registered as a lobbyist and filed a report concerning everything I received in connection with the matter. I was here 1 day only.

It took about 5 years to stop the Justice Department from demanding every 3 months that I file additional reports as a lobbyist despite the fact that I lobbied for 1 day only concerning only one bill and make immediate and complete reports concerning my lobbying activity.

I hope that it will not be as difficult to interpret the provisions in the pending bill as it was to interpret the 1946 act.

I will go along with the Senator from Oklahoma on most provisions of the pending bill, but I do have a feeling with regard to this particular provision that it is somewhat out of line with the main objectives of the bill.

The objectives of the bill are to regulate the internal affairs of Congress. I think the Senator deserves great credit for what he has done in this respect. However, with relation to this provision, the Senate would, in effect, be regulating, not the internal affairs of Congress, but the relationship between Congress and the general public. That is a very precious kind of relationship. Certainly if one appeals to Congress, even through a lobbyist, he is exercising his right for a redress of a grievance under the first amendment.

Mr. MONRONEY. I think the Senator is correct on that. However, after all, the public and Congress are entitled to know that the urging of our vote for this or that legislation is the result of money paid to a professional lobbyist to solicit those votes.

We must have a way to discriminate between those who work professionally to have legislation passed and those who represent the forces of an orderly democracy in the belief that it is in a good cause. We do not prohibit this practice.

There is no test of faith or anything else with relation to the registration of lobbyists.

Everyone, come one and come all, who is lobbying must register. All he has to do is to reveal the money that he is receiving or spending.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. ERVIN. I am sorry that I trespassed on the time of the Senator.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, may I be granted 1 additional minute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Certainly, as the distinguished Senator from Nebraska has said, quoting Justice Jackson:

> After all, it is Congress who should know from experience both the good and the right of petition and the evils of professional lobbying.

It is our job to identify the money that is spent to pass bills. It is our job to turn the daylight on the money that is being spent. This would be good legislative procedure.

We are asking that the filing be made public as to the amount that is spent and by whom it is spent to influence special legislation.

Title V deserves better consideration by the Senate than to have it removed from the bill, which it would be on the tenuous hope that the Committee on the Judiciary, which may not even be the committee which would have jurisdiction over lobbying activities—work in the interest of corrective legislation.

The pending bill corrects it. It corrects the faults that have arisen from past practice.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield, by all means; and I should like to comment, after the Senator has asked his question, on one of the earlier questions asked by the Senator.

Mr. ERVIN. My question is: If we deleted this provision from the bill, the 1946 act would remain law, would it not?

Mr. HRUSKA. By all means.

Mr. ERVIN. Then any Senator interested could introduce a bill like this to amend the 1946 act, and the Committee on the Judiciary could conduct full hearings on it.

Mr. HRUSKA. That part of the 1946 act which has not been nullified by the Supreme Court in the Harriss case, would still remain the law of the land.

The Senator from North Carolina asked earlier whether a lawyer who came here and contacted a Member of Congress would come within the terms of this act. There is no way of telling whether he would or would not, because the Comptroller General will issue rules and regulations. A violation of those rules and regulations will be punishable by a criminal penalty although the Comptroller General is not subject to the Administrative Procedure Act. So the public will not participate in the making of those rules and regulations.

I do not know the answer to the Senator's question, whether or not a specific act would be included, and I would not be able to answer it.

The 1946 act provides that any direct or indirect influencing of legislation comes within its terms. Then the Supreme Court struck out bodily every indirect means of influencing legislation—all of it.

The Court limited the proscribed conduct to direct communication with Congress for the purpose of influencing legislation. I read from the dissent of Justice Douglas that the words "direct communication with Congress" are not in the act. The Court not only strikes out one whole group of activities to influence indirectly, but also substitutes a new concept for the remaining group of activities.

The point is that the amendments contained in title V do not go to the real deficiency in the law as it exists after the Harriss case. What is it that consists of direct or indirect influencing of legislation? We can say "principally"; we can say "substantially"; we can leave this with the Comptroller General. It still does not answer that question and thus provide what is necessary for the Department of Justice to do its job.

Therefore, it seems to me that we should await the time when we can consider in the Senate a bill that will be processed in the regular way. This bill was not.

For the information of Senators who are for the first time hearing arguments on this matter, not a single word of testimony was given on title V after its formulation. We do not know how the Attorney General feels about it. We do not know how the Comptroller General feels about it. We do not know how the public feels about it.

It is said that it is up to Congress to act. Mr. President, it is not Congress that speaks when a select committee of 12 Members of Congress proposes something to Congress in this form, and it is then said: "You have to do something about it." It is not legislating—particularly when we abdicate that part of our legislative duties—such a vast part—to the Comptroller General—to say, "You make the rules and regulations," and if they are violated, a criminal penalty is involved.

One of the best principles of legislating—particularly where we deal with criminal statutes and those heavily permeated with constitutional considerations—is that Congress will specify the actions the violations of which will be punishable by criminal penalties.

So I repeat that we should await the time when we can properly process this matter. Certainly we should await the President's message on this subject. It is in process of preparation and will reach us shortly. We may not wish to adopt the Presidential proposal, but we should use it as a base for passing legislation that will be worthwhile and will mean something.

I yield to the Senator from Illinois for 3 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I trust that the amendment of the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska will be adopted. As he has pointed out, the Attorney General is going to enforce this statute with a penalty of up to $5,000 and a year in jail, or both. Yet, the Attorney General has not been consulted, which is certainly strange.

There was one witness—only one—and he was the publisher or editor of Congressional Quarterly. I do not know whether he is an attorney. So, there is little testimony—not much—on this subject.

If we are going to do a job, let us do it right. Let us take this provision out of the bill. The old statute is still in effect. Nobody has to be worried about that. This matter can be approached in a number of ways.

No. 1, what about the Foreign Agents Registration Act? We have talked about modifying it. All right, let us do something about it. Then legislative lobbying that takes place here. What about lobbying in the executive branch, which dispenses hundreds of billions of dollars? That is where the money is whacked up—down at the other end of the Avenue. If you want to get yourself a fistful of money, do not come to Congress. We do not have it. Go to one of the agencies or one of the bureaus.

Twenty-four secondary education institutions—meaning colleges and universities—keep a full-time man in Washington to make sure that they get in on the gravy train for grants-in-aid. What about that lobbying? It is not touched in the bill at all.

We have a statute against lobbying by governmental bureaus. I have never seen it enforced. I have never seen it invoked.

Let us make a package of the bill by including foreign agents registration, lobbying by Government agents or bureaus, legislative lobbying here, lobbying in the executive branch. Let us do the thing right.

Also, we can have experts come in to testify. Then, of course, we would want the Attorney General, because if he is going to enforce the act, he ought to know what we are asking him to enforce and what the intention of Congress really is.

So do not be dismayed that we will be without a lobby title, because the one that we tinkered up 21 years ago is still going to be the law of the land. As a matter of fact, I had a hand in putting that together. I was not very proud of it. But I can tell you that we had difficulty in the selection of words to convey the intent that we had in mind. To indicate how signally we failed—or succeeded—out of 20 cases, there has been one conviction in 21 years, and that was on a plea of guilty, nothing more. That is not a very good record. Let us not duplicate that record.

Simply because we put in the word "substantial" or "principal," I am not sure that they are words that will satisfy the courts in achieving proper enforcement of this act.

So the amendment that is before the Senate is not going to kill existing antilobby law. It will give us a chance to take a good look. Then we will have the President's message, and we will also have the benefit of the views of the Attorney General.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). The time of the Senator from Illinois has expired.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HRUSKA. If it is agreeable with the Senator from Oklahoma, I am willing to yield him up to 10 minutes. I shall not take more than 5 or 6 minutes to summarize, after he is through, and then we will be ready to vote.

Mr. MONRONEY. We have a good deal of time on our side. Will the Senator go ahead and summarize? Then I should like about 2 minutes to summarize.

Mr. HRUSKA. I have no more requests for time.

Mr. MONRONEY. Is the Senator prepared to use some of his time? Then I will use 2 minutes to summarize.

Mr. HRUSKA. I shall not use more than 5 minutes. I shall be happy to yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma, if he wishes.

Mr. MONRONEY. I have time remaining on the bill.

Mr. HRUSKA. I wish to reserve enough time for my final summarizing statement.

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield myself 2 minutes on the bill.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and I ask unanimous consent that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Illinois? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN].

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I have an amendment which would be in the nature of a perfecting amendment. Would this be the appropriate time to offer it, or should I wait until the time has expired on the pending amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The perfecting amendment cannot be offered until the senior Senator from Nebraska has used all of his time on the pending amendment.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I relinquish the remainder of my time on my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan may now offer his amendment.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I have an amendment at the desk in the nature of a perfecting amendment, and I ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment in the nature of a perfecting amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 118, strike out line 9 and all that follows down to and including line 18, page 124, and substitute in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 501. It is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress—

"(a) that the existing Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act is for the most part inadequate and ineffective;

"(b) that proposed amendments to that Act should be carefully considered by appropriate committees of the Congress after hearings which afford the Attorney General of the United States and other interested parties an opportunity to present their views and recommendations;

"(c) that the Committee on the Judiciary is designated as the appropriate committee in each House to initiate a review and study of such Act with a view toward recommending amendments at the earliest practicable date which will make the Act more adequate and effective in its operation."

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, is this proposed amendment a substitute to the pending amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is for the purpose of perfecting language in the bill before the Senate votes as to whether to strike the entire lobbying section.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the parliamentary inquiry is: May the Senator from Nebraska accept this amendment and make it a part of his amendment, as modified?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say that it would require some modification in the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] in order to accomplish the end of the Senator from Nebraska. It would require unanimous consent.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, unanimous consent to make the modifications or accept the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. Therefore, it would require unanimous consent to modify the Senator's amendment.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HRUSKA. If unanimous consent were given to withdraw the yeas and nays, would the procedure be facilitated?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If that were done, the Senator from Nebraska could make the modification accordingly.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the yeas and nays be rescinded for the purposes indicated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma will state it.

Mr. MONRONEY. The amendment before the Senate provides in section (c):

That the Committee on the Judiciary is designated as the appropriate committee in each House to initiate a review and study of such Act with a view toward recommending amendments at the earliest practicable date which will make the Act more adequate and effective in its operation.

It seems to me that there may be more precedent on the side of other committees having jurisdiction of such matters as lobbying legislation. More recently the Committee on Government Operations has had that jurisdiction.

My parliamentary inquiry is: Can Congress, by incorporating this direction to refer the bill in the legislation, control its referral?

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, if I may be heard on the point of order——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order under Senate precedents is not in order until the proponent has used his time under the unanimous consent agreement.

Mr. MONRONEY. I will reserve my parliamentary inquiry to the point of order later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, by way of explanation, I should like to point out that my amendment would strike out everything in title V except reference to the title itself and would insert new language.

I also invite attention to the fact that the copy of the amendment at the desk, as read by the clerk, has been changed only slightly from the copy on the desk of each Senator. In subparagraph (a), following the language "that the existing Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act is," the words "for the most part" have been inserted.

This addition recognizes that there is some effectiveness in the existing law.

Furthermore, in subparagraph (c), as it now lies at the desk, the words "at the earliest practicable date" have been inserted in the next to the last line following the words "recommending amendments," indicating the intent and the direction of this body that the Committee on the Judiciary should act expeditiously.

Mr. President, I offer this amendment because I have mixed feelings concerning the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] to strike out title V. He makes a persuasive case, in many respects.

As a lawyer, I share his concern about several points which he has raised about title V of the pending bill. Surely, it is a fundamental principle of constitutional law that the legislative branch of the Government should not delegate legislative authority. Yet, the legislation proposed in title V would, in fact, delegate to the Comptroller General the authority to promulgate regulations which in effect, would have the standing of a criminal statute because a violation of the regulations would constitute a crime.

Furthermore, I am disturbed by the fact that the Comptroller General, under the proposed legislation, would not be subject to the Administrative Procedure Act; there would be no notice of hearings or hearings at which interested members of the public, the Attorney General, or others would have an opportunity to appear and testify or submit their recommendations concerning regulations to be promulgated by the Comptroller General.

This, indeed, is a strange and unique way to legislate criminal law—for Congress to duck its responsibility to revise the lobbying act by delegating responsibility to the Comptroller General, and then exempting him from the Administrative Procedure Act.

Aside from the principle that legislative power should not be delegated, we should also take notice of the fundamental constitutional principle that the people are entitled to notice as to what will be a crime. It is very difficult, looking at the language as proposed in the pending bill, for anyone to determine what will be a crime.

"Substantial" is a word that means different things to different people. The Comptroller General, presumably, would define what the word "substantial" means in this particular legislation, but he would be able to do so without any hearings.

Although we can do so, of course, I think it would be unwise for the Senate to adopt title V when we have been served with notice by the administration that it has recommendations to make in this particular area. The administration has served notice that it wants to submit proposed legislation to revise this particular act. It seems that the least we could do would be to wait and consider those recommendations, and to consider the views and recommendations of the Attorney General, who has had some experience with the existing act which is more or less unenforceable. The Attorney General should have some expertise and advice which would be of interest and value in making sure that a revision of the act could be enforced in the future.

I am persuaded by these particular arguments and legal considerations. On the other hand, I am not very happy about the scope of the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. It would merely strike out title V and might leave the impression that no action should be taken. I believe something should be done about the present act.

I am concerned about the fact that the present act is ineffective and inadequate. I believe that the appropriate committees of Congress should proceed to review and study the act in an orderly way, calling in appropriate witnesses, especially the Attorney General. I understand that one of the reasons why action has not been taken earlier is that there is some confusion or disagreement as to which of the several committees in each House has jurisdiction.

Thus, in my sense-of-Congress proposal, I would make it clear that the Committee on the Judiciary in each House would be the appropriate committee to initiate and proceed with a thorough review of the act.

Since this is a criminal statute, it seems to make sense that amendments should be considered by the Committee on the Judiciary. If my amendment were adopted, we would make it clear that Congress recognizes the ineffectiveness of the present act, and that we are not satisfied with inaction. We would be laying out ground rules and providing direction for the Committee on the Judiciary in each House to proceed to initiate a study of this particular act with a view toward improving it and making it more effective and adequate.

Mr. President, with that presentation, I would hope that the Senator from Nebraska might accept my amendment to his proposal.

Mr. HRUSKA. I am happy to do so. In order to make it technically possible to do so, I change my amendment No. 120, in line 7, by striking out the figure "8" and inserting in lieu thereof the figure "9"; and in line 8, after the words "including line 18, page 124" by striking out the period and inserting in lieu thereof a comma, and adding the following:

> SEC. 501. It is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress—
>
> (a) that the existing Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act is for the most part inadequate and ineffective;
>
> (b) that proposed amendments to that Act should be carefully considered by appropriate committees of the Congress after hearings which afford the Attorney General of the United States and other interested parties an opportunity to present their views and recommendations;
>
> (c) that the Committee on the Judiciary is designated as the appropriate committee in each House to initiate a review and study of such Act with a view toward recommending amendments at the earliest practicable date which will make the Act more adequate and effective in its operation.

With that change, I accept the amendment of the Senator from Michigan.

I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan if it is not true that the legislative history made on title V so far, taken as a whole, is accurately reflected in the language of his perfecting amendment. His effort here is to make, in express language, a declaration by Congress that the legislative history demonstrates we are not attempting to kill any effort to amend the present Lobbying Act of 1946. We simply ask that this subject be set aside until we are able to process whatever recommendations are made by the President to Congress, recommendations which, we have been assured by the Attorney General, will be made at an early date.

Am I correct in making that statement?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I would agree that the legislative history made has indicated that very well. I do believe the express inclusion of the language such as I have proposed in the pending bill would reinforce and strengthen that expression and make it very clear that the Senate wants something done, is expecting something to be done and is, indeed, designating the committee which is to undertake the job.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Has the Senator modified his amendment by accepting the perfecting amendment?

Mr. HRUSKA. I have accepted the perfecting amendment as a modification, by making the change I have referred to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Nebraska has accepted the amendment, no further debate is in order on the amendment.

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield myself time on the bill.

With the 5 minutes of summary on each side, I am ready to cease my efforts at persuasion.

I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment, as modified.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes. This amendment is virtually the same amendment, in purpose, as the one we had before. It is just a little less brutal. It is put in fancy, public-relations language to say that it is the sense of Congress that the existing law is inadequate and that it should be carefully considered by the appropriate committees.

Under this or any other language at all, it kills one of the broadest public portions of the bill. This amendment may well be the best tribute to the art of lobbying I have seen. They want to leave it as it is. They say the old statute is enough; we just will not change anything.

Does anyone doubt that the old statute is ineffective, because of the Harriss decision? We are trying to correct the ineffectiveness, as a result of the orientation given by the Supreme Court of the United States, as to what is the matter with the act.

We do not prohibit lobbying; we accept it and ask that lobbyists disclose funds being spent to influence legislation. Now some persons say we have the old statute; leave it for next year, or the year after that. Meanwhile, we shuffle papers here.

Do we or do we not want a bill to identify what is going on in lobbying activities? Do we want to wait for the President to suggest recommendations affecting something that is internal to the Congress of the United States?

It is our job to prescribe rules affecting this body and to prescribe rules affecting lobbying in this body.

We have argued that we should enact a law that is effective now, and not wait for 1 or 2 or 3 years. Any amount of applepolishing by fancy language declaring it to be the sense of Congress is not going to help a bit toward enacting effective and early legislation that is badly needed because of the Supreme Court decisions of several years ago. Certainly, it seems to me the Comptroller General, an arm and agent of the Congress, is the best person to administer the act and to report to the Department of Justice.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The Comptroller General is the best person to administer the act and to report to the Justice Department, not to prosecute, but to urge and to prescribe normal ways of obtaining information so we will know who is putting up money for what purpose.

It seems to me a poor suggestion to direct this matter to the Judiciary Committee. I repeat, the Judiciary Committee has a long, unbroken record of failure to report any legislation on lobbying activities. We have been able to go back only to the 60th Congress to obtain this information with respect to bills introduced in Congress for lobbying legislation. Bills on lobbying were introduced in the 60th, 62d, 64th, 67th, 68th, 70th, 71st, 72d, 73d, 74th, and 76th Congresses, and none of those bills were reported. I am not going beyond the record of the 76th Congress, because at that time bills were referred to the committee of the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. It seems to me this modified amendment is worse than the original amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], in that at least the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska left existing law just as it is, without any stigma of a declaration by Congress that the present law was no good. I would hate to be an Assistant Attorney General or assistant to the Solicitor trying to use the existing law to accomplish some good with a declaration such as that contained in subsection (a) of the perfecting amendment, that Congress had declared that the existing law is inadequate and ineffective.

It seems to me the original amendment is much to be preferred to this feature in this proposed amendment, which I think would leave Congress in a very doubtful position.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield myself 1 additional minute.

If we are going to kill the regulation of lobbyists, let us not wrap it up in a pretty package and do nothing; but, if we are going to do something about disclosure, let us do something about it. I think it is time to fish or cut bait. It is time to decide whether Congress is going to do something about disclosing amounts of money being spent by lobbyists to influence legislation. If we are going to do it, the time to do it is in this bill which is to reorganize Congress.

We can put in the bill a provision having a very simple purpose. If we are to enact a law which will improve the law in that regard, let us do it in this bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does not the Senator think it leaves the law in worse condition to have a blast by Congress, as contained in paragraph (a) of the pending amendment, that it thinks the present law is no good, ineffective, and inadequate?

Mr. MONRONEY. That is correct. I say let us pass it, rather than refer it to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HRUSKA. First, I comment briefly on the inquiry about the undesirability of subparagraph (a) in the amendment.

Is it an indictment of the work of Congress that we call this bill ineffective and inadequate? Heavens, no. All you have to do is read the decision in the case of United States against Harriss. The Supreme Court committed mayhem upon the act of 1946. It emasculated the act, taking out altogether indirect efforts to influence legislation, and taking out many of the acts of direct influence on legislation.

So we are not indicting ourselves.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Harriss decision leaves some of the direct acts of lobbying within the purview of existing law, and subject to judicial review.

Mr. HRUSKA. Indeed it does, but the 1946 act, which is the law now, will still be part of the statutes even after the amendment of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin] and me is approved. It will stay on the books; it will not be hurt one whit.

Mr. President, it has been said that there have been months of hearings and bills introduced in previous Congresses. Even if no action was taken, does that warrant our passing a measure of this kind, which has had not a single word of testimony and no opportunity for hearings of any kind? There has not been any Attorney General's opinion upon the practicability of the act, and whether or not it will correct the 1946 act, as construed by the Supreme Court. There has been not one word from the Comptroller General, the bar associations, or any member of the public. Where, while it is said that the amendments contained in title V are intended to correct the present law, which has been proved to be ineffective in three respects, there is not one word which applies to the basic problem with the act as it now stands. Title V does not define what it is that constitutes directly or indirectly influencing legislation.

Are we warranted in approving title V as reported, when a basic principle of legislation has been violated in the work of the special committee itself? I refer to the delegation to the Comptroller General of the right to make rules and regulations the violation of which will be punishable by a criminal statute.

Mr. President, that is not the way to legislate.

Furthermore, highly prized constitutional rights—free speech, a free press, and the right to petition—are affected by title V. Yet no consideration has been given, and no testimony heard at any time on this vital area. I do not think this Congress would be discharging its duty if it engages in summary action on this very important issue.

I repeat, this will not kill anything. It is not an action hostile to lobbying regulation legislation. It simply involves deferring action until the President's recommendations—not the President's command, Mr. President—are received, and until we have referred the bill to the proper committees, and have called witnesses. In this way the will of Congress will have the opportunity to work in proper fashion. I urge the Senate to agree to the amendment, as modified.

Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time, if the Senator from Oklahoma is prepared to yield back the remainder of his.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time. Have the yeas and nays been ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the modified amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INOUYE (when his name was called). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee]. If he were present and voting, he would "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] are absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper]. If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "yea" and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 53, as follows:

[No. 55 Leg.]

YEAS—30

Allott
Carlson
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Hart
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Long, La.
McClellan
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Prouty
Scott
Smathers
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, N.J.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—53

Aiken
Anderson
Bayh
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Church
Dodd
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Harris
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGovern
McIntyre
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Nelson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—17

Baker
Bartlett
Bennett
Brooke
Cooper
Gruening
Hansen
Hartke
Hatfield
Inouye
Magnuson
McGee
Metcalf
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Sparkman

So Mr. Hruska's amendment, as modified, was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on behalf of myself and the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with. I can explain the amendment in a very few minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? There being no objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be printed in the Record.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the Record, is as follows:

On page 86, line 13, strike out "(a)".

Beginning with line 18 on page 86, strike out through line 2 on page 87.

On page 92, after line 24, insert the following:

"CAPITOL GUIDE SERVICE

"Sec. 424. (a) When used in this section, unless the context indicates otherwise—

"(1) the term 'Service' means the Capitol Guide Service created by subsection (b);

"(2) the term 'Board' means the Board created by subsection (b);

"(3) the term 'guide' means any member of the Capitol Guide Service; and

"(4) the term 'building' means the United States Capitol Building.

"(b) There is hereby created an organization, to be known as the Capitol Guide Service, which shall be under the supervision of a board consisting of the Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives.

"(c) It shall be the duty of the Service, under regulations promulgated by the Board, to furnish free guide services to any person desiring to view the interior of the building. The Service shall consist of a chief guide who shall receive gross compensation at the rate of $9,800 per annum, and not less than ten, nor more than twenty guides who shall each receive gross compensation at the rate of $7,200 per annum. Appointments to and removals from the Service shall be made by the Board. Appointees to the Service shall be chosen solely upon the basis of the special qualifications which fit them for the duties to be performed.

"(d) The Board shall make and promulgate the regulations necessary for the operation of the Service. Such regulations shall cover the schedules and routings of tours through the building, the oral informative data to be supplied to the public, the personal conduct of members of the Service when on duty, the uniforms and insignia for the Service, and such other phases of the work as in its judgment may be necessary.

"(e) No guide shall make any charge for his official services, nor accept any gratuity nor shall he, in the course of official duty, speak in praise or censure of any person. Any violation of the provisions of this subsection shall be punished by immediate dismissal.

"(f) The headquarters of the Service shall be maintained in the rotunda of the building, and a guide shall be on duty there at all times during the hours the building is open to the public.

"(g) The necessary expenses incident to the establishment and maintenance of the Service, including uniforms and insignia for each guide, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives on vouchers approved by the Board.

"(h) The Board may detail any guide to supplement the Capitol Police when special occasions in the building or on the Capitol Grounds require additional police and the performance of the regular duties of the Service are temporarily suspended by such occasion."

On page 3, in the table of contents, after item 423 insert the following new item:

"Sec. 424. Capitol Guide Service."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The purpose of the amendment is to provide free guide service for schoolchildren and other tourists who visit the U.S. Capitol.

I have done a considerable amount of checking on this matter, and it seems that we are about the only country in the Western World that charges its constituents, and particularly the schoolchildren, for the privilege of visiting the Capitol of the country.

Thousands of children come here from the various States every year. These schoolchildren in order to secure guide service have to pay 15 cents apiece to tour the Nation's Capitol. Other tourists have to pay 25 cents.

These people can visit the White House, the museums, the FBI building, and any other Government building in Washington free of charge; however, if they want to visit the Capitol and see Congress in session they must pay for that visit.

I think the very least that we can do is to provide guide service so that schoolchildren and other tourists can get a free tour of the Capitol.

The pending bill provides that the service shall consist of a chief guide who shall receive gross compensation at the rate of $9,800 per year, and not less than 10 nor more than 20 guides who shall receive gross compensation at the rate of $7,200.

These compensation rates have been set in line with approximately a half dozen bills that have been introduced in Congress on matters dealing with the same subject. The other bills carried a lower salary rate when they were introduced 2 years ago; however, the increase is to adjust them to the last Salary Act.

The amendment would provide free guide service to those schoolchildren and other tourists who visit the Capitol. I think it is something that we should do. It is long overdue.

Schoolchildren and other people should be encouraged to visit the Capitol, and we should welcome them to the fullest possible extent.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. MORTON. We receive $30,000 a year. Is it not worth 15 cents to see us?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I doubt it.

Mr. MORTON. I doubt it, too.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is one of the most convincing arguments that could be made for the amendment.

Mr. MORTON. I will vote for it.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I am in complete sympathy with the idea of not charging schoolchildren or other tourists to see the Nation's Capitol. I have long advocated such action.

This question consumed a great deal of time, I assure the Senator in the joint committee. We worked on the matter and found it quite difficult to get the House and Senate together.

In the course of the discussion, we went over the need to have one joint committee that would have as one of its principal duties the joint operation of the Capitol and the facilities of the Capitol instead of having two separate principalities, one on one side and one on the other.

So, we created in the bill, which we hope is near passage, a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations. It is our intent in the pending bill that matters such as this, which affect both Houses, the housekeeping of the Capitol, and many other things should be the concern of this joint committee.

It is in the bill, and I am certain, because of the keen interest on both sides, that the guide question will be heard by this committee.

Many features must be thrashed out. For example, our present guides need to be converted, I believe, under this amendment, to Government service and given the advantage of the retirement benefits and health benefits that go with Federal employment. Many things would be necessary. I am certain that is a matter that the committee would take up when this bill is passed.

For that reason, I urge the Senator not to insist on his amendment. I am certain that the joint committee, which we are creating for this purpose and for other questions that need joint consideration, would take care of these things once the committee is underway.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I appreciate the position of the Senator from Oklahoma, but I do not believe that this matter needs further study. It is a simple question. Do we or do we not wish to furnish free guide service for the schoolchildren and the tourists who visit the Capitol?

This proposal has been before the Senate at least for the last 6 or 8 years, because I have sponsored it in each Congress and have been able to get nowhere with it. It has always been postponed until "tomorrow." Well, tomorrow has arrived, and I believe that we should vote for it. We are voting on a bill now, which I shall support, to reorganize both the House and the Senate. Certainly this is an appropriate vehicle.

I should like to see the Senate adopt the amendment because it is ridiculous that the United States of America, which is supposed to be one of the richest and greatest nations, should charge schoolchildren to visit the Nation's Capitol to see Congress in session.

I do not wish to create the impression that the present guide service is not doing an excellent job. They are doing an excellent job. This is no reflection at all on their service. The members of the guide service should be given priority, naturally, in the new jobs that would be created. They would automatically become Government employees, subject to the control of Congress, and they would be entitled to all the benefits of a Government employee.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. In the Senator's brief explanation of his amendment, I did not quite catch this aspect—it may have escaped me: Does the Senator's amendment provide by whom the chief guide and other guides would be appointed; who, if anybody, would have control over them, and how, if it should become necessary, they would be severed from their jobs?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. This amendment would create an organization to be known as the Capitol Guide Service, which would be under the supervision of a board consisting of the Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives. That is the same board that now has control over the existing guide service. Of course, both the House and the Senate elect their respective Sergeant at Arms. So we would have control over the operations.

The amendment provides restrictions: that the guides could not engage in political activities or propaganda in the course of their guiding tours. I will say that guides, as they act now, are very discreet on that point. I compliment the guides on the job they are doing. This amendment is not in criticism.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The proposed amendment is not offered as criticism of the existing service. It is a question of whether or not we wish to face this problem and let the taxpayers pay for the guide service, or whether we wish to continue to levy this charge against the various tourists and schools that visit the Nation's Capitol. I believe that it would be better to pay the fee out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

I urge the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I regret the necessity of opposing this amendment, because I have long spoken for the free guide service for our visitors at the Capitol.

I do not believe that it would be proper to create this system in the closing hours of the consideration of this bill, which has some 100 other items in it, and ignore many essential facts involved in setting up a new service.

For example, I see no place in the amendment providing for coverage of these guides with respect to health insurance programs or retirement credits for past services or how much they should pay to acquire these benefits. Certainly, we wish to protect these people, and we want to be sure that they are properly supervised.

We have provided in the bill for a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, which would be given a number of duties affecting both Houses of Congress. But the proposed amendment would put the guide service under the direction and supervision of a board consisting of the Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives. I believe that it would be better to move forward with the joint committee which we are proposing, rather than to turn anything else over to the employed personnel officials of the Senate.

This matter will be taken up by the new committee.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield to my distinguished colleague, the Senator from South Dakota, who I believe is the author of the section in the bill providing for the joint committee.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. I say to the Senator from Delaware that I recall that there was general and I believe unanimous feeling in our joint committee that steps should be taken to remove the charges that schoolchildren must pay for guide service. The reason why we did not come up with some specific recommendation in that area is that we established the Joint Committee on the Operation of Congress; and once you remove the fees paid for guide service, you cannot stop there. You must proceed to determine, as the Senator from New Hampshire has indicated, how the guides are to be selected, how they are to be reimbursed, and what kind of status they should have with respect to the ancillary benefits that other Senate employees have with respect to insurance and tenure.

It is complicated to write these matters out in sufficient detail in this kind of measure. We have established the committee to do this. I do not believe that a single member of the committee, on either side of the aisle, wished to proceed with the matter as it is now, but they believed that the appropriate way to resolve the matter would be in such a manner that all Senators would have an opportunity to vote on the proposal when it came before them, to decide upon a method of eliminating the charge and providing for a guide service which would appropriately fit in with the employment and salary schedules prevailing generally on Capitol Hill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield myself 3 minutes.

The argument has been made that the proposed amendment should not be adopted because it would delegate to the Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives, the responsibility to select these guides. Who is selecting them today? The Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives are selecting them today. If you are not satisfied with what they are doing today, say so. This amendment would not change the method of control of the guide service.

As to the fact that these guides should, at the same time, be given civil service retirement benefits and the status of Government employees, there is nothing complicated about that. My amendment would give them civil service status, would make them Government employees, and would make them eligible for the benefits of the retirement system as extended to all other Government employees. These retirement benefits would not be extended to the guide service retroactively. Why should they be? Members of the guide service have not been paying into the retirement fund. The amendment would only put them under the retirement fund from the day that the bill becomes effective and they become Government employees: they would then automatically be entitled to all the benefits of other Government employees.

I believe that this is a simple matter. Do we want it, or do we want to postpone it and talk about it for another 3 to 5 years, as we have been doing for the past 5 years?

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time has been yielded back.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 74, nays 8, as follows:

[No. 56 Leg.]

YEAS—74

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bayh
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Harris
Hart
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGovern
McIntyre
Miller
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smith
Spong
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—8

Cannon
Griffin
Hayden
Hill
Monroney
Mundt
Russell
Stennis

NOT VOTING—18

Baker
Bartlett
Bennett
Brooke
Cooper
Gruening
Hansen
Hartke
Hatfield
Magnuson
McGee
Metcalf
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Smathers
Sparkman
Tower

So the amendment of Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware was agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. **WILLIAMS** of New Jersey. Mr. President, legislative lobbying activity should be considered under careful scrutiny of all the laws, rules, and regulations concerning this area. Violations of these laws should be prosecuted to the fullest by the Attorney General. The present laws, rules and regulations have been for the most part, very ineffective. Changes should be made and the Attorney General should be brought before the Congress to discuss with us how we should carry out our responsibilities concerning lobbyists. This type study would be the proper function of the Judiciary Committees of both Houses of Congress.

This was the objective of the Hruska amendment, modified by Senator GRIFFIN, and I therefore supported it.

Mr. **MONRONEY.** Mr. President, I ask for third reading of the bill.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

RULES, PRACTICES, CUSTOMS, AND PROCEDURES OF THE SENATE

Mr. **CLARK.** Mr. President, because I believe that the Senate is presently operating under a system of rules and precedents that are not only obsolete but harmful to the advance of the country's social and economic progress, because I believe those rules, practices, customs, and procedures are unresponsive to the people's wishes, I have undertaken to call before the Senate a series of amendments to the Monroney-Madden reorganization bill.

My purpose at this time is to state why I did that, to review the results of the amendments which I proposed, and then to indicate, briefly, the damage which I think has been done to the goal of making the Senate an effective legislative body by the refusal of my colleagues to face up to what has often been called the felt necessities of the times.

Fundamentally, I believe that the present system for conducting business in the Senate, both in committee and on the floor, unjustly protects the minority at the expense of the majority. Ever since Woodrow Wilson stated, back in 1917, that the Senate of the United States was the only legislative body in the civilized world which was unable to act when a majority was ready for action, it has been obvious that the time would come when something would have to be done about the way the Senate does business, or our whole system of Federal Government would be in jeopardy.

In that year rule XXII was first adopted; and that was a great step forward. Prior to 1917, when the late Senator Walsh, of Montana, took the initiative with respect to rules reform, there was no way whatever of terminating debate. As a result of Senator Walsh's initiative—supported, of course, by President Wilson—what is substantially the present rule XXII was adopted, and two-thirds of the Senators present and voting were enabled to bring debate to a close.

However, ever since the founding of the Republic, debate could also be brought to a close by a motion to table, which would carry if only 51 Senators supported it. Accordingly, to get something done in the Senate, if the opposition is active and aggressive, you have to get 67 Senators to pass a bill; but if you want to keep something from being done in the Senate, you only need 51. The obvious inequity need not be reiterated. What does need a word, however, is the curious kind of philosophy which permits the status quo to remain unless two-thirds think otherwise, and again permits the status quo to remain against efforts to change if a majority are prepared to vote to table a measure which would effect some change.

In short, costly weakening and sometimes unfortunate compromise for badly needed legislation is the inevitable result of the system under which we operate. We are legislating in an archaic manner, and the times demand change, in order to keep up with the pace of the 20th century—and the last third of the 20th century at that.

It is true that through the course of history since Congress first met in 1789, progress in the legislative branch has come about slowly. I have often said that the advanced thinking in the universities of our country and among those men and women who are most knowledgeable about public affairs is about one generation ahead of the required action in Congress. Somebody has to point the way or make the first moves toward changing the situation; and over a period of more than the last 10 years, it has been my privilege, and indeed my honor, to point the way toward badly needed change.

Hardly a reform has come about in this body, over the years, for which the original proponent was not pilloried when he first suggested it; and I am content to continue this somewhat lonely fight, with the conviction that in due course, the majority of my fellow Senators will change their views and support badly needed congressional reform.

Ever since the summer of 1960, it has been my view that the Standing Rules of the Senate are a strong deterrent to the proper and efficient functioning of this body. That was back in the 86th Congress; and I then offered a series of proposals for specific changes in the Senate rules.

By the time the first session of the 88th Congress rolled around, those proposals had been expanded into 16 specific amendments to the Senate Rules, which were at that time referred to the Subcommittee on Standing Rules of the Committee on Rules and Administration. There they received a not unexpected chilly reception, and there they languish to this day.

By the end of the second session of the 88th Congress, those 16 specific amendments had been elaborated and refined into a comprehensive revision of the Standing Rules of the Senate. Like its more modest predecessors, this omnibus proposal was referred to the Subcommittee on Standing Rules of the Committee on Rules and Administration, where it met its accustomed fate.

The comprehensive revision was reintroduced by me in the 89th Congress. Again, it went to the Committee on Rules and Administration. It did not even receive 1 day of consideration in that committee. Because I despaired of obtaining a hearing on these rules, not only before the Subcommittee on Standing Rules, a subcommittee of three of my distinguished colleagues, but also before the full Committee on Rules and Administration, I determined to see whether the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress might not be persuaded to take up these badly needed reforms.

It is no secret, and I do not hesitate to make the statement publicly, that the Committee on Rules and Administration is so constituted that it will vote at least 5 to 4—and sometimes more—against any change in the Senate rules proposed by me, no matter how minor. It is also true that the Subcommittee on Standing Rules would cast a similar vote by 2 to 1.

It, of course, is the right and privilege of Senators to take that, to my way of thinking, somewhat archaic point of view. I do not complain but, in God's good time, the composition of that committee will almost inevitably change. New and somewhat more modern men will come to serve on that committee.

I am confident that before too many years have gone by a well-thought-through and comprehensive revision of the Senate's rules, customs, procedures, and manners will come to be viewed with favor by a majority of the Committee on Rules and Administration and we will eventually get action.

When the Senate concurrent resolution creating a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was brought before the Senate, I urged that that committee, consisting of Senators and Representatives, be given authority to propose changes in the standing rules of both bodies, including the rules relating to floor procedures.

To my regret the Senate, and indeed the Senate Establishment to which I have had occasion to make reference in the past, refused to give the joint committee that authority, although it did not deny to it the right to take testimony in that area.

When the joint committee quite properly decided to exercise this limited power of taking testimony, I accepted the opportunity to make a full exposition of my proposed comprehensive revision of the standing rules of the Senate and a number of other proposals which fell within the joint committee's jurisdiction.

Questions were asked and a comprehensive record was developed, which can be found in the printed proceedings of the committee.

With that background, I attempted to refine again the comprehensive revision of the standing rules of the Senate, first introduced in 1964, with a view toward offering the most important and, in my opinion, the most useful reforms as individual amendments to the Monroney legislative reorganization bill.

It had occurred to me that only in this

way could the Senate be given a chance to act on these proposals, given the limitations in the charter of the joint committee and the determined decision of the Committee on Rules and Administration to act negatively, if at all, toward proposals for procedural reform. The response of the Senate to these proposals in a series of votes which have occurred during the last month can only be construed as indicating that the Senate continues to be unwilling to face up to the need to take those basic minimal steps needed to permit it, particularly in time of crisis and more particularly during the hectic weeks prior to adjournment each year, to perform its duties as an effective legislative body in the modern world.

Let me review the record of what has been done. I shall refer to the numbers of the proposed amendments as they were filed at the desk and will proceed in chronological order with respect to the amendments I offered.

The first amendment was amendment No. 6, which would have stricken out the proposal of the Monroney-Madden committee to eliminate proxy voting in committee. In a series of off-the-floor conferences with the Senator from Oklahoma, we succeeded in working out the proxy question satisfactorily. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long] rallied to my support with this amendment No. 69, so that the net result was that proxy voting in committees was left in the only way in which is was feasible, which was to permit a widespread use of proxies when amendments were being proposed and bills were being marked up in order to make it possible for Senators who serve on three, four, and sometimes five committees to be recorded by proxy when they were unavoidably unable to attend the committee meeting.

We could get rid of proxy voting if we did not insist that Senators should be permitted, whether by grandfather clause or otherwise, to serve on far more committees than they can possible do justice to.

As long as that system prevails—and it is clear that it is the will of the Senate that it should continue to prevail—it is absolutely necessary to permit proxy voting on a widespread scale. So I am content with that result, and I am happy to have been able to play some part in bringing it about.

The next two amendments, Nos. 7 and 64, dealt with ex officio members of the Appropriations Committee.

It had been my view that certain committees were favored in that they were permitted to have ex officio members of the Committee on Appropriations while others, including the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which brings to the floor probably more authorization bills requiring appropriations than any other committee in the Senate, were not.

The Senate disagreed with me in my efforts to increase the number of committees entitled to ex officio members.

A motion made by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] to table my amendment was agreed to by a vote of 63 to 13.

When I offered an amendment to eliminate all ex officio members of the Appropriations Committee on the theory that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, that amendment was rejected by a vote of 17 to 66.

That amendment would have repealed paragraph 6 of rule XVI of the Senate. The end result is, first, that certain favored committees, such as the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, are placed in a position of priority and preference when their appropriations are being considered, whereas other committees, such as the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Committee on Banking and Currency are denied the privilege afforded to others. Moreover, the Senate rejected an effort to remedy that injustice.

The next amendment was amendment No. 8 which dealt with committee meetings during Senate sessions. Here I was joined in my proposal to vastly liberalize the rule with respect to committees meeting while the Senate is in session by the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough].

The two of us persuaded the Senator from Oklahoma to substantially modify his amendment dealing with this subject, and by a voice vote an amendment was agreed to which provided that with the consent of the majority and minority leaders, committees could meet while the Senate is in session, both to conduct hearings and to mark up bills.

A legislative history was made to the effect that the majority and minority leaders in giving that permission were to be guided not by the request of any one Senator that the committee should not be permitted to meet, but by their own view as to what was good for the most expeditious conduct of Senate business.

So, I would anticipate that we pretty well cracked the delaying tactic of denying committees the right to meet at the behest of any one Senator. And this is indeed an important reform when we think of the backlog of legislation which over takes us during the closing days of every session. So this, too, was a move forward.

The next amendment was No. 9, which dealt with the committee bill of rights. Again, we made a legislative history, the Senator from Oklahoma and I, from which I was satisfied that the committee bill of rights proposed by the floor manager of the bill, the Senator from Oklahoma, adequately expanded the right of the majority of the committee to require the committee should meet to establish its agenda, to give it the right to terminate debate within the committee, and to report bills to the floor regardless of what a minority within the committee, which might even include the chairman, might wish to do. So, with the aid of the legislative history made in connection with the debate on my amendment No. 9, I believe we have an effective committee bill of rights, and my amendment was accordingly withdrawn. So that, too, was progress.

The next amendment was No. 11, which would have eliminated that vermiform appendix to the procedures of the Senate—the reading of the Senate Journal. However, the Senator from Oklahoma felt that he was bound not to accept my amendments to this bill which dealt with floor procedure; and my amendment to eliminate the Senate Journal and to incorporate it into the Congressional Record, thus eliminating one method of conducting a filibuster, was tabled by a vote of 71 to 8. In view of the circumstances surrounding that vote, I wonder a bit whether all the Senators who voted for the motion to table were entirely acquainted with what they were doing.

Then, amendments Nos. 14. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 were rejected by voice vote on February 6 of this year. No. 14 would have prevented the notorious misuse of the right of any Senator to suggest the absence of a quorum at any time.

No. 15 dealt with the order of recognition, and merely incorporated into the rules the present procedure, which is that when the majority leader or the Senator sitting in his seat desires recognition, he will be given it, despite a loud voice asking for recognition from the back row, which is heard by the Presiding Officer before the majority leader struggles to his feet; and that the same rule should apply, as a matter of courtesy, to the minority leader if the majority leader is not seeking recognition.

No. 16 dealt with germane points of order, and would have cleared up the confusing situation which presently exists with regard to the right to interrupt a Senator who has the floor for the purpose of raising a point of order.

No. 17 would have incorporated into the rules what is a present well-known practice of the Senate—permitting speeches to be printed in the Record in normal rather than small-size print, whether or not they were actually delivered. This would be a great convenience to the Senate, and would eliminate a certain amount of delay, sometimes not too serious delay, but nonetheless holding up the Senate for substantial periods of time—as indeed I am doing now, at the end of the day. Customarily, if a Senator has a text, he will read the first few sentences and the last few sentences and tell the official reporter to print it all in regular size type, and thus violate the rule of the Joint Committee on Printing which provides that any material that is not actually delivered by voice or is an insert from another source must be printed in type so small that it is most difficult to read.

Similarly, No. 18 dealt with points of order and established a more orderly procedure, with limited debate, for disposing of them. By that time, the attendance on the floor of the Senate had shrunk almost to the vanishing point; and while the amendment was defeated by voice vote, I noted at the time that there were only six Senators on the floor, and the amendment lost by a vote of 5 to 1.

The same fate was met by No. 19, a rewrite—a badly needed rewrite, I may say—of the present utterly incomprehensive rule VII, dealing with morning business. The effort to rewrite the rule in basic English, making some commonsense, was defeated by a vote of 4 to 1, on voice vote.

No. 20 dealt with the procedure for dealing with bills, and No. 21 dealt with methods of voting—both relatively minor reforms, the substance of which can be found by those scholars who desire to investigate the RECORD. The debate appears—it was a brief debate—in the RECORD for February 6, 1967.

We came then to the proposed amendments Nos. 22, 23, and 24, which were the so-called Bobby Baker amendments. In this instance there was somewhat more extensive debate, and the votes were closer. I predict that before 2 years have gone by, the substance of these Bobby Baker amendments will be adopted by the Senate.

In the course of the debate, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], who had previously been adamant in his refusal to indicate when, if at all, the Special Committee on Ethics, which he chairs, would get around to considering the subjects of disclosure of financial interest, relations with lobbyists, and moonlighting by Senate employees, changed his position and committed himself, on the floor of the Senate, to have the Special Committee on Ethics consider these matters during this session, and to bring back its recommendations this year in ample time to have them considered on the floor before adjournment. This, I believe, was a rather significant victory for those of us who believe deeply that the Senate has swept under the rug the problem of its own code of behavior, its own ethics, its own procedures. The Senate has not followed the executive department in laying down ethical precepts to guide it in these matters; and again, in my judgment—speaking only for myself—this has tended to bring the Senate into disrepute with the country.

Amendment No. 22, which would have required all Senators to file a reasonably comprehensive statement of their assets and liabilities, gifts they had received, fees they had taken, the source of income of their spouses if that income was significant or substantial, was tabled by a vote of 45 to 30, indicating that at least 30 Senators were not happy with the present situation, which has been so much publicized, where conflict of interest has been frequently charged against Members of the Senate with respect to their activities and their votes.

Amendment No. 23, dealing with relations with lobbyists, a source of some incipient scandal in Congress, was tabled by a vote of 37 to 22. It would be invidious for me to call off the names of those Members of Congress—and individuals prominent in public life who are not in Congress—whose public conduct has been called into question by the courts and in one instance by the other body.

In one instance there is still pending such an inquiry. It is clear to me that we are going to have to do something about the problem of lobbyists. The Griffin substitute for the Hruska amendment, for which substitute I voted, is a clear call to the Department of Justice and the Committees of the Judiciary of the House of Representatives and the Senate to move into this area, to move in promptly, and to propose legislation which will deal with this vexing problem of legislative relations with lobbyists.

I was one of the Members on this side of the aisle who voted for the Griffin amendment and, frankly, I am glad that I did.

Amendment No. 24, dealing with moonlighting by Senate employees, was tabled on the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma by a vote of 49 to 28. This, too, is a problem we are going to have to face up to. It is difficult to say what was the overriding cause of the dereliction of duty of Bobby Baker, but it is clear that his moonlighting activities had a great deal to do with it. The amendment which I presented would have curtailed moonlighting by Senate employees, but would have created procedures by which legitimate moonlighting would have been permitted by permission granted by the immediate supervisor of the employee in question.

Amendment No. 25 dealt with procedures of the Committee on Appropriations. It would, in my opinion, if enacted, have vastly expedited the hearing, consideration, and voting on appropriation bills by the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Senators will recall that only a few years ago the appropriation process broke down to such an extent that the last appropriation bill was not adopted until, as I recall, New Year's Eve. The Senate was held in session all year long because the two quarreling Committees on Appropriations were unable to agree, first, on where to meet and, second, on the kind of business which had to be approved and signed by the President to keep the Government running.

In my judgment, the procedure which I suggested in order to remedy the situation would have vastly improved the processing of appropriations, but it was rejected by voice vote.

Amendment No. 26, which would have called for the adoption of rules by the Senate for each Congress, as the House of Representatives does, which, in my opinion, is required by the Constitution of the United States, was also rejected by voice vote. If adopted, it would have given us a simple procedure for dealing with rule XXII in the beginning of each new Congress, and also dealing with a number of other proposed changes in the rules, which I have suggested.

Amendment No. 27, which would have created a simple procedure for requiring committees to report controversial legislation which is bottled up in the committee, was also defeated, to my disappointment, by voice vote. Actually, it was a vote of 6 to 1, Senators not being sufficiently interested in the amendments with which I was dealing to come to the floor unless required to do so by a request for the yeas and nays.

Amendment No. 29, which dealt with the retirement of committee chairman, and would have required any committee chairman to retire, as such, at age 70, although continuing to serve as a member of the committee, was also defeated by a voice vote. Again, in my opinion, it would have tended to upgrade, modernize, streamline, and expedite committee procedure.

This brings me to the last five amendments which I called up and on which I requested rollcall votes, hoping that by doing so I would be able to elicit the interest of at least a few Senators who had failed to come to the Chamber during the consideration of other matters disposed of by voice vote.

The first such amendment was amendment No. 12, which dealt with germaneness of debate. It would have extended the present rule of germaneness to make it capable of being invoked at any time by the floor manager of the bill, the majority leader, or the minority leader, for the duration of the period during which a particular piece of legislation was being considered. It would have been an amendment to standing rule XIX of the Senate. It was tabled by a vote of 68 to 13.

My amendment No. 13 was next. It would have required that all amendments to the pending business should be germane. I pointed out the abuse which the failure to have such a rule—a rule which has been in effect in the House of Representatives for many years—had had in the recent history of the Senate in nongermane amendments becoming the tail that wagged the dog on civil rights legislation, or the prayer amendment, and on the one-man, one-vote measure, the so-called rotten borough constitutional amendment proposed by the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. This germaneness amendment was defeated by a vote of 68 to 13. It would have added a new standing rule XLI to the Senate rules, barring nongermane amendments to a bill under consideration and providing that all questions pertaining thereto shall be decided by the Presiding Officer subject to a nondebatable appeal.

Amendment No. 28 would have limited speeches on the floor of the Senate to a maximum of 3 hours. During the course of the presentation of the amendment I made some reference, in a lighter vein, to the competition between two of our esteemed colleagues several years ago to see who could talk the longest without exhaustion. It is my recollection that the record is now 23 hours and some minutes. I hope that I shall not live to see the day when that fundamentally immature process—sort of flagpole sitting contest, or if Senators are old enough to recall, the marathon dance of my early middle age, are typical examples—is repeated.

That amendment was defeated by a vote of 71 to 7, indicating that Senators desired to retain their inalienable constitutional right to talk in this Chamber for as long as they see fit, regardless of whether the galleries are empty, and their colleagues have gone home to a good hot dinner with their wives.

The next amendment was No. 30, and it would have eliminated the first of the two filibusters which are presently engaged in whenever a small group of Senators desire to prevent a piece of legislation from coming to a vote. This would have provided that after the appropriate warning procedure, a motion to take up the pending bill would be disposed of 24 hours after the motion was made, following a limited debate.

(At this point Mr. BAYH assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, that vote was 69 to 13.

My final amendment was 31, perhaps the most important of them all. It would have reinstated the motion to the previous question. That motion was in effect in the Senate from 1789 until about 1806 or 1810. It is based on Jefferson's Manual. It has been in effect in the House of Commons since the late 17th century. It has always been in the Rules of the House of Representatives, and also in the senates, I believe, of practically all the States.

The motion for the previous question, under the rule I proposed, could not be called up until after 3 days, or 15 hours of debate, whichever was longer, with respect to any amendment or motion, and after 15 days of continuous debate with respect to any bill.

In my judgment, this extended debate would obviously give ample opportunity to ventilate and consider conflicting views, and the time would then have come when if the majority was ready to act, it would support a motion for the previous question and proceed immediately thereafter to a vote on the merits of the amendment or the bill.

That amendment was defeated by a vote of 64 to 18.

Thus, Mr. President, the Senate refused to change its hallowed, traditional methods of doing business. With the exception of the improvements made in the recommendation of the Monroney committee with respect to proxy voting, committee meetings during Senate sessions, and the rights and privileges of a majority of the legislative committees, the Senate made little progress in modernizing its rules and procedures.

To summarize, then, these 26 amendments, taken as a whole, constituted an effort to revise the Senate's rules to achieve these objectives: First, to implement the principle of majority rule by eliminating loopholes through which small minorities and individual Senators have been able to hinder, delay, and obstruct the conduct of public business by the Senate. Second, to chop out archaic and obsolete deadwood in the rules by streamlining and modernizing procedures, by the deletion of provisions which have long since lost their usefulness, and by rewriting Senate rules in basic English instead of leaving them as they are now, the product of legislative gobbledygook. Third, to make the rules as simple, concise, and explicit as possible, providing the public as well as the Senate with understandable descriptions of the way the Senate actually operates, as opposed to the way it is supposed to operate under its rules, so that a new Senator by simply learning and mastering a simple set of rules of procedure, which would be, in essence, about the same as those of any other legislative body in the civilized world, would be able to get on top of the procedures he was supposed to follow in, perhaps, 6 months' time.

Mr. President, I think I have made as careful a study of the rules of the Senate as any present Member of this body. I flatter myself that I have learned a little bit about them during the course of the past 10 years. But, I must confess, when a tricky point of procedure arises, I find myself utterly incapable of determining how the Parliamentarian will rule, even by consulting those basic manuals of procedure which are in the desk of each of us and which it would take a lifetime to master. I refer, of course, to the Senate Manual and to the book on Senate Procedure.

Valiant efforts by able men to explain the inexplicable have failed to bring meaningful action toward these objectives. The Senate has demonstrated not that a consensus does not exist for such action—since it does exist—but, rather, that it is drastically out of step with that popular consensus, as I read the desires of public opinion as expressed in polls, correspondence, and the like.

To substantiate my statement in that regard, I invite attention to the national party platforms of both the Democratic and Republican Parties which, over the last three, if not the last four national conventions in both parties, have contained pledges for wide-ranging reform of the rules of procedure of Congress, pledges which were violated the moment the election was over, when the Senators or Representatives who were successful in the election took their seats and turned their backs on their parties' pledges.

For instance, the Democratic Party platform of 1964 recites:

> The Congress of the United States should revise its rules and procedures to assure majority rule after reasonable debate and to guarantee that major legislative proposals of the President can be brought to a vote after reasonable consideration in committee.

Mr. President, I wrote that plank. It is in basic English. I think that any Senator knows what it means. To me, the cynicism by which Members of this body in my party have turned their backs on that clear commitment is something which I must, indeed, deplore.

The Republican platform in 1964 said:

> (We also pledge) a wide-ranging reform of . . . Congressional procedures, including the provision of adequate professional staffs assistance for the minority membership on Congressional Committees, to insure that the power and prestige of Congress remains adequate to the needs of the times.

Not so explicit as the Democratic plank, but explicit enough—and difficult, indeed, for a Republican Member of this body to explain away while voting down reforms based upon the plank which was inserted in his own party platform.

After all, what those two party planks recite is the essence of congressional reform: insuring that the power and prestige and effectiveness of Congress in general, and the Senate in particular, remains adequate to the needs of the times, and that we practice in our procedures—in our way of doing the Nation's business—that democracy which we are so fond of preaching outside this Chamber.

Mr. President, the pending bill, despite what I have said, deserves to be passed.

It is true that the mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse. But while it is a small mouse, it is a pretty healthy mouse. Perhaps, in due course, some Cinderella will come along and wave a magic wand and the mouse may, one day, grow into something a bit more impressive.

Let me recite a few of the good things about this bill, which persuaded me to cast my vote for it.

First, it has three improvements which were made on the floor, to which I referred earlier, dealing with proxy voting, committee meetings during Senate sessions, and the committee bill of rights.

Next, abolition of the necessity of confirmation of postmasters by the Senate. If for no other reason, this bill should be passed by the House and sent to the President in order to effectuate this long needed reform. I cannot think how many hours I have had to spend dealing with the problem of who is going to be the postmaster of Podunk, Pa. I note for the RECORD that there is no such place. As a result of this reform, time badly needed in other areas will now no longer have to be devoted to this problem, and my good friend, the Postmaster General, will hereafter have to deal with what I believe is actually an appropriate part of his duties.

But there are other good things about this bill. We have provided for Senate conference reports, which we did not have before. This is a useful, if minor, procedural reform.

Each of us will have a new legislative assistant, which, goodness knows, I need, and I assume every one of my colleagues needs, too.

Only very knowledgeable Americans really understand how hard Members of the U.S. Senate work. Our genial fictitious friend Senator Snort, who is represented from time to time by the brilliant cartoonist Lichty, has created an impression of what a Senator is like is far removed from the actuality. I have never known a more dedicated, hard-working group of patriotic Americans than my colleagues in the Senate. The only difficulty I find with them is that so often they do not agree with me. But this provision for an additional legislative assistant is a good thing.

We are on our way to reducing the size of committees, although it will take another generation to get the size down, because of the grandfather clause. This is all to the good.

We are professionalizing the Capitol Police. The present system has for many years been less than satisfactory.

We are consolidating the telephone and telegram allowance to Senators, which has caused me great pain and suffering during the years, because in my State a telegram is not much good, and the telephone allowance was far too small. Now each Senator, by reason of the consolidation, will be able to exercise his own judgment as to whether he should send his flowers by telegram or call up and congratulate the bride. This, of course, applies to much more important legislative, and, indeed political matters than this kind of service to our constituents.

We have provided for microphones in the Senate Chamber. Hereafter those of us whose voices are not as vibrant as perhaps they use to be may be able to preserve our voices in the same manner as elderly radio and television entertainers are able to do by use of microphones.

That is a desirable reform.

We have provided for an August recess. If we did nothing else—if we stick to it—that provision will make it worth voting for the bill proposed by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY].

But let us not kid ourselves or try to kid the public into thinking that his bill amounts to meaningful congressional reform, because it does not. We are putting a band aid on what I fear may turn out to be a mortal wound, and what is indeed a bleeding wound. It is like trying to cure cancer with aspirin. It is not going to work. Sooner or later we have got to do better.

Again I say I am confident that a comprehensive reform of the rules, procedures, customs, and practices of the Senate will take place within the foreseeable future.

As I have often had occasion to say, the Senate crossed a bench mark in the elections of 1958, when 18 Members, including the only two other Senators presently in the Chamber, were elected to the Senate, blowing a breath of fresh air from the 20th century into this Chamber.

Those men and those who were elected in 1960, in 1962, in 1964, and in 1966, are not going to sit back for the remainder of their senatorial careers content with what President Lincoln called the "dogmas of the quiet past"—the Senate dogmas of the days of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, when the pressures of the world did not impinge on the Senate of the United States the way they do today.

Indeed, the present procedures in the Senate are inadequate to the stormy present.

The time has not yet come, it may not be just around the corner, but it is in sight. It must come if the Congress is to survive as a coequal partner in our three-branch Federal Government. For change is the essence of the world, change and growth, and institutions that cannot change and grow to meet the demands of the world are condemned to shatter under pressures they cannot contain, and be cast aside.

I would hate to see that happen to the Senate of the United States, which I love. My 10 years here have been the most rewarding years of my life.

My friendships with my colleagues, those with whom I often disagree, as well as those with whom I agree, have been a precious and rewarding experience for me; and I make this fight—sometimes a lonely fight—because I want to preserve the Senate as the great legislative body it has been in the past and which I hope one day it will become again, when it rededicates itself to the principles of democracy upon which this Republic was founded.

I conclude—not for the first time—with the words of an English public servant, novelist, and philosopher, Sir Charles P. Snow. They were not written about the Senate. They were written about the Venetian republic.

I have had occasion before, and I take occasion today, to call to my colleagues' attention their pertinence in the present situation. They were set forth in his famous Rede lecture on "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution":

> I can't help thinking of the Venetian Republic in their last half-century. Like us, they had once been fabulously lucky. They had become rich, as we did, by accident.

I interpolate that Sir Charles is referring to Great Britain, not the United States:

> They had acquired immense political skill, just as we have. A good many of them were toughminded, realistic, patriotic men . . . Many of them gave their minds to working out ways to keep going. It would have meant breaking the pattern into which they had crystallized. They were fond of the pattern just as we are fond of ours. They never found the will to break it.

May the Senate of the United States come to a better fate.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I urge every Member of the Senate to support S. 355, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967.

The road to congressional reorganization is never a short or a smooth one. The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was organized in March 1965 by unanimous vote in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. I was honored to be joined on this bipartisan committee by distinguished Members of this body—Senator MUNDT, SPARKMAN, CASE, METCALF, and BOGGS. The membership from the other body was of equal stature.

The joint committee's report was the product of more than 5 months of hearings with testimony from more than 200 witnesses—including over 100 Members of Congress. We tried our very best to make a realistic and useful report which would justify the confidence placed in the committee by Members of this body. After publication of the report last summer, our draft bill was discussed with the Rules and Administration Committee and many other Senators before and after completion of the past session.

I can say without qualification that no bill with which I have been associated has received such painstaking and lengthy consideration on the floor of the Senate. The debate on S. 355 has extended over a 7-week period. Over 100 amendments were offered for consideration—and many of these were called up and voted upon. As a result, the bill now bears the imprint of many distinguished Members of this body. It is a better-drawn, stronger and more realistic bill because of the continuing interest of so many Senators in the tedious process of amending its provisions. I express my personal gratitude to those who have participated in this monumental effort.

Now we must decide whether the 2-year effort of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress is really going to bear fruit. For now, the Senate votes for the first congressional reform bill since 1946 and the second in the 20th century. I hope, and I believe, that the Members of this body will seize this opportunity to say with a loud clear voice that it is unafraid of change and prepared to enact those measures which will make our Congress a more efficient, thoughtful, and well-informed decision-making body.

I shall not prolong this debate by reviewing the provisions of this bill in full once more. But no Member should doubt that it is an impressive, forward-looking step to a stronger organizational machinery. Specifically, S. 355 will provide:

Committee procedures which will insure that all Members of the Senate will have maximum information on which to base their decisions in committee and on the floor.

An increased capacity for legislative review of the administration of existing legislation.

Recognition of the continuing interests of those who have served our country in time of war by the creation of a standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

A better division of the enormous workload among Members of this body.

Greater congressional control over the Federal budget through the provision of more budgetary information to all Senators.

Increased committee staff capability and fair provision for minority staffing when it is necessary.

A full-time legislative assistant for each Senator.

A strengthening and better supervision over the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

A permanent Joint Committee on Congressional Operations to function in those areas of common interest between the two Houses.

An August recess unless congressional business has been completed by the end of July.

The elimination of patronage in the selection of postmasters.

Strengthening of the lobby registration laws.

Many provisions of the bill are important. For example, I believe that the information to be collected and compiled by the Comptroller General under section 206 will be particularly helpful to the Members and committees of the Congress. We have never had what amounts to an overall "scoreboard" on the status of the budget from time to time as the Congress acts on the budget because we have never had a means for bringing all of the available information together in a central location. Any scoreboard must obviously reflect action on authorization bills and appropriation bills, as well as revisions in expenditures and revenues, or estimates thereof, originating in either the executive or legislative branches.

We are not suggesting that these estimates go behind or "second guess" those made by the appropriate committees of the Congress or the executive branch agencies. What we are seeking rather is a way to bring all available information together in a useful compilation and make it more systematically available to the Members. In other words, the intent is that the General Accounting Office will provide a compilation of existing estimates rather than make its own estimates or analyses of expenditure trends.

It is understood, of course, that the General Accounting Office will need the cooperation of the executive agencies and congressional sources of information for this service to the Congress to be fully successful.

I am profoundly grateful to the other members of the joint committee and the many Senators who have made such a major contribution to the preparation of these proposals. As you know, this has been a labor of love for me personally. I like to think that the achievements of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 have been substantial and important to Congress. The opportunity for me to participate in both of these reorganization efforts has been an unforgettable one. Above all, I hope that our work has been satisfactory to this body and that you share my conviction that this legislation should be enacted.

I ask for full support on the vote on final passage.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield me 5 minutes?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Vermont.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I commend the committee which has reported this bill. I am perfectly willing to give it A for effort. I am willing to give it A's and B's for several provisions in the bill. There are some provisions, however, which I think should rate D's or E's—preferably E's.

However, there is one point on which I should like to comment at this time, although there are several which should not be in the bill.

I point out the provision on page 31 of the bill, which would transfer to a special committee of the House many of the functions which have been successfully handled by the Department of Agriculture over the past 80 years. These functions which will be transferred to a fragmented Health, Education, and Welfare Committee—an urban committee—include supervision over agricultural colleges, and jurisdiction over the experiment stations which have been responsible for a great deal of the progress made in agriculture in recent years. It will also give to this new committee, which is not an agricultural committee, supervision over the Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the information service which has advised our farmers on the latest methods in agriculture which has enabled them to increase greatly their yield. It would also transfer to the new committee agricultural research.

Mr. President, I feel that this has been a great mistake. We are all dependent upon American agriculture. We cannot say that it has failed. Thirty percent of the people of this country are dependent upon agriculture for their income. When we say that we should transfer the functions of agricultural education, the Extension Service, and agricultural research to another committee then, I believe, we are saying, in effect, that American agriculture has been a failure.

I do not believe that the wheat growers of Kansas, Oklahoma, or the Dakotas, have failed in their efforts to feed the world over the past several years. I do not believe that the corn and livestock growers of Illinois, or the dairy farmers of Wisconsin or Vermont, have failed in their efforts to bring about the most successful agriculture the world has ever known.

Now we say that we are going to take these functions away from the Department of Agriculture and give them to a part of the Health, Education, and Welfare Committee of the House which certainly, in all probability, will be far more urban-minded than agricultural-minded.

It may be said that this applies to the House only. This is just one further step toward emasculating American agriculture.

We have had trouble enough. The agricultural income of this country is down seven points below what it was a year ago. I believe it has gone down from 80 percent of parity to 73 percent at the present time. We are threatened with the cutting down of our agricultural trade with Western Europe, and having it thrown to the advantage of the Western European countries and American industrialists.

I do not like to see this continual chiseling away at American agriculture.

I realize that the agricultural areas of this country do not have the votes they used to have. I realize that our farmers are poor campaign contributors compared to some of our international corporations and industrial concerns in this country.

Nevertheless, I maintain that agriculture is the most important industry in this Nation today and we have no business emasculating its programs which have proved to be so successful over the past three generations.

I repeat, there are some good features in the bill. I am protesting the bad ones. I have pointed out one of them. The only way I can put emphasis behind my protest is to vote against the bill—and that is what I plan to do.

COSPONSORS OF S. 109

Mr. President, I also want at this time to request that, at the next printing, the names of Senators CHURCH, of Idaho, and Senator HART, of Michigan, be added to the list of sponsors of S. 109, a bill that is intended to prevent the exploitation of farmers by processors and handlers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. MONRONEY. On page 30 it is adequately made clear that these provisions are applicable to the House of Representatives, and they were put in by the House. We cannot write House rules.

Mr. AIKEN. We are writing them——

Mr. MONRONEY. The House may kill or change those rules, but we have no authority to modify or change them.

Mr. AIKEN. I have no intention to change them. This is part of a program to chisel away American agriculture, and it is put in there at agriculture's expense. This affects $7 billion of agricultural production. Think what it would mean to our balance of payments——

Mr. MONRONEY. This is up to the House.

Mr. AIKEN. Certainly. Next time it will be up to the Senate.

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota for insertions.

THE MORAL BASIS OF THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, Sargent Shriver recently wrote an article regarding the moral and religious basis for the war on poverty. He relates examples of work already being done by some church groups and also states his views as to why the churches should become more involved.

I ask uanimous consent that this article, "The Moral Basis of the War on Poverty," which appeared in the December 1, 1966, issue of the Christian Century, be printed it this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MORAL BASIS OF THE WAR ON POVERTY

(The test of 20th century Christianity is not how much the poor enter into the life of the church, but how much the church enters into the life of the poor.)

(By Sargent Shriver)

In the famous scene in *The Brothers Karamazov* where Ivan challenges Zossima about the social inequality and suffering in the world, the elderly philosopher remarks: "If we were brothers, there would be brotherhood, but until then, there will never be any division of wealth."

Freeing people from poverty was as difficulty an ideal in Dostoevsky's time as it is in ours. Today, however, poverty is seen not as the poor man's suffering but as the economist's abstraction, and the remedying of it as the do-gooder's pastime. There is this gain: the scandal, the horror of poverty has now come into the open. Today, as the French theologian Yves Congar wrote recently, we "know the figures of hunger and the statistics of misery: we have seen the photos of children with their swollen bellies, their hollow eyes and their prominent knees between thighbones as thin as shinbones. On the other hand, the hungry and wretched have seen the affluence of our installations, our way of life, our luxuries, our tanks and our guns."

People can deny that statement, they can lament it, they can duck it; but if they still want to be Christian they must respond to it.

SHOULDERS TO THE WHEEL

Here in the United States there is evidence that response is being made. Both church and state—separate legs supporting one body of effort—are engaged in the economic, political and moral struggle that we have labeled the "War on Poverty."

Most wars are declared by old men and fought by young men. But our war against poverty strives to enlist everyone, people of all ages, all reaches of society and all religions. Nothing is more ecumenical than poverty and the war on it.

During one week last month I had three experiences in the midwest that, two years ago, couldn't have happened to any government official anywhere in the country.

I was in Cincinnati, visiting a northside community known as the Steele Subdivision. There I met the Reverend Edward Jones, a gentle-hearted and far-seeing man of 61, who has been pastor of Cincinnati's First Baptist Church for 31 years. He told me about his community: three years ago garbage choked the gutters, children played in the hot, airless alleys, the dwelling houses were miserable shacks, many without heat or light or plumbing.

I looked around at the neighborhood. What, I asked Pastor Jones, had happened to change it so completely, to make the eyesore of three years ago a sight for sore eyes?

"Well," he began, "we have 285 families in the Steele Subdivision, most of them low income. Three years ago, we decided to quit crying on each other's shoulders about our poverty and start putting those shoulders to the wheel, to get ourselves out of poverty. We got each family to chip in a dollar. Then we hired a bulldozer to cover up the garbage dump. That was something everyone could see. They could look out the window and say, 'The dump is gone. And it went because we wanted it to.' Then we tore down 24 condemned buildings. That was another improvement we could see. The houses went because the local people wanted them to.

"In December of 1964, we had enough community support to apply to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a grant. But we made a resolution before accepting it: we wanted the money as a supplement to our initiative, not as a substitute for our effort. Since then, the Steele Subdivision has never been the same. Then I went to the Sisters of Mercy Convent a few blocks from my church to ask their help. They've been helping ever since. They have set up an adult education program to teach home economics, sewing and typing.

"Last year, we petitioned the Hamilton county officials to reopen the Steele school building. They had to close it a few years ago because it housed segregated classes. White children wouldn't attend it even though it was very near their homes. Now the first floor is the center for our Head Start program."

How explain this turn-about? "The war on poverty has worked in this community because the people were willing to work," Pastor Jones told me. Could the community use any more help? "You bet we can. You supply the money and we'll supply the effort."

Later that day I went to St. Joseph's Infant Home in Cincinnati—a building 87 years old, but harboring some of the youngest and freshest ideas I have ever come across.

Sister Rose Eileen of the Sisters of Charity met me at the door. The supervisor of the children at the house, she has been both a nun and a registered nurse for 25 years. In the main lobby of St. Joseph's I was greeted by 50 elderly people—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, married and unmarried, employed and unemployed.

"They are all participants in your Foster Grandparents Program," said Sister Rose Eileen. "Each of them is a 'grandparent' 20 hours a week, taking care of two children. Nearly all the youngsters here are unadoptable because of either physical or nervous disorders." One of the foster grandparents, a man of 78, told me what was happening to him: "Ever since I've been taking care of my two little ones, I haven't had an ache or pain. I'd been taking medicine for the past 15 years and was always feeling bad. But I haven't needed a pill in the last six months. That's exactly how long I've been working with my foster grandchildren."

That man was now getting medicine that no doctor could give him: the medicine of being needed. He was helping others, instead of trying to get others to help him. As for the children, Sister Rose Eileen told me that since the old people had been coming they were crying less and enjoying life more, had even reached the point of expressing their needs, and, as Sister remarked philosophically, would probably be out on the picket lines soon, in the style of any normal American youngster.

BEAUTIFUL AND LOVABLE

A few hours later I was in Chicago, at the Bethany Methodist Hospital. The Reverend Bert Selin, 65, a Methodist clergyman since 1924, has been administrator of Bethany for the past 25 years. His hospital has 85 beds for the acutely ill, 105 for the chronically ill. He took me to one of the day rooms in the chronically ill section. There I saw an unforgettable sight. A short, skinny girl with scraggly hair, wearing a dress too long and too loose, was feeding a patient with Parkinson's disease. His hands, arms and head shook uncontrollably. The girl took a spoonful of soup and somehow get it into the patient's mouth. She did it again and again, until the soup bowl was empty. Then she fed him the rest of the meal, weary spoonful by weary spoonful. I asked the man, "How do you like this girl?" He replied, "She's beautiful, isn't she?" That short, skinny girl with the scraggly hair *was* beautiful to him—not only beautiful but lovable. And suddenly she was beautiful also to me.

She and other girls who were working at Bethany Methodist, Pastor Selin told me, were from the nearby Brunswick Job Corps Center for Women. "I don't know of any program that has been a greater boon to the hospital than the help of these girls," he said. "Every hospital in Chicago wants to hire them when they finish their three-month training at the Job Corps. There are more jobs than there are girls."

Visits like these may seem to be a mere reviewing of the troops. The official visitor easily delivers the right cheer-em-up phrase and the appropriate Washington-is-with-you smile. But all the handshaking brings the realization that the War on Poverty is being fought heroically in many places. When he was well into the second year of his presidency, John F. Kennedy described himself as "an idealist without illusions." He meant, I think, that ideals amount to nothing unless they are put into daily practice by people. And unless we Washington men see what the people are doing, we are likely to founder in our idealism. The War on Poverty could not be carried on without such people as Pastor Edward Jones, Sister Rose Eileen and Pastor Bert Selin.

Only a few years ago we all believed that because church and state were separate, they had to be mutually exclusive, that the money of government could not be mixed with the currency of salvation. The War on Poverty has certainly taught us new lessons. We have created not merely a political agency of a political government for political reasons; we have created an agency that attacks the causes of poverty from all sides—political, economic and moral—using all types of organizations and all types of citizens. We have learned the difference between a bureaucracy and a democracy: an effective bureaucracy thinks it helps the people to be free, but a true democracy frees the people to think.

But there is still opposition to an "unconditional" War on Poverty. One of the most common objections is that it cannot be won because Jesus Christ said it couldn't. Skeptics love to quote the Bible: "The poor you always have with you." This passage, they suppose, implies that poverty is both a law of nature and an unchangeable fact of society, that the words amount to an admission on the part of Christ himself that nothing can be done about poverty. Some people even insist on the basis of this text that the War on Poverty is anti-Christian—against Christ's prophecy.

A DUTY DICTATED BY JUSTICE

It seems to me, however, that Christ's words "The poor you always have with you" are a comment not on poverty but on human nature. Societies will always have poor people—because most of the rich will always be selfish; because the poor will always be deprived of economic opportunity and will always be denied equal rights to justice and liberty; and because some men will always hoard more goods than they need. All this is true. But Christ was not saying that it had to be true, that we must always have poverty. He was only saying that poverty would always result if people did not obey God's will. In effect, he was saying that if enough human beings lived according to the Judeo-Christian morality there need be no poverty at all in the world.

Hence the War on Poverty must be fought not only politically but also morally. The difference between politics and morality is that the political man acts for the good of the people while the moral man acts because the people are good. At the Office of Economic Opportunity we believe that the 34 million poor people in this country are basically good human beings. Serving them is not a fringe operation. They need the freedom of their own ambition or else they lose their ambition to be free. Thus we believe that the War on Poverty is not an act of charity but a duty dictated by justice.

Yet many Americans are still undisturbed by the presence of poverty. The apathetic have now been joined by militant white backlashers. These people are not in the least concerned over the fact that while roughly 20 per cent of the nation is poor, only 1½ per cent of the federal budget is used to fight poverty; indeed, many are riled because the country is using that 1½ per cent in the first place. Why are the poor so lazy? they ask. Can't they make it the hard way, like I did? Aren't they too well off on relief? Can't they at least clean up their houses? Why don't they move out of the slums?

MORAL HEMOPHILIA AND ITS CURE

One man currently answering these questions is Pastor Arthur Simon of Trinity Lutheran Church, a young minister who lives and works on New York's lower east side. He attributes our indifference to poverty to the fact that "we have baptized middle-class respectability." There is nothing wrong with being middle class, he says; the trouble is that such a style of life is often "a commitment to self-promotion, exclusion and evasion of human problems." In his moving book *Faces of Poverty*, recently published, Pastor Simon describes the middle class:

"It is self-promoting because it places too high a value on our own comfort: it indicates an inordinate desire for earthly possessions: and it is nourished by a search for status. It is exclusive because in this style of life people of similar background and circumstances are drawn together, like iron filings by a magnet, into neighborhoods which have systematically eliminated the less worthy. It is evasive because it cuts us off from precisely those people whose needs are most acute and to whom the gospel recommends us most of all."

What does this clinging to middle class values mean in fact? In Pastor Simon's neighborhood it means that during a period when 200,000 low-income people were moving into Manhattan below 14th street, 17 Protestant churches were moving out, while the churches that stayed, like Trinity, petered off to a trickle of old faithfuls.

Christianity sometimes seems to have a case of moral hemophilia: its sense of social responsibility is bleeding away. The test of 20th century Christianity is not how much the poor enter into the life of the church. but how much the church enters into the life of the poor.

This idea is neither radical nor new. Twenty years ago Michael de la Bedoyere wrote *Christianity in the Marketplace*, a sort of John-the-Baptist book to Harvey Cox's *The Secular City*. The message of both authors is that the church must go where the people are without fear of becoming secular. Yet many of us still think that to be secular means to be worldly. And so, avoiding the worldly city, we also avoid poverty. Recall the words of Albert Schweitzer:

"Whatever you have received more than others in the way of health, in talents, in ability, in success, in a pleasant childhood, in harmonious conditions of home life—all this you must not take to yourself as a matter of course. You must pay a price for it. You must render in return an unusually great sacrifice of your life for other life."

As the O.E.O. moves into its third year, there are many people in this country who facetiously—even cynically—claim they are trying to survive the War on Poverty. But in truth this country needs the War on Poverty to survive. With the suffering of the poor in view, the ideal of brotherhood as our motivation and the assurance of democracy as our prize, we believe that the battle against poverty is not only an act of political foresight but a thrust of moral insight.

Christianity's chief ground for optimism is that many people have at last come to see it not only as a religion but also as a sociology. Vatican II helped remove the theological cataracts from our eyes: no longer can we seek the spiritual kingdom of God by turning our back on the social realm of man. We must instead go into that realm—as social beings involved with other social beings, ignoring the sweat and not counting the change. The four Gospels are not abstract ramblings on God; they are accounts of how Christ lived, of his actions among other men: what he said, what he noticed, his approachableness and availability, the way he lifted the spirits of the poor, the way he dared the rich to be better instead of merely better off, his articulation of a nobler vision.

Today there is reason to hope that the church is moving in this direction—witness the men and women joining the Peace Corps and VISTA and those who in other ways are taking the poor seriously. Such people cannot be passed off as fribble idealists or as renegades from easy street. Rather, they are believers in God and loves of humanity. It is impossible to be one without being the other.

The great truth of our era is that God cannot be honored unless mankind is served. That is both the strength of the church and the goal of its commitment.

METHODIST STATEMENT ON CIA INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the staff members of the general board of education and the staff members of the general board of Christian social concerns of the Methodist Church recently issued a statement regarding the CIA involvement in the National Student Association and asked for an investigation of the domestic activities of the CIA by congressional authority.

I ask unanimous consent that their statement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Methodist Statement on CIA Involvement in National Student Association, February 23, 1967

Washington, D.C.—Staff members of the Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns and the Board of Education are gravely concerned over the revelation that the CIA has covertly substantially financed and infiltrated the major student organization of the United States.

The Central Intelligence Agency has exceeded the bounds of propriety in attempting, through clandestine funding, to affect leadership and policies of an otherwise private and independent national organization. It is apparent that the objectivity of youth attending international conferences, if selected by CIA-sponsored student leaders, would properly be suspect. Such a practice becomes all the more disturbing upon reflection that it occurred during a period when student organizations more critical of United States foreign policy were being discouraged by the State Department from attending certain East-West conferences labelled "communist-dominated." Perhaps the most disastrous consequence of CIA funding of N.S.A. students abroad will be that over the next several years the credibility of all U.S. persons travelling, stationed, or studying overseas may be subject to question by people of host countries.

We are dismayed by the callous statement of former CIA Director Allen Dulles who, in reference to the Agency's use of the N.S.A., has stated: "We obtained what we wanted." But at what price? The destruction of the most prominent U.S. student organization? The disillusionment and lack of trust of students throughout the country in their own leaders? A wave of suspicion that all domestic democratic institutions have suffered from insidious corruption?

Surely the United States cannot justify opposing communism overseas through techniques which undermine relationships of confidence and democratic institutions at home. The use of students by a government agency in covert and deceitful activities seems incongruous at a time when the Administration is using considerable resources to appeal to the best impulses of youth, combat crime, and develop programs for the welfare of the younger generation.

Though we continue to have confidence in the vast majority of United States student leaders, we are saddened to learn that a few officers at the top of the National Student Association knowingly allowed themselves to be used for purposes which destroyed what should have been relationship of mutual trust, openness and integrity among fellow leaders. However, we particularly commend both those students who agonizingly sought to extricate the N.S.A. from CIA subsidization and those N.S.A. leaders who, despite harassment from CIA officials, refused to deny the fundamental truth of the *Ramparts'* article.

In light of the above, we recommend that the domestic activities of the CIA be thoroughly investigated by responsible Congressional authority with a view to looking into any other covert links of the CIA with national organizations, foundations, or other institutions whose purposes may thereby have been perverted.

H. D. Bollinger, William Corzine, Glen Otis Martin, Staff members of the General Board of Education, The Methodist Church.

A. Dudley Ward, Gover C. Bagby, Dale White, Herman Will, Jr., J. Elliott Corbett, Luther E. Tyson, Staff members of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns, The Methodist Church.

AMENDMENT OF UNIFORM TIME ACT OF 1966

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the Legislature of the State of Nebraska has passed Legislative Resolution 16. The resolution calls upon Congress to limit daylight savings time to only the months of May, June, July, and August. The resolution has been previously printed in the Record in the House of Representatives.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution may be received and referred to the appropriate committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill on behalf of myself and my colleague from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] to carry out the request of the resolution.

I hope that the appropriate committee will report the matter favorably and that it will be enacted into law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1208) to amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 so as to reduce from 6 month to 4 months the period for which daylight saving time shall be in effect, introduced by Mr. Curtis (for himself and Mr. Hruska), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1967

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 355) to improve the operation of the legislative branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, we are about to conclude an unusually long, interesting, and informative debate on the merits of the recommendations of our Joint Committee on the Reorganization of the Congress. As the ranking Republican member of this joint committee, I strongly recommend to the Senate approval of this legislation. It is far from perfect, but it does represent a long forward step toward increasing both the stature and the efficiency of the National Congress.

Not only did our joint committee spend a tremendous amount of time considering all recommendations and arriving at our final report, but the Senate itself has considered in the general area of 100 amendments these past 4 weeks dealing with the legislation unanimously agreed upon by our joint committee. Seldom has the Senate given more diligent and careful consideration to legislation placed before it. Some useful recommendations have been adopted during the floor consideration of this measure; a great many other proposals have been defeated by voice or rollcall votes. We now have before us a good piece of legislation, and I recommend it to the Senate for its strong approval.

The Members of the Senate section of this joint committee are: Senators Monroney, Sparkman, and Metcalf, and on the Republican side Senators Mundt, Case, and Boggs. I congratulate our committee chairman, all of the Senators involved, the House Members of the joint committee and the unusually energetic and diligent staff members who worked on this project, on having stuck with this job until it was completed.

To those pessimists among us who suggested we could never get this legislation through the Senate, I say only that this body has once again demonstrated its capacity for action. The task is now all but completed with only the final rollcall to be taken. I am pleased, as I am sure all of you are, that the Senate resisted the temptation to recommit this whole matter back to the committee; and even though it has required a great amount of time to complete the task, we can rejoice together over our collective accomplishments.

For me, one of the most gratifying results of this long effort is the fact that by its final rollcall vote today the Senate will, I am sure, confirm the amendment which I offered in the joint committee with the support of Senator Boggs to create at long last a Senate Standing Committee on Veterans Affairs. It is good to know that this long-sought objective has at last been achieved. I am sure such a committee will serve America's veterans well, and they deserve our thanks for the long and untiring efforts they have devoted to the establishment of such a committee.

As ranking Republican member of the joint committee, I also take great satisfaction that this evenly divided group between Democrats and Republicans incorporated in its resolutions a number of important changes which will accrue to the advantage of the minority in making its impact felt upon our congressional deliberations. For the information of the Senate, let me list a few of the more important recommendations which will be of significance to whichever party happens to be in the minority in either House of Congress as the political pendulum continues its age-old practice of swinging first one way and then the other.

From now on, once the House has approved the reform package upon which we are about to vote, a public announcement of committee hearings must be made at least 1 week in advance of such hearings. This will be helpful to all Members of the Congress but especially to minority Members since the chairmanships are held by the majority party.

Secondly, from now on by law the minority shall be entitled to call witnesses as a matter of right rather than of privilege to testify on legislative proposals. Most committee chairmen permit this now, but where this reform is needed, it is needed seriously.

A third advantage, is that this legislation stipulates that time shall be provided for the minority to submit its views for committee reports and that such views shall be printed in the same volume as those of the majority.

A fourth reform is that from now on individual Members of the Senate cannot by themselves prevent committees from meeting while the Senate is in session. From now on, either the majority leader or the minority leader or both can prevent such meetings and the leader of each party shall have equal authority in these determinations.

Minority Members will find reform No. 5 of great significance since it provides that at least two authorized committee professional staff people and one clerical position shall be appointed by and assigned to the minority upon request of the minority. Disproportionate and inequitable staffing has long been a plague confronted by the minority. This reform moves in the direction of much-needed reform.

In this connection, a sixth safeguard is provided the minority by provisions in the legislation that hereafter the minority shall have fair consideration in staffing subcommittees and minority staff members shall be entitled to equitable treatment.

The seventh provision which I should like to call to your attention in this area of activity is the provision for review specialists for committees so that they can more effectively carry out their responsibilities in supervising and reviewing the manner in which the executive departments and agencies carry out the intent of Congress in the administration of legislation which has been enacted.

A very important new departure is provided as an eighth reform of special interest to the minority position in any Congress and that is the provision that individual or minority explanatory views may hereafter be filed with conference reports and that the Senate for the first time will receive a written conference report prepared by the conference managers on the part of the Senate.

A ninth reform beneficial to the minority applies to House Members only but it provides for the first time that the minority shall be allotted half of the total time allowed for floor debate devoted to the consideration of a conference report. Heretofore, the minority has received its time solely at the pleasure of the chairman of the committee who, of course, is a member of the majority party.

Of benefit to all Members of Congress—but especially to minority Members—is a reform which provides that hearings and reports following committee action on legislation shall be made available to all Members at least 3 days prior to floor consideration of the measure. Thus "buying a pig in a poke" is going to become more infrequent as Congress acts on legislation. The only way this provision can be waived is by joint concurrence of the majority and the minority leaders of the Congress.

There are many other reforms in this legislation and many other changes beneficial to a better balance of influence between the majority and the minority parties, Mr. President, but I wanted to call attention to the foregoing 10 as somewhat typical of what has been accomplished. I again urge the Senate to vote favorably on this final vote for approval of this significant legislation.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I rise to voice my support of congressional reform in general, and of S. 355 in particular.

Having served as a House member of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, I am well aware of the conscientious and praiseworthy service performed by the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney] as chairman of the Joint Organization Committee and by our Senate colleagues who served with him on that committee.

They have not claimed that the legislation is perfect in every respect. Some amendments have been accepted as improvements upon, and further clarification of, the committee's work.

In any bill as complex and wide-ranging as S. 355, there are bound to be places where the language can be strengthened or clarified in one respect or another.

As we seek to evaluate the committee's work, we might keep in mind that the resolution creating the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress was adopted by a unanimous vote of both Houses.

The committee held extensive hearings, and I think it is interesting to note, looking back over the record, that of the more than 200 witnesses who appeared before the committee, almost half were Members of Congress.

In other words, nearly one-fifth of the total membership of the 89th Congress were sufficiently concerned about the slippage in prestige, efficiency, or power of the first branch of Government to bestir themselves and appear before, or submit statements to, the Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

The final report of the committee was filed with the Congress on July 28, 1966, and legislation to implement the report was introduced late in the 89th Congress in both Houses. In other words, the Members of Congress had ample time over the Christmas holidays to acquaint themselves with the committee's recommendations and the legislation.

Historians are not likely to write that the Congress acted hastily on the question of reform in the 1960's.

In an article entitled "Inside the 20th Century," and published in the January 12, 1965, issue of Look magazine, author John Gunther observed:

> There have been more changes in the past sixty-five years than in all other centuries put together. . . . In the old days, we could deal with political affairs sector by sector. We could confront crises one at a time. Now, everything is inextricably conjoined and interlocked, and the sheer mass of what we have to take in is overwhelming.

During the 89th Congress, a total of 21,999 bills were introduced in the House, another 4,567 in the Senate.

To indicate the extent of change, it might be noted that, in 1946, the year of the passage of the first Reorganization Act, the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress handled 16,444 inquiries with a staff of 95. Last year, with little more than double that staff, the Service handled 113,628 requests, a workload increase of almost 700 percent.

To be sure, this bill is not a complete answer to the need for congressional reform and reorganization. However, Mr. President, the bill does represent a significant step in the right direction.

I hope the bill will have the overwhelming support of the Senate.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the Senate has worked long and hard on S. 355, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. It is my opinion that its ultimate passage will help the Congress to do a more effective job and uphold the legislative branch as a vigorous and vital arm of our Federal Government system.

At this time I would like to express my sincere congratulations and thanks to the senior Senator from Oklahoma for his dedicated and skilled direction in steering this legislation through the Senate.

At the same time I would like to take note also of the unflagging efforts of the Chief Counsel of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, W. DeVier Pierson. He has been a source of great strength throughout the long consideration which this legislation has received. The staff which has worked with him likewise deserves commendation.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Senators may recall that the original La Follette-Monroney reorganization proposal of 1946 contained a provision setting up a Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the House and in the Senate. Before the measure became law, the bill was amended to eliminate the veterans committee in the Senate.

I felt that was a mistake. After serving as chairman of the Veterans' Subcommittee of the Labor Committee in the 80th Congress—as a Republican—I was more convinced than before that veterans matters deserved a committee of their own.

In the 82d Congress, I joined as a cosponsor with 35 other Senators in offering Senate Resolution 148 to correct this omission, but no action was taken on it.

In 1956, I introduced my own resolution for this purpose, Senate Resolution 319. That year we had several major veterans bills that failed to be considered in the Senate. They were scattered around among the major committees, and although the bills were important to veterans, they were passed over by committees having legislation to work on that was of more general national importance.

In 1959, I introduced Senate Resolution 19, with nearly 30 cosponsors. This time, it reached the hearing process in the Senate Rules Committee. Although my resolution did not reach the Senate floor, I believe the public hearing was important in keeping veterans organizations and other interested parties informed of the wide support for the committee in the Senate.

Since then, I have continued to sponsor or cosponsor resolutions for this purpose. This year, I have joined Senator Randolph in his Resolution 16. Fortunately, this reorganization bill has wisely incorporated into it the standing veterans committee for the Senate, effectively enacting Senate Resolution 16.

It is gratifying that this longstanding objective has been achieved, insofar as Senate passage is concerned, and it is one reason why I shall vote for S. 355.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on final passage.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield back my remaining time on the bill.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I yield back the remaining time on the bill on this side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time on the bill has been yielded back. The question is on final passage. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] are absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 75, nays 9, as follows:

[No. 57 Leg.]

YEAS—75

Allott
Anderson
Bayh
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Dominick
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Griffin
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Mansfield
McClellan
McGovern
McIntyre
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Nelson
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Spong
Symington
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—9

Aiken
Eastland
Ellender
Fulbright
Hill
McCarthy
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge

NOT VOTING—16

Baker
Bartlett
Bennett
Brooke
Cooper
Gruening
Hansen
Hartke
Hatfield
Magnuson
McGee
Metcalf
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Sparkman

So the bill (S. 355) was passed, as follows:

S. 355

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act, divided into titles, parts, and sections according to the following table of contents, may be cited as the "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967".

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TITLE I—THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

RULEMAKING POWER OF SENATE AND HOUSE

SEC. 101. The following sections of this title are enacted by the Congress—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of each House, respectively, or of that House to which they specifically apply; and such rules shall supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change such rules (so far as relating to the procedure in such House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of such House.

PART 1—PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO BOTH HOUSES

COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

SEC. 102. (a) Section 133(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 190a) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentences: "If the chairman of any such committee, after three days' consideration, refuses or fails, upon the request of at least three members of the committee, to call a special meeting of the committee within seven calendar days from the date of said request, then upon the filing with the clerk of the committee of the written and signed request of a majority of the committee for a called special meeting of the committee, the committee shall meet on the day and hour specified in said written request. It shall be the duty of the clerk of the committee to notify all members of the committee in the usual way of such called special meeting. If the chairman of the committee is not present at any committee meeting, the senior member of the majority party who is present shall preside at that meeting.".

(b) Section 133(b) of that Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Meetings for the transaction of business of each such committee, other than the conduct of hearings, shall be open to the public except during executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting or when the committee by a majority vote orders an executive session. Each such committee shall keep a complete record of all committee action. Such record shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. The results of rollcall votes taken in any meeting of any such committee upon any measure, or any amendment thereto, shall be announced in the committee report on that measure unless previously announced by the committee, and such announcement shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor of and the votes cast in opposition to each such measure and amendment by each member of the committee who was present at that meeting.".

(c) Section 133(c) of that Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentences: "In any event, the report of any such committee upon a measure which has been approved by the committee shall be filed within seven calendar days (exclusive of days on which the Senate or House of Representatives, as the case may be, is not in session) after the day on which there has been filed with the clerk of the committee a written and signed request of a majority of the committee for the reporting of that measure. Upon the filing of any such request, the clerk of the committee shall transmit immediately to the chairman of the committee notice of the filing thereof.".

(d) Section 133(d) of that Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentences: "The vote of the committee to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of the members of the committee who are present. No vote of any member of any such committee to report a measure or matter may be cast by proxy if rules adopted by such committee forbid the casting of votes for that purpose by proxy, however, proxies shall not be voted for such purpose except when the absent committee member has been informed of the matter on which he is being recorded and has affirmatively requested that he be so recorded. Action by any such committee in reporting any measure or matter in accordance with the requirements of this subsection shall constitute the ratification by the committee of all action theretofore taken by the committee with respect to that measure or matter, including votes taken upon the measure or matter or any amendment thereto, and no point of order shall lie with respect to that measure or matter on the ground that such previous action with respect thereto by such committee was not taken in compliance with such requirements. Whenever any such committee by rollcall vote reports any measure or matter, the report of the committee upon such measure or matter shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor of and the votes cast in opposition to such measure or matter by each member of the committee. Nothing contained in this subsection shall abrogate the power of any committee of either House to adopt rules (1) providing for proxy voting on all matters other than the reporting of a measure or matter, or (2) providing in accordance with the rules of that House for a lesser number as a quorum for any action other than the reporting of a measure or matter.".

(e) Section 133 of that Act is amended by striking out subsections (e) and (f), and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(e) If, at the time of approval of a measure by any such committee, any member of the committee gives notice of intention to file supplemental or minority views, each such member shall be entitled to no less than one day in which to file such views with the clerk of the committee in writing. All such views so filed by one or more members of the committee shall be included within and shall be a part of the report filed by the committee with respect to that measure. The report of such committee upon such measure shall be printed in a single volume which shall include all supplemental or minority views which have been submitted at the time of the filing of the committee report, and shall bear upon its cover a recital that supplemental or minority views are included as a part of the report.

"Nothing contained in this subsection shall preclude—

"(A) The immediate filing and printing of a committee report unless a timely request for the opportunity to file supplemental or miniority views has been made as provided by this subsection; or

"(B) The filing by any standing committee of any supplemental report upon any measure which may be required for the correction of any technical error in a previous report made by such committee upon such measure.

"(f) The report of any such committee of either House of the Congress upon any measure shall be filed in that House at least three calendar days (exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays) before any vote is taken upon that measure in that House. If there have been hearings held upon any such measure so reported in either such House, the committee shall make every reasonable effort to have such hearings printed and available for distribution to Members of that House prior to consideration of the measure. This section shall not apply to any measure for the declaration of war or the declaration of a national emergency by the Congress. In any event, this section may be waived by joint agreement of the majority leader and minority leader of the Senate or the Speaker and the minority leader of the House of Representatives upon a finding that in their opinion such waiver is required because of the imminence of sine die adjournment, the expiration of the Act sought to be amended or to meet the immediate financial needs of the Government.

"(g) Each such committee which, in any year beginning on or after January 1, 1968, requires authorization for the expenditure of funds in excess of the amount specified by section 134(a) of this Act shall offer one annual authorization resolution to procure such authorization. Each such annual authorization resolution shall include a specification of the amount of all such funds sought by such committee for expenditure by all subcommittees thereof during that year and the amount so sought for each such subcommittee. The annual authorization resolution of any such committee of either House of the Congress for each year beginning on or after January 1, 1968, shall be offered not later than January 31 of that year, except that, whenever the designation of members of standing committees of that House occurs during the first session of any Congress at a date later than January 20 such resolution may be offered by any standing committee of that House at any time within thirty days after the date on which a majority of the members of such committee have been designated during that session. After the date on which an annual authorization resolution has been offered by any such committee in any year, or the last date on which such committee pursuant to the preceding sentence may offer such a resolution, whichever date occurs earlier, such committee in any year may procure authorization for the expenditure of funds in excess of the amount specified by section 134(a) of this Act only by offering a supplemental authorization resolution. Each such supplemental authorization resolution shall specify with particularity the purpose for which such authorization is sought, and shall contain an explicit statement of the reason why authorization for the expenditures described therein could not have been sought at the time of, or within the period provided for, the submission by such committee of an annual authorization resolution for that year. The minority shall receive fair consideration in the appointment of staff personnel pursuant to such resolution".

"(h) The foregoing provisions of this section do not apply to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.".

COMMITTEE HEARING PROCEDURE

SEC. 103. (a) Part 3 of title I of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 is amended by inserting therein, immediately after section 133 thereof, the following new section:

COMMITTEE HEARING PROCEDURE

"SEC. 133A. (a) Each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives (except the Committees on Appropriations) shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted by the committee upon any measure or matter at least one week before the commencement of that hearing unless the committee determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date.

"(b) Each hearing conducted by each such committee shall be open to the public except when the committee determines that the testimony to be taken at that hearing may relate to a matter of national security, may tend to reflect adversely on the character or reputation of the witness or any other individual, or may divulge matters deemed confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulation. Whenever any such hearing is open to the public, that hearing may be broadcast by radio or television, or both, under such rules that the committee may adopt.

"(c) Each such committee shall require each witness who is to appear before the committee in any hearing to file with the clerk of the committee, at least one day before the date of the appearance of that witness, a written statement of his proposed testimony unless the committee chairman and ranking minority member determine that there is good cause for the failure of the witness to file such a statement in compliance with this subsection. If so requested by any such committee, the staff of the committee shall prepare for the use of members of the committee before each day of hearing before the committee a digest of the statements which have been so filed by witnesses who are to appear before the committee on that day.

"(d) After the conclusion of each day of hearing, if so requested by any such committee, the staff shall prepare for the use of members of the committee a summary of the testimony given before the committee on that day. After approval by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee, each such summary may be printed as a part of the committee hearings if such hearings are ordered by the committee to be printed.

"(e) Whenever any hearing is conducted by any such committee upon any measure or matter, the minority of the committee shall be entitled, upon request made by a majority of the minority members to the chairman before the completion of such hearing, to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to that measure or matter during at least one day of hearing thereon.

"(f) Whenever any such committee has reported any measure, by action taken in conformity with the requirements of section 133(d) of this Act, no point of order shall lie with respect to that measure on the ground that hearings upon that measure by that committee were not conducted in accordance with the provisions of this section.

"(g) The foregoing provisions of this section do not apply to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.".

(b) Title I of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by inserting—

"Sec. 133A. Committee hearing procedure."

immediately below—

"Sec. 133. Committee procedure.".

COMMITTEE POWERS

SEC. 104. Section 134(c) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 190b(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) Except as hereinafter provided, no standing committee of the Senate or the House shall sit, without special leave, while the Senate or the House, as the case may be, is in session. The prohibition contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate or to the following committees of the House of Representatives: the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Government Operations, the Committee on Rules, and the Committee on Un-American Activities. Any other standing committee of the Senate may sit for any purpose while the Senate is in session if consent therefor has been obtained from the majority leader and the minority leader of the Senate. Any other standing committee of the House of Representatives may conduct a hearing while the House is in session if consent therefor has been obtained from the Speaker and the minority leader of the House. In the event of the absence of any such officer or leader, the consent of such officer or leader may be given by a Member of that House of which such officer or leader is a Member designated by him for that purpose. Notwithstanding the provisions of this subsection, any standing committee of the Senate may sit without special leave for any purpose as authorized by paragraph 7 (paragraph 5 as redesignated by section 122(b) of this Act) of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.".

LEGISLATIVE REVIEW BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 105. (a) Section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 190d) is amended to read as follows:

"LEGISLATIVE REVIEW BY STANDING COMMITTEES

"SEC. 136. (a) In order to assist the Congress in—

"(1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, operation, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and

"(2) its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in such laws, and of such additional legislation, as it deems necessary or appropriate,

each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, operation, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee.

"(b) Each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives shall—

"(1) conduct the reviews and studies required generally by subsection (a) of this section;

"(2) analyze, appraise, and evaluate reports and other data of the Comptroller General of the United States, and of any other officer or agency of the Government, which are pertinent to reviews, studies, programs, projects, and other matters within the purview of this section and may request the Comptroller General to investigate any report on any matter relating to the receipt, disbursement, and application of public funds under such laws;

"(3) keep currently informed with respect to the regulations, procedures, practices, and policies of the Government pertaining to the application, operation, administration, and execution of the laws, and parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee;

"(4) conduct such activities as are necessary and appropriate to carry out the general review and study policies of the committee under this section, including reviews of programs of grants-in-aid referred to in section 252(c) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967; and

"(5) obtain current information regarding—

"(A) the progress, status, and results of reviews, studies, programs, and projects conducted under this section,

"(B) the regulations, procedures, practices, and policies of the Government referred to in subparagraph (3) of this subsection, and

"(C) all other matters within the purview of this subsection.

"(c) Each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives is entitled to employ a Review Specialist as a member of the professional staff of such committee in addition to the number of members of such professional staff to which such committee otherwise is entitled. Such Review Specialist shall be selected and appointed by the chairman of such committee, with the prior approval of the ranking minority member, on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliation, and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of the position. Such Review Specialist shall, under the joint direction and supervision of the chairman and the ranking minority member, assist the committee in the performance of its review functions under this section.

"(d) Each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives shall submit, not later than March 31 of each year beginning on or after January 1, 1968, to the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, a report on its activities under this section during the immediately preceding calendar year. Such report shall include—

"(1) an analysis of the reviews, studies, programs, and projects of the committee under this section;

"(2) an appraisal and evaluation of the application, operation, administration, and execution of the laws, and parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee; and

"(3) such other matters within the purview of this section as may be appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section.

Each such committee shall omit in such report all matters which, in the opinion of the committee, should not be made public in the interest of the national security.

"(e) Within ten days after the submission of all such reports to the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, the President of the Senate, with respect to the reports submitted to the Senate, and the

Speaker of the House of Representatives, with respect to the reports submitted to the House, shall transmit such reports to—

"(1) the President, with respect to matters concerning the executive branch;

"(2) the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, with respect to matters concerning the judicial branch;

"(3) the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, with respect to matters concerning the municipal government of the District of Columbia; and

"(4) the heads of other appropriate agencies, corporations, and instrumentalities of the Government.

"(f) As used in this section, the term 'Government' includes the municipal government of the District of Columbia.

"(g) the foregoing provisions of this section do not apply to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Standards and Conduct of the House of Representatives.".

(b) Title I of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"Sec. 136. Legislative oversight by standing committees."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"Sec. 136. Legislative review by standing committees.".

CONFERENCE REPORTS

SEC. 106. (a) The section caption of section 135 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 190c) is amended to read as follows:

"CONFERENCE REPORTS".

(b) Section 135 of that Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(c) Each report of a committee of conference shall be printed as a report of each House of the Congress. As printed in each House, each such report shall be accompanied by an explanatory statement prepared by the conferees on the part of that House. Each such statement shall be sufficiently detailed and explicit to inform the House for which it is prepared as to the effect which amendments or propositions contained in such report will have upon the measure to which it relates. If any conferee on the part of either House desires to submit to the House of which he is a Member an additional individual explanatory statement with respect to any such report, such individual statement may be filed as an appendix to, and may be printed together with, the explanatory statement made by the conferees on the part of the House of which he is a Member, if such individual statement is available at the time of the filing of the report of the committee of conference to that House.

"(d) If time for debate in the consideration of any report of a committee of conference upon the floor of either House of the Congress is limited, the time allotted for debate thereon shall be divided equally between Members of that House who favor agreement to such report and Members of that House who do not favor argeement to such report.".

(c) The item relating to section 135 contained in the table of contents of that Act is amended to read:

"Sec. 135. Conference reports.".

PART 2—PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO THE SENATE

JURISDICTION OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

SEC. 121. Paragraph 1 of Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended—

(1) by striking out in subparagraph (e)—

"Committee on Banking and Currency,"

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs,";

(2) by adding at the end of subparagraph (e) the following item:

"10. Urban affairs generally.";

(3) by striking out in subparagraph (h) (relating to the Committee on Finance) the following numbered items—

"10. Veterans' measures generally.

"11. Pensions of all the wars of the United States, general and special.

"12. Life insurance issued by the Government on account of service in the armed forces.

"13. Compensation of veterans.";

(4) by striking out in subparagraph (m) (relating to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare)—

"16. Vocational rehabilitation and education of veterans.

"17. Veterans' hospitals, medical care and treatment of veterans.

"18. Soldiers' and sailors' civil relief.

"19. Readjustment of servicemen to civil life.";

(5) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph—

"(q) Committee on Veterans' Affairs, to which committee shall be referred all proposed legislation, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating to the following subjects:

"1. Veterans' measures generally.

"2. Pensions of all the wars of the United States, general and special.

"3. Life insurance issued by the Government on account of service in the armed forces.

"4. Compensation of veterans.

"5. Vocational rehabilitation and education of veterans.

"6. Veterans' hospitals, medical care and treatment of veterans.

"7. Soldiers' and sailors' civil relief.

"8. Readjustment of servicemen to civil life.

"9. National cemeteries."; and

(6) by striking out in subparagraph (k) (relating to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs) the following item—

"5. Military parks and battlefields, and National cemeteries."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"5. Military parks and battlefields."

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 122. (a) Paragraph 1 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, as such paragraph existed on the day preceding the date of enactment of section 121 of this Act, is amended—

(1) by striking out in subparagraph (a) the words "to consist of sixteen Senators,";

(2) by striking out in subparagraph (b) the words "to consist of fifteen Senators,";

(3) by striking out in subparagraph (c) the words "to consist of twenty-six Senators,";

(4) by striking out in subparagraph (d) the words "to consist of eighteen Senators,";

(5) by striking out in subparagraph (e) the words "to consist of fourteen Senators,";

(6) by striking out in subparagraph (f) the words "to consist of eighteen Senators,";

(7) by striking out in subparagraph (g) the words "to consist of eight Senators,";

(8) by striking out in subparagraph (h) the words "to consist of seventeen Senators,";

(9) by striking out in subparagraph (i) the words "to consist of nineteen Senators,";

(10) by striking out in subparagraph (j) (1) the words "to consist of fifteen Senators,";

(11) by striking out in subparagraph (k) the words "to consist of seventeen Senators,";

(12) by striking out in subparagraph (l) the words "to consist of sixteen Senators,";

(13) by striking out in subparagraph (m) the words "to consist of sixteen Senators,";

(14) by striking out in subparagraph (n) the words "to consist of twelve Senators,";

(15) by striking out in subparagraph (o) the words "to consist of sixteen Senators,"; and

(16) by striking out in subparagraph (p)(1) the words "to consist of nine Senators,".

(b) Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate are redesignated as paragraphs 4, 5, 6, and 7 thereof, respectively.

(c) Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by inserting, immediately after paragraph 1, the following new paragraphs:

"2. Except as otherwise provided by paragraph 6 of this rule, each of the following standing committees shall consist of the number of Senators set forth in the following table on the line on which the name of that committee appears:

"Committee	Members
"Aeronautical and Space Sciences	14
"Agriculture and Forestry	13
"Appropriations	26
"Armed Services	15
"Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	15
"Commerce	15
"Finance	15
"Foreign Relations	15
"Government Operations	14
"Interior and Insular Affairs	14
"Judiciary	15
"Labor and Public Welfare	15
"Public Works	14

"3. Except as otherwise provided by paragraph 6 of this rule, each of the following standing committees shall consist of the number of Senators set forth in the following table on the line on which the name of that committee appears:

"Committee	Members
"District of Columbia	7
"Post Office and Civil Service	9
"Rules and Administration	9
"Veterans' Affairs	9.".

(d) Paragraph 6 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate (as redesignated) is amended to read as follows:

"6. (a) Except as otherwise provided by this paragraph, each Senator shall serve on two and no more of the standing committees named in paragraph 2. Except as otherwise provided by this paragraph, no Senator shall serve on more than one committee included within the following classes: standing committees named in paragraph 3; select and special committees of the Senate; and joint committees of the Congress.

"(b) Each Senator who on the day preceding the effective date of title I of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 was serving as a member of any standing committee shall be entitled to continue to serve on each such committee of which he was a member on that day as long as his service as a member of such committee remains continuous after that day. Each Senator who (1) on that day was serving as a member of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences or the Committee on Government Operations, (2) on that date was entitled, under the proviso contained in the first sentence of paragraph 4 of this rule as such rule existed on that day, to serve on three committees named in that sentence, and (3) on June 30, 1971, is serving on three such committees, of which at least one is the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences or the Committee on Government Operations, shall be entitled to continue to serve on each of the committees of which he is a member on June 30, 1971, so long as his service as a member of each such committee remains continuous thereafter. Each Senator who on the day preceding the effective date of title I of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 was a member of more than one committee of the classes described in the second sentence of subparagraph (a) shall be entitled to serve on each such committee of which he was a member on that day as long as his service as a member of that committee remains continuous after that day. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3, each committee of the Senate shall be temporarily increased in membership by such number as may be required to carry into effect the provisions of this subparagraph.

"(c) By agreement entered into by the majority leader and the minority leader, the membership of one or more of the standing committees named in paragraph 2 or paragraph 3 of this rule may be increased temporarily from time to time by such number or numbers as may be required to accord to the majority party a majority of the membership of all standing committees. When any such temporary increase is necessary to accord to the majority party a majority of the membership of all standing committees, members of the majority party in such number as may be required for that purpose may serve as members of three standing committees named in paragraph 2. No such temporary increase in the membership of one or more standing committees under this subparagraph or subparagraph (a) shall be continued in effect after the need therefor has ended. No standing committee may be increased in membership under this subparagraph or subparagraph (a) by more than four members in excess of the number prescribed for that committee by paragraph 2 or paragraph 3 of this rule.

"(d) Notwithstanding the limitations contained in subparagraph (a), a Senator may serve at any time on one additional committee included within the following classes: a temporary committee of the Senate or a temporary joint committee of the Congress which, by the terms of the measure by which it was established as initially agreed to, will not continue in existence for more than one Congress; or a joint committee of the Congress having jurisdiction with respect to a subject matter which is directly related to the jurisdiction of a committee named in paragraph 3 of which that Senator is a member.

"(e) No Senator shall serve at any time on more than one of the following committees: Committee on Appropriations, Committee on Armed Services, Committee on Finance, and Committee on Foreign Relations. Notwithstanding the limitation contained in this subparagraph, a Senator who on the day preceding the effective date of title I of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 was a member of more than one such committee may continue to serve as a member of each such committee of which he was a member on that day as long as his service on that committee remains continuous after that day.

"(f) No Senator shall serve at any time as chairman of more than one committee included within the following classes: standing, select, and special committees of the Senate; and joint committees of the Congress, except that—

"(1) A Senator may serve as chairman of a joint committee of the Congress having jurisdiction with respect to a subject matter which is directly related to the jurisdiction of a committee named in paragraph 2 or paragraph 3 of which that Senator is the chairman;

"(2) A Senator who on the day preceding the effective date of title I of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 was serving as chairman of more than one committee included within the classes described in this subparagraph may continue to serve as chairman of each such committee of which he was chairman on that day as long as his service as chairman of that committee remains continuous after that day; and

"(3) A Senator who is serving at any time as chairman of a committee included within the classes described in this subparagraph may at the same time serve also as chairman of one temporary committee of the Senate or temporary joint committee of the Congress which, by the terms of the measure by which it was established as originally agreed to, will not continue in existence for more than one Congress.

"(g) No Senator shall serve at any time as chairman of more than one subcommittee of the same committee if that committee is named in paragraph 2. Notwithstanding the limitation contained in this subparagraph, a Senator who on the day preceding the effective date of title I of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 was serving as chairman of more than one such subcommittee may continue to serve as chairman of each such subcommittee of which he was chairman on that day as long as his service as chairman of that subcommittee remains continuous after that day.".

Part 3—Provisions Applicable to the House of Representatives

JURISDICTION OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 131. (a) Clause 1 of rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended—

(1) by striking out—

"(d) Committee on Banking and Currency, to consist of twenty-seven Members."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(d) Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, to consist of twenty-seven Members.";

(2) by striking out—

"(f) Committee on Education and Labor, to consist of twenty-five Members."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(f) Committee on Education, to consist of twenty-five Members.";

(3) by inserting—

"(m) Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, to consist of twenty-five Members."

immediately below—

"(l) Committee on the Judiciary, to consist of twenty-seven Members.";

(4) by redesignating paragraph (m), (n), (o), (p), and (q) as paragraphs (n), (o), (p), (q), and (r), respectively;

(5) by inserting immediately below paragraph (q) thereof (relating to the Committee on Science and Astronautics), redesignated as paragraph (r) by subparagraph (4) of this subsection, the following new paragraph (s):

"(s) Committee on Standards and Conduct, to consist of twelve Members."; and

(6) by redesignating paragraphs (r), (s), and (t) as paragraphs (t), (u), and (v), respectively.

(b) Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended—

(1) by striking out in clause 1 thereof (relating to the Committee on Agriculture)—

"(d) Agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

"(e) Agricultural economics and research.

"(f) Agricultural education extension services."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(d) Agricultural economics and research.";

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m), (n), (o), (p), and (q) of such clause 1 as paragraphs (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m), (n), and (o), respectively;

(3) by striking out—

"4. Committee on Banking and Currency."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"4. Committee on Banking, House, and Urban Affairs.";

(4) by adding at the end of clause 4 thereof (relating to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs)—

"(j) Urban affairs generally.";

(5) by striking out—

"6. Committee on Education and Labor.

"(a) Measures relating to education or labor generally.

"(b) Child labor.

"(c) Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind; Howard University; Freedmen's Hospital; and Saint Elizabeths Hospital.

"(d) Convict labor and the entry of goods made by convicts into interstate commerce.

"(e) Labor standards.

"(f) Labor statistics.

"(g) Mediation and arbitration of labor disputes.

"(h) Regulation or prevention of importation of foreign laborers under contract.

"(i) School-lunch program.

"(j) United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

"(k) Vocational rehabilitation.

"(l) Wages and hours of labor.

"(m) Welfare of miners."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"6. Committee on Education.

"(a) Measures relating to education generally.

"(b) Agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

"(c) Agricultural educational extension services.

"(d) Mining schools.

"(e) Gallaudet College.

"(f) Howard University (including Freedmen's Hospital.)

"(g) Library services and construction.

"(h) School construction.

"(i) Arts and humanities.

"(j) Vocational education and vocational rehabilitation.

"(k) Scholarships and intercultural activities.

"(l) Special educational programs.

"(m) Measures relating to economic opportunity and alleviation of poverty.

"(n) Public health and quarantine, including the Public Health Service and the National Institutes of Health.";

(6) by striking out in clause 10 thereof (relating to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs)—

"(l) Mining schools and experimental stations"

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(l) Mining experimental stations.";

(7) by striking out in clause 11 thereof (relating to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce)—

"(e) Public health and quarantine.

"(f) Railroad labor and railroad retirement and unemployment, except revenue measures relating thereto."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(e) Railroad retirement and unemployment, except revenue measures relating thereto.";

(8) by redesignating paragraphs (g), (h), (i), and (j) of such clause 11 as paragraphs (f), (g), (h), and (i), respectively;

(9) by striking out in such clause 11—

"(k) Weather Bureau.";

(10) by inserting immediately following clause 12 thereof the following new clause 13:

"13. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

"(a) Measures relating to labor or public welfare generally.

"(b) Child labor.

"(c) Labor standards.

"(d) Labor statistics.

"(e) Mediation and arbitration of labor disputes.

"(f) Convict labor and the entry of goods made by convicts into interstate commerce.

"(g) Maritime unions.

"(h) Railroad labor.

"(i) Regulation or prevention of importation of foreign laborers under contract.

"(j) Bureau of Employees' Compensation.

"(k) Wages and hours of labor.

"(l) Welfare of miners.

"(m) Saint Elizabeths Hospital.

"(n) School-lunch program.

"(o) Industrial safety.

"(p) Equal employment opportunities and fair employment practices.

"(q) Manpower development and training generally.";

(11) by redesignating clauses 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 thereof as clauses 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 thereof, respectively;

(12) by striking out in clause 13 thereof redesignated as clause 14 by subparagraph (11) of this subsection (relating to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries)—

"(f) Merchant marine officers and seamen."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(f) Merchant marine officers and seamen (except maritime unions).";

(13) by striking out at the end of clause 17 thereof redesignated as clause 18 by subparagraph (11) of this subsection (relating to the Committee on Science and Astronautics)—

"(h) Scientific research and development"

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(h) Research and development in environmental science, including the Environmental Science Services Administration.

"(i) Scientific research and development generally.";

(14) by inserting immediately following clause 17 thereof, redesignated as clause 18 by subparagraph (11) of this subsection, the following new clause 19:

"19. Committee on Standards and Conduct

"(a) Ethical standards and conduct of Members, officers, and employees of the House of Representatives.

"(b) The Committee on Standards and Conduct shall consist at all times of an even number of Members equally divided between the majority party and the minority party. The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. The chairman shall be a member of the majority party. The vice chairman shall be a member of the minority party.

"(c) The Committee on Standards and Conduct shall—

"(1) recommend to the House of Representatives by report or resolution, such rules and regulations as the committee determines necessary or desirable to insure proper standards of conduct by Members of the House and by officers and employees of the House, in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities; and

"(2) report, by majority vote of its entire membership, violations of laws to the proper Federal and State authorities.

"(d) The committee shall transmit to the House of Representatives its recommendations as to any legislative measures which the committee determines necessary for the effective discharge of its duties whenever the committee, by majority vote of its entire membership, orders such action.

"(e) The committee is authorized to—

"(1) hold such hearings,

"(2) sit and act at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or adjourned, and

"(3) require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony (orally or by deposition) of such witnesses, and the production of such books, records, correspondence, papers, and documents,

as the committee deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee, or by any member of the committee designated by the chairman, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or committee member so designated. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses.

"(f) Any hearing held by the committee shall not be open to the public unless and until the committee, by majority vote of its entire membership, orders such hearing to be open to the public.

"(g) As used in this clause, the term 'officers and employees of the House' includes—

"(1) an elected officer of the House who is not a Member of the House;

"(2) an employee of the House, of any committee or subcommittee of the House, or of any Member of the House;

"(3) the Legislative Counsel of the House and any employee of his office;

"(4) an Official Reporter of Debates of the House, an Official Reporter to Committees, and any person employed by the Official Reporters in connection with the performance of their official duties;

"(5) a member of the Capitol Police Force whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House;

"(6) telephone operators whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House;

"(7) an employee of the Government Printing Office assigned to duty in any capacity with the House; and

"(8) an employee of a joint committee of the Congress whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House.";

(15) by redesignating clauses 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30 thereof as clauses 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 thereof, respectively; and

(16) by striking out in clause 24 thereof redesignated as clause 26 by subparagraph (15) of this subsection (relating to reports of the Committee on House Administration in contested-election cases)—

"except in a contest from the Territory of Alaska, in which case the time shall not exceed nine months".

(c) Rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended to read as follows:

"RULE XII

"RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

"The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico shall be elected to serve as an additional member on the Committees on Agriculture, Armed Services, and Interior and Insular Affairs, shall possess in such committees the same powers and privileges as in the House, and may make any motion except a motion to reconsider.".

TITLE II—FISCAL CONTROLS

RULEMAKING POWER OF SENATE AND HOUSE

SEC. 201. Part 3 and part 5 of this title are enacted by the Congress—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of each House, respectively, or of that House to which they specifically apply; and such rules shall supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change such rules (so far as relating to the procedure in such House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of such House.

PART 1—BUDGETARY AND FISCAL INFORMATION AND DATA

DATA PROCESSING SYSTEM

SEC. 202. The Comptroller General of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall develop, establish, and maintain, for use by all Federal agencies, a standardized information and data processing system for budgetary and fiscal data.

STANDARD CLASSIFICATIONS

SEC. 203. (a) The Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall develop, establish, and maintain standard classifications of programs, activities, receipts, and expenditures of Federal agencies in order—

(1) to meet the needs of the various branches of Government; and

(2) to facilitate the development, establishment, and maintenance of the data processing system under section 202 through the utilization of modern automatic data processing techniques.

The initial classifications under this subsection shall be established on or before December 31, 1969.

(b) The Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall perform their functions under section 202 and subsection (a) of this section as part of the joint program established pursuant to section 111(f) of the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950.

(c) The Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall submit a report to the Senate and the House of Representatives on or before September 1 of each year, commencing with 1968, with respect to the performance during the preceding fiscal year of the functions and duties imposed on them by section 202 and subsection (a) of this section. The reports made under this subsection in 1968 and 1969 shall set forth the progress achieved in the development of classifications under subsection (a) of this section, and the reports made in years thereafter shall include information with respect to changes in, and additions to, classifications previously established.

AVAILABILITY OF DATA

SEC. 204. The Comptroller General shall provide information to the Congress, as provided in this section, on the location and nature of data available in the various Federal agencies with respect to programs, activities, receipts, and expenditures of such agencies. Upon request of any Member of the House or Senate, of any committee of either House, or of any joint committee of the two Houses, the Comptroller General shall—

(1) furnish to such Member, committee, or joint committee information as to the location and nature of such data, and

(2) to the extent feasible, prepare for such Member, committee, or joint committee summary tables of such data.

COST EFFECTIVENESS STUDIES

SEC. 205. The Comptroller General shall have available in the General Accounting Office employees who are expert in analyzing and conducting cost effectiveness studies of Government programs. Upon request of any committee of either House or of any joint committee of the two Houses, the Comptroller General shall assign, on a temporary basis, employees of the General Accounting Office to assist such committee or joint committee, or the staff of such committee or joint committee—

(1) in analyzing cost effectiveness studies furnished by any Federal agency to such committee or joint committee, or

(2) in conducting cost effectiveness studies of programs under the jurisdiction of such committee or joint committee.

CURRENT BUDGET INFORMATION

SEC. 206. (a) After the submission of the budget for any fiscal year by the President, the Comptroller General shall collect information and data available in the various Federal agencies with respect to changes in the figures shown in such budget as submitted, including changes caused by—

(1) new or supplemental requests for appropriations;

(2) the enactment of appropriation Acts, or the action of either the House or Senate on appropriation bills, or of the Committee on Appropriations, or any subcommittees thereof, of the House or Senate on appropriation bills or requests for appropriations;

(3) increases or decreases in expenditures of prior appropriations;

(4) increases or decreases in revenue receipts or estimated revenue receipts; and

(5) increases or decreases in expenditures or estimated expenditures by reason of the

enactment of laws (other than appropriation Acts).

(b) The Comptroller General shall, from time to time, furnish a report showing revised budget information and totals to reflect the information and data collected by him under subsection (a) to each Member of the House and Senate, each committee of the House and Senate, and each joint committee of the two Houses. All such reports shall identify, to the extent necessary, the sources of the information and data reflected in the revised budget information and totals.

(c) Upon request of any Member of the House or Senate, any committee of either House, or any joint committee of the two Houses, the Comptroller General shall, to the extent feasible, prepare and furnish to such Member, committee, or joint committee tabulations of such budget information and data as collected pursuant to this section.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

SEC. 207. (a) The Comptroller General shall establish within the General Accounting Office such office or division, or such offices or divisions, as he deems necessary to carry out the functions and duties imposed on him by the provisions of this Part.

(b) The Comptroller General is authorized to obtain, during the period ending December 31, 1969, the services of individual experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not in excess of $200 per diem. Not more than fifteen such experts and consultants may be so employed at any one time and no expert or consultant may be so employed for more than one hundred and twenty days during any calendar year.

(c) The Comptroller General shall include in his annual report to the Congress a report with respect to the performance of the functions and duties imposed on him by the provisions of this Part.

DEFINITION

SEC. 208. As used in this title, the term "Federal agency" means any department, agency, wholly owned Government corporation, establishment, or instrumentality of the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia.

PART 2—THE BUDGET

SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET INFORMATION

SEC. 221. (a) Section 201 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 11) is amended by striking out subsections (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f), and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(b) On June 1 of each year, beginning with 1968, the President shall transmit to the Congress a supplemental summary of the budget transmitted in January of such year for the ensuing fiscal year. Such supplemental summary shall reflect all changes relating to that fiscal year which have occurred since the transmittal of the budget, including changes caused by—

"(1) revisions in estimates of expenditures and receipts,

"(2) estimated expenditures and proposed appropriations which were not included in the budget as transmitted,

"(3) appropriations enacted after transmittal of the budget, and

"(4) the enactment of laws (other than appropriation Acts) after the transmittal of the budget.

"(c) On or before June 1 of each year, the President shall transmit to the Congress, in such form and detail as he may determine—

"(1) summaries of estimated expenditures, for the four fiscal years following the ensuing fiscal year for which the budget was transmitted in January of such year, which will be required under continuing programs which have a legal commitment for future years or are considered mandatory under existing law, and

"(2) summaries of estimated expenditures in fiscal years following such ensuing fiscal year of balances carried over from such ensuing fiscal year.

"(d) The budget shall include information showing the gross amount of expenditures and estimated expenditures of all programs of the Government.".

(b) Subsections (c) and (d) of section 201 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (as amended by subsection (a)) shall apply only with respect to the budget transmitted to the Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for succeeding fiscal years.

PART 3—THE APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

SEC. 231. (a) Each hearing conducted by the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives or the Senate shall be open to the public except when the committee determines that the testimony to be taken at that hearing may relate to a matter of national security, may tend to reflect adversely on the character or reputation of the witness or any other individual, or may divulge matters deemed confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulation. Whenever any such hearing is open to the public, that hearing may be broadcast by radio or television, or both, under such rules as the committee may adopt.

(b) The Committee on Appropriations of the House and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate shall, within thirty days after the transmittal of the budget to the Congress each year, hold hearings on the budget as a whole with particular reference to—

(1) the basic recommendations and budgetary policies of the President in the presentation of the budget, and

(2) the fiscal, financial, and economic assumptions used as bases in arriving at total estimated expenditures and receipts.

(c) In holding hearings pursuant to subsection (b), the committees shall receive testimony from the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and such other persons as the committee may desire.

(d) Hearings pursuant to subsection (b) shall be held in open session. A transcript of all such hearings shall be printed and a copy thereof furnished to each Member of the House or Senate, as the case may be.

(e) Hearings pursuant to subsection (b), or any part thereof, may be held before joint meetings of the two committees.

(f)(1) Section 138 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 190e) is repealed.

(2) Title I of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"SEC. 138. Legislative Budget."

BUDGET REVIEW

SEC. 232. The Committee on Appropriations of the House, or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, shall review the budget transmitted for each fiscal year for the specific purpose of examining and reviewing those programs for which estimated expenditures or proposed appropriations contained in the budget would be made by, or be under the control of, two or more Federal agencies.

COMMITTEE ACTION

SEC. 233. (a) The vote of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives or the Senate to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of the members of the committee who are present. No vote of any member of such committee to report a measure or matter may be cast by proxy if rules adopted by such committee forbid the casting of votes for that purpose by proxy; however, proxies shall not be voted for such purpose except when the absent committee member has been informed on the matter on which he is being recorded and has affirmatively requested that he be so recorded. Action by any such committee in reporting any measure or matter in accordance with the requirements of this subsection shall constitute the ratification by the committee of all action theretofore taken by the committee with respect to that measure or matter, including votes taken upon the measure or matter or any amendment thereto, and no point of order shall lie with respect to that measure or matter on the ground that such previous action with respect thereto by such committee was not taken in compliance with such requirements. Whenever any such committee by rollcall vote reports any measure or matter, the report of the committee upon such measure or matter shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor of and the votes cast in opposition to such measure or matter by each member of the committee. Nothing contained in this subsection shall abrogate the power of any committee of either House to adopt rules (1) providing for proxy voting on all matters other than the reporting of a measure or matter, or (2) providing in accordance with the rules of that House for a lesser number as a quorum for any action other than the reporting of a measure or matter.

(b) The report of the Committee on Appropriations of the House or the Senate, as the case may be, accompanying each appropriation bill shall include an analysis of the major factors taken into consideration by the committee in reporting the bill and recommending the appropriations contained therein. In any case in which any cost effectiveness analysis or study of any program for which funds are appropriated in the bill has been furnished by any Federal agency to any committee of the House or Senate or any joint committee of the two Houses, or has been made by any such committee or joint committee, such report shall also state the consideration given by the Committee on Appropriations to such analysis or study and shall inform the Members of the House or Senate, as the case may be, where they may obtain copies of such analysis or study.

(c) In the case of any bill reported by the Committee on Appropriations of the House or the Senate which makes supplemental or deficiency appropriations for any fiscal year, the report accompanying such bill shall include a complete explanation of the nature of the request for such appropriation and the reason such request was not made or could not have been made for inclusion in the regular appropriation bill for such fiscal year, or could not be withheld for inclusion in the regular appropriation bill for the following fiscal year.

PASSAGE OF BILLS

SEC. 234. The question of the final passage in both the House and the Senate of any appropriation bill shall be decided by a yea and nay vote. The preceding sentence shall not apply to the adoption of the report of a committee of conference on any such bill.

ROLLCALL VOTE REQUIRED ON MEASURES CHANGING COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

SEC. 235. (a) No bill or joint resolution containing a provision increasing or decreasing the rate of compensation of Members of Congress shall be passed by the Senate or House of Representatives unless (1) such increase or decrease in compensation is set forth as a separate proposition from any other provision in the bill or joint resolution, and (2) such proposition shall have been approved by the Senate or House of Representatives, as the case may be, by a yea-and-nay vote.

(b) As used in this section, "Member of Congress" means a Senator, Representative in Congress, and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

Part 4—Utilization of Reports of General Accounting Office

ASSISTANCE TO COMMITTEES

SEC. 241. At the request of any committee of the House or Senate, or of any joint committee of the two Houses, the Comptroller General shall designate employees of the General Accounting Office to explain to, and discuss with, the committee or joint committee making the request, or the staff of such committee or joint committee, any report made by the General Accounting Office which would assist such committee in connection with—

(1) its consideration of proposed legislation, including requests for appropriations, or

(2) its review of any program, or of any activities of any Federal agency, which is within the jurisdiction of such committee or joint committee.

REPORTS TO COMMITTEES

SEC. 242. (a) Whenever the General Accounting Office submits any report to the Congress, the Comptroller General shall deliver copies of such report to—

(1) the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate,

(2) the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate, and

(3) any other committee of the House or Senate, or any joint committee of the two Houses, which has jurisdiction over any program or part thereof, or any Federal agency, which is the subject of such report.

(b) At the request of any committee of the House or Senate, or of any joint committee of the two Houses, the Comptroller General shall make available to such committee or joint committee a copy of any report made by the General Accounting Office which was not delivered to such committee or joint committee pursuant to subsection (a).

AGENCY REPORTS

SEC. 243. Whenever the General Accounting Office has made a report which contains recommendations to the head of any Federal agency, such agency shall, in connection with the first request for appropriations for that agency submitted to the Congress more than sixty days after the date of such report, submit a written statement to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate of the action taken by such agency with respect to such recommendations.

Part 5—Legislative Committees

COST ESTIMATES

SEC. 251. (a) The report accompanying each bill or joint resolution reported by any committee of the House or Senate which has legislative jurisdiction shall contain—

(1) an estimate, made by such committee, of the costs which would be incurred in carrying out such bill or joint resolution in the fiscal year in which it is reported and in each of the five fiscal years following such fiscal year (or for the authorized duration of any program authorized by such bill or joint resolution, if less than five years), except that in the case of measures affecting the revenues, such reports shall require only an estimate of the gain or loss in revenues for a one-year period, and

(2) a comparison of the estimate of costs described in paragraph (1) made by such committee with any estimate of costs made by any Federal agency in the executive branch of the Government, or

(3) a statement of the reasons why compliance by the committee with the requirements of paragraphs (1) and (2) is impracticable.

(b) It shall not be in order in either House to consider a bill or joint resolution if such bill or joint resolution was reported in that House after the effective date of this section and the report of the committee of that House does not comply with the provisions of subsection (a).

APPROPRIATIONS ON ANNUAL BASIS

SEC. 252. (a) Each committee of the House and Senate, and each joint committee of the two Houses, which has legislative jurisdiction shall, in recommending the enactment of legislation, endeavor to insure that all continuing programs of the Government are designed, and all continuing activities of Federal agencies are carried on, so that appropriations therefor will be made annually.

(b) Each committee of the House and Senate, and each joint committee of the two Houses, which has legislative jurisdiction over any continuing program for which appropriations are not made annually shall, from time to time, review such program to ascertain whether such program could be modified so that appropriations therefor would be made annually.

(c) Each committee of the House and Senate, and each joint committee of the two Houses, which has legislative jurisdiction over any program under which grants-in-aid are made, shall periodically make a complete review of such program.

COMMITTEE JURISDICTION

SEC. 253. (a) For purposes of the provisions of this Part, a committee of either House, or a joint committee of the two Houses, shall be considered to have legislative jurisdiction over any matter only if, under the rules of the respective Houses, legislation relating to such matter is referred to such committee and such committee is authorized to report and recommend the enactment of such legislation, except that the Committees on Appropriations of the two Houses shall not be considered to be legislative committees.

(b) For purposes of the provisions of section 251 of this Part, the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy who are Members of the House shall be treated as a committee of the House, and the members of the Joint Committee who are Members of the Senate shall be treated as a committee of the Senate.

TITLE III—SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Part 1—Staffs of Senate and House Standing Committees

COMMITTEE STAFFING AND RELATED PROVISIONS

SEC. 301. (a) Subsection (a) of section 202 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended (2 U.S.C. 72a(a)), is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives (other than the Committee on Appropriations of each House) is authorized to appoint by majority vote of the committee not more than six professional staff members in addition to the clerical staffs. Such professional staff members shall be assigned to the chairman and the ranking minority member of such committee as the committee may deem advisable, except that whenever a majority of the minority members of such committee (other than the Committee on Standards and Conduct of the House of Representatives) so request, two of such professional staff members may be selected for appointment by majority vote of the minority members and the committee shall appoint any staff members so selected. A staff member or members appointed pursuant to a request by the minority members of the committee shall be assigned to such committee business as such minority members deem advisable. Services of professional staff members appointed by majority vote of the committee may be terminated by majority vote of the committee and services of professional staff members appointed pursuant to a request by the minority members of the committee shall be terminated by the committee when a majority of such minority members so request. Professional staff members authorized by this subsection shall be appointed on a permanent basis without regard to political affiliations and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of the office. Such professional staff members shall not engage in any work other than committee business and no other duties may be assigned to them.".

(b) Subsection (c) of such section 202 (2 U.S.C. 72a(c)) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) The clerical staff of each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives (other than the Committee on Appropriations of each House), which shall be appointed by a majority vote of the committee, shall consist of not more than six clerks to be attached to the office of the chairman, to the ranking minority member, and to the professional staff, as the committee may deem advisable, except that whenever a majority of the minority members of such committee (other than the Committee on Standards and Conduct of the House of Representatives) so requests, one of the members of the clerical staff may be selected for appointment by majority vote of such minority members and the committee shall appoint any staff member so selected. The clerical staff shall handle committee correspondence and stenographic work, both for the committee staff and for the chairman and ranking minority member on matters related to committee work, except that if a member of the clerical staff is appointed pursuant to a request by the minority members of the committee, such clerical staff member shall handle committee correspondence and stenographic work for the minority members of the committee and for any members of the committee staff appointed under subsection (a) pursuant to request by such minority members, on matters related to committee work. Services of clerical staff members appointed by majority vote of the committee may be terminated by majority vote of the committee and services of clerical staff members appointed pursuant to a request by the minority members of the committee shall be terminated by the committee when a majority of such minority members so request.".

(c) Such section 202 is amended by striking out subsection (h), and by adding after subsection (f) the following new subsections:

"(g) In any case in which a request for the appointment of a minority staff member under subsection (a) or subsection (c) is made at any time when no vacancy exists to which the appointment requested may be made, the person appointed pursuant to such request may serve in addition to any other staff members authorized by such subsections and may be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate or House of Representatives, as the case may be, until such time as such a vacancy occurs, at which time such person shall be considered to have been appointed to such vacancy.

"(h) Staff members appointed pursuant to a request by minority members of a committee under subsection (a) or subsection (c), and staff members appointed to assist minority members of subcommittees pursuant to authority of Senate or House resolution, shall be accorded equitable treatment with respect to the fixing of salary rates, the assignment of facilities, and the accessibility of committee records.

"(i)(1) Each standing committee of the Senate or House of Representatives is authorized, with the approval of the Committee on Rules and Administration in the case of standing committees of the Senate, or the Committee on House Administration in the case of standing committees of the House of Representatives, within the limits of funds made available from the contingent funds of the respective Houses pursuant to resolutions, which shall specify the maximum amounts which may be used for such purpose, approved by such respective Houses, to procure the temporary services (not in excess of one year) or intermittent services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof, to make studies or advise the committee with respect to any matter within its jurisdiction.

"(2) Such services in the case of individuals or organizations may be procured by contract as independent contractors, or in the case of individuals by employment at daily rates of compensation not in excess of the per diem equivalent of the highest gross rate of compensation which may be paid to a regular employee of the committee, including payment of such rates for necessary travel time. Such contracts shall not be subject to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5) or any other provision of law requiring advertising.

"(3) Any such consultant or organization shall be selected by the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee, acting jointly. The committee shall submit to the Committee on Rules and Administration in the case of standing committees of the Senate, and the Committee on House Administration in the case of standing committees of the House of Representatives, information bearing on the qualifications of each consultant whose services are procured pursuant to this subsection, including organizations, and such information shall be retained by that committee and shall be made available for public inspection upon request.

"(j) (1) Each standing committee of the Senate or House of Representatives is authorized, with the approval of the Committee on Rules and Administration in the case of standing committees of the Senate, and the Committee on House Administration in the case of standing committees of the House of Representatives, and within the limits of funds made available from the contingent funds of the respective Houses pursuant to resolutions, which shall specify the maximum amounts which may be used for such purpose, approved by such respective Houses, to provide assistance for members of its professional staff in obtaining specialized training, whenever it determines that such training will aid it in the discharge of its responsibilities.

"(2) Such assistance may be in the form of continuance of pay during periods of training or grants of funds to pay tuition, fees, or such other expenses of training, or both, as may be approved by the Committee on Rules and Administration or the Committee on House Administration, as the case may be.

"(3) A committee providing assistance under this subsection shall obtain from any employee receiving such assistance such agreement with respect to continued employment as it may deem necessary to assure that it will receive the benefits of such employee's services upon completion of his training.

"(4) During any period for which an employee is separated from employment with a committee for the purpose of undergoing training under this subsection, such employee shall be considered to have performed service as an employee of the committee at the rate of compensation received immediately prior to commencing such training (including any increases in compensation provided by law during the period of training) for the purposes of—

"(A) subchapter III (relating to civil service retirement) of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code,

"(B) chapter 87 (relating to Federal employees group life insurance) of title 5, United States Code, and

"(C) chapter 89 (relating to Federal employees group health insurance) of title 5, United States Code.".

(d) (1) The paragraph relating to rates of compensation of employees of the Senate, contained in the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1956, as amended (2 U.S.C. 72a–1a), is amended by striking out all of the second sentence thereof following the words "First Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1947," and all of the third sentence thereof, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "the basic compensation of any employee of a standing or select committee of the Senate (including the majority and minority policy committees and the majority and minority conferences of the Senate, but excluding the Committee on Appropriations), or a joint committee of the two Houses the expenses of which are paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, whose basic compensation may be fixed under such provisions at a rate of $8,000 per annum, may be fixed at a rate not in excess of $8,520, except that the basic compensation of two such employees may be fixed at a rate not in excess of $9,420 per annum, and the basic compensation of four such employees may be fixed at a rate not in excess of $9,060 per annum. The basic compensation of any employee of the Committee on Appropriations whose basic compensation may be fixed at a rate of $8,000 per annum under such provisions may be fixed at a rate not in excess of $8,520 per annum, except that the basic compensation of two such employees may be fixed at a rate not in excess of $9,420 per annum, and the basic compensation of sixteen such employees may be fixed at a rate not in excess of $9,060 per annum."

(2) The paragraph imposing limitations on basic and gross compensation of officers and employees of the Senate appearing under the heading "Senate" in the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1956, as amended (2 U.S.C. 60a note), is amended by striking out "$8,880" and inserting in lieu thereof "$9,420", and by striking out "$24,460" and inserting in lieu thereof "$25,890".

(e) Nothing in the amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall be construed—

(1) to require a reduction in—

(A) the number of staff members authorized, prior to January 1, 1968, to be employed by any committee of the Senate or House of Representatives, by statute or by annual or permanent resolution, or

(B) the number of such staff members on such date assigned to, or authorized to be selected for appointment by or with the approval of, the minority members of any such committee; or

(2) to authorize the selection for appointment of staff members by the minority members of a committee in any case in which two or more professional staff members or one or more clerical staff members, as the case may be, who are satisfactory to a majority of such minority members, are otherwise assigned to assist such minority members.

(f) The additional professional staff members authorized to be employed by a committee by the amendment made by subsection (a) of this section shall be in addition to any other additional staff members authorized, prior to January 1, 1968, to be employed by any such committee.

PART 2—OFFICE STAFFS AND ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANTS FOR SENATORS

SEC. 321. (a) Each Senator is authorized to appoint a legislative assistant whose primary function shall be to assist the Senator in performing duties related to legislation. The basic compensation of the legislative assistant shall be fixed, in accordance with the paragraph relating to the authority of Senators to rearrange the basic salaries of employees in their offices in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1947, as amended (2 U.S.C. 60f), at a rate not in excess of $8,460 per annum, said sum to be available to each Senator in addition to the aggregate amount of the basic compensation authorized to be paid for administrative and clerical assistance and messenger service in the office of such Senator. No part of such additional sum shall be available for the salary of any employee other than the legislative assistant authorized by this section.

(b) The second proviso in the paragraph relating to the authority of Senators to rearrange the basic salaries of employees in their offices in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1947, as amended (2 U.S.C. 60f), is amended by inserting after the word "employee" in clause (3) the following: "(in addition to the legislative assistant authorized by section 321(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967)".

ADDITIONAL TRAVEL ALLOWANCES

SEC. 322. (a) The third paragraph under the heading "Administrative Provisions" in the appropriation for the Senate in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1959, as amended (2 U.S.C. 43b), is amended—

(1) by striking out "six" and inserting in lieu thereof "seven"; and

(2) by striking out "four" and inserting in lieu thereof "seven."

(b) The second paragraph under the heading "Administrative Provisions" in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1962, as amended (2 U.S.C. 127), is amended by striking out "four" and inserting in lieu thereof "five."

(c) Section 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1959, to provide for reimbursement of transportation expenses for Members of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes", approved August 28, 1965 (2 U.S.C. 127a), is amended by striking out "not to exceed two employees in the office of a Member of the House of Representatives (including the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico) for one round trip each, or incurred by not to exceed one employee for two round trips" and inserting in lieu thereof "employees in the office of each Member of the House of Representatives (including the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico) for not to exceed four round trips".

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

SEC. 323. (a) The Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives are authorized and directed to make a thorough study of the telecommunications needs of the Congress, with a view to—

(1) developing plans for—

(A) participation in, and any necessary expansion of, the existing Government-wide leased line telephone system, or

(B) establishment of a separate leased line telephone system for the Congress; and

(2) recommending such other improvements with respect to telephone and telegraph service for the Congress as may be desirable in the light of economy and efficiency.

(b) The Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, acting under the direction and supervision of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, is authorized and directed to formulate a plan for consolidating telephone and telegraph allowances of Senators and the President of the Senate as a single allowance.

CONVERSION OF PAY RATES OF SENATE EMPLOYEES TO GROSS RATE BASIS

SEC. 324. The Committee on Appropriations of the Senate is requested to prepare, and make recommendations to the Senate, at the earliest practicable date with respect to—

(1) a plan for the conversion to a gross rate basis of pay rates of employees of the Senate who are being paid on a basic plus additional compensation basis;

(2) a schedule of gross salary rates to be applicable in fixing and adjusting pay rates of such employees; and

(3) a plan for the conversion of Senator's clerk hire allowances from an aggregate basic salary basis to an aggregate gross salary basis.

Such recommendations shall include, or be in the form of, legislative proposals designed to carry into effect the plans and schedule referred to in this section.

PART 3—LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH SERVICE

IMPROVEMENT OF LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH FACILITIES OF CONGRESS

SEC. 331. (a) Section 203 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended (2 U.S.C. 166), is amended to read as follows:

"LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH SERVICE

"SEC. 203. (a) The Legislative Reference Service in the Library of Congress is hereby continued as a separate department in the Library of Congress and is redesignated the 'Legislative Research Service'.

"(b) It is the policy of Congress that—

"(1) the Librarian of Congress shall, in every possible way, encourage, assist, and promote the Legislative Research Service in—

"(A) rendering to Congress the most effective and efficient service,

"(B) responding most expeditiously, effectively, and efficiently to the special needs of Congress, and

"(C) discharging its responsibilities to Congress;

and

"(2) the Librarian of Congress shall grant and accord to the Legislative Research Service the maximum practicable administrative independence consistent with these objectives.

"(c)(1) After consultation with the Joint Committee on the Library, the Librarian of Congress shall appoint the Director of the Legislative Research Service.

The compensation of the Director shall be at a per annum rate equal to the rate provided for level V of the Executive Schedule contained in section 5316 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) The Librarian of Congress, upon the recommendation of the Director, shall appoint a Deputy Director of the Legislative Research Service and all other necessary personnel thereof. The compensation of the Deputy Director shall be fixed in accordance with chapter 51 (relating to classification) and subchapter III (relating to General Schedule pay rates) of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, but without regard to section 5108(a) of such title. The compensation of all other necessary personnel of the Legislative Research Service shall be fixed in accordance with chapter 51 (relating to classification) and subchapter III (relating to General Schedule pay rates) of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, except that—

"(A) the grade of Senior Specialist in each field within the purview of subsection (e) of this section shall not be less than the highest grade in the executive branch of the Government to which research analysts and consultants without supervisory responsibility are currently assigned; and

"(B) the positions of Specialist and Senior Specialist in the Legislative Research Service may be placed in GS-16, 17, and 18 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, without regard to section 5108(a) of such title, subject to the prior approval of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library, by record vote of a majority of the members of the Joint Committee, of the placement of each such position in any of such grades.

"(3) Each appointment made under paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection and subsection (e) of this section shall be without regard to the civil service laws, without regard to political affiliation, and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of the position.

"(d) It shall be the duty of the Legislative Research Service, without partisan bias—

"(1) upon request, to advise and assist any committee or Member of the Senate or House of Representatives and any joint committee of Congress in the analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of legislative proposals, or of recommendations submitted to Congress by the President or any executive agency, and otherwise to assist in providing a basis for the proper evaluation and determination of legislative proposals and recommendations generally;

"(2) upon request, or upon its own initiative in anticipation of requests, to collect, classify, and analyze in the form of translations, indexes, digests, compilations, bulletins, reports, and otherwise, data having a bearing on legislation, and to make such data available and serviceable to committees and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives and joint committees of Congress;

"(3) to prepare summaries and digests of bills and resolutions of a public general nature introduced in the Senate or House of Representatives; and

"(4) upon request made by any committee or Member of the Congress, to prepare and transmit to such committee or Member a concise memorandum with respect to one or more legislative measures upon which hearings by any committee of the Congress have been announced, which memorandum shall contain a statement of the purpose and effect of each such measure, a description of other relevant measures of similar purpose or effect previously introduced in the Congress, and a recitation of all action taken theretofore by or within the Congress with respect to each such other measure.

"(e) The Librarian of Congress is authorized to appoint in the Legislative Research Service, upon the recommendation of the Director, Specialists and Senior Specialists in the following broad fields:

"(1) agriculture;

"(2) American government and public administration;

"(3) American public law;

"(4) conservation;

"(5) education;

"(6) employment;

"(7) engineering and public works;

"(8) housing;

"(9) industrial organization and corporation finance;

"(10) international affairs;

"(11) international trade and economic geography;

"(12) labor;

"(13) mineral economics;

"(14) money and banking;

"(15) national defense;

"(16) price economics;

"(17) science;

"(18) social welfare;

"(19) taxation and fiscal policy;

"(20) technology;

"(21) transportation and communications;

"(22) veterans' affairs; and

"(23) such other broad fields as the Director may deem appropriate.

Such Specialists and Senior Specialists, together with such other employees of the Legislative Research Service as may be necessary, shall be available for special work with the committees and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives and the joint committees of Congress for any of the purposes of subsection (d) of this section.

"(f) The Director is authorized—

"(1) to classify, organize, arrange, group, and divide, from time to time, as he deems advisable, the requests for advice, assistance, and other services submitted to the Legislative Research Service by committees and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives and joint committees of Congress, into such classes and categories as he deems necessary to—

"(A) expedite and facilitate the handling of the individual requests submitted by Members of the Senate and House of Representatives,

"(B) promote efficiency in the performance of services for committees of the Senate and House of Representatives and joint committees of Congress, and

"(C) provide a basis for the efficient performance by the Legislative Research Service of its legislative research and related functions generally;

and

"(2) to establish and change, from time to time, as he deems advisable, within the Legislative Research Service, such research and reference divisions or other organizational units, or both, as he deems necessary to accomplish the purposes of this subsection.

"(g) In order to facilitate the study, consideration, evaluation, and determination by the Congress of the budget requirements of the Legislative Research Service for each fiscal year, the Librarian of Congress shall receive from the Director and submit, for inclusion in the Budget of the United States Government, the budget estimates of the Legislative Research Service prepared separately by the Director in detail for each fiscal year, as a separate item of the budget estimates of the Library of Congress for such fiscal year.

"(h)(1) The Director of the Legislative Research Service is authorized to procure the temporary services (not in excess of one year) or intermittent services of individual experts or consultants (including stenographic reporters) and persons learned in particular fields of knowledge—

"(A) by contract as independent contractors without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5) or any other law requiring advertising, or

"(B) by employment in the Legislative Research Service without regard to the civil service and position classification laws, at rates of compensation not in excess of the per diem equivalent of the highest rate of basic compensation set forth in the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, including payment of such rates for necessary travel time.

"(2) The Director of the Legislative Research Service is authorized to procure by contract, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5) or any other law requiring advertising, the temporary services (not in excess of one year) or intermittent services of educational, research, or other organizations of experts and consultants (including stenographic reporters) and persons learned in particular fields of knowledge.

"(i) The Director of the Legislative Research Service shall file with the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library at the beginning of each regular session of Congress a separate and special report covering, in summary and in detail, all phases of activity of the Legislative Research Service for the immediately preceding fiscal year. In order to facilitate its performance of any function specified in this section, the Legislative Research Service may—

"(1) prepare information for machine processing,

"(2) process information by machine by performing mathematical or logical operations thereon, selective retrieval, integration, or other machine operations, and

"(3) prepare for presentation or other use information processed by machine.

The Service may acquire automatic data processing equipment and retain personnel needed for any activity authorized by this subsection.

"(j) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Legislative Research Service each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry on the work of the Service.".

(b) Title II of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"Sec. 203. Legislative Reference Service."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"Sec. 203. Legislative Research Service.".

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

SEC. 332. Section 223 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 132b) is amended to read as follows:

"JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

"SEC. 223. (a) The Joint Committee of Congress on the Library shall consist of the chairman and four members of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate and the chairman and four members of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives.

"(b) In order to provide for the expeditious and efficient consideration of matters within the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee, including review of the operations of the Legislative Research Service, the Joint Committee is authorized to employ one professional staff member and not to exceed two employees as members of the clerical staff of the committee. Such professional and clerical staff members shall be appointed by majority vote of the committee, on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliation, and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of their position. The staff, under the joint direction and supervision of the chairman and the vice chairman, shall assist the committee in the performance of its review functions with respect to matters within the general jurisdiction of the committee and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the committee. The chairman and vice chairman shall fix their compensation at rates authorized by section 202(e)(1) of this Act. The committee may terminate the employment of the members of the professional and clerical staff as it may deem appropriate.

"(c) The expenses of the Joint Committee shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, from funds appropriated for the Joint Committee, upon vouchers signed by the chairman of the Joint Committee.

"(d) In order to provide the Congress with current information regarding the operation of the Legislative Research Service and regarding other matters within the general jurisdiction of the Joint Committee, the Joint Committee shall submit to the Senate and House of Representatives an annual report with respect to (1) the activities of the Legislative Research Service and (2) such other matters within its general jurisdiction as it deems appropriate.".

ABOLISHMENT OF OFFICE OF COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

SEC. 333. The Office and position of the Coordinator of Information of the House of Representatives are hereby abolished. The personnel (including the former incumbent of the position of Coordinator of Information), records, functions, property, and unexpended balances of appropriations of the Office of Coordinator of Information are hereby transferred to the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 334. (a) Except as otherwise provided by this part, the changes in existing law made by, and other provisions of, this part shall not affect any office or position existing immediately prior to the effective date of this part, the compensation attached to such office or position, and any incumbent thereof, his appointment thereto, and his entitlement to receive the compensation attached thereto, until appropriate action is taken in accordance with this part or other law.

(b) Notwithstanding any provision of this part, the rate of compensation received by any officer or employee immediately prior to the effective date of this part shall not be reduced by reason of enactment of this part.

SENATE PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM

SEC. 335. (a) In order to insure that debates of the Senate may be heard in all parts of the Senate Chamber and in the galleries thereof, the majority and minority leaders are authorized to take such action as may be appropriate for the installation and operation within the Senate Chamber of a suitable electrical public address system approved by them.

(b) The expenses incurred for the installation and operation of such public address system shall be considered in the legislative appropriation bill.

TITLE IV—CONGRESS AS AN INSTITUTION

PART 1—JOINT COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS

SEC. 401. (a) There is hereby created a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations (hereafter in this part referred to as the "Joint Committee").

(b) The Joint Committee shall be composed of ten members as follows:

(1) five Members of the Senate, appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate; two from the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate, two from the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, and one from among the remaining Members of the Senate (including but not limited to members of the committees referred to in this paragraph); and

(2) five Members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; two from the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives, two from the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives, and one from among the remaining Members of the House of Representatives (including but not limited to members of the committees referred to in this paragraph).

(c) Of each class of two members referred to in subsection (b), one shall be from the political party having the greatest number, and one shall be from the political party having the second greatest number, of Members of the Senate, or of the House of Representatives, as the case may be.

(d) Vacancies in the membership of the Joint Committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the Joint Committee and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original appointment.

(e) The Joint Committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members at the beginning of each Congress. The vice chairman shall act in the place and stead of the chairman in the absence of the chairman. The chairmanship and the vice chairmanship shall alternate between the Senate and the House of Representatives with each Congress. The chairman during each even-numbered Congress shall be selected by the Members of the House of Representatives on the Joint Committee from among their number and the chairman during each odd-numbered Congress shall be selected by the Members of the Senate on the Joint Committee from among their number. The vice chairman during each Congress shall be chosen in the same manner from that House of Congress other than the House of Congress of which the chairman is a Member.

DUTIES OF JOINT COMMITTEE

SEC. 402. (a) The Joint Committee shall—

(1) make a continuing study of the organization and operation of the Congress of the United States and shall recommend improvements in such organization and operation with a view toward strengthening Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the United States Government, and enabling it better to meet the responsibilities under the Constitution of the United States;

(2) make a continuing study of automatic data processing and information retrieval systems with a view to determining the feasibility of the use of such systems in the operations of the Senate or the House of Representatives, or both, and make such recommendations with respect to the use of such systems as the Joint Committee may deem appropriate; and

(3) identify and call to the attention of the Congress any court proceeding or action which, in the opinion of the Joint Committee, is of vital interest to the Congress, or to either House of the Congress, as a constitutionally established institution of the Federal Government.

Subject to the approval of the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, the Joint Committee is authorized to provide for appropriate representation on behalf of the Congress or either House thereof in any proceeding or action referred to in paragraph (3) of this subsection.

(b) The Joint Committee shall exercise all functions vested in it by sections 406 and 407 of this Part.

(c) The Joint Committee shall report, from time to time, to the Senate and the House of Representatives their recommendations with respect to matters within the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee.

(d) Nothing in this part shall be construed to authorize the Joint Committee to make any recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House.

POWERS OF JOINT COMMITTEE

SEC. 403. The Joint Committee or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of Congress, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths and affirmations, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. The Joint Committee may make such rules respecting its organization and procedures as it deems necessary, except that no recommendation shall be reported from the Joint Committee unless a majority of the Joint Committee assent. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the Joint Committee or of any member designated by him or by the Joint Committee, and may be served by such person or persons as may be designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the Joint Committee or any member thereof may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses.

STAFF OF JOINT COMMITTEE

SEC. 404. (a) In carrying out its functions under subsections (a) and (c) of section 402 of this part, the Joint Committee is authorized, by record vote of a majority of the members of the Joint Committee—

(1) to appoint, on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliation and solely on the basis of fitness to perform their duties, not more than six professional staff members and not more than six clerical staff members;

(2) to prescribe their duties and responsibilities;

(3) to fix their compensation at rates authorized by section 202(e)(1) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946; and

(4) to terminate their employment as the Joint Committee may deem appropriate.

(b) In carrying out its functions under section 406 of this part, the Joint Committee is authorized, by record vote of a majority of the members of the Joint Committee—

(1) to appoint, on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliation, and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the

duties concerned, such additional personnel as the Joint Committee deems necessary;

(2) to prescribe their duties and responsibilities;

(3) to fix their compensation at rates authorized by section 202(e)(1) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946; and

(4) to terminate their employment, as the Joint Committee may deem appropriate.

(c) In carrying out any of its functions under this part, the Joint Committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, facilities, and personnel of the departments and establishments of Government, and to procure the temporary (not to exceed one year) or intermittent services of experts or consultants or organizations thereof by contract at rates not in excess of $100 per diem.

RECORDS OF JOINT COMMITTEE

SEC. 405. The Joint Committee shall keep a complete record of all Joint Committee actions, including a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. All records, data, charts, and files of the Joint Committee shall be the property of the Joint Committee and shall be kept in the offices of the Joint Committee or such other places as the Joint Committee may direct.

TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

SEC. 406. There are transferred to the Joint Committee all of the functions, records, and property of the Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers, created by the Act approved July 7, 1943 (57 Stat. 380), and such joint committee is hereby abolished.

OFFICE OF PLACEMENT AND OFFICE MANAGEMENT

SEC. 407. (a) There is hereby established for the Congress an Office of Placement and Office Management which shall be subject to the supervision and control of the Joint Committee. The Joint Committee is authorized, by record vote of a majority of the members of the Joint Committee—

(1) to appoint, on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliation, and solely on the basis of fitness to perform his duties, a Director of the Office of Placement and Office Management to serve as the head of the staff of the Office;

(2) to prescribe his duties and responsibilities;

(3) to fix his compensation at a rate authorized by section 202(e)(1) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946; and

(4) to terminate his employment, as the Joint Committee may deem appropriate.

Subject to the prior approval of the Joint Committee, the Director shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to carry out the duties of the Office under this section.

(b) It shall be the duty of the Office, upon request, to assist Members, committees, and officers of the Senate and House of Representatives seeking competent personnel with specified qualifications and to furnish advice and information with respect to office management procedures. In carrying out the provisions of this section, the Office should—

(1) operate as a central clearinghouse for applications for employment with the Congress;

(2) test the qualifications of individuals submitting such applications for employment;

(3) furnish advice and information to Members, committees, and officers of the Senate and House of Representatives, on request, with respect to better office management practices and efficient utilization of office equipment; and

(4) maintain, for the benefit of such Members, committees, and officers desiring detailed office studies to improve the efficiency of their operations, a list of private management concerns capable of rendering such service on request.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be held or considered to require the use of the facilities of the Office by any Member, committee, or officer of the Senate or House of Representatives, if, in the opinion of such Member, committee, or officer, the use of such facilities is inappropriate.

EXPENSES

SEC. 408. The expenses of the Joint Committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, from funds appropriated for the Joint Committee, upon vouchers approved by the Chairman.

PART 2—AUTHORITY OF OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS

AUTHORITY

SEC. 421. (a) Any officer of the Congress having responsibility for the supervision of employees, including employees appointed upon recommendation of Members of Congress, shall have authority—

(1) to prescribe a period of training to be completed by any such employee prior to or upon his assignment to duties;

(2) to promulgate rules and regulations governing the performance by any such employee of his assigned duties;

(3) to remove or otherwise discipline any such employee (A) who fails or refuses to complete satisfactorily the period of training referred to in paragraph (1), or (B) who fails or refuses to abide by rules or regulations referred to in paragraph (2) or otherwise fails to perform his assigned duties in a satisfactory manner.

(b) As used in this section, the term "officer of the Congress" means an elected officer of the Senate or the House of Representatives who is not a Member of the Senate or House, the Architect of the Capitol, and the Postmaster of the Senate.

CAPITOL POLICE

SEC. 422. (a) The Capitol Police Board is authorized and directed to formulate a plan for converting the Capitol Police force to a professional force which shall operate under rules and regulations promulgated by the Capitol Police Board. In the formulation of such plan, consideration shall be given to the feasibility of providing for the operation of such force on the same basis of standards for personnel of the Metropolitan Police force of the District of Columbia. Such plan shall include provisions for giving members of the existing Capitol Police force such additional instruction and training as the Capitol Police Board shall deem necessary to improve the quality of their performance, and for replacing such members with persons recruited on the same basis that recruits are selected by the Metropolitan Police force as vacancies occur.

(b) The Chief of Police of the Metropolitan Police force of the District of Columbia shall provide the Capitol Police Board with such information and assistance as it may require in carrying out its duties and responsibilities under this section.

(c) The Capitol Police Board shall make a report to the Senate and House of Representatives at the earliest practicable date setting forth the plan formulated pursuant to this section, together with its recommendations for any legislation necessary to effectuate such plan.

SENATE AND HOUSE PAGES

SEC. 423. (a) No person shall serve as a page of the Senate or House of Representatives before he has completed the twelfth grade of his secondary school education, or (except in the case of a chief page, telephone page, or riding page) during any session of the Congress which begins after he has attained the age of twenty-two years.

(b) No person shall be appointed as a page of the Senate or House of Representatives unless he agrees that in the absence of unforeseen circumstances preventing such service he will continue to serve as a page for a period of not less than three months.

(c)(1) Section 243 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 88a), and the proviso in the paragraph under the heading "Education of Senate and House Pages" in title I of the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1947 (2 U.S.C. 88b), are hereby repealed.

(2) Title II of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"Sec. 243. Senate and House pages.".

(d) Subsection (a) shall take effect on January 3, 1968, but the provisions of such subsection limiting service as a page to persons who have completed the twelfth grade shall not be construed to prohibit the continued service of any page appointed prior to the date of enactment of this Act. Subsection (c) shall take effect at the end of the 1967–1968 school year.

(e) The proviso under the heading "Office of Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper" in the appropriations for the Senate in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1952 (2 U.S.C. 88c), is amended to read as follows: "*Provided*, That hereafter the pay of pages shall begin not more than five days before the convening of a session of the Congress or of the Senate, and shall continue until the end of the month during which the Congress or the Senate adjourns or recesses, or the fourteenth day after such adjournment or recess, whichever is the later date, except that in any case in which the Congress or the Senate adjourns or recesses on or before the last day of July for a period of at least thirty but not more than forty-five days such pay shall continue until the end of such adjournment or recess.".

CAPITOL GUIDE SERVICE

SEC. 424. (a) When used in this section, unless the context indicates otherwise—

(1) the term "Service" means the Capitol Guide Service created by subsection (b);

(2) the term "Board" means the Board created by subsection (b);

(3) the term "guide" means any member of the Capitol Guide Service; and

(4) the term "building" means the United States Capitol Building.

(b) There is hereby created an organization, to be known as the Capitol Guide Service, which shall be under the supervision of a Board consisting of the Architect of the Capitol, the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives.

(c) It shall be the duty of the Service, under regulations promulgated by the Board, to furnish free guide services to any person desiring to view the interior of the building. The Service shall consist of a chief guide who shall receive gross compensation at the rate of $9,800 per annum, and not less than ten, nor more than twenty guides who shall each receive gross compensation at the rate of $7,200 per annum. Appointments to and removals from the Service shall be made by the Board. Appointees to the Service shall be chosen solely upon the basis of the special qualifications which fit them for the duties to be performed.

(d) The Board shall make and promulgate the regulations necessary for the operation of the Service. Such regulations shall cover the schedules and routings of tours through the building, the oral informative data to be supplied to the public, the personal conduct of members of the Service when on duty, the uniforms and insignia for the Service, and such other phases of the work as in its judgment may be necessary.

(e) No guide shall make any charge for his official services, nor accept any gratuity, nor shall he, in the course of official duty, speak in praise or censure of any person. Any violation of the provisions of this subsection shall be punished by immediate dismissal.

(f) The headquarters of the Service shall be maintained in the rotunda of the building, and a guide shall be on duty there at all times during the hours the building is open to the public.

(g) The necessary expenses incident to the establishment and maintenance of the Service, including uniforms and insignia for each guide, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives on vouchers approved by the Board.

(h) The Board may detail any guide to supplement the Capitol Police when special occasions in the building or on the Capitol Grounds require additional police and the performance of the regular duties of the Service are temporarily suspended by such occasion.

PART 3—CONGRESSIONAL ADJOURNMENT

CONGRESSIONAL ADJOURNMENT

SEC. 433. (a) This section is enacted by the Congress—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such it shall be considered as part of the rules of each House, respectively; and such rule shall supersede other rules only to the extent inconsistent therewith; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change such rules (so far as relating to the procedure in such House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of such House.

(b) Section 132 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (2 U.S.C. 198) is amended to read as follows:

"CONGRESSIONAL ADJOURNMENT

"SEC. 132. (a) Not later than the last day in the month of July in each year, the two Houses shall adjourn—

"(1) sine dine, or

"(2) to a day certain subsequent to August 31 of such year, which shall be fixed by concurrent resolution adopted in each House by rollcall vote.

"(b) This section shall not be applicable in any year if on the last day of July of such year a state of war exists pursuant to a declaration of war by the Congress.".

PART 4—APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS

APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL

SEC. 441. Section 3311 (relating to method of appointment of postmasters) of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 3311. Method of appointment

"(a) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the first, second, and third classes in the competitive civil service without term. He shall make the appointments in accordance with the civil service laws and rules by—

"(1) competitive examination; and

"(2) promotions from within the postal service.

"(b) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the fourth class without term.

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Postmaster General shall make each appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of any class without regard to any recommendation or statement, with respect to any applicant for such appointment, made by—

"(1) any Member of the Senate or House of Representatives (including the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico); or

"(2) any official of a partisan Nation, State, county, or municipal or other local political party.

"(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (c) of this section is hereby prohibited from making or transmitting to the Postmaster General, or to any other officer or employee of the Federal Government, any recommendation or statement with respect to any applicant for appointment to a position of postmaster of any class. The Postmaster General and any other officer or employee of the Federal Government—

"(1) shall not solicit, request, consider, or accept any such recommendation or statement; and

"(2) shall return any such recommendation or statement received by him, appropriately marked as in violation of this section, to the person making or transmitting the same.

"(e) An applicant for appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of any class is hereby prohibited from requesting or soliciting any such recommendation or statement from any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (c) of this section. An applicant making such solicitation or request, knowing the same to be in violation of this subsection, is disqualified for appointment to the position of postmaster concerned.

"(f) Each application form of the Federal Government used in connection with an application for appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of any class shall contain appropriate language in boldface type informing the applicant of the provisions of this section.".

VACANCIES IN POSITIONS OF POSTMASTER

SEC. 442. Section 3315 (relating to the filling of vacancies in positions of postmaster) of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) The prohibitions, restrictions, and related provisions of section 3311 of this title governing the appointment of postmasters also shall apply with respect to the interim appointment, assignment, or designation of any person in accordance with subparagraphs (1) to (4), inclusive, of subsection (a) of this section.".

VACANCIES ON RURAL ROUTES

SEC. 443. Section 3338 (relating to the filling of vacancies on rural routes) of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) The prohibitions, restrictions, and related provisions of section 3311 of this title governing the appointment of postmasters also shall apply with respect to the appointment of any person to a position of rural carrier and the application and assignment of any rural carrier with respect to any rural route.".

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 444. The amendments made by this part shall not affect the status or tenure, on the effective date of this part, of—

(1) postmasters in office;

(2) persons appointed, assigned, or designated in accordance with subparagraphs (1) to (4), inclusive, of section 3315(a) of title 39, United States Code; and

(3) persons holding positions of rural carrier.

PART 5—REVISION OF HOUSE EMPLOYEES POSITION CLASSIFICATION ACT

APPLICATION OF HOUSE EMPLOYEES POSITION CLASSIFICATION ACT

SEC. 451. Section 3 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1079; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 292) is amended—

(1) by striking out "(2) the position of minority pair clerk in the House;"; and .

(2) by redesignating subparagraphs (3) and (4) of such section as subparagraphs (2) and (3) thereof, respectively.

AUTHORITY TO RECOMMEND COMPENSATION REVISIONS

SEC. 452. Section 4 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1079; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 293) is amended—

(1) by striking out, in subsection (a)(1) (C) thereof, "the Classification Act of 1949, as amended" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 5332 of title 5, United States Code"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, are authorized to transmit to the committee their joint recommendations for revision of the rates of compensation of the House Employees Schedule or the House Wage Schedule, or both such schedules, in accordance with subsections (a) and (b) of this section, together with their justification for such recommended revision, whenever in their judgment such revision is necessary and appropriate to provide for the acquisition or retention of competent personnel, to facilitate the maintenance of equitable compensation relationships, or to promote the orderly and efficient operation of the House of Representatives.".

REVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO POSITION STANDARDS AND DESCRIPTIONS AND POSITION PLACEMENT IN COMPENSATION SCHEDULES

SEC. 453. Sections 5 and 6 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1080-1081; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 294 and 295) are amended to read as follows:

"POSITION STANDARDS AND DESCRIPTIONS

"SEC. 5. (a)(1) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, jointly shall prescribe, revise, and (on a current basis) maintain position standards which shall apply to positions under the House of Representatives to which this Act applies.

"(2) The position standards shall—

"(A) provide for the separation of such positions into appropriate classes for pay and personnel purposes on the basis of reasonable similarity with respect to types of positions, qualification requirements of positions, and levels of difficulty and responsibility of work, and

"(B) govern the placement of such positions in their respective appropriate compensation levels at the appropriate compensation schedule.

"(b)(1) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, severally shall prepare, revise, and (on a current basis) maintain, in such forms as may be appropriate to carry out the purpose of this Act, position descriptions of the respective positions under the House of Representatives to which this Act applies which are under their respective jurisdictions, including—

"(A) with respect to the Clerk, positions under the House Recording Studio, and

"(B) with respect to the Doorkeeper, positions under the House Radio and Television Correspondents Gallery and the House Periodical Press Gallery.

"(2) The position descriptions shall—

"(A) describe in detail the actual duties, responsibilities, and qualification requirements of the work of each of such positions.

"(B) provide a position title for each of such positions which accurately reflects such duties and responsibilities, and

"(C) govern the placement of such position in its appropriate class.

"(c) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, shall keep in their respective offices copies of the position standards jointly prepared by them together with copies of the position descriptions of those positions under the House of Representatives to which this Act applies which are under their respective jurisdictions.

"(d) Upon request of the committee at any time, the Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, or the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, as the case may be, shall transmit to the committee copies of the position standards and position descriptions required by this section to be prepared, revised, and currently maintained by them, and such other related information as the committee may require, in order that the committee may have, whenever the committee deems it advisable, current information with respect to position standards, position descriptions, the positions to which such descriptions apply, and related personnel matters within the purview of this Act.

"PLACEMENT OF POSITIONS IN COMPENSATION SCHEDULES

"SEC. 6. The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, each shall place each position under the House of Representatives to which this Act applies, which is under his jurisdiction, in its appropriate class and in its appropriate compensation level of the appropriate compensation schedule, in accordance with the position standards and position descriptions provided for in section 5 of this Act. Each such House officer is authorized, when in his opinion circumstances so warrant, to change any such position under his jurisdiction from any class in which such position is then currently placed to any other class which he deems appropriate, and from any compensation level of the schedule in which such position is then currently placed to any other compensation level of either the House Employees Schedule (HS) or the House Wage Schedule (HWS) as such House officer deems appropriate. All actions under this section shall be the basis for payment of compensation and for other personnel benefits and transactions until otherwise changed in accordance with appropriate authority.".

STEP INCREASES

SEC. 454. Section 7 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1081-1082; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 296) is amended to read as follows:

"STEP INCREASES

"SEC. 7. (a) Each employee in a compensation level of the House Employees Schedule, who has not attained the highest scheduled rate of compensation for the compensation level (HS level) in which his position is placed, shall be advanced successively to the next higher step of such HS level, as follows:

"(1) to steps 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, respectively—at the beginning of the first pay period following the completion, without break in service of more than thirty months, of one year of satisfactory service in the next lower step; and

"(2) to steps 10, 11, and 12, respectively—at the beginning of the first pay period following the completion, without break in service of more than thirty months, of two years of satisfactory service in the next lower step.

"(b) The receipt of an increase in compensation during any of the waiting periods of service specified in subsection (a) of this section shall cause a new full waiting period of service to commence for further step increases under such subsection.

"(c) Any increase in compensation granted by law, or granted by reason of an increase made by the committee in the rates of compensation of the House Employees Schedule, to employees within the purview of subsection (a) of this section shall not be held or considered to be an increase in compensation for the purposes of subsection (b) of this subsection.

"(d) The benefit of successive step increases under subsection (a) of this section shall be preserved, under regulations jointly prescribed by the Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, for employees whose continuous service is interrupted by service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

"(e) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, jointly shall establish and maintain, and, from time to time, jointly may revise, a system of automatic advancement, by successive step increases in compensation, on the basis of satisfactory service performed, without break in service of more than thirty months, for employees subject to the House Wage Schedule. In the operation of such system of step increases, such House officers jointly may prescribe regulations to the effect that—

"(1) the receipt of an increase in compensation during any of the waiting periods of service required for advancement by step increases under such system shall cause a new full waiting period of service to commence for further step increases under such system;

"(2) any increase in compensation granted by law, or granted by reason of an increase made by the committee in the rates of compensation of the House Wage Schedule, to employees within the purview of such system of step increases, shall not be held or considered to be an increase in compensation for the purposes of subparagraph (1) of this subsection; and

"(3) the benefit of successive step increases under such system of step increases shall be preserved, under regulations jointly prescribed by such House officers, for employees whose continuous service is interrupted by service in the Armed Forces of the United States.".

APPOINTMENTS AND RECLASSIFICATIONS TO HIGHER COMPENSATION LEVELS

SEC. 455. Section 8(b) of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1083; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 297(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, jointly may provide by regulation for the payment of compensation, at an appropriate compensation step determined in accordance with such regulation, to each employee subject to the House Wage Schedule who is appointed to a position in a higher compensation level of such schedule or whose position is placed in a higher compensation level of such schedule pursuant to a reclassification of such position.".

REDUCTIONS IN COMPENSATION LEVEL

SEC. 456. Section 9 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1083; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 298) is amended to read as follows:

"REDUCTIONS IN COMPENSATION LEVEL

"SEC. 9. Each employee under the jurisdiction of the Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, or the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, as the case may be, in a position in a compensation level of the House Employees Schedule or the House Wage Schedule whose employment in such position and level is terminated and who is reemployed, with or without break in service, in a position in a lower compensation level (HS level or HWS level) of such schedule, or whose position is placed in a lower compensation level of such schedule pursuant to a reclassification of such position, shall be placed by the Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, or the Postmaster, as the case may be, in such step of such lower compensation level as the House officer concerned deems appropriate.".

INITIAL APPOINTMENTS

SEC. 457. Section 10 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1083; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 299) is amended—

(1) by inserting "(a)" immediately following "SEC. 10."; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, each is authorized to make the initial appointment of any individual to a position under the jurisdiction of such House officer, which is subject to the House Employees Schedule or the House Wage Schedule, at any compensation step above the minimum compensation step of the appropriate compensation level (HS level or HWS level) of such schedule, whenever such House officer deems such action to be necessary and appropriate to acquire competent personnel or to promote the orderly and efficient operation of the House of Representatives."

ESTABLISHMENT OF POSITIONS

SEC. 458. Section 11 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1083); Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 300) is amended to read as follows:

"ESTABLISHMENT OF POSITIONS

"SEC. 11. The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, or the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, as the case may be, may authorize the establishment of additional positions of the kind to which this Act applies, on a permanent basis or on a temporary basis of not to exceed six months' duration, whenever, in his judgment, such action is warranted in the interests of the orderly and efficient operation of the House of Representatives.".

AUTHORITY GENERALLY

SEC. 459. Section 13 of the House Employees Position Classification Act (78 Stat. 1084; Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 302) is amended to read as follows:

"REGULATIONS

"SEC. 13. (a) The committee is authorized to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the functions, duties, and obligations imposed upon the committee by this Act.

"(b) The Clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, and the Postmaster, of the House of Representatives, are authorized to prescribe such joint regulations as may be necessary to carry out the functions, duties, and obligations imposed upon such House officers by this Act.

"(c) Nothing in this Act shall be held or considered to curtail, diminish, or otherwise affect the jurisdiction of the committee with respect to all matters within the purview of this Act.".

CONFORMING AMENDMENT

SEC. 460. Section 105(f) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1957, as amended (70 Stat. 371, 78 Stat. 1084; Public Law 624, Eighty-fourth Congress, Public Law 88-652; 2 U.S.C. 123b(f)), is amended by inserting "and fix the compensation of" immediately following "to appoint".

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 461. The amendments made by this Part shall not be construed to eliminate, change, or otherwise affect—

(1) the compensation schedules prescribed under authority of the House Employees Position Classification Act,

(2) the position standards and position descriptions prepared under authority of such Act,

(3) the application of such position standards and position descriptions,

(4) the placement of positions in compensation schedules under such Act,

(5) the compensation paid to employees under such Act,

(6) the regulations prescribed under such Act, or

(7) any other action taken under such Act,

as in effect immediately prior to the effective date of this Part, until appropriate action is taken by appropriate authority in accordance with the House Employees Position Classification Act as amended by this Part, or in accordance with section 105(f) of the

Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1957, as amended by this Part.

HOUSE PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTION SERVICE

Sec. 462. (a) The organization under the jurisdiction of the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives engaged in folding, packaging, and related activities with respect to papers, documents, and other materials for the House of Representatives (commonly referred to as the "House Folding Room") is hereby designated the "House Publications Distribution Service".

(b) The Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives is authorized to established for employees under the House Publications Distribution Service a system of compensation for extra services performed by such employees.

PART 6—PAYROLL ADMINISTRATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

CONVERSION OF PAY TO AGGREGATE RATE BASIS IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 471. (a) Beginning with the effective date of this section, the aggregate compensation of each employee (except a telephone operator on the United States Capitol telephone exchange and a member of the United States Capitol Police)—

(1) who is on the employment rolls of the House of Representatives on such date,

(2) whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives and was fixed or adjusted prior to such date, and

(3) whose compensation is not fixed at a single per annum (gross) rate,

shall be a single per annum (gross) rate, constituting his total rate of compensation, in an amount equal to the sum of—

(A) the rate of the per annum basic compensation of such employee in effect immediately prior to such date, adjusted to the lowest multiple of $60 which produces a rate of per annum basic compensation for such employee which is not less than his rate of per annum basic compensation immediately prior to such date, and

(B) the rate of his total per annum additional compensation, computed on such adjusted basic rate.

Such single per annum (gross) rate shall be rounded to the next higher dollar.

(b) Beginning with the effective date of this section, the aggregate compensation of each officer or employee (except a telephone operator on the United States Capitol telephone exchange and a member of the United States Capitol Police)—

(1) who is on the employment rolls of the House of Representatives on or after such date,

(2) whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and

(3) whose compensation is fixed or adjusted on or after such date,

shall be a single per annum (gross) rate, in a whole dollar amount, constituting his total rate of compensation.

(c) The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall prepare and establish a compensation schedule of single per annum rates for employees of the House of Representatives whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House, except—

(1) employees subject to the House Employees Position Classification Act (2 U.S.C. 291 and following),

(2) telephone operators on the United States Capitol telephone exchange,

(3) members of the United States Capitol Police, and

(4) officers and employees of the House whose compensation consisted of a single per annum (gross) rate immediately prior to the effective date of this section.

Such compensation schedule shall—

(A) contain each of the single per annum (gross) rates determined under subsection (a) of this section, and

(B) be designated the "House General Schedule" and have the symbol "HGS".

(d) Section 11(a) of the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1956, as amended (2 U.S.C. 60g–1), is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The clerk hire of each Member of the House of Representatives and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico shall be at a single per annum (gross) rate determined in accordance with section 471(e) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. No person shall be paid from such clerk hire at a single per annum (gross) rate in excess of $22,231.".

(e) The Clerk of the House of Representatives is authorized and directed to—

(1) adjust to a single per annum (gross) rate the basic rate of clerk hire allowance of each Member of the House of Representatives authorized by section 11(a) of the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1956, as in effect immediately prior to the effective date of this Part (2 U.S.C. 60g–1), and

(2) adjust to a single per annum (gross) rate each other basic rate allowance provided by law for the compensation of employees whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House (except telephone operators on the United States Capitol telephone exchange and members of the United States Capitol Police),

in a manner which reflects the most favorable projection of basic rates to aggregate rates, as determined by the Clerk of the House, in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this section and other applicable law.

(f) Section 202(e) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended (2 U.S.C. 72a(e)), is amended to read as follows:

"(e)(1) Each employee of the professional staff, and each employee of the clerical staff. of each standing committee of the House of Representatives shall receive a per annum (gross) rate of compensation, constituting his total rate of compensation, to be fixed by the chairman, which is not in excess of the highest rate of compensation set forth in the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) Subject to the provisions of the paragraph relating to rates of compensation of employees of committees of the Senate, contained in the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1956, as amended (2 U.S.C. 72a–1a), the professional staff members of standing committees of the Senate shall receive basic annual compensation, to be fixed by the chairman ranging from $5,040 to $8,000.".

(g)(1) This subsection is enacted as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the House of Representatives with full recognition of the constitutional right of the House of Representatives to change the rule amended by this subsection at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of the House of Representatives.

(2) Clause 28(c) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended to read as follows:

"(c) Each employee on the professional staff, and each employee on the clerical staff, of each standing committee shall receive a per annum (gross) rate of compensation, constituting his total rate of compensation, to be fixed by the chairman, which is not in excess of the highest rate of compensation of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.".

(h) Section 5533(c) of title 5, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(c)(1) Except as provided by paragraph (2) of this subsection, unless otherwise authorized by law, appropriated funds are not available for payment to an individual of pay from more than one position if the aggregate amount of the basic pay from the position exceeds $2,000 a year, and if—

"(A) the pay of one of the positions is paid by—

"(i) the Secretary of the Senate; or

"(ii) the Clerk of the House of Representatives (in the case of employees receiving basic rates of compensation); or

"(B) one of the positions is under the Office of the Architect of the Capitol.

"(2) Unless otherwise authorized by law, appropriated funds are not available for payment to an individual of pay from more than one position if the aggregate (gross) compensation from the position exceeds $5,987 a year, and if the pay of one of the positions is paid by the Clerk of the House of Representatives (in the case of employees receiving single per annum rates of compensation).".

(i) Each Member of the House of Representatives and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico shall certify in writing, on or before the tenth day of any month in which rearrangements or changes of salary schedules of employees in his office are to become effective, to the Clerk of the House, such rearrangements or changes of salary schedules. The Clerk of the House shall disburse the compensation of such employees in accordance with such rearrangements or changes of salary schedules.

(j) The first section of the Act entitled "An Act to increase clerk hire, and for other purposes", approved December 20, 1944 (58 Stat. 831; Public Law 512, Seventy-eighth Congress; 2 U.S.C. 60g), is hereby repealed.

(k) For the purposes of applicable law relating to the payment to any person of compensation from more than one civilian office or position each employee of the House of Representatives to whom this Part applies who, immediately prior to the effective date of this Part—

(1) is receiving compensation from more than one civilian office or position, and

(2) is in compliance with such law,

shall be held and considered to be in compliance with such law on and after such effective date, notwithstanding the enactment of this Part, so long as such person does not receive any new appointment to a position on the employment rolls of the House of Representatives.

(l) Except as specifically provided in this section, the foregoing subsections of this section shall not be construed to—

(1) limit or otherwise affect any authority for the making of any appointment to, or for fixing or adjusting the compensation for, any position for which the compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives;

(2) affect the continuity of employment of, or reduce the compensation of, any employee whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House; or

(3) affect the rates of basic compensation (including longevity compensation), plus increased and additional compensation, of telephone operators on the United States Capitol telephone exchange, or of members of the United States Capitol Police, whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House.

(m) All provisions of law inconsistent with this section are hereby superseded to the extent of such inconsistency.

PART 7—MISCELLANEOUS

STATIONERY ALLOWANCES OF SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 481. (a) The paragraph under the heading "Stationery (revolving fund)" in the appropriations for the Senate in title IV of the Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1964 (77 Stat. 864; 2 U.S.C. 46a), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "The allowance for stationery shall hereafter be available only for (1) purchases made through the Senate stationery room of stationery and other office supplies for use for official business, and (2) reimbursement upon presentation, within thirty days after the close of the fiscal year for which the allowance is provided, of receipted invoices for purchases elsewhere of stationery and other office supplies (excluding items not ordinarily available in the Senate stationery room) for use for official business in an office maintained by a Senator in his home State. Any part of the allowance for stationery which remains unobligated at the end of any fiscal year shall be withdrawn from the revolving fund established by the Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1957 (71 Stat. 188; 2 U.S.C. 46a–1), and covered into the general fund of the Treasury.".

(b) The stationery allowance, as authorized by law, for each Member of the House of Representatives and each Resident Commissioner shall hereafter be available only for (1) purchases made through the House stationery room of stationery and other office supplies for use for official business, and (2) reimbursement upon presentation, within thirty days after the close of the session for which the allowance is provided, of receipted invoices for purchases elsewhere of stationery and other office supplies (excluding items not ordinarily available in the House stationery room) for use for official business in an office maintained by a Member in his home State. Any part of the stationery allowance which remains unobligated at the end of the session for which it is available shall be withdrawn from the revolving fund established by the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1948 (61 Stat. 366; 2 U.S.C. 46b–1), and covered into the general fund of the Treasury.

TITLE V—REGULATION OF LOBBYING

DEFINITION OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

SEC. 501. Section 302(d) of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 261(d)) is amended to read:

"(d) The term 'Comptroller General' means the Comptroller General of the United States."

MULTIPURPOSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

SEC. 502. (a) The caption of section 305 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 264) is amended by changing "CLERK OF HOUSE" to read "COMPTROLLER GENERAL".

(b) Subsection (a) of such section is amended—

(1) by changing "Clerk" to read "Comptroller General"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence:

"Where contributions are received or expenditures made in part for the purposes described in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of section 307 of this title and in part for any other purpose, the statements required to be filed by this subsection shall include only that part of the amount of any such contribution or expenditure which was for the purposes described in such subparagraphs, except that if the relative proportions cannot be ascertained with reasonable certainty, such statements shall show total receipts and expenditures together with an estimate by the registrant of the part thereof which was for the purposes described in such subparagraphs, and an estimate of the part thereof which was for other purposes.".

(c) Title III of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"Sec. 305. Statements to be filed with Clerk of House."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"Sec. 305. Statements to be filed with Comptroller General.".

FIVE-YEAR PRESERVATION OF RECORDS

SEC. 503. Section 306 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 265) is amended—

(1) by changing "Clerk" to read "Comptroller General" all four times it appears therein;

(2) by striking out "of the House of Representatives"; and

(3) by changing "two" to read "five".

SUBSTANTIAL PURPOSE CONTROLLING

SEC. 504. Section 307 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 266) is amended—

(1) by changing "to be used principally" to read "a substantial part of which is to be used"; and

(2) by changing "the principal" to read "a substantial".

CONTINGENT FEES; BROADCASTING

SEC. 505. (a) The caption of section 308 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 267) is amended by changing "SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND CLERK OF THE HOUSE" to read "COMPTROLLER GENERAL".

(b) Subsection (a) of section 308 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 267(a)) is amended—

(1) by changing "Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate and shall give to those officers" to read "Comptroller General and shall give to that officer"; and

(2) by changing "Clerk and Secretary" to read "Comptroller General".

(c) Such subsection is further amended by inserting immediately after the first sentence thereof: "Any person required to register pursuant to this subsection in connection with any activities for which he is to receive a contingent fee shall, before doing anything for which such fee is to be paid, file with the Comptroller General, in such detail as he may require, a description of the event upon the occurrence of which the fee is contingent, and, depending on the arrangement, a statement of the amount of the fee either in terms of a dollar amount or in terms of percentage of recovery. A copy of any such contingent fee contract may be filed with the Comptroller General by any registrant, and shall be so filed at the request of the Comptroller General.".

(d) The next-to-last sentence of such subsection is amended by changing "publications in which he has caused to be published" to read "publications, or any broadcasting stations, in or from which he has caused to be published or broadcast".

(e) Such subsection is further amended—

(1) by inserting "any licensed radio or television broadcasting station or" before "any newspaper or other";

(2) by changing "newspaper or periodical" to read "broadcasting station, newspaper, or periodical";

(3) by inserting "or broadcasts" before "news items, editorials,"; and

(4) by inserting "broadcasting station," before "newspaper, periodical, or individual,".

(f) Subsection (b) of such section (2 U.S.C. 267(b)) is amended by changing "Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall be compiled by said Clerk and Secretary, acting jointly," to read "Comptroller General of the United States shall be compiled by him and transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate".

(g) Title III of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"Sec. 308. Registration with Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"Sec. 308. Registration with Comptroller General.".

ADMINISTRATION BY COMPTROLLER GENERAL

SEC. 506. (a) Sections 310 and 311 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act are respectively redesignated as sections 311 and 312.

(b) That Act is amended by inserting therein, immediately after section 309 thereof, the following new section:

"POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

"SEC. 310. The Comptroller General as the agent of the Congress shall—

"(1) develop and prescribe methods and forms for the filing of reports and statements required by this title, and promulgate regulations for the administration of this title;

"(2) make available for public inspection all reports and statements filed pursuant to this title;

"(3) ascertain whether any persons have failed to file reports or statements as required by this title, or have filed incomplete or inaccurate reports or statements under this title, and notify such persons that they are obligated to file such reports or statements in compliance with the requirements of this title;

"(4) refer to the Department of Justice for appropriate action any information coming to his attention, through complaints or otherwise, of any failure to register, or the filing of any false, improper, or incomplete registration or information under this title;

"(5) make such studies and transmit to the Congress such recommendations as the Comptroller General may deem to be necessary or appropriate to further the objectives of this title;

"(6) retain for a period of not less than five years each report and statement filed under this title, and during such period, make such reports and statements, or true and correct copies thereof, available as public records open to public inspection; and

"(7) transmit to the Congress annually a full and complete report on the administration of this title.".

(c) Title III of the table of contents of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 813) is amended by striking out—

"Sec. 310. Penalties.
"Sec. 311. Exemption."

and inserting in lieu thereof—

"Sec. 310. Powers and duties of the Comptroller General.
"Sec. 311. Penalties.
"Sec. 312. Exemption.".

VIOLATION OF REGULATIONS

SEC. 507. Section 311 of such Act (that is, the section which, prior to the redesignations made by section 506 of this Act, was section 310 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, 2 U.S.C. 269) is amended—

(1) by striking out "(a)" in subsection (a) thereof;

(2) by inserting "or any regulation of the Comptroller General issued pursuant to this title," immediately before "shall, upon conviction," in the first sentence thereof; and

(3) by striking out subsection (b) thereof.

TITLE VI—EFFECTIVE DATES

EFFECTIVE DATES

SEC. 601. This Act shall take effect as follows:

(1) Title I, section 201 of title II, parts 1, 4, and 5 of title II, parts 2 and 3 of title III, parts 1, 2, and 3 of title IV, section 235, section 301(d), and this section shall take effect on the thirtieth day after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) Parts 2 and 3 of title II (except section 235), part 1 of title III (except section 301(d) thereof), part 4 of title IV, and title V shall take effect on January 1, 1968.

(3) Parts 5 and 6 of title IV shall take effect on the first day of the third month which begins after the date of enactment of this Act, except that, until such first day of such third month, for the purposes of section 223(b) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended by section 333 of this Act, and for the purposes of sections 404 and 407 of this Act, references to section 202(e)(1) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as enacted by section 471(f) of this Act, shall be held and considered to refer to section 202(e) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act and as applicable to the House of Representatives.

(4) Section 481(a) shall take effect with

respect to the stationery allowance for the first fiscal year beginning after the date of enactment of this Act. Section 481(b) shall take effect with respect to the stationery allowance for the first session of Congress beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be renumbered to include the various amendments which have been agreed to, and that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to make other necessary technical changes and corrections.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I warmly congratulate the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] for his singularly outstanding triumph in steering the legislative reorganization measure to overwhelming approval by the Senate. Today's victory marks the culmination of the special committee's efforts to create an effective and constructive reorganization which have spanned the last 2 years.

The decisive vote in favor of the proposal speaks abundantly for the high caliber of those efforts. Even more, it demonstrates the immense propriety of our choice of Senator MONRONEY as leader of the Senate delegation to the special committee. There is no one in this body who understands better or appreciates more the specific reforms which should be adopted in the Congress. His experience in assisting to formulate the basic plans which resulted in the enactment of the last reorganization measure in 1946, the immense success of that measure, and his profound expertise gained from his many years of public service in the Congress assured the best possible proposal. I am confident that when this measure is finally implemented it will be just as effective and just as successful as was the Act of 1946.

Our thanks go also to the ranking member of our delegation from the other side of the aisle, the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and to the other members of the delegation for whose diligence and devotion the entire Senate is grateful.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the Senate has this afternoon acted with wisdom in approving the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. After comprehensive hearings and thorough debate this measure received the overwhelming support of the Members of this body—support which indicates understanding of the need for constructive changes in congressional structure and procedure.

On this occasion I wish to call particular attention to one provision of the act, that which would create in the U.S. Senate a Standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I am pleased that this much needed step has been achieved.

In 1961 and 1963, I joined with other Members of the Senate in cosponsoring legislation which would have brought into being a full Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs. In 1965, in the 89th Congress, I introduced Senate Resolution 55 which would have given this necessary representation to our veterans of military service and their families. At that time I noted that—

> With the growing population of our country, with the growing complexity of Government, the workload of all standing committees is being increased and necessitates greater specialization. At the same time, there are approximately 23 million veterans and their dependents, whose problems do not have the attention of a specialized committee in the Senate.

It is heartening, Mr. President, that those veterans and their dependents will henceforth have recourse to a Standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the U.S. Senate. Following the dictates of logic and good order, legislation relating to the full scope of veterans' activities and interests can now be referred to a single committee for more efficient and thorough consideration. I am likewise gratified to be among those Senators who have introduced in this 90th Congress resolutions calling for the establishment of such a committee.

It was my special privilege, Mr. President, to be able to report this afternoon's affirmative action by the Senate to a group of West Virginia veterans who were visiting my office. Present were members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of West Virginia, who are in Washington, D.C., to attend their organization's conference of national officers and department commanders.

Spokesmen of the West Virginia delegation were Richard W. Homan, Sugar Grove, W. Va., national junior vice commander in chief; Emmett W. Williams, Jr., Beckley, W. Va., department commander; and, Ralph W. Honaker, Huntington, W. Va., member of the national council of administration.

I request unanimous consent that the roster of the West Virginia delegation to the VFW Washington Conference, March 4–7, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the roster was ordered to be printed, as follows:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA

The following are the Officers and Delegates to the Annual Washington Conference, March 4–7, 1967:

Richard W. Homan, Jr. Vice Commander-in-Chief, Sugar Grove.

Emmett W. "Pat" Williams, Jr., Department Commander, Beckley.

Lloyd G. Barnes, Sr. Vice Commander, Clarksburg.

Ivan O. Hodges, Jr. Vice Commander, Elkins.

Ralph Stump, Adjutant-Quartermaster, St. Albans.

Leonard E. DeWitt, Sr., Department Surgeon, Wellsburg.

John L. Frazer, Chief of Staff, Morgantown.

David J. Lowery, Inspector, Weirton.

Ralph W. Honaker, Past Commander and National Council Member, Huntington.

Donald D. Wagoner, 4th District Commander, Fort Ashby.

Otis Harper, Jr., 7th District Commander, Moyers.

Elmer Jenkins, 8th District Commander, South Charleston.

Melvin B. Linton, Service Officer, Huntington.

Leo C. Shuck, Past Department Commander, Keyser.

James R. Fawcett, Past Department Commander, Grafton.

Don S. Maupin, Past Department Commander, Moundsville.

James E. Deal, Past Department Commander, Huntington.

Chester L. Shanklin, Voice of Democracy Chairman, Charleston.

John F. Bennett, Loyalty Day Chairman, Grafton.

Milton Joy, County Council Commander, Fairmont.

Roland E. Lex, Past District Commander, Arlington, Va.

C. S. Collier, Jr., Director, West Virginia Department of Veterans Affairs, Charleston.

William R. Smallridge, Commander, Post No. 1064, Huntington.

J. A. Avers, Commander, Post No. 3518, Keyser.

A. A. Gavazzi, Manager, V.A. Center, Martinsburg.

John E. Louzy, Post No. 3081, Grafton.

Henry Shepherd, Post No. 7048, Fairmont.

Peter P. Fahad, Post No. 1212, Parkersburg.

Alfred Wagner, Post No. 573, Clarksburg.

Leslie Yost, Post No. 3518, Keyser.

Tom Davis, Post No. 3518, Keyser.

Claude Armstrong, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

James Bell, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Charles Dodson, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Charles Hopkins, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Gerald Kauffman, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Edward Kearns, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Lonzo Lockard, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Andrew Mason, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Lee P. McDonald, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

C. W. Minnick, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

W. Carl Munson, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

William Reid, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Albert L. Rudy, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Edward Shipper, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

Marvin Snow, Post No. 896, Martinsburg.

TRIBUTE TO SENATORS FULBRIGHT AND LAUSCHE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senate unanimously passed 10 treaties last Wednesday. The Committee on Foreign Relations is to be highly commended for making possible the swift and overwhelming acceptance of these measures.

I wish particularly to thank the chairman, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] and the subcommittee chairman, the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], whose careful and expeditious handling of the treaties assured such efficient action. I would only add that such a disposition speaks highly for the effective and capable manner in which all proposals are acted upon by the Committee on Foreign Relations. The entire Senate is grateful.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR JACKSON

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, over the years the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] has earned the highest respect of all Members of the Senate. Indeed the people of the State of Washington—and of the Nation are indebted to him for working so long and so hard and so constructively in their behalf.

I now wish to commend him for the outstanding manner in which he has handled and directed the disposition of all legislation entrusted to the committee he so capably chairs—the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The careful and conclusive treatment given to all of the many bills and resolutions coming within the jurisdiction of his committee best demonstrate his unexcelled appreciation of the responsibilities of a U.S. Senator. The expedition and efficiency with which the Interior Committee operates to dispose of its immense workload best indicate the deep devotion and highly proficient talents of its chairman.

Senator JACKSON truly has set an example to which we all should aspire. As one Senator and particularly as the majority leader I just want to express my appreciation.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR RUSSELL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the Senate's approval of the supplemental military procurement authorization last week, the Nation again witnessed the highly effective leadership and sincere devotion of the one Member of this body whose vast knowledge of the needs of our fighting men is unexcelled throughout the land. I of course speak of the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the able and astute chairman of the Committee on Armed Services.

His ready grasp of all of the complexities which comprise our military budget, his profound appreciation of all of the problems involved best distinguish his service to the Nation. Few men in the Senate have earned as much respect by devoting so much of their time and energy and talents in behalf of the Nation. I only wish to commend him today as he has been commended so often in the past for again serving with devotion, with diligence, and with dignity.

THE LAWYER AS LOBBYIST

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article which was published in the February 1966 issue of the American Bar Association Journal, entitled "The Lawyer as Lobbyist." The article was written by Charles D. Ablard, chairman of the Special Committee on Code of Federal Administrative Procedure of the American Bar Association.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LAWYER AS LOBBYIST

(By Charles D. Ablard)

The role of the lawyer as an advocate before courts and administrative bodies is established and accepted by the legal profession. However, the role of the lawyer as an advocate in the formation of laws by the Congress and State legislatures is not only often misunderstood but frequently rejected as a proper role by members of the bar. Yet, there is as much need for the lawyer in the process of formulation of statutes by legislatures as there is after enactment in interpretation by the administrators and agencies to which they apply and in judicial review by the courts.

Part of the reason for this misunderstanding is the broad range of activities usually thought of in connection with "lobbying." While the more colorful aspects may be the subject of press comments, most of the effective and realistic work in the field of lobbying receives little attention.

Why should the lawyer be considered specially trained or qualified for lobbying? The lawyer is trained to interpret laws and provide legal analyses for his clients. The lawyer who can interpret and analyze existing laws can also analyze the need for remedial legislation and the specifics for achieving it. In addition, the lawyer is also trained as a skillful gatherer and interpreter of facts. And facts, properly presented and carefully analyzed, are the bases for most legislation.

There are an infinite number of possible problems and approaches with which the lawyer-lobbyist may be faced. He may be called upon to defeat an existing bill, create a legislative program for his client, seek clarifying legislation to overrule a decision of a court or regulatory agency, or substitute one section of a bill for another. He may enter the problem at any stage, including the earliest stage of developing a legislative program. It is almost as impossible to summarize lobbying as it is to summarize the scope of the practice of law.

For the purposes of this brief article, let us assume that the lawyer-lobbyist is asked to draft and obtain the passage by Congress of a bill that benefits his client. Let us also assume that he decided to begin his work in the House of Representatives rather than proceeding simultaneously in both the Senate and House, which is often procedurally difficult and more time consuming. After the facts have been analyzed with the client and the existing statutes and decisions checked, the bill is drafted.

The decision as to the House in which to proceed would have been based on the likelihood of favorable action by the committee to which the bill will be referred. A sponsor must be found, but first it should be determined to which committee and subcommittee of the House the bill will be referred when it is introduced. At this point discussion with the Parliamentarian of the House frequently is helpful. An effort should then be made to have the bill introduced by a member of the committee or subcommittee to which it will be referred, unless a member of the leadership will sponsor it.

The member of the subcommittee to which the bill has been referred knows the committee members and staff and is in a position to urge that hearings be held and to bring it to a vote within the committee. Most Members of Congress will urge the proponent of a bill to obtain as sponsor a member of the appropriate committee and will be hesitant to introduce a bill unless it relates to functions of the committee on which they serve.

Obviously, the ideal sponsor of any bill is the chairman of the committee or subcommittee to which it will be referred. If he declines, a member of the committee, an influential one—it is hoped—should be found to introduce the bill. Cooperation from the ranking minority member of the committee is of considerable importance, and he should be encouraged to introduce a companion bill.

Now that the bill has been drafted and introduced, the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 261–270) requires registration with the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives of anyone who seeks to influence the passage or defeat of any Federal legislation.

At this point a factor frequently overlooked should be considered. This is the submission of the bill by the committee to which it has been referred to the executive department or agency the bill affects. The reports of the department or agency, stating whether they have objections to the bill, are communicated to the committee. The final paragraph in these letters usually states that the Bureau of the Budget has examined the bill to determine not only the cost of administering the proposal but, more important, to determine whether it is consistent with the policy programs of the White House. Thus, the views of the department or agency and the Budget Bureau can have a material bearing on the outcome of the bill. An attempt to obtain support in advance from the department or agency and the Bureau of the Budget is frequently a wise course of action, if for no other reason than to evaluate the strength and depth of the opposition of the affected department or agency and the Bureau.

After the reports on the bill are filed, the chairman of the committee must be persuaded to schedule hearings. A strong adverse report frequently dissuades a committee from holding a hearing. When hearings are scheduled, the next question to be resolved is who will testify in support of the bill. Generalizations are dangerous but although lawyers generally make good witnesses, there are certainly poor lawyer witnesses and excellent industry witnesses. The lawyer is doing the job for which he is trained and proficient. If the bill is a technical one requiring expert engineering or scientific testimony, an engineer or scientist should present the principal testimony. One general exception to lay testimony is in testimony before the committees on the judiciary. Both committees are composed entirely of lawyers and are called lawyers' committees.

Questions are often used as the means for developing salient facts and analyzing the attitude of the Members of Congress who will vote on the legislation. These questions often can be suggested to the members of the committee and to the committee staff.

The lawyer who is retained to influence the passage or defeat of legislation should become acquainted with and fully brief the staff counsel to the committee considering the bill. Most staff members welcome discussions with interested parties or counsel, as their time is limited and is divided among various legislative proposals. These briefings and discussions save the time of the staff and assist it in the conduct of the hearings.

The lawyer-lobbyist will want to call on members of the committee or subcommittee after the hearings to ascertain their views and to urge favorable action on his bill. It is always desirable to have a brief summary of the reasons the bill should be enacted to leave with the Congressman for future reference. If possible, the summary should be confined to one page, as the lengthy memorandum usually will not be read. This is a challenge to a lawyer who has difficulty in writing a brief brief. When calling on a Congressman, one's discussion should be concise and to the point. The time of Congressmen is limited, and they are usually concerned with a great variety of problems, notably those of their constituents.

In addition to discussing the bill with the Congressman, the lawyer should confer with the Congressman's legislative assistant, and the same summary left with the Congressman should be presented to the assistant for study. It may be preferable to begin with a discussion with the assistant, for the assistant who favors the bill may be of great help with the Congressman.

After the committee has met and, it is hoped, favorably reported the bill, the lawyer-lobbyist will then want to work with the staff of the committee in preparing a report on the bill. He should offer assistance to the staff in this function, but it is not always accepted. Writing the report that creates the legislative history is often a most important part of the lawyer's role, for it prepares the basis for the later interpretation of his bill by the courts.

Once reported favorably by a subcommittee or a committee, most bills, unless highly controversial, are passed with only minor modification by the House. Thus, getting the bill out of committee becomes of paramount importance. When the bill has been reported favorably by the committee and a report written, it will then be brought to the floor for action by the House.

The bill can be brought to the floor of the House in a variety of ways. The first is the Consent Calendar, which means that there must be no objection to considering the bill. The second is under suspension of the rules, which requires a two-thirds vote of the House to consider and to pass the bill. The Congressman who brings the bill up in this manner must be recognized for this purpose by the Speaker of the House, and it can be done only on certain days. The third method is through a rule issued by the Rules Committee, which may be either a closed rule, which specifies that no amendments or limited amendments can be made to the bill, or an open rule, which permits amendments but may impose certain other limitations, such as the subject matter of the amendment and even who can offer it.

Time will usually not permit the lawyer-lobbyist to call on every Member of Congress, although on some occasions a brief letter urging support for the bill and outlining the need for its enactment might be addressed to each Member at least a week before it is considered on the floor. The bill is brought to the floor of the House by the chairman of the committee that held the hearings, who is usually the floor manager.

If the bill is passed by the House, it goes to the Senate and is again referred to the appropriate committee. If the bill is not of major consequence and little opposition has been developed in the House hearings, it is possible to have the bill brought directly to the floor of the Senate without hearings by a Senate committee. If hearings by a Senate committee are held, the same procedures followed in the House should be duplicated in the Senate. The Senate has no committee which functions as the Rules Committee does in the House, and thus the bill proceeds directly from the legislative committee to the floor of the Senate when favorably reported.

After passage by the Senate, the bill is sent to the White House for signature or veto by the President.

If he has done everything correctly and has had a little bit of luck, the lawyer-lobbyist may be the author of a new law.

LOBBYIST ACTIVITIES BY BAR ASSOCIATIONS AND BY INDIVIDUAL LAWYERS, AND THEIR ROLE IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a paper which I prepared last year, and which was printed in the Record of March 4, 1966, entitled "Lobbyist Activities by Bar Associations and by Individual Lawyers, and Their Role in the Legislative Process."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Lobbyist Activities by Bar Associations and by Individual Lawyers, and Their Role in the Legislative Process

Mr. Byrd of West Virginia. Mr. President, James Madison, writing in Federalist No. 10, speculated that the mischief of "factions"—or special interest groups—could be cured either by removing the causes or controlling the effects. The first was unthinkable because the right to create factions was an essential aspect of a free society. As to the second possibility, he wrote:

"The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the Government."

The role of government as a referee of battling interest groups, though interesting as a subject, is beyond the dimensions of my discussion today. Regulation of interests and interest groups, however, has now become a major function of government, and the obverse of this situation, the efforts of interest groups to influence the Government, more specifically the Congress, is a subject of particular concern. In this regard, although I do not by any means categorize the American Bar Association as an interest group in the sense of being a "battling faction" with selfish interests to advance, I will devote a major portion of this discussion to its so-called lobbying efforts because of the interest of attorneys in its activities.

The key word, if I can use such a term, is "influence." It exists in numerous forms and operates in a multitude of fashions. Its effect, for instance was evident on the man who had just bought a new baby-blue Cadillac. The salesman was interested in uncovering the effects of their costly, recent, advertising program.

"I wonder if you would tell me what was the one dominating thing that made you buy this car?", the salesman asked him.

"My wife," said the customer.

I have no intention of equating the influence of attorneys and the American Bar Association upon legislation to that of the lady in the purchase of the car, but the record is very impressive, and in fact should be because of the natural relationship of the bar to the legislative process.

I shall, therefore, explore the influence of the bar upon the content of statutes, the work of members of the bar from the outside, as lobbyists, rather than from the inside as legislators.

The lobbyist has often been depleted as a rather rotund man with a large black cigar and a large black bag overflowing with legislative bills, legislative data, and also a more material consideration for influencing votes. The term itself was derived from newspaper shorthand in the late 1820's for persons who frequented the lobbies of government buildings in order to speak to legislators or officials. Stories are told from the days of the robber barons about the lords of the railroads or the oil industry descending upon State legislatures with suitcases stuffed with currency. It perhaps on occasion happened to Congress as the infamous credit mobilier scandal in the 19th century testifies.

It was done under cover of the right to petition and the right of free speech. There is no doubt that in the past, abuses of these rights have occurred. Congress, from time to time, has undertaken investigations of such abuses and has ultimately adopted self-protective measures.

In 1852, the House of Representatives forbade access to the floor to newspapermen employed as agents to prosecute any claim pending before Congress. In 1854, the House established a select committee to investigate the efforts of Samuel Colt to secure extensions of a patent including alleged offers of money to Members or use of other illegal means to secure passage or defeat of a bill.

In 1867, the House modified its rules to exclude from floor privileges former Members who were interested in claims pending before Congress.

In 1876, the House adopted a lobbyist registration resolution, but its duration was only during the 44th Congress.

Bills to regulate lobbying and lobbyists began to be dropped into the hopper with some regularity beginning in 1907. In 1913, one of the most thorough investigations of lobbying was carried on by a select committee of the House relative to the activities of a former lobbyist for the National Association of Manufacturers.

The report issued by the select committee—House Report No. 113, 63d Congress, 1913—is one of the most extensive and penetrating ever produced on lobbying. It revealed that the chief page of the House was in the employ of an NAM lobbyist and kept his employer advised of what transpired in the House cloakrooms and in personal conversations on the House floor. The lobbyist was permitted the use of a room in the Capitol Building itself, and his intimate contacts with leading Members resulted in his securing advance information regarding pending and proposed legislation. It was even averred that the NAM lobby controlled the appointment of Members to committees. Incidentally, I wish to call attention here to "Congressional Lobbies: A Chronic Problem Reexamined," by the late John F. Kennedy, written when he was a Senator, 45 Georgetown Law Journal 535, summer 1957.

In 1927, the Senate did pass a lobbyist registration bill, but it died in the House.

Finally, as a result of the exposure of public utility scandals in 1935 and 1936, Congress added a provision to the Public Utilities Holding Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 825) requiring registration of those who would "present, advocate or oppose any matter" affecting holding companies before Congress, the SEC or the FPC. A substantially similar provision, but tied to the Federal Maritime Board and the Secretary of Commerce, as well as to Congress, was included in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 (49 Stat. 2014).

In 1938, the Foreign Agents Registration Act was passed (52 Stat. 631) requiring anyone representing foreign governments or principals to register with the Department of Justice.

By the end of the 1930's, then, Congress had passed a number of laws requiring the registration of lobbyists in particular circumstances—including a statute early in the century prohibiting lobbying with appropriated funds (41 Stat. 68 (1919)).

No general act, however, had been passed.

Then, as title III of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 839; 2 U.S.C. 261–270) Congress enacted the Federal Lobbying Act requiring anyone who solicits or receives funds for the purpose of lobbying Congress to register with the House Clerk, the Secretary of the Senate, and/or to file quarterly financial reports.

The act has not been amended since its enactment although it was the subject of a searching House committee probe in 1950, and of another by the Senate Committee on Government Operations, in 1956. It also received attention in an appraisal of the operations of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, by that latter Senate committee, in 1951.

As the first and only general Federal lobbyist registration law, the 1946 act did not restrict the activities of lobbyists. Involved were the vital constitutional rights of freedom to petition and freedom of speech. Consequently the statute was an exposure law requiring individuals or organizations, except those regulated by the Corrupt Practices Act, who solicit or receive money "to be used principally to aid, or the principal purpose of which person is to aid" in influencing legislative action, to register with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate providing such information as who his employer is, his legislative interest, and how much he is to be paid.

Registrants must file quarterly reports of contributions received and expenditures made. Violators can be fined up to $5,000, or imprisoned 1 year or both and shall be prohibited from lobbying for 3 years.

It is essentially a criminal statute, but there have only been three convictions under it. These occurred in 1956, in a situation involving the natural gas bill in which a campaign contribution of $2,500 was attempted to be left with the late Senator Francis Case of South Dakota by two attorneys acting for the Superior Oil Co. of California. Senator Case did not accept the money, and in December 1956, the two men, John Neff of Nebraska and Elmer Patman of Texas were found guilty of violating the lobbying act by failing to register although engaged in lobbying the natural gas bill. They were fined $2,500 each and given 1-year suspended sentences by the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. The Superior Oil Co. was fined $5,000 on each of two counts of aiding and abetting the two men to violate the lobbying law.

Other investigations of lobbyists, subsequent to these convictions, took place in 1959 when a House Armed Services Subcommittee examined the role of former military and defense personnel in winning defense contracts for private business, and in 1962, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigated the activities of lobbyists in regard to the extension of the Sugar Act.

The subject has occupied a fair proportion of congressional time over a period of almost a century and a half. Lobbying is an essential element in our system of representative government. The making known of views of interested parties—sometimes contradictory—to the legislative branch is a vital process in governing. The right to make such views known rests upon solid constitutional foundations.

As the Supreme Court declared in *U.S.* v. *Harriss*, 347 U.S. 612, 625 (1954):

"Yet full realization of the American ideal of government by elected representatives depends to no small extent on their ability to properly evaluate * * * pressures. Otherwise the voice of the people may all too easily be drowned out by the voice of special interest groups seeking favored treatment while masquerading as proponents of the public weal. This is the evil which the Lobbying Act was designed to help prevent."

The Court continued:

"Toward that end Congress has not sought to prohibit these pressures. It has merely provided for a modicum of information from those who for hire attempt to influence legislation or who collect or spend funds for that purpose. It wants only to know who is being hired, who is putting up the money, and how much. It acted * * * to maintain the integrity of a basic governmental process."

The act itself, however, has been the subject of considerable criticism, as have been the few court decisions, notably the Harriss case, wherein its constitutionality has been sustained.

The law does require exposure and undoubtedly has flushed out into the open many lobbyists who were unknown to the public and even to many Members of Congress. It has contributed to making the lawmaking process take place in a goldfish bowl.

The act does contain certain exemptions, that is, those required to report under the Corrupt Practices Act—political committees—those who merely appear before a committee of Congress in support of or in opposition to legislation, public officials acting in their official capacity, and newspapers and periodicals.

The Harriss decision, by construing the act narrowly, left large gaps in its coverage and limited its effectiveness. The Court held that the act only applied to groups or persons who solicit, collect, or receive contributions for the main or principal purpose of influencing the passage or defeat of legislation through direct communication with Members of Congress. The Court felt that it had to so construe the act as a legitimate protection of the integrity of the governmental process in order to dispose of allegations that the law invaded the realms of the right to petition, of free speech and press, and so forth.

The Court's interpretation has permitted groups or individuals that spend their own money to finance activities designed to influence legislation and without collecting or soliciting from others, to avoid registering.

It has allowed numerous organizations to argue that the principal purpose for which they collected money was not to influence Congress and consequently there was no need for them to register.

Others have asserted that since the essence of the act is communication with Members of Congress, they were not covered where their activities were confined to influencing the public on legislation.

Another ambiguity concerns the kind of communications with Members that are covered. Do they include mere informational contacts, for instance?

Finally, other weaknesses in the statute relate to its administration. Registrants themselves make the determination of what portion of total expenditures to report. No person, or committee, or group was empowered to examine and investigate reports to ascertain their truthfulness. While the Justice Department must prosecute, it was given no mandate to investigate.

Various recommendations as to the improvement of the law have been made by congressional committees and others, but they have yet to be acted upon. The current Joint Committee on Reorganization is examining the subject and most likely will report amendments.

The act has only partially admitted light into the catacombs wherein many lobbyists work. Changes are necessary so long as they are confined to the constitutional spectrum. It is to be hoped that they will shortly come about so that the process of lobbying as an essential component of the democratic system can contribute most meaningfully to the Nation.

For lobbying, despite what has been said about its abuses and the fact that it often panders to selfish interests, is an integral part of the governing process. At its best it has an informative function for both Congress and the public about matters that require attention. It may often, as generally in the case of bar associations, be directed to some larger view of the public interest which does not specifically benefit its members. It helps to stimulate public debate and encourage the development of a national consensus. It is an avenue of approach to Congress for the needy or those wronged by society. It supplies legal support for proposals, or precedents against them. It provides practical and concrete illustrations of how legislation would affect those within its ambit. Technical information, originally research, and even suggested drafts of bills or amending clauses are often supplied by lobbyists. Perhaps, most important of all, the presentations of interest groups of all colors of persuasion enable Congress to partially gage the needs and temper of the Nation and give to that body and the public a far clearer portrayal of problems and of the real meaning of certain proposals.

At its worst, lobbying can involve bribery and conflicts of interest and while Federal statutes prohibit both activities few have been the lobbyists who have been convicted thereunder. The statutes are available though to deter those who might consider going beyond a mere failure to register under the lobbying act.

Related to the subject of lobbying in its broadest connotation are the Federal Corrupt Practices and Hatch Acts which require certain reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures, set limits on contributions, and forbid corporate and labor union contributions or expenditures on behalf of candidates in Federal elections. These topics of serious import are, however, beyond the limits of this discussion.

Lobbyists and lobbying include a wide spectrum of types of activities and functions. Lobbyist is often used as a synonym for "pressure group," meaning an organization or person whose activities are directed primarily at influencing the decisions of Congress.

It can refer to propaganda activities designed to influence the electorate on a particular issue and consequently indirectly to influence Congress.

Lobbying can relate to groups engaged in general educational campaign espousing a set of principles of government or general policies, which groups may directly influence Congress and/or the public.

Lobbying may relate to a narrow interest of the members of a group or to more general matters of public benefit to be shared by group members as citizens.

Often a lobbyist works on behalf of others, either a group or a person, generally for pay, and attempts to influence Congressmen through direct contacts.

A lobbyist may or may not be required to register under the 1946 act. As has been noted, loopholes in the act itself, as well as augmentation of such through judicial decision, have enabled numerous persons and organizations, popularly thought of as engaged in lobbying, to avoid the necessity of registering and reporting.

Lobbying in some respects has accelerated with the growth of the Federal Government and the extension of its activities into additional areas of economic and social concern. In the past, questions of tariff policy, monetary policy, distribution of the public domain, and matters of internal improvement were the inspiration for much of the lobbying activity. Today, labor-management relations, welfare legislation, research grants, defense spending, urban problems, and civil rights matters are among the subjects of continuous lobbying pressure.

Communications developments have resulted in an increasingly expanded role of mass pressure organizations at the expense of the behind-the-scenes operator. Recent times have seen a noticeable reduction in the old "wine, women, and song" plus "folding money" types of pressures. Indirect pressure techniques of mass mailings and promises and/or threats of political support are supplanting the older methods.

Pressure for particular benefits for specific groups is still probably the major focus of lobbying activities, but ideological issues on which particular groups or persons will gain no direct advantages have been the subject of numerous lobbying efforts since World War II. The great labor organizations, for example, have not only lobbied for "bread and butter" issues, but also on questions of civil rights and aid to education, among others.

Among the most continuously active lobbying organizations in modern times, as listed by the Congressional Quarterly (Congress and the Nation 1945–64, 1965, p. 1591), have been the American Legion, the AFL–CIO, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Association of Electric Companies, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the United Federation of Postal Clerks, the American Medical Association, and the Association of American Railroads. Such a listing itself is suggestive of the vast array of issues of significance to interest groups.

Foremost among lobbyists are, of course, lawyers. They have been active in the lobbying process on behalf of individual clients and in respect to general issues almost from the earliest days of the Republic. While some attorneys are registered under the 1946 act, many are not, primarily because their activities fall within the statutory exemption respecting appearances before congressional committees. Some are registered, for instance, on behalf of estates involved in claims and legal problems with the Government. Some are registered such as was the law firm of former Congressman Dow Harter, of Ohio, because they have been employed to represent specific interests. In this case, it was B. F. Goodrich Co. at one time, and Avon Products, Inc., at another.

The American Bar Association itself is not listed as a lobbyist organization, but the Congressional Record of August 30, 1965, shows that two Washington attorneys are registered as representatives of the association.

Attorneys possess a number of advantages which enable them to participate favorably in the lobbying process. Successful lobbying requires perception, persuasion, patience, persistence, and planning, and I recommend, in this regard, a reading of "The Lawyer as a Legislative Lobbyist," by Robert Satter, 34 Connecticut Bar Journal 38, March 1960.

Lobbying, in essence, is systematic advocacy, and demands an understanding and appreciation of the legislative process including not only a knowledge of procedures but also of influential Congressmen. It requires persuasion to overcome hostility and win support. It demands patience with the sometimes inordinately lengthy consideration of questions by a legislature and its committees. It requires persistence to keep working, sometimes against odds and at others to protect a measure against injurious revisions. Finally, it demands planning and provision for a long campaign which can have a duration of several years.

Lawyers make good lobbyists because their training and temperament promote the development of these qualities. They are trained to marshal difficult, often complex facts and present them in an understandable fashion. They have a deep respect for the law as a social value and a real sense of responsibility to the legislature which enacts the statutory law. They are often skilled in the preparation of bills and can meet objections to constitutionality, phraseology and substance.

And, perhaps as significant as any other reason, lawyers bring integrity and honorable standards to their task. Canon 26, of the Canons of Professional Ethics promulgated by the American Bar Association establishes rigid standards for attorneys who appear as lobbyists. It reads:

"PROFESSIONAL ADVOCACY OTHER THAN BEFORE COURTS

"A lawyer openly, and in his true character, may render professional services before legislative or other bodies, regarding proposed legislation and in advocacy of claims before departments of government, upon the same principles of ethics which justify his appearance before the courts; but it is unprofessional for a lawyer so engaged to conceal his attorneyship, or to employ secret personal solicitations, or to use means other than those addressed to the reason and understanding, to influence action."

Canon 32, in part, reads:

"No client, corporate or individual, however, powerful, nor any cause, civil or political, however important, is entitled to receive nor should any lawyer render any service or advice involving disloyalty to the law whose ministers we are, or disrespect of the judicial office, which we are bound to uphold, or corruption of any person or persons exercising a public office or private trust, or deception or betrayal of the public."

And in its opinions, the Professional Ethics Committee of the American Bar Association has required strict adherence to these standards. For instance, it ruled in December 1959, that a law firm may not accept employment to appear before legislative committees while a member of the firm is serving, even though a full disclosure of the relationship is made, and even though the member serving in the legislature does not share in any fees received thereby (45 American Bar Association Journal 1272, December 1959).

Only one case under the 1946 Lobbying Act has directly involved a lawyer and charges that he was lobbying on behalf of clients without registering. The defendant was found not guilty, however, on the ground that his activity had mainly consisted of preparing statements for witnesses to be given by them before congressional committees, and that such a practice was within the statutory exception excluding from the registration requirement appearances before committees (*U.S.* v *Slaughter,* 89 F. Supp. 205, 876 (D.C.D.C., 1950)).

Because of the particular circumstances surrounding lawyers including adherence to a code of ethics and to high standards as well as the possibility of scrutiny of their actions by bar associations, suggestions have been made in the past that always should be exempted specifically from the provisions of the Lobbying Act—note 15 George Washington Law Review, 455, 459–60 (1947). It is perhaps a point worthy of consideration in any general revision of the act, but the fact that so many lawyers are lobbyists—although not registered—and that such a determination has been challenged as favoritism by other professional groups, have thus far militated against the adoption of the proposal.

Among the most pre-eminent of the organizations engaged in lobbying in its broadest and most honorable sense has been the American Bar Association. In his study on group representation before Congress, for the Brookings Institute in 1929, Edward Pendleton Herring noted—p. 185—that the influence of certain lobbying organizations was dependent entirely upon the value of the advice they had to give. "Their words," he reported, "must be weighted with wisdom rather than the strength of numbers." He concluded that the ABA could well boast of both.

From its earliest days, the association through special as well as standing committees has studied and reported on problems relative to the administration of the law and to other national questions and has made its recommendations available to Congress. From the beginning it followed a policy of printing its proceedings including the reports of its committees in its annual reports and has distributed them to all branches of the Federal Government.

In addition, Federal legislation sought by the association is usually presented directly to Congress or to its appropriate committees, by association committees, and in this regard, it is worthwhile to read "History of the American Bar Association and Its Work," Edson R. Sunderland, 1953. For example; this process was used in the past in seeking legislation for the relief of the Supreme Court, 1888–1890; for a Federal code of procedure, 1888; for an increase in judicial salaries, 1888; for a right of appeal from orders appointing receivers, 1897; for protection of bona fide purchasers of land against revenue tax liens, 1900—Sunderland, supra. page 60.

Often, individual members of the association are requested to appeal to their own Senators and Representatives in Congress—for example, in seeking legislation for relief of the Supreme Court, in 1889.

Sometimes petitions are circulated among members of the association and presented to Congress.

On other occasions, as for instance respecting the Supreme Court relief bill, a direct appeal might be made to the President for endorsement of the proposed legislation in his message to Congress—Sunderland, supra, pages 60–61.

The association was largely responsible for the enactment of the Bankruptcy Act in 1898. For 5 years thereafter one of its committees worked in close cooperation with the chairmen of the committees in both Houses of Congress on amendments, and by 1903 virtually all of the changes suggested by the association had been enacted—Sunderland, supra, page 64.

Other early association activities included work on the Federal court system culminating with the establishment of the U.S. circuit courts of appeal by Congress in the early 1890's; adoption of a form of a maritime bill of lading, enacted by Congress in 1893; restoration of the right of appeal, under habeas corpus, to the Supreme Court; amendments to the patent laws; law reporting and digesting, and a host of other subjects.

From the beginning of the century up through 1935, the association, through its committees, engaged in studies, recommendations, and in some instances bill drafting in a host of fields including administrative law, admiralty and maritime law, air law, radio law, bankruptcy, criminal law, insurance law, judicial procedure, judicial selection and tenure, mineral law, patent, trademark, and copyright law, public utility law, constitutional law and rights of citizens, and taxation.

Since 1936, the association has expanded its committee system and intensified its educational activities. Among its many standing committees today are those on the Bill of Rights, Federal legislation, legal assistance for servicemen, and peace and law through the United Nations. Special committees include atomic energy law, civil rights and racial unrest, code of Federal administrative procedure, committee to cooperate with Cuban lawyers in exile, association program for lawyers in Government, and a special committee to cooperate with the Kefauver investigation of interstate crime in 1950–51. Reports and recommendations have dealt with such subjects as procedures sometimes employed by congressional committees in derogation of the rights of individuals, the evacuation of American citizens of Japanese ancestry from military areas, effectual exercise of the right to the writ of habeas corpus, rights of the mentally ill, and amendment of the Federal rules of procedure.

The association has sponsored or supported such landmark proposals as the Administrative Procedure Act, the Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act, and the constitutional amendment relating to presidential inability and vice-presidential vacancy. It has participated vigorously in support of a public defender act, legislation clarifying accession to public information, conflict of interest amendments, and relief of court congestion through enlarging the Federal judicial system.

The association's lobbying activities, however, extend far beyond professional evaluation of Federal legislative proopsals. In many respects it is an educational organization encouraging and promoting creative developments in the law. Two of its offshoots are the loci of such efforts. One such is the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws which drafts statutes designed to eliminate chaotic divergencies among State laws. The second is the American Law Institute concerned with restatements of law designed to produce order in judge-made law by criticism and collection of the water of conflicting decisions across the Nation.

Perhaps the most important educational function of the association, at least as repects the public at large, is its continuous program of production of materials and information about the Constitution and the meaning and place of law in our system. Law day which is now celebrated throughout the Nation, for instance, is the brainchild of one of the association's past presidents, Mr. Charles S. Rhyne.

Truly, the American Bar Association is one of the country's outstanding lobbying organizations. In working on its committees and participating in its activities, attorneys can assume a role of influence in the highest meaning of the term

The law and lobbying are naturally correlative activities. Despite some of the abuses that have been heaped upon it, the lobbying process is an essential component of American Government. It works successfully on many occasions for numerous reasons not least of all being the fact that those most fully engaged in it are lawyers.

The legislative process as we practice it could not function without lawyers, for they, more than any other group in our society, fully understand the democratic legislative process and the many requirements incident to the preparation and passage of legislation. Our society is almost totally dependent upon attorneys for the procedural, administrative, constitutional, and technical guidelines within which statutory law functions.

The range of subjects and the variety of organizations on which lawyers are called upon to lobby is legion. They represent commercial and labor interests forcefully and honorably. They appear on behalf of volunteer citizen organizations seeking the passage of a worthwhile bill. They represent individual clients with claims on society's compassion. They speak for their bar associations in attempts to remedy defects in laws revealed by experience or decisions, or to press for some reform with which the legal profession is deeply concerned.

Lobbying is a challenging and rewarding function of the lawyer. It demands a full panoply of skills and talents associated in large part with his experience and training. It involves him in direct participation in the workings of the democratic legislative process. It reaches the heights of satisfaction when a statute, enacted through his efforts, benefits not only his client, but the people of the Nation as well.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business, for the purpose of considering Executive Calendar No. 11, Executive D, 88th Congress.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSULAR CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive D, 88th Congress, and that it be laid before the Senate, so that it may become the pending business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of Executive D, 88th Congress on the executive calendar.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider Executive D, 88th Congress, the Consular Convention with the U.S.S.R., which was read the second time, as follows:

CONSULAR CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Desiring to cooperate in strengthening friendly relations and to regulate consular relations between both states,

Have decided to conclude a consular convention and for this purpose have agreed on the following:

DEFINITIONS

Article 1

For the purpose of the present Convention, the terms introduced hereunder have the following meaning:

(1) "Consular establishment"—means any consulate general, consulate, vice consulate or consular agency;

(2) "Consular district"—means the area assigned to a consular establishment for the exercise of consular functions;

(3) "Head of consular establishment"—means a consul general, consul, vice consul, or consular agent directing the consular establishment;

(4) "Consular officer"—means any person, including the head of the consular establishment, entrusted with the exercise of consular functions. Also included in the definition of "consular officer" are persons assigned to the consular establishment for training in the consular service.

(5) "Employee of the consular establishment"—means any person performing administrative, technical, or service functions in a consular establishment.

OPENING OF CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENTS, APPOINTMENT OF CONSULAR OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

Article 2

1. A consular establishment may be opened in the territory of the receiving state only with that state's consent.

2. The location of a consular establishment and the limits of its consular district will be determined by agreement between the sending and receiving states.

3. Prior to the appointment of a head of a consular establishment, the sending state shall obtain the approval of the receiving state to such an appointment through diplomatic channels.

4. The diplomatic mission of the sending state shall transmit to the foreign affairs ministry of the receiving state a consular commission which shall contain the full name of the head of the consular establishment, his citizenship, his class, the consular district assigned to him, and the seat of the consular establishment.

5. A head of a consular establishment may enter upon the exercise of his duties only after having been recognized in this capacity by the receiving state. Such recognition after the presentation of the commission shall be in the form of a exequatur or in another form and shall be free of charge.

6. The full name, function and class of all consular officers other than the head of a consular establishment, and the full name and function of employees of the consular establishment shall be notified in advance by the sending state to the receiving state.

The receiving state shall issue to each consular officer an appropriate document confirming his right to carry out consular functions in the territory of the receiving state.

7. The receiving state may at any time, and without having to explain its decision, notify the sending state through diplomatic channels that any consular officer is persona non grata or that any employee of the consular establishment is unacceptable. In such a case the sending state shall accordingly recall such officer or employee of the consular establishment. If the sending state refuses or fails within a reasonable time to carry out its obligations under the present paragraph, the receiving state may refuse to recognize the officer or employee concerned as a member of the consular establishment.

8. With the exception of members of the staff of the diplomatic mission of the sending state, as defined in paragraph (c) of Article 1 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, no national of the sending state already present in the receiving state or in transit thereto may be appointed as a consular officer or employee of the consular establishment.

Article 3

Consular officers may be nationals only of the sending state.

Article 4

The receiving state shall take the necessary measures in order that a consular officer may carry out his duties and enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities provided for in the present Convention and by the laws of the receiving state.

Article 5

1. The receiving state shall either facilitate the acquisition on its territory, in accordance with its laws and regulations, by the sending state of premises necessary for its consular establishment or assist the latter in obtaining accommodation in some other way.

2. It shall also, where necessary, assist the sending state in obtaining suitable accommodation for the personnel of its consular establishment.

Article 6

1. If the head of the consular establishment cannot carry out his functions or if the position of head of a consular establishment is vacant, the sending state may empower a consular officer of the same or another consular establishment, or one of the members of the diplomatic staff of its diplomatic mission in the receiving state, to act temporarily as head of the consular establishment. The full name of this person must be transmitted in advance to the foreign affairs ministry of the receiving state.

2. A person empowered to act as temporary head of the consular establishment shall enjoy the rights, privileges and immunities of the head of the consular establishment.

3. When, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of the present Article, a member of the diplomatic staff of the diplomatic mission of the sending state in the receiving state is designated by the sending state as an acting head of the consular establishment, he shall continue to enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

CONSULAR FUNCTIONS

Article 7

A consular officer shall be entitled within his consular district to perform the following functions, and for this purpose may apply orally or in writing to the competent authorities of the consular district:

(1) To protect the rights and interests of the sending state and its nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate;

(2) To further the development of commercial, economic, cultural and scientific relations between the sending state and the receiving state and otherwise promote the development of friendly relations between them;

(3) To register nationals of the sending state, to issue or amend passports and other certificates of identity, and also to issue entry, exit, and transit visas;

(4) To draw up and record certificates of birth and death of citizens of the sending state taking place in the receiving state, to record marriages and divorces, if both persons entering into marriage or divorce are citizens of the sending state, and also to receive such declarations pertaining to family relationships of a national of the sending state as may be required under the law of the sending state, unless prohibited by the laws of the receiving state;

(5) To draw up, certify, attest, authenticate, legalize and take other actions which might be necessary to validate any act or document of a legal character, as well as copies thereof, including commercial documents, declarations, registrations, testamentary dispositions, and contracts, upon the application of a national of the sending state, when such document is intended for use outside the territory of the receiving state, and also for any person, when such document is intended for use in the territory of the sending state;

(6) To translate any acts and documents into the English and Russian languages and to certify to the accuracy of the translations;

(7) To perform other official consular functions entrusted to him by the sending state if they are not contrary to the laws of the receiving state.

Article 8

1. The acts and documents specified in paragraph 5 of Article 7 of the present Convention which are drawn up or certified by the consular officer with his official seal affixed, as well as copies, extracts, and translations of such acts and documents certified by him with his official seal affixed, shall be receivable in evidence in the receiving state as official or officially certified acts, documents, copies, translations, or extracts, and shall have the same force and effect as though they were drawn up or certified by the competent authorities or officials of the receiving state; provided that such documents shall have been drawn and executed in conformity with the laws and regulations of the country where they are designed to take effect.

2. The acts, documents, copies, translations, or extracts, enumerated in paragraph 1 of the present Article shall be authenticated if required by the laws of the receiving state when they are presented to the authorities of the receiving state.

Article 9

If the relevant information is available to the competent authorities of the receiving state, such authorities shall inform the consular establishment of the death of a national of the sending state.

Article 10

1. In the case of the death of a national of the sending state in the territory of the receiving state, without leaving in the territory of his decease any known heir or testamentary executor, the appropriate local authorities of the receiving state shall as promptly as possible inform a consular officer of the sending state.

2. A consular officer of the sending state may, within the discretion of the appropriate judicial authorities and if permissible under then existing applicable local law in the receiving state:

(a) take provisional custody of the personal property left by a deceased national of the sending state, provided that the decedent shall have left in the receiving state no heir or testamentary executor appointed by the decedent to take care of his personal estate; provided that such provisional custody shall be relinquished to a duly appointed administrator;

(b) administer the estate of a deceased national of the sending state who is not a resident of the receiving state at the time of his death, who leaves no testamentary executor, and who leaves in the receiving state no heir, provided that if authorized to administer the estate, the consular officer shall relinquish such administration upon the appointment of another administrator;

(c) represent the interests of a national of the sending state in an estate in the receiving state, provided that such national is not a resident of the receiving state, unless or until such national is otherwise represented: provided, however, that nothing herein shall authorize a consular officer to act as an attorney at law.

3. Unless prohibited by law, a consular officer may, within the discretion of the court, agency, or person making distribution, receive for transmission to a national of the sending state who is not a resident of the receiving state any money or property to which such national is entitled as a consequence of the death of another person, including shares in an estate, payments made pursuant to workmen's compensation laws, pension and social benefits systems in general, and proceeds of insurance policies.

The court, agency, or person making distribution may require that a consular officer comply with conditions laid down with regard to: (a) presenting a power of attorney or other authorization from such nonresident national, (b) furnishing reasonable evidence of the receipt of such money or property by such national, and (c) returning the money or property in the event he is unable to furnish such evidence.

4. Whenever a consular officer shall perform the functions referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article, he shall be subject, with respect to the exercise of such functions, to the laws of the receiving state and to the civil jurisdiction of the judicial and administrative authorities of the receiving state in the same manner and to the same extent as a national of the receiving state.

Article 11

A consular officer may recommend to the courts or to other competent authorities of the receiving state appropriate persons to act in the capacity of guardians or trustees for citizens of the sending state or for the property of such citizens when this property is left without supervision.

In the event that the court or competent authorities consider that the recommended candidate is for some reason unacceptable, the consular officer may propose a new candidate.

Article 12

1. A consular officer shall have the right within his district to meet with, communicate with, assist, and advise any national of the sending state and, where necessary, arrange for legal assistance for him. The receiving state shall in no way restrict the access of nationals of the sending state to its consular establishments.

2. The appropriate authorities of the receiving state shall immediately inform a consular officer of the sending state about the arrest or detention in other form of a national of the sending state.

3. A consular officer of the sending state shall have the right without delay to visit and communicate with a national of the sending state who is under arrest or otherwise detained in custody or is serving a sentence of imprisonment. The rights referred to in this paragraph shall be exercised in conformity with the laws and regulations of the receiving state, subject to the proviso, however, that the said laws and regulations must not nullify these rights.

Article 13

1. A consular officer may provide aid and assistance to vessels sailing under the flag of the sending state which have entered a port in his consular district.

2. Without prejudice to the powers of the receiving state, a consular officer may conduct investigations into any incidents which occurred during the voyage on vessels sailing under the flag of the sending state, and may settle disputes of any kind between the master, the officers and the seamen insofar as this may be authorized by the laws of the sending state. A consular officer may request the assistance of the competent authorities of the receiving state in the performance of such duties.

3. In the event that the courts or other competent authorities of the receiving state intend to take any coercive action on vessels sailing under the flag of the sending state while they are located in the waters of the receiving state, the competent authorities of the receiving state shall, unless it is impractical to do so in view of the urgency of the matter, inform a consular officer of the sending state prior to initiating such actions so that the consular officer may be present when the action is taken. Whenever it is impractical to notify a consular officer in advance, the competent authorities of the receiving state shall inform him as soon as possible thereafter of the action taken.

4. Paragraph 3 of this Article shall not apply to customs, passport, and sanitary inspections, or to action taken at the request or with the approval of the master of the vessel.

5. The term "vessel", as used in the present Convention, does not include warships.

Article 14

If a vessel sailing under the flag of the sending state suffers shipwreck, runs aground, is swept ashore, or suffers any other accident whatever within the territorial limits of the receiving state, the competent authorities of the receiving state shall immediately inform a consular officer and advise him of the measures which they have taken to rescue persons, vessel, and cargo.

The consular officer may provide all kinds of assistance to such a vessel, the members of its crew, and its passengers, as well as take measures in connection with the preservation of the cargo and repair of the ship, or he may request the authorities of the receiving state to take such measures.

The competent authorities of the receiving state shall render the necessary assistance to the consular officer in measures taken by him in connection with the accident to the vessel.

No customs duties shall be levied against a wrecked vessel, its cargo or stores, in the territory of the receiving state, unless they are delivered for use in that state.

If the owner or anyone authorized to act for him is unable to make necessary arrangements in connection with the vessel or its cargo, the consular officer may make such arrangements. The consular officer may under similar circumstances make arrangements in connection with cargo owned by the sending state or any of its nationals and found or brought into port from a wrecked vessel sailing under the flag of any state except a vessel of the receiving state.

Article 15

Articles 13 and 14, respectively, shall also apply to aircraft.

RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

Article 16

The national flag, of the sending state and the consular flag may be flown at the consular establishment, at the residence of the head of the consular establishment, and on his means of transport used by him in the performance of his official duties. The shield with the national coat-of-arms of the sending state and the name of the establishment may also be affixed on the building in which the consular establishment is located.

Article 17

The consular archives shall be inviolable at all times and wherever they may be. Unofficial papers shall not be kept in the consular archives.

The buildings or parts of buildings and the land ancillary thereto, used for the purposes of the consular establishment and the residence of the head of the consular establishment, shall be inviolable.

The police and other authorities of the receiving state may not enter the building or that part of the building which is used for the purposes of the consular establishment or the residence of the head of the consular establishment without the consent of the head thereof, persons appointed by him, or the head of the diplomatic mission of the sending state.

Article 18

1. The consular establishment shall have the right to communicate with its Government, with the diplomatic mission and the consular establishments of the sending state in the receiving state, or with other diplomatic missions and consular establishments of the sending state, making use of all ordinary means of communication. In such communications, the consular establishment shall have the right to use code, diplomatic couriers, and the diplomatic pouch. The same fees shall apply to consular establishments in the use of ordinary means of communication as apply to the diplomatic mission of the sending state.

2. The official correspondence of a consular establishment, regardless of what

means of communication are used, and the sealed diplomatic pouch bearing visible external marks of its official character, shall be inviolable and not subject to examination or detention by the authorities of the receiving state.

Article 19

1. Consular officers shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of the receiving state in matters relating to their official activity. The same applies to employees of the consular establishment, if they are nationals of the sending state.

2. Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment who are nationals of the sending state shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state.

3. This immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state of consular officers and employees of the consular establishment of the sending state may be waived by the sending state. Waiver must always be express.

Article 20

1. Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment, on the invitation of a court of the receiving state, shall appear in court for witness testimony. Taking measures to compel a consular officer or an employee of the consular establishment who is a national of the sending state to appear in court as a witness and to give witness testimony is not permissible.

2. If a consular officer or an employee of the consular establishment who is a national of the sending state for official reasons or for reasons considered valid according to the laws of the receiving state cannot appear in court, he shall inform the court thereof and give witness testimony on the premises of the consular establishment or in his own abode.

3. Whenever under the laws of the receiving state an oath is required to be taken in court by consular officers and employees of the consular establishment, an affirmation shall be accepted in lieu thereof.

4. Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment may refuse to give witness testimony on facts relating to their official activity.

5. The provisions of paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4 shall also apply to the proceedings conducted by administrative authorities.

Article 21

1. Immovable property, situated in the territory of the receiving state, of which the sending state or one or more persons acting in its behalf is the owner or lessee and which is used for diplomatic or consular purposes, including residences for personnel attached to the diplomatic and consular establishments, shall be exempt from taxation of any kind imposed by the receiving state or any of its states or local governments other than such as represent payments for specific services rendered.

2. The exemption from taxation referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall not apply to such charges, duties, and taxes if, under the law of the receiving state, they are payable by the person who contracted with the sending state or with the person acting on its behalf.

Article 22

A consular officer or employee of a consular establishment, who is not a national of the receiving state and who does not have the status in the receiving state of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, shall be exempt from the payment of all taxes or similar charges of any kind imposed by the receiving state or any of its states or local governments on official emoluments, salaries, wages, or allowances received by such officer or employee from the sending state in connection with the discharge of his official functions.

Article 23

1. A consular officer or employee of a consular establishment who is not a national of the receiving state and who does not have the status in the receiving state of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, shall, except as provided in paragraph 2 of this Article, be exempt from the payment of all taxes or similar charges of any kind imposed by the receiving state or any of its states or local governments, for the payment of which the officer or employee of the consular establishment would otherwise be legally liable.

2. The exemption from taxes or charges provided in paragraph 1 of this Article does not apply in respect to taxes or charges upon:

(a) The acquisition or possession of private immovable property located in the receiving state if the persons referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article do not own or lease this property on the behalf of the sending state for the purposes of the consular establishment;

(b) Income received from sources in the receiving state other than as described in Article 22 of the present Convention;

(c) The transfer by gift of property in the receiving state;

(d) The transfer at death, including by inheritance, of property in the receiving state.

3. However, the exemption from taxes or similar charges provided in paragraph 1 of this Article, applies in respect to movable inherited property left after the death of a consular officer or employee of the consular establishment or a member of his family residing with him if they are not nationals of the receiving state or aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, and if the property was located in the receiving state exclusively in connection with the sojourn in this state of the deceased as a consular officer or employee of the consular establishment or member of his family residing with him.

Article 24

A consular officer or employee of a consular establishment and members of his family residing with him who are not nationals of the receiving state and who do not have the status in the receiving state of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, shall be exempt in the receiving state from service in the armed forces and from all other types of compulsory service.

Article 25

A consular officer or employee of a consular establishment and members of his family residing with him who do not have the status in the receiving state of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, shall be exempt from all obligations under the laws and regulations of the receiving state with regard to the registration of aliens, and obtaining permission to reside, and from compliance with other similar requirements applicable to aliens.

Article 26

1. The same full exemption from customs duties and internal revenue or other taxes imposed upon or by reason of importation shall apply in the receiving state to all articles, including motor vehicles, imported exclusively for the official use of a consular establishment, as applies to articles imported for the official use of the diplomatic mission of the sending state.

2. Consular officers, and employees of the consular establishment, and members of their families residing with them, who are not nationals of the receiving state, and who do not have the status in the receiving state of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, shall be granted, on the basis of reciprocity, the same exemptions from customs duties and internal revenue or other taxes imposed upon or by reason of importation, as are granted to corresponding personnel of the diplomatic mission of the sending state.

3. For the purpose of paragraph 2 of this Article the term "corresponding personnel of the diplomatic mission" refers to members of the diplomatic staff in the case of consular officers, and to members of the administrative and technical staff in the case of employees of a consular establishment.

Article 27

Subject to the laws and regulations of the receiving state concerning zones entry into which is prohibited or regulated for reasons of national security, a consular officer shall be permitted to travel freely within the limits of his consular district to carry out his official duties.

Article 28

Without prejudice to their privileges and immunities, it is the duty of all persons enjoying such privileges and immunities to respect the laws and regulations of the receiving state, including traffic regulations.

Article 29

1. The rights and obligations of consular officers provided for in the present Convention also apply to members of the diplomatic staff of the diplomatic mission of the Contracting Parties charged with the performance of consular functions in the diplomatic mission and who have been notified in a consular capacity to the foreign affairs ministry of the receiving state by the diplomatic mission.

2. Except as provided in paragraph 4 of Article 10 of the present Convention, the performance of consular functions by the persons referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall not affect the diplomatic privileges and immunities granted to them as members of the diplomatic mission.

FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 30

1. The present Convention shall be subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the thirtieth day following the exchange of instruments of ratification, which shall take place in Washington as soon as possible.

2. The Convention shall remain in force until six months from the date on which one of the Contracting Parties informs the other Contracting Party of its desire to terminate its validity.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries of the two Contracting Parties have signed the present Convention and affixed their seals thereto.

Done in Moscow on June 1, 1964 in two copies, each in the English and the Russian language, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America:

FOY D. KOHLER,
Ambassador of the United States of America to the U.S.S.R.

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

A. GROMYKO,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PROTOCOL TO THE CONSULAR CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

1. It is agreed between the Contracting Parties that the notification of a consular officer of the arrest or detention in other form of a national of the sending state specified in paragraph 2 of Article 12 of the Consular Convention between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of June 1, 1964, shall take place within one to three days from the time of arrest or detention depending on conditions of communication.

2. It is agreed between the Contracting Parties that the rights specified in paragraph 3 of Article 12 of the Consular Con-

vention of a consular officer to visit and communicate with a national of the sending state who is under arrest or otherwise detained in custody shall be accorded within two to four days of the arrest or detention of such national depending upon his location.

3. It is agreed between the Contracting Parties that the rights specified in paragraph 3 of Article 12 of the Consular Convention of a Consular officer to visit and communicate with a national of the sending state who is under arrest or otherwise detained in custody or is serving a sentence of imprisonment shall be accorded on a continuing basis.

The present Protocol constitutes an integral part of the Consular Convention between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of June 1, 1964.

Done at Moscow on June 1, 1964 in two copies, each in the English and the Russian language, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America:

FOY D. KOHLER,
Ambassador of the United States of America to the U.S.S.R.

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

A. GROMYKO,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, whether or not the Senate should ratify the proposed Consular Convention between the United States and the Soviet Union is a most important and at the same time one of the most delicate, questions before the 90th Congress. It is also one of the most emotionally charged issues, as the constituent mail of each Senator dramatically illustrates; legitimate concerns have been magnified and distorted, while all too often very little light has been shed on the real issues.

The treaty simply provides a basic legal framework for the exchange of Consulates between the United States and the Soviet Union and details the rules and regulations governing the conduct of consular officials and their diplomatic status. This document, signed in 1964 and approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1965 and again in February of this year, represents an attempt to formalize what is ordinarily a routine bilateral exchange of officials.

In this case, however, Mr. President, neither the provisions of the treaty nor the circumstances surrounding its ratification are routine. This is the first bilateral treaty we have ever made with the Soviet Union, our adversary in the costly and trying cold war of two long decades. And unfamiliarity not only breeds contempt, but caution.

In addition, we are engaged in a bloody war against Communist aggression in southeast Asia. Secret agents menace the internal fabric of our society, while ideological invective poisons the international airwaves.

Thus one can understand the great concern and even alarm being expressed over this treaty's pending ratification. But emotion is the wind which blow out the lamp of reason. We must understand the former, but we must be guided by the latter.

Mr. President, many individuals have expressed genuine dismay over the treaty provision granting full diplomatic immunity from criminal prosecution to the consular staffs of both countries. They consider this proviso a dangerous Carte Blanche for Soviet espionage and cite the concern expressed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover when he testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee 2 years ago. Mr. Hoover noted that the treaty "will make our work more difficult," if it permits the Soviet Union to establish consulates "in many parts of the country."

The point is also made, Mr. President, that the United States has consular conventions with many other countries, none of which includes a provision granting full immunity from criminal prosecution to consular staffs. The question is then asked: "Why include such a provision in a treaty with the Soviet Union?"

Mr. President, what are the risks involved in granting Soviet consular officials diplomatic immunity? The question cannot be answered with exact preciseness, but a calm examination suggests that the risks are few.

As the treaty neither authorizes the opening of consulates nor specifies their number, Senate ratification will not automatically result in the establishment of a large number of Soviet consulates. The treaty merely provides the legal framework for their operation if and when they are established.

The number and location of consulates will be established by negotiation after the treaty is ratified. At present, no such negotiations are being conducted. When they are held, Congress will, of course, be kept fully informed. The administration has further stated that for the foreseeable future no more than the opening of one consulate in each country is envisioned.

Mr. President, that the Communists are most vigorous and adept at employing their diplomatic posts for espionage activities is beyond dispute. That they will attempt to utilize their consular offices in a like manner is also to be expected. However, when only 10 or 15 officials are added to the 452 Soviets with full diplomatic immunity now in the United States, the small scale of the threat is readily apparent. Indeed, as Mr. Hoover himself said on this point just a few weeks ago:

> The F.B.I. can definitely handle any additional responsibilities brought about by approval of the treaty. . . . The (extra) expenditure in funds . . . could be absorbed within our current appropriation.

But even those who recognize the limited scope of the immediate problem are concerned about its portent for the future. Using this treaty as a precedent, will the 27 other countries with whom American has consular treaties press for similar provisions?

The answer, Mr. President, is not likely." The administration estimates at most only 11 would do so. Thus, just 290 employees, only a fraction of whom are Communist, would be added to the 9,400 persons with diplomatic immunity in the United States.

One must also bear in mind that it is often much easier to scrutinize the activities of political agents who enter the country as registered representatives of a foreign government than when they enter clandestinely.

In addition, the convention contains a number of safeguards against the danger of diplomatic subversion. For example, a state may expel consular officials for their misdeeds and may scrutinize in advance all consular appointments. As a final safeguard, the treaty may be terminated on 6 months' notice by either party if it does not function to their satisfaction.

Mr. President, we must also remember that the treaty provisions cut both ways. Given the closed character of Russian society, the United States stands to gain far more information from consular surveillance than does the Soviet Union. Our sources of information within Russia are limited and the more "windows" that can be opened to shed light on the convoluted operations of the Soviet Government the better.

Finally, and possibly most importantly, Mr. President, this speaker is of the view that we all too often inflate the threat of Soviet operatives, while minimizing the capacity of our people and our institutions to resist their intrigues. Is the fabric of this free and open society so delicate, so weak that it will be seriously endangered by the introduction of a few score of new Soviet citizens?

Mr. President, the potential for increased espionage is the most emotionally charged question, but by far the most important questions concern the broad implications this treaty has for United States-Soviet relations. In this respect, it is the timing of this treaty which generates honest disagreement among reasonable and informed men.

The point is made that the United States should refrain from making any conciliatory gestures toward the Soviets while the Vietnam war is in progress. The U.S.S.R. continues to oppose American aims in southeast Asia. It endeavors to mobilize world opinion against us and continues to send massive infusions of military aid to our enemies. Why should we add further respectability to a regime which labels us "worldwide public enemy No. 1" and supplies the guns and rockets which daily drain the blood of American youth?

The question is a valid one. For, while the Communists may be divided on ideological issues, they are united in varying degrees in their opposition to Western democracy. There is no indication that the ratification of this treaty will cause the Soviets to cease their ideological vilification of the United States or halt the flow of war material to North Vietnam.

However, Mr. President, Soviet differences with the United States do not mitigate against the ratification of this treaty. Rather, they impel it. This convention can become a symbol, albeit a rather minor one, of the willingness of the two countries to divorce emotion and ideological differences from basic compatible interests. For, the consular treaty is not so much a gesture of conciliation, as it is an agreement that the mutual interests of both parties will be furthered by the establishment of missions designed to serve nondiplomatic interests.

Make no mistake about it, it is the U.S. private citizen and businessman who would benefit most from the facilities offered by the consulates. The most important proviso of the treaty, in my opinion, guarantees that a consulate will be notified within 1 to 3 days after a foreign national is arrested. Furthermore, consular officials will be guaranteed access to detained Americans within 2 to 4 days of their arrest, and this right of access will continue as long as they are held.

Mr. President, this all-important provision, representing an unprecedented concession by the Soviet Union, goes into effect once the treaty is ratified whether or not consular offices are ever established by later negotiation.

This concession appears all the more remarkable when one pauses to consider past Soviet behavior. In 1961, American student Marvin Makinen was held from July 21 to September 4 before the U.S. Embassy was even notified of his detention. In a more famous case, U–2 pilot Gary Powers was held incommunicado by the Soviets for 21 months.

Postwar history is replete with similar examples. The provisions for notification and access contained in this treaty will significantly improve the prospects for decent treatment of U.S. citizens arrested in the Soviet Union. Not only would such a development be welcome for humane reasons, but by subjecting detentions to closer American scrutiny, the ability of the Soviets to use them as instruments of international propaganda could be reduced.

In addition, consulates offer services which range from processing birth certificates to the translation of legal documents. These arrangements would greatly ease the lot of Americans trying to fend for themselves in a foreign land.

Thus, consular offices should not be considered as significant diplomatic concessions, but as devices for regularizing unofficial relations. In this particular case, Mr. President, if one country stands to benefit more than the other, it is the United States. We simply have far more tourists and businessmen to serve, and their number is growing each year. Approximately 18,000 Americans visit the Soviet Union for unofficial purposes as opposed to the 1,400 Russians who come to this country.

Mr. President, also in regard to the question of timing, some wise and careful men have urged that ratification be delayed while the interrelationship of this treaty to others which may soon be put before this body is thoroughly examined. In particular, the Treaty on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and the East-West trade bill are cited as examples of more ambitious efforts by the administration to significantly alter U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. President, this speaker does not advocate a rapid expansion of our trade with the Communist bloc, particularly when they are supplying our enemies in Vietnam. Neither would I support a relaxing of the safeguards so essential to the maintenance of our long-term security interests. However, Mr. President, this Senator is persuaded that the consular treaty does not presage such dangerous developments. The space and trade agreements, while affecting our overall relations with the Communist bloc, treat completely different subjects.

The Consular Treaty will create no irresistible momentum leading to the hasty adoption of these other items. They will be carefully considered on their individual merits. Let us not forget that the amount of trade a consulate handles is not determined by the consulate, but by our Government. Thus, those who feel ratification will in itself lead to an expansion of trade are mistaken in my view.

It is wise to be cautious and a full examination of administration policy is the Senate's eternal duty; but as the poet Matthew Arnold said:

> (Those) . . . who hesitate and falter life away . . . lose tomorrow the ground won today.

World powers, therefore, by definition have a variety of commitments and concerns. It would be futile and self-defeating to treat all foreign policy issues alike. The Communist camp today is torn by controversy. The opportunities for initiatives are many.

The Consular Convention is just one such opportunity. This treaty alone will not eliminate the differences which separate the Soviet Union and the United States, but it will bring more understanding to them. It will not eliminate the political harassment of U.S. citizens, but it will reduce it. Its passage represents a risk, but the risk is manageable.

In short, the treaty is neither a panacea nor an unconscionable gamble. It is simply a small step toward increased protection of American citizens abroad and the improvement of relations between the world's two superpowers.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The pending business is in the Consular Treaty?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words about the treaty. I hope that tomorrow or the next day the Senate will adopt the treaty.

Last October, President Johnson spoke in New York on the subject of our relations with Europe. He defined America's task in its relations with the European Communist world as achieving "a reconciliation with the East," and he then said:

> Americans are prepared to do their part. Under the last four Presidents our policy toward the Soviet Union has been the same. Where necessary, we shall defend freedom; where possible we shall work with the East to build a lasting peace.
>
> We do not intend to let our differences on Viet Nam or elsewhere prevent us from exploring all opportunities. We want the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe to know that we and our allies shall go step by step with them as far as they are willing to advance.

I emphasize the words "step by step" with the Soviet Union "as far as they are willing to advance," for in considering whether to give our advice and consent to ratification of the consular convention we are considering whether to take a step with the Soviet Union, a modest, cautious step, but a step in the direction of reconciliation and not away from it. Will we, as a result of our debate in the Senate, take this step? Or will we stand still and thus admit that we are unwilling or unable to affect the future course of our relations with the Soviet Union?

Now, consular conventions are not usually politically significant. We have consular conventions with over 30 countries, and treaties and other agreements containing consular provisions with over 30 other states. We have such conventions, treaties, and agreements with allies, with neutrals and with countries with whom our relations are not particularly good, with Communist countries and non-Communist countries of every existent variety.

This convention is different, however, not because its provisions are unique or significant but because it is an agreement with the other immensely powerful state in the world today, a state with whom our relations are most sensitive and difficult, a state with whom our relations are of transcendental importance.

I would have preferred to address my remarks today only to the broad issue of our relations with this other great power and not to deal with the narrow subject of the technical provisions of the convention we are considering. But because there has been a good deal of discussion in the country of these provisions, and because I believe that there is considerable misunderstanding about them, I will begin by attempting to clarify what the treaty does and what it does not do.

The consular convention does not provide for opening consulates. There have been Soviet consulates in the United States and American consulates in the Soviet Union before. Consulates could be established again any time without a treaty merely by agreement between the two Governments. Nor does the treaty provide for increasing trade with the Soviet Union or amend in any way the body of legislation designed to prohibit the export of strategic materials to the Communist world. The various laws dealing with this subject remain untouched.

All the treaty does is regulate consular relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Consular relations are best regulated by treaty; for a treaty, as you know, becomes the supreme law of the land and supersedes inconsistent Federal and State laws. To regulate the myriad consular affairs between our country and another, it is necessary to supersede State laws with regard to various tax matters, in order to fulfill an obligation to notify a foreign government official when an arrest is made and to grant officials of other governments immunity from local laws.

I will not discuss the minor points in the convention, which are no different in this treaty than in the other consular conventions we have, but will concentrate on the two questions that have attracted attention: the provisions regarding notification and access and those pertaining to consular immunity.

The consular convention we are considering today provides that when an

American citizen is arrested in the Soviet Union, the Soviets are obliged to notify an American consular officer of his detention within 1 to 3 days. The provisions in the convention regarding access oblige the Soviets to permit an American consular officer to have access to an arrested American citizen within 2 to 4 days. These provisions regarding notification and access, as all the other provisions in the convention, are of course reciprocal. They seem to me to be more beneficial to us than to the Soviets, however, for there are 20 times as many Americans visiting the Soviet Union as there are Soviets visiting the United States; and, furthermore, we already observe the standards of notification and access that this treaty will oblige the Soviets to observe. I should add that these notification and access provisions will become operative, and thus binding on the Soviets, as soon as the convention enters into force whether or not consulates are ever opened.

Those who are opposed to ratification of this convention argue that notification and access do not amount to freedom, and that these notifications and access provisions are of small benefit indeed. Perhaps these provisions do produce only minor benefits—although certainly an American arrested in the Soviet Union would not consider them to be so minor—but they oblige the Soviet Government to act in a way in which they have never been willing to agree to act before, and in a way that we consider desirable and advantageous to us.

By agreeing to these notification and access provisions, the Soviets have made a concession. Some belittle this concession, saying that the Soviets should go further and make more far-reaching changes in their trial procedures. But a consular convention is not a vehicle for effecting changes in a society. It is an agreement designed to regulate the consular affairs of the countries concerned, protect their citizens, and provide ground rules for their consular personnel. This convention goes further than any other modern convention in the protections afforded American citizens and American consular officers and employees. Are we going to refuse to accept these benefits—benefits we wanted, which led us to propose negotiations on the treaty in the first place, and benefits which represent a concession by the Soviets—because we disapprove of certain aspects of Soviet society? We have not applied this standard to other countries. It seems to me unreasonable and unproductible to attempt to do so in this case.

The other matter that has aroused a great deal of attention is the grant of unrestricted immunity from criminal jurisdiction to consular officers and employees. This provision is a new departure for the United States. In other consular conventions to which the United States is a party, such immunity has applied only to misdemeanors and not to felonies. On the other hand, so far as diplomatic immunity is concerned, nations observe an even broader immunity which extends not only to criminal jurisdiction but to civil jurisdiction as well and also applies to the families of diplomatic officers. Our diplomats in the Soviet Union and indeed all over the world, have such immunity, as do all foreign diplomats including Soviet diplomats here.

In other words, this convention brings the protection—which those working in consulates enjoy—more closely into line with the protection those working in embassies have, reflecting a universal erosion over the past few decades of the distinctions between diplomatic and consular officers. In our case, it seems to me particularly appropriate that we do not emphasize such distinctions, while others disavow them, because our diplomatic and consular services were combined over 35 years ago. As a result, an American Foreign Service officer may be assigned this year to an embassy and next year to a consulate. Why should he enjoy the protection of unrestricted immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the Soviet Union while assigned to our embassy in Moscow but have only restricted immunity from criminal jurisdiction when assigned to a consulate outside the capital?

But those who are concerned about the immunity provision in this convention are not interested in the disappearing distinctions between diplomatic and consular immunities. Their interest in the immunity provision is a result of their fear of espionage. They see a danger in the immunity provision; because if a Soviet intelligence officer assigned to a Soviet consulate in the United States were to commit espionage, he could not be prosecuted, but, like any Soviet official assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Washington who committed espionage, only be expelled.

Now, it is a fact of life, an unpleasant fact, to be sure, that all of those assigned to foreign embassies and consulates in the United States and all of the Americans assigned to our embassies and consulates abroad are not what they appear to be. Some are not career diplomatic and consular personnel but intelligence officers. The Soviets use embassies and consulates for intelligence purposes as do other countries, including the United States. Perhaps in a gentler age this may not have been true, but it is the case in the world today. In this sense, there is a common interest involved, for I gather that both we and the Soviets would prefer to have our intelligence officers expelled rather than imprisoned.

It would be one thing if we were opening the floodgates to massive numbers of Soviet intelligence agents by ratifying this convention. But we are talking about only one Soviet consulate at this point, with 10 to 15 officers and employees, and one American consulate of an equal size in the Soviet Union. There are already in the United States 452 Soviet nationals with full diplomatic immunity, so that involved is an increase of 3 percent in the number of Soviet officials with full criminal immunity.

Because we have most-favored-nation clauses in consular agreements with 35 other countries, these countries will also be entitled to request a similar extension of consular immunity, provided they are willing to grant us such immunity in return. Of these 35 countries, 27 now have consular establishments in the United States, and these consular establishments have 577 consular officers and employees who would be qualified for such immunity. The fact is, however, that the Department of State has estimated that only 11 countries, with 290 officers and employees in the United States, will ask for such immunity. We will thus add perhaps some 300 persons to the 9,400 foreign diplomatic officers and employees now in the United States who already enjoy full criminal immunity—a total increase of about 3 percent.

Those who criticize this immunity provision point out that granting full criminal immunity to consular officers and employees was originally a Soviet suggestion. The implication, therefore, is that the immunity provision must work to the advantage of the Soviets and to the disadvantage of the United States. In fact, upon considering the Soviet proposal, the Department of State decided that the immunity provision suggested by the Soviets was desirable from the point of view of the United States. Presumably because the immunity provision was originally suggested by the Soviets, they considered this provision to be desirable from their point of view.

Yet, instead of being pleased to see a provision in the convention that each party apparently considers to be in its interest, some regard the immunity provision as suspect, not because of its substance but because this provision was first proposed by the Soviets. Such suspicions are not new, of course, but I think we should reflect on the words of Ambassador George F. Kennan, in his book "Russia, the Atom and the West":

> . . . We must beware of rejecting ideas just because they happen to coincide with ones put forward on the other side. Moscow says many harmful and foolish things; but it would be wrong to assume that its utterances never happen to accord with the dictates of sobriety and good sense. The Russians are not always wrong, any more than we are always right. Our task, in any case, is to make up our minds independently.

If the Soviets had not been willing to make up their minds independently, there would have been no consular convention at all for we were the ones who first proposed negotiations on a consular convention and then pushed for them.

One more comment of Ambassador Kennan seems to me appropriate in concluding my remarks on the technical aspects of the convention. In an appearance before the committee on January 30 of this year he said about the treaty:

> When I first went to the Soviet Union proper, which was at the time of our recognition of the Soviet Government in 1933, we would not have hesitated for a second to conclude an agreement of this sort, had the Russians been willing to do it. We at that time considered it highly wrong and regrettable that they were so afraid of contacts between people, so afraid of having foreign representatives in their country, that they put so jealous a control on foreign representatives, that they did not want our consuls around. We wanted to go in for the maximum amount of that sort of exchange.
>
> I am somewhat surprised to find that now, 30 years later, we quail at an agreement of this sort * * *

I, too, am somewhat surprised at the opposition the treaty has aroused. It does not befit a great and powerful nation—in fact, it seems to call into question its greatness and its power—to believe so little in its own strength and security, and to fear so for its own vulnerability, that it must "quail" at the prospect of the arrival of 10 or 15 Soviet officials.

The arguments of the opponents to this convention on the substantive provisions of the treaty which I have been discussing are mere skirmishes, however. The main attack on the treaty has been on much more fundamental grounds: on the grounds that this is no time to reach agreements with the Soviets because they are sending supplies to North Vietnam and that an agreement on consular relations—or, for that matter, on any subject—will lead inexorably to other agreements, including an agreement on trade which would enable the Soviets to increase the flow of military equipment to North Vietnam and thus prolong the war. This treaty should also not be ratified, according to its opponents, because the act of ratifying an agreement with the Soviets will be regarded as a mark of confusion by our allies, as a confession of weakness by our enemies, and as both by our fighting men in Vietnam.

It is difficult for me to understand and accept the fact that there are some in the Senate who, given an opportunity to improve relations in some small way with the Soviet Union and of reducing the tensions that exist in our relations with that country, prefer that we not do so, but that instead we keep relations frozen and tensions highly charged. I would certainly understand this attitude if it were motivated by an opposition to appeasement—that is, if this convention, or any of the East-West measures that I have mentioned, represented a sacrifice to the Soviets designed to mollify them. But I cannot understand why any Senator would hesitate to seize an opportunity to voice his approval for an agreement with the Soviet Union which offers us certain benefits in protecting American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union which we sought in the first place. I do not see how ratifying such an agreement could be construed as a mark of confusion or a confession of weakness. On the contrary, if I were the leader of North Vietnam I would be concerned at any sign of a rapprochement between an ally on whom I depended heavily and my opponent, especially if my ally and my opponent were the two most powerful countries in the world. And if I were an ally of the United States it would worry me to see the United States spurn an opportunity to reduce the tensions which might, if they are not reduced, lead to a conflict in which I might become involved simply because I was an ally of one of the protagonists.

As for the argument that this treaty is merely an opening wedge designed to insure the automatic passage of an outer space agreement and an East-West trade bill, I would not think that it would be necessary to make the point, although I will do so for the record, that such an argument insults the intelligence and integrity of this body by suggesting that we would not consider each of these measures on its merits.

But while this consular convention is not an opening wedge, it is certainly a test of the sentiment of the Senate, the sentiment of the Senate on the question of the general attitude the United States should adopt toward the European Communist world in general and the Soviet Union in particular. It seems to me that there are two general approaches to our relations with the Communist world. Those who object to the agreement before us because they object to any agreement with the Soviets can only mean that they believe that our disagreements with the Communist world will eventually be resolved, and can only be resolved, by a resort to force. That is the logical conclusion to which their argument leads, and it is a conclusion the consequences of which I do not like to contemplate. Those of us who are in favor of reaching agreements with the Soviet Union whenever possible—who believe, in fact, that it is in our national interest to seek such agreements—are convinced that the only possible way of resolving our differences with the Soviet Union is through peaceful means by mutual accommodation.

I hope that when the vote is taken on the consular convention most Members of the Senate will vote in favor of giving the Senate's advice and consent to ratification, not because I feel that it is of vital importance that we ratify this treaty to obtain the benefits it provides, but because we will be voting on a much more important question. We will be expressing an opinion in that vote on whether or not we believe in reaching agreements with the Soviet Union whenever it is possible to do so and whenever such agreements provide a net benefit to us. We will be voting on whether we wish to go, in President Johnson's words, "step by step" with the Soviets "as far as they are willing to advance" toward a reconciliation, or whether we prefer to follow another path—in this case, I believe, the only other path—which leads the United States and the Soviet Union not to a peaceful solution of our differences but to their resolution by force. These paths might well be called "mutual accommodation" and "mutual annihilation," for paths, like other avenues, often bear the names of their destinations.

Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will be able to move to dispose of this treaty as rapidly as possible. As everyone knows, this matter was before the Committee on Foreign Relations last year, and we reported it then; but for reasons which are understandable—last year was election year—the treaty was not voted on. However, the matter has been discussed at length, everyone is throughly familiar with it, and I hope that the Senate can proceed to a vote as soon as possible.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which reported the pending convention with the Soviet Union by a vote of 15 to 4.

As the Senator has stated, this convention is definitely in the interest of the United States, far more so than it is in the interest of the Soviet Union.

I wish to reinforce what the Senator from Arkansas has said by pointing out that this convention was undertaken during the Eisenhower administration, on the initiative of the United States. It has been pursued by President Eisenhower's successors—the late President Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

At the present time, figures indicate that the number of Americans visiting the Soviet Union is in excess of 18,000 a year, whereas the number of Soviet citizens visiting the United States is under 1,000 a year.

If and when this consular convention is agreed to, it will mean that additional protection will be given to U.S. citizens, who now can be held up to 9 months in Soviet jails without having the right of access to any American official; whereas, in our own country, Soviet citizens are subject to American law and are given the same rights that any American would be given under the Constitution—including of course the right to access to counsel or representative. So that this proposal is very much in the interest of the United States.

I would hope that the encouragement and support given by three Presidents would be taken into consideration. I would hope that emotions would not be predominant in our discussion of this most important treaty, and I would hope that the Senate, in its wisdom, would see fit to follow the lead of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and vote "aye" overwhelmingly on this proposal.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I thank the Senator from Montana. I agree with him that the facts presented are such that, due to the numbers of tourists involved, as he has indicated, and as I have stated in my remarks, the treaty would mean more to the United States than to the Soviet Union.

I hope, however, as we move into a more relaxed period in our relations, that there will be more Soviet tourists in this country and that this treaty will then mean something to the Soviets as well. I hope that they will themselves approve this treaty. I believe they will. The Senator is correct.

I hope that we can move to completion of action on the treaty in the very near future.

VOLUNTARY NATIONAL SERVICE

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the past 2 days have been most eventful for those of us who are interested in the problems of selective service.

On Sunday, the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service made a careful report, after a 7-month study. Yesterday, President Johnson sent a message to the Congress dealing with the same topic.

I should like to praise both these documents, and also to take this opportunity to make a concrete proposal of my own on a related subject, voluntary national service.

It seems to me that most Americans, being interested in a strong national defense and a fair method of achieving that strength, will applaud the Commission's report and the President's proposals.

The concept of taking our youngest draft eligibles first, instead of the present system which takes the oldest first, makes a great deal of sense, as does the recommendation that criteria for induction be administered uniformly across the country. These reforms will insure equitable service, and permit young men to plan their lives without the uncertainty that plagues many of them today.

Likewise, I support completely impartial random selection, which, in practical terms, would mean instituting a lottery, such as the one that was first used in World War I.

I have serious reservations, however, about the Commission's proposal to abolish all student deferments. On this issue, I agree with the minority of the President's Commission, and support the resolution introduced by the senior Senator from Massachusetts—which I will cosponsor.

Judging from the message he sent up yesterday, I believe that the President also has reservations about abolishing student deferments. It is noteworthy that he has stated that he will end most graduate school deferments, but he will withhold judgment on the question of undergraduate deferments.

There are two problems that occur to me. First is the extremely important question of how strong is this country's commitment to encourage our youth to attend college? For, the recommendations of the President's Commission would, it seems to me, discourage many students from going on to college.

The Commission has overlooked the factor of educational momentum: A student finishes high school and continues right on to college. There is every encouragement to do so; there is none of the chance to "get away from the books," which all too often means that the student will never return.

To put it in simplest terms, who is more likely to go to college; a 19-year-old who has just finished high school, or a 22-year-old who has been away from school for 3 or 4 years, may be about to be married, and is very likely going to be looking for ways to assert his newly found independence?

A second difficulty explored by the Commission is the need of the Armed Forces for capable officers. For many years, the usual minimum requirement for officers has been a college education. Will the recommendations of the Commission provide an adequate number of college-trained men to fill officer positions? Frankly, I find it hard to believe that they will.

Proposals to change college-deferment regulations should receive long and careful consideration before any change is made. It is clear that college deferments should not be allowed to become permanent exemptions, as frequently happens under the present system. After a maximum postponement of 4 years of college, the student should revert to the eligibility of a 19-year-old.

I urge the President to be most cautious in altering college-deferment policy, and I am confident that he will be.

One other aspect of the National Advisory Commission report was of particular interest to me. This is voluntary national service, and I am extremely pleased that both the President's message and the Commission report create a climate favorable to the introduction of a bill on national service.

The Commission concluded that a program of compulsory national nonmilitary service is not recommended. With this conclusion I am in agreement: Such a program is of doubtful constitutional validity.

But the Commission asked that more investigation be conducted into the possibility of a broad voluntary program of nonmilitary service.

The report states:

> The spirit which motivates interest in national service is undeniably a part of our national experience today. Sensitive to that spirit, the Commission suggests that the research which must be accomplished proceed, together with private and public experimentation with pilot programs.

This was echoed in the message of the President, who said:

> The spirit of volunteer service in socially useful enterprises will, we hope, continue to grow until that good day when all service will be voluntary, when all young people can and will choose the kind of service best fitted to their own needs and the Nation's . . . we will hasten it as we can.

It is the traditional spirit of American voluntarism that I seek to capture in the bill I introduce today. This bill would simply authorize the kind of detailed research on national service recommended by the National Advisory Commission.

Before explaining my proposal, I should like to define the somewhat vague term, "national service." The idea of nonmilitary service to the Nation has received considerable public attention in the last few years. This attention is due in part to the success of programs like VISTA and the Peace Corps, and in part to widespread concern over the Selective Service System. All too seldom is such "national service" defined or justified in terms of national needs and the potential of relatively untrained young people to meet them.

To me, national service means this: First, the young people of this country are capable of public service in many, many more areas than just the military. They have demonstrated that they are willing to perform such service.

Second, the service of young people is desperately needed in hundreds of nonmilitary activities. President Johnson has said:

> The call for public service cannot be met by professionals alone.

Alongside today's increasing advances in technology and specialization, there runs a parallel growing need for people with relatively little training, to perform nonspecialized but vital jobs.

In a study made for OEO, a private consulting firm estimated that there are 4 million nonmilitary service opportunities of this type. The Director of the war on poverty has projected the existence of 1 million jobs in the antipoverty area alone.

The need is enormous. One day this country must have a national service program to meet this need. It must be a program that will direct the energy and good will of young people to the great opportunities in public service spheres outside the military.

I, therefore, lay before the Senate today a bill to authorize a comprehensive, detailed study of the possibility of establishing a greatly expanded volunteer national service system.

The more I see of the social and economic needs of today—in cities, in small towns, in rural communities, and in what is left of the wilderness—and the more Congress focuses its attention on these needs, the more convinced I become that modern American society could not only justify a program of voluntary national service, soon it will demand one.

Consider only one problem area: the cities. Our increasing knowledge of urban problems demonstrates that they are getting worse, not better. Slums are created faster than they are eliminated. And at the same time, the problems related to life in slums grow more difficult each day.

So far, our efforts to halt this spiral of decay have met only fragmented success. Yet we have set it as our goal to bring health and light into the cities. We have vowed to rebuild the spirit and substance of urban America. To this task we have committed enormous resources. Every available resource, both public and private, will be required to do the job.

Personally, I can think of no resource that could be applied better to the rebuilding of the American city than the energy and talent, under proper guidance, of our young people.

Indeed, in programs like VISTA, young people have already been put to work in the neighborhood centers of our cities. They have performed brilliantly, and in doing so, have won the confidence and esteem of many of us in the Senate.

But VISTA volunteers and their counterparts in other voluntary public service programs are only a few of the millions that will be required to shoulder the day-to-day work of moving America toward the ambitious goals she has set for herself.

In this context, I should like to quote briefly from a recent speech of President Johnson.

> We must move ahead—

The President said—

> toward a standard that no man has truly lived who only served himself . . . the sign of your time is need. For while America has not ceased to be a land of opportunity to succeed, it has also become the land of opportunity to serve.

When the President said this, he announced that he was asking Federal, State, and local government authorities to cooperate in studying ways of developing a manpower service program at all levels of society.

Today, I propose that Congress authorize a similar study.

To handle the job, my bill would establish a seven-member National Service Advisory Commission appointed by the President. It would be composed of men and women whose experience would enable them to represent the fields of education, business, organized labor, community service, and other areas that would be affected by a national service program.

The National Advisory Commission would be charged with three duties:

First. To make an exhaustive study of volunteer national service. This would involve defining the concept, evaluating the problems to be encountered in its application, and figuring out how to overcome them;

Second. At the end of a year, to report to the President and Congress on the findings; and

Third. To make recommendations for further legislation in the area of national service.

In other words, before doing anything else, what we need is to get a firm grip on this rather vague idea of voluntary national service, and then to give it some form. We must find out just how it can be implemented in the United States in such a way as to benefit both community and volunteer, without infringing on the liberty of the individual citizen.

At this point, it would be difficult even to engage in fruitful debate on national service on the basis of the inadequate data that has been assembled so far. We simply do not know enough to establish a position very definitely one way or the other.

Therefore, the question I lay before the Senate today is not whether we should or should not have a national service system, but merely whether we should look into the national service concept, and study it with an eye to future legislation. I contend that we should.

(At this point, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, each and every one of my colleagues in the Senate, I am sure, has many questions on the subject of national service. My bill would direct the proposed National Service Advisory Commission to consider the following 10 questions that seem to me absolutely central to this whole issue:

First. How should a national service program relate to existing Federal voluntary nonmilitary service programs like VISTA and Peace Corps, and what can the experience of these organizations contribute to the establishment of an expanded national service program with the broadest possible participation?

Second. What should be the nature and scope of a national service program?

Third. How many jobs are there that could be filled by national service volunteers, and how many additional jobs would be generated if a volunteer service program were set up on a nationwide basis? This is one area in which existing statistical data is particularly inadequate.

Fourth. What would be the relationship of such a program to the draft, considering especially that manpower needs of the Armed Forces must have clear priority over anything else?

Fifth. How can we coordinate national service with the hundreds of private, local, and State public service programs that already exist—in other words, how can national service be anchored effectively to local endeavors?

Sixth. What would be the impact of a large body of public service volunteers on the labor force and on the economy of the United States?

Seventh. How would national service affect secondary and higher education? The educational value of this kind of public service should be a prime consideration.

Eighth. What about women—should they be allowed to participate, and if so, in what ways? To help explore this question, the proposed commission would include at least one female member.

Ninth. How much will national service cost? Accurate financial projections would be a prerequisite to future congressional action.

Tenth. What would be demanded of a national service volunteer and what standards should a public service program—be it private, local, State, or Federal—be required to meet in order to qualify as a national service activity?

I do not mean to imply, nor would I ever suggest, that there can ever be a just equation between the young American killed defending his country and the one who survives, never having undertaken hazardous military duty. My own wartime experience in the Marine Corps and my continuing respect for the military prevent me from ever considering such an idea.

I do believe, however, that both the young man who shoulders a rifle in the Marine Corps and the one who wields a pickax in the Peace Corps can be recognized as performing invaluable service to their country.

One is a soldier in uniform; the other is a citizen-soldier. But both are patriotic beyond question.

If our Armed Forces are maintained approximately at the 3-million-man level between now and 1974, only 750,000 of the 1.8 million young men who turned 18 in 1966 can expect to serve in uniform.

Of the 1.8 million turning 18 last year, 500,000 will be qualified for military service but never called, and a slightly larger number, 550,000 will be eliminated as unqualified for physical or mental reasons.

Therefore, nearly 33 percent of those registering will fail to meet the existing mental, physical, or administrative standards for military service between now and 1974.

What is more, this percentage will be rising. The number of young men turning 18 in a given year has risen steadily in the past decade. There were 1.3 million in 1960, 1.7 million in 1965, 1.8 million in 1966, and in 1972, it is estimated that there will be more than 2 million. However, while the number of 18-year-old men goes up, the projected number of draftees actually decreases. In 1972, it is estimated that about 75,000 will be needed for the draft, as against 90,000 in 1960 and 102,000 in 1965.

Last June, the Department of Defense stated that 54 percent of the young men then 26 had not engaged in military service. By 1974, DOD projected, this figure will rise significantly to 58 percent.

This wealth of statistics bears testimony to a bitter paradox: The men who need the draft most are the very ones most likely to be rejected. The men for whom military training is the sole means of acquiring the tools to carve out a better position in society are the very ones denied that training.

As my distinguished colleague, the senior senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], stated before this body 10 days or so ago:

> Very often these rejectees . . . simply drop out of sight, the window of draft registration having given us only a fleeting glimpse of them. When this happens, we have missed an extraordinary opportunity. We have also witnessed a tragedy.

Draft reform is one way to dispel this tragedy; national service is another. The kind of national service I envision—that is, a program aimed at recruiting volunteers from all environments—is the most practical method proposed so far for the mass rehabilitation of what would otherwise become dropouts from society.

I note with pleasure that, in their overall hearings on the draft, the Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment, and Poverty will explore the effectiveness of the constructive work already begun in this area.

I also note with pleasure that the senior senator from Massachusetts, who will chair those hearings, has stated his intention to hear testimony on national service. I expect to present my views to the subcommittee, and I hope that the bill I introduce today will be considered along with other proposed legislation in this field.

At this point, Mr. President, I should like to cite briefly the report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. In a cost-benefit evaluation of the GI bill made last year, the Commission concluded:

> Men and women whose backgrounds precluded the possibility of higher education and advanced training were lifted (by GI bill educational benefits) into totally unexpected positions in life. And in simple monetary terms, the investment has already been returned in taxes on their higher incomes. The lesson should not be forgotten or neglected.

I submit that the same reasoning applies to a program of national service.

First, the training received in a national service program could make hundreds of otherwise unobtainable positions available to those whose opportunities were so limited that they could not even get into the Army.

Second, the investment in a national service program that achieves this manpower training goal in the long run would be returned in taxes on higher incomes.

It would be possible to address the Senate for some hours on the dividends of national service. Briefly, though, we should consider the vast number of jobs contributing to the welfare of the Nation and the individual that could, and I believe someday must, be performed by young volunteers.

We should also consider the education and training of the underprivileged and the cross-cultural experience to be gained by all who participate. These, too, increase the desirability of a voluntary national service program.

But before there can be a program, there must be a study. And this, in short, is what I propose today: that the Senate establish a commission to study national service and see what can be done with it. I sincerely believe that the concept and the promise it holds merits such an effort.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill which I introduce at this time, be printed at this point in my remarks.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** As in legislative session, the bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1213) to provide for a study with respect to establishing an expanded volunteer national service system, introduced by Mr. BREWSTER, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1213

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to determine the feasibility and desirability of establishing an expanded volunteer national service system for citizens able and willing to serve in nonmilitary activities designed to help the United States to combat disease, ignorance, and poverty at home and abroad, there is hereby established an Advisory Commission on National Service (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 2. (a) The Commission shall be composed of seven members to be appointed by the President from among persons who are specially qualified to serve on such Commission by virtue of their education, training, or experience. At least one member of the Commission shall be a woman.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members to serve as chairman and one to serve as vice chairman of the Commission.

(d) Four members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall conduct a comprehensive study and investigation of the desirability and feasibility of establishing an expanded volunteer national service system. Such study and investigation shall include, but not be limited to, consideration of:

(1) a review of existing Federal voluntary nonmilitary service programs where hardship or extraordinary service is required, such as the Peace Corps and the Volunteers in Service to America, in order to determine the feasibility of establishing an expanded national service system with the broadest possible participation;

(2) what the nature and scope of a national service program should be;

(3) the number of service opportunities which would be generated by such a program;

(4) the relationship of such a service system with the Selective Service System under the Universal Military Training and Service Act as amended (50 App. U.S.C. 451 et seq.), and the manpower requirements of volunteer national service as related thereto.

(5) the most effective means by which such a system may be coordinated with appropriate private, local, and State programs of a public service nature;

(6) the impact of such a service system upon the labor force and the economy of the United States;

(7) the effect of such a service system upon secondary education and higher education;

(8) the role of women in such a service system;

(9) the cost of establishing and operating such a service system; and

(10) the standards for participation, if any, and the duration of service, in such system.

(b) The Commission may transmit to the President and to the Congress such interim reports as it deems advisable and shall transmit its final report to the President and to the Congress not later than one year after the first meeting of the Commission. Such final report shall contain a detailed statement of the findings and conclusions of the Commission together with its recommendations, including such recommendations for additional legislation as it deems advisable.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or members thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, hold such hearings, take such testimony, and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission deems advisable. Any member authorized by the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission or any subcommittee or members thereof.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed to furnish to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman, such information as the Commission deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Act.

(c) Subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the Commission, the Chairman, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, shall have the power—

(1) to appoint and fix the compensation of such staff personnel as he deems necessary, and

(2) to procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $50 a day for individuals.

(d) The Commission is authorized to enter into contracts with Federal or State agencies, private firms, institutions, and individuals for the conduct of research or surveys, the preparation of reports, and other activities necessary to the discharge of its duties.

(e) The Chairman is authorized to accept, in the name of the Commission, and employ or dispose of in furtherance of the objectives of this Act, any money, or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible, received by gift.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

SEC. 5. Members of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of $50 per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 6. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

TERMINATION

SEC. 7. On the ninetieth day after the date of submission of its final report to the President, the Commission shall cease to exist.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 41 minutes p.m.) the Senate, in executive session, adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 8, 1967, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 7, 1967:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Genevieve Blatt, of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, new position.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 7, 1967:

FEDERAL COAL MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

Elzie H. Wooten, of Tennessee, to be a member of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review for the term expiring July 15, 1969.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

William H. Crook, of Texas, to be an assistant director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

William P. Kelly, Jr., of Virginia, to be an assistant director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE

Alfred Robert Zipf, of California, to be a member of the Board of Regents, National Library of Medicine, Public Health Service, for a term expiring August 3, 1970.

Dr. Kathryn M. Smith, of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Regents, National Library of Medicine, Public Health Service, for a term expiring August 3, 1970.

* * *

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.—Matthew 5: 8.

God of our fathers and our Father, from the busy traffic of daily living we would pause in Thy presence and wait upon Thee seeking strength for the day, wisdom to make wise decisions, courage to carry our responsibilities with honor, and love to motivate all our endeavors.

Should we fail in achieving some of our objectives, let not the spirit of defeat dampen our devotion to the highest we know; should others criticize, let not criticism get us down, but seeing the good in it may we let it lift us up; if others misunderstand, let not bitterness blight our best judgment; and if we win help us to be humble in victory.

In this moment of prayer we recharge our lives that we may face this day with high principles, real integrity, abounding good will, and with a pure heart that sees Thee. In the spirit of Christ we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 303. An act to amend the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and for other purposes;

S. 370. An act to amend the act of June 12, 1948 (62 Stat. 382), in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington, and for other purposes;

S. 605. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to determine that certain costs of operating and maintaining Banks Lake on the Columbia Basin project for recreational purposes are nonreimbursable; and

S.J. Res. 4. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim "National CARIH Asthma Week."

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 665) entitled "An act to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Russell, Mr. Stennis, Mr. Symington, Mr. Jackson, Mrs. Smith, and Mr. Thurmond to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON S. 665, TO AUTHORIZE APPROPRIATIONS DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1967 FOR PROCUREMENT OF AIRCRAFT, MISSILES, AND TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES, AND RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST, EVALUATION, AND MILITARY CONSTRUCTION FOR THE ARMED FORCES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill, S. 665, to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, insist on the House amendment and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Rivers, Philbin, Hébert, Price of Illinois, Bates, Arends, and O'Konski.

VACANCY IN THE 18TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the hasty action taken by the House of Representatives on last Wednesday, March 1, 1967, may very well result in the loss to New York City of between $90,000 and $100,000. House Resolution 278, as approved on March 1, directed the Speaker to notify the Governor of the State of New York of the existing vacancy in the 18th Congressional District in the State of New York.

By vacating the seat of Adam Clayton Powell, the House has caused a special election to be called unless the courts reverse the House's decision. The date for the special election has been set by Governor Rockefeller for April 11.

It has been estimated by Maurice J. O'Rourke, commissioner of elections of New York City, that this special election will cost the city of New York between $90,000 and $100,000. The money will be used for items such as the salaries for some 1,200 election inspectors and clerks, trucking election machines, rent for polling places, advertising the election in the newspapers as required by law, printing, and other expenses.

New York City, with all its financial difficulties, can ill afford such an expense. New York City does not have enough money to meet its own needs and should not have to bear the cost of this special election. In all fairness, the extraordinary expenses of the special election in the 18th Congressional District of New York should be borne by the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which provides for reimbursement to New York City for expenses arising out of any election to fill the vacancy in the House of Representatives caused by the adoption of House Resolution 278 of the 90th Congress.

TIME TO CONSOLIDATE

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to place in the Congressional Record a very timely editorial which appeared in the February 23, 1967, issue of the Auburndale Star, one of the outstanding weekly newspapers of our Nation.

In his editorial, "Time To Consolidate," Editor John H. Brice calls attention to the fact that we urgently need reorganization and consolidation within the Federal Government to prevent the overlapping of expenditures and the duplication of effort in the administration of existing Federal programs. He reminds us that in the 89th Congress alone we enacted 107 new programs. I hope that we of the 90th Congress can take prompt action in this field.

The editorial follows:

Time To Consolidate

The 89th Congress alone passed seventy-one new health programs, seventeen new educational programs, fifteen new economic development programs for the cities, seventeen new resources development programs, and four new manpower training programs. These new programs, added to the hundreds already on the books, help create what James Reston of The New York Times describes as an "administrative monstrosity."

What is really needed is a massive effort to control, consolidate and where appropriate, eliminate existing programs.

According to Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, "There are 170 different Federal aid programs on the books, financed by over 400 separate appropriations, and administered by 150 Washington bureaus and over 400 regional offices empowered to receive applications and disburse funds."

This untrammeled confusion in Uncle Sam's larder, not only encourages waste of the taxpayer's dollars, but the proliferation of these programs create chaos and a bureaucratic quagmire at all levels of government—federal, state and local.

While the Administration complacently talks about creating a new partnership with the states and municipalities, thoughtful legislators in both parties are showing increased concern on the overlapping of expenditures and the duplication of effort, and are seeking ways to streamline the Federal programs. Any success in this endeavor would result in substantial savings to the American people.

GUNS, THE CRIMINAL, AND THE CASEY BILLS

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, again I come before my colleagues in the House to plead the cause of millions of decent, law-abiding citizens who enjoy the peaceful use of firearms.

I have watched with growing concern the mounting tempo of the campaign being waged by the antigun lobby—not a campaign to strike at the root cause of our problem—but only to make it difficult, if not impossible, for the hunter, the sportsman, the gun collector, the legitimate dealer, the homeowner, to purchase, sell, own, or use firearms.

No one denies there is a firearms problem in our country. It is our greatest domestic problem and a national disgrace. It is a clear and present danger to the general welfare of our people. It vitally affects interstate commerce, and is a serious drain on our economy. It batters the very principle of our Constitution, as set forth in the preamble, to "establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare."

There is a most serious problem. But it is one caused by the criminal, who uses a gun to rob, rape, and murder as he preys on the innocent. It is not a problem caused by the sportsman, the gun collector, the legitimate businessman who caters to their needs in accordance with all rules and regulations.

In my judgment, this problem can be cured by swift enactment of legislation I have authored pending before two committees of the House: H.R. 360, before the Ways and Means Committee, and an identical bill, H.R. 6137, which is before the House Judiciary Committee.

My bills would set a stiff, mandatory Federal penalty for the use or possession of firearms during the commission of major crimes of violence: robbery, assault, murder, rape, burglary, kidnaping, or homicide—other than involuntary manslaughter. Penalty would be 10 years imprisonment on first offense, and 25 years on second or subsequent offenses.

Here is the heart of our national problem—the criminal use of firearms. And it is here that Congress should seek the solution.

But let me be perfectly clear that I support efforts in Congress to tighten the laws regulating sale of firearms to juveniles, narcotics addicts, and mental incompetents. And if additional legislation is needed to curb the importation and sale of bazookas, grenades, cannons, and other surplus heavy weapons—in addition to the laws already on the Statute books but practically unenforced—then I say let us pass it now.

But instead, we are being asked to pass rigid firearms legislation that ignore the criminal and, instead, make it more difficult for law-abiding citizens to buy, sell, own, use, or service firearms.

Frankly, much of this legislative request is unnecessary. Let us look at the facts:

First. We are told by the antigun lobby that our Nation has become a dumping ground for imported military surplus weapons, and this is a major national problem.

Fact: The Mutual Security Act of 1954 authorizes the President to regulate the export and import of firearms, and administration of this act has been delegated to the Department of State. Section 414, Mutual Security Act of 1954, reads:

MUNITIONS CONTROL.—(a) The President is authorized to control, in furtherance of world peace and the security and foreign policy of the United States, the export and import of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, including technical data relating thereto, other than by a United States Government agency. The President is authorized to designate those articles which shall be considered as arms, ammunition, and implements of war, including technical data relating thereto, for the purposes of this section.

(b) As prescribed in regulations issued under this section, every person who engages in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing any arms, ammunition or implements of war, including technical data relating thereto, designated by the President under subsection (a) shall register with the United States Government agency charged with the administration of this section, and, in addition, shall pay a registration fee which shall be prescribed by such regulations. Such regulations shall prohibit the return to the United States for sale in the United States (other than for the Armed Forces of the United States and its allies) of any military firearms or ammunition of United States manufacture furnished to foreign governments by the United States under this Act or any other foreign assistance program of the United States, whether or not advanced in value or improved in condition in a foreign country. This prohibition shall not extend to similar firearms that have been so substantially transformed as to become, in effect, articles of foreign manufacture.

(c) Any person who willfully violates any provision of this section or any rule or regulation issued under this section, or who willfully, in a registration or license application, makes any untrue statement of a material fact or omits to state a material fact required to be stated therein or necessary to make the statements therein not misleading, shall upon conviction be fined not more than $25,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

Mr. Speaker, why is this provision not enforced?

Would not rigid enforcement close off the flow of grenades, bazookas, 20-millimeter cannons, cheap foreign pistols and rifles—which the antigun lobby claims is causing our major problem? Certainly it would.

Second. We are told the easy accessibility and possession of firearms by the criminal is a major problem.

Fact: United States Code, title 15, chapter 18, section 902(f), states:

It shall be unlawful for any person who has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term of one year or is a fugitive from justice to receive any firearm or ammunition which has been shipped or transported in interstate or foreign commerce, and the possession of a firearm or ammunition by any such person shall be presumptive evidence that such firearm or ammunition was shipped or transported or received, as the case may be, by such person in violation of this chapter.

Punishment for violation and conviction is a fine of up to $2,000 or imprisonment for up to 5 years.

Why, Mr. Speaker, is this law not enforced?

Would not rigid enforcement of this law curb possession and growing use of firearms by the criminal, the narcotic pusher, particularly the repeat offenders, who I shall prove later are the major cause of our national problem? Surely, the answer is yes.

Third. We are told that one of the major problems law enforcement officers face is that no records are kept on gun sales, and they cannot trace purchase of guns by criminals.

Fact: Section 903(d), same citation as listed above, states:

Licensed dealers shall maintain such permanent records of importation, shipment and other disposal of firearms and ammunition as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe. Penalty for violation: fine up to $2,000 or imprisonment up to five years.

Why, Mr. Speaker, is not this enforced?

Would not rigid regulations by the Secretary, and stiff enforcement, close out the fly-by-night seller of cheap pistols and rifles to those who prey on the innocent?

Surely, there can be no doubt that the answer is "Yes."

Fourth. We are told that here, in the crime-ridden District of Columbia where decent citizens cannot walk unmolested at night, and businessmen are preyed on constantly by armed robbers, there is need for legislation setting stiffer penalties for those who use firearms in commission of crimes.

Fact: Section 22-3202, District of Columbia Code, states:

COMMITTING CRIME WHEN ARMED—ADDED PUNISHMENT.—If any person shall commit a crime of violence in the District of Columbia when armed with or having readily available any pistol or other firearm, he may, in addition to the punishment provided for the crime, be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years; upon a second conviction for a crime of violence so committed he may, in addition to the punishment provided for the crime, be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than ten years; upon a third conviction for a crime of violence so committed he may, in addition to the punishment provided for the crime, be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than fifteen years; upon a fourth or subsequent conviction for a crime of violence so committed he may, in addition to the punishment provided for the crime, be punished for an additional period of not more than thirty years.

I know why this law is not enforced, Mr. Speaker. Congress made this provision permissive, not mandatory, and left it to the discretion of the judges of the courts to invoke it, if they see fit. And I can assure you that few have seen fit to do so.

I say to these concerned businessmen within the District, who daily stand in fear of losing life and property at the end of a gun illegally used, your recent open letter to the President and Congress carried in the daily papers was misdirected.

Direct your next one to the prosecutor and the judges—and you might recall in it a statement made by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who quoted a comment made in 1924 by New York City Judge Alfred J. Talley:

The demand of the hour in America is for jurors with conscience, judges with courage, and prisons which are neither country clubs nor health resorts. It is not the criminals, actual or potential, that need a neuropathic hospital. It is the people who slobber over them in an effort to find excuses for their crime.

Said Mr. Hoover:

The rights of law-abiding citizens deserve as much consideration as the rights of convicted criminals, and when it becomes a question of deciding between lenient treatment of repeating offenders and the safety of the public, fair play alone demands protection of the public.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues in this House, and particularly those who are opening a great new career in this 90th Congress, look closely at the demand for this legislation. Inform yourselves of the issues involved, dig behind the statistics cited by would-be experts in advocating strong laws that do little but harass your law-abiding constituents without striking at the criminal. Ask those agencies with the authority to do so why existing law is not enforced to curb our national problem—before coming to Congress to lay the most controversial issue in decades in our lap.

I shall do all in my power to inform the American people on all facets of this problem, and in the coming days, shall discuss such issues as crime statistics and gun legislation, crime rates, and mandatory penalties, the impact of armed robbery on interstate commerce and the economy, and other facts showing the need for Congress to act swiftly to protect the general welfare and interstate commerce by making criminal use of firearms punishable by a stiff, mandatory sentence.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY. I am delighted to yield to my colleague from Texas.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CASEY]. I wish to state that I support the gentleman's legislation, and I appreciate very much the fact that he has introduced this legislation and, as I said, I support it 100 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me so that I might have the privilege of associating myself with the gentleman's legislation.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman, and I certainly welcome the gentleman's support, and anyone else's support in connection with this real need in the legislation of firearms.

AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT TO PROCLAIM "NATIONAL CARIH ASTHMA WEEK"

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk Senate Joint Resolution 4, authorizing the President to proclaim the week beginning May 1, 1967, as "National CARIH Asthma Week," and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the Senate joint resolution, as follows:

S.J. RES. 4

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to issue a proclamation (1) designating the week beginning May 1, 1967, as "National CARIH Asthma Week", (2) inviting the Governors of the States and territories of the United States to issue proclamations for like purposes, and (3) recognizing the outstanding contributions being made in asthma treatment, care, and research by the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital (CARIH), the national facility at Denver.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read a third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REDEFINING "SKILLED WORKERS" UNDER IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend section 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, in order that the former labor provisions of the immigration laws prior to 1965 be restored. My colleagues, the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER, and the gentleman from Illinois, FRANK ANNUNZIO, have sponsored similar bills and, while I agree with their reasons for introducing them, I have introduced this bill for an additional reason.

My bill, H.R. 6677, would restore more flexibility to the existing law's definition of "skilled workers." Under the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, all intending immigrants without preference must first secure approval, or labor certification, from the Secretary of Labor, stating that their admission will not adversely affect U.S. citizens similarly employed, before their applications for immigration will receive even initial consideration. This harassing requirement not only causes additional paperwork and administration of the alien employment certification program, but it has also been admitted that immigrants add but a tiny fraction to our labor force. There are some occupations which can never reach the list for automatic certification by the Department of Labor, such as the agricultural worker—the farmer—who is in this category.

The country and the people most affected by the existing law is Ireland. As we all know, the Irish have long been our traditional immigrants, but now they are restricted because the majority of those wishing to come to the United States must apply for this certification to gain entry. I have introduced this bill to insure that those in this category—the Irish as well as other nationalities—can have a fairer chance of admission to the United States under a flexible standard of skills.

Why should the Irish be discriminated against when they have in the past come here, worked long and hard hours to better themselves, as all of our ancestors—regardless of their national origin—have done before us? Because certain conditions exist in Ireland for the person of average means, the Irish for years have immigrated to this country in quest of furthering themselves as individuals and have in turn given much to their adopted country. We must always remember that the greatness of our country has been based on the fact that we are a nation of immigrants.

The effect of my bill, H.R. 6677, would be to put the law back to where it was prior to December 1, 1965. Up to that time, it was up to the Government to prove that an alien would take work away from available American laborers; since the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, the burden of proof is on the alien. The Department of Labor has agreed to rewrite the regulations to redefine skills, but it is unlikely that farmers will ever benefit unless my bill, H.R. 6677, is passed.

At this point, I include the text of my bill in the RECORD:

H.R. 6677

A bill to amend section 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 182, as amended; 8 U.S.C. 1182) is amended to read as follows:

"(14) Aliens seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor, if the Secretary of Labor has determined and certified to the Secretary of State and to the Attorney General that (A) there are available in the United States at the alien's proposed destination sufficient workers able, willing, and qualified at the time of application for a visa and for admission to the United States, to perform such skilled or unskilled labor, or (B) the employment of such aliens will adversely affect the wages and working conditions of workers in the United States similarly employed. The exclusion of aliens under this paragraph shall apply to special immigrants defined in section 101(a)(27)(A) other than parents, spouses, or children of United States citizens or aliens lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence, and to nonpreference immigrant aliens described in section 203(a)(8)."

SEC. 2. Section 101(a)(27)(A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 166, as amended; 8 U.S.C. 1101) is amended to delete the proviso and the colon preceding the proviso is hereby changed to a semicolon.

SEC. 3. The last sentence of section 203(a)(8) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 175, as amended; 8 U.S.C. 1153) is hereby repealed.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME BILL

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to speak for a moment on the proposed crime bill for the District.

Crime in the District of Columbia is of vital interest to every resident in Washington. In addition, there are great numbers of our citizens who come into the District to work, play, sightsee, and transact business at the seat of our Government. Representatives of foreign countries continually stream into the Capital to confer with members of our Government and heads of industry, and to visit the site of much of our national heritage.

We cannot and we must not allow the criminal minority in our society to spread their evil dominion over the center of our Government. I wholeheartedly endorse and applaud the proposals to eliminate crime in the District of Columbia and to aid the legitimate efforts of our law enforcement officials to apprehend criminals. Every Member of Congress should support this legislation and recognize that our Capital should be a model area where every citizen in this great country can visit or come to live without fear of being a victim of criminal behavior.

The administration, aware of the need of this community and responsive to the desires of its citizens, has wisely proposed a comprehensive program to counteract the crime problem in the District of Columbia. Congress should immediately come forward to support these proposals.

ESTHER PETERSON—A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, if a "friend in need is a friend indeed" then 200 million American consumers will miss the friendship, counsel, and courage of Esther Peterson—until recently Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

When President Johnson appointed Mrs. Peterson as Chairman of the Committee on Consumer Interests, he stated that the action he was taking would "assure that the voice of the consumer will be loud, clear, uncompromising, and effective in the highest councils of the Federal Government." The President also predicted that:

> My special assistant will lead the campaign of America's homemakers against sharp practices and unwarranted price increases.

Rarely has a President's prediction of future events been so accurate; or a Government official's interpretation of her responsibilities been so literal—much to the delight of those of us in and out of Congress—who felt a special responsibility for the plight and problems of consumers.

Esther Peterson's greatest virtue was not her efficiency—though efficient she was; and it was not her dedication—though dedicated she was. In my view, what endeared Mrs. Peterson to all who knew her, knew of her, or worked with her, and what made her one of the most effective public servants in Washington, was her emotional commitment to the problems of consumers and her ability to empathize with them.

Unlike the ordinary Washington official whose functions are performed behind closed doors, Mrs. Peterson's responsibilities brought her into direct and almost daily contact with the people of our Nation—rich and poor, educated and uneducated alike. It is difficult to determine whether she inspired them or they inspired her. But it is a fact that she was more in demand as a public speaker than any other official of Government. She succeeded in winning the hearts and confidence of the American people and their representatives in Congress. But her greatest contribution and tribute was that she helped to win for the consumer what I hope will be a permanent voice in the highest councils of this Government.

ECONOMIC BASIS IN EVENTUAL UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the statement by the AFL–CIO executive council that calls for the implementation of President Johnson's economic proposals to include a Marshall plan for Africa, looking toward an eventual United States of Africa. The statement follows:

Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on Africa and Independence

One year ago the Ghanaian people overthrew a dictatorial regime which had brought the Ghana nation to the brink of ruin and destruction. What occurred in Ghana on February 24, 1966, has had and will have, enormous repercussions throughout the African continent. This defeat of totalitarianism—both domestic and foreign—must now be followed by an enormous effort to rebuild the economy and achieve economic independence as well as restoration of the rule of law within a free and democratic state.

All of Africa is now engaged in this life and death struggle to create and build independent economies. The 37 independent states of Africa, and their trade union movements, are faced with the vital necessity of economic development. This is proceeding at too slow a pace, in spite of the efforts of the Africans themselves and the oft proclaimed Development Decade program of the United Nations. The need for domestic and foreign capital investment, both public and private, is most urgent.

The industrially developed nations must respond much more decisively than has been heretofore the case. In this respect, the proposals of President Johnson last May, 1966 to the African Ambassadors in the United States to repeat for Africa what the United States did in the Marshall Plan for Europe, is a step in the right direction. The acceptance of regional, continental planning and integration would open up new vistas for a continent rich in potential but still wanting in terms of practical results.

While this emphasis on economic development is primary, we cannot ignore the Soviet military threats to the peace and welfare of the African peoples. The Soviet attempt to counter their political setback in Africa by a proliferation of military arms to African governments, as in Algeria and Somalia, constitutes a growing menace not only to the peace of Africa but to the world.

On the political side, the persistence of colonialism, dictatorship, and racial discrimination threatens the stability, as well as the peace, of Africa and the world. We must continue our support to the nationalist movements as well as to the United Nations in the continuing efforts to achieve real freedom and independence in all of Africa. Our government should not yield to colonialist pressure and should instead expand the support needed to free the peoples of Southern Africa, Mozambique, Angola, and all territories still under Portuguese and Spanish control and domination.

In the light of the above, we recommend to our government:

(1) The implementation of President Johnson's economic proposals by translating them into an economic development program embodying the principles of the Marshall Plan for Africa, which can lay the solid economic basis for an eventual United States of Africa.

(2) To request the United Nations to investigate the growing Soviet proliferation of arms and military assistance in Africa in order to recommend ways and means of avoiding an all-out arms race in the developing nations of Africa.

(3) Support of the democratic nationalist movements which are democratic in character through the U.N.

(4) Eliminate all assistance to Spain and Portugal which are using arms to suppress the efforts of the African people seeking to complete the end of colonial tyranny in Africa.

NEED FOR MORE COORDINATED AND CONCERTED U.S. PROGRAM IN OCEANOGRAPHY

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, an additional warning was sounded today about the need for a more coordinated and concerted U.S. program in oceanography—this time by the National Academy of Sciences.

In a report on three areas of oceanographic activity the Academy calls for a new "rationale of budgetmaking" to provide a balance between basic and applied research.

Taking special note of the new Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources and the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development headed by the Vice President, the Academy says it feels there is now an organizational basis for carrying out a comprehensive national ocean policy and a revision of existing management for the national oceanographic program, within the Federal Government.

This new report, drafted by such noted oceanographic excerpts as Dr. Milner Schaefer, of the Scripps Institution, Paul Fye, of Woods Hole Institution, Dr. Athelstan Spilhause, of the University of Minnesota, and others, once again puts the Government, industry, and the scientific community on notice of the need for a major new effort in oceanography in the United States, and points out that new priorities and approaches will be needed for this effort to be successful.

The complete report is available from the National Academy of Sciences, and is cataloged as publication No. 1492.

I include the Academy announcement and summary regarding this important report at this point in the RECORD.

Announcement by National Academy of Sciences

WASHINGTON.—A new "rational of budget making" to provide a proper balance between basic and applied research and to maintain continuity in the national oceanographic program is offered in a report issued today by the National Academy of Sciences. The report, *Oceanography 1966—Achieve-*

ments and Opportunities, was prepared by the Committee on Oceanography, organized in 1957 by the NAS within the Earth Sciences Division of the National Research Council.

The report identifies three important areas of oceanographic activity as a framework for determining flexible levels of support within the national ocean program: (1) studies of fundamental oceanic phenomena for the sake of advancing ocean science as a field of knowledge; (2) basic research with the expectation of long-term payoffs carried out by such mission-oriented agencies as the Navy, the Environmental Science Services Administration, and the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries; and (3) short-term research related to the immediate practical goals of these agencies.

In addition to adoption of its budgeting concepts, the report recommends that:

the United States adopt (a) a comprehensive national ocean policy calling for increasing our understanding and use of the ocean at as rapid a rate as is consistent with other national goals, (b) a national ocean program for the implementation of that policy, and (c) a national ocean budget adequate to fund the program;

The existing management structure for the national oceanographic program be revised and strengthened for the purpose of providing improved planning, coordinating, and budgeting functions.

The report notes that the recent establishment of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources and the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development now provides an organizational basis for carrying out these two major recommendations within the Federal Government.

The report also takes stock of the present status of oceanography and re-examines, in the light of recent advances in the field, the recommendations of an earlier committee report.* Dr. Milner B. Schaefer, Director of the Institute of Marine Resources, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, is chairman of the Committee on Oceanography which receives its support from the Office of Naval Research, the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, the National Science Foundation, the Environmental Science Services Administration, and the Atomic Energy Commission.

MAINTAINING A REASONABLE BALANCE

In a discussion of funding for the three areas of oceanographic activity, the committee urges that support for the fundamental studies of the first category be provided primarily by the National Science Foundation as the best way to maintain balance in the basic scientific disciplines involved in oceanography and a continuing ability to exploit new opportunities in the field. Such studies should be evaluated in terms of the largely internal criteria of scientific merit and opportunity, the report states.

Conversely, the committee recommends evaluating the mission-oriented studies in the latter two categories in terms of external criteria. Thus, funds for the short-term studies of the third category—for example, a study of the migration of tuna with a view to predicting their seasonal occurrence—might reasonably be evaluated and funds assigned on a cost-benefit basis, the report asserts.

However, it warns, limiting expenditures by mission-oriented agencies to just those problems that lend themselves to cost-benefit evaluation would debilitate the field by failing to provide an adequate state of readiness to solve the next generation of practical problems.

The committee proposes, therefore, that discretionary funds be provided each agency to carry out fundamental studies that the agencies judge to be mission-relevant. This would be a negotiated overhead fraction of the problem-oriented component of their programs, averaged over a sufficient time period to smooth out annual budgetary fluctuations.

The practical merit of this approach, the committee believes, is that "it recognizes the need for hard and detailed justification to budget reviewers where such justification is both appropriate and feasible . . . and relaxes the requirement when detailed justification is inappropriate . . ."

Serving with Dr. Schaefer on the Committee on Oceanography were: Karl Banse, Professor, Department of Oceanography, University of Washington; Wayne Burt, Chairman, Department of Oceanography, Oregon State University; Paul Fye, Director, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution; John Knauss, Dean, Graduate School of Oceanography, University of Rhode Island; Sumner Pike, Lubec, Maine, formerly U.S. Atomic Energy Commissioner; Donald Pritchard, Director, Chesapeake Bay Institute, The Johns Hopkins University; Roger Revelle, Director, Center for Population Studies, Harvard University School of Public Health; Athelstan Spilhaus, Dean of the Institute of Technology, University of Minnesota; Henry Stommel, Professor, Department of Meteorology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and George Woollard, Director, Hawaii Institute of Geophysics, University of Hawaii.

EXCERPTS FROM OCEANOGRAPHY 1966—ACHIEVEMENTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

THE FOOD CHAIN

The greatest process (in understanding food-chain dynamics) has been made at the initial end of the food chain, at the level of phytoplankton and, to a lesser extent, of the zooplankton that graze upon it. Means have been developed for measuring quantitatively the standing crop and production of phytoplankton in the sea and for inferring grazing rates. It has also been possible to culture phytoplankton in the laboratory for studies of their population dynamics, and a fair beginning has been made on the culturing of zooplankton for this purpose.

Considerable progress has also been made in understanding the dynamics of the populations of fishes, invertebrates, and marine mammals that are subject to widespread commercial harvesting. Some fish species have been held successfully in the laboratory for the measurement of metabolic rates and other parameters. Much less is known about the intermediate members of the food chain, and the development of methodology for studying them is of prime importance.

LONG-RANGE WEATHER FORECASTING

One of the most striking recent developments (in oceanography) is the change in our thinking about the relationships between the upper ocean and the lower atmosphere. It is now clear that these two fluids interact so intimately that they form one great heat engine and that most of the energy driving the winds comes into the atmosphere indirectly from the great energy reservoir of the ocean rather than directly from the sun. Yet most meteorological stations are on the land and most of the weather ships, of which there are few, are in the northern oceans. Many meteorologists now agree that a prerequisite for improved long-range weather forecasting is the establishment of a large network of ocean-observation stations (probably automatic telemetering buoys) at which pertinent parameters would be measured in both the lower atmosphere and the upper layers of the ocean. This increased interest in the interplay of the ocean and atmosphere had had a significant influence on the planning and activity of the World Meteorological Organization.

COMMERCIAL FISHERIES AND THE MERCHANT MARINE

Although the United States has maintained a leading role in a number of ocean uses, it is not doing as well in what were once our two major marine industries: fisheries and the merchant marine. Although the world harvest of marine fish increased from 18 million tons in 1938 to 45 million tons in 1964, the catch of the U.S. domestic fishery during this same period remained at about 3 million tons a year. In terms of total catch, the United States has dropped from third to fifth place since 1958.

In the past 15 years, the tonnage of the merchant marines of the world has doubled while the U.S. merchant fleet has decreased. Yet marine transport possesses great potential capability of alleviating need in a broad range of human wants.

COMPUTERS AND OCEAN SCIENCE

A great deal of the progress in oceanography would have been impossible without the development of new methods of data handling and computing. These new methods have enabled ocean scientists to seek solutions to problems that were formerly unsolvable because of the excessive computational time required . . . An important development has been the rapid portrayal of large quantities of observational data on sequential synoptic maps that can be used for planning work even while some of the data are still being collected.

MULTIPLE USES OF NEAR-SHORE AREAS

Man's most intensive use of the sea is along its land margin. It is in this area that the transfer of people and materials . . . presents great problems. It is also in this area that we erect structures strongly influenced by oceanic processes and where our structures (such as breakwaters) often influence oceanic processes and change environmental conditions. The land margin is a very convenient and important place in which to dispose of our domestic and industrial wastes. The use of the seashore by many people for a variety of recreational pursuits becomes increasingly important as the human population increases, becomes more urbanized, and has more leisure time. This zone is also the site of important commercial fisheries and of aquaculture, the farming of the sea.

With the increasing use of the nearshore zone for a multiplicity of purposes, many conflicts inevitably arise among different users. If we know enough about the properties and processes of the ocean, many of these conflicts can be resolved by making different uses compatible.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

In addition to its three major recommendations, the report outlines more than 70 specific recommendations. A few are summarized below:

Four new laboratories should be provided over the next decade for the study of survival requirements of young fish and shellfish.

About 60 new ships are needed during the next decade to replace conversions and overaged ships and to enlarge the total fleet necessary to meet national goals.

An estimated $36 million should be spent over the next five years for additional new shore facilities to accommodate the increased research program and the additional scientific manpower now coming into the marine sciences.

A program of deliberate and planned surveys (SEAMAP) of the open ocean should be carried out, using systematic and standardized methods and leading to the production of charts and atlases encompassing all the oceans.

To achieve the objectives of long-range weather forecasting, a global observation system should be established, further work should be done on numerical prediction models, extensive investigations should be carried out on basic problems of turbulent boundary-layer transport and small-scale interactions with large-scale motions, and special studies should be made of the couplings between circulations in all tropics and higher latitudes.

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* *Oceanography 1960 to 1970*, NAS–NRC, Washington, D.C., 1959 (out of print).

Research and development studies should be undertaken to make possible the multiple use of the nearshore zone for purposes that now often conflict.

Work should be continued on identifying and correcting the causes of long-term failures of deep-water buoys to extend their survival time to a year or more.

The United States should participate actively in the implementation of the resolutions on the development of national oceanographic programs adopted by the Third and Fourth Sessions of the International Oceanographic Congress using them as a framework for U.S. assistance in developing national oceanographic programs in other countries.

REDEFINING HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD UNDER INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

Mrs. **KELLY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mrs. **KELLY**. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to any individual who may not make a joint return but maintains his own household as his home. Single individuals who live alone have expenses in maintaining their households, which are not much less than for married couples occupying the same type of accommodations. I feel that all persons regardless of their marital status should be taxed by the Federal Government on a similar basis.

On February 2, 1967, I introduced H.R. 4757, which would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to unremarried widows and widowers, and individuals who have attained age 35 and who have never been married or who have been separated or divorced for 3 years or more, who maintain their own households. I am still going to press for early enactment of this legislation as a start toward making the basis of our tax system more equitable. However, the bill which I introduced today would go even further than H.R. 4757 and I urge the Congress and especially the Committee on Ways and Means to hold hearings on this bill in hopes that it will be enacted in the 90th Congress.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I respectfully include the text of my bill H.R. 6676 in the RECORD:

H.R. 6676

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to any individual who may not make a joint return but maintains his own household as his home

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) paragraph (2) of section 1(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to definition of head of household) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) DEFINITION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD.—For purposes of this subtitle, an individual shall be considered a head of a household if, and only if, such individual—

"(A) is not married at the close of his taxable year,

"(B) is not a surviving spouse (as defined in section 2(b)), and

"*(C) maintain his own household as his* home.

For purposes of this paragraph and of section 2(b)(1)(B), an individual shall be considered as maintaining a household only if over half of the cost of maintaining the household during the taxable year is furnished by such individual."

(b) Paragraph (3) of such section is amended by striking out subparagraph (A) thereof.

(c) Paragraph (4) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(4) LIMITATIONS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), for purposes of this subtitle a taxpayer shall not be considered to be a head of a household if at any time during the taxable year he is a nonresident alien."

(d) The amendments made by subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1966.

GEORGE WALLACE OF ALABAMA

Mr. **ANDREWS** of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. **ANDREWS** of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, several days ago the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] made a speech on the floor of the House in which he asked the question, "What kind of an American is Gov. George Wallace, of Alabama?"

I regret that I was in committee at the time, because I would have told the gentleman that Gov. George Wallace is one of the great Americans of this era. I have known him all his life. He was a leader in high school and college. He volunteered for service in World War II and served under very hazardous combat conditions. He was a gunner on a B-29 bomber. He is the type American who loves his country. While Governor of the State of Alabama he repeatedly warned that he would not tolerate draft card burners nor demonstrations against our foreign policy with reference to the war in South Vietnam. No such un-American activities occurred in our State while he was Governor.

He is the type of American who believes in the Constitution of the United States. He believes that the Supreme Court of the United States should interpret and not make the laws of this land. He believes that little children should be able to pray in our schools. He believes that the Federal Government should not crush the rights of the sovereign States.

All in all, Mr. Speaker, I think, and can assure the gentleman from Ohio that Gov. George Wallace is a great American. If the gentleman from Ohio would like to have a confrontation with Governor Wallace I believe that I can arrange a debate with the Governor, and I am sure the Governor would like to debate the gentleman in his Ohio district.

I would caution the gentleman from Ohio that if he does engage Governor Wallace in debate that he really do his homework before doing so.

RECORD OF PATRIOTISM AND SERVICE OF GOV. GEORGE WALLACE NEEDS NO DEFENSE

Mr. **SELDEN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. **SELDEN**. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues from Alabama have pointed out, a Member of this House entered into the RECORD on Thursday, March 2, 1967, what we believe to be an unjustifiable attack upon a former Governor of Alabama and upon the institutions and traditions of our native State.

I will not here repeat allegations made by the Member at that time, since they do not deserve repetition even in refutation. I will say that I was extremely concerned when I read an attack by a Member of this body upon one whom the people of another sovereign State have bestowed their highest honor. Perhaps, however, those of us from Alabama who espouse the causes of State sovereignty, and the rights of the States to be protected from outside interference or attack, take the matter more seriously than do some purported advocates of the same cause from other parts of the country.

Mr. Speaker, former Governor Wallace's challenging record of patriotism and service to his country and State, both in time of war and as a public servant, needs no defense by me—nor do the institutions and traditions of my native State.

In fact, experience would indicate that former Governor Wallace is extremely capable of speaking for and defending himself as well as the institutions and traditions which both Alabamians and Americans hold dear.

THE FLAG OVER ALABAMA

Mr. **NICHOLS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. **NICHOLS**. Mr. Speaker, in his remarks on the floor of this House last Thursday, the distinguished Congressman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] intimated that, because the U.S. flag is not flown on the dome of the Alabama State Capitol, Alabamians are not patriotic. I would like to point out that Alabama has not had one draft card burned, not one flag-burning demonstration, nor a single blood drive for the Vietcong. Our sons are dying in Vietnam alongside those from New York, California, and

Ohio. The National Park Service has designated the Alabama State Capitol as a national historical landmark because this great building was the first Capitol of the Confederacy. Why should it not be appropriate for the Confederate flag to fly above it? At Williamsburg, Va., just a few miles from here, the British flag flies over the reconstructed Colonial *Capitol of that State. Does this reflect* on the patriotism of the people of Virginia, even though the British today trade with our enemies?

And finally, Mr. Speaker, this point about the flagstaff on the Alabama State Capitol lawn where the U.S. flag flies very proudly and conspicuously. This flagpole was erected, the flag raised and dedicated by the troops at Camp Sheridan during World War I. I am proud to report to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK], who has so bitterly attacked my State and my former Governor, that this pole was erected voluntarily by the men of the 112th Supply Train of the 37th Division. And if the Congressman knows his history, he knows that the men of the 37th were from the Ohio National Guard.

THE AMERICAN FLAG

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues from Alabama in their remarks relating to the statement by the gentleman from Ohio who attacked the State of Alabama in a speech on the floor of this House on March 2, 1967. The gentleman from Ohio introduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from one of his constituents who visited the State capitol in Alabama and quoted the Alabama hostess as saying, in substance, that we were frequently criticized for not flying the U.S. flag on the dome. I suggest that the gentleman from Ohio write his constituent and inform her that there is no American flag flying from the dome of the U.S. Capitol—that the American flag flies on top of the U.S. Capitol.

I would also like to call to the attention of the gentleman from Ohio that the American flag has been flying daily at the State capitol since the year 1918 at the south entrance of the capitol.

I quote the gentleman from Ohio, who stated:

> There is a group of flag burners and desecraters in the country today. There is a group which finds Old Glory an abomination.

This, in my opinion, is a very irresponsible statement in that, to my knowledge, there has never been a flag burner in Alabama. Also, it has been pointed out on many occasions that the State of Alabama has never had a draft card burner, an act which is often reported in the papers as being perpetrated by people in some of our States.

I suggest that if the gentleman from Ohio had wanted to be accurate, it would seem that he could have obtained the true facts before making such a statement and such insinuations.

Several members of the Alabama delegation have served in the Alabama State Legislature, including myself—who served there for 8 years, and the first thing I saw each morning in arriving at the Capitol was our U.S. flag flying *at the south entrance of the capitol* where, in my opinion, 90 percent of the people always enter the capitol. I can assure the gentleman from Ohio and his constituents that the people of Alabama will always have the American flag flying at its State capitol and that Alabama will continue supporting the American soldiers in Vietnam just as it has supported them in Korea, Europe, the Pacific, and all other areas of the world.

FLYING THE FLAG IN ALABAMA

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the recent attack by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] on the former Governor of the great State of Alabama, George Wallace, was, unfortunately, an attack on the good people of Alabama. I think it is entirely proper to look at this matter from a nonpartisan view, and it is in this way that I approach this subject.

Whatever else may be said about George Wallace, he cannot properly be accused of being unpatriotic.

The American flag has flown in the yard of the Alabama capitol for many years—long before George Wallace became Governor. It is in a place of honor and is so respected by our people. Surely, there are those who think that it would be more appropriate to fly the flag on the dome of the capitol. But Mr. Speaker, that does not make it wrong to fly it in the yard of the capitol among the beautiful trees and flowers.

Mr. Speaker, there are no flag burners in Alabama. Rather, the people of our State love and respect the flag of this Nation. They realize that the flag is the symbol of all that we hold dear and I pray this love and devotion will always be present in great abundance, not only in our State of Alabama, but throughout this Nation that we love so much.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to announce that on rollcall No. 17 and rollcall No. 18, had I been present, I would have voted "nay."

LETTERS TO CONGRESSMEN ON THIRD-CLASS POSTAL RATES

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the House is entitled to know exactly how 1 million pressure letters are being sent to Members of Congress purporting to represent overwhelming public opinion. I have in my hand three documents which give specific instructions as to how to send letters to Members of Congress to protest against the bill I have introduced to raise postage rates on third-class mail, including sample letters. One stipulation reads as *follows:*

> Please send copies of congressional letters your company creates to: Harry Maginnis, president, Associated Third-Class Mail Users. Harry will be glad to send you additional information on the postal battle.

These letters incorrectly charge that it is my desire to "abolish third-class mail along with million of jobs." All my bill does is to raise third-class rates so that this class of mail will not be subsidized. Every previous time rates were raised, the third-class mailers screamed they were being driven out of business, but both their profits and volume speedily increased.

I should like to say, Mr. Speaker, that when the Post Office Department takes in $700 million of revenue for third-class mail which costs $1.1 billion to deliver, that means a loss of $400 million, and I do not believe the American taxpayers should be expected to subsidize this deficit for third-class mail. The Post Office Department is not a welfare agency to create jobs for third-class mail users, nor is it an agency to participate in subsidizing these third-class mail companies.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that when Members receive these 1 million letters they consider that there are 100 million consumers, housewives, businessmen, and other individual all over this Nation who not only resent receiving so much junk mail but resent even more having to pay for it with their own taxes.

What is the definition of junk mail? It is that portion of third-class mail which is unwanted, unread, and unpaid for.

Under unanimous consent, I include the following documents which unmask this vast pressure campaign, so Members can see how phony these letters really are:

> CIRCULATION ASSOCIATES INC.,
> *New York, N.Y.*
>
> Your business and ours are in serious trouble with renewed threats of exorbitant postage rate increases. As you may know, there is extreme pressure in Congress to hike Third Class rates more than 50%.
>
> One bill now before Congress calls for a boost of minimum piece rates to 4½¢ and 2¼¢ (non-profit). And a second bill now in the hopper calls for similar abusive increases. Introducing these bills in the House of Representatives, two Congressmen degraded direct mail advertising with that four letter word we're all sick of seeing in the newspaper and hearing from supposedly intelligent opinion leaders.
>
> In the halls of Congress as well as public opinion, your business and ours are in serious legislative trouble again. Every mailer, service organization and supplier in direct mail should do something about it—now.

Circulation Associates is cooperating with Associated Third Class Mail Users (our industry's leading spokesman in Washington) in an industrywide employee campaign to generate 1,000,000 letters to Congressmen in protest of postage rate increases and insulting remarks being made against our medium.

The two enclosures distributed to all C.A. employees are self explanatory. If you wish to join this campaign, please feel free to adapt this material to your own company's use.

Let's all unite to help prevent new exorbitant postage rate increases that can mean only serious trouble for your business and ours.

Cordially,

EDWARD LUSTIG,
President.

P.S. Please send copies of Congressional letters your company creates to: Harry Maginnis, President, Associated Third Class Mail Users, 100 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (Harry will be glad to send you additional information on the postal battle.)

To: All C.A. Employees.
From: Ed Lustig, President.
Subject: Proposed Postage Rate Increases That Threaten Your Job.

Once again, our industry is in serious trouble with threats of abusive postage rate increases that can cripple our best customers . . . and in turn, endanger all our jobs. Congressman Ken Hechler of West Virginia is pushing hard for his bill (H.R. 99) to hike minimum piece rates to 4½¢ and 2¼¢ (non profit). Another Congressman, Lester Wolff of New York, has introduced a similar bill.

Even worse, both of these Congressmen have used degrading terms in describing direct mail—your livelihood and mine. Both of these legislators are waging a strong battle to eliminate Third Class mail users . . . putting many of our best customers, and ourselves, out of business.

All of us can make sure this does not happen. We can fight back by expressing a strong protest to our own Congressmen who represent us in the districts where we live. The attached letter over your personal signature can let your Congressman know that his vote for higher postage rates would be a vote that threatens your job. So please join your fellow C.A. employees in this vital company-wide letter campaign by doing the following:

1. Sign your name and address in ink under "Sincerely" on the attached letter.
2. Fill in the form below as completely as you can.
3. Return both the signed letter and form to your supervisor.

After you have signed and returned the letter, we will fill it in and mail it to your Congressman from the information you provide on the form.

Circulation Associates and other direct mail firms are cooperating in this letter campaign with Associated Third Class Mail Users, our industry's leading association spokesman in Washington. And as ATCMU president Harry Maginnis reminds us:

"Anyone inclined to pooh-pooh the form letter idea need only study the success of the Railway Express Agency and the National Association of Letter Carriers have had by getting hundreds of thousands of such letters into the hands of Members of Congress."

Let's all show ours in defense of our livelihoods. Cooperate in this important letter campaign by signing the attached letter and filling in the form below.

ED LUSTIG.

Name ______________________________
Department__________________________
Home address________________________
My home congressional district number is
____
My Congressman's name is______________

SAMPLE LETTER

As a constituent in your district, I would like to register my strong protest of recent proposals by Congressmen Ken Hechler of West Virginia and Lester Wolff of New York to price Third Class mail out of the postal service.

In calling for exhorbitant postage increases, the degrading terminology of Third Class mail used by these legislators is an insult to 4,000,000 Americans like myself who make our livelihood through direct mail sales. And their remarks in the February 2nd and 7th issues of the *Congressional Record* are an affront to all 275,000 Third Class permit holders throughout the nation.

Not only have these 275,000 mailers absorbed postage increases to 188% in recent years, but they have also spent several hundred million dollars in preparation for the Post Office Department's mandatory Zip Code sorting that went into effect just this year. Further rate increases at this time will surely make it impossible for many Third Class mailers to stay in business.

Representatives Hechler and Wolff seem destined to abolish Third Class mail along with millions of jobs like mine. Please don't let them do it.

I urge you to oppose Mr. Hechler's bill, H.R. 99, in the interest of the nation's economy in general and in continued employment in particular.

Sincerely,

RURAL COMMUNITIES PROGRAM DEVELOPS CENTRAL WATER SYSTEM IN ILLINOIS' 23D CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, most of the fine people in my district live and work in the city and are city oriented in their thinking. Consequently, my concern is principally with those actions and programs which affect the problems and progress of the city. Some of those programs are focused directly at rural areas. And that is what I would like to make a few brief comments about today.

During my 23 years in the Congress, I have had ample opportunity to recognize the interdependence of city and rural living. And when things go wrong in the country they affect how things go in the city and when conditions are unfavorable in the city, repercussions are felt in rural areas.

Therefore, I have followed with particular interest, programs which my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois, the Honorable GEORGE SHIPLEY, and our other colleagues with rural constituencies have initiated, sponsored, or otherwise vigorously supported to strengthen family farms and rural communities.

One of the programs which has especially captured my interest is a service provided through the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Farmers Home Administration to finance rural community facilities. This program was passed by the Congress in the fall of 1965 and has been available for some 14 months.

Through this service, thousands upon thousands of rural Americans are gaining access for the first time to adequate and sanitary water supplies and the convenience and use of community waste disposal systems. These facilities mean a new and better way of life for rural residents but are services which our people in the city have had available as a matter of course for many years.

Now, I am delighted to learn that the Farmers Home Administration has recently committed in Congressman SHIPLEY's district in Illinois the largest loan ever made nationally under this program—a loan of $2,770,000 to install a central water system which will serve six communities in Macoupin and Sangamon Counties and provide all the good water needed to 11,000 of our fine Illinois citizens.

Here is a fine rural program, a program principally financed with private funds and guaranteed by the Government, a program where losses on loans are practically nonexistent, and a program where both our cities and our rural communities stand to benefit. It is a program which is helping to revitalize rural America and bring far-reaching and desirable improvements in the way of life of rural citizens. In turn this program benefits our cities for it helps to stem the migration of those who can comfortably make their living in the country but are untrained and unskilled for the way of the city.

The closing of this largest water system loan by the Farmers Home Administration was the occasion for a small celebration last Friday in the happy communities of Congressman SHIPLEY's district. Howard Bertsch, Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, accompanied Congressman SHIPLEY on a visit to the proposed project and participated in the loan-closing ceremonies.

I would like to insert in the RECORD Mr. Bertsch's very timely remarks. May I call your attention especially to his comments that movement into cities of people ill-equipped to compete for jobs and ill-prepared for city life need not continue. In explaining how rural areas can be made more attractive places to live, Mr. Bertsch has outlined steps now being taken in the Department of Agriculture to establish closer liaison with local people and to channel more efficiently to rural areas the many services available from Federal programs.

His remarks follow:

REMARKS BY MR. BERTSCH

I welcome this chance to share with you the excitement, pleasure, hope and sense of accomplishment reigning here today.

Gordon Garretson, your chairman, was quoted by some members of the press the other day as saying that your water system will be the biggest thing that has happened in this area in over 30 years.

When I heard about Gordon's statement I did a little checking and found that something *big* did happen 30 years ago—your mines went out of action.

Such a catastrophe must have been terribly depressing—and a hard blow for you economically.

But you didn't throw in the towel. You stayed, you worked, you dreamed, you planned.

And so here we are 30 years later marking another historic occasion—in this case a *happy one*—for your six communities, for Macoupin and Sangamon Counties . . . and for Illinois.

For some 11,000 persons—their schools, their towns, their farms, their businesses and their homes—this water system is opening new horizons, transforming your communities into *new scenes of action*.

The energy and resources which *have been concerned* with worrying about serious water shortages and low water pressures *can soon be directed* toward building permanent community assets—toward better living conditions and greater opportunity for economic growth.

Thus, today's ceremony has much greater importance than simply to mark the beginning of a community water system built with assistance from the Farmers Home Administration.

This ocasion is a forum from which rural America can speak to the rest of the nation—to the country and city alike—about the nature of the society we are creating today.

It is a story of Democracy at work.

You worked together to solve a serious water problem which—as individuals—you could not hope to conquer. By your initiative, your leadership, your determination, your hard work, you have demonstrated that you could *get the job done*.

Along the way you turned to the Farmers Home Administration.

You opened the door for us and let us prove once more our desire to be useful, to demonstrate once again that we mean business when we say that rural America really holds forth the best opportunities—the golden key to better living for the majority of our people.

Today also marks another instance of service by George Shipley—your Congressman—for your water system was financed under the provisions of an important national water bill which he vigorously supported and helped move through the Congress a little more than a year ago.

Congressman Shipley is no stranger to us—for he is frequently in touch with the Agriculture Department as he looks after your best interests.

He supported this legislation because he had the insight, the imagination, to visualize how this kind of government financing could benefit communities such as yours—and all rural America.

Congressman Shipley believes that a Government *of* the people and *by* the people should seek solutions to problems *through* Government when alternative courses *are not* productive.

That is exactly the case with your water system.

As I reviewed the file on your loan this week, I marveled at the diligence and tenaciousness with which you pursued solutions to your water problem. You worked long and hard, explored every possible avenue in your efforts to put good water into every home.

I commend you for it. Your efforts have produced the *largest* water system ever financed by the Farmers Home Administration in the United States.

Let's hope that your example spreads to the thousands of other rural communities in our nation.

For if our nation is to continue its advance toward those conditions which will mean a better life for all its citizens, then *the neglect of rural America must end and purposeful rebuilding must begin*.

This is no pipedream, *nor* is it a special plea for the rural American. It is an invitation to the entire nation to grasp the opportunity for a better, more gracious, more abundant and *healthful* life than we enjoy today.

We are a nation rich in land resources—but our people—*against* their will—are being crowded into increasingly ugly cities.

By the turn of the century, if present trends continue unchecked, most Americans will be living on urbanized land ranging in density up to 2,600 people per square mile.

These people will get up *earlier*, spend more time breathing their neighbors' car exhaust and return home *later*.

Superhighways and mass transit systems will *lose* the battle to keep the city mobile.

Crimes of violence will *increase* as urban life becomes increasingly more depersonalized and hopeless for the disadvantaged.

The lack of adequate community facilities and decent housing have been major compelling forces behind the mass exodus of people from the countryside to the city.

At the start of the century *more than half our people lived* in rural America.

But today—less than 70 years later—nearly three-quarters of our population has become urban.

We hold *that this movement into the cities of people ill-equipped to compete for jobs and ill-prepared for city life need not continue.*

What then can we do about it?

First, we must work—harder—together in common cause making *use of every available private and public program* at the local, State and Federal level that can be utilized to create a strong and prosperous rural America.

Second, we must continue *casting new programs* and *re-orienting old programs* to help broaden the economic base of rural America—opening up opportunities for people to enjoy a quality and dimension in rural living equal to that of urban America.

Third, we must speed up these programs which help rural communities maintain and *hold* their rural youth—young farmers in agriculture, young businessmen in rural towns, and young industrial workers in rural factories.

Thanks to the leadership of the Congress and the Administration over the past six years, we have scored numerous advances in developing and improving needed rural services.

And happily, some communities—such as yours—are taking full advantage of every opportunity to bring new life to rural America.

One measure of the efforts by rural America to pull itself up by its own bootstraps is reflected in the lending activity of the Farmers Home Administration.

Over the past six years, our loans for community facilities and housing have brought better living to nearly 2,300,000 rural people.

In 1960, we provided *only $42 million* for community improvements such as housing and water systems.

Last year, we *provided $570 million* and this coming year we *will provide over $800 million*.

Still, much work remains to be done.

For example:

Thirty thousand rural communities lack good water supplies.

Sixty thousand rural communities need better pollution control through waste disposal systems.

Four million rural homes need to be built or repaired.

Half of the poverty in this nation exists today in our countryside—on the edges of our towns, off the main roads, along the paths that wind over the hills and through the "hollows."

To better meet these needs and to *get the job done*—just as you have demonstrated here in your communities that it *can be done*—we in the Department of Agriculture are establisihng closer liaison with local leaders and working harder to channel all the Department's services through a single all-out rural areas development effort.

We want to provide *one-stop service* for rural communities.

We want to *more efficiently* channel our efforts to serve your needs.

We want to be *more creative and imaginative* in the administration of those programs that will update and strengthen the rural economy.

We want to be *more useful to you*—and all rural communities—in tapping those resources that will result in new jobs, the elimination of poverty, the establishment of new businesses and industry, the construction of housing, and the development of needed community facilities.

We want to *respond to your requests* and we are dedicated to the policy that no one coming to our offices—our technical action panels—goes away with a "no" answer. We want to be as helpful as possible.

We call this program "outreach."

It is being achieved at the State and local level through an organizational structure known as *Technical Action Panels*.

These panels now exist in all 50 States and in approximately 3,000 rural counties.

Membership is composed of representatives of USDA agencies and the panels are usually chaired by the Farmers Home Administration.

Representatives of other agencies engaged in the fields of education, health, welfare, and housing and active in the area are also included on the panels.

These panels meet regularly as a formal, experience-sharing body and direct their attention to meeting the major development needs of every rural county.

This organizational arrangement—now being infused with new and vigorous leadership diverted from other areas within the Department of Agriculture—is just one more move in our determination to revitalize and recapitalize rural America, to give people a choice between living in the country and living in the city.

People like you are helping to shatter the commonly held myth that rural communities are destined to wither and die.

You are proving that rural America can be a place of opportunity.

We in the Farmers Home Administration and other Department of Agriculture agencies are working daily to help you bring about this new *era of greatness*.

May the years ahead bring *us all* great success in making rural America a place to move to—rather than move from.

LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE FOR APPOINTMENT OF PERSONS TO SUPERGRADE POSITIONS IN THE COMPETITIVE CIVIL SERVICE BASED SOLELY ON MERIT AND COMPETITIVE CIVIL SERVICE STANDARDS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation which will extend the civil service merit system to several thousand supergrade positions in the Federal Government, which pay annual salaries from $20,075 to $25,890.

My bill is prompted by the recent issuance of Executive Order No. 11315, which was prepared by the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. This order establishes procedures for appointments to supergrade positions which are based more on nonmerit principles than on competitive civil service standards.

As far as I can determine, the Civil Service Commission has never established position classification standards, nor qualifications standards for supergrade positions.

Moreover, the Commission has never given open competitive civil service examinations or promotion examinations for supergrade positions.

Thus, supergrade positions, in effect, have been declared to be "off-limits" to all Federal employees and qualified persons on the outside; except on a highly selective personal or political patronage basis.

On the other hand, the bill I have introduced today will require the Civil Service Commission to establish position classification standards for grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18, as well as require the Commission to establish qualifications standards for persons appointed to such positions on a competitive basis.

The supergrade Executive order raises more questions than it answers. It creates more problems than it solves. Its cynical basis presumes the lack of qualifications of supergrade incumbents and the necessity to blanket them into more secure status.

It is strange that the administration has found this Executive order necessary near the close of its tenure. The only logical conclusion is that the President desires to give his appointees to supergrade positions more security than is now provided for them under civil service laws and rules. Aside from this feature the Executive order provides little that is not possible under present civil service laws, rules and regulations.

It has been stated with accuracy that day-to-day operating policies of our Government are formulated by the 4,400 persons who occupy these supergrade positions. Without doubt, most Government policies which vitally affect the American people are either recommended or carried out by these top Government officials. These are the Federal employees who prepare most statements, speeches, press releases, and testimony of the heads of our Government departments and agencies. As a matter of fact, the policies formulated by the heads of the departments and agencies are, in great measure, influenced by the recommendations of those who occupy supergrade positions.

It is for these reasons that I consider this matter requires a permanent solution by legislative action rather than by Executive order which is subject to change at the discretion of the Chief Executive.

Congress should be consulted with respect to the basic legal requirements for filling supergrade positions, and this is the purpose of the bill I have introduced.

Briefly, it provides that an appointment to a supergrade position in the competitive civil service may be made only after position classification and minimum qualifications standards for such positions are established by the Civil Service Commission. Following such action by the Commission, vacancies in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 may be filled only by the following methods: First, by promotion from within the competitive civil service based on promotion examinations given to Federal employees who apply for supergrade positions after adequate Government-wide notice is given that vacancies exist; and, second, by open competitive examination in accordance with the provisions of the civil service laws governing appointments in the competitive service.

Finally, my bill provides that with respect to appointments to supergrade positions which are in the excepted service—schedules A, B, or C—the Commission must approve the qualifications of the proposed appointee, and such appointee must meet the minimum qualifications standards for the position.

I am satisfied that the Executive order is not in the best interests of the Government service and does not adequately solve existing problems relating to supergrade positions.

It is my earnest hope that the Civil Service Commission in its role as an independent Government agency, will delay implementation of the supergrade Executive order until the Congress has had an opportunity to consider this legislation.

JIM RYUN AND THE NCAA-AAU FEUD

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, in June of last year a tall, gaunt young man settled his spikes firmly into a cinder track at Terre Haute, Ind., and awaited the starter's gun to begin the race. Short moments later, that same young man crossed the finish line in the fastest time ever recorded for the distance of one-half mile. His record time was 1:44.9. Yet that young man is still waiting. Waiting for his world's record to be sanctioned. And why? Not because his conduct during the race was culpable. Not because weather or track conditions were imperfect. Not because the timing was open to question. The world's record has not been sanctioned officially because of an unreasonable and continuing feud between two self-serving organizations seeking to control the amateur athlete of this country.

The young man I speak of is Jim Ryun, of the University of Kansas, whose home is Wichita, Kans., which is in my congressional district. The organizations whose constant squabbling has denied Jim his record are the National Collegiate Athletic Association and the Amateur Athletic Union. Although I have not discussed this matter with Mr. Ryun nor with anyone close to him, I am deeply concerned over the prolonged bickering between these two organizations which has penalized Jim Ryun, one of the world's great amateur athletes.

The facts in this confused situation appear to be as follows: The meet at which Jim's record was set was under auspices of the NCAA-sponsored U.S. Track and Field Federation. It was not sanctioned by the AAU. Before a record will be recorded or recognized by the International Amateur Athletic Federation, the governing organization of international amateur athletics comprised of representatives of some 120 member countries, the record must receive the sanction of its representative in the particular country where the record was set. In the United States that representative is the AAU. However, the USTFF has refused the AAU's request that it seek retroactive sanction of the meet so to qualify Jim's mark for IAAF consideration. Moreover, the AAU while recognizing his mark as an American record on the one hand, has paradoxically refused to grant its sanction without the USTFF request. This situation is exemplary both of the regulatory nitpicking these two organizations have long engaged in and their lack of concern for our amateurs' welfare.

In our country little is offered the amateur other than the prestige and honor accorded a record holder and the self-satisfaction of the athlete in realizing his individual goals. Our amateurs are not the disguised professionals of many countries who merely act out a fiction of amateurism while being financially well compensated for their efforts.

Yet the constant bickering between the NCAA and the AAU has produced a result which can only be interpreted as detrimental to the growth of amateur athletics in this country. To deny our young people the fruits of their dedication and work, particularly in view of recent efforts by the Congress and the administration to help resolve the two groups' differences, may be viewed so obstructive to amateur athletics as to require congressional action to end the present difficulties and to prevent them from arising in the future.

In the fall of 1965, the Congress and the administration tried to provide the foundation for settlement of disputes in the administration of amateur track and field with a minimum of Government participation. In the event the two groups continue in their present arbitrary attitude and refuse to reach a reasonable settlement, strong congressional action should be taken. Meanwhile, Jim Ryun goes without his world's record being recognized, and young men and women everywhere who aspire to his heights of achievement in their respective athletic endeavors surely must question the worthiness of their pursuits.

Mr. Speaker, there have been many editorial comments in the Nation's press regarding this matter, and I want to include in the RECORD editorials from the Hutchinson, Kans., News and the Wall Street Journal which present some poignant views. The editorials follow:

[From the Hutchinson (Kans.) News
Feb. 28, 1967]

TWEEDLEDUM, TWEEDLEDEE

Jim Ryun has traveled a half-mile on foot faster than any human who had a stop watch held against him.

He did so last summer at a National Track and Field Federation meet in Terre Haute, Ind.

So far as a prima donna outfit known as the American Amateur Athletic Union is concerned, however, Ryun never left Kansas.

The meet met all the specifications, except one. It was sponsored by another prima donna outfit known as the National Collegiate Athletic Association. The AAU didn't sanction it.

So, no record. So far as the statisticians' books are concerned.

The AAU and the NCAA make as cozy a couple as Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy, and for much the same reason. Each wants to be top dog. And the older, tradition-ridden AAU resents the upstart interference of the younger, more brash NCAA.

So far as the public is concerned, this feud makes as much sense as the debate Tweedledum had with Tweedledee over who was first boy. But to young athletes like Ryun, it likely brings wonder which is more important; their achievements or the jealousies of petty sports bureaucrats.

A plague on both the AAU and the NCAA. And the public has no doubt who is the record-holder.

It's Jim Ryun, regardless of what gets written in the books.

[From the Wall Street Journal]

ATHLETICS FOR ATHLETES

Young men and women are given to speculating about the usefulness of middle-aged adults, and in one corner of the athletic arena they have good reason at the moment.

The Amateur Athletic Union and the U.S. Track and Field Federation are two outfits supposedly run by wise, old heads, but they are carrying a feud onward to new absurdities. In some of its more temperate outbursts, the USTFF has labeled the AAU a monopolist and an "affront to American freedom."

The fact of the matter is that the AAU for a long time has competently run track and field meets in the U.S. Things were reasonably serene until a few years ago when the National Collegiate Athletic Association tried to cut itself in for a piece of the action by setting up the USTFF.

In one move to enforce what it assumed to be its authority, the AAU for a time barred from its meets certain foreigners who had competed under USTFF auspices. Now Jim Ryun, the very rapid young man from the University of Kansas, may be denied world recognition for the fastest half-mile ever run anywhere; the record, you see, was set in a USTFF meet.

Excessive commercialization is bad enough, and bureaucratic bickering certainly doesn't improve the situation. Does anyone, young or old, remember when organized amateur athletics used to be for the benefit of the athletes?

ADDITION TO LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to advise the House that in addition to the resolution authorizing investigation already on the program, it will be our purpose to program for tomorrow House Resolution 356, authorizing investigations by the Committee on Banking and Currency.

I also advise the Members that the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] has advised that the conference report on S. 665, authorizing supplemental funds for military procurement, will probably be ready tomorrow and be called up tomorrow.

DISPENSING WITH CALL OF THE PRIVATE CALENDAR TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Private Calendar be dispensed with today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

AUTHORITY FOR CONFEREES ON S. 665, SUPPLEMENTAL MILITARY PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, AND CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1967, TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the conferees on the bill authorizing supplemental funds for military procurement, previously referred to, may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON RULES—PERMISSION TO FILE CERTAIN PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ANNUNZIO). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

FURTHER SUPPORT FROM DETROIT FOR THE HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. McDONALD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, March 3, James A. Simpson, editorial director of WJBK-Radio, and Robert J. McBride, director of news, WJBK-TV, joined in endorsing the Human Investment Act of 1967. In a WJBK editorial, they voiced their support for this legislation that should provide the necessary incentives to encourage private enterprise to take a more active interest in solving one of our critical domestic problems.

The text of the broadcast referred to follows:

HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT DESERVES SUPPORT

It will be interesting to watch just who will cry "foul" when Congress gets around to considering the "Human Investment Act of 1967." Because this act, co-sponsored by Representative Jack McDonald, of Michigan's 19th Congressional district, would encourage industry to conduct such programs. Briefly the bill—H.R. 4639—would provide tax credits for those businesses and industries that set up training programs for the unskilled unemployed and for those workers whose skills could be upgraded.

Representative McDonald's bill is not a new idea. Henry Ford set up a job training program that produced many skilled workers capable of holding their own in anybody's factory. But this program suffocated under the pressure of union protest. And other industries have experimented with similar programs over the years on a small scale.

One of the best things about the Human Investment Act is that it provides for training and upgrading through self-help, not through governmental handouts that historically have resulted in a good deal of wasted money and effort.

WJBK believes that this bill is an honest and worthwhile attempt to enlist the help of the nation's business community in a drive against the biggest single cause of unemployment—lack of training and employable skills. It is not simply another governmental spending program. Rather it is a plan for cooperation between government and business in helping those people who want and need jobs to get them. It should receive the fullest consideration of the Congress and all who are truly interested in the unemployed.

We urge the Michigan delegation to support this legislation when it reaches the floor of their respective Houses.

MORE ANTI-AMERICAN TALK FROM U THANT

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I listened with interest to an interview which U.N. Secretary General U Thant gave after returning to New York last week. He had spoken to North Vietnamese representatives in Rangoon, Burma. At no time did he give any favorable comments regarding the United States or what we are trying to do in Vietnam. He made a series of one-sided statements which have been all too typical of his attitude during the past few years in his U.N. position.

He continually talked of what the North Vietnamese leaders thought, what they wanted, their terms and so forth without giving any counterbalancing representations as to our American thought, position, and so forth. He said blandly:

> If the United States withdraws support from one side (South Vietnam), Hanoi is prepared to withdraw its support from the other.

I do not know many people who really believe that. If we would withdraw, who really thinks the Communists would all of a sudden turn into good people and not persist in their basic operating procedure of infiltration, terror, and subversion.

U Thant has long advocated the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam. I have yet to hear him advocate the cessation of Communist terror and subversion. He said that he was "more than ever convinced" that such cessation could lead to negotiations "in a few weeks." Why is it that he always seems to air the Communist line but he never gives more than passing attention—usually scorn—to the free world position? More than ever, it is obvious that U Thant is no real friend of the United States or of the oppressed people who are under Communist domination.

An interesting editorial appeared in the Chicago Tribune on Sunday, March 5, 1967. It is entitled "The Mini-States" and graphically illustrates what is happening in the U.N. I include that editorial with these remarks:

THE MINI-STATES

First, the mini-skirt; now, the mini-state. The proliferation of new nations of midget dimensions proceeds apace. On Wednesday St. Lucia, a tiny Caribbean island, celebrated its first day of freedom from direct British rule, joining the nearby island of Dominica in that status. The two islands, together with the British Leeward and Windward islands of Antigua, Grenada, and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, became associated states of the United Kingdom.

Although Britain retains control of defense and foreign policy, each island is given the unilateral right to declare complete independence whenever it chooses to do so. Each island is individually associated with Britain, but there is no federation among them all. Still another Windward island, St. Vincent, is to get association status soon.

Next on the list for independence, it is thought, are British Honduras on the Central American isthmus and Surinam, a dependency of Holland on the hump of South America. Each can cut its ties with the motherland at its convenience.

With the emergence of these new ministates, we may expect a further influx at the United Nations, which now numbers 122 nations, nonnations, and entities which pass as nations under false pretenses.

The parade into the Big Glass House in New York has been producing increasingly unlikely applicants, but they are admitted without question. In 1965 the Maldive Islands, a collection of 17 atolls in the Indian ocean, became a U.N. member. Other prospective "nations" in the same ocean are the Cocos Island [population 675], Diego Garcia Island [pop. 501], and Aldabra [47]. Potentially each will have a U.N. vote equal to ours.

Attempts to keep down the nationhood explosion have had little success. The original plan of the British colonial office was to link the Windward and Leeward islands with the larger islands of Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados, with British Guiana and British Honduras as possible future members. But this West Indies federation was barely stuck together when it came apart.

Jamaica dropped out after three years and was followed by Trinidad. Barbados last December became the 122d member of the U.N. It also proposes to become a member of the Organization of American States. Trinidad's application to that organization was accepted Feb. 23. The idea of O.A.S. membership is attractive in that it enables the newcomers to qualify for a cut of Alliance for Progress funds.

There are still innumerable islands in the Caribbean, Pacific, and other oceans and seas which are capable of proclaiming nationhood and applying for seats in U.N. making that organization even more ridiculous than it already is. Perhaps what we need more than a nonproliferation treaty on nuclear weapons is a nonproliferation treaty on new "nations."

JAMES R. HOFFA: WHERE HE BELONGS

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, James R. Hoffa does not know it but he has done us all a favor. One of the worst features of modern America was the growing cynicism on the part of the public—rightfully so, I believe—that there is really no such thing as justice in the country and certain people are above it. Revelations about the activities of Hoffa, Billy Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, and Adam Clayton Powell had led many Americans to think that justice never reaches certain people. Little by little it has. First Billy Sol Estes, now Bobby Baker, and Jimmy Hoffa. Even Mr. Powell might yet meet his waterloo.

I must have heard 500 people say during the past year or so, "Hoffa will never serve any time. You wait and see." Hoffa is now where he belongs and it is certain that many people will have their faith in American justice rekindled. Mr. Hoffa, the man who thought he was bigger than the law, is behind bars.

There is a certain amount of cynicism now about whether or not he will be able to run his Teamsters from behind bars. The warden says he will not be able to do this, but we will have to wait and see. Hoffa's career has been a checkered one. His arrest record is long, although he has not been convicted often. In jury tampering, however, he went too far.

Hoffa has seemed to have no reluctance to keep the criminal types about him. The Teamsters is no longer in the AFL-CIO for this very reason. There are volumes full of testimony about the tyrannical, goon tactics of the teamsters in many sections of our country. The Senate report alone contains thousands of pages in scores of volumes. Hoffa now joins the long, sordid list of teamsters who have been convicted. I am including a partial listing at this point:

A partial listing of convictions of Teamsters in recent years

Name	Statute	Violation	Court	Disposition
Amoroso, Charles	26 U.S.C. 7201	Attempted tax evasion	Eastern district, Pennsylvania.	Convicted Jan. 5, 1960. Sentenced to 6 months, suspended; 5 years probation; $750 fine.
Baker, George (also known as Semelmacher).	18 U.S.C. 371; 18 U.S.C. 1001	Conspiracy; false statements	Southern district, New York	Convicted Sept. 10, 1959. Sentenced to 2 years; 3 years' probation.
	New York penal law	Attempted assault	New York County	Convicted Dec. 20, 1954. Sentenced to 6 months; suspended.
Baker, Robert (also known as Barney).	29 U.S.C. 186(b)	Taft-Hartley	Western district, Pennsylvania.	Convicted Apr. 7, 1960. Sentenced to 2 years; 5 years' probation; $1,200 fine.
Beck, Dave, Sr.	26 U.S.C. 145(b)	Income tax evasion	Western district, Washington	Convicted Feb. 19, 1959. Sentenced to 5 years; $50,000 fine and $10,961 court costs; 4 counts reversed by CCA(9), Jan. 20, 1962; 2 remaining counts affirmed.
	Washington Criminal Code	Larceny by embezzlement	King County	Convicted Dec. 14, 1957. Sentenced 1-15 years; recommendation that he serve no more than 3 years.
Beck, Dave, Jr.	do	Grand larceny	do	Convicted Nov. 23, 1957. $2,000 fine. Sentenced 3 years; deferred on condition that he refund money.
Berman, Abraham	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to defraud	Philadelphia County	Convicted June 3, 1963. Sentenced 3 to 23 months.
Bertucci, Louis (Toots)	18 U.S.C. 371; 29 U.S.C. 411, 530.	Conspiracy to deprive union members of rights.	Eastern district, Pennsylvania.	Convicted Jan. 17, 1963. Sentenced to 2 years; 1 year probation; $3,000 fine.
Cohen, Ray	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to defraud union	Philadelphia County	Convicted June 3, 1963. Sentenced to 1 to 2 years; $500 fine.
Coralio, Antonio (Tony Ducks).	18 U.S.C. 371	Conspiracy	Southern district, New York	Convicted June 16, 1962. Sentenced to 2 years.
Curcio, Joseph	18 U.S.C. 371, 1001	Conspiracy; false statements	do	Convicted Sept. 9, 1959. Sentenced to 2 years; 3 years' probation.
DeGrandis, Joseph	Penal law of New York, sec. 530.	Conspiracy, extortion, and coercion.	County court, Mineola	Convicted May 13 1960. Sentenced to 7½-15 years.
Dioguardi, John	Penal law of New York	Conspiracy and bribery	New York County	Convicted Sept. 7, 1957. Sentenced to 2 years; suspended Jan. 8, 1958.
	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion	Southern District, New York	Convicted Apr. 7, 1960. Sentenced to 4 years; $5,000 fine.
Durkin, John	29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	Middle district, Pennsylvania	Pled nolo contendere May 11, 1960. 5 years' probation; $1,000 fine.
	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to dynamite property.	Lackawanna County	Convicted Oct. 23, 1956. Sentenced 1-2 years; $500 fine and costs.

A partial listing of convictions of Teamsters in recent years—Continued

Name	Statute	Violation	Court	Disposition
Elco, John Joseph	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy	State court	Convicted June 3, 1963. Sentenced to 3–23 months.
	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion	Eastern district, Pennsylvania.	Convicted Jan. 5, 1960. Sentenced to 9 months, suspended; 5 years' probation; $750 fine.
Frank, Nicholas	do	do	do	Convicted Jan. 5, 1960. Sentenced to 9 months, suspended; 5 years' probation; $750 fine.
Goldstein, Sam	New York statute	Conspiracy, extortion, and bribery.	New York County	Convicted July 25, 1957. Sentenced to 1 year; $500 fine.
	do	Conspiracy; attempted extortion coercion.	do	Plea of guilty Feb. 26, 1958. 5 years suspended sentence and probation.
Gross, Harold	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion	Southern district, Florida	Convicted May 17, 1960. Sentenced to 3 years.
Hartsough, Joseph E	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to defraud union	Philadelphia County	Convicted June 3, 1963. Sentenced to 6–23 months.
Herman, Moss	18 U.S.C. 371, 1505	Conspiracy; influencing witnesses.	Federal court, New York	Convicted Apr. 14, 1961. Sentenced to 1–3 years, suspended; 5 years' probation.
Hoffa, James	18 U.S.C. 371	Conspiracy to restrict justice	Middle district, Tennessee	Convicted Mar. 4, 1964. Sentenced to 8 years; $10,000 fine.
	18 U.S.C. 371, 1341, 1343	Conspiracy; wire and mail fraud.	Northern district, Illinois	Convicted July 26, 1964. Sentenced to 5 years; $10,000 fine.
Holt, Milton	29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	Southern district, New York	Convicted May 31, 1963. Sentenced to 6 months, suspended; $10,000 fine.
Keating, Daniel J	26 U.S.C. 145(b)	Tax evasion	Federal Court	Convicted. Sentenced to 1 year probation; $1,000 fine.
Keegan, Thomas H	29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	Northern district, Illinois	Convicted Feb. 13, 1963. Sentenced to 5 years; $5,000 fine.
Lapensohn, Benjamin	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to cheat union	Philadelphia County	Convicted June 3, 1963. Affirmed Mar. 19, 1964. Sentenced to 10 months to 2 years.
	New York statute	Larcency; embezzlement	New York court	Pled guilty to 1 count. Received suspended sentence, 2 years' probation; $100 fine, Nov. 17, 1960.
Lindsay, Harry	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion	Eastern district, Pennsylvania	Convicted Jan. 5, 1960. Sentenced to 6 months, suspended; 5 years' probation; $750 fine.
McHugh, Joseph	18 U.S.C. 1951	Hobbs Act	Middle district, Pennsylvania	Convicted May 16, 1960. Sentenced to 5 years' probation; $1,000 fine.
McMaster, Roland B	18 U.S.C. 2; 29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	Eastern district, Michigan	Convicted Nov. 19, 1962. Sentenced to 8 months; $10,000 fine, Apr. 17, 1963.
Malloy, Robert	18 U.S.C. 1951	Hobbs Act	Middle district, Pennsylvania	Convicted May 16, 1950. Sentenced to 5 years' probation; $1,000 fine.
	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to dynamite property.	Lackawanna County	Convicted May 17, 1958. Sentenced to 1–2 years.
Maroso, Samuel J	18 U.S.C. 371, 2314	Conspiracy; interstate transportation of counterfeit bonds.	Eastern district, Michigan	Convicted Dec. 13, 1962. Sentenced to 3 years.
	26 U.S.C. 145(b)	Tax evasion	do	Convicted Nov. 25, 1956. Sentenced to 2 years' probation, revoked Nov. 19, 1958. Committed for 10 months.
Presser, William	2 U.S.C. 192	Contempt of Congress	Federal district court	Convicted Feb. 2, 1960. Sentenced to 2 months; $100 fine.
	18 U.S.C. 1503	Obstruction of justice	Northern district, Ohio	Convicted June 7, 1960. Sentenced to 8 months.
Provenzano, Anthony	18 U.S.C. 1951	Hobbs Act	New Jersey	Convicted June 11, 1963. Sentenced to 7 years; $10,000 fine. Affiliated CCA (3) June 30, 1964.
Ray, Theodore	26 U.S.C. 145(b); 18 U.S.C. 371.	Tax evasion; conspiracy	Southern district, New York	Convicted Apr. 7, 1960. Sentenced to 15 months; $5,000 fine.
Reynolds, W. J	Tennessee statute	Assault with intent to murder.	Tennessee State court	Convicted March 1958. Sentenced to 2–10 years.
Singer, Meyer	15 U.S.C. 1	Conspiracy in restraint of trade.	Southern district, California	Pleaded nolo contendere. Sentenced to 6 months, suspended; 3 years' probation; $1,000 fine.
Smith, W. A	Tennessee statute	Assault with intent to kill	Tennessee State court	Convicted March 1958. Sentenced to 2–10 years.
Snyder, Jacob	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion	Eastern district, Pennsylvania.	Plea of guilty Jan. 5, 1960. Sentenced Mar. 2, 1960, 4 months, suspended; 5 years' probation; $750 fine.
Snyder, Zigmont	do	do	Eastern district, Michigan	Convicted May 14, 1964. Sentenced to 6 months.
Sobolewski, Michael	do	do	Eastern district, Pennsylvania.	Plea of guilty Jan. 5, 1960. Sentenced to 5 months, suspended; 5 years' probation; $750 fine.
Walker, Edward	18 U.S.C. 1621	Perjury	do	Convicted June 16, 1964. Awaiting sentence.
	Pennsylvania statute	Conspiracy to defraud	Philadelphia County	Convicted June 3, 1963. Sentenced to 8–23 months. Appeal pending.
Weinheimer, Edward F.	18 U.S.C. 1621	Perjury	Federal district court	Convicted Feb. 10, 1960. Sentenced to 1–3 years.

IBT NONUNION ASSOCIATES

Bartone, Dominick	22 U.S.C. 1934	Illegal export of arms and ammunition.	Southern district, Florida	Convicted Sept. 20, 1962. Sentenced to 3 years' probation. On Jan. 6, 1964 probation revoked and sentenced to 1 year imprisonment.
	18 U.S.C. 401	Contempt of court	do	Convicted and sentenced on July 9, 1962 to 6 weeks in jail.
Bitz, Irving (also known as Grossman, Morris).	18 U.S.C. 1951	Hobbs Act extortion	Southern district, New York	Convicted July 22, 1959. Sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment; $20,000 fine.
Burris, S. George	18 U.S.C. 371, 1341, 1343	Mail and wire fraud conspiracy.	Northern district, Illinois	Convicted July 1964. Sentenced Aug. 17, 1964 to 18 months; $5,000 fine.
Dranow, Benjamin	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion, 1955–57	Minnesota	Convicted Apr. 27, 1963. Sentenced to 7 years $10,000 fine.
	18 U.S.C. 1341	Mail fraud; bankruptcy fraud	do	Convicted, 7 years (concurrent with above); $12,000 fine.
	18 U.S.C. 371	Conspiracy to defraud by mail	Northern district, Illinois	Convicted July 26, 1964. Sentence pending and probable appeal. Aug. 17, 1964, 5 years and $10,000 fine.
Feldman, Sam	18 U.S.C. 1951	Hobbs Act	Southern district, New York	Convicted Apr. 21, 1961.
Ricca, Paul (Delucia)	26 U.S.C. 7201	Tax evasion	Northern district, Illinois	Convicted May 11, 1958. Sentenced to 3 years; $15,000 fine. Under deportation order.
Roth, Harold	29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	Southern district, New York	Convicted May 21, 1963. Sentenced 6 months, suspended; fined $10,000.
Squillante, Vincent	18 U.S.C. 3651	Violation of probation	do	Convicted Nov. 27, 1951. Sentenced to 1 year imprisonment.
Stein, Nate	18 U.S.C. 1505, 1622; 26 U.S.C. 7203.	Obstruction of justice, subornation of perjury, and failure to file tax returns.	Southern district, California	Convicted July 17, 1963. Sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.
Sternberg, Herbert	29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	Southern district, New York	Convicted May 21, 1963. Sentenced to 2 months, suspended; $4,000 fine.
Walsh, William	18 U.S.C. 1951	Hobbs Act	do	Convicted Apr. 21, 1961.
Waltzer, Harry	do	do	do	Convicted Mar. 3, 1961.
Weiss, Philip	29 U.S.C. 186	Taft-Hartley	New Jersey	Convicted Oct. 4, 1963. $10,000 fine.

There now is added to this list James R. Hoffa, Larry Campbell, former business agent of local No. 299 in Detroit and Ewing King, president of a Nashville local. Since this compilation is from Senate records of hearings which are now a few years old, this list is by no means complete. The Teamsters have a rare opportunity to cleanse their own ranks now. We will wait and see. Unfortunately, it sounds like they are all too willing to continue his $100,000 salary in

some circuitous manner and open the doors to him when he is out of the penitentiary. Certainly the rank-and-file teamster would not countenance such action but possibly it is a bit naive to assume that they have anything to say about it in the corruption-racketeer laden union leadership hierarchy which has been a blot on the cause of just trade unionism.

DMSO, THE PERSECUTED DRUG—PART II

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I told the House of the ineffectiveness of the action of the Food and Drug Administration in its "relaxation" last December of previous bans on the clinical testing of the very promising new medical principle, DMSO.

Last December the New York Times published its editorial reaction to the FDA action. A respected science writer, Pat McGrady, of New York City, promptly sent a letter to the editor of the Times, and I believe both of these items should be brought to the attention of Members of Congress and I therefore offer them:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 29. 1966]

DECISION ON DMSO

As the tragic experience with thalidomide and other drugs has shown, the powerful medicines modern chemistry has provided can be double-edged weapons. In some patients they may cure disease and alleviate discomfort, but in others they may cause additional damage or even, at times, death. Unceasing vigilance is required if the benefits available from these drugs are to be enjoyed without a heavy compensating price.

It is awareness of this situation that explains the Food and Drug Administration's cautious attitude toward what may be the most publicized new drug of the 1960's: dimethyl sulfoxide, better known as DMSO. A few years ago sensational reports were hailing this remarkable chemical as almost a universal panacea, particularly in alleviating the agonies of those suffering from arthritis and related diseases. Under the impact of this publicity many people began taking this drug on their own self-prescription, though it was still not clear what dangers might be associated with its use. Then, inevitably, it was found that DMSO had perils, that it could inflict damage to the eyes of test animals. The F.D.A. hastened to ban it from medical use.

Now the F.D.A. has modified its rules to the extent of permitting research use of DMSO on patients suffering from particular ailments and on condition that those receiving it be followed very closely to guard against eye or other injury. What the F.D.A. has in effect decided is that the potential benefits of DMSO in illnesses where there is no known alternative drug justify risking the potential hazards. Presumably physicians doing this experimentation will notify the patients of the risks involved. But this sensible resumption of controlled experimentation would be tragic if it encouraged laymen to renew self-dosing with this potent and too-easily available industrial chemical.

[From the AMA News, Jan. 2, 1967]

DMSO STUDIES ARE AUTHORIZED

The Food and Drug Administration gave the go-ahead to new clinical studies with DMSO (dimethyl sulfoxide) on humans.

James L. Goddard, MD, FDA commissioner, said:

"A comprehensive evaluation of all data available to us on DMSO has been completed. Indications that the drug may be of value in treating certain serious conditions justify further clinical investigations."

Occurrences of eye changes in DMSO-treated animals led FDA to suspend clinical trials with the drug a year ago.

Guidelines for new clinical studies provide that:

Prior approval by FDA will be required before any investigational plan is undertaken.

Use of DMSO will be restricted to cutaneous application in serious conditions—such as scleroderma, persistent herpes zoster and severe rheumatoid arthritis—for which no satisfactory therapy is now available.

Studies will be permitted *only* in centers with adequate facilities and well-trained, experienced personnel.

All subjects must receive a full examination (including an eye evaluation by an ophthalmologist) prior to receiving the drug, at period intervals during a study, and three months after discontinuing the drug. Laboratory monitoring of patients must include periodic liver function tests and blood tests.

Patient-consent requirements must be carefully observed.

Dr. Goddard said new studies under these controls will permit sound investigation of the possible therapeutic value of DMSO.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
December 30, 1966.

To the EDITOR, NEW YORK TIMES:

As one who has closely followed the unhappy adventures of scientists seeking to explore the unique properties of DMSO, or dimethyl sulfoxide, your recent editorial, "Decision on DMSO", struck me as incredibly naive. I could not help but wonder on what pap your writer doth feed in attemping to relate this chemical to thalidomide and in applauding the Food and Drug Administration for what eventually must be regarded as a historic blunder in blocking experiments with a preparation of such great promise.

Among the numerous facts you ignore are these:

1. While minor side effects (garlic or oyster odor, occasional transient rash, or brief burning or tingling sensation) are not uncommon, there has not been a single case of a serious side effect so far definitely attributable to DMSO in humans;

2. Close ophthalmological follow-up of several series of patients, dosed long and heavily with DMSO revealed no eye damage from the drug;

3. Eye damage was inflicted successfully on laboratory animals only when doses larger than the human dose were administered and particularly when they were administered by unorthodox routes;

4. The discoverers of the drug effects of DMSO were the first to urge caution and predict that its remarkable biological effects might well conceal booby traps; none has appeared;

5. Clinical experience to date indicates DMSO will probably be useful against a score of common conditions, including bursitis, arthritis, arteriosclerosis and a number of degenerative diseases affecting connective tissue; and

6. Laboratory observations make DMSO theoretically promising in the treatment of cancer.

At a recent meeting of about 150 scientists and drug house representatives in Vienna, which I attended to gather material for an article on DMSO, it was made clear that the FDA, while cynically appearing to permit treatment of pathetically crippled scleroderma patients, had in truth effectively discouraged all clinical use of the drug both in the United States and (through word to our embassies and the World Health Organization) abroad.

Dr. Chauncey Leake, former President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, said of DMSO, in keynoting the Vienna meeting: "Rarely has a new drug come so quickly to the judgment of the members of the health professions with so much verifiable data, from so many parts of the world, both experimentally and clinically, as to safety and efficacy.

"Fortunately, members of the health professions throughout the world are not all bound by the bureaucratic regulations and judgments of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. New drugs are accepted or rejected by members of the health professions on the basis of professional experience in their use. Unfortunately, United States law implies that a drug, to be used clinically, must be both *safe* and *efficacious*. With large numbers of people using any drug, this is an impossible requirement. Some will show no effect at all from the same dose which in highly sensitive persons may produce very serious effects, even to the point of death."

I would like to recommend that before writing more editorials on DMSO, the *Times* assign some good reporters to determine whether the new FDA release does not impose such restrictions as to make adequate experiments with DMSO impractical, if not impossible. I think it might be a good idea at the same time to investigate the extraordinary police, judicial and legislative powers invested in the head of the FDA, his qualifications as a physician now dictating medical procedures to the profession, the size and cost of his propaganda corps, the unique powers of search and arrest (without warrant) given his large force of armed undercover agents, the agents' instructions to enter doctors' offices and scientists' laboratories without arranging appointments, their search of premises in the absence of scientists, their questioning of technicians, their investigation and seizure of records, and numerous other features somewhat reminiscent of the conduct of affairs in some foreign countries.

Sincerely yours,

PAT MCGRADY,
Science Writer.

REPEAL OF THE $1 CHECKOFF

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced legislation to repeal what has become known as the $1 checkoff for presidential campaigns.

The so-called voluntary contribution program was hastily passed during the closing days of the 89th Congress when barely half of the membership was here to act on the measure.

Two-hundred and seventeen Members of the House, not even half, and only 53 Senators voted on that final tax bill. This means that only 270 of the 535 Members of the 89th Congress were in Washington to cast their votes on this far-reaching legislation.

The action taken last October should be reconsidered. The 90th Congress has a host of new Members who want to be recorded on this measure and those Members of the 89th Congress who were not recorded in 1966 should be given an opportunity to cast their vote on this revolutionary campaign financing program.

The first step necessary to gain meaningful reform in the field of campaign financing is to repeal the checkoff plan. Even now amendments to that plan are being proposed by its most ardent supporters. They talk of scrapping the entire proposition and then make direct contributions to political campaigns. But none of the amendments or alternatives that I have seen thus far make the original plan more palatable. In fact, some of them make it even less desirable.

There is no doubt that new legislation is needed in the field of campaign finance. Present laws are outmoded and obsolete, but the voluntary checkoff plan is the wrong way and is a start in the wrong direction. Before substantive and progressive action can be taken in this field, the $1 checkoff must be repealed.

Several campaign reform bills have already been introduced. I am in agreement with the provisions of much of the legislation which has been introduced, but when examining these bills, it becomes quite clear that they will be wholly inadequate if the checkoff plan remains law. Unless the checkoff is repealed, campaign finance reform will be set back several years. The situation and circumstances, or the "real world" if you like, with which we have to deal when drafting such legislation will be changed markedly, if the new plan stays on the books. It will take time to assess the effects of the plan on local campaign financing, and for that matter, its effects on the entire political system will have to be evaluated. Until this takes place, it will be nearly impossible to write effective campaign finance legislation.

What is the voluntary checkoff plan?

The plan is supposed to take effect in time to finance the 1968 presidential election. The money, collected into a special fund, will be distributed to major, and any minor political parties who qualify. Contributions will be evenly divided among major parties, except that a major party's share may not exceed the lower of either its actual campaign expenses or its share of the amount resulting from $1 times the total number of votes cast for major party presidential candidates in the previous election, less $5 million per each major party from that sum—a complicated statement to say the least. A minority party will receive $1 for each vote above 5 million which it received in the previous presidential election. Financial assistance from the fund is available only for the general election campaign.

Supervision of the plan is vested in the General Accounting Office, which will authorize payments beginning September 1 of each election year. No payment may be made until the treasurer of an eligible party certifies to the GAO the total amount of campaign expenditure by his party up to that time, together with any supporting records which GAO may request. Payments, furthermore, may be made only for expenses already incurred. The GAO will prescribe the rules and regulations and conduct the examinations and investigations that it judges will be necessary for supervising the plan.

Any money remaining in the fund after parties have been paid their entitlements will revert to the general fund of the Treasury. In case of a shortage of funds, reimbursements will be made to the parties from subsequent contributions to the funds.

An advisory board will be appointed to assist the GAO in its supervisory activities. The board is composed of two members from each major party, appointed by the Comptroller General, and three independent members to be selected by these party representatives. A board's term expires 60 days following a presidential election, at which time a new board is appointed to function for the next election.

In 1965 there were 38.7 million joint income tax returns and 26.7 million single returns. If every taxpayer had volunteered a $1 contribution—$2 on joint returns—the fund could have received $104.1 million for that year alone. Under the plan, contributions are to begin with 1967 income tax filing.

What are the reasons for calling for the repeal of the $1 per-person checkoff?

First of all, it represents a radical change in campaign financing with a total lack of intelligent study as to the effects. Accurate figures on actual campaign costs are difficult to compile. Therefore no one really knows what impact the checkoff will have. There was only one short hearing on the checkoff plan in the Senate and none on the House side. The amount of debate on this important aspect of the 1966 tax bill was negligible. The House never really debated it at all. The proposition was inserted into the tax bill in the Senate. This would never have happened on the floor of the House because the amendment was not germane to the bill. The checkoff plan became law after almost no consideration and by highly irregular procedures.

The argument that the checkoff encourages citizen participation in political campaigns is fallacious. It is my belief that it will do just the opposite. It will encourage even more apathy rather than less apathy. It is admitted that fundraising for political parties is a very disagreeable task. But fundraising activities do arouse a certain amount of interest in politics—they do encourage people to take an active interest in the political processes of our Nation. If the subsidy plan is allowed to remain the law of the land, this spur to political activity will be removed. Furthermore, taxpayers are not permitted to designate the recipient of the $1 he is allowed to contribute. This provision can hardly make a person feel like he is really supporting the political party of his choice.

Further the checkoff will make parties less responsive to the people. Most political scientists agree that parties must be responsive to the people if they are to remain strong and useful.

Some people claim the subsidy plan will free our political parties from dependency on a relatively few wealthy contributors. They maintain that these people are able to exert undue influence as the result of their contributions. There may be instances where this is true, but in most cases this occurs in offices other than that of the President. It is important to note that this plan really does nothing to help finance the campaigns of Senators, Representatives, Governors, State representatives, or county offices. And these are the people who would be most susceptible to the overtures of big contributions. Thus, this line of argument is not very impressive.

The fact that there is no guarantee that State and local candidates will benefit from increased contributions makes it very undesirable. Contributors may not realize that the fund created by the checkoff can be used only for presidential campaigns. They read the money goes to the national committees and they see the enormous figures and unless they are discerning they are likely to feel all campaigns will be adequately financed.

Add this up to the fact that these are no restriction on soliciting and spending private contribution in presidential campaigns and you immediately realize the fallacy of the arguments being advanced by the checkoff proponents. Supporters of presidential candidates are still allowed to go out and solicit unlimited contributions for their man. So instead of being a moderating influence on spending in presidential campaigns, the new plan will further inflate them.

Two of the greatest threats of the new subsidy plan are the opportunity it offers for greater party centralization and the door it opens to government control of political parties.

One of the characteristic features of our two-party system has been its lack of centralization and domination from a single point. This has permitted a desirable diversity of opinion to exist in each of the parties. This accommodation of a wide diversity of interests in the party has been good for the country. Our parties have remained decentralized at least partially because of the need to solicit widely for funds. Once relieved of that necessity by this act, the parties' national committees will tend to become more independent of State and local party organizations. Furthermore, the national committee's control of such vast sums of money for campaigning will tend to make State and local parties subservient to the Washington offices. A Democratic Party official has suggested that the act "will change the whole function of the national committees." They will become "a new battleground for State and local party fights as leaders seek to get a vote in [the] distribution of this $30 million plus." The entire structure of political power in this country could be drastically changed.

The act puts in the hands of national party chairmen immense amounts of money without any restrictions on how they may be used. Some have expressed fears that a chairman may use State party leaders' knowledge of these vast sums to influence presidential nominations at the national convention. As a prominent candidate for national office has said:

> He [the national chairman] can easily indicate to various parts of the country that they will receive large amounts of money if they vote in a way that meets his wishes.

Another contribution to the diversity of opinion within our parties is that flexibility in our political system which permits independent-thinking candidates to win primary elections and nominations even though they may be at odds with the national parties. Our people, rightly, admire independent-minded candidates, and it is good for the parties to have such men and women in their ranks. The financial resources that act will make available to our national committees will give them so much influence that they may be able to eliminate such candidates or hamper them unduly by the use of these funds.

Finally, experience has shown that when the Federal Government distributes funds, Federal control over the expenditure of those funds follows. Indeed, provisions in this act invest the General Accounting Office with supervisory powers which might lead to unwanted controls on our major political parties. As one former Republican National Committee official noted:

> This act means a major Step toward Government control of parties. Neither party was created by statute but now both will be dependent on Government money. What if the Treasury decides to pay one party's bills rather than the other's in the last days of a campaign?

There is one other complication which results from the adoption of the checkoff plan.

Senator LONG of Louisiana stated during floor debate, on October 22, 1966, that sums of money allocated to the parties from the campaign fund are not subject to present legal limitations on receipts and expenditures by a political committee—$3 million in each instance. He based his statement on the fact that the act nowhere employs the term "political committee" in its language. Instead, the term "political party" is used throughout.

He further noted that nowhere are the sums of money given to the parties called "contributions." By this device, he suggested, the act circumvents the statutory limitation on "contributions" which may be received by a single committee. Legally he would appear to be on firm ground here because "contribution," as defined, does not include amounts allocated from the public Treasury. He has failed to circumvent, however, a further stipulation of the law, that is, a committee may not spend more than $3 million in a campaign. Contending that the use of the term "political party" rather than "political committee" vitiates the applicability of the spending-limitation statute, does not survive close analysis.

The Democratic Manual for the Democratic National Convention of 1964 states that:

> The Democratic National Committee is the permanent agency authorized to act in behalf of the Party during intervals between Conventions.

The rules adopted at the 1964 Republican National Convention invest the Republican National Committee with the same authority. In fact, therefore, the national committees are the national "political parties," and the national committee treasurers are the "party treasurers." The use of the terms "political party" and "party treasurer" in the Act, therefore, fails to circumvent the expenditure limitations placed by law on political committees, including those of the national committees.

Unless the law is changed, therefore, it will be necessary for the national committees to create ten campaign committees to spend $30 million in the 1968 presidential campaign, presuming that each party spends the maximum to which it is entitled.

While a two-party system has developed in this country and has almost universal support, we should not be in the business of enacting legislation which militates against the formation of new political parties. With this kind of legislation the great Republican Party would not have been born in 1856.

The campaign fund plan operates to the detriment of third parties. A minor party must poll more than 5 million votes in the previous presidential election—which no minor party has ever done—before it can become eligible to receive financial assistance from the Government.

If such a plan had been in effect in 1912, Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party would have received no assistance whatsoever, despite the fact that it received 642,000 more votes than the Republican Party in that election. In other words, more than 4 million voters, most of them Republican, might have seen their tax dollars support candidates not of their choice.

Even though the American political system is basically a two-party system, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a strong third-party movement might develop in the future. Denial of funds to it until it had established sufficient voting support would appear undemocratic, and possibly is unconstitutional.

As written, therefore, the law tends to perpetuate the existing party balance in the Nation. It is questionable whether the Government should control or greatly influence splitting within a party, which historically has accounted for several significant third-party movements. Certainly the Government should not be in a position of supporting a party's leaders against its rank and file in such circumstances.

What I have presented are only a sampling of the arguments against the checkoff plan. The Constitution states only the Congress can make appropriations of tax money. This raises a constitutional question about the plan. The administrative problem would be fantastic. What happens when campaign efforts are joint in nature? If a presidential candidate went out to campaign for a Congressman and they appeared together on a paid political program, how much of that cost can be paid from the fund created by the new plan?

It should be clear by now that meaningful reform in campaign financing will not and cannot take place if the checkoff plan is allowed to stand.

It is my hope that the Ways and Means Committee of the House will act soon on the legislation I have introduced. Time is of the essence here.

EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Everglades National Park is one of this country's most cherished natural blessings. An awesome sanctuary of unusual birds, fish, and wildlife, the Everglades offers a composite of tropical settings that cannot be duplicated at any other single spot on the globe.

There was a time when only the more affluent members of our society were privileged to travel from the far reaches of this country to visit the Everglades. Yet everyone the Nation over has thrilled to photographs and the stories that were to come out of this wondrous wilderness, and children everywhere have dreamed of the day when they might glimpse a heron or face up to an alligator in its native environment.

In recent years more and more of our people have found it possible to enjoy the experiences that only the Everglades can offer; as travel comes easier and leisure time is extended, the numbers will continue to grow.

But unless the Everglades is protected from plans now in progress, there will be no wading birds or alligators or any other unusual animal life that is an integral part of this outstanding spectacle. The Corps of Engineers' plan to disturb nature's own water management program in the Everglades by opening the area to salt water would vandalize a sacred habitat for which there can be no replacement, no substitute, no rebirth. The projected intrusion constitutes a scandalous threat that Congress must avert.

For the information of my colleagues I shall place in the RECORD, beginning today, a series of statements by Roger W. Allin, Superintendent of Everglades National Park, during the past year. Mr. Allin sets forth the scientific, economic, and phychologic advantages of the Everglades in its native State and why this national park should not be subjected to the unreasonable experimentations of the Corps of Engineers.

The first of Mr. Allin's statements follows:

PARK VALUES

(Address by Roger W. Allin to Audubon Society of the Everglades, West Palm Beach, Fla., April 5, 1966)

Fifty years ago there evolved a new principle of government based on the premise that the use of our natural resources need not be consumptive and that "yields" from our lands can be measured in terms of social benefit and individual happiness as well as in terms of money: it gave expression to the then unique concept that preservation of places of beauty is a proper concern of government and that representative areas of the Nation's natural treasures should be set aside and managed in such a manner that they would remain unimpaired for the use and enjoyment of future generations.

Today, the National Park Service manages a growing system of 231 diverse areas including 32 national parks, 143 historic areas, 6 national seashores, and a number of national recreation areas. This intricate system epitomizes America—it provides an incomparable heritage of natural beauty and depicts the stories of man's relationships to this land, as well as preserving an irreplaceable resource for the use and enjoyment of the people.

Everglades National Park, one of our newer national parks (only 3 have been established since) while authorized in 1934, was not established until 1947. It is living proof—or at least a partially living proof—that the conservation struggle is a never ending one and that dedicating these areas to public use does not guarantee their security. There follows the never-ending task of defending them against the loss or destruction of those basic natural features and sources of enjoyment that commended their creation.

Let's examine the values that justified the creation of Everglades National Park. We talk of use and enjoyment by the public, we speak of the preservation of our national treasures—and probably in a rather vague way we understand. But let us take the time to bring these rather nebulous concepts into focus. Let us define our park values.

Everglades National Park is of course known primarily as a colossal exhibit of biology. I suspect I could correctly say it is the outstanding biological exhibit in the country and perhaps even in the world. It contains 163 species of birds, many of them rare or endangered species (Roseate Spoonbill, Great White Heron, Bald Eagle, Pink and Wood Ibis, Noddy, Sooty Tern), a great variety of tropical fish (Snook, Tarpon, Pink Shrimp), and many unusual wildlife forms (Alligators, Crocodiles, Otter) and vegetative types (Royal Palm, Mahogany). These alone would qualify Everglades National Park as a unique area worthy of protection and interpretation.

However, it is not biology alone that makes this park a priceless element of our heritage. Everglades is perhaps equally important as a wilderness area and is managed under a philosophy whereby the whole environment of living things is maintained, insofar as possible, without evidence of man's spoliation.

It is basic within our philosophies that the people of this Nation, in addition to needing space in which to work, and live and recreate, need in equal measure some cathedrals of nature, a few precious unspoiled acres in which they can seek sanctuary, to reflect, to dream, to commune inwardly. For it is in such places that one can gain insight to his purpose on earth, inspiration for his mind and up-lift to his soul. There is no question but that as our populations increase, as our highway systems improve, as we become more affluent, as our leisure time weighs heavily upon our hands, and as man looses his identity by being an insignificant fragment of the masses and conforms to the regimentations imposed by living within the concrete caverns of our metropolitan centers, he and society at large will realize the personal and social *needs* for open space, for wilderness, for a place to get away, where he can re-create his mind and body through the therapy of solitude and the peaceful magic of nature's quiet sounds.

It was in such places of nature that the ancients found and defined their meaning of God. It was here where the philosophers discovered the answers to life's mysteries—and where we can yet find temporal peace and consider the values of our lives and assess our worth. Looking at society today, perhaps it is time to again assess our values. These are wilderness values.

But this is not all. Everglades National Park is also great because it provides quality to our environment and thus satisfies a desire for wholesome surroundings. It contains a wide variety of resources for scientific study. It contributes substantially to the economic vitality of this region. It provides a place for people from all over the Nation and from foreign lands to actively participate in healthful outdoor activity, thus making use of our leisure time more rewarding. It gives perspective to our philosophies and reflects the values of our civilization.

Let's consider these lesser—but certainly not subordinate—values in more detail:

Environment: Americans are a people hurrying to get away from the environment they have created for themselves. Even today there is little natural beauty in most busy lives. Open space is largely sidewalks and streets and neon and traffic lights. In another 25 years or so we can expect the ugliness and congestion of our concrete jungles, the ribbons of bumper to bumper automobiles to extend along virtually the entire eastern seaboard.

The disappearance of beauty in our environment will cause a corollary loss of compassion and morality in mankind. Scientists and philosophers alike have long agreed that beauty and open space are important to our emotional environment. In our national parks activities we are not alone concerned with the conservation of trees and grass and wildlife. We are concerned with the conservation of man himself. We recently have heard much about poverty, but people without space or an opportunity to see beauty are faced with a poverty more debilitating than the lack of money. They are faced with a poverty that warps their minds, a poverty that breeds social disorder and moral decay. For these reasons and because beauty in our environment is wholly as important as other forms of culture in determining the quality of our society it is a part of our responsibility to maintain some areas of beauty, to make this country a place people will want to live in. Thus one of the values of national parks is to raise the environmental level of man and society.

Scientific resources: Our national parks provide displays where millions of interested and curious visitors each year come in close and meaningful contact with America's natural attractions in their most dramatic forms. There is today throughout the Nation an awakening of what might be termed a conservation conscience and an appreciation of man's relationship to nature. There is a growing awareness that man is but a single biological element within his environment and depends upon the proper use of the soil, the water, and the air, and their products for his fundamental existence as well as for his enjoyment and spiritual well-being. To understand our environment and to learn of our interdependencies, it is necessary that we examine and study the elements which surround us and upon which we depend for our sustenance.

In the past, man has vanquished and misused his environment and then left it for newer and greener fields. However, there will be no green paradise awaiting over the next horizon when we complete the plunder of those resources that have sustained us in past years. Man is now against the stark necessity of learning to care for and live within its means. I suggest that one can foresee the time when the natural areas of our national parks will be virtually the only remaining prime laboratories where man can gain a better understanding of primordial nature and where knowledge and discoveries of man's interdependence with the other biological elements of his environment can be found. The typically American pattern of discovery, exploitation, and destruction can no longer be tolerated. There are limits to the capacity of science to extricate us from the mistakes we make in the conservation of our resources.

Economics: Parks are quality attractions which bring generally unrecognized dollars to businessmen over a wide area. The Department of Commerce has reported that the visits of a couple of dozen tourists a day to a community throughout the year provides to that community economic benefits equivalent to an annual industrial payroll of $100,000. Last year in Everglades we had approximately one million visitors or an average of more than 2,600 per day. Extrapolation of direct monetary benefits to the local economies created by this national attraction is thus computed at over eleven million dollars annually, and the numbers of our visitors is increasing at an annual rate of 11% per year. Additionally, there is a staff of 80 permanent and 20 seasonal employees; 125 persons employed by the concessioner who spend their salaries in the vicinity. Since the beginning of the Mission 66 program the park has employed 164 man-years of contractual labor. Conservative projections by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation Resource Review Commission suggests that by the year 2000, in only 34 years, the demands for outdoor use opportunities, such as we have here, will at least triple, and possibly will be as much as four times as great as that we have today, so, multiply our dollar value by at least four.

There are also secondary benefits which accrue from the existence of parks. For example, business volume and bank deposits doubled in 6 years after establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina, and within 8 years the assessed evaluation of real property in the local vicinity more than doubled. Tax rates were reduced 20%. When Hearst Castle in California was established as a State park the ad valorem taxes were 90 million dollars within 5 years, property tax revenues in the immediate castle vicinity had increased to 212 million dollars, while the tax rate decreased, due entirely to the private construction of tourist facilities. I think it goes without saying these same economic tenets are equally applicable to southern Florida.

Parks and outdoor attractions also stimulate population growth and attract industry. In explaining why the Prudential Insurance Companies selected Boston for its new regional headquarters, a spokesman said, "with each new office we have had to face the problems of transferring key employees. One of the motivating forces that attracts people to one place over another is the availability of recreation outlets."

Parks are powerful magnets that by their character and quality attract an ever increasing number of visitors year in and year out. The expenditures of tourists are the number one source of income for many communities across our land. As a matter of fact, tourism ranks first among the industries of Florida. We suggest that Everglades National Park is one of the eminent attractions of Southern Florida and that we thus are in part responsible for this tourist bonanza.

Recreation: I don't think I need dwell on the value that parks provide a place for people to actively participate in healthful outdoor activity. I would merely refer you to our 226,000 boaters, many of them fishermen, or the 100,000 campers or the picnickers and bird watchers or the over 50,000 persons who use the concessioner facilities. Just reflect upon the fact that almost one tourist out of 15 that entered the State of Florida visited Everglades National Park.

Values of civilization: The last and very important value of parks is they give perspective to our philosophies and reflect the value of our civilization. That areas such as Everglades have been set aside for posterity is an example of our response to intellect and indicates our appreciation of God's handiwork. Our national parks are the crown jewels of our Nation, representing the finest, most superlative scenic and scientific wonders the country has to offer. They are more than mere pleasuring grounds with unique displays of wildlife scenery; they are a priceless part of our American heritage, a part of the very fabric of our American way of life and a vital component of a complete land ethic. Parks thus are social and spiritual expression of an enlightened public's demand for the conservation of what is best of our land. They are living symbols of our American personality and because of some of our better qualities a source of inspiration for all the world to see.

In closing let me say that the National Park Service is not only a resource managing agency, but equally a people serving agency. The primary justification of the National Park System lies in its capacity to provide enjoyment and knowledge to the public. It is our mission to transform a proletariat of recreation seekers into an aristocracy of the aware. Our success will be measured by the public's increasing respect for the landscapes and the environment of America.

MAINTAINING THE PUBLIC TRUST

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, it has been evident that the problems of the former Representative from New York, Mr. Powell, have caused problems for the entire Congress. A trauma in public confidence has resulted from evidence showing that abuses exist in the House and that the public trust is flouted with seeming impunity. We must meet this problem headon. My new Republican colleagues and I have introduced bills proposing measures to eliminate these abuses and at the same time restore public confidence in the National Legislature.

An indication of the concern of the public is seen in the resolution of the Alaska State Senate which has been sent to the Speaker and to me. For the information of the House I insert Senate Resolution No. 8, passed by the Alaska State Senate, at this point in the RECORD:

SENATE RESOLUTION No. 8

Resolution expressing concern for maintaining the public trust by politicians

Whereas the strength of our Nation swells forth not from the power of a few, but from the individually combined power of all citizens; and

Whereas the heritage of our Nation has granted to each generation the right to be heard, to serve and be served; and

Whereas the trusted endeavor of serving one's peers in government forums should not be waylaid by serving one's self; and

Whereas each member of each forum shares in the collective duty to refuse to permit individual members to use the forum to desecrate the trust bestowed upon them individually or collectively; be it

Resolved, That the United States Congress is respectfully requested to reassure the citizens of our Nation that the Congress will not tolerate among its members disrespect for our heritage of applying law equally to all citizens.

Copies of this Resolution shall be directed to the Honorable Carl Hayden, President Pro Tempore of the Senate; the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and the Honorable E. L. Bartlett and the Honorable Ernest Gruening, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Howard W. Pollock, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

Passed by the Senate February 27, 1967.

JOHN BUTROVICH,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

EMYLOU LLOYD,
Secretary of the Senate.

ALASKA TRANSPORTATION

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, the serious transportation stranglehold on Alaska by the Jones Act was highlighted recently by Gov. Walter J. Hickel's action in deliberately ordering a violation of that law. To correct this inequity, I introduced on February 1, 1967 a bill—H.R. 4512—to amend the Jones Act by permitting merchandise to be transported on the ferries owned by the Province of British Columbia.

All Alaskans are united behind Governor Hickel in his efforts to break the stranglehold. As proof of this, the Alaska State Legislature has passed a resolution requesting Congress to remove restrictions on the use of the British Columbia ferries. The resolution specifically requests action on a measure introduced in the other body. That measure, my bill or a comparable bill should be passed swiftly to correct this longstanding injustice.

House Joint Resolution No. 22, passed by the Alaska State Legislature, is inserted in the RECORD at this point:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 22

Joint resolution relating to shipping restrictions affecting the Alaska and British Columbia ferries.

Whereas the ocean ferries of Alaska and British Columbia serve as extensions of highways and should be open to the same usage as the highways they connect; and

Whereas United States truckers are effectively prevented by sec. 27 of the Jones Act, 46 USC sec. 883, from carrying United States merchandise destined for Alaska on Canadian ferries and Canadian truckers are prevented by sec. 671 of the Canada Shipping Act from carrying Canadian merchandise destined for British Columbia or Yukon points on United States ferries; and

Whereas transportation of merchandise via the Alaska and British Columbia ferries provides an important and expedient route for shipment of goods to the State of Alaska from its sister states and for shipments of Canadian merchandise to British Columbia or Yukon points; and

Whereas the State of Alaska is the only state in the Union having a foreign nation separating it from the rest of the Nation; and

Whereas application of the prohibitions of the Jones Act and the Canada Shipping Act to the State of Alaska in its unique circumstances poses an inequitable obstacle to the economic development of the state; and

Whereas legislation has been introduced into the Senate of the United States to remove obstacles to the use of Canadian carriers for shipments to the State of Alaska; be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States is respectfully urged to enact Senate Bill 292 amending sec. 27 of the Jones Act and the Canadian Parliament is respectfully urged to amend sec. 671 of the Canada Shipping Act, respectively, in order to remove restrictions on the movement of merchandise in highway vehicles on Alaska and British Columbia ferries.

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States; the Honorable Lester Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada; the Honorable W. A. C. Bennett, Premier of British Columbia; the Honorable Carl Hayden, President Pro Tempore of the Senate; the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and to the Honorable E. L. Bartlett and the Honorable Ernest Gruening, United States Senators, and the Honorable Howard W. Pollock, United States Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

Passed by the House February 23, 1967.

WILLIAM K. BOARDMAN,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

PATRICIA R. SLACK,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Passed by the Senate March 1, 1967.

JOHN BUTROVICH,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

EMYLOU LLOYD,
Secretary of the Senate.
WALTER J. HICKEL,
Governor of Alaska.

ACTIVITIES IN BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA UNDER HOUSE RESOLUTION 596

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under the authority of House Resolution 596, 89th Congress, first session, I was in official travel status in Brazil and Venezuela from November 25, 1966, to December 11, 1966. I was accompanied by Emory W. Reisinger II, of the staff of the Education and Labor Committee.

While in Brazil, I interviewed in depth 121 Brazilians, and 50 U.S. personnel. I participated in meetings, both formal and informal, with approximately 400 additional United States and Brazilian citizens. My average workday in Brazil began at 8 a.m. and ended after 11 p.m.

During 42 hours in Venezuela, I met with five members of the Chamber of Deputies, interviewed the director of the Creole Foundation, who is also a member of the Board of Accion, conferred with the directors of operations and public relations of Accion, toured a program site of Accion, met with the Ambassador and his top advisers, and conferred with the Minister of Planning and Personnel from the Central Bank.

On my return to Washington, I prepared and released a preliminary report of 52 pages on December 23, and will release my final report soon.

Total expenditures were as follows:

Transportation:	
Goodell	$1,026.57
Reisinger	1,209.91
Subtotal	2,236.48
In-country expenses (local currency):	
Goodell	618.63
Reisinger	866.16
Subtotal	1,484.79
In-country expenses (committee appropriations):	
Goodell	105.00
Reisinger	105.00
Subtotal	210.00
Total	3,931.27

TIME FOR A CHANGE AT THE FEDERAL RESERVE—PART II: THE FEDERAL RESERVE'S TIES WITH THE BANKING COMMUNITY

The **SPEAKER**. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, when time expired on my special order, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK] asked for an explanation of my charges that the Federal Reserve System is set up in a manner which allows "insiders" to profit from monetary decisions.

I am more than happy to oblige my colleague. It is a subject which should be discussed on the floor of the House and it is one about which the American people should be more fully informed. I thank the gentleman from Tennessee for calling attention to this problem.

I did not mean to make these charges "by innuendo." I meant to make these charges directly.

As I am sure the gentleman from Tennessee realizes, each of the 12 Federal Reserve banks is run by a nine-man board of directors. This means 108 directors for the 12 banks combined. These directors select the president of each Federal Reserve bank, and it is this president who goes down to Washington every 3 weeks to participate in the meetings of the Federal Open Market Committee.

Now the Federal Open Market Committee is the nerve center—the focal point—of our monetary system. This is where the basic decisions about interest rates and money supply are made. I can think of no agency which is of more vital concern to the American people than the Federal Open Market Committee.

The meetings of this Committee are attended by the 12 presidents of the Federal Reserve banks and the seven members of the Federal Reserve Board.

Now who are the 108 directors who select these representatives to this all-important Federal Open Market Committee? Eighty-four of the 108 Board members, either are now, or have been, directors, officers, or stockholders in commercial banks. They represent the banking interests in each Federal Reserve district.

These banker representatives go behind locked doors to conduct the Open Market Committee meetings. These meetings are supersecret. The public is not allowed inside. The Congress is shut out as is the President of the United States. As I mentioned yesterday, the minutes of these meetings are not released for 6 years—until the statute of limitations has run against any prosecution.

As I am sure the gentleman from Tennessee well recognizes the presence of bank representatives in these secret meetings raises serious questions about potential conflict of interest. Surely, the gentleman from Tennessee would agree that there would be a public outcry if the major electric power companies participated in the decisions of the Federal Power Commission. Certainly, he would agree that the country would be outraged if railroad presidents were on the inside of the decisionmaking at the Interstate Commerce Commission, or if the television broadcasters controlled the Federal Communications Commission.

Again, I repeat, 84 of the 108 directors of these Federal Reserve banks have rather close ties with the banking community. This fact alone should raise a tremendously big question in the minds of every Member of Congress. We cannot bury our heads in the sand and suggest that this fact is an "innuendo."

Mr. Speaker, it takes no great student of the Federal Reserve System to recognize its rather constant and close ties with the banking community. The examples are many and are far reaching in their effect on public policy.

I suggest that the gentleman from Tennessee look back no further than December 1965 to see exactly what I mean. At that time, the major banks of this country—most of them located in New York and Chicago—had about $16 billion in time deposits, or certificates of deposit. Most of these time deposits had been placed with the banks by major corporations.

In December 1965, the big banks faced the very strong possibility that the corporations were not going to renew the certificates, but were instead planning on investing the money in other securities, including short-term Treasury bills, which the Federal Reserve had pushed up to record levels. The banks were in a desperate situation, and they came knocking on the door of their friend, William McChesney Martin.

Mr. Martin and three other members of the Federal Reserve Board granted these big banks a special privilege by raising interest rates 37½ percent on time deposits. That is, they raised the maximum interest rate on time deposits from 4 to 5½ percent—an alltime high.

To save these big banks from the loss of these deposits, William McChesney Martin was willing to impose the highest interest rates in 40 years on the backs of the people of this country. This was a specific instance of Mr. Martin serving the banks first and the people last. This is irrefutable.

If anyone doubts that that is why interest rates were raised, I refer them back to the hearings which we held before the Joint Economic Committee on December 13 and 14, 1965, just after that interest rate increase.

I quote from the record of that hearing in which Mr. C. Canby Balderston, the then Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve, admitted that this is what happened:

> Mr. BALDERSTON. Our concern, of course, was that if those $3.5 billion were withdrawn from the banks, and the banks were placed in a severe enough bind, the impact upon the economy of this country at a time of seasonal need, might have been very bad indeed.
>
> After all, we don't want to have loans called just because the needs of the economy and of the banking system are not accommodated.
>
> Chairman PATMAN. You felt like more interest should be allowed for that reason?
>
> Mr. BALDERSTON. Unless they were allowed to bid a sufficiently high rate of interest to hold the CD's in the face of the declining flow of funds in our corporations you might have had the bind that I referred to. After all, December 15 is not only a tax date but the approach of dividend dates.
>
> Chairman PATMAN. Thank you very much. You have proved my point.

Mr. Speaker, the entire circumstances surrounding that December 6, 1965, announcement of the Federal Reserve carry the earmarks of "inside dealing."

Now keep in mind the $16 billion worth of time deposits in those Chicago and New York banks. This will place in proper context what I will reveal next to the gentleman from Tennessee.

I refer to two telegrams that arrived at the Federal Reserve Board offices on Constitution Avenue late on Thursday, December 2, 1965, just 4 days before the public was let in on the plans for an interest rate increase.

At 4:06 p.m. on this Thursday, the Board received a telegram from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, of which Mr. Alfred Hayes is president. This telegram reads:

> Our board of directors today voted to establish following discount rates effective the first business day following that on which approved by the Board of Governors: (a) on discounts for and advances to member banks under sections 13 and 13(a), 4½ per cent; (b) on advances to member banks under section 10 (b), 5 per cent; and (c) on advances to individuals, partnerships, and corporations other than member banks under last paragraph section 13, 5½ per cent.
>
> RICHARD A. DEBS,
> *Secretary.*

Fifteen minutes later, at 4:21 p.m., the Federal Reserve Board received a second telegram, this one from the Federal Reserve bank of Chicago. This telegram read:

Our board of directors today voted to establish the following discount rates effective the first business day following that on which approved by the Board of Governors: (a) on discounts for and advances to member banks under sections 13 and 13 (a), 4½ per cent; (b) on advances to member banks under section 10 (b), 5 per cent; and (c) on advances to individuals, partnerships and corporations other than member banks under the last paragraph section 13, 5½ per cent.

PAUL C. HODGE,
Secretary.

Mr. Speaker, these two telegrams are identical. The wording is not changed anywhere, only the signatures on the telegrams are different.

Perhaps the gentleman from Tennessee will say that this is circumstantial evidence. But I say that it is plain that a conspiracy did indeed exist in the Federal Reserve bank districts of Chicago and New York.

The next afternoon—Friday, December 3, 1965—the Federal Reserve Board met in secret and voted to follow the orders of the New York and Chicago banks. They kept this information a secret from the public until the Washington Post revealed what was going on on Sunday, December 5. Then they were forced to release the information, which appeared in newspapers all over the country on Monday, December 6, 1965. At this point, we had a 37½-percent interest rate increase imposed on the American people, just to accommodate these New York and Chicago banks.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee, yesterday, appeared shocked and surprised that anyone was accusing the Federal Reserve of "inside" dealing. I am surprised at his surprise. Others, deeply concerned about our monetary affairs, have suggested much the same thing previously.

Last year, I remember that Mr. David P. Charnay, chairman of the board of the Continental General, Inc., an investment firm, suggested that news of a prime bank loan rate increase had been leaked in advance. Mr. Charney called for a Federal investigation into the connection between this possible leak and an 11-point drop in the stock market.

I place in the RECORD a story from the Associated Press, outlining Mr. Charnay's charge about news leaking on interest rate increases:

[From the Associated Press, Aug. 18, 1966]

PROBE ASKED—NEWS LEAK TO MARKET IS HINTED

NEW YORK.—David P. Charnay, chairman of the board of the Continental General, Inc., investment firm, last night suggested that news of last week's rise in the prime bank loan rate might have been leaked in advance.

Charnay called for a federal investigation into the possibility, after noting that the announcement of the rate increase was preceded by an 11-point drop in the stock market.

He said in telegrams to President Johnson, the Securities and Exchange Commission and both the New York and American Stock Exchanges that there may have been a leak of "inside information" to "professionals," who unloaded stocks in advance.

"It would seem," the telegram read, "that somewhere along the line the professionals had inside information, thus causing a decline which undoubtedly affected more than 20 million shareholders in the United States.

"Obviously," the telegram concluded, "the American public is entitled to a full and thorough examination of how the market could react so violently for hours prior to the announcement of a rise in prime interest rates."

Mr. Speaker, it always seems strange that the banks across the country operate as an automated unit in raising interest rates. When a prime rate change is announced by a New York bank, all the other banks across the country follow almost immediately with increases of their own.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD an article from the Washington Evening Star of August 17, 1966, describing the big prime rate increase which took place last summer. This article plainly shows the similarity of action by banks in all parts of the country:

PARADE OF BANKS ADOPTS 6-PERCENT PRIME LOAN RATE

Major commercial banks have again raised their prime lending rates—to 6 percent—and the Johnson administration has reacted by urging banks to curb credit expansion by refusing loans to prospective borrowers more often.

This curb could apply to individuals seeking a loan for a car, a house or other purposes as well as big business firms seeking major loans.

In rapid fire order yesterday, major commercial banks in several cities increased their prime rates for the fourth time in a year.

CHASE MANHATTAN GOES UP

This morning, Chase Manhattan Bank, the largest bank in New York and the second largest in the nation, said it was increasing its prime rate to 6 percent, effective immediately.

Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. and Irving Trust Co. also announced increases to 6 percent.

Both banks also said they are increasing from 6 percent to 6¼ percent their interest rate on loans to brokers and dealers, effective Aug. 22.

Other banks were expected to follow suit.

Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler issued the plea for restraint on loans after the First National City Bank of New York initiated the increase, raising by one-fourth of 1 percent its lowest interest rate for business loans of 90 days or more.

A bank spokesman said the move was designed "to moderate the continuing extraordinary loan demand."

There was no solid indication President Johnson would try to roll back the boost or talk the bankers out of it.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said in an interview today that the economy is a delicate mechanism that can be affected seriously by untimely tampering.

Answering Senate criticism of President Johnson's anti-inflation policies, Humphrey described the economy as strong and healthy and said "I do not think this is the time to apply any drastic measure to it."

GETS INTENSE STUDY

But, he added, "You can be sure that it is a subject under intense study within the administration."

Sen. Russell B. Long of Louisiana, the assistant Democratic leader, and Sen. Albert Gore, D-Tenn., has called in the Senate yesterday for presidential action to bring down soaring interest rates. Their appeals came prior to the announced rise in the prime rate.

Humphrey said he has long favored low interest rates. But he said he does not believe restrictive measures on the economy are in order now.

NO DECISION AT RIGGS

Washington area banks did not react immediately to the boost in the prime rate by New York banks, but there were indications they would follow the New York lead. Most observers were watching to see what the Riggs National Bank does.

L. A. Jennings, chairman of the board at Riggs, said "We've made no decision yet, but we are studying it carefully. We have lines of credit out to large corporate customers around the country and it would be unnatural to keep on charging 5¾ percent when everyone else is charging 6 percent."

Area bankers said any increase would immediately affect only prime customers, usually large corporations.

J. Robert Sherwood, president of Suburban Trust Co., in nearby Maryland, said: "We've been trying to hold back, to tread water on this. But when others move upward, we almost have to move also."

The prime lending rate is that charged the largest and most credit worthy customers, such as big corporations. It forms the basis for the commercial interest rate structure.

Thus, when a bank's best customer is charged 6 percent, other borrowers may be charged 6.5 percent to 7 percent or more.

Experts said pressure will be placed on installment and other small loans, but supplies of money for personal or consumer loans will tend to be available, although at higher rates.

Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago quickly followed suit after the New York Bank hiked its prime rate.

And Bankers Trust in New York followed with an explanation by Chairman William H. Moore: "We think that in view of the demand for money and the pressure on interest rates this increase is amply justified."

Among other banks that joined in the rate rise was Mellon National Bank of Pittsburgh.

FOWLER'S CONTENTION

Fowler contended "there is a better way to limit credit than by simply raising its price."

"When demands exceed a bank's resources, credit expansion can and should be restrained by bankers saying 'No' to borrowers on criteria other than that of who is willing to pay the highest rate," he said.

Since last December, Fowler noted, the prime rate had been increased three times, from 4.5 percent to 5.75 percent. Interest rates in other sectors of the economy also have risen substantially.

"I hope that today's increase in the prime rate does not become the occasion for lenders to raise rates generally," Fowler said.

The new increase leaves an unusually large gap between the prime rate and the Federal Reserve's discount rate which was raised last December from 4 percent to 4.5 percent. This is the rate charged banks for funds they borrow from the Federal Reserve System.

Mr. Speaker, there seems to be little question that the big bankers of this country know what is going on all the time inside the Federal Reserve. A close analysis of financial news indicates that the banks either have this inside knowledge or an uncanny knack of predicting the future.

I call particular attention to an article in the Wall Street Journal of Monday, November 21, 1966. The first paragraph of this article reads:

> A banker familiar with Federal Reserve System policy indicated the System will continue to keep a "rather firm restraint" on the nation's credit reins, but won't tighten credit any further for the rest of the year.

The article went on to say:

> Financial experts interpreted the banker's remarks as an indication that the Federal Reserve has found it can continue to keep tight credit conditions in the money market without bearing down quite as hard on bank

reserves. The banker said, "Rather firm restraint has been general monetary policy for many months now and remains so."

These quotes from the article plainly show that some banker, who remained unnamed by the Wall Street Journal, had some pretty good knowledge about the Federal Reserve. He spoke with the tone of authority at a time when the Congress and apparently the President were in the dark about Federal Reserve policy.

The Federal Reserve, Mr. Speaker, has close ties with all elements of the banking community. The Banking and Currency Committee developed this fact rather fully in hearings in 1964. We discovered at that time that the Federal Reserve System was paying about $90,000 in dues to various banking organizations, including the American Bankers Association.

The American Bankers Association is, of course, a lobbying organization designed to promote the interests of the commercial banking industry. It is one of the Nation's biggest, best financed, and, in my opinion, one of the most ruthless lobbies. Yet, the Federal Reserve, which I gather the gentleman from Tennessee believes is free of banker ties, pays dues to the American Banking Association. The Federal Reserve System is actually a card-carrying, dues-paying member of the American Bankers Association.

In my book, it is pretty hard to get any closer to the banking industry than the American Bankers Association.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I detailed charges against William McChesney Martin and accused him of costing the American people $211 billion excess interest charges since 1951. Do you know how much that means each year? That means for each of the last 15 years William McChesney Martin has cost the people of this country in excessive interest rates $14.5 billion a year.

For these and other reasons I suggested that Mr. Martin not be reappointed when his term expires on March 31.

I also suggested that the President allow Charles N. Shepardson to retire as a Governor of the Federal Reserve Board on April 30. At that time, Mr. Shepardson will reach the mandatory retirement age under civil service regulations, and can continue only if the President grants a special exception.

Again, I say that it is in the public interest that both of these men be removed from positions of influence. I say that it is in the public interest for the high interest, tight money policies of these gentlemen to be reversed. I say that it is time that we put public interest representatives on the Federal Reserve. The Federal Reserve already has enough banker representatives. It does not need any more.

While the Congress, the President, and the people are denied access to the Federal Open Market Committee meetings, it appears that Mr. Martin lets various people of his own choosing attend these sessions. Recently, I saw a copy of a book written by James L. Knipe entitled "The Federal Reserve and the American Dollar." Mr. Knipe was apparently given favored treatment by Mr. Martin and allowed to sit in on these secret sessions while the rest of the public was shut out.

I quote from the foreword of the book which illustrates this point:

> In 1959, I was invited to come down to the Board, on a daily fee basis, to serve as consultant to the Chairman. Apparently the invitation from Mr. Martin came as a result of some writing I had done, which had been read by him, as well as by several other governors. A six-month appointment stretched into more than three years, to my gratification. It would have been impossible to find a better spot from which to study the System.

Now listen to this, the concluding sentence:

> For example, I missed only one Federal Open Market Committee meeting during my entire time at the Board.

Now, this is someone who was not a member of the Open Market Committee. He really had no connection with it but he was allowed to sit in at all of these meetings except one. That was about 50 different secret Open Market Committee meetings, where decisions were made as to how much money would be in circulation and what the interest rates would be.

Now the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK] on yesterday brought up some important questions. He contended that the Federal Reserve Board was so pure and that Mr. Martin in particular was so pure. He contended no one would think about capitalizing on the inside knowledge that they possess from the secret sessions of the Federal Reserve Board and the Open Market Committee.

The gentleman from Tennessee yesterday also stated that Mr. Martin had converted all of his securities into cash on becoming Chairman and that he had not acquired any securities since that time.

That is the first time I heard that story and I so stated in the debate with Mr. BROCK. Is it by chance that Mr. Martin has become so close to certain Members of the minority party, and Mr. BROCK in particular, that he would impart to them information that he has never disclosed to Members on the other side of the aisle?

I never heard of it before. As a result I went back and read the hearings in the Senate when Mr. Martin's confirmation was up in 1951, and again in 1956. Nothing like that was ever mentioned in the hearings. There is no mention of a stock divestiture by Mr. Martin.

So now, since Mr. BROCK brought this matter up, I wonder if he would not be willing to furnish or have the members of the Open Market Committee, including Mr. Martin, furnish a statement of any assets they now possess or have possessed over the last 10 years which would be influenced in value by inside knowledge that they might have from their official positions. This statement should show whether they own Government bonds and the amount of these bonds, when they were bought, and when they were sold. The statement should also show the amount of other securities and other holdings of all members of this Open Market Committee. This should particularly include any security whose value could be influenced by a decision of the Open Market Committee.

I think that would be wonderful information and useful information for the public and the Congress. Since the question was raised by the gentleman from Tennessee, I suggest that Mr. BROCK—since he seems to be on a very fine relationship with the Chairman, Mr. William McChesney Martin—obtain from Mr. Martin and from the members of the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee this information and place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I wonder if Mr. BROCK is willing to do that. I am calling upon him to do that. I hope he complies and furnishes us the information he mentioned on Monday. If he does not, I hope he states the reason why he does not. He has volunteered information about Mr. Martin which has never been brought up in the 15 years he has been Chairman. Of course, it is a kind of mystery to me that at this late date he would bring it up now—unless Mr. Martin and the Board feel like they are in a desperate situation and they have to bail themselves out quickly.

The other day the Reserve requirements on time deposits were reduced by the Federal Reserve for the purpose of making more money available. Reserve requirements were reduced from 4 to 3 percent.

Under the 4-percent rate the banks could manufacture, could create, $25 for every one of those dollars in reserve on that 4 percent. That meant that by changing it to 3 percent, which they would have on reserve, they could manufacture and create $33⅓ for every reserve dollar.

So, the Federal Reserve Board reduced reserve requirements on savings deposits from 4 to 3 percent, making $850 million available to the banks to use as reserves, absolutley free of charge, without any cost of any kind whatsoever, to create money equal to from 10 to 1, to 20 to 1, to 33⅓ to 1. That could mean $5 or $10 or $15 billion they can manufacture, make loans, and draw interest on, or buy Government and tax-free bonds and get interest income.

That is a pretty good bonus for the banks, $850 million in reserves upon which they can create $10 billion or more at their will for the purposes I have stated.

If the Federal Reserve had really been looking at this from the standpoint of the people and not solely from the standpoint of the banks, they could have done exactly the same thing and caused us to profit $34 million a year from that transaction. As it is, we do not profit at all.

Suppose that the Federal Reserve, instead of reducing reserve requirements so as to make available $850 million, had gone into the market and bought $850 million of Government bonds, of 4-percent bonds, and held them, and collected interest on that. At 4 percent that would be $34 million a year. This would have the same economic effects as reducing the reserve requirements of banks.

A policy has grown up with the Federal Reserve of using our currency that is manufactured over here at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing—$5 and $10 bills, the kind we normally use every day. They take that printed money and also the Government's credit and they exchange it for U.S. Government bonds and keep the bonds and continue to draw interest on them.

I have interrogated members of the Board over a long period of time, and they admitted that those bonds have been paid for once, when they use one form of Government obligation to buy another. Paid for once, certainly the bonds should not remain outstanding against the Government.

Today they are holding $44 billion in Government bonds in that way.

Now let us sum up here a little bit. This $44 billion in bonds should not be charged against our national debt, because they have been paid for once. Our national debt could be reduced by this amount. Then, if we had not had a man by the name of Martin who was increasing interest rates all the time for the last 15 years, our national debt today would be $43 billion less. So there is $87 billion that should be reduced from our national debt. It is just that simple. No one can deny it. It is just that way. It is too bad that people are inclined not to believe it. They just say, "Oh, Congress would not allow that to go on. Of course, they would not." But the truth is Congress has allowed it to go on for 15 years and longer right here in broad daylight, and every day it has been robbing and robbing and robbing the people. It is just highway robbery in broad daylight.

So I suggest to my dear friends who are Members of Congress and who are good people—I do not know of one of them that I dislike or do not trust—I urge them to give more attention to this $14.5 billion interest increase caused by Mr. Martin for no good purpose, and that is $14.5 billion a year in addition to the $14.2 billion that we have to pay in interest on the national debt every year. So if it were not for these debts of billions of dollars spent unnecessarily for extortionate and unnecessary interest, our country would be getting along pretty well today.

I hope that Mr. Brock will answer the questions in the next Record that I have propounded to him.

FIRE RESEARCH AND SAFETY ACT

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, this proposed Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967, H.R. 6637, would amend the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards to authorize a comprehensive fire research and safety program to gather comprehensive fire data, conduct intensive fire research, educate and train in fire protection and safety and support demonstrations of improved and experimental fire protection and safety.

The best estimates available indicate that in 1965, fire in the United States caused 12,100 deaths and property damage amounting to $1,741,300,000 or $8.98 for every man, woman, and child. Our per capita fire death rate is twice Canada's rate, four times the rate for the United Kingdom, and six and one-half times the rate for Japan. While our much higher per capita death rate may reflect the hazards that accompany our higher standard of living, this merely indicates that we must put forth greater fire safety efforts as our living standards rise, if we are to eliminate excessive loss of life to fire.

Over the past 5 years, the best privately estimated per capita fire death rate from all causes has remained relatively constant—although U.S. Public Health Service figures for nontransportation fires have increased nine percent. Over the same period the estimated per capita number of fires in the United States has increased nine percent and estimated per capita property damage has increased four percent. Our 1965 estimated per capita property damage contrasts with $6.85 for Canada, the next highest per capita loss among major countries. Japan, with a population of about one-half of the United States, has a per capita loss of only $1.32 and its total number of fires in 1965 is about one-fortieth of the number that occurred in the United States.

The ravages of uncontrolled fires have dotted the pages of history from its beginning. Great fires that are well known go back at least to Nero's Rome in the middle of the first century. King John promulgated building ordinances to prevent the spread of fire between buildings after the London fire of 1212—3 years before the Magna Charta. Research and testing of building constructions for fire resistance in this country started early in the last century but remained at a very low level until the great fires in Chicago, Baltimore and San Francisco, the last two in the first decade of this century. The resulting impetus to fire studies has led to a more systematic approach and to the present collection of standard test methods.

At about the same time that fire testing and research was beginning to grow, the gathering of fire information and attempts at public education on fire safety took on a new stature. The National Fire Protection Association founded in 1896, is the chief source for educational materials and consolidated fire information.

ROLE OF FIRE IN PUBLIC SAFETY

Fire strikes at man both physically and economically. There is no place or time when he may safely relax his guard. His homes, places of amusement, cities, transportation, and national resources are all vulnerable to fire. Fires start from natural causes such as lightning, but most causes are related to man's carelessness among the hazardous surroundings he has made for himself.

Fires in homes and apartments take many lives every year. Tragedies strike in places of public assembly despite laws and recommendations on construction, decoration, occupancy, and means of egress. Large losses of life have occurred in just the past few years as a result of fires in schools, hospitals, hotels, and restaurants. The recent tragedy in a penthouse restaurant in Montgomery, Ala., took 25 lives.

Without the significant efforts of private and public organizations in the field of fire safety, the record would be much worse. However, this record can and should be improved. Greater support of fire safety programs will be needed, if such improvement is to be achieved. The Federal Government should provide needed support through a national fire safety program, including direct financial support of activities of private nonprofit and public organizations, and increased Federal activities to provide technical support for their programs. The national program should encourage local initiative by supporting improved methods and techniques for preventing and controlling fires, reducing personal injury and property damage, or improving the efficiency, operation, or organization of the fire services.

Comprehensive and detailed information on fire causes and effects is essential to the best use of available resources to minimize the harm from fires. These resources must be directed to the most significant areas of the overall problem, which are only partially identified at present. For example, present fire cause data are not detailed enough to permit analysis to determine where research and other activities will be most beneficial. Similarly, education in fire safety and protection is hindered by a lack of detailed information on the nature and scope of the problem.

INFORMATION

Our present national efforts to gather information on fire causes and effects are carried on by private organizations. These organizations depend on voluntary cooperation of their members and others who are interested enough to provide reports. The National Fire Protection Association is generally recognized as having the best compilation of data on fire causes and losses of life and property. Despite diligent effort on the association's part, however, it receives statewide loss data from only about half of the States, and data on causes from about one-third of the States. The present NFPA budget, derived from members' dues plus the sale of publications cannot support staff operations in the field to gather directly the data which is not supplied to the association. Nor can the association appeal to any incentive for cooperation in the data gathering other than a common interest in fire safety.

Another group gathering data is the insurance industry. However, their primary interest is in the area of establishing insurance rates, and their data, and analyses thereof, are of appropriately limited scope.

We need more fire information than voluntary efforts have been able to gather. The proposed legislation would authorize Federal support that could be used to increase that level of effort significantly. Voluntary and uniform reporting of fire information could be achieved by grants to local organizations. The information gathering program would utilize a standardized reporting system, and one or more teams of experts to investigate selected fires in depth and evaluate and improve the reporting system. There would also be a clearinghouse service for fire information, which would maintain a comprehensive library, provide materials and an abstract service, publish bibliographies, and maintain rosters of those having highly specialized expertise.

The information gathered under this program would aid in planning, research, and in providing fire safety education. The clearinghouse service would furnish useful fire information to the fire service and others interested in fire safety throughout the country.

RESEARCH

The present research effort is carried on by fire equipment and building materials industries, trade associations, universities, nonprofit organizations, commercial laboratories, and Government agencies. The industry and trade association research, for the most part, is of an applied, product-oriented nature. Individual companies conduct little basic research. Industry has made use of trade associations as a mechanism for industrywide support of research on common problems. But this work also is predominantly applied research. Industry tends to look to those who are not profit motivated for the basic research information.

The Federal Government's funding for fire research program is about $6 million, concentrated mainly in the Forest Service and Department of Defense, the latter including the Office of Civil Defense. Smaller amounts go to the National Bureau of Standards, National Science Foundation, Bureau of Mines, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The research of the Government agencies is largely mission-oriented, and not applicable to many common fire safety problems.

The primary deficiency of these research programs is that inadequate attention is given to establishing an understanding of the basic nature and behavior of fire upon which could be based a theory and more efficient practice of fire prevention and control. Instead, great reliance is placed on the less efficient method of empirical fire testing, to determine the fire resistance of various materials. The number of samples of building materials and assemblies that can be fire tested is limited because of cost, thus restricting technological innovation in the building industry.

A major research gap is in the area of fire department operations. The need for research here is becoming critical. Increasing costs of operating community services, the trend to great agglomeration of communities into metropolitan regions, and the rapid social and technological change are imposing demands on fire services for greater efficiency. In rural areas, the longer distances and uncertain water supplies, plus the hazard of large quantities of stored combustible agricultural products on many farms, place great demands on local fire services.

The legislation will authorize additional research nearly equal to the present Federal level immediately, much of which will be used, through contracts, to support fundamental studies in the universities and other non-Federal facilities. There would also be development of improved methods and techniques for preventing and controlling fires, and for rehabilitating injured persons and damaged property.

EDUCATION

The National Fire Protection Association, the International Association of Fire Chiefs, and the National Safety Council each has a national program in fire prevention education. Of these, NFPA's is the largest and includes Spring Clean-Up Week and Fire Prevention Week in October. Government and local public education programs are generally related to the national programs and make use of their educational literature.

Despite these efforts at public education, many members of the public are complacent and do not take the precautions needed to reduce the occurrences of fires caused by carelessness. Inadequate financial resources now preclude existing programs from fully effective use of mass communication media and of other public educational activities. The legislation would authorize grants to State and local fire service groups and support to national fire education groups for public fire safety education. It will also authorize Federal technical support of such educational activities.

Insufficient attention is given to fire prevention education in our institutions of higher learning. Engineering, architecture, city planning, and comparable curriculums should include fire problems and design approaches that will minimize fire occurrence and spread. Such design should become an integral part of the overall practice of those professions. Specialized training in the scientific and engineering aspects of fire protection are also needed. Only two universities offer 4-year curriculums leading to degrees in fire protection engineering. The proposed legislation would authorize grants for the development of curriculums and course material to facilitate the establishment of fire protection curriculums in additional colleges or universities, and facilitate the introduction of fire protection courses in other curriculums.

Most professional fire personnel lack sufficient training in command and control of disaster operations and in the control of special hazards. Education and training is essential to attainment of the highest levels of competence for the fire services. Many States have fire service schools offering short courses. However, the content and amount of training varies from State to State, and even within States since individual participation in some cases is dependent on the availability of local funds. The proposed legislation would authorize grants and support of the development of and participation in professional extension courses for fire service personnel and officers. We believe the objective should be the establishment of a program of periodic professional training for all fire services personnel, and for the staff of State fire marshals offices or other offices whose responsibilities have significant relationships to fire. Such increased education should enhance professional stature and encourage career and executive development in the fire services, thereby attracting greater numbers of highly qualified individuals to this important area of public service.

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

Many interested firemen and other public spirited individuals have applied themselves to problems of public education, fire safety, and fire department operations. Frequently, these individuals have not been able to support, or find support for, practical demonstrations of the feasibility of improved training aids, operational procedures, public education programs, or other fire safety methods and techniques. Ideas for useful demonstration will also result from Federal fire safety activities.

The proposed legislation would authorize Federal support of appropriate demonstrations, and thus would encourage local and individual initiative in the solution of fire safety problems.

NATIONAL FIRE RESEARCH AND SAFETY CENTER

This proposed legislation would state the sense of Congress that the Secretary should establish a fire research and safety center. While much of the research under this program will be performed outside the Federal Government or in other Federal facilities, neither private nor Government facilities in this country are equipped for certain kinds of research, such as growth and spread of fires within full-scale multistory buildings or the interactions among structural elements under fire conditions. The results of these and similar studies could lead to advanced design practices reducing the likelihood and spread of fires. Consequently an advanced research center is needed for performance of such fundamental studies.

Additionally, the center would provide a central focus for management of the national fire safety program under this proposed legislation. By establishing close contact with research personnel, the center would facilitate development of necessary staff competence for both technical support of non-Federal activities and scientific management of contracts and grants.

Finally, the program also would utilize fully existing competence and facilities of other Federal agencies, and would be coordinated carefully with related existing Federal programs.

HOW TO GO BROKE WITHOUT EVEN TRYING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, now that Congress has once again had to increase the national debt ceiling, the American people have a right to ask if the proper priorities are being given to the expenditure of their tax dollars. This becomes even more imperative with the President asking for a 6-percent increase in Federal taxes on top of the present heavy level of taxation.

A few weeks ago I pointed out the utter nonsense of the administration's approval of an $8,000 plus grant to the University of California for a study of the history of comic strips. But lest anyone think that this relatively small grant represents the only amount of waste in a time of national economic crisis, I wish to point out that this grant represents only one of many totaling almost $1 million by the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. Some of the others are equally absurd and are even less justified during a time of severe strain on the National Treasury. Many would not be justified even if we had a large budget surplus, for surely tax funds were never intended to be used for this purpose. At least I can find no authority in the Constitution for the expenditure of such funds.

It reminds me of an Ozark story about the man who discovered a hole in his pocket the size of a penny. He carefully refrained from putting any pennies in his pocket and inserted only his dimes. Of course, they all kept falling through the hole and in time he was flat broke. In the course of a year an awful lot of dimes can slip through a hole the size of a penny. In the same way the Federal Treasury is depleted by a succession of "comic book" grants.

I even find there is no clear understanding at the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities on who has title to the product of this federally subsidized research.

Does any taxpayer have a right to obtain a copy of the end product? The deputy director says he is not sure. Does the Federal Government share in the profits of any of this research in case one of these studies becomes a best seller? No one downtown professes to know.

In an interview in the Santa Barbara, Calif., News Press, Dr. David Kunzle, who is the recipient of the comic-book grant, responding to my criticism, says:

> It is too bad that congressional objections to my grant-in-aid weren't publicized closer to the publication of my book—they would have skyrocketed sales.

I do not think Dr. Kunzle will find much sympathy from the American taxpayers whose largess will afford him a year's sabbatical leave from the university.

The following is a complete listing of the grants accorded by the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities in their announcement of February 8, 1967. The title of the news release is "Humanities Endowment Announces $936,000 in Research Grants." I suggest a better and far more appropriate title would be "How To Go Broke Without Even Trying." I hope my colleagues on the House Appropriations Committee will review these grants, and then act as they may see fit.

The list follows:

Grants Made by National Foundation on Arts and Humanities

THE AGE OF WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON

A grant of approximately $24,000 to Smith College will make possible a study of the period of Washington and Jefferson as an organic unit. The study, under the direction of historians Stanley M. Elkins of Smith and Eric McKitrick of Columbia University, will examine the parochial versus the continental mentality, the problem of democracy, and the idea of the political party, and will stress the strong intellectual character of the nation's early political leaders.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WIS., THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES, 1870–1900

A grant of approximately $8,976 was approved to the University of Wisconsin to support a project which will bring to completion the study of the political process in American communities during the late nineteenth century. This study has been supported by the American Council of Learned Societies in the form of a postdoctoral fellowship. The project funded by the Endowment is to collect information about social, political, and economic trends in three Wisconsin communities (Green Bay, Eau Clare, and Janesville) and three Massachusetts communities (Newburyport, Marlboro, and Pittsfield). The study is comparative and extends over the closing thirty years of the century.

The information will be "stored" on data processing cards at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and may be used ultimately by scholars throughout the country for historical research.

The Project is under the direction of J. Rogers Hollingsworth.

EXCAVATIONS IN TUSCANY

A grant of up to $10,000 to Bryn Mawr College will support an archaeological project which will train American archaeology students as well as furthering research. Under the direction of Kyle M. Phillips, Jr., presently a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, students from various American institutions will participate in diggings that will reveal the layout and development of a 6th century B.C. Etruscan town. Endowment funds will increase the number of student participants and extend their training.

MING BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY PROJECT

A grant of approximately $10,000 was approved for the Association of Asian Studies and the American Council of Learned Societies to further an international effort with the support of eighteen centers of Chinese studies in the United States and the Far East to study and prepare biographies of major figures in all phases of Chinese life in the Ming period from the 14th to 17th centuries. These should serve as a basis for better understanding of Modern China and the civilization of traditional China. The biographies will be prefaced by interpretive essays summing up development in history, society, and culture of the period. The Ming period, which was the end of traditional Chinese civilization and the beginning of China's first continuing contact with the West, is a focal point of controversy between Communist and non-Communist historians.

COMPILATION OF SELECT COURT RECORDS TO ILLUSTRATE AMERICAN COLONIAL SOCIETY

In support of a project to compile material drawn from the court records of certain colonies, representative of nearly all sections of British Colonial North America between 1720 and 1765, the Endowment approved a grant of $10,000 to the American Historical Association. The material will center around a unifying theme, that of individual freedom under the law. Civil and political freedoms; freedom of expression; libel, defamation and slander; imprisonment for debt; regulation of prices and wages, religious freedom and personal freedoms involving domestic relations; the rights of women; and travel restrictions are some of the subjects that will be studied. The project is under the direction of Neal W. Allen, Jr.

THE HISTORY OF THE COMIC STRIP

A grant of approximately $8,789 was approved to the University of California at Santa Barbara for completion of a study of the history of the comic strip in the 19th century. The project to be undertaken by David Kunzle will center on the work of the Swiss artist-writer Rodolphe Toepffer and the German Wilhelm Busch, precursors of satirical portraiture, whose work strongly influenced comic strip art. This study should make a great contribution to the understanding of the comic strip on a historical and sociological basis, as well as an artistic one.

LITERARY INVESTIGATION OF AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE

A grant of up to $12,650 was approved to the University of California at Los Angeles to support a research project on the contributions of "popular" literature to the creation and maintenance of important American myths and traditions. Studies, under the direction of Philip Durham and Everett Jones, would involve research and cataloguing of collections of dime novels and other popular literature. The project will be valuable both as a documentary and in terms of the influence of American popular writers abroad and in this country.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROJECTS TO SURVEY, EDIT AND TRANSLATE PAPERS RELATING TO THE FUR TRADE

The Minnesota Historical Society will receive a grant of up to $5,000 to support a segment of a project to survey, edit and translate papers relating to the fur trade. This grant will enable the Society to identify and assemble for publication primary sources on the French and British fur trade between Montreal, Minnesota, and Western Canada between 1770 and 1820. This project under the direction of Robert Wheeler, Associate Director of the Minnesota Historical Society, will contribute to the understanding of the role played by the fur trade in the development of Canada and the northern United States.

AMERICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN TURKEY

A grant of approximately $14,000 has been approved to the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT).

ARIT is an association of 17 American universities and institutions (including the Archaeological Institute of America, Dumbarton Oaks, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and 14 major graduate universities). It was established in 1964 to provide scholars with facilities and fellowship support for research which can be best, or uniquely, accomplished in the Republic of Turkey.

Any American scholar is eligible to apply to the Institute, regardless of whether his institution is a member of the association. Research activities, which cover such fields as anthropology, art, archaeology, history, linguistics, philology, and cultural studies of Turkey in ancient, medieval and modern times, are presently supported by contributions from member universities and by funds from the State Department.

INSTITUTE OF MEDIEVAL CANON LAW—A COLLECTION OF CRITICAL EDITIONS OF AND STUDIES ON MEDIEVAL TEXTS OF CANON LAW

A grant of up to $10,000 was approved to support the work of editing from manuscript sources a multi-volume collection of texts of medieval canon law. Working on this project is an international team of scholars which has several volumes underway, four of which will go to the printer this year.

An understanding of canonical law of the

Middle Ages is essential to the understanding of the civilization of medieval Europe, and the manuscript sources to be used for these text volumes are virtually inaccessible as they are scattered in many libraries.

The project is under the direction of Stephen Kuttner, Riggs Professor at Yale.

CATALOG OF PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS, AND PRINTS OF REMBRANDT PEALE

The Peale Museum in Baltimore, Maryland was granted approximately $10,000 to produce a comprehensive catalogue of the works of Rembrandt Peale. The Catalogue will not only make a contribution to the bibliography of American art history but will serve as a tool for scholars. Rembrandt Peale, second son of Charles Willson Peale, had tremendous influence on his times (1780–1828) and on the later works of his father. Neither of these aspects has been studied. The project is under the direction of Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr.

EDITION OF OVIEDO'S MEMOIRS

Smith College will receive a grant of approximately $6,952 for a research project directed by J. B. Avalle-Arce to edit the unpublished memoirs of the Spaniard Oviedo (1478–1557). Oviedo, who was active in both Europe and America, was official chronicler to Charles V. His memoirs include not only details of the court of the Catholic kings and of the last Aragonese kings of Naples, but he also wrote the first history of the Spanish conquest of America.

The first volume of Oviedo's memoirs was published in 1880, and nothing has been edited or published since.

PAPERS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

The Harmony Society, a socio-economic "miracle" of the first half of the 19th century, was founded in Germany and began migrating to the United States in 1785. The community was instrumental in founding the State of Indiana; in Pennsylvania they built the town of Economy and helped to develop Pittsburgh. Successive migrations carried them to Utah, Oregon and Louisiana. To date, the colorful history of the Society has been neglected. An Endowment grant of up to $15,000 to Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, will enable Dr. Karl J. R. Arndt to select, and edit papers comprising a documentary history of the Society as an example of the contribution of this unique cultural group to the development of America.

THE JOHN JAY PAPERS

A grant of $6,250 was approved to Columbia University to support the editing and preparation for publication of the papers of John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs and first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The project is under the direction of Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia.

LETTERS OF LOUIS BRANDEIS

A grant of up to $17,187 to Ohio State University will enable researchers M. I. Urofsky and D. W. Levy to prepare a scholarly edition of the letters of Justice Brandeis, one of the most distinguished American jurists of the 20th century. The bulk of the papers, totaling some 25,000 items, will be obtained from the University of Louisville Law School and the Brandeis family. Other university libraries and individuals will be asked to make available additional letters and papers in order to make the edition complete and comprehensive.

JOHN DEWEY WRITINGS

A grant of up to $10,000 to Southern Illinois University will assist in support of an edition of the collected works of the American philosopher and educator John Dewey. This authoritative edition will make available materials hitherto inaccessible. Director of the project is Jo Ann Boydston. Dewey's major interest was educational reform, and he saw education as integrally related to human experience and contemporary society. Thus his philosophy seems a peculiarly appropriate object of study under Humanities Endowment funding.

WINCHESTER EXCAVATIONS

Another archaeology grant will provide up to $17,205 to the University of North Carolina and Duke University for a joint excavation in Winchester, England. The focus of the project is the growth and changing character of the city of Winchester from its origin in the Iron Age down to its emergence as a Victorian city. A study in urban history, using all available evidence, it will be an entirely new departure in English Archaeology.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

The 27th International Congress of Orientalists will be held in the Western Hemisphere for the first time. This important gathering of scholars from all over the world will be held at the University of Michigan next August under the auspices of the American Oriental Society and the Association for Asian Studies. A grant of up to $25,000 has been approved to cover expenses of the Congress, which will not only promote scholarship in Oriental studies but will further international cultural relations.

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POPULAR BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

A grant of approximately $15,000 was approved to the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology at UCLA to support the preparation of a dictionary of popular beliefs and superstitutions, with emphasis on those of the United States and Canada. Containing about 700,000 items and their background, this work will be a valuable reference for the whole field of folklore, magic and witchcraft. It will also aid in the study of language, literature, history, anthropology and cultural history. The project will be conducted by Professor Wayland D. Hand, past President of the American Folklore Society.

MANUSCRIPT MICROFILM LIBRARY

St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota, will receive a grant of approximately $10,000 to support a microfilm center of literary and historical manuscripts written in European monasteries before 1600. The importance of such a center, which will preserve these valuable documents in the event of loss or destruction of the originals, is dramatically underscored by the extensive damage caused to ancient documents by the recent floods in Florence. The microfilmed materials include 95 percent of the manuscripts of classical Greece and Rome and a substantial portion of the literature of church history. In addition to making these documents available to American scholars, the project, to be directed by Julian G. Plante, calls for a catalogue of the microfilmed items and study facilities.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY ANNOTATED CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN HEBREW, ARABIC, AND COGNATE LANGUAGES

A grant of up to $30,000 has been approved to New York University for the purpose of enabling the start of an annotated catalogue of the microfilm collection of rare Hebrew manuscripts from the Academies of the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland, now housed in the Library of Judica and Hebraica established at the University in 1942.

The microfilm collection includes individual collections such as the Antonin Genizah material which is particularly valuable to scholars engaged in restoring the Talmud as it was originally edited; the David Guenzberg collection of 6,000 manuscripts and the Abraham Firkowitsch collection of Hebrew, Samaritan and early Karaitic manuscripts. Much of the collection covers the period in which the center of Jewish culture shifted from East to West. A catalogue will permit research not now possible.

The project is under the direction of Abraham I. Katsh.

LIBRARY OF LIVING PHILOSOPHERS

Southern Illinois University will receive a grant of up to $15,263 to enable Professor Paul Schilpp to continue his series "The Library of Living Philosophers." Over the past 27 years 12 volumes in this series have been published, each one dealing with the thought of one living philosopher. A volume includes the subject's own statement of his philosophy and how he arrived at it, and a complete bibliography of all his works. Books published to date include Einstein's only autobiography, and the philosophies of Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Whitehead and Santayana. Endowment support will provide the funds without which this work could not be continued at the pace it merits.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PERSONALITY, ATTITUDES, AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF EARLY MEMBERS OF THE NAZI PARTY

A project at the University of California to study the social origins, opinions, attitudes, and political involvement of 700 pre-1933 rank and file members of the Nazi party was granted up to $7,732 by the Endowment.

Primary source of the material is the autobiographies of Nazi party members collected in 1934 by Professor Theodore Abel for use in his book WHY HITLER CAME TO POWER. However, this material was not used in the manner it will be for this study. The data obtained will be sorted and classified by computer, and the results of the study published as articles in scholarly publications or as part of a book. It is felt that with the growth of neo-Nazism today, such a study is pertinent.

The project will be directed by Peter H. Merkl.

A list of additional research grants follows (all amounts are approximate):

Douglass G. Adair, Claremont Graduate School and University Center, Claremont, California: "Did Edmund Burke Write the 18th Century Journal, The Annual Register?" ($18,800)

William M. Armstrong, Clarkson College of Technology, Potsdam, New York: "The Writings of Edwin L. Godkin, Editor of the New York Post from 1881–1900." ($500)

Mody C. Boatright, University of Texas: "Expansion of the University's Archive of Folklore and the Training of Folklorists." ($12,000)

Barry S. Brook, Queens College, Flushing, New York: "Computer-indexed Bibliography of International Scholarly Writings on Music." ($31,000)

T. Robert Broughton, University of North Carolina: "Support of the American Office of L'Annee Philologique, the Annual Critical Bibliography of Writings in Classical Studies." ($23,000)

John F. Callahan, Georgetown University: "Research on the Works of Gregory of Nyssa and the Later Greek Philosophical Tradition of Which He is a Part." ($7,500)

Ernest Cadman Colwell, Claremont Graduate School and University Center, Claremont, California: "To Translate from the Coptic Ancient Documents Dealing with Gnosticism and its Influence on Jewish, Christian and Pagan Religions." ($16,300)

Maurice E. Cope, Ohio State University: "The Interpretation of Tintoretto's Paintings in the Upper Hall of the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice." ($15,500)

John L. Dameron, Memphis State University: "A Bibliography of Criticism on Edgar Allan Poe." ($5,000)

Richard M. Dorson, Indiana University: "Survey of Ethnic Groups in Northwest Indiana." ($12,000)

Charles J. Ermatinger, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri: "An Analysis of Philosophical Works by Masters of Arts at

European Universities between 1270 and 1350." ($11,700)

Don D. Fowler, University of Nevada: "Edition of the Linguistic and Ethnographic Manuscripts of Anthropolgist John Wesley Powell, Founder of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology." ($11,500)

Diana Guiragossian, Indiana University: "Annotated List of French Prose Fiction from 1700 to 1750." ($21,500)

George M. A. Hanfmann, Harvard University: "Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, the Terminus of the Royal Road of the Persian Empire." ($35,000)

Gilbert H. Harman, Princeton University: "Investigation of Phrase Structure Grammar." ($9,200)

Kathleen Harris, University of California, Berkeley: "A Bibliography of German Literature in the Age of Goethe." ($1,200)

Howard Lee Harrod, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa: "The Influence of Office of Economic Opportunity Community Action Programs on the Churches." ($1,500)

Richard Haven, University of Massachusetts: "Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge." ($11,400)

E. Eugene Helm, University of Iowa: "A Book on C.P.E. Bach, his Music and his Times." ($3,000)

Atcheson L. Hench, University of Virginia: "Compilation of a Word File of American Regionalisms." ($19,500)

Jack Hexter, Yale University: "British Parliamentary Diaries of 1628." ($34,950)

Philip Henry Highfill, Jr., George Washington University: "A Biographical Dictionary and Census of Theatrical Performers on the Stages of London and its Suburbs from 1660 to 1801." ($20,000)

Walter E. Houghton, Wellesley College: "Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900." ($13,800)

Thomas W. Jacobsen, Indiana University: "Archaeological Excavations in the Southern Argolid in Greece." ($15,000)

Lloyd Kasten, University of Wisconsin: "Studies in Medieval Spanish Language and Literature." ($27,700)

Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley Southern Illinois University: "The Southwestern Journals of Archaeologist-historian Adolph F. Bandelier, written 1883–1892." ($6,370)

Jan LaRue, New York University: "Union Thematic Catalogue of 18th Century Symphonies." ($11,500)

Norman Malcolm, Cornell University: "To Produce Microfilm Copies of all Existing Philosophical Writings of the German-English Philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein Which Now Exist in Manuscript Form." ($1,300)

Alfred Mann, Rutgers University: "To Prepare for Publication the Unpublished Writings of the Composer Haydn on Teaching Composition." ($2,294)

Arthur S. McGrade, University of Connecticut: "A Study of the Political Thought of William of Ockham, 14th Century Theologist and Philosopher." ($16,600)

Anthony Melnikas, Ohio State University: "A Study of Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Justinian's Civil Law Compilations." ($11,092)

Howard S. Merritt, University of Rochester: "Catalogue of the Paintings of 19th Century American Artist Thomas Cole." ($5,500)

Clarence C. Mondale, George Washington University: "A Computer-Stored Bibliography in American Studies." ($42,000)

Stephen Maxfield Parrish, Cornell University: "Computer Concordances of Five English Poets: Sidney, Jonson, Marvell, Pope and Swift." ($23,714)

John G. Pedley, University of Michigan: "Excavations at Apollonia Cyrenaica, Kingdom of Libya." ($10,000)

David Sutton Phelps, Florida State University: "Investigations of Two Prehistoric Ceremonial Sites." ($12,000)

Benson Saler, Brandeis University: *"A Study of the World Views and Life Ways of the Guajiro Indians of the Guajiro Peninsula, Colombia and Venezuela."* ($5,000)

Wayne Schlepp, University of Wisconsin: "Recitation of Chinese Classical Literature." ($8,950)

Taylor Starck, Harvard University and John Wells, Tufts University: "Dictionary of Old High German Glosses" (Annotations) ($18,700)

Marilyn Stokstad, University of Kansas: "A Study of the Romanesque Sculpture of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela." ($11,000)

John Tebbel, New York University: "To Prepare a History of Book Publishing in America." ($25,000)

John B. Tsu, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.: "To Assist in the Preparation of a Linguistic Atlas of Japan." ($6,000)

James Van Stone, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois: "To Complete a Survey of the Nushagak River Region and the Nushagak River Eskimos." ($6,500)

Paul Ward, American Historical Society, Washington, D.C.: "To Compile a Compendium of Comparative Historical Statistics." ($25,000)

William L. Willis, American Society of Papyrologists: "For the Training of Graduate and Post-Doctoral Students in Advanced Techniques." ($5,250)

Franklin B. Zimmerman, Dartmouth College: "Computer Coding and Indexing on Characteristics of Baroque Composers, Purcell, Handell and Monteverdi." ($3,582)

POLITICS, SOCIAL SECURITY, AND A VOLUNTARY RETIREMENT SYSTEM

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am reintroducing, today, a bill which I have introduced for several years, which would make social security a voluntary program to the extent that it would permit our citizens to provide for their retirement and support through a qualified private program of their own selection. However, it is mandatory in the sense that one must take out a retirement program either the private one or governmental social security.

The proposal basically provides that any citizen might take out his own retirement program in lieu of social security. The retirement program chosen must have been adjudged and in other ways meet qualifications set by the Internal Revenue Service as providing the equivalent in benefits to the social security system. The individual and his employer would not be required to pay the social security tax, and of course the employee would not gain the social security benefits. Social security coverage would remain mandatory for those who chose not to adopt their own retirement program. The proposal also provides for conversion of the private program to social security by paying an appropriate amount into the social security fund in the event that the person abandons his private program.

The purpose of my proposal is to forestall the further socialization of retirement programs by minimizing the role of the Government and by providing healthy competition from the private sector. In my judgment, the basic concept of the social insurance system is sound if it is confined to protect persons against potentially indigent and to provide for the already indigent. However, the extension of coverage of social security in recent years has progressed along the lines of pure expediency totally unrelated to the philosophy of protecting against potential indigency.

Soon the Congress will be faced with questions relating to further extensions and increases of coverage of social insurance. Because of the increase in the cost of living since the last cost of living increases, some commensurate increase in social security benefits is justified. However, I urge that any increase in benefits beyond cost-of-living increases be considered in the context of the basic purposes of a sound social security program. Potential dangers to the program are present and will be exacerbated if the fundamental philosophy of the program is not continually borne in mind.

I am hopeful that this philosophy will be reviewed; indeed, I hope that the entire structure of the social security system will receive consideration in depth. Toward the end of promoting public dialog on this issue, I am inserting in the Record, today, a speech I delivered in October of 1960, in which I argued that the social security system, as it presently stands and is programed to continue, has within it the seeds of its own destruction. These remarks are even more pertinent in 1967 than they were in 1960:

Politics Can Destroy Social Security

(Remarks of the Honorable Thomas B. Curtis, Republican of South St. Louis, St. Louis County, at the Labor Relations and Social Security Symposium, annual meeting of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, Sheraton Towers, Chicago, Ill., October 21, 1960)

Two basic points must be kept in mind in any public discussion of the OASDI (Old Age Security and Disability Insurance) program.

1. The program is only twenty-four years old. It will not reach its full maturity until it is ninety years old. Therefore, none can claim with any certainty that the program has been a success. The most that can be claimed is that it has provided a better method for government to finance the years of retirement for some of our citizens who otherwise would not have been able to finance their retirement than the poor farm systems or the old age assistance programs of the counties and states, which this system supersedes and was intended to supersede for the past twenty-four years.

This does not mean that there is not room and reason to consider whether the program might not prove out to be a complete success. Certainly, the experience of the first quarter of the program's growth period needs full examination to determine whether it is still basically sound enough to warrant its being kept alive and fostered for the ensuing sixty-six years.

However, the premature statements that are being made by casual observers of the system that the program has proved successful, if believed by the general public, can only lead to damage and ultimate destruction of the system if these statements prove not to be true. Furthermore, these premature statements can prevent action to correct errors in the system that honest constructive criticim might bring about, and so prevent damage or destruction of the system.

The second basic point is, that for good or ill, the bulk of the people in our society are now relying upon the social security system as a base or a part of their retirement programs. They have been taught that the OASDI system is an "insurance" program. Indeed, in 1940, the Social Security Act was amended to include the word "insurance" in the title of the program. Upon maturity of the program after ninety years it may become a real insurance program, but it is certainly premature to call a program an insurance program where the beneficiaries, to date, have received $100.00 for each $1.00 paid in premiums, and the beneficiaries presently receiving benefits are averaging about $10.00 of benefits for every dollar paid in "premium" (social security tax). Furthermore, unlike private insurance programs or pension programs, including civil service retirement programs and the Railroad Retirement Program which are truly contracts which the beneficiary can enforce in a court of law against the federal government or any other party to the contract, the social security "insurance" beneficiary has no enforceable legal right. What one Congress has given, another Congress can take away. The basic protection of the social security beneficiary lies in the political realities of life. Any Congress is going to be quite careful not to take away rights which people have been led to believe they possess.

However, in reference to this second basic point, that the bulk of our people are presently relying upon the social security system as the base or a part of their retirement programs, it is wrong for critics to approach the social security system, and allege that it is insolvent or broke simply because it has not matured. Furthermore, any criticism directed to destroying the confidence of the people in the system should be closely connected with affirmative proposals as to how to protect the people against the damage that will ensue to them if the system proves out to be as unsound as its critics allege it to be.

I believe we can approach the social security system in a constructive manner to determine whether, after going one fourth of the way toward maturity, it has revealed basic structural flaws or whether it seems to follow out the theories of its authors who originally propounded it as a sound social system. Or, for other reasons apart from the original theories, it seems to be basically sound. I believe such public discussion should be approached on the basis that we agree to improve the system where we can if the flaws prove not to be basic and where we agree to minimize, as much as possible, the damage that has been created by pursuing a fundamentally unsound program, if this proves to be the case.

Any other course of political or public discussion can destroy the social security system. There is no question in my mind that today political discussion has not followed these guide lines and a system that might still be saved if the structure is not fundamentally unsound is being doomed by the very people who claim to support it. Furthermore, the method of political discussion of the social security system has been such that the basic objective of the social security system, to assist people to finance the years of their retirement from the labor market, is being damaged. If the system is fundamentally unsound, for the sake of the retirement programs of our people, the system should be abandoned as soon as possible and a sound system set up in its stead; if the system only needs some good correction and patching, the failure to apply the light of constructive criticism to it to reveal the flaws damages the retirement programs of our people.

In my judgment, the basic concept of the social security insurance system is sound. Indeed, it is a preferable way to meet the problems of the indigency of the aged to the old age assistance programs which require the needs test and budgeting for the recipients. Furthermore, the social security insurance system operates on the basis of prepayment for retirement. The extension of the system to cover the risk of loss of earning power from total disability is likewise a basically sound concept. I think the system is sound in making it a cost of doing business for its financing, as the payroll tax does.

However, the system got off the track early in its conception. Instead of relating the objectives of social security to protecting against indigency, and handling the problem of indigency, the program was extended to cover large portions of our society where the problem of indigency is not and has never been present. It is interesting to note how the coverage of people to be included in social security has progressed. It has not progressed along the line of a philosophy relating the program to those who might become indigent. It has followed a course of pure expediency. What groups could be fitted into the program with a minimum of administrative and political difficulties were voted in by the Congresses. Groups were excluded purely because of political action on their part and groups were included because of political activity on their part. Groups were excluded because of administrative difficulties, and groups were included because there were no administrative difficulties.

The Act, as originally written, sought to get around the Supreme Court decisions which declared special federal taxes unconstitutional. This was done through the fiction of saying the social security benefits were unrelated to the payroll tax. The proceeds from the payroll tax were directed to go into the general treasury and were not specifically earmarked. It has been years since anyone has paid any attention to the original fiction that the social security tax was not special tax, and so not unconstitutional. I mention this only to demonstrate the lack of philosophy contained in the original concept of the Act, and the resort to sheer expediency by its promoters.

I am satisfied that if an examination of the social security program as it exists after twenty-four years of growth proves that it contains within it, as it has been developed, the seeds of destruction that these seeds can be successfully plucked out and the system made sound and whole so that it can be developed to a successful maturity. In 1954, I introduced an amendment to the Social Security Act and made a lengthy speech at the time to explain the importance of it. This proposed amendment will pluck out the seeds of destruction in the system. Also, this amendment will make the social security system conform with our Constitution and our basic sense of the place and function of our federal government.

My amendment provides that any citizen who so desires can take out his own retirement program, which has been adjudged by the Bureau of Internal Revenue as providing the equivalent in benefits to the social security system and thereby remove himself or herself from the social security program. This person and his employer then would escape the social security tax and, of course, the person would not gain the social security benefits. The retirement program in lieu of social security, however, would be such that if the person ever dropped it the equivalent amount of social security tax that the person and his employer would have been paying into the social security fund, with interest, would have to be paid into the social security fund from the cash value of the abandoned retirement program. The person would then go under social security and stay there unless he later wanted to take out another qualified retirement program of his own.

The criticism against this amendment has been basically this: what fool would take out such a policy? No private retirement program can provide what social security provides. Indeed, at the present time no private retirement program can provide what social security provides, and this probably will remain so for a few more years. However, as the social security system matures, the picture changes strongly. The employee who starts paying in at the age of twenty, in 1980, will find that he and his employer for the next forty-five years, until he reaches sixty-five, and can start drawing his benefits, will be paying in more than he can anticipate drawing out. It is at this point that persons will not be fools to take out their own programs in lieu of social security.

But what difference does it make if we provide now the option for "fools" who might want to provide for their own retirement and not be in a governmental program? These people will be taking care of their own retirement and will not become a charge on society later in their life. Furthermore, the social security system presently will benefit from their withdrawal from the program because at this time they pay in much less than they can anticipate drawing out.

Why the opposition to my amendment? Is it just casual opposition, or is it fundamental opposition? I am afraid that it is fundamental opposition on the part of those who instituted the system of social security. Upon examination of the action of this group over a period of time, the question arises whether they have sought to set up a system to solve a legitimate social problem or whether their purpose has been to use a social problem, indigency, or possible indigency, as a vehicle to socialize the retirement programs of all of our citizens. The net result of such a socialized program is to increase the power and authority of the federal government and the federal bureaucracy which runs the federal government.

Let me turn to an analysis of some of the fiscal aspects of the present social security system. The solvency of the social security system has been based upon a series of concepts. First, an actuarial system that is based upon the identification and limitation of the people who will receive social security benefits. The system is an insurance against loss of earning power through loss of wages received from employment. It has no relation to loss of purchasing power derived from other sources, such as inheritance, gifts, savings and investments. The $1,200.00 a year limitation on income received from salaries or wages, modified somewhat by the 1960 amendments to the social security law, is an example of the criteria to which the actuarial system relates. Any liberalization of the limitations upon which the actuarial tabulations are based, of course, throws the social security fund out of balance.

The actuarial estimates made by the Social Security Administration have been excellent over a period of years.

The second concept upon which the fiscal soundness of the social security system is based is not as sound. It has been based upon the expectations of an expanding population. We have been quite fortunate in the population increase which has occurred in the past twenty-four years. However, a leveling off of population increase can spell real trouble for the social security system.

The third concept is likewise speculative and not so sound. It has been based upon an expanding economy. A review of what happened to the social security fund during the slight recessions since World War Two demonstrates the insecurity of the expanding economy concepts. I personally do not believe we will ever experience again a depression like that we experienced in the 1930's; however, a projection of a depression the size of that we experienced in the 1930's into the actuarial estimates for the social security system would be disastrous and certainly calls for some sober thinking.

The fourth concept is exceedingly infirm. This concept calls for increasing the social security tax rate according to a specific schedule over the next twenty years when it is to level off. The experience of the past, where up until six years ago the Congresses failed to increase the tax rate as scheduled and yet increased the benefits liberalized the concepts upon which the actuarial figures were based, leads any thoughtful person to question how many Congresses in the future are going to face up to the difficult political task of increasing social security tax rates. This particularly so, now that the rates have reached a level where people are beginning to look at them with some seriousness. I know from personal experience the difficulty those of us on the Ways and Means Committee have had in the past few years in making the principle of increasing taxes in accordance with schedules and to meet increased benefits stick. The demagogues have it all over us in appealing to the people on this score. They love the people, they say, and it is only mossbacks and stupid conservatives like me and my colleagues that prevent the people from getting that to which they are entitled. How long can we hold the line as it presently is, is a real question, let alone for the future.

The social security system received an unexpected boost in its solvency picture from the impact of the post-World War Two inflation. I trust that we will not look in the future to this kind of boost. This same inflation took a big bite out of the hides of our older people who were on social security and pensions and fixed incomes. Inflation, by increasing the dollar amounts of wages and salaries, put the bulk of the people under social security into the highest brackets of the social security tax. In order to relieve one damaging impact of inflation on the social security system . . . that of minimizing the spreading of benefits to reflect differences in wages, the promoters of the social security system argued for increasing the base salary or wage upon which the social security tax was levied. The result is that today the tax is levied on the first $4,800 of income.

In the process of increasing the base upon which the tax is levied, the social security administration found another technique which assisted in making the program more solvent. The amount of benefits received from the tax on the first thousand is more than the benefits received on the same tax paid on the last thousand. In other words, built into the social security system is the seed of a graduated tax where the higher income groups pay more tax for the less proportionate benefits than the lower groups. Here is one tangible reason why I suspect my amendment is being fought by the Social Security Administration. They count not only upon the present graduated feature in the social security tax to keep it solvent, but with the pressures constantly put on to make the program fiscally solvent through increasing the base. (Congressman James Roosevelt introduced a bill to make it $10,000 last Congress.) The Social Security Administration counts on further graduation to keep the program solvent.

It is true that a complete graduation of the social security tax to make it more like the federal income tax by basing it upon ability to pay, rather than upon "insurance" where everyone gets the same benefits for the same premium, can be the salvation of the system. I suspect, indeed, that this is where its original promoters look for salvation. In that event, however, the play will then be fully out in the open and all the original fiction which was used to get the program installed will be abandoned. It will not be insurance. The program will then be what I am now convinced its original promoters planned and hoped it would be, an open, unashamed socialization of the retirement programs of our people.

If there were no other good way to see that our people had adequate and good retirement programs, I believe I would be willing to go to the federal government to establish these programs. This hardly seems to be the case. Quite the contrary, the retirement programs being set up in the private sector of our society exceed in goodness, and in flexibility any federal program, including civil service retirement, which at one time was definitely a leader in the field.

I conclude my remarks with a reference to my earlier warning. Even though the social security program is now being unmasked for what it really is . . . the base upon which it was inaugurated still must and should be retained. Government has a legitimate concern about our people, when retired, being able to live out their lives in comfort and dignity. The poor farm was a rotten system for caring for those who, for reasons unnecessary to consider here, many times as a result of forces beyond their control, had not provided for themselves. The State old age assistance programs were an improvement over the poor farm system. The social security insurance concept is a vast improvement over the OAA program which, in time, it will eliminate.

Furthermore, the federal government has already been in the picture for twenty-four years, and the bulk of our citizens are relying upon the solvency of the social security program in their present retirement plans. We cannot permit the errors of the system to wreck damage to their plans. I believe a gradual move to get the system back to the indigent or those who might become indigent is the correct way to proceed. As we get the program back to the less than five per cent in our society who might fall into this category and free the ninety-five per cent who have not needed and will not need government help, if they are freed so they can do their own providing and planning, we will have a system that we can handle adequately and with reasonable ease. My amendment will accomplish this objective.

The social security fund as the present system matures will have to be increased to fifty or sixty billions of dollars. That is entirely too large a sum to be left in sterile investment, which investment in government bonds essentially is. The retirement funds of our people ought to be invested in the growth of our economy. This can be done through private programs. Don't think the Socialists are not looking at this point with scheming eyes. Already there are proposals that the social security funds be invested in public works bonds. These proposals are based upon the logic I have advanced, that the funds for the retirement of our people should not be sterile. But what will the government moving into the investment field in this fashion lead to? The answer to this question should make everyone in our society wake up to the realization that government of, by and for the people along with the private enterprise system is meeting some of its greatest tests today. Have we indeed lost faith in the basic concepts that have brought this society of ours to the highest point of achievement reached by any society in history. Have we indeed lost that faith.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S "UNBURIABLE" ECONOMIC ERROR

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the administration made a big mistake—"An Unburiable Error" a Washington Post editorial termed it—when it called for the suspension of the investment tax credit last year. Sharp drops in orders for new machine tools and railroad equipment are only two indications of the disturbing trends in industrial production. Some observers have even speculated that this downward trend combined with other recessionary symptoms might cause the White House to request restoration of the credit before January 1, 1968, the date for renewal set by Congress.

The Washington Post, in an editorial February 27, 1967, said:

> The Administration committed an egregious error when it jammed through the suspension of the investment tax credit last autumn. Doctors bury their mistakes. But when the Federal Government makes a fundamental error in economic policy, the entire country must live with it and suffer the consequences.

The Wall Street Journal reported on February 27, 1967:

> Orders for new machine tools in January skidded 23% from month-earlier and 37% from year-earlier levels.

The newspaper reported the president of the National Machine Tool Builders Association as saying:

> The depressing effect of the (suspension of the) 7% investment tax credit is playing a major part in the decline.

In another February 27 story the Journal said the railroad-equipment industry "is currently highballing toward anothed low point." Recent surveys, the newspaper notes, "indicate a startling decline from a year ago of $1,250 million, or about 80 percent, in orders for freight cars and locomotives." The story reports:

> Railroad-equipment makers blame the Defense Emergency Tax Act of 1966, which sought to cool off the economy by suspending the 7% investment tax credit.

Under unanimous consent, I include the articles referred to in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 27, 1967]

AN UNBURIABLE ERROR

Why did the Administration choose this moment to release a survey of how the suspension of the investment tax credit and rapid depreciation rules affect capital spending? Can it be that the decline in industrial production and other recessionary symptoms will cause the White House to request a restoration of the credit prior to January 1, 1968, the date now scheduled by law? Whatever the motive, the release of the survey results is a reminder that the Administration committed an egregious error when it jammed through the suspension of the investment tax credit last autumn. Doctors bury their mistakes. But when the Federal Government makes a fundamental error in economic policy, the entire country must live with it and suffer the consequences.

The Administration requested the suspension of the investment tax credit last September, not to raise revenue, but to dampen inflationary pressures in the capital goods industries. But in their belated zeal to apply fiscal restraints, the policymakers never faced up to the central problem of economic analysis, which is timing. Suspending the credit as of October 1966 dampened the incentive to invest for a 15-month period, and before making such a long-term decision, the Administration should have supported it with an economic forecast.

But despite protests from some members of the Ways and Means Committee, no forecast was presented to the Congress. And now it is quite clear that the suspension of the credit was mistimed. Outlays for plant and equipment are likely to decline in the course of this year. According to the survey released by the White House, the suspension of the tax credit and fast tax write-offs will reduce those investments by $2.3 billion below what they might otherwise have been. But the survey is admittedly incomplete and doubtless underestimates the harm done.

What should now be done? When the investment tax credit was first proposed in 1962, many business spokesmen opposed it, and they were right. It discriminates against certain types of investment and against certain industries. And as was feared, the Government reneged on its pledge to make the credit a permanent feature of the revenue system.

In view of these inequities, Congress should repeal the investment tax credit and at the same time reduce the corporate income tax rate. But if the investment tax credit is restored, Congress should make it abundantly clear that it will not again be tampered with. Business investment always involves uncertainties. Congress should not compound them by treating the tax credit as if it were a spigot that can be turned off and on with impunity.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 27, 1967]

January Ordering of Machine Tools Dropped Sharply—Firms See No Improvement This Month; Suspension of Tax Credit Called a Factor—Shipments Rose 8 Percent From 1966

Cleveland.—Orders for new machine tools in January skidded 23% from month-earlier and 37% from year-earlier levels.

Builders don't expect any great improvement in February business. "The economy is apparently slowing, and at the same time the Federal Government appears to be doing everything it can to discourage capital spending," says Francis J. Trecker, president of Kearney & Trecker Corp., Milwaukee. Mr. Trecker says the company's bookings dipped 15% in January from December, but have since rallied back to year-end levels.

"Our February orders are down even further than our January orders," says A. J. DeWolf, pesident and general manager of Dreis & Krump Manufacturing Co., Chicago, and president of the National Machine Tool Builders Association. "The depressing effect of the (suspension of the) 7% investment tax credit is playing a major part in the decline," he adds.

Mr. DeWolf asserts the economy is "definitely easing" and the tax credit on purchases of equipment ought to be restored to head off a widespread downturn. In addition to a general slowdown in machine tool ordering in January, order cancellations also rose steeply, further diminishing the net volume booked by machine tool builders. Cancellations were 43% above December and were three times the year-ago rate.

NEW ORDER TOTAL

Net new orders in the month—gross booking less cancellations—were $99,200,000, the lowest since May 1965, when $98,800,000 in new machines were booked, the Builders' Association reported in Washington. By comparison, net orders in December 1966 were $129,550,000, and in January 1966 were $156,250,000 (see chart on page 1).

Cancellations for January totaled $2,450,000, up from $15,700,000 in December, which was the high point for 1966. In January 1966 cancellations were only $7,300,000. The biggest month-to-month jump in January 1967 came in orders for lathes, grinders, milling machines and other metal-cutting machine tools—the largest and normally most stable category of machines.

Cancellations of orders for these machines totaled $19,400,000 in January, putting net new orders at $87,050,000, off substantially from $113,100,000 in December and $126,500,000 a year earlier. In December, customers cancelled orders for $10,600,000 of metal-cutting machines.

OTHER CANCELLATIONS

For presses, stamping machines and other metal-forming machines, cancellations in January were $3,050,000, down from $5,100,000 in December. Net orders for these machines amounted to $12,150,000 in January, down from $16,450,000 in December and $29,750,000 in January 1966.

"We had a number of cancellations from people who felt they had over-bought," explains Raymond E. Channock, president of National Acme Co., Cleveland. "Customers appear to be washing out certain machines they feel they can do without," he says, "although none seems to have pulled out of the market altogether." As a result, Mr. Channock says his company's January bookings slipped below the shipment level though they've rebounded slightly this month.

Industrywide, builders shipped $110,900,000 of machine tools in January, off 29% from December's bulging $155,800,000 but 8% above year-earlier shipments of $102,650,000.

BACKLOGS DECLINE

With shipments exceeding orders, backlogs declined slightly. The estimated industry backlog for metal-cutting machinery dipped to the equivalent of 10.7 months' production from 10.9 months in December, while the backlog for metal-forming machines declined to 7.6 months from 8.4 months. "There are some definite advantages to a declining backlog," explains a spokesman for Danly Machine Specialties Inc., Chicago maker of presses and forming machines. "Some of the pressure is off, and we've been able to shave a little of our costly overtime." Danly currently has a backlog equivalent to about 12 months' production, the spokesman says, compared with a 1966 peak of some 20 months. The optimum level, he adds, would be a six-month backlog.

Any increases in backlogs last month were slight, Mr. Trecker of Kearney & Trecker, for example, reports a scant $50 increase last month in its backlog of more than $50 million. He forecasts orders about equal to shipments for all of 1967, which means a drastic change in the backlog through the rest of the year would be unlikely.

The big uncertainty in such a forecast, Mr. Trecker and other builders say, is the future of the suspended 7% investment tax credit. "The tax credit suspension is having a much greater effect on capital spending than anyone anticipated," says a major Midwestern builder.

"This is partly because of the possibility now that the credit could be restored before the Jan. 1, 1968, deadline," he explains. Some customers, he says, appear to be holding back on orders they would have placed by now had not the possibility of an early restoration of the credit arisen. "While they couldn't afford to wait until January to order, they feel they can risk waiting until May or June if they think they can save 7%," he remarks.

	January 1967	December 1966	January 1966
Comparative new order figures for metal-cutting machines:			
Domestic	$79,700,000	$100,800,000	$115,500,000
Foreign	7,350,000	12,300,000	11,000,000
Total	87,050,000	113,100,000	126,500,000
For metal-forming machines:			
Domestic	11,800,000	13,900,000	26,100,000
Foreign	350,000	2,550,000	3,650,000
Total	12,150,000	16,450,000	29,750,000
Comparative shipment figures for metal-cutting machines:			
Domestic	76,550,000	113,400,000	70,200,000
Foreign	8,850,000	13,650,000	9,100,000
Total	85,400,000	127,050,000	79,300,000
For metal-forming machines:			
Domestic	23,850,000	27,700,000	22,250,000
Foreign	1,650,000	1,050,000	1,100,000
Total	25,500,000	28,750,000	23,350,000

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 27, 1967]

Slow Track for Suppliers: Orders for Rail Equipment Sag Sharply; Producers Blame Tax-Credit Suspension

(By Todd E. Fandell)

Chicago.—The railroad-equipment industry, historically plagued by cyclical ups and downs, is currently highballing toward another low point.

But this time, rather than being done in by the vagaries of the economy, competition or customers, the industry claims it's largely the victim of the law. Specifically, railroad-equipment makers blame the Defense Emergency Tax Act of 1966, which sought to cool off the economy by suspending the 7% investment tax credit.

The act apparently succeeded all too well as far as the railroad-equipment industry is concerned. Just six months ago, the industry was breezing along at full throttle with steadily increasing backlogs extending up to a year or more into the future. Recent surveys however, indicate a startling decline from a year ago of $1,250,000,000, or about 80%, in orders for freight cars and locomotives.

Implications of this practical halt in equipment orders from railroads are obvious. Although most of the equipment companies are still operating at full tilt, due to big order backlogs, the months ahead spell sagging sales and profits, layoffs, plant closings and a long, arduous return to normal operations once the railroads decide to resume ordering.

EFFECT ON OTHER INDUSTRIES

Steel mills, which sell about 5% of their production to rail suppliers, and other industries anticipate disruptions in their operations as a result.

Railroads themselves have generally been hesitant to blame the investment tax credit suspension alone for their decreased expenditures. In cutting its 1967 capital outlays by 57% to about $80 million from $187.5 million, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, for example, also cited tight credit and the increasing adequacy of its car fleet. "It would be a serious mistake to assume that we'd suddenly come through with a slug of big orders the minute the tax credit was reinstated," comments an executive of one big Western road. But, he hastens to add: "It sure would help."

In any case, the crisis has succeeded in banding together the railroads and all their suppliers—a rare achievement—in an effort to win reinstatement of the credit, currently scheduled for next Jan. 1, at the earliest possible date. Even a mid-year restoration of the credit, possibly in exchange for the proposed 6% income-tax surcharge, might be too late to avoid serious disruptions of the industry, rail-equipment officials say.

A week ago, about three dozen representatives of the Association of American Railways, the American Railway Car Institute and the Railway Progress Institute (an association of railway-supply companies) descended on Washington for a full day of discussion with the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Treasury Secretary Fowler and Transportation Secretary Boyd.

In these sessions, industry officials painted a grim portrait:

—A Railway Progress Institute survey shows that between last Oct. 11, the effective date of the credit suspension, and Dec. 31, railroads ordered only 2,759 freight cars and 57 locomotives, down 78% from 12,593 cars and off 84% from 359 locomotives ordered in the year-earlier period. Orders for signaling, communications and other equipment fell an average of 30% to 40%.

—A recent AAR survey of the 43 largest railroads, which account for 94% of all railroad spending, indicates these roads expect to order only 16,651 new and rebuilt freight cars in 1967, down from 91,874 cars last year and 87,555 in 1965. Locomotive orders are expected to tumble to 166 from 1,204 in 1966 and 1,228 in 1965 for these 43 roads.

—Another study, of roads that account for about 89% of total freight car fleet ownership, indicates car orders will decrease by 72,959 units this year and locomotives by 982, with the dollar amount down about $1,210,000,000.

The various estimates don't match up precisely, but they're reasonably close. The most optimistic guess of total 1967 car orders from all sources—railroads, leasing companies and private lines—produced by a random sampling of rail-equipment industry officials is 27,000 new and rebuilt cars, down from 102,342 in 1966. At an average cost of better than $15,000 each, this would represent a decline of more than $1 billion in car orders alone.

Because of the huge car order backlogs existing when the tax credit suspension became effective, sales of rail-equipment makers this year are expected to fall only slightly compared with the order decline. Railroads took deliveries of about $1.2 billion of freight cars in 1966, with other car buyers adding another $300 million. With new car deliveries this year expected to be about 75,000, down from 89,883, total car expenditures are expected to drop to about $1.2 billion, but it's the last half of this year and the first half of next year that car builders say they're concerned about.

Most major freight-car producers expect their order backlogs to keep them reasonably busy for some months. Pullman-Standard Division of Pullman Inc., perhaps better situated than most builders because of the great demand during 1966 for the types of cars it builds, doesn't expect trouble until the fourth quarter. An executive of the American Car & Foundry division of ACF Industries Inc. predicts it will be mid-summer—"perhaps August or September"—before the worst comes and "we have to think about layoffs and plant closings unless there's a radical change in certain areas of our business."

Despite such backlogs, however, many rail-equipment concerns, especially the smaller car fabricators and component-supply companies, are already feeling the pinch. Although full-fledged layoffs have occurred in only a few spot situations so far, work forces have been reduced significantly, mostly through attrition, in the past few months, says Nils Lennartson, president of the Progress Institute. Such job reductions are measured only in the thousands so far, but layoffs covering tens of thousands are imminent and by next Jan. 1 present estimates indicate that work forces in railway-equipment plants will be down 60% to 75% from levels at the start of this year, he says.

REDUCTIONS AT BUCKEYE

Typical of concerns already affected in the industry is Buckeye Steel Castings Co. of Columbus, Ohio, a supplier of heavy components for railroad cars. Since October, Buckeye has reduced its hourly plant payroll to 1,300 workers from 1,600 mostly by attrition, and may be under 1,000 workers by April, says J. W. Henderson Jr., president and general manager. "So far, our profitability hasn't been hurt; we've lost a lot of marginal workers, overtime is down, January shipments were a 24-year high and first quarter profit may be the best in 10 years," he says. "But after that layoffs are imminent; we've already asked all our customers to help us stretch out delivery time to the last minute to make our backlog last."

Buckeye is far from an isolated example. Bethlehem Steel Corp. last week closed down a freight-car building line for six days at its Johnstown, Pa., plant for what a spokesman called "a temporary curtailment of piggy back car production for inventory adjustment." A big Midwestern plant of a major car builder says it's in the process of cutting employment during the first quarter to 1,400 men from 1,750, as its order backlog starts to dwindle rapidly. "I wish you could tell me how to tell our shareholders that we just had a record year, anticipate a fine first quarter and then things will go completely to hell," laments the president of one company.

The nation's three major producers of locomotives, which last year produced more than $300 million of diesel engines for the railroads, expect to be hit hard by the investment credit suspension. Impact at the 9,000-man plant of General Motors Corp.'s Electro-Motive division at La Grange, Ill., which builds more than half the nation's locomotives, "undoubtedly will be substantial," says a spokesman. Current orders will carry production into summer but a major softening of business in mid-year and especially in the last quarter is anticipated, he says.

The rail-equipment industry is aware that, as the situation stands, it might expect a spate of orders from railroads next January when the tax credit is reinstated. But this could be too late. "The problem of a supplier later coming back into production after he's forced to close down is a difficult one," says W. Ashley Gray Jr., president of General Steel Industries Inc. and the Railway Progress Institute. Most rail-supply concerns estimate it would take at least six to nine months to resume normal, efficient production after going down for 30 days or more, he says.

Problems involved include rehiring and retaining of employes, reopening supply lines, engineering time and administrative requirements, Mr. Gray notes. "The tax credit suspension could easily cost this industry thousands of its best skilled workers and disrupt its operations for years, to say nothing of lost production," says another official.

The railroad industry and its suppliers almost succeeded in winning an exemption last October from the tax credit suspension, failing at the last minute as other groups tried to obtain similar privileges and created a problem at drawing the line. The rail industry argued the legislation was at cross-purposes with a firmly declared Federal Government policy to resolve economic bottlenecks created by the nation's chronic freight-car shortage, which reached record proportions last year. Railroads had, in fact, been exempted from Government requests for voluntary capital-spending restraint early in 1966.

Some critics contend the railroads are holding back on equipment spending to prove they were right last fall. "It's an awfully costly way to make your point," says one supply-concern official. William T. Taylor, chairman of ACF, not joining in such sharp criticism, thinks the railroads can't afford to forgo for much longer the 20% return on investment they can earn on some types of freight cars. Likening the halt in car orders to the Green Bay Packers calling time out in the middle of a crucial touchdown drive ("They know it is fatal to kill momentum"), Mr. Taylor says he's hopeful the rails will end their buying slowdown soon "because of very clear economic justification."

But most observers say the rails can't be faulted for the hard economics of their decisions to defer spending. Orders placed during the suspension period are subjected, in effect, to a 14% "sales tax" (at a 50% tax rate, loss of 7% credit is equivalent to a 14% deductible sales tax), they say. Credit carryovers and other accounting methods can, in many cases, make current orders even more costly, they add. One big Western railroad is said to have deferred $93 million in orders because it can save more than $20 million by wating until 1968.

The extent of the decisions to postpone spending, however, has surprised even the railroads themselves. In seeking an exemption last fall, they argued that removal of the investment tax credit, a major incentive for heavy car-building programs in recent years, could cut $500 million from 1967 budgets, which at the time were expected to exceed 1966 spending levels slightly. The cutback, based on present indications, appears likely to be more than double such estimates, which were called "inflated" and "overly pessimistic" at the time.

The cutback also comes right after the first year in more than a decade in which the railroads made marked progress toward resolving their car shortages. New and rebuilt cars placed in service in 1966 exceeded retirements by 26,853 units, halting a long and steady decline in the number of freight cars in service.

It was the continuing demand for cars and the economic resurgence of the railroads over the past five years that caused the rail-equipment industry to predict an end to its cyclical past and a long period of heavy capital expenditures by railroads. For the long pull, the equipment builders have lost little of this enthusiasm, pointing to recent "conservative" forecasts that railroad spending for cars will average $1.3 billion to $1.7 billion a year over the next 10 years.

WILL MAN SURVIVE ENVIRONMENT?

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there

objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest domestic concerns we have in this Nation is the quality of our environment. We all know from the letters we receive from our constituents how deep the feeling is for the protection and improvement of our environment, with special emphasis on air pollution. The Sacramento Bee has editorialized on the problem, and has urged rapid action. It asked the question, "Can man survive the physical environment he has himself created?" and answered the question affirmatively, if we do what is required now.

The editorial follows:

WILL MAN SURVIVE ENVIRONMENT?

For centuries the big struggle for the survival of mankind revolved around whether or not it could conquer the natural environment. Deserts, forests, seas and marauding nomads engaged men for centuries.

Today there still exists the question of whether man can temper the combativeness of his fellowmen with their sophisticated weaponry. But a new question has arisen out of the very conquest of nature: Can man survive the physical environment he has himself created?

Man pours millions of tons of deadly gases into his atmosphere; his streams are cloyed with pollution or the detergents designed to control it. Salt water along the coasts poisons the fresh water. So the environmental crisis of today is the conditions of life which have been created by man himself.

And man is turning to the sanatizing of his own environmental conditions with new inventiveness. The chief problem is whether short sighted self-interest will be allowed to frustrate this progress.

For instance, a means of blocking the evaporation from automobile carburetors by 95 percent has been invented. One such system would cost no more than $10 and would pay for itself in saved gasoline in two years. The filter would require cleaning only once a year.

The United States government has made the adoption of this filter applicable to 1969 automobiles. The industry has been given 60 days to comment on this part of the antipollution standards. John W. Gardner, secretary of health, education and welfare, has announced that one billion gallons of gasoline enter the atmosphere every year as a result of evaporation.

It is to be hoped the auto industry cooperates fully in the application of such devices. Sooner or later these anti-pollution processes most certainly will come. It might as well be sooner before the atmosphere is poisoned further and before hundreds of thousands of people fall prey needlessly to the respiratory ailments already linked to contaminated air.

Geotechnologists know man can cleanse his streams and the air, process refuse and safety reuse much of it. Civilized nations are just in the pioneering stage in making man master in his house. But time is important. As President Lyndon B. Johnson said in his message to Congress, unless antipollution research techniques and their application are stepped up "10 years from now we shall have lost the battle".

STATISTICS: THEIR USE AND ABUSE

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the value of statistics in research and planning has long been recognized.

A statistic standing alone does not necessarily present a true picture. Yet there is a tendency for many people to believe any statistic they see in print, or hear broadcast, especially if the statistic comes from a source with an official-sounding title.

For sincere people who wish to study in detail the statistics on firearms, crime, and accidents, in an attempt to interpret accurately the meaning of thousands of statistics, we suggest the following:

The basic book on crime statistics is, "Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports—1965." Issued by John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it sells for 55 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The 1965 report is the latest FBI report on crime covering a full year. The report on 1966 will be available in July 1967.

The standard reference on accidents in the United States is, "Accident Facts, 1966 Edition." This book is available for $2.10 from the National Safety Council, 425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60611.

The American people are too often given misleading statistics by the antigun faction. One of their favorites is that "17,000 people are shot to death each year."

What they do not tell you is that more than half of this statistic, roughly 9,500, are suicides. Another 2,200 are firearms accidents. The FBI reports that there were 5,634 homicides with firearms in 1965. Yet the antigun people, playing upon the fears of the public, try to imply that there are 17,000 homicides with firearms each year. This is three times the statistic reported by the FBI.

Another statistic often exaggerated by the antigun forces is the number of fatal hunting accidents. Because of reporting procedures, the exact number of hunters accidentally killed in the field each year is not precisely known. It is about 400 a year.

The National Safety Council statistic of 2,200 fatal firearms accidents—

> Includes deaths in firearms accidents in recreational activities or on home premises and a small number—less than 3 percent—from explosions of dynamite, bombs, grenades, and so forth. Excludes deaths in war operations.

More than half of the accidental firearms deaths were in the home.

The national death rate from firearms accidents dropped 8 percent in 1965 from 1964. It is down 15 percent over the last 10 years despite an increase in the number of hunters. The rate is lower than those for motor vehicle deaths, falls, fires and burns, drowning, railroad accidents, and the combined rates for poisoning by solids, liquids, and gas.

According to the National Safety Council, in 1965 the number of fatal firearms accidents in the home was less than one-tenth of the number killed in falls in the home.

In 1965, according to the NSC report, there were about 900 accidental firearms deaths outside the home. There were 4,400 drownings, which, the NSC states:

> Includes drowning of persons swimming or playing in water, or falling into water, except on home premises or at work. Excludes drownings involving boats which are in water transportation.

No one has suggested that swimming be outlawed. It is an accepted fact that safety education is the best way to reduce any type of accidents.

A WAY WITH STATISTICS

There were 304 cities and towns in America, communities of 25,000 or more in population, which did not report a single willful killing during 1965. This fact is verified from a list of 857 communities of that size in the FBI 1965 Uniform Crime Reports.

In an era when crime is viewed as one of the most serious problems facing the Nation, it becomes significant that better than 1 in 3 of these cities and towns surveyed by the FBI were free of murders and nonnegligent manslaughter.

But perhaps even more significant is the fact that this statistic has never been mentioned by those who beat the drums for unduly restrictive new gun legislation in this country. Criminologists and sociologists might study these 304 cities and towns to learn what they have done to combat the crime problem in their communities.

The antigun forces have a knack for dipping into several thousand statistics, selecting two or three out of context to suit their purpose, and publicizing them to "prove" a point.

For example, the antigun faction is fond of pointing to the homicide rate in Metropolitan Dallas, which has realistic firearms laws, and disclosing that it is higher than the rate in Metropolitan New York, which has the severe Sullivan law. They contend that this is to the credit of the Sullivan law and that similar gun laws—per se—will stop crime.

However, if they were to examine the three principal categories of crime in which firearms play a part—murder, aggravated assault, and robbery—they would find that New York has a total rate of 244.2 offenses per 100,000 people, compared to 203.1 in Dallas.

The antigun forces have never informed the public that out of 183 standard metropolitan statistical areas surveyed by the FBI, there were 131 with overall homicide rates lower than New York's. None of these areas has firearms laws as severe as the Sullivan law. They include such cities as Phoenix, Des Moines, Denver, Milwaukee, Portland—both Maine and Oregon—Oklahoma City, Omaha, Spokane, Tulsa, and Wichita.

If those who wish to link firearms laws with crime compared metropolitan areas of nearly equal size, they would find Dallas with an overall homicide rate of 10.3 per 100,000 people, Milwaukee with a rate of 2.3 and Minneapolis-St. Paul with a rate of 2.1, and all with liberal gun laws.

Both Alabama, the State with the highest homicide rate, and Vermont, which has the lowest, also have liberal firearms laws. And with 304 cities of varying size from all parts of the country reporting no willful killings of any kind, it would indicate that crime is affected by something other than firearms laws.

The estimated number of robberies, aggravated assaults, and murders with firearms amounted to less than 4 percent of the 2,780,000 serious crimes committed in the United States during 1965.

In a section on crime factors in the 1965 reports, the FBI states:

> Since the factors which cause crime are many and vary from place to place, readers are cautioned against drawing conclusions from direct comparisons of crime figures between individual communities without first considering the factors involved.

The report states further:

> The statistical tables in this publication disclose that the varying crime experiences, especially among large cities and suburban communities, are affected by a complex set of involved factors and are not solely limited to numerical population differences.

The factors cited by the FBI are density, stability, and makeup of the population; economic status and local customs; educational and religious characteristics; climate; strength, standards, and efficiency of local law enforcement; policies of the local courts; and attitudes of the public toward law-enforcement problems.

The antigun faction says that they are interested in passing a law to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

To set the record straight, there has been a Federal law since 1938, applicable to all States, governing the receipt and possession of firearms and ammunition by criminals.

Section 902, paragraph (f) of the Federal Firearms Act reads:

> It shall be unlawful for any person who has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year or is a fugitive from justice to receive any firearms or ammunition which has been shipped or transported in interstate or foreign commerce, and the possession of a firearm or ammunition by any such person shall be presumptive evidence that such firearm or ammunition was shipped or transported or received, as the case may be, by such person in violation of this chapter.

Under penalties, section 905, paragraph (a) reads:

> Any person violating any of the provisions of this chapter or any rules and regulations promulgated hereunder, or who makes any statement in applying for the license or exemption provided for in this chapter, knowing such statement to be false, shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $2,000, or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

In addition, there are an estimated 20,000 Federal, State, and local laws which can be enforced against people who misuse firearms.

Would not the enforcement of these existing Federal, State, and local laws regulating firearms help the crime problem?

RESOLUTION OF MONTANA LEGISLATURE SUPPORTS RESPONSIBLE USE OF FIREARMS

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that the Legislature of the State of Montana in February of this year adopted a strong resolution in support of the right of Americans to own and responsibly use firearms. I feel that other Members of the House will find this resolution, House Joint Resolution 1 of the Montana State Legislature, to be of interest and assistance in their consideration of legislative proposals to control sale and ownership of firearms. The resolution is as follows:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1

(Introduced by Delano, Fischer, Boughton, and Mather)

A joint resolution of the senate and house of representatives of the State of Montana to the Congress of the United States and the Montana congressional delegation opposing passage of the Dodd bill or any other legislation which would impair a private citizen's right to bear arms

Whereas the unfortunate and untimely death of President John F. Kennedy has given considerable impetus to the movement to pass the Dodd Bill relating to regulation and registration of mail order firearms sales; and

Whereas this bill would severely control all mail order sales of firearms to individuals and permit sales of handguns only between licensed importers, manufacturers, and dealers, and place severe and unreasonable restrictions upon reputable citizens who wish to order recreational firearms by mail; and

Whereas although controls are necessary because of irresponsible or criminal elements in society illegally using firearms, these controls should be the prerogative of state and local agencies of government and property should not be a matter for federal control. This fact is acknowledged and forthrightly stated by the nation's foremost experts in government; and

Whereas the consensus of expertise in this field is that state and local laws imposing harsh and certain punishment for crimes committed while armed, combined with effective law enforcement, and firmly supported by no-nonsense courts and juries, provide the most certain combination for adequate control; and

Whereas statutory law should: prohibit sale of firearms to felons, drug addicts, habitual drunkards, mental incompetents, and juveniles; invoke strict penalties against the possession of firearms by criminals and irresponsible persons; and permit responsible, law-abiding adults to own and use firearms for legal purposes. Statutory law should not: require law-abiding adult citizens to register shotguns, rifles, and handguns; nor grant authority to any jurisdiction, police or otherwise, at any government level, to prohibit the purchase or ownership of firearms by law-abiding and responsible citizens; and

Whereas, the founders of the United States in the very first amendment to the constitution provided for freedom of religion, speech, the press, and for peaceable assembly, and in the second amendment made it possible to defend these freedoms by providing that the rights of people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; and

Whereas, any firearms legislation at the federal level restricting the purchase of firearms by responsible citizens would be a dangerous infringement of these articles of the Bill of Rights and could lead to administrative decisions imposing such a burden on the sale, possession, and use of firearms for legitimate purposes that it would completely discourage, and eventually exclude, the private ownership of all guns; and

Whereas, easy accessibility of firearms does not contribute significantly to the crime problem of the United States, and the target for preventive legislation should be the crime not the tool used by perpetrators of crime; and

Whereas, the Dodd Bill could seriously impair the recreational economy of the state and nation, infringe on the constitutional rights of United States citizens, damage essential wildlife conservation programs, and intrude further federal authority on powers reserved to the states.

Now therefore, be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Montana: That the ownership of firearms must not be denied reputable American citizens so long as they continue to use them for lawful purposes, and that the members of the Montana Legislative Assembly go on record as opposing passage of the Dodd Bill which appears to be aimed at outlawing firearms, rather than at punishing the criminal who uses them for illegal purposes.

Be it further resolved, that any proposed new regulations be carefully studied to see if they can accomplish a worthwhile purpose and not just result in further regimentation and inconvenience to responsible citizens.

Be it further resolved, that the Secretary of State is instructed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of the United States Congress; to the Honorable Mike Mansfield and the Honorable Lee Metcalf, Senators from Montana, and to the Honorable James Battin and the Honorable Arnold Olsen, Representatives from Montana.

UNITED STATES RANKED LOW IN MATH TEACHING

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times and the Washington Post today reported the results of mathematics teaching. Although this country fared well, our achievements in this all important field—the basic building block of scientific research and technological innovation—are far from what they might be.

Students from several countries—among them Japan, Sweden, England, and France—scored higher on most of the test indices than did the United States. Of crucial importance, only 2 percent of the students from the United States scored in the upper 10 percent of achievement. The report terms this "a very critical index," because it is from people of this high level of achievement that tomorrow's advances in mathematics and the sciences are likely to spring.

I also note that the newspaper accounts reaffirm what is becoming increasingly clear to everyone interested in the quality of American education: the quality of instruction is most central to the level of student achievement. The report, according to the New York Times, indicates that the quality of teaching was relatively more important to high achievement, for example, than the number of hours spent on mathematics instruction. We have become more and more concerned with providing more and better teachers for the disadvantaged, and reports such as this indicate that we face difficult problems across the entire spectrum of educational achievement and opportunity.

We must, in my judgment, place even greater stress on attracting our best minds into teaching, on enabling them to obtain the best education available and on keeping them in the classroom with decent salaries and other appropriate rewards. Efforts such as the National Teacher Corps, the National Science Foundation fellowships and the Office of Education teacher fellowships are strong beginnings, but assessments such as the one reported today show that we still have far to go.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the Office of Education for supporting this forward-looking project and UNESCO for helping to coordinate such an international effort. Under unanimous consent I include the Washington Post and New York Times articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 7, 1967]

UNITED STATES RANKED LOW IN MATH TEACHING—12-NATION STUDY SAYS JAPAN DOES BEST JOB IN SUBJECT

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

American public schools have been found to rank low in an international comparison of pupils' achievements in mathematics, and Japan's schools to be doing "the best over-all job" in that field.

But although American schools were found to be doing poorly in cultivating mathematical talent among young teenagers, they recouped some of the losses by enrolling relatively large numbers of students in mathematics courses in the upper years of high school.

These findings are the result of a 12-nation educational endeavor, sponsored by the International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, which had the support of the participating countries' top-level education authorities.

Of the Japanese 13-year-olds tested 76 per cent scored in the upper half, 31 per cent in the upper tenth, and 5 per cent in the upper 1 per cent on the internationally devised test scale.

By contrast, of the American 13-year-olds, only 43 per cent were in the upper half, 4 per cent in the upper tenth and only one-third of 1 per cent in the upper 1 per cent.

However, they lagged only slightly behind Scottish, English and French youngsters.

A comparison of accomplishments in the final year of high school showed 26 per cent of the English students scoring in the upper tenth, compared with only 2 per cent of the Americans.

VERY CRITICAL INDEX

An assessment of the percentage of the total high school age group in the participating countries that managed to score in the upper tenth in mathematics achievement showed the United States to be in fifth place, after Japan, England, Sweden and France.

The study noted that the upper tenth is "a very critical index" because from this category springs much of the important science and mathematics talent.

The researchers were unwilling to ascribe the relative strength or weakness of any nation's mathematics programs to specific differences in instruction. They suggested, however, that students' interest in the subject might be a determining factor in their performances.

"In countries with the best mathematics scores, students tend to consider mathematics an important subject for the society, although they regard it as a difficult subject for students to learn," the report said.

One expert suggested that the pressure to do well in such a key subject in order to succeed in school, college and career might be felt more sharply in Japan than in the United States. Thus, he said, incentive and motivation may be a key element in the students' success.

On the question of "like and dislike" of mathematics, the study found students in Japan most positive and in the United States most negative in their attitudes toward the subject.

FIRST STUDY OF ITS KIND

These findings emerged from the first large-scale international comparison of how well students in 12 nations learn mathematics.

The five-year study, under which 133,000 pupils at age 13 and in the last year of high school have been tested, will be published simultaneously in the United States and Sweden on March 31.

The researchers said that the amount of mathematical talent among youths in highly developed nations was pretty much the same.

"The differences in mathematics achievement are due to differences in the way that talent is developed," they observed.

The countries participating in the study were Australia, Belgium, England, Finland, France, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, Scotland, Sweden, the United States and West Germany.

The countries involved volunteered to take part, were willing to shoulder part of the cost and had sufficiently developed national research centers. The Soviet Union was invited but did not participate.

A grant from the United States Office of Education supported the American phase of the project. International coordination was provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Institute for Education in Hamburg.

FINDINGS TO BE PUBLISHED

The findings, entitled "International Study of Achievement in Mathematics," were edited by Torsten Husén of the University of Stockholm, and wil be published in two volumes by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., in New York, and Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.

A member of the project, Robert L. Thorndyke, executive officer of the Institute of Psychological Research at Teachers College, Columbia University, said yesterday that similar comparative research might be undertaken in the future in the sciences, reading comprehension, literature, language and civic education.

The study pointed out that, apart from achievement tests, the percentage of youngsters who actually reached the upper levels of mathematics study was of great importance in the development or loss of mathematical talent.

For example, in the Netherlands only 8 per cent of all eligible students reach high school graduation, compared with 70 per cent in the United States and 57 per cent in Japan.

An even more dramatic indication of the potential loss of talent is given by the fact that in the final year of high school only 4 per cent of Belgium's eligible youngsters are enrolled in mathematics programs, compared with 18 per cent in the United States.

BELIEF CHALLENGED

Yet, the study also challenged the belief that only highly selective secondary schools systems, such as those operated by many Europeans countries, could chalk up scores of high achievement.

Although the United States scored below some highly selective systems, Japan exceeded them, despite the fact that its school attendance is nearly as comprehensive as that of the United States.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 7, 1967]

U.S. PUPILS TRAIL FIVE NATIONS IN MATH

(By Gerald Grant)

The first large-scale international comparison of how well students learn math shows the United States lagging behind Japan and several European countries.

America suffers somewhat in the rankings because comprehensive high schools here are compared with elite European schools serving a much smaller, more select group of pupils. This is like comparing a prep school with a large city high school.

However, when adjustments are made for this discrepancy, the United States still falls significantly behind Japan, England, Sweden, France and Belgium. But American youngsters outscore pupils in Australia, Germany, Scotland, Finland and the Netherlands.

More than 130,000 youngsters in 12 countries were tested during the five-year study. Educators claim it is the first international study using tests that scholars agreed were fair to all countries involved.

The tests measured a wide range of mathematical skills including reasoning, capacity to analyze problems, techniques and skills, ability to translate a verbal problem into symbols and "inventiveness."

Results will be published this month by John Wiley and Sons, Inc. in New York under the title "International Study of Achievement in Mathematics," edited by Torsten Husen of the University of Stockholm, Sweden.

Students were tested at age 13 and during the final year of secondary school.

The mass of data collected by the researchers has already produced some disagreement about the significance of the results.

A summary of the findings made public by the University of Chicago and approved by the principal American members of the research team, Prof. Benjamin Bloom, says flatly:

"The best overall job of mathematics instruction in public schools appears to be done in Japan. The United States is among the least effective in this respect."

George S. Carnett, a research coordinator at the U.S. Office of Education, which partially supported the study, cautions that national rankings may be unfair.

According to the Chicago analysis, here are some highlights of the study.

Among 13-year-olds, the United States ranked eighth, with 43 percent scoring in the top half on the test and 5 percent in the top tenth. This compares with 76 percent of Japanese 13-year-olds scoring in the top half and 31 per cent in the top tenth. Trailing front-ranked Japan in this age group were Belgium, the Netherlands, Australia, Scotland, England and France, the United States, Sweden and Finland, in that order.

At the end of secondary school, the leading countries for students scoring in the top tenth on the test were England, Japan and Belgium, with the United States lagging considerably behind.

However, both these comparisons unfairly penalize America for educating such a large percentage of students, compared with European schools that screen out less able pupils.

In America, nearly 70 per cent of the pupils finish high school. Generally less than a fifth of the students in most European countries complete secondary school.

One exception is Japan, where 57 per cent of the students graduate from secondary schools. And while the United States scored below countries with more selective schools systems in France and England, Japan outranked them.

When the results were interpreted to show how students fared as a percentage of their total age group, rather than as a percentage of the age group lucky enough to be in school, America's ranking improved markedly.

Again, Japan was first with 1.75 per cent of all youngsters in an age group scoring in the top tenth on the test. England and Sweden followed with 1.3 per cent; Belgium 1.1 per cent, United States slightly less than 1 per cent. Australia, Germany, Scotland, the Netherlands and Finland all trailed the United States with less than one-half of one per cent.

It was also found that the best students among comprehensive American schools do as well as the best students in the elite European or Japanese schools.

In general, selective schools in Europe tend "to succeed relatively well in bringing a small student body up to outstanding accomplishment," the Chicago analysis concluded. But American-style comprehensive schools "can bring a larger group of students up to fairly high levels of performance."

Prof. Arthur W. Foshay of Columbia University, one of the project researchers, says that therefore the American schools "serve the population better than selective secondary schools on the European model."

Other highlights of the study:

Students who have had the "new math" seem to do better than those following traditional methods of instruction, but the sample in the study who had the new math was not regarded large enough to be conclusive.

Boys have more interest in math than girls and do better at it. But differences in math scores between the sexes are not as pronounced at coeducational schools as they are between all-boy and all-girl schools.

Class size appears to have an inconclusive relationship to pupil achievement. Average class size ranged from 24 in Belgium to 41 in Japan. Nor does amount of time devoted to math seem to be directly related to achievement: Japanese students who received only five hours of math instruction per week outscored French pupils who received an average of nine.

In countries with the best math scores, students "tend to consider mathematics an important subject for the society."

However, the first two volumes of the study that will be published this month do not attempt to deal in detail with the reasons why some countries do better than others in mathematics achievement. This will await further analysis of the data.

Carnett, in an article to be published by the U.S. Office of Education, suggests that the lack of qualified math teachers may have affected American achievement. He notes that a recent survey here showed that only 70 per cent of the new-math teachers hired last year were fully qualified to teach the subject.

The international study was carried out by research centers in the countries involved, each of which bore its own costs. The U.S. Office of Education furnished $450,000 for planning and international meetings.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Mar. 7, 1967]

Math Is a Way of Life in Japan

(By Richard Halloran)

Tokyo, March 6.—Japanese youngsters are good at math because:

Their mothers start teaching them at an early age. The first question a child is taught to answer is "How old are you?" rather than "What's your name?" that most American kids learn. By the time they go to school, Japanese children have a good grasp of numbers.

They are drilled, drilled, and drilled in fundamentals in elementary school. Math teachers here stress learning to do basic arithmetic problems in the head, which is called "anzan" a two-character word meaning memorize and calculate.

Japanese young people are pressed by an examination system that is perhaps the world's most exacting. They must pass thorough rugged tests to get into middle school, high school, and university. And this is a vital portion of the well-defined track to prestige in government, business, or academic life.

The Ministry of Education sets national standards for all children of all ages, which helps explain why Japanese youngsters perform in a relatively consistent manner.

Mathematics, over the years, has come to have a mystique in Japanese life, and a tradition has evolved in this prestige-conscious nation that the one who does math well shows that he is a superior person.

In Tokyo's Kojimachi middle school this afternoon, math teacher Yoshitsugu Watanabe explained that part of Japan's emphasis on math training is sheer need. "We are lacking in natural resources," he said, "and thus we need to think. Thinking is our resource."

Watanabe, 41, has taught math for 18 years, 11 of them in middle school. He reminded that during the Meiji period, 100 years ago, great emphasis was placed on education as an instrument of national development. In this, math took priority because of the need of engineers, scientists and technicians who could handle the industry and technology that Japan was importing from the West.

The math teacher, whose classes were among those studied by Tosten Jusen of Stockholm University, said that the demands of daily life in Japan require a population well trained in math. He said that, unlike the United States, Japan is a small crowded country where precision in measuring and calculating has become a Japanese characteristic.

Watanabe said that by the time students reach his middle school, the equivalent of an American junior high school, they are so well trained in arithmetic that they can go on to applied math problems and higher levels with confidence and enjoyment. He teaches classes of 50 algebra and geometry, elementary trigonometry, and introduces them to integral and differential calculus.

Throughout an interview, Watanabe referred to the necessity of teachers concentrating on those students who do not understand or who fall behind. Reflecting the influence of national standards, he emphasized the need for keeping up the general level of class work and said he does not worry about those who move ahead.

Watanabe said he thinks the soroban, or abacus, the Orient's ancient and ubiquitous bead counter, is helpful but doesn't explain Japanese skill in math. He emphasized the need for learning to calculate in head without using pencil and paper or soroban.

Watanabe said he doesn't think Japan has any special teacher training methods, that the environment that places importance on math contributes more to the ability of Japanese teachers.

Watanabe's view was borne out by Seishiro Ohno, curriculum specialist in mathematics in the Ministry of Education, which sets the national standards. Ohno said the nationwide regulations, in which everyone is taught almost the same thing from similar texts, explained the generally high level of Japanese math education.

Ohno also stressed the pressures of the examination system. "One of the main reasons for Japanese doing well," he said, "is the excessive competition to go from middle school to high school and on to a university."

In Japanese society, the road to places in influence and security are open to all on a fairly equal basis. Wealth and family connections help but merit is the prime requisite. The child, however, must get onto the track fairly early in life, usually in the middle school.

It's important to get into the "right" middle school, the "right" high school, and then to one of the first class universities, the foremost of which is Tokyo University. At the top of the pyramid is the Tokyo Law School, from which Japan's powerful bureaucracy draws its recruits.

HUD STATEMENT HAVING TO DO WITH BUSING AND SCHOOL REZONING

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I have had the good fortune and privilege of serving on the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, and for that reason have been intensely concerned about the housing situation in general and the model cities program in particular. This is a program that promises much that is new and dynamic by way of help to our urban areas.

Therefore, it was with considerable dismay that I read in the Congressional Record of February 21 remarks made by our distinguished colleague, the Honorable Paul Fino, concerning this program. On that date the Record shows Mr. Fino made this statement:

> HUD has confirmed my suspicions by admitting that the demonstration cities program will be used to require school systems in our would-be demonstration cities to plan busing and school rezoning as a condition of Federal aid in urban renewal, mass transit, and other programs.

This statement surprised and startled me, so I made an inquiry of the eminent Secretary of HUD, Robert C. Weaver. I have received the following reply, which is conclusive and definite:

The Secretary of Housing and
Urban Development,
Washington, D.C., March 6, 1967.

Hon. Henry B. Gonzalez,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gonzalez: This is in reply to your letter requesting my views on the points raised by Congressman Fino's remarks in the *Congressional Record* of February 21.

Included in Congressman Fino's remarks is the statement that:

"HUD has confirmed my suspicion by admitting that the demonstration cities program will be used to require school systems in our would-be demonstration cities to plan busing and school rezoning as a condition of Federal aid in urban renewal, mass transit, and other programs."

I want to assure you that there is no foundation in fact for the various statements having to do with bussing and rezoning of school districts, which Congressman Fino has attributed to officials of this Department.

In enacting the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, the Congress made clear that nothing in the Act could be construed to require the adoption by any community of a program for bussing school children, or the abandonment of its neighborhood school system, or the alteration of the boundaries of its school districts.

In Title I of the Act, which authorizes the model cities program, the Congress included a provision (section 103(d)) which states that:

"(d) Nothing in this section shall authorize the Secretary to require (or condition the availability or amount of financial assistance authorized to be provided under this title upon) the adoption by any community of a program (1) by which pupils now resident in a school district not within the confines of the area covered by the city demonstration program shall be transferred to a school or school district including all or part of such area, or (2) by which pupils now resident in a school district within the confines of the area covered by the city demonstration program shall be transferred to a school or school district not including a part of such area."

In Title II of the Act, which authorizes assistance for planned metropolitan development, the Congress included a provision (section 205(f)) which states that:

"(f) Nothing in this section shall authorize the Secretary to require (or condition the availability or amount of financial assistance authorized to be provided under this title upon) the adoption by any community of a program to achieve a racial balance or to eliminate racial imbalance within school districts within the metropolitanwide area."

As you can see, the Congress has specifically resolved the issues raised by Congressman Fino. They are not, nor were they ever, a part of the model cities program, or any other housing or urban development program.

On the other hand, I want to make clear that nothing in this Act, nor in Administrative regulations, prohibits a community's adoption of a busing plan. The freedom of choice to adopt or not to adopt such a plan is solely within the jurisdiction of the community.

At the heart of the model cities program is an intent that each locality select the slum or blighted area which it will improve, and that the locality itself should then devise a plan for a coordinated use of all Federal, State, and local governmental programs and private resources available to it for the purpose of eliminating physical and social ills in the selected area. The supplemental Federal funds to be made available for this vital purpose under the model cities program will be used to carry out locally prepared, not Federally prepared, plans.

A reading of Title II of the Act, the planned metropolitan development title, makes it clear that the program provides supplemental funds only for specified, already-existing Federal assistance programs. The plans would be those which the community had adopted in voluntary cooperation with neighboring communities in the metropolitan area.

I regret the injection by Congressman Fino of irrelevant and divisive issues into the model cities program. I, of course, welcome this opportunity to clarify the matter.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. WEAVER.

THE MILITARY DRAFT

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the military draft is, at best, a necessary evil. Our present selective service system is but a clumsy, blundering attempt to provide manpower for our Armed Forces, for repelling invasion, and for protecting freedom in a world where ideologies constantly vie for the hearts and souls and minds of men. Admittedly, the draft contains some gross inequities, but it is the best system the American people have been able to devise over two centuries of toil and tears, through anguish and triumph.

I cannot argue with the several attempts to revise and modernize the draft laws, for every young man in America should be treated fairly, and, in fact, has a right to expect fair treatment when he is called upon to go to war in defense of his country and freedom. However, we must act with extreme caution, in order that we do not create a new Selective Service System infinitely worse than the one we now have which has evolved over these many years when necessity was truly the mother of invention.

The adversaries of a free world are constantly tempting Congress and the American people to accept the easy yet fatal course of no compulsory drafting of our young men for defense, but in this world in which we live, where to survive we must be more practical than passive, the military draft seems to be here to stay.

The responsibility incumbent upon the Congress as a body and each Member as an individual is indeed awesome. The day does not pass that I do not ponder the question of the morality and honesty and correctness in this matter. I, for one, shall give the plan recommended by the President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and all other plans put forward by all interested parties the deepest prayerful and extremely serious consideration first, before committing the youth of this Nation to another set of rules for meeting their military responsibilities.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the United States has the awesome responsibility of insuring that freedom's light shall never be the light that failed. We did not seek this responsibility; it sought us—as the freest, most productive and most resourceful nation on earth.

The meaning of this responsibility is clear: Many of our sons must man the ramparts of freedom. And they must face grave dangers in doing so. This being so, we can do no less than to insure that those men have been selected by means that are in the highest traditions of a democratic republic.

Yesterday, President Johnson forwarded to Congress his message on selective service which responds to that obligation.

I commend him especially for the scope of his message—which seeks to modernize the entire machinery of the Selective Service structure and create regulations that are commensurate with today's manpower needs.

He has also ordered an extremely important change in the order of call, beginning with the 19-year-olds and working up, instead of beginning with the older eligibles and working down. This change alone will have salutary effects on the morale of those who await a draft call that could come at any time.

The President has made clear that we have much more studying to do before we can tackle the nagging problems of the structure of the system and the equity of deferments. This is a responsible approach to these problems.

I believe that the vast majority of our colleagues in Congress will enthusiastically support the principle of this message. We will fulfill our obligations to the people by carefully considering new steps to upgrade the quality of our draft program.

Obviously, there will be differences of opinion as to some details. A full and frank exposition of the pros and cons must result in an improvement of the law and its operation, as well as an elimination of many, if not all, its inequities.

The task to be performed has been outlined for us. Let us immediately proceed to carefully accomplish the best result obtainable.

AN IRONY OF THE POWELL AFFAIR

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, a great irony of the Adam Clayton Powell affair is that the man who has been running from the courts is now running to them. Whatever this fact may say about the man, it speaks very well indeed for the courts.

In days past, court orders have been playthings for him; now they become the vital means to enforce alleged rights.

It is perhaps worth a moment of reflection that our courts, though not flawless, are willing to hear and to judge fairly the rights of a man who previously treated them with contempt.

It is reassuring to know that the courts are keeping the faith.

THE STATE OF THE PARTY

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. IRWIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday the Democratic Party of Connecticut had its annual Jackson-Jefferson Day Dinner in Hartford. The speaker of the evening was a Democrat with a long and distinguished career in American politics, and he unburdened himself of some deeply held feelings in expressing his convictions on the critical issues that our country faces at this time. There is no issue that is trying us more than Vietnam, and here Mr. Farley spoke in defense of President Johnson's handling of his difficult problem. Because I feel that Vietnam is the most important issue before us and because I believe that the President has tried to do what is best for our country, I am pleased to introduce Mr. Farley's forceful remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so I can share his views with my colleagues and hopefully their constituents.

THE STATE OF THE PARTY

(An address by Hon. James A. Farley, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, former Postmaster General of the United States, at the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, Hartford, Conn., Feb. 25, 1967)

Chairman Bailey, I was delighted to accept your invitation to be here tonight. Since I was introduced by your great Governor Dempsey, I intend to follow the traditions of the Governor and that other great Champion, Jack Dempsey, by punching straight from the shoulder.

The President has reported on the state of the Union. Tonight, I should like to talk about the state of the Democratic Party. To the very great credit of President Johnson, the state of the Union is far better off than the state of our Party. But, before considering our liabilities, let us examine our assets. It has been my growing conviction that no two administrations in American history more parallel each other than that of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Lyndon B. Johnson. Both Presidents knew their generations had a rendezvous with destiny. History will call both Presidents men of destiny because they kept that rendezvous. No two Presidents embraced the principles of President Thomas Jefferson more than Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson. And ironically, no two Presidents were more falsely accused of attempting to run a one-man government.

As Governor Alfred E. Smith used to say, let's look at the record. President Jefferson believed that the President should act through his Party in Congress. President Jefferson even attended Party caucuses on the Hill. President Roosevelt followed this pattern. In that first term, when Franklin D. Roosevelt acted through the Party leadership in the Congress, 100 basic pieces of legislation were passed—from social security to securities regulation. As to their wisdom, Speaker Sam Rayburn never tired of pointing out—that not one has been repealed and that all have been extended. Further extensions are now and have been a part of the platforms of both parties. President Johnson has bridged the gap between the White House and Capitol Hill even more successfully than President Roosevelt in his first term. He refined the Jefferson pattern. He consulted the 89th Congress by night and by day, by telephone and in person at the White House. The result is that the first great Congress of President Johnson, the 89th—has equaled the first great Congress of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Indeed, I am deeply saddened that my old friend—and that great American statesman, Speaker Rayburn did not live to see the record of legislation achieved, because he would have been as proud of President Johnson as he was of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Elected by the largest popular majority in American History, President Johnson converted that mandate into the Law of the Land. I predict that like the program of Franklin D. Roosevelt, not one of those Johnson Laws will be repealed.

And here my indignation explodes. Every President must expect criticism, sharp criticism. But it does not lie in the mouths of some self-styled Liberals, some selfish labor leaders, some glooming businessmen or some so-called oppressed groups to carp and snap at the heels of a great President who has led them to a land beyond their wildest dreams of only 20 years ago. Further, I am tired of hearing a great statesman belittled as a wheeler and dealer by phony intellectuals. Further, I am disgusted with the so-called New Left assailing the personality of a President who has done more good for larger numbers of the Common People than all of the long-haired, short-memoried ingrate Leftists, new and old, in history. Here and now I state that the President's great record is the Democratic Platform for 1968. We will go to the people on the indisputable fact that President Johnson has laid the foundation—indeed—it is already the Law of the Land—for the Greatest Society in the history of man.

And, now again, on the asset side, let us look at the startling parallel between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson—this time in foreign policy.

In 1933, President Roosevelt did not remain passive when the Cuban People revolted against a dictator regime. The Leftists shouted then that President Roosevelt's policy was dollar diplomacy, Yankee imperialism. The President and Secretary of State Cordell Hull thereafter counfounded them with the Good Neighbor Policy—the most significant milestone in Latin American policies in a hundred years—and resulting in the present Organization of American States.

In pattern, when President Lyndon B. Johnson landed an American Army in the Dominican Republic he too was called an imperialist, and a dictator, and by some leading Democrats, too. But, the American Army has come and gone and in the short time of two years the Dominican Republic is under a government of its own choosing.

But those who predicted catastrophe in the Caribbean have yet to acknowledge, much less acclaim, the President's monumental success south of the border. I am again struck by the fact that as a great Secretary of State—Cordell Hull—stood unflinchingly beside the President as another great Secretary of State—Dean Rusk—stands by the side of President Johnson. Indeed, as he stood by the side of President John F. Kennedy.

The Pacific policy parallels that of the Caribbean. Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman sent American men into the Philippines to fight and die—not for our independence, but for the independence of the Philippine People. As soon as possible after the war ended, with American assistance the Philippine People established their own independent republic. President Johnson has all but begged the world to believe that all we fight for is the right of the Vietnamese People to govern themselves. He specifically so declared at Manila in 1966. There are hardships ahead but I predict that as the American people and President Roosevelt won that freedom for the Philippines, President Johnson will win that freedom for Viet Nam.

And now let us take Asia as a whole. The very critics who attack President Johnson declared the war was lost a year ago—that we should get out—run out is a better word—run out on our solemn promises. The fact is, the President faced a Dunkirk in Asia. If we had gotten out the Communist Tide would have swept southward. Communist Indonesia was already reaching north—and Communist China was pushing south. President Johnson stood his ground. That Communist government in Indonesia has fallen. Red China is in convulsions of internal strife. These are great moral victories. President Johnson has proved that it was not the Americans who were the paper tigers, but the Red Chinese dragon which was made of cardboard.

Here again the parallel with President Roosevelt runs true. Well meaning people urged him, too, on a course of action which would have cost the lives of American men. During World War Two a committee of women actually called upon General George Marshall to urge him to stop the use of flame throwers against enemy pill boxes. General Marshall, a humane man, had to explain to them that American casualties would soar if the enemy were permitted to machine gun American men without use of the principal weapon which would protect them. Now the Joint Chiefs of Staff have told the same thing to President Johnson about bombing of the North Viet Nam installations and routes of supply. But today President Johnson is reviled because he bombs the enemy bringing up supplies to kill American men. With the ambulances and funeral planes bringing home more than a hundred dead American soldiers and over 500 wounded Americans a week—with American casualties reaching 50,000, no less a person than the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Fulbright, declares that bombing of the North should stop.

Now, Senator Fulbright has just published a book. The New York Times Book Review declared and I quote, "From disagreement with the national policy, Senator Fulbright has escalated to an indictment of the national character. He sees arrogance in the way Americans strut about the world as tourists and as economic know-it-alls. He sees arrogance in our belief we have much to teach other societies and in our expectation that they should wish to learn."

This means a complete reversal of position by Senator Fulbright. Indeed he believed that we had so much to teach and others were so anxious to learn that "Fulbright Scholarships" were established in his name. Indeed, upon these and others, nearly 100,000 foreign students are studying in this country right now. Unless his vanity exceeds his principles, it would seem that the Senator should move at once to have his name removed from these grants of the American people.

The name of Senator Fulbright's indictments of the American People is "The Arrogance of Power". But since the subject is raised, it seems to me Senator Fulbright himself is a prime example of the Arrogance of Power, for it is arrogant indeed for a Senator holding public office to indict the character of the American People in time of war, in the terms used by their enemy. Nor does his indictment of the American People end there. The Senator attacks the people of Arkansas by declaring "I am proscribed from leadership or initiative by the strong preference of my constituency." I submit that it is arrogant of a Senator to declare that election by the people of his State forbids him from leadership or initiative.

By his own words, Senator Fulbright admittedly undertakes to indict his Party, his State, his President and his Country.

And by so doing, it seems to me he convicts himself of the greatest display of the arrogance of power in the history of the Senate.

The Senator declared to a nationwide television audience that he favored stopping of bombing because quote "a few trucks" make no difference. It was not a few trucks. It was 25,000 tons of supplies, and it took weeks for the enemy to mount them to exploit the truce. There are pictures of the trucks, bumper to bumper, rushing supplies to the enemy. They are official photographs. They are true.

I am of the opinion that Senator Fulbright either did not wish to fully ascertain the truth—or he wishes to conceal it. Certainly, he knows those supplies were going to be used to kill American soldiers. How many more dead Americans does he need to convince him? How many more wounded?

Senator Fulbright also declared he was opposed to an American "colony" in South Viet Nam.

Now, the President has repeatedly pledged to the world that American forces would be withdrawn, and specifically so last November at Manila. Thus, the fact is Senator Fulbright is so arrogant that he attacks both the integrity of the President of the United States and the integrity of the American People!

But history flatly contradicts him.

In 1898, the United States voted the annexation of Hawaii and The Philippines. Hawaii is now a full fledged state. Is this the American arrogance of power of which Senator Fulbright complains?

Again, look at the Pacific. As soon as possible after World War Two ended, with the full assistance of the American People, the Philippine People established their own Republic. Is this the arrogance of power?

Perhaps 26,000 innocent South Viet Nam villagers murdered in cold blood by the Viet Cong—perhaps a whole people massacred by the Communists in Tibet are not enough to convince Senator Fulbright that freedom is at stake. But this I will say—that no Senator in American history except Senator Fulbright has had the arrogance to tell the Commander-in-Chief that he should withhold American air support from American forces fighting for their lives on a battlefield. That may be advice and consent to Senator Fulbright but to me it is aid and comfort to the enemy.

Now the Democratic Party and the United States Senate have certain traditions. One tradition is that a junior Senator should spend his first few years learning the job. It is almost impossible for a Senator from New York to know it all in two short years, even though he was bright enough to become Attorney General of the United States at thirty-four—all on his own merit.

Now the fact that Senator Kennedy does not wish to follow traditions in the Senate, as did, for example, the late great Senator Robert F. Wagner, is perhaps within his discretion.

But the fact that he has embarked upon a foreign policy of his own including conferences with foreign chiefs of state violates both the prerogatives of the Presidency, and the rules of the Senate. The junior Senator isn't even a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

One can forgive his lack of experience—but not if he proposes to continue gaining it by imperiling the safety of the Nation.

This he does when he explores diplomatic channels which can only be lawfully done by the President. It was incredibly wrong of him to declare after visiting President De Gaulle that the French Government was needed by the United States to achieve peace in Asia. The record shows that the French were ousted from Viet Nam and that President De Gaulle has denounced American policy as "murderous". Senator Robert Kennedy could contribute something if he would make more clear that he repudiates this view.

Indeed, immediately after the Senator's visit with President De Gaulle, French diplomats in Peking were assaulted—surely, some evidence that French prestige is not at its all time high in the Orient, and certainly not enough to bring peace in an area where the French Army suffered defeat.

Further, the Senator was shocking in addressing the students of South Africa at a most difficult and dangerous time in international affairs. Again, it was against all diplomatic precedent.

The Senator's trip to South America was equally presumptuous and dangerous and caused both problems and embarrassment to the State Department and our embassies.

Thus, the Senator undermines United States foreign policy by holding forth to foreign nations that he will reverse American foreign policy if he is in a position to do so.

Insulting, belittling and interfering with the office of the Presidency is not the act of a mature citizen, let alone a United States Senator. And actually, it violates a deep American tradition.

Thus, when President Harry S. Truman was challenged by the Communists the United States Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, gave him full confidence on the Marshall Plan and the Berlin Airlift. Not one Senator attempted negotiations with foreign nations during the Korean War. Candidate General Eisenhower undertook no conference with foreign powers until he was duly *elected President*. When President Eisenhower was confronted by the Communists Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson went personally to the White House to pledge their support—and the Democratic Party has never had a grander moment of patriotism and courage. And when President John F. Kennedy faced down the Communists in the great missile crisis, the Senate, as well as Ex-Presidents Truman and Eisenhower stood firmly beside him. In their wildest moments not one member of the Congress would have imagined dealing with that terrible crisis by calling upon the Chiefs of foreign states.

Never did President Kennedy's great statement—ask not what your country can do for you, ask yourself what you can do for your country, have greater application than now.

I venture to suggest that the junior Senator from New York might act differently if he answers President Kennedy with the voice of his conscience, instead of his soaring ambition. No man speaks for another and history speaks for itself. I hazard the opinion—and strongly—that if President John F. Kennedy were alive today he would follow the great American tradition and give the same strong support to the President of the United States given to President Johnson by the now living two great Presidents, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

And now to the work before us. I consider myself the luckiest of men, because all my life with the clearest of conscience, the best way I knew to serve my country was through my Party. This view is no monopoly of our Party. It is my observations that most Republicans feel the same way—and that is one of the reasons I so strongly believe in a two party system.

Now a great deal has been written about politics—whole Departments, indeed, graduate schools have been instituted to teach political science.

But after more than fifty-five years in politics, I can tell you that the basic strength of a political party is the man in the ranks who has enough enthusiasm for his party to use his shoeleather to carry the conviction in his heart to his neighbors next door. If it has that kind of worker, that's where a party begins; and if it hasn't got that kind of worker, that's where it ends. It is just that simple.

Generals may plan battles, but it's privates who win them. Party leaders may institute policies, but it's the party workers who carry the message.

I, like Chairman Bailey here, started out as an election district worker carrying the Democratic banner in a then Republican town and county—and I can tell you it's been a grand march; the march of a lifetime. I not only believe in loyalty from the bottom up—I believe in loyalty from the top down. In my time, no man I ever knew believed this more deeply than President Lyndon B. Johnson. He stated, in all humility, on the day that he took office that he needed help. He needs that help more than ever now. For over fifty-five years, I have answered when the party of my father called. I march again with our party of Happy Warriors, confident that we never had a finer leader than President Johnson.

In conclusion, let me state that victory comes to no party which does not march forward to meet it. You and I and thousands of loyal Democrats in every State in the Union must close our ranks, support our leaders and march together to another overwhelming victory for the Democratic Party under the leadership of a great President and a great Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey in November 1968.

THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK—1850–1937

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, Masaryk was the greatest Czech statesman-philosopher of this century, and one of the greatest among leaders of the Slav race. He was distinguished in many fields. As a statesman he possessed superb abilities; he was equally good as leader, administrator, and organizer. He was a great teacher and the author of many books on history, literature, and philosophy, and became a most effective interpreter of the ideas and ideals of his own people in the West. Had this gifted son of a coachman of the little known town of Hodonin in Czechoslovakia not drifted into politics, perhaps he would have attained even greater fame as a scholar-philosopher, but his sense of duty drove him from the university campuses to the public arena of politics, thereby attaining the goal of his life: the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic at the end of the First World War.

Masaryk was born on March 7, 1850. Early in his youth he showed exceptional abilities and aptitude. He finished the University of Vienna with honors and became a lecturer in philosophy there. But he could not be confined to classrooms when there was a crying need for public leadership in Czechoslovakia. He relinquished his teaching and returned to his native homeland, at once plunging into politics. By 1900 he was famous as an unsurpassed leader in the country, and was elected to Parliament. As the leader of the progressive elements in Parliament in Vienna, he became also widely known abroad. His great reputation abroad, especially in the West, served him well in subsequent years.

During the First World War he became the leading Czechoslovak spokesman to the Allied countries in France, Great Britain, Russia, and of course in the United States. In all these countries he was able to enlist the sympathy of Allied statesmen for the Czechoslovak cause. After the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence in 1918, he became the unchallenged leader of the new state. In November 1918, he was elected its first president, and reelected four times in succession; but in 1935, at the ripe old age of 85, he resigned and withdrew from active politics. In quiet retirement he viewed with just pride his life's work, the Czechoslovak Republic, and for almost 2 years he enjoyed rest and peace until his death on September 14, 1937.

On the 117th anniversary of his birth the free world pays tribute to this true torchbearer of freedom and democracy in east-central Europe, this great leader of the Czechoslovak people, and the architect of the Czechoslovak Republic.

SENATOR KENNEDY'S REMARKS ON VIETNAM

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STUCKEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, this past week, I joined with many of my colleagues in both Houses of Congress in studying the important remarks concerning Vietnam made by the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY]. I also noted with extreme interest the concern reflected by remarks from the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and similar remarks of others.

I think of the concern of the people I represent in Georgia's Eighth Congressional District, of the American mothers and fathers, wives, sons, and daughters—all whose fathers or husbands or sons are fighting in this faraway country—or may be going there in the very near future.

I think of our President. We are all concerned over the situation in Vietnam, but the President most of all has to bear the brunt of the decisions over Vietnam—right or wrong. And, I believe that our President, for the most part is making every effort to find and explore avenues for peace.

Our need to be in South Vietnam is to me unquestionable. The American commitment in Vietnam is well known. We are there to help the South Vietnamese people defend themselves against aggression. Parallel to this goal of halting aggression is the U.S. effort to bring about an honorable peace that will protect the rights and freedom of the people of South Vietnam and that will not reward the aggressors. Our flag is committed, our Nation's honor is committed, and we have committed ourselves to seeing this war through to an honorable conclusion.

I am fully aware of the fact that the United States has held out invitation after invitation to talk peace, and President Johnson and the State Department have on several occasions proved the sincerity of the United States by slowing down or completely stopping military action, thus proving to the people here at home and abroad our desire for peace.

The people of the world also know of the intolerable conditions which Ho Chi Minh demanded last year to even talk peace, proving his belief that if the war dragged on the United States would eventually pull out as a result of demands here at home and abroad.

Now it should be evident, and we have reason to believe, that Hanoi knows we will continue to uphold our commitment and we have no intention of pulling out of Vietnam until the war is won or an honorable peace effected.

Heretofore, Hanoi's conditions to talk peace were totally unacceptable. They demanded that we completely pull out of South Vietnam. Under today's circumstances, however, and quite probably this could be as a result of the United States' renewed effort or intensification of the war—or whatever you wish to call it—we hear statements from Mr. Kosygin and Hanoi that do not mention the conditions for peace that they demanded a year ago.

The point has been well made that they have retreated from their previous conditions if these recent statements are in fact sincere.

Now, the difference of opinion of the Members of the other body seems to hinge on these questions: Is Kosygin sincere, and are the representatives of North Vietnam—such as their Ambassador to France—sincere? Certainly, we do not want to be guilty of basing our military strategy on statements made by the enemy. Such an assumption could cost us heavily in American lives and materiel. However, on the other hand, if there is good reason to believe that Hanoi is ready to talk peace, then we must be ready to prove once again that we still desire an honorable peace.

Heretofore, the United States has stopped bombings of the north and told Hanoi and the world that we stopped to prove our intention to negotiate peace. And, we asked for some indication on their part to prove that they too wanted to negotiate peace.

Now the shoe is on the other foot. They are saying in effect that they will talk peace. The people of the United States and throughout the world are now awaiting the U.S. response. I understand that Mr. Kosygin, for example, has said that the first step towards peace—

> Should be the unconditional cessation of bombing of, and all other aggressive acts toward, North Vietnam.

Also, Ho Chi Minh sent a message to the Vatican to the Pope, stating that the United States must unconditionally and definitely stop the bombing.

A similar statement was made by the North Vietnam Ambassador to France Mai Van Bo, according to a New York Times report of February 23, 1967. Now the question is, were these statements perfunctory and just for public consumption, or were they sincere?

In any event, the people of the world have been told that peace talks can begin if we stop the bombing of North Vietnam. They did not say, pull out of South Vietnam, or stop military action in South Vietnam. They did not say stop building up our defenses or improving our offensive power.

While I believe that President Johnson and the State Department are making every effort to explore avenues of peace, to remain silent now would be remiss. After Kosygin and representatives of Hanoi have made recent statements that peace talks could be initiated if we will do now what we have heretofore been willing to do, it would be quite hard for the people of the United States and the free world to understand our silence. I believe that a statement of any renewed peace efforts on our part should be made known to the people of America and the free world. I therefore ask that the members of this House join me in calling on the President of the United States and the Secretary of State to try to determine through diplomatic channels if peace talks can be initiated should the bombing of North Vietnam be stopped for as long as substantial progress for peace is made should negotiations begin.

Let us say that we are willing to again stop bombing North Vietnam when the peace talks actually begin and proceed to determine where and when negotiations will begin and by whom. I believe that the members of both Houses of Congress and the people of the United States want to be certain that every avenue towards peace is being explored anew.

Now, let me hasten to add that if the bombing is stopped and Hanoi proves that this was just another political tactic to prolong the war, then it will have become more evident that it may be necessary for us to even further intensify our military action before an honorable peace can be obtained.

In any event, I believe that President Johnson and the Secretary of State should give public assurance to the world that renewed efforts are being made to seek a peaceful settlement in light of recent statements by Kosygin and representatives of North Vietnam that peace talks are now possible under conditions tolerable to us.

NONCOMMERCIAL BROADCASTING SERVICES ARE NEEDED

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's message to the Congress on education contains references to educational television and radio which are of particular significance at this time. His recommendation for a Public Television Act of 1967 deserves the attention and support of Congress. Educational television and radio today offer the promise of major assistance to our educational and cultural progress as a nation, and we must not miss this opportunity to provide the support they need.

The recent report by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, the Ford Foundation's earlier proposal to aid ETV via satellites, and now President Johnson's recommendations all point dramatically at the many way in which the noncommercial uses of radio and TV stations can help us.

The Educational Television Facilities Act program has over the past 3 years brought the benefits of ETV to many new areas. All but three of the States will have made a beginning on educational television broadcasting systems. This kind of progress must be continued, as the President urges.

Equally important is his proposal to help support the programing of these stations by a new Corporation for Public Television. We are not making the best use of these electronic resources if we do not help the actual programing they present, and the proposed Corporation would help meet this need.

We must pay major attention to the dollar problems of these educational stations which can do so much for our country. According to a study by the educational television stations division of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the average income of the Nation's educational TV stations in 1964 was about $370,000 per year. According to the Carnegie Commission's report, average station income is still about the same as it was in 1964. Clearly, new support is needed, such as that which could be given by the Corporation for Public Television.

These noncommercial television and radio stations are locally owned and operated. They should continue to encourage the development of local financial support in order to continue to reflect local needs and interests. However, outside funding is also needed if effective operations are to be assured. I am pleased to note that the educational TV stations are conducting a national conference on the subject this week here in Washington. I hope the managers and governing board members at the conference will lend their thoughts to the proposals made by the President.

Educational television and radio can provide a vital "second service" to our homes and schools. The proposals made by President Johnson will do much to advance this important service.

MONETARY POLICY AND ITS EFFECT ON THE MORTGAGE MARKET—TOWARD STABILITY

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Rees] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, last month my eminent colleague, the gentleman from California, Congressman Richard T. Hanna, spoke before the Mortgage Bankers Association on the important subject of monetary policy and its effect on the mortgage market. Mr. Hanna, as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, has built an enviable reputation as an expert in this extremely vital field. I have asked permission to have the text of his speech, "Toward Stability," inserted in the Record. The speech follows:

Toward Stability

(Address by Congressman Richard T. Hanna before the Mortgage Bankers Association, Chicago, Ill., February 21, 1967)

Last summer in Atlanta I had the opportunity to participate with John deLaittre in a panel discussion that centered around the many problems in the mortgage market. These problems have been acutely accentuated over the past year. During that session John and I became particularly engrossed in the theoretical metaphysics of market stability.

I want to thank John and the membership of the Mortgage Bankers Association for providing the opportunity to continue that important dialogue. I would think that after the uncertainties and gropings of 1966, the question of mortgage market stability is vitally important to your industry, and certainly is of particular importance to the well being of the Nation's economy.

I'm reminded of the story of the farmer who, while out to dig his fields on a particularly cold day, finds this little bird nearly frozen to death beside the road. The farmer being a charitable and humanitarian chap couldn't let the bird freeze and so he picked it up and tried to revive it by putting it in his pocket while he pondered what to do next. As he thought, one of his cows crossed the road and deposited a steaming hot stool in the middle. Ah, the farmer thought, I have a cold bird and there in front of me is a source of heat. The farmer proceeded to place the bird in the steaming stool, and then went about his business.

After a short while the bird began to revive and as a sign of its restored spirits began singing. A hungry fox lurking nearby heard the chirping and began stalking the source. The fox stealthily crept up to a vantage point, pounced on the bird, and ate it.

Now from this short parable we can draw these conclusions. First, he who puts you in it may not necessarily be your enemy. Second, he who plucks you from it may not be your friend, but for heavens sake when you're in it—don't sing.

This is not too dissimilar from what has been happening in the mortgage business during the last year. We've been in a mess, so to speak, and the result has been one grand chorus, a discordant chrous without a theme or melody. I think we must begin to tune out the cacophony of anguished cries and tune in the reoccurring themes that can be found in our experience, as a basis for discovering new approaches for the future.

As I look back over 1966—a year when mortgage lending dropped $3 billion below 1965; a year when new housing starts fell about 20 percent; a year when new housing units built dropped about 10 percent; and a year when new housing constructed in the Nation fell below the level in nearly all other developed nations of the world—I think there are a number of general observations which warrant mention. It seems to me to be very clear that in 1966 we learned the following lessons.

The mortgage industry, as an industry, can work together. During the past year we discovered that the constituencies of the market can put the considerations of the industry above any particular interests of the segments.

Perhaps only in crisis could we learn the lesson of cooperation. In any event, the experience of 1966 will not be worth anything unless we are willing to consolidate the momentum that was created toward cooperation and apply a unified and concerted effort to resolving the more technical problems that were evidenced in 1966.

In 1966 we reaffirmed a very old lesson. Reliance on monetary policy tends to concentrate injury in the most vulnerable areas. Housing and home financing happens to be in that area. It seems that although we all go to the money market as equals, once there, there are a number of individuals who are more equal than mortgage bankers. I think we all understand that tight money dries up sources of funds for the mortgage banker, the savings association and bank, the builder and the home buyer.

Historically, we have learned that investment capital, for obviously compelling reasons, seeks the highest yield possible. When offerings are available at high yields, minimum risks, and attractive maturity spans and repayment terms, money will flow in their direction.

In an expansionary phase when money is needed, corporate borrowers can usually outbid the mortgage market for available capital. The government as we all know has a continuing need for money and must go to the market to obtain it. Both the government and corporations have the necessary flexibility to make their offerings more attractive. Under these circumstances, the mortgage market, because it is less flexible, finds itself less competitive.

We learned that when the competition on the money market produces inflationary tendencies, great pressures quickly build to tighten money. If the Federal Reserve does choose to tighten money, as it did in 1955, 1959 and 1965, the competitive elements find they must be more vigorous in pursuing a smaller amount of investment capital. These circumstances can be devastating to any element of the economy that must finance a rather stable long-term obligation with short-term money.

In 1955 and 1959, the Federal Reserve chose to tighten money. In both instances there was a noticeable flight of money away from the institutions that support mortgages. In 1959, when the Federal Reserve increased their borrowing rates by 1½% over a seven month period, there was a $5 billion dip in savings inflow when compared to 1958. Needless to say, that as a result of tightening in 1955 and 1959, the housing related industries had hard years in 1956 and 1960.

Since 1961, the markets have been in a relatively expansionary mood. With money available and relatively stable, the mortgage market has been able to adequately compete for funds. In the latter part of 1965, during a period of noticeably increasing heated expansion, the Federal Reserve once again chose to tighten money by raising bank discount rates. Surprisingly, few expected the ruinous implications to the mortgage market that quickly came to characterize 1966.

The new economists had propagandized us well. It seemed as if problems of the past would remain there. We were awakened rudely. No one suspected the intense expansion of 1966. No one suspected the intense competition for investment capital. Few, if any, suspected that tight money policies would have such a completely harrowing effect on the mortgage market.

The stability of our growth over the past five years had lulled us into thinking that the market had attained something akin to insulation. We looked at the examples of 1963 and 1964 when the discount rate was raised with no apparent calamoutous effect. Housing starts remained relatively stable although there was a slight decline in the first quarter of 1965. Inflow of savings dollars were increasing yearly. From 1963 through 1965 aggregate savings grew at a rate of $3 billion per year.

We learned, of course, that the circumstances of 1966 were different from 1963 and 1964. Not only were we witnessing a more vigorous expansion but an additional element entered into the picture in 1966 that was not present in either '63 or '64.

In those two years and during 1965, the total money supply managed to grow at a steady pace with just isolated minor exceptions. Not so in 1966. During the summer when interest rates were peaking, our money supply was significantly shrinking. Not only were dollars tight, but there were actually less of them.

To our chagrin, and perhaps to the disillusionment of some, the new economics is still the victim of severe problems. For five years we relished in stable expansion, and at times even knowingly allowed the easy money of the first half of this decade to move the market. Today, however, we realize the problems are still with us, possibly in a more acute form than we remember them.

We experienced an additional stinging lesson in 1966. With mounting frustration we learned that the Federal establishment does not act as one harmonious, orchestrated whole in contending with the problems of the economy. This is a serious lesson and one I hope we've learned well. To see the various government agencies competing against one another and actually bidding up the market had all the elements of a farce.

1966 has taught us new lessons and reaffirmed many old experiences that had become vague with time. Toward what direction will the sum of our 1966 experience lead? Will we find that within the mortgage industry there is cooperation only in crisis?

Increasingly I am hearing those voices that held sway in the 50's. Those voices tell us the mortgage market is the built-in victim of tight money and that in the good years it is everybody for himself. I'm worried that the disillusionment perpetrated by 1966 will cause a cynical acceptance of the "victim" thesis. A recent report circulated by the Department of Housing and Urban Development unimaginatively concluded the stability of the mortgage market ". . . is a dilemma whose resolution would require either complete and effective flexibility of mortgage interest rates or a full insulation of the mortgage markets from fluctuations in the capital market. Both of these alternatives are impossible of attainment."

I disagree! This is not the sum of the lessons of 1966. I will not accept the victim thesis. We should and must expect more. Our direction should be a positive one. Making the mortgage market a more equal competitor should be our goal. And while HUD's two alternatives in the extreme may be unobtainable, we can certainly work toward attainable degrees of those alternatives, if we are willing to work together. If not, nothing will be gained.

Tonight I would like to discuss seven proposals designed to move the mortgage market toward stability. I believe if we make a concerted effort to explore the ideas that I and others are offering during this meeting, and over the course of the next few months, solutions will emerge that will eventually make the mortgage market a much more equal competitor in our economy.

The first area we must concern ourselves with is the very fabric of government decision making. The Federal Reserve's decision in December of 1965 represented a breakdown in communication and an avoidance of responsibility. Both the Johnson Administration and the Federal Reserve were equally at fault.

We witnessed a reluctance on the part of the Johnson Administration to ease inflationary pressures through the tool of fiscal policy. Whatever reasons the Administration finally rationalized for this inaction, their inability to be decisive placed increasing pressure on the Federal Reserve to employ monetary tools. The practitioners of the "new economics" avoided their responsibilities.

The Federal Reserve, on the other hand, proved once again that they can't make decisions in a vacuum. The relationships of all the interdependencies within the economy must be considered before restrictive monetary policy is put into motion. Monetary policy alone cannot solve the problems of intense expansion and the resultant inflationary pressures.

Resolving this problem is particularly difficult. We would be naive if we didn't take into account the various political and personality ramifications attendant to exercising the proper mix of fiscal and monetary policies. Let us suggest at this time that it would be profitable for all to recognize the mutuality of fault.

We can ask the present Administration, and administrations of the future to be more decisive when fiscal restraint is needed. We can ask the Federal Reserve, as the February 13 edition of the Washington Post suggested, not to be so devastatingly independent in its decisions. What we must encourage and insist upon is a clear channel of communications between those who formulate and exercise our fiscal and monetary policies.

The considered application of a reasoned mix of these policies provides the most potential for stability. A breakdown in communications, an unwillingness to cooperate, or an avoidance of responsibility at a critical time can easily hasten a repetition of 1966.

The second proposal I would like to discuss concerns the precipitous rate war between government agencies. During the first half of 1966 we viewed with chilling quiescence the numerous government agencies bidding up the market. The Farmers Home Administration at one point had raised their yield to a guaranteed 6.25 percent for one to three year notes. Keeping pace was FNMA, the Home Loan Bank Board, the multiple Treasury issues and other government agencies allowed to borrow on the market.

Congress made a tentative step to resolve this almost farcial competition by placing in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to coordinate all government issues. Whether this will actually solve the problem or not is open to serious speculation.

The Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee has introduced legislation designed to control governmental market competition as well as provide a source of low interest borrowing to the many agencies outside the purview of the Federal Reserve. Mr. Patman's proposal would simply allow the members of, for example, the Home Loan Bank system to charter with the Federal Reserve.

While there are some interesting aspects to this approach, present realities may keep it from serious discussion. However, I would like to suggest another approach that may not be as radical.

At present, I am in the process of developing the details on a proposed Central Credit Bank. All agencies that are now outside the Federal Reserve but that must finance paper on the open market would make up the constituents of the Bank.

The Credit Bank would be the single borrower on government paper. I would charter the present members of the Home Loan Bank system and be their source of loans. For its lending function it would be essential to establish a series of strong regional banks that would be closely attuned to the needs of the particular localities.

It may also be possible to establish a central mortgage facility within the framework of the Bank to service a secondary mortgage market. With all guaranteed paper being issued through the Bank it would have a much stronger voice in making the market. The Bank could very well become a stable source of liquidity for a strong secondary market operation.

Of course, the major benefit of such a Bank would be its possible insulating function during periods of tight money. As the prime source of guaranteed paper, it would play a key role in making the market. If so, it could offer its constituents, particularly the mortgage market, more reasonable financing than would be available under our present system of limited anarchy.

This suggests a third area of concern. Over the past few years there has been some discussion of a central mortgage facility to strengthen the secondary market. Various proposals have been introduced ranging from chartering new corporations that would insure and sell conventional mortgages on a secondary market, to enabling the Home Loan Bank Board to serve this function.

FNMA has been servicing part of this market since 1954. It has facilitated secondary market operations for FHA and VA insured mortgages. While problems have presented themselves, especially noticeable during 1966, this additional source of liquidity has proved valuable.

It is now time to expand the secondary market to conventional home mortgage loans. One central mortgage facility would service all secondary market mortgages. Working toward increasing the liquidity and desirability of mortgage packages we may see attracted to the market investment capital that would ordinarily seek its earning potential in another segment of the economy.

I would urge the respective Banking and Currency Committees, as well as the appropriate administrative agencies, to take a fresh look at expanding the secondary mortgage market. In such a market we have a source of untapped potential—a potential that may be able to be worked to our advantage.

I would now like to turn my attention to the question of interest rate flexibility. 1966 has once again shown us that in times of rapid expansion and tight money fixed rates of interest on government insured loans are unrealistic, cumbersome, and present more problems than they solve by bringing on high discounts.

It is now time for both the Administration and the Congress to realize that FHA and VA rates of interest must be made flexible in order to adjust to market realities. Whether or not rate ceiling should be tied to some beter indicator of interest reality or completely eliminated must be resolved. The burdensome discount method makes the present situation most unhealthy.

The issue of rate flexibility ties directly into the next issue I would like to touch on. As a fifth proposal, I would ask the Administration to take the leadership in improving the mobility of mortgage money. A myriad of differing state laws and private practices often create mortgage fund dislocation. Often times a specific market is hurt because out-of-state money cannot be made available quickly enough. We all know that differing local situations present various risk and cost factors. Discount rates are particularly affected by local circumstances. A local mortgage market may be depressed because local laws and customs make unattractive the flow of mortgage money to the area.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has suggested uniform laws of foreclosure and model mortgage acts as possible remedies. I would urge consideration of these and other imaginative suggestions. This is a problem that, although complex, can be resolved by vigorous leadership at the Federal, State and private levels.

The sixth area I will address myself to is one in which the Federal Government can do little. I would encourage all the private elements of the mortgage industry to upgrade and hone their management skills to the sharpest possible degree. There must be a continuing re-evaluation of your procedures and assumptions. Times are changing rapidly and they require the keenest and most imaginative managerial skills available.

Sharp and considered management could make the difference in rough times. I am certain many mortgage institutions wish they had paid closer attention to their management ability in the early sixties when times were easy. Many institutions found themselves in very tenuous circumstances because their management was unprepared for the turbulence of 1966.

Those involved in servicing the market should be particularly concerned with the level of management ability. The management function could well make the difference between profit and loss.

We have noticed in recent years commercial banks moving more toward the servicing function. Banks have increasingly recognized the fertile pastures of acting as agents for their clients' money. They have also realized that when acting in this capacity the quality of their managerial skills is the most critical element in maintaining a reasonable margin of profit for performing these services. I think that this analogy carrys over to those servicing the mortgage market.

The days ahead promise continued competition. A tool that is absolutely needed if we expect to move toward an equal competitive position will be the finest in managerial skills.

Finally, I would like to suggest that we intensify our programs to attract new investment capital into the mortgage market. I realize, of course, that this is more easily said than done. However, I am convinced that there are sources of money that would move in if we can create an attractive enough investment.

For many years we have looked covetously on the largely untapped and very stable potential sources of funds: trust funds, insurance funds, and pension and retirement funds. Although these funds, in total, represent over $350 billion, less than 20 percent of these funds are invested in the mortgage market.

There are a number of concrete steps which must be taken if these sources are to be tapped as a reliable and substantial source of mortgage financing. It is necessary that an effort be made to make the mortgage instrument more competitive with alternative investment opportunities. This may mean that a central mortgage facility will take a role in selling debentures and participation certificates in blocks of mortgages as a means of reducing the servicing load to the investor thereby making the investments more attractive.

In 1966 we started something that I think there is a clear need for—combining and expanding participation in the mortgage market by those institutions vitally concerned with its health. One of the bright spots in the period of crisis was the readiness of industry and labor to make their money available in an effort to stem the ebbing tide of funds. Clearly, 1966 brought home to many the importance of a prosperous home building industry to their business success. This leads me to an additional thought. I think there is a need for a more aggressive approach—call it salesmanship or education—we need it. I would urge you now while the experience of 1966 is fresh in the minds of investment executives in business, labor and finance to make a concerted drive to convince them that their self-interest is wrapped up in a healthy mortgage market.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have managed to survive the roughest year in the mortgage market's post-war history. Every element of the market was hurt. I know you mortgaged bankers as the middlemen and servicers of the market found 1966 a particularly hard year to market, warehouse and service mortgages.

I believe we don't have to see a repetition of 1966. Perhaps I'm overly optimistic but I believe there are very specific steps, some of which I mentioned tonight, that we can take that will lead us toward stability—toward a more equally competitive position for investment capital.

Your distinguished former President, Mr. Ewart Goodwin, concluded in a recent article that "In spite of the difficulties now surrounding us, we need not doubt the prospect of better sailing ahead. We may confidently prepare for it now."

In that preparation I would ask that all the interested constituencies of the mortgage market work together in devising the programs and solutions that will allow us to always prepare confidently for the future.

TRADE—FOUL OR FAIR

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ANNUNZIO). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the Congress authorized the Subcommittee on General Labor to make a study on two legislative problems last year. As chairman of the subcommittee, I headed up a committee made up of Members of Congress—Mr. HAWKINS of California; Mr. BURTON of California; Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama; and Mr. FORD of Michigan—as well as Education and Labor Committee staff director, Russell Derrickson; director of the General Subcommittee on Labor, Robert Vagley; minority staff counsel, Michael Bernstein; Mr. Ronald Downing, from the Department of Defense, Overseas Schools Office; and Colonel Whalen and Lieutenant Colonel Burdette, from the Air Force.

Our duties were twofold. We were to study developments and problems in our overseas schools. Our time would not allow all Members to attend hearings and on site inspections on this phase so we divided and this area was covered by a group headed by Congressman FORD.

Our other study concerned itself with the problems facing American labor, industry, local communities, and above all, Congress, arising from the impact of foreign imports as a result of fair labor standards legislation enacted by Congress.

This problem is further complicated by two very important proposals facing Congress—one in this year's session, and the other in the next few years.

The first action will be directed to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act due to expire at the end of June of this year and the other is the proposal already approved by the organized labor representatives for a $2 an hour minimum wage, 30-hour week, and double time for overtime. These proposals, while considered by different committees of the House, are so closely associated with our economic welfare as to actually hold the answers to our survival as an independent nation.

I do not make this observation for the purpose of further complicating our international problems nor do I make it with any desire to stir up controversy between labor and industry. I admit frankly that economic progress as measured by increased earnings as well as profits are the lifeblood of the free and democratic enterprise system and that trade between nations is essential for the well-being of this as well as other nations.

However, my observations on this and other trips to foreign countries as a Member of Congress as well as a private citizen have convinced me that this Nation cannot have both free trade with lower waged economies and personal progress for our production workers.

As yet, no proponent of free trade has been able to produce anything but theory, alibis, and promises of future results, none of which have materialized in over 30 years of promising.

While I favor without restriction a free trade policy among nations in goods they need for their own uses from other nations with surplus. I am opposed to any suggestion that a nation can survive providing a world outlet for goods it produces in sufficient quantity for its own uses and, indeed, produces in surplus.

I have made the statement before and repeat it again, simply because I believe it to be true, no nation can survive without producing jobs with incomes sufficient to meet the standard of living peculiar to that nation's economy.

Some rather fundamental rules must be followed by this Nation and, in fact, by all nations to survive as free and independent entities in the world we face in the future. This new world will be one of a sufficiency of production in all things needed for each nation's economy as they develop their needs.

This does not mean that a nation primarily an agrarian economy must become an industrial giant, nor does it mean that an industrial nation must survive on exporting the products of its labor. The old theory of each nation producing what it does best and trading this production for the goods other nations produce is as dead as the proverbial dodo bird. This theory flew out the window when the machine moved in. It took a little time but we finally have arrived at a point where a small nation like Japan can actually—and very nearly does—provide all the consumers goods this Nation can use—and not stint in selling to others at the same time—and still move into the area of basic industries such as steel, shipbuilding, textiles, transportation facilities, and production machinery.

It is only a small item, but if we suddenly had a bad wind that destroyed all of our tableware we would have to go back to eating with our fingers off the bare table until Japan would load up its 200,000-ton ships to come to our rescue. Incidentally we are still floundering around in C1–C2's and other 10,000- to 20,000-ton merchant ships.

This sounds silly and maybe it is but just take a little trip to a variety store and check your source of buttons and bows, hammers, and hoes. Look over the labels on cameras, binoculars, watches, transistors, compact cars, baseball gloves, glassware, toys—just to name a few of the products made by your unemployed workers by proxy. Go a little deeper and find out how many American stockholders are screaming about high taxes, poverty programs, education appropriations, relief, and other tax-consuming public programs, while at the same time taking dividends from kids 10 to 16 years of age working in American-owned or financed industries abroad with few if any of the working conditions provided by law in the United States of America.

These are the people who demand free trade in the name of "peace on earth" in the name of humanity and compassion for the backward nations, the emerging peoples in darkest Africa and the masses of Asia. Oh, yes, they also make up the bulk of your mail demanding cutbacks in the programs for our own poor and join hands with the new, millionaire, TV-type politician who demands a return to good old American principles while at the same time cutting coupons from bonds and collecting unearned income from the near slave and child labor in the faraway places.

How does it benefit the good neighbor policy or the quest for peace by allowing foreign merchant princes to undersell the American worker because he has cheap labor, American money, American food and, yes, even American education working for him.

The answer will not be found in the Geneva conferences or the Kennedy round because our representatives are working against the clock—June 30—trying to give away our American future in order to give the free traders the biggest handout in world trade history. I fought the last 5-year trade agreement and predicted it would fail even if it did cost us millions of dollars at the conferences, thousands of jobs at home, and billions of dollars in our marketplaces.

While the great and powerful promoters of the legislation, former Secretary of Labor Goldberg, Hodges of Commerce, and the main kingpin in the sellout of U.S. industrial independence, George Ball, Under Secretary of State, were getting headlines and support by predicting the creation of 4,000 to 6,000 new jobs if the 5-year trade bill was passed by Congress, those of us who were opposing the bill were being ridiculed both as a group and personally. I can remember the treatment I received from the Committee on Ways and Means, courteous, but ignored, in the committee and on the floor where, after 2 years of holding hearings on the subject, I was accorded 10 minutes of time out of 8 hours with about 90 percent of the time for the proponents and no amendments allowed.

I pointed out in the RECORD, by special permission to print my observations, that the law would create a one-way street and the Nation would become less and less able to maintain its standard of living without subsidies.

How have we fared in these 5 years of loose trading? We now have subsidies for the entire textile industry costing the taxpayer over $300 million a year, an amount greater than the total taxes paid in the year previous to the enactment of this handout by Congress by all the textile mills. We now have billions of dollars in subsidies in the antipoverty program, aid to education, rehabilitation of our dying communities, permanent relief status for millions of Americans, and some 42 million Americans out of the work force with all or the major part of their income from the U.S. Treasury in one form or another.

Millions of dollars are going into training programs for displaced workers for jobs that are often gone before the training period is completed. I know the arguments of the free traders who say that automation is the cause of job losses. I make the point that advanced automation in most cases is the result of importation. Automation for the purpose of creating a better way of life with more products for mass consumption is a blessing. Automation to cut labor to meet foreign competition is a danger to our whole economy.

Take steel for instance. Steel can and has produced far and beyond our needs at all times. As the demand grew and facilities needed upgrading, industry met the challenge and, at the same time, labor needs kept pace with the demand. However, when we started building and helping to build foreign mills we created competition facilities that took away from our mills their foreign markets. This should have been expected. American millowners seized upon this situation to get special consideration from Congress to update their so-called obsolete equipment to hold onto their foreign markets. Naturally, they could not stop their foreign policies and in some cases even helped the foreign nations to update and, in fact, to surpass our new equipment. The natural thing happened just as predicted in 1961 and the foreigners started pouring their surplus steel into the U.S. market.

Even a novice in economics should have realized that given the same facilities a cheap labor nation can undersell a high cost market. Labor is not without blame in this crisis and it is a crisis. Labor seems to be talking out of two sides of its mouth at one time. The demand and, in my opinion have a right, to an increasing betterment in their standards of living, while at the same time they demand the privilege to purchase foreign made goods because they are cheaper.

I remember well the testimony before by committee in 1961 by both steel labor and steel management. Labor in short said, "We don't fear foreign competition if industry will cut its profits and price their products competitively to meet the foreign goods selling price."

Industry in short said, "We don't fear foreign competition if labor will not make demands for higher wages and gives us productivity in keeping with foreign labor production costs."

At that time I observed that if this had been true in the beginning of our industrial expansion, labor would still be working for a dollar a day and you could buy a Ford for $600.

The idea sponsored by George Ball that this Nation must give up certain productive industries such as textiles, glassware, and so forth, in order to foster trade in machine, cotton, and other products is as unsound and ridiculous as his prediction of 4 million new jobs in 5 years from the 1961 trade bill.

Another argument advanced by the Joint Economic Committee's special report argued for the elimination of high cost, high labor intensity productions, and said that this Nation should move into production of more sophisticated articles such as Steuben glass. I know that Steuben glass is very desirable, but until it sells for the same price as our Jeannette glass, it will never create the jobs needed for Mr. Ball to get his salary or to pay congressional salaries of $30,000 a year.

It might be interesting if Mr. Ball, our own Ways and Means Committee, and the Joint Economic Committee would take a so-called junket and visit the fine crystal shops in Germany, Japan, Italy, Czechoslovakia, as well as the French, Austrian, and Venetian fine glass plants.

What seems to escape the thinking of our nonproduction workers in and out of Congress is that no nation has an exclusive on any production. It might shock Mr. Ball, Hodges, and company to find out that our so-called trade surplus has been a deficit for many years.

At some later date I will try to give my views of our trade balances and the real balance as against the fake analysis given to the Congress and the people.

A few of the problems we face are covered in the following statements. They represent only a few of the hundreds of company and labor views that never seem to get into the congressional debates.

I repeat my position as I have made it known over these many years, I do not oppose free trade in goods and services nations cannot produce for themselves, I oppose the dumping of goods by this or any other nation. Simply put, I believe that the free enterprise system cannot survive in a free trade world at this stage in our history without protection against exploiters in the production shop and in the marketplace.

The American watch industry, already on its knees, appears to be bowing out of our economy from the observations contained in the following letter from the Watch Workers Union:

MUST THE WATCHMAKERS OF AMERICA DIE?

AMERICAN WATCH WORKERS UNION,
Lancaster, Pa., February 10, 1967.

Members of the 90th Congress:

Unless the Congress acts, a recent tariff reduction on watches means the elimination of watch production in the United States, the transfer of high precision watch skills and jobs overseas, and our reliance on foreign sources for skills and industrial capacity we now possess.

Concessions on import rates on watches, watch movements, and parts were granted by our Government in a trade agreement with Switzerland in 1936. Thereafter, the domestic watch industry, admittedly efficient, was very seriously injured by imports and in 1954 rates of duties for such articles were increased, permitting the industry to subsist on a minimum level of operations. But in January 1967, the 1954 rates were reduced to those existing in 1936, placing the domestic industry at the mercy of unfair imports generated by Switzerland and Japan with cheap labor rates with which we cannot compete.

Must we give what remains of our market to the Swiss cartel?

Over the past twenty-five years we have given substantially all of our own domestic watch market to the Swiss Cartel. Only ten per cent of our jeweled watch market remains—no completely integrated pin lever wrist watch plant exists in the United States. Must we give this remaining fragment of our market to the Cartel? Our contribution to free trade has already been made, the Swiss are over-employed and do not need our help, and we need what remains of our market if we are going to retain an important industrial capability.

Must we injure ourselves to demonstrate free trade policy?

In freeing up trade, we have lost valuable production facilities which take fifteen years to re-establish. Of 33 integrated plants, there remains only 3 integrated jeweled watch plants and no fully integrated pin lever plants. Only the hard core of a production capability is left of an industry important to our defense and advancement of the state of the art. Without it, we must rely on the Swiss Cartel for our needs and we have no means of controlling the source of production.

Must we be the only nation to make this serious mistake?

Every industrial nation of the world has protected and encouraged the growth of their watch industries. By contracts, we have let ours deteriorate through tariff reduction, and now it will disappear if something is not done. All these countries of the Free World and behind the Iron Curtain cannot be wrong. Must we be the only nation not to protect what all concede is a most important capability for our national interest?

Must we sacrifice high skills we are trying to build?

The Congress has expended much time and money on programs to train the unskilled and improve the skills we now possess in the light of the high job requirements for skills with too few people to fill them. The objective has been reached in the watch industry, but we are letting it slip away by destroying the jobs by tariff reduction. Once attained, high skills we need should not be eliminated if our national objective to obtain and improve skills means anything.

Must the will of the Congress be subverted?

In the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the Congress provided safeguards to prevent elimination of any industry which we need. More particularly, the Congress considered this problem did not intend that the watch industry be sacrificed in the cause of free trade, and continued its escape clause protection. No such efficient industry as this—which leads the world in technological progress—with electric and electronic watches, the most important development in the art over the past five hundred years—should be killed off in contravention of the standards set by the Congress. Administrative action reducing tariffs should be nullified until such time as the Congress changes its mind.

The Congress represents the people of the United States—not the Swiss cartel.

The Congress has no responsibility to the Swiss Cartel and its world-wide monopoly. The cartel needs no help from the Congress, and it has taken the fruits of our market while violating our laws. The people of the United States rely on the Congress to protect their interests and do not expect to lose something which is needed. It is in the interest of the people that we retain what is left of this efficient industry that is important to our interests.

The 90th Congress will make the decision.

There is much at stake in this issue.

We urge your support of legislation designed to nullify the 1967 tariff reduction and permit continued manufacture of watches in the United States—in the national interest.

The watch industry will either continue or abandon domestic manufacturing—depending upon what the Congress does.

RALPH F. FREY,
President.

Mr. Speaker, the entire fabric of the trade policies is shot through with double standards, doubletalk, insincerity, and above all, naturalism on the part of importing countries that have an open door to the U.S. market.

The Alabama Pipe Co., from Anniston, Ala., makes an interesting observation in a note received in my office February 16, 1967. Their statement, in part, follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DENT: Attached is a clipping from the January 12th issue of our local Anniston, Alabama paper relative to the purchase of steel from Italy by the TVA.

While the amount is small we question this type of transaction by a governmental agency for several reasons.

It will take from American labor and management the man-hours required to produce it, increase our costs by decreasing manufacturing volume and this same American labor and mangement will be expected to purchase or cause to be purchased the electric power conducted by this foreign steel. Certainly Italian labor will not purchase nor cause to be purchased a single kilowatt-hour of it.

If it is a matter of our so-called Foreign Policy, then why do we require that foreign projects of similar nature financed under our A.I.D. program use American made material while our own agencies are free to buy on the world market?

Isn't this really a subterfuge to cover additional Foreign Aid? In either case, it comes from the same source but with a different label.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Jan. 12, 1967]

ITALIAN FIRM GETS TVA PACT

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.—An Italian firm has been awarded a contract to supply up to 2.7 million pounds of steel for transmission line crossing at two points on the Tennessee River.

The award was announced today by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The steel will be provided by Officine Vittorio Ceccoli, of Bologna, Italy, and will be used in crossings over Chickamauga Lake near Chattanooga and over Wheeler Lake in northeast Alabama.

The contract calls for a base provision of 1,378,000 pounds of steel for $207,822.

The crossing near Chattanooga will carry a 500,000-volt transmission line being built between Bull Run steam plant near Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Widows Creek steam plant in northeast Alabama.

The Wheeler Lake crossing will carry two 500,000-volt lines from the Trinity substation west of Decatur—one of them to the Browns Ferry nuclear plant and the other to the Davidson substation to be built near Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Speaker, even the giant steel companies have finally heeded the warnings sounded by myself and others over the last decade. Today, steel companies, both large and small, find themselves in an import-export bind, partially caused by their own shortsightedness.

While listening to the promises of the free traders they closed their ears and, what is worse, opened their know-how files, their bank accounts, and their home markets. They honestly, but foolishly, believed they could hold their own if other nations dropped their tariff walls and played the free-trade game honestly. Of course this could not happen. And I have my doubts as to whether we can live long enough to see the day when all walls are down, all restrictions removed, wages and taxes equalized, and products sold between nations at prices where no nation will be hurt.

It is idiotic to talk of balances of trade as a trade policy criteria. No nation except a nation with exclusive products and self-denial of foreign products can have a favorable trade balance. The peculiar thing about this is that as volumes of trade increase so do the problems of balances of trade.

As an example let us take Japan and the United States and wipe out all barriers, put each nation on the same money value, minimum wages, union freedoms, hour maximums, antitrust, antimonopoly, taxes, utility charges, and start trading.

We will sell millions of dollars' worth of cotton, edible agricultural products, automobiles, machinery, and so forth.

We will buy edibles, automobiles, silks, transistors, TV's, and so forth.

If we just trade by what our people use and want the most and the same for the Japanese, how can we restrict the amounts of our purchases to equal the amounts of our sales. If we do this, are we not interfering with free trade and if we do not do it, will not one of the nations have a bad balance of trade?

Steel is learning the hard way. No matter what we spend for innovation, mechanization, automation, and whatever else that can be done we can never meet foreign import prices without subsidy.

The textile mills are a case in point. Even with the same subsidized cotton price as export cotton, our mills face import problems that have to be controlled by quotas. Some of our mills are meeting the challenge by buying foreign textiles and selling same to the unsuspecting American public.

This is the solution our big auto people have tried to use since the foreign car raided the U.S. market. Today the bulk of foreign imports in cars are being imported by our own automakers. Just look at the growth of foreign car production and the serious drop of our production this year.

For a while our economy could buy both record production at home and imports from abroad and Canada. However, this balloon had to burst since it was filled with hot air and gas and could not last forever.

The American public does not even hesitate any more to buy foreign products even if it means less jobs simply because the free traders have sold them a bill of goods. The protectionist has been ridiculed and does not enjoy the confidence of either the public or the government.

In the face of the facts, there are still some strong voices in every industry hesitant about mounting an all-out attack against our outmoded disastrous trade policies.

Steel has started to express concern as the following excerpts from speeches and news items show:

AISI PUSHES FOR TARIFFS ON IMPORTED STEEL THIS YEAR

(By Robert Barr)

WASHINGTON.—The American steel industry is on a lone-wolf mission to convince Congress the nation would benefit by a special temporary tariff on imported steel and pig iron.

The mill men stressed the need for such action this year at a special breakfast with interested Senators and House members here last Wednesday.

It became apparent later no commitments were received and the burden remains on the industry to make a case for the "temporary levy" it wants slapped on its import competition.

INDUSTRY DEMANDS

The industry still wants a tougher anti-dumping law, more Federal tax credits for air pollution abatement facilities, restoration of the 7 per cent investment tax credit, and no higher income taxes.

But its prime lobbying goal now is for more tariff protection from the continually mounting tide of imports.

The American Iron & Steel Institute hosted the closed door breakfast in the new Senate Office Building. It estimated about 200 lawmakers showed up.

(AISI originally expected about 135 Senators and House members would attend, judging by the listing it had compiled.)

Leslie B. Worthington, chairman of United States Steel Corp. and also AISI chairman, laid it on the line for the lawmakers, according to his prepared statement later made public.

In part, he stressed: "The welfare of this industry, the maintenance of the high standard of living of the American steelworkers, and, I believe it is fair to say, the security of this nation requires that the Congress take steps at this session to enact a temporary levy on imports of foreign made steel and pig iron, so as to narrow the price differential, and create a climate of more equitable competition between domestic and foreign producers who seek a share of the United States market."

Later, in a rhetorical question, he noted to reporters, "does the United States want to depend on offshore sources for steel? We think not."

When Mr. Worthington finished his remarks to the breakfast session of lawmakers, some of them apparently thought the meeting had ended.

They milled about in the corridor or left the building, thus missing some of the questioning and observations which followed.

For example, Rep. John Dent (D., Pa.) told the crowd a tougher anti-dumping law probably would solve about 80 per cent of the industry problem.

(Some industry figures obviously do not agree. During the closed-door session, the point was made that no matter how the anti-dumping law might be strengthened, the foreign steel producers somehow could manage to ship into the U.S. market and undersell the domestic mills.)

Mr. Dent warned the industry, "Any time you go after a tariff change you become involved with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)." He added, "You know what that means."

Later, AISI president, John Roche, noted the steel industry has waited a year to see whether the current round of Kennedy tariff talks at Geneva would produce something concrete in lowering or wiping out some of the foreign non-tariff barriers against American shipments of steel. That round of talks has produced no such results, he noted.

The industry leaders are hoping for public Congressional hearings on the trade policy issue, since the 1962 Trade Expansion Act expires June 30.

Mr. Roche said there should be public hearings on the whole issue. He added the philosophy of that law just does not apply in the case of steel, which is being used as an instrument of foreign policy by other countries.

Another issue that should be explored, according to Mr. Patton is any help the American Government may be providing to construction of foreign steel mills. Such aid should be looked into to see if it is the proper thing to do, he felt.

Mr. Worthington voiced the industry hope that the United Steelworkers of America Union will support the mills' plea for the special temporary tariff. (See separate story on the USW's position.)

Here are the major points made by Mr. Worthington in his prepared remarks to the breakfast session of Congressmen last Wednesday:

World exports of steel have more than doubled in the past decade.

No longer does this steel flow principally from industrialized to less-developed nations. Twenty per cent of the world exports end up in the United States, creating the paradox of the world's largest steel producer also being the world's largest importer.

Western Europe and Japan are planning further expansions of steel capacity. This means even more steel destined for the U.S. market.

The nearly 11 million tons of steel shipped into the U.S. last year represented more than 70,000 steelworker jobs, not to mention thousands of other jobs in supporting American industries.

The volume of imports, which U.S. mills are equipped to replace, is a threat to the American industry's growth.

Mr. Speaker, in future talks I plan to present more figures and facts showing the necessity for a combined effort on the part of all Americans, in and out of the industrial complex.

Time is slipping away quickly and in a few short years it will be too late.

The farmers who have benefited from free trade policies because of subsidy and surplus production have been the main supporters of the Reciprocal Trade Acts.

They, too, are reaching the end of the road. Farm organizations are becoming more and more disillusioned with the subsidy free trade policy of our Nation. I would not be surprised if we get some new faces at the hearings starting in April on the question of imports as related to minimum wage and maximum hour laws.

In this regard, Mr. Speaker, I offer excerpts from a letter from the Pennsylvania Poultry Processors Association, written to William Roth, of the International Trade Development Board, complaining of the EEC action aimed at getting concessions from the United States on items they sell to the United States, but practicing the same old shell game of doubletalking free trade on things they buy from the United States:

The poultry industry, as you know, has a vital interest in these negotiations because it has suffered substantial injury by reason of the application of restrictive trade measures by the European Economic Community (EEC). This industry strongly supported the enactment of the Trade Expansion Act and the inclusion of provisions therein to provide authority to deal appropriately with the trade barriers being established by the EEC against imports of United States poultry and other agricultural products. It is clear that the purpose and effect of these barriers have been to restrict and greatly impair United States trade.

We have been hopeful that these unjustifiable trade barriers in the form of gate prices, variable levies, supplemental levies, and other devices which unfairly preempt the market and burden our trade would be broken down through effective negotiations under the Trade Expansion Act. These restrictive measures which were put into effect unilaterally by the EEC are contradictory of, repugnant to and violate all fundamental principles and concepts upon which international trade rests.

Four years have now elapsed since the enactment of the Trade Expansion Act and the commencement of negotiations. Throughout their past four years almost every basic issue concerning equitable access for poultry and other United States agricultural products has been postponed and left unresolved, primarily because of the failure of the EEC to submit agricultural offers and to enter into meaningful negotiations under basic GATT principles. The United States may have unwittingly contributed to the failure to come to grips with the issue by its willingness not only to submits its agricultural offers but to go forward with negotiations an industrial items notwithstanding the failure of the EEC to comply with the time schedule and its agreement to negotiate on both agricultural and industrial items.

It was not until late last year that the EEC submitted its agricultural offers. Although the details of these offers have not been made public, it is an open secret that they are so limited and so restrictive as to be almost frivolous. One thing, however, seems to be clear, they do not afford a satisfactory basis for meaningful negotiations or agreements as they embody a continuation of the regressive and unjustifiable trade barriers against poultry and other agricultural products. Such offers, as far as we are able to determine, afford no reasonable or equitable basis for access of United States poultry and other agricultural products to the EEC, and do not provide terms of access comparable to the terms on which EEC products, both industrial and agricultural, would be given access to the United States. It is unfortunate, but the view is widely held in the EEC that the United States will yield again, as it has in the past, and as it did in the so-called Dillon Round of negotiations, and will forgo its insistence upon equitable terms for agricultural products and proceed to conclude negotiations on industrial items alone.

The issue is clear. A fundamental principle is involved which cannot be obscured. A change in tactics is necessary. It is imperative that it now be made unmistakably clear by our negotiators that there can be no agreement on industrial items without agreements in the agricultural area which will give United States agricultural products access to the EEC on the same basic principles as EEC products are given access to the United States.

In view of the failure of the EEC to submit reasonable offers and to manifest a willingness to negotiate on these non-tariff trade levies affecting agriculture, we urge that the United States offers on both industrial and agricultural items with respect to EEC trade be withdrawn thereby making it abundantly clear that the EEC cannot expect to obtain access to the United States for its industrial and agricultural products unless it is prepared to negotiate to give access to the EEC for United States poultry and other agricultural products under the same basic principles.

* * * * *

Neither should we make a bad agreement out of fear that the negotiating authority will expire. The Congress is in session and rather than run the risk of making a bad agreement and perhaps doing permanent injury to United States agricultural trade, the matter should be referred back to the Congress if the EEC will not negotiate on these fundamental issues, so that the Congress can grant new negotiating authority in the light of conditions which now exist.

Not only are the EEC measures referred to above trade destructive rather than trade expansive, they also are designed to permit and encourage aggression against our agricultural exports to countries other than the EEC through a system of export subsidies. If this aggression cannot be stopped through negotiation, then the other powers available to our Government under the Trade Expansion Act and other existing legislation to meet such situations should be brought into play to protect our markets.

Mr. Speaker, I expect to continue, in the weeks ahead, to expose the loss of U.S. jobs and enterprise to foreign countries because of our foul trade policies.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. PUCINSKI (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for the week of March 6, on account of death in the family.

Mr. BLANTON, for Monday, March 6, and Tuesday, March 7, 1967, on account of business within the Seventh District of Tennessee.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. HALL, for 10 minutes today; and to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. DOLE (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma), for 15 minutes, on March 8; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. DENT (at the request of Mr. HALEY), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. RARICK to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. FINO.

Mr. HALPERN.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HALEY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PUCINSKI.

Mr. KEE.

Mr. TENZER.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 303. An act to amend the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 370. An act to amend the act of June 12, 1948 (62 Stat. 382), in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 605. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to determine that certain costs of operating and maintaining Banks Lake on the Columbia Basin project for recreational purposes are nonreimbursable; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 8, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

492. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, establishing the minimum price-support level for peanuts; to the Committee on Agriculture.

493. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting reports concerning special pay for members of the Armed Forces during calendar year 1966, pursuant to the provisions of section 306 and section 310, title 37, United State Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

494. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

495. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders entered under the authority contained in section 13(b), as well as a list of the persons involved, pursuant to the provisions of section 13(c) of the act of September 11, 1957; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

496. A letter from the Chairman, Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (76 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

497. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. WILLIS: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2158. A bill to regulate and foster commerce among the States by providing a system for the taxation of interstate commerce; with amendment (Rept. No. 69). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 312. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Science and Astronautics to conduct studies and investigations and make inquiries with respect to aeronautical and other scientific research and development and outer space; with amendment (Rept. No. 70). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MATSUNAGA: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 356. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct full and complete investigations and studies of all matters within its jurisdiction under the rules of the House or the laws of the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 71). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. YOUNG: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 365. Resolution for consideration of House Joint Resolution 267, joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India (Rept. No. 72). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. RIVERS: Committee of conference. S. 665. An act to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 73). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 6676. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to any individual who may not make a joint return but maintains his own household as his home; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6677. A bill to amend section 212(a) (14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (by request):

H.R. 6678. A bill to amend title 12, District of Columbia Code, to provide a limitation of actions for actions arising out of death or injury caused by a defective or unsafe improvement to real property; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 6679. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that annuities under the Civil Service Retirement Act shall not be subject to the income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CUNNINGHAM:

H.R. 6680. A bill to eliminate political activity in the Post Office Department by revising the terms of office of the Postmaster General and other top officers thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DENNEY:

H.R. 6681. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 6682. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guarantee Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6683. A bill to provide for the temporary suspension of duty on certain granulated and ground cork and on certain natural and composition cork cut or molded into rods; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 6684. A bill to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 6685. A bill to restrict imports of dairy products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POFF:

H.R. 6686. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for an amortization deduction for pollution control facilities, a tax credit for expenses of employee training programs and for expenses of higher education, a deduction for teachers' educational expenses, special rules for the income tax treatment of business development corporations, and an income tax incentive for employment of older workers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6687. A bill relating to applications for writs of habeas corpus by persons in custody pursuant to the judgment of a State court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 6688. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guarantee Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 6689. A bill to amend the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WAMPLER:

H.R. 6690. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the reduction in disability insurance benefits which is presently required in the case of an individual receiving workmen's compensation benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.R. 6691. A bill to increase the amount of Federal financial participation in State programs established pursuant to title I of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6692. A bill declaring a portion of Bayou Lafourche, La., a nonnavigable waterway of the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 6693. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase educational assistance allowances payable to veterans and to provide programs of on-the-job training, on-the-farm training, and flight training for eligible veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 6694. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6695. A bill relating to the carryover of net operating losses of certain railroad corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 6696. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act to provide certain additional retirement benefits and retired employees health insurance benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 6697. A bill to encourage the use of private benefit plans in lieu of social security by providing that individuals who are eligible for certain benefits under such plans shall not be entitled to social security benefits or subject to social security taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DADDARIO:

H.R. 6698. A bill to provide a method for identifying, assessing, publicizing, and dealing with the implications and effects of applied research and technology, to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 to insure the availability of scientific and technical information in connection therewith, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 6699. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6700. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 6701. A bill to establish a Federal sabbatical program to improve the quality of teaching in the Nation's elementary or secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6702. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by preventing the use of unfair or deceptive methods of packaging or labeling of certain consumer commodities distributed in such commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 6703. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act in order to make certain joint hospital enterprises eligible for grants under title VI of that act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6704. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that certain organizations operated exclusively to provide services for hospitals shall be exempt from tax under section 501(c)(3) of such code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 6705. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to prevent increases in monthly social security insurance benefits from affecting eligibility for veterans' pensions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6706. A bill to amend section 333 of title 38, United States Code, to provide that veterans who serve 2 or more years in peacetime shall be entitled to a presumption that chronic diseases becoming manifest within 1 year from the date of separation from service are service connected; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6707. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to make presumptions relating to certain diseases applicable to veterans who served during the period between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Korean conflict; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 6708. A bill to authorize the payment of an allowance not to exceed $10 per day to employees assigned to duty at the Shellfish Research Center, Dauphin Island, Ala., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 6709. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ESHLEMAN:

H.R. 6710. A bill to regulate the practice of wiretapping for the purpose of acquiring evidence for criminal prosecutions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 6711. A bill to amend the United States Housing Act of 1937 to provide that, in calculating the income of a tenant of low-rent public housing for purposes of determining his eligibility for continued occupancy or his liability to pay increased rent, certain pension or annuity increases shall be disregarded; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H.R. 6712. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide for the duty-free entry of certain hollow reinforcing bars; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GIAIMO:

H.R. 6713. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act so as to extend and improve the Federal-State program of child welfare services; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 6714. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GROSS:

H.R. 6715. A bill to provide for the appointment of persons to grades GS–16, GS–17, and GS–18 in the competitive civil service based solely on merit and competitive civil service standards; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HALEY:

H.R. 6716. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell reserved phosphate interests of the United States in lands located in the State of Florida to the record owners of the surface thereof; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 6717. A bill to provide that Federal Housing Administration's new liberalized mortgage financing terms for veterans shall be available to qualified veterans without regard to whether or not they have previously used their Veterans' Administration home loan entitlement; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 6718. A bill for the education and training of the handicapped; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6719. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior in cooperation with the States to preserve, protect, develop, restore, and make accessible estuarine areas of the Nation which are valuable for sport and commercial fishing, wildlife conservation, recreation, and scenic beauty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 6720. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase from $1,200 to $2,400 (or $3,600 in the case of a widow with minor children) the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6721. A bill to provide social security coverage as self-employed individuals for State and local public officers, not otherwise covered under Federal-State agreement, who are paid on a fee basis by persons other than the State or local government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6722. A bill to grant an additional income tax exemption to a taxpayer supporting a dependent who is blind or otherwise permanently and totally disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HERLONG:

H.R. 6723. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the income tax treatment of business development corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HUNGATE:

H.R. 6724. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, to bring within the purview thereof certain temporary and substitute employees in the postal field service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 6725. A bill to designate a portion of the San Francisco-Stockton ship channel as the John F. Baldwin Ship Channel; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 6726. A bill to designate a portion of the San Francisco-Stockton ship channel as the John F. Baldwin Ship Channel; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H.R. 6727. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.R. 6728. A bill to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. O'KONSKI:

H.R. 6729. A bill to amend the Dependents Assistance Act of 1950 in order to make members of the Reserve and National Guard ordered to active duty for training for periods of 30 days or more eligible for quarters allowances and to make allotments; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 6730. A bill to amend the Export Control Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 6731. A bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act to provide for more effective protection of fish and wildlife resources from the effects of projects licensed by Federal agencies and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 6732. A bill to provide for reimbursement of the city of New York for expenses arising out of any election to fill the vacancy in the House of Representatives caused by adoption of House Resolution 278, 90th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. POLLOCK:

H.R. 6733. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 6734. A bill to amend title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 to authorize financial assistance for the provision of street lighting facilities in aid of the prevention or reduction of crime; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SHRIVER:

H.R. 6735. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to abolish the renewal requirement for licenses in the safety and special radio services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H.R. 6736. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6737. A bill consenting to an extension and renewal of the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WALDIE:

H.R. 6738. A bill to designate a portion of the San Francisco-Stockton ship channel as the John F. Baldwin Ship Channel; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.J. Res. 396. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.J. Res. 397. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.J. Res. 398. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim October 15 of each year as National Poetry Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.J. Res. 399. Joint resolution to provide for a study by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development of the impact of overhead electric transmission lines and towers upon scenic assets, zoning and community planning, property values, and real estate revenues; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.J. Res. 400. Joint resolution to designate the 13th day of March in 1967 as National Electric Car Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANDALL:

H.J. Res. 401. Joint resolution authorizing the President to designate April 22 through April 29, 1967, as National Coin Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.J. Res. 402. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 403. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim April 9, 1967, as Bataan-Corregidor Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BERRY:

H. Con. Res. 262. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the provisions of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 should be invoked to curb the excessive importations of agricultural commodities which have created distress conditions among producers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H. Con. Res. 263. Concurrent resolution relating to freedom for Baltic States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. Con. Res. 264. Concurrent resolution relative to planning for peace; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MYERS:

H. Con. Res. 265. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that highway trust funds should not be withheld; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H. Con. Res. 266. Concurrent resolution reaffirming the support of the Congress for United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H. Con. Res. 267. Concurrent resolution to recognize the 175th anniversary of the admission of the Commonwealth of Kentucky to the Union; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. Res. 366. Resolution authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to conduct studies and investigations relating to certain matters within its jurisdiction; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. Res. 367. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GOODLING:

H. Res. 368. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania:

H. Res. 369. Resolution authorizing Members of the House of Representatives to employ during each summer one student congressional intern; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

49. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alaska, relative to shipping restrictions affecting the Alaska and British Columbia ferries; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

50. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alaska, relative to maintaining the public trust by politicians; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

51. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, relative to the Dodd bill and other restrictive gun legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

52. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, relative to the restoration of all Federal-aid highway funds which have been reduced by order of the President; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

53. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, relative to recognition of the Republic of Rhodesia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

54. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Montana, relative to amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-10); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 6739. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Browman and their children, Russel, Lesley, and Douglas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 6740. A bill for the relief of Else Widra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (by request):

H.R. 6741. A bill for the relief of Chain Hoong Yuen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 6742. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Carollo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 6743. A bill for the relief of Lucia Isla Vasquez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINDLEY:

H.R. 6744. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Nola C. Temple; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 6745. A bill for the relief of Maria Sedda; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6746. A bill for the relief of Lena Tobias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALL:

H.R. 6747. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth Villanueva Samonte Leek; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 6748. A bill for the relief of Idalina do Rego Perry; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 6749. A bill for the relief of Felicidad Caletena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6750. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Elda Martin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 6751. A bill for the relief of Katherine Robbins; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 6752. A bill for the relief of Raymond D. James; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 6753. A bill for the relief of Petronilla Adragna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6754. A bill for the relief of Isidoro and Antonina Albino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6755. A bill for the relief of Andrea Como; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6756. A bill for the relief of Vito Ferrante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6757. A bill for the relief of Rosolino Fontana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6758. A bill for the relief of Nicola Di Lorenzo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6759. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Armetta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6760. A bill for the relief of Marco Vaira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6761. A bill for the relief of Antonino Randazzo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6762. A bill for the relief of Arcangelo Ligotti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6763. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Licata; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6764. A bill for the relief of Gaetano Gambino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6765. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Sparaco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POLANCO-ABREU:

H.R. 6766. A bill for the relief of Dr. Raul Gustavo Fors Docal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 6767. A bill for the relief of George Raczkowski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 6768. A bill for the relief of Isabel P. Magno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6769. A bill for the relief of Lourdes Y. Lim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6770. A bill for the relief of Zenaida Legaspi Mayuga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6771. A bill for the relief of Paciencia Mallari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 6772. A bill for the relief of Theodore A. R. Khan and his wife, Eileen Karamchand Khan, and their children, Ann Khan, Donald Khan, Ronald Khan, Ben Khan, and Christine Khan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.R. 6773. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Bertie P Welborn; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6774. A bill for the relief of Brother Amable; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6775. A bill to permit the vessel SS *Bedlow* to be documented for use in the coastwise trade while it is owned by Guarisco Enterprises, Inc.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Public Housing Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing legislation to require local public housing agencies to ignore certain income in computing income levels and resultant rent levels for tenants in federally aided public housing projects. My bill would require local public housing agencies to exclude from tenants' income such part of any governmental pension increase—Federal, State, and local pensions—which the agency shall find to represent a cost-of-living increase, as well as such income as the tenant family spends for medicare coverage.

One of the greatest difficulties in public housing today is the continual readjustment of tenants' rent levels based on changing income levels. Each time a tenant's income goes up, his rent must go up.

This is particularly unfair as regards the many old people in public housing who live on small social security and other pensions. When these people receive a small pension boost, it is often to cover a rise in the cost of living or the expense of a new program like medicare. This type of pension hike should not be gobbled up in increased public housing rents.

My bill provides that the contract between the Federal Public Housing Administration and the local public housing agency must provide that in calculating tenants' income, and rentals based thereon, the public housing agency must omit the amount spent for medicare coverage and also that part of any pension increase which the agency shall find as corresponding to a rise in the cost of living.

Government pensioners living on small fixed-pension incomes have it hard enough in these inflationary days without having to see any cost-of-living pension hike they get eaten up by rent boosts. My bill would keep cost-of-living pension hikes and boosts to cover medicare expenses from being counted in income so as to cause public housing rent rises. I think that this exclusion is in the true spirit of the public housing program.

Armed Aggression Against Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in a secret meeting at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the Black Nationalist Organization of African Unity has given notice that it expects to present a resolution to the United Nations Organization demanding the use of force to remove the Rhodesian Government.

The meeting being attended by some 56 so-called nations, almost a majority of the General Assembly, we can well expect a rubberstamp approval of the war council's demands at the United Nations.

The immediate question on the lips of every parent in the United States is who will pay the bill and do the fighting and dying? And let us have no more of these Executive orders.

Mr. Speaker, last month I introduced H.R. 5479 calling for an amendment to the U.N. Participation Act. I include the text of H.R. 5479 here for the Members to study:

H.R. 5479

A bill to amend section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to require approval by the Congress of orders, rules, and regulations issued by the President to implement certain decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (a) of section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, whenever the United States is called upon by the Security Council to apply measures which, pursuant to article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, the Council has decided are to be employed to give effect to its decisions under such charter, the President may, to the extent necessary to apply such measures, through any agency which he may designate, and under such orders, rules, and regulations as may be prescribed by him and approved by the Congress by appropriate Act or joint resolution, investigate, regulate, or prohibit, in whole or in part, economic relations, or rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, between any foreign country or any national thereof or any person therein and the United States or any person subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or involving any property subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."

SEC. 2. Subsection (b) of section 5 of such Act is amended by inserting "and approved by the Congress" immediately after "issued by the President".

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply only with respect to orders, rules, and regulations issued by the President on and after the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. Speaker, I also have unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD the article as written in the March 5 edition of the New York Times discussing the OAU against Rhodesia matter.

AFRICAN UNIT TO ACT ON RHODESIA DRAFT

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA, March 3.—Member nations of the Organization of African Unity have called, in a secret draft resolution, for the United Nations to use force to "topple the rebel regime in southern Rhodesia," it was reported Friday.

Informed sources said the resolution, the strongest of its kind in the memory of observers here had been prepared during secret committee meetings of the organization's ministerial council, which is meeting here this week.

It was considered almost certain of formal passage by the council, which is expected to end its deliberations tomorrow.

The majority of the 56 nations represented at the conference refused today to accept a new, slightly larger administrative budget proposed by the organization's secretary general, Diallo Telli.

Instead they voted to continue the budget at its present level of $1.9-million a year. The funds are donated by the organization's 38 members. Guinea and Lesotho are absent from the present meeting.

The Joseph G. Weeda Post 66, Department of the District of Columbia, American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday evening, March 2, 1967, the late Joseph G. Weeda was honored in the Nation's Capitol by the American Legion.

The members of Housing Post No. 66, Department of the District of Columbia of the American Legion, were determined to honor the memory of our past post commander, Joseph G. Weeda, who served the American Legion and all veterans so effectively.

Mr. Weeda, who died in 1962, was a prominent Washington attorney and civic leader. In addition to serving as commander of Housing Post No. 66, he held many departmental offices including vice commander and department commander of the Department of the District of Columbia, and at the time of his death, he was serving as national executive committeeman of the department.

In order to fulfill this determination, the members voted at the regular monthly meeting held on February 2, 1967, to change the name of the post to the Joseph G. Weeda Post No. 66.

On March 2, the replacement permanent charter was formally presented to Post Commander Robert Relihan by National Vice Commander Harry V. Klein, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, this was a significant day in the life of the American Legion.

It was a milestone in the history of the Department of the District of Columbia.

It was an historic day in the history of post No. 66.

It is true that the highest recognition within the gift of an American Legion post to one of its members is to give, by majority vote of the members of the post a life membership in the American Legion.

It is equally true, there is no higher recognition within the American Legion than the naming of an American Legion post, by vote of its members, in honor of the memory of a departed comrade.

It was fitting and proper that Mr. Weeda's widow and members of the Weeda family were guests of honor.

In addition to National Vice Commander Klein and Commander Relihan, also participating in the ceremonies were Department Commander Hy Wayne and the national guard of honor, under the auspices of Maj. Harry G. Miller. The entire staff of the department and Gen. Bill Doyle, past department commander of New Jersey, joined friends of the family to pay tribute to the memory of this outstanding American citizen. The members of the West Virginia congressional delegation individually expressed their admiration for West Virginia's native son.

Because of the ceremonies in Washington on March 2, the name Joseph G. Weeda will live as long as we have an American Legion.

American Policy Toward NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday evening, on March 4, 1967, I was privileged to appear on the program entitled "Saturday Seminar," which is broadcast by radio station WOR–AM in New York City.

Seton Hall University at Orange, N.J., has been sponsoring guest appearances on the "Saturday Seminar" shows. On March 4, I was interviewed by Dr. Michael Szaz, professor at Seton Hall, and by my legislative assistant, William van den Toorn. Our discussion concerned American policy toward NATO, and future trends in the alliance.

I have been provided with a question-and-answer transcript of the program, which I will include in the Record at this time. My answers to the questions posed summarize my general viewpoint as to the American approach to the alliance.

[From the Saturday Seminar, Mar. 4, 1967, WOR radio, New York City]

American Policy Toward NATO

Guest: Honorable Seymour Halpern.

Question. There is considerable debate over the so-called disarray and disunity in NATO. Do you believe that the Alliance is disintegrating and losing its purpose?

Mr. Halpern. As you may know, I made a series of House speeches on this subject last year. It seemed to me then, as it does now, that the purely military factors binding the Alliance are becoming less crucial. Because of the changing world power structure, NATO may be losing some of its post-war credibility.

But I don't think the United States, as the principal ally, should allow the Alliance to fall apart. It can become increasingly important in forging closer political and economic ties between our country and West Europe. It can become a forum for discussing and then implementing a common, unified approach toward the Communist world.

The United States has to take the lead in adjusting the Alliance. And on the whole, I don't think the present Administration has been very effective or imaginative in this regard.

Question. Do you think NATO should play a role in determining the question of nuclear sharing? Should NATO appoint a council on nuclear affairs which, together with the U.S. would plan nuclear policy?

Mr. Halpern. This question of nuclear sharing has been debated for years. First, we had the idea of the MLF, a multilateral force of ships or submarines, carrying nuclear weapons, manned by mixed European crews. It was a flop. In this connection, I was the first member of the House to publicly express reservations about the idea. The fact was that from the very beginning, the Europeans weren't enthusiastic; and the concept did not really answer the question of nuclear co-decisioning among the Allies.

At present, I think there is a council of the major NATO states which discusses nuclear targeting and such matters. But the United States still possesses exclusive control over the use of nuclear weapons, in the event of war. In my view, a greater degree of nuclear sharing, among our allies, is dependent upon the growth of more intensive political cooperation between us. What I mean is that a greater degree of political unity and consultation between the United States and Europe is essential if we are to earn mutual trust. And trust is a prerequisite to nuclear sharing.

Question. Do you think a non-proliferation treaty will inevitably weaken NATO in that Germany may be prevented from cooperating to the full on nucelar planning?

Mr. Halpern. This is difficult to answer. In the past, we have tended to stress Germany's *military* contribution to NATO as the prime vehicle of absorbing her into the Western Alliance. This was a mistake, and I think the United States should re-evaluate this matter.

In a sense, the non-proliferation treaty will reinforce the status quo. And already in this status quo, Germany occupies a principal position, both in the Alliance and as regards Central European politics and relations with the East.

It is nonsense to say that the problems of NATO would be solved if we only shared our nuclear secrets and nuclear determination with the major allies. Nuclear sharing is not the crux of the NATO dilemma. Moreover, there are other means of assuring Germany her proper role in Western decision-making.

I think the Europeans, and especially the Germans, have a legitimate interest and desire to share strategic planning. However, they must understand that this imposes a responsibility to contribute, and only in the case of Germany has this obligation been fulfilled.

I would like to see all the NATO allies debate and then determine the future disposition of American forces in Europe, for instance. This is not solely a German-American problem.

Question. How can NATO help in furthering East-West trade? And is this really desirable?

Mr. Halpern. As you know, there is a vast disparity between the way Europeans treat the issue of trade with the Soviets and the way we treat it.

This business of dealing with Eastern Europe, of opening up contacts with these countries, is something which all our Western Allies have undertaken. The United States still maintains a rather rigid attitude. This difference of approach is one of the sources of disunity in the Alliance.

The question of East-West trade should be debated within the Alliance. However, I don't think the United States can exercise much leadership unless the President, and particularly the Congress, gives an indication that we are willing to reduce our own institutional barriers.

Question. What do you think of Senator Mansfield's proposal to withdraw contingents of American troops from Europe?

Mr. Halpern. On the face of it, this is something the United States should consider, over the long run.

However, I don't particularly like the Mansfield approach, which appears arbitrary. At this time, I believe the United States should take the initiative to discuss with our NATO allies, in the NATO councils, what level of American troops in Europe is considered necessary.

Now, Mr. McCloy has been having discreet talks with the Germans and with the British on off-set purchases. The Kiesinger government in Bonn is much less inclined to follow our orders. The debate on financing our troops abroad should open up formal considerations as to the quantity of American and British forces which are deemed essential for continental security.

But this isn't happening. This Administration has shied away from the real, painful issue. And, it seems to me that if our NATO allies decide that the present American divisions are absolutely necessary for the common defense, then I think our sacrifice in terms of money should be shared. NATO should share the costs. Instead of getting the cooperation of our allies in supporting the costs of maintaining these troops, we went out and demanded German arms purchases in the United States, which is a very circular and somewhat silly and irrelevant method.

Question. Is there any way that we can mend our relations with France? She has pulled out of NATO. Doesn't this really signal the end of the Alliance?

Mr. HALPERN. France withdrew from the integrated command structure. De Gaulle doesn't like the idea of France being drawn into a conflict through the actions of others; he wants France to have complete discretion over the questions of war and peace.

But France remains a member of the Alliance and respects the obligations of the Treaty.

The withdrawal of France typifies what is happening in the world. The lesser powers, which includes France, are finding it increasingly possible to follow independent courses. This is true of the Soviet satellites, for instance.

The old, exclusively military rationale behind NATO, and behind all the post-war coalitions, is losing its applicability. This doesn't mean that defensive alliances, such as NATO, have lost their importance. Certainly, a multilateral agreement on mutual defense is desirable and even essential for Atlantic security.

But there are other common interests among us which are rising to the fore. And NATO can provide a forum for discussing and furthering these interests. The withdrawal of France doesn't mean the end of the Alliance. It does mean that the purely military factors which held the Alliance together are losing their credibility, in the light of changing world conditions.

Preserving Our Nation's Estuarine Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 6, 1967, the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation began hearings on H.R. 25, introduced by subcommittee chairman, JOHN DINGELL, my bill, H.R. 1397, and other legislation to preserve the Nation's valuable estuarine areas.

On September 23, 1961, I introduced H.R. 11236—89th Congress—a bill to establish a Long Island National Wetlands Area covering 16,000 acres of valuable coastal wetlands located on the south shore of Long Island—Hempstead South Oyster Bay. During the hearings on that bill in June 1966, at the suggestion of the committee and for the purpose of incorporating amendments, I introduced H.R. 15770—89th Congress—to broaden the scope of my original bill by applying its provisions to all valuable estuarine areas selected by the Secretary of the Interior for preservation or restoration. During the hearings, the committee also considered H.R. 13447, introduced by the distinguished chairman of this committee, the Honorable JOHN D. DINGELL.

Following the hearings this subcommittee and the full Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee reported favorably on H.R. 13447, as amended, incorporating the essential features of my bill, H.R. 15770. On October 3, 1966, H.R. 13447 came before the House and the final vote was 208 in favor and 108 opposed. Despite this overwhelming support, the bill failed to pass because a two-thirds vote was required for a suspension of the rules.

Mr. Speaker, consideration of this legislation is particularly important at this time in light of the constant pressures on local governments to consider wetlands and other estuarine areas on the basis of their real estate values rather than their natural resource values.

In the 90th Congress, H.R. 25, sponsored by Chairman DINGELL and my bill, H.R. 1397, which are identical, were introduced and are now the subject of these hearings. The Dingell-Tenzer bills would enable States and local governments to work with the Federal Government to resist pressures from a society growing and expanding at a rapid pace.

The purpose of the Dingell-Tenzer bills is to preserve, protect, develop, restore and make accessible selected parts of the Nation's diminishing estuarine areas which are valuable for sport and commercial fishing, wildlife conservation, outdoor recreation and scenic beauty.

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to enter into agreements with States and local governments for the permanent management and preservation of publicly owned estuarine areas; to designate national estuarine areas; and to pay all development costs, except development for recreational uses other than hunting and fishing, in which case the Secretary would pay 50 percent of development costs.

In addition, the Secretary is authorized to conduct a 5-year nationwide study of estuaries, and report the results annually to Congress. Privately owned wet lands could be acquired by the Secretary as national estuarine areas only with the consent of Congress.

The Dingell-Tenzer bills provide for cooperation between Federal, State, and local governments, in the nature of a partnership, to preserve for future generations valuable coastal wetland and other estuarine areas. These partnerships impose no Federal control not agreed upon by the parties in negotiating their management agreements. This legislation specifically provides that State hunting and fishing laws relating to fish and wildlife will continue to apply within any national estuarine areas established by the Secretary, and the legislation does not affect the authority of States and local governments to regulate and permit shellfishing. This legislation also removes the objection that privately owned land within a national estuarine area can be purchased with appropriated funds by the Secretary in that such acquisition will not be effective until it is approved by an act of Congress.

A new feature of the legislation is section 12 which prohibits anyone from dredging, filling or excavating any estuary of the United States or the Great Lakes and connecting waterways, unless the Secretary of the Interior issues a permit for such purposes.

This new provision applies to all estuaries, not just national estuarine areas, and represents an effort to place the Department of the Interior—with conservation responsibilities—on an equal footing with the Army Corps of Engineers which now has exclusive jurisdiction in licensing such projects.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation would preserve the most valuable estuarine areas of our Nation before it is too late. We have more than 26 million acres of estuarine area left and if we are to preserve our natural resources for future generations, we must begin now.

On Monday, March 6, 1967, the New York Times carried the following editorial which I bring to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 6, 1967]

PROTECTING THE ESTUARIES

An estuary, where a river's current meets the sea's tide, is a vital zone in the natural world. Here shellfish spawn, marsh birds live and water moves back and forth through bays and inlets as part of nature's own flood-control plan.

Only in recent years has the public come to understand the importance of estuaries. Upstream pollution is ruining clams and oysters along the East Coast and the Gulf of Mexico. Unrestrained dredging and land-fill operations are depriving birds of their breeding places and seriously endangering fish.

Last year, Representative Tenzer of New York sponsored a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into agreements with states and local communities for the management and preservation of estuaries and coastal wetlands. The bill also provided for Federal acquisition of such areas if Congress gave specific approval and authorized a research study of the nation's estuaries. Unfortunately, it failed of passage in the House during the rush to adjourn.

Mr. Tenzer has now broadened his bill and reintroduced it. Hearings are scheduled this week by a House Merchant Marine and Fisheries subcommittee, chaired by Representative Dingell of Michigan. The bill's progress is of deep interest to all who realize that estuaries are among this nation's most valuable and most endangered resources.

A Tribute to the U.S. Office of Education on Its 100th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the year 1967 marks 100 years of the life of the U.S. Office of Education. One hundred years is a long time; but far from aging, the Office of Education has recently, with Congressional infusions of additional funds, taken on new life. No doubt this reflects recognition by the Nation and Congress of the essential and expanding role of education in our increasingly complex, technological society. So far as I know, no one has expressed this essential role better than President Johnson in his education message to the Congress on January 12, 1965, when, speaking of the need for full educational opportunity, he said:

> Nothing matters more to the future of our country: not our military preparedness, for armed might is worthless if we lack the brainpower to build a world of peace; not our productive economy, for we cannot sustain growth without trained manpower; not our democratic system of government, for freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant.

This Nation has always been interested in education; but until recently, it has not given much support to research in education. According to the U.S. Office of Education's 1966 Digest of Educational Statistics, our estimated total expenditure for education—public and private—in the school year 1965–66 was $45.1 billion—an awesome sum. Expenditures by the Office of Education for research in education came to about $100 million; or, approximately, only two-tenths of 1-percent of the total educational expenditure. This may seem small—as indeed it is—but viewed historically, it represents progress. On this centennial of the Office of Education, a brief historical retrospect and current evaluation is in order:

For the first 89 years of its existence—1867–1956—the Office of Education had virtually no research program. Carrying out the mandate of the 1867 enabling act, the Office collected and published highly useful statistics on such matters as enrollments, staff, curriculum, income, expenditures, and school plant; and provided useful bibliographic, consultative, and advisory services. In fiscal 1957 a change took place, when Congress first provided funds to implement the Cooperative Research Act—Public Law 83-531—passed in 1954. The initial appropriation was for only $1 million. Appropriations for the next 6 years rose by small annual increments to the level of $7 million—a sum large enough to begin to have some impact, but still woefully small in comparison with the needs and opportunities which extramural research in education presented. The big jump came in fiscal 1966, when—apart from an appropriation of $20 million earmarked for the construction of research facilities—the operating research budget for extramural research rose from $15.8 million to $50 million.

But the cooperative research program, authorized by Congress in 1954 and first financed in fiscal 1957, has not been the only recent federally supported research program in education. I shall merely mention five others. Two of these were established by the National Defense Education Act of 1958; namely, the section of the act authorizing "research and studies on more efficient methods of teaching" modern foreign languages; and the section requiring the Commissioner of Education to "conduct research and evaluation of projects involving television, radio, motion pictures, and related media of communication." Three other legislative authorizations for research are extremely recent: one—Public Law 88–164, passed in 1963—authorizes funds for research on the education of handicapped children; one provides for "research and training programs and experimental, developmental, or pilot programs" in vocational education—Public Law 88–210, also passed in 1963—and the last, contained in the Higher Education Act of 1965—Public Law 89-329—provides for "research and demonstration projects relating to the improvement of libraries or the improvement of training in librarianship."

Originally, these different legislative authorizations for research were administered, for the most part, in separate bureaus of the Office of Education. Now they are all—except for research on education of the handicapped—administered within the Bureau of Research. The advantages of this arrangement, from the viewpoint of efficiency and coordination, appear obvious.

From the small, $1 million program of fiscal 1957, to the much larger—but still relatively small—$50 million programs of 1967 is a large jump. The jump has in my judgment been justified both by the usefulness of the research which has been supported, and by the organizational ingenuity displayed by those in charge of administering the program. At present, eight different types of provisions for research and related activities have been set up:

First. Regular project research—the garden variety of extramural research projects.

Second. The small project program—for projects involving $10,000 or less of Federal support. This program provides funds especially for small institutions, young researchers, speculative ideas, and so forth. It is administered in decentralized fashion, from five field offices.

Third. Related to the small projects program is the consortium research development program—CORD—whereby a group of small colleges pool their resources to develop their research potential. There are at present six such consortiums, widely distributed over the Nation.

Fourth. Research and development centers—12 at present. Each center specializes in a given area of research. The centers are designed to focus on major, complex problems requiring a team approach and long sustained effort which individual researchers with short-term grants cannot attack as well. The centers give serious attention to dissemination and field trial or application of findings, as well as research.

Fifth. Educational "laboratories"—21 in number, at present, throughout the Nation. These are separate corporations, each designed to mobilize the abilities and interests of the universities, State departments of education, local school systems, nonprofit agencies and, when feasible, representatives from foundations and industrial groups in its region. The chief function of the laboratories is to stimulate, advise, and help educational systems to accelerate the application of available knowledge and new research. They may also engage in related research activities.

Sixth. State research coordinating units in vocational education—one in each of 44 States, at present. These coordinate local research and demonstration efforts in vocational education and provide consultative assistance to individuals who wish to prepare research proposals in vocational education.

Seventh and eighth. Two other research-related activities of the Office must be mentioned: first, a modern, computerized bibliographic, abstracting, and document-reproduction service called "ERIC"—Educational Research Information Center—and second, a program for the training of educational researchers. Both these programs are of fundamental importance for an effective program of educational research and application of research.

A program must be judged by its works or outputs; and here, merely a quick inspection of the monthly catalog of research abstracts issued by ERIC is sufficient to verify the great fruitfulness of the Office of Education's extramural research program. The organization, activities, and output of the Office of Education's research and dissemination program appear all the more remarkable when it is remembered the program covers, at most, only the last 10 years of the 100-year lifespan of the Office. May the next 10 and 100 years prove equally rewarding.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.—Matthew 5: 9.

Our Father, we know that by ourselves we are not adequate for this day, nor are we ready for our responsibilities, nor are we equal to our experiences. By Thy grace we can become adequate, by Thy spirit we can be made ready, and by Thy presence we can be equal to every experience.

As we wait upon Thee in prayer, reveal Thyself anew to us, and come Thou into our hearts. Then with new peace, greater power, and with better perspective may we serve our Nation well this day and all days. Help us, the Representatives of our people, to see clearly, to choose wisely, and to act courageously, that we may be among the true peacemakers of our time. In the name and spirit of the Prince of Peace we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

JOINT ORGANIZATION LEGISLATION NOW READY FOR HOUSE CONSIDERATION

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday in the other body, the congressional reorganization bill of 1967 was passed by a rollcall vote of 75 to 9.

Senator MONRONEY, as cochairman, and Senators SPARKMAN, METCALF, MUNDT, CASE, and BOGGS are to be congratulated on the outstanding work they have accomplished as members of the joint committee on the Senate's enactment of this legislation.

As cochairman on the House side, I have asked the House Members—Congressmen BROOKS, HECHLER of West Virginia, CURTIS, HALL, and CLEVELAND—to meet tomorrow morning to formulate plans with the House leadership for this legislation to be considered on the floor of the House as soon as possible.

I do hope all the Members of this body will study and give careful thought and consideration to the recommendations made by our committee in its report. We propose to ask for an open rule and sufficient hours for debate so that all Members can have an opportunity to present thoughts and recommendations on proposals made by the joint committee for House consideration.

The joint committee was established by Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 of the 89th Congress, first session, on March 11, 1965. In that year, the joint committee held public hearings over a 5-month period. It received the views and testimony of 206 witnesses, more than 100 of them Members of Congress. In addition, the joint committee's staff interviewed members and staff of all the standing committees and many of the subcommittees as well. We discussed relevant problems with experts in and out of the Government. Every proposal for the reform and reorganization of Congress offered by public officials, private citizens, and interested groups was carefully examined.

Beginning in January of 1966, the joint committee held more than 50 executive sessions during which it worked out the details of its final report. Finally, several months were spent in translating the recommendations of that final report into legislative language. The result of this intensive study, this unremitting effort, these 2 years of hard work and much thought is now ready for consideration by this body.

SLOWDOWN OF THE U.S. ECONOMY TO CONTINUE TO MOUNT

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, warnings of an impending slowdown of the U.S. economy continue to mount.

The First National City Bank of New York, in its March economic letter, cites "unmistakable signs that the economic softening is continuing."

Hobart Rowan, of the Washington Post, this week noted that:

> Many observers in and out of Washington believe that economic barometers have already signaled that a down turn, or even recession, has begun or is about to begin.

New York Times financial editor Thomas Mullaney observes:

> At best, current economic trends can be described as mixed.

Syndicated Columnist Sylvia Porter says:

> It would be a disservice to sugarcoat what is going on and ignore the fact that some highly respected private economists are saying flatly: "the recession began in January."

The Pittsburgh National Bank sees cause for worry in "the degree of similarity between the present economy and the classic recession model."

In today's New York Times, M. J. Rosant notes that economic activity is lagging significantly behind expectations.

William C. Freund, chief economist for the Prudential Life Insurance Co., says:

> The time has come not only to withhold action on any tax increase but to restore the investment credit because a tax increase might smother the force of expansion and the tax credit is needed to prevent a sharp dip in spending during the second half.

Still other economists think positive measures may be required to keep recession at bay.

The White House and the Federal Reserve have shifted gears. I believe it is time for Congress to do likewise and again urge consideration of a bill I introduced on February 23 calling for the immediate restoration of the 7-percent investment credit and accelerated depreciation for commercial and industrial buildings.

ETHICS COMMITTEE

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut.

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

I supported the formation of the Ethics Committee which expired at the end of the 89th Congress and I feel strongly that such a committee should be made permanent. A continuing Ethics Committee is necessary not only to pass on the ethical misconduct of Members of the House but, also, to sustain public confidence in the honesty and integrity of their Representatives.

I hope that there will be favorable action on this bill by the Rules Committee and prompt approval by the House.

TWO GREAT FIRST LADIES

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, from somewhere out of the past I recall a phrase which stated, "greatness is measured by the little things you do." This phrase is vividly in my mind today as I speak about two great ladies.

This afternoon, at ceremonies to be held at Hains Point, the very able and distinguished Ambassador from Mexico, the Honorable Hugo Margain, will present, in the name of the First Lady of Mexico, Mrs. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, to our own First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, a gift of playground equipment for use in our Capital City of Washington as part of Mrs. Johnson's beautification program, and her endless work with the children of the Nation and this city.

This equipment was designed and manufactured in Mexico and it depicts in a very functional yet artistic manner such Mexican things as a guitar, an Indian, a cactus, several animals, and a barge representing the famous floating gardens of Xochimilco.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to inform you that this all grew out of the visit that the President and Mrs. Johnson made to Mexico last year. A trip that my wife and I were among those honored to share with them. On touring Mexico City it is mentioned that Mrs. Johnson remarked favorably about the equipment she saw at a public park, and now with the usual unequaled friendliness and hospitality of the Mexican people, Mrs. Diaz Ordaz has so graciouly remembered that remark and perhaps the private wish of Mrs. Johnson.

Mr. Speaker, I think that it is fitting and proper that this House take note and warmly applaud the kind and noble gesture of Mrs. Diaz Ordaz and the untiring effort of our own gracious First Lady in trying to bring a little beauty and a little happiness into the lives and hearts of our less fortunate children.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE OF THE COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES—PERMISSION TO SIT WHILE THE HOUSE IS IN SESSION TODAY

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries may be permitted to sit while the House is in session today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

ACTION BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE DURING THE BOMBING LULL IN FEBRUARY

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, this morning I received an intelligence briefing and saw intelligence photographs depicting the movement of military supplies, equipment, and ammunition by the North Vietnamese during the 3-day bombing lull in the first part of February. This concerned ammunition which we have picked out of the bodies, or will pick out in the future from the bodies of fallen Americans in Vietnam.

The briefing left me shocked and utterly sick at heart at the inaneness of American policy of ceasing bombing in the past or in the future as long as our men are under fire in Vietnam.

I now, Mr. Speaker, publicly call upon the Department of Defense to declassify this briefing and to personally invite all those on this side of the Congress, and particularly those in the other body who have advocated a cessation of bombing, to receive this briefing and let them evaluate for themselves the validity of General Westmoreland's assessment that those responsible for such a cessation will have on their hands the blood of American boys in Vietnam.

THE LUNAR LULL IN VIETNAM

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to advise my colleagues on the committee that I have called upon the Secretary of Defense this morning to make this briefing available, to declassify the interview in question. I plan to insist that every Member of the House who is interested have an opportunity to see the briefing to which our committee is privy—on this thing. As the gentleman has said, I believe every Member of this body—and those interested in the other body—should see what we have seen.

It is criminal. Perhaps it is worse than this, that the American people are denied the opportunity to view the photographs we have seen of what went on during this lunar lull. It is devastating to the security of our people in Vietnam. It is extremely dangerous to our position there.

Mr. Speaker, the world should know what we are doing in Vietnam and the dangers we face in that part of the world. We saw what is going on at Haiphong. If this port is allowed to continue as it is, this will be one of the worst crimes in the history of this war.

I am going to insist on this, and I shall report to the House what I find out from the DOD. I expect an answer in the near future.

SENIORITY IN ASSIGNMENT OF ROOMS IN THE HOUSE OFFICE BUILDINGS

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in the Congressional Record of March 2, 1967, at page 5218 a report appears on action recently taken by the House Office Building Commission in unanimously ruling that the term "longest continuous service," as used in 40 U.S.C. 178, governing seniority in assignment of rooms in the House Office Buildings, is held to refer to the longest period of uninterrupted service as a Member and Member-elect of the House of Representatives—not necessarily the last period of uninterrupted service as held in Cannon's Precedents, volume 8, page 981, section 3651.

Under this rule change, filed March 2, Adam Clayton Powell, who was excluded on March 1, would, if reelected, be senior to all Members of this Congress with less than 11 consecutive terms insofar as assignment of rooms is concerned. In short, for the purpose of office assignment, he will be senior to every Congressman elected since January 3, 1945.

SUPPORT FOR THE AMERICAN POSITION IN VIETNAM

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I was able to spend 1 day at the British-American Parliamentary Conference, which is now going on in Hamilton, Bermuda.

The 1 day I was there, the subject for discussion was Vietnam. I believe it might be interesting for the membership of the House to know that three-fourths of the British delegation present very strongly supported the American position in Vietnam.

We often read in the press of the criticism in the British Parliament of our position, but again this is the same thing that sometimes happens in the press and television, that the vocal minority are the ones who make themselves heard.

The distinguished majority whip was with me and I believe he will testify that it was heartening indeed to find these distinguished British Cabinet members and high-ranking British parliamentarians so strongly supporting us.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. BOGGS. I should like to say I was honored to be with the gentleman in Bermuda yesterday and the day before. The statement he makes here today is entirely correct. I join with him in expressing my own gratification at the fact that we do have this accord and my regret, as well as his, at the fact that oftentimes it is not accurately or not fully published.

Mr. HAYS. I thank the distinguished majority whip.

GEORGE C. WALLACE

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it seems that I might have created a little bit of interest regarding the matter of Assistant Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. Yesterday several of my good friends from that fine State made their own statements regarding my remarks on their former Governor. I certainly accept them in the friendly manner in which they were offered.

I would say, Mr. Speaker, that my interest and concern stems from the question I have as to whether George C. Wallace is a candidate for President of the United States or of the Confederacy. In examining my very extensive file on Mr. Wallace, I see everywhere the flag of the Confederacy, but rarely see Old Glory. This is what precipitated my original concern. Everything I get in the mail is that way. The flag of the Confederacy seems to be far more popular with him than the Stars and Stripes.

I would like to say, as a gesture of friendship, I am today sending him a flag that was flown over the Capitol, along with this little book "Our Flag," which will tell him the proper protocol to follow as a good American when it comes to displaying Old Glory.

I might also add, I send it with the further hope that he will see fit to use it once in a while in his literature, if he is a candidate for President of the United States.

THE WRONG TYPE OF LOTTERY

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I was interested to note on Monday that President Johnson intends to put the Selective Service System on a lottery basis.

As the Members of this House know, I look with favor upon the lottery idea, but as a revenue device, not a human roulette system for consigning some of our young men to military service while sparing others.

The lottery idea makes sense as a revenue device with which to tap the tills of the underworld, diverting the receipts of the numbers rackets to public coffers in order to make them work for the public good, but this does not make it a sound device for other purposes.

As I have told this House for many years, practically all of our foreign allies use the lottery device as a revenue raiser, but to the best of my knowledge, none of them use the lottery device to select which young men shall serve in the armed forces.

I suggest that the President has made a mistake: he has proposed the wrong type of lottery. He must have intended to propose the revenue lottery utilized by 88 nations throughout the world. He cannot have intended to propose that a lottery be used to draft our young men. Nobody else does it. It makes no sense.

I hope that the President will drop his selective service lottery and instead propose a revenue lottery, which will bring billions of dollars into the Treasury and avoid the need for a tax hike.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT ON THE STATUS OF THE NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 77)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the third annual report on the status of the national wilderness preservation system.

The national wilderness preservation system, established by the Wilderness Act of 1964, protects and preserves a priceless legacy—the wilderness of America. Under this act, we hold in trust for future generations more than 9 million acres of forest, mountains, and streams: areas free from the imprint of man; areas where nature alone has left its mark.

This in itself is a great achievement. But our responsibility for preserving America's natural heritage does not end here.

The Congress has recognized this continuing responsibility and has called for a review of the Nation's primitive and unspoiled areas for possible addition to the wilderness system. I welcome that task. I have submitted legislation to authorize the first addition to the wilderness system since its establishment—the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, Calif. I will submit further recommendations later this year. This is important work.

The wilderness and primitive areas of this Nation are a priceless heritage. That heritage is ours to preserve or to destroy. America has made its choice.

We shall not rest until the job is done.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 8, 1967.*

CELEBRATION OF PAN-AMERICAN DAY

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 370) and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 370

Resolved, That the House of Representatives hereby designates Thursday, April 13, 1967, for the celebration of Pan-American Day, on which day, after the reading of the Journal, remarks appropriate to such occasion may occur.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FUNDS FOR INVESTIGATIONS AUTHORIZED BY HOUSE RESOLUTION 19

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 20) to provide funds for the expenses of the studies and investigations authorized by House Resolution 19 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 20

Resolved, That, effective January 3, 1967, the expenses of the studies and investigations to be conducted pursuant to H. Res. 19 by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $115,000 including expenditures for the employment of investigators, attorneys, and experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, and all expenses necessary for travel and subsistence incurred by members and employees while engaged in the activities of the committee or any subcommittee thereof, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized and signed by the chairman of such committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. The chairman, with the consent of the head of the department or agency concerned, is authorized and empowered to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any other departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The official committee reporters may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia, if not otherwise officially engaged.

SEC. 4. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 2, line 19, add the following:

"SEC. 5. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law."

Mr. BURLESON (interrupting the reading of the resolution). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the resolution be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD in full at this point.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR EXPENSES OF INVESTIGATIONS AUTHORIZED BY RULE XI(8)

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 109) providing for the expenses of conducting studies and investigations authorized by rule XI(8) incurred by the Committee on Government Operations and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 109

Resolved, That effective January 3, 1967, the expenses of conducting the studies and investigations authorized by rule XI(8) incurred by the Committee on Government Operations, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $800,000, including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, and clerical, stenographic and other assistants, which shall be available for expenses incurred by said committee or subcommittees within and without the continental limits of the United States, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by said committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. The official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia, if not otherwise officially engaged.

SEC. 3. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 5, strike out "$800,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$725,000".

On page 2, line 14, add the following:

"SEC. 4. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law."

Mr. BURLESON (interrupting the reading of the resolution). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the resolution be dispensed with and that it be printed in full at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUING THE PROVISION OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 1029, 89TH CONGRESS

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 112) continuing the provision of House Resolution 1029 of the 89th Congress and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 112

Resolved, That effective January 3, 1967, until otherwise provided by law, the provisions of H. Res. 1029, Eighty-ninth Congress, are hereby continued during the Ninetieth Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE FOR THE EXPENSES OF THE INVESTIGATION AND STUDY AUTHORIZED BY HOUSE RESOLUTION 124—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I send to the Speaker's desk a privileged resolution (H. Res. 125) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 125

Resolved, That effective from January 3, 1967, the expenses of the investigation and study to be conducted pursuant to H. Res. 124, by the Committee on Armed Services, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $150,000 (including expenditures for the employment of special counsel, consultants, investigators, attorneys, experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants appointed by the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee or subcommittee, signed by the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, after line 12, add the following:

"Sec. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

"Sec. 3. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I send to the Speaker's desk a privileged resolution (H. Res. 141) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 141

Resolved, That effective January 3, 1967, the expenses of conducting the studies and investigations authorized by H. Res. 83, Ninetieth Congress, incurred by the Committee on Agriculture, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $150,000, including expenditures for the employment of accountants, experts, investigators, attorneys, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House, on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman of such committee, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

Sec. 2. The official committee reporters may be used at all hearings, if not otherwise officially engaged.

Sec. 3. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 5, strike out "$150,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$100,000".

On page 2, line 11, add the following:

"Sec. 4. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Texas yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, may I ask of the gentleman from Texas when these resolutions came from the Committee on House Administration, and how Members are expected to keep track of this or any other legislation, unless we have bills or other information before us?

Am I correctly or incorrectly informed that these matters came out only an hour or so ago from the Committee on House Administration?

Mr. BURLESON. That is correct. Of course, the authorizing resolutions have been handled in committee and on the floor previous to this action and copies of those authorizing resolutions were available, I assume, to all the Members of the House. Also, these funding resolutions were introduced in January, for the most part, and have been available to anyone.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Texas will yield further, may I say to the gentleman, most respectfully, that I find myself protesting this procedure in that we do not have the slightest idea as to what the gentleman's Committee on House Administration did. We have nothing before us here upon which to base a position.

Mr. BURLESON. We have had the authorizing legislation under consideration at a previous date, from the Committee on Rules, and this procedure has not in the past been considered to be unusual. These are privileged resolutions and may be brought up at any time. This is especially true in view of the fact that we did have a complete discussion of the legislation, although not in every instance I am sure. However, there was a great deal of discussion upon the authorizing resolutions from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Texas will yield further, we do not know whether the gentleman's committee increased or decreased the amounts involved.

Mr. BURLESON. I can assure the gentleman from Iowa that there were no increases. The changes that were made represented decreases.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to the gentleman from Iowa that we have handled these matters in this fashion for a number of years.

Mr. Speaker, the ranking majority member of the Subcommittee on Accounts, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Friedel], is not here. I will say to the gentleman from Iowa that in no instance was an increase voted, and in at least two instances, as I recall at the moment, there were substantial decreases.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman from Texas.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution as amended.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE STUDY AND INVESTIGATION AUTHORIZED BY HOUSE RESOLUTION 53

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I send to the Speaker's desk a privileged resolution (H. Res. 202), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 202

Resolved, That effective January 3, 1967, the expenses of the study and investigation to be conducted by the select committee created by H. Res. 53, not to exceed $350,000, including expenditures for the employment of investigators, attorneys, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, after line 9, insert:

"Sec. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Small Business shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

"SEC. 3. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration I send to the Speaker's desk a privileged resolution (H. Res. 227), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 227

Resolved, That, effective January 3, 1967, carrying out its duties during the Ninetieth Congress, the Committee on House Administration is authorized to incur such expenses (not in excess of $50,000) as it deems advisable. Such expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized and approved by such committee, and signed by the chairman thereof.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, following line 7, insert:

"SEC. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House.

"SEC. 3. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expanded pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask if all the funds asked for in House Resolution 227 are for purposes now within the jurisdiction of the committee?

Mr. BURLESON. Not necessarily. It is anticipated that the committee may have a broader jurisdiction. As the gentleman knows, the matter of the so-called Ethics Committee has not been settled, and it is anticipated that if this committee is established in the Committee on House Administration that these funds, or part of them, will be available to conduct the work of that subcommittee, but this appropriation is for the Committee on House Administration, and not to any subcommittee.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, under those circumstances I would like to raise a point of order against the resolution, because I do not think we should indirectly be approving something, if we are not going to have the opportuntiy to debate, and on a matter which has not been authorized by Congress.

Mr. BURLESON. May I say that the subcommittee is in existence. It is the Committee on Ethics and Contracts. We may call it something else later on, but we have certain jurisdictions under the Rules of the House which require this type subcommittee.

Secondly, it is an existing subcommittee; it is not the creation of a new subcommittee at all. Additional duties may be assigned to it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understood the gentleman from Florida was making a point of order.

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the point of order is that no appropriation should be made available for the expenditure of funds of the U.S. Government for a purpose which has not been authorized by law. The chairman of the committee has announced they intend to spend these funds for purposes not authorized by law.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state for the information of the gentleman from Florida that the resolution now before the House provides for expenditures out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, these funds are appropriated to the full committee and not to any subcommittee. I repeat, the subcommittee has now and will continue to have jurisdiction over certain matters. It may be that other duties may be assigned to it, but certainly this jurisdiction is in existence.

The SPEAKER. The point of order made by the gentleman from Florida is pending. The Chair has indicated to the gentleman from Florida the viewpoint of the Chair. Does the gentleman from Florida insist upon his point of order?

Mr. BENNETT. I do insist on the point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. For the reasons heretofore stated, the Chair overrules the point of order made by the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas yield to the gentleman from Florida for the purposes of a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BURLESON. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BENNETT. Actually, Mr. Speaker, my sole intention here is that we do not in a cavalier and casual fashion do something which is not correct from a legislative standpoint.

Therefore, my parliamentary inquiry may clear up the whole matter and that is, if this measure is passed in this fashion, would this in any way act to give jurisdiction to that committee in a field in which it does not now have jurisdiction?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that this resolution, in the opinion of the Chair, does not give the committee any more jurisdiction than the Committee on House Administration now possesses under the rules of the House at the present time.

Mr. BENNETT. I thank the Speaker.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that this same committee came before the House last fall and got an appropriation of $25,000 to do a job which the House and which the gentleman from Florida in particular had been saying the committee had been lax in not doing.

As I pointed out the other day, we did that job and we did it in a limited time. Every Member can have his own opinion about whether it was a good job or an efficient job or an effective job. But nevertheless the job was done.

I do not know whether the gentleman from Florida is now saying that we did not have jurisdiction to do the job.

Whether we did or not, we went ahead and did it.

I will say the money was appropriated to the full committee as this money is and we will use this money for anything that we have jurisdiction over. The committee itself, both the majority and the minority, will make the decisions about how it will be spent.

I think it is fair to say that in asking for this money we did have a unanimous vote in the House Committee on Administration. So therefore it is not all bad.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I am glad that we are having this colloquy because, of course, there is nothing in what I said and nothing in what I ever said that was critical about the way in which that committee handled the matter of coming to grips with the Powell matter after it was assigned that responsibility and took the responsibility, that is by the subcommittee headed by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS]. I am not in any way trying to be critical. All that I was trying to do is to do what has now been done, and that is to make it crystal clear by the record of this House that this measure is not intended to confer further jurisdiction on the committee. The only reason for my doing this was because the gentleman from Ohio recently before the Committee on Rules announced that this request would be made. He did that knowing that I was there and appreciating that I was there and I thought alerting me to this. He told me or rather told what was involved as I understood it that there was no question of jurisdiction being conferred. In line with what he said that it is not intended in any way that any jurisdiction be given by this resolution, I have no objection to this committee having this money if it is not intended to confer new jurisdiction not arrived at by legislation.

I am in no way being personally critical of the gentleman at all.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I did not think anybody could make much of the argument that by giving the committee an appropriation you are conferring new jurisdiction.

I am certain that in the record before

the Committee on Rules you will find I said nothing about conferring jurisdiction. I may well have said that this would be some indication that the House Committee on Administration meant to get that job done.

Now the gentleman from Florida says he made no derogatory remarks. It is in the record that he said, and I sat there and heard him, that if this jurisdiction were given by the Committee on Rules to the House Committee on Administration, it would be an affront to the American people. I submit that that was a reflection—and we discussed it in the Committee on House Administration this morning—on every member of the committee.

I hope that the gentleman, if he gets more time, will say that he did not mean it.

Mr. BENNETT. I would like to get more time.

Mr. BURLESON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. BENNETT. Perhaps I do not express myself as well as I should. I am sorry that I misinterpreted the statement made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS]. I am in no way challenging his veracity. I do not believe he would tell a lie or know how to tell a lie. I do not in any way impugn anything he said before that committee. I have attempted merely to make clear on the floor at this time that there was no attempt to get in the record the giving of jurisdiction. That point has been made clear.

So the only thing that remains to be said is on the question that has been raised by the gentleman from Ohio on the floor at this time. Its pertinency to this discussion is a little difficult for me to understand, but I am glad to have the opportunity to say something about it.

I have never been critical of the subcommittee headed by Mr. HAYS for the speed and vigorous action they took with regard to the Powell matter when they finally took jurisdiction.

The only criticism I have ever made—and this is not personal as to anyone—the only criticism I have ever made is that this committee, plus the Congress as a whole, plus the country as a whole, have allowed things to build up which I think we should have come to grips with a little more speedily.

I have never said any of these things with any personal venom, hard feelings, or anything of that sort. I, myself, am full of faults, full of mistakes. The fact that a Member of Congress does have some point of mild criticism against some other committee should not be taken as a personal matter.

When I used the word "affront," I used the word with the idea in mind that when the country as a whole is seeking an answer to the ethics and standards problem, it is only right that it be given to a committee which would be constituted for that purpose—in my opinion, of course; other people may differ—but I feel it should be in the hands of a committee that would give full attention to the subject. That would be their only occupation, their only desire, to improve standards. It is not a criticism of the House Administration Committee to say that this is so. In the use of the word "affront" we are not stating any derogatory feeling with regard to the Committee on House Administration but rather to the decision that might be made by Congress as to whether or not a full committee will be constituted.

The gentleman from Ohio can kick this around all he wants to, and to make it as personal as he desires to do. But I refuse to get involved in a personal, hard-feeling proposition. We pass through this world only once, and I have never been a party to making derogatory and personal remarks about anyone. If you read the record in the House Rules Committee, and if you read everything I have said about any Members of Congress and about any operation of Congress you will find that there is not anything to feel bad about at all. You can make something to feel bad about if you want to. But the record speaks for itself. It was a dignified statement. It was not made in venom. It was made merely with the idea that when the country desires to have an ethical committee set up to try to look into these matters as a question of major importance with a nonpartisan committee, with a committee which would have a staff working on this thing and the country feels as deeply about it as it does, to put this in the hands of any existing committee—to put it in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, the Armed Services Committee, or any other committee of Congress—would, in my opinion, be an affront to most of the feelings that our constituents have.

My statement was not made with any hard feeling. I hope we can end this colloquy on a high note of cooperation in the things which the gentleman from Ohio, the gentleman from Texas, and I wish to do, which is to have a strong and wonderful country, to have a great country which we can all be proud of, and it does not serve a useful purpose for us to get personally tied up in any sort of wrangle which is not based upon fact at all.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BURLESON I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I think it would be obvious from listening to my remarks or reading them that I had nothing personal to say about the gentleman. I merely quoted what he said. You can look in the dictionary and see what the word "affront" means. I do not think we will have too much quarrel about that.

There has been a lot of argument in the last few days about what the word "opportunist" means. One Republican called another one an opportunist, and they have spent 2 or 3 weeks trying to explain that he did not mean that the man about whom he spoke was an opportunist.

I do not subscribe that the gentleman from Florida or the gentleman from Iowa, or any other Member, can speak for the American people and say that if we put this in the House Administration Committee it will be an affront to them. We have received a good many thousand letters commending us for what we did. I was a little surprised at the language. I am sure the gentleman did not mean to be personal, and I did not take it personally, but there it is.

There is one other thing. The gentleman says he wants a select committee. He, of course, wants to be chairman of it. That is all right. I have no objection to every Member being a chairman, if he can, of some committee, to which he will devote all his time. Is the gentleman prepared to resign from the committee he is presently on? Are other Members who are to be on this committee prepared to resign from the ones which they are presently on? If not, all the time they can give is about all the time the House Administration Committee can give. So that argument really becomes specious and has no bearing.

I really did not think we would be debating this today. I would assume there will be something from the Rules Committee, and we can debate it another time. However, I am prepared to debate it today if anybody wants to.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa, a member of the committee.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, the Accounts Subcommittee, as the gentleman has said, has indeed in many ways acted as an ethics committee in considering expenditures of congressional funds as a matter peripheral to ethics.

As a matter of fact, it has been a preventive committee so far as ethics are concerned, because it continuously reviews the accounts and contracts of consultants which are hired by committees, by committee chairmen, to see if they are indeed worthy expenditures. When they have not been so considered, the committee has called for an immediate cessation of expenditures. This has not been a matter of great public moment, because it is a preventive thing.

Perhaps it is the best kind of ethics committee, because instead of trying to catch up with all the miscreants, it has acted to try to prevent any kind of wrong expenditure of funds.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate what the gentleman has to say. The Committee on House Administration has often returned for correction or adjustment matters which have been sent to the committee.

Of course, we read in the newspapers, written by some of the columnists, that we are apathetic and pay no attention. This is another matter, as the gentleman from Ohio indicated, which can be debated at the appropriate time.

I always wonder, though, Mr. Speaker, just how we should apply ethics. I do not know exactly what is meant by "ethics." Does it mean that someone will police personal morals and conduct? Does it require spying upon one's leisure activities? Who is going to do that? I am not too sure whether that is what some people have in mind. If that is what it means, I do not want to have anything to do with it.

But if it means a responsible watching of funds, that is different. Incidentally, this committee seemingly has a great deal of responsibility, but I am not too sure just exactly where all of the authority lies. There is a difference. I do not want to be charged with responsibility unless I have authority. For a long time this has been a question inside this committee. I am not too sure that we now have spelled out the authority to watch over the expenditure of funds of a congressional office.

There is a vast difference betwen clerk hire funds and expenditures from the contingent fund. Newspaper reporters seemingly never want to make this distinction. We have a responsibility over the contingent funds of every standing committee in the House and employees of the House. But where is it spelled out as to responsibility over each Member, as to his own operation? We all operate differently, simply because we have different constituencies, we have different districts, we have different methods. That, I believe, is the Member's business.

It does not mean that he is following dishonest practices. It means he is judging. At the moment it lies with each Member as to the number of employees in his own office and how much he wants them to be paid.

After we leave that, there is not a great deal of authority given.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. In line with that, I believe it is fair to point out that when the subcommittee made the decision and recommended to the full committee that the wife of the former Member from New York be taken from the payroll—and I believe I said this on the floor—I could not find anywhere that we had authority to do it, but the law we passed a year and a half ago said that this employee and all other clerk hire employees should either be in the Member's State or in the District of Columbia, and she was not, so we took the bull by the horns and ordered the Clerk to delete her name from the payroll.

A lot of the Members ought to do a lot of thinking about this, before the Rules Committee does whatever it is going to do.

As the chairman says, "ethics" is a kind of a broad-gage word.

I do not see the Member on the floor, but a Member said to me last Thursday night at the White House, "Is this not terrible?" I said, "What?" And he said, "They are serving liquor in this House."

Well, I do not want to blow my own horn. I do not drink much, but I drink occasionally, and I believe my constituents know it. But it is not illegal.

I said to this Member, "If you think it is bad this night, when everybody had about one drink, you ought to have been around when Andy Jackson and some of the boys lived here."

I am not one who goes around blackening the Congress and public officials. I believe I said a thousand times they are better than a cross section of their constituencies.

Where does one draw the line? If this comes to our committee and if I happen to be the unlucky fellow who is chairman of it, the first thing I propose to do is to hold hearings and to let every Member of the House come in and say what he thinks ought to be the rules of conduct for Members. And I propose to bring such rules back to the Rules Committee and to the House and get them ratified.

The Members might be interested to know that the committee this morning unanimously, on the motion of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS], said that if we have this in the committee, it shall be comprised of an equal number of members from each side.

The ranking Republicans were there when I made the statement that this was fine with me, and that it would be staffed equally, and that we would see that everybody, if it came to that committee, had an opportunity to be heard and had an opportunity to express his views.

I know, as I have said before, that my personality in debate is a bit abrasive sometimes, but I debate to win. I will go out to dinner afterwards and buy the dinner for the fellow I have been debating. I do not hold any rancor, and I do not hold any personal bitterness against any Member of this House.

I do not seek any encomiums, or any praise, but I believe that the minority members who served on that investigating committee, which none of us found to be a very happy experience, will say that we reached our conclusions unanimously, and that the minority—at that point we had a minority in the committee; it was a minority of one—had an opportunity to express its views, had an opportunity to concur in the hiring of counsel, had an opportunity to suggest counsel, and the minority had just as much opportunity to express itself and to share in the conclusions and to arrive at them as the majority did. I would not be chairman of any committee that was not conducted that way. I have been chairman of several, and I will put myself in the hands of the minority members on my committee, as to whether or not I have been fair to the point of bending over backward.

I see that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR], the ranking member of a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is present. I do not want to prolong this, but we got a bill from the Senate some years ago, and we put 76 amendments on it and brought it back to this House. Many of them were amendments offered by the gentleman from Indiana. Every single amendment, as I recall it, was adopted after we thrashed it out, argued it back and forth, reworded it sometimes, or dropped it, unanimously, and the bill came to the floor unanimously. That is the way I like to operate if I can.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's yielding. I wanted all of the other colloquy over with, because all I want to do, Mr. Speaker, is to make some legislative record, and unexpectedly establish dialog on these matters of concern for years past.

Having served on the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress and Related Agencies, I am sure the Members know, as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] indicated in the well of the House today, this will very shortly be before us. It has passed the other body. This will inject the possibility of even a third Committee on "Standards and Ethics," as it is ordinarily called, or whatever appellation one wishes to apply.

Now, some of these questions have been answered, but I would like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on House Administration, the gentleman from Texas, if he can clarify the record on them.

As I understand it, under House Resolution 227, you are simply asking for the funding, at least for the time being, of the full Committee on House Administration, but, by virtue of the colloquy before the Committee on Rules and indeed the 90th Congress authorization on the floor of the House, there will be a subcommittee of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on House Administration which will deal with these problems that are referred to by the joint committee, which even considered the possibility of minority control when the executive branch and legislative branch are both under control of the same party; and certainly as referred to in the 89th Congress as the Committee on Standards and Ethics, which was chaired—as a select committee—by the gentleman from Florida. Is that understanding correct?

Mr. BURLESON. That is correct except for this fine point. There may not be created any committee which would perform the functions of any committee already created.

Mr. HALL. Second, would it exclude the reestablishment of the so-called Bennett committee as established in the 89th Congress or a committee to be recommended in the bill to be messaged over from the other body on the reorganization of the Congress?

Mr. BURLESON. Not at all. This is a matter to go before the Rules Committee and, of course, must have the approval of this House of Representatives, but we would not do anything that would preclude that.

Mr. HALL. Then, in the opinion of the gentleman, perhaps there would be evolved an overlap of jurisdiction in the determination of standards of conduct? Is that correct?

Mr. BURLESON. I think I can say to the gentleman that if a select committee is established, it will inevitably overlap in the sense that to get at what I understand ethics to be it has to deal in large part with dollars and cents. This committee is already charged with that responsibility. As I say, I would like some clarifying language in the rules, and particularly I address this desire to the members of the Committee on Rules simply because in a number of instances they have entreated it. As surely as we are talking about this matter, though, if a select committee is created, they must come to the Committee on House Administration for information and records which involve the expenditure of funds by committees and staff employees and, therefore, by Members. This is the only place it could be collected. You would have to set up another complete operation if you do it otherwise.

Mr. HALL. I am one of those who believe perhaps ethics involves more than the expenditure of funds. The gentleman from Texas, I am sure, does also, but this leads to the next question that I want to establish for the record. I am not at all certain I believe in disclosure or divestment among those highest in public trust.

Mr. BURLESON. If the gentleman does not mind my interrupting, I would commend to the House the reading of Mr. Carl Rowan's article of last Sunday's Star when he made this very essential point: How are you going to formalize honesty and integrity? He asked that question. He related it to his own position and related it to others. How can you formalize integrity, common honesty, and these other things that we talk about? This is something very elusive. But we know what we are talking about when it is dollars and cents. Forgive me for interrupting.

Mr. HALL. If the gentleman will yield further, that leads into my next question. How do we determine standards of conduct for an incumbent or even for a past Member of Congress?

Mr. BURLESON. I am not sure. That is a question I have. I do not know if I understand the gentleman's question correctly, but I believe it is how do we define these? It may be all things to all people. I do not know. You are asking the question, what do ethics or what does fair and commendable conduct mean. That is your question?

Mr. HALL. That is correct. I am asking for the opinion of the gentleman as chairman of the committee. I would query further in that connection, in the opinion of the gentleman, is there any precedent or established "rule of thumb" as to who might bring charges, and when, before this subcommittee or any other select committee?

Mr. BURLESON. As I understand it, that was the purpose of the select committee created last fall, that is, to formulate plans, guidelines, limitations, and so forth, to reach this very thing, that is, to build a fence around a certain area in which you can operate.

And, perhaps, that would be a very, very good line of approach. However, that is one of the things which disturbs me a great deal—how does the committee get at it?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Texas yield further?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield further to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I must say to the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on House Administration, that I believe the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] answered that question insofar as the portended action of his subcommittee is concerned. He said that would be one of the first things he would do, to build a certain set of standards or ethics, or whatever one might call it, report back through the Committee on Rules, and onto the floor of the House for ratification. However, I do not believe that was done in the case of the select committee, because we were in adjournment at the time and it was not possible to do so.

Mr. Speaker, this is very encouraging, and I feel that, in part, it answers the question. But the legislative record must indicate that this would be, certainly, one of the first acts of almost any committee.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there is a standard, one, I believe, containing 10 points of ethics, for Government employees. If this is standard, are we in a way going to apply it to ourselves here in the highest elective body in the land?

Mr. Speaker, these are very erstwhile questions, and I would like to make a case on this point for the RECORD.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, there is one thing which I would like to inject, if I may.

If I understood the gentleman correctly, the gentleman queried, How are you going to formulate a set of rules for Members and former Members?

I do not believe we will formulate any set of rules for former Members, because if there is anything which they have done in an illegal fashion, that would have to be taken care of by another branch of the Government. But, if you set up any set of rules, it is my opinion that we cannot place into those rules any ex post facto matter. I do not believe we can do that legislatively, administratively, or through any other means of approach.

Mr. Speaker, I just hope that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] did not mean this in the way it sounded, in that he wanted to know how we could formulate a set of rules which will be in effect at the time the House takes action.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield further to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is well that we complete this colloquy and engage in this dialog, because I feel it most important.

Actually, this is another one of my questions, one which the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] anticipated in his response.

Mr. Speaker, I am not at all certain that this committee—if it is the function and scope as envisaged by the Joint Committee on Organization of the Congress, and others, and in fact, I believe it was a matter of debate before the select committee of the 89th Congress, relative to retroactive seeking for information. I repeat, I am not at all convinced that we can eliminate this question, as is the extant and exemplary case now in the other body, a case which it has had under investigation going all the way back to the year 1950, I believe, with reference to certain disposition of funds. But, as I understand it, we would eliminate retroactive inquiry and establish a false statute of limitations. These are too vital limitations, wheresoever this case may fall, because therein may lie not only the precedent and the action and investigation of the current Congress, but related details based upon information that might constitute a Federal felony of an incumbent.

Mr. Speaker, in the opinion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BURLESON], would such a committee, particularly if it were his subcommittee, be excluded from retroactive inquiry, and would it have, in effect, a statute of limitations?

Mr. BURLESON. I feel, again, that this is a matter which will have to be considered as a part of the formulation of the decision of the House, the Committee on Rules, and under which there may be set some guidelines.

Under title 18 of the United States Code there is set out a long list of items, a list which is applicable to Members of Congress, just as it is applicable to the man on the street and applicable to everyone in the exercise of the jurisdiction involved, whatever that jurisdiction may be. Of course, as the gentleman knows, that jurisdiction varies from State to State.

And certainly the committee would have jurisdiction under the Federal law, but it would have application just the same to Members of Congress under title 18. As I said, I think I am correct, as it would to any other situation.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opinion of the gentleman. I have just about three other points. I think you have been most patient. I think you will agree with me that it is well to establish this for the benefit of the Members if for no other purpose than to make them realize the seriousness of the step we may take.

Mr. BURLESON. I appreciate the gentleman's help.

Mr. HALL. I believe the gentleman further will agree with me that we do not want to establish a "sweep-under-the-rug" committee.

In this connection, in the opinion of the gentleman, would the committee report back to the House regularly? Would it report back to the full committee first, or to the Committee on Rules of the House, or would it be constrained to report to the Speaker on any findings or any specific investigation of a fellow Member?

Mr. BURLESON. I would think the leadership of both sides, and the membership of this House, would like to know when this committee is finding anything, we will say, that would be comparable to the Powell situation. I believe we would like to know each activity that was taking place, and what the end result on each situation was. We are bound to know that, of course, but I think everyone would have a right to inquire about the status of certain procedures.

I believe if I were part of the leadership on either side I would surely want to know what progress had been made, or what steps had been taken on whatever case was being handled, and to know its immediate status. We certainly would like to know if there is anything very important occurring.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman in his opinion, tell the House whether the committee would have purely investigatory powers, or would the committee have power to impose sanctions?

Mr. BURLESON. I believe the committee would have power to recommend sanctions just as under the present rules, but would not have power to impose them. It would be an investigative committee.

Mr. HALL. In the opinion of the distinguished gentleman from Texas, and as chairman of the full committee, how would such sanctions be established? Would they be established in equity and fairness, in the same manner that rules and operations standards might be established, and what would be their scope?

Mr. BURLESON. I believe under the present procedures we have provision for that, and machinery for that. As everyone knows, we just invoked that machinery a few weeks ago. I believe there are rules to take care of that situation.

I would say to the gentleman that in relating it to other operations that that would be true.

Mr. HALL. I realize that the gentleman has not thought about these specific questions, but I would say that some of us have pondered them extensively, and hence I am desirous of making this record.

Mr. Speaker, I just have one final question. I believe the chairman has given plenty of thought to the situation, and that he does a good job, and always has, as every Member on this floor knows.

Would the gentleman care to state, if this resolution (H. Res. 227) passes, who would be the chairman of this subcommittee, and conduct this work?

Mr. BURLESON. I expect the gentleman from Ohio would be chairman of that committee. I asked him to do so, and he has accepted it.

Mr. HALL. Would that chairman, under existing circumstances, or any chairman who might chair such a subcommittee or a select committee, be subject himself to investigation by the balance of the committee at any time?

Mr. BURLESON. I certainly believe that he would. There is nothing, I am sure, that would be written into the rules that would exclude any one of the 435 Members of the House. We are all here under the same circumstances. We were elected, nobody would be excluded, and it certainly should be an equitable sort of thing.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to come back into this discussion. We are almost trying to make legislative history on legislation which has not yet been brought before the House of Representatives.

There are some 100 or so bills that have been introduced recently in Congress, many of which vary considerably as to what could be done and what would be expected in the conduct of such a committee that is set up. For us to try to make legislative history on a bill which is not before the House of Representatives for debate gives me some concern. Of course, I do not really have to be much concerned about it, because the laws on legislative history cannot be changed.

You cannot make legislative history before the House of Representatives has the legislation before it for consideration.

But there have been a great many other things said here today which I think perhaps I should briefly comment on.

There has been some comment here about maybe I want to be chairman of this committee. I have offered in writing to the Speaker of the House not to be chairman or a member of the committee. If it is offensive to the Members of the Congress for me to be chairman—and this is not a personal matter with me—then I should not be. I think such a committee should be set up and I think it should be a full, separate committee.

I might be wrong about it. But there is nothing personal about it. This is because I think that is the better way to do it.

There has been talk around here that the House select committee in the last session did not do certain things or did do certain things. Well, it did do certain things. The report was sent to every Member of the Congress.

As I understand it, there was a comment made that things should not be decided in this field such as regulations and things of that type in the absence of the Congress. Of course, it should not be.

This committee was in existence throughout all of its life after the Congress adjourned.

So the report said that any new rules and regulations and standards to be set up ought to be with the full Congress here pursuant to hearings; and they ought to come in and give us their views as to what they want.

So it was not proper and would not have been proper for this committee, in that adjournment period of the Congress when most people were out campaigning, to have drawn up regulations and rules of this type.

Another thing along that line which I would like to mention is that guidelines were set up by that committee. That committee did recommend that strict guidelines be put into legislation.

In fact most of the criticism that I have heard of this committee's proposal is that it is too protective of the Congress. I have never heard anyone say it was not protective enough. Most people say it is too protective because it says in the first place that no ex post facto matter would be handled. The law would have to be in existence before anybody could violate it. It would not be enough for anybody acting on something or under a law which was not in existence.

In the second place, a charge against the man has to be in writing.

In the third place, it would have to be made under oath.

In the fourth place, it would have to be submitted to the committee by a Member of Congress and would only be final when acted upon by the full House just like any other matter before the Congress. Furthermore, even when the case is fully submitted to the committee it would have jurisdiction, in its discretion, not to act at all.

I have never heard anybody say—nobody has ever said to me—that they feel these regulations were being too severe on a Member. Actually, Members of the Congress can be sure that there is to be no snooping by the committee. The announcement was made in the first committee meeting of the committee, and I was chairman and I made the announcement and the committee agreed to it, that there would be no looking into the personal lives of Members and that there would be no snooping; just as the chairman of the House Committee on Administration says he would be, and like myself would be, apprehensive about any such conduct as that taking place.

The only broad thing at all about the thing brought in by the last committee was that they would have the power to look into any infringement on the code of ethics which is fairly broad and which was passed in 1958. When I appeared before the Committee on Rules I said, if people are apprehensive about this code of ethics of 1958 being too hard a provision—well, let us suggest striking that out of the resolution.

The Rules Committee is going to bring in legislation and it is impossible for us here this afternoon to make legislative history on a bill that has not even been approved by the committee that has to approve it. It is not before this Congress now.

The proper thing to do if you have questions of this type is to take it up with the Committee on Rules that is going to be studying this. They have had, I think, 3 or 4 days of hearings already. They still have a day's hearings, or at least 1 day, and it has been announced that they have adjourned over until next Tuesday and are going to hear anybody who wants to be heard on this subject.

They want to get out the best possible bill. That is all I want.

But you cannot draft legislation by legislative history on a bill that has not come out of committee yet.

If there is some feeling on the part of the Members of Congress that they want further restrictions on this committee, and on the Hays committee, and the Burleson committee, they can do so before the Committee on Rules and go before the committee and say what they want to make stronger or what they want to make weaker.

Mr. Speaker, when I asked this question originally this afternoon I had no intention of launching on any such debate as this. As a matter of fact, I think it is highly improper because I think it tends to make a sort of quasi-legislative history.

I do not think we ought to do that. It is not in the books to do that. It is not in the law to do that before legislation comes before us.

Legislative history is designed to clear up ambiguities of words that are in provisions of bills that Congress passes. It is not designed to get a general view of the Members of Congress or the country about a general subject. So we are not perfecting legislative history here today. We cannot do it, because the bill is not before us. When Congress or a legislative body has passed a bill which is the subject of various interpretations, then legislative history of the debate on the precise measure can come in and interpret those words. But it cannot do so otherwise.

So, Mr. Speaker, I wish to conclude my remarks by saying that I hope, and I believe, that the debate the country has had about this and the debate that this Congress has had on this subject will wind up in being the best we could have for the House of Representatives, the Congress, and our country as a whole. I think we should minimize our personal differences. I do not have any personal difference with anyone. I have not accused anyone of calling me anything, although they have. I do not go through life like that but try to do the best I can. I am sure that is the purpose of every Member of Congress.

As I said, I would like to express the hope that regardless of what committee is authorized to undertake the work, we will stand behind it and try to see that it gets rules and regulations that will be effective and that we will see that it does not become a snooping or private investigation body. I hope we will try to see that it gives the image of Congress which should be reflected throughout the country and which we have every reason to believe should be reflected throughout the country.

No one can say that I have accused any Member of Congress of impropriety. I have never in my life done so and I do not expect to do so in the future, except as my responsibilities might require me to act as a quasi-judge. If they do, I will do my best to exercise that responsibility.

I do not believe that we should enter this field as something brought up at a time of emotion, but it should be something which will reflect in the country what is actually true, which is that the Congress of the United States is the greatest deliberative body in the world and in the world's history. It is composed of men of very high caliber, very high character, and the omissions or errors that it has made from time to time are small compared with those in the general population. I believe that people should have more confidence in this Congress and this committee will help it attain that objective.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate what the gentleman has said. In a moment I am going to yield to the gentleman from Missouri. I should like to point out that the gentleman from Florida asked about the sum of money in the resolution. He said he merely wanted to explain his point. It is a little bit like the man asking for the time of day and getting an explanation of how a watch works.

I now yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Just for a question. I think perhaps the gentleman protesteth too much.

I am not a doctor of laws, nor do I have any kind of law degree. I am merely a "hillbilly" doctor, and not even a good student of the bar. I am a Representative in Congress, and hence a legislator.

I should like to ask the gentleman whether or not the guidelines—and I have read his report completely and with great interest because, as I said before, it does go along parallel with many of the findings—including the supplemental views—of the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress—whether those guidelines did establish a statute of limitations or retroactivity and, if so, how far back, whether it was purely for this Congress or not, whether it would impose sanctions or not, and by whom charges could be brought, if, indeed, these were in the guidelines of the select committee.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURLESON. I yield to the gentleman from Florida for a reply.

Mr. BENNETT. If you will ask me the questions one at a time, I will undertake to respond to them. I do not have that kind of brain that can remember all such questions, even though I may have a doctor's degree.

Mr. HALL. I am sure that the gentleman has ample brains, and paramount legal retentive memory, but I shall be happy to oblige.

My first question was whether the guidelines established by the select committee would establish retroactivity.

Mr. BENNETT. Stop right there. That is one thought. Do the guidelines establish anything with regard to retroactivity? They say specifically that no one can be recommended to be censured, nobody can be investigated by this committee for any act which did not violate a law which was passed prior to the doing of the act. So it does rule out retroactivity. That is specifically in the statute.

What is the next question?

Mr. HALL. The next one, of course, also pertains to the statute of limitations and how far it would revert after the fact, if it pertained to an incumbent Congressman.

Mr. BENNETT. If it pertained to an incumbent Congressman, there is no statute of limitations other than what would be in the law which established the crime in the first place. All laws have a statute of limitations when they deal with a criminal offense, and it would not change that statute of limitations and it would not expand it. It would not make it any broader.

Mr. HALL. Would the committee be purely investigatory or have power to impose sanctions?

Mr. BENNETT. As recommended by the new committee, it would have this narrow function of recommending censure. It could never censure. It could only recommend a resolution of censure, which would have to be passed upon by the House under these circumstances: if the complaint were in writing, if it were under oath, and if it were submitted to the committee by a Member of Congress. Only then would the committee have authority to recommend a censure, which then would have to be passed upon by the House. It could not itself censure anybody. It would have jurisdiction to not even consider it. The committee does not have to consider anything. It could refuse to do this, under the legislation we recommend.

Mr. HALL. Who could bring charges? Do I understand the gentleman to indicate that only another Member of this body could qualify?

Mr. BENNETT. Anybody can bring a charge who puts it in writing under oath, but it can only be operated upon by the committee if it is submitted in a formal manner by another Member of Congress.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I hope the effect of my questioning has been to stimulate the thinking about what the effect will be when the bill is brought to the House. I hope whichever committee is established, and regardless of whichever committees it overlaps, if it overlaps, that it does not march up the hill and down again as far as ethics are concerned.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING THE PROVISIONS OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 113, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION, TO EXTEND TO MARCH 31, 1967, THE PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION FOR CERTAIN COMMITTEE EMPLOYEES

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 265, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 265

Resolved, That H. Res. 113, Ninetieth Congress, first session, is amended by striking out "February 28," and inserting in lieu thereof "March 31,".

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS TO CONDUCT STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS AND MAKE INQUIRIES WITH RESPECT TO AERONAUTICAL AND OTHER SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND OUTER SPACE

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 312 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 312

Resolved, That, effective from January 3, 1967, the Committee on Science and Astronautics, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to conduct full and complete studies and investigations and make inquiries with respect to any matter or matters in or related to the fields of astronautical research and development (including resources, personnel, equipment, and facilities), outer space (including exploration and control thereof, and air and space law), and other scientific research and development (including international scientific cooperation) coming within the jurisdiction of such committee: *Provided,* That the committee shall not undertake any investigation of any subject which is being investigated by any other committee of the House.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee or subcommittee is authorized to sit and act within or without the United States, during the present Congress, whether the House has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the committee or any member designated by him may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its studies, investigations, and inquiries, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

Notwithstanding section 1754 of title 22, United States Code, or any other provision of law, local currencies owned by the United States shall be made available to the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives and employees engaged in carrying out their official duties under section 190(d) of title 2, United States Code: *Provided,* (1) That no member or employee of said committee shall receive or expend local currencies for subsistence in any country at a rate in excess of the maximum per diem rate set forth in section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by Public Law 88–633, approved October 7, 1964; (2) that no member or employee of said committee shall receive or expend an amount for transportation in excess of actual transportation costs; (3) no appropriated funds shall be expended for the purpose of defraying expenses of members of said committee or its employees in any country where counterpart funds are available for this purpose.

That each member or employee of said committee shall make to the chairman of said committee an itemized report showing the number of days visited in each country whose local currencies were spent, the amount of per diem furnished, and the cost of transportation if furnished by public carrier, or if such transportation is furnished by an agency of the United States Government, the identification of the agency. All such individual reports shall be filed by the chairman with the Committee on House Administration and shall be open to public inspection.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee (interrupting the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the resolution and consider the resolution as read and printed in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Clerk read the committee amendment, as follows:

On page 3, line 22, after the word "Government," insert the following language: "the cost of such transportation, and".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee is recognized.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON] and, pending that, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 312 is the regular legislation on investigative powers that is necessary for the normal operation of the Committee on Science and Astronautics. The Committee on Rules has made one change in this resolution which should be called to the attention of the House.

This amendment corrects this resolution relative to the reporting of transportation costs of overseas travel involving the use of counterpart funds in line with the Mutual Security Act, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 1754. On page 3, line 22, after the word "Government," the words "the cost of such transportation, and," were inserted to perfect the language relative to travel. It is my understanding that this language should have been in the resolutions in the past.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 312 in order that the Committee on Science and Astronautics will have authority to conduct investigations and studies of matters under their jurisdiction, and that funds for this purpose will be available to them.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee has yielded to me for purposes of debate only. I can assure the gentleman and the House that I have no amendments I was prepared to offer or wish to offer to this resolution. It was reported out of the committee unanimously.

I join the gentleman in urging the House to adopt the resolution today.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER].

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 312 is in the form of a routine House resolution which will authorize the Committee on Science and Astronautics to conduct studies and investigations with respect to our national space program. The occasion, however, that this resolution affords the House to comment on the investigations being conducted by my committee cannot be passed up, particularly in respect to the current investigation being conducted by NASA in relation to the recent tragic fire inside an Apollo capsule which cost the lives of three American astronauts.

I think it is a serious mistake to have those who are being investigated do the investigation. NASA in this case is acting as judge and jury and NASA is also the accused. In fact, Mr. Speaker, the way the House committee is handling this matter we will have no other purpose than to act as an appellate court which will review the record and findings and conclusions that NASA makes concerning the mistakes, if any, in connection with the fire. Of course, when NASA presents its findings to the House committee we will again hear only one side of the case and that is the side NASA wishes to present to us.

I, for one, cannot agree that this proceeding is the best way to obtain a true and impartial statement of the history and series of events which caused this tragic fire. In fact, although the NASA committee is still in the throes of its investigations, I think it is clear they already have made all major decisions respecting their findings and conclusions. It appears quite clear to me that they fully intend to continue to use a pure oxygen atmosphere in the Apollo capsule although its danger to the lives of the astronauts and to the tremendous costs of the space program have now been made very clear.

Almost immediately after the fire on board the spacecraft, I got in touch with the chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Committee and asked him to hold an investigation jointly with the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee in an attempt to get to the bottom of the cause of the Apollo fire. As I stated to him at that time, I did not believe that the House could merely act as a spectator to Senate hearings, which at that time had already been announced, nor did I believe that we could nor that we should act as mere spectators while NASA investigated itself. I still hold that belief most strongly and particularly in view of the events of the past few weeks.

First, we had the announcement that the cause of the fire will probably never be known. That may turn out to be true and would in itself be a failure of the investigation. Of course, it refers only to the ignition point, since the cause of the tragedy is clear enough. The cause of the tragedy was clearly the use of a pure oxygen atmosphere inside the capsule. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the NASA committee will ever find that the use of pure oxygen was the major cause of the tragedy. In fact, they will probably dwell on practically every other factor and call for its change or modification, but apparently the oxygen atmosphere will be left intact.

On January 28, NASA announced the formation of the Apollo 204 Review Board. Nine members were appointed to the Board. Six of the nine members worked for NASA. The Chairman of the Board worked for NASA. One member was from Cornell University. Another was the Air Force Inspector-General at Norton Air Force Base. The remaining member was the chief engineer of North American Aviation, Inc., who built the Apollo capsule. As if to prove my point, NASA decided this gentlemen was in the conflict-of-interest position and took him off the Board. Their obvious thinking was that he was not in a good position to find fault with his own product. They failed to realize that logically the same reasoning applied to their own presence on the Board.

It is also most significant that on February 20, the Space Technology Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee called for increased "failure mode analysis" and testing of the automated checkout equipment of the Saturn-Apollo systems at Cape Kennedy. They called for this appraisal "by an independent outside source in order to assure that the lunar landing goal is met." It is true this only refers to the computer soft-wear program but it is also true that this referred to possible future mistakes and not to a past mistake. I think the same reasoning that called for outside appraisal clearly is present in the investigation of the Apollo fire.

I must also point out to the House the fact that although the House Science and Astronautics Committee has conducted no investigation to date, the House Armed Services Committee immediately appointed a special subcommittee which has been actively investigating a similar fire at Brooks Air Force Base. In that fire, in a pure oxygen atmosphere a few days after the Apollo tragedy, two Air Force men were killed. Again, in my opinion, that investigation and the investigation of the House Science and Astronautics Committee should be coordinated and conducted jointly. Only in that way can the clear dangers of the pure oxygen system in Apollo be appreciated.

I must bring to the House the answer to a question I received from Dr. Jones, during the 1967 NASA authorization hearings. He was testifying specifically about the use of pure oxygen systems and I asked him directly why we did not use a natural atmospheric system. His answer was as follows:

> If we used the natural environment which the Russians are using, it would require us to impose much more of a weight penalty on our designers for structure to maintain this practically 15 pounds per square inch pressure. We had considerable experience in our aircraft for many years with 5 pounds pressure, therefore we saw no reason to impose, for the short duration flights which we consider Apollo to be, these higher pressures. That is the main reason.

Mr. Speaker, it is now clear that the weight restrictions that previously bothered our space program are no longer an important factor. It is time to change.

It has also been very disturbing to me to know the manner in which NASA has conducted certain phases of this investigation. For example, they issued orders to all contractors not to discuss the matter with anyone in an attempt apparently to make sure that any and all statements originated from them. Such a direction might be appropriate in a grand jury proceeding but it is not appropriate where a matter of public interest is involved.

Mr. Speaker, it is now clear that the Apollo program is the last program that will use the pure oxygen atmosphere. The Army-Air Force MOL program will use a helium and oxygen system. The follow-on to Apollo, the Apollo applications program, will use a nitrogen and oxygen system. As I read between the lines of the NASA preliminary reports, I still find that NASA intends to proceed with the pure oxygen system in spite of the dangers inherent in it. They indicate, for example, that they will attempt to change the nature of some combustible materials in the space capsule but will not change the most explosive element of all, the pure oxygen atmosphere. I cannot allow this logic to maintain and assent to it by silence. It is clear to me that only costs and lost time can account for the NASA decision to continue to use pure oxygen. The danger to the astronauts and to our national program is, in my mind, not justified.

Only yesterday, Dr. George Mueller, speaking and testifying before our committee in the House, stated:

> As we have stated before this committee, crew safety is the principal consideration in scheduling manned space flight mission. We have never taken any step, either to save time or to save money, if that step would imperil the astronauts. We will continue to be guided by this overriding principle.

I also intend to be guided by this overriding principle. It appears to me that the saving of some time and some small cost does not justify the continuation of a system which, in two similar accidents within a few days, took the lives of three astronauts and two Air Force men. The warning is clear. I believe the House should pay close attention to it.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am a little surprised that my very good friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER], took the floor today in this manner.

Mr. Speaker, I say this because the Committee on Science and Astronautics has held several meetings with reference to this broad subject. The gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER] has been in contact with me and it has always been my feeling and thought that there was a close relationship between the members of the Committee on Science and Astronautics and with the chairman thereof. It is my further feeling that the relationship between the gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER] and myself has been such—and mine with him—that the gentleman would have at least told me that he was going to take the floor.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York knows—and I want the House to know—that we have an Oversight Committee on NASA.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER] knows that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE] is chairman of this committee. And, the ranking Republican and Democratic members are members of that subcommittee. That committee has taken jurisdiction over this matter.

Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON] and I are, naturally, ex officio members of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know who is technically better qualified than the people who NASA has appointed to investigate this accident. I am not going to challenge the authority of the eminent scientists, many of whom are working for NASA at a salary much lower than they could obtain in universities or industry—they are not being dictated to by NASA under the fear of losing their jobs. These scientists have been appointed by NASA and they have come into this program of their own free will, generally speaking. One of the men is a man who has flown and who has spent 2 weeks in the air, Col. Frank Borman. I feel that this man, an astronaut himself, is not going to do anything which would stultify himself by trying to cover up or conceal information, especially where his comrades or the other astronauts are concerned.

Mr. Speaker, since the gentleman from New York [Mr. WYDLER] challenges the integrity of the committee—this committee has never at any time bowed to NASA, and I feel that NASA does not want it to do so.

Mr. Speaker, we feel that we have conducted very serious investigations. We have been critical of NASA, where criticism was justified.

However, Mr. Speaker, this particular committee—and I am not going to discuss the pure oxygen theory or using an inert gas or nitrogen in this capsule—is not qualified to make a scientific judgment. It is a long, involved question. We would have to go into a lot of medical terms, none of which I am certain laymen can understand and which I confess that I do not understand.

The committee gets its information from sources in which it has confidence. My own sources tell me that this is quite involved, and I do not believe we are capable of understanding or evaluating it. When the final report of NASA comes in, and the Oversight Committee goes into it, and it is necessary to call in outside scientists, engineers, and medical people to evaluate the report of NASA, I can assure you it will be done.

In the meantime I think that what we are talking about is entirely foreign to the matter before us. We are here to talk about appropriating money, or to adopt the resolution that eventually sets up our funds to conduct investigations. If the gentleman wants to challenge the sincerity and integrity of the people on the committee, he has chosen perhaps a good vehicle to do it with, but I could think of a lot better way that it could be done.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania 3 minutes.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I take the floor as the ranking minority member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics. Until this particular session of the 90th Congress, I have been the ranking minority member of the NASA Oversight Subcommittee of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics. At present, my position is as second ranking member on that subcommittee, because this year I stepped down in seniority in favor of Mr. ROUDEBUSH, the gentleman from Indiana, in order that he could be the ranking member on the subcommittee, and thereby spreading our responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. ROUDEBUSH is on the House floor, and I know he will take his responsibilities on the Apollo 204 accident case. I feel he is competent. I believe we should give ample time to him, as well as the ranking majority member, the chairman of the committee, our good friend, Representative TIGER TEAGUE of Texas.

NASA has appointed members from outside its organization, one from industry, one from the Department of the Air

Force, one from a university, and seven from NASA to the Apollo 204 Review Board which is investigating this accident.

On January 28, the following members were appointed to the Board:

Dr. Floyd L. Thompson, Director, Langley Research Center, NASA, Chairman.

Lt. Col. Frank Borman, astronaut, Manned Spacecraft Center, NASA.

Maxime Faget, Director, Engineering and Development, Manned Spacecraft Center NASA.

E. Barton Geer, Associate Chief, Flight Vehicles and Systems Division, Langley Research Center, NASA.

George Jeffs, chief engineer, Apollo, North American Aviation, Inc.

Dr. Frank A. Long, PSAC member, vice president for research and advanced studies, Cornell University.

Col. Charles F. Strang, Chief of Missiles and Space Safety Division, Air Force Inspector General, Norton Air Force Base, Calif.

George C. White, Jr., Director, Reliability and Quality, Apollo Program Office, Headquarters, NASA.

John Williams, Director, Spacecraft Operations, Kennedy Space Center, NASA.

George Malley, chief counsel, Langley Research Center, NASA.

The Board was given specific instructions as to its responsibilities, which were as follows:

Review the circumstances surrounding the accident to establish the probable cause or causes of the accident, including review of the findings, corrective action, and recommendations being developed by the program offices, field centers, and contractors involved.

Direct such further specific investigations as may be necessary.

Report its findings relating to the cause of the accident to the Administrator as expeditiously as possible and release such information through the Office of Public Affairs.

Consider the impact of the accident on all Apollo activities involving equipment preparation, testing, and flight operations.

Consider all other factors relating to the accident, including design, procedures, organization, and management.

Develop recommendations for corrective or other action based upon its findings and determinations.

Document its findings, determinations, and recommendations and submit a final report to the Administrator which will not be released without his approval.

The question has come up that when the Senate has been already investigating the general circumstances of this accident through its Space Committee, should the House likewise and at the same time inaugurate its own investigation, causing duplication?

My answer to that was "No, unless we have a joint investigation of both committees."

One other point that should be made is this: We are following this investigation closely. The question comes up: When does the House as a body, and through its Committee on Science and Astronautics, act?

We are now in the position of getting the facts through the investigations of the Board.

Administrator of NASA, James E. Webb, has kept the committee fully advised as to the progress of the investigation, supervised by Deputy Administrator Robert C. Seamans, Jr. We received reports on February 3, February 14, and February 25, as well as individual advisories at random times. On February 3, Dr. Seamans reported that:

> At 6:31:03, Pilot Chaffee reported that a fire existed in the spacecraft. At about this time Senior Pilot White's heart rate started to increase. At 6:31:04 the inertial platform in the capsule gave an indication of a small amount of motion which may have been caused by movement of the crew. At 6:31:05 the cabin temperature began to rise. At 6:31:09 Senior Pilot White repeated the previous report saying that there was a fire in the cockpit. At the same time the cabin pressure commenced to rise and a larger amount of motion was indicated by the inertial platform. This means that the crew were commencing their emergency egress procedure.
>
> At 6:31:12, or nine seconds after the first indication of fire, the cabin temperature started to increase rapidly and pilot Chaffee reported that a bad fire existed in the cabin. Also at this time pilot Chaffee increased the illumination of the cabin lights and actuated the entry (internal) batteries. No other intelligible communications were received although some listeners believe there was one sharp cry of pain. Loss of radio signal occurred a few seconds later.
>
> The oxygen supply to the astronaut suits, which had been holding nearly constant, pressure and temperature started to fluctuate at the time of signal loss. At 6:31:17 or fourteen seconds after the fire was first detected, the cabin pressure reached a level of approximately 29 psi and the cabin ruptured.
>
> One and one-half minutes after the start of the fire, the ground power was switched off. Various command module systems continued to operate on the entry (internal) battery power until about 12:30 am EST on Saturday when the batteries ran down.
>
> The official death certificates for all three crew members list the cause of death as asphyxiation due to smoke inhalation due to the fire.

I would like to emphasize that this report is based on preliminary information. This information has not as yet been extensively analyzed by the Apollo Review Board under Dr. Thompson.

On February 14, he reported that:

> The Board now has 21 panels established and operating, each with a specific assigned task, each chaired by a Government employee, and each reporting to a specific Board member. A detailed Review Board activity schedule has been established and is reviewed daily to ensure that milestones are being met or that scheduled adjustments are made as early as necessary. This permits close coordination and integration of all the necessary activities, analyses, and studies.
>
> First, it appears the fire had considerable variation and directionality, since damage in the spacecraft indicates differences of intensity and timing. For example, an aluminum tubing handle has a hole burned through it indicating a temperature at that point of at least 1,400° F., while its nylon hinge within two inches of the melted spot is relatively undamaged indicating a temperature there of less than 500° F.
>
> Second, there is evidence that the fire may have had more than one phase, but this is difficult to prove since the last phase would obscure the evidence of the earlier. One hypothesis, supported by the cabin pressure history, assumes a small, low-grade fire whose heat was at first largely absorbed by the spacecraft structure and that was burning at the time of the first crew report; that fire may have continued for as long as ten seconds. A more intense fire may have then developed, causing the rapid increase in cabin pressure. This fire was probably then extinguished by the depletion of oxygen.
>
> Other peculiarities require further analysis. These deal with the ruptures in the spacecraft and the role of the fire in burning through into the space between the inner and outer hulls.
>
> At this time, there has been no determination as to the source of the ignition itself.

Again, on February 25, Dr. Seamans reported that:

> The principal preliminary recommendations of the Board are designed to assist the Administrator in making his decisions concerning the continuing Apollo program effort prior to completion of the Board review. These are:
>
> That combustible materials now used be replaced wherever possible with non-flammable materials, that non-metallic materials that *are* used be arranged to maintain fire breaks, that systems for oxygen or liquid combustibles be made fire resistant, and that full flammability tests be conducted with a mockup of the new configuration.
>
> That a more rapidly and more easily operated hatch be designed and installed.
>
> That on-the-pad emergency procedures be revised to recognize the possibility of cabin fire.
>
> In addition, the Board has drawn attention to a number of components, subsystems, techniques, and practices which it feels can be improved to increase crew safety and mission reliability. These include findings on the environmental control system solder joints, location of wiring, electrical equipment qualification and design, and the development of checkout procedures.
>
> An important area of Board attention has been that of the cabin atmosphere. The atmosphere and pressure selected for the suit and the cabin, before launch and in orbit, have a very important relation to spacecraft design, hatch type, crew physiology, launch procedures, and mission capability. The Board did not recommend a change in the use of pure oxygen in the suit for either prelaunch or orbital operations. The Board did not recommend that cabin atmosphere for operations in space be changed from the currently planned 5 psi pure oxygen but did recommend that the trade-offs between one- and two-gas atmospheres be re-evaluated. The Board specifically recommended that pressurized oxygen no longer be used in prelaunch operations.

As you realize, the board itself has 21 special committees going into each aspect of this investigation—everything available and anybody needed can be brought in. Likewise, experts from other fields not associated with space exploration are being utilized.

At this particular point, I do not think the House Committee on Science and Astronautics should be searching among the ruins. That is not our job.

On the evening of the day of the funerals, I left Washington, D.C., for Cape Canaveral by NASA plane to see what could be done, through the courtesy of Dr. Debus, who is the head of the launch operation center.

When I arrived at Cape Canaveral, there was much excitement, and so much news and radio coverage that it was decided it could not be done on a quiet or efficient basis. So I went on. I did arrive at Cape Canaveral the very evening of the funerals.

With Congressman Teague of Texas, and members of the Manned Space Flight Subcommittee, we went to Houston, Tex., to the NASA Manned Space Flight Center, and went over in detail the experiments on the ignition flash points and what flammation occurs in an oxygen atmosphere and in oxygen-nitrogen or helium atmospheres and various atmosphere pressures per square inch. We were learning, as the committee, the scientific background, by which we would know what we were talking about.

I felt that this was necessary before we made any recommendations whatever.

Then on Saturday, March 4, 1967, I went to Cape Canaveral again and spent time going over recent operational developments at Saturn complex 39 and the vertical assembly building. The NASA people present at Cape Canaveral offered to have me see and examine the various remnants of the components and parts of the capsule wreckage.

I did talk over NASA launch and construction practices and procedures but in no way was I engaged in any investigation of the particular causes of the Apollo 204 accident as such.

I will say, as a personal opinion, and from what I saw, that all electric circuit insulation should be of such nonflammable material as Fiberglas, and that all electrical converters, transformers, and other such devices be located outside the spacecraft atmosphere or environment.

For membership on the Investigating Board, I have made originally to NASA, a recommendation that a competent person from the U.S. Bureau of Mines be placed on the board. I am advised that such a person has been placed on the original NASA Board.

Secondly, I have recommended on practices and procedures for the future, including the advice by the eminent Dr. Thomas, now retired. He was vice president and head of research of the Industrial Oxygen Co. of Pittsburgh, with long experience. He has also had wide experience advising many hospitals in the Pittsburgh area, on procedures in handling and the administration of oxygen and anesthetics in operating rooms.

That advice is recommended for the procedural question as to what NASA should do in the future. I believe that is the point where NASA and we committee members need outside expert advice. We are completely aware that this is a serious problem in the Committee on Science and Astronautics, and I have been giving this subject serious study.

I have been consulted by the chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, the gentleman from California [Mr. Miller] as to the method of handling this investigation. I want to assure you that the committee will go into the matter thoroughly through the various subcommittees as well as the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

I would like to point out in closing to the Members of the House, and especially the Republican side, that for some years I have had a resolution or an amendment or a bill to have authorized an inspector general for NASA, responsible to the Administrator of NASA, and reporting directly to him.

We have an Inspector General for the U.S. Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marine Corps. We now have an Inspector General in the State Department instituted under AID by statute recently. We also have an Inspector General by an executive order in the Department of Agriculture by the Secretary.

Now either an Inspector General is needed in NASA or is not needed in these agencies, and particularly the Air Force, operating in the same field.

So there is either waste to have an Inspector General in the Air Force, the Army, the Navy, and the various military installations or it is necessary in NASA. Under an inspector general what would have happened would have been this. Instead of reporting to the contractors of NASA and program operators, these astronauts would have reported to the Inspector General the cumulative complaints on poor circuits, faulty transmission, prior to this event, which would have been transmitted, if not corrected, to the Administrator's office in Washington, upon stoppage of operations by the Inspector General. Only this Administrator could order restart of operations in dangerous or potentially dangerous situations.

I strongly urge the House to authorize an Inspector General in NASA. I hope that this year my words will be heeded and listened to.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO CONDUCT FULL AND COMPLETE INVESTIGATIONS AND STUDIES OF ALL MATTERS WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION UNDER THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OR THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 356 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 356

Resolved, That, effective from January 3, 1967, the Committee on Banking and Currency, acting as a whole or by subcommittee appointed by the chairman of the committee, is authorized to conduct full and complete studies and investigations and make inquiries with respect to all matters falling within the jurisdiction of the committee under rule XI(4) of the Rules of the House of Representatives or any law of the United States.

The committee may report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of its investigations and studies, together with such recommendations as it considers advisable, during the present Congress.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution, the committee, or any of its subcommittees, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States (including its Commonwealths and possessions), in connection with matters involving international organizations, international finance, balance of payments problems, export control matters or operation of the Export-Import Bank, whether the House has recessed or has adjourned; to hold such hearings and require by subpena or otherwise the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him; and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof designated by him, may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses.

Mr. MATSUNAGA (interrupting the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the resolution be dispensed with and that it be printed in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, after line 8, add the following paragraph:

"*Provided*, That the committee shall not undertake any investigation of any subject which is being investigated by any other committee of the House."

On page 2, after line 21, add the following paragraph:

"Funds authorized are for the expenses incurred in the committee's activities within the United States; and, notwithstanding section 1754 of title 22, United States Code, or any other provision of law, local currencies owned by the United States in foreign countries shall not be made available to the committee for expenses of its members or other members or employees traveling abroad."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson], and I now yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 356 is routine legislation which would provide investigative powers to the Committee on Banking and Currency necessary for its normal operation. The Committee on Rules has made two changes which should be called to the attention of the House.

The first amendment, which appears on page 1, beginning at line 9, simply adds the following language, and I quote:

> *Provided*, That the committee shall not undertake any investigation of any subject which is being investigated by any other committee of the House.

This is the same provision which already appears in most of the resolutions of this type and is intended to eliminate duplication of investigations.

The second amendment appears on page 2, commencing on line 23, and reads as follows:

> Funds authorized are for expenses incurred in the committee's activities within the United States; and, notwithstanding section 1754 of title 22, United States Code, or any other provision of law, local currencies owned by the United States in foreign countries

shall not be made available to the committee for expenses of its members or other members or employees traveling abroad.

Since this resolution does not include overseas travel, counterpart funds are not available.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 356 in order that the Committee on Banking and Currency will have authority to conduct investigations and studies of matters under its jurisdiction, and that funds for this purpose will be made available to it.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Hawaii has correctly described the purpose and intent of the resolution. I have no further requests for time.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, with no further requests for time, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUPPLEMENTAL MILITARY PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION, FISCAL YEAR 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 73)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

"TITLE I—PROCUREMENT

"Sec. 101. In addition to the funds authorized to be appropriated under Public Law 89-501, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated during the fiscal year 1967 for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles in amounts as follows:

"Aircraft

"For aircraft: for the Army, $533,100,000; for the Navy and the Marine Corps, $1,784,300,000; for the Air Force, $1,303,000,000.

"Missiles

"For missiles: for the Army, $6,100,000; for the Navy, $48,700,000; for the Marine Corps, $2,100,000; for the Air Force, $45,000,000.

"Tracked Combat Vehicles

"For tracked combat vehicles: for the Army, $62,200,000; for the Marine Corps, $4,200,000.

"TITLE II—RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST, AND EVALUATION

"Sec. 201. In addition to the funds authorized to be appropriated under Public Law 89-501, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated during the fiscal year 1967 for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States for research, development, test, and evaluation, as authorized by law, in amounts as follows:

"For the Army, $40,000,000;

"For the Navy (including the Marine Corps), $40,000,000;

"For the Air Force, $33,000,000; and

"For Defense Agencies, $22,000,000.

"TITLE III—MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

"Sec. 301. The Secretary of each military department may establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, converting, rehabilitating, or installing permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, which are necessary in connection with military activities in southeast Asia, or in support of such activities, in the total amount as follows:

"Department of the Army, $288,500,000;

"Department of the Navy, $140,000,000; and

"Department of the Air Force, $196,000,000.

"Sec. 302. The Secretary of each military department may proceed to establish or develop installations and facilities under this Act without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529) and sections 4774(d) and 9774(d) of title 10, United States Code. The authority to place permanent or temporary improvements on land includes authority for surveys, administration, overhead, planning, and supervision incident to construction. That authority may be exercised before title to the land is approved under section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U.S.C. 255), and even though the land is held temporarily. The authority to acquire real estate or land includes authority to make surveys and to acquire land, and interests in land (including temporary use), by gift, purchase, exchange of Government-owned land, or otherwise.

"Sec. 303. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the purposes of this title, but the appropriations for public works authorized by section 301 shall not exceed: Department of the Army, $288,500,000; Department of the Navy, $140,000,000; Department of the Air Force, $196,000,000, or a total of $624,500,000.

"Sec. 304. The Secretary of Defense is hereby directed that insofar as practicable all contracts shall be formally advertised and awarded on a competitive bid basis to the lowest responsible bidders.

"TITLE IV—STATEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL POLICY

"Sec. 401. The Congress hereby declares—

"(1) its firm intentions to provide all necessary support for members of the Armed Forces of the United States fighting in Vietnam;

"(2) its support of efforts being made by the President of the United States and other men of good will throughout the world to prevent an expansion of the war in Vietnam and to bring that conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement which will preserve the honor of the United States, protect the vital interests of this country, and allow the people of South Vietnam to determine the affairs of that nation in their own way; and

"(3) its support for the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conferences or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion."

And the House agree to the same.

L. Mendel Rivers,
Philip J. Philbin,
F. Edward Hébert,
Melvin Price,
William H. Bates,
L. C. Arends,
Al O'Konski,
Managers on the Part of the House.
Richard B. Russell,
John Stennis,
Stuart Symington,
Henry M. Jackson,
Margaret Chase Smith,
Strom Thurmond,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

COMPARISON OF HOUSE AND SENATE BILLS

The bill as passed by the House of Representatives provided $81,000,000 in additional authorization for the procurement of EA-6A aircraft, a two place electronic countermeasure version of the A-6A. It is used in support of strike forces.

Testimony received during the Navy presentation of its part of the bill revealed the urgent requirement for these additional aircraft to maintain an adequate training base and replace current aircraft which may, under emergency conditions, be deployed to Vietnam. The conferees agreed that authorization for appropriation for these aircraft should remain in the bill.

The Senate recedes.

The Senate bill contained two provisions not included in the House bill. They are as follows:

"Sec. 304. The Secretary of Defense is hereby directed that insofar as practicable all contracts shall be formally advertised and awarded on a competitive bid basis to the lowest responsible bidders.

"TITLE IV—STATEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL POLICY

"Sec. 401. The Congress hereby declares—

"(1) its firm intentions to provide all necessary support for members of the Armed Forces of the United States fighting in Vietnam;

"(2) its support of efforts being made by the President of the United States and other men of good will throughout the world to prevent an expansion of the war in Vietnam and to bring that conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement which will preserve the honor of the United States, protect the vital interests of this country, and allow the people of South Vietnam to determine the affairs of that nation in their own way; and

"(3) its support of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 and urges the convening of that Conference or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible for the purpose of formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion in accordance with the principles of those accords."

The first of these amendments, section 304, merely emphasizes sound existing policy and the conferees agreed that this section should remain in the bill.

The House recedes.

With respect to the second of these provisions, section 401, the conferees agreed on all of the language added by the Senate with the exception of section 401(3). Instead of the language in paragraph (3), the conferees agreed on the following language:

"its support for the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conferences or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion."

The House conferees were reluctant to accept the language in section 401(3) of the Senate bill since it appears to express unqualified support of the Geneva accords as the only means of bringing the conflict in Vietnam to an honorable conclusion. Also, the House felt that acceptance of that paragraph might be construed as full endorsement of all implications of the Geneva accords. The compromise language agreed to in Conference expresses approval of the fundamental principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 without subscribing to every particular thereof.

The House recedes with an amendment.

SUMMARY

The bill as presented to the Congress by the President totaled $4,467,200,000.

The Senate passed the bill in this same amount.

The bill as it passed the House totaled $4,548,200,000.

The agreed upon amount is the House sum, $4,548,200,000.

L. MENDEL RIVERS,
PHILIP PHILBIN,
F. EDW. HÉBERT,
MELVIN PRICE,
WILLIAM H. BATES,
L. C. ARENDS,
Mr. O'KONSKI,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that at the conference with the Senate on yesterday, the House conferees were able to maintain their position in what, I think, is a highly satisfactory manner. Actually, there were only three differences between the House and the Senate versions of the bill, and only one of them was a money difference. The committee had added, and the House accepted, an additional $81 million for the EA-6A airplane to be used by the Marine Corps. This is the most modern electronic airplane in the world today and is the only strike-type aircraft that can accompany strike groups.

The Senate agreed that this $81 million should remain in the bill.

The second difference between the two bills is the so-called Williams amendment which stresses the importance that all contracts be formally advertised and awarded on a competitive bid basis. This, of course, is in the law today but it is an important matter that should be stressed and the House conferees agreed to permit this to remain in the bill.

The last of the differences is the amendment which has been called the Mansfield amendment. Now, one thing I would like to say about this amendment is that it has no place in a weapons procurement bill at all. It is clearly a foreign affairs matter as I stressed on the floor the other day. However, the House conferees did agree that it remain in the bill in a modified form.

The first two paragraphs were accepted as passed by the Senate. The third paragraph, however, which in its original form appeared to give complete support of every detail of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962, went further than the House conferees felt that they could accept. That paragraph, therefore, was modified and the House conferees' version accepted. The House language reads that:

> (The Congress hereby declares) its support for the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conferences or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962, and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion.

As I have said, the House conferees were reluctant to accept the Senate language since it appears to express unqualified support of the Geneva accords as the only means of bringing the conflict in Vietnam to an honorable conclusion. Also, the House felt that acceptance of that paragraph might be construed as full endorsement of all implications of the Geneva accords. The compromise language agreed to in conference expresses approval of the fundamental principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 without subscribing to every particular thereof.

Mr. Speaker, that is the result of the conference. I think that your conferees maintained the House position in very substantial fashion and I strongly recommend the acceptance of the conference report in order that the authorization for funds in this supplemental can become law as quickly as possible and, therefore, in a fashion consistent with the need for the supplemental in the first place.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to my distinguished colleague.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's yielding.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, my parliamentary inquiry is this: The House will recall that section 401(3) was ruled out of order on a point of germaneness both during the consideration of the bill under the 5-minute rule in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union by the Chairman, and subsequently by the Speaker himself, as to exactly the same section, on a motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, is there any means by which this section—which I fear, even though changed and amended, may come back to haunt the House insofar as the legislative versus Executive powers are concerned—could be sustained, on a point of order, in a conference report?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will state that inasmuch as this language was a part of the Senate bill, it was properly in conference, and the conferees had the authority to bring it back to the House in agreement. Under the rule, it is held to be in order.

Mr. HALL. I am sure the Speaker understands, if the gentleman will yield further, I meant to ask whether this section could be eliminated and a point of order sustained. The answer is the same?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. A point of order would not lay against the conference report on that ground.

Mr. HALL. I thank the Speaker.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, if I may say so, we cannot question the rules of the other body. Therefore, in conference we had to consider this language.

I would not like to have it said by those who oppose this bill that I would not want to bring the war to an honorable conclusion. I did not intend it to be a part of the bill the other time, and now we have it for the first time.

I will say that I am called the granddaddy of all hawks abroad, but I do not want it said I do not want to bring this conflict to an end, if it can be brought to an end in an honorable and positive fashion.

I want to associate myself on the side of all people, whoever they may be, wherever they may be, who can help to get this war to a point whereby we can, if humanly possible, bring it to an honorable conclusion, as President Johnson tried to do when he sent our Ambassadors all over the world in search of some sort of an agreement.

I would not want to associate myself in any way with the idea of wanting to continue this kind of meatgrinder of a ground war in Asia. And that is what it is.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the distinguished member of our committee.

Mr. BATES. I agree fully with the statement of the distinguished chairman of the committee in respect to the remarks on this bill. This is essentially a House bill.

There is not a single line item in this bill in disagreement with the bill which passed the House.

There are only two differences, as to added language. One has to do with the Secretary of Defense being directed, insofar as practicable, to have all contracts formally advertised. For all intents and purposes, this is part and parcel of the Armed Services Procurement Act. Even its need here is dubious. It is certainly in agreement not only with the Armed Services Procurement Act but also with the general workings of the Department of Defense.

With respect to the so-called Mansfield amendment, I think we made sufficient adjustment with him here so that everyone, regardless of what their views might be on the committee report, can live with this. It is almost innocuous. It is barely a pious preachment. I think we did uphold the position of the House, and I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am glad to yield to my distinguished colleague from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, it was said that the statement of policy on the part of the House with respect to the Gulf of Tonkin was innocuous; it simply bulwarked the position of the executive branch of the Government. But we discovered otherwise over the long haul. What I would like to have seen, if we are going to adopt a declaration of policy on the part of the House, is to say to the President of the United States to fight this war as though he meant to win it and get it over with and abolish those sanctuaries in North Vietnam that are costing us a lot of lives and have contributed to the delay in winning that war. That is the kind of a statement we should have, if we are going to make one, and that we ought to have had in this conference report.

I for one think this falls far short of the mark, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. RIVERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Of course. The gentleman has the time.

Mr. RIVERS. This language was, of course, in a Senate bill.

Mr. GROSS. I understand.

Mr. RIVERS. We went in conference with this language in a Senate bill, and we had to concern ourselves with that situation. If anybody wants to win this war, his name is RIVERS. If you think I agree on the way this war is being conducted in every particular, you are talking to the wrong man.

Mr. GROSS. No. I have an idea——

Mr. RIVERS. But the gentleman recognizes well that we merely faced the facts of life. We cannot question the rules of the other body, and we brought back the very best agreement we could.

Mr. GROSS. I will say to the gentleman, if this is an innocuous provision, then I just do not know. I do not like it. But I believe he could have come back to the House and we, or some of us at least—and I think a majority—would have instructed the managers on the part of the House not to accept this kind of a declaration of policy, if that is what it is.

Mr. RIVERS. Personally, I do not think this thing is as bad as you say it is. The reason why I opposed it before is I did not think it had any business in our bill. That is why I opposed it.

Mr. GROSS. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. RIVERS. But they have different rules in the other body, and I cannot question them.

Mr. GROSS. I understand, but we could have sent it back to them. The gentleman understands that, too.

Mr. RIVERS. Of course, I understand.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. Of course I yield to my colleague, a member of the committee.

Mr. BRAY. I will be very brief, but I do want to mention the fact that this is an authorization bill and nothing more. All of this folderol, or whatever you call it added by the Senate, has no business in the bill. I hope in the future that when we have an authorization bill, it will be an authorization bill, instead of going into philosophy as to some conference of years ago regarding an agreement to which the United States never even subscribed. This authorization bill is necessary. I voted for it in the Armed Services Committee and on the floor of the House. This meaningless addition to the authorization bill can only cause future embarrassment to our country. I am aware that we cannot defeat this conference report, but I must oppose it. I just did want to express myself on that. That is all I have to say.

Mr. RIVERS. Of course, I agree with the gentleman. I do not think it has any place here in this bill.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York.

Mr. RYAN. I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding to me. I am disturbed, Mr. Speaker, by the suggestion that the language in section 401(3) which has been discussed for the past few minutes is either innocuous or a pious preachment. It would seem to me, if it is intended to serve any purpose, it must mean what it says, that is:

> The Congress hereby declares its support for the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conference or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible . . . for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion.

I would take it that "as soon as possible" are words in which the distinguished chairman would also concur. Every effort must be made for an international conference to negotiate a settlement of the Vietnam conflict. "As soon as possible" should mean as soon as the President puts his pen to this authorization bill and signs it into law.

Mr. RIVERS. The amendment says as soon as possible to get together those people who are really interested. I would not say "nations," period. I would not want some people to get mixed up in it. But I am talking about the first-class, high-class nations. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I thank the gentleman from South Carolina for yielding, because I really believe there is going to be a great deal of debate back and forth about what the meaning of the words is that are placed in this report and in this authorization bill, but I think the message that will be unmistakable to North Vietnam and to the Vietcong is that this Congress is moving by a very sizable majority to authorize the provision of the guns and the planes and the ammunition and the implements of war to carry that war forward aggressively to a conclusion.

Mr. RIVERS. I thank the gentleman. And, Mr. Speaker, I will say further to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] that this is the entire purpose of the bill. We want to provide every implement necessary to carry out our mission. It is our desire to encompass the entire spectrum of all the problems involved.

Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] that this is what this bill is about.

Rather shortly we shall have pending before the Committee on Armed Services the regular fiscal year 1968 authorization bill for weapons, and it is my understanding that the request for authorization will be about $20 billion.

Mr. Speaker, our committee is committed to the goal that we shall furnish to our armed services all necessary materiel. After all, Mr. Speaker, all the Committee on Armed Services can do is the very best we can. And, we can only go as far as the Members of the House would like us to go. We have to work it out as best we can. However, this question before us represents, simply stated, a fact of life.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to see that the conference committee on the $4.5 billion supplemental military appropriations bill now before us decided to accept, in a slightly revised form, the amendment offered in the Senate by the distinguished majority leader, Mr. MANSFIELD. I urge that the House adopt the conference report as presented.

Mr. Speaker, my colleague the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] observed during the debate on H.R. 4515 last Thursday that:

> Our legislation needs to display not only the bolts of lightning, but also the olive branch.

I certainly think this is true.

The rising cost of the war in Vietnam unfortunately gives us too many opportunities to display our bolts of lightning, and too few opportunities to display the olive branch.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure I speak for the overwhelming majority of this body when I say that I am distressed that we must spend so much money and so many lives to fight in Vietnam, and that I wish to see the war brought to an honorable conclusion as soon as possible.

The Mansfield amendment, Mr. Speaker, gives us an opportunity to express the congressional policy underlying the appropriation we are authorizing in this bill.

First, it makes it clear that we intend to provide all necessary support for the members of our Armed Forces in Vietnam. The very least we owe them is the best materiel and weaponry we can put at their disposal for so long as the fighting lasts.

Second, it puts the Congress firmly on record in support of President Johnson's statement that "we seek no wider war." It declares our support for the efforts that he and others are making not only to contain the war but to end it through a negotiated settlement. We should make as much effort to end the death and suffering in Vietnam as we do to supply those who die and suffer.

Third, it recognizes that the United States is pursuing limited objectives in a limited war by declaring our support for the convening of the nations that participated in the original Geneva Conferences on the problems of southeast Asia in order that peace might be restored in accord with the principles established at those conferences.

I am among those in this and the other body who feel that the language in this declaration of congressional policy is not strong enough, and that we ought to urge a deescalation in our bombing attacks on North Vietnam to further the prospects for peace.

However, this declaration as it stands is valuable, because it says to the President of the United States and to the people of this Nation that we in the Congress, although firm in our support of American troops, want greater attention paid to the olive branch of peace.

I urge adoption of the statement of congressional policy and the conference report.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am voting for the conference report today because the conferees have brought back to us what I sought in vain to have attached to H.R. 4515 when it was before the House last week—a statement by Congress of the principles which ought to govern war and peace in Vietnam.

Until today, Congress has made no declaration of congressional policy on Vietnam. This is one of the most destructive wars in history, yet it is being waged without a congressional declaration of war. I hasten to add that I do not favor a declaration of war. To declare war, once we determined just whom we were declaring war against, would make it that much more difficult to extricate ourselves.

But the inappropriateness of a declaration of war does not mean that the President, in making war pursuant to his role as Commander in Chief, should be exempt from a congressional declaration of congressional policy on the war. The only piece of legislative paper relating to the war has been the Tonkin Gulf resolution of August 1964. The record of that debate is clear that the Congress had no intention of putting its stamp of approval upon military activities of anywhere near the scale such as those now conducted in Vietnam.

One of the clear results of today's action in adding title IV, statement of congressional policy, to the defense authorization is that it supersedes the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I hope that it will not be necessary to refer to the Tonkin Gulf resolution again.

The statement of congressional policy added by the conferees is substantially identical with the amendment which I offered to H.R. 4515 on the floor last week. The amendment, Members will recall, was ruled not germane. A similar ruling was made to my motion to recommit, with instructions to add the amendment. Without the amendment, I would have no alternative but to vote against the conference report, as I voted against H.R. 4515 last week.

The statement of congressional policy we are here adopting has four main points.

First. The war in Vietnam should not be expanded. Any military expansion of the war from here on out will be in opposition to the declared will of Congress. Hitherto, the administration has felt itself justified in escalating the war because it could always point to congressional authorizations and appropriations, without any congressional expression on the enlargement of the war. Now there is such an expression—that an expansion of the war must be prevented.

Military escalation will not win this war. Military escalation will simply kill more American servicemen, and more Vietnamese, both north and south. It will increase the risk of war with Communist China or the Soviet Union. The cost of endless escalation can only weaken the United States, at home and abroad. Let us have an end to it.

Second. The war should be ended through a negotiated settlement. If we are going to negotiate an end to the war, we must negotiate with the people we are fighting. That means the Vietcong and the National Liberation Front as well as the Hanoi government.

If we are going to secure a negotiated settlement, we are going to have to try harder than ever to undertake negotiations. The Soviet Union has recently said that if we will stop the bombing—not necessarily permanently—it believes that North Vietnam will come to the bargaining table. I believe that we should put the onus on the Soviet Union, and test whether a cessation of the bombing cannot in fact bring about negotiations.

Third. The people of South Vietnam must determine their affairs their own way. This means through truly free elections. It means that the United States must interest itself primarily in obtaining these free elections, and less in obtaining the continued favor of the military junta now governing in Saigon. If the Saigon militarists attempt to veto the proposed constitution, we should advise them to desist.

Fourth. A peace conference should be convened as soon as possible, with all interested nations present. Such an initiative might be taken in the United Nations, or by the International Control Commission, or by the 1954 Geneva participants—France, Communist China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Cambodia, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos, and ourselves. The general principle of the 1954 Geneva accord was to provide for a cease-fire in Vietnam and a withdrawal of foreign troops. This is as valid a principle for peace today as it was then.

These four declarations of the Congress are important ones. I do not believe that I overspeak when I say that if heeded by the Executive, they can provide a turning point for peace.

I vote for the authorization contained in the conference report, but only within the context of the statement of congressional policy.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for the motion to adopt the conference report on S. 665, providing supplemental military procurement, research and development, and construction authorizations, for the balance of fiscal year 1967.

The bill was improved in conference by the incorporation of a slightly modified version of the Mansfield amendment adopted by the Senate last week. This amendment, which was held out of order because of our rules on germaneness, when the bill was before the House, does put the Congress on record in support of a negotiated settlement of the conflict and does call for a meeting of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conferences or any other nations "for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion." While this amendment has some phraseology which I question, the underlying sentiment is one which I share and which rejects the cries of the "hawks" for a purely military solution.

In voting for the conference report, I am also mindful of the fact that there is an average lead time of 18 months for delivery of aircraft—which accounts for 85 percent of the money in this bill. We all hope that the fighting will be concluded in Vietnam before these planes come off the production lines. But if it is not, then they may well be needed to support U.S. troops still engaged in combat. And I do not think any of us would want to be responsible for a possible shortage in such an event.

I am also fearful that, if this bill were to be defeated, Hanoi might well miscalculate the intentions of this Nation to support fully any American soldiers we send to Vietnam. This could make Hanoi more intransigent in its attitude not only toward starting peace talks but in the negotiations themselves.

I supported the amendment offered by our colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN] when this measure was before the House last week. The amendment would have put the House on record in support of a cessation of bombing of North Vietnam as a necessary step to get peace negotiations going. In my judgment, it is not realistic for us to expect Hanoi to stop supporting the Vietcong and Hanoi's own forces in the south as a price that must be paid to end the bombing. The Vietcong might well regard any such step as a sellout of the forces fighting in the south, for the benefit only of the north.

And I do not accept the argument that for us to stop the bombing unconditionally would mean increased casualties to our forces in the south. Secretary McNamara has testified that the bombing has not, and will not, significantly diminish the flow of men and materiel from north to south. Moreover, if suspension of the bombing were to lead to a peaceful settlement, that would put an end to the casualties altogether.

In this and in other respects I do not feel that the administration is pursuing the goal of peace with all the imagination and vigor that the situation demands. Thus my vote for this conference report in no way represents a vote of confidence in the administration's overall efforts to bring this tragic conflict to a satisfactory conclusion.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE). The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the "ayes" appeared to have it.

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 364, nays 13, not voting 55, as follows:

[Roll No. 30]

YEAS—364

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Brademas
Brasco
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Cowger
Culver
Curtis
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Devine
Dingell
Dole
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Price. Ill.
Price, Tex.
Purcell
Quie
Railsback
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
St Germain
St. Onge
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Younger
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—13

Bray
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Dickinson
Dow
Edwards, Calif.
Fraser
Gross
Kastenmeier
Mosher
Rees
Rosenthal
Ryan

NOT VOTING—55

Albert
Blanton
Bow
Broyhill, Va.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Clancy
Collier
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Cunningham
Daddario
Derwinski
Diggs
Donohue
Eckhardt
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Foley
Friedel
Galifianakis
Gray
Gude
Gurney
Hardy
Hosmer
Jacobs
Jones, Mo.
King, Calif.
Kluczynski
McDade
McEwen
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
May
Morse, Mass.
Nix
Passman
Philbin
Pool
Pryor
Pucinski
Quillen
Resnick
Ronan
Scott
Smith, Calif.
Stubblefield
Watkins
Watts
Willis

So the conference report was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Albert with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Cabell with Mr. Quillen.

Mr. Carey with Mr. Corbett.

Mr. Celler with Mr. Cahill.

Mr. King of California with Mr. Smith of California.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr Morse of Massachusetts.

Mr. Philbin with Mr. McDade.

Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Collier.

Mr. Ronan with Mr. Cunningham.

Mr. Donohue with Mr. Gude.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Clancy.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mrs. May.

Mr. Friedel with Mr. Cramer.

Mr. Hardy with Mr. Broyhill of Virginia.

Mr. Gray with Mr. Watkins.

Mr. Pucinski with Mr. McEwen.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Scott.

Mr. McMillan with Mr. Gurney.

Mr. Eckhardt with Mr. Hosmer.

Mr. Diggs with Mr. Corman.

Mr. Jacobs with Mr. Conyers.

Mr. Pool with Mr. Passman.

Mr. Nix with Mr. Foley.

Mr. Watts with Mr. Willis.

Mr. Pryor with Mr. Blanton.

Mr. PELLY and Mr. BUCHANAN changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANTIWATER POLLUTION

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced in the House a bill designed to effectively attack the interrelated problems on water pollution from soil erosion from the three major sources of these costly and destructive occurrences that will be possible with additional authority granted to the Secretary of Agriculture under current programs.

The legislation I proposed would seek to remedy present serious losses to the Nation's soil and water resources and to private and public properties, and to protect the public health, safety, and general welfare where these are threatened by polluted waters, floods, and other consequences of roadside, streambank erosion, mined land erosion.

The costs of soil erosion and stream pollution from these sources are staggering. The dollar costs of carrying out long-term erosion control programs under the proposed legislation would be a fraction of the dollar losses which are incurred now without this needed control.

More than 500 million tons of soil are washed into our waterways each year.

Streambank erosion alone destroys $11 million worth of land along stream channels each year. It costs an estimated $250 million a year to dredge silt from channels, harbors, and reservoirs.

The Nation's roads and highways needing treatment are now contributing annually more than 56 million tons of soil to streams, harbors, and reservoirs. An estimated 15 percent of the silt now clogging up our waterways comes from road embankments.

More than 2 million acres of abandoned strip miles and their spoil areas are polluting streams and reservoirs with sediment and acid drainage, and in many cases are also contaminating the air with fumes from burning coal and refuse. Steep highwalls left after mining operations are a serious safety hazard.

Erosion and sediment damage is cumulative. It continues to get worse, so that roadways may be destroyed or made extremely dangerous, reservoirs may be filled and rendered useless, navigation in rivers and harbors is hampered and made possible only by constant dredging at great expense, streams that are contaminated with mine acid, and with soils bearing pesticides, fertilizers and animal wastes destroy fish and repel wildlife along their shores, and make the land adjacent to these streams unsuitable for recreational development.

Erosion causes the shoreline or the roadbank to become an ugly scar across the countryside. The unrestored strip mine site corrupts the landscape and causes serious damage far beyond its boundaries.

The damage done to the environment by soil erosion reaches beyond the pocketbook to the very spirit of man.

The Congress has recognized this fact in sound Federal legislation to combat it, built upon national policy adopted in the 1930's. The U.S. Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with local soil and water conservation districts, and State and other Federal agencies, has led the way to remarkable accomplishment in soil and water conservation and development.

But the necessary Federal authority does not exist to effectively assist in controlling erosion along thousands of miles of roadside and streambank, and in thousands of acres of strip mined land.

The soil conservation service provides limited technical and financial assistance in small watershed projects for roadside and streambank erosion control. Help is available under the agricultural conservation program to individual landowners for streambank erosion control, but nonagricultural groups are not eligible.

Some limited Federal assistance in treating surface-mined areas is being provided through Soil Conservation Service Technical help to soil conservation district cooperators and to sponsors of small watershed projects and resource conservation and development projects.

Good results are being achieved under these programs—and their experience has proven that proper treatment can halt damage and restore damaged areas. But to achieve effective sediment and pollution control—group action is needed over sizable drainage areas or watersheds under a coordinated approach. Federal technical and financial help will be required in this broad, intensive group endeavor.

The anti-water-pollution control act I am proposing provides for Federal cooperation with taxing bodies which are in a position to provide the necessary State and local funds to help carry out the needed control measures.

In every case, the act provides that the Federal Government must be assured by the State or local agency that works of improvement will be properly maintained, and treated and restored land will be adequately protected in the future.

We are concerned here, Mr. Speaker, with improving the quality of the environment as a matter of primary national interest.

We all are affected, in one way or another, by the serious conditions this act is designed to correct. I ask all Members, on both sides of the aisle, to give this proposal the attention it deserves.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS HONOR HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last night the Veterans of Foreign Wars paid tribute to the Members of the Congress of the United States who have served in the Armed Forces. In the course of the banquet, the VFW's national commander presented the organization's highest award to the distinguished Member of this body, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], who is chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. It was an award similar to one presented just a year or so ago to our distinguished and beloved Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK]. I am sure that all Members of the House are delighted that this recognition has been extended to our very able chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. Speaker, I wish every Member of this body and all of the American people could have heard the speech that was delivered by our colleague last night, a speech in which he eloquently outlined the stake that the United States of America has in the conflict in Vietnam, and pointed out clearly and incisively how very deeply the interests of the United States are involved in the struggle against Communist aggression in Vietnam today.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent at the appropriate place in the RECORD to place the speech delivered last night at the Veterans of Foreign Wars award banquet by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS].

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the speech by our colleague, the gentleman from Arkansas, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, at the Veterans of Foreign Wars award banquet is as follows:

REMARKS OF WILBUR D. MILLS AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, HONORING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, MARCH 7, 1967

Commander-in-Chief Fry and other Veterans of Foregin Wars, my Colleagues in the Congress, honored veterans of the Viet Nam war, distinguished young winners of the "Voice of Democracy" essay contest, ladies and gentlemen.

I am very honored and humbled to receive the V.F.W. Congressional Award. I am honored to receive this, the highest honor given by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. I am honored to receive the $1,000 scholarship to be awarded to a worthy student in graduate studies in political science in my name. I have designated that the scholarship be established at the University of Arkansas.

I am humbled because I most sincerely appreciate the recognition you have given me for my legislative endeavors in the Congress. I must say that you would not have noticed my endeavors had I not received the understanding, cooperation and support of my Colleagues in the Congress. I am also humbled to be in the company of the gallant members of the armed forces who are veterans of the Viet Nam war, and the company of these outstanding young Americans who have been selected from 53 States and jurisdictions as winners of the V.F.W. Voice of Democracy essay contest.

Veterans of Foreign Wars, by your very name and having fought on foreign soil, are living proof that the aggressor has been kept from the shores of this Country. Thanks to them, no bomb has ever fallen on the cities of the United States.

Most of you Veterans of Foreign Wars are largely civilian soldiers called from the farms, the factory, and the country store. You defeated the professional soldiers trained in the art of killing and dedicated to the conquest of the world and subjugation of freedom.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has won the accolades, the respect, of people from every walk of life—from those in the highest councils of the Federal Government, those in State and local governments, and more importantly perhaps, from our citizens in general who look up to the Veterans of Foreign Wars as an organization of veterans who have not only made the ultimate in sacrifice on the fields of battle, but who also play such an important and constructive role not only in behalf of all veterans and their dependents but also in the every-day affairs of our country.

I think no greater tribute can be paid to the Veterans of Foreign Wars than to note the recognition that it gives to the essential and eventual role of the youth of our country—tomorrow's leaders—in encouraging and stimulating them through your Voice of Democracy contests and through your most commendable scholarship program. It is indeed most refreshing in this day and time to realize that through your efforts the youth of our country are being properly trained in their thinking as to their future role in running the country, and in particular, engendering in them the knowledge that this is indeed the greatest country on earth.

It was suggested that I comment briefly on the subject of "Security and Foreign Affairs." This is a most difficult subject even for experts in this field, and I certainly do not claim to be an expert. It is, however, in my opinion, another compliment to the Veterans of Foreign Wars that you have suggested this as my topic, since there is no more important concern for our country today than our security and our handling of our foreign affairs.

Looking back over the 52 years of your organization, there are those here who can well remember the mud, rain, and mustard gas in Europe in 1917 and –18, the steaming swamps in a South Pacific jungle, the endless dusty stretches of Italian roads, or the keen and biting cold of a Korean winter. Today, at another time and place, the struggle for our security in which you so gallantly took part is still going on. This is all too apparent to us because of the presence of our honored veterans of Viet Nam tonight.

In Viet Nam, approximately 400,000 Americans are engaged in a difficult and dirty war.

They are there to keep the solemn promise of the United States to the Government of South Viet Nam to help defend that country against aggression.

Most important of all, they are there because the defeat of aggression in South Viet Nam is vital to the future security of the United States. It is vital because to fail in Viet Nam would be to undo much that we accomplished in Korea, in the Berlin Crisis of 1961 and in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

Those who most need our strength and our support would doubt our word.

Those who most oppose our interests and our ideals would doubt our will.

But the war in Viet Nam is not a simple war. Both the issues and the effort involved are incredibly—sometimes it seems impossibly—complex. I have the greatest sympathy in the world for our President, who, as Commander in Chief, solely has the final responsibility for trying to resolve this almost impossible situation.

And this indeed is one of the critical differences between the world we face today and the world of the late 40's and early 50's. Basically, the issues then were stark and simple. The Soviet Union, if we did not stop it, would overrun a Europe that war had left too weak and weary to resist. We had to do two things: first, to help those nations ravaged by war to regain their strength; and, second, to resist and repel the Soviet effort to extend its sway by aggression or subversion. We accomplished this by firm and forceful action in Berlin, in Turkey, in Greece, in Iran, in Korea, and elsewhere throughout the globe.

But the world is no longer quite the same—and the challenge before us has also undergone very real, if sometimes subtle, changes. We look abroad and see a robust and resurgent Western Europe. We see a Communist world that may no longer present the monolithic menace that faced us in the late 40's and much of the 50's. The struggle that sprang up in the late 50's between the Soviet Union and Communist China has tended to fracture the Communist world. We are told that Communism no longer speaks with a single voice, or thinks with a single mind. The nations within the Communist orbit have begun to display some degree of diversity.

However, we must not forget that whatever differences and diversity there may be—including the Sino-Soviet split—they are *entirely internal*. The struggle between Communist China and the Soviet Union is for leadership of the Communist movement and the Communist world. We cannot, and must not, forget that if the Communist world is thus divided within itself, it is still united against us.

Any real diversity and division in the Communist world can have important implications for our foreign policy.

Basic to our entire foreign policy is one simple and surpassing aim: to protect and promote the interests of the United States. The interest that underlies all others is, of course, our survival as a nation. Indeed, in an age when two nations possess enough nuclear power to wipe man off the face of the earth, survival must be in the overriding as well as underlying interest of every nation on earth. For that reason—if for no other—military power, while it must always be the court of last resort, must serve as the essential support of every peaceful effort we make to advance our interests throughout the world.

Any enemy must know that we have the will and the weapons to defend our interests wherever we must. At the same time, our use of military might is entirely defensive rather than offensive. We employ it—not for conquest—but to protect our interests wherever and whenever they are under attack.

Our aim, indeed, is a world in which men will no longer resort to war—a world in which men will resolve their differences by rational and peaceful means. For that reason we have tried in the decades since World War II—and we are trying again today in Viet Nam—to convince the Communists that they will gain nothing from us by military means, whether overt or covert.

If the Communists have in some ways relaxed their pressures upon the Free World—if they now feel they can afford the luxury of some degree of division and diversity—it is partly because by our firmness and our strength we have convinced them that they cannot have their way in the world—that aggression and subversion will cost them dearly and gain them nothing.

Viet Nam, of course, absorbs much of our interest and our attention. However, we must not let this obscure other developments or impede our efforts in other parts of the world which are important to our national security. With a resurgence in the economies of the developed countries of western Europe and Japan, we need to devote increasing attention to the less developed countries. With our position of world leadership, we must be ever alert to protect our interests and security worldwide. We will not do that, in my opinion, if we allow our thinking and position to revert to isolationism in any form. We have the spirit and the will to keep on working to build a world in which men will settle their differences with words instead of weapons—a world in which freedom will flourish and peace prevail.

STATEMENT BY MR. PATMAN ON REGULATION FOREIGN BANKING BILL

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which will provide for Federal control over foreign banking corporations operating within the United States. The bill provides that the authority to grant a charter to a foreign banking corporation for the conduct of business in the United States shall be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury and that such Federal chartering shall be mandatory for all foreign banking corporations conducting business in the United States. The bill I have introduced prohibits the establishment of branches in more than one State and provides that the establishment of multiple-office operations within a State shall be in accordance with the law of such State. Under the terms of my bill, membership in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation will be mandatory for deposit-receiving branches of a foreign banking corporation. On the other hand, membership in the Federal Reserve System is optional under the proposed statutory provision.

This legislation is an outgrowth of the study conducted by the Joint Economic Committee of foreign banking operations in the United States under my chairmanship in the 89th Congress. Over the past 7 years, the number of foreign banking offices in the United States has almost doubled while total assets of these offices have increased by some 40 percent to where they now total approximately $7 billion. Foreign banks doing business in the United States are licensed and supervised under the laws of the States of New York, California, Oregon, and Washington. At the present time, there is no provision for the supervision and chartering of such banks by the Federal Government.

I wish to make it abundantly clear that my introduction of this legislation is not intended as a criticism of the supervision of foreign banking operations by State authority, nor is it to be construed as critical of such foreign banking operations themselves in the United States. It is rather my conviction that growing significance of such foreign banking operations warrant Federal chartering and supervision. Furthermore, it should be recognized that at the present time only five States allow foreign banks to establish offices in those States.

Recognizing the provocative nature of this legislation, I have introduced a bill that is far reaching in its implications. I have done so in order that the Congress might benefit from committee hearings covering all of these major policy considerations. Your House Banking and Currency Committee will in the near future begin consideration of this legislation and I will, I am sure, report fully to the Congress on the issues presented.

CONGRESSMAN PATMAN REINTRODUCES LEGISLATION TO HELP SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the 89th Congress, I introduced two bills—H.R. 47 and H.R. 48—designed to give small businessmen a better opportunity to compete against big businesses. Today, I have reintroduced both of those bills with the sincere hope that during the 90th Congress, they will be enacted into law. One of my bills is designed to eliminate under-the-table deals between manufacturers and individual-favored customers. The bill would also prevent manufacturers from being coerced who fear loss of business by customers who seek special favors in order to sell below competitors and still maintain a profit margin. This bill requires no new bureaucracy for enforcement but, in fact, adds strength to the existing Robinson-Patman Act.

The second bill takes the heat off a supplier who, while desiring to deal fairly with all customers, is literally blackjacked into giving some customer special allowances in order to stay in business. In most cases, these favored customers turn right around and use the special allowances to undercut retail prices and seriously handicap their competitors. If complaints are made, the suppliers can be punished, but not the customer. This bill would make the favor-seeking customer equally liable.

Both bills have received the strong endorsement of the National Federation of Independent Business. In its latest poll, nearly two-thirds of the federation's 227,000 members endorsed both bills. The need for these bills, which are in the nature of amendments to the Robinson-Patman Act, is best brought out by an eye-opening letter sent to the National Federation by one of its members. In part the federation member wrote:

> The problem with the Robinson-Patman Act is not the Act itself, but the enforcement of it. Of course, it is quite fashionable to blame the Federal Trade Commission for failure to adequately enforce this Act, but on the other hand, in many ways, this is tantamount to chastising a man for failing to find a needle in the haystack.
>
> During the years I spent in advertising and marketing, it was necessary to become an expert in evading the Robinson-Patman Act with impunity. This can be done in so many ways, both legally and also in illegal ways in a manner that the FTC has not a Chinaman's chance of getting the evidence.
>
> A couple of quick examples: By the legal method, you can make a special offer to a favored account, either on seasonal price reductions or special merchandising, or advertising allowances, and merely make the offer by letter saying that this same offer is open to all accounts on the same basis. This clears the favored customer as in the event of a question he can say that he understood the same offer was open to all. The maker of the offer also has a strong defense on the basis that any account that wanted this offer could ask for it and receive it.
>
> On the illegal basis, and this is just one instance of scores I could mention, I sat in a major food broker's office in Los Angeles when a major chain buyer phoned and announced they were having at a future date an anniversary sale and stipulated the various concessions they wanted from the principles represented by this broker. This request, or demand was ended with the statement 'and don't give me any nonsense about Robinson-Patman as we don't give a damn about that.'
>
> Now obviously, this buyer was not going to tell the FTC what it had done. The broker, who must have good relations with all trade factors in a market to stay in business, is in no position to blow the whistle, and neither is the manufacturer, who in almost 100 per cent of the times bitterly resents being blackmailed.
>
> Now I can go right down the field from appliances, to bread, milk, canned goods, liquor, et al—and it is not all transgressions by chains, either. You would be surprised how many large independent grocers demand and get from a baker $35 per week or more cumshaw for letting that baker have the preferred eye level position on the bread rack in the store.
>
> These situations are rampant, but obviously, the problem of securing evidence that will hold up in legal actions is formidable.
>
> After all, all this talk about discounters, cut-rate establishments, et al, selling at cost or below cost, is a lot of hogwash. Today there is little variance in the cost of doing business. Discounters, cut-raters, et al, can only sell for lower prices because they are acquiring merchandise for less . . . via some sort of backdoor stratagem. The majority of packers and manufacturers generally do not like the present situation.
>
> Thus, if it were required to let all accounts know within five days of a special deal offered to any account, several things would happen.
>
> One is that if an illegal, or a legal but obscured deal were made, enforcement of Robinson-Patman would only require finding just one such deal, and then a quick check of other accounts could determine if all had been notified. Failure to find evidence of such notice would be prima facie evidence of a violation of Robinson-Patman.
>
> In addition, when 'blackjacked' by a buyer, a packer or manufacturer could point out that in order to avoid prosecution, if it granted such a deal, then it would have to notify all of its existence, which would destroy the competitive edge the buyer seeks and thus make his effort meaningless.
>
> The other bill, making it illegal for a buyer to knowingly seek to coerce a deal he knows not available to others, would also put substantial restraint on the buyer, as he would know that any investigation of an illegal deal could well result in him being subjected to legal action.
>
> It would be possible to go on and give examples of just how this would work out beneficially in industry-after-industry, but it all adds up to one thing. The passage of these two amendments would make enforcement of the Robinson-Patman Act almost automatic, and would not only result in fair competitive practices, but in the long run would also reduce prices to consumers without any attrition of legitimate profit.
>
> It is true, that in some cases, manufacturers would probably make the conditions of their special deals predicated on quantity purchases beyond the reach of the smaller outlets, but this would create a situation whereby the smaller outlets would switch to other suppliers who concentrated on their needs. And as a matter of fact, in time, even those short sighted manufacturers who would for awhile today go to the big outlets would have to retract their positions, because no matter what you produce to sell, you cannot exist without the small and medium size outlet.
>
> These two amendments would end the marketing nonsense that goes on today. I know it would have stopped cold all the stratagems I was involved in over a span of years to evade Robinson-Patman. Unfortunately, I cannot give specific examples by name of these many operations because it would be highly unethical on my part to reveal the secret deals of former clients or employers. You just don't take someone's money, then blow the whistle on them, and especially in so many instances where such strategy was adopted most unwillingly, but was a necessity to meet the jungle war tactics of competition.

The letter, I feel, clearly shows why passage of the two bills is necessary to enable small businessmen to continue as one of the most important sectors of this Nation's economy.

SUMMARY OF CREDIT UNION BILLS INTRODUCED BY CONGRESSMAN PATMAN

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced three bills—H.R. 6155, H.R. 6156, and H.R. 6157—designed to strengthen the Federal Credit Union Act in a number of ways and to allow credit unions to expand the wonderful services that they perform.

H.R. 6155 would amend seven provisions of the Federal Credit Union Act. The bill would:

First. Allow a Federal credit union to invest an amount not exceeding 25 percent of its regular reserve in a credit union organization which uses its funds to establish and maintain liquidity, solvency, and security of credit unions;

Second. Permit aid to liquidating credit unions by allowing Federal credit unions to purchase the notes of individual members of liquidating credit unions;

Third. Require the establishment of an education committee in each Federal credit union;

Fourth. Permit the credit committee of a Federal credit union to delegate any of its functions to a loan officer;

Fifth. Change the reserve requirement by basing it upon loans outstanding, rather than on members' shareholdings, and decreasing the statutory reserve requirement from 10 percent to 7 percent;

Sixth. Authorize the board of directors to declare dividends quarterly; and

Seventh. Allow dividend credit to apply for share purchases made during the first 10 days of a month.

INVESTMENT IN STABILIZATION PROGRAMS

For a number of years the credit union movement has been conducting a stabilization program, with a majority of its funds coming from State-chartered credit unions and from various State credit union leagues. The purpose of the stabilization fund is to aid credit unions during periods of temporary financial trouble. The stabilization fund can, for instance, purchase loans from credit unions if the credit union faces a liquidity problem.

Under the present statute, however, Federal credit unions are not allowed to directly participate in stabilization programs. By allowing their participation, the stabilization program will be greatly enhanced, and the need for Federal Government share insurance will be greatly diminished.

This provision of the bill also lays the groundwork for Federal credit union participation in the International Credit Union Services Corporation which was organized last November. The ICUSC will act as a stabilization fund for credit unions throughout the world and will enable credit unions to pool their idle funds for investment.

LOAN PURCHASES FROM LIQUIDATING CREDIT UNIONS

The provisions of H.R. 6155 that would allow Federal credit unions to purchase loans from liquidating credit unions was brought about mainly as the result of the large number of military bases that have been closed in recent years. Many of these bases had credit unions and, unless the credit union was to be merged with another credit union, the closing credit union found it difficult to sell its members' loans in order to provide for an orderly liquidation. If the closing credit union were to merge with another credit union, the new credit union could simply absorb the loans of the old credit union; but if no such merger were planned, no other credit union could buy the loans, since the members of the closed credit union would not be in the "common bond" of the other credit union.

This change would allow any credit union to purchase a note from a liquidating credit union without requiring that the borrower become a member of that credit union.

ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE

This section would provide, in addition to the credit union's board of directors, the credit committee, and the supervisory committee, that a new unit—an education committee—be formed in the credit union. Such a committee would be mandatory.

Studies have shown that credit unions having educational committees are the most active and well received in the credit union movement. These credit unions have more shares and loans on the whole than credit unions without educational committees. In addition, it is becoming more and more difficult to be an informed consumer. This can clearly be seen in the passage in the 89th Congress of truth-in-packaging legislation and, hopefully, in the passage of truth-in-lending legislation in the 90th Congress. The credit union educational committee would provide the member with a central place that could advise him on family financial management, matters of interest to consumers, and programs within the credit union that would be of benefit to the member.

CHANGE IN LENDING AUTHORITY

The Federal Credit Union Act allows a loan officer to make loans only up to the unsecured loan limit—presently $750—and in additional amounts only if the amount is fully secured by unpledged credit union shares.

Enactment of this section would take a great deal of the pressure off loan committee members who find that, as credit unions grow, they must spend an increasingly large amount of time in approving loan applications. Many loan committees meet daily during the committee members lunch hour, and in some governmental credit unions, loan committee members take a few hours of annual leave a week in order to conduct their credit union business. It must be remembered that the credit union committee members are entirely volunteers and are using their own time to further credit union work.

The bill would eliminate a certain amount of the credit union committee's work. It would allow the loan officer to approve or disapprove any loan, but would still require that a record of each loan transaction be submitted to the credit committee so that the committee could review the actions of the loan officer. The bill would not require such a change, but would allow the credit union officer to take over in situations where the burden of the credit union committee has become too great.

RESERVE STRUCTURE CHANGE

The Federal Credit Union Act provides that credit unions must place in reserve all interest, fees, fines, and 20 percent of net earnings annually until the reserve equals 10 percent of the total amount of the credit union shareholding. This portion of H.R. 6155 would—

First. Relate reserves to loans outstanding, rather than total member shareholdings; and

Second. Decrease the statutory reserve requirement from 10 percent to 7 percent, while, at the same time, allowing the Director of the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions to establish additional reserves by regulation if the need arises.

The changes are necessary because credit unions have been doing an excellent job in protecting the savings of their members. There are more credit unions in the United States than banks and savings and loans combined, yet losses suffered by credit unions are far less than those suffered by banks and savings and loans. The excellent loss ratio, plus a mandatory bonding requirement, clearly indicates that credit unions do not need to be bogged down with excessive reserve requirements and should have as much money as possible available for loans and investments.

DIVIDEND PAYMENTS SCHEDULE

Credit unions must be able to compete for savings dollars in order to stay in operation. This section of H.R. 6155 would put credit unions on a par with many other savings institutions. It would allow Federal credit unions to pay dividends quarterly, rather than on a semiannually basis, and in addition would allow credit unions to compute dividends from the first of the month on shares which are deposited by the 10th of the month, rather than the present cutoff date of the first 5 days of the month.

SUMMARY OF H.R. 6156

H.R. 6156 would allow Federal credit unions to make long-term real estate mortgage loans. A number of States allow State-chartered credit unions to make long-term real estate loans, and while the Federal Credit Union Act does not specifically prohibit real estate loans, it does provide that no loan can be made with a maturity in excess of 5 years. Thus, it would be possible for a Federal credit union to make a real estate loan, but only if the maturity were 5 years or less.

This situation would be corrected under H.R. 6156, so that Federal credit unions could invest up to 25 percent of their assets in loans to members secured by first liens on real estate for terms not exceeding 30 years. Such loans would be for amounts not to exceed 80 percent of the appraised value of the real estate, and would further be limited to residential property of not more than four-family units and to farmland.

Many credit union members during the current tight-money situation have found it impossible to obtain mortgage funds from traditional mortgage lenders. At the same time, the credit union to which the member belonged had funds which it could have lent for mortgage loans had such a provision been in the Federal Credit Union Act. Had such authority been in the act, credit unions could have provided a great service in stimulating the economy in general, and the homebuilding industry in particular. We cannot continue to overlook such a potential source of mortgage funds.

Passage of H.R. 6156 would go a long way toward providing inexpensive home loans to credit union members who find, during the current tight-money period, that, in addition to paying the highest allowable interest rate to mortgage lenders, they must also pay under-the-table money in the form of points or discounts to obtain the loan. Such transactions are not permissible under the Federal Credit Union Act, which clearly states that no fees, other than the interest rate, can be charged the borrower and, as we all know, credit unions across the board have the lowest interest rate of any financial institution.

SUMMARY OF H.R. 6157

Many Federal employees are members of credit unions, yet they are not allowed to earmark a portion of their pay check for deposit in credit unions. H.R. 6157 would permit Federal employees to purchase shares of Federal- or State-chartered credit unions through voluntary payroll allotments or deductions. Thus, the deposit would be made for the employee prior to receiving his take-home pay. This would be a great benefit to credit union members, and would simplify their savings habits.

The cost of the bookkeeping operations involved in payroll deductions would be borne by the credit union, so that there would be no cost, either directly or indirectly, to the Government.

Several payroll deduction plans are already in operation for Federal employees so there is clearly a precedent for allowing credit unions, on a reimbursable basis, to use payroll deduction plans for their members. In addition, military members are allowed to make payroll deductions in the form of allotments to credit unions, a fact which further strengthens the precedent pattern for such authority.

Mr. Speaker, credit unions are full-fledged members of the financial community of our Nation, as far as their impact on our economy. However, they have not been given the necessary legislative tools in order to continue their excellent work not only for their members, but for our Nation. It is time that Congress provides credit unions with those tools.

DALLAS CITY EMPLOYEES CREDIT UNION CELEBRATES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 7 of this year the Dallas City Employees Credit Union celebrates its 25th anniversary. From its beginning capital of $50 and a handful of members in 1942, this credit union has grown to nearly 8,000 members and holds assets of more than $5 million. It is the largest municipal credit union in Texas. I might also point out that one of our distinguished colleagues, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL], has been a member of this credit union since his term as mayor of Dallas.

The Dallas City Employees Credit Union did not have an easy time in the beginning. Its first financail statement showed loans outstanding of only $100, cash in bank of $1,712.17, and total assets of $1,812.17, and things got worse before they got better. During the first 4 years of the credit union's operation, there were a number of resignations from the board of directors and supervisory committee due to enlistments in the Armed Forces; and since rationing limited the amount of durable goods for sale, most of the credit union's loans were for consolidation of debts and used furniture.

It is interesting to note that during the entire 25 years of operation of the credit union, it has had only one general manager, L. Phil Davis, whose record in the credit union movement is as impressive as that of the credit union which he serves.

Phil Davis won the Credit Union National Award for organizing the most credit unions in 1953 and 1954. He was awarded the Texas Credit Union Award for organizing the most Texas credit unions in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1961, and 1964. For these and other outstanding contributions to the credit union movement, he was named the "Brother's Keeper" for the Dallas chapter, as well as the Texas Credit Union League. He went on to win the highest honor ever awarded to a credit union member, that of "International Brother's Keeper." This award was made to him by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

In 1952, Phil Davis helped organize the Members Mutual Insurance Co. and served as its first treasurer and also as a board member. He served as chairman of the policy owners advisory committee to the board of directors of Cuna Mutual Insurance Society for 5 years. He serves now as alternate director of the Texas Credit Union League. He is also treasurer of the National Credit Union Management Association, an organization of credit unions in the United States and Canada with assets of a million dollars or more. It is a privilege for me to salute the Dallas City Employees Credit Union and its general manager Phil Davis on their 25th anniversary.

PLANS BEING PREPARED FOR VISTA VOLUNTEERS TO AID POVERTY-AREA CREDIT UNIONS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago I had the pleasure of talking to William H. Crook, Acting Director of VISTA, whom President Johnson has called to Washington from his former post as OEO Director for the southwest region. At the time of our conversation, I suggested that VISTA volunteers could provide valuable assistance to the officials of credit unions organized to serve residents of poverty-stricken urban neighborhoods and rural areas. The primary need of these officials is for training and technical assistance in the operation of these credit unions so that all of the traditional credit union services—thrift, low-cost loans, and counseling—can be made available where they are most needed.

I am happy to announce that VISTA is now working with the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions on plans to provide just such assistance. The program of extending credit union services among the poor is extremely flexible. All that is really necessary is the presence of a willing group of persons who want to organize a credit union. Sponsors of low-income credit unions have included settlement houses, Indian tribes, public housing authorities, and most importantly, the churches.

Recently, local community-action agencies have joined as sponsors of low-income credit unions in target areas, and there are now over 60 in this category alone. Most of the organizing work up to now has been performed by persons already active in the credit union movement, such as officials of credit unions, Federal and State examiners, and State league officials. These dedicated men and women have devoted countless hours of their own time to help organize new credit unions—they have taken to heart the statement that the success of credit unions proves the brotherhood of man.

TENFOLD INCREASE NEEDED

In spite of this enormous expenditure of volunteer time, much remains to be done. There are 600 credit unions serving low-income groups—there ought to be 6,000. Each new credit union activates a new spirit of community pride and accomplishment; if we are to succeed in the war on poverty, then I truly believe that the credit union will become an important asset of the emergent poor. The prospects for involvement of VISTA volunteers raises the possibility of greatly expanded training programs for officials of low-income credit unions. It will enable these credit unions to provide the best available counseling, to reach persons less and less affluent. It is an axiom in the credit union movement that the harder a person is to reach, the more he needs help.

Therefore, I look forward with a great interest to the contribution that can be made by VISTA in this important aspect of the war on poverty. I am gratified by the close relationship between credit unions and the war on poverty because it was I who first suggested bringing them together. Early in 1964, I wrote to Sargent Shriver, who was then leading a presidential task force on poverty, suggesting that he consider the inclusion of credit unions in his program. Mr. Shriver quickly replied that credit unions would have an important role to play, and I am pleased that the facts have borne out his prediction.

Of special interest to Members of the House is the fact that no Federal subsidy is required for the organization or operation of any credit unions. The members themselves contribute the share capital. They also pay the initial chartering fees, which are nominal. The programs of supervision and examination, whether conducted by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions or by various State supervisory agencies, are paid for by the credit unions themselves—again there is no cost to the Government.

TOP ORGANIZING YEAR

In reviewing the recent progress of the credit union movement, I am struck by the vitality and dynamism which still motivates credit union officials. Increased emphasis on credit union extension among the poor was one of the major factors in the best organizing year for Federal credit unions since 1956. All told, 701 charters were issued in 1966, 94 of them to low-income groups. This compares with 584 and 44 respectively in 1965. There are now 11,975 Federal credit unions in operation. Allowing for liquidations and conversion, the net gain for Federal credit unions in 1966 was 432.

There are a total of 22,610 credit unions—both Federal and State—now operating, with combined assets of approximately $11.6 billion. At year-end 1965, there were 22,160 credit unions operating with assets of $10.5 billion. The number of members in 1965 was 16.8 million.

The steady growth of credit unions indicates as forcefully as any sociological studies that the need for credit union services still exists. The commitment of the credit union leadership to organize credit unions among the poor is opening a whole new area of potential for credit union growth. It is my hope that the initiatives now underway will soon be followed by solid results.

GUN LAWS, THE CRIMINAL, AND A CLOSE LOOK AT CRIME STATISTICS

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, behind the emotional push for restrictive firearms legislation lies a solid bedrock of fact—our national crime statistics.

It is upon this bedrock that I build my case in support of two bills I have authorized—H.R. 360 and H.R. 6137—setting mandatory penalties for use or possession of firearms in crimes of violence.

Here is the major cause of our national firearms problem—the criminal who repeatedly uses guns to rob, rape, and murder during a lengthy career of crime. And it is here that this Congress can seek the solution to this problem.

Advocates of restrictive firearms legislation, that will do little to curb criminal ownership or criminal use of guns, have a blithe way of ignoring certain statistics, and citing others out of context to argue their case. Even such an august body as the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which submitted its omnibus report on crime, is guilty of biasing its report by selective use of statistics.

Let us, for example, study the first two paragraphs of chapter 10—"Control of Firearms"—of this report:

> The assassination of President John F. Kennedy with a mail-order rifle offered a grim and tragic illustration of what can result when firearms are easily available to anyone in the United States. The Commission strongly believes that the increasing violence in every section of the Nation compels an effort to control possession and sale of the many kinds of firearms that contribute to that violence.

Lee Harvey Oswald journeyed to Russia, renounced his U.S. citizenship, more than likely was fully indoctrinated by the Communists, married a Russian citizen, returned to this country, journeyed to Mexico City for reasons still unknown, dabbled in pro-Castro Communist conspiracies in New Orleans—without being touched by the law. To cite this instance as the basis for advocating restrictive gun legislation that affects an estimated 50 million law abiding gunowners in this country is pandering to the basest form of emotionalism.

The harshest law that this Congress could enact would not have prevented Oswald from obtaining and using a rifle. Obviously, a man bent on murdering the President of the United States would have little regard to the laws of theft, interstate transportation of stolen weapons, or gun registration so advocated by the Commission.

Surely, it should be obvious that a man set on violating the law, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," handed down by a much higher authority will take little notice of what we enact here—nor will our action deter him in his murderous plan.

But more than that—I point out that even if the severe provisions of the Justice Department's firearms proposal, H.R. 5384, were enacted into law—nothing would have prevented Oswald from walking into the finest sporting goods shop in Dallas and buying a premium grade rifle and scope.

But let us examine the next paragraph of the Commission's Crime Report, where again "selective" judgment was used in citing statistics to argue its position:

> During 1963, 4,760 persons were murdered by firearms. During 1965, 5,600 murders, 34,700 aggravated assaults and the vast majority of the 68,400 armed robberies were committed by means of firearms. All but 10 of the 278 law enforcement officers murdered during the period 1960–65 were killed with firearms. *And statistics, of course, cannot* even indicate the personal tragedy each of these offenses caused.

Let us see if we can find out a little more about the murders of these valiant police officers. I cite the Uniform Crime Reports of 1965 compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and on page 37, it states:

> When an examination is made of the prior criminal histories of those involved, it is found that 76 percent had been arrested on some criminal charge prior to the time they became participants in the police murders and, of even more significance, over one-half of this group had been previously arrested for assaultive-type crimes such as rape, robbery, assault with a deadly weapon, assault with intent to kill, etc. In fact, the records disclose nine individuals had been charged on some prior occasion with an offense of murder. Seven of these had been paroled on the murder charge, one was an escapee having fled confinement while serving time for murder, and one was an escapee who fled while awaiting trial for murder. Sixty-eight percent of the 362 persons who were responsible are known to have had prior convictions on criminal charges and more than two-thirds of this group had received leniency in the form of probation or parole on at least one of these convictions. More than one of every four of the murders was on parole or probation when he killed a police officer.

Mr. Speaker, I say to the Crime Commission, to the Justice Department, and to my colleagues who advocate restrictive firearms legislation: Do not point the finger of blame for this shocking situation at 14 million law-abiding citizens who bought hunting licenses last year to enjoy the peaceful use of firearms. And do not point the finger of blame to the other 35 million Americans who have guns in their homes and businesses to protect themselves, their wives and daughters, or their businesses from the scum that lenient courts and lax prosecutors turn loose repeatedly to prey on us.

I find it unbelievable that in this same report, which advocates rigid control on sale, registration, and possession of firearms for law-abiding citizens—another recommendation is made that all mandatory prison sentences and long maximum prison terms be abolished, and sentencing be left to the discretion of the courts.

The courts, by repeatedly turning loose these parasites to prey on a helpless society, have shown in my judgment they do not deserve this confidence by the American people. And if there is any doubt about the courts granting leniency to criminals who do not deserve such consideration, let us examine further the statistics compiled by the FBI in its study of "Careers in Crime." The case histories of nearly 135,000 criminal repeat offenders have been entered in this continuing study since it began in 1963, and I quote from page 28, 1965 Uniform Crime Report:

> This entire sample had an average criminal career of more than 10 years (span of years from first to last arrest) during which they averaged five arrests, 2.4 convictions and 1.5 imprisonments. Disposition data is two-thirds complete for felonies but more incomplete for the misdemeanors or minor offenses. Lenience in the form of probation, suspended sentence, parole and conditional release had been afforded to 51 percent of the offenders. After the first leniency this group averaged *more than three new arrests.* The group granted leniency had, on the average, a criminal career extending over 12 years and they accumulated approximately seven arrests each.
>
> The mobility of these 134,938 offenders reveals that slightly over 52 percent were arrested in one state, 25 percent in two states and 22 percent in three or more states. A distribution by sex indicates 93 percent were males and 7 percent females. By race, 70 percent were white, 27 percent Negro and 3 percent all other.

In its "Profile of Known Repeaters by Type of Crime," the report states:

> Repeating in the same crime was highest for the narcotic offender 53 percent, the burglar 48 percent, the gambler 47 percent, and the bogus check offender 40 percent. Thirty-six percent of the auto thieves repeated in auto theft during the course of their criminal careers and 33 percent of the robbers repeated in robbery. For the crimes against the person—murder, rape and felonious assault—the rate of repeating in the same crime is considerably lower than for the property offenses.
>
> The frequency of leniency action in the form of probation, suspended sentence or parole ranged from 38 percent for the murderers to 55 percent for the burglars. Like the burglar, 54 percent of the bogus check offenders also had leniency; yet, both of these criminal types have a high rate of repeating and, repeating in the same offense. The auto thief, bogus check offender and the narcotic violator had the highest proportion of leniency for specific charges.
>
> The forger, the auto thief, the burglar and the robber recorded the highest mobility with over 30 percent having been arrested in three or more states during the course of their criminal careers.

A special followup study was done by the FBI on 6,907 offenders who were released to the streets between January and June 1963, either on probation, suspended sentence, parole, fine or acquittal, and dismissal.

During the 2-year study, the FBI found:

> Fifty-nine percent of the burglars, 70 percent of the auto thieves and 64 percent of the robbers repeated. Of those charged with theft 45 percent repeated, as did 65 percent of the narcotic offenders and 49 percent of the forgers.

How long, Mr. Speaker, are the American people going to stand by and watch hardened criminals repeatedly turned loose to rob, rape, murder, or corrupt society?

I say to my colleagues:

If we need prosecutors with courage and fierce determination to protect society by removing the hardened criminal from our midst—let us find them.

If we need judges with more concern for the victim than the criminal, and guts enough to mete out stiff punishment for vicious crimes—let us find them.

If we need more jails and prisons to house these parasites who illegally use firearms to rob, rape, and murder—let us build them.

And if we need legislation providing severe penalties to enable the prosecutor and the courts to protect society from the illegal gun user by isolating him for a long, mandatory period—then let us enact it.

I urge my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, and the people they are privileged to represent—do not be misled by the glittering *generalities of those who are quick to* find excuses for the criminal, and who urge that more, not less, leniency be granted to him.

The people are demanding protection from the criminal—not from the hunter, not the gun collector, not the National Rifle Association, not the gunsmith, and certainly not from the businessman who carries a gun to protect his life and investment. Society is entitled to this protection—and it is our duty to provide it.

EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of this week the House will debate the joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India. I know the Members of this body welcome the opportunity to share in this responsibility and to familiarize themselves with the issues involved.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, who testified before the committee on February 28, made a comprehensive statement in support of emergency food assistance to India. This should be of interest to the Members and at this time, Mr. Speaker, I insert Secretary Freeman's statement in the Record:

Testimony of the Honorable Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman on Joint Resolution To Support Emergency Food Assistance to India Before the House Committee on Agriculture

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee on Agriculture: Almost a year ago we met on a similar occasion—to consider the need for emergency aid to India. The Committee acted quickly and favorably on the President's special appeal—which we deeply appreciated.

Since that time, and in close consultation with the Congress, we have carried out this emergency food mission. It has been outstandingly successful in saving lives and averting what might have been one of the great famines of all times. I take this occasion to report to you on what has taken place this last year, and to urge your support for the Joint Resolution submitted by Congressman Poage and Congressman Dole.

Let me briefly review the mathematics of India's food problem last year. In 1964–65 India produced a record 89 million tons of food grains—significantly above the stable 80 million ton level of production that prevailed in the early 1960's. But in 1965–66 the monsoon rains were the poorest in nearly a century. Food grain production fell to only 72 million tons. Crop failure was widespread and starvation was imminent.

India, with our help and with help from a number of other countries, mobilized to import a record amount of food grains and to make effective distribution of it. Altogether, India imported over 10 million tons. More than 8 million tons of this came from the United States—about four-fifths wheat and about one-fifth grain sorghums. We estimate that the food grains we provided supplied the daily grain rations for 60 million Indian people, about one-eighth of the entire population. Through considerable belt-tightening and effective distribution of available food, India was able to avoid famine with a *substantially smaller total supply of grain* than was available in earlier years.

Last year many people wondered whether it was possible to move such a large volume of grain out of the U.S. to India without disrupting normal transportation and marketing. The amount of grain imports required by India was well beyond the level that had ever moved through her ports and that had ever been distributed to her needy people.

The effectiveness with which the grain was moved and distributed is a tribute to dedicated and coordinated effort that stretched from the wheat fields in the United States to the villages of India.

Here in the U.S. we were faced with a boxcar shortage, a frozen Great Lakes seaway, and crowded Gulf Coast port facilities. But through extraordinary measures we were able to maximize shipments from East Coast ports.

The Department of Agriculture enlisted the cooperation of nine railroad companies to ship grain through the use of covered hopper unit trains. The covered hopper cars hold nearly twice as much grain as a boxcar; load and unload faster; and lose less grain in transit. Unit trains of 50 cars made complete round trip from Minneapolis to the East Coast in 5 to 8 days, compared with 23 days for a train of boxcars.

A train of about 50 hopper cars hauled enough grain to provide a day's ration to 20,000,000 Indian people.

Through the cooperation of American railroads and the Department of Agriculture a new railroading record was established. Railroad employees and officials were enthusiastic. As one official said,

"We have never before in the history of the railroad moved a trainload of grain from Minneapolis to Galveston or to the East Coast and had our cars emptied and returned in 5 to 8 days."

The President's program was executed on a timely basis; the needed food grains reached India as programmed.

India, too, was faced with the need for receiving and distributing grain in greater volume than ever before. At her request we sent over a high level team of experts to recommend a blueprint for action. Maximum Indian port capacity, prior to the survey by the team, had been 800,000 tons per month. As a result of the team's recommendations and initiatives by the Government of India, as much as 1.2 million tons of grain, in addition to other bulk commodities, per month were unloaded.

In combination with a stepped-up and highly efficient program of transportation and distribution, U.S. grain reached the people of India who needed it most in a timely and effective manner. Not only were the poor of India's cities provided with needed grain, but grain reached the thousands of villages with insufficient food. Numerous work projects were carried out and financed with U.S. grain. Our food assistance was not used by India as a dole. It was used to finance useful efforts such as building roads and improving irrigation systems.

The cooperation between India and America in this huge humanitarian effort was outstanding. The U.S. Goverment agencies involved worked together in an efficient, coordinated effort under an inter-agency Indian task force headed by Mr. C. R. Eskildsen, then Associate Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service, making a record of which we can be proud. In every way we lived up to our American tradition of helping a neighbor in need, and earned the gratitude which India has officially expressed.

Today we are here to consider a second appeal in behalf of the People of India.

For the second year in a row, nature has been unkind to India's farmers. Last year the lack of rainfall was widespread; this year the lack is mainly in northern India. But, the *accumulation of two successive* years of drought is serious and India will again need about 10 million tons of grain imports to avert famine.

It is a cruel trick of fate that what assisting nations did last year needs redoing this year.

The Members of Congress are well acquainted with the hardships that India is facing. Your Chairman, Mr. Poage, and Congressman Dole as well as Senator McGee, Senator Moss, and Senator Miller have all been in India recently and have viewed the situation first-hand. I take this occasion to once again thank them on behalf of President Johnson for responding to his request and giving of their time and energy during the busy holiday season. In their report to the President all agreed that the situation is real and serious, requiring both a higher degree of self-help in India herself and a substantial amount of help from the outside.

We live in hope, and the odds would certainly seem to be that nature will cooperate in the year ahead so that India can have a normal crop and move ahead with its extensive agricultural improvement plans so that such massive assistance will not be necessary a third time. It is India's purpose and ours that massive food aid will not be necessary much longer. India's target for food self-sufficiency is 1972. We will continue to try to help them meet that target. Meanwhile, India faces an immediate problem of compensating for this second year of poor harvests.

President Johnson, in his February 2 Message on India Food, responded to this new need by announcing an immediate allocation of 2 million tons of U.S. Food grains under the Title I program. These shipments, along with grains already in the pipeline, will help maintain a steady flow to India into early summer—and this will provide time to formulate the consortium approach to India's food aid that the President has recommended.

The food aid challenge of India—both for the present and for the years ahead—is clearly too great for any one nation or small group of nations to shoulder. The President said, "All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves."

The President's proposal that we link our effort with those of other countries through an India Food Aid Consortium is a highly practical way to bring about this sharing of the load.

The India Aid Consortium has been assisting India, mainly in the area of foreign exchange problems, since 1958. The World Bank serves as chairman. Member countries include Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Some other countries also are helping India and may be willing to join in the food aid effort.

The Consortium, during the 1962–65 period, supplied India with about $4½ billion in grants and loans. It is intimately acquainted with India's development problems. The proposed integrating of Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance, and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development, can provide a much stronger helping hand that India must have if it is to cope successfully with its mountainous problems of too little food for a large and growing population.

As the President said, India needs to import about 10 million tons of food grains this year. We estimate that about 2.3 million tons are now in the pipeline. Of this amount, the U.S. has contributed 1.6 million tons, Canada has contributed approximately 200,000 tons, Australia has granted 150,000 tons and sold 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union has made a grant of 200,000. We are adding 2 million tons to this amount through our new allocation. This leaves a deficit to be met of 5.7 million tons. We propose to supply 3 million tons of this, provided that it is appropriately matched by other countries.

Under the consortium approach to food aid, we hope that the other countries will help to supply food and will also be generous in supplying fertilizer and other agricultural production assistance. The big job, of course, must be done by India itself. The

President, like the Members of Congress who recently visited India, places strong emphasis on the necessity of India—through self-help—doing the utmost to cope with its food and population crisis. And the President is encouraged that India is making serious efforts to do this. India has added new notes of practicality and urgency to its agricultural improvement efforts.

Starting in late 1965 the Government of India began to place increasing emphasis on agricultural development. The food crises of the past few years made it unmistakably clear to India's leaders that agriculture, among all the development objectives, had to receive high priority.

Very significant changes have occurred in India's agricultural policies and the commitment of resources to agriculture. Public investment scheduled for agriculture during the Fourth Five-Year Plan will be more than double that of the Third Plan. Agriculture is second only to national defense in the Fourth Plan. Accelerated investments in agriculture have already begun to take place. Budget expenditures for agriculture during 1966–67 are 43 percent above the 1965–66 level.

In addition to the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the Indian Goverment has developed an annual subplan which will permit early evaluations of performance. This procedure introduces a new degree of flexibility in adjusting resource allocations within agriculture to ensure that production targets are met.

Since 1964, the Indian Government has been providing food grain producers minimum price support at levels sufficient to encourage greater production.

At a meeting of state and central government leaders in November, 1966, it was agreed that a national food budget system should be immediately developed to facilitate greater sharing between surplus and deficit states. The staff work for the food budget is nearing completion and the budget is expected to be announced this spring. This effort, together with an extensive system of food rationing, will help achieve a more equitable distribution of food during the period of food scarcity.

The Indian Government took a number of steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production capacity and to ensure sufficient imports of fertilizer to meet established targets for total fertilizer availability.

India has taken the following steps to improve the investment climate for the manufacture of fertilizer in the private sectors: (a) All geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing within each state have been removed, and New Delhi plans to remove constraints on interstate movement as soon as supplies permit. (b) All private manufacturers of fertilizer who commit themselves to invest in India prior to March 1, 1967, will be allowed freely to price and distribute their products, with no government regulations. (c) Simplified and streamlined procedures for approving and licensing foreign private investment in the manufacture of fertilizer have been put into effect and, together with new policies on foreign private investment (e.g., acceptance of management control by the foreign collaborator), have succeeded in speeding negotiations with investors already underway and in stimulating proposals from other foreign firms. (d) In allocating foreign exchange, top priority has been given to fertilizers, including fertilizer for seeding programs of new plants, fertilizer raw materials and spare parts for fertilizer plants. (Foreign exchange allocations for fertilizer in 1965–66 were $163 million and in the current year it is $268 million.)

Substantial progress has been made to increase the operating efficiency of fertilizer plants in the public sector. As a percent of capacity, production has been raised from 63 percent in 1965 to an estimated 80 percent in 1966. The principal reasons for operation of plants at low levels of capacity were a lack of raw materials, a shortage of spare parts, and poorly designed plants. Indian efforts to date have improved the situation on all these fronts. Steps are also being taken to reduce the dependence upon sulphur—in short supply world around—in the manufacture of fertilizer in India, and to develop India's pyrite deposits which may make it possible to meet all the sulphur requirements by 1974.

To maximize food production from available inputs, India has adopted a strategy of concentrating a combination of agricultural inputs, including new, high yielding seeds, on the most productive land with an assured supply of water. All ready the evidence indicates that the concentration of available inputs on selected acreage has been carried out effectively, although drought has ruled out the possibility of reaching the target of one additional ton of food grain per acre. But the program is demonstrating that Indian farmers, given proper guidance and necessary inputs, can dramatically raise productivity levels.

For the Fourth Five-Year plan a target of 32.5 million acres has been set for this High-Yielding Varieties Program, and an adequate supply of fertilizer, improved seed varieties, plant protection materials, and irrigation are to be assured for this acreage. During the 1966–67 crop year India plans to cover 6.4 million acres under this program—an effort without precedent.

A cabinet level committee on agricultural credit has been established. Also, a working level committee of the Indian Government is currently studying ways to establish a national agricultural credit program. Steps have been taken this year to increase (about 10 percent over last year) the supply of credit to cultivators through credit cooperatives and, on a pilot basis, to use the Food Corporation of India to extend credit to cultivators as an evidence on their crop. Cultivators can pay off their loan by either grain or cash. Finally, private banks have been urged to establish rural credit programs.

There has been some speedup in Indian performance in the soil and water management field. The basic outline for a new program has been developed (with USAID/US Geological Survey assistance) and a central coordinating body has been set up and is partially staffed. In addition, India has developed, and is beginning to implement (with USAID/Soil Conservation Service assistance) a program for the better management and more intensive utilization of available water.

Actual progress made in India's agricultural development effort is obscured this year by the second successive year of serious drought. We are encouraged, however, by the fact that food grain production this year in states not affected by the drought is well above that of any previous year.

In addition to agricultural development efforts, family planning is being encouraged across the nation.

As President Johnson said in his message on India Food:

"India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among state governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved."

As realists, we know that India has a long, long way to go in solving its problems. But India is moving and there is hope—if it gets enough help, of the right kind, soon enough, from enough countries.

Your proposed Joint Resolution to Support Emergency Food Assistance to India is, in my opinion, well phrased and extremely important.

It will lend the strength, understanding, and support of the Congress and the American people to the compassionate yet highly practical proposals made by President Johnson.

I sincerely hope that the Congress will once again—as you did last year—give this urgent matter your strong endorsement.

ALABAMA REFLECTS DEEP PATRIOTISM

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a vicious and unwarranted attack has been made from the floor of this body on the patriotism of the former Governor of Alabama, the Honorable George C. Wallace. The charge arises out of display of flags over the State capitol in Montgomery.

In questioning the patriotism of the former Alabama Governor, the gentleman casts a false shadow on the patriotism of all Alabama residents.

Contrary to popular misinformation, Governor Wallace did not initiate the display of the Alabama State flag from the dome of the State capitol. The State flag has flown from the capitol dome for years and years.

The U.S. flag is proudly flown from a distinctive pole on the beautifully landscaped south lawn of the capitol grounds. Even this reflects the patriotism of Alabama. This flagpole was paid for by the schoolchildren of our State during World War I as a mark of their devotion to the flag of the United States.

As to the current allegiance of Alabama citizens, I suggest any person check the rosters of our fightingmen in Vietnam. There he will find that the percentage of Alabama men serving there far exceeds that of the other States. I also suggest that a check of the Red Cross blood program for last year will show that Alabama residents donated 30,000 pints of blood for our soldiers in Vietnam, more than any of the 55 other regional centers in this Nation.

When we speak of patriotism and Americanism, let us know of what we speak. I submit that the patriotism of Alabama residents equals or exceeds that of any other section of the country.

ADDRESS MADE BY MR. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB—"POSSIBLE DANGERS TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IN EAST-WEST TRADE"

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include the remarks of the gentleman from California [Mr. LIPSCOMB], made at a meeting in New York today, in the RECORD along with my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from California [Mr. LIPSCOMB] this morning delivered a notable and thought-provoking address in New York on the very vital issue of East-West trade.

The gentleman's credentials to speak on this issue are beyond dispute. His remarks to the American Management Association at the Hotel Pierre in New York City should be read and analyzed by every Member of this House and I commend them to all my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from California makes a persuasive case for this Congress to move with extreme caution in acting on the President's proposal to increase our trade relations with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites.

It is the Soviet Union after all that holds the key to peace in Vietnam through its provision, together with its East European satellites, of more than 80 percent of all war materials going to North Vietnam.

Certainly, trade is a very effective weapon and as the gentleman from California [Mr. LIPSCOMB] points out:

> If we were now to act in unity toward restraining exports to the Bloc, then this could pressure them from the path of international aggression and subversion which so threaten everyone's peace and freedom.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the full text of the remarks made by the gentleman from California entitled "Possible Dangers to Our National Security in East-West Trade" in the RECORD at this point.

The remarks referred to follow:

POSSIBLE DANGERS TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IN EAST-WEST TRADE

(Speech of Congressman GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB at the American Management Association briefing on East-West trade, March 8, 1967)

Good morning, I appreciate the opportunity to join you today during this American Management Association briefing session on East-West trade.

This is a subject which is of growing importance to all of us here and to our nation and I was honored to receive the invitation to participate in the discussions.

It was not possible for me to come up to New York from Washington to hear the presentations of the gentlemen who spoke to you on Monday and Tuesday inasmuch as Secretary of Defense McNamara and General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have been testifying before the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, of which I am a member. I know, however, that essentially the approach has been to urge increased sales to the USSR and Eastern European nations, to explore possibilities along these lines, and discuss methods and procedures.

My topic today, as is set forth in the program outline, is "Possible Dangers to our National Security in East-West Trade."

I hope you do not think of me, or anyone else who holds views similar to mine, as some sort of wet blanket who, if you aren't careful, will spoil all the fun.

It is fully recognized that our nation needs to trade, that we need to constantly probe for new vistas in the field of trade in terms of new markets, new sales, and new products to sell. In short, continuing expansion in our overseas commerce is essential.

Accordingly, we can all agree that there is merit in promoting trade between our nation and other countries. The bounties of our productive enterprises are wanted by and are of benefit to the citizens of many countries with which we trade, and we benefit from supplies and products produced elsewhere.

Furthermore, we believe solidly in the fundamental concepts of the American free enterprise system and know that honest profits earned by sales abroad are not only good but they are necessary to our economic well-being.

But at the same time, it is evident that there exist strong feelings that there are certain dangers in East-West trade. The fact that this meeting is being held here today is itself an indication of this.

When we search for guidance and answers about East-West trade we cannot favor or oppose such trade merely on the basis of slogans or phrases.

For example, everyone here knows that simply calling something "peaceful trade" does not make it so. Or calling items "non-strategic" does not necessarily make them so. Yet many of the reports issued and speeches delivered lately seem to be liberally laced with just such self-serving terminology. In fact, you get the idea that those who put out the reports or make the speeches, in addition to trying to convince others, are doing this to try to convince themselves in favor of increasing East-West trade.

On the other side of the coin, it must be fully realized that commercial transactions with Communist nations should not be automatically opposed simply on the basis that the other parties to the transactions are Communist.

A practical, realistic appraisal must be made of the situation. The issue must be judged solely on the basis of the situation we find in the world today, not on how one might wish it to be.

I have had occasion to give this subject considerable thought over a number of years as a Member of Congress and personally I am convinced that the proposal to increase East-West trade is fraught with many pitfalls and that the United States had better tread mighty carefully.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

A primary consideration, the starting point so to speak, as I am sure all of you know is that East-West trade simply cannot be viewed as a matter of normal commercial negotiations and transactions. It does not mean private individuals or firms dealing with other private individuals or firms. In the Communist countries you deal with Government agencies who carry out the orders and policies of their government.

This is vitally important since we know that to Communist nations, by the very nature of their existence, political considerations are often paramount to economic considerations. Khrushchev commented meaningfully on this in 1955 when he stated: "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political reasons."

The props may have been moved around a bit since then, or some of the dialogue and characters changed, but I see no indications that this is not still the overriding doctrine of the USSR and East European nations.

BLOC ECONOMIES ARE IN TROUBLE

What are the basic motives behind the Communist drive to expand trade with the West? It is not enough to quote Lenin who in 1921 said it was necessary to bribe capitalism with extra profit so as to get the machines with which to defeat it economically. To be sure, this was the heart of Premier Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence maxim, which has since been repeated by Premier Kosygin. But it is not all. To get the answer, you must take a closer look at the Soviet and East European economies and the serious problem confronting them in the mid-sixties.

A fundamental change has occurred in the tempo of economic growth in the Soviet Union. Before, in the period 1956–1960, the gross national product was expanding at an average rate of 8.2%. The stride of expansion has now shortened to at least 6% in the last five years. Nor is this a temporary slowdown. It has become very evident to economists both within and outside of the Soviet Union that a serious adjustment in the economy is now being experienced. It is serious enough to challenge the long-term objectives of the Communist Party.

It is remembered that it was the signs pointing to the economic problems ahead that helped to cause Khrushchev's downfall. The difficulties, of course, continue. One economist has stated:

"Most of the difficulties the Soviet economy is experiencing today are related to the supply side, as the giant over-controlled production machine is becoming more and more sluggish and subject to increasing tensions caused by the lack of internal consistency."[1]

The reason for this has been identified as an inability of the Soviet "command economy" to integrate its various elements.

Mr. Kosygin discussed this problem when the twenty-third Congress met in April last year. It had been expected that he might call for an overthrow of the still prevailing Stalinist approach in favor of a new "market socialism," based on realistic costing and broad reaching decentralization. Such an adjustment in the opinion of most economists is required to help solve the underlying fallacy of the quota system which places premium value on how much is produced rather than on a realistic assessment of how much they really need.

The Soviet economy has depended in the past on larger doses of labor and investment to prop up industrial operations otherwise suffering difficulties due to use of uneconomic physical and management techniques, but this makes for more troubles.

For instance, when products are consistently inferior, this is compensated simply by allocating more workers to repair services. In the West we could not afford such gross extravagance. But in Russia it has become a fact of life, as is attested to by the high proportion of labor so engaged—29 percent of the workers in machine building and metalworking.[2] That is not to say labor is an inexhaustible resource, for today 70% of the women in the Soviet Union are employed or in training. The limit of labor flexibility and intensification has been reached. Eventually you run out of compensating adjustments and must face up to fundamental defects.

This situation has been brewing for some time. Khrushchev's answer was to turn on more computers, but it is clear that serious problems continue. As documented in both the Soviet and Western press, the growth of unconsumed stocks and uninstalled capital equipment continues, notwithstanding haphazard information and decision-making adjustments. Today it is estimated by the Director of the Central Institute of Mathematics, USSR that 12 million people are engaged in the sphere of administration. A Soviet mathematician estimates that if things continue as they are, by 1980 the entire adult population would be employed in administration.[3]

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[1] Committee Print, New Directions in the Soviet Economy, Part I, Joint Economic Committee, 89th Congress, Page 25.

[2] Ibid., Page 8.

[3] Committee Print, New Directions in the Soviet Economy, Part I, Joint Economic Committee, 89th Congress, Page 44.

We might have expected that the Soviets, faced with this growing calamity, would undertake drastic overhaul measures toward decentralization and realistic costing.

But here is the rub. This would have a devastating impact on the Communist Party and the control it exercises. But the Party faithful need not have worried. Kosygin said that the solution would lie in buying more Western technology. In furtherance of this premise he stated:

"In the past 5 years foreign trade helped us solve a number of important economic problems. . . . The time has come for us to reappraise the role of foreign trade."[4]

In the satellite nations some remedial steps have been taken to try to ease some of the built-in shortcomings of the command economy, but here as in the Soviet Union the Communist Party has not let loose the strings of control. And, we must note that the combined gross national product of those six nations is less than that of West Germany alone. So notwithstanding the binding economic ties constructed through years of built-up interdependence within the Soviet economic sphere, there are compelling economic demands to import Western machinery and to cultivate export markets elsewhere.

From this brief analysis of the Soviet economic sphere, it is clear that the West is in a commanding position.

But having realized the fruits of advantage from the inherent superiority of our free enterprise economy, we now find the Administration in effect cooperating with Premier Kosygin's party line, clearing sales to the USSR and other Communist countries of items that totalitarian society has not been able to produce.

For those who say "It's worth a try at least once," I remind you that it has been tried before and found wanting. It is often overlooked that U.S. technology was instrumental in helping to build the industrial base for the Soviet Union during the first five-year plan between the years 1929 and 1933. The greatest single undertaking in that plan was construction of the Magnitogorsk blast furnace, still the world's largest. Twenty million dollars worth of U.S. technology was obtained for the building of an entire city at Gorki, the Molotov Works, and the Kim Works in Moscow. These and other plants built by U.S. companies still produce almost all Soviet automobiles, tractors, and trucks. The Dnieper Dam was built by an American firm and this was only a small part of the total contribution made to the electrification of the Soviet Union. To assist in repayment for these large projects, it was a U.S. engineer who overhauled the gold mining industry from top to bottom raising what had been previously negligible production to second rank in the world.[5] And so it goes.

The second generation of U.S. technology made available to the Soviets was in the form of lend-lease aid. That it was and still is of great value today is attested to by reports heard time and again from industrial engineers returning from the Soviet Union. These experts find, much to their amazement, that 25-year old American machine tools are still much in use.

Now, it should be asked, where did these bridges get us? Unknowingly, years ago we were helping to build an industrial base that now produces weapons which are killing and maiming our men in Vietnam, weapons that find their mark on leaders who fail to serve the Communist interests, and I am sure scores of other people throughout the world whose only guilt is that they stand in the path of Communism.

That we should seriously contemplate once again upgrading the Communist bloc technology is incomprehensible to me.

It is *not* good business to unlock the door merely because our adversary has emptied his gun. Nor is it sensible to try to win his friendship by handing him more ammunition when he's still shooting, so to speak. This is a danger in the current "Bridges to the East" policy.

If we were now to act in unity toward restraining exports to the Bloc, then this could pressure them from the path of international aggression and subversion which so threaten everyone's peace and freedom. Why should we bail out the Communist regimes when their actions and philosophy are at odds with peace and harmony throughout the world?

I see no change in Soviet objectives when leaders like Marshall Sokolosky declare, and I quote him directly, "In the present epoch, the struggle for peace and the fight to gain time depend above all on a unremitting increase in Soviet military power and that of the entire socialist camp, based on the development of productive forces and the continuous growth of its material technological base."[6] Note that he stresses that military power is based on the material technological base, a fact which seems to escape many here in the U.S.

No matter how high the profit, it can never be commensurate with the risk when our material assistance, no matter how indirectly, contributes to the Soviet arsenal of weapons.

DEFECTS IN ADMINISTRATION OF EXPORT CONTROL

It is evident to me from the nature of many U.S. exports, for which licenses are granted by the Office of Export Control of the Department of Commerce, that their clearance for shipment to the USSR or East European countries contradicts the intent of Congress as expressed in the Export Control Act. When one looks into these transactions, as I regularly do, the Department often dismisses these approvals with the pat statements such as that they are "consistent with the President's desire to 'build bridges' to Eastern Europe by encouraging trade . . ." and ". . . comparable goods are available from foreign sources."

If that is the case, one certainly wonders why the orders are not placed elsewhere. According to responsible witnesses who have testified before Congress it is because the U.S. supplier often offers superior quality, earlier delivery, better prices, greater durability, and better service.

Last year when Secretary of Agriculture Freeman returned from a visit to South Vietnam he reported "There is a strong demand for fertilizer chemicals and improved seeds. Fertilizer is as important as bullets." I certainly agree with that assessment. But why was this not recognized when the USSR came to us to buy fertilizer technology and equipment?

Because the Bloc economies depend heavily on export of cereals and grains to acquire hard currencies with which to purchase Western machinery, it was imperative from their point of view that the Bloc economy increase the yield per acre far above the levels realized from the disastrous short crops of 1963.

If you suspect that they turned to the U.S. for help you are absolutely right. In 1964, the Commerce Department issued licenses authorizing shipment to Russia of $9.5 million worth of highly automated machinery to mine potash for use in manufacturing fertilizer. Many other licenses have been issued since that time directly relating to increasing crop yields, including fumigants, herbicides, and insecticides. Moreover, a wealth of technical data relating to construction, operation of plants to produce fertilizers have been released.

In light of these contributions to the Soviet economy, it is not at all surprising that the 1966 crop yield was a bountiful 170 million tons. In fact, a news report in December, 1966, when the record yield was revealed, states that this reflects "a heavy emphasis on the use of chemical fertilizers begun in the early 1960's under former Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev."

Thus it can be seen that fertilizers and the necessary technology for their production have directly contributed to the surpluses which can free Moscow to make critical purchases in the West for extensive items needed to modernize their industry. Obviously, the record Soviet grain harvest, to which American technology contributed, has other far-reaching implications. As was stated in the same news article out of Moscow, from which I quoted a moment ago, the announcement "had significant implications for their country's political leadership, as well as the future conduct of Soviet foreign policy."

Incidentally, analysis of Soviet and bloc aid to North Vietnam underscores the fact that a great quantity of the shipments made to Hanoi include fertilizers, which sustain the war effort.

In another area, as I have already mentioned, the Soviet Union is experiencing great difficulty in the field of automatic data processing. This situation exists despite the fact that it is well publicized that the Soviet Union is second rank in the world in production of computers. Why is this so? An explanation is given by the M. Glushkov, Head of Cybernetics of the Economy of Science, USSR:

"Of special concern are the low reliability of computers and ancillary devices and the sub-standard quality of magnetic tapes . . . the best computers made in the Soviet Union operate only a few hundred hours between failures, while ancillary devices break down practically daily, and the information stored on tape cannot be stored without some loss for more than a month. Magnetic tapes are not interchangeable, e.g., the mass of information recorded on tape for one computer cannot be used by another unit."[7]

He also says that foreign made computers offer an important advantage to the USSR in that they come equipped with programming much superior to that available to users of Soviet computers. In recent years, millions of dollars of Western computers have flowed to the Soviet Union and East European states. Because many of these computers are exported from the United Kingdom and France it often goes unnoticed how much these computers incorporate component parts constructed in the United States. For instance, a $915 thousand British computer installed at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia recently required some $96,000 worth of American parts for continued operation. This computer, interestingly enough, was purchased by the Czechs to optimize production in a petroleum refinery which it appears processes Rumanian and Soviet crude oil.

Recent export license approvals, published by the Department of Commerce, indicate that hundreds of thousands of dollars of what are known as input and output components—these are items used in computer operations other than the actual computers themselves—are being shipped to the Soviet Union. Whether these are to be used with Soviet computers or with Western products really makes little difference when one recognizes that these component units fill a void not yet satisfied by Soviet engineering.

The flow in this vitally important area continues. On January 11 of this year the Department of Commerce approved a license to ship computer components and parts valued at about $322,000 to the USSR to be used for inventory control. One wonders if this computer will be used to improve the scheduling of shipments to North Vietnam.

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[4] Kosygin, 23rd Communist Party Congress, USSR, April 1966.

[5] Technical Assistance of the American Enterprises to the Growth of the Soviet Union—1929–1933, Russian Review, January 1966.

[6] "Soviet Military Strategy," Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965, p. 285.

[7] *Izvestia*, 11 July 1966.

Another category of equipment frequently approved for export by the Department of Commerce is industrial processing control instruments. According to the Director of Machinery Manufacturing Division of the Economic Council, USSR the economic significance of this equipment far transcends the relatively low cost. In his words:

"It is registered that we do not become adept in using jig-boring measurement systems . . . We have not developed the ways for balancing of a machine tool that would take into account the thermal deformations and rigidity of assemblies . . ."[8]

You are undoubtedly aware that a most important factor in mass production is exactness of dimensional tolerances. Precision is required because defects are compounded at each level down the production line.

A review of the Department of Commerce list of export license approvals shows various instances of chemical plant technical data being released. Here again the West is making an important contribution to the Soviet economy. According to *Izvestia*, the state of chemical plant construction within the USSR is very serious. In the year 1963, for instance, of the 259 chemical plants commissioned, only 88 are working and these on a part-time basis due to errors in design.

If one wonders why export licenses for synthetic rubber are approved, the answer may be found in a report to the Communist Party by Premier Kosygin on September 27, 1965:

"The national economy is in short supply of a large amount of synthetic rubber of which we are in dire need."

BLOC AID TO NORTH VIETNAM

The Administration's failure to utilize export controls to the fullest extent as one part of a consistent firm policy to halt Communist aggression in Southeast Asia must be a matter of deep concern to all Americans. We recall when our own scrap iron reforged into bombs rained from Japanese airplanes on December 7, 1941 to virtually destroy our Pacific Fleet. One would think we had learned our lesson. When the Korean war began, we reacted quickly, imposing trade controls that reduced exports to the Soviet Union from a level of $6.4 million in 1949 to $20,000 in 1952. When Khrushchev raised the Berlin wall in 1961, we again reacted with more stringent enforcement of the Export Control Act. License applications then were consistently postponed with this reply: "This case is being held without action in view of foreign policy considerations growing out of the present critical situation in Berlin."

It seems incomprehensible that a nation which in the last year has suffered 35,101 combat casualties[9] in South Vietnam can conduct and espouse a foreign policy on a conciliatory "business as usual" basis, at a time when hundreds of million of dollars of Soviet weapons and military assistance flow to North Vietnam. Last October at the very time the President was expounding on the theme of "bridges to the East," the Soviet Union and its eight allies, at a Summit meeting in Moscow, were pledging $1 billion in new aid to North Vietnam.

On December 25, 1965 Moscow Radio told this story: "Odessa is the biggest port on the Black Sea. Its busiest route is the one leading to Haiphong. A constant caravan of big merchant ships is plying this lane."

In a Prague broadcast of July 19, 1966, a Czech officer proudly extolled that Czech radar and anti-aircraft guns had been responsible for bringing down several dozen American planes over North Vietnam. East Germany has found opportunity to serve North Vietnam, too, with electronic products specially designed for operation in tropical conditions. A major source of Ho Chi Minh's medical stores is reported to be East Germany.

Accompanying these supplies it is reported are more than one hundred doctors. Nor is the aid flowing to Hanoi restricted to military supplies alone.

A recent article points out that Radio Moscow has claimed that Soviet assisted plants produced "all of North Vietnam's apatite and super phosphates, 90% of its coal and more than half of its machine tools. The country's power, mining, engineering and technical industries were all helped or run by Russian donors and advisers." Rumania is a large supplier of trucks and other vehicles to Hanoi, in addition to oil and other supplies. Bulgaria is shipping a long list of goods, such as electric trucks, steam boilers, cables, insulators, hydraulic pumps, and so forth.

It was in October 1966 that Poland announced its intention to contribute $30 million in aid to North Vietnam. Apparently the Administration sees no contradiction in a policy which allocated $9 million worth of U.S. vegetable oils to Yugoslavia while that country ships large amounts of medical supplies, and possibly other items, to North Vietnam.

BLOC ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE

I am sure you are aware of the Soviet oil offensive. The vigorous efforts the Soviet Union has made to capture an increasing share of the world petroleum market cannot be ignored.

As reflected in an article from an authoritative Soviet publication, as quoted in a U.S. Senate hearing,[10] the oil market is a prime Soviet target and as in other aspects of trade policy, political aims are uppermost here too. The article stated:

"It should be borne in mind that oil concessions represent, as it were, the foundation of the entire edifice of Western political influence in the (less developed) world, of all military bases and aggressive blocs. If this foundation cracks, the entire edifice may begin to totter and then come tumbling down."

So you see, the USSR wants not only to sell oil but also to disrupt and if possible destroy the private oil industry.

In the last ten years in part through accelerated pipeline and tanker construction, the Soviet Union has captured an increasingly large share of the petroleum market in free world nations, has increased its share to about 90% of the market in East European states, and has cut into middle-Eastern oil sales. According to figures issued a few years ago by the National Petroleum Council, the Soviet Union has more geophysical crews—oil exploration teams—employed than the combined total of all Western oil interests.

Notwithstanding the fact that to expand sources further deeper wells must be dug, the Soviets find that their own deficiencies in deep well drilling can be offset by purchase of equipment from the West. Over the last few years many licenses have been issued to sell petroleum producing equipment to Rumania, a Soviet partner in expanded petroleum trade. This has included drill bits, tubular goods, drill collars, technical data for a catalytic cracking plant, and a petroleum refinery.

We are not alone in this. West Germany, Italy and Sweden supplied 40% of the oil pipeline required to meet the most recent 5-year plan objectives. It is pertinent to remember at this point that it is Communist bloc oil that feeds and lubricates the North Vietnamese war machines.

Soviet hard currency earnings from exports of oil have grown from a share of 2% in 1952 to more than 25% of overall Soviet trade in recent years. Clearly, there is danger that we are supplying the tools to dig our own economic graves when we provide the equipment that breaches the gap in the Soviet oil production drive.

The Communist economic offensive can also, as we know, feature such tactics as dumping, price cutting, price differentials, boycotting suppliers once the suppliers are dependent on them for markets, and what have you.

DANGER OF SOVIET ESPIONAGE

Caution must be exercised that businessmen do not let down their guard against Soviet espionage. I commend to your reading some excellent articles on this subject by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. One such article appeared in the January 1964 issue of *Harvard Business Review*. Another appeared in the August 1966 issue of *Industrial Security*. If you have not had a chance to read them, I am sure copies of the articles are available from Mr. Hoover's office.

In the articles, FBI Director Hoover relates how the American businessman is more than ever the target of Soviet Bloc intelligence. Selection of targets depends on what is determined to be needed from Moscow. They are adroit at painstakingly setting the stage for their approaches. Frequently, the representatives begin their associations in social situations.

They may contact a prospect, for example, on the basis of seeking a large contract for commercial items to entice him to release blueprints and technical data. Sometimes a contract may be produced, and then while the contract is being studied it will be mentioned that before it can be signed, the particular Soviet foreign trade organization involved would like to look at other products of the firm, often those that are classified.

Time and again it is necessary to ask that Soviet aides leave the country because they are engaging in espionage activities.

I wish to leave you with a strong word of caution on this point. A good dose of healthy skepticism is the best insurance against the possibility that one may unwittingly contribute to them prized industrial know-how. Remember, the first nuclear devices were built by the Soviets from blueprints and technical data supplied by a Communist spy ring. Often, software will do just as well as the actual item.

Along those same lines, it is well known that the Communist bloc often seeks to buy prototypes for copying purposes. Then too, one of the worst things about dealing with the USSR is their disrespect for patent rights.

CONCLUSIONS

Where does all this leave us? I am compelled to the conclusion that to a large extent the move to increase trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries is a matter of grave concern.

We know that the Communist buyers do not seek the usual types of raw materials and consumer products. Nor do they come to the West in the spirit of finding true trading partners. Rather they come with shopping lists carefully drawn up by centralized governments. They seek shortcuts—ways to use the West to expand their own capacities and advance bloc goals.

What are these goals? Clearly an immediate goal is to help bring about a Communist victory in Vietnam. This is however only part of a broad, continuing campaign to advance the cause of Communism throughout the world by whatever means possible, be it by subversion, through so-called wars of liberation, by economic warfare, or other means.

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[8] Izvestia, 11 November 1963, p. 2.

[9] Department of Defense announcement as of January 5, 1967.

[10] Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings, October 1962, Problems Raised by Soviet Oil Development, page 405.

Regrettably, at a time such as this when Communist leaders recognize the deep difficulty their economies face, we are failing to recognize that through a proper use of trade, we and other Western nations should be able to compel the Communist bloc to work to restore peace to the world rather than support aggression.

Aside from what we can do individually, a mechanism for cooperation in this regard among the nations of the West exists today in the Coordinating Committee (COCOM), a body which includes in its membership 14 NATO countries and Japan. However, this would require the catalyst of inspired leadership on the part of the United States because due to repeated watering down of the embargo list, the effectiveness of COCOM has greatly deteriorated. We must work harder to secure recognition by other COCOM nations of the need for effective joint action.

It is a very serious matter that we discuss here. "Peaceful detente" is still a condition of wishful judgment, not fact. We must be realistic therefore and weigh carefully the significance of trade with the bloc. In so doing we must give full consideration to the meaning of trade to our security and welfare. If the situation is such that restraints and controls are needed, and I believe they are, then we must act accordingly.

Thank you very much for your attention.

EDUCATION, BUSINESS, AND THE FUTURE

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Gardner] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, very recently Mr. M. A. Wright, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and chairman of the board of the Humble Oil & Refining Co., in Houston, Tex., made a forthright speech in my congressional district.

Speaking before the Public Affairs Forum at Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C., he pointed out the complex challenges that face us in future educational problems as technology continues to expand at an explosive rate. He urged a more receptive attitude on the part of educators themselves to the new tools and techniques of learning.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer for the Record Mr. Wright's speech entitled "Education, Business, and the Future," delivered on February 13, 1967, at the Public Affairs Forum, Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C.

Education, Business, and the Future

(An address by M. A. Wright, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C., February 13, 1967)

By almost any measure, the 20th Century has been a time of dynamic technological and economic change. Since the turn of the century, we have witnessed a 200-fold increase in the speed at which man can travel. Over the same time span, such breakthroughs as radio, television, and the communications satellite have revolutionized man's ability to communicate. Advances in such fields as medicine, psychology, and chemistry, to name but a few, have been so striking as to defy the comprehension of the average laymen. And the development of nuclear energy has placed at man's disposal a source of power which could result in either unlimited good or immeasurable mischief.

These developments have been accompanied by substantial advances in economic welfare. Since 1914, the average weekly earnings of our workers has increased from about $10 a week to almost $110 a week. At the same time, the leisure of America's workers has been enhanced by a 20 percent cut in the average work week. And even after allowing for price changes and tax increases—which have been substantial—the real income of our labor force has increased some three-fold. In the relatively short period of 20 years, real output in the United States has doubled and real disposable income per person has grown about one-half.

Because of this rapid growth, the United States is by far the most prosperous nation in the world. With only 7 percent of the world's population and 6 percent of its land area, we currently produce about one-third of the world's total output. In fact, the annual *increase* in our output of goods and services is larger than the *total* output of all but a few other nations in the world.

With these past achievements as prologue, we are understandably anticipating even more dramatic progress in the future. And for the most part, these anticipations seem fully justified. Today, there are about 400,000 scientists in the Untied States, more than triple the number of just 20 years ago. It is estimated, in fact, that of all the scientists who ever lived, 90 percent are alive today. To support this large and growing number of scientists, our nation will commit $25 billion this year to research and development, some theree times the amount spent just 10 years ago.

It is reasonable thus to expect this increasing emphasis on science and research to accelerate technological change. One recent study has shown this to be true. Before the First World War the typical time lag between a scientific or engineering discovery and recognition of its commercial potential was about 30 years. Between the wars this lag declined by about one-half, and in the post-World War II period, the time between a technical discovery and its application has been about 9 years. Recent developments in the fields of electronics, computer and space technologies as well as many others suggest this lag has been even further reduced in the past few years.

Technological innovation gives birth to new and better products and allows us to produce existing products more efficiently. Thus, acceleration of scientific development certainly bodes well for the future. Indeed, predictions about the approaching age of abundance, of leisure, and of a host of new and exotic goods and services are enough to make us envy the next generation. Economists tell us that with even modest success, the nation's output in today's prices will exceed $1 trillion in 1975. Further, they see the classic income pyramid being inverted in the next decade as fewer people earn low incomes and an increasingly larger proportion of the population is concentrated in the $15,000 and over income range.

The strength and vitality of the nation's economic system, and our growing commitment to science and technology, seem to make these favorable expectations well founded. Yet, we must not let our optimism make us careless and nearsighted, perhaps blinding us to the very pitfalls which could slow or even prevent these bright prospects. It would certainly be foolish, and costly, to take unlimited progress for granted. As in the past there will be many impediments and barriers which must be overcome if the nation is to fully realize its great promise. We must be fully as alert to the potential problems as to the potential progress if the future is to be as rewarding as we all hope.

The challenges and problems will be nowhere more acute than in our educational complex. The success of the future—as the success of the past—will in large measure be determined by the responsiveness and imagination of the nation's educational system. In a society that will become increasingly more complex—and undergo change at an even faster pace—a person's education will determine not only his livelihood but indeed the very essence of the life he leads. If the educational system meets the demands that will be placed upon it, many changes will be forthcoming.

The most urgent demand placed upon tomorrow's educators will be to keep abreast of the very knowledge explosion that they themselves have helped create. Technology, for example, has advanced more in the last 50 years—if in fact not more in the last 15 years—than in all the previous history of mankind. It is estimated that man's total knowledge will double over the next 10 years. Another source estimates that there is roughly 100 times as much to know today as there was in 1900 and there will probably be 1000 times as much to be learned by the end of the century. It is no doubt startling to realize that most of the knowledge today's student will need in his lifetime has not yet been discovered, and much of what he has already learned will soon be obsolete or irrelevant.

In its most simple terms, the educational system of tomorrow will be faced with the task of providing more knowledge in less time to more people. With scientific discovery and technological change continuing apace, man's control and mastery of his environment will be determined by his store of knowledge and the wisdom with which he uses it. The future of mankind, H. G. Wells once said, depends on the outcome of a race between education and catastrophe. There is certainly no more urgent challenge than to see that this race is won by education.

If our educational system is to measure up to the task at hand, the first requisite is a more receptive attitude among teachers and administrators—such as here at Shaw—toward new and better techniques of teaching and learning. Ironically, such an attitude has often been absent in the past. In fact, education—which has been a prime mover in the technological and scientific revolution of the 20th Century—has remained almost untouched by change in its own operations. While almost every other institution has witnessed rapid innovations and improvements in recent years, the methods and equipment used in preparing the nation's most valuable resource—human intelligence—have remained nearly unchanged.

Perhaps one of the most notable examples of education's slow response to change has been its inadequate—and in most cases nonexistent—use of computers and computer technology both in administration and in teaching. Business has long realized the tremendous benefits of computers for purposes as diverse as data collection and filing to the development of mathematical models for optimization and simulation purposes. Computers have revolutionized such business functions as inventory control, investment policies, and distribution practices. A modern computer can perform more calculations in one hour than a football stadium full of scientists could in a lifetime. As a result, the cost of making one million calculations has declined from $30,000 in pre-computer days to about 30 cents today.

In the hands of imaginative teachers and administrators, computerized teaching devices could cause equally dramatic and revolutionary changes in the eduactional process. Through the use of programmed learning—which is not nearly so depersonalized as it may sound—the possibilities of individualized training are unlimited. By allowing each student to pursue a course of study at a pace set by his own capabilities—rather than at a norm set for a large group of students with dissimilar attributes—all of our young people would have a better opportunity to realize their full intellectual potential. By eliminating memory work, the computer would allow the student more time to think and to analyze problems, thus making him more capable of understanding and mastering the knowledge that he acquires. In addition, our teachers would be allowed more free time for individual instruction and discussion. With many of their routine functions removed, teachers would also have a greater opportunity for the creative and resourceful effort necessary to improve the whole of a student's educational experience.

The computer is only one of many technological developments that can be applied to the teaching process. There are many others—such as closed circuit TV systems, electronic teaching machines, centralized tape libraries—that will no doubt offer equally promising results. It will behoove all of us to see that tomorrow's educators have the most advanced teaching techniques available. If tomorrow's student is to be adequately prepared for his place in our space age society, our methods of learning must be as highly developed as the electronic circuitry of the space ship he will travel in.

But rapid and imaginative changes in the techniques of teaching and learning will not be the only change required of the educational complex of the future. If the nation is to realize its full promise, tomorrow's educators must be equally as sensitive to changes in the substance and purpose of education as to the techniques by which it is taught. Unless the abilities and skills that are developed in the classroom are those which are demanded by the nation's economic and social institutions, the techniques and methods used—or even the rapidity of the learning process—will not be pertinent.

Our future progress could in fact be seriously constrained should a more serious imbalance develop between the skills and professions needed by our economy and those actually possessed by the labor force. As economic and technological change becomes not only more complex, but also occurs at an accelerated rate, the need for a perceptive and responsive educational institution will become even more critical.

It has been predicted that in 1975 some three-fourths of our labor force will be producing goods and services that have not yet been developed. Unless educators—and other public and private policy makers—demonstrate unusually keen foresight, our future economic and technological achievements could be tarnished by a large and growing reserve of inadequately or inappropriately prepared workers.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in a recent study found that the economy will need approximately 4 million additional skilled workers over the next ten years, thus increasing their numbers by about one-fourth. It is estimated that for every new scientist or engineer that enters the labor force, six or more craftsmen will be needed. The nation's needs for highly educated professional and technical workers will expand at an even greater rate. In 1965 this group comprised almost one-seventh of all jobholders, about one-and-one-half the proportion of just ten years earlier. Between now and 1975, the nation's professional manpower requirements will continue to grow at about twice the rate of other labor needs, thus continuing to increase this ratio.

Such an upgrading of the labor force is certainly a desirable, and in most respects inevitable, consequence of a highly developed economy. But if our educational and industrial institutions do not remain alert and responsive to these future needs, the result could be serious dislocations of America's human resources. Even today, according to a recent study by the Manpower Research Council, some 3 million jobs remained unfilled because qualified people could not be found. This situation exists though there are currently more than 3 million Americans unemployed and seeking work. The possibility of our dynamic economy increasing this disparity between the types of skills needed and those available is great, unless all of us—educators, businessmen, and public administrators—attempt to foresee future changes and adjust our policies accordingly.

Our first effort toward preventing a larger imbalance in the labor markets could be an uplifting of the education of our most deficient workers. About one-half of the nation's total employed have less than a high school education, and almost one-fifth never completed the eighth grade. It is evident that many of these men and women have less than a minimum effective education today and will be even more disadvantaged in the future. If they are not to become tomorrow's unemployables and poverty cases, efforts must be made to improve their education and training and thus improve their usefulness to society.

As should be evident, the challenges that will be faced by education in the future are not exclusive to this one institution: they are truly challenges facing all segments of society. If our educational system is successful in developing the methods and techniques that will be required by the enormous intellectual demands of the future, business has the responsibility of helping to decide what changes can be made, how much they will cost, and how they will be financed. Business can be of particular service by helping educators develop the same scientific decision-making techniques to their problems that have been applied to business decisions and planning for many years. Through this process, the purpose and objectives of our educational system could be more clearly developed. At the same time, more efficient and effective means of achieving these goals could be initiated.

If the challenges of the future are to be met, business and education must in fact greatly increase their interaction. Corporate giving doesn't complete business' responsibility to the world of study and schooling. According to former United States Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, now president of the General Learning Corporation, "The private sector is knowledgeable and well staffed. It can contribute to the strengthening of both public affairs and private profit by taking an active part in the development of new ways of teaching and learning."

The role of business in education will become increasingly more important in the future. We are entering an age when more than ever before education will become a continuous, life-long process. If we are to keep up with the complex demands of our society, individuals at all age levels will spend an increasing proportion of their time in expanding and extending their education. We have already arrived at a place where our formal education is but the beginning of a long and rewarding learning process. And business, through its own training and educational programs, can and should foster this process.

We in the United States are presently on the threshold of unlimited and even unimagined progress and change. We have only begun to realize the benefits of our science and technology. Our journey into the affluent society has only recently gotten underway. The advantages of our knowledge explosion are not yet even fully conceived. And the success of our efforts to improve the overall quality and culture of our lives are as yet barely perceivable.

But, if the nation is to attain its full promise, there are numerous challenges that must be met. Foremost among these are the changes and innovations facing our educational system. Education will need to adapt its techniques and methods to the future demands of our society. It will also need to assure that the substance and purpose of its teaching is appropriate to the needs of our society. Indeed, the responsiveness and imagination of the nation's educators will in the future as in the past largely determine the limits of our success. We must all—businessmen included—see that the appropriate changes are made and that the challenges of the future are not allowed to become the barriers to progress.

The problems and rewards of the future will be truly infinite. You are living in an exciting and demanding age. I'm sure that each of you will accept your responsibility and see that the future's promise and potential are fully realized.

MUTUAL FUNDS—SEC'S RECENT REPORT

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, although the academic world boasts amazingly few critics of bureaucracy and all its works, there are some noteworthy exceptions. One of the most outspoken and persuasive is George J. Stigler, Charles R. Walgreen Distinguished Service Professor of American Institutions at the University of Chicago. Several years ago, Professor Stigler analyzed the highly touted Special Study of the Securities and Exchange Commission as a "promiscuous collection of conventional beliefs and personal prejudices." What follows is his equally critical analysis of the SEC's recent report on mutual funds.

The article in Barron's February 27, 1967 issue, is as follows:

Alice in Fundland: A Note on Elementary Economics and Advanced Regulation

The Securities and Exchange Commission is seeking to participate more fully in the growth of the American economy. In 1964 it received a generous measure of new powers to control over-the-counter stocks and under-the-counter deals, and has no doubt already assimilated these powers, to the confusion of fraud and the prosperous enlightenment of the investing public. Now it seeks power, similar to those used with such telling effect upon the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission, to protect still another of the many flanks of the investor—his relationship to the investment companies.

I propose to examine this new proposal. Several years ago when I reviewed the Special Study with which the SEC prepared its previous expansion, I emphasized the comprehensive and stubborn unwillingness of the Special Study to examine historically the actual effects of previous regulation. No one disputed this proposition, although several friends and relatives of the SEC criticized my own study of registration of new issues, which suggested that previous efforts of the SEC in this area had been of negligible value to those members of the public who were not employed by the SEC.

No one could dispute this same charge if it is now brought again: none of the proposals in "Public Policy Implications of Investment Company Growth" rests upon an empirical showing that similar measures have had even modest success in other markets, times or places. That would be asking for a change of standards and philosophy on the part of the SEC Commissioners which not even a most determined President and Congress could have wrought in two years. The substitution of hopes for experience is small commendation of the SEC proposals, but the report on mutual funds suffers an even more fundamental weakness: its hopes are confused. A routine application of economic theory to the current SEC report will tell the tale.

The recent SEC report touches on many questions but two are paramount: (1) The compensation to advisor-managers of the funds; (2) The sales expenses of mutual funds. The SEC proposes, on the basis of its studies, to put an absolute limit (5%) on sales expenses, and set reasonable fees for the management of funds. We begin with the fees to managers and advisers of funds.

The main type of investment company under discussion is a so-called open-end mutual fund from which a shareholder can have his shares redeemed or a proportionate part of the fund's net assets. The fund is commonly guided by an investment adviser, who usually receives a small percentage of the average assets of the fund as an annual compensation for his services.

An investment adviser may manage several funds (a "complex" in the Report), but even taking such complexes as single units, the industry is not highly concentrated. In mid-1966, some 379 mutual funds and 149 closed-end trusts were registered with the SEC. The four largest management groups had about 25% of the assets of all open-end funds on June 30, 1966. The student of industrial organization will assuredly characterize this as an unconcentrated industry. This student will be all the more confident that the industry's structure is competitive because the mutual funds ($38.2 billion in 1966) have excellent substitutes: closed-end trusts ($6.6 billion), trust companies, pension funds—and even personal diversification. The appropriate economic theory is that of competition, absent a showing of effective collusion (which is not even hinted at in the Report).

An economist would naturally expect that with full disclosure of management charges by the various funds, and full reporting of past investment performance, the competition of funds for the investor's dollar would serve its usual disciplinary function on costs. The Commission rejects this view, and the argument is reproduced in its entirety: "If mutual funds shareholders are viewed as customers to whom the advisers and underwriters sell their services and products, (1) the shareholder protections provided by the fiduciary principles of corporation law tend to disappear. There is no adequate substitute for those principles. (2) The individual mutual fund shareholder cannot bargain over the level of the sales load, the terms of the advisory contract or the utilization of portfolio brokerage. (3) If by reason of the industry structure, there is no one in a position to bargain effectively with respect to these matters, and if competition cannot operate as an effective control, then fundamental questions of public policy are raised."

Consider this remarkable array of assertions in turn: (1) Officers of a fund have the usual fiducial responsibilities, and not the slightest reason is given for believing that they would "tend to disappear" if the SEC were abolished. It may be noted also that fiducial relationships are not the only way in which to protect investments, and in particular insurance is a general substitute. This point, however, is irrelevant: competition works within a given legal framework, not in lieu of that framework. Whatever the assignment of fiducial responsibilities to mutual fund directors (and there are economic elements in the optimum assignment), competition can then work without further public intervention.

(2) The individual can shift his funds to the fund whose management pleases him, and this is the decisive sanction. Does the SEC think that Macy or Florsheim Shoes bargains individually with a customer over product style and price?

(3) Accordingly, this sentence is a double non-sequitur—neither the legal preamble nor the economic theory is correct.

Given the large number of mutual funds and the absence of any restrictions upon the entry of additional mutual funds, competition has free play. If any type of fund (say, those emphasizing (capital gains) offers special profits, the competition of other funds will lead to the sharing of the profits with the investors. The theory of competition works for shares as well as sheaves.

The Report combats this theory along familiar lines:

(1) "Cost reductions in the form of lower advisory fees or other cost considerations do not figure significantly in the battle for investment favor. Although advisory fees are continuous charges which must be paid without regard to the fund's investment success, to the average mutual fund investor an annual 0.50% advisory fee rate may not appear substantial in relation to the value of his investment."

In fact 0.50% is barely ½ of 1%. This piece of statistical demand analysis by the SEC lawyers (legometricians, yet) will no doubt be amplified at a later date.

(2) "To the extent that mutual fund investors are aware of and concerned over advisory fees, their opportunities for obtaining mutual fund management services at significantly lower costs are limited. For most of the externally managed funds the reductions from the traditional 0.50% advisory fee rate are not substantial."

The actual tabulation of 1965 rates for the 57 largest funds is as follows:

[Number of funds]

Advisory fee rate:	
Over 0.60	1
0.510 to 0.60	6
0.50	13
0.40 to 0.50	26
0.30 to 0.40	6
0.20 to 0.30	5

The econometrician-lawyers who find these rates substantially equal to 0.50 must be rounding off to the nearest 0.50. This is a most substantial range of rates—far in excess of what one can find in most markets.

In fact, it is a fictitious range of rates because the quantity and quality of services provided by the advisory services varies among funds. There is no reason why a uniform price should be charged, anymore than there is any reason why all lawyers should set the same fee for a case, or why Saks Fifth Avenue and a part-time peddler should sell soap at the same prices. Yet the Commission persists in assuming that all price differences reflect excessive prices by all except (possibly) the lowest price seller. The Report gives these reasons for its belief that the advisory fee rates are too high:

1. Rates do not fall as fast as costs fall when mutual funds grow in size.

2. Internally managed funds have lower management costs on average than the outside advisory services set.

3. Bank trust fees for managing pension and profit sharing funds are lower than any mutual fund rates.

4. Mutual funds managed by banks pay lower fees than nonbank advisory services charge.

5. The advisory services charge lower fees to non-fund clients than do funds.

DIFFERENT SERVICES

The Commission does not understand that different services command different prices—indeed, that the great growth of the funds in the presence of all these cheap substitutes is conclusive proof that they render different services. If the SEC Commissioners believe that the funds are overcharged for advisory services, we suggest that they launch a mutual fund to benefit both mutual fund investors and themselves. It may be called the X-SEC-Fund, and will no doubt be known familiarly as Extra-Dry on the Rocks.

The accurately predictable reply to my complaint at the SEC Report will be that competition does not work so well as the economist believes. I propose two rejoinders to this reply: 1. The opinion of the economist as to how competition works is surely more authoritative than the opinion of a lawyer. The Report, in fact, shows little comprehension of the workings of a price system and at times makes elementary blunders in analyzing competition. (For example, the mutual funds assign a portion of the commissions of NYSE members arising from their portfolio transactions to designated brokers as a reward for selling mutual fund shares—the so-called "give-ups." This practice arises because the NYSE does not allow quantity discounts on commissions, and hence the practice of give-ups restores some rationality to the commission structure. The SEC says, however, "The use of the funds' brokerage commissions as extra compensation to retail sellers of fund shares primarily benefits their adviser-underwriters rather than the funds and their shareholders." The reduction in selling costs so achieved, in other words, presumably accrues only to the advisory services. In one inconspicuous footnote, the error of this argument is pointed out. Nevertheless, the Commission wishes to forbid "give-ups.")

2. Competition in the real world is not perfect competition, but public regulation in the real world is not prompt, omniscient or omnipotent. The very Commission that has failed for more than 30 years to regulate the structure of commissions set by the New York Stock Exchange, which does have monopoly power, has poor credentials to regulate a competitive industry.

SELLING EXPENSES

The dislike of selling expenses is rampant in the Securities and Exchange Commission. They find the present legal maximum on sales expenses of 9% of the sales price of mutual shares to be excessive, and propose a 5% ceiling.

The central thesis of the Report is that selling costs are excessively high. The bases for this assertion are less elaborate than those we encountered with respect to the advisory fee: 1. The sales load (commonly 8.5% of the investment for investments of less than $5,000 or $10,000) is larger than commissions on the NYSE. 2. The sales load exceeds commissions on the over-the-counter market. (Here, as in item 1, the Report is simply wrong in ignoring the spread between bid and ask prices.) 3. The sales load usually exceeds the cost of flotations of new issues.

I have only one comment to make: the SEC fails to distinguish the sale of the underlying stock in the mutual fund from the sale of the services of the mutual fund itself (see the remarks on quality of the securities involved, p. 213). This blunder alone vitiates the above comparisons.

Subject to one monstrous proviso, there is the same competitive structure in the selling of mutual fund shares as in the advising of funds. There is ample variety in the selling expenses, including 60 mutual funds which have no selling expense load and are traded over-the-counter. The one proviso is that there is resale price maintenance: a special statutory provision forbids anyone to sell mutual fund shares at less than the posted mark-up. The natural and obvious step would be to remove by legislation this legislatively created barrier to competition.

TEMPORARY BENEFITS

The SEC refuses to recommend the removal of resale price maintenance because there might be temporary benefits to sales organizations belonging to the advisory services (so-called captive sales organizations). The SEC does not recommend that it be given power to prohibit resale price maintenance: not even the danger of competition is to be incurred in the security markets.

Contractual (installment) purchases receive special misunderstanding. Presently one-half of the first year's payments go to partial payment for selling costs, a practice called front-loading, so a contractual buyer who abandons the contract (as he may without penalty) incurs a very large selling cost relative to investment equity. The SEC deplores this fact, and proposes that all selling costs be charged at a uniform time rate.

This is a splendid illustration of the incapacity of non-economists to understand economic phenomena. There is no serious doubt that most selling costs are incurred in the initial sales of the time contract. (Indeed, at another point the SEC belabors the funds for not recognizing that selling expenses arise briefly in the initial sale period.) Hence, to play the SEC game, we must choose between:

(1) Front-loading, so those who stop payment after a year or two bear the full cost of the selling expenses arising from their purchases.

(2) Average-loading, so those who stay with the contract to maturity pay a higher average rate to compensate the costs created by those who stop after a year or two.

But in fact this choice is one between income distributions, and the SEC gives no reason for preferring the latter alternative. An economist must point out that front-loading discourages promiscuous entrance into contracts and hence economizes selling costs. The SEC seeks a policy which encourages the misallocation of resources.

SHARED BY LAYMEN

The Commission's dislike for selling costs calls for no special explanation: it is shared by laymen and even by a large fraction of economists. The provision of information is a major and continuing task of economic life, but one which most people believe should be cheap in cost and puritanical in content. The willingness of investors to pay for information—witness the modest share of the no-load funds in the industry—is attributed to ignorance or gullibility: the silly investor should not have been willing to spend 9% of his savings on selling costs. It would be romantic in the extreme to believe that the tradition-minded SEC should be forward looking on the economics of information even though it is dedicated to disclosure of information.

The policy proposals of the SEC pose a problem in the structure of economic regulation. The main requisite for designing an economic policy is a knowledge of economics; the main requisite for the legal enforcement of regulations is legal training. The task of enforcement is continuous and consumes the overwhelming share of the resources of a regulatory body. The almost inevitable result is that lawyers play the dominant role in the regulatory body, even in its strictly economic function of designing new policies.

Yet Chairman Cohen and his fellow Commissioners are not economists or, apparently, able to solicit competent economic advice. The Commission has no comprehension of marginal analysis. It believes that a mutual fund, for example, should execute a purchase order for securities under the best possible terms, and that response to savings in sales expense from use of one channel rather than another is a "distortion" and perhaps even a dereliction of fiducial responsibility.

The Commission does not even know how to read statistical data. ("The advisory fees of most of the 20 funds in the $300 million and over category did not pay for substantially more nonadvisory services than those typically provided by mutual fund advisers in return for advisory fees." But the 20 largest funds had expenses other than advisory fees of .098 of assets, and 20 smaller funds (Nos. 38 to 57 in Table III-3) had an average expense ratio of .1265, or 29% higher.)

UNTRAINED MINDS

It is content to use untrained minds which "know the facts" of the securities markets—as if they even know which facts are worth knowing. We entrust the initiative in policy formation to a group which lacks both the analytical training for its work and the humility to subject its policies to empirical test.

A change of faces will not solve the problem of incompetence, since the basic problem is structural rather than personal. If we are going to have regulatory bodies in economic life, I believe that we should make at least two changes in our practice. The first change is minor: The regulatory body should have professional economic membership, which will at least provide a channel of communication to economics.

The second change is major: the regulatory body should not be allowed to propose changes in policy to the public or Congress, but instead to a professional economic body in the administration. The knowledge of the enforcer of regulations is intimate and valuable, but it is also biased and legalistic and offers no adequate basis for the review of past policy and the formulation of new policy. An internal governmental review is essential for political reasons—no administration will turn over power to people not responsible to it—but this review does not have to be self-serving and professionally incompetent.

FINANCIAL INTERRELATIONSHIP OF UNITED STATES AND BAHAMAS

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, this week I have requested Chairman PATMAN of the Banking and Currency Committee to take under consideration the possibility of a committee inquiry into the relationship between American persons and financial institutions, and Bahamas persons and financial institutions. In recent months, the Bahamas have moved into the news spotlight, thanks to the antics of our former colleague, Mr. Powell, and the overthrow of the old "Bay Street Boys" government. Some of the spotlight has stuck on the unique financial arrangements it is possible to organize in the Bahamas.

The financial interrelationship of the United States and the Bahamas deserves an even closer examination. First, there is the problem of the mob. They have moved into the Bahamas under lucrative casino franchising arrangements worked out with the former government. No doubt they use United States and Bahamanian financial institutions to move their money back and forth. Then there are the mutual funds, with their tax-haven status and their secret numbered accounts. The Cornfeld empire has one, and so does a clique of ex-Kennedy administration officials who are betraying the Alliance for Progress by offering a lucrative investment opportunity to Latin American dictators and ex-Nazi refugees. Lots of ordinary people like Adam Clayton Powell have personal holding companies in the Bahamas. His is named Huff Enterprises, and members of the new government are stockholders. On top of this, some U.S. banks have subsidiaries on the Bahamas which are run through Edge Act corporations.

All this is worth looking into. I understand that the Treasury Department is quietly studying the status of some Bahamas "banks." The British Government also intends to look into the Bahamas situation. I think that Congress, more specifically the House Banking Committee, should also investigate the financial interrelationship of the Bahamas and the United States.

I enclose some material on this subject. First, my statement. Second, articles from the Miami News of February 3, 1967, the Wall Street Journal of February 9, 1967, and excerpts from a Chicago Tribune editorial of February 19, 1967, all discussing the Bahamas-chartered U.S. Investors Fund run by ex-participants in the Kennedy administration for the possible benefit of South American hot money. Third, I include some material showing how Bernard Cornfeld's and other overseas mutual funds run their questionable operations in part through the tax-haven Bahamas, to the distaste of responsible financial nations. Fourth, I include the February 3, 1967, Life article and the February 25, 1967, Saturday Evening Post article on gambling and financial skulduggery in the Bahamas. Fifth, a February 28, 1967, Washington Post article gives some interesting information on the participation of members of the new Bahamas Government on the Adam Clayton Powell-connected Huff Enterprises holding company. I think all of this material offers meat aplenty for a Banking Committee investigation.

[A release by Congressman PAUL FINO, Mar. 8, 1967]

FINO CALLS FOR PROBE OF UNITED STATES-BAHAMAS SHADY FINANCIAL SETUPS, CITES EX-KENNEDY CLIQUE OPERATION TO LET SOUTH AMERICAN DICTATORS FUNNEL MONEY INTO UNITED STATES

Congressman Paul A. Fino, Dean of the New York Republican House delegation and a senior member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, today told the House that a clique of ex-Kennedy Administration officeholders were "sabotaging the Alliance for Progress" in Latin America by setting up a Bahamas investment fund through which South American dictators and ex-Nazi refugees can invest their political blood money in lucrative non-South American enterprises.

Congressman Fino, who recently went to South America on a study mission and reported to Congress on February 8, 1967, on the need to encourage capital investment in

South America, decried the actions of the ex-Kennedy clique in encouraging South Americans to send their money abroad.

Mr. Fino, second ranking Republican on the Banking Committee, urged Banking Committee Chairman Patman to order a Committee investigation of the links between Bahamanian-chartered corporations and U.S. persons and banks, including various mob operations. The Congressman suggested that Chairman Patman give serious consideration to ordering a full-scale investigation of the American financial skulduggery conducted through the Bahamas, including Adam Clayton Powell's "Huff Enterprises", the Kennedy clique's "U.S. Investment Fund", the Bahamas bank which is controlled by and serves Bernard Cornfeld's "Investors Overseas Services" (the international mutual fund maverick), and the many mob-controlled gambling rackets.

In his statement, Congressman Fino said:

"Recently, the *Chicago Tribune* and *Miami News* have run stories on a shocking financial venture being conducted in the Bahamas by associates of the late President John F. Kennedy. It seems that these men, who I will name shortly, have organized a Bahamas corporation through which South American dictators, cattle barons and ex-Nazi refugees can invest in the United States in secrecy (through numbered accounts) and without paying U.S. taxes. I refer to a mutual fund named the 'U.S. Investment Fund'.

"Among the directors of the U.S. Investment Fund, as listed by the *Chicago Tribune* are 1.) Pierre Salinger, former White House Press Secretary; 2.) Charles U. Daly, former Kennedy assistant; 3.) Richard K. Donahue, Kennedy assistant; 4.) William Mahoney, Jr., former Ambassador to Ghana; 5.) Ivan Nestingen, former HEW undersecretary; and 6.) John Stillman, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce. As all these men well know, the fund they have set up will no doubt be used by South American dictators, economic czars and perhaps even the ex-Nazi refugees of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, to send plunder out of South America into stable-currency countries where it can rest secure and earn money at the same time.

"Purchasers of U.S. Investment Fund shares will be anonymous because the Fund can offer investors secrecy through the medium of numbered accounts. Nor will investors pay U.S. taxes: and Bahamanian taxes, thanks to the 'Bay Street Boys' whose oligarchic regime has just been turned out of office, are negligible. The associates of the last President are offering the political profiteers of South America some very desirable investment opportunities!

"This does not seem in keeping with the spirit of the late President Kennedy's 'Alliance for Progress'. On the contrary, the U.S. Investment Fund seems more like an 'alliance for reaction', with no small profit accruing to all the 'allies'!

"Last December, I toured South America with Chairman Henry Reuss of the International Finance Subcommittee. We saw shocking agricultural poverty and waste. One of South America's most crying needs is for agricultural and other investment capital. Congressman Reuss and I have both proposed that the Inter-American Development Bank issue hard-currency bonds so that soft-currency shy South Americans can be tempted to invest in their own continent instead of sending their money abroad. In my report of February 8, I urged that Latin American capital 'be made to work for Latin America instead of accumulating in Miami Beach or Switzerland'. It seems that the ex-Kennedy clique behind the U.S. Investment Fund doesn't agree with me.

"The U.S. Investment Fund is not only legal, it is typical of the Bahamas, where everything is legal that will make money for the Bahamas. These laws are the product of the era of the 'Bay Street Boys', a gang of financial-legal barons who until recently ran the Bahamas, relying on a gerrymandered legislature and the power of the dollar—including mob dollars from the Bahamas casinos franchised to U.S. mobsters. Fittingly, the 'Bay Street Boys' have been thrown out, although allegations have been made that the United States Department of State misses them and would like to see them back. Perhaps the directors of U.S. Investment Fund have used their influence to plead the Bay Street cause. Not that the new government is opposed to financial chicanery, however. Financial chicanery is almost a way of life in the Bahamas.

"Members of the new government are stockholders of 'Huff Enterprises', Adam Clayton Powell's overseas holding company. Another lucrative Bahamanian enterprise is the controlled bank of 'Investors Overseas Services', Bernard Cornfield's international investment empire which is *persona non grata* to the world's responsible financial nations. Several United States banks and Edge Act corporations also work through Bahamanian subsidiaries. The Bahamas is a favorite place for the mob to 'wash' their U.S. profits and to make new profits through the lush casino arrangements they worked out with the former regime in the Bahamas. Some of this underworld money is behind United States and Bahamian banks.

"For all these reasons, I am urging Chairman Patman of the House Banking Committee to conduct an investigation of the interrelationship of United States persons and financial institutions with Bahamanian persons and financial institutions. I think that such an investigation is clearly within the jurisdiction of the Committee.

"America has nothing to be proud of in the way Americans have used the Bahamas as a headquarters for dubious financial transactions and schemings. I think it would be a good idea to investigate the financial interrelationship of the Bahamas and the United States."

[From the Miami News, Feb. 3, 1967]

Miamians, J.F.K. Aids Backing Mutual Fund for Foreigners

(By John Cunniff)

New York.—Some former members of the Kennedy Administration plus some key Miami businessmen are busy these days as directors of a mutual fund that seeks to sell foreigners on the profit potential of owning a bit of America.

Among them are Pierre Salinger, former White House Press Secretary; Charles U. Daly and Richard K. Donahue, former staff assistants; William Mahoney Jr., a former Ambassador, and Ivan Nestingen and John Stillman, once sub-cabinet officers.

For tax purposes, and in order to offer customers accounts, designated by numbers rather than names, the fund operates from the Bahamas, where there are no income, sales or inheritance taxes, and where American taxes cannot apply.

The fund's three portfolios offer foreigners shares in American mutual funds, common stocks and real estate. Because of the tax exemptions, sales to Americans are prohibited.

Although perfectly legal, the fund may be criticized by nations which cannot afford to have capital drained abroad. Criticism may develop also over the numbered accounts, sometimes the repository of illegally obtained funds.

The officers contend, however, that this money would find its way abroad anyway and that some of it already is invested outside the country of origin. They add that numbered accounts will be limited to 5 per cent of the total and that the directors will check the background of those seeking them.

Operators of the fund also note that it will bring a flow of gold back to the United States, thus helping ease pressure on the dollar.

Few of the Directors have had any previous direct involvement in mutual funds. They were chosen, apparently, in hopes of inspiring confidence, based on their former government associations.

Donahue, now a Lowell, Mass., lawyer, and Keith Barish, a young Miami investor, returned recently from Latin America, where they began building a sales force of natives and foreign businessmen already based there. Next trip is to the Middle East.

Donahue is vice president of the fund's management company, Great American Management and Research Co. Ltd. His firm is also legal adviser. Barish is secretary-treasurer.

That fund, the United States Investment Fund, leaves little doubt in an investor's mind that he is buying something American. Its deep blue circular insignia is centered with an eagle on whose chest is bannered a red and white shield.

The real estate portfolio invests 70 per cent of its money directly in American real estate, the remainder in securities. Barish says purchases already have been made of a Miami shopping center, an Atlanta plant and an Iowa restaurant.

Investors in the mutual fund portfolio have their money reinvested in ten other mutual funds.

The common stock portfolio's promotion points out that foreign investors are getting a chance to acquire "a financial interest in the shares of many of America's best known companies."

The directors, all of whom are stockholders, receive a $1,000 annual fee. The officers take no pay, as yet, but could become wealthy merely from fund growth and commissions. The company expects a profit from the very beginning.

The management setup, which officers claim will be worldwide this year, could also be the vehicle for an insurance company, a bank, perhaps even a travel agency or a similar business needing worldwide contacts.

Officers of the management company, besides Barish and Donahue, are Nathan B. Rood, president; and Joseph Jordan and James Cuff O'Brien, vice presidents.

Rood is a Miami attorney, financer, banker and builder with Latin American connections. Jordan, also of Miami, has a background in real estate and finance. O'Brien, an economist has been a government consultant.

Among the directors, Salinger, is now vice president of Continental Airlines and president of Fox Overseas Theatres Corp., and Daly is vice president of the University of Chicago.

Mahoney, Nestingen and Stillman are attorneys. Mahoney is former Ambassador to Ghana; Nestingen, former Mayor of Madison, Wis., and Kennedy's Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Stillman, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 19, 1967]

U.S. Investment Fund

The treasury already is studying the operations of Bahamian institutions which call themselves banks. Congress is trying to figure out the purpose of a Bahamian corporation named Huff Enterprises, set up by . . . Rep. Adam Clayton Powell in the name of the ex-beauty queen who is his traveling companion.

Now the Miami News reports the establishment of another Bahamian corporation called the U.S. Investment Fund, a mutual fund set up by some of the former Kennedy clique. What makes it interesting is that its purpose is not to funnel money out of the U.S., but to funnel it back in.

The fund invests in American stocks, bonds, and real estate, and sells its shares to wealthy foreigners. It is aimed initially at investors in Latin America and the middle east. The advantage of working out of the Bahamas is that the fund thus avoids American taxes and can offer customers secrecy thru the use of numbered accounts.

Among the directors are Pierre Salinger, former White House press secretary and now an air line and motion picture executive; Charles U. Daly, a former Kennedy assistant and a vice president of the University of Chicago; and four lawyers: Richard K. Donahue, who was also a Kennedy aid; William Mahoney, Jr., former ambassador to Ghana; Ivan Nestingen, former undersecretary of health, education, and welfare, and John Stillman, former assistant secretary of commerce.

It is nice that the Kennedy crowd should hit upon an idea which will help to balance our foreign payments . . . after all that Mr. Kennedy did to unbalance them. But it does seem odd that while President Johnson appeals for the continuation of Mr. Kennedy's foreign air program, which was aimed largely at Latin America, Mr. Kennedy's close friends should be setting up machinery to pump money right back to the U.S.

This looks like an invitation for wealthy Latin Americans, including those who may have made a profit on American foreign aid, to invest their money secretly in the U.S. instead of in their own countries. It may be legitimate and it may make dollars, but it does not make sense.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 9, 1967]

Former Kennedy Aids Run Investment Firm To Sell to Foreigners—Bahamas-Based Fund's Sales of Holdings in U.S. Enterprises Have Reached $3.5 Million

New York.—A Bahama-based investment company, its management heavily loaded with appointed members of the late President Kennedy Administration, has begun selling shares in U.S. enterprises to foreigners.

The primary sales thrust of the company—U.S. Investment Fund—is in its real estate portfolio, according to Richard K. Donahue, a former staff assistant to President Kennedy and currently a director of the fund.

Other directors include Pierre Salinger, the late President's press secretary; William Mahoney Jr., a former Ambassador to Ghana and two subcabinet officers—Ivan Nestingen, onetime under secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and John Stillman, former assistant Secretary of Commerce.

Since it began operations last Nov. 1, U.S. Investment Fund has sold about $3.5 million of shares to foreign investors, mainly in South America and Western Europe, according to Mr. Donahue. Plans are under way to expand sales efforts to the Middle East and Asia, he added.

Of the $3.5 million sales, $2 million have been made by the fund's real estate investment arm, 70-30 Fund. There are two other investment subsidiaries—Mutual Fund Portfolio, which invests in shares of American mutual funds and has sold $1 million of its own shares, and the Common Stock Portfolio, in effect a mutual fund with a blue-chip portfolio of U.S. stocks. Common Stock Portfolio sales have been $500,000 since Nov. 1, Mr. Donahue said.

"We're not looking for dramatic growth, but for reasonable growth that offers security to the investor," Mr. Donahue said in an interview. "To persons in foreign countries where prices and the value of money often fluctuate widely, the most attractive and stable investment is in U.S. real estate," he continued.

The 70–30 Fund is so called because it invests 70% of its money in American real estate and 30% in U.S. real estate securities. So far, the fund has built up an $8.5 million real-property equity with a $2.4 million investment, purchasing shopping centers in Miami and Atlanta, a restaurant in Iowa and an industrial plant in Atlanta. Mr. Donahue declined to identify the properties.

However, he did say 70–30 Fund had "a very hot deal going" for a large office-apartment building on San Francisco's Market St. The prospective seller is a New York Stock Exchange-listed company, he added.

While the entire, tripartite operation apparently has been going smoothly so far, problems appear to be looming for the parent fund and specifically for its fund holding company.

For one thing, many foreign countries have charged that concerns like U.S. Investment Fund, by selling shares in a particular country, funnel badly needed local capital abroad. So far, the brunt of these charges has been borne by the giant, Geneva-based Investors Overseas Services, whose operations in many foreign lands have recently been hobbled by local authorities.

Mr. Donahue said U.S. Investment Fund hasn't encountered such difficulties and has steered clear of potentially troublesome zones like Britain's Sterling Area and Brazil, where Investors Overseas has had its share of regulatory troubles.

"We sell in areas where it's perfectly legal to sell," he asserted.

The concept of a fund holding company, such as U.S. Investment Fund's Mutual Fund Portfolio, was sharply attacked as uneconomical to the investor by the Securities and Exchange Commission in its mutual-fund industry report last December. The commission indicated it would draft legislation barring U.S. mutual funds from dealing with such concerns.

Rebutted Mr. Donahue: "It's my judgment that the SEC report will be shot down by domestic mutual funds, who can really put the heat on." Although Mr. Donahue acknowledges that his fund has considerable political heat-generating capacity of its own, it won't enter the legislative battle that's bound to explode when the SEC submits its legislative proposals to Congress.

"Whatever the outcome of that fight, our primary business will be selling real estate shares," he explained.

By headquartering itself in the Bahamas, where there aren't any income, sales or inheritance taxes, U.S. Investment Fund also escapes U.S. income taxes. However, its realty corporations in the U.S. are subject to taxes.

[From Business Week, Dec. 31, 1966]

How U.S. Funds Lure Overseas Investors

The word on mutuals is being broadcast in Europe and the Middle East. And a growing middle class abroad is latching on to the mutual fund way of investing in the U.S.

It isn't often that an investor decides to buy mutual fund shares the way some Italian university professors did a year ago. The professors were reading a student's doctoral thesis on U.S. mutual funds and became so interested that they ended up buying into Fundamental Investors, Inc., of Elizabeth, N.J. It didn't hurt, of course, that their student also happened to be an Italian sales representative for Fundamental.

The professors aren't the only foreigners who are catching on to the mutual fund way of investing in the U.S. From Brussels to Beirut, Montevideo to Montreal, investors are putting more and more of their money into American mutual funds.

The funds, for their part, are responding in fine fashion. Though most funds ignored the foreign market until two or three years ago, many of them now are hiring large foreign sales staffs, setting up special investment programs for foreigners, and getting their shares listed on foreign stock exchanges to help the customers keep closer track of their fund investments.

Growth. The mushrooming overseas market also is attracting a gallery of political personalities, such as Luther Hodges, former Secretary of Commerce; Pierre Salinger, press secretary to the late President Kennedy; and James Roosevelt, son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Salesmen find that a well-known name often works like magic in attracting foreign investors.

With all this activity, overseas sales in 1965 rose to a record $163.2-million from $115.3-million in 1964 and $61.6-million in 1963, according to an Investment Company Institute survey of its 175 member funds. Total overseas sales, if you include those by nonmembers, are estimated at $250-million to $280-million in 1965. Some fund mèn predict that when the figures for 1966 come in, ICI member sales will show a further rise to $180-million.

As a percentage of total member sales, the growth is equally impressive. Foreign business accounted for a record 3.72% of ICI-member sales in 1965, up from 3.38% in 1964 and 1.18% as recently as 1960.

The funds think that the trend will continue. Thomas A. Martin, 36-year-old president of the Channing group of mutual funds in New York, says total sales "may double in the next few years. The potential certainly is there."

I. TROUBLED WATERS

Foreigners' purchases of U.S. mutual funds aid the U.S. by bolstering its international payments position. But they also have created some problems.

The Securities & Exchange Commission is worried about possible control of U.S. mutual funds by foreigners, who would not be within the SEC's regulatory grasp. Its biggest concern is with Fund of Funds, Ltd., a Geneva-based mutual fund that invests solely in U.S. mutual funds and their managers, and with Investors Overseas Services, Ltd., the manager of Fund of Funds.

Under the gun

A year ago, the SEC started administrative proceedings against IOS in an effort to get a list of Fund of Funds' shareholders, among other things. It went even further in its recent report on the fund industry, asking Congress to outlaw mutual fund holding companies such as Fund of Funds.

A settlement of the dispute between IOS and the SEC is said to be in the works. In part, Fund of Funds reportedly has agreed not to buy more than 3% of any publicly owned U.S. fund's shares, although it wouldn't have to cut back where it already held more than 3%, such as in American Investors Fund, Fund of America, and Value Line Special Situations Fund.

But even if IOS settles its U.S. problems, it faces investigations in Brazil and Belgium. In November, Brazilian authorities closed down IOS's sales offices amid charges of currency-exchange violations by clients. And Belgium authorities are looking into possible illegal sales practices by IOS.

Another problem some American mutual funds find overseas is the supervision of salesmen. A vice-president of one fund says his company considered selling abroad, but decided against it because sales standards there are below those in the U.S. It's also hard to keep close watch over salesmen in another country, he adds. Some funds, in fact, have riled European banks by their aggressive sales tactics.

Undaunted

Despite these drawbacks, there are plenty of funds getting in on the action overseas. Among them are Dreyfus Fund, Philadelphia Fund, United Funds, the Channing group, Television-Electronics Fund, and the Hugh Long & Co. group, which includes Fundamental Investors. Several others, such as Manhattan Fund and the National Securities Series, are considering following suit.

In addition, several independent sales organizations that aren't connected with any one U.S. fund have been set up in recent months in hopes of cashing in abroad. Among them are Financial Consultants International in Brussels, whose organizers include Luther Hodges, and Great American Management Co. in the Bahamas, which lists Pierre Salinger and several other aides of the late President Kennedy as directors.

At least one fund actually has been selling its shares abroad since 1951. That fund is Television-Electronics Fund of Chicago, which decided there were lots of Europeans who wanted to invest in the U.S. but didn't know how to go about it. So the fund signed up numerous overseas banks and securities dealers to market its share, and it got the shares listed on the Amsterdam and Brussels stock exchanges.

Carel van Heukelom, vice-president of Supervised Investors Services, TV-Electronics Fund's sponsor, says that about an eighth of the fund's $460-million of shares is owned in Europe, the Middle and Far East, Latin America, and Canada.

II. WINNING SOLUTION

But TV-Electronics Fund's sales abroad are peanuts compared to Investors Overseas Services. IOS was founded in 1956 by Bernard Cornfeld, a former Philadelphia social worker and U.S. fund salesman. At first, it concentrated on selling shares of Dreyfus and other U.S. funds.

But there was a drawback: If a foreigner died while holding direct ownership of U.S. securities, such as mutual funds, his estate was liable for U.S. inheritance taxes of up to 77% (a U.S. law change in November reduced the maximum rate to 25%—a change that many fund executives believe will help their overseas business). Many wealthy foreigners thus wouldn't buy American securities.

Answer

In 1962 Cornfeld came up with a solution—one that has since been copied by several U.S. funds. He decided that if a foreigner held U.S. fund shares through a corporate intermediatary outside the U.S., the American estate taxes wouldn't apply. So he set up Fund of Funds, a Canadian-chartered fund that sells its own shares in more than 100 foreign countries and reinvests the proceeds in shares of U.S. funds.

Fund of Funds has been a big success, its assets rising to more than $400-million. But its solution to the problem of U.S. estate taxes isn't the only reason. By locating in Switzerland, Fund of Funds came under Swiss law, which conveniently bars a fund from disclosing names of its shareholders. An investment in Fund of Funds thus is safe from the scrutiny of any tax collectors.

Whatever the reason for Fund of Funds' rapid growth, it proved to U.S. mutual funds that there is a huge market for fund shares abroad. "Nobody really thought much about selling overseas until Fund of Funds did so well," says one fund man.

Another reason that foreign sales only started blossoming in the last two or three years, sales people say, is that until recently many Europeans and other foreigners didn't make enough money to consider U. S. investments. Now that many foreigners do have the money, the advantage to them of buying mutual fund shares is that they avoid the trouble of keeping track of investments in individual U.S. securities, says, Wilbertha Rasmussen, vice-president for foreign sales of Hugh Long & Co. The fund, because it's located in the U.S., can do that for them, she notes.

III. HOW THEY SELL

The U.S. mutual funds have come up with a variety of ways for selling abroad. Big, New York-based Dreyfus Fund has one of the most complex systems.

Until 1962, IOS sold large amounts of Dreyfus shares abroad.

After IOS started pushing its own Fund of Funds, Dreyfus Corp., sponsor of Dreyfus, formed two organizations in 1964. Dreyfus Fund International, Ltd., a Bahamian trust, invests solely in Dreyfus Fund shares, and Dreyfus Corp. of Canada underwrites sales of the trust's shares abroad, thus taking advantage of the principle that has made Fund of Funds such a success. Dreyfus International's assets have risen to about $14-million through purchases of its shares by foreigners.

Practices

A similar Bahamian trust was formed last summer by Universal Programs, Inc., sponsor of the Philadelphia Fund, at a cost of more than $150,000. Thomas J. Flaherty, Jr., Universal Programs' president, concedes that the cost is "extremely high" compared to starting a U.S.-based investment trust, but he thinks that the new operation "has the potential." Its assets now total $2,8-million.

Dreyfus, Philadelphia, and Fundamental channel their overseas sales through foreign banks and dealers—the most widely-used practice for selling abroad. The advantages are that the cost is lower and the banks and dealers have better contacts with potential investors.

Channing Co., sponsor of the Channing funds, also relies on banks, although its arrangement is a bit different from most. A year ago, Channing joined forces with a West German bank to set up a West German sales organization for Channing shares. The new organization doesn't peddle Channing shares directly, but instead sells them to banks, which in turn sell them to the public.

Bigger public

Channing's Martin recently took a two-week trip to West Germany, spending most of his evenings lecturing to the public on U.S. mutual funds. He drew a crowd of 400 in Dusseldorf—where the only publicity for his lecture was a series of newspaper advertisements. Martin returned to the U.S. with orders for $1-million worth of shares, and Channing now is considering expanding into Holland and Belgium and then on to the Middle East.

Philadelphia's Flaherty says his fund's sales, too, are big in West Germany, though they also do well in such Middle Eastern countries as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon. He says the members of the "growing middle class" in the Middle East "seem to be the ones who are buying most" there.

Miss Rasmussen of Long & Co. agrees that "more and more we get down to the middle-class public you get in the U.S." instead of just selling to wealthy foreigners. What's more, strengthened sales efforts notwithstanding, there's no end to the unlikely ways in which the growth of the investing public is effected. Besides the Italian university professors, Miss Rasmussen says, Fundamental Investors recently sold shares to some Italian printers who became interested after making up some brochures for the fund.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 31, 1966]

CORNFELD'S EMPIRE: A MONEY MAKER OF MONEY MAKERS—I.O.S. EARNS 34 PERCENT OF INVESTED CAPITAL

(By Richard Phalon)

Investors Overseas Services earned a fat 34.7 per cent on invested capital last year, a return that was due partly to the spectacular growth of the Fund of Funds and partly to a corporate structure designed to produce profits the way a wine press squeezes grapes.

The design includes some very precise calculations on the relative rapacity of tax collectors around the world. As a corporation chartered in Panama and doing business in Switzerland, I.O.S. paid so little in income taxes last year that no separate mention of them was made in the concern's annual report.

Other chunks of Bernard Cornfeld's considerable empire, including three banks and two insurance companies, also have been tucked away in such tax havens as the Bahamas and Luxembourg.

For similar reasons, the empire's crown jewel, the $420-million Fund of Funds, which can legally be sold only abroad and invests for the most part in American mutual funds and mutual fund management companies, was set up as a non-resident-owned Canadian corporation. Like I.O.S. it is dominated in Geneva.

As most mutual fund complexes do, I.O.S. makes money in two ways—from commissions on the sale of fund shares and from advisory fees charged for handling the fund's portfolio.

I.O.S., like most of its American counterparts, is an entity separate from the funds it serves. The profits earned by I.O.S. all belong to Bernard Cornfeld and the associates and employes who are his fellow I.O.S. shareholders—and not to the Fund of Funds shareholders.

Investors Overseas Services, thanks to its design, also has several other big money clubs in its bag that most American mutual fund managers cannot call on.

I.O.S. acts as a broker for the mutual fund shares that the Fund of Funds buys for its portfolio. The cost of the fund is said to average 66/100 of 1 per cent, most of which I.O.S. pockets as the dealer of record.

Carrying this principle to its logical conclusion, I.O.S. takes a similar cut on the purchase of shares in five captive mutual funds that were set up exclusively for the Fund of Funds use.

Four of the five have investment advisers—at the customary annual charge of ½ per cent of net asset value—that are wholly owned subsidiaries of I.O.S. The fifth is 50 per cent owned by Investors Overseas Services.

Like the pork packers, I.O.S. extracts everything from its raw material but the squeal. The banks and insurance companies pull their weight by providing services—at a price—to Fund of Funds shareowners. According to the Securities and Exchange Commission, Investors Overseas Services also has made high-velocity use of that Wall Street phenomenon, directed brokerage.

S.E.C. IS UPSET

As a big buyer of mutual fund shares, the S.E.C. maintains, the Fund of Funds ordered three investment companies it dealt with to direct commission business on their portfolio transactions to three different brokerage firms.

The brokerage firms, in turn, according to the commission, directed deposits to banks that in turn lent money on extremely favorable terms to I.O.S.'s Bahamian bank.

The Bahamian bank was lending money against margin purchases of Fund of Funds shares. The net effect of this was to add to the commissions and advisory fees that Investors Overseas Services took in.

I.O.S. denies that the commission, as a United States Government agency, has any jurisdiction over its activities. The commission argues to the contrary. The case is still in the courts.

The S.E.C., in its recent report on the mutual fund industry, recommended legislation that would outlaw mutual fund holding companies such as the Fund of Funds. It contended, among other things, that they lacked "utility" as "investment vehicles" and saddled investors with a double layer of sales and advisory charges.

I.O.S. contends that costs can be charted only against "performance." It insists that the track record of the Fund of Funds is hard to beat.

The performance of the Fund of Funds cannot be strictly compared with that of American mutual funds because it reinvests all income and realized capital gains. The American funds, because of tax restrictions, do not.

The performance of Investors Overseas Services, on the other hand, seems to speak for itself.

[From the New York Times]

Group's Chief Calm Despite Criticism

GENEVA, Dec. 31.—A big red flag emblazoned with the golden letters IOS that waves over the entrance to a seven-story converted Geneva apartment building marks the nerve center of a far-flung financial empire built by a 39-year-old former Brooklyn College psychology student.

The multimillion-dollar complex of financial planning, mutual funds, insurance, investment banking and other companies that is brought together under the banner of the Investors Overseas Services is being sniped at both at home in Switzerland and abroad.

But Bernard Cornfeld appears to take the sniping as part of the ransom of success as he shapes the destiny of this empire from a richly appointed office that looks out over Lake Geneva from the seventh floor of his headquarters.

The short, soft-spoken executive, whose blond hair is now mostly a memory, gives the impression of being secure in the conviction that his empire-building is nothing but a continuation of his effort on behalf of the little man when he started out as a welfare case worker in Philadelphia.

Mr. Cornfeld is not alone in this conviction. "He is the Billy Graham of this industry," is the way one knowledgeable recruit to the I.O.S. sales organization expressed his admiration after hearing the empire builder address the men he sends out to make the hard pitch for the investment dollar.

Mr. Cornfeld summed up recently in one word—"lousy"—what he thinks of the report by the Securities and Exchange Commission in the United States hitting out at the mutual fund industry, which is the life blood of the I.O.S. and its fabulously successful Fund of Funds. This investment vehicle, which buys only the shares of United States funds, has climbed in value to more than $400-million since its birth in October, 1962.

ILLEGAL SALES CHARGED

The S.E.C. sniped at the Cornfeld empire earlier this year by asserting that I.O.S., which is incorporated in Panama despite having made Geneva its home, was illegally selling in the United States shares of its Fund of Funds, a Canadian corporation.

The company was caught in an even heavier barrage that the S.E.C. laid down in its study on the mutual fund industry. The commission wants legislation banning the type of fund of which the Fund of Funds is the most outstanding example.

Mr. Cornfeld rejects the S.E.C. report as "irrelevant" to any of the mutual fund industry's problems and finds it "unthinkable" that any of its recommendations would be enacted into law.

He contends that the study contributes nothing to the "professionalizing" of mutual fund selling, which, he says, is primarily a "part-time" affair in the United States.

Mr. Cornfeld attributes to his drive to make the selling of investment programs a "full-time, high-quality business" the success of the venture he began 10 years ago when he began organizing the sale of mutual fund shares to United States military personnel in Europe.

DESCRIBES OPERATIONS

"When you walk into a man's home, you should be qualified to help him to put his financial affairs in order," Mr. Cornfeld says. "We have the people," he continues, "who are equipped to do a real financial planning job." Mr. Cornfeld likes to point out that anyone who put $10 into the Fund of Funds at its creation just over four years ago now has an investment worth more than $17.

In the course of looking out for even the smallest investor with the help of a task force of some 8,000 salesmen operating in more than 100 countries, Mr. Cornfeld has developed a business that has sold this year alone investment programs with a face value of more than $1-billion. It has also brought him a French chateau, with riding horses in the stables, near Geneva, and the sports cars, motor boat and other objects usually associated with wealth.

But Mr. Cornfeld, a bachelor whose Geneva residence is a relatively modest suburban home, has little time and, apparently even less desire to allow his attention to be distracted from empire building.

"I like to get into the office," he says, "and I have a tough time tearing myself away from it." A nonsmoker with little taste for alcohol, the I.O.S. chief explains, "There is just no time for socializing."

Associates who know him well say he is a workhorse. "Bernie just grinds on with absolute concentration," is the way one of them puts it. "But," this associate adds, "he is also very demanding."

MAKES OWN DECISIONS

Some persons who are familiar with Mr. Cornfeld's way of operating, credit a good measure of his success to his ability to make decisions without endless committee discussions. "When he sees an opportunity," it is said, "he goes."

Mr. Cornfeld believes in the direct, personal-contact type of salesmanship that employs no mechanical aids.

Advanced training seminars for salesmen are held in a large old-style mansion-type former residence on a choice piece of Geneva lakeside property that the company has bought. The company-convention type of conferences for supervisors and sales managers from all parts of the I.O.S. empire are held in a big Geneva hotel.

Mr. Cornfeld often opens and closes such gatherings, speaking in the soft voice that makes his audience concentrate attentively so as not to lose the message.

"He is always interesting," explains one salesman who was brought into the fold by the classified newspaper advertisement that is Mr. Cornfeld's principal method of recruitment.

Swiss bankers mostly look askance at I.O.S. because, for one thing, they do not like its Fuller Brush Man type of hard sell. "Door-to-door canvassing is not done by Swiss banks, and they object to others practicing it," an informed Swiss source explains.

But there is also discontent, according to this source, because of the feeling that I.O.S. is "usurping" Swiss identity and thereby cashing in on the Swiss financial community's reputation for soundness and integrity.

Mr. Cornfeld dismisses such grumbling as expressions of dissatisfaction because the company "cannot do business with all the banks in the country."

There is a more immediate problem for the American financial operator. This is the attention the police are now paying to how I.O.S., with its many offices scattered about town, can be operating on such a growing scale under the present stringent Swiss anti-inflation regulations.

These rules not only ordered cutbacks in the number of foreigners employed by a company, but also clamped a ceiling on the total number of workers, including Swiss citizens, permitted companies with foreigners on their payrolls.

There are many ways to get around such restrictions on hiring and the related Swiss policy of limiting the issuance of residence permits to foreigners. I.O.S. does not like to go into details on its local staff problems, but a Geneva newspaper recently quoted reports that more than 1,000 persons serve the I.O.S. cause here although the official payroll names only 87.

Foreign "students" who seem to spend much more time with I.O.S. than in the lecture rooms of Geneva's university have been undergoing closer police questioning in the last few days.

The manpower limitations imposed by present Swiss policy are a severe problem for a concern that is continuing to expand rapidly. Some of the company's services are being moved to London, where the financial concern is already implanted with a subsidiary insurance company to facilitate the growth and permit a "far more efficient operation," in Mr. Cornfeld's words.

Despite the occasional sniping at I.O.S. by Swiss newspapers, the Geneva authorities themselves say that to their knowledge the I.O.S. decision to move about one-third of its administrative services to London is due solely to the manpower problem it faces here.

CRITICISM ELSEWHERE

There has been sniping, too, at the company in countries such as Brazil, where the authorities recently closed down its operations. I.O.S. was accused of abetting fiscal evasion and of serving as a vehicle for getting flight capital out of the country. The company does emphasize in its literature the "strictest confidence" in which it holds the names and addresses of its customers "at all times."

It denies the charges, but at the same time it is working to improve its image in underdeveloped countries. The recent hiring of James Roosevelt, son of the late President, is part of this effort.

Mr. Roosevelt's resignation as United States representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, with the rank of Ambassador, to serve the Cornfeld empire gives I.O.S. a man with an illustrious name who is also known in his own right.

Mr. Cornfeld believes that I.O.S. is often unfairly maligned. He says that the foundation it established in 1963 to help the needy is virtually unknown because it was not created as a "public relations gimmick." The foundation has received more than $600-000 from I.O.S. under a plan that assigns to it 5 per cent of the net profits.

Mr. Cornfeld will speak at length about the foundation, where he again sees himself continuing his early welfare work. But, according to his associates, he does not like to talk about himself. His late father was a motion picture executive who spent much time abroad. This is the reason why Mr. Cornfeld was born in Istanbul, Turkey. His mother is with him in Geneva, but she has her own apartment in town.

[From the Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 25, 1967]

The Mafia: Shadow of Evil on an Island in the Sun

(NOTE.—Three centuries ago pirates invaded the Bahamas, and some say they still do. Now a political upset threatens a gambling empire that funnels millions of dollars a year into the hands of American gangsters.)

(By Bill Davidson)

Twice a week a strange little drama is enacted on Grand Bahama Island—a fragment of the British Empire which is described in tourish brochures as "a new horizon, bright with adventure and beauty . . . a New World Riviera which offers unparalleled opportunities to the investor." A man named Dusty Peters rises early on each of those two mornings, breakfasts in one of Grand Bahama's six luxury hotels, nods politely to two U.S. Government agents watching him intently from a nearby table, shoves a huge cigar into his flabby, middle-aged face, and sets about his chores.

He goes to the island's two plush gambling casinos, the Monte Carlo and El Casino, where he collects batches of checks and IOU's representing the losings of the hapless high-rollers of the preceding two or three nights. He cheerfully shoves the checks and "markers" into a briefcase, exchanges Damon Runyonesque badinage with the casinos' staid British secretaries, and drives to Grand Bahama's Freeport International Airport. The two U.S. agents always follow at a discreet distance.

At the airport Peters and the agents board a plane for Miami, just 70 miles away. When the plane lands in Florida, 35 minutes later, the agents follow Peters to a Miami Beach bank, where he deposits the contents of his briefcase, worth possibly $300,000. From the bank Peters goes to the Fontainebleau Hotel and takes the elevator to the mezzanine-floor card room. Awaiting him in the card room is none other than Meyer Lansky, or his brother Jake, or both. Senate racket hearings have established the Lanskys as notorious American hoodlums who have long been associated with the Mafia. The U.S. agents always see at least one Lansky in the room before the door is locked.

The agents cannot force their way into the room because, on the surface at least, there is nothing illegal in what Peters and the Lanskys are doing. They are merely taking gambling money out of the Bahamas. What frustrates the agents is the fact that Meyer Lansky is known by the Justice Department to represent the gambling investments of five "families" of the Mafia in the United States—Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Buffalo. Federal officials firmly believe that in 1966 Lansky funneled at least six million dollars to the five mobs. The only way that Justice can attack this system is by trying to prove that the recipients of the money are not paying taxes on it—a possibility now being investigated by federal grand juries in New York and Philadelphia.

All this is irritating enough for Justice officials, but what is particularly galling is the knowledge that Lansky, a man they have fought for years, is being allowed to operate just 70 miles off the Florida coast. The gambling operation is legal in the Bahamas, a self-governing British colony. Whatever his connection with the American Mafia, Dusty Peters is listed simply as an employee of Bahamas Amusements, Ltd.—which owns the licenses for both of the casinos on Grand Bahama—and so are the 55 tough, steely-eyed Americans who are the managers, supervisors and "pit bosses" of the operation. After running intelligence checks on the 55, the Justice Department's organized-crime experts discovered that nearly all of them had police records in the United States, and nearly all, in one way or another, have been tied in with the Lansky-Mafia apparatus at some time in the past.

For the past three years Lansky's gambling operation has been completely legal in the Bahamas. It began under the rule of the predominantly white United Bahamian Party. The U.B.P. completely controlled the islands' Negroes, who make up 80 percent of the population. Film star Sidney Poitier, who was raised in the Bahamas and still holds citizenship in the islands, explained to me how the Negroes felt about the U.B.P. politicians: "These people were incapable of governing these islands as a colony, only as a huge, personal plantation."

As the gambling prospered, the casinos became the symbol of a general corruption in the islands, but the U.B.P. seemed to be so firmly in control that the system appeared to be unassailable. When Negro leaders began to complain about the racketeers who were running the gambling, the U.B.P. confidently called an election in January to renew its hold on the islands. Then the impossible happened. The Negroes organized themselves effectively for the first time and threw the U.B.P. out of office. The new premier is a Progressive Liberal named Lynden O. Pindling, but he has a bare majority in the Assembly. When he took over on January 16, Pindling faced the ticklish task of maintaining his power and yet moving against the corruption in the casinos and the 700 islands as a whole. Meanwhile, amid the confusion and the uncertainty, Dusty Peters continues to fly to Miami carrying his fat briefcase.

To one who knew the Bahamas well in the past, a disturbing change has come over one of the world's most beautiful groups of islands in the sun. During my visits in 1966 I found that the physical attractions were still there—the transparent waters, the magnificient white beaches, the superb weather. On my previous trips to the islands there also had been great charm and hospitality among both white and Negro Bahamians. Now all this seemed to be gone, including, symbolically, the flowers, which people no longer cared about.

The whites were nervous and withdrawn, the Negroes bitter and hostile. Some of the lesser-known islands, such as Eleuthera and Abaco, still possessed the old charm. Grand Bahama, however, was a vast scar of raw white limestone dust as the bulldozers cleared the way for another, more frenetic Miami Beach. Colorful old Nassau was a chaos of overbooked hotels, an increasing number of cheap souvernir shops, and so many tourists elbowing their way through the milling crowds on the once-picturesque Bay Street that the city was being referred to as the Coney Island of the West Indies.

There was an ominous blight on the islands—a new colonialism in the encroaching presence of the Mafia and its allies. The government of the United Bahamian Party had paid an American public-relations firm, Hill & Knowlton, nearly $5 million a year to play up the virtures of the climate and the sun and the sand and the investment opportunities. Hill & Knowlton (which also numbers the feudal monarchy of Saudi Arabia among its clients) did its job well. Eight hundred thousand tourists visited the Bahamas last year, and with only two daily newspapers and one radio station in Nassau (all solidly pro-government), they were persistently told that all rumors of Mafia infiltration of the chain of beautiful islands were untrue.

"Preposterous!" exclaimed the royal governor, Sir Ralph Grey. "Our police controls are so effective that American gangsters can't possibly insinuate themselves into our gambling." Sir Etienne Dupuch, editor of the Nassau *Tribune*, thundered, "Slander! This is all a plot by Florida tourism interests to keep people from vacationing in the Bahamas, because they want the business for themselves."

The changes in the Bahamas during the past few years involve three remarkably contrasting men. One is Sir Stafford Sands, C.B.E., knighted by the Queen, a cabinet minister in the former government of the United Bahamian Party, a man so powerful in the islands that he has been known as King Stafford I. The second is Wallace Groves, a brilliant American promoter, a multimillionaire, and a man who has served two years in a federal penitentiary for fraud. And the third, of course, is Meyer Lansky himself.

Meyer Lansky, now 65, was born Maier Suchowljansky of Jewish parents in Poland. He first came to prominence in the crime world when he and the late Bugsy Siegel formed the so-called Bug and Meyer Mob, which, according to Kefauver Committee testimony, was "the enforcement branch" for Mafia gambling czar Frank Costello in New York and Louisiana. The Kefauver testimony reveals that Siegel and Lansky performed head-breaking and execution duties for Costello's people on the East Coast in the early 1930's when gamblers failed to make good on their losses.

Later, Lansky worked with Louis (Lepke) Buchalter, Jacob (Gurrah) Shapiro and Albert Anastasia in the notorious Italian-Jewish organization called Murder, Inc. Joe Velachi testified to the McClellan Committee that Lansky was a close colleague of Vito Genovese, now in prison on a narcotics conviction but then the boss of bosses of all the Mafia families in the United States. As recently as last September, a Lansky associate, Florida Mafia underboss Santo Trafficante, was among the 13 men arrested at a "Little Apalachin" meeting of Mafia leaders convened in a restaurant located in the Queens section of New York City.

During all this time Lansky was arrested seven times on various charges ranging up to murder, but he was never convicted. Witnesses have a habit of changing their testimony when Lansky is involved. In 1926, for example, a man named John Barrett was taken for a gangland ride, shot in the head and tossed out of the car. He miraculously survived and named Lansky as his would-be assassin. But then someone tried to poison Barrett with strychnine as he lay in his hospital bed, and he clammed up. He flatly refused to sign the complaint against Lansky, and the case eventually had to be dropped.

In 1946 Bugsy Siegel opened Las Vegas to gambling, and Lansky, his old partner, got a piece of the action. In 1955 the Nevada Tax Commission charged that Lanksy had a hidden ownership in the Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas through his brother, Jake, and a lieutenant named George Sadlo. The commission suspended the Thunderbird's gambling license. The decision was reversed on a technicality by the Nevada Supreme Court, but ever since then Lansky has been on the list of 11 notorious persons whose presence in a Nevada gambling casino is cause for the revocation of its license.

Long before he moved into Las Vegas, Lansky began to colonize the Caribbean Mafia gambling interests. He operated in Havana, until the fall in 1944 of his friend, Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, and he ran profitable illegal casinos in the Colonial Inn and the Club Boheme in the Miami area. With Batista's return to power in 1952, Lansky moved back into Havana in a big way. He determined to make Havana the Las Vegas of the Caribbean, and he succeeded.

Using Mafia money, he directed the building and operation of the $14 million Riviera Hotel and casino in Havana. He installed brother Jake as manager of the competing casino in the Hotel Nacional. The Las Vegas of the Caribbean boomed not only from its gambling business but also from the inevitable Mafia subsidiary enterprises—prostitution, narcotics, extortion. Federal agents estimate that at least a million dollars a month flowed back to the Mafia in the United States through Lansky. The Mafia investors, especially those in the Cleveland family, got quite a return on their money, which as the FBI knows, was then used for their other traditional investments, such as the purchase of heroin.

Lansky built up a first-class organization in his Havana operation. He had Dusty Peters, the courier par excellence, shuttling the money back and forth from Cuba to Miami. He had George Sadlo, his old Las Vegas partner. He had Dino and Edward Cellini, both wizards at designing and operating casinos. He had Frank Ritter, Max Courtney and Charles Brudner, who have been indicted as three of the biggest sports bookmakers in the United States, with casino experience at an illegal gambling palace in Saratoga, N.Y. He had a whole corps of expert casino "floor men" in Hickey Kamm, Al Jacobs, Dave Geiger, Abe Schwartz, Tony Tabasso, Roy Bell, Jim Baker, Jack Metler and Ricky Ricardo.

The bubble burst in 1959 when Fidel Castro took over the Cuban government and abolished the casinos. The Bahamain government called it a coincidence, but four years later, when it granted an exemption to its anti-gambling laws to the Bahamas Amusements, Ltd. to operate gambling casinos in the islands, who should show up among the casino employees? Dusty Peters, George Sadlo, Dino Cellini, Edward Cellini, plus Ritter, Courtney, Brudner, Kamm, Jacobs, Geiger, Schwartz, Tabasso, Bell, Baker, Metler and Ricky Ricardo.

The story of how gambling came to the Bahamas involves Sir Stafford Sands, 54, the ex-minister of finance and tourism. Tough, profane and brilliant, Sands is right out of an

Ian Fleming novel, a huge mountain of a man who weighs more than 300 pounds, and whose left eye is glass (the result of a childhood accident). Like many other white Bahamians, he is descended from the Tories who left the American mainland during the years after George Washington won the Revolutionary War, and his enemies in the U.S. Justice Department sometimes refer to him as "King George's revenge."

The son of a grocer, Sands did not graduate from college but still managed to become a lawyer. He did so well in politics that he was the principal strategist behind the ingenious and complex electoral system that enabled the predominantly white United Bahamian Party to control the Negroes. Sands owes much of his wealth to the convenient fact that the Bahamas had no conflict-of-interest law. As a lawyer, he was constantly involved in litigation with the government which, since he was minister of finance, was often himself. Sands lives in a magnificent mansion—called Waterloo—and he owns one of the finest collections of antique paperweights in the world. His favorite sport is shooting pigeons.

In the 1940's Sands joined forces with an American named Wallace Groves. Now 65 years old, bald and portly, Groves was a dashing figure on Wall Street in the pre-World War II period. A Virginian with two law degrees from Georgetown University, he was deemed a bit *too* dashing in his financial manipulations by the U.S. Justice Department. In 1941 he was convicted of mail fraud in Federal District Court in New York and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary, with two additional years suspended. Hill & Knowlton propagandists in the Bahamas used to discount this blemish on Groves's career as a youthful escapade, and they told reporters that "the Government just made an example of him for doing what everyone else was doing on Wall Street."

The record does not bear out this contention and, in fact, *The United States vs. Groves* is so celebrated a case that it is still studied by students in American law schools. Groves was charged with trying to defraud the General Investment Corp. of some three quarters of a million dollars. As a "front man," he used the company's president, who later turned State's evidence and escaped punishment. Groves' scheme involved stock manipulation and the collection of rakeoffs on commissions unnecessarily paid to one of his henchmen for deals in South America. The U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals, which reviewed the case, noted, in upholding his conviction, that the "front man" was necessary to the plans because Groves "had a bad reputation on Wall Street." While the appeal was under consideration, the trial judge, John W. Clancy, deemed it necessary to hold Groves in $125,000 bail, then a record for federal courts in the United States.

When he emerged from the penitentiary in 1943, Groves gravitated to the Bahamas (he had built a home on a private island, Little Whale Cay, before his debacle), and went into the lumber business on Grand Bahama, one of the northernmost of the islands and then pretty much uninhabited. Except for a few native fishermen and Groves' lumberjacks, no whites had lived there since the days when it was an important exchange point for smuggled whiskey during prohibition. However, as Groves poked around the island, he began to realize Grand Bahama's commercial possibilities. Unlike most of the Bahama Islands, there was plenty of fresh water just below the coral-limestone surface. Another factor, unusual for the Bahamas, was deep water offshore that could accommodate the largest ships.

As he began to develop his plans, Groves naturally wanted the best lawyer in the islands, and, naturally, he ended up with Stafford Sands, who had not yet been knighted but who was already a powerful figure as the boss of the controlling political party and a member of the government's Executive Council. Sands became engrossed in Groves' plans to develop Grand Bahama and helped mightily to guide through the legislature the Hawksbill Creek Act of 1955 (named after a body of water which bisects the island), one of the most peculiar agreements ever concluded between a government and a private individual.

The Hawksbill Creek Act virtually made Groves the Emperor of Grand Bahama, empowered to do pretty much as he wished with 211 square miles of the 430 square miles that comprise the island. He was required only to build a deep-water port and to bring in industrial and commercial enterprises. The government sold him 150,000 acres of land at $2.80 an acre, many of which he later resold for as much as $50,000 an acre. His enclave was given freedom from Bahamian taxes until 1990; he was given the total power to levy license fees on anyone who wanted to do business in his domain; and he was given a strong say in banishing anyone who displeased him, through use of the Bahamian government's no-questions-asked deportation procedures.

The smell of the police state is still on the Groves enclave, which he calls Freeport. A restaurant manager named Rico Heller was fired from his job by a Groves lieutenant one evening after a disagreement. At three o'clock he was awakened by immigration officers pounding on his door. They ordered him to be off the island in four hours, leaving his belongings and property behind. A Negro Bahamian taxi driver named Dennis Hall, who somehow fell into disfavor, received an official notification that he could no longer set foot in the Freeport enclave—half of his own native island—because the Hawksbill Creek Act gave Groves's Grand Bahama Port Authority "the absolute right to exclude any person and vehicle."

Despite such peculiarities, Freeport has developed phenomenally due in large part to a lack of taxes. Many reputable American, Canadian and British investors have poured in money, and the once-barren island now has a cement plant, a ship-refueling station, factories, housing developments, hotels, shops, restaurants, golf courses, churches and schools. All this is mainly for the whites. The Negroes, for the most part, live outside the enclave in wretched settlements like Eight Mile Rock, a shantytown of 10,000 or more people, without running water, sanitation or telephones. The single school is grossly overcrowded with pupils, and Groves is now helping to build another.

In Freeport itself, Groves and his corporations own most of the land, the harbor, the airport, the public utilities, the taxi company—and almost everything else affecting the life of the island. He gets up to 10 percent of the gross receipts of the supermarkets, the theaters and other enterprises. Much of what remains is owned by Groves's friends in the United Bahamian Party, the white merchant princes of Nassau's main commercial avenue. Bay Street (they call themselves "the Bay Street Boys"). One of the main beneficiaries of all this commerce is Sir Stafford Sands. As the lawyer for Groves and many of the Bay Street Boys, he collects legal fees on nearly every important commercial transaction on Grand Bahama—a take that might total in the millions.

It is unclear whether Groves, Sands or both conceived the idea of sweetening the pot by importing legalized gambling into Grand Bahama. Some U.S. Government officials believe that this objective was in their minds as far back as the early 1950's when they first worked out the Hawksbill Creek agreement. The first *known* discussion of the subject took place at a secret meeting called by Groves on September 26, 1961, at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach. Present at the meeting were Bahamian government figures and Louis Chesler, a freewheeling Canadian promoter as massive in size as Sir Stafford himself. Chesler, renowned for his impressive real-estate development activity in Florida, had just joined Groves as a partner in the Grand Bahama Development Co., which was selling building lots in Freeport.

In the winter of 1961–1962 Chesler was constructing the Lucayan Beach Hotel on Grand Bahama, when who should show up one day but Dino Cellini, Meyer Lansky's old right-hand man. Gambling was illegal in the islands, but the men building the Lucayan Beach obviously felt they could get around that problem. One former executive of Chesler's corporation recalls that what is now the Monte Carlo Casino was built ostensibly as a convention hall. The men referred to the room by a special code name—"the handball court." Cellini himself was in charge of designing "the handball court," with proper places reserved for slot machines, crap tables, etc. "They were *that* sure they were going to get an exemption to the anti-gambling laws," says the former executive, "and this was more than a year before the government even acted on it."

The planning of "the handball court" marked the beginning of a series of maneuvers which were strikingly similar to what was done in the 1930's to prepare Nevada for gambling. First, the plans for a large-scale public gambling casino were kept secret while potential sources of opposition were neutralized. In Nevada the out-of-state gambling interests became the most generous financial contributors to churches and church schools. And so it was in the Bahamas. One clergyman, whom I interviewed in his rectory, admitted that he would not say one word against gambling. "How can I?" he said. "The casino people donated my high school." Another minister told us, "I'm not happy about gambling, but it's the law of the land now, and those people have been very helpful to us. The church got a free nine-hundred-and-ninety-nine-year lease." The most vocal church opponent of gambling, Rev. Philip Blackburn, a Methodist, was recently recalled to England.

In the press, the principal threat to the proposed Bahamas gambling project was Sir Etienne Dupuch, a leathery, part-Negro crusader (now in his 60's and ailing) who owns and edits the colony's leading newspaper, *The Tribune*. For years Dupuch had been thundering editorially against the evils of gambling. In 1955 he had successfully squelched a previous attempt to open a gambling casino on West End, another Grand Bahama resort. In 1961, however, *The Tribune's* anti-gambling editorials suddenly stopped. Shortly thereafter *The Tribune* began to carry expensive full-page advertisements extolling the tourism and investment virtues of Freeport, which was then still mostly wilderness. The Dupuch family also publishes *The Bahamas Handbook*, a paperback guide to the islands. Although the handbook has a circulation of only about 10,000, the 1962 edition carried an estimated $50,000 worth of Freeport edvertising.

Last year the *Wall Street Journal* revealed that Sir Etienne actually was on the payroll of Groves's Grand Bahama Development Co. as a "consultant" at $1,400 a month. In a letter to Groves dated February 20, 1964, Dupuch acknowledged receipt of at least two months' fees—$2,800. To this day no one, including Groves, has been able to tell us exactly what Dupuch was supposed to do as a "consultant."

By March, 1963, the Groves-Chesler-Cellini operation was ready to take its case to the Bahamian government for an exemption to the anti-gambling laws. They went not to the legislature but to the governor's Executive Council, which then functioned as a cabinet. Their case was presented by none other than Sir Stafford Sands, who also happened to sit as a member of the Executive Council. The applicant was Bahamas Amusements, Ltd., whose shares were split equally between Louis Chesler and Groves's wife, Mrs. Georgette Groves. (Chesler resigned from the company in 1964.)

The "exemption" was granted on April 1, 1963. It provided that the company could operate casinos anywhere on Grand Bahama, just so long as they were "in, or in conjunction with, or in the vicinity of an hotel having at least two-hundred bedrooms." The Lucayan Beach Hotel happens to have 250 rooms.

Later Sir Stafford Sands, as attorney for Bahamas Amusements, Ltd., negotiated a license fee for the casinos with Sir Stafford Sands, the minister of finance. It turned out to be only $280,000 per year per casino (no matter how great the volume of business) plus $280 per slot machine. This was a ridiculously small sum. In Puerto Rico, for example, the well-regulated casinos have to pay 30 percent of their total earnings to the government.

The news of the "exemption" and its terms stunned the colony—especially since Huntington Hartford, the A & P multimillionaire, had previously been turned down on his offer to pay 50 percent of the proceeds to the government if he were given a gambling exemption for his Paradise Island resort in Nassau. It wasn't until 1966 that some of the details of the unusual cooperation between the Groves gambling combine and members of the Bahamian government began to leak out. The *Wall Street Journal* charged that it had uncovered records to prove that at least four members of the Executive Council had either been paid off by Groves's companies with "consultant" jobs à la Etienne Dupuch, or had otherwise profited. The four were Sands; the premier, Sir Roland Symonette; a dentist, Dr. Raymond Sawyer; and C. Trevor Kelly, then minister for maritime affairs. A fifth member of the government, Speaker of the House Robert Hallam Symonette (the premier's son), was also named. Sands, Sir Roland, Dr. Sawyer and Kelly all denied the allegations or refused to comment. Robert Symonette, a yachtsman, admitted that he had been retained as a "consultant" at $14,000 a year to advise on marina construction in the Groves enclave.

In a remarkably candid interview with me in November, Groves acknowledged that *all* of these payments *had* been made. The interview came about in a totally unexpected way. Although Groves had steadfastly refused to see any reporters prior to my arrival on Grand Bahama, I was suddenly summoned for an audience through a Hill & Knowlton intermediary. The interview took place in the Grand Bahama Port Authority Building, which is called "the Kremlin" by the local inhabitants.

Groves talked to me in his private office, which is large and luxurious but spare in its decoration. His five college degrees were hung on one wall, and what seemed to be a small, antique treasure chest rested on his desk. Groves himself is a medium-sized, portly man with a bald head, heavy jowls and darting eyes. His cufflinks were made from old Spanish doubloons taken from the wreck of a sunken 17th-century galleon recently discovered in the waters near the Lucayan Beach Hotel.

Seated alongside Groves's desk, wearing almost identical somber-blue clothing and antique cufflinks, was his aide-de-camp, a port-authority vice-president named Martin Dale. Dale is an earnest young man with red hair and moustache who once was a U.S. Foreign Service officer. He resigned a consular post to become privy councelor to Prince Rainier of Monaco. Groves hired Dale away from Rainier, and Dale was still acting as if he were in the presence of royalty. He bowed to Groves and incessantly called him "Sir." Once he slipped up and began to address him as "Your Highness."

Groves was prepared for the interview with pages of closely spaced handwritten notes on a yellow legal pad in front of him. He began by talking about what a small and unimportant part of his half-billion-dollar empire the gambling operations was. He said he hoped I had the good sense to emphasize his industrial and commercial achievements rather than the gambling, "which netted me only one hundred and ninety-three-thousand-odd dollars last year." An hour later, after he had exhausted the topics on his pad, I asked him, "How about the alleged 'consultant fees' to Sir Stafford Sands?" He said, "I pay a ten-thousand-dollar-a-month retainer to Sir Stafford, but I can't tell you where legal fees end and consultant fees begin."

I asked, "What about the 'consultant fees' to Premier Symonette, which he denies receiving?" Sands said, "Well, Sir Roland *did* get paid. He was a consultant on road building and the construction of golf courses here." I asked, "And Dr. Sawyer?" "Oh," said Groves, "Dr. Sawyer just got a few thousand dollars. He advised us on setting up a public-health service. Before you ask me about the minister of maritime affairs, Trevor Kelly, he *did* get the shipping contracts to supply Grand Bahama by sea."

I brought up the subject of Lansky and his henchmen, and Dale said, "If the United States has never been able to indict Lansky, why should *we* worry about him?" Groves hastily began to talk about his island's many golf courses, and with difficulty I got back to the matter of payments to government officials just before the end of the interview. Groves said, "How *else* could I express my gratitude to men like that? Besides, it wasn't that they didn't *do* something for their money."

Under Bahamian law and ethics—as in few other places in the world—such payments to government officials are considered perfectly proper. The full extent of the financial camaraderie between the Groves gambling interests and members of the Bahamian government may not be known until federal grand juries now sitting in New York and Philadelphia complete their investigations of the operations of Americans involved in gambling casinos in the Bahamas and elsewhere. From a former Chesler associate in Miami, the New York grand jury has subpoenaed a series of five payoff contracts between the casino operators and members of the former Bahamian government. The contracts were dated April 2, 1963, through April 25, 1963—the period just after the granting of the first gambling "exemption." If proved to be authentic, these contracts alone represent actual payoffs to government officials totaling $87,808 a year.

Whatever the contractual arrangements, Meyer Lansky and his Mafia backers have been milking the casinos they have helped to set up and run on the islands. Lansky's men have been able to operate literally under the noses of a so-called security system, which consists of routine accounting procedures (paid for and controlled by the casinos) and two inspectors (also paid for and controlled by the casinos) in each of the gambling establishments. The security men are all pleasant, elderly gentlemen retired from British colonial police jobs in outposts like Singapore and Aden. Sgt. Ralph Salerno of the Criminal Intelligence Bureau of the New York Police Department told us, "They're nice old guys who wouldn't recognize a Mafia man if he walked right up to them and offered to sell them a bag of heroin."

The technique used by Lansky is known in the trade as "skimming." U.S. law-enforcement authorities know exactly how it is done. Sgt. Salerno says, "Everyone makes the mistake of thinking that skimming is shoveling cash into briefcases before the authorities can count the night's take in a casino. Even in Las Vegas they don't do it that way. There are much simpler and more subtle methods, and *all* of them are being used in the Bahamas."

The first method is called The Kickback Skim. At the Monte Carlo casino on Grand Bahama, three top Lansky men employed by the establishment (Max Courtney, Frank Ritter and Charles Brudner) each received fantastic bonuses of $165,000 in 1966. These figures were revealed to me by an official high-ranking Bahamian police source. Unofficial sources say the bonuses actually soared to as high as $330,000. U.S. organized-crime experts are convinced that most or all of this sum was "kicked back" to Lansky in Miami.

The second Mafia method of milking the Grand Bahama casinos is known as The Junket Skim. All over the United States—but particularly on the East Coast—there is a thriving group of travel agents and so-called sporting clubs whose specialty is assembling 90 or more "high-roller" gamblers with good credit and dispatching them in a chartered plane for an expenses-paid weekend of gaming on Grand Bahama.

When the high-rollers lose, they often pay not the casino but their junket manager. Thus these casino earnings never show up on the casino's books, except, possibly, for a small amount to pay the junketeers' hotel bills.

Many of the junket managers are known by U.S. law-enforcement authorities to have strong Mafia connections. Typical of them is Henry Shapiro of the Victory Sporting Club in New York. Shapiro is the son of Jacob (Gurrah) Shapiro, a renowned strong-arm man for Murder, Inc., who died in prison. The younger Shapiro has been summoned under subpoena to testify before the New York Federal Grand Jury which is also investigating the "skim" from the off-shore gambling casinos. Recently, as he stepped from a plane at Kennedy Airport with a load of returning gambling junketeers, Shapiro was intercepted and served with a subpoena by U.S. Marshal Bill Gallinaro, supervisor of the special squad of the eastern district of New York. The junket manager was then searched by customs officials under Gallinaro's direction, and he was found to have $30,000 in cash and $90,000 in checks in his pockets.

Sgt. Salerno estimates that at least three plane-loads of junketeers per week fly to the Bahamas from the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut area alone. Even if the net gambling losses per plane were as little as $20,000 (and some high-rollers have been known to drop that much individually in a single night at the crap table), the net gain to the mob from just these flights could be over three million dollars a year.

The third and probably most profitable method of funneling money from the Grand Bahama casinos is called The Credit Skim. As with The Junket Skim this technique relies on the fact that American high-rollers do not show up with vast sums of cash, and they ask the casino managers to extend them credit, against which they write personal checks and occasionally IOU's, or "markers." It is this bundle of paper profits that Dusty Peters transports to the Miami Beach bank twice a week—prior to his conference with Meyer or Jake Lansky at the Fontainebleau Hotel.

The checks go through regular bank collections in the United States. Law-enforcement experts are convinced that only part of this money, after it is collected through the banks, ever gets back to the casinos to be recorded on their books. "The rest," a high-ranking U.S. Justice Department official told me, "is bled out of the one bank account in Miami through which most of the money flows. Meyer Lansky takes his cut and sends the rest by courier to the Mafia investors he represents. These are Sam Giancana in Chicago, Angelo Bruno in Philadelphia, Steve Magaddino in Buffalo, Carlo Gambino in New York, and we're not sure, but possibly Joe Zerilli in Detroit." IOU's are collected locally by their "enforcers," if necessary—in cash.

The official said, "We figure that the gross at the Monte Carlo casino on Grand Bahama in 1966 was twenty million dollars. They'll report a net of a few hundred thousand dollars. They have certain fixed expenses such as salaries, subsidies to hotels and a license fee to the Bahamas government of about three hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. But the 'skim' from the Miami bank might be almost a third of the twenty-million-dollar gross—and we don't like where it's going.

"Their take will double in 1967 with the second casino on Grand Bahama—if the same crowd is allowed to continue to operate—and it will quadruple when the same people open the Paradise Island casino in Nassau later this year. And knowing what they do with that money—bribing cops and public officials, buying heroin, paying off contracts for murder and mayhem—it's pretty damn frustrating."

When he hears charges that the islands are harboring the Mafia, Sir Ralph Grey, Royal Governor of the Bahamas by appointment of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, replies to the critics: "We can't police the world. No one has yet shown me any clear-cut evidence of wrongdoing."

But even the unskilled and bewildered local police on Grand Bahama have discovered that organized prostitution and narcotics—two traditional enterprises of the Mafia—have followed gambling to the island. The authorities recently deported three Americans for trafficking in girls and drugs. The men were Nate Saunders, Rudolph DiBerardino (alias Rudy Apollo) and John Sidoruk (alias John Rush). Both DiBerardino and Sidoruk had police records and Mafia affiliations back in New York.

The main job of the three men was importing girls, but they also indulged in some interesting specialties on the side. Sidoruk, for example, was charged with using two of the Las Vegas-trained girls to lure casino winners to a room in the King's Inn (one of the island's plushest hotels) where Sidoruk would "roll" them and relieve them of their winnings—$1,900 in one case. Sidoruk and his cohorts also inaugurated a Mafia-type extortion business, terrorizing local businessmen with threats and beatings if they did not pay protection money to the gangsters.

The American thugs had a Bahamian Negro partner in these enterprises, a big, muscular, 27-year-old "enforcer" named Gadvill Newton, who, interestingly enough, is the bodyguard and political associate of Sir Stafford Sands. Newton calls himself Skiboo, and the name is known throughout the Bahamas. He wears sharp Miami Beach-type clothes, and he always carries a beautiful black-leather-and-silver riding crop. The riding crop is weighted with lead, and it serves effectively as a blackjack.

The Skiboo-Sidoruk alliance was finally broken up when the gentle and inexperienced local police found they couldn't cope with the flagrantly open racketeering, and they sent to Nassau, the capital of the Bahamas, for help. The Bahamas' toughest cop, Assistant Superintendent Paul Thompson, a native of Trinidad, was sent in, and he soon developed cases justifying deportation orders for the Americans. But Skiboo escaped because of his political affiliations and now is a "security officer" at one of the big Grand Bahama hotels. Discussing Saunders, DiBerardino and Sidoruk, Superintendent Thompson, a shrewd realist, says sadly, "They are only the advance guard. And I only have six men and myself."

The police-state overtones, with a few Mafia touches added, were growing before the recent election. Prime targets were the American reporters, who are frequently called "muckrakers" on the islands and blamed for stirring up the whole mess "in their quest for sensationalism." The *Post* team of reporters and photographers was under constant harassment. Mail sent by us to reporter Don Richards in Freeport arrived with the envelopes blatantly slit open, and officials in Sands's ministry of tourism revealed to us that they knew the contents of the letters even before Richards had received them. Sands's officials also knew the details of our private phone and hotel-room conversations—indicating that we were both wiretapped and bugged.

The Mafia touches showed up in two attempts at "the frame," a traditional stratagem to trick the reporter into a compromising situation so that he can be later discredited as being unfit to pass moral judgment on others. This is a ploy which has been used before, with varying degrees of success, against reporters investigating organized crime in the United States. Our first exposure to "the frame" came on Grand Bahama, when reporter Richards was invited to a party at an isolated private home at which, he was told, "people inside Bahamas Amusements, Ltd., would reveal all about the company's books." Richards, under orders, did not go. We learned later from an informant that the party was a homosexual affair at which Richards was to be drugged and "set up" for photographs.

The second attempt at "the frame" took place in Nassau, where the *Post* team consisted of myself, my wife (writer Muriel Davidson), and Richards. We returned to our hotel one day after a full schedule of interviews to find that Richards had been checked out of his room by the management and checked into *our* room, without our knowledge or permission. A cot had been squeezed into the already overcrowded cubicle. While we discussed the situation, a key turned in the lock of the door and a man burst in. He surveyed the scene coldly for a moment or two, then left. There was a small camera around his neck, and he obviously had *ménage-à-trois* photography in mind—but Muriel was primly talking on the telephone, Richards was in a chair poring over papers, and I was in the bathroom. We checked Muriel out of the hotel immediately, and since all other Nassau hotels were closed to us, spirited her to the home of a friendly white Bahamian family, where she spent the night.

In the morning her hosts expressed shame and outrage at what had happened. A descendant of one of the oldest and wealthiest families in the Bahamas, the husband said, "This gambling situation is a real rat's nest. It's all the decent Bahamian talks about. The government tells us that gambling is increasing tourism, but most of us feel the number of tourists would have increased anyway. Gambling is just bringing in the wrong *kind* of tourist and driving the respectable ones away. It's all so incredibly stupid and incredibly crooked."

Then the man who had helped my wife pleaded with us: "Please don't judge *all* of us Bahamians by the few who are doing this. It happens because the white people fear them. The colored people hate their guts."

Up until that time—December, 1966— the Negroes of the Bahamas had been able to mount only a weak threat to the white rulers because of the voting provisions of the Bahamian constitution, which was cleverly engineered by Sir Stafford Sands. As in Great Britain, the government is formed by the party that wins the most seats in the legislature. Under a Boundaries Commission authorized by the constitution, the ruling white United Bahamian Party had gerrymandered the election districts so that it takes as little as 150 votes to win a seat from the thinly populated "out islands," where the poorest Negroes live, and as many as 2,500 votes in the heavily populated districts of Nassau, where the better-educated Negroes are centered. By granting small favors—money, whiskey, a new roof, a pair of shoes, occasional medical care—white politicians had always been able to carry enough of the "out islands" to more than offset their losses in Nassau.

In the 1962 elections the Negro opposition parties scored heavily in Nassau and the rest of the island of New Providence and won nearly 65 percent of the total popular vote in the Bahamas, yet because of the misapportioned constituencies they ended up with only 9 of the 33 seats in the House of Assembly. The United Bahamian Party was firmly in control with 24 seats.

Actually, however, that 1962 defeat proved to be fateful for the Bahamas, because it brought to the fore an aggressive young Negro, Lynden O. Pindling, who won a seat in New Providence and became leader of the opposition. A chunky, tiny man of boundless energy, Pindling, 36, is the son of a policeman. He is a lawyer, educated in England at the University of London. In the 1962–1966 period he became the firebrand leader the Bahamian Negro population had always lacked.

Pindling railed against the iniquities of the U.B.P.'s electoral system and carried his complaints to the United Nations. When the Meyer Lansky situation emerged into the open, he went to England to request a Royal Commission to investigate not only the gambling operations but also the alleged white-ruler corruption which had fostered them. He told the British government, "We do not wish violence; nor do we condone it. We do not wish the fate of China or Cuba or Nigeria to befall us in the Bahamas. The time is now for skillful surgeons to wield a sharp scapel to save the Bahamian body politic from cancer. The cancer is corruption."

At home Pindling gleefully cooperated with any American and British reporter investigating gambling in the islands. By December, 1966, Sir Stafford Sands and his fellow ministers in the U.B.P. apparently decided to crush Pindling and his Progressive Liberal Party (P.L.P.) once and for all. Although they were not required to call an election until as late as November, 1967, the U.B.P. decided to conduct one on January 10.

Pindling, at first stunned by the premature election campaign, soon turned it to his advantage. He told his people, who are deeply religious, "In the Bible, in the Book of Exodus, the Lord said to the Children of Israel that He would begin to deliver them from the Egyptians on the tenth day of the first month, and when is our election? The tenth day of the first month." He warned them that this would be their last chance to save themselves from the fate of the Negroes in Rhodesia. "The U.B.P. already is filling civil-service positions in the government with Negro-hating whites from South Africa and Rhodesia," he said (which was true), "and they're playing South African government programs on the Bahamas radio station. They are planning to set up an independent white republic." Wherever he went, he talked about the Meyer Lansky infiltration of the gambling casinos.

The white U.B.P. candidates ran a routine campaign, reminding the people of the prosperity they were enjoying. They did not even seem perturbed when Pindling acquired a helicopter from an American supporter and hopped from island to island, matching the best they could do with their own air transport. On the eve of the election they predicted the U.B.P. would win at least 25 of the 38 seats in the legislature. All American political observers in the island agreed with them. Barring a miracle, Sands and his party seemed sure to continue their control over the Bahamas and life would go on as much as before.

Then the miracle happened. On election day the Negroes poured out to go to the polls with a purpose they never had exhibited before. Pindling's P.L.P. workers performed their duties like Bobby Kennedy men. Even the taxi drivers organized a communications system for the P.L.P. through their car radios. When the results came in, there literally was dancing in the streets. The P.L.P. had won 18 seats. The U.B.P. had also won 18 seats, but the other two seats were taken by a Labor Party candidate and by a white independent. The Labor Party man, at least, could be counted on to vote with the P.L.P., giving it a majority of one. But by January 13 Pindling felt that he had the support of the independent. On January 14 Sands and the rest of the U.B.P. government resigned. On January 16 Pindling and his party took over. A British warship, nervously standing by in the harbor, withdrew. There were no riots or recriminations against the former white rulers. A British newspaperman told me, "I guess you'd have to call this a triumph of basic democracy. It was quite a change for this part of the world—a peaceful revolution.

The peaceful revolution was evident, on the surface at least, when I returned to the Bahamas immediately after the election. Wherever I walked in Nassau, the entire Negro population seemed to be smiling again—for the first time in years. Sidney Poitier, a strong Pindling supporter, told me, "Even the flowers will be back."

But in the hard world of realistic politics the "triumph of basic democracy" was not that clearcut. The white merchant princes of the U.B.P. still hold all the economic power. On the day Pindling took office, the former premier, Sir Roland Symonette, closed down his shipyard, throwing all of his Negro employees out of work. The U.B.P.-controlled newspapers ran stories indicating that foreign investors, fearful of Pindling's mildly socialist party, were pulling out of the islands—thus posing the threat of a severe economic depression. Pindling reacted by doing everything he could to allay the fears of the white community. Instead of firing the American public-relations firm, Hill & Knowlton—as he had promised—Pindling retained the company, and it began to grind out publicity for him as it had for his arch-enemy, Sir Stafford Sands, just a few days before. Many Pindling supporters felt this was a serious mistake. It then turned out that Pindling had made other "mistakes." For example, it was discovered that—unknown to Pindling—the American who had loaned him the helicopter for his campaign was Mike McLaney, a former associate of Meyer Lansky in the gangster's Havana gambling empire. Pindling vehemently denies knowing that McLaney was his benefactor.

I spent considerable time with Pindling in the first troubled days of his administration. One interview took place in his home, a tastefully furnished ranch house exactly like those in hundreds of American suburbs. Pindling's wife, Marguerite, a beautiful, intelligent young woman, served us a native lunch of "market fish" on magnificent Jamaican china. Then Pindling and I talked. "I've got to go slow," he said. "I've got to dispel the radical 'black power' image our enemies have created. I want all the economic and agricultural help I can get from the United Nations. I want all the help I can get from the United States."

"Are you also going to go slow in rooting the Mafia out of Bahamas gambling?" I asked.

"Yes and no," he said. "In the first place, I feel that the basis of Mafia power lies in the corruption of public officials, and we've already taken steps to make it conflict of interests for a government official to profit from the casinos. All of my ministers have given up their businesses and professions. We will be a full-time government.

"In the second place," he continued, "I'm going to renew my request to the British to send in a Royal Commission to investigate thoroughly the entire mess—and at the same time let them investigate the U.B.P. charge that my party is infiltrated with Communists. I also will ask the United States Justice Department to give us full information on the Americans working in the casinos. There will be no compromise on the undesirable element. They must go. But I don't want to close the casinos right away. That might be disastrous to the economy of the islands. I want to make a careful study of the well-regulated, government-controlled gambling system in Puerto Rico, and if it can be adopted here, eventually we'll probably adopt it."

The *Post* team of reporters investigated the Puerto Rican casinos as thoroughly as those in the Bahamas, and we could find no evidence of malfeasance in the American island commonwealth. The casinos are administered under the tight control of a Government department, and George M. Moll, director of the Division of Games and Chance, has the power to withhold licenses and to close down casinos on a moment's notice if anything suspicious occurs.

The management of the casinos must be investigated and approved by the FBI to make sure that there is no Mafia or otherwise malodorous association through hidden ownership. One hotel lost its gambling license within 24 hours after an associate of Teamsters Union President James R. Hoffa was found to be a hidden owner.

All casino personnel—croupiers, dealers, supervisors, managers—must also be cleared by the FBI, as well as by the local police. No one is allowed to work in any capacity in a casino unless he has been a *bona fide* resident of Puerto Rico for ten years. "This provision alone has totally discouraged the Mafia," says Moll. "Even they wouldn't wait ten years just to infiltrate a man into a casino, provided he could get past the FBI check."

A Justice Department official, who admires the Puerto Rican setup, says: "One thing that has always amused me about the Bahamian situation is that the government there always claimed that it had to use the Lansky men as supervisors because no one else knew how to run American-style casinos. The Puerto Rican gambling personnel are the best and cleanest in the world, but the Bahamas people never made any attempt to hire *them*."

In the Bahamas the unexpected results of the January 10 election have stirred up anxiety—if nothing else—among the Americans who work in the casinos. On Grand Bahama the Meyer Lansky men confine themselves to their hotel rooms and the beaches by day, and they do not speak to the patrons of the casinos any more than they have to at night. Every arriving convention group is suspected of harboring FBI men in disguise. There are rumors that Scotland Yard men from England are working undercover within the Groves organization. It remains to be seen what will happen to the prostitutes, who now shuttle over from Miami on the weekends.

But there's also a feeling of cautious optimism among the Lansky men. The gamblers seem to feel that this is just an interlude; that after a period of depression and economic uncertainty in the islands, Sir Stafford Sands will return. They are aware of a curious division of sentiment in the United States Government, and the fact that they might have an unwilling ally in, strangely enough, the State Department.

Before the Pindling victory on January 10, there was serious disagreement in Washington as to how to handle the developing crisis in the Bahamas. The State Department was for maintaining the status quo, preferring to deal with the Sir Stafford Sands-dominated white government rather than risk another Congo, or worse, just 70 miles from our shores. On the other hand the Justice Department—making one of its rare forays into the foreign-policy area—felt that it was highly dangerous to have a major Mafia stronghold so close to Florida. They pointed to a similar, though less drastic situation in Jamaica, where a Negro government took over—after a British Royal Commission investigation of white corruption—and has ruled ably and well ever since.

The hard-nosed gambling men on Grand Bahama are betting on the eventual triumph of the State Department's point of view. So far the Justice Department has been able to do little to get at the gamblers, other than to call the federal grand juries in New York and Philadelphia to try to trace the flow of casino money to specific members of the Mafia in the United States.

The only Americans in the operation to receive any punishment recently, however mild, were three close associates of Meyer Lansky who were key employees of the Monte Carlo casino—Max Courtney, the chief supervisor; Charles Brudner, the floor manager; and Frank Ritter, the credit manager After the *Wall Street Journal* called attention to their identities, and noted that all three were fugitives from justice in the United States, the Bahamian government moved against them, more or less. They were allowed to remain in the islands as residents. ("I've heard of political asylum," Lynden Pindling said at the time, "but this is the first time I've ever heard of *criminal* asylum.") The three men were told to get out of the casinos by January 15.

It so happened that the islands' newest gambling establishment, the $2.5 million El Casino, gaudier than anything in Las Vegas, opened on January 1, and Courtney, Ritter and Brudner were on hand to give a two-weeks' cram course in running the place to the new boys who, it so happens, were also friends of Lansky's from the old days.

El Casino is a garish structure built to resemble a Moslem mosque. Its exterior is illuminated at night with multiple-colored floodlights, and it was described by one opening-night patron as looking like "a high-class bordello in the Casbah." Another said he expected to see an Arab in one of the minarets, summoning the faithful with the cry of "Come seven, come eleven."

In Nassau, the small dignified Bahamian Club, a club that has been taken over by the Grove's people, had a full house on New Year's Eve. The Bahamian Club will be closed when Paradise Enterprises Ltd. begins to operate Grove's third casino—another mammoth structure now rising on Paradise Island, just across Nassau Harbor. "It will have a high dome and look just like St. Paul's church in London," says Ronald Gowlding, Groves's executive vice-president. Workers are halfway through building a multimillion-dollar bridge to Paradise Island, which can now be reached only by ferry.

In addition to all this, several new hotels are under construction both in Nassau and on Grand Bahama. Each is eagerly planning a "convention hall" that could easily be converted into a casino. In his campaign, Pindling said, "How long will it be before we have a Mafia-run casino in every hotel? It could be Las Vegas all over again—but at least in Las Vegas a good deal of the money gets back to the people."

Every morning in the hovels of Eight Mile Rock on Grand Bahama and "over-the-hill" in Nassau, native Negro workers get up and go to work on the various construction projects. They appreciate the money the work has brought them, but they have mixed sentiments about the future of the structures they are erecting. We talked with one native worker recently as he was putting the finishing touches on the landscaping around El Casino. He looked up at the flamboyant building and frowned. "I don't know," he said in his lilting Bahamian accent, "there's a powerful feelin' of evil here."

Just then a car went by on the highway called The Mall. In it was Dusty Peters, cigar in face, on his way to the airport for his twice-weekly conference with Meyer Lansky in Miami Beach.

[From Life magazine, Feb. 3, 1967]

THE SCANDAL IN THE BAHAMAS

(By Richard Oulahan and William Lambert)

The parliament of the Bahamas will convene next week in Nassau's honey-colored Senate and Assembly buildings, and for the first time in history the members of the islands' traditional ruling class will be occupying the minority benches as Her Majesty's Loyal, if unhappy, Opposition. They were dumped from power in last month's elections, after a campaign smutched with charges of corruption on a grand scale. A thorough inquiry into the accusations has been promised both by Queen Elizabeth's figurehead governor, Sir Ralph Grey, and by the new premier, Lynden Oscar Pindling.

To the Bahamian Establishment—a rich, predominantly white group whose political base is the United Bahamian Party—it came as a jolt to be overthrown by the Progressive Liberal Party, an overwhelmingly Negro group representing the have-not majority of 85% of the islands' 140,000 people. The voting ended in a dead heat, with each party winning 18 seats in the colony's 38-seat House of Assembly and two mavericks holding the balance of power. But Pindling, the young leader of the insurgents, managed to persuade one of them to back his party. He then neutralized the other by naming him Speaker of the Assembly, a job that has no vote except to break ties.

Pindling, a stocky, shrewd man of 36, had concentrated his campaign mainly on conflict of interest in government and on the use of the Bahamas as a lucrative center of international crime. As established independently by Life's investigation, the pattern of corruption breaks down into four principal categories:

Brazen insurance frauds victimizing countless thousands of U.S. citizens. The frauds are perpetrated by swindlers who operate through some of the almost 500 "suitcase" companies which are incorporated under the lax laws.

Secret accounts in nearly a score of banks, where American underworld figures and tax evaders can deposit profits from the narcotics trade, loan-sharking, gambling and other criminal pursuits, with no fear of being investigated or taxed. Such hidden money, after it has been "laundered," usually gets back into the underworld economy in the U.S.

Fraudulent sales of worthless securities issued by companies that are nothing more than letter drops, and promotion of these stocks by mail in the U.S.

Gambling traps set for American suckers, with a large share of the take going to a syndicate of American mobsters that includes Mafia members. The three casinos—two in Freeport, one in Nassau—are authorized by lordly government dispensations called Certificates of Exemption and operate on an extravagant scale that begins to challenge Las Vegas.

The Bahamas are an archipelago of 700 islands and 2,000 rocks and cays strewn like confetti across the Gulf Stream, from a point 60 miles east of Palm Beach almost to the eastern tip of Cuba. This year nearly 900,000 travelers, most of them from the U.S., will visit the islands—up from 32,018 in 1949—and it is expected that there will be more than a million a year in 1969. Most of the tourists are drawn to New Providence Island, where the capital city of Nassau is situated, and to Grand Bahama Island, 120 miles to the north. New resorts are also blooming on the major "Out Islands"—Eleuthera, Andros, the Biminis, Cat Island, Abaco, Great Exuma.

Throughout the chain the beaches are superb, the weather balmy, the water the clearest in the world, the fishing out of this world.

There has always been a snug harbor for wickedness in the Bahamas—though never, surely, for such varied and intricate wickedness as exists there today. Scandal of such proportions could never have occurred without the tacit approval and active assistance of many members of the now disestablished Establishment, a tight little clique of old families who had long dominated the colony's government on the one hand even as it dominated its commerce on the other, with nary a thought of conflict of interest. Its members are known as the "Bay Street Boys," because most of their offices and businesses are clustered on Nassau's main street bearing that name. Until the election they led the islands' appointive Senate and elective House of Assembly.

There are dozens of the Boys, but they answer to a handful of leaders. Sir Roland Symonette, the former premier, and his sportsman son Bobby, who was Speaker of the Assembly, are shipowners and leading builders. Sir Etienne Dupuch is publisher and editor of the Nassau *Tribune*; a onetime opponent of many U.B.P. policies, he is a comparative newcomer to the elite. The Solomon brothers—Roy, Fane and Norman—are wealthy merchants and importers. C. Trevor Kelly, the Minister for Maritime Affairs who lost his seat in the election, is a tycoon in ships, hardware and lumber.

But the Boy who held more power and influence than anyone else in the colony—more than either the royal governor or the premier—was the Minister of Finance and Tourism, a brilliant, hulking man with a drifting blue glass eye, who looks as though he might have stepped out of *The Maltese Falcon*. He is Sir Stafford Lofthouse Sands, 53, multimillionaire lawyer, gourmet, collector of antique paperweights and of Yankee dollars. In the halcyon pre-election days nothing involving any substantial exchange of money was likely to take place in the Bahamas without the consent and support of Sir Stafford, who also often exacted a whopping legal fee.

Bigtime gambling was convoyed to the islands in 1964 by Sir Stafford, and it has proved to be a bigger tourist attraction than all the sun and sand and French perfume and duty-free liquor put together. In 1965, its first full year of operation, the Lucayan Beach Hotel casino on Grand Bahama spent $494,552 on chartered flights, just to bring in free-loading planeloads of "high-rollers"—big-spending gamblers with blue-chip credit ratings—who had been invited from all over the U.S. Another $935,268 was allocated to provide hotel and ship accommodations for such pampered guests.

Sir Stafford's name is not listed on the board of directors of Bahamas Amusements Ltd., which controls the islands' big casinos, but neither are the names of Meyer Lansky and his confederates in the Mafia: Steve Maggadino, head of the Buffalo Cosa Nostra "family"; Angelo Bruno, director of the Philadelphia branch; Frank Costello of New York; Joe Adonis of New York and Italy, and Santo Trafficante the boss in Tampa. Yet U.S. lawmen are convinced that they are getting a big cut of the casinos' profits. Specifically, notorious front men for Meyer Lansky are raking in 30% of the net profits at the Lucayan Beach Hotel's Monte Carlo Room—a piece of the action that now runs to over $1 million a year—and a larger cut, 15% of the gross, from Nassau's Bahamian Club.

Sir Stafford admits he has met Lansky, long-time associate of the late Bugsy Siegel and Lucky Luciano. As Sir Stafford recalls it, the mobster, a specialist in casinos, came to call on him in his Bay Street offices in 1960 and offered to deposit $1 million to his credit in a secret Swiss bank account in exchange for exclusive gambling rights on the islands. Sir Stafford says he indignantly turned the offer down. Yet, when bigtime gambling finally did come to the islands four years later, Lansky's henchmen were dealing the cards.

In a limp effort to hide the mob's role, the Bahamian government in 1963 barred any American from holding a directorship in Bahamas Amusements. Nonetheless, the man who to all intents and purposes bosses the corporation *is* an American. He is Wallace Groves, 65, onetime Wall Street financier, high-roller in stock manipulations and an ex-convict.

In 1937 Groves was named before a U.S. congressional committee as a tax dodger, and in the early 1940s spent part of a two-year sentence in the federal prison at Danbury, Conn. on a conviction of mail fraud involving securities. For some 35 years he has had a base in the Bahamas, and is Big Daddy of one island in particular—Grand Bahama, where he wields absolute authority over just about everything that goes on in its brassy-bright new resort town of Freeport. Groves, whose lawyer is Sir Stafford, runs Bahamas Amusements very efficiently through two puppet stockholders: his Canadian wife, Georgette Groves, and a Briton, Keith Gonsalves, who is a former officer of Barclays Bank in the Bahamas. Grove's silent partner in all three gambling salons and spokesman for the Syndicate is Lansky, who also has a substantial though concealed interest in at least two of the gambling dens of Las Vegas and once held major Havana casino concessions. In 1959, after Fidel Castro shut Cuba down, Lansky looked around for other places where he might set up shop beyond the reach of U.S. law. The Bahamas were made to order.

Exactly how much the Syndicate is sluicing off in the counting rooms of Nassau and Freeport is carefully hidden; but in 1965, from just one casino, the Lucayan Beach Hotel's Monte Carlo Room, three Lansky lieutenants took a visible "bonus" totaling $490,511. In 1966 the "bonus" rose to $1 million.

As Groves explains it, these bonuses were a necessary "inducement" to guarantee the continued cooperation of the casino's managers. U.S. authorities know the bonus money is flowing back to the mob. The three lieutenants—Max Courtney (nee Morris Schmertzler), Frank Ritter (sometimes Red Reed) and Charles Brudner (alias Charlie Brud)—also drew combined, untaxed salaries of $109,200 a year, plus free housing and other emoluments, as managers of the Lucayan casino.

Courtney, Ritter and Brudner are all fugitives from U.S. justice, under indictment for violating the federal anti-racketeering statute as well as gambling-tax evasion and failure to buy the annual $50 gambling stamp. (They once operated the nation's largest bookie network, inherited from the late Frank Erickson.) But the Symonette government refused to deport them on grounds that since neither an income tax nor a bookmakers' tax exists on the islands, no crime (Bahamian crime, that is) had been committed. Just three weeks ago—and only after the greatest pressure from the U.S. and Britain was exerted—were Courtney, Ritter and Brudner relieved of their titles as managers of the Lucayan casino. But even after that they were suffered in the Bahamas and were never very far from the action. U.S. authorities are convinced that their "resignations" were meaningless.

Whatever the Pindling government decides to do about these three gamblers, one of their colleagues has turned up in the midst of Pindling's party. He is Mike McLaney, who managed one of Havana's big casinos in the days when Lansky was the top mobster in the Cuban capital. During the recent election campaign, McLaney showed up in the Out Islands, providing free airlifts for P.L.P. candidates. The mob always tries to hedge its bets.

Gambling and gangsters are not the only problem afflicting the Bahamas in the current era of prosperity and expansion. The U.S. Justice and Post Office Departments, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Internal Revenue Service are troubled over the flourishing insurance racket, secret bank accounts and bogus securities that have their origins in the islands. The insurance and securities frauds are being perpetrated by American and Canadian swindlers operating through hundreds of nonresident or "suitcase" companies incorporated in Nassau, many of them with the familiar address of 309 Bay Street, Sir Stafford's legal chambers. Bahamian law prohibits the suitcase companies, which operate only sporadically, from doing business in the sterling area. So U.S. mailing lists are used, and U.S. citizens are bilked of millions of dollars annually.

In February 1964, for example, Medicare Life Insurance Ltd. was incorporated in Sir Stafford's law office. Its total capitalization was exactly £5—$14. U.S. postal authorities soon spotted Medicare's fraud—a cruel and worthless medical care and hospitalization policy offered for $12 a month to some 100,000 persons, mostly elderly, infirm people living in California. All mail for Medicare was received by Sir Stafford's office and forwarded to a post office box in Ensenada, Mexico, where the promoters planned to pick up the proceeds. Instead, they themselves were picked up and were convicted on 33 counts of mail fraud.

Also in 1964, Francisco Garcia, an 83-year-old resident of San Antonio, Texas, was struck by a car and totally disabled. He hired an attorney and sued the driver, winning a default judgment of $7,500. But the judgment could not be collected because the insurance company turned out to be one of those shells that used Sir Stafford's office as a mail drop. Indeed, the promoters were in default of legal-fee payments to Sir Stafford himself, although they had cleared at least $500,000 in their swindles.

U.S. and Canadian insurance brokers have become understandably suspicious of any underwriter using a Bahamian address, so some Bay Street lawyers have resourcefully thought up a new gimmick. For a fee of $1,500 and up, they provide respectable-sounding mail-drop addresses in London for their suitcase clients. One such mail drop turned out, on investigation, to be a brothel.

One of the most lucrative enterprises of the modern pirates of the Bahamas is the floating of dubious securities in the U.S., using Bahamian addresses and mailbox numbers and representing companies that have no assets. Wherever the SEC can put the finger on such illegal securities dealers, it blacklists them. Currently, 17 are outlawed in the U.S.

A recent example was a firm called the Compressed Air Corporation Ltd., registered in Nassau (but not on any legitimate bourse), whose flamboyant mailed advertising played heavily on the U.S. public's alarm about alleged hazards in American auto designs. The firm listed the telephone of Nassau's Playboy Lounge.

Oddly, there seem to be more banks along Nassau's Bay Street than there are bars and restaurants—surely a unique situation for a resort town. And, until recently, there were dozens of other so-called "banks" which were nothing more than Nassau mail drops conveniently incorporated by Bay Street lawyers for a tidy fee, with no questions asked and no Bahamian law violated. The operators of these phony banks, mostly Americans, had built a lucrative business by issuing themselves spurious certificates of deposit which they used as collateral for loans from U.S. financial institutions. After strenuous pressure was exerted by the American and British governments, the islands' banking laws were tightened last year, and dozens of the invisible "banks" vanished overnight.

Of the 17 legitimate banks in the Bahamas, most remain a handy repository—just 35 air-minutes from Miami—for ill-gotten, untaxed money that can be stashed in accounts closed to the scrutiny of U.S. and other outside authorities. The process, which removes the tattletale gray of tax evasion, is known as "laundering." No one can guess how much U.S. money is flowing into the vaults of the Bahamas, but a source in Canada estimates that currency going out of that country alone to Nassau amounts to $2 million a week.

Crime and violence have flourished in the Bahamas for centuries, since Columbus discovered America on the Bahamian island of San Salvador and his Spanish followers introduced the inhabitants, the gentle Lucayan Indans, to civilization. They were conquered by the Spaniards, then decimated by measles and smallpox or carried off to work and die in the mines of Cuba and Hispaniola. The Spaniards never considered the place worthy of colonization, and in the 17th Century a British group, the "Eleutherian Adventurers," tried to settle the islands. They suffered hunger at first and later were frustrated by the swarms of pirates who had already made the Bahamas their base and were the *de facto* rulers.

By the end of the 18th Century piracy in the islands had died out. During the American Revolution, the colony's sparse population of 4,000 was nearly tripled by the immigration of some 7,000 southern American Tories. The newcomers planted cotton in the thin Bahamian soil, got the slaves they had brought with them to pick it, and completely changed the economy and ethnic mix of the Bahamas. Then in 1838 slavery ended in the British Empire, and the islands had to find another means of survival.

One was already at hand. Early in the 19th Century, the people of the colony had turned enthusiastically to the business of salvaging wrecked ships. Since the Bahamas lie athwart one of the Atlantic's main sea lanes, and since the prevailing winds and currents are hazardous for sailing ships, business for salvors was good. The islanders made it a lot better by decoying ships onto the reefs with moving lights along the shore, and by making bargains with unscrupulous ship captains who were willing to wreck their ships for a share of the spoils. Between 1858 and 1864, while 313 ships were lost on the Bahamian shores, the Assembly was made up almost entirely of the owners of the colony's 302 salvage ships, and most of the eligible electorate consisted of their crews. Then, over the violent protests of the Bahamians, Sir Rawson W. Rawson, a resolute royal governor, ended the wrecking business by building an effective system of lighthouses in the archipelago.

The bloody American Civil War brought the biggest boom ever to the colony. Nassau became the primary chink in the Union's sea blockade of the Confederate States. The merchants of Bay Street jumped at the opportunity to run arms to the South and transship its cotton to the mills of England. Imports leaped from £234,000 in 1860 to more than £5 million in 1864, and Nassau danced.

After the Civil War, the Bahamian economy plunged to its lowest depths and remained there for more than 50 years. In 1920, though, the institution of national prohibition in the U.S. sent the Bahamas reeling into their longest binge of prosperity, again as blockade-runners.

In Nassau, warehouse space ran out and the streets were piled high with cases of pre-Prohibition whisky from the U.S. and imports from Britain, all destined for mainland bootleggers and racketeers. American gangsters built stucco palaces on the islands, and many of today's leading Bahamians—including ex-Premier Sir Roland Symonette himself—amassed their fortunes smuggling whisky to the U.S.

With the repeal of Prohibition in 1932 the Bahamas sank, with the rest of the world, into the Great Depression. Not until 1950 were the Bahamas prepared for the postwar era of increasing autonomy and tourist-borne prosperity. The Bay Street Boys were ready.

The islands today are almost entirely self-governing. The British Crown is responsible only for defense, external affairs and internal security; and the office of royal governor is mostly ceremonial.

The Bay Street Boys saw nothing wrong in manipulating the government and passing laws to make themselves richer. After all, goes their smooth rationalization, as part-time government officials they received no salaries, so they had to make a living elsewhere and somehow. It was, invariably, a very good living. One of Pindling's main campaign pledges was to end this conflict of interest and pay salaries to office-holders.

While the Bay Street Boys live in opulent mansions strung up and down the coastline around Nassau, the average Nassauvian is not so fortunate. The typical tourist sees only the smiling face of the place, but it is only a 10-minute walk beyond Bay Street to the brawling, sprawling district called "Over the Hill," a festering slum, teeming with crowded shacks, with no plumbing, few paved roads and fewer schools. Here and there a neat pastel bungalow, like the one Sidney Poitier built for his mother, may bloom in the jungle, but Over the Hill is, almost all of it, an appalling place where the city's Negroes live. A single room in a ramshackle wooden house costs $35 a month. Epidemics and fires are frequent, and during the rainy months Over the Hill often becomes a fetid swamp: there are no rain-sewers or streams to carry the water off. It is the heartland of the P.L.P.

It is true that there are other, more squalid slums in the Caribbean islands, but the irony of Over the Hill is that it should exist at all. "The governmental system is almost medieval," says an American diplomat. "It's too bad they can't run the government like Kuwait, where the nation's riches are used to serve the small population."

Though the Bay Street Boys held the power in the Bahamas for a generation or more, theirs was a minority government. Through a system of vote-buying, gerrymandering and rotten-borough districting, they maintained an iron clench on the legislature until the Jan. 10 election. The result surprised everyone, but should have been foreseen. Cracks in the authoritarian walls of Bay Street had begun to appear nine years ago, when a general strike crippled the islands for 19 days. Limited redistricting and universal male suffrage were introduced, and in 1962 the female franchise was approved. Meanwhile, during those nine years, the number of seats in the Assembly, all told, increased by nine to a total of 38—and the control of the Bay Street minority diminished.

No exclusive club, fraternity or protective association ever operated with such solidarity as the Bay Street Boys. This is remarkable because the Boys do not especially admire one another and some—Sir Stafford Sands and Sir Roland Symonette, for example—have been known to say derogatory things about each other. But to outsiders Bay Street presents a solid phalanx, as Huntington Hartford, the hapless A&P heir, discovered to his chagrin when he embarked on a grandiose Bahamian project in 1959 without greasing the proper palms.

Hartford, who has an instinct for throwing his millions into noble and picturesque but ruinous undertakings, decided to go into the resort business. He bought most of Hog Island—just across Nassau harbor—changed its name to Paradise Island and spent $30 million building a luxury playground there. But then he discovered that the place could not break even without a casino and a bridge across the harbor. No other big investors would consider going in with him unless they heard the click of dice, and he found he could not ferry over nearly enough tourists by motorboat to pay the bills.

As a matter of economic necessity Hartford decided to add a casino. But all efforts to obtain a gambling franchise and a permit to build a bridge failed. He even offered to give 50% of the casino's profits to the Bahamian public. But he had made the mistake of retaining the wrong lawyer to plead for his gambling concession and, worse, he had committed the horrible *faux pas* of contributing some $15,000 to Bay Street's enemy, the P.L.P. As the stalemate stretched on, his troubles in Paradise were costing him $1 million a year by 1964. So Hartford gave up and sold most of his holdings to the quaintly named Mary Carter Paint Company, whose owners wanted too diversify their investments.

Miraculously, Paradise Island's difficulties began to melt away. Gambling there became possible merely by the purchase, for $750,000, of a Certificate of Exemption from the owner of the Bahamian Club, a sedate little gaming room in Nassau. The permit will be transferred to the Paradise Island Casino when it opens at the end of this year. Approval for the bridge was graciously granted by the Bahamas government, which decided that a span across the harbor would *not* be a hazard to shipping. And the attorney who represented the Mary Carter Paint Company was Sir Stafford Sands.

Of course, some troubles did develop. The paint company had to yield 4/9 of the casino and all of the management of it to Wallace Groves's Bahamas Amusements Ltd. because, as Sir Stafford explained, when it came to gambling the government preferred to deal with just one group. Under the Bahamian Club's present management, Lansky & Co. pull the managerial strings and are slated to run the Paradise Island Casino when it opens. They have been cut in for a flat 15% of the gross gambling profits.

If the Paradise Island caper was a bravura performance by Sir Stafford, the Grand Bahama deal was his masterwork. Grand Bahama was the ugliest, least promising of all the habitable islands in the Bahamas. But thanks to the legal legerdemain of Sir Stafford in his capacity as Wallace Groves' attorney, a big chunk of the unsightly place was converted into the swinging community of Freeport, with its big, garish hotels, a casino that looks like an Arabian harem, an olde Englishe pub with deep-chested wenches for waitresses, an International Shopping Bazaar, girlie shows "direct from Las Vegas," gangsters, discothèques, a scuba club, the works—and an atmosphere that melds Miami Beach with Monte Carlo.

Freeport—all 211 square miles of it—is Groves' absolute demesne. He controls everything from the local police payroll to the decor of the new buildings (gaudy portraits of Queen Elizabeth in hotel lobbies). With the authority of a feudal baron he dispenses privileges and business licenses—and when the whimsy moves him, he takes them away.

There was, for instance, the boon that was bestowed upon Daniel K. Ludwig, the enormously wealthy American shipbuilder and international industrialist who came to Grand Bahama in 1955 to finance and dredge the deepwater harbor, and stayed on to build the King's Inn, an 800-room hotel surrounded by an 18-hole golf course. It was Ludwig's understanding that he could also build an adjacent casino and the International Bazaar. But after Ludwig had invested millions of dollars in the resort, Groves sadly informed him he would have to take over the proposed casino project himself because his Bahamas Amusements Ltd. holds the casino monopoly. And while the International Bazaar—an unholy mixture of Chinese streets giving on to an English mews, a Copenhagen square and a soupcon of Montmartre—was under construction, Ludwig was informed that he had lost the franchise to do business there, because he was insisting on bringing in his own shopkeepers and importing his own merchandise. The Bay Street Boys, who are, after all, primarily shopkeepers and merchants, had other ideas. As a sop for losing the casino and the bazaar, Ludwig got a barren tract of land which may (or may not) some day become a housing development. Nine of the International Bazaar's shops have already been turned over to Bay Street's Solomon brothers.

Even with his highhanded methods, Wallace Groves has induced an impressive number of big investors to help him bring about the remarkable transformation on Grand Bahama. Among them are U.S. Steel (a $50 million cement plant), Holiday Inns (a $5 million hotel, the company's biggest), the ubiquitous Mary Carter Paint Company (Queen's Cove, another large, desolate future housing tract) and Syntex Corp. (a $7 million pharmaceutical plant). From the biggest Freeport concessionaire down to the smallest shopkeeper, Groves exacts a tithe, usually from 1% to 10% of the profits.

Of course, none of this would ever have gone beyond the dreams of Wallace Groves if it had not been for his friend Sir Stafford Sands. By 1936, when Sir Stafford was a still-unknighted youngster reading the law in Nassau, Wall Streeter Groves had already set up two of the colony's earliest suitcase securities companies, whose operations were eventually to send him to the penitentiary. Groves went to Sir Stafford some 20 years later with his visionary plan to turn Grand Bahama into an industrial park *cum* resort. Sir Stafford obligingly popped on his parliamentary wig and drew up the Hawksbill Creek Act (so-called for a cove on Grand Bahama where the big, lazy hawksbill turtles are wont to gather). It was comparatively easy to ram the bill through the Assembly and get the governor to sign it. The Hawksbill Creek Act presented Wallace Groves with something not unlike the blank-check Hudson's Bay or East India Company charters: he was allowed to buy the 211 square miles of Grand Bahama land, a principality 400 times the size of Monaco, most of it at the giveaway rate of $2.80 per acre. (Nowadays Groves is reselling some of the choicer plots for $50,000 an acre.) And when he was given special rights and privileges, including exemption from virtually all taxes for up to 99 years. For his services to Groves, Sir Stafford, of course, received his usual fat fee.

To organize this empire, pay his bills and fulfill the development requirements of the Act, Groves set up over a period of years a series of interlocking private concerns: first a parent firm, the Grand Bahama Port Authority Ltd., which Groves owns with a handful of rich New York and British investors; then a real estate organization, the Grand Bahama Development Company Ltd.; and later a number of other companies, including one to govern his gambling interests, Bahamas Amusements Ltd.

When their hopes for a great industrial development in Grand Bahama began to fade, Groves and Sir Stafford turned to the one thing that would draw the tourists like nothing else and make the resort turn a profit—big gambling.

Long before the gambling was authorized or even mentioned out loud, the blueprints for Freeport's Lucayan Beach Hotel depicted a large room specifically ordered at a Miami meeting attended by Groves' representatives, the architect and Meyer Lansky. On the plans, the 9,000-square-foot room was called a "handball court," but it was ultimately to become the Monte Carlo casino.

There was a reason for the camouflage; as it happens, gambling was and is specifically forbidden by law in the Bahamas, punishable by a maximum penalty of a £1,000 fine and two years in prison. Gambling has existed there nevertheless in a modest way for many years. The way to get around the official restriction is to persuade the governor's council to issue a Certificate of Exemption, which is simply a permit to ignore the law.

Some of the Bay Street Boys were opposed to the notion of big gambling on Grand Bahama, and the ground had to be painstakingly prepared to get a Certificate of Exemption for Freeport. In this, Groves and Sir Stafford were immeasurably helped by the arrival on the scene of one Louis Chesler, who showed up in 1960 with $12 million to invest and more than a casual interest in gambling.

A bigtime promoter from Canada, Chesler was a guiding force in several giant companies, including Canada's Lorado Uranium Mines Ltd.; General Development Corporation, the huge Florida real estate operation; and Seven Arts Productions Ltd., the entertainment complex. He was a proved entrepreneur in housing promotion, the developer of Port St. Lucie and two other large, successful "retirement towns" in Florida. When Chesler, a cherubic, rollicking 300-pound man, moved in, he brought with him a retinue of jetset friends and satraps, and a go-go attitude that was offensive to the prim conservatism that Wallace Groves affects. But Groves managed to tolerate it until 1964, when the $12 million was gone, the Lucayan Beach Hotel was open and Lou Chesler could be given the *coup de grâce*.

Meanwhile, Chesler had been put to use in another way. In September 1961, in a maneuver called "Operation Indoctrination," he and Groves were lavish hosts to a carefully selected group of key officials of the Bahamian government, first at Chesler's Port St. Lucie and later in Miami Beach. The influential group included Premier Sir Roland Symonette, Attorney General Lionel Orr, Treasurer William Sweeting, their wives, and Colonial Secretary Kenneth Walmsley. The guests were briefed on the realities of resort building in the Bahamas and the absolute necessity of admitting bigtime gambling in order to create the beautiful—and profitable—life it would bring.

Sir Stafford was also present, but unobtrusive. His big scene came later, in 1963, when the governor's council met in great secrecy to discuss issuing the Certificate of Exemption for Freeport. The vote was 8–3 in favor of the gambling license. Sir Stafford got $1.1 million, including $515,900 in legal fees, plus a retainer of $10,000 a month, plus a "consultant's fee" of $50,000 a year for 10 years.

Some early dissidents—like Publisher Sir Etienne Dupuch, who had editorially campaigned with some eloquence against gambling—changed their minds after the vote and accepted "consultants' fees" from casino funds funneled through Groves' development company. Sir Etienne was appointed a "consultant" at $15,000 a year but begged off, as a matter of conscience, after several months. Earlier, Sir Stafford and Groves had tried to win Sir Etienne's favor by commanding every concessionaire in Grand Bahama to buy ads in the publisher's annual *Bahamas Handbook*. When the ads still did not produce the $50,000 they felt Sir Etienne deserved, Groves' Grand Bahama Development Company was required to buy enough copies to make up the difference. After a few months, all of the 10,000 undistributed copies were burned.

Premier Symonette's own "consultant's fee" was set at $16,800 a year for five years, and his son, Bobby, the Speaker of the Bahamian

House of Assembly, got $14,000, also for five years. Maritime Affairs Minister Trevor Kelly was awarded the charter to haul men and materials from Florida to Freeport on his freighter, *Betty K.*, at $60,000 a year for three years. The *Betty K* proved to be unusable, so the charter was canceled after seven months. As consolation for the loss of the contract, Kelly got a compensatory payment—$100,000.

Not long after the gambling franchise for Freeport was secure, Groves and Chesler moved into open conflict, for it had become apparent that Grand Bahama was not big enough for both of them. Chesler made the first move toward a showdown, offering to buy out Groves' 48% interest in the Grand Bahama Development Company for $17 million. Groves countered with an offer to buy enough of Chesler's stock to gain control of the company, and Chesler—bowing to the feudal lord of Freeport—meekly accepted.

By this time, Groves' development company, financially shaky, began to change rapidly. The Lucayan Beach Hotel, which had been built under Chesler's aegis at a cost of $8.6 million—one of the costliest hotels in the world on a per-room basis—had been sold, at a loss of $1 million, to Allen Manus, a Canadian entrepreneur. (Sir Stafford got a fee of $125,000 for arranging the papers.) Manus had no better luck with the hotel: despite a subsidy of $500,000 a year from the Monte Carlo Room, the Lucanyan Beach was in receivership after 18 months. It still is today.

Manus had secured his down payment on the hotel with loans of $2.5 million, mostly from Canada's Atlantic Acceptance Corporation, which invested $11 million in various Grand Bahama enterprises. Much of that investment in the island's development went sour, resulting in an upheaval of the giant holding company. Atlantic Acceptance collapsed in June 1965, defaulting on $104 million to creditors, most of them Americans, and causing an international financial scandal.

By the end of 1966, the last of Lou Chesler's holdings on Grand Bahama had been sold off and his friends, relatives and hangers-on were gone. But Chesler had left his mark on the resort. He had introduced Meyer Lansky and the late Jim Norris, millionaire boxing promoter and friend of the mob, to the Bahamas' gambling picture. Courtney, Ritter and Brudner, the three Lansky henchmen, all known by Chesler from their days in Havana and around the New York racetracks, had been installed as managers of the Monte Carlo Room, and the big gamblers were flying in and the big money was flowing out to a Miami Beach bank as regularly as the tides. In Miami Beach, a platoon of Courtney's bookmakers was keeping a constant telephone check on the credit ratings of high-rollers who showed up at Freeport. Everything was operating with machine-tooled efficiency—unlike the early days days when Freeport's unreliable telephones failed, and Jim Norris obligingly allowed the radio aboard his yacht, *Black Hawk*, riding at anchor in Hawksbill Creek, to be used to relay credit information back and forth between Freeport and Florida.

From its opening night in January 1964, the Monte Carlo Room prospered, never had a losing night. At the end of five months it had made $1 million, and before the year was over it had repaid the $600,000 lent by the Lansky mob to equip the casino and provide the initial bankroll. By the end of 1966, the casino was grossing $8 million a year, according to the available records. It is worth noting, however, that Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Company, the international accounting firm which kept the casino's books, did not trust those available records and resigned the account last year.

In New York, meanwhile, U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau has been keeping up a dogged pursuit of the fugitive Gotham mobsters. One of Groves' officials admists that all casino personnel have been warned not to go to the U.S. for fear of being caught by one of Morgenthau's subpoenas. The prosecutor has already obtained indictments against the Messrs. Courtney, Ritter and Brudner. Another, more notorious Lansky lieutenant, Dino Cellini, and several lesser hoodlums have been declared *non grata* and deported from Grand Bahama as a result of strong representations by U.S. government agencies.

Cellini went to London, where he operates a school—financed in part by Bahamas Amusements Ltd.—for British croupiers to learn the intricacies of American craps and blackjack. But among the replacements for Cellini and the others, all still working gainfully in Bahamas casinos, are Eddie, Bob and Guff Cellini—all of them Dino's kinfolk.

As long as the mob has a toe hold, it will keep sending replacements—"soldiers," as the Mafia calls them—whenever there's a vacancy to be filled. Of course, the mob has reason to be nervous, what with the heat from the U.S. and the changing political scene along Bay Street. One thing is obvious: they won't give up easily. Nor will the Bay Street Boys.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 28, 1967]

Bahamas Chief Admits Share in Huff Group

(By Leroy F. Aarons)

New York, Feb. 27.—Lynden O. Pindling, newly elected Prime Minister of the Bahamas, acknowledged today that he and his law partner—now Bahamian Minister for Internal Affairs—are shareholders in a corporation formed by Corrin Huff, secretary and friend of Adam Clayton Powell.

But, Pindling was quick to add, the corporation, Huff Enterprises, Ltd., does no business in the Bahamas or with the Bahamian government.

"So the question of conflict of interest does not exist," he said.

Huff Enterprises was a subject of inquiry in this month's House hearings concerning the affairs of Powell. The select committee was trying to determine whether U.S. Government funds had been used by the corporation for private or commercial purposes.

Pindling, a short, stocky man with a quick wit, is making his first visit to the United States since becoming the first Negro to head the Bahamian government.

He told a press conference at the Regency Hotel that the Huff firm was incorporated in his law offices on May 14, 1965.

Its sole purpose, he said, was to acquire title to a parcel of land and a house on Bimini, a Bahamian island where Powell vacations regularly.

He said the land had been purchased for $15,000 to $16,000 prior to the incorporation, but did not say by whom, or how large the plot was.

Bahamian law requires that every corporation have five incorporators, Pindling said. His role, and that of his partner, Jeffery M. Thompson, was merely to fill out the required five names.

The other three, he said, are C. Sumner Stone, a Powell aide, Emma T. Swann, a Powell employe who figured in House testimony involving misuse of credit cards, and Miss Huff, who is listed as president.

There are 1000 shares outstanding valued at one pound (roughly $2.79) each. Pindling and Thompson have one each and Miss Huff, Mrs. Swann and Stone five each. The other shares are not issued, Pindling said. Powell himself is not a shareholder.

Asked if it is common for corporations in the Bahamas to be formed for the purpose of listing title to property, Pindling said yes, and added:

"It is used often to avoid operation of the law of dower. In the Bahamas, a wife automatically owns two-thirds life interest in her husband's property. Some husbands mustn't like their wives getting an interest in everything he gets."

Pindling did not say whether this applies to Powell, whose estranged wife lives in Puerto Rico.

Parrying questions by a battery of reporters, Pindling gave particular emphasis to much-publicized reports of Mafia-controlled gambling and insurance and banking rackets in the Bahamas.

He said that a special commission of outside experts, probably from Britain, would soon begin a thorough investigation of the large tax-free gambling casinos on the island, as well as reports of conflict of interest among officials of the previous government.

In answer to a question, he said that three Mafia-linked individuals wanted by the U.S. Government would not be deported pending completion of the study. The three men—serving as managers of a casino at high salaries—are Max Courtney, Frank Ritter and Charles Brudner. They are wanted for violating several U.S. anti-racketeering and gambling statutes.

AMIGOS DE LAS AMERICAS

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Bush] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to bring to the attention of this body the work of a great organization and its unique program. Several hundred teenage boys and girls in 2 years, on their own momentum and with $80,000 of their own money, have given the term "amigos" a special meaning in Latin America which goes far beyond the literal Spanish. Without a dollar of Government money and without any political or ideological objectives, these young Amigos have successfully inoculated hundreds of thousands of rural Central Americans against the major contagious diseases and have developed—by action rather than by talk—a spirit of international brotherhood which dollars alone could never buy. Anyone who might question the feasibility and importance of this unique approach should spend 5 minutes with Raymond Cook, chairman of the board of trustees, Guy Bevil, the inspired executive director, or spend 20 minutes viewing KPRC–TV's stimulating documentary film on the Amigos program, "Yanqui, Come Back," the title of which dramatically discloses the kind of response which our boys and girls have induced among thousands of new friends.

Over the next few months you will observe a lot of public discussion of international student organizations and of the unfortunate disclosures of CIA participation. These discussions will probably bring about a broad review of the proper relationships between U.S. Government agencies and private welfare organizations, and out of such review there may develop some new and workable guidelines. In the process, however, there may also unfortunately be suspicion and resentment which unjustly will damage all youth service groups, even those like Amigos which have had no involvement with undercover activities of any kind.

At this particular time, therefore, it is refreshing for the public generally to learn that there is at least one youth service program in America which as a matter of deliberate policy has refused to taint its person-to-person objectives either by Government money or by political, social, or religious preaching. Young Amigos during the summer live with rural families in Honduras, eat their simple food, share their many problems, and work hard to help solve some of them. To these young people, idealistic though they may be, political and social philosophy becomes remote and irrevelant. Their outlook is focused rather on the problems immediately in front of them. An Amigo's smile and good works may well aid an important national purpose, and his obvious spiritual motivation may well serve to strengthen someone's religious faith; but to the Amigo these are indirect dividends. Only to you and to others who must view such projects with a wide lens does the true significance become clear. In simple language the basic truth is that in many areas of U.S. interest today a teenager's smile is more effective than a silver dollar.

It might also be refreshing for people to learn how much time and how many skills are being committed by American businessmen to the success of volunteer programs like Amigos. The operation is extraordinarily complex, with logistical problems which would severely strain many business organizations and which in a bureaucracy would inevitably produce administrative costs out of proportion to the end product. The vitality and enthusiasm of volunteer workers can never be bought; and it is through both necessity and choice, therefore, that Amigos has been able to accomplish this complex operations with no administrative hierarchy and with a minimum of expense.

I do not suggest that in the field of private welfare the U.S. Government need wholly ignore what is going on. In fact there are positive policies which our various Federal agencies can and do properly carry out, primarily those which are implicit in the functions available abroad to any U.S. citizen at the embassy and consulate levels. For example, Amigos de las Americas and many thousands of Honduran citizens have already appreciated the courtesies, the information and the counselling in Tegucigalpa, Honduras from our distinguished American ambassadors to Honduras, Charles R. Burrows in 1965 and John J. Jova in 1966. Ambassador Jova, incidentally, became so intrigued by the Amigos program that he encouraged two of his own sons to participate. I also believe that within the State Department at many levels there are those who understand and support the good works of private service projects abroad.

Too often, however, this relationship gets distorted because in the background there is an expressed or implied request for Federal financial assistance. What is needed is a wholesale dose of "do-it-yourself" medicine. Federal officials should more openly admit, even preach, that there are many functions both in this country and abroad which can be better served by private enterprise.

The Amigos program itself, with or without public notice, will carry on under the momentum of its young people, the dedication of its volunteer adults and the contributions of interested individuals. The principle, however, deserves continued public notice; and I hope that today's recognition will stimulate it.

I commend this organization for its great efforts.

DEATHS AND INJURIES FROM FIRE ARE A SERIOUS NATIONAL HEALTH PROBLEM

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SHRIVER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, with all of us sharing proper concern over the public health, I should like to call attention and express appreciation for the fine work being done in educating the public in prevention of deaths and injuries resulting from burns by the U.S. Public Health Service's injury control program headed by Dr. Richard E. Marland, Chief, within the National Center for Urban and Industrial Health.

This is a vital work and a much needed contribution to the welfare of our society. Another person, to whom I should like to give credit, and a valued assistant to Dr. Marland, is Dr. Irmagene Nevins Holoway, a safety specialist with the injury control program, and a native of Kansas.

From these people, who labor daily so that you and I may have a safer world in which to live, I have learned much of the enormous cost fire and explosion exact each year from our society.

In this country, accidents caused by fire and explosion are the second leading cause of all nontransport deaths, approximately 8,000 annually, a rate of four per 100,000 population. An estimated 2 million persons are burned each year from all causes seriously enough to require medical attention or to restrict their usual activity for a day or more. Of these 2 million persons, about 100,000 require hospitalization.

Since injury control program figures show that over 80 percent of the deaths caused by fire and explosion occur in the home, I should like to record in more detail, and categorically by different groupings, what this marauder takes from us, and how it ravages the weak and unprotected.

Fire and explosion are the leading cause of death from nontransport accidents among children 1 to 4 years old, and the second leading cause to age groups 5 to 14 and 45 and over. Nonmetropolitan areas have higher death rates than metropolitan areas, possibly reflecting a lack of fire departments, local rather than central heating, and problems of providing good emergency care in the ambulance and in the emergency departments of the hospital.

Improper use of a petroleum product to start a fire is the leading cause of home conflagrations that result in death and injuries to children; however, faulty wiring or fuses and defective stoves or flues are contributing factors. More than one-half of the injuries to children in home conflagrations occur while they are alone in the dwelling. The problem of hot water burns to little children and elderly persons involves accidentally turning on showers and taps in bathtubs among some certain groups of people, and falling into tubs of hot water in others. Other common causes of burns, varying with culture and environment, include cooking stoves, skillets—especially hot grease—electric appliances, electric wall sockets, trash burning, and misuse of petroleum products or matches.

A major problem involves clothing catching on fire, a particular problem for girls especially in conjunction with open fires or flame. Clothing ignition is common to both sexes, all ages, and in both home and work accidents. Burns are generally more serious when clothing is ignited. The amount of heat generated by the burning of any ordinary clothing fabric is sufficient to produce the most serious form of deep burning. Deep burns over large areas explain the clinical severity, prolonged hospitalization, and extremely high cost of treatment of such burns. Each year, many scores of thousands of persons in this country are burned in fabric fires. Add to this the tragic fact that most clothing burns occur amongst children and the elderly—the members of our society least able to defend themselves in such emergencies. Little girls' dresses and nightwear, for example, can quickly go up in flames, and the amount of heat generated is sufficient to produce the most serious form of deep burning. Flame-retardant material in one form or another is available for practically all of our fabric needs. However, technology can and must develop better and cheaper processes for producing flame-retardant clothing.

The injury control program is doing an outstanding job in research of fabric fires and resulting personal burn injuries. Likewise the program has been influential in bringing together the forces of the Government, medical profession, fabric manufacturers and finishers, retailers, and others deeply concerned with the development and general distribution of flame-retardant materials for the protection of the American public.

The injury control program stimulated a conference on burns and flame retardant fabrics last December at the New York Academy of Medicine. Attending were leading representatives of the interested parties I have just mentioned, and from this conference came plans for a permanent flame-retardant fabric organization. This organization will be dedicated to finding ways and means to bring more flame-retardant fabrics into every day use, and at prices the public can afford. It is to be hoped that this objective can be attained, for it can well result in a substantial reduction in personal burn injuries and deaths caused through the use of flammable fabrics.

Infants—age 1 and under—frequently are burned from climbing into containers of hot water left on floors, being placed in extremely hot water, or turning on hot water taps when left unattended while in their baths. Infants also suffer burns from hot floor grates or are burned while using hot stoves and space heaters for support. Crawling children pull on cords of electric appliances, toppling over coffee pots, frypans, irons, vaporizers, and other similar items. Parents who are safety conscious may pull the cord from the appliance, but leave it plugged into the socket. Infants no longer can pull over the hot liquid or appliance, but can and do put these live cords in their mouths, suffering burns. Infants in the teething stage chew on extension cords or put the couplings in their mouth. In fact, one of the projects of the injury control program is educating parents and other adults in making the home baby safe.

Burns to preschool children involve many of the same burn agents common to infants, but from different activities. For instance, these children usually fall onto floor grates, play on them, or back into space heaters, trip over cords of electric appliances, start to climb on stoves to reach cupboards, or are burned while watching trash fires.

Little girls' dresses ignite from sparks of trash fires, open flame of stoves, unscreened fireplaces, or contact with pilot lights or space heaters. Perhaps this is the greatest single hazard for fire burns to girls.

The preschool child frequently sticks any small metal object, particularly bobby pins, into wall sockets. Preschool children also fall into containers of hot water left on floors, play with hot water taps, or jump or fall into baths being drawn for other family members. The misuse of matches is a serious problem with the preschool child and improperly stored matches are readily available to the curious child.

Schoolchildren up through 17 years of age suffer burns from trash fires, either from starting them or as spectators. When young girls take a more active part in the kitchen, they are the victims of grease burns, backflash and explosions while lighting pilot lights of ovens, catch their loose clothing on open flames from stoves and suffer burns from hot cooking utensils.

Because the kitchen is the woman's domain, she is more frequently the victim of burns stemming from kitchen activities. Many common household cleaning products can cause burns, which, if not treated immediately, can cause infections.

Elderly people, who often live alone, are more susceptible to serious injuries of all types. Some older people are approaching senility, have slowed motor reflexes, or have suffered strokes and do not respond well to emergency situations. Hot water burns, a major problem to infants, are also a major problem for the elderly.

Smoking in bed and in overstuffed furniture pose another major problem with the elderly, and very often such burns are fatal. Burns from heating pads are also a cause for concern. Frequently, a heating pad's temperature is set too high and due to sensitivity deficiencies, the older person can be burned without realizing it.

People in this age group, like infants, also have less resistance to injuries and their burns often result in death.

Following is a list of some household products, and an approximate figure of the burn injuries each causes annually, as supplied by the injury control program of the Public Health Service.

Heating Devices	125,000
Furnaces	30,000
Space heaters	30,000
Floor furnace grates	60,000
Cooking stoves	100,000
Skillets	80,000
Incinerators	50,000
Pulling cords of electric appliances (primarily children)	35,000
Electric wall sockets and extension cords (does not include non-burn shocks)	30,000
Hot water in bathrooms	25,000
Hot water heaters (pilot light & burner)	10,000
Ultra-violet sun lamps	10,000
Clothing ignition (includes all burns when clothing is ignited)	150,000

In my native State of Kansas, the State health department was the first in the United States to develop an accident reporting system and to publish a summary of these accidents. In their most recent publication we learn that burns, conflagrations, and explosions in the home take a heavy toll. The Accidental Death Report for 1963–1964 lists 130 deaths in the home in Kansas from such causes over the 2-year period. Clothing ignitions alone came to 36. Deaths from burns, conflagrations, and explosions in the home during the 2-year period, as recorded by the State's department of health, follow:

Clothes ignited:	
Clothes caught fire from heater or open flame	15
Clothing caught fire while smoking	6
Burning trash	6
Clothing caught fire while cooking	3
Clothes caught fire, no details	2
Using gasoline to start stove	2
Playing with matches	1
Clothing caught fire from electric stove	1
Total	36
Conflagration:	
Home or building destroyed by fire, cause unknown	35
Fell asleep while smoking in bed or chair	14
Home burned, overheated or defective stove, furnace	5
Home burned, child playing with matches	3
Cigarette left burning, rolled off ashtray	3
Divan smoldering from burning cigarette	2
Home burned, kerosene heater knocked over	2
Gasoline ignited by water heater	2
Conflagration—Continued	
Varnish remover fumes ignited by water heater	1
Cigarette started fire in chair	1
Gasoline ignited by static spark	1
Home burned, short in radio	1
Child threw paper in open-face stove	1
Total	71
Explosions:	
Fuel oil stove exploded	5
Explosion in house, no details	3
Hot water heater exploded	3
Gasoline container exploded	3
Explosion of gasoline in basement	2
Butane explosion while installing hot water heater	1
Gasoline explosion from tractor	1
Wallpaper steamer exploded	1
Total	19
Other burns:	
Burned by hot water in bathtub	3
Hand touched hot radiator of car	1
Total	4

DMSO, THE PERSECUTED DRUG—PART III

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, because of my interest in making DMSO available for clinical testing under the supervision of competent physicians, I have received an avalanche of mail from persons suffering from a wide variety of ailments for which DMSO has offered dramatic relief. One of these persons is Mrs. Arline S. Knoll, of Kennewick, Wash. Upon receipt of her letter in the latter part of January 1967, I wrote the Food and Drug Administration, enclosing a copy of Mrs. Knoll's letter. Needless to say, the response is totally unsatisfactory. We are on a Federal merry-go-round. The FDA says in effect, have your physician contact a pharmaceutical firm sponsoring clinical investigations with DMSO, and if the firm is willing to supply the drug, it should submit the proposed protocol—the FDA's language, not mine—for study and it will be evaluated. The fact is that the pharmaceutical firms are not willing to proceed under the harsh terms of the FDA procedure, and months are consumed while the suffering continues.

I submit Mrs. Knoll's original letter to me and the FDA response:

KENNEWICK, WASH.,
January 25, 1967.

Representative WENDELL WYATT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing in the hope that there may be some way you could assist me in obtaining the drug D.M.S.O. which the F.D.A. has released for some specified cases.

I was one of the first rheumatoid arthritis cases to start using this drug through Dr. Rosenbaum of Portland, and the Oregon Medical School. It was extremely beneficial to me, and my monthly blood tests showed absolutely no toxicity involved.

Since it has not been available I have been growing steadily more crippled. It is becoming more difficult for me to walk, and my hands are now becoming very misshapen and stiff.

I am completely dependent on my job for a living, and am very much afraid that I will not be able to continue much longer without the help that this would give me. Since I am an office manager and accountant, you can see how important it is that my hands will function normally.

I will do *anything* to obtain this. Have been making inquiries, and will go the black market route if necessary, although I would certainly prefer to use it under a competent doctor's care.

I would certainly appreciate anything you could do in my behalf on this most important matter.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. Arline S. Knoll.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Food and Drug Administration,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. Wendell Wyatt,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wyatt: This is in reply to your inquiry of February 1, 1967, regarding correspondence from (Mrs.) Arline S. Knoll, 16 South Alder, Kennewick, Washington, concerning the availability and use of the investigational new drug dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO).

The clinical testing of DMSO was initially discontinued in November 1965, by voluntary agreement of all sponsoring pharmaceutical firms and FDA because of the question of safety, especially with regard to eye changes in experimental animals. The Food and Drug Administration has permitted the continuous clinical testing of DMSO since December 1965, in serious clinical situations where there has been some evidence that the drug may be effective and the condition is not responsive to other available therapy. At the present time, our medical officers believe that only such conditions as scleroderma, severe rheumatoid arthritis, persistent herpes zoster, and other rare, isolated conditions meet these criteria.

While the Food and Drug Administration may permit a sponsoring pharmaceutical firm to make DMSO available for clinical testing, we can do so only after receiving a proposal for such use from a drug firm willing to accept the responsibilities described in the Investigational Drug Regulations, for conducting clinical investigations with DMSO. A statement of policy outlining the guidelines on the investigational use of DMSO was published in the *Federal Register* on Friday, December 23, 1966, copies of which are enclosed.

We suggest that a physician, acting in his patient's behalf, contact one of the pharmaceutical firms sponsoring clinical investigations with DMSO and provide them the necessary information. If the firm is willing to supply the drug, it will submit the proposed protocol of the study to FDA where it will be evaluated. Of course, we cannot require any pharmaceutical firm to sponsor a clinical investigation, nor can we require them to make the drug available for such use.

We trust this correspondence will provide the necessary information and material with which to answer your constituent's questions regarding the investigational new drug dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO). If we can be of any further assistance, please advise.

Sincerely yours,

W. N. Swain,
Office of Legislative Services.

Enclosure.

[From the Federal Register of Dec. 23, 1966]

TITLE 21—FOOD AND DRUGS

CHAPTER I—FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Subchapter A—General

Part 3—Statements of General Policy or Interpretation Dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) Preparations; Clinical Testing and Investigational Use

In the Federal Register of November 25, 1965 (30 F.R. 14639), a statement of policy (21 CFR 3.52) was published concerning the termination of clinical testing and investigational use of dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) preparations. A recent comprehensive evaluation of all available data on dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) indicates that the drug may be of value in treating certain serious conditions which justify further clinical investigations. Accordingly, under the authority vested in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare by the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (secs. 505, 701(a), 52 Stat. 1052, as amended, 1055; 21 U.S.C. 355, 371(a)) and delegated by him to the Commissioner of Food and Drugs (21 CFR 2.120; 31 F.R. 3008), § 3.52 is revised to read as follows:

"§ 3.52 Dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) preparations; clinical testing and investigational use.

"(a) Chronic-toxicity studies with dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) in animals, including dogs, rabbits, and swine, reported by a consulting laboratory in England and by a number of laboratories in the United States show that the administration of dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) causes changes in the refractive index of the lens in the eyes of such animals. On the basis of these reports, clinical testing of dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) preparations was discontinued for a time and later resumed under very restricted conditions.

"(b) A recent comprehensive evaluation of all available data on dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) preparations indicates that the drug may be of value in treating certain serious conditions which justify further clinical investigation.

"(c) No person may ship dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) within the jurisdiction of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act for clinical testing in man until the proposal for such studies has had advance approval by the Commissioner of Food and Drugs on the basis of a Notice of Claimed Investigational Exemption for a New Drug (Form FD 1571, described in § 130.3(a)(2) of this chapter) justifying such studies.

"(d) The Commissioner may approve proposed clinical studies involving the administration of dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) preparations to man provided that all of the following conditions are met:

"(1) The proposed study restricts the use of dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) to cutaneous application in serious conditions, such as scleroderma, persistent herpes zoster, and severe rheumatoid arthritis, for which no satisfactory therapy is now available.

"(2) The proposed study will be conducted in a medical center having adequate facilities and well-trained, experienced medical personnel.

"(3) The proposed study provides that all subjects will receive a full examination:

"(i) Including eye evaluation by ophthalmologists prior to receiving the drug, at intervals not exceeding 3 months during the study, and 3 months after discontinuing the drug, and

"(ii) Including liver function tests and blood tests, prior to receiving the drug, at intervals not exceeding 4 weeks during the study, and 4 weeks after discontinuing the drug.

"(4) The proposal shows that patient consent requirements will be carefully observed and includes a commitment that patients will be fully informed of the effects of dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) in animals and of the possibility that these may occur in humans.

"(e) Dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) preparations may be shipped within the jurisdiction of the act solely for tests in vitro and in laboratory research animals in accord with the provisions of § 130.3a(a) of this chapter.

"(f) No person may ship dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) within the jurisdiction of the act for clinical investigation in animals as provided in § 130.3a(b) of this chapter until his proposal for such studies has had advance approval by the Food and Drug Administration on the basis of the submission of information in accord with the provision of § 130.3a(b) of this chapter."

(Secs. 505, 701(a), 52 Stat. 1052, as amended, 1055; 21 U.S.C. 355, 371(a))

Dated: December 15, 1966.

James L. Goddard,
Commissioner of Food and Drugs.

NATIONAL CARIH ASTHMA WEEK

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McClory] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Judiciary Committee, I was pleased to lend my support yesterday to the adoption by the House of Senate Joint Resolution 4 requesting the President to proclaim the week commencing May 1, 1967, as "National CARIH Asthma Week."

The history of the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital—shortened to CARIH—indicates that a great many individuals have contributed to bring healing to young persons for many years. The founders of this institution consisted of a small group of philanthropic Jewish women, but CARIH is now supported by many individuals of all faiths.

A particular aspect of the work of this institution which has attracted my interest is that emotional tensions between parent and child frequently are found to be a primary cause of asthma. Moreover, physical conditions, including foods and environment, are frequently found to have little or no significance as a cause of asthma among children.

It is most encouraging to note that those who administer the affairs of the institution are searching a broad horizon for helpful answers. Indeed, they have found that emotional tensions, more than allergy to physical conditions, must be corrected in order for many young sufferers to find healing. I am particularly hopeful that during National CARIH Asthma Week full recognition of this aspect of the institution's work will be emphasized.

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS LEGISLATION TO PROHIBIT POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in order to have a first-class postal system, the Post Office Department must be divorced from politics. We urge the immediate consideration of legislation introduced by Republican Members that would eliminate political favoritism and insure the recognition and promotion of the able and experienced career postal employees.

The U.S. Post Office Department is one of the world's biggest businesses. It employs more than 700,000 employees and handles over 75.6 billion pieces of mail each year.

Although this Department has an annual operating budget in excess of $6.5 billion a year, and thousands and thousands of dedicated, conscientious employees, it has not furnished the type of mail service that this country needs and demands. Moreover, the ever-increasing number of complaints, misdeliveries, nondeliveries, delays and backups are a clear warning that even more serious trouble lies ahead unless corrective steps are taken.

The American people will not get the type of postal service they deserve, and the many problems within the service will not be corrected, until there is a fundamental change in the manner in which the Department is operated. As long as this Department remains a politically dominated agency where appointments and all promotions from postmaster to carrier, are based on political favoritism rather than merit, postal experience and good management procedures, a first-class postal system cannot be developed and maintained.

Postal employees should not be placed in a position where obtaining a job or their future in the postal service is determined by the size or regularity of their political contributions.

The more modern European systems are operated strictly on a professional business basis. They have recognized that in order to give quality service, the operation of these departments must be divorced from politics. This is in contrast to our own system, wherein postmasters of even the largest cities, operating post offices doing many millions of dollars of business a year and employing many thouands of employees, need two paramount qualifications—they must belong to the right political party and they must curry favor with the right politicians.

Certainly, every employee coming into the postal service should have the opportunity to rise up through the ranks and attain a top supervisory position. This is not the case today and it may never be the case unless appropriate legislation is enacted into law.

BROADCASTERS AND FREE SPEECH

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] man extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, as one interested in providing for more opinion by qualified commentators in the marketplace of ideas, I have urged for broadcasters full partnership with the press on a medium of communication.

I have, heretofore, discussed this on the subject of editorializing. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 28, 1967, page 4805.

Recently Marcus Cohn, distinguished Washington, D.C., lawyer who specializes in the broadcasting field, and who at one time served with the Federal Communications Commission staff, spoke to the New York State Broadcasters Association at Albany, N.Y.

I know my colleagues will be interested in his speech, because it continues the dialog in this area in a most intelligent way:

BROADCASTING AND BOOK BURNING—1967 STYLE[*]

Elected public officials, who are our guests this evening, basically face much the same problems and challenges as those faced by broadcasters—accountability to their constituents. In fact, legislative experience is one of the best training grounds for the arduous and hazardous life of broadcasting. The differences are those of degree.

First of all, there is the matter of the poll—that four letter word. You gentlemen, it is true, are periodically subjected to Gallup and Harris and local polls that tell you how you or your party are doing. The broadcasters have their polls also: the Nielsen, Hooper, Pulse and ARB, which tell them how they are doing. But there is a big difference between the two kinds of polls. Your kind is taken periodically, whereas the broadcaster lives under a daily tyranny of numbers, percentages, and ratings which have the stability of mercury in a broken thermometer.

Every vote that you cast is publicly recorded here in Albany and if one of your constituents is sufficiently curious, he can find out how you voted. In the case of broadcasting, the interested constituent listener or viewer doesn't have to make any special effort. All he has to do, as he lounges by his fireside, is to push a button and find out what his elected broadcaster is voting for; it appears right there on the television screen. Every broadcaster has a continuously-exposed public record. And unlike your constituents who vote for or against you every two years, the broadcaster's constituents cast a separate vote each 30 or 60-minute segment of the day.

You each experience those anticipatory reelection pains. These come every two years for you. The broadcaster has it somewhat easier; he gets "re-elected" every three years—when he must file his request with the F.C.C. that his license be renewed. While the elected political official knows the result within hours after the polls are closed, broadcasters sometimes wait weeks, months and even years, for the verdict. The road the broadcaster must travel in standing for his re-election is arduous and searching. He has to file a written application for reelection; he has to recount, in writing, exactly what he has done to serve the public interest and, moreover, he must prove, with statistical tabulations, why he has in the past and will in the future operate in the public interest. You have it easier. You are not required by law to hand every voter written documentation as to how you voted on each measure while you were in office, nor do you have to make a tabulation of how many times you voted with or against the party leaders, or how many times you voted "yes" or "no."

Every broadcaster, when he files an application for renewal of his license, is required to make a survey of the needs, tastes and desires of the communities he serves and then to prove to the F.C.C. that he has, in fact, served and satisfied the needs, the tastes, the goals and the yearnings of his constituents. He must advertise the fact that his application is on file with the F.C.C., tell the public that it may be examined in his offices and that anyone who objects to it being granted, should write the F.C.C. You, in a general way, of course, do the same thing, except that you don't have to do any of these things; and you certainly don't have to do it in writing; you don't have to do it at rigid periodical inervals; and, moreover, if you don't want to do any of them, the Federal Government doesn't command you to do it—at the risk of taking away your license to serve.

You both must be responsive to the needs of the communities that you serve—but there is a vital difference between you. The communities that you serve are restricted by man-made geographical boundaries and are generally homogeneous. The broadcaster, on the other hand, serves large heterogeneous groupings of people with diverse backgrounds, interests, cultures, and even languages. A broadcaster may serve as many as 10 million people; his service is not governed by the laws of man, but by those of nature. No matter what he does, he can't please all of his constituents.

Your profession and that of broadcasting have another common characteristic. You are frequently condemned personally for failures of the political establishments because of the moral failure of another elected official. The public tends to lump all the members of a political institution, such as a legislature, together in one mold. It does the same thing with broadcasters. All television stations have to answer to critics for the things that the critic doesn't like on one station; I am sure that even good music stations have to account, from time to time, for their rock-'n-roll competitors.

You have learned—as have broadcasters—that no matter what you do, no matter how noble your motives may be, no matter how devoted you are to the public you serve, there will always be loud and shrill groups—sometimes large, sometimes small, often only solos—that scream and criticize. And it is with those critics that I want to deal tonight.

Broadcasting's critics generally fall into two institutional groupings. There are, first of all, the established and orthodox institutions of society, such as, for example, the home, the school, the church and government. The second group of critics consists of directly competitive businesses—namely, newspapers and magazines.

I want to deal separately with each of these two different types of institutional critics.

After Gutenberg invented mobile type, it took about 200 years before books—other than the Bible—were printed. It took that long to tap the vast resources of that new communications marvel. But within our life times we have witnessed the birth and the growth of radio and television, as one of the major industries and two of the most dynamic media of the Nation.

There have been more changes in communications in the past 50 years than have occurred in all the history of recorded time. Technology has brought us into an age of a total communications environment. Throughout our 16 hours of awakened time, we shave, or eat, or dine, or work, or play or read by radio and television. And, of course, some people even insist on sleeping with their radio turned on. We have become an integral, inseparable and enmeshed part of a network of communications.

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[*] Text of an address by Marcus Cohn before the New York State Broadcasters Association at Albany, New York, March 7, 1967.

Broadcasting has become an established institution. It has all of the criteria by which institutions are identified. It commands interest, it enjoys status, it has prestige. It has large numbers of persons who depend upon it. Society spends large quantities of its time listening to and watching it.

In the baseball world they tell the story of the umpire who, whenever he was criticized for the manner in which he called a game, would retort: "Some of you fellows may see them as balls and some of you may see them as strikes. But they ain't nothing at all—until I call them." The critics of radio and television remind me of that umpire. It doesn't make any difference to the institutional critic whether or not the public enjoys what it sees or hears; to the institutional critic all of these programs "ain't nothing at all," unless and until they, the critics have evaluated them, passed judgment on them and have even, sometimes, decided whether they are good, bad or indifferent.

It is no coincidence that television program listings and news and features occupy prominent space in newspapers. I would hate to be the circulation or business manager of a newspaper whose editor refused to carry the logs of the local television stations and stories about television and its performers. The reason the public demands to know what is happening in the television world is that that world is intimately intertwined with and is an integral part of man's social, economic and political orders. If broadcasting were not, as an institution, as effective as it is, if it did not command the attention that it does, and if it had not grown as rapidly as it did, I doubt whether it would have aroused so many critics. The very criticism by the other institutions—the home, the church, the school and government—and, of course, the printed press—is a tribute to broadcasting's effectiveness; if it were not as pervasive and effective, it would not receive the amount of critical attention that it does.

I believe there are several reasons why these institutions are so critical of television.

First, there is the matter of personal and individual tastes, likes and dislikes—a subjective problem. It simply isn't true that what's sauce for the TV goose is sauce for the TV gander.

Then, there is the matter of simple jealously. As the home, the church and the school see the increasing amount of time that is devoted to television—and the decreasing amount of time devoted to their institutions—they understandably bristle with anxieties and frustrations. Television, in a real sense—and not in an economic sense—is in competition with them. If for no other reason than the amount of time people spend listening to radio and watching television, these institutional critics would criticize—no matter what the programming of the stations might be. If the programming consisted only of plays by Shakespeare and Sophocles and the same number of people watched those plays who today watch Peyton Place, The Beverly Hillbillies, and The Man From U.N.C.L.E., I am sure that most of these institutional critics would continue to repeat their criticism and bemoan the fact that Macbeth, Hamlet, Antigone and Oedipus Rex emphasize violence, sex, lust, homicide, suicide and fratricide.

I am also convinced that there are other deep psychological reasons for some of the intensity of the criticism. We live today in the midst of a series of national and international social crises and revolutions. The home, the school, the church and the political order have not been able to solve these vexing, explosive and chaotic social and political problems. Man has turned for answers from them to other institutions. Broadcasting's news, documentaries, and panel discussions, among other programs, have enabled him to understand more fully than he ever has before what the issue are and his role in them. He literally participates *in* the event, as it actually happens. He attends the White House and the Governor's press conferences and the political conventions. He does not have to read *about* the event—after it happens. He sees and hears it through his own eyes and ears. He is there when it happens; it is not screened and filtered for him; he actively participates as a full citizen in and is not alienated from his environment. None of the other institutions—because of their natural physical limitations—has the capacity or physical ability to penetrate, to point out, to isolate, to pinpoint and to interpret our environment in such a realistic and instantaneous manner. We may have read millions of words on civil rights, but it was not until we saw and heard—live and instantaneous—the tragedies of the problem, that we became totally aware of its scope and depth and the moral issues involved. I do not think that it was a mere coincidence that our civil rights revolution occurred during those very two decades that broadcasting had its greatest growth.

In brief, all of the other institutions have lost, in varying degrees, their oracular power roles and it is a characteristic of all persons and institutions not only to struggle against the loss of power but, at the same time, to criticize any new threatening power center.

There is yet another reason why these institutional criticisms have increased in intensity. They have all had the historical role of helping man to understand himself and improving his lot on earth. Radio and teelvision mirror the social order which the institutions have created. Just as the novels and plays of Steinbeck and Shaw mirrored the society of their times, the plays, the music, the movies and the news on radio and television today are nothing more nor less than reflections of our culture, the thermometer of our society's state of health.

The church, the school and the home may not always like the image on the television mirror. They condemn the psychedelic jargon of "turn on" and "drop out" on TV and radio, as though these media, rather than society, created these phrases. They often don't like what they see and hear. It reflects their failures. The AMA complains about some of the television programs where the medical profession, its problems and standards are portrayed and the American Bar Association denounces CBS's "Trials of O'Brien" because it failed—to use its own lament—"to protect the image of a lawyer." They complain and criticize the mirror instead of examining, as they should, the reasons for and the sources of the images. They are merely finding a focal point to criticize society and its system of values. Some of their vociferous denunciations remind me of the book burners of years ago—and some in the more recent past. They believed that somehow or other if they burned the books they could solve the problems. They thought they could quench the revolutionary spirit of the time by extinguishing the flame. You can't burn thoughts and you don't crack television screens. That doesn't solve the problems nor obliterate the thoughts which are recorded in the books and reflected on the screens.

In addition to the criticism to which we are subjected by these institutions, there is, of course, also the steady stream of criticism by the printed media—in particular, the newspapers and magazines.

I want to make it perfectly clear that I do not think that any venal instinct drives publishers to encourage this criticism. Rather, I think they are impelled by the simple fact that they know that radio and television occupy the largest single amount of time that the American people devote to any one activity—outside of sleeping, working and going to school. It is, in a real sense, a recognition of the amount of time spent by, and the intense interest of the readers in, what the broadcasting media are saying. When radio and television were in their infancy—in the '20's and early '30's for radio and the late '40's and early '50's for television—large numbers of newspapers simply ignored them. It was only when they became all-pervasive and commercially competitive that newspapers recognized their potency.

Today television criticism—some of which is profound, perceptive and highly professional—and television news occupy large portions of every daily newspaper. The public wants this information because broadcasting is such an integral part of its life. Whatever happens in or about television *is* news.

As a matter of fact, a newspaper publisher is reminded daily of yet another pull of television. I know of no TV news reporter who became a newspaper reporter or columnist, but you and I know of scores of newspaper reporters and columnists who left their newspapers for the bright lights—not of Broadway, but of television.

The newspaper has historically been the critic of all the other media—radio, television, the theatre, the movies, the ballet, the symphony, the opera and books. But the one medium for which we have no critic is the newspaper. I know of no newspaper which criticizes competitive newspapers or even other newspapers which are not competitors. They feel competent to comment on, criticize and analyze the writing of television plays, their props, the lighting, the actors' make-up and the length and frequency of the commercials. But I know of no newspaper or magazine—outside of such limited circulation and excellent magazines as, for example, *Columbia Journalism Quarterly, Saturday Review* and the essays of the late A. J. Liebling in the *New Yorker*—which regularly evaluates and criticizes the treatment of news in newspapers, the writing which appears in newspapers, the layout of its pages, the character of the typography, the "Personal" columns in the classified section or the ratio of advertising to news. Bill Rivers, Douglass Cater and other thoughtful newspaper men have pointed out that Journalism, as the fourth estate of government, rightfully believes that its criticism of the other three estates makes them work more effectively for the public interest. And they have also pointed out that self-criticism will have the same effect.

The mere fact that newspapers are not technically licensed by the Federal Government—though they do enjoy large subsidies through second-class mailing privileges—should not make them immune to criticism. Certainly, the First Amendment does not guarantee such immunity. Newspapers operate in an open society and if they are to undertake the task of criticizing all other media—as they do and should continue to do—I see no reason why responsible and thoughtful publishers should not review, comment on and criticize magazines and other newspapers.

The broadcasting industry has been loathe to criticize and rarely criticizes any other media, although Charles Collingwood tried to do it several years ago. If radio and television stations were to regularly engage in critical—and this does not mean only that criticism which condemns—analyses of newspapers and magazines, as well as other stations' programming, they would be performing a great public service. There is no reason why newspapers should be immune to responsible criticism. If they do, in fact, occupy a crucial role in the formulation of public opinion and if they are, as I believe they are, an integral part of our institutionalized culture, they, just as all other institutions, whether it be government, school, church or family, should be talked about; their content and makeup should be discussed; their role and their function debated. And lastly, if we are to place on the shoulders of radio and television some of the responsibility for some of the present social and moral problems which beset man, I know of no reason why we should not examine, at the same time, the role played by *all* of the media in the creation and reflection of those problems.

One of the favorite current stories among analysts is the one about the patient who complained: "Doctor, what kind of a complex is one suffering from if he believes he is being persecuted—and it's true?"

We in the broadcasting media shouldn't suffer a persecution complex, for we *are*, indeed, being persecuted by all of the institutions—and the F.C.C. as well. I think we are over-sensitive to institutional criticism. I have a feeling that because of our youthfulness—after all, radio is only in middle age and television is barely out of adolescence—we feel unduly uncomfortable in the face of the criticisms.

Every institution—like every elected political official—should be permitted to have an age of innocence in which it flounders and attempts to make adjustments to the times, to the experience and criticism of its seniors, and to the common sense and the wisdom of age. But the medium is rapidly passing its age of innocence and the time is coming—if it hasn't already come—when broadcasting must take a more positive role among the other institutions. I think the time has come to talk back to and be critical of our critics. I think the time has come for us to tell the critics that it is they, and not we, who have created the social, economic and political orders which we mirror.

At the same time, we should polish up the mirror so that society will see and hear things that it would not otherwise know about. Our television screen should be the lens of a miscroscope and the rays of a lighthouse beacon. It is not sufficient that we mechanically record and photograph that which we see. We should paint the scene ourselves and just as the artist does, we should add our own interpretation and compassionate understanding. Our screens should reveal thoughts which have never been thought before and seek new truths by examining and exploring events which heretofore have been ignored. But, on the other hand, we and our critics must bear in mind that no one of the media is so adaptable that it can communicate or help solve and explain everything. To put it in its simplest terms—no one can or should be expected to be able to whistle the binomial theorem.

Because the public spends so much time with us, we have an affirmative obligation to speak out and constructively criticize and comment on all social institutions including the competitive media. We have made a good beginning by expressing ourselves, from time to time on civic and political matters; more and more stations are taking positions on political matters and candidates—and that is all to the good. But that is only the beginning. We have the responsibility to voice constructive criticism of all social institutions.

Our age of innocence is evolving into an age of maturity and our maturity should advance into statesmanship. Statesmanship requires that we carefully and sensitively listen to what all of our critics have to say but never defensively accommodate ourselves to those criticisms which merely at a particular moment, happen to be the most vociferous or persistent.

We owe society the obligation, as we examine the other institutions, also to examine ourselves and the role that we play amongst these institutions. True statesmanship requires that we add something to that which we mirror. We, just as all other institutions, should provide, within our own structure, the opportunity for the birth of those irritating creative voices which—like the irritants in the oyster which produce the pearls—may be annoying at the time, but carry with them the seeds of potential greatness and give our institution a continuous flow of growth, brilliance and excellence.

We didn't and don't create society's problems and we can't solve them. What we can do is to continue to mirror accurately the social, economic and political orders in which we operate—with all of their stresses, strains and sometimes revolutionary spirits—and then *offer constructive criticism of what we find*. When we do this, we discharge our fundamental moral and ethical obligation: to participate fully and vibrantly, as a mature and emancipated medium, in the democratic market place of ideas.

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, in calling for another "Great Debate" on United States-European relations in general and on the future direction of the Atlantic alliance in particular, several of my Republican colleagues in the other body have rendered a valuable service to the Nation. As we are becoming increasingly aware, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is approaching a turning point in its history. The time has arrived for a comprehensive, if agonizing, reappraisal of the basic structure, function, and strategy of this institution, the viability of which so directly affects our own security and that of the free world.

Mr. Speaker, there are no simple or easy solutions to the problems at hand. If, however, we are to heed the lessons of the past two decades, we should recognize by now that neither unilateral action nor unilateral advocacy by the United States will effect the attainment of our national objectives with respect to NATO. The ultimate failure of our now moribund MLF proposals constitutes an excellent case in point. A precipitate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe could well prove to be another, unless both the military and political implications of such a move are carefully weighed in advance. As the senior Senator from New York has warned:

> We should not tamper with the *part*-troop reduction—unless we first understand the *whole*.

The italic is mine.

Mr. Speaker, in order to contribute to an understanding of the whole, I insert in the RECORD at this time an excellent article by Dr. Bernard Brodie, professor of political science at UCLA, entitled "How Not To Lead an Alliance,' which appeared in the March 9 edition of the Reporter magazine. Whether or not one accepts Dr. Brodie's analysis of our Government's past failures in this area or his recommendations for the future direction of U.S. policy toward NATO, I believe the major issues facing the United States today, and in particular the contemporary European attitude in all of its complexity, are brilliantly delineated. I seriously commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

HOW NOT TO LEAD AN ALLIANCE

(By Bernard Brodie)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has now lost one of its two major continental powers, and is clearly diminished by more than that very substantial loss. It is presently moving its most meaningful organ, SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe), from the western outskirts of Paris to a corner of Belgium called Casteau, references to which are usually amplified with the information that it is "near Mons," which some of us last heard of as a place the British Army retreated from in the early days of the First World War. The North Atlantic Council, never really important but symbolic of something important, is moving from the large edifice built for it at the Porte Dauphine in Paris to Brussels. The Standing Group in Washington continues, but, as always, without the slightest influence on affairs.

All this has proceeded in large part from a commonly shared conviction, which even the United States government has begun openly to accept, that the Soviet Union does not really threaten a direct attack in Europe. Even so, the obvious illness of what is left of the Organization stems also from other causes. Although one hesitates to call an international body dead to which many good and some quite able people are still devoting considerable energies, we know from long experience that organizations may go through the motions of being alive while being in fact spent. NATO seems to be in or approaching that condition. Is this decay our fault, or is it due mostly to the disdainful blows of the French President? Inasmuch as the United States has been the acknowledged leader of NATO, we really have to ask, first, how much did our actions contribute to or provoke de Gaulle's behavior, and second, what did we do independently to supplement or amplify the negative consequences of his actions?

THE TURNING POINT

Among people who should know, European as well as American, many believe that nothing the United States could reasonably have done could have altered substantially the relevant policies of de Gaulle. On the other hand, if we accept the somewhat old-fashioned (or at least lately neglected) axiom that the national interests are likely to be best served through taking into account the conceptions, aspirations, and sensibilities of those with whom we must deal, and certainly not less of those whose collaboration we seek than of those whom we must regard as basically hostile, then the list of American sins of omission or commission against one of its most important allies is long and grievous.

The key U.S. decision in this respect—"key" because it symbolizes and in a sense contains all the others—was the rejection of de Gaulle's proposal to President Eisenhower in the autumn of 1958 that a sort of directorate be formed comprising France, Britain, and the United States to run the affairs of NATO and to co-ordinate international policy on the highest diplomatic as well as strategic levels. The United States dismissed this proposal apparently with no show of interest in seeking a compromise alternative, allegedly on the grounds that it would be inequitable to other members of NATO. No doubt among the real reasons was that the United States did not wish the intrusion of French advice concerning its foreign policies, especially in areas outside Europe, such as Africa—or Vietnam.

Anyway, far from reasserting the equality in principle of all the members of NATO, the United States by this rejection asserted its unwillingness to water down or share its extraordinarily dominant role in the Organization. In French eyes it was seeking to keep France on a level with Luxembourg. The subsequent conduct of France toward the Organization would have had to be basically different if we had accepted something like its 1958 proposal and lived up to it in good faith, which, of course, would have meant giving an appropriate hearing thereafter to French views.

After the inauguration of the Kennedy administration at the beginning of 1961, our relations with France were markedly worsened by, among other things, the hortatory and scornful public comments that Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara directed toward the French nuclear program, which we wanted to see abandoned in its military aspects. This was incredibly clumsy diplomacy on our part, because it should have been obvious that de Gaulle would not in the slightest degree be deflected from his course by our castigations. We were, however, bemused by the domestic opposition within France to the nuclear program, and were no doubt expecting to hasten by our policy the political demise of de Gaulle. Even so, we should not have expected Frenchmen to appreciate the reasons for our overtly differentiating between the British nuclear effort, which we regretted but found excusable, and the French effort, which we condemned.

The irritations we thereby inflicted on our ally were probably secondary in importance to the support our remarks gave to some already deeply embedded French and German suspicions. These were that American insistence on maintaining monopoly control within the alliance of its nuclear power reflected a diminishing reliability of that power. This apprehension was strongly enhanced by our concurrent pressure upon our allies to build up their conventional forces for a strictly conventional role. Our repeated insistence that the United States was absolutely to be trusted in these vital nuclear matters, and that American views concerning them were not at all subject to change into the indefinite future, could of course not be taken seriously by any reasonable European with some sense for history—least of all a Frenchman, who has a tradition of skepticism about political morality and who should hardly be asked to attribute to the United States a sharply higher degree of morality and fidelity than he can possibly accord his own country. Must we ask him to believe that Frenchmen and Britons but not Americans are capable of a Munich-type sellout? And especially in a nuclear age?

An American military commitment to Europe, which is what the North Atlantic Treaty originally represented, is basically a good thing for our interests as well as for those of Europe. However, that does not mean that the highly complex structure that developed on the basis of the treaty and the immobilism that long ago set in concerning NATO staff planning were in anybody's interest. The drastic shake-up that NATO has received during the past year, and the readjustments that it must in any case undergo, offer an opportunity for the inception of a new system for safeguarding the security of Western Europe. Real rejuvenation of the old system is out of the question, but the required new departures are also out of the question unless we try to understand where our NATO policy was going awry.

SWITCHING SIGNALS

Since its beginning, American officials having anything to do with NATO have usually been sure that they understood far better than the Europeans the problems of European defense and their solution, and they did little or nothing to avoid projecting that conviction. Most Europeans long accepted this claim as probably correct, partly because of the American near monopoly of nuclear weapons but more especially because of the initially impressive and peculiarly American efflorescence of strategic thinking and writing, especially on the part of highly intellectual civilians. We had institutions like the RAND Corporation, which attracted to themselves not merely respect but mystique, and out of these institutions came such esoteric new phenomena as "cost-effectiveness" analysis, with which the brilliant Mr. McNamara was known to be enamored, and various gaming techniques reputed, with much exaggeration, to depend heavily on the use of computers. The Europeans had nothing at all like this, and both they and we were impressed.

In recent years, however, the Europeans have become increasingly disenchanted. For one thing, there have been sudden and drastic changes in American strategic doctrine—as for example between the Redford Plan submitted to NATO in 1957, which placed reliance for the defense of Europe primarily on tactical as well as strategic nuclear weapons, and the McNamara conception embodied in the latter's Athens speech to NATO representatives in 1962 and some weeks later in his public Ann Arbor speech. The McNamara conception was a complete reversal of the Radford Plan.

Five years may seem like a long enough time to warrant a basic change in thinking, but each strategy was supposed to look indefinitely into the future. Besides, international bureaucracies are not as flexible as all that. Also, the later developments in American strategic thinking, especially the McNamara emphasis on conventional weapons even in the event of large-scale war, seemed to suggest to most Europeans that the ingenuity reflected in those conceptions was not necessarily combined with wisdom, political or strategic. More recently the problem has been a refusal of the McNamara school to change its position despite its complete failure to secure any of the preconditions for it.

Henry A. Kissinger has put it well: "American policy-makers often act as if disagreement with their views is due to ignorance which must be overcome by extensive briefings and insistent reiteration. They are less inclined to inquire whether there may be some merit in an opposing view than in overwhelming it with floods of emissaries, official and semi-official. As a result, the United States and Europe have too often conducted their dialogue over the technical implementation of a blueprint manufactured in America."

THE PUSHY AMERICANS

To get the flavor of this, one need only talk with American officials and see them in action at the frequent international conferences, small and large, quasi-private and semi-public, within the Atlantic Community. At such conferences, where officials may participate with persons of no official status, one sees that while American public servants may be individually as modest and engaging as those of any other nationality, in their roles as representatives of the United States they often become quite different people.

Ambassador Harlan Cleveland, for example, our senior representative to the North Atlantic Council, is clearly a very nice man, dedicated but unassuming. Yet in one thirty-minute statement before an international gathering at Oxford University last September, he said approximately the following: (a) Up to now the Europeans have had no opportunity of knowing anything about nuclear weapons, so their views on how to use them could be of little value. However, the United States is now giving its allies the requisite data, and they can therefore be expected in a year or two to have opinions that will warrant respect. (b) The problem of France has been solved so far as NATO is concerned, and no other serious problems remain.

What the ambassador seemed to mean on the latter issue was that the problem of adjusting to France's clearly unreasonable desires had disappeared by its exit from the Organization, and that the problems created by that exit were minimal. These remarks were less characteristic of American attitudes than those on nuclear weapons, and probably reflected only Cleveland's special brand of personal optimism.

On nuclear weapons, however, he was repeating only what American officials had been saying all along, though not usually so sharply etched. His audience was largely comprised of Europeans, most of them fairly senior officers in the NATO military forces, and there was even the novelty of a Soviet reporter present from the London office of Moscow Radio and TV.

Conversations with senior officials in European defense ministries or NATO delegations have tended increasingly in the last few years to expose complaints of American "doctrinalism" and "pushing," to use the words of one of them. From being a highly respected figure, Secretary McNamara has for many, especially in Germany but by no means exclusively there, turned into the personification of all that is wrong with American leadership in NATO.

THE CLICHÉ OF CLICHÉS

Indeed, it is difficult to understand the extraordinary insensitivity of those highly intellectual Americans who characterized the New Frontier approach to NATO affairs—an insensitivity concerning not only European touchiness about status, to which at least lip service was paid, but also concerning the possible merit of European ideas. It has not been due to any lack of diplomatic contact: members of our embassies do talk to the local people. One would not be concerned about their often disagreeing with and dismissing the views of their hosts—it is not a diplomatist's job, after all, to be in accord with the views of his hosts—except that the dissent seems to take the form of reiterating the clichés one has so often heard back in Washington. In Bonn, for example, one hears again that the Germans don't understand nuclear weapons, and anyway they don't contribute enough to their own defense. Besides, why don't they come through with the offset agreements necessary to ease the strain on the American balance of payments caused by the residence within Germany of so many American military personnel and their dependents?

The word "clichés" is itself a cliché word. It is easy enough to damn as cliché any view which is expressed more than once and with which one does not agree. However, in a bureaucratic environment where a great many people of all ranks embrace ardently and repeat to their opposite numbers abroad conceptions which they certainly did not originate and which they only partially understand themselves, clichéism is apt to flourish. How many Americans have explained the merits of the conventional buildup or the Multilateral Force to European civilians and military officers of far greater relevant experience than themselves! It does not require much experience with members of the State Department to be made aware of the fact that there is very definitely a "party line."

What we have suggested about the State Department naturally also goes for the Department of Defense, except that there are always a number of civil wars going in the latter much more ample establishment—wars between the military and the civilians and also between the several services. However, so far as the projection of our policies in NATO is concerned, the Secretary of Defense and his own band of civilian aides, including those in the Division of International Security Affairs, have been a united and powerful influence, usually in support of or supported by the State Department. The ardor of the partnership would normally be commendable, but it does matter what kind of policy is being promoted.

The great cliché of them all is "integration," for which Americans seem to have a special penchant. Did not America become great from the fact that the states united? Is not the American economy great because it has a vast internal market untrammeled by barriers to trade other than distance? Do not American industries, already the greatest in the world individually, seek irresistibly to reduce their vulnerabilities through mergers? One of the things we have therefore been most in favor of for Europe is integration. Difficult as it is for most Europeans to believe, our interest in thir integration is basically altruistic and is only rationalized for their benefit and ours as being in our own self-interest. We are, for example, in favor of the Common Market—which is certainly contrary to our earlier concern with "most favored nation" treatment. We even went so far as to intervene diplomatically at the last minute in January, 1963, in an attempt to prevent de Gaulle's veto of British admission to the Common Market. What a help that was!

Integration is what NATO is all about. The Organization stands for integration of forces and of planning. Integrated war planning has been going on at SHAPE since its beginning. Integration of forces is a good deal of what concerns SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe). The highest aspirations of the principle were embodied in the so-called Stikker Exercise, designed to bring the armed forces of our NATO partners to a higher state of individual efficiency and also into a closer harmony.

One of the things most wrong with "integration" is that we don't practice it ourselves. By far the greatest single force in the NATO arsenal is the American strategic bombing force, which is decidedly not integrated. The Multilateral Force (MLF) idea, which was going to bring integration down to the manning of individual ships, was designed from the outset with a built-in American veto. This might possibly disappear with time, but only might. European ground forces were to be integrated with American ones by redesigning themselves in large part after the American image. American participation in any strategic dialogue has hardly been one of give-and-take. Naturally, no end of lip service is paid to the idea of accommodation to the views of our partners, but how could we really accommodate when we knew the problems, had the answers, and were covering three-quarters of the cost?

In SHAPE, the integration of planning has been accomplished only by a process of ossification around views that almost everyone now agrees are completely out of date. SHAPE planning has always been, and probably continues to be, for a war that will never be—a war that begins with a massive Soviet nuclear attack to which we reply in kind, and where the ground forces play only the role of stopping the Red Army. When some "contingency planning" for the defense of Berlin was prompted by the Berlin crisis of 1961, the planning had to be done outside of SHAPE. What good is integrated planning that is necessarily bad planning?

It was with his usual hauteur, but alas also with his frequent accuracy, that President de Gaulle originally announced his departure from NATO in the following terms:

"Thus . . . our country will remain the ally of her allies but, upon the expiration of the commitments formerly taken—that is, in 1969 by the latest—the subordination known as "integration" which is provided for by NATO and which hands our fate over to foreign authority shall cease, as far as we are concerned."

From the beginning, SACEUR has been an American, and few Europeans have challenged the necessity for this arrangement. The original SACEUR was General Eisenhower, whose tremendous prestige helped give viability to the new organization. Subsequent SACEURS were bound to have less prestige, but have been very able. Until the replacement of General Lauris Norstad in 1963, the fiction had been that SACEUR was not an American but an allied commander, subordinate equally to all the governments whose forces were under his command. The fact that he was also EUCOM (European Commander) of American forces could be glossed over with the observation that he wore two hats. However, President Kennedy dismissed Norstad without consulting the NATO allies. The man who fires is clearly the man who controls. Moreover, Norstad was known to have been dismissed because of his unreadiness to accept some of those McNamara doctrines which the Europeans themselves did not like. Inasmuch as his replacement, General Lyman Lemnitzer, is three years older than Norstad, it was not easy to use the kind of excuses that might normally have been advanced for the retirement of a general.

General Lemnitzer also came into his present post with a kind of stigma that could do him no good in his new position. He had been Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the time of the Bay of Pigs, and had added his consent to that dismal and still incredible operation. The dispatch of Lemnitzer to SHAPE could only inspire speculations throughout Europe, and perhaps more than speculations, that the President had sent him to this new post simply to get him out of Washington.

In recent years there has also been a mounting irritation on the part of European governments over the admonitions and requirements that SACEUR has considered it his duty to make known to them. Part of this has to do with the feeling by some governments that SACEUR is being used by their own commanders to obtain equipment which they feel unable to acquire by their own request. How handy to have a desire for more vehicles fed into a SACEUR "requirement" to one's own government! These charges may be greatly exaggerated, and even if valid are hardly nefarious. The fact that they are even repeated probably shows only the general weariness with "integration" and American leadership.

BOWIE'S BRAINCHILD

In a conversation with this writer last autumn, a high official of the secretariat to the North Atlantic Council referred to the MLF as a "near disaster." The "near" was added simply as a thankful acknowledgment that the scheme had not been adopted. The origin of the idea has its roots in the need to respond to a proposal of SACEUR (at that time Norstad), who wished land-based IRBMs installed in Europe under his command. His object seemed to be the control of missiles that he could direct against those the Soviets had aimed at targets in Europe. There were several reasons why the SACEUR proposal was not palatable in Washington. A State Department study group headed by Harvard Professor Robert R. Bowie (who had previously been director of the Policy Planning Council of the State Department, and who has now returned to the department as counselor) proposed in turn that a preferred alternative to the Norstad proposal was to put a force of Polaris submarines off the coasts of Europe. These vessels were to be financed and jointly operated by the participants, each of which was to have a veto on the firing of their missiles.

Later, ostensibly because the "mixed manning" was going to be applied to individual vessels, and was supposed to make for special hazards on submarines, the plan was changed to allow for a force of twenty-five surface ships armed with Polaris missiles. The surface ships happened also to be a good deal cheaper than submarines, and this is important because it put the United States in the position of recommending for adoption as a joint venture something decidedly inferior to the kind of seagoing Polaris force it maintained for itself. If it was not inferior, why was the United States paying all that extra money for high-performance submarines?

Actually, the original basic idea seems to have been thought up by two scholars on Professor Bowie's team. The scheme was submitted to the North Atlantic Council by Secretary of State Christian Herter in December, 1960, but simply for study. The Kennedy administration came into office a month later, and its first expressed attitudes toward the MLF were lukewarm to negative. President Kennedy himself openly stated the view that it was quite unnecessary.

What happened subsequently provides us with an exemplary lesson in how zeal, combined with shrewdness in bureaucratic infighting, on the part of a few officials in key positions can cause the adoption of a major initiative in United States foreign policy. To Professor Bowie the idea was both a kind of brainchild, even if by adoption, and also a means of achieving the greatest of his heart's desires concerning NATO—integration.

Professor Bowie can write very persuasive memos, and so can another man whom he early enlisted in this cause and who soon displayed equal ardor in pursuit of the objective—Henry Owen, then deputy to Walt W. Rostow as head of the State Department Policy Planning Council and now officially holding the latter position (the Council, incidentally, never meets as a corporate body and seems to have no function except to lend prestige to its director). Bowie and Owen brought Under Secretary George W. Ball into their alliance. Secretary of State Dean Rusk simply went along. By March, 1963, Ambassador Livingston Merchant had been called from retirement to carry out the negotiations that were to convert the MLF from a dream to a reality. The bureaucratic hierarchy was not slow in catching on. As the year wore on, the intensity and urgency of American pressure upon our allies to adopt this idea steadily increased.

Many things have been said for and against the MLF, but the strongest argument against it is simply that the allies did not want it. This scheme that was supposed to further integration was inherently divisive. When British participants in a semi-private meeting with Americans, held in England in the autumn of 1963 to discuss NATO problems made some telling arguments against the MLF and expressed their doubts concerning the genuineness of German interest in the project, J. Robert Schaetzel, now our ambassador to the European Communities, asserted that "We can argue until doomsday why the Germans want the MLF, the fact is they want it." He was wrong on both points. It was easy enough to discover why they had agreed to it. All one needed to do was ask the appropriate persons and listen to the replies, but that sort of experience was rare to those who might have been asked. Candor among allies is not difficult to achieve; it is, however, rarely sought by those who are trying to put a point across and who listen only as salesmen listen to resistive arguments—with the intention not of learning but of scoring.

This writer, in various conversations at about that time with officials in the German Foreign and Defense Ministries, failed to detect any real enthusiasm for the MLF. In some instances, quite the contrary was expressed. The Germans seemed to be going along with the idea because they knew that the Americans wanted it very much; and because de Gaulle was behaving so badly, somebody had to be doing something to please America.

My suspicion was confirmed last fall in a conversation with a top German Foreign Service official who had been present in the room when Chancellor Adenauer, while discussing the MLF proposal with his colleagues, received the message informing him that de Gaulle had just vetoed British admission to the Common Market. Adenauer, in announcing the content of the message, added that this settled the matter of German adherence to the MLF. Later Germany began to project an attitude that seemed to reflect almost as much enthusiasm for the idea as the United States. For a while in 1964 it looked as though the United States and Germany, with the participation "in principle" of Italy, Turkey, and Greece, would go ahead with this project even if other members of NATO abstained.

Then suddenly President Johnson, no doubt disturbed by the now obvious divisiveness of the proposal, took another hard look at it himself and ordered that the U.S. pressures for the adoption of the project be relaxed. The effect of this relaxation was naturally to let quick death overtake it. The sigh of relief in the Atlantic Alliance was general, though the Germans now had reason to resent being left exposed by the sudden abandonment of a scheme to which they had committed themselves. They and other Europeans, incidentally, must have been other than amused when they read Under Secretary Ball's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 13, 1966, where he said concerning the MLF and our NATO allies: ". . . we have been very careful not to try to bring any pressure on them and not to try to insist upon this particular solution." Later he added, "We certainly are not doctrinaire about any particular kind of solution, and we think whatever solution is found should be one which the Europeans themselves play a large part in developing." Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho) later wrote concerning this statement of Ball's: "If we are so unaware of the resentment our tactics produced, our antennae are in need of major repair."

One of the reasons why Professor Bowie so strongly advocated the idea, as he explained at an international conference at Dedham, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1963, was that he considered German aspirations to gain a nuclear capability "inevitable" and he believed the MLF to be the way of anticipating and deflecting those aspirations. The answer to such a remark is twofold: (1) the inevitability of the German demand—for any reasonable time span in the future—was simply one man's view; and (2) if Germany really wanted a nuclear capability, the MLF with its multilateral and especially American veto was hardly the device to beguile it from that desire.

The MLF has stood out, along with the "conventional buildup" which we shall next describe, as the apotheosis of American "doctrinalism" and "pushing." The conception concerned a gadget. Whether or not it could have worked technically—and mixed manning of ships probably presents no great difficulties—the special force conceived of involved expense, it might additionally provoke the Soviet Union to comparable replies, and there was simply no need for it.

THE CONVENTIONAL BUILDUP

We must now take up the item that has perhaps caused more trouble in NATO and more disenchantment with American leadership than all the others put together—U.S. insistence on revising the strategy for the defense of Europe to avoid reliance not only on strategical nuclear weapons but on tactical nuclear weapons as well, even in the event of large-scale war. The ramifications of this idea have pervaded every aspect of our NATO relations, including the offset-purchase agreements with Germany, against which the latter country has finally rebelled in the series of actions that began with the fall of Chancellor Erhard and the subsequent elections.

Let us first be clear that no sane person wants to see nuclear weapons exploding in anger either strategically or even tactically, especially in densely populated Europe. Moreover, no one wants to see any kind of serious war breaking out in Europe, whether nuclear or non-nuclear. But the Europeans would rather see war avoided by the threat of using nuclear weapons than take the risks which might stem from letting that threat become ambiguous. They also want to avoid the great added costs of the proposed conventional buildup for a war they consider almost impossible. Washington, on the other hand, has continued to insist that we must think not only about deterring war but about keeping it non-nuclear if it comes.

Let us also be clear that we are talking not about skirmishes resulting from "pinpricks" but about real war, usually conceived of as resulting from a massive, deliberate, but somehow non-nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. No one questions the need for suitable conventional forces to deal with accidental outbreaks of violence along the frontiers or the Berlin autobahns. But one does not have to *build up* for these purposes.

President Kennedy came to office determined, as one of his assistants put it, to put "the nuclear genie back in the bottle." In his Secretary of Defense the new President found a servant willing to oblige in any case, and also sharing the same preoccupations for somewhat independent reasons. New administrations want to make a show of changing things over from predecessor administrations, especially of the opposite party, and the New Frontier wanted to change everything connected with the "New Look," the Radford Plan, and the Dulles doctrine of massive retaliation. Considering the extremes reached under those conceptions, some change was surely in order.

It is hard for a layman to understand the lengths to which the new doctrine proceeded. Not only did the United States begin, with the McNamara speeches of Athens and Ann Arbor in 1962, to press our allies to build up their conventional forces, but stemming from this pressure were a host of other pressures that had the same negative political effect. For some time there was a good deal of haggling on how much conventional ammunition and other supplies should be held ready for combat, the United States at one time holding out for a ninety-day combat supply at a large and intense level of fighting.

The American denunciation over a period of years of the French nuclear effort was also directly tied in large part to the same conception. All our copious advice to the European countries about how they should arm themselves has stressed the importance of their preparing themselves for conventional combat. The offset agreements with West Germany, which have become increasingly burdensome and irritating to that country, have stressed the purchase in the United States of costly war material suitable only for conventional combat.

A good part of the trouble with the U.S.-purchased Starfighter or F-104 aircraft, more than sixty-five of which have crashed, stems in German eyes from Secretary McNamara's insistence that they be converted to the use of conventional weapons. It is doubtful whether the resulting conversion, which added some weight to the aircraft, played any considerable part in the crashes, but there is no doubt that denuclearization of the Starfighters enormously diminishes their tactical effectiveness.

When Under Secretary Ball observed on April 10, 1966, that the French withdrawal from NATO might force the West to use nuclear weapons earlier than we might otherwise do in a world conflict, such an outcome being conceivable because "we are removing a part of a defense in depth which is useful," he could not have had in mind how the Germans might respond to such a remark. For it means simply that West Germany could be considered expendable before nuclear weapons were used.

There was even a proposal by some Americans connected with a prominent research organization to build a new Maginot Line of fixed fortifications across the line dividing East and West Germany. Although this proposal was fortunately not adopted by the United States government, the idea was expounded abroad and became well enough known to become a subject of comment in the European press. Characteristically, it was admitted by the authors that such a line would be utterly useless against nuclear weapons, and of course it would be needless in small outbreaks, so that one might say it would be effective only against attacks exquisitely tailored to make it so.

AS EUROPE SEES IT

From the European point of view, the objections to the American antinuclear doctrine may be summed up under two points—apart from the obvious one that the Russians could always match in kind a western conventional buildup.

(1) The deterrence of large-scale war has been at least as important as attempting to avoid the use of nuclear weapons in such a war, the more so as deterrence appeared nearly certain of accomplishment.

(2) The European leaders felt, in common with many of our own specialists in Kremlinology, that the conventional-war arguments completely distorted the image of the opponent. It would in act take an extraordinarily bold enemy to possess what the advocates of the doctrine imputed to him: not only a readiness to commit large-scale military aggression against the West, but a readiness to assault our nuclear-armed forces with conventional arms alone! The doctrine thus asserted that the Russians could be willing to enter a duel to the death while leaving to us the choice of weapons.

The recently growing movement among the Germans to turn to de Gaulle even at the risk of blighting their relationship with the United States is an acknowledgment that although de Gaulle's nuclear power is only a fraction of that of the American, he at least knows how to use the advantage that power gives him. Meanwhile, his nuclear power is growing and in time will be respectable. Besides, the French are not constantly demanding offset purchases of materials that the Germans do not want.

Finally, there may be some point in the opinion of one experienced British official that an alliance is more likely to hold together when all the other members feel they have to sit on the nuclear power's coattails to keep him from doing something rash—the attitude that prevailed until the end of 1961—than when they feel his nuclear power simply cannot be counted upon.

We should not close without at least mentioning the American involvement in Vietnam, concerning which the Europeans were not consulted and in which the United States appears to have become increasingly absorbed to the growing exclusion of other concerns. Practically every European official or leader of opinion interviewed by this writer last fall expressed dismay at and inability to comprehend that involvement. To de Gaulle, filled with the sense of France's historic role in that area until only yesterday, a role which in fact continues in the

French air patrolling of the Demilitarized Zone under its Geneva commitments, the absence of consultation was especially rankling. He has not missed his chance to make public statements about Vietnam calculated to cause us maximum embarrassment. No doubt we have a right to resent this, but where did the provocation begin? His 1958 proposal apparently asked for this kind of consultation, and in view of the situation we have got ourselves into in Vietnam, hindsight tells us we could have done worse than consult with him beforehand.

WHAT NOW?

Before we can consider what we should do now, we ought to ask what our officialdom has learned from its experience in Europe. On the surface at least, not much. On March 30, 1966, Senator Wayne Morse asked Secretary McNamara whether his Ann Arbor speech of four years earlier still held, and McNamara answered thus:

"I think that that speech, plus others that have been made by military and civilian officials of the Department, and other government representatives over the years, is gradually introducing some sense of realism in the thinking about nuclear forces.

"More and more Frenchmen are beginning to realize that the *force de frappe* is not a true deterrent force in any sense of the word. It is a myth as far as deterrent force is concerned."

If this kind of immobilism really reflects the views of the Secretary and his colleagues in the government, then the future of our efforts in Europe is not promising.

What the French seem to fear most is that we will seek a détente with the Soviet Union in which they are left out. They are far from being opposed to such a détente, but they are determined to be partners in it, and partners of the first rank. The British seem not to have the same fears of betrayal by us, and they still cherish their special relationship with the United States. But their eyes are turning increasingly toward Europe. They have long sought improved relations with the Soviet Union, and in this respect their policy seems to bear a close kinship to that of France—as well as to that of West Germany, whose new leaders appear to have concluded that the only hope for eventual reunification is by opening doors to the East. For all of them, the North Atlantic Treaty is an important backstop that can enable them to pursue openings to the East with steady eyes and without fear.

In all this, SHAPE and SACEUR and all the other accoutrements of the old Organization seem to have little place. We can no doubt insist on their continuation, if that is the price of our continued commitment to the treaty and to Europe. But that would make the price very high, not only for the Europeans but for ourselves. It is time we let things loosen up, and doing so would win a new kind of respect for our leadership, which ought as much as possible to acknowledge the role of partnership. Such respect will certainly not be gained by our continuing to insist that nothing fundamental has changed.

THE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN THE VIETNAM CRISIS

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. PRICE). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to comment on the outstanding leadership of Lyndon Johnson in the Vietnam crisis.

The crisis is being studied, discussed and dealt with in nearly every capital in the world. Yet it is clear that the burden of making decisions concerning the conflict falls entirely upon only a handful of men. And I, for one, am grateful that Lyndon Johnson is the man who bears the burden for the free world.

Throughout the history of the United States we have been blessed by having the right men as our Presidents at the right time. Men like Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt had exactly the personal characteristics necessary to lead our country through the problems of their times.

Once again, a strange combination of fate and the election process of a democratic society have provided us a leader who has the personal characteristics, the skill, the love of country, and the patience to lead us in this time of crisis.

Our President has done a magnificent job in the face of odds which no President should have to face in such times. Pressures have been placed on him by Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, and moderates, hawks, and doves, military and nonmilitary—each with his own "expert" theory on what our country should be doing in this conflict.

A lesser man might bend to the pressures of one of these groups. It would be much easier to side in with either the so-called hawks or doves. To do so would at least gain him much favor with the group whose views he adopted. But President Johnson has chosen to rise above the interests of any one viewpoint and to make his decisions in the best interests of our country.

Too many politicians seem to be entranced with the elections coming up next year and are so busy trying to show their constituents that they are independent of the administration and have their own "answer."

I noticed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where one of the respected Members of the other body said:

> If we are still fighting the kind of war in Vietnam by July 1, 1968, that we are now fighting, the Democratic Party will lose the Presidency and many of us who might otherwise be re-elected, or those who may be elected in the ticket of the Democratic Party will be defeated.

I say, if we are making our decisions in the very best judgment of what is in the national interest and that means we risk political defeat, then so be it. And I thank the wisdom of the Americans who voted in the last election for giving us a President who is concerned with his country and not his own personal political future.

Our purpose in Vietnam has been made clear to the world. It is to prevent the success of aggression. It is not conquest. It is not to gain empire. It is not to dominate a smaller and weaker nation. It is not even to secure foreign bases. It is simply to deny success to those who seek to dominate their neighbors by force.

To reach that limited objective, our President has used carefully controlled means. One of the cardinal rules of a military leader is to use that force which will obtain the objective at the least cost to his own forces.

This is exactly what the President has skillfully and adroitly done. We are using that force and only that force that will, with the least cost in lives and resources, stop the aggressive actions of North Vietnam.

One example of the President's careful use of power is the bombing of North Vietnam. The President has said that:

> We never believed aerial attack on North Vietnam would, alone, end the war. We did, however, have three objectives. The first was to back our fighting men and our fighting allies by demonstrating that the aggressor could not illegally bring hostile arms and men to bear aainst them from the security of a sanctuary. Second, we sought to impose on North Vietnam a cost for violating its international agreements. Third, we sought to limit or raise the cost of bringing men and supplies to bear against the South.

President Johnson has reported that:

> Our attacks on military targets in North Vietnam have diverted about half a million men to cope with effects of our attacks. They are repairing the lines of supply and are engaged in antiaircraft and coastal defenses. This figure approximates the total number of men we now have fighting in southeast Asia.
>
> At the cost of about 500 gallant American airmen killed, captured, or missing, we are bringing to bear on North Vietnam a burden roughly equivalent to that which the Communists are imposing through guerilla warfare on the south—and we are doing it with far fewer civilian casualties in the north.

At the same time, if we seek to deny force as a means to gain control of governments and countries, then we are charged with that same responsibility. And so the President has made it clear that we do not want to take over North Vietnam or even to destroy the country with our bombings—however much we dislike its government or its friends.

Only a great and powerful nation can afford to make these decisions. And only a great President would dare to make them.

But while our military forces seek to deny the North Vietnamese the use of force, our President is working in every conceivable way to bring the problem to the conference table. He is wisely balancing our ability to use force with our willingness to negotiate, a technique which has been supported by many great Presidents before him. For example, President Kennedy said:

> Diplomacy and defense are not substitutes for one another. A willingness to resist force unaccompanied by a willingness to talk could provoke belligerence—while a willingness to talk, unaccompanied by a willingness to resist force, could invite disaster . . . While we shall negotiate freely, we shall not negotiate freedom . . . in short, we are neither "warmongers" nor "appeasors," neither "hard" nor "soft." We are Americans.

I have had the opportunity to go all throughout the western Pacific and southeast Asia. I can tell you from firsthand visits that the governments in that part of the world have been watching this country—to see if we can stand the test; to see if our word can be relied upon; to see if freedom is something we only talk about, or if it is a basic right of man to be shared and defended with others.

Abraham Lincoln said of the Civil War, when the meaning and outcome was uncertain, that it was a test of whether this Nation, or any nation conceived in liberty could long endure. We face that same test today. This struggle in Vietnam is a test of the character of the American people; it is a test of our devotion to the principles of freedom and liberty for all, it is a test of the courage and determination of our people.

The words of Tom Paine still ring true:

> These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of this country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered.

Today the fight is against men and ideas which are different from those we have faced in previous wars. But whatever the name of the aggressor, whatever the system he seeks to impose, we must continue to defend the cause of liberty.

President Johnson has made it clear how important the conflict in South Vietnam is:

> Nowhere are the stakes higher than in Asia. Asia is now the crucial arena of man's striving for independence and order, and for life itself. This is true because three out of every five people in all this world live in Asia. This is true because hundreds of millions of them exist on less than 25 cents a day. This is true because Communists in Asia today still believe in force in order to achieve their Communist goals. So if enduring peace can ever come to Asia, all mankind will benefit. But if peace fails there, nowhere else will our achievements really be secure.

It is a national tendency for Americans to be impatient when it comes to national and international problems. Some are now impatient to pull out of the conflict regardless of the consequences for South Vietnam. Others are impatient to employ the full force of our destructive weapons, including nuclear weapons and including attacks on Red China if necessary.

With patience and an increasing amount of overpowering military pressure on the North Vietnamese, we will achieve our objective with a minimum loss of lives, with much less cost, and with less risk. And we don't have to risk world war III with the probable loss of more than 100 million American lives in order to defend the right of the South Vietnamese to be free.

The goal of the aggressor is clear. It is complete control and domination of South Vietnam. Doubt, anxiety, confusion, and a lack of patience spread by those of us in positions of political leadership serve only to aid the enemy and, more importantly, to prolong the struggle at the cost of American lives.

Fortunately, President Johnson has that quality of patience which has helped him make the right decisions.

I support our Nation's objective in Vietnam. I applaud our President for his leadership in moving toward attainment of that objective. This is a painful burden and responsibility to be borne only by our President. I offer him my full support as he deals with the crisis in southeast Asia.

Of course, like President Johnson, any person with political responsibility must retain the prerogative to disagree on specific issues if this becomes necessary. This does not detract, however, from my strong general support of our present policy.

If this Nation is to fulfill its promise, if it is to confirm its promise, we must stand firm with our President now. We must not permit the newest brand of totalitarianism to plunge mankind into a world of darkness which may take centuries to relight.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman for taking this period to discuss the problem which is on the minds of all Americans. I join with him in his opinion that our country under the leadership of President Johnson is on the right track, and particularly so during the past few days.

The accelerated activities on the part of our military men in Vietnam is most desirable. I believe that in order to bring this ugly mess to a conclusion that we are going to have to face the fact that it will take strong medicine administered by this great Government of ours, and the people of South Vietnam to the Communist aggressor of the north.

So, Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman for what he is saying.

Last July it was my privilege to spend a period of time in Vietnam as a member of a mission appointed by the President and the Speaker of the House. I had an opportunity to live in the field with the troops. I know that these men who serve so courageously there all agree that we must win this war, and we can win it with real strong and determined effort.

Our military is of such a nature that if they are unleashed they will win the victory in record time.

Mr. Speaker, I again commend the gentleman. I certainly commend our President, for the decisions that he has made, even though at times I have felt that he has exercised more restraint than some of us would have exercised under the circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I too would like to congratulate my colleague from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] on his statements, and I would like to associate myself with his remarks.

He is making a very important statement. He is saying some things that have needed saying. I earnestly hope that what he is saying receives the national attention it deserves. Ironically, it often seems that the national media give disproportionate attention to criticisms and irresponsible statements. Attention needs to be focused upon the logical rationale of President Johnson's fundamental policy.

Critics always can find much to complain about during wartime. It is easy to criticize. It is easy to find fault. It is quite another thing to make responsible decisions.

It is easy to pontificate. Particularly is it easy for those who do not bear personal responsibility for the consequences of the action they advocate. It is quite another thing to develop and administer a reasonable, rational, responsible policy upon which the Nation and much of the world, indeed, depend.

It is easy for one group to say "pull out the troops, it won't hurt a thing, let them have Vietnam." But it would be quite another thing to bear the responsibility for allowing all of Asia to be undermined by communism, and overrun by aggression as a result of such a decision.

It is quite an easy thing to say "Bomb Hanoi. Bomb Haiphong. Let the Devil take the hindmost. Incinerate North Vietnam. Forget about whether you start world war III." It would be quite another thing to bear the responsibility for allowing world war III to begin.

Mr. Speaker, the President's position is a difficult and delicate one. It is a dangerous responsibility he exercises. His is a position that requires great wisdom, great courage, and a great restraint. It requires patience and persistence. I believe, along with my colleague from Texas, that the President has borne this responsibility exceedingly well.

The President has a clear policy. His policy is to win—and to win with a minimum loss of American lives.

His policy is to win without triggering off world war III.

I think that is a good policy .

The doves say it is costing us too much.

The hawks say we are not winning fast enough.

True—we have not yet seen the termination of hostilities.

True—some of the bombs we have dropped have cost more than the targets that they have destroyed.

But we would rather spend dollars than lives.

That is our policy and I think it is a good policy. Gradually it is working. Enemy casualties in the past year have been about 10 to 1 heavier than ours.

The hostilities are costing at most only about 4 percent of our gross national product. They must be exacting a toll of at least 40 percent of the gross national product of North Vietnam.

The enemy cannot sustain that attrition indefinitely.

Eighteen months ago the South Vietnamese were deserting. Today it is the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong troops who are coming over to our side. Approximately 3,000 did so in the last month.

Ultimately Hanoi will have to stop its aggression, just as the North Korean forces were forced to do 15 years ago. There has been peace in Korea ever since. The South Koreans have been free to elect a government of their own choice, not one crammed down their throats at the point of bayonets. Secure from outside attack, they have pursued peaceful internal development.

That is our goal. That is our policy. Our objective is not the obliteration of North Vietnam or the cremation of its civilian population. Our objective is the cessation of aggression so that South

Vietnam and indeed all of Vietnam can live in peace.

We are not there as conquerors. We are there at the request and invitation of the host government.

We are not there to establish a government of our choice. We are there to see that they have the right to a government of their own choice.

I think there are signs of progress. It would be dangerously self-defeating to ignore them.

The election last year in which 80 percent of the people of South Vietnam participated, indicates strongly to me that this is the policy they want. They want a civilian government of their own choice. They do not want one forced upon them by the Vietcong or anyone else. There has been very considerable progress made by the elected constituent assembly in drafting a constitution.

I think that is evidence that we are pursuing a policy that is generally popular in South Vietnam.

Our problem I think is that we are essentially an impatient people. We tend to demand instant results. Unfortunately, that is often impossible in this imperfect world. But if we can just be patient and keep applying steady, gradually accelerating, overpowering pressure without the kind of sudden provocation which would force Russia and China into the war, we can achieve our objective which is victory and a stable peace, at a minimum cost in lives.

President Johnson bears an enormous responsibility. In some ways it is unprecedented. He needs to be commended, not condemned. By his own countrymen above all, he needs to be understood, not harassed.

I want to congratulate the gentleman from Texas for bringing this subject to our attention.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, will the able gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I wish also very warmly to associate myelf with the very eloquent and very much deserved remarks in commendation of the course of our Commander in Chief in the conduct of this terrible war, as expressed by the able gentleman from Texas.

I think it was James Russell Lowell who said:

> Once to every man and nation comes the
> moment to decide
> In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the
> good or evil side.

We have made our choice as to what we believe to be the good side as against the evil side in this contest.

The enemy has no doubt about our might. The only question mark that could enter his mind is about our will—is the will of America so strong that it will not falter? That we shall not lose faith? That we shall not fall back until we have broken the back of Communist aggression and secured peace not only to the people of South Vietnam but to every other people similarly situated in the world?

It must be a comforting thing to the President, with all the anguish and ordeal and heartache and sorrow that he has to experience to hear words of encouragement, support, and confidence coming to him from the Congress.

I know there have been times when he has been human enough to feel that a great deal of his time is being distracted from fighting the enemy to answer his critics here at home.

We have a great responsibility in the Congress—not on the one hand voluntarily and perhaps presumptuously to set ourselves up either in groups or as a whole as another kind of "Committee on the Conduct of the War"—such as was set up by Congress in the Civil War and which had such disastrous consequences and which so troubled the Commander in Chief at that time and which undoubtedly cost many lives on both sides by its interference—we must avoid a repetition of such folly as that—and, on the other hand, we ought not to abdicate our responsibility in the formation of overall, large policy. We owe it to our people, as their spokesman, to try to implement their will, their judgment, and our own in the overall decisions that Congress is required to make. But it seems to me that we should always be careful not to intervene in the conduct of a war in a way that would interfere with the authority which the Constitution has reposed in the President.

If we were to decide in the Congress every spot that is to be bombed, every place that is to be attacked, and every manner of assault that is to be made and the various strategic and tactical movements that are involved in purely military operations, I wonder if we would not then be engaging in something very similar, in effect, to what the Committee on the Conduct of the War did during the tragic strife of the War Between the States.

I think that we here in the Congress should be very careful not to fail to give the advice that we can contribute to our Chief Executive and to his assistants. Undoubtedly there is a way that we can give advice and a way that we can give whatever counsel we possess, assured that it will receive every merited consideration by our anguished Commander in Chief. We must be careful not to forgo that responsibility.

But at the same time in our democracy we can give such advice without giving encouragement to the enemy, which is looking constantly here to see if there is a weakening of the will of America to continue. Any doubt in the enemy's mind about the force of our strength of character and determination can immeasurably and perhaps indefinitely prolong this terrible agony of war.

I commend the able gentlemen from Texas [Mr. PURCELL], for the contribution he is making toward letting the world know that we may differ about details, or we might think we would have made different decisions at some time in the past, but that we recognize that the decision to defend the freedom of South Vietnam has been made. It was constitutionally made. It is supported by the Congress and the country. And we are going to pursue that course and that policy until the forces of aggression are destroyed or come to a fair conciliation which will allow the people of South Vietnam to enjoy the blessings of liberty which are a part of our great heritage and which we would like to transmit to other parts of mankind.

So I warmly commend the able gentleman for what he is doing.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman from Florida.

I now yield to my colleague from Texas [Mr. FISHER].

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I, too, join in commendation of the efforts put forth by the gentleman from Texas today in bringing this subject to the attention of the Congress and the country.

I am pleased to join with my colleagues in an expression of views concerning the war in Vietnam. It is incredible to me, in the midst of a war in which more than 400,000 American troops, plus naval and other support units, are committed, that some of our people resist our efforts or through speeches and statements give aid and comfort to the enemy.

The simple fact is that we have long since passed the debating stage of whether we should or should not be in Vietnam. We are there, and it is a war that must be won. There can be no withdrawal, no turning back, unless and until victory is achieved or an honorable and meaningful peace has been agreed upon.

The American flag is under attack today by a vicious enemy in Vietnam. More than 8,000 Americans have been killed by a ruthless and barbaric enemy, by Communist aggressors who have invaded a helpless country. The outcome of this conflict will have a vital effect on the survival of other countries in southeast Asia. Our own security, over the long pull, is directly involved. This is a war the outcome of which may very well, and in all likelihood will, prevent even bigger wars in the future. Conquering South Vietnam is by no means the ultimate objective of the Communist warlords of Hanoi and Peking. If the aggressors get by with this invasion, it will be but one phase of more conquests. Indeed the Communist leaders have openly admitted that fact. They have already put the world on notice, for example, that the conquest of Thailand is next on their list of victims.

Mr. Speaker, we hear a lot about efforts to negotiate a settlement. That is well and good, but these Johnny-come-lately advocates can offer nothing in efforts to get the enemy to a peace conference that has not already been tried, time and again. We and we alone—the United States and our allies—have initiated every effort and the only efforts to get those people to sit down around a table and talk about a settlement. Not once has the enemy offered to discuss the subject. After all our efforts, is it not about time that we sit back and let the Communists make overtures for peace for a change?

The fact is that President Johnson has leaned over backward and gone almost to the extreme in trying to get Hanoi to talk peace—but to no avail. At the urging of some of our allies in Europe, and also at the behest of Moscow, and upon insistance of certain lawmakers and others, bombing has been suspended on two occasions—once for a week and again for 37 days. But what happened? Each time Hanoi called it "blackmail" and a "hoax."

In view of what has happened in the past, it seems sort of silly to me for anyone to seriously think that there is any good faith connected with repeated overtures for a cessation of bombing in the north as an essential step that these dreamers seem to think might result in a negotiation. What evidence is there that the Communists have changed their attitude? We all know that the Communists know full well that they can have a peace conference at any time they desire one, with or without any form of escalation or deescalation on either side.

Yet, despite our futile and repeated efforts to settle, certain people, evidently trying to gain political mileage from a minority in this country which scream the Moscow and Hanoi line, renew demands that we unilaterally stop bombing and sue for peace. It does not make sense.

Actually, about the only effect of these widely publicized protests against bombing the north is to give aid and comfort to the enemy by leaving the impression that we are a divided people and that vast numbers of Americans want to throw in the sponge and get out. The effect of this is to prolong the war and encourage the enemy to continue to kill our American and other troops who are fighting the aggressors.

We have made it crystal clear, time and again, that if the Communists want that war settled on a peaceful basis, they need only to name the time and the place for the negotiations—and we and our allies will be there. Again I say: let the Communists show their interest in a peaceful settlement for a change. In that connection, we are reminded that in Korea the Communists would not talk of peace until our massive resistance and military superiority forced them to it.

Mr. Speaker, the Communists have no reason to be encouraged by our own people who call for cessation of bombing and unilateral deescalation on our part. The American people are far more unified in this struggle than this small minority might cause the enemy to think. As evidence of that fact, only last week the House of Representatives very decisively approved continuation of the bombing. By a lopsided vote of 372 to 18, this body let the world know that it does not go along with dreamers, the pacifists, and the pro-Communists who repeatedly demand that we stop the war in the north on the theory that the Communists will somehow change their attitude and agree to negotiate.

Moreover, a recent Harris survey revealed that 70 percent of all Americans support the bombing in the north, and a Gallup poll showed 67 percent support.

At a time when our country is subjected to these divisive mutterings, interspersed with rantings from some fuzzy-minded professors and a few misguided students and preachers, we need to be reminding that a vast number of young men are fighting proudly and courageously, without apology or complaint—and they deserve united support and encouragement from every patriotic American.

Let me cite an example. Last November a young marine from Brady, Tex., wrote me that he was anxious to be assigned to combat in Vietnam. I took this up with the Commandant, and the Brady marine was soon in the battle zone. The other day I received a letter from him in which he said:

> I highly appreciate your help and assistance. I'm doing my best. I've been in several fire fights. Only this morning we were ambushed and one Marine was killed and two wounded. Bullets were really flying. I've got two enemy so far. One of my duties is taking wounded to the rear and working with intelligence. I've been in Vietnam since January 7, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, that young man, and the 400,000 other Americans who are fighting for us in that war, under the American flag, deserves our united support. The most we can do for them cannot be quite enough. And that includes allowing our military more freedom in selecting targets and planning military strategy—such as is required to achieve an early and victorious conclusion of that conflict.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the gentleman from Texas yielding. I want to congratulate him on taking this special order today to discuss this subject and to give some of us an opportunity to reaffirm our support of the President and our appreciation of the good job he is doing.

I particularly wish to commend the President on the restraint which he has used, and on the patience which has been evident, day in and day out, month in and month out, in making the agonizing decisions he has had to make. I believe they have been in the best interest of our country, and certainly in the best interest of overcoming the threat of communism to the world.

I defend, as I am sure every Member of the House does, the right of dissent; but it seems unfortunate to me, sometimes, that we find these dissenters are ready and willing to swallow without question the propaganda line of the Communists and to find fault with and to criticize each and every thing the President of the United States says.

I know, as do other Members from other States, that we have, unfortunately, a few of such people who raise such questions. Certainly there are some in California.

Beyond any question of doubt, the overwhelming majority of the people in the great State of California firmly and fully support the Vietnam policy of the President. So it gives me a great deal of pleasure to join with the distinguished gentleman from Texas today in pledging my continued support and in stating my prayer that the President will continue along the route in which he is going, and that his health will be maintained in such state that he can continue to lead our great Nation.

I feel that his position, as expressed and as it is being carried out from day to day, will ultimately bring peace to the world, and to a large extent eliminate the threat of worldwide communism.

Again I thank my colleague for yielding to me and giving me this opportunity to join with him in our pledge of support to a great President.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the chairman of my committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Like all sincere and patriotic Americans, I want to thank the gentleman for what he has done here today in focusing attention on the fine leadership our President has given us in the Vietnam war. I believe it is worthwhile that we express our appreciation for the leadership we have received. Doubtless the President has made mistakes—but he has made a whole lot less mistakes than any of us would have made had we had his responsibilities—and with all his great responsibility he has made far fewer mistakes than most of his critics—who have had no responsibilities—have made.

I should like to ask the gentleman if he would consider it to be a reasonable request if we were to call upon Ho Chi Minh to remove all of his troops from South Vietnam, to cease all of his activities against the United States, while we in return promised him nothing, not even to attend a peace conference.

Mr. PURCELL. Of course I would respond to that by saying that is as impractical and as unlikely a solution as anyone could think of. I believe we all should recognize the fact the gentleman is bringing out.

Mr. POAGE. Is that any more unreasonable than to request that the United States stop its activities in North Vietnam without any kind of commitment as to what the North Vietnamese will do?

Mr. PURCELL. To me the two are parallel. I would assume, certainly, that the North Vietnamese would be no more likely to do that than we would. It is just as impractical and as illogical as can be, in my judgment.

Mr. POAGE. I agree entirely with the gentleman. The point I want to make, of course, is that those who are asking the United States to take this one-sided action would never think of asking it of the Communists, because they know perfectly well the Communists would turn them down. They seem to have more confidence in the judgment of the Communists than they have in the judgment of the United States.

Mr. PURCELL. It certainly seems to me, sometimes, that those who make these requests do appear to have more confidence in the enemy than they show in our own Government. I appreciate the gentleman's so forcefully bringing this out.

Mr. POAGE. I should like to ask the gentleman further: Would he, if he were sitting in control in Hanoi, feel that the demonstrations against condemnations of our President and our Government on college campuses and in the other body, indicate that the American people have no stomach for a continuation of our effort? And in view of these speeches and demonstrations would he, if he were in Hanoi, conclude that if the Communist could just hang on long enough, they would probably get us to surrender and give them everything they want?

Mr. PURCELL. Well, I would answer the question by, I think, agreeing with the gentleman from Texas that to me the things that have weakened our effort the most are the demonstrations brought about by a very minute number but who are loud in their voices and are recognized around the world and in the news media and by those who, whether by design or otherwise, make recommendations contrary to those of our administration and who keep feeding the enemy hope and comfort, in my judgment. To my way of looking at it, this type of demonstration and explanation and carrying on is the most damaging to our effort of anything being done at this time.

Mr. POAGE. Of course, the point I want to make is that these critics, whatever their motives may be, are costing the lives of American boys. They are prolonging the war; they are encouraging the Communists to refuse to come to the peace table; they are undoing the work of our President; and they are undermining the position of our country. I have not agreed with our national policy in every detail; I have on many occasions felt that we might properly pursue the war more vigorously but I am not a military expert and I do not possess all the knowledge that the President and his generals have. I am not going to try to take over the day-to-day direction of the war. I can only, and the masses of our people can only, pass upon the broad objectives and those broad objectives are to carry out the commitments of the United States of America, to keep faith with our allies, to protect whoever relied on us and who have jeopardized their lives by taking a position on our side to resist aggression and the imposition of an unwanted system of government by force from within or abroad. With these objectives, I am in agreement. I think my Government is right, but right or wrong, I am an American and I am for the United States of America here, in Korea, in Berlin, and in Vietnam.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with our distinguished and able colleagues here today in commending the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] for taking this time to support a policy which is designed to avoid world war III and which is a policy designed toward bringing peace. Our men in South Vietnam are fighting for peace and against having a world war III and in order to prevent bombs from falling on the United States and other free nations of the world. These men deserve the united support and backing of the American people and of freedom-loving people everywhere.

As the Representative from the Third Congressional District of South Carolina, which gave to Texas such men as Jim Bonham, William Barrett Travis, Thomas Jefferson Rust, Samuel Maverick, and many others, I want to commend the gentleman. He is carrying on the great American tradition which is for freedom, but at the same time, when free peoples are being trampled upon, they will stand up as the means to preserve those great principles and ideals that made this Nation great and made the State from which the distinguished and able gentleman who has the floor comes, the Lone Star State of Texas, great. I want to commend the gentleman here today in the well. There is really no other course for this country to follow than the course of freedom.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman for those remarks.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am glad to yield to my distinguished colleague from Texas.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my colleague on defending America's efforts to achieve an honorable peace. I want to add no student of American history can be unaware of the fact that nearly all of our 36 Presidents—and especially the great ones—have been subjected to outrageous abuse and villification at the hands of some of their critics.

These attacks have usually been waged by the fringe groups in our political life who have withdrawn from the mainstream of national opinion to mount frenzied attacks on the leaders who thwart their radical beliefs.

Thus, history records that General Washington was called a "Caesar of Ambition." To his critics, Jefferson was "as sightless as the blind." Andrew Jackson was "a wild jackass." In more recent times, we well remember some of the choice adjectives reserved for Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

Now it is President Johnson's turn to face the gauntlet of hateful and insulting personal attacks that defame his integrity, honesty, patriotism, and sincerity. And while the President has not complained about some of these grossly irresponsible charges and innuendos emanating from the so-called new left as well as from the radical right, I feel it is the duty of every reasonable American—no matter the party—to protest in his behalf.

Those of us who have been privileged to know President Johnson personally over the years, realize that he regards such attacks philosophically. He has worked closely with four Presidents before taking the office himself, and had ample opportunity to observe at close range the reaction which results when a President takes action on emotional and controversial issues confronting the American people.

President Johnson knows well that every action taken by his administration is bound to cost support from those who think he has done too little or too much.

The President has the responsibility of dealing with a situation as it exists—his critics are able to deal with a situation as they would like it to be.

We are a Nation of 195 million opinions on just about every issue imaginable, and every President knows that he is going to leave office with more critics than when he began—leaving it to future historians to determine his worth and greatness.

Few Americans would agree with every action a President takes or support his every policy. Each administration has had its strengths and weaknessess and has been open to legitimate criticism. In fact, it is the duty of a free people to voice disapproval of any government action they seem not in their best interests. This principle is not only sacred in a democracy, but obvious to us all.

But I must strongly protest against the excesses generated by a minority of dissenters. These individuals and groups have demonstrated their disapproval of the President's policies by reverting to gutter tactics and mudslinging to rally public sentiment to their point of view.

We have gone too far when a vicious character assassination of the President, written in the guise of political satire, can actually be mounted as an off-Broadway production.

I believe that we are in danger of paying a heavy price for these excesses. America in the 1960's is engaged in some painful and vital decisions that may well determine our future course as a nation and as a people.

We are trying to right old wrongs, fashion new opportunities, and face the burdens and dangers of conflict in order to achieve a peaceful and productive world.

We are being called upon to give the best of ourselves to the task of strengthening our political, social, and economic institutions to meet the challenges of our time.

Can we be true to ourselves in an atmosphere sullied by hate and wild appeals to emotions?

Can we be true to ourselves when those who defame our President and other leaders of our Government are allowed to go unanswered and unchallenged.

Those are the questions all Americans must ask themselves today.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Texas yield to me at this point?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BURLESON].

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, first I wish to associate myself with just about everything said by my able and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL], and to thank him for having made this arrangement making it possible for all of the Members of the House to express themselves upon this very grave issue of the bombing of North Vietnam, Mr. Speaker, I am heartened that both at home and abroad, the

Communist propaganda has failed in this instance to raise a great furor. I do not know of a non-Communist nation that has responded to these efforts with any show a sympathy. At least this is my information and generally I think it true.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me, and as best I can determine, based upon inquiries from a number of places, and from news reports, the Communist propaganda has failed, and failed miserably in accusing the United States of destroying civilians in North Vietnam, and that by a continuous repetition of this type of propaganda, in which they are real experts, it has become like the cry of "wolf, wolf."

Mr. Speaker, all of us know, that hindsight is usually "20–20." It is real good. Those of us who become impatient feel that, if it were left to us, a great deal more should and would be done. I am one of them who experiences this feeling daily.

However, Mr. Speaker, there rests upon the President of the United States a terrific responsibility and a responsibility which I do not feel many of us would want to assume. I wonder whether some of the President's critics would want to assume it; I wonder what they would do if they were in this awful position of responsibility.

So, Mr. Speaker, along with my colleagues who speak here today, I support the President in these difficult times in his difficult position.

With further reference to recent propaganda efforts of the Communists, it is heartening to have a prominent newspaper confirm the general impression that Communist propaganda has failed to stir up much reaction to the charges that the United States had deliberately bombed civilian areas of Hanoi.

The Houston Post, in deploring the propaganda effort, knocks down the theory that America is likely to change policy if enough hostile noise is created around the world.

Most Americans, the newspaper points out, are more concerned about whether a policy is right than about whether it is popular. They approve our Vietnam policy, the Post adds, because it conforms with the ideals of America and is in the national interest.

It is certainly true that we have limited our aerial attacks against North Vietnam to military targets.

And as the Houston newspaper says, propaganda claims to the contrary are as likely to wear out abroad as they are to strike out in this country.

I offer its editorial on the subject for the Record:

[From the Houston Post, Jan. 2, 1967]

Red Propaganda Machine Fails

It appears that the Communists' propaganda machine is beginning to run down, at least in areas that they do not control physically. Whatever the reason, reaction to the latest propaganda project of the Reds, a claim that the United States deliberately bombed non-military areas of Hanoi, has been minimal.

In this day of almost instant and continuous communication, it is fundamental that propagandists must keep coming up with fresh and original gambits in order to attract and hold the interest of people in the mass. Although constant repetition may have some value in influencing human behavior and in the shaping of attitudes, there also is danger in crying "wolf" too often when no wolf appears.

One thing that the Vietnam war has done has been to put the Communists' global propaganda apparatus to the test. It also brought out into the open and exposed those who are a part of this apparatus, those who are sympathetic to Communism and those who for one reason or another can be used to advance the cause or interests of Communism.

The test has been the extent to which United States policy can be influenced by worldwide propaganda and that nebulous force called "world opinion." The answer to this question is "very little," because basically national policies still are determined by national interests, and in a showdown, what people of other countries think about a government's policies is of secondary importance, if given any weight at all.

A theory long has had currency that the American people and their politicians yearn to be loved, that they are especially sensitive to what other people think of them and everything American. Communist propagandists seem to think that, if enough hostile noise is created around the world to convince the American people that they are unpopular because of this country's Vietnam policies, they will compel a change of that policy.

The fact is that most Americans insofar as it is possible to generalize about them, are more concerned about whether or not a policy is "right" than they are about whether or not it is popular.

They approve this country's Vietnam policy because it conforms with the ideals and principles in which they believe deeply and because the military containment of Communism and resistance to physical aggression obviously are in the national interest. This limits the effectiveness of the output of the Communist propaganda machine so far as Americans are concerned.

As for non-Americans not directly involved, constant replaying of the same old propaganda record is more likely to produce a yawn or a shrug than emotional or physical agitation. One factor that the Communist propagandists have working against them is time. A product of time is likely to be boredom among those to whom the propaganda is directed.

Still another factor which may help to account for the lessening response to Communist propaganda efforts is that more and more people are becoming more sophisticated or knowledgeable about the techniques that are used by the professional propagandists and therefore are more on guard against them.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me at this point?

Mr. PURCELL. I am delighted to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Houston [Mr. Casey].

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Purcell] for taking this occasion to allow all the Members of the House the privilege of joining with him in voicing support of the endeavors of the President of the United States to bring about peace in Vietnam and a self-determined free people.

Mr. Speaker, many, too many, of us have not voiced our strong support, because we felt that the majority of our people at home knew how we felt about this grave and important question, and felt, further, that it was not necessary for us to voice or express that opinion. But, again, I thank my distinguished friend here, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Purcell] who has rendered a great service to the people back home, because every time a draft card is burned or a picket line is formed at the White House, with some Vietcong flags being carried, and when one thinks of those who would tear up the efforts that are being made by the President and receive great publicity, this is repugnant to the average American.

In my opinion they add days to the length of this war. They add subsistence to the ill-conceived idea that North Vietnam has that they are going to outwear us; that we are breaking up; that the President has no strong support at home. And they receive the most publicity, as you well know, and I am sure that is the only publicity that is shown to the people in North Vietnam. I am sure only that publicity which will try to bolster their position is released to them.

So I say to the gentleman that he is rendering a great service by stimulating us to join with him today in backing our President in his heroic struggle to bring about peace.

Mind you, we have some in our own ranks who say "well, I think you should do something else." In reply to that I would remark that it has been said you can tell a man to go to hell, but he will not necessarily go.

The President time and time again has said, "Come and sit down at the peace table." I do not know what else the President could do other than what he is doing.

Mr. Speaker, like my colleague who preceded me, I of course get a little anxious, and I want to take a little stronger action and a little stronger position. And of course some of those who are trusted with the military endeavors would like to take some stronger action. But when you get right down to the question of "Do you want to take the responsibility? Do you want to take on this job?" then the answer is "Not I. Not I."

On the whole, I believe the President is doing a terrific job. He has my full support and my prayers for his ultimate success in bringing about peace with the least amount of distraction.

Mr. Speaker, so many people try to make out that the war is so hard to understand. Well, Mr. Speaker, it is not hard to understand. It is very simple. It is very simple if they will just cut out trying to believe some of the hogwash—which is the way I put it—that goes on, trying to confuse and becloud the issues.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to place a very short editorial in the Record at this point from the Houston Post, which very simply states this very proposition that this is not a complex question at all, and I think it very succinctly states the issues involved.

(The editorial is as follows:)

[From the Houston Post, Feb. 18, 1967]

Vietnam War and Peace Simple

There probably has never been a war in history about which so much nonsense has been uttered, written and published as that in Vietnam.

And the same thing now seems to be true

about efforts to bring about an end of that conflict.

Actually, there is nothing very complex, mysterious or confusing about the war. And what is required to end it is just as simple.

There would be no war in Vietnam except for the fact that the Communists are trying to take over South Vietnam and its riches by force.

It will end whenever the Communists are willing to stop that effort.

There are any number of communications channels open to them any time they make the decision to do this.

Halting the aggression means, of course, the acceptance of South Vietnam as a free and independent nation with the right of self-determination.

This is something on which there can be no bargaining or compromise.

Whenever the Communists accept this and the fact that they cannot succeed in their effort to take over South Vietnam by force, all the subordinate and peripheral issues will fall into place and can be resolved fairly quickly.

When the Communists are ready for peace, there is no need for elaborate maneuvering, conspiring in dark corners or play-acting. All that is required is for Ho Chi Minh to pick up the telephone, call President Johnson, the head of the South Vietnamese government or some other responsible person in an official position and notify them that the takeover attempt has been halted, that it will not be renewed, and he is ready to negotiate an agreement with respect to the future of South Vietnam.

He is not going to do that, of course, so long as he thinks he can get what he wants through the continued use of force, or the stupidity of his adversaries.

All the business about "secret plans" for ending the war, about nebulous "peace-feelers" and about ambiguous statements from one source or another may be entertaining, for the observers as well as the participants, but it still borders on the absurd.

President Johnson and his administration have made an effort to maintain a highly flexible position. It makes little difference to them what door or what channel the Communists want to use so long as it leads to the end result, a free and independent South Vietnam that is secure from Communist aggression.

If the Communists want to abandon their attempt at conquest publicly and openly, well and good. If they want to use some kind of cover or camouflage and move toward peace by some devious, face-saving route, that is all right, too. Sometimes results can be achieved more easily and more quickly through secret diplomacy than through open, above-board and straight-forward action. Politicians just like to operate in the dark.

Regardless of what the preference of the Communists may be, there still is only one simple requirement for peace in Vietnam, and that is for them to stop trying to take over the country by force. Achievement of peace is as simple as that.

Mr. CASEY. Again, Mr. Speaker, my compliments to the gentleman for his efforts here on the floor and the service that he has rendered the country, and to assure him that I wholeheartedly endorse the words he has uttered, and those of the Members who preceded me, and I know those who are going to follow me in endorsing and commending the President for his tremendous efforts.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to my distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT].

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am sorry that I was unable to be here earlier to take part in this discussion, but I do appreciate the fact that my good friend whose district borders my district, one of the most respected men of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PURCELL] has taken this time for this purpose. I am pleased to associate myself with the views that he has expressed.

The President of the United States, President Lyndon B. Johnson, in spite of volleys to the right of him and volleys to the left of him, has taken the course which reason, good judgment, and the interests of our country require in respect to our policy in Vietnam.

In my opinion President Johnson is not only the leader of this Nation and of the free world, he is also the best equipped man in the United States of America today to perform the arduous tasks of leadership which confront him and us.

He has demonstrated time and again in the Congress and in the White House that he is a leader of unsurpassed skill and competence. I sincerely believe that for a thousand years free men will salute him for the magnificent job he has done and is doing in handling the troublesome and dangerous problems which face our country in this generation.

The American people are with the President in his handling of the Vietnam problem. I do not think there is any question about this. I know I am with the President. I want the House of Representatives to know I am with the President. I want my constituents to know I am with the President. I want my country to know I am with the President.

In my judgment, he is taking the only sound course that a prudent leader could take under the circumstances. He is doing this not for political rewards—because there are no political rewards for fighting a war in Vietnam, but for the future welfare and benefit of our people and mankind.

Vietnam is not a political matter. It is a matter of human freedom. The word of the United States is involved here. The freedom of the United States is involved here. The future of self-government and the self-determination of peoples is involved here.

No one, and I know this to be a fact, has tried harder than the President to bring the Vietnam conflict to the conference table. The President has held out the olive branch and he has never withdrawn it. He has ordered bombing pauses on several occasions. What the President has done, however, has made it clear, I believe, that negotiation cannot be a one-way street. Deescalation is not the responsibility of one party to a conflict and one party alone.

When, I ask the critics, is Hanoi going to show some interest in de-escalation?

When is Hanoi going to suggest the conference table?

When is Hanoi going to stop the infiltration of troops and supplies for aggressive purposes into South Vietnam?

Why do not the critics of the President's management of this crisis give us the answers to these questions?

The President has acted reasonably. He has acted prudently. He has acted responsibly. He has recognized, as he should recognize, both the obligations of our country and our word to South Vietnam. He has recognized the dangers—and there are severe dangers—which might be involved in a careless use of our military forces in the defense of South Vietnam.

The President has tried to confine the war.

He has tried not to escalate the war.

He has acted both with caution and firmness as several of my friends from Texas, have so ably pointed out.

We want no territory.

We want no dominion over anyone or any country.

We do not want to destroy North Vietnam, as the President has said. If he has said this one time he has said it a hundred times.

We only want to keep the faith with South Vietnam and with the cause of human freedom.

Again I commend the gentleman from Texas and his colleagues and above all I commend our great President on the firm course that he has pursued in spite of ceaseless and oftentimes unreasonable criticism that has been heaped upon him.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank our distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], very much.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise on this occasion to join my neighbor, the gentleman from Texas, GRAHAM PURCELL, and my colleagues in showing my support of President Johnson's handling of the Vietnam situation.

Nowhere in the annals of American history can be found a more difficult war to fight—and to win—than what we now face in the jungles and rice paddies of this small Asian nation. The enemy is a most dangerous and unorthodox foe.

President Johnson is besieged by the doves and peaceniks who would have this great Nation go back on its word to protect freedom-loving people from Communist aggression; who would rather switch than fight; who would lead our friends in Europe and other places around the globe to believe that America is the big bully who started the whole thing, and is the one who is keeping those poor, defenseless little Commies from Hanoi from talking peace. It is amazing to me how our President has kept his composure.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., former White House adviser to John F. Kennedy, said today he does not believe the Johnson administration wants to negotiate a Vietnam peace at this point in the war.

He said he based his belief on recent actions of the United States:

> If we really wanted negotiation—

Schlesinger said in his statement—

> we would have ended bombing as the Russians suggested, and let the burden of de-

> livering Hanoi to the conference table fall to Moscow. But, if we were seeking an excuse to avoid negotiation, we would do exactly as we have done—ignore the Russians and acknowledge only the most extreme and extravagant proposals from Hanoi.

As a combat veteran of World War II, I know that war is hell, and that it is a poor way to settle differences. But there are some who understand nothing else. There are some who simply do not believe us when we say we will use whatever means necessary to prevent the further spread of the communistic disease. These same ones take any show of willingness to negotiate a peace treaty as a sign of weakness. They are our enemy—not because we want them as our enemy, but because they choose to wage war rather than follow peaceful pursuits.

Those who criticize our present policy regarding Vietnam are not only misguided in failing to support their President, they are letting down the fighting men who are each day facing death so that freedom may continue to exist throughout the world. Ask the man in uniform if he knows why we are fighting. He knows, and he agrees, that our President is right. History shows that the French soldier did not lose the fight in Vietnam. Rather the French people succumbed to Communist propaganda, and failed to support their troops. The American people must not make the same mistake.

Every report shows that the American men in Vietnam are among the greatest soldiers ever to wear a uniform—by any standards. I am proud to be an American, and I am proud of these men. I say do whatever is necessary to win this war and get our fighting men home. I firmly believe that is exactly what President Johnson is trying to do, and this is what the majority of Americans want. I am also convinced, though I do not pretend to speak for my distinguished colleagues, that a majority of this Congress feels the same way.

I noted that the first U.S. combat jump of the Vietnam war was made recently by the 2d Battalion, 503d Airborne Infantry Regiment, 173d Airborne Brigade. Mr. Speaker, this is the same unit that jumped to help retake Corregidor in World War II, and now they are jumping into the jungles of South Vietnam to end this war. I congratulate the men of this unit for their success, and wish them—and all our fighting men—Godspeed.

I want President Johnson to know that I speak for the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Texas in saying we have confidence in him and in America to wage war only when forced upon us, but wage war to win, and with the least possible toll of American lives. We support him in doing everything humanly possible to carry out this policy, and that we are fortunate to have him as Commander in Chief at this crucial time in our history.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, if there was ever a time when this Nation needed to present to the world a showing of unity and strength, that time is now. Our divisions have gained us no new friends, and, I fear, have contributed to the loss of some of our old ones.

Our President has stated, time and again, that the objectives of our actions in Vietnam are of limited nature—that we only seek to halt aggression, and to leave the people of South Vietnam free from the harassment of an enemy, while they go about the establishment and improvement of a peaceful civilian government. President Johnson has said, again and again, that the Government of North Vietnam can bring about an immediate halt to the bombing of its territory once it ceases such aggression. Until such a cessation comes about, this Nation must move forward steadfastly, in support of the brave men who are fighting and dying in Vietnam today.

The action of the House of Representatives just a week ago in rejecting a motion to not use any supplementary military funds in North Vietnam, by 18 to 372, was the clearest vote of confidence President Johnson could receive for his policies in the Vietnam conflict.

No Congressman in these Halls, no member of the executive department, and certainly not the President of the United States take pleasure in our involvement in Vietnam.

Most recognize that our commitments there are the inevitable result of our leadership in the free world, to preserve for independent countries their opportunity for freedom, and to support such countries to resist unwanted international communism. Having made our commitment, we in honor must fulfill our pledges. To do otherwise would dissolve the confidence of the world in our word, give false impression to hostile governments of our resolve, and conceivably lead to a Third World War based on this false impression.

We seek sincere signs of a desire to negotiate by North Vietnam. Until we receive valid and concrete indications of serious negotiations by North Vietnam, we would be endangering our own troops to reduce our pressure and activity. To cease or diminish our activities in the absence of a serious negotiation response would be to forfeit part of our present advantage and allow buildups that we would pay for shortly in heavier casualties. North Vietnam will never cease its aggression against South Vietnam until North Vietnam tires of aggression, is convinced it is useless, and wants to quit. Our military activities are designed to tire the North Vietnamese and make them want to quit. Constant criticism of our support of South Vietnam mainly prolongs the conflict by giving false hope to the enemy. Strong support and resolve to succeed in South Vietnam will in the end not only save South Vietnam for freedom, but will save many American lives.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE].

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman for his reservation of this time this afternoon to talk on this subject. I want to associate myself with his remarks, and particularly with the remarks of our majority leader, the great CARL ALBERT, who presented this question to us this afternoon so forcefully and with equal simplicity.

Mr. Speaker, last night many of us were privileged to attend the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention here in Washington when that organization honored our outstanding leader, the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, as recipient of the VFW 1967 Congressional Award. This was an evening long to remember. Once again it brought home to me the great bravery and dedication of our military men and the pride we all share in men like WILBUR MILLS.

At the first of the evening, a group of Vietnam veterans—many of them wounded and crippled for life—stood at attention while there was a simultaneous rendition by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN of "Gallant Men." When that presentation was finished there broke throughout the hall such a tumultuous applause that it sounded like a battery of 16-inch guns fired at arm's length. Men throughout the hall were deeply impressed, and some like my friend Ed Krenek of Austin, a former VFW State commander, lowered their heads and wept.

The real appreciation, however, was found when I later visited with some of these men personally. Every one of them said that we are winning the war and that what our country is doing is right. In these times, Mr. Speaker, when there are voices of doubt and dissent, I only wish that some of these faint-of-hearts could talk to some of our veterans and feel again the deep pride that comes from knowing that we are doing right and are helping others. And, Mr. Speaker, that is a most significant point—helping others. For that is the very thing this country is doing in southeast Asia. We are not there for conquest. We are there by invitation. We are there because we are the leader of the free world. We are there because we are committed to prevention of aggression. For us to weaken or vacilate or turn back now would mean repudiation of this Nation's honor.

A great deal has been said in the last few months about the bombing in North Vietnam. Many sincere persons—and others not so sincere or thoughtful—have said that if we just stop the bombing, we could have peace talks. We have stopped the bombing several times only to find that North Vietnam uses the time to send down reinforcements. In effect, they use the time to send to South Vietnam men, materials, and ammunition to kill American boys.

It is hard for me to understand why we cry out against bombing North Vietnam and very little is said about the bombing of our boys in South Vietnam. I have pursued this question personally with some of our leading military authorities, and I am advised that if we curtail the bombing in North Vietnam, our chances of ending the conflict in South Vietnam would probably be greatly reduced—that it would take perhaps five times as long to ultimately win the victory. And most horrifying of all is the estimate that if we stop the bombing in North Vietnam—and supplies are thus allowed to come across the 17th parallel in greater numbers—that twice as many American boys would be killed as are losing their lives now.

Do we want to stop the bombing so that twice as many American boys will be killed? This is unthinkable. It hardly needs to be said that we are in a war over there and you do not fight a war with powder puffs. You have got to fight bombs with bombs and bullets with bullets—and, indeed, American lives against Vietnamese lives.

Lately there has been increasingly severe criticism of this country's commitment in South Vietnam, and especially the manner in which the United States is fulfilling this commitment.

Because we are trying to help a small and almost defenseless nation of 16 million people that has been under armed Communist attack since 1959, we have been called imperialists.

Because we have joined in a gallant fight to repel an enemy which has slaughtered thousands of innocent civilians and has kidnaped or tortured those who oppose North Vietnamese attempts to impose their will on the south, we have been called criminals.

And, because we have put our own prestige and the future of free people everywhere on the line by firmly confronting aggressive communism in southeast Asia, we have been called warmongers.

The Communist north failed to gain authority over the country through means of the elections of the 1954 Geneva agreement and since that time it has directed its sympathizers to intensify their campaign of terror and political indoctrination against the established government of the south.

Their strategy is directed at destroying the whole fabric of society in the south, starting with the rural and remote areas and gradually moving toward the cities.

The people of South Vietnam have chosen to defeat this strategy, and in resisting this threat, they have requested the United States to take its place beside them in their defensive struggle.

As the aggression against the South Vietnamese Government and people has become more pronounced and more flagrant, our economic and military assistance to resist this aggression also has become more pronounced.

Since then the North Vietnamese effort, which has included the infiltration of regular army units, has been battled with support from South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, and the Philippines, as well as our decision to bomb military targets in the North. Additionally, 32 other countries have joined in providing the South Vietnamese technical and economic assistance in their battle against aggression.

As far as I know, the United States seeks no territory, no permanent military bases, or no favored position in this struggle. I feel that the administration has repeatedly demonstrated that our goal in Vietnam is to assure that country the opportunity to self-determination, free from outside interference and aggression.

Likewise, the administration has been unstinting in its efforts to bring peace to South Vietnam. Since 1964, there have been more than 25 major peace probes initiated or supported by this country and these efforts continue.

If peace can be restored to South Vietnam, I believe that the United States will be ready at once to reduce its military involvement. But, this Nation cannot abandon friends who want to remain free.

The choice between peace and continued and increasingly destructive conflict is one for the authorities in Hanoi. So far, all peace initiatives have failed because of the refusal by the Communist side to enter into discussions.

At this point, the record is too conclusive to believe that Hanoi plans to end the drive to extend its rule over South Vietnam. And, South Vietnam's refusal to fall in with Hanoi's scheme for a takeover has come as a heavy blow to the Communists.

Further evidence of the South's refusal to become a subject of the dictatorial government of the north was the voter turnout in the September constituent assembly election.

More than 80 percent of the registered voters cast their ballots—a fact in itself which lends support that our policy in this conflict is based only on the premise that we desire to insure that the South Vietnamese have the right and opportunity to control their own destiny, to shape their own political and economic institutions according to patterns of their own choosing.

I further believe that the President and the administration are wisely following a course that will secure the goals of our commitment—and no more.

It is somewhat distressing that there is lack of expressed support of our President on this policy, particularly in the light that abandonment of our commitment where it is undergoing the test would cause our country to suffer a loss of integrity in all other places and could threaten world peace.

I urge you, my colleagues, to join me in support of our President and his Vietnam policy.

History will prove that what we are doing in South Vietnam is right. As Chairman MILLS said last night, the aid we gave to the European nations in the decade that followed World War II helped to build their own governments and thus choose their systems, rather than be forced to adopt a Communist system. The Marshall plan and other governmental programs saved Western Europe, and today that area, for the most part, is strong.

We will find that this same kind of involvement in southeast Asia will pay dividends for the free world. It is a high price to pay, but no one has ever felt that democracy was cheap.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Texas for his forthright statement of the facts concerning our commitment in Vietnam.

The President of the United States is not only carrying out an inherited commitment in using our forces to block a Communist takeover in South Vietnam—he is also using our forces to increase the security of our Nation and all others who value freedom.

Intelligence reports clearly demonstrate that North Vietnam has used every lull in bombing to increase efforts at infiltration and aggression in the south. There is no evidence they would do anything else in a future lull, or interruption, in our strikes against North Vietnamese military targets.

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to justify any further unilateral experiment along these lines.

The price of such experiments in the past has been paid in the lives of American and South Vietnamese servicemen.

I hope and trust, Mr. Speaker, that our President will hold firm in his expressed determination to authorize no further cessation of bombing operations—unless and until there is some concrete evidence of a constructive result in the operations of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a feeling abroad in the land that our President must justify himself personally for his conduct of the war in Vietnam on a daily or perhaps hourly basis, summoned to account for each incident by zealous students, by a vigorous press, and by free-swinging critics as varied as the populations of the world.

Our President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, was elected just over 2 years ago by the greatest landslide vote in history, and in my opinion if that election was held again today the result would be substantially the same. This is my opinion because, although we have a President who would rather be right than be popular, when it comes to such fundamental issues, I have great confidence in the unerring instincts and the sound democratic response of our electorate to a national emergency.

President Johnson certainly ranks among the strongest of our great Democratic Presidents, but he is not willful; he spends long hours being briefed by the best brains the country is capable of producing, specialists and experts in every aspect of our global involvement. Lyndon Johnson spends every waking moment, and this comes close to 24 hours a day, steeping himself in the best available information. Then he makes up his mind, and with a sure and certain hand directs the course of the Nation. I would like to add one personal observation—that we have recently seen the virtual elimination from the effective world power structure of 700 million people—Communist China is now weak and divided and there is a valid case to be made for asserting that this would not be happening at this moment were it not for our strong presence in Vietnam.

The false claim of world "Communist solidarity" has been splintered by significant events which have in turn been shaped by American policy. One example is Indonesia where 100 million people are working free of the ideological pollution we call communism. Although as a nation we are prone to merciless self-criticism, we are in fact more successful than we realize; there is substantial evidence that President Johnson is leading his country into a new alinement of strength in the free world. He has my unqualified support.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Cabell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, it is both a privilege and a pleasure to join with my colleagues in the Texas delegation, and the preponderant majority of the Members of the Congress, in reaffirming our unequivocal support of our President and his determination to protect the freedom-loving South Vietnamese, and to drive out the Communist aggressors from their land.

I call on freedom-loving Americans to reiterate their support of our President during these critical times, and to demonstrate to the world at large our support of him and his actions in this conflict.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. de la Garza] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. de la GARZA. Mr. Speaker, the problem about which we speak today is not a simple one; it has many people debating from many lands, and from many sides, with many views, but yet, I, as a Representative of the people of the 15th District of Texas, must have a clear question and a logical answer, to be able to properly represent them. So I asked myself, "Why are we fighting in Vietnam?" This has many answers: to prevent aggression, to fulfill a treaty obligation, to allow a people to freely choose their form of government. All these answers fit the question. But very clearly and quite visibly I see the answer that overrides all these. If we do not do it here, then it will have to be later, and closer, and with many more lives, perhaps with the destruction of the modern world as we know it.

There is one person directly and ultimately responsible for the conduct of the war and the decisions made for the people of the United States—and this is our President as Commander in Chief. This is an awesome responsibility—it is a cross that I would not wish my worst enemy to bear, and yet I must see a friend suffer the agonizing moments of truth day after day and night after night, not knowing whether the decisions he made that day will be the breakthrough to peace, or the path to ultimate destruction. It is perhaps a burden that I could not long endure. But he has—and I agree with the way he has conducted the conflict—from the facts that I have at my disposal. I support his actions. Sometimes I feel he has not done enough to carry the war to the enemy, and I ask "Why?" The answer is as simple as it is noble, "It would mean the lives of more of our boys for an objective of limited military value." But the greatest reason that I support his actions is because of those boys out there in Vietnam. I have seen many who have returned, some wounded. To the man, all that I have seen from my district will tell you that they feel we are in the right and that they were proud to have been there. This coming from those who walked through the valley of the shadow of death gives me the ultimate answer. I support my President because the men who have to fight, and die, support him. I can do no less.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, in this day, when we hear so many self-proclaimed experts expounding on every subject and issue facing the country, we are indeed fortunate to have in the White House a person who is truly the greatest living expert on the problems of our Government, and I am confident that our pride and confidence is shared by the overwhelming majority of the American people.

I have recently made these statements to my constituents at home in my district and I am happy to report that I have found great concurrence in the views I have stated. I include here a newspaper article from the Corpus Christi Caller of February 14, 1967, covering a portion of one of these interviews:

> The main concern in Washington and across the country, Young continued, is the war in Vietnam. It is a costly war, in material resources and human lives, but the picture is much brighter today than it was a year or 18 months ago, he said.
>
> STABLE GOVERNMENT
>
> Militarily the offensive is with the South Vietnamese, he said. Politically the government is more stable and the intelligence penetrations are far better than they used to be, he said.
>
> The major problem, Young said, while emphasizing that he would never favor changing the system, is that there are too many self-appointed experts speaking on Vietnam.
>
> "Anyone who hangs a microphone around his neck and gets before a television camera is this type of expert," Young said.
>
> WHITE HOUSE EXPERIENCE
>
> Crticism is fine, he continued, "But we must remember that the man who occupies the White House has had more experience in Washington and national affairs than any other living American."
>
> The President may not always be right, Young said, but often his decisions are the best of the available alternatives, none of which is absolutely right.
>
> Those with no decision to make then proceed to pick at the president's, he said.
>
> Critical views are often given widespread publicity, sometimes to the damage of the country's efforts, Young said.

VIETNAM—HOW MANY LIVES?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, with many other Members of Congress, I was present last evening at Veterans of Foreign Wars dinner when the disabled veterans of the war in Vietnam were introduced.

As I looked at these veterans I could not help but wonder how many of them and their thousands of wounded comrades were maimed by the ammunition and guns that have been shipped into North Vietnam through the seaport of Haiphong, which has been "off limits" to American bombing planes by order of President Johnson.

Yes, how many American lives could have been saved, how many American servicemen would have been saved from maiming, had our land, sea, and air forces been permitted months ago to destroy every target of military value in North Vietnam?

Instead, sanctuaries were created by action of President Johnson, and our forces were again handcuffed as they were in the Korean war when President Truman refused to permit bombing of the Communist marshaling areas north of the Yalu River.

This is war in all its savagery and gruesomeness. Thousands of Americans have been killed and more thousands wounded, and the conduct of the Vietnam war reflects no credit upon President Johnson.

PROPOSED DESIGNATION OF OAHE RESERVOIR ON THE MISSOURI RIVER AS "LAKE OAHE"

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a resolution.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, the South Dakota Legislature has passed Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 15 in support of my bill, H.R. 2901, to designate the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe. The resolution memorializes Congress to make this name official by adopting my bill.

Oahe, pronounced "O-ah-ee," is the last of the four South Dakota reservoirs created by Federal dams on the Missouri whose name has not yet been made official by law.

Already designated are Lewis and Clark Lake formed by Gavins Point Dam, Lake Francis Case formed by Fort Randall Dam and Lake Sharpe formed by

Big Bend Dam. Together with Garrison Reservoir in North Dakota, they form the "Great Lakes of the Dakotas."

Oahe is an Indian word meaning a place to stand upon, a foundation or a stepping stone. The name has been attached to this reservoir for some 20 years. It is well established in the public mind and in many maps and documents.

I do hope that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will take note of this evidence of support in my State for retaining this colorful Indian name on the last and largest of our reservoirs still officially unnamed. It would be a lasting tribute to the Indian people, the original citizens of the Dakotas.

The resolution is as follows:

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 15

A concurrent resolution, memoralizing the Congress of the United States to pass H.R. 2901, designating the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein:

Whereas, the history of the area around the Oahe Reservoir is replete with the culture of the Indian tribes once living in that vicinity; and

Whereas, the Sioux Indian word Oahe means "a foundation" and depicts the present and potential source of the lake for irrigation systems, navigation routes, municipal water supplies, power development, fish and wildlife development and recreation; and

Whereas, the designation of the Oahe Reservoir as Lake Oahe would serve as a fitting honor to the Indian people who once inhabited the great Missouri River Basin and contributed such an important part to its early history:

Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the Senate of the Forty-Second Legislature of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that the Congress of the United States be respectfully urged and requested to adopt H.R. 2901, designating the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe;

Be it further resolved that the Secretary of the Senate of the State of South Dakota transmit copies of this resolution to the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress, to United States Senators Karl Mundt and George McGovern and to United States Congressmen E. Y. Berry and Ben Reifel.

Adopted by the Senate March 1, 1967.

Concurred in by the House of Representatives March 2, 1967.

THE FARM CREDIT SYSTEM—50 SUCCESSFUL YEARS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of California). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, during this year of 1967 the Federal land banks are observing their 50th anniversary. This is a golden anniversary of deep significance to all the people of the United States and indeed, as I shall explain, to people in many parts of the world because it marks a half century of economic independence for agriculture.

In reality, this is the 50th anniversary of the entire farm credit system, a unique mechanism designed to transform private investment into farm production. The 12 Federal land banks are the senior members of the farm credit system, which has enabled farmers and ranchers to utilize capital as a means of increasing both their actual output and their capacity to produce more food and fiber.

FIRST LAND BANK LOAN IN LARNED, KANS.

It was in Wichita, Kans., that the first Federal land bank was chartered and it was in the First Congressional District of Kansas where the nationwide, long-term loan operations of the Federal land banks first went to work for American agriculture, with the chartering of the local land bank association in Larned, Kans., on March 27, 1917.

To commemorate that event, an important national convocation of agricultural and financial leaders will highlight a daylong community celebration in Larned on Monday, March 27. It will be a day worthy of the Nation's attention as the half century results of sound farm financing are reviewed and as the prospect and challenges for American agriculture in the years ahead are considered.

FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT OF 1916

Fifty years ago, U.S. agriculture was in a generally deplorable condition. Most farmers operated at bare subsistence levels and lacked the financial resources to take advantage of mechanical advances offered by the advent of the automobile and related motorized equipment which could replace horsepower, mulepower, and manpower on farms.

The great majority of farmers were considered by lenders to be poor financial risks because they were poor producers; and they were poor producers because as poor risks they could not find access to the capital they needed to improve their operations. Thus, at the very time when World War I pressures were mounting and demands for vast increases in food and fiber were foreseen, our agricultural economy was caught in a vicious cycle of stagnation, marginal income, and lack of credit.

The enactment of the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 and the establishment of the 12 Federal land banks and their hundreds of local associations in 1917 broke that pattern. For the first time in history, farmers and ranchers were enabled to obtain long-term, low-cost, real estate financing on a nationwide basis. The way was paved for transforming agriculture into a dynamic business enterprise.

Loans to individual farmers were made and serviced—as they are today—through local organizations of member-borrowers, such as the Federal Land Bank Association of Larned. This meant that in addition to obtaining his loan, the borrower also received cooperation and encouragement from his fellow farmers.

FORMULA FOR FARMER INVESTMENT

While much of the initial capital for this system was subscribed by the Government, the formula for farmer investment in the associations and banks anticipated the retirement of the Government subscription. That formula, still effective today, provided that farmers not only put up adequate collateral but also invest in the system's capital stock, in an amount equal to 5 percent of their loans. Dividends are paid on the stock and it is retired at par value when the loan has been repaid in full.

In this manner, the farmer or rancher borrowing from the land bank system has an immediate, vested interest in its successful operation. He has a voice in his association's policies and management; the associations in turn help direct the operations of their respective banks by electing members to the district farm credit board of directors. The entire system thus became intimately and integrally concerned with the task of moving American agriculture forward to ever greater levels of achievement.

In the time since the first farm loan was issued to a stockman in Larned, Kans., more than 2 million farmers and ranchers have been benefited by land bank loans totaling well in excess of $12 billion. As of the present, some 390,000 long-term mortgages are held by member-borrowers; the amount of loans outstanding runs well over $5 billion.

This is not Government money, Mr. Speaker, but private investment by individuals, insurance companies, commercial banks, foundations, and similar purchasers of Federal land bank bonds. All Government funds, utilized originally as "seed money" when the system began, and later to provide emergency assistance to farmers during the depression of the 1930's, have long since been paid back to the U.S. Treasury. The final payments were made in 1947, the year when the land banks and associations became fully owned by those whom the system was designed to serve—the American farmers.

FIFTY YEARS OF FARM CREDIT

The 50-year success of the Federal land banks has been concomitant with the remarkable accomplishments of our Nation's agriculture. Together with such other of its components as the production credit associations for short-term agricultural financing, and the 13 banks for cooperatives, the farm credit system has catalyzed the efforts of agriculture, the investing public and the Government in achieving rates of farm production in this country unequaled elsewhere in the world. The system stands as a notable example of the partnership of private financing and agricultural endeavor under the guidance of the Government, which in this instance is the Farm Credit Administration.

An independent agency which operates at no expense to the taxpayers, the Farm Credit Administration maintains a continuous review of the fiscal, financial, and credit activities of the banks and local associations, provides general uniformity in policies throughout the system and otherwise exercises supervisory authority. Its operating costs are paid by the banks and associations it supervises.

In retrospect, it was fortunate for the United States that this kind of credit and capital-formation mechanism existed when the great depression came close to paralyzing our agricultural economy. Emergency Federal loan funds were channeled to farmers through the Federal land banks. Thousands of farmers and ranchers not only were saved from foreclosure but also were provided with the financial resources to cope with the vast production effort imposed by World War II.

We can deem it fortunate today that the United States possesses an agricultural industry capable of producing a tremendous volume and wide variety of foods at prices which a growing population can afford to pay, at prices which in fact represent the lowest relative expenditure of the consumer's earned income of any country on earth. We have good reason to be thankful that a sound methodology has been worked out for farmers to utilize capital so as to achieve this capability. The pioneering, innovative approaches made by the Federal land banks to solving farmers' credit needs have had, and continue to have, broad and beneficial influence on the entire credit structure for agriculture.

FUTURE TASKS FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

And in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me submit that in the years immediately ahead, many other nations of the world may likewise deem it fortunate indeed that the United States possesses the agricultural efficiency and dynamism which have evolved from the past half century of progress. Global developments keyed to the rapid growth of population are placing the American farmer on the center of the world stage.

It becomes increasingly evident that the hopes of free people everywhere for peace and survival itself are closely interrelated with their efforts to produce sufficient food. Only American-style technology, applied on a massive scale around the world, can provide food for the billions more people of the foreseeable future. Until such time as the developing nations become self-sufficient in their ability to produce food, it seems certain that extraordinary demands will be made on the genius, energies, and capacity of America's farmers.

The great farm organizations and our Government, including us in the Congress, now face the formidable task of formulating new policies and programs for increasing agricultural production, to meet the needs of an expanding population here at home and to guide hunger-haunted nations abroad toward self-sufficiency.

As we undertake this task, it will be well to keep in mind the essential role of agricultural credit and capital input. The Federal land banks have demonstrated, since starting their operations in Larned, Kan., 50 years ago, that agricultural productivity and prosperity are best assured by factors beyond the seed, fertilizer, stock, soil, or sweat invested; of comparable importance in this modern age are such elements as credit tailored to the debt-repayment capacity of the borrower, the earning power of farm property, and the desirability of land offered as security for a productive loan. For these factors add up to economic growth through the creation of new assets, higher equity, and greater capability on the part of the farmer.

Hence the benchmark of whatever plans may lie ahead for America's agriculture must be the assurance of a fair share of the market dollar for farmers. It is only through maximizing their own worth, increasing their investment, and exploiting the use of capital inputs that farmers, whether of the United States or of friendly countries struggling to attain self-sufficiency, will be able in the final analysis to conquer the problem of food shortages.

The Federal land banks' 50th anniversary is dedicated to America's farmers—providers of plenty. There is no better time than the present to join in tribute to all who are engaged in the agricultural enterprises of our country and to wish them success and Godspeed in the momentous years to come.

THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ANDREW JACKSON

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of California). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, next Wednesday, March 15, marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of one of our Nation's greatest generals, legislators, reformers, and most distinguished Presidents, Andrew Jackson.

Born in 1767 in the Waxhaws District, which was then in dispute between the two Carolinas and subsequently divided between the two States, Andrew Jackson has long been claimed by my home State as a native son. Since no record exists of the location of the Jackson home in the Waxhaws District, North Carolinians boast that "Old Hickory" was born within that area which later became part of the Tar Heel State. A youthful Jackson read law in Salisbury, N.C., and was admitted to the bar November 21, 1787, near my home of Greensboro, N.C., before moving to Tennessee.

Mr. Speaker, I do not merely wish today to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest Americans which my State claims as a native son. Certainly, tribute is called for on the 200th anniversary of Andrew Jackson's birth. But more than that, the tribute I believe must be paid on President Jackson's birthday is to rectify an error of 114 years standing in the District of Columbia—and to give "Old Hickory" the honored place he so richly deserves in the national memory and on the National Capital landscape.

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to the equestrian statue of General Jackson which was placed 114 years ago in the center of the square that does not even bear his name and is historically dedicated to honoring those foreign military leaders who aided in the American struggle for independence.

Historically and esthetically, the Jackson statue—which, we should note, was the first equestrian statue ever made in the United States—must be moved from the square named for the Marquis de Lafayette and given a proper and fitting place of honor in the National Capital.

The District of Columbia is literally packed with memorials and commemorative monuments to poets, cowboys, explorers, educators, generals, organizations, heroes, and demiheroes, both foreign and domestic. Playgrounds, parks, squares, monuments, circles, bridges, streets, buildings, islands, fountains—almost everything in Washington is named for something or someone.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, in this city which is in itself a monument to freedom and democracy and is filled with honored places for those who have fought through the years to preserve it, we have sadly failed one of our Nation's most illustrious shapers and defenders of freedom and our heritage. This city boasts of monuments, memorials and showplaces to the greats and near-greats of our Republic—while the statue of President Andrew Jackson—the seventh President of the United States, the first "People's President," hero of New Orleans—sits in a square which is his neither in name nor historical spirit.

Millions of tourists, including students and children, make pilgrimages to Washington each year to see their Federal City and its monuments to those who have guided our Nation for almost two centuries. Schoolchildren briefed in American history have difficulty placing some of our most honored shrines and memorials. Yet, if some of these youngsters who visit their Nation's Capital were to ask where the memorial to "Old Hickory" is, most Washingtonians could not answer. He has no square, circle, park, or plaza—only two obscure streets named in his memory. But residents of this city almost certainly would not be able to tell the schoolboy the location of either of these streets.

Mr. Speaker, the goal of the recent efforts of Washington planning agencies, citizens' groups and other special governmental bodies has been to transform the Nation's Capital into the grand city envisioned by its designer Major L'Enfant over 175 years ago.

As as result, the landscape of the entire city is in the throes of change. The projects are too numerous to mention, but I am particularly interested in the massive redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue and the plans for Capitol East.

These and other projects, Mr. Speaker, are most commendable. Yet, at the same time, I find it beyond comprehension that our civic planners continue to abide the anomaly of a Lafayette Square with President Andrew Jackson's statue in its center.

And I find it equally difficult to understand, with all the open spaces, federally owned land and open parks and plazas that we have here in Washington, why we cannot find a place of respect for the general-hero of New Orleans, the War of 1812, and the Indian Wars—one of America's greatest leaders.

Why, we may ask, is Andrew Jackson's statue in the center of Lafayette Square? This stately old President's Park, as it was called in the very early days of our

Republic, is dedicated to honoring European military leaders who fought so bravely for our national independence. These four foreign military figures whose statues appear on the corners of the square are Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko of Poland; General von Steuben, General Washington's Prussian aide; Comte de Rochambeau of France and the Marquis de Lafayette, also of France.

The statute of the Marquis, who became a folk hero of young America, was unveiled in 1890 and placed on the southwest corner of the square that already was named for him. Congress appropriated $50,000 for the monument's execution by Alexander Falguiere and Antoine Mercie.

Surrounding the Revolutionary-theme square are stately old homes, including the last residence of Dolly Madison, whose birthplace is about 2 miles from my home in Greensboro, N.C. All these houses are in the process of restoration as monuments to that early period of our history when the square was the focal point of Washington activities.

The statue of "Old Hickory," standing in the midst of these four Revolutionary statues, pleads for a more appropriate site—a place of its own. Made by Sculptor Clark Mills from bronze canons captured by General Jackson in the War of 1812, the statue was unveiled January 8, 1853, on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Mills later made the equestrian figure of George Washington for Washington Circle, not to mention the Statue of Freedom which adorns the top of this Capitol Building.

To rectify the situation with regard to proper memorialization of President Jackson on this, the 200th anniversary of his birth, I have today written to the Secretary of the Department of Interior, the Honorable Stewart Udall, requesting that the statue of the first "people's President" be moved to a plaza named in his honor on Capitol Hill below the Rayburn Building. This charming plaza, bordered by Independence Avenue and First Street, Second and Canal Streets, presently has no name or memorial. Considering the redevelopment of the entire area—the beautification of the Mall and the reflecting pool planned at the front of General Grant's station on the Mall, I believe the placement of "Old Hickory's" statue here and the naming of the plaza in his honor will add greatly to the redevelopment plans of this area.

These are suggestions, but it may be that other suitable sites exist for establishment of a Jackson Square. It remains for the Secretary of the Interior and other authorities to look into this matter and come up with appropriate recommendations.

I have sent the Secretary of Interior copies of the two photographs I have here today. One shows Lafayette Square as it is now, the other as it would look should the heroic monument of Lafayette be moved to its center point.

The time has come, Mr. Speaker, to correct this omission in the historical landscape of Washington, D.C. With the current interest in historic preservation and in beautification of our National City, we should act now to give the statue of one of our strongest, most dynamic Presidents—the first equestrian statue ever made in this Nation—a place of honor of its own. We could pay "Old Hickory's" memory no higher birthday tribute next Wednesday, March 15.

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KORNEGAY. I am happy to yield to my good friend from South Carolina [Mr. GETTYS].

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from North Carolina, my very able and dearly beloved colleague.

I would like to join with the gentleman, Mr. Speaker, in recommending that a suitable site be selected in Washington to honor and give greater recognition to the great Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States.

Although South Carolinians have no doubt as to the birthplace of America's seventh President, there are many of our good friends, perhaps like the gentleman in the well, who take sharp exceptions to our conviction in this connection, but all of us agree on one thing, Mr. Speaker, and that is that Andrew Jackson was a great and glorious American who served his country, even as a young man, with dedication and distinction. It was in the days of his youth that Jackson joined the ranks of his countrymen to fight for our independence against despotic British rule, and with more than the typical zeal of the frontiersmen of the day Jackson distiguished himself as a lawyer, orator, Representative, Senator, judge, and soldier.

History will remember him as the master strategist during the Battle of New Orleans and as a man of unswerving convictions during this two terms as President.

I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that the argument concerning Jackson's place of birth will continue for some time to come, nor do I have any doubt that in the final analysis general agreement will be established among us once and for all time that this great American was in fact born in South Carolina. But today we can set aside this argument and the discussions about the birthplace of this great American and join with conviction in our praise of the heritage left to us by an illustrious Carolinian.

Mr. Speaker, it is with honor that I join with my distinguished colleague from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY], in support of his suggestions that greater recognition be given Andrew Jackson in the parks of the Nation's Capital.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina very much for his splendid contributions to this discussion we are carrying on, and say that I have heard some time ago there was a contention on the part of some that Andrew Jackson was actually born in South Carolina. Of course, the folks around my way think that at that time the area was in North Carolina. But be that as it may, the main part, the main thing, and the mean theme on this occasion is that we want to all join together and see what we can do to give this great President, this wonderful citizen and soldier, his proper place in our National Capital.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to my distinguished colleague from Tennessee [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I certainly appreciate the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina yielding, and I want to associate myself most wholeheartedly and enthusiastically with his proposal, which I think is not only very excellent, it is also very timely, and I hope very feasible.

It is also very timely and I hope very feasible and something that can be accomplished I am sure with a very nominal amount of funds.

I think in this country we should always remember that the memory and traditions of our Presidents constitutes one of our truly great heritages and probably our greatest heritage.

By any yardstick we must measure Andrew Jackson as being among the greatest of American Presidents.

I want to certify very wholeheartedly what the distinguished gentleman in the well has said regarding schoolchildren and other constituents from my district in Tennessee who come to Washington. They ask, "Where is the Jackson memorial?" Or "Where is the Jackson statue?"

It is in a place that is not in the normal path that tourists take—it being out in the middle of Lafayette Square and inappropriately situated. I think the gentleman has made an excellent suggestion as to its proper location and an excellent suggestion as to the specific way that a fitting memorial might be provided to President Jackson.

I thank the gentleman for yielding and again commend him for his most constructive proposal.

Mr. KORNEGAY. I thank the gentleman very much for his fine contribution to this colloquy and must say that he too comes from a very fine and historic State.

It is a rather unusual thing—my State of North Carolina claims to be the birthplace of three of America's Presidents. If I remember my history correctly, they all found it necessary to come to Washington and to the Presidency by way of your great State of Tennessee. So we have a great bond of friendship and camaraderie in history in that respect.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. KORNEGAY. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. As a further mark of that and we are very proud in Tennessee, we understand that our First Lady plans to visit the Andrew Jackson home in Hermitage, Tenn., next week. We are proud of this and I think it is a further indication of the feelings of the people of the country in regard to his greatness.

Mr. KORNEGAY. I thank the gentleman very much.

PROPOSED AUDIT AND REPORT OF FOREIGN CURRENCY EXPENDITURES BY HOUSE COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of California). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MacGregor] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following is the text of a letter delivered today to the office of the gentleman from Texas, Omar Burleson, chairman of the Committee on House Administration:

March 8, 1967.

Hon. Omar Burleson,
Chairman, Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: It has come to the attention of some of us who served on the Select Committee Pursuant to H. Res. 1 (in re: Adam Clayton Powell) that Members of the House other than Mr. Powell may have in the past made false reports to your Committee on expenditures of foreign exchange currency.

The Select Committee had no authority to find the facts and make recommendations in this respect regarding Members other than Mr. Powell. I am without the power to do so now. Thus I address this appeal to you as Chairman of the Committee on House Administration.

As you know, the Select Committee on which I served made the following Finding (No. 9, Report p. 32):

"As Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, Mr. Powell made false reports on expenditures of foreign currency to the Committee on House Administration."

The discrepancies for the years 1961 through 1964 between the amounts received by Adam Clayton Powell (and two staffers) and the amounts reported by him are detailed on p. 18 of our Report and on pps. 266–269 of our Hearings. This information was obtained from the Department of State and from Mr. Julian P. Langston, Chief Clerk of your Committee.

As one of its Conclusions and Recommendations, the Select Committee recommended that (No. 7, Report p. 33)—

"The Committee on House Administration, which currently is undertaking a revision of its auditing procedures, be directed by the House to file annually a report of audit of expenditures by each committee of the House and the clerk-hire payroll of each Member."

I am continuing to urge the House to adopt the Resolution necessary to implement the above recommendation, but this step will be only prospective in its effect.

In the interests of basic fairness and of the need to treat all Members alike, I ask that your committee make an audit and report of all yearly expenditures of foreign currency by each committee of the House beginning with 1961. If others have filed false reports, appropriate action should be considered. It appears certain that only through this procedure can we put various suspicions of injustice to rest, or, properly establish the foundation for the administration of even justice.

I will be pleased to confer further with you at your early convenience.

Respectfully,

Clark MacGregor,
Member of Congress,
Member, Select Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I am working with the Office of Legislative Counsel to draft an appropriate resolution to carry out recommendation No. 7 of the select committee. That resolution will be introduced shortly. If adopted, it should be effective to deal with the problem for 1967 and the future.

But for possible official misconduct in recent years on the part of Members other than Adam Clayton Powell, the request which I have made today of the Committee on House Administration should receive prompt attention.

THE NATIONAL AMPUTATION FOUNDATION—48 YEARS OF DEDICATED SERVICE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Halpern], is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, today the National Amputation Foundation is celebrating its 48th anniversary. This worthwhile organization was founded in 1919 to aid the amputee veterans of World War I through rehabilitation and research. In the ensuing years it has continued its program of aid—first to the veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict, and now to our boys returning from Vietnam. Aided by the experience and dedication of a staff of fellow amputees who have overcome similar problems, it is able to handle with great understanding the special problems which the recent amputee faces.

The foundation provides a multiplicity of services—legal counsel, vocational guidance, and placement, training in the use of prosthetic devices, social activities, liaison with outside groups, and psychological aid. Since 1961, it has been running a shop for the manufacture and repair of artificial limbs. These are services which are desperately needed by the new amputee, for he is faced with an entirely new world, and the problems of readjustment stemming from his loss are enormous. With its fine sense of these problems the staff of the foundation is able to offer sympathetic counsel to the new member.

When the amputee must face the return to the community for the first time, he is beset with numerous and frightening problems. The loss of a limb in many cases means a whole new life for him, a new job, a new role in the community, new challenges to be faced. The psychological problems which such adjustments often bring are too great and too difficult to be solved alone. It is here above all that the competent counseling of the foundation staff is valuable, for they, too, have suffered the loss of a limb and have faced the readjustment to community living. Knowing that he has understanding friends who have overcome the difficulties he faces reduces the loneliness felt by the amputee. To be reassured that his loss is not a permanent handicap can be comforting, when the speaker is one who shares his affliction.

Vocational guidance and retraining is often a very necessary part of the service offered to the new amputee. In many cases, he is unable to return to the job which he formerly held, and he is faced with the possibility that he may be economically dependent on others for his support. The acquisition of a salable skill and the knowledge that he can continue to be financially independent is a great boost to the individual's morale, and often the most important aid in enabling him to readjust to the new way of life before him.

Once trained, the amputee must find a responsible position and the experienced placement services of the foundation are available to him. It is no use for a man to have a skill if he cannot employ it gainfully. Here again, National Amputation Foundation provides valuable experience in fitting the man to a job for which he is well qualified. They also carry on a continuous campaign to convince the employer that he has only to gain by hiring amputees and the handicapped in general. The fine record of the many men that they have helped testifies favorably in behalf of their efforts.

The social problems faced by the amputee are sometimes the most difficult of all. He must resume his place in the community, he must overcome his fear of pity and his resentment and master the use of new special equipment, so that he may be at ease and less self-conscious among his friends. The foundation provides both training in the use of prosthetic devices and social activities which reacquaint the amputee gradually with the life he must reenter.

A fine example of the type of work in which the foundation engages is the program they have been carrying on for many of the boys who have returned from Vietnam. Their visits to those men who are hospitalized at Walter Reed has been a great morale building experience. Last autumn, a group of the men who were then at Walter Reed were invited to New York for the National Amputation Foundation's Veterans Day dinner dance and a weekend of fun. The comments on this effort were so enthusiastic that the foundation hopes to repeat the trip for another group in the spring. The chance to meet others who had suffered accidents similar to theirs and had succeeded in leading a normal life in spite of it was a great source of inspiration and encouragement to the amputees from Walter Reed. As one amputee summed it up in a letter, "Great. I'm ready to go again any time."

As varied as these programs are, they all serve one primary purpose, the reintegration of the amputee into the life of the community. Because the need of the amputee is so urgent, the foundation has in recent years opened its membership and services to all amputees, both civilian and veteran. The close personal contact with the people they serve is a unique contribution of the foundation, and its greatest source of strength.

It is with sincere admiration that I offer to the foundation my heartiest congratulations on the completion of 48 years of selfless service to the needs of the amputee, civilian or veteran, and it is my sincerest wish that they will continue the great work which they are doing for these men and women.

THE NECESSARY WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the House is going to take up for consideration House Joint Resolution 267, to support emergency food assitance to India, which has been reported favorably by the

Committee on Agriculture with some minor amendments. The war on hunger which is one of the historic and highly noble tasks this Congress and this country have been engaged in, is thereby being brought nearer to the finish in a major theater. I have long been interested in the fortunes and vicissitudes of this war whose hero is the American farmer and the saga of whose role is still unsung and not fully recognized. The American farmer is today producing for himself and for 35 others, and has enabled the United States to discharge its great humanitarian obligations on a worldwide scale true to its heritage. I am one of those who believe that this war should be brought to its successful conclusion within the shortest possible time and in doing so, other countries should also play their part and share at least a part of the huge burden our country has carried all along. More than all, the farmer should be protected against high costs and inadequate returns on the enormous efforts that he is making, as it is he who has made the American agriculture the greatest success story of all time. Pursuant to my interest in the subject, I had been trying to acquaint myself with the full picture of the operation of our food-for-freedom legislation, particularly with reference to the problems and needs of India. For some months now, I have had working for me, a congressional fellow from India, Mr. B. S. Raghavan, under the auspices of the American Political Science Association, and I thought it would be a good idea if he worked on a project bringing together the entire thinking on food aid and its philosophy, and the administration of the laws and gave, from his standpoint, the achievements and failures of Indian agriculture, so that Members of Congress, while considering the resolution, have a reasonably documented analysis of India's problems, and rebuttal of some of the common misgivings and misconceptions prevalent here on the Indian situation. Mr. Raghavan has now produced an incisive and excellently written paper which not only gives a complete overview of the food-for-peace programs, but also makes important recommendations on the further improvements that can be made in areas of both policy and implementation. I need not argue as to why an understanding and knowledge of the Indian situation is crucial to the central meaning and purpose of the food-for-peace programs. It is in India more than anywhere else that food and peace are so inseparably linked. Geopolitically, India occupies a position vital to the preservation of balance of power in Asia. And India is the recipient of the largest quantity of aid and loans from the United States. It is going to be the major testing ground for the structure and efficacy of the food aid programs, the scope and extent of international cooperation, and the possibility of modernization at a pace that circumstances make imperative and this in a constitutional democratic setup. It is for these reasons that I think that the facts and arguments brought out by Mr. Raghavan should be available to other Members of this House. Since his paper is long, I have had a summary prepared which I would like to place at this point in the RECORD. The main paper is with me and will be available to any Member who may want to go through it.

The summary follows:

THE NECESSARY WAR—A SUMMARY

The war on hunger is one that is necessary to fight on a world-wide scale, as what is at stake is nothing less than the fate of the entire humanity on this planet. It is a necessary war to stave off the menace of decreasing productivity and eventual starvation in the Asian, African and Latin American continents containing 2.3 of the world's 3.1 billion people. The U.S. Agricultural Trade Development Assistance Act of 1954 (P.L. 480) marked the beginning of action by the U.S. to meet the food needs of developing nations, but originally this Act was looked upon merely as a device to dispose of the huge surpluses of farm products that had accumulated and had begun to cost more than a crippling million dollars a day to the American exchequer. It had, however, two important uses for the U.S.: it put some countries like Italy, Japan and Taiwan on the path to self-sufficiency and economic recovery, and it widened the commercial export markets of the U.S. and demonstrated that prosperity abroad was prosperity at home.

The Act, however, did not attack the real problem of mobilizing the resources of the entire world to ward off the challenge of the following factors:

(i) The losing battle fought by developing nations for self-sufficiency and their seeming incapacity to feed themselves;

(ii) The occurrence of population explosion in those very nations;

(iii) Nonavailability of additional land for cultivation;

(iv) Existence of high degree of malnutrition which again has its adverse impact on productivity;

(v) Low level of technological development.

The picture was not totally one of despair, as on the brighter side of the balance sheet were these countervailing factors:

(i) The possibility of keeping agriculture ahead of population as proved by trends in the past 20 years with the result the average person in the less-developed countries, though still poorly nourished, now eats better than his father;

(ii) No major famine in the entire post-war years;

(iii) Fall of agricultural prices in world markets;

(iv) Rise in the per capita income in almost all the countries of the world;

(v) The immense agricultural productivity of the United States enabling it to achieve an output far exceeding domestic consumption, needed reserves and world food gap all put together and to leave a comfortable surplus at least till 1980;

(vi) The easy possibility of doubling or even tripling agricultural production in all of Asia, Africa and Latin America through the use of more fertilizers, more irrigation, better seed varieties, more pesticides and other improved farm practices.

Taking both these sides together, it is clear that the race is not so much between population and food supply as between what *could* be done and what *will* be done.

With this balance sheet before them, the Congress and the Administration realized that war on hunger should be more than mere surplus disposal and that in that war, the United States, with her affluence and abundance had a leading role to play. It was this recognition that led to the call by President Johnson in early 1966 for a "world-wide attack" on human hunger and misery under the leadership of the U.S., and it was in this context that the Administration and the Congress turned to the proposal to extend the period of operation of P.L. 480, incorporating in it certain provisions arising out of the following basic convictions:

(i) The idea of surplus disposal should be done away with as it lent itself to the propaganda that the action of the U.S. was not motivated by humanitarian, but only selfish, considerations;

(ii) In any case, the surpluses has dwindled to a level that left the U.S. exposed to inadequacy of stocks were an unforeseen calamity to strike;

(iii) The futility (in terms of economies) and fatuity of retiring huge areas of land out of cultivation when hunger stalked vast populations of the world;

(iv) Aid should be used to make the recipient nations undertake such changes in their economic and agricultural policies as seemed to the U.S. best conducive to achieving self-sufficiency in agriculture and political and economic stability, and to use aid as an indicator of the approbation or disapprobation of the U.S. toward foreign policies pursued by the recipient nations.

The Food for Peace Bill, which was introduced in the House, was considered as being above partisan politics, both within the Committee room and executive sessions and was acknowledged as the first bill to emerge from the House Committee on Agriculture with very little controversy about it. The changes made in the original P.L. 480 were so extensive that what finally became law was, in fact, a new bill with changes in basic concepts and philosophy. The version that the House sent to the Senate was substituted by that body with one of its own, and the differences, some of which were on points of substance, were resolved in a conference. The bill was signed into an act by the President on November 11, 1966.

Under the Act, transactions between the United States and the recipient nations have been grouped under four titles:

Title I authorizes sales of U.S. farm products for local currencies and for dollar credits envisioning three alternative payment arrangements in ascending order of rigor, namely:

(i) Sales for foreign currencies with provision for payments in convertible currency for the purposes of payments of U.S. obligations abroad;

(ii) Sales for local currencies on credit terms;

(iii) Sales for dollars on credit.

Title II provisions include assistance for combating malnutrition in children, preschool feeding and school lunch programs. Title III authorizes barter sales of agricultural commodities for the financing of commodities of which the U.S. is a net importer. Title IV stipulates that the program will be used to help those friendly countries that seriously try to cope with their own problems of food and population.

The new features of the legislation are:

It links the food aid program to self-help measures on the part of recipient countries.

It no longer limits the operation of U.S. foreign food assistance programs to supplies of surplus agricultural commodities, but provides that the U.S. can produce the quantities of almost any farm commodity or derived product that is judged to best meet the development needs of recipient countries; and

It provides for means to improve the nutritional content of U.S. food assistance.

It also provides for changes in financial provisions and for a program of farmer-to-farmer assistance.

During consideration in the House, the Republican Members were quite active in making alternative proposals and suggestions for improving the contents of the bill. Indeed, at the stage of committee consideration, the Republican Members of the committee were behind a number of amendments providing for:

Continuing Congressional review of the

operation and administration of the program by limiting the extension to two years;

Retaining the basic concept of "friendly countries";

Strengthening the national efforts to halt the supplying of hostile communist regimes in Cuba and North Vietnam;

Improving the effectiveness of the Joint Congressional Executive Advisory Committee;

Insisting, whenever possible, upon a per cent cash payment in Title I sales agreements;

Placing stronger emphasis upon agricultural self-help by earmarking at least 20 per cent of certain foreign currencies generated by Title I sales for the purpose;

Requiring, insofar as practicable, the identification of food sold for foreign currencies, as being provided through the generosity of the American people;

Expanding technical assistance in friendly developing countries through a farmer-to-farmer program as mentioned earlier.

In the Senate, immediately after the bill came to the floor, a doubt arose over the fitness of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to consider a bill whose foreign policy implications were pronounced and over the dominant role assigned to the Secretary of Agriculture and not to the Secretary of State. The controversy was resolved when the Chairman of the Committee, Senator Ellender, pointed out the enormous impact of the bill on the operation of agricultural sector and by expanding the Advisory Committee to include the Secretary of State and four members from each of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Some of the unsuccessful amendments and counter-suggestions offered are interesting:

To give first priority to agreements for the exchange of agricultural commodities for strategic and other materials needed by the U.S. with the stipulation that no agreement shall be entered into for the sale of agricultural commodities unless the President has determined that such country had no such materials reasonably available for such exchange and has so notified the Congress in writing to that effect. (Senator Dirksen)

To expand the World Food Program and to provide that U.S. would match any contribution by other nations in commodities, in cash and in services which are in excess of the present target of the program. (Senator Mondale)

To emphasize the role of adaptive agricultural research as an indispensable part of farm progress in developing countries and as one of the self-help measures that the U.S. would encourage and support. (Senator Mondale)

To commend a long-term authorization of five years for the program. (Senator McGovern and Congressman Donald M. Fraser)

The main running theme throughout the debates was the need of close and continuous oversight of the Food for Peace program without which it was feared that the cornerstones of policy that the Congress was laying down will not be adhered to.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

The relevance of the Indian situation to an understanding of the central meaning and purpose of the food aid program springs from:

Inseparable link of food with peace in India;

The vital geo-political position of India in preserving the balance of power in Asia;

Its proximity to expansionist China;

Its status as the bastion of democracy and freedom of the individual;

Its potential role in influencing the course of the entire world;

Its status as the recipient of the largest quantum of aid and loans amongst developing nations;

Its sharing of common values and outlook with the United States.

India has been heir to certain special handicaps which will have to be recapitulated to place her problems and her performance in the proper setting. They are the heavy burdens of past history and laden with them, India is trying to march into modernity. They are:

(i) The long colonial occupation resulting in economic stagnation and denudation of raw materials;

(ii) Impossibility of rotating arable lands due to paucity of cultivable land and small land holdings resulting in "soil fatigue;"

(iii) Difficulties in the way of mechanization, such as displacement of labor and increasing unemployment, fragmentation of holdings and the small size of an average Indian farm;

(iv) Inherent conservation of the farmers and the people standing in the way, for instance, of change in dietary habits; and

(v) Inadequacy of knowledge on the part of the Indian farmer of market mechanism and instrumentality of credit.

Despite these handicaps, in common with other developing nations in this decade of development, India has made great strides as the following facts will show:

Increase in net national income in real terms—70 per cent;

Increase in agricultural production—65 per cent;

Increase in industrial production—150 per cent;

Production of sulphuric acid—increase from 101,000 tons to 664,000 tons;

Production of foodgrains—from 51 million tons to 89 million tons;

Power generation—2.3 million KWs to 10.2 million KWs;

Railways—93 million tons of originating traffic to 205 million tons.

As regards the food front specifically, India has:

Imposed a food rationing system to make efficient use of existing supplies;

Streamlined its transportation system to improve distribution;

Increased prices paid to the farmer, thus providing new incentives to use fertilizer, improved seeds and other modern materials;

Begun large operations with new varieties of rice introduced from Taiwan and with large quantities of high-yield wheat seed imported from Mexico;

Approved plans to increase public involvement in agriculture by more than 100 per cent during the new five-year plan;

Started to expand rural credit, improve water supply, and accelerate the distribution of fertilizer to remote areas;

Stepped up family planning; and

Negotiated an agreement for the first of several externally-financed fertilizer plants to expand India's supply of home-produced fertilizers.

Further, it has evolved an agricultural strategy encompassing all sectors of activity such as the high-yielding varieties program, new concepts for irrigation, double/multiple cropping, organization of supplies, emphasis on production of inputs, supply of production credit, coordination of cattle development and dairying, and initiation of supporting economic and institutional policies.

Recognizing that food production alone, without population control, will not achieve any purpose, India adopted an officially-sponsored family planning program as far back as 1948. There are now 11,000 family planning centers where advice is given by qualified personnel and contraceptives are supplied free.

The Congressional team that visited India in the Fall of 1966 has returned with appreciation for the steps taken and schemes initiated, and with a picture of India on the move.

There are several misconceptions and misgivings about India which have to be mentioned and discussed, for they act like a brake on the enthusiasm of legislators here to come to the support of India when her case is under discussion or study. But the existence of these criticisms and misconceptions itself is nothing to be cavilled at because essentially they spring from the intense interest that India arouses. These criticisms can be briefly analyzed below:

Neglect of agriculture. This is by far the most persistent line of criticism of Indian policies. Without glossing over the very real deficiencies, such as lack of singleminded and determined effort to bring about yield take-off and income take-off, inadequate propaganda for the encouragement of agricultural inputs and insufficient recognition of the necessity to keep policies and approaches pragmatic and flexible, it could be fairly said that argument of industrialization at the cost of agriculture has been somewhat overdone. For instance, the outlay in mining and industry in the First, Second and Third Five-Year Plans was 5 per cent, 24.1 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively, of the total outlay. If one took up agriculture alone, it is true that the outlay for the same plans was 15 per cent, 12 per cent and 14.4 per cent and this may look too small a proportion. But in fairness this is not the way to read the investment: agriculture does not stand alone but is very much dependent upon irrigation, transportation and communication, and outlay in a part of the latter heads of development should be added to the outlay on agriculture. It is difficult to determine what portion of it should be added onto agriculture, but a very rough idea can be gained from the fact that the outlay on agriculture, irrigation and transportation taken together for the three plan periods was 71 per cent, 58 per cent and 64 per cent, respectively. It is much truer to say that what with drought and natural calamities, agriculture failed India than that India failed agriculture. She had increased agricultural production from 51 million tons in 1951 to 89 million tons in 1965, and all that was needed to achieve self-sufficiency was an increase by another 36 million tons; if the tempo had not been interrupted, India would have been well on her way toward this goal.

Apathetic attitude toward private investment and foreign capital. The main misunderstanding is of the professedly socialistic policies of the Indian Government. These policies were inevitable in a situation of scarce resources and vast unsatisfied wants. In fact, policy declarations by Prime Minister in 1949, reiterated by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi last year in this country, make it clear that foreign capital is welcome and there will be no discrimination or expropriation without adequate compensation. There has been only one case of compulsory acquisition by the state in all these two decades and that, too, for reasons which had nothing to do with ideology or socialism. The climate for foreign investment in India is made further favorable by India's record of political stability, the vast Indian market of 500 million people and unlimited in potential, high earnings ratio of U.S. capital in manufacturing industries in India, competitive production costs and the existence of a competent and sophisticated corps of chemists, engineers and technicians.

Retention of controls on interstate movement of grains. The zonal system of food controls is not a policy to which the Indian Government is ideologically bound for all time. It has been dictated by the very practical reason that in a situation of shortfall in production, government bears a responsibility to insure equitable distribution. Once there is normal production and good crops, the policy will certainly be reviewed. The banning of private trade on interstate basis is only to insure the movement of grains where they are most needed and not where they command the highest prices.

Doubts about the capacity of the foodgrains handling and distribution machinery.

It was proved last year that the machinery could take at short notice unprecedentedly heavy loads. The capacity of ports increased from an average of 500,000 tons per month to 1.5 million tons per month; 1,500 railroad freight cars were pressed into service daily; a network of 128,000 shops distributed foodgrains to 121 million people. Witnesses before Congressional committees, as well as Members of the Congress and administrators of aid programs, have handsomely acknowledged the adequacy of handling and distribution machinery.

Center's inability to impose discipline on the surplus states. It may be true that the consciousness of states' rights is strong in some areas, but the procurement figure belie this charge of surplus states not playing fair by the deficit areas. Almost every one of them fulfilled the targets set by the Centre and if some mildly dragged their feet initially, it was due to an acute consciousness of their primary responsibility to insure food supplies to their people first.

Lack of incentives to farmers. President Johnson, in his latest message on India food has borne out India's efforts to give fair returns to the farmer. In fact, David E. Bell, Administrator, A.I.D., has said that incentive prices for producers in India are higher than those prevailing in the United States.

Sacred cows. The presence of sacred cows cannot be wished away. Religious preferances and prejudices do not lend themselves to an easy or rational explanation. It is, however, not true that all the states have banned cow slaughter by legislation; the federal government has refused to give in to the recent agitation on this score. Even in the existing legislation in five out of sixteen states, the protection, strictly speaking, is extended to milch cows and productive cattle.

Use of land for nonfood crops. The main charge is that India could divert areas under crops like cotton to food crops in an effort to maximize production of foodgrains. The land now under cotton and nonfood crops is not suitable for rice or wheat; or it is of such low quality that to expend time and money on them for conversion will not yield commensurate results. Further, the foreign exchange derived from the export of cash crops is substantial and it proves handy in importing fertilizer, agricultural equipment and machinery. Thus, it is not as if that production of cash crops has made drastic inroads into India's capacity for agricultural development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

If the war against hunger is to be fought successfully and brought to an end within the shortest possible time, it is necessary to take a close and continuing interest in the nature and scope of the major fields of action and to discharge oversight functions falling within the responsibilities of governments and people. It is hoped that the 16-point program suggested below will go to some extent toward insuring adequate interest and vigilance:

(i) *Coordinated implementation of the program.* At present, several agencies and departments—the Department of State, A.I.D., the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Treasury, the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Commerce, Office of Emergency Planning and the Department of Defense—all entered into the different aspects of policy formulation at one stage or another. What is needed urgently is a mechanism to assure the most complete and honest exchange of ideas and communication, to minimize end-runs, double dealings and attempts to conceal facts from one another and to maximize cooperation and speedy policy decisions. The idea of having an over-all director for the administration of the aid programs, who will be known to be in the closest confidence of the President, will have the power of final decision after consulting departments and agencies whose interests are involved and will be above the swayings of partisan politics, is also worth exploring further with regard to feasibility and desirability. Another aspect of coordination is in the administration of the program in the field. Here it will be necessary to keep the procedures and interrelationship problems under continuing study and review. It will be a good idea if this is specifically brought under the scope of the Advisory Committee set up under the Act.

(ii) *Acquaintance on the part of Members of Congress with conditions on the spot and creation of a proper climate of opinion and knowledgeability.* It is essential to keep up a systematic flow of information and assessment of conditions in developing countries to interested groups of Members of Congress who can then act as the eyes and ears of the Congress and create a greater awareness of issues and facts. The spokesmen of developing nations should aim at building a direct bridge to such groups; additionally to such information as the Members may get from their own contacts or from administration. This could be done in three significant ways:

(a) More frequent visits by Members of Congress to developing nations and gathering of on-the-spot impressions;

(b) Encouragement of greater legislator-to-legislator contacts;

(c) Periodical meetings of select groups of Representatives and Senators so that matters concerning developing nations can be fruitfully and informally discussed, questions asked of the knowledgeable visitor or expert attending these meetings as guests and answers elicited.

(iii) *Educational campaigns aimed at American public opinion, especially of the farming community.* This is necessary to:

(a) explain in intelligible terms the implications of the policies adopted, the extent of the involvement of the common man and the farmer, the net effect on production and cost, and the advantage secured in the form of increase of commercial exports; and

(b) inculate in the American people and farmers a sense of participation in a high purpose.

(iv) *Fostering of the realization that food is above politics.* The passage of the Food for Peace bill in the Congress was completely free from partisan politics. This is the right approach and should be carried into the subsequent public discussions on what the policy goals should be, although there may legitimately be differences of emphasis and opinions. This effort is most essential in deficit countries themselves where food most often ends up as a political football, causing dislocation in supplies and distribution.

(v) *Propagation of techniques and methods adopted by countries like Japan.* Japan is an excellent example of an Asian country which started with factors and handicaps similar to other Asian countries and yet has succeeded phenominally in improving its agricultural economy and achieved yield take-off and income take-off within a short period despite heavy odds. Developing nations most often turned to look to western nations for inspiration; it is time they turned toward one of themselves for exchange of ideas and techniques.

(vi) *Encouragement to establishment of network of agricultural research institutions in aid-receiving nations and expanded and more effective use of land-grant institutions.* The three objectives behind this proposal are:

(a) To train or retrain people who are either skilled in agricultural science or to prepare practical farmers, farm wives or others with the working knowledge of farming for service overseas;

(b) To establish agricultural institutes—more like short courses in agriculture—both in the U.S. and overseas directed toward the training of persons who serve as volunteers in this program and foreign nationals;

(c) To conduct selective research activities in conjunction with the agricultural institutes, emphasizing tropical and subtropical agriculture.

(vii) *Speedy implementation of farmer-to-farmer program.* This program is central to the development of insights by peasants in other countries in the matter of increasing productivity and should be taken up for implementation without any loss of time, taking care to see that the type of men wanted should be mature people with a lot of practical knowledge, who will be able to win the confidence of their compeers in other countries.

(viii) *Full and frequent utilization of the Advisory Committee.* The Committee is required under the law to survey the general policies relating to the administration of the Act. It should have at its disposal staff which will make an independent appreciation of points and issues coming up before it for consideration and which will also undertake research into the many aspects of the food situation in different deficit countries. Special projects and studies may be assigned to it by the Committee to subject the instrumentality of the Food for Peace legislation to a constant and critical scrutiny. A convention should be established of bringing its proceedings and recommendations to the Congress, in order that any interested Member may, if he is so disposed, further pursue any of the points made.

(ix) *Development of a flexible farm policy.* If the domestic farmer is to play his part enthusiastically in the world war on hunger, he must be assured of two imperatives: a long-range, flexible farm policy and some way by which he could bring the costs of farming within manageable limits. A long-range policy enables the farmer to plan his production properly, helps the administration to signpost the growth and development of agriculture for a reasonably long period ahead and makes it possible for aid-receiving nations to look ahead and formulate long-term policies for themselves and to make suitable allocation of resources on a long-term basis without having to worry about the immediate problems.

(x) *Insuring flow of needed foreign capital.* The less developed nations have very little time in which to make the transition from a near static condition to one of steady growth and capital plays a vital part in this process. Ways must be found:

(a) To remove obstacles to capital formation and capital flow;

(b) To evolve a combine of development financiers in developed countries to explore quickly areas of investment related to agriculture in developing countries;

(c) For business associations in developed countries, to establish close and direct links with their counterparts in developing nations with a view to—

Stimulating consideration of improvements to basic business practices;

Exchanging information on technical advances and operational efficiencies in their particular fields of endeavor;

Providing technical and operational data; and

Acquiring greater voice in the government and planning machinery.

(xi) *Vigorous investigation of new possibilities of technological breakthroughs.* It is self-evident that everyone concerned with agricultural development must be imbued with a spirit of experimentation, innovation and the adoption of techniques and procedures to the special needs of individual communities. We should never cease looking for technological breakthroughs that will supplement, if not eventually supplant, conventional patterns of agricultural production. These ought to be investigated, experimented and where economically feasible, applied.

(xii) *Full exploration of the concept of multilateral aid and the strengthening of international agencies like FAO and World Food Program.* Multilateral participation is one of the essential principles that form a basis on which the strategy for the war on hunger ought to rest. This means organizing the assistance of the international community in a coalition of the advanced and developing nations. Developed countries, especially the U.S., should lend their weight and support to the Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development drawn up by FAO and the World Food Program.

(xiii) *Setting up of a World Food Study Commission.* The idea of establishing such a Commission was first proposed by the Republican Task Force on Agriculture. It is best to conceive of the Commission as an independent, international organization which will be free to collect its own funds and do its own research and studies on world food problems. Its broad functions will be to collect, collate and study facts relating to the world food situation on a continuing basis and formulate remedial policies for consideration of international community, to make periodical assessment of policies and developments in the technological economic and political spheres and circulate reports thereon and to rouse international opinion and support on a private and voluntary basis for the war on hunger.

(xiv) *Agricultural attachés.* The difficulty in the way of a proper and full-fledged utilization of agricultural attachés, wherever the embassies have them, is the closer and more direct involvement of U.S. AID with the local schemes and projects, almost amounting to an elbowing out of the agricultural attaché, is not, in some cases, the embassy itself. The situation is unclear from this distance, but whatever gaps exist in the fuller utilization of technical personnel wherever they may be found—in AID or in the embassies or in the foundations—should be investigated and filled.

(xv) *Voluntary Agencies.* There should be a constant review of the precedural and other hurdles in the way of functioning of voluntary agencies associated with Food for Peace programs to undertake remedial measures to improve the quality and range of the partnership. The Task Force to the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid has made some very sensible recommendations calling upon the government to revise its criteria, procedures and practices and indicating to the voluntary agencies themselves the areas of improvement in their own working and their relation with the government and the countries in which they operate. These recommendations deserve expeditious implementation.

(xvi) *Evolution of a self-contained and self-sustaining Asian policy and machinery to create an informed elite on Asian affairs.* The necessity for this goes without saying, as the aid programs are mere auxiliaries resting on the foundation stone of a proper policy toward recipient countries, especially the Asian nations where the major battles of the war on hunger will be fought. There is a symbiotic relationship between Asia and the rest of the world and there should be a conscious attempt to break the encrustation from which America's Asian policy had begun to suffer. The setting up of the Asian Advisory Panel was a step in the right direction as this will make available to the President the recommendations of a group capable of dispassionate judgment and marshalling adequate material and expertise to base that judgment on. It is to be hoped that the panel will develop into an independent, organic entity which will draw from the experience and talents of persons from Asian countries with intimate, expert knowledge of those countries. It is necessary to bring into being an informed elite on Asian problems and needs amongst the people of this country and this can best be done by the Congress setting up a new committee on Asian relations as a dramatic recognition of Asia's importance, both by itself and for the United States in the current world context.

FEDERAL SHARING IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GIAIMO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced legislation which provides for Federal sharing of the cost of a State's child welfare services, based on the State's per capita income, and authorizes whatever sums are necessary to carry out the purposes of the act.

Specifically, under this proposal, the Federal Government would pay 75 percent of the total of each State's salary and training cost for child welfare personnel. Secondly, each State would receive funds to pay for a percentage of the cost of all child welfare services for every child who is the responsibility of the State or local public welfare agencies. To prevent Federal expenditures from being used as a substitute rather than a supplement to State aid, this bill requires State and local child welfare services to maintain the same minimal level of spending as in the past year. A third provision of this legislation would make available to the States Federal assistance for developing new child welfare programs.

Last year, the Federal Government provided less than 10 percent of the total expended by public agencies on child welfare. In my home State of Connecticut, Federal assistance was approximately 5 percent of the total. Realizing the heavy costs of child welfare services and the national concern for the welfare of our children, I feel it is incumbent upon the Federal Government to do more to work with the States in this area.

By providing Federal support of child welfare programs, States will be able to meet the regulations of the 1962 Social Security Amendments requiring the States to extend their child welfare services to maintain complete coverage throughout all counties. This 1962 act was an attempt by the Congress to provide assistance to all children in need of help. Yet, the necessary funds to carry out this program were not authorized.

The originator of this measure was our late friend and colleague, the Honorable John E. Fogarty. It would be a fitting tribute to this great legislator, for us to continue his efforts to assist our needy and neglected children.

Mr. Speaker, it is time the Congress takes a realistic view of the child welfare provisions of the Social Security Act. We have recognized that the burden of financing services for the aged, the widowed, the disabled, the blind is too immense for many State and local governments to support, unaided. We must also satisfy a similar responsibility to help the States finance their programs to assist our children.

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM—XXIX

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, inadvertently, my remarks on the need to revise the Selective Service System were not printed in Tuesday's RECORD.

On Monday, the President submitted to the Congress his message on selective service which contained a number of the recommendations originally suggested by the President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service.

The President's National Advisory Commission is to be commended for making generally admirable proposals for eliminating many of the inequities of the present draft system.

Many of the President's suggested reforms are, of course, long overdue and they should receive the most serious consideration by the Congress.

The drafting of men at 19 years of age will reverse the present order of calling the oldest registrants first and thus, will have the beneficial effect of eliminating the uncertainities now present in the lives of many of our young men.

A reorganization of the structure of the Selective Service System is, of course, needed. There are over 4,000 local boards with over 16,000 members serving on them throughout the country. These individuals, serving uncompensated, have rendered an outstanding public service. However, changes can be made to make this operation more efficient and effective. For example, a maximum retirement age should be established, for many of the members are serving at ages which in other branches of government and business have long been considered to be that of a retirement age. The President's power to appoint members should not be limited to those nominated by the Governors of the States and the board composition should represent all elements of the public that they service. I believe that this change is particularly desirable in light of the statistics presented by the National Advisory Commission on the racial makeup of the local draft boards.

With regard to a lottery system, last June I stated that no doubt many of the problems could be alleviated by such a proposal. Obviously no system that chooses the few that have to serve can be completely fair. Yet most of the other alternatives would aggravate, not cure, the existing inequities.

The ending of student deferments, with the exception of those for medical and dental students, and the drafting of men at the age of 19 would end the uncertainty element that exists after college graduation. Once an individual finished his military service, he would be free to pursue whatever plans he desired without fear of interruption. Furthermore, if we truly want to deal with the draftable age young men on an equal basis, then we should not allow some to postpone military service through an unfair option which would not be granted to those, who, for various reasons, would be unable to attend a college or university.

There are other recommendations, such as dealing with the appeals system, the reserve program, and the establishment of national uniform system of rules, that are most welcome revisions.

Unfortunately, the President did not recommend a broadening of the conscientious objector status so as to include the language of the U.S. Supreme Court in their ruling in the 1965 Seeger case.

In addition, I am quite disappointed that the President did not ask for a study to determine the feasibility of the eventual shifting to an all volunteer army as a long-range policy.

Congress must eventually decide the course of our future military recruitment policies, rather than pass a new law every 4 years. I certainly hope that this Congress will act accordingly and state what our ultimate goal should be and authorize a study for the purposes of determining the incentives necessary to obtain a voluntary military recruitment force.

MESSAGE ON SELECTIVE SERVICE

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. LEGGETT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I endorse the President's message on selective service. America's system of calling its fighting men has, over the years, proved to be effective and reasonable for keeping our Nation's security second to none in the world. But the times have changed; and with these changes have come different needs and new opportunities for maintaining a strong military force.

President Johnson has recognized these changes. His proposals, if adopted, would create a new era of military conscription which would insure fairness to all those concerned.

I would like to especially single out three specific proposals which seek to right old wrongs in our Selective Service System.

First, President Johnson has noted the terrible anxieties and uncertainties inherent in the present order of call to serve. The President now has declared his intention to issue an Executive order directing that men be drafted beginning at age 19.

I warmly support this action. For I strongly believe that by reversing the present order of calling the oldest first, we can sharply reduce the uncertainties and frustrations in the lives of our young men.

Second, the President has made it clear that he will seek to strengthen the overall system of selection so that those young men who, for one reason or another, are not in college, will have equal status with those who are. In this regard I support Mr. Johnson's recommendation that we in Congress take a long, hard look at this problem. Most of us would agree that something must be done. But we must not act rashly or impulsively.

Third, the President has asked the Secretary of Defense to give priority to Reserve enlistees who are under draft age to encourage a maximum number of volunteers who are not immediately draft liable.

These three proposals are especially pertinent to meeting the Government's obligation to our Selective Service System. For we have a very real obligation: to make certain beyond any reasonable doubt that the young men being called up to serve our country are being chosen fairly and democratically. The President's proposals go a long way toward helping us to achieve these ends. I ask my colleagues to take prompt action and support these very necessary objectives.

ETHICS COMMITTEE PROPOSED

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. McCARTHY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I am, today, introducing legislation which would establish a strong Ethics Committee in the House and which would require all Members to make periodic disclosures of their incomes, financial holdings, directorships, business affiliations, and the like. I believe such legislation is particularly urgent at this time because of recent events in Congress.

Such laws would do a great deal to increase public confidence in the Congress and reassure the American public that the overwhelming majority of Members of Congress are men of integrity and scrupulous honesty.

Until such time as we have compulsory disclosure laws—and I am convinced that time will come—I believe that I can do my part by joining the growing number of my colleagues who have made voluntary disclosures.

Accordingly, I am furnishing here a current statement of my assets, sources of income, et cetera:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD D. McCARTHY, MARCH 8, 1967

My assets consist mainly of two homes—one in Buffalo and one in Bethesda, Maryland. I estimate my equity in these at $14,000.

My personal property consists of a 1965 Ford automobile, miscellaneous personal property including furniture and clothing with a total value of $12,000. In addition, I have cash and other family assets of $6,000.

Aside from mortgage debts on both homes, I have no major outstanding indebtedness. Neither my wife, children nor I have any financial interest in any business enterprise. All gifts valued over $8.00 were returned. I have no other business except that of 39th District Representative. During 1966 I took no trips outside the United States at government expense.

My income in 1966 was as follows:

Salary	$30,000
Rent from home in Buffalo	1,620
Honorariums	375
Total	31,995

Members of Congress receive annual allowances for stationery, stamps, telephone, telegraph and for their Washington and home offices.

They are also reimbursed for four trips to and from their home districts each year.

However, for me, and I assume I'm like most members in this respect, the allowances are not sufficient to cover expenses actually incurred.

During 1966, I incurred the following non-campaign expenses in the conduct of my Congressional duties which were not paid for by the federal government:

Travel to, from, and within the 39th District	$2,026.54
Dinners, luncheons, and meetings	563.49
Dues	120.00
Subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals	400.39
Stationery	241.52
Washington office expense	356.50
TV films, recordings, and photography	747.13
Printing of one constituent questionnaire, 4 newsletters, and the booklets "What To Do With Children in Washington" and "Dollars for College"	3,500.60
Miscellaneous	163.30
Total of which $3,907 was borne by the Citizens' Committee for McCarthy, the remainder by myself	8,119.47

Following are my 1966 taxes:

Federal	$3,039.44
State of New York	970.18
Property taxes (Buffalo, Erie County, N.Y., and Montgomery County, Md.)	1,266.22
Total	5,275.84

No member of my family serves on my paid congressional staff.

PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE IN BRAZIL

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MONAGAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the State of Connecticut is proud of its role as a Partner of the Alliance for Progress. Through the efforts of the Connecticut Partners of Alliance, Inc., a nonprofit organization, residents of Connecticut have had an excellent opportunity to assist their neighbors to the south. Connecticut's Partner of Alliance is the Brazilian State of Paraiba, the most easterly of Brazil's five northeastern states, and an area greatly in need of support.

Whereas Paraiba has a population close to that of Connecticut, it comprises an area approximately three times that of my State. Less than 30 percent of the inhabitants of Paraiba are literate, and the average life span is only 32 years. The State of Connecticut has been helping to improve educational and health facilities in Paraiba through its association with the Connecticut Partner of the Alliance.

The success of the relationship between Connecticut and Paraiba has been so notable that the Connecticut General Assembly is now considering granting $50,000 in State funds to supplement those already contributed by the citizens of Connecticut.

Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege as a member of the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to visit Paraiba a little over a year ago. At that time, I saw examples of the results of the cooperation and self-help that have evolved between these two hemispheric states. With the aid received from the Connecticut Partner of the Alliance, citizens of Paraiba have done much to help improve educational and medical facilities in their state. On my trip through Paraiba I noted improvements in public facilities made possible not only by the receipt of supplies from Connecticut, but also as a result of the hard work of the grateful citizens of Paraiba.

The Connecticut Partner of the Alliance has sent more than $400,000 in medical and educational equipment and supplies to the people of Paraiba. Among the institutions and projects assisted by this aid have been: a 300-year-old hospital, the University of Paraiba, elementary and high schools, orphanages, and the only maternity hospital in the northeast of Brazil.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that this most dramatic example of hemispheric cooperation is of interest to my colleagues in the House. A recent editorial in the Hartford Courant discussed the Connecticut Partner of the Alliance. With permission I place it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Hartford Courant, Feb. 24, 1967]

CONNECTICUT'S PARTNERSHIP WITH LATIN AMERICA

Perhaps not too many people in Connecticut know where Paraiba is. Geographically it is a state in northeast Brazil. It might be more pithily described as neighbor to acute poverty. On the other hand, the people in Paraiba have good reason to know about Connecticut. For through the Connecticut Partner of the Alliance, Incorporated, medical and educational equipment and supplies of an estimated value of $400,000 have been sent to hospitals, medical posts and schools in Paraiba in the last 18 months.

But although the Connecticut Partners of the Alliance has been highly active and resourceful, and the people of Connecticut have responded with generosity, the obvious fact is that it requires funds to carry on this operation which works in conjunction with the Federal Government and the Latin-American Alliance for Progress. Though the donations of equipment and supplies have been gifts, they have to be packed, trucked and sea-shipped, for example.

In the past, the Connecticut Partners of the Alliance has managed on its own, with the aid of foundation grants and funds from private sources. But now, in order to meet added responsibilities and opportunities for effective service, the organization is seeking help from the state for operating funds. It asks that $50,000 be appropriated to the Connecticut Development Commission, in order that the Commission may make a grant-in-aid to the Connecticut Partners of the Alliance not to exceed half the latter's operating budget for the present biennium. The organization will undertake to raise the other half.

This is an appeal that the legislature surely should approve. The Connecticut Partners of the Alliance has already proved its efficacy in helping the people of Paraiba. Connecticut citizens have also proved their keen desire to help the program. Together in the last year and a half Connecticut privately has done as much as, if not more than, any of the country's other 30 state Partner organizations.

If the legislature cooperates, the Partners and the people of the state can make their just contributions in support of this people-to-people, self-help program for the health, education and cultural uplift of Connecticut's partner state, Paraiba. The state appropriation would assure the continuation of the Partners program here, and at the same time bring the program to the attention of more persons, so that it can be increased. We will not only be aiding the people of Paraiba but helping this country build solidarity with Latin America for better life in this hemisphere.

PRECEDENT OF PANMUNJOM

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of March 6, 1967, is a good answer to most of those who are again advocating that we once more pause in the bombing of North Vietnam, without getting a commitment from the Communists as to what they would do if we stop this bombing.

I am sure the newspaper's editor will not object to my having made the necessary changes in the editorial in order that placing it in the RECORD would not violate the rules of the House.

The editorial is as follows:

PRECEDENT OF PANMUNJOM

A United States Senator solemnly assures the nation he is aware of the precedent of Panmunjom but his proposals make us wonder.

In any event, the lessons of the Korean War negotiations deserve more than the passing mention they received last week in the Senator's speech urging that the U.S. stop bombing North Vietnam to "test the sincerity" of Communist hints that negotiations might follow.

In April and May of 1951, the Eighth Army broke two Red Chinese offensives in Korea and launched a highly promising drive of its own. The Chinese were in ragged retreat; in one week during June, 10,000 of them surrendered. "In June, 1951, we had them whipped," General James A. Van Fleet said afterwards. "They were definitely gone."

On June 23, Soviet UN delegate Jacob Malik suggested negotiations. The first meeting was held on July 8. One history of the episode records that a New York Times dispatch warned against excessive optimism; "fighting for several weeks is foreseen by Washington."

The fighting lasted two more years. With the U.S. offensive called up short, the Communists proved willing to sit across the table from us, but only to hurl invective. During the talks, as the South Koreans recently reminded Ambassador Goldberg, the U.S. lost some 20,000 of the 54,000 dead it suffered in that war.

Now, the Communists have been hinting that if only the U.S. would unconditionally stop bombing North Vietnam, they would condescend to sit with us at another negotiating table. The Senator may be right that these hints are evidence of "a new and more hopeful moment of opportunity for settlement." On the other hand, as he also recognizes, they may be merely an attempt to get U.S. concessions in return for meaningless talks, or even, if you look suspiciously at what the North Vietnamese say, perhaps for no talks at all.

The Senator's "plan" to deal with the second eventuality is worthy of any good high school debating team. There would be an international control commission to tell the world if the Communists used the talks to build up their military forces, notwithstanding that none of the several such commissions has ever been effective in policing anything about any Communists.

And if the other side did step up its military effort, the U.S. could simply walk out of the talks and resume bombing. We would then gain "far clearer international understanding of our motives and necessities."

In the real world, though, precisely the opposite would be more likely to happen if the U.S. ever did break up even the most pointless negotiations under the mere provocation of more Red infiltration. The cries of the hypocrites would reach an unprecedented roar, and "world opinion" would condemn not the Communists but the U.S.

The lesson of Panmunjom, then, is the old one that negotiations are not an end in themselves, but merely a means to a settlement. There is no point, and considerable risk, in making concessions to the Communists for nothing more than the dubious pleasure of their company at a negotiating table. Any concessions must be based on some assurance they are sincerely willing to see talks through to a settlement.

How do we judge if the Communists are willing not only to talk but to settle? That seems to us fairly simple. If they want negotiations without settlement they will demand U.S. concessions matched by none of their own. If they are willing to settle, they ought to be ready to express that willingness in not only words but acts; that is, they ought to match any substantive concessions the U.S. makes.

These lessons seem to elude the stop-the-bombing advocates. Certainly we need to "test the sincerity" of the barrage of negotiation hints from the Communists. That is precisely what the Administration is doing in demanding, so far vainly, some token of Communist good faith to match the token we would offer in calling off our planes.

Like many other Americans, we are uneasy about this war—whether it is advancing the nation's best interests. But on the specific question of the bombings the case seems clear.

Until a token of Communist willingness to settle is forthcoming, the bombings, even if contrary to common sense they had no military effect, serve an essential purpose. Our determination not to stop them without a reciprocal slowdown by the Communists is our best protection against Panmunjom.

FLORIDA SEEKS WAYS TO STRENGTHEN VOCATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FUQUA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, Florida is making excellent, and I might say tremendous, progress in the vocational education programs.

Today, our State department of education continues its efforts to complete 29 area vocational schools, with five more in the planning stage. Additional programs are planned in high schools, junior colleges, as well as in sparsely populated areas.

I would like to include here a report of the work which is being done:

Vocational Education in Florida

For many years, Florida has offered a variety of vocational education programs for youth and adults. Now, in February, 1967, at the time of the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the first National Vocational Education Act, it is appropriate that thought be given to the progress which has been made and to planning for future service. What has happened in the past 50 years is only a prelude to great new developments in vocational education in the future.

Vocational education in Florida has grown from humble beginnings in this century to become one of the state's most potent forces for educational, economic, and social development. Vocational education includes programs in agriculture, home economics, industrial education, business education, and technical and health related occupations education. Work is offered to prepare youth and adults for employment, and supplemental training is offered to retrain or upgrade people who are already employed. Of nearly 300,000 persons enrolled in vocational courses in 1966, approximately 60 were high school graduates and adults seeking job preparation or supplemental training. The others were high school students.

In addition to vocational education, related education, which is closely allied to job training in that it provides exploratory experiences prior to specialization, is offered to many thousands of persons in Florida. Related education includes high school programs of industrial arts, general business, and general home economics as well as general adult education. Enrollments in vocational and related education have grown from 355,000 in 1955 to almost 750,000 in 1966 and are expected to exceed 1,000,000 by 1975.

Vocational education in Florida has been given great impetus through the recent plans for a state-wide system of area vocational-technical schools which will place a training center within reach—financially and geographically—of nearly all the residents of the state. The area schools will expand vocational training by offering many different courses and by emphasizing quality, quantity, and variety in every aspect of each program. Courses will insure a complete program for all students including youth and adults. In addition, the area schools will help many high schools become more comprehensive by providing broadened opportunities for secondary students to enroll in vocational courses.

Financial support to build area vocational schools has come primarily from state and local sources, but has been supplemented with federal funds. Currently, 29 area schools have been designated and approved for construction by the State Board for Vocational Education. These are in various stages of construction. Schools have been approved for the following counties or multicounty areas: Bay, Bradford-Union, Brevard, Broward, Citrus-Hernando, Columbia-Baker-Gilchrist, Dade, Escambia, Hillsborough, Jackson-Calhoun, Lake, Lee, Leon, Madison-Jefferson-Lafayette, Manatee, Marion, Monroe, Okaloosa-Walton, Orange, Palm Beach. Pinellas, Polk, Sarasota, Seminole, Suwannee-Hamilton, Taylor-Dixie, Volusia, Washington-Holmes, St. Lucie.

Nine of the area vocational schools approved by the State Board of Education will be divisions of community junior colleges; the others will be separate and independent vocational-technical centers. Some will be entirely new, while others are already existing schools which will be greatly expanded. Sixteen of the new facilities are scheduled to be completed by the fall of 1967, and five additional schools are expected to open in the spring of 1968. The remaining approved facilities are scheduled for later completion.

These new facilities will provide shops, laboratories, and classrooms for a wide variety of vocational programs including auto repair, agriculture, advertising, hotel work, typing, dental assisting, medical assisting, home economics for gainful employment, cooking, and numerous technologies. Schools already open and schools scheduled to open later this year will serve Florida counties with a combined population of over 2¼ million persons, or approximately 39% of the total population of the state. Additional schools, already approved, will serve counties with another 2¼ million persons. Thus, all schools approved will serve a population of over 4½ million persons or approximately 83% of the population of the state. In addition to schools already approved, five or six additional sites are being studied, providing, ultimately, almost complete coverage of the state.

Financial support of vocational education in Florida has been a joint local-state-federal undertaking, the major portion of funds coming from local and state sources. In a recent year, 83% of funds for vocational programs was from local and state sources and 17% was from the federal government. Increased financial support will be needed as facilities and personnel increase. Teachers employed in 1966 totaled 3690 and it has been estimated that 6670 will be needed in 1969.

The vast expansion projected for vocational education is expected to result not only from additional facilities, additional programs, additional teachers, and the like, but also because of Florida's present industrial growth. Vocational education helps counties of Florida exploit their resources more fully; it strengthens their economy; it helps enrich the lives of their people; and the monetary and intrinsic rewards have emphasis and meaning for the people themselves. Through vocational education and employment, people realize their importance as human beings and as participants in and contributors to our society.

As new area schools have been approved, special studies have been made to prescribe new and additional vocational-technical programs. These programs have been based on students' interests, employment opportunities, and on economic and social needs of people as determined in surveys and by other means. Programs have been designed for particular areas where schools are to be expanded or new schools added. Thus, programs to train waiters and waitresses may be appropriate for one area whereas electronics technology may be appropriate for another.

Jobs for students who complete vocational and technical education courses are a major concern of the Division. Studies are underway, with participants from over the state, to determine how the placement of students may be made more effective. Each county in Florida has reported past activities for placement and follow-up and plans for improvement. Thus, the Division is concerned with every facet of vocational education including adequate counseling and guidance prior and during preparatory training and also with graduates' work performance and job satisfaction.

Vocational education develops the spirit of initiative and enterprise in trainees. It provides a well-trained work force which attracts industry. It reduces unemployment. It prepares individuals for initial entrance into and advancement within an occupation or occupational cluster. It not only prepares for employment but includes supplemental training or retraining as well. Educators are alert to changes brought on by automation and by changing technologies so that new training programs can be provided.

Florida has grown mightily as new industries have moved to the state and educators have been alert to the need for trained technicians. In 1965 it was reported that 65% of the dropouts and 40% of the high school graduates, across the nation, had had no work experience during their school years. Nine dropouts out of every ten reported no job training after leaving school. It has been and will continue to be a concern of vocational educators to provide occupational education at all instructional levels, for all classes of people and, where necessary, to offer special programs for special classes of people.

The needs of disadvantaged persons is a concern of educators throughout the state. Relatively few people choose unemployment as a way of life. Most are anxious to do well—socially, economically, and as loyal citizens in our democratic society. Poverty results when people lack skills necessary to earn a living. Florida has made impressive advances in increased per capita income. But too many people and families still earn substandard incomes. At the time of the last census, for example, over one-fourth of the families in Florida had less than $3000 annual income.

New studies are underway to arrange new training programs to prepare people for full-time jobs and to increase their incomes. Thus, recently, a woman in one Florida community with three part-time jobs, and children, was enrolled in a training program to be a checkout cashier in a supermarket or in a similar job. She was training so that she might be better able to support herself and her children and to become a self-supporting contributor to the economy. She finished her work and will now have five or six days of work every week instead of three part-time jobs. She will now have employment and earn higher and more steady wages. Thus vocational and technical education is concerned with human values—for human beings and for state and national values.

Vocational education helps solve problems due to technological unemployment. It also helps solve the problem created in Florida when new industries need additional employees. Recently, a "crash" program was inaugurated in one county to provide personnel trained in a number of vocations needed by a new company. The employees were trained in the schools and the company was able to meet its opening date.

Unemployment and the under-utilization of manpower resources results in vast costs against the economy of a state and nation. Economists have reported that the greatest total cost of any operation in the history of the nation was the great depression of 1930–40 when trillions of dollars were the cost of lost productivity. Recently the Council of Economic Advisors reported that the loss in gross national product from unemployment was about $50 billion in the first quarter of 1961. They reported that the unemployment rate of 4.2% in the last quarter of 1965 would account for an annual rate of about $7 billion loss to the U.S. economy.

Vocational educators in Florida are concerned with programs in research and development to help solve problems of unemployment in the state. Studies are underway to incorporate new processes which are appearing in industry, new instruments, new machines, and new techniques for work into instructional programs. Educators are alert to needs for updating curricula to meet technological and social needs. The Research

Coordinating Unit of the Division acts to stimulate and coordinate research in vocational and technical education at all levels. Special studies are a continuing project to determine employment opportunities in each county and area of Florida.

Florida is also cooperating with other states in conducting research to improve vocational education. For example, the state is one of several participating in a study of the block-time laboratory approach to office education. The project is a research and development program in vocational-technical education of the Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum of Michigan State University. The objective is to improve methods of educating persons for office occupations. Simulated office conditions allow education of "the whole worker." Thus, the students and teacher view the office course in its entirety instead of as a series of disconnected tasks. Areas of instruction include classroom experiences, laboratory experiences, and problem-solving experiences. Again, classrooms and equipment are like those found in offices and businesses. The whole project is only one of many studies underway to improve educational methods and techniques.

Of major importance to Florida and to the nation are the implications of vocational and technical education for the national defense effort. Adequate and proper defense of the nation is based upon thousands of highly trained workers in a great variety of vocations and technologies. Actually, the defense, space, and atomic energy programs of the nation have generated more jobs than all other federal programs combined. The first employ over 9 million persons and the latter employ under 2 million persons.

Florida has been particularly active in fulfilling her role in the space age and is offering many vocational and technical programs to furnish trained employees. Programs include electronics, data processing, microminiaturization, electricity, drafting and comparable supportive services. Also, Florida has expanded offerings in occupations related to health. The latter include work to train for nursing, certified laboratory technician, medical assistant, surgical assistant, dental assistant, and the like.

The economy of the South and of Florida is changing. Relatively fewer people are needed in agricultural work; and, as people withdraw from the latter, they must prepare to enter new occupations. Individuals in Florida must be trained to work in the many light industries which are moving to the state. The Division of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education is alert to the needs for counseling services to inform youth and adults of job opportunities and the preparation which is required.

The Division of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education and the State Department of Education are continually engaged in planning new and more varied vocational programs to serve more people and more businesses, and to meet the changes which Florida's progress demands.

ASSISTANCE OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION TO THREE PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES—LUZERNE, COLUMBIA, AND CARBON

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson is determined that the 4.8 million small businessmen of the United States shall share equally with big business in our country's economic growth.

We now have had an unprecedented period of economic expansion lasting 6 years. It has been a most remarkable period of growth.

The question that concerns President Johnson and others in his administration, is, How has small business fared during this period?

SBA Administrator Bernard L. Bouton is President Johnson's spokesman for small business. In recent testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, he stated that the small businessman is lagging behind in today's booming economy. Administrator Boutin notes that chain stores, discount houses, department stores are all expanding into larger units. Yet at the same time, small businesses are falling behind.

To remedy this, Administrator Boutin recommends that steps be taken to increase the small business share of government purchases, including purchases by State and local governments as well as the Federal Government.

He also proposes an increase in SBA's loan budget to $799.1 million in fiscal 1968, a 40-percent increase over this fiscal year's budget figure.

In short, Administrator Boutin, speaking for the Johnson administration, says that small businessmen need more funds, greater opportunity to sell to the local, State, and Federal Governments, and more management assistance and technical help.

I concur with Administrator Boutin in this regard, for I believe, as he does, that a strong and vigorous small business segment of our economy is essential to our social and economic development.

Small Business Administration assistance to rural communities seeking to develop new industries is an essential part of President Johnson's program for strengthening small business.

I am happy to note that a number of Pennsylvania communities are becoming known throughout the land for their cooperation with the Small Business Administration in this program, which are providing thousands of jobs. Here, Mr. Speaker, we have a splendid example of the Johnson administration's "creative federalism."

Pennsylvania ranks near the top among all of the States having community-sponsored local development companies that have obtained financial assistance from the Small Business Administration's forward-looking program.

Mr. Speaker, SBA has made 62 loans totaling $11.3 million to local development companies in the Commonwealth. This has resulted in the creation of approximately 4,500 jobs.

In Luzerne County there are two active local development companies. They have received six loans totaling $682,912 from the Small Business Administration to help bring new businesses into the county.

In the neighboring counties of Carbon and Columbia, Pa., there are four additional local development companies that have received 11 loans from SBA totaling $1,710,742.

These local development companies have been organized by local citizens for the specific purpose of bringing new industries into northeastern Pennsylvania.

They have cooperated closely with the Small Business Administration to develop well-rounded industrial development programs and they have succeeded in bringing in industries that have created in this three-county area more than 1,000 new jobs.

I believe the good work these development companies are doing should be publicly acclaimed. For that reason I wish to list these local devolpment companies and commend them for the job they are doing in the three counties of Luzerne, Carbon, and Columbia, Pa.:

Greater Hazleton Community Area New Development Organization, Inc., Hazleton.

Carbon-Schuykill Industrial Development Corp., Lansford.

Benton Area Industrial Plan, Benton.

Berwick Industrial Development Association, Inc., Berwick.

Bloomsburg Area Industrial Development Association, Bloomsburg.

Committee of 100, Inc., Wilkes-Barre.

These six local development companies are engaged in long-term projects which are bringing industries and job opportunities into their communities.

As President Johnson said in his state of the Union message, this is a "time of testing and a time of transition." The President has called upon all of us to "continue working for better opportunities for all Americans." He has called upon the business leaders of this country to cooperate with the Government in its programs for economic betterment.

I am proud that the people of Luzerne, Columbia, and Carbon Counties are giving this cooperation, and I commend the Small Business Administration for effectively administering this very important program.

THE JOB CORPS AND WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues in the House will be interested in the following editorial, which appeared in the January 1967 issue of Nation's Business, a publication of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and a response to it by R. H. Hale, manager of Westinghouse Electric Corp.'s systems operations.

The editorial and the letter follow:

TOO LATE

The government is now begging youngsters to join its Job Corps.

"Opportunity is knocking loudly for . . . disadvantaged young men who want to improve their chances for a decent life," said U.S. Labor Secretary Wirtz and anti-poverty chief Shriver, in announcing their crash program to find enrollees.

The Job Corps is a new model of the old CCC camps of the depressed '30's. The program was rammed through Congress two and a half years ago with dreamy promises of rehabilitating 40,000 forsaken youths the first year, then 100,000 the second.

The program has failed to meet even its first year goal. Moreover, it has cost about $8,000 per trainee, more than the tuition to top colleges, and only a slim percentage of Job Corps graduates have found permament jobs.

It's true that opportunity is knocking loudly. But it's not the sound of bureaucrats beating the bushes for Job Corps enrollees. What attracts America's youth is private business. Businesses are hiring anybody willing and able to work and are spending billions to upgrade our youth.

This is the knock America's youth has heard and has answered. It is already giving them "their chances for a decent life."

Mr. Arch N. Booth,
Executive Vice President, Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Booth: I was very disturbed to read the editorial, "Too Late," on the Job Corps program that appeared in the January issue of Nation's Business. My interest is more than casual. Westinghouse operates a Job Corps Center at Atterbury, Indiana. We know the problems involved.

I was disturbed because the impression created by the editorial is that American business will hire anyone with a strong back, that there are plenty of jobs available to anyone willing and able to look for them. This is simply not true.

The fact is that youngsters who enter the Job Corps are not trained for jobs that are available in private business. These youths are uneducated or they are undereducated. They are untrained people who do not have even the entrance level skills to get and hold regular jobs.

The editorial says the Job Corps program has failed to meet its first year goal. Maybe so, but the fact is that as of the end of 1966, Job Corps had placed almost 7400 youngsters in jobs paying an average wage of $1.71 an hour. Another 1500 had entered the armed forces and many of this group had not been able to pass the entrance examination before they entered Job Corps. Almost 1000 went back to school.

The editorial says the $8,000 cost per trainee is more than the tuition to top colleges. That comparison is fallacious. The Job Corps figures indicate that next year's cost will range from $5,825 for nine months, the average length of time a trainee stays, to $7,765 for a full year. The editorial fails to point out that college tuition does not cover many items that the Job Corps costs include such as transportation, food, clothing, medical and dental care, pay and allowance.

There are many companies who realize there is a vast reserve of manpower in the 16–21 year age group that makes up the Job Corps trainee roster. Before Job Corps came along, however, this manpower reservoir was a stagnating, unproductive drain on the nation's economy. This reservoir's only future, for the most part, was to overflow into the streets of our cities and to add to our welfare, prisons and other similar expenses. The Job Corps program is helping to reverse this tide and turn these youngsters into responsible, tax-paying citizens.

R. L. Hale,
Manager, Systems Operations.

Like Mr. Hale, my interest in the Job Corps center is more than casual. I have observed closely the progress and the problems encountered by Westinghouse since the firm took over the operation of the center last June.

In these last 8 months, more than 1,000 young men have been graduates at one skill level or another. Of that number, 300 have been placed in a school, a job, or in the military service by the Atterbury placement office.

The remaining 700 or so were referred to various Office of Economic Opportunity regional centers for placement. Followup studies by the Atterbury staff show that 70 percent of that number now are holding their first jobs and doing well.

As for the cost of training, it has been decreasing at Atterbury. For the remainder of the current contract, which expires in June, the annual cost per trainee is $5,500. However, because the average successful trainee remains less than a year, the actual cost is slightly under $3,000 per trainee.

Westinghouse expects to maintain an average of more than 100 graduates per month in fiscal 1968, at an annual per-trainee cost of $5,200.

Westinghouse still has problems in the operation of the Atterbury center.

In a 6-month period covering July 1, 1966, to December 31, 1966, 1,437 enrollees reported to the camp. Of that number, 534, or 37 percent, resigned. This number includes 315 voluntary resignations, 208 administrative terminations—runaways, six disciplinary terminations, and five terminations for medical reasons or transfers to other centers.

This indicates a need for improvements in the program at the center. And Westinghouse has now launched upon an active program to bring about the improvements.

Some of America's great industries have involved themselves in the difficult social problem of educating and preparing disadvantaged youth to make their own way and contribute to the communities.

The needs of American education are too great for us to ignore, and our resources are too limited to bring about an immediate solution to these problems.

It is to the credit of Westinghouse that the firm is bringing to bear the problem-solving, cost-effectiveness techniques of American industry in the education of disadvantaged youth.

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman *from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend* his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, on February 7, 1967, a great American passed on. I speak of Henry Morgenthau, Jr. No man had ever before in the history of the United States been called forth both to oversee the functionings of our economy during a period of desperate depression and subsequent potentially explosive inflation, and to insure the solvency of the economies of the democracies of the world in a time of world catastrophe. Yet, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was summoned to this service to the public by President Franklin Roosevelt and performed to the degree of greatness. "Treasurer to the democracies," "reactionary" to the radical New Dealers and "well-meaning and hardworking man" were all titles given to him during his tenure of service to the public from 1933 to 1945. He was a quiet and introverted man who through his own brand of dynamism transformed the Treasury Department into the most efficiently and capably administered executive agency of the period and who at the same time was able to maintain an essential stability in the world at a time when instability shook the earth.

Under unanimous consent I include the following newspaper articles in the Record. Each one gives us a glimpse into the character of this great man and great American. The first article which appeared in the New York Times magazine on June 22, 1941, describes the duties, goals, and obstacles before this former gentleman farmer during a period of time that required nothing less than herculean efforts. The second and third articles reflect upon the record of this man and indicate to the American people that herculean efforts were indeed given when called for and consequently made a man great.

The material follows:

[From the New York Times Magazine, June 22, 1941]

Treasurer to the Democracies

(By Elliott V. Bell)

The financial nerve center of the world today lies neither in Wall Street nor in Lombard Street. It resides in a huge colonnaded building covering about two square blocks on Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue, to the right of the White House. This is the United States Treasury, whose hard-working officials have the responsibility not merely of financing our own defense program, but as a result of the lease-lend law are virtually charged with maintaining the solvency of Britain, Canada, China, and the whole international community of democratic nations. Directing head of this great effort is a tall, baldish, solemn-faced gentleman farmer of 50, Henry Morgenthau Jr., the Secretary of the United States Treasury.

As Mr. Morgenthau conceives his task, it is not merely to raise the taxes and the loans which will finance the arsenal of democracy. Beyond that it is to conduct this great financial effort so as to preserve the essential character of our capitalist democracy, fend off the ever-menacing danger of inflation and hold together the structure of world currency systems against the day of economic reconstruction when the war is over.

Mr. Morgenthau has a firm and deep-rooted faith in capitalism. Given the necessary safeguard to protect the little fellow, he says, it is still the best system that we know anything about. He believes that we can and will come through this difficult period without a runaway inflation. But looking ahead to the problems before us, he sees just one paramount job that must be put before everything else.

"The first job that faces the world today," he says, "is to lick Hitler. That must come before everything else. That must be done first."

Mr. Morgenthau is well over six feet tall and of robust build. The general impression he creates is that of a sober, conscientious and matter-of-fact man. This impression is heightened by his pince-nez and his tall forehead, whence his hair, originally dark brown but now mostly gray, has retreated. In conversation he uses few gestures and shows little animation.

Although by nature somewhat nervous and inclined to worry and suspicion, he gives the impression of rather firm self-control. He is an orderly and precise man who demands of his assistants an enormous volume of data and explanation upon which to base his decisions. Inflexible honesty in the administration of the affairs of the department, a dogged and relentless devotion to the job and complete loyalty to his friend and President are the outstanding characteristics upon which his friends and foes all agree.

Talking about his job he is at his best. It is then that he seems to break through the quiet reserve that is his characteristic. He becomes more animated, more vehement. And it is then that one gets the clue to the man. Neither by training nor by force of personality is he the popular conception of a Secretary of the Treasury, but by sheer dogged determination to master the problems of the office and to drive himself and his associates he has surmounted the difficulties of his own early lack of experience. Taking hold at a time when the United States was barely emerging from the greatest financial panic in its history, a time when the dollar was unstable and when many experienced financiers thought a drastic inflation was inevitable, he has brought the Treasury through to the point where it is today.

Outside the Treasury and the White House Mr. Morgenthau has few unrestrained enthusiasts. He is anathema to the more radical New Dealers, who regard him as reactionary at heart, a constant stumbling-block in the way of the full realization of government spending policies. His more conservative colleagues tend to dismiss him with faint praise as a well-meaning and hard-working man. Yet in the face of this rather generally slighting attitude, Mr. Morgenthau's actual record of achievement in the Treasury provides a sharp contrast.

Under his direction the dollar has been stabilized and established as the strongest currency in the world, the enormous deficits of the past eight years have been financed at exceedingly low rates of interest, monetary and economic collaboration among the democratic nations has been established and enormous powers over the financial and economic life of the nation have been concentrated in the hands of the government. The chief financial officer of an administration that has spent more money than any other and has increased the national debt to unprecedented levels, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. has also been the chief advocate in that administration of government economies. His greatest ambition, probably, would have been to achieve a balanced budget.

Most men come to the Secretaryship of the Treasury at the apex of a long and outstanding career in finance. Mr. Morgenthau was catapulted into that eminence to the surprise of nearly every one, including himself, from a position of comparative obscurity. Born in New York fifty years ago, he is the son of Henry Morgenthau Sr., who had emigrated to this country from Germany, made a fortune and become Ambassador to Turkey under Woodrow Wilson.

As a youth he apparently was not very sure what he wanted to do. He studied architecture at Cornell for a while but gave it up; worked in his father's enterprises for a while but gave that up. Finally, while recuperating from an illness on a Texas ranch, he decided that we would like to be a farmer. He returned to Cornell to study agriculture, bought himself a farm in Dutchess County and established himself as a successful scientific gentleman farmer. It was in this period that Mr. and Mrs. Morgenthau became close friends of another Dutchess County squire, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

When Mr. Roosevelt ran for the Governorship of New York, Mr. Morgenthau became his advance agent on the up-State campaign tours, going ahead to arrange for reception committees, sees that a good turnout was assured for meetings and that all arrangements were in order. With the election of Governor Roosevelt, Mr. Morgenthau became New York's Commissioner of Conservation, and when his friend went to the White House in 1933 he was brought to Washington as an adviser on farm questions and to head the Farm Credit Administration.

Mr. Morgenthau went to the Treasury in the Autumn of 1933 as Under-Secretary, a post that was equivalent to the Secretaryship, because William H. Woodin, the Secretary, was already desperately ill and unable to give much of his time or energy to the job. Following Mr. Woodin's death he became Secretary, and the generally unflattering assumption was that he had been given the job either as a temporary stopgap or because the President really wanted to be his own Secretary of the Treasury and was using his old and faithful friend merely as a figurehead. That was the legend and it still persists, although it scarcely squares with all the facts. The truth is that the post of Secretary of the Treasury is far too complex and man-killing to be added to the other great burdens of the Presidency, and, in practice, the Treasury Department under Secretary Morgenthau has been among the most autonomous departments of the government.

Few people realize the full ramification of the Treasury's duties. Apart from the collection of customs and of internal revenues, and the flotation and payment of loans, the Treasury includes within its province the Mint and the Bureau of Engraving, which produce the coin and currency of the country; the Secret Service, the Bureau of Narcotics and (in ordinary times) the Coast Guard. In recent years its duties have been greatly enlarged to include such functions as the management of the Stabilization Fund, the control of some $4,400,000,000 of foreign assets which have been frozen here and the whole complex problem of collaborating with Britain in the purchase of war materials under the lease-lend law.

The direction of this vast field of activity, especially in these days of world crisis, is an enormous job. It calls for hard work, long hours and everlasting application to the problems in hand. These are precisely the outstanding impressions one gets from a visit to the Treasury. The long, cool marble-tiled corridors of the great Treasury Building, with their old-fashioned gilt pilasters, give little sense of the pressure of work that is going on. But behind the white-shuttered doors that line these corridors the Treasury's financial experts are working long hours, shaping tax proposals, pushing the defense savings bond campaign, planning new securities issues, watching the development in the money market and the flow of capital in and out of the country, keeping a jump or two ahead of the enormous and swelling demand for funds to meet the expanding program of national defense and aid to Britain.

Secretary Morgenthau's day begins early. From long-standing habit he rises at 6:30 and by half past 7 he has usually gone through the New York and Washington papers and been in touch by telephone with one or two of his assistants. A favorite trick is to call up one of his associates and suggest that they walk together the two miles from the Secretary's home to the Treasury. By 8:45 Mr. Morgenthau is at his desk ready to pile into the day's work. At 9:30 every morning there is a staff meeting, attended by the Under-Secretary, the various assistant secretaries and one or two others, about ten or twelve people all told.

These meetings are held in the Secretary's large office in the southwest corner of the second floor. Like all the other rooms of this hundred-year-old building, the Secretary's office has a gracious, mellow and dignified air, more like a private library than a business office.

The staff members at these meetings range themselves in a circle and the Secretary begins usually by passing on to them any important information he thinks they should know. Then he goes around the circle asking each one whether he has anything to bring up for discussion. The meetings are in the nature of debates and sometimes they grow pretty lively but there are never any hard feelings left over. That is a fixed principle with Mr. Morgenthau.

As for himself, the Secretary admits frankly that the Treasury is his whole life. He has no other interests which are allowed to conflict with it. Besides putting in a long day he habitually carries home with him each evening a bundle of papers to be studied after dinner.

Except for one day a week when he usually lunches at the White House, the Secretary takes his lunch in a small dining room just below his office, which is reached by a private elevator. Here seated at the oval table at which were negotiated and signed the ill-fated debt agreements following the last war, he has a little leisure in the day to relax and chat with a visitor. It was here recently that he talked about problems of defense financing, the chances of avoiding inflation and the shape of coming problems.

Taxes and the sale of defense savings bonds to the public must constitute the two main pillars of defense financing, he remarked. The primary purpose of the new tax bill must be to raise money, but it must do this in such a way as not to take all the profits away from business and deprive it of the incentive to function.

"We must never forget that ours is a capitalist system. I say that with emphasis and without an 'if.' The tax program must be such as not to destroy incentive. If the little man can be properly safeguarded, capitalism is the best system we know of."

At the same time, Mr. Morgenthau pointed out, the tax program must be framed so as to prevent a too-great expansion of purchasing power in this period when so much of our productive effort is being directed toward the production of armaments. One way to accomplish this is to borrow the savings of the people through the defense savings bond program. But Mr. Morgenthau sees a larger side to this program. He wants to see as many people as possible with a direct financial stake in the government.

"Away back when we first started the baby bonds," he said, "the idea I had in mind was that we should have in this country a rentier class. The more bondholders we have who have a stake in the government the more support there will be for governmental economy and for sound government finances. We now have 2,000,000 small bondholders. I would like to see the figure up to 5,000,000 or 10,000,000 or even more."

As for the dangers of inflation, Mr. Morgenthau does not minimize them but he firmly believes they can be avoided.

"*There will never be inflation so long as* Mr. Roosevelt is President," according to Mr. Morgenthau. "You can go back through the President's whole record and you will find that he has always been keenly aware of the dangers of unwarranted price advances.

"I believe we can avoid inflation by taking the necessary steps. But we must take the right measures on all fronts. We cannot succeed if we let things get out of line here and there. That means, for example, that Congress must be willing to cut unnecessary spending."

Mr. Morgenthau recognized that the spreading demands of defense and the measures necessary to control prices involve a considerable degree of regulation of our whole economy. He was asked how he thought that growing trend both here and abroad could be reconciled with his own strong desire to maintain free capitalistic enterprise.

"That," he replied, "is a very large question. I'll try to answer it, but I don't expect the answer to satisfy you. It seems to me that there is just one job that faces the world today. That job is to lick Hitler.

"When that is done I would favor a complete disarmament all over the world—a disarmament that goes to the extent of destroying all the arms factories. Then I think we should join in setting up an international police force to see that those armament factories stay destroyed and that no nation succeeds in secretly rebuilding them.

"One of the next things we should do is to redistribute our gold. I think our gold should be used to help rebuild the world, even if we have to give it away."

Gold, in the opinion of the Secretary, has not yet lost its usefulness. It has become of less importance domestically, but is still useful internationally. He regards it as the best medium we have for the settlement of international balances and the carrying out of international monetary transactions.

Looking back over the job as it has developed in the past seven years, Mr. Morgenthau confesses that he doesn't think he would have had the courage to take it on if he could have known what it would be like. Yet he is deeply grateful for having had the opportunity for public service that has come to him as Secretary of the Treasury in these difficult years.

[From the New York Times]

HENRY MORGENTHAU

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
February 21, 1967.

To the EDITOR:

The passing of Henry Morgenthau, who served as Secretary of the Treasury during the years 1933–1944, recalls a remarkable record of service accomplished by this dedicated man. He served at a time which thrust many responsibilities on this country as we emerged to world leadership. Our country must not fail in grateful remembrance of the exceptional public service he rendered in those terrible years.

YEARS OF DEPRESSION

The first six years of his term of office were years of deep domestic depression during which the financing of successful budget deficits called for skill of the highest order. Then followed the years of Worlld War II which confronted us with tremendous monetary difficulties, but also required us to provide our Allies with the sinews of war and also financial assistance. The annual expenditures during those years jumped from $6 billion to $98 billion, and it was an amazing circumstance that these vast expenditures did not bring the whole fabric of the Treasury down upon our heads.

That Henry Morgenthau is not more widely hailed for the proficiency he exhibited is because of the character of the man himself. Utterly unselfish, projecting no charm of manner, diffident, so incredibly shy indeed that the simple prospect of facing reporters to make a needed Treasury announcement was enough to upset him for hours before and even after the dreaded press conference.

He was the strictest of disciplinarians; this quiet, self-effacing introvert. It was not surprising that the Treasury Department, after a year or two of Morgenthau's administration, got the reputation of being the best run of all Government departments. I had the satisfaction of hearing Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler make such a statement publicly in 1936, and his statement was all the more convincing because his political beliefs were so different from those of Mr. Morgenthau.

Henry Morgenthau deserves well of his country—*Requiescat in Pace!*

PETER GRIMM.

(NOTE.—The writer served as Special Assistant and Adviser to the Secretary of the Treasury and also as Vice Director of the National Emergency Council 1934–1935.)

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 7, 1967]

HENRY MORGENTHAU, EX-TREASURY HEAD, DIES

Henry Morgenthau Jr., who as Secretary of the Treasury shaped the Nation's financial policy from the Depression to the closing days of World War II, died last night in Vassar Brothers Hospital in Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Mr. Morgenthau, 78, served as Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. Only Albert Gallatin held the post longer than Mr. Morgenthau's 11 years, from 1934 to 1945.

Mr. Morgenthau shouldered the job of fighting the Depression and financing the costliest war in history after earlier rejecting the business world of his father for farming which he preferred.

NEIGHBOR OF ROOSEVELT

While Mr. Morgenthau was working his farm at Fishkill, N.Y., he became close friends with a neighbor who lived 20 miles away—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. Morgenthau became Roosevelt's campaign business manager in 1928 when Roosevelt was running for governor of New York.

Upon Roosevelt's election, Mr. Morgenthau became chairman of the new governor's Agricultural Advisory Committee.

In March, 1933, after Roosevelt had won election as President, he called on "my favorite farmer" to go to Washington to run the Federal Farm Bureau.

At the time, the Bureau was in chaos, coping with foreclosures of Depression-ridden farms throughout the country.

Mr. Morgenthau accepted and merged scattered farm agencies into the Farm Credit Administration, of which he became the first chairman.

In this post he supervised the handling of a $2-billion Farm Mortgage Relief Fund in addition to $2 billion in outstanding loans to farmers.

When, in 1933, the health of the then Secretary of the Treasury, William E. Woodin, began to fail, Roosevelt began looking for a successor to his first Treasury secretary. He didn't have to look long. In November, 1933, he moved Mr. Morgenthau to the Treasury Department to become Under Secretary. On Jan. 1, 1934, he was sworn in as Secretary.

Mr. Morgenthau was only 43 years old at the time. He brought youth and vitality to the job and had a tremendous capacity for hard work.

He exhibited a determined ability to carry out the fiscal policies of Roosevelt, "the chief." His first move as Secretary was to reorganize the Department. He then supervised the carrying out of such far-reaching financial innovations as reduction of the gold content of the dollar and the silver purchase program.

RESIGNED IN 1945

Less than two months after Roosevelt's death in 1945, Mr. Morgenthau resigned. President Truman praised his work, but did not disclose the story behind the resignation until a decade later in his memoirs.

Truman said he accepted the Secretary's resignation on the spot after refusing to take him to the Potsdam conference of U.S., British, French and Russian leaders soon after Germany's surrender.

Truman related that Mr. Morgenthau asked to go along, but the President told him he was "badly needed in the United States—much more so than in Potsdam," adding:

"He replied that it was necessary for him to go and that if he could not, he would have to quit. 'All right,' I replied, 'if that is the way you feel, I'll accept your resignation right now.' And I did. That was the end of the conversation and the end of the Morgenthau Plan."

Toward the end of World War II Mr. Morgenthau had outlined a controversial proposal for a hard peace for Germany. Among other things, the "Morgenthau Plan" called for a de-industrialization of the prostrate country and its development as an agricultural community. His ideas were published in a book, "Germany Is Our Problem."

Born in New York City May 11, 1891, Mr. Morgenthau received his early education in the city's public schools. His father was a philanthropist who became prominent in public life as President Woodrow Wilson's Ambassador to Turkey.

Mr. Morgenthau and Elinor Fatman were married in 1916 and became the parents of three children—Henry, Robert and Joan. Mrs. Morgenthau died in 1949, and in 1951 he married Mrs. Marcelle Puthon Hirsch.

Of the children, Robert is now U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, headquartered in Manhattan; Henry III lives in Cambridge, Mass., and Joan is Mrs. Fred Hirschorn Jr. of Old Greenwich, Conn.

CONSUMER REPRESENTATION—PART I

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, Americans have always prided themselves on having a government which is responsive to all the needs and interests of its people. Yet, in one important area—Government protection and representation of consumer interests—the United States turns out to be far behind many European nations.

Direct Government involvement in the representation of consumer interests is of recent origin in both the United States and Europe. But European governments have been quicker to recognize their responsibilities toward consumers and to translate that recognition into effective programs. In two countries—Sweden and Norway—the consumer is represented by a Cabinet-level department. And in the field of consumer information virtually every other European government either conducts product testing on its own or subsidizes organizations which do. They do this in the recognition that private consumer organizations alone cannot adequately meet consumer information needs.

European businessmen not only accept this government role, but, in fact, participate in many programs specifically designed to protect consumers. Underlying this participation is a willingness to accept the idea that the efficient functioning of a free economy is facilitated by governmental efforts to inform consumers and protect their interests.

There is much in the European system of consumer protection that the United States could profitably emulate. During the next 2 days, therefore, I will report to the Congress on the nature and extent of consumer programs in nine European countries.

SWEDEN

Sweden runs the most effective consumer program in all Europe. The consumer is represented at the Cabinet level by the Ministry of Consumer and Family Affairs and Aid to Developing Countries, and the Government sponsors a full range of consumer activities which reach a large portion of the Swedish people. Consumer goods testing, informative labeling, household research, consumer education through the mass media, and complaint services are all part of this vibrant Government-sponsored program. It is hardly surprising that other countries have used the Swedish program as a model. There is much, as well, that the United States can learn from the positive role which the Swedish Government plays in protecting consumer interests.

The Ministry itself is responsible for introducing legislation and issuing regulations for protecting consumer interests. Another Government agency, the National Consumer Council, has operating authority for the nation's consumer programs. Consisting of a chairman and 14 members—all appointed by the Government—the Council is an integral, working part of the Ministry of Commerce. Liaison between the Council and the Minister for Consumer Affairs is maintained through a high-ranking official of the Ministry of Commerce. The Council serves as principal spokesman for the consumer interest in the Swedish Government and is in charge of overseeing and disbursing funds to the various organizations carrying out the nation's consumer programs.

Of these, the National Institute for Consumer Information—Statens Institut för Konsumentfraagor—has the broadest mandate. Its functions, as stated in an Executive order, are "to promote improvement of working efficiency in homes, both private and collective, and to encourage the production and consumption of good and practical consumer goods." To carry out these functions, the institute runs its own laboratory and research division in which it tests foods, textiles, and household equipment and conducts time-and-motion studies to develop more efficient housekeeping methods. In many cases, the institute works directly with producers to develop improved products and better designs. More practical kitchen equipment and improved wear and resistance of knit goods have resulted from institute-industry cooperation. Similarly, many Swedish kitchens are now designed on the basis of the institute's time-and-motion studies.

The results of the institute's research are distributed to consumers through a variety of channels. It publishes four periodicals. One, Buying Guide—Köpraad—gives advice on the purchase of various types of commodities. Another deals with rational methods of doing household tasks. A third, the Consumers' Institute Bulletin, is intended mainly for producers, technologists, teachers, and other professionals, and is devoted primarily to the findings of the research projects. The last, Raad och Ron—Advice and Discovery—is published 10 times a year and is intended for those who wish to keep up with the work at the institute. To deal with current consumer problems, the institute regularly sends our press releases to newspapers, weekly periodicals, trade journals and professional publications, schools and institutions, and to home advisers who are in direct contact with large groups of consumers.

The institute also reaches consumers through its regular use of radio and television. The Swedish Government now sets aside several hours a week to broadcasts devoted exclusively to consumer problems. Furthermore, the institute sponsors traveling household exhibits and provides films, lecturers, and literature to schools and institutions throughout the country .

Thus, the National Institute for Consumer Information carries the main burden of Sweden's consumer program. However, the Government also subsidizes a number of other organizations, the most important of which is the Institute for Informative Labeling—VDN—Varudeklarations-nämnden. An affiliate of the Swedish Standards Association, VDN is chaired by a Government appointee and its board membership of 14 is selected from both Government and private organizations concerned with consumer affairs. VDN receives about one-half of its $100,000 regular operating budget from the Government and gets an additional annual grant of $40,000 from the National Consumer Council to develop test methods.

VDN develops standards for various products, tests these products against its developed standards, and then rates them on informative labels. VDN currently sponsors labels for about 128 types of products sold in Sweden. The VDN labeling system reaches nearly half the population as was recently borne out by a national poll.

Sweden has also developed a unique system for dealing with consumer complaints. It has established complaint boards with jurisdiction over specific industries, each board staffed with appropriate representatives from industry, labor, and Government. Individual complaints can be addressed directly to these boards or to the National Consumer Council which will then refer the complaints to the appropriate board.

One of the most impressive aspects of Sweden's consumer program is its success in reaching down to the local level. By its use of the mass news media, its informative labeling schemes, consumer education programs, traveling exhibits, and so forth the Government effectively brings the necessary information to the consumer at the time and in the way it will be most useful. Moreover, these efforts are supplemented by the activities of the Swedish cooperative movement which sponsors local consumer workshops. Approximately 50,000 people—mostly women—regularly attend such workshops throughout the country.

On the whole, then, the Swedish consumer is more effectively represented in Government, has better information about what he buys, and is less likely to go unheard than the consumer of any other country. His Government takes an active and imaginative interest in his welfare.

NORWAY

Like Sweden, Norway has a ministry especially created for the purpose of representing consumer interests. The principal function of the Royal Ministry for Consumer and Family Affairs, established in 1956, is to introduce legislation and issue regulations for protecting consumer interests. Most of Norway's ongoing consumer programs are run by the Norwegian Consumers' Council.

The Norwegian Consumers' Council—Forbrukerraadet—is largely financed by the Government and its members are appointed by the Crown. Various housewives, trade union, and cooperative organizations are represented. Unlike other consumer councils in Europe, producers are excluded fom the Norwegian one. Ten times a year the council publishes its magazine Forbruker-Rapporten in which are reported its test findings on consumer products and services. Forbruker-Rapporten has a circulation of 100,000, thus reaching about 10 percent of Norway's households.

As do Sweden and Denmark, Norway has a consumer organization exclusively devoted to informative labeling. This is Hovedkomiteen for Varedeklarasjoner og Kvalitetsmerkning, sponsored and partially financed by the Government. Forbrukerraadet and 16 other member organizations participate in the work of the committee.

DENMARK

Protecting and representing the consumer interest has a high priority in the Danish Government, reflecting that country's concern for the social and economic welfare of its citizens.

Consumer interests in Denmark are represented on the Danish Government Home Economics Council—Danske Statens Husholdningsraad—which is a part of the Ministry of Interior. The aims of the Council are to promote good nutrition, good hygiene, and sound economics in Danish households.

The Home Economics Council operates on an annual budget of $200,000, all provided by the Government. As part of its consumer program, the Council tests household products in its own laboratories and publishes the results in its bimonthly magazine, Raad og Resultater, and in a technical journal, Tekniske Meddelelser. In testing household products the Council may make recommendations to industry for improvements. Improved products may then bear a label saying "made in collaboration with the Government Home Economics Council," or an informative label describing the characteristics of the article.

The Danish Housewives' Consumer Council—Det Danske Husmödres Forbrugerraad—representing a half million housewives, works closely with the Home Economics Council in developing national consumer programs. Almost all Government decisions affecting the consumer interest are taken in consultation with the Housewives' Consumer Council.

Along with the Home Economics Council, the Housewives' Consumer

Council is a member of the Monopolies Control Board. Therefore, it plays an important role in making policy on some of the broader economic issues affecting consumers. Since its inclusion on the Board, it has been instrumental in initiating a large number of Government investigations into restrictive business practices and rising prices. The Consumer Council is also represented on the Danish Standards Association and on a wide variety of other boards, councils, and committees concerned with consumer affairs.

In addition to its many representational functions, the Housewives' Consumer Council conducts its own product testing program, publishing its results in a bimonthly magazine Taenk—Think. It also issues quality-marking labels which manufacturers can use by agreement with the Council.

A smaller, and younger, consumer organization is the DVN Dansk Varedeklarations-Naevnd which issues informative use-labels to interested manufacturers. DVN has a broad representation from 10 national organizations, including the Danish Standards Association, and is chaired by the Director of the Research Laboratory of the Ministry of Fisheries. However, DVN has limited funds and, as yet, its labeling program is not large. The Housewives' Consumer Council and the Government's Home Economics Council continue to carry the main burden of consumer protection in Denmark.

UNITED KINGDOM

In 1963, the British Board of Trade—equivalent to the U.S. Department of Commerce—established a Consumer Council to take action on the nation's consumer problems. With a membership of housewives, manufacturers, distributors, trade union representatives, and people experienced in community work, the Council recommends legislation to Parliament, develops new programs, and provides advice and guidance to consumers.

The Consumer Council's most significant contribution thus far is its establishment of the Teltag informative labeling scheme which will be in operation this coming April. A standard Teltag label will be developed for each type of product. Manufacturers wishing to use the label will be required to supply, on a standardized basis, whatever information the consumer requires to make an intelligent purchase. After working with trade associations and other interested parties in the development of a label, the Council will submit it to the British standards Institute where the label's specifications will be published as a British Standard. Initially launched with Government funds, the Teltag scheme will pay for itself through fees charged to participating manufacturers. Periodic checks and factory visits will be made to insure that procedures are adhering to the standards printed on their labels.

In addition to the work of the Consumer Council, the Government uses the local Citizen's Advice Bureaus to reach consumer problems at the local level. Originally established during the 1940's to carry out the Government's rationing and austerity programs, these bureaus now handle, among other things, consumer complaints. However, their work in this field is not extensive and is generally confined to poor neighborhoods. Eventually, it is hoped that the Citizen's Advice Bureaus will develop close ties with the Consumer Council, thereby facilitating a nationally coordinated consumer program.

In addition to the expanding consumer programs of the Government, the British Consumer's Association founded in 1957, has grown to be one of the strongest private consumer organizations in Europe. With a membership of 450,000 and an annual budget of $1.7 million, the association is well equipped to carry out a wide variety of consumer activities. In addition to testing products, it investigates such matters as a company's share of the market, the availability of the products concerned, and the extent of advertising expenditures. Its findings appear in its popular magazine Which?

The Consumer's Association is also deeply involved on the local level. It subsidizes local consumer clubs and assists them in publishing their own reports on local consumer services. Consumer clubs in Britain—almost all of them members of the association—are also active in handling consumer complaints and providing local consumer counseling.

TALK GIVEN BY JESSE I. FUCHS AT FOREST HILLS JEWISH CENTER, FEBRUARY 20, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rosenthal] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to set out at this point in the Congressional Record an address made by Jesse I. Fuchs, a resident of my congressional district in New York, to the Towers Group of the Hadassah on February 20, 1967.

Mr. Fuchs has obviously done much research into the past, with specific regard to the Jewish contribution to American history, and I found his speech quite fascinating and of particular interest to those of us in the Jewish community.

I would like to share this information with my colleagues and with those who might find it of some historical value.

The article follows:

Talk Given to the Towers Group of the Hadassah on February 20, 1967, at the Forest Hills Jewish Center

Madam Chairman, ladies of the Hadassah and Friends, thank you for your gracious introduction. The assignment given me by your chairman is most welcomed because the subject of my talk is very close to my heart. I have been a member of the American Jewish Historical Society for many years. This society is a research organization that attempts a scientific study of the history of Jews in America, and to publish its findings. The A.J.H.S. was founded in this city on June 7, 1892 by Cyrus Adler who was the Honorary Assistant Curator of United States National Museum in Washington, and later Assistant Secretary and Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, and a great educator and Orientalist. I am also a member of the English Jewish Historical Association, which organization does the same for Jews in Great Britain.

It is the auspicious time to discuss Jewish participation in early American History, for in this month all Americans, Jews and non-Jews alike, celebrate the births of two of our most eminent presidents—both imperishably consummating their work during times of great crises in our history. We have already celebrated Lincoln's birthday. In a few days its Washington's.

It is well that we review what part our coreligionists played in the early stages of our history; that we know some facts so that we may toss back the lie to those anti-semites who would make you believe that Jews made no contribution in the making of our country. I might begin by stating that if one delves into available documents concerning Jews before the War of Independence, we find them seldom mentioned in the colonial legal sources; their names appear in the records with reference to some business transactions or other activities having nothing to do with their Judaism. In many cases, we suspect the presence of Jews only through their Jewish-sounding names, a very doubtful method of identification when the Protestant majority of the colony, especially among the Puritan wing, chose with preference Hebrew names borrowed from the Old Testament—while Jews, for many personal reasons, hastened to adopt English names or else retained Spanish and Portuguese family names which often make them indistinguishable from other colonials of Iberian descent. It has been suggested that the earliest Jewish settler in the colony of Virginia was Elias Legardo mentioned in 1621, merely because it sounded Jewish. More reliably, we may only consider one Moses Nehemias of 1658 as the first known Jewish resident in that colony.

Only when Jews appeared in large groups, as in New York, then known as New Amsterdam, in 1654, or in Georgia in 1733, was the question of Jewish status raised by the administrators of the colony government. You know of Peter Stuyvesant, who was not only unfriendly to Jews but also to other religious dissenters from the Dutch Reformed Church, and was forced and overruled by the home directorate in Holland and ordered to allow Jews the rights in question. In Georgia, on the other hand, the local administrators favored the new Jewish arrivals more than was even intended by the home offices in England.

It is an interesting study; the struggle by the Jews to obtain equality objectives. It is remarkable how, on the eve of the American Revolution, Francis Salvador, who had come from England to South Carolina in December 1773, little more than a year after his arrival, served in the First and Second Provisional Congresses of the Colony, which soon turned into the first legislature of the newly founded State of Carolina. A famous silversmith like Myer Myers in New York, was not only readily admitted to the Gold and Silversmiths Society in New York, but was twice elected its president, only shortly before the Revolution and again in 1786.

Let me proceed with the Revolution itself. At the time of signing the Declaration of Independence, the Jewish population was only about 2,500 out of a total of approximately three million, but their contribution was out of all proportion to their number.

We must begin with George Washington, the fountainhead, the Father, the Center of the Revolution. What Jews did he really know? You are all aware that he was a wealthy Virginia landowner and aristocrat, and therefore should have had little contact with the Jews of his day. Jews were usually the humbler middle class: merchants, artisans, shopkeepers, small manufacturers and traders. There is the record that one Hezekiah Levy was a fellow member of the Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4 to which George Washington belonged, and since I am a Mason and a Jew I am proud of it.

There is no evidence that he had any Jewish contacts earlier than 1754, but when Colonel Dinwiddie commissioned him as Colonel to lead a Virginia regiment against the French, there were in his expedition two young Jewish soldiers, Michael Franks and Jacob Neyer. Although it was a small informal army, there is no record to show any personal relations between them and Washington. After Braddock's defeat, Washington reorganized the provincial troops late in 1758. It was a Jew, David Franks, a distant relative of the just mentioned Michael Franks of Philadelphia, who was the purveyor of supplies for the Virginia companies and therefore must have had much dealings with him during the campaign to recapture Fort Duquesne.

It is further believed that Washington did come in further contact with Jews much before the Revolution, and it is a fact that Washington attended the Wedding of the parents of Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, that picturesque figure of the early 1800's whose aspirations it was to establish a Jewish State right here in America. The father, Manuel Noah, was to be an aide-de-camp to Washington after he was sent from being a member of the staff of Francis Marion. During the War of Independence he sacrificed nearly everything he possessed for the sake of the Revolution.

There is another Franks: this time David Salisbury, who originally came from England and Canada and settled in Philadelphia. He enlisted in the Continental Army in 1775, became a major and was placed on the staff of General Benedict Arnold. It is interesting to note when Arnold was arrested for treason, Major Franks was also arrested on suspicion for complicity. But at the military trial he was acquitted honorably, and became attached to Washington's staff. He was promoted to Lt. Colonel and in 1784 because of his ability as a diplomat, accompanied the American agent to Morocco, where he affected a treaty with the emperor and the United States.

There was Isaac Frank who had very close relationship with Washington for he was his confidential aide-de-camp, and when Washington was President he occupied the house of Colonial Isaac Frank in Germantown.

Another patriot on Washington's staff was Major Benjamin Nones of Philadelphia. Nones first served as a private under General Casimir Pulaski. He was a mighty proud Jew for it was said that he always proclaimed his religion—and this is most interesting: later he became a "Major of a Hebrew Legion of four hundred men attached to Baron de Kalb's command." Isn't this reminiscent of the heroic Jewish Legion with the British in Palestine in the Second World War?

In 1781 when Washington visited Newport, R. I. he was entertained in the home of Moses Isaacks, an outstanding patriot of the Revolution. The public reception to welcome Washington was held in his synagogue.

The following fact is little known: When Washington visited Newport another time in 1790, Jacob Isaacs, a Jewish resident of the city, took the opportunity to present the President with a bottle of fresh water which he had converted from salt water by a process which Isaacs had discovered. What became of the process is not known; perhaps it was too costly a proposition to make it a commercial enterprise.

While Washington was in constant attendance at church services especially those of the Episcopal church of which he was a formal member, little is known of his personal religious viewpoint. According to the style of his day, his public and private writings are replete with reference to the Deity, religious sentiments and biblical allusions, but you never find a thing about Jews or Judaism, ancient or modern. However, on assuming the presidency in 1790, several Jewish congregations of New York, Newport, Philadelphia, Savannah, Richmond and Charlestown presented three congratulatory messages to Washington. It is now known, but not by too many, that Washington acknowledged them in three different replies. These replies deserve to rank with the Constitutional interpretations of Chief Justice Marshall and of Alexander Hamilton's The Federalist Papers. Washington gave point to the theory of American democracy, which was finally embodied in 1781 in the Bill of Rights. These letters stand enshrined in a place of honor in American History. To the Congregation of Savannah, he ended his letter with "May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrew from their Egyptian oppressors, planted them in a promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation still continue to water them with dews of heaven and make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah."

To the congregation in Newport, R.I. he wrote a lengthy letter in reply, and I quote only a few sentences, "The citizens of these United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenships." and ended with this beautiful phrase: ". . . while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid."

I made no mention of some Jews who were on the Tory side. There were mighty few: Isaac Hart of Newport, R.I. who was mobbed to death because of Tory sympathies, and Mordecai Levy of Philadelphia who later recanted in a public declaration and others who were expelled from Philadelphia.

At this point, I must call your attention to the fact that the Hebrew scripture was most influential in determining the basic political system of the new society that emerged from the War of Independence. Preachers like the bold and brilliant Jonathan Mayhew of Boston held up the warning of the prophet Samuel against royalty. Samuel Langson, the President of Harvard, considered the concepts of Jewish government "a perfect republic," and Ezra Stiles, President of Yale, found in the American government the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. William Edward Lecky, the eminent 19th century historian wrote in his classic work, "the Hebraic mortar cemented the foundations of American democracy."

As I mentioned in the early part of my talk, most of the Christians adopted names from the Bible. I believe that, engrossed in their daily struggles, the Jewish merchants, peddlers and craftsmen in the colonies, were less aware how influential was their ancient heritage than their Christian neighbors, and of course these Christian neighbors little identified their Jewish neighbors with the men of the Bible. What an odd and curious situation!

Now to return to some of the very important Jewish contributors to the success of the Revolution. There were Mordecai Sheftall and the Minis family of Savannah who made large gifts to the Continental Army. But most important of these men was Haym Solomon of New York and Philadelphia. As late as 1850 a Committee of the U.S. Senate adopted a resolution on Haym Solomon, as one who, "gave great assistance to the government by loans of money and by advancing liberally of his means to sustain the men engaged in the struggle of independence." Solomon was born in Leszno, Poland about 1740 and travelled a great deal in Europe, acquiring a number of languages before he came to America. He helped Robert Morris, the "Financier of the American Revolution" to negotiate bills of exchange and foreign loans, and in 1776 the British arrested him in New York. After a term in prison he was rearrested and sentenced to death as a spy. But with the help of patriot friends he managed to escape. After his escape from prison in 1778 Solomon got to Philadelphia. When he died seven years later, he had become the principal depositor in the Bank of North America, which Robert Morris had founded, and was head of a far-flung business with agents throughout Europe and America. His money, as the Senate Committee reported, was advanced not only to the government but to the leaders of the Revolution, helping out such individuals as Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Solomon was an active member of the Philadelphia Jewish community and was one of the first members of the Mikveh Israel and served on its Board of Trustees. It is interesting to state that it was not until 1941 that a monument was unveiled to his memory in Chicago, the cost defrayed by numerous contributors. The central figure of the monument is George Washington who is clasping the hand of Robert Morris on his left and that of the immigrant from Poland on his right.

At this point we are more or less through with the War of Independence—the United States of America is established, and the Constitution of the country adopted with its Bill of Rights in 1791—and Jews now expected the full equality they desired would be guaranteed by the instruments just mentioned. But did they get full equality?

Curiously enough, the rights of suffrage had been left to the states, which could, if they so desired, disqualify on religious grounds a seeker of any office or public trust. The struggle for political equality converged therefore upon the discrimination that all the states with the exception of New York and Virginia, still retained in their constitutions when the federal government was established. In Virginia a formidable attempt, made in 1784, to establish Christianity as the State religion had been defeated largely through the efforts of James Madison. Thomas Jefferson, was then in France as our minister or ambassador, wrote a letter to Madison, stating that "religious freedom has been received with infinite approbation in Europe." Two years later, he joined with Mason and Madison, to secure the passage of a law which removed religious discrimination in Virginia. Georgia followed suit in 1789, and Pennsylvania and South Carolina a year later. It may be noted that by 1790, it was only in the five states where there were vigorous Jewish communities that political equality was obtained.

Talking of South Carolina: I was in Charleston 3 years ago attending the annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society. We were guests of the Jewish community of that city. We were entertained by the active members whose fathers and forefathers took an active part in federal and state politics of their times, and they were proud to point out that their state was one of the first to give religious freedom and political equality to the Jews. They took us to the Jewish cemetery and called our attention to the tombstones of the departed dating back to the 18th and 19th centuries. I saw inscribed on their stones some of the names I have mentioned: the Sheftalls, Cohens, Levys, Franks, etc., for there must have been many intermarriages among these families.

As to the other states, except Delaware, where religious tests were abolished in 1792, the process moved much more slowly. In

Rhode Island, which had inherited the great legacy of Roger Williams, it was only in 1842 when full equality was established. The other states: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland and North Carolina, also carried their discrimination into the 19th Century; they were not in North Carolina until 1868 and in New Hampshire until 1876.

In 1787 the population of the country must have been well over 3 million, while the number of Jews still hovered around 2,500.

As for the War of 1812 which was called the Second War of Independence, there were two outstanding Jewish patriots: John Ordroneaux and Uriah P. Levy, both seamen. Ordroneaux, as captain of the ship "Prince de Neufchatel" captured the British frigate Endymion. Levy's career was rather undistinguished in the War of 1812, but he continued in the U.S. Navy and became a veritable storm center. His difficulties were due to three circumstances: 1. First he was appointed a lieutenant and then a captain, which made him disliked by his brother officers who were the privileged graduates of the Naval Academy; secondly, because he was a Jew and a very proud Jew at that (he was a charter member of the Washington Hebrew Congregation); thirdly, he had a fiery temper and a passion for equality and justice. Levy had always been an admirer of Jefferson. In 1833 he presented the government with a bronze statue of the great president, and whose home, Monticello, was bought by him and later given over to the Government to become a shrine and a memorial. At one time he was in a duel, and killed the man and brought before a court martial and demoted. But in time he forced the Congress in 1855 to order a special board of inquiry, which vindicated him and restored him to his rank. Some years later he achieved the rank of commodore. But the cause that was dearest to his heart was the abolishment of corporal punishment in the Navy. He was finally instrumental in having this accomplished. The inscription on his tombstone reads "He was the father of the law for the abolition of barbarous practice of corporal punishment in the United States Navy."

I will finish my talk, but taking into consideration I am addressing a group of the fair sex, by telling you something of two interesting ladies who flourished at the time we have covered tonight. Curiously enough both were called Rebecca, and both were born in Philadelphia.

The first was Rebecca Franks, born in 1760, the fourth of five children of David Franks. She was the youngest of three sisters. The Franks were of a distinguished Jewish family which at Rebecca's birth was already the third generation. The family had been traced to Aaron Franks of Germany and later as an influential member of the London Jewish community David Franks, the father, was recognized as one of Philadelphia's outstanding and wealthy merchants and moved in the most exclusive of circles. He was a British government agent in the French and Indian War, and when the Revolution broke out he was one of the Loyalists. It seems that his roots were too deep to switch over to the Revolutionists as so many of his other Jewish friends had done.

In 1778, General Howe captured Philadelphia and made his headquarters there, and the handsome young English officers made the social life of the city lively and colorful, while General George Washington was driven to Valley Forge. It was in this Philadelphia that Rebecca Franks reigned as the acknowledged belle, renowned for her beauty, grace and wit. She had no rival as the social favorite of the day. Young and old alike paid her court. There is a document that tells of her: "There were rare doings at David Frank's when General Howe would tie his horse at the door and go in to call on the young ladies." Especially, it was said that he enjoyed most of all a good laugh at Miss Rebecca's spirited sallies. Rebecca appears as a sweet, young girl with brains and brilliant at repartee which lent a charm to her natural beauty. Her witticisms have been recorded in the chronicles of the day lest they be lost to future generations. At the age of 22, she was married in New York to the Christian Lieutenant Colonel Henry Johnson of the British Army. The wedding took place on January 28th, 1782. An older sister Abigail was also married to a Christian, Andrew Hamilton, Esq. Rebecca went to England with her husband, and made their home in Bath, which became the seat of English society. She now retired to domestic life befitting her station. She had two sons: Henry Allen, who was to succeed his father as the second Baronet; and George Pigot who was an officer in the British infantry Regiment and killed in the War of 1812. Many of the present day British Barons stem from the Jewess Rebecca.

Colonel Johnson was created a baronet in 1818 for his part in the foreign service of his country. Lady Rebecca, now a stately Lady, distinguished for her grace and hospitality, had the happiness to see her eldest son marry an American, Elizabeth Philipse, daughter of the most aristocratic New York Dutch family, the Philipses of Philipsburg.

In 1816, seven years before her death, Captain Winfield Scott, then a young soldier of twenty-nine, fresh from his triumphs won in the War of 1812, was sent on a foreign diplomatic mission. He came to England with a letter of introduction to the great Lady Rebecca. Eagerly he went to Bath, and he tells of the visit to her in his diary which he wrote in the third person, and of course in the stilted mid-Victorian style.

"She had become from bad health, prematurely old—a very near approach to a ghost, but with eyes still bright, and the other remains of her former self. She had been rolled out in an easy chair to receive him (Scott)." On presentation he was transfixed by her eager, but kindly gaze. "Is this the young rebel?" were her first words. "My dear, it is your countryman!" said Sir Henry, fearing that Scott might be offended. "Yes, it is," she quickly replied, "The young rebel, and you have taken the liberty of beating his Majesty's troops." Scott, by a pleasant word or two parried the impeachment as well as he could, but the lady followed up the accusation with specific references, which surprised not a little. Scott soon found himself seated by her side, with a hand clasped in both of hers—cold and clammy, as in the article of death. Taking a sudden turn, she exclaimed with emphasis, "I have gloried in my rebel countrymen!" Then pointing to heaven with both hands, she added in a most affecting tone, "Would to God, I too, had been a patriot." A gentle remonstrance interposed by her husband, who had been carried away by sympathy up to this moment. Turning now to him she said, "I do not, nor have I ever regretted my marriage. No woman was ever more blessed with a more tender kinder person, a better husband, but I ought to have been a patriot before marriage." Hers were the only dry eyes in the party." She died in Bath, England at the age of sixty-three.

The other Rebecca was born in 1781, a daughter of Michael Gratz, one of twelve children. Her father was a very wealthy businessman who had large holdings, owning estates in New York and in Kentucky, and his property seemed to include the Mammoth Cave, and Cooperstown, N.Y. I visited Cooperstown two years ago and visited the museums of the city but found no reference to the name of Gratz.

Rebecca was not only outstanding for her social work in the community, but became a romanticized figure. In her long life, she was secretary, at the age of twenty, of the Female Association of Philadelphia. At 26, she was the charter member of the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum, and for forty years its secretary. She was interested in the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society. At 57, she founded the first Jewish Sunday School in the United States. At 74, she became the first president of the Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum. This activity reminds me of some of the Hadassah women.

She was an observant Jewess, but tolerant of the interfaith marriages in other members of her family. But of the romantic part of her life: She remained unmarried because she was not willing to enter into a union with Samuel Ewing, a young Christian with whom she found much in common intellectually, and whom she must have loved, for even after Ewing married someone else, an unusual bond existed between his family and Rebecca which has been recorded by his descendants.

Her loyalty to her faith and her fine character is said to have been described by Washington Irving to Sir Walter Scott when Irving visited England in 1817, at the time when Scott was writing Ivanhoe. She is accepted as the original Rebecca in Scott's novel. How did this come about? Miss Gratz was a frequent visitor to Saratoga Springs with her Brother Joseph. While there they met Washington Irving who became the fiance of Miss Matilda Hoffman, who was a very close friend of Rebecca's. Shortly before they were to be married, Miss Hoffman contracted consumption (as tuberculosis was then called). Rebecca nursed and tended her to the last, and came very close to sharing the full sorrow with Washington Irving. To adjust himself to the loss, Irving sailed for England, and while there, he told Scott, as mentioned above, all about this wonderful Rebecca, the devoted friend of late fiancee. Rebecca Gratz never denied that she was the original of Sir Walter Scott's Rebecca in Ivanhoe. She must have been proud of this fact. She died in Philadelphia, the city of her birth in 1869, at the age of 88.

I have attached a suggested reading list covering the subject of my talk for those who would like to delve a little deeper. Thank you for listening.

SUGGESTED READING LIST FOR "JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

"The Jews in America—A History," by Rufus Learsi. The World Publishing Co., N.Y., 1954.

"Jewish Pioneers and Patriots," by Lee M. Friedman. The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1963.

"Jewish Participants in the Civil War," by Harry Simonhoff. Arco Pub. Co., N.Y., 1963.

"Saga of American Jewry 1865–1914—Links of an Endless Chain" (A sequel to "Jewish Notables in America 1776–1865.") By Harry Simonhoff. Arco Publishing Co., N.Y., 1963.

"The Golden Land—A Literary Portrait of American Jewry: 1654 to the Present." Selected and edited by Azriel Eisenberg. Thomas Yoseleff Publishers, N.Y., 1964.

"The Jews in the United States 1790–184—A Documentary History." Edited by Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron. In three volumes. Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1963.

"American Jewry—Documents of the 18th Century." Edited by Joseph Rader Marcus. The Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati, 1959.

"The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia"—under the many headings. The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia Inc., New York, 1941.

"History of the Jews in America," by Deborah Pessin.

"The Jews Come to America," by Masserman and Baker.

"Patriotism of the American Jew," by Samuel W. McCall.

THE SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Wolff] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Space Science and Applications of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, I have been following with avid interest an evolving program which, if I interpret the signs properly, promises to produce one of the most spectacular transportation advances of our time: I am referring to the development of an American supersonic transport.

The technological breakthroughs, which will result from the decision to proceed with this program, will afford us the opportunity to retain our supremacy in aerospace capability that has made American-built planes the principal equipment used by every airline in the free world.

There can be no question that the SST will be the next great development in aviation technology, and the United States inevitably will lose the leadership it now possesses in this field if it declines the challenge.

One of the Nation's foremost authorities on the subject of the SST is, in my opinion, Mr. Najeeb E. Halaby.

This man's impressive aviation background is an amalgam of unique experiences obtained as a lawyer, as a test pilot and as the former Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, under whose guidance the SST program was initiated.

Perhaps it was inevitable that Mr. Halaby, with his qualities of leadership, would join Pan American World Airways, a company which in its 40 years of experience in international commercial aviation has established its own reputation of outstanding leadership.

As senior vice president of Pan American, one of Mr. Halaby's responsibilities is the successful integration of this totally new high-performance vehicle into the present system of transportation.

Those of us who favor the further development of this program take comfort in the knowledge that Mr. Halaby is now with a company which has committed itself to the successful completion of the SST program. A company which, I am proud to say, has a substantial number of employees residing in my district.

Mr. Halaby recently expressed his thoughts on the SST program in a speech delivered at the Wings Club third annual awards luncheon in New York City.

Mr. Speaker, because I think my colleagues would find the speech both informative and interesting I include it at this point in the Record.

The Supersonic Transport

(Excerpts of remarks by Najeeb E. Halaby, at the Wings Club third annual awards luncheon, Biltmore Hotel, New York City, Jan. 18, 1967)

Ladies and gentlemen, we meet today to remember gallant men, to honor a superb test pilot, to praise a profession, and to advance the idea of safe, swift, economical transportation. To me it's flight testing time for the supersonic transport. And in a moment I'd like to talk for a few minutes about that airplane and the crisis of confidence into which it has taxied, and how we in the aeronautical industry can help the President and Congress to make the decision to go forward.

In honoring a flight test engineer and remembering others, and all of the great engineers and pilots who precede him and who will follow him, we have an opportunity to consider the challenge which the aviation community must fulfill in helping the President and Congress to pursue the wisest course in the national interest.

In my judgment the time to build and test is here. We can learn only a little more of the preliminary design of a prototype from the whir of the computers and the roar of the rhetoric. We must now learn from high speed, high temperature, high cost, flow of air over wings and through turbines of an airplane in actual flight, as these men we honor today have so often experienced.

We've already tested what the manufacturers and the operators of the SST want and will pay for, and what they believe they will be able to convert into safe, swift, profitable service for the public. The man we honor today, like the one we honored last year and the year before, is an enginering test pilot, one of that small group of adventurers who form the wave edge of one of the great tides of human progress.

Together with the scientist, the designer, the manufacturer—yes, the financier, and the entire aviation leadership—the test pilot labors to make the barely possible an everyday reality. As point man of the aeronautical age, he must possess vision, courage of mind and spirit, a tremendous technological competency directed by what in my view can best be described only as skeptical faith. This paradox of skepticism and belief is the characteristic which permits the engineering test pilot to accept an end while faulting the means.

He works with a vehicle system which is designed to produce a certain performance, including the very important one of remaining airborne. He must have faith in the system as a whole while he questions the parts. And it is this interplay between the courage to question the way and a faith in the ultimate goal which typifies an engineering test pilot's activities. Like a soldier, he must have confidence in the outcome of the war while he fights and wins or loses the battles and the skirmishes.

To me, if U.S. air transportation—now our 7th largest industry—is to continue to move forward (we tend to take this for granted) and to live up to its exciting promises, I think we need the stimulation, the inspiration, in fact the diffusion of the kind of spirit that the engineering test pilot daily manifests—the same philosophy of skeptical faith—throughout our industry and our government.

To the one who demands, "Who needs an SST?" two answers have come loud and clear in the past 30 days. The two chief executives of the two foremost American international air carriers who together have ordered 25 US SST's and put up $2.5 million as earnest money, and 14 Concordes, for deposits of about $2 million more, have stated on the public record that they believe our government should now proceed with the construction of the prototype SST.

They believe that a partnership of the federal government and American industry is capable of producing without further delay a superior prototype transport and in the public interest. Their orders together with 89 others for the US SST have indicated their willingness to assist in financing a profitable airplane that will meet the growing public demand. As the first to use the US SST, and the first to face foreign competition while continuing to employ 75,000 employees and meet the expectations of their bankers and stockholders, these men have voted confidently to go ahead. In my opinion, it would be prudent to listen to their creative and constructive advice rather than the voices of the theorists, obstacle builders, and the problem magnifiers who have lately been heard.

In a very real sense, the government is the investment banker for the U.S. SST. Uncle Sam is the venture capitalist who is prepared to risk his stockholders' funds in order to reap capital gains. He is not a mortgage banker insisting on collateral on which to foreclose if the enterprise encounters difficulty. He should be prepared, and I believe he is prepared, to take a caluculated risk.

Now have the risks been carefully calculated? From my own personal experience, the answer is an emphatic *Yes*. The SST program has been the most thoroughly and carefully researched project in the history of civil technology. In the 12 years since the first conceptual sketches were made of an SST at NACA, more man hours of research and planning have been spent on this system and its operational limitations and capabilities than ever before in the history of any single civil project, and also more than nearly all of the vast military programs of the past 25 years.

The problem has been defined and redefined, computered and recomputered. Some say it is the victim of paralysis by analysis. I disagree because I think the whole effort has been fruitful. During these past six years of intensive efforts, $511 million has been voted, $311 million committed and $244 million spent by the Federal Aviation Agency alone, together with about $70 million by the manufacturers, for studies and reports by 10 government agencies and 40 corporations. The results have been constantly reviewed by three presidential committees, the National Academy of Sciences, seven committees of Congress, and 13 departments and agencies of the U.S. government.

When one compares this preview effort with that undertaken prior to the construction of the first nuclear reactor, the first nuclear ship, the first ballistic missile, the first supersonic military aircraft, the first manned satellite, and their comparable technical risks, the contrast is startling and, I think, reassuring. It is fair to say that the risks of the SST program, and they are real risks, have been calculated with the greatest care. It is also fair to say that we are not rushing into something suddenly. Our government and industry have been painstaking and deliberate and as a result, we are in a better position to make a better decision and get a better SST than the governments of Britain, France and the Soviet Union were several years ago when they decided to go ahead at full speed.

Now, if you will bear with an aging speed merchant for a moment, I'd like to state the problem as it appears to me after six years of rather hard personal thought and work.

Supersonic Transportation is on its way, and it's the next logical, normal, attainable step in the evolution of aviation. The U.S. has had 20 years of experience. We are now flying two models at above three times the speed of sound. Many more between Mach 1 and Mach 3. Cruising at this speed will save time, and that's what we are—merchants of mobility. Millions of hours of the precious time of our most skilled people will be freed for work more creative and more productive than to-ing and fro-ing. And it will compress the world from a 24-hour into a 10- or 12-hour globe.

And if there's anything scarce in this world, it's inspiration and skill. And if you can provide this new rapid dimension to those scarce intellectual and spiritual leaders of this world, you will make a great contribution to society. The Concorde supersonic transport on which the British and the French have pooled the talents, the technology and the industry of two great nations, will fly early next year. And if you read the Soviet literature, as I've been doing, Mr. Tupelov indicates his model 144, developed by the total energy of the Soviet Union, could be flying even sooner than the Concorde.

After two decades of modern technology and hard experience, no reasonable man can expect that these three nations will fail. These are not isolated, commercial ventures of single airplane manufacturers proceeding on their own; these are national interest ventures in which the pride and resources of three world powers are fully committed. And they confidently expect to have transports operating to and from this city in 1971.

What a shock it will be if by any chance the first supersonic airliner to land at JFK is Aeroflot Flight No. 1 from Moscow, via London. It will certainly be no surprise however. In fact, as a customer, it is our expectation that the first passengers to cross the Atlantic in less than three hours will be in a Concorde flown by either BOAC, Air France, or the world's most experienced airline.

And we will work to make it the latter. We'll be going to Britain and France next week to see again the Concorde being assembled, right on schedule, as programmed by our French and British colleagues. As No. 2, they "try harder." With 69 orders in hand, and more to be announced soon, and still more to be placed if our U.S. project is delayed, they are both careful and very confident. The confidence is justified because the pubic demand for time saving travel is growing apace. And having lost one of the two U.S. manufacturers in this struggle, we are glad that there are two competitors in this contest to build the superior supersonic transport. Because under the spur of that competition, we the airlines and you the public, the passengers will get safer, more economical transportation.

Now if we hadn't believed from the outset that the U.S. supersonic transport would satisfy public requirements and provide marked economic benefit to the airline and the nation, we certainly would never have started the program. Since the government selected the Boeing airplane and the General Electric power plant as winners in the SST competition, you might say that the initial phase of this great project has come to a close. Now as the new one opens—and these manufacturers have not been idle since their submissions last fall—I think that we are now in a position to optimize their designs, at intercontinental, overwater ranges of approximately 4,000 miles—and we started, if you remember in 1961, with a 4,000-mile airplane—4,000 miles and 40,000 tons of payload—we can optimize that airplane in such a way that we will have one superior to the Concorde and the 144 airplane in the 1970's.

It's my personal belief, as of this date, that the U.S. SST will be about 15% more economical to operate than the smaller Concorde, at ranges approximately equal to San Francisco-Honolulu. At least 20% more economical on the Paris-New York service and since the Concorde won't be able to make the Rome-New York service, it will be infinitely more profitable on that run.

Under these conditions, it seems obvious to me that Air France and BOAC who will be the lead foreign flag carriers to move, will need to buy U.S. supersonic transports as they did U.S. 707's and DC-8's. With competitors like these, undoubtedly under pressure from their governments who will necessarily be promoting the Concorde, with them attracted to the U.S. SST, the 58 orders in the hands of FAA from 15 foreign flag carriers, will be confirmed and increased, and the favorable effect on our 1975–85 exports and balance of payments will be assured.

Now as any experienced transportation economist knows, the public preference and demand will largely determine the fleet mix of the '70's and '80's. And history can certainly be expected to repeat itself as business travel, that is the business man, the officials, the wealthy tourists, those in emergency and the eager and curious shift from subsonic to supersonic.

Even at an IATA imposed surcharge on fares, they will shift as they did in '58. So it seems clear to me that a dividend or a fiscal fallout of the sound supersonic transport will be a real benefit to our balance of payments position.

I do not intend to minimize the problem of safety, sonics and economics which must be overcome. They are formidable. But men like the test pilots we honor today have penetrated them, defined them, and can solve them in the 8 fruitful years that lie ahead before the first trans-Atlantic crossing in 150 minutes in 1975.

And when the new head of IATA complains of the economics of both the Concorde and the U.S. supersonic transport, he is behaving as he should, by putting pressure on the manufacturers here and abroad to improve performance and profitability. We will be doing the same thing in the air carrier industry. But as late as last week, he was talking about last summer's model, not the design currently under way. It shows a substantial improvement, for example, in transatlantic economy. He neither stated nor intended that the program should not proceed but he insisted on unremitting effort to perfect the safety and profitability of all the SST's.

From the moment this program was initiated by the Kennedy-Johnson administration in 1961, the Government pledged itself to recover the public investment in this national interest venture when it had been converted into a commercial program. The manufactures and the airlines have had to assume from the beginning that they would return the venture capital to Uncle Sam. All of the pricing—these figures of $30, $35 and $40 million per copy of the U.S. SST include development cost recovery to the government.

No one in or out of government has balked at this or considered it impossible, so long as a safe, sound and profitable transport emerges, as our engineers and test pilots predict it will. There are precedents here and abroad for Governmental recovery of R&D costs, and although it will take faith, determination, and a lot of work, it can be done if Uncle Sam's early risk taking bears fruit.

My belief is that they see this as a public investment out of which we will get the capital gains of (1) balance of payments, (2) pressing forward with technology, (3) retaining American leadership in aviation, (4) more than 50,000 jobs a year, (5) a ship and engine that may later prove very useful to our military, and (6) the satisfaction of going forward with a program well conceived and well done—that out of that, and for those reasons, the Congress, if the President sees fit to proceed, will support it.

Thank you for being so patient. Obviously I felt that it was time to speak out on this important subject in a personal way. With your understanding and support of this program, with your placing orders, with your cooperating in support of the President on the Hill, we can make this a safe, sound, successful transport.

FOOD FOR INDIA

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Long] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in my heart and in the hearts of my countrymen, we cannot refuse food to starving peoples. This is simple humanity, and we are a humanitarian nation. But if we are to survive the competition between the two great forces in the world today for the mind and hearts and souls of men, we must learn to temper our humanitarianism with at least a grain of caution.

A measure is before the Congress which, if it passes, will give to the nation of India something more than $400 million in grains and credits, in addition to the many millions of dollars spent last year to feed the Indian people.

We cannot refuse food to starving mankind, but India is not yet starving; hungry perhaps, but not starving. And hungry nations have time yet to remedy the causes of that hunger, if they are themselves compassionate, if they are themselves honorable, if they are themselves brave.

Last year under Public Law 480, the United States offered to India and other developing nations foodstuffs, but with the understanding that these nations would not trade with the countries of North Vietnam and Cuba. India accepted these terms and our grain, thus averting famine in much of the Indian subcontinent. Why, then, do we not demand under the provisions of House Joint Resolution 267 that India and other nations receiving such aid from the United States publicly support the American position in Vietnam? Why do we not require India and other such nations to support our efforts in Vietnam, to support the cause of liberty and freedom?

India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has stated publicly:

> We would rather starve than sell our national honor.

But, is it dishonor to help a neighbor—and I might add a very good neighbor—in need? Is it dishonor to support the cause of freedom?

President Johnson told the Congress in his message on food for India:

> Our lives are pledged to the conviction that free people meet their responsibilities when they face the truth.

These are brave words, bravely spoken, but they are words which should be, in my opinion, directed at many other nations in the free world who neither face the truth nor meet their responsibilities in southeast Asia and particularly in South Vietnam.

The President also told us that "America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe" as famine in India. But I submit that America shall surely cease to be America should the ideology called communism win the competition we are surely engaged in today.

Mr. Speaker, we in America are being all too naive. We feed India, and she calls us "imperialist aggressors." We feed India, and she demands of us peace without honor or victory. We feed India, and she plays footsy with Moscow and Nasser.

All too much American blood has stained the paddies and jungles of Vietnam for us to refuse freedom victory in Vietnam when it is within our power to grasp that victory and restore freedom and respect and dignity to the South Vietnamese people. There is a maxim in public life, pragmatic but highly effective, which states that when all things are otherwise equal, we help our friends. I submit that things as regards India are not equal, and I propose that the United States withhold that help until India makes them equal.

Just as there is a higher morality between God and humanity, there is also a higher set of values as between nations, and I believe from the public statements I have read of the leaders of India that this nation which owes America so very much is guilty of the higher sins of treason against freedom and independence and national self-respect, guilty of giving aid and comfort to the ideological enemy which we face today in Vietnam.

The debits and credits will be totted up one day, and India will be the loser, else she must prove her compassion and her honor and her bravery today when her neighbors need her.

A UNIFORM PLAN FOR RANDOM HOLIDAYS

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently I was very disturbed at the prospect of giving my staff a holiday on Washington's Brithday. It was not that I begrudged them the time off. Quite the contrary. They work hard and deserve a holiday when one rolls around.

The thing that disturbed me was the fact that Washington's Birthday 1967 came in the middle of the week, on a Wednesday, thus throwing the workweek out of balance while really not affording the staff any vacation at all; only a few hours away from the job.

The thought struck me then that something might be done about it.

Four years ago, when I first came to the Congress, it was my privilege to sponsor a bill to establish the last Monday in May each year as Memorial Day rather than May 30 as it is now observed.

My reasoning for this was that it, like Washington's Birthday, fell at random through the week only to disrupt work, production schedules, and well-organized routine while offering the employee too often little more than a few hours from the job unless the 30th of May happened to fall on a Monday or Friday, thus affording a 3-day weekend and a real miniature vacation, more convenient for employer and employee.

That bill died in that committee limbo known as "Pending. No action scheduled."

Well, perhaps the reason for my lack of success was due to the fact that I had not set my sights high enough. Perhaps I had pulled my punch. For if my reasoning was valid for establishing Memorial Day on a Monday, then why would it not be also valid for other holidays?

At first I was reluctant to further consider the matter because tradition attached to such holidays as Washington's birthday, Fourth of July, Veterans Day, or even Thanksgiving would seemingly dictate against change. However, I was, with a little research, to discover that this is not necessarily the case.

What are the major nationwide holidays in this country?

Those listed in the 1966 World Almanac as Federal legal public holidays are:

New Year's Day, January 1; Washington's Birthday, February 22; Memorial or Decoration Day, May 30; Independence Day, July 4; Labor Day, first Monday in September; Veterans Day, November 11; Thanksgiving, fourth Thursday in November; and Christmas, December 25.

All of these holidays, with the exception of Labor Day, fall on fixed calendar dates and at random throughout the week. Yet custom rather than history seemingly dictates why any particular holiday falls on any particular date, with one exception. The exception is, of course, New Year's Day.

Washington's birthday was actually February 11 but was changed to the 22d when the British introduced the Gregorian calendar in the colonies. The event could be switched to another date without doing dishonor to the memory of our first President. In fact, it has been suggested the holiday observance might be altered to honor of all our Chief Executives and be observed as "President's Day."

Memorial Day is observed on May 30 for no particular reason of historic or any other significance. In fact it is not officially observed in all our States on the same date. Thus, the particular date of observance could be switched to the last Monday in May without any breach of historical integrity.

July 4, Independence Day, is a bit more difficult. This date was picked to commemorate the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. The problem is that it is rather a matter of question as to when the Declaration of Independence was actually adopted. The resolution of independence was adopted on July 2, 1776. And it was this date, according to the Encyclopedia Americana, which John Adams felt would become the commemorative date in future years.

Veterans Day is the most recent of our so-called holidays. Originally established to commemorate the men of World War I on the anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, November 11, the significance of the holiday was changed during the Eisenhower administration to honor all veterans of all wars. Thus, the November 11 date loses some of its significance.

This leaves us with Thanksgiving and Christmas. Christmas, for rather obvious reasons, has been rather well established. Thanksgiving is observed on the fourth Thursday in November. Here again, there is no particular reason for it, it just has become a custom dating from President Lincoln who so established it. Prior to that, days of thanksgiving had been observed in this country in various months on various dates.

Unlike most of the other holidays, however, Thanksgiving does fall on a fixed day, Thursday, and not a fixed calendar date.

Thus, there are at least four of our national holidays which conceivably could be altered to provide greater convenience for the employee and employer while reducing the costly disruption of production which arises from the present system of observance. They are Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day and Veterans' Day.

But is this too radical a proposal? Is there any sentiment for it?

Data available would seem to indicate the answer to the first question is not based on data compiled by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America which indicates its membership would overwhelmingly favor a uniform Monday holiday plan. I have unanimous consent to include the results of the poll in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, Washington]

MEMBERSHIP OPINION POLL ON UNIFORM MONDAY HOLIDAYS AS OF OCT. 14, 1966 (FINAL RESULTS)

1. Do you approve the general idea of uniform Monday holidays?

	Percent
Yes (8,210)	85
No (1,356)	14
No opinion (98)	1
Total (9,664)	100

2. Do you believe your employees would like the idea?

	Percent
Yes (8,447)	90
No (483)	5
No opinion (497)	5
Total (9,427)	100

3. Indicate which of the following holidays you'd like to see changed. If you wish, signify your preference for a new day for any of the holidays.

Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22 (62 percent)	5,962
To 3d Monday in February	5,718
Some other day	244
Memorial Day, May 30 (74 percent)	7,104
To last Monday in May	6,968
Some other day	136
Independence Day, July 4 (72 percent	6,935
To 1st Monday in July	6,687
Some other day	248
Veterans Day Nov. 11 (66 percent)	6,423
To 2d Monday in November	2,213
To 1st Monday in November	1,041

To 1st Monday in April (because November already has Thanksgiving, and March–April period has no designated holiday)	2,857
Some other day	312

Thanksgiving, 4th Thursday in November (73 percent)	7,049
To 4th Monday in November	3,783
To 3rd Monday in November	2,761
Some other day	505

4. How would a change to uniform Monday holidays affect your business?

Production, work schedules:

Helpful	6,054
Harmful	675
No change	2,404
No opinion	162
Total	9,295

Payroll, other costs:

Helpful	3,203
Harmful	472
No change	5,019
No opinion	267
Total	8,961

Sales of goods and services:

Helpful	3,096
Harmful	536
No change	4,818
No opinion	502
Total	8,952

5. Indicate your firm's major activity.

Manufacturing	3,537
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1,737
Wholesale and retail trade	1,597
Services	955
Construction	785
Other	418
Transportation	303
Communications and utilities	223
Mining	101
Total	9,656

6. Approximately how many regular employees do you have?

1 to 3 employees	102
4 to 9	466
10 to 25	1,566
26 to 99	3,351
100 to 250	1,942
250 to 500	884
Over 500	1,332
Total	9,643

In January of this year This Week, the national Sunday supplement magazine, conducted a poll on this question and, on the basis of a reported 200,000 returns, found 90 percent favoring a uniform observance holiday plan.

During the last Congress we moved to establish time uniformity in this Nation through legislation designed to eliminate the annual time scramble resulting from the switch on and off daylight saving time. We should now consider similar action regarding our holidays.

Therefore, I am pleased today to offer legislation which would provide for a uniform observance of four holidays which now fall at random throughout the week.

They are Washington's Birthday which would be observed on the third Monday in February, Memorial Day on the last Monday in May, Independence Day on the first Monday in July and Veterans' Day on the second Monday in November.

This idea has been before the Congress in one form or another for many years and should now be given consideration.

STATEMENT BY 12 FORMER PRESIDENTS OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether other Members have presented this view of the CIA dispute but I believe it to be important enough for the RECORD of Congress.

STATEMENT BY 12 FORMER PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

AKRON, OHIO,
February 27, 1967.

Enclosed for your information is a copy of the statement made by twelve former presidents of the National Student Association regarding recent press reports on the relationship between NSA and the Central Intelligence Agency.

This statement was released to the press on February 25, 1967.

W. DENNIS SHAUL.

"FEBRUARY 25, 1967.

"As former presidents of the National Student Association we feel that a responsible and thoughtful explanation of the relationship of the NSA to the CIA is desirable. Each of us speaks for the year he served as president.

"The international world of the 1950's and early 1960's was largely a bipolar world and that fact was important in shaping NSA's decisions. NSA recognized the vital importance of American student participation in international student affairs which otherwise would have been dominated by the well trained and well informed representatives of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. But our's was no reflex Cold War action. Indeed it was precisely out of NSA's dissent from many aspects of American post war foreign policy which often seemed to us intransigent and inflexible that many of the Association's international programs were born.

"NSA believed that there was a critical need for the American student movement to be an active participant in world affairs in order to create a more sensible international atmosphere. Students were one important voice among many American voices abroad in a complex world which required that many American viewpoints in addition to the governmental viewpoint be heard.

"Three aspects of NSA's international policies should be emphasized:

"NSA consistently supported and sought to strengthen democratic student organizations in those countries where they existed and encouraged their formation where they did not exist. The political and social importance of students and student organizations was not then widely recognized, but it was evident to us that students were a significant and influential elite in their countries.

"NSA's international policy early recognized the crucial importance which nationalist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America would have in shaping our world. NSA's attitude was consistently but not uncritically sympathetic to nationalist aspirations. Others were equally aware of those aspirations, but at that time much U.S. foreign policy was still focused upon Europe and the Soviet Union. There were few institutions through which individuals who felt the urgency of American cooperation with nationalist groups could act. NSA was one such institution.

"While we were quite aware of the expansionist ambitions and ideological goals of the Soviet Union, NSA chose to deal with the Soviets and Eastern Europeans not as ideological pariahs but as political adversaries in a changing world. We felt that the politics of confrontation would not only hinder Soviet domination of international student life, but would also enable young Soviets and Eastern Europeans to come into contact with the ideas and convictions of young Americans, and vice versa.

"Without substantial funds, NSA's international program would have been immobilized. Yet each of us concluded that, without question, we would have chosen immobilization if the only funds available were conditioned on impairment of the independence of any of NSA's principles or programs.

"And so the question became whether CIA funds entailed any such conditions. We state categorically that they did not. Each of us after being elected to office was fully informed about the CIA relationship. Allegations that we were "trapped" or "duped" are arrant nonsense. While we constantly searched for alternative sources of funds, this relationsip was the only realistic and responsible alternative available to us at that time. Each of us authorized its continuation subject to the controls and safeguards which we each deemed necessary to ensure the complete independence and integrity of NSA. One such safeguard was to insist that senior elected officers in succeeding years be informed of the relationship so that no possibility could exist of by-passing the duly elected leadership of the Association, which could reappraise the relationship annually. Each of us maintained the utmost vigilance and independence of judgment during his term of office. Attempts at control would not have been tolerated. Any such attempts would have resulted in an immediate termination of the relationship.

"The absence of controls should be absolutely clear to anyone who is either familiar with NSA or willing to take the time to review the record. Each NSA policy and program was adopted by the governing bodies of the Association, the National Student Congresses. For nearly twenty years NSA has remained constant to the principles it established in the late 1940's long before any financial discussion with the government took place. These policies and programs have been consistently independent of and often in conflict with the positions of the government. NSA friends and foes alike have verified this fact throughout NSA's history.

"Political contexts change. The national and international situation in which NSA creates its present policies is no longer the one in which we made our decisions. We have always recognized the responsibility of each group of current leaders of NSA to lead the organization in the direction which seems to them appropriate during their term of office, subject to the decisions of the governing bodies of the Association.

"In retrospect we feel that in the world in which we worked the relationship helped make it possible for the American student movement to make important contributions toward the development of democratic student organizations. We reaffirm our sense of pride in the free and independent accomplishment of NSA during those years. We reaffirm our conviction that all those individuals who shared in carrying out NSA's international activities did so with honor in the best traditions of American voluntary service.

"William T. Dentzer, Jr., 1952; James M. Edwards, 1954; Harry H. Lunn, Jr., 1955; Stanford L. Glass, 1956; Harald C. Bakken, 1957; K. Ray Farabee, 1958; Robert R. Kiley, 1959; Donald A. Hoffman, 1960; Richard A. Rettig, 1961; Edward R. Garvey, 1962; W. Dennis Shaul, 1963; Gregory M. Gallo, 1964."

COLORADO RIVER BASIN PROJECT

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. VAN DEERLIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which I feel is essential to the orderly development of one of our greatest, and most coveted, natural resources, the mighty Colorado River. Similar bills have been offered by the senior Senator and at least eight other Members from my own State of California.

With my colleagues, I am concerned about the possible consequences if we abandon the regional approach, incorporated so successfully last year in H.R. 4671, in favor of shortsighted sectionalism.

Our legislation would not only authorize the central Arizona project, a laudable and long-overdue endeavor to furnish that State a fair share of Colorado River water; it also would protect the just interests of the six other States that share the Colorado River Basin.

California would be guaranteed 4.4 million acre-feet of water from the river each year. It would be difficult for California to live with a bill that did not carry such assurance, for my State already is using some 5 million acre-feet. At the same time, California's rapid population growth is creating an inexorable demand for an additional 200,000 acre-feet every 12 months.

Like H.R. 4671, the legislation we are recommending would direct the Secretary of the Interior to make a reconnaissance report on potential new sources of water for replenishing the Colorado and, if that were favorable, a followup feasibility study.

Again, the need for such a feature in the legislation seems self-evident to me. The Colorado today simply does not have enough water to meet the existing and future demands upon it. Within 25 years, we are told, the annual deficit will be about 4.5 million acre-feet, unless we can somehow locate and import enough water from other sources to sustain the Colorado. The projected deficit, incidentally, is greater than the entire entitlement proposed by my bill for California.

I am strongly supporting the construction of the single dam at Bridge Canyon which would be authorized by our bill. The Hualapai Dam, as it is known, would eventually produce revenues, through the sale of electric power, of more than $400 million—a necessary economic base for the central Arizona project and also for future importation proposals.

It is my belief that the single dam represents a sound compromise between the two dams that were originally proposed and the prohibition against any dam at all that is sought by some conservationist groups. While I respect and applaud the view that the Grand Canyon should be maintained, to the maximum extent possible, in its original, pristine state, I cannot subscribe to the fears that the one dam would create any significant flooding of the canyon.

Our bill has the drawback of any compromise: not everyone is going to be wildly enthusiastic about it. But in balance, it is a forward looking and equitable proposal, recognizing, as it does, that our critical western water shortage is a problem that no individual State, acting alone, can solve—even within its own boundaries. The Colorado is a shared resource, and we must unite in a regional effort to make its precious water last forever.

CAPITOL FLAG FLYING OVER MEKONG DELTA

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have served in the House for over 14 years, and if I served for 40 years I could find few sights more thrilling each morning than the spectacle of the Nation's flag flying over the majestic building in which this House has its home. But today I received in my mail a photograph which was even more moving than that sight. I wish the rules permitted the inclusion of photographs in the RECORD. The photo to which I refer was sent to me by Sp4c. Regis Gavalik of "C" Company, 60th Infantry Regiment, 9th Infantry Division, and it is a picture of an American flag, which has previously flown over the Capitol, flying over "C" Company's command post in the Mekong Delta. There is something deeply moving about the sight of that flag which once flew over this House as we debated how to govern free men and which now flies over the outposts of freedom halfway around the globe.

A flag is a tiny contribution, indeed, when compared with the blood and sweat and suffering the men of "C" Company are giving in the cause which that flag symbolizes. Mr. Speaker, the men of "C" Company have honored the Congress deeply by showing our flag in the front lines of freedom. I ask unanimous consent that some of Specialist Gavalik's letters be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

FEBRUARY 10, 1967.

DEAR SIR: I am glad to hear that you will obtain a flag for me. The reason for the flag is; some of the men and myself would like to raise it everytime we move to the line or I should say the berm.

The berm is the places or I should say bunkers that are around the Fort. I am at now. The berm is just to protect and make sure nobody that isn't suppose to come in the Fort comes in.

The flag is just to show the Viet Cong that we are here and we are going to stay as long as Uncle Sam needs for us to stay here in the Mekong Delta.

Sir we thank you for when you will send the flag. All the men here will appreciate the flag. Because we all know this flag represents the United States that we are fighting for over here.

Thank you,

Pfc. REGIS GAVALIK.

COMPANY C, 3RD BATTALION, 60TH INFANTRY, 9TH INFANTRY DIVISION,

March 8, 1967.

DEAR MR. HOLLAND: Sir, the men of "C" Company and myself thank you a great deal for going through the trouble you did. To get us a flag of the United States.

Here is a picture of our flag on the flag pole. Sir, the sign at the bottom of the flag pole says, "Capt. Charles Lytle Commanding, Co "C" 3/60 Infantry. The 1st Infantry Unit to secure and defend this small portion of, 'The Land of the Mekong Delta.'"

Sir the Company and I say thanks again.

Sp4c. REGIS GAVALIK.

LEGISLATION TO EXTEND AND IMPROVE THE FEDERAL-STATE PROGRAM OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege today to introduce a bill which was proposed in the 89th Congress by the late, distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations, Mr. Fogarty.

The purpose of this legislation is to strengthen and expand the Federal-State program providing child welfare services, authorized in title V, part 3 of the Social Security Act. Child welfare has long been recognized as an area of national significance. The Federal Government has been a partner of States and localities in many efforts to serve children in need since the enactment of the first Social Security Act some 30 years ago. The Advisory Committee on Public Welfare has studied the program and made this evaluation:

> The existing program of child welfare services . . . has pioneered . . . in the provision of services for children and youth but its coverage is so spotty, both geographically and in scope of benefits, that it offers little guarantee of protection to a large number of the nation's children.

The Federal Government has long accepted responsibility for substantial help to many needy groups. The aged, the disabled, the blind, the sick, and the children living in families who are unable to provide for them are all assisted by various Federal-State programs. Child welfare services constitute the only category of human need for which the Congress has not authorized matching payments to the States. There is no logical reason to continue this practice.

The total amount of money spent on the aid to families with dependent children program in 1964 was $1,876,556,000. The Federal share of this was 56.7 percent of the total. On the other hand, a look at the child welfare programs indicates that of the total of $352 million spent in fiscal year 1965 the Federal share amounted to only $34,200,000, or less than 10 percent of the total.

I do not mean to suggest that the resources being allocated to the AFDC program be cut back. I would certainly support its continuation and any efforts at improvement. But what of the children who are without families? The ones who must be taken from their families because of an inadequate or dangerous home environment. Consider the many thousands of children who are uncared for while their mothers are out of the homes working. The hundreds of children in institutions, such as Junior Village here in Washington, D.C., who desperately need the love and care of a family. The many unwanted babies who waste away in hospital cribs for lack of adoptive parents.

This is the group primarily served by the child welfare programs, currently in operation in every State. All of these programs are attempting to expand and to be able to provide services to all eligible children in all parts of the State. The primary reason for slow progress toward this goal is lack of resources. I believe that the Federal Government must play a larger role in assisting in the financing of these programs if we are to make significant gains in improvement and expansion of services.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government must provide the needed resources for child welfare because the States are unable to do so. The States cannot do so because of their general lack of revenues which can only be remedied in the long run by some kind of Federal tax-sharing program. The real estate tax base, which supports child welfare in many States, is simply not sufficient to finance child welfare. Many States, in fact, because of the scarcity of funds may not even be able to meet the requirement placed on them by Congress in the 1962 amendments to the Social Security Act of extending minimal child welfare services to the entirety of each State by 1975.

Furthermore, in 1962 the shortage of funds for child welfare services was unintentionally compounded when Congress increased matching funds for many public assistance programs but did not do so for child welfare programs. In the case of administrative expenditures for public assistance, Congress has provided 75 percent matching funds to the States. This means that the State now receives 3 Federal dollars for each dollar it spends in public assistance administrative costs. In child welfare, however, the State receives almost no Federal funds for administrative costs. Clearly this legislation has greatly helped the public assistance programs but it has unintentionally harmed child welfare services since State legislatures are more willing to appropriate State funds when each dollar they spend brings in 3 Federal dollars. The result is that few States have even begun to meet their critical child welfare needs.

Moreover, the present system of Federal grants for child welfare services requires only a nominal matching appropriation from the State. And no matter how much the State appropriates, it receives the same amount of Federal support. Clearly the present Federal system provides no incentive for the States to increase their child welfare appropriations.

In my own State of Florida, State appropriations for child welfare services remain relatively low for the reasons I have just outlined. As a result of these low State appropriations, Florida's urban counties have found it necessary to appropriate local funds badly needed for other programs in order to provide foster care and shelter for thousands of children. Twenty-six counties, including Dade, now provide more than three-fourths of all the funds for the State's child care program. Last year the Dade County government which must provide badly needed services of all kinds to the rapidly growing metropolitan Miami area was forced to appropriate over three-quarters of a million dollars for child welfare services. This amount was, in fact, greater than the sum provided by the State for direct child care expenses in all of Florida's 67 counties. It is for these reasons that the Board of County Commissioners of Dade County, Fla., recently adopted a resolution in support of this legislation. Their resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. R-167-67

A resolution supporting H.R. 1977—a bill establishing increased Federal participation in State child welfare services—currently before the U.S. Congress

Whereas, the United States Congress is currently considering H.R. No. 1977 which, if passed, will eliminate the present child welfare grant formula, based solely on child population and per capita income in the states and substitute therefore a matching formula based on the amount of state financial participation in child welfare programs; and

Whereas, such change in the matching formula would provide greater incentive for states to appropriate increased funds for foster home care, shelter home care, adoption services, homemaker services and other services for dependent children; and

Whereas, due to inadequate State financing, Dade County and twenty-five other Florida counties have found it necessary to appropriate local funds to provide Child Welfare Services which are a state responsibility, to the point that such local financing now comprises as much as seventy-seven percent of the total State program and in Dade County alone represents an expenditure of more than $775,000 in local tax dollars; and

Whereas, the Board of County Commissioners of Dade County has concluded that passage of H.R. 1977 would enable the State of Florida to meet its child welfare responsibilities at less cost than originally anticipated due to the increased Federal participation called for in the bill: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of County Commissioners of Dade County, Florida:

1. The County Commission strongly recommends passage of H.R. 1977 by the U.S. Congress and respectfully requests support for the bill from Florida's Congressional delegation.

2. The Clerk is directed to send certified copies of this Resolution to the Honorable Spessard L. Holland and the Honorable George A. Smathers, U.S. Senators from Florida, and to the Honorable Dante B. Fascell and the Honorable Claude Pepper, members of the Florida Congressional delegation from Dade County, with a request that copies of the Resolution be delivered to the Chairman of each Congressional Committee studying and holding hearings on H.R. 1977.

The foregoing Resolution was offered by Commissioner Alexander S. Gordon, who moved its adoption. The motion was seconded by Commissioner Lewis B. Whitworth, and upon being put to a vote, the vote was as follows:

Joseph A. Boyd, Jr., aye; Alexander S. Gordon, aye; Harold A. Greene, aye; R. Hardy Matheson, aye; Thomas D. O'Malley, absent; Arthur H. Patten, Jr., aye; Earl M. Starnes, aye; Lewis B. Whitworth, aye; and Chuck Hall, absent.

The Mayor thereupon declared the Resolution duly passed and adopted this 20th day of February, 1967.

Dade County, Florida, by its Board of County Commissioners.

E. B. LEATHERMAN,
Clerk.
By EDWARD D. PHELAN,
Deputy Clerk.

Passage of this measure would provide a much more favorable matching formula for child welfare services and encourage larger State appropriations in this neglected field. It would authorize the Federal Government to pay part of the total cost of all public child welfare services on a variable-matching basis. It proposes that the Federal share of the costs of personnel responsible for administering and providing child welfare services and of the training of employed personnel be 75 percent. Currently the Federal share of these expenses approximates 25 percent. The Federal share of the remainder of expenses for child welfare services would vary between 50 and 83 percent depending on the per capita income of the State.

In addition to the regular program of child welfare services, this legislation proposes that funds be appropriated for grants to encourage experimental and special types of child welfare services. This money would be given to a State agency or a local group to develop and maintain projects of an experimental nature. In recent years new approaches have been made to the perplexing problems of foster care, institutional care, and adoption. These innovative programs have in many cases been successful, and offer much promise for future progress. They should be continued and others established.

Let me cite some examples of projects which have utilized new and untried approaches and which have been successful. An agency in Pennsylvania has made an interesting experiment in what is called quasi-adoptions. Children eligible for adoption were placed with foster families who could not commit themselves to adoption, but who wished to take on the care of a child and consider adoption at a later date. These persons might not qualify under the usual standards applied to adoption, but were able to provide the babies with the emotional and physical security of a home and family which would have been lacking if they had remained in hospitals or institutions.

The establishment of group homes in which the foster mother is an agency employee with professional background is another hope for the future. This may be particularly appropriate with adolescents or hard-to-place children who may not relate successfully to ordinary foster parents. Another promising approach is to locate foster family resources in the suburbs of large cities, where women may prefer to supplement the family income by caring for foster children, rather than seeking employment outside the home.

These are only a few of the ways in which child welfare programs are attempting to expand and improve their programs. They may be especially useful in the more difficult areas of meeting the needs of children with special problems, the mentally retarded child, the child of a minority group in need of adoption, the homeless child needing emergency shelter and care.

Standards for two aspects of child welfare—foster care and day care—are spelled out in this legislation. These are two services which I believe are of primary importance, but heretofore have received a minimum of attention at the Federal level. Of the total funds—Federal, State, and local—spent in fiscal year 1965 on child welfare services, 65 percent was used for payments for children in foster homes or child-care institutions. However, less than 2 percent of this was financed with Federal money. Support of foster care has been considered primarily as a State and local function, and it certainly should continue to be administered at the local level. But in many States, foster care payments are pitifully low, barely enough to provide food and clothing, but not sufficient for other services necessary for the healthy development of the child. The legislation I have proposed will set standards to be followed by the States, to encourage adequate provision of foster care when it is in the best interest of the child.

It is estimated that there are 2.7 million children who need day care services. Only 310,000—or slightly more than 10 percent—of these are cared for by public or voluntary agencies. This has been a subject of some controversy, many persons feeling that the children would be better provided for if the mothers remained in the homes. Yet we must face the fact that many women, particularly those from low-income families, must earn money to provide an acceptable standard of living for their children. Many women who are subsisted on public assistance would much prefer to be wage earners rather than welfare recipients, if they could be sure their children were receiving adequate care. I believe that provision of day care is essential if we are to insure the welfare of all of our children. This legislation would provide that day care would be available only in cases in which it is determined to be in the best interest of the child. Priority would be given to members of low-income groups and those in areas which have the greatest need for this service.

The legislation includes a provision requiring that the Federal funds allocated to the States for child welfare would supplement, not supplant, that amount currently being spent. In this way, a State will be prevented from reducing the amount of non-Federal funds provided prior to the new legislation. This will insure that the total funds available for child welfare programs will increase.

Other provisions included to improve these programs are the prohibitions of residence requirements in determining who is eligible to receive child welfare services. The bill stipulates further that services be made available to all children and youths up to the age of 21.

The Advisory Council for Public Welfare has eloquently stated the importance of this issue with these words:

> The vitality of a society can be measured by the way it treats the children on whom its own future depends. Adults who in childhood have failed to receive the physical and emotional nourishment necessary for their own best development become, in their turn, inadequate parents, poor citizens, and economic misfits, incapable of the adaptations required by our technological society. Somewhere, this cycle must be broken, and child welfare services are essential to this preventive goal.

It is my hope that this legislation will assist the States and local agencies in continuing the excellent work they are currently engaged in, and will make it possible for them to extend their services to all children in need, in every community throughout the country. I urge that every effort be made to bring this legislation before the full House at an early date.

RECORD WITHOUT PARALLEL

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, we all know how devastating in both life and property fires can be. A day seldom passes without an account in the newspapers about another tragic loss from fire. This is especially true during the winter months.

On the other hand, we almost never hear about fires that were prevented or were snuffed out before they became disasters.

I would like to call my colleagues' attention to a record of fire loss—that is, an absence of loss—that I am sure is unparalleled in this country and undoubtedly throughout the world.

The volunteer fire department of Warrenton, N.C., an old and distinguished town in my district, has not lost a home to fire in almost 100 years.

Think of it—99 years without a residence destroyed.

No words can properly pay tribute to the dedication and ability of the members of Warrenton's volunteer firemen. The town is to be no less commended for its unstinting support of its fire department. Both the residents and the firemen have every reason to be proud of a record that would be difficult to match.

I commend to my colleagues an editorial describing this outstanding town and its firemen published in the February issue of the Mutualizer by the Carolinas Association of Mutual Insurance Agents, Inc.:

> A PERFECT RECORD—99 YEARS
>
> Few, if any, fire departments can boast "not a home lost to fire in nearly a century." Yet, this is the record of one of North Carolina's oldest volunteer fire departments—in Warrenton, N.C., with a population of 1,285.
>
> Originally formed in 1868 with 12 volunteers known as the Plummer Hook and Ladder Company it used only a homemade wagon with hooks, ladders and oil cans for the "bucket brigade." Their wagon was pulled by hand and dipped water from the two wells on the court house square.
>
> Today this volunteer department has modern equipment operated by well trained accredited fire fighters and rescue workers faithful and loyal to do better for their community. Each member strives to maintain their record of "never having lost a house to fire."
>
> An excellent record indeed, particularly for a volunteer fire department!

AWARD CEREMONY OF FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege and high honor recently to take part in the awards ceremony of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

The Freedoms Foundation, under the able direction of Dr. Kenneth D. Wells, is a nonprofit, educational institution dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life, based on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. For 18 years, it has conducted an awards program, based on contribution toward a better understanding and a greater appreciation of the basic freedoms and corresponding responsibilities.

Fittingly, on the 235th birthday anniversary of George Washington, on February 22, the 18th annual national and school awards were bestowed by the Freedoms Foundation.

I was invited to attend this solemn occasion because a young man from my congressional district was awarded the highest honor that this great organization presents each year. The recipient of the award was not there to receive it, for it was awarded posthumously. Yet, though he was not present to receive the accolades that were rightfully his, he was much with us that day.

For, the citation appearing on the George Washington Award, presented posthumously to Pfc. Hiram D. Strickland, reads:

> He died, but through his faith, he is still speaking.—Hebrews 11: 4.

It was never my privilege to know Private First Class Strickland, although over the past several months I feel that I do know "Butch" as he was called by his family and close personal friends. I feel that I have always known Butch Strickland. He is the kid next door, or the one down the block.

He is the epitome of the young American boy. Or, he was what I like to think of as the all-American boy. Butch grew up in a small town, Graham, N.C., and in the words of his parents was a "normal" boy with normal likes and dislikes and normal interests. He played football and took part in other activities at Southern High School in Alamance County, N.C.

He wanted to serve his country, and just a few days after his graduation from high school he joined the Army.

Young Butch was first stationed in Korea, but he wanted to go where the action was and volunteered for service in Vietnam. He was not content just to be in Vietnam, but volunteered for every patrol action. On February 1, 1966, he was not assigned to go on patrol duty, but he persuaded his superiors to take him along—on his last patrol. For, in trying to rescue a wounded buddy, he took a Vietcong bullet in the back of his head and fell, mortally wounded.

It was shortly after this that I became first aware of young Butch Strickland. A newspaper editor and friend in Burlington, N.C.—Howard White—notified me that this young man had been killed in action and that his parents learned of his death by a telegram delivered at night by a taxi driver. Mr. White suggested, and rightly so, that more humane methods might be used by the military to notify families of deaths of loved ones in battle. Later, our Department of Defense did change this policy—a change which I strongly recommended in correspondence with the Pentagon.

Some weeks later, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Strickland received from their son's commanding officer a letter enclosing a note, which was in the personal handwriting of their son. This note, a poignant and eloquent expression of a 20-year-old young man, summed up what it means to be an American, a freeman. He said:

> DEAR FOLKS: I'm writing this letter as my last one. You've probably already received word that I'm dead and that the government wishes to express its deepest regret.
>
> Believe me, I didn't want to die, but I know it was part of my job. I want my country to live for billions and billions of years to come.
>
> I want it to stand as a light to all people oppressed and guide them to the same freedom we know. If we can stand and fight for freedom, then I think we have done the job God set down for us. It's up to every American to fight for the freedom we hold so dear. If we don't, the smells of free air could become dark and damp as in a prison cell.
>
> We won't be able to look at ourselves in a mirror, much less at our sons and daughters, because we know we have failed our God, country and future generations.
>
> I can hold my head high because I fought, whether it be in heaven or hell. Besides, the saying goes, "One more GI from Vietnam, St. Peter; I've served my time in hell."
>
> I fought for Sandy, Nell, Gale (his sisters), Mom and Dad. But when the twins and Sandy's kids get old enough, they'll probably have to fight, too. Tell them to go proudly and without fear of death, because it is worth keeping the land free.
>
> I remember a story from Mr. Williams' English classes when I was a freshman that said, "The cowards die a thousand times, the brave die but once."
>
> Don't mourn me, Mother, for I'm happy I died fighting my country's enemies, and I will live forever in people's minds. I've done what I've always dreamed of. Don't mourn me, for I died a soldier of the United States of America.
>
> God bless you all, and take care. I'll be seeing you in Heaven.
>
> Your loving son and brother,
>
> BUTCH.

Butch was right. He will live forever in people's minds. He will live forever in the minds of all who love and value the freedoms that we have and that he died for. He died to preserve those freedoms. Certainly, those of us who are the beneficiaries of the Butch Stricklands can help as we can to honor and respect the freedoms that are ours as legacies.

The last letter of Butch Strickland was chosen as the finest example of demonstrated Americanism by the Freedoms Foundation. The citation on the George Washington Award plaque reads:

> He died, but through his faith, he is still speaking—Hebrews 11: 4.
>
> With the knowledge that he might be killed in Vietnam, he wrote a letter to his family, found in his personal effects after he paid the highest price to be called an American. He demonstrated faith, love and devotion to God and country, and set an example for every man who truly loves freedom.
>
> America salutes you—Pfc. Hiram D. Strickland.
>
> For your undaunted spirit and loyalty to the Nation you served to the fullest degree.
>
> For your consummate and invariable steadfastness to the highest concepts of patriotism,
>
> For your articulate expression of our duty to freedom,
>
> For your open constancy in your faith in God,
>
> For your sacrificial gift of life that others might live in freedom.

Thus, on February 22, 1967, I was permitted to share the pride of the Donald Strickland family, who accepted the award presented through the Freedoms Foundation in behalf of a grateful nation, a nation that is enriched by individuals such as their son.

Sandy, Nell, and Gale Strickland, for whom Butch fought and died, were with their parents at this momentous event, as were a number of others, including myself. Among those participating in the ceremonies was North Carolina Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN, whose home is not many miles removed from the Strickland family.

The person who brought the Strickland letter to the attention of millions of Americans and others, Howard White, of the Burlington Daily Times-News, was present for the occasion, as were several other North Carolina guests of the Freedoms Foundation.

Charles Dunn, whom I am proud to say was my legislative assistant at one time, represented North Carolina Gov. Dan Moore. Special thanks should go to Burlington Industries, an outstanding industrial citizen of North Carolina, which provided air transportation to Valley Forge for the Strickland family and other invited guests. Burlington Industries, which is the employer of Donald Strickland, was represented by J. C. Cowan, vice chairman of the board, and by W. L. Fayle, director of transportation.

Mr. Speaker, I have used this occasion to bring to the attention of this body and this Nation an outstanding example of Americanism in its truest form. "He died, but, through his faith, he is still speaking." He is speaking for me, and for you, and for all Americans for "billions and billions of years to come."

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT MINIMUM BENEFITS FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to carry out the recommendations of the Civil Service Commission to permit credit for Federal employee service to be transferred to the social security system if the employee is not entitled to civil service retirement benefits. A companion bill is now being considered by the House Committee on Ways and Means to accomplish the required changes in the social security laws.

This legislative proposal has two major features:

First. A transfer of credit arrangement, under which credits for an employee's Federal service would be transferred to the social security system if no retirement system benefits are payable—either because the employee did not have enough service to meet eligibility requirements for retirement or because he forfeited eligibility by withdrawing his retirement contributions—at the time he dies, becomes disabled, or reaches retirement age.

Second. A guaranteed benefit level, under which retirement system benefits that are paid would be raised to the extent necessary to assure that such benefits, together with any social security benefits based on other work, will at least equal the amount that would be payable if the Federal service had been covered by social security.

The civil service retirement system, while predating the social security system, has evolved as an independent staff retirement system. It places primary emphasis on the adequacy of retirement benefits for long-service personnel. However, unlike staff retirement systems in private industry, the Federal staff retirement system does not provide Federal employees the continuing basic protection provided by the Government under the social security system. As a result, there exist serious gaps in disability retirement, survivor protection, and deficiencies in the benefit levels.

Federal employees and their families do not have disability or survivor protection under our staff retirement system until the employee completes a minimum of 5 years of civilian service. Thereafter, family protection is likely to be below the level of basic protection provided under social security, at least until the employee has performed substantial service. Thousands of workers who shift between Government employment and work in the private sector have serious gaps in their social security protection. They are without protection at various times and may reach retirement age without any right to an annuity.

The Post Office and Civil Service Committee for some time has recognized these deficiencies in the retirement law. Bills were considered in the 84th and 85th Congresses in an attempt to provide at least minimum annuity protection for such employees and their survivors. While they were viewed with sympathy, the proposals failed to provide a satisfactory solution of the problems inherent in the relationship between the staff retirement system and the social security system.

The Cabinet Committee on Federal Staff Retirement Systems in 1966 recommended to the President, and the President has since recommended to the Congress—House Document 402, 89th Congress and in his message of January 23, 1967, on older Americans—the twofold proposal that forms the basis of this legislation. The adoption of this two-pronged approach would meet, to a large extent, the needs for basic protection that are not now being met by the civil service staff retirement system, without disturbing current benefit rights of present employees and without providing direct social security coverage. All employees would be assured that if they leave the Federal service without retirement system protection, or in the event they lose such protection, Federal employment would be credited under social security. By giving them continuity of basic protection, this proposal would benefit career employees and their families by considerably improving survivor protection up to the time they have completed long periods of service, and by providing improved disability protection.

Mr. Speaker, I understand the Committee on Ways and Means currently is holding hearings on the proposal which embodies the necessary legislative changes in the social security laws to carry out the transfer of credit for Federal employees. The legislation I am sponsoring will make the necessary legislative changes in the civil service retirement laws. The Subcommittee on Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits, of which I am chairman, has already agreed to schedule hearings on this proposal at the earliest opportunity.

TRANSFER FUNCTIONS OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES TO JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Rees] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a resolution which would transfer the functions of the present House Committee on Un-American Activities to the Judiciary Committee.

In observing the actions of the Un-American Activities Committee, I have come to the conclusion that the committee is unnecessary and that problems concerning our internal security would be better handled by an appropriate subcommittee of our Judiciary Committee. In over 20 years, only three pieces of enacted legislation can be traced directly to the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee, despite major expenditures of funds by this committee. In addition, there has been quite flagrant misuse of the congressional power to issue contempt citations. In the past 15 years the House Un-American Activities Committee has asked and received House endorsement for its citations of contempt for 129 individuals, but only nine of these citations have resulted in final conviction.

But what perhaps is the most damaging, is the erratic and irresponsible methods of this committee—methods which have subjected many innocent Americans to the glare of unfavorable and unwarranted publicity and left them so tainted as to seriously affect their personal and professional lives. Only last summer we were "treated," at first hand, to the spectacle of a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing which, in following the pattern of the past, again disregarded the rights of American citizens and, in the subsequent carnival, made a mockery of the congressional investigative process.

While we must always be alert to the problems of internal security, I believe that this goal can best be achieved through a responsible subcommittee of our House Judiciary Committee, a committee which has repeatedly proved its awareness of the American system of justice and civil liberties.

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ryan] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, March 2 marked the centennial of the establishment of the U.S. Office of Education by the 39th Congress. The problems facing the 39th Congress were, of course, much different. At the time, following the end of the Civil War, winds of change were sweeping the nation. Senator Trumbell, a Republican from Illinois, in supporting the measure to set up a new department of education, made this plea:

> If peace and harmony are ever to be established among the people of this Republic we must educate them; and now, in the disorganized state of Southern society, when all their schools have been broken up for years, and a generation is growing up without education, it is important that we have some head to this educational interest in the country. The Nation has done a great deal for education . . . . But, sir, we have no head to this. No means have been devised by which the improvements in science and education may be brought together and disseminated throughout the land.

It was to education, then, that men looked in their efforts to restore harmony to the troubled land. And for that purpose our colleagues of an earlier day saw the great need for a central point in our widely diverse educational system, a point of assistance, of enlightenment about the condition of education, and of promotion of the cause of education.

Those ideas were embodied in the legislation creating the Department of Education. It was established for "the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

It was here, then, that educators and the Nation, and Congress itself, would come for educational information and assistance in furthering the national interest in education.

The new department responded with vigor to its congressional mandate. Within a year its first annual report was issued, a monumental work of 856 pages, containing a wealth of material on the Nation's schools and school systems, land grants for education, State colleges and schools of science, professional education, and education in foreign countries. This was followed by the first educational survey ever made by a Federal agency, a report on the efficiency of the District of Columbia school system. A comprehensive 807-page report on technical instruction in the schools and universities in European countries also was issued.

One hundred years after these early landmark efforts we have an Office of Education that will make available this fiscal year nearly $4 billion to the States, local school systems, and colleges and universities to support a broad array of programs. They range from preschool instruction to postgraduate and continuing adult education. Some of these programs are intended to expand educational opportunity for the handicapped, the culturally deprived, the talented, the disadvantaged, the unemployed, school dropouts, adult illiterates, the financially needy. Others are aimed at improving the quality of education through support of significant research and development projects, institutes for training teachers, strengthening instruction in science, mathematics, languages, English, and other critical subjects, counseling, guidance, and testing.

As the Office of Education embarks on

its second 100-year journey, the winds of change blow even stronger. Educational opportunities must be equalized for the Nation's minority groups. Manpower must be trained for jobs that do not even exist today. Instruction must be geared to meet the needs of each individual, proceeding at his own pace, according to his own level of achievement. The new technology of computers, programed instruction, audiovisual media, and equipment of all kinds must be adapted and refined to accommodate the knowledge explosion to young, inquiring minds. America's growing world responsibilities require new and immense efforts in international education activities.

This centennial year of the U.S. Office of Education, I believe, is an appropriate time to reflect on past experiences and achievements and to look ahead to the new, challenging tasks. For, as President Johnson has said:

> If we are learning anything from our experiences, we are learning that it is time for us to go to work, and the first work of these times is education.

OVERSEAS CREDIT UNION MARKS FIRST ANNIVERSARY WITHOUT ACTION

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 3, 1966, the Department of Defense issued a directive—No. 1000.10—which provided for the establishment of overseas military credit unions.

This directive is now more than one year old but not a single new credit union has been organized under the directive. There are several credit unions which now operate on military installations overseas but these were unsanctioned credit unions which had been in operation prior to the directive and gained official recognition when the directive was issued.

The reason that no new credit unions have been started on military installations overseas is not that there is a lack of interest on the part of our servicemen. On the contrary, there is widespread interest and a number of servicemen groups in Europe, particularly, have already gone through the preliminary stage of forming a credit union but have been stopped short because of legal technicalities.

Prior to the issuance of this directive, I was informed by the Department of Defense that the formation of on-post military credit unions in foreign countries would not require changes in any existing treaties between the host country and the United States. However, after the directive was issued, the Department of Defense suddenly discovered that a number of treaties would have to be renegotiated in order to allow credit unions to operate on military installations. For this reason, the formation of credit unions in Europe has been at a standstill while treaty negotiations are being conducted.

The need for credit unions in Europe is most acute in Germany, where the majority of our troops are stationed. Negotiations have been underway between our State Department and the German Government for nearly a year attempting to amend existing treaties so that credit unions can be established. Throughout the negotiations, I have received communications from the Department of State indicating that the German Government has no objections to military credit unions and that a favorable decision on treaty negotiations would be forthcoming "within a month." The latest Departments of State and Defense information on the treaty negotiations is contained in Department of State communique of February 23, which reports that a draft position on credit unions by the German Government has been adopted. It is my sincere hope that this draft position can be finalized within a few weeks and a final position endorsing credit unions adopted by the German Government.

It is unfortunate that servicemen stationed abroad have had to wait for more than a year for credit union service.

Many stateside credit unions have filled this gap by extending mail service credit union operations to our soldiers overseas.

There can be no doubt that credit unions are needed by servicemen overseas. This is clearly brought out in a letter by an officer who commanded an Air Force installation in Europe. In referring to military credit unions, the captain wrote:

> I am happy that I have been privileged to work with people who though they are in business and must show a profit, never lost sight of the fact that they were working with human beings. Though you cannot always see the fruits of your efforts, I can personally attest to the fact that many Air Force careers, stripes, jobs, marriages and perhaps even a life or two have been saved through your assistance. As a former Commander of 1350 airmen, I have been in the position to see the problems of many of my men resolved with the assistance of the Credit Union. We have lost a few battles, but we have won most of them.

I sincerely hope that our Department of State and the German Government will act with the utmost speed in clearing the way for the opening of overseas credit unions, so that servicemen throughout the world will be able to take advantage of the wonderful work accomplished by these institutions.

THE HOFFA STORY—PART 1

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the New York Daily News of March 7, 1967, began a three-part series on James Riddle Hoffa, the leader of the 1.7 million-member Teamsters Union, who yesterday began serving an 8-year sentence for jury tampering. The author of the series, Paul Healy, is to be commended for providing in capsule form the long history of Hoffa's rise and fall. To provide background information on an issue which is currently of interest, I place part 1 of "The Hoffa Story," subtitled "He Was a Pitiless Practitioner of Raw Power," in the RECORD at this point:

THE HOFFA STORY: HE WAS A PITILESS PRACTITIONER OF RAW POWER—PART I

(By Paul Healy)

WASHINGTON, March 6.—When the prison doors close tomorrow behind James Riddle Hoffa, they may well be clanging an end to the violent career of the most powerful labor leader in the Western world.

For certain, the steel doors will accomplish something never achieved before—silencing one of the most ferociously combative personalities ever to swagger across the American scene.

Predicting Hoffa's finish at 54 is a risky business. Time and again he has confounded his critics. For example, Carmine Bellino, the government's accountant-sleuth who pursued Hoffa for 10 years, thinks Hoffa will continue to control the 1.7 million-member Teamsters Union from the Lewisburg, Pa., penitentiary.

A YOUNGER RIVAL MAY BE IN THE WINGS

"They're all afraid of him," Bellino says. "I doubt if his rivals will do much bucking. Remember, his strong-arm men are still out of jail."

Some Hoffa-watchers disagree. Consider these facts: Tomorrow Hoffa is due to begin an eight-year sentence for jury tampering. Waiting for him beyond that is a five-year term for union pension frauds. Even if he gets off maximum time for good behavior, Hoffa still will have to serve a total of five years behind bars.

That would free him in 1972 at the earliest. By then he will be 60. There are those (Hoffa doubtless among them) who can visualize this Napoleon Bonaparte of the labor movement returning then from his Elba to the cheers of his loyal troops.

But the next national Teamster convention is scheduled for 1971, the year before the earliest date he can expect to be freed. In the meantime a younger rival may have followed his example and seized control.

It is fair to add that no Hoffa rival with the necessary savvy and charisma is visible in the union at the present time.

In any case, Hoffa may discover that trying to run his restless empire through a limited number of visitors and prison-censored mail may be too much for even his resourceful genius.

If it can be done, Hoffa will do it. He is a pitiless practitioner of raw power. Power, not money, has been his motive. It is one of the principal reasons he has been able to escape until now the clutches of the entire U.S. government. Though his arrest record dates back to 1932, he has never served a day in jail.)

Some successful American trade union leaders have taken on the airs of a "labor statesman"—or of the industrial tycoons they bargain with.

Not Hoffa. He still looks and talks like a sawed-off version of a bouncer in a hoodlum-run night club. He has icy blues eyes, and his squat, rugged face is as blunt as the front of a Mack truck. Built like a karate expert, he is only 5 feet, 5 inches tall. But he carries 180 solid pounds and above the waist has the body of a heavyweight.

Hoffa is proud of the fact that he keeps in shape. One of the first times he met Robert F. Kennedy, then Senate rackets committee counsel, he said: "I can do 30 pushups—how many can you do?"

"Fifty," replied Kennedy. Hoffa snorted.

FEW HAVE DARED TO CALL HIS BLUFF

Hoffa always talks tough. Government investigators insist he is a "bluffer," but few of Hoffa's underlings have dared to call his bluff. He barks his words and they tumble about in a way that would make a grammarian tear his hair. They are words of one syllable, the language of the man in the truck cab. He believes he has remained close to the members of the world's largest union.

"I care not what people say about me—only you," he once told a Teamsters convention.

For all others he has only a cold, blistering contempt. He called NBC commentator David Brinkley a "jerk"—and to show him up, submitted to a Brinkley TV interview. In it he more than held his own.

Of AFL–CIO President George Meany, he snapped: "When you're old and decrepit on top of being stupid, you're in trouble."

As for Chairman John McClellan (D-Ark.) of the Senate rackets committee, Hoffa has said: "Faker. Flat right out. Faker."

"Brat" and "spoiled young millionaire" are some of the printable terms he has used for Robert Kennedy, his longtime antagonist. When Kennedy was Attorney General, Hoffa told a convention of Pittsburgh transportation executives: "Something is happening to this country by the name of Bobby Kennedy. Today it is me. You may be next."

BEING WRONG AIN'T ONE OF HIS FAULTS

Hoffa also chews out, profanely, newspapermen and his own lawyers—who are so numerous they are known as the Teamsters Bar Association. The center of complex legal arguments for a decade, Hoffa thinks he knows more law than his attorneys, and in truth he has put in more courtroom time than most of them.

Once Hoffa took on a dozen union lawyers over the wording in a clause of a new Teamsters constitution. At last, one attorney said wearily: "Jimmy, there's no point in arguing. You're just wrong."

"Dammit, dammit," Hoffa replied. "I may have faults, but being wrong ain't one of them."

The wording went into the constitution.

Hoffa kibitzed his high-priced legal defenders (who were paid out of the Teamsters treasury) constantly during the jury-tampering trial in Chattanooga. Once, when court recessed, he immediately exploded all over his No. 1 lawyer, Jacques M. Schiffer.

"Quit talking so much!" he barked in the presence of government attorneys and others. "And why don't you read the transcript? I don't care if you stay up all night—read it."

Hoffa pictures himself and his union as underdogs harassed by "hypocritical" politicians. To Hoffa all of life is a "jungle"—and that goes for the field of union organizing as well. He recognizes no normal jurisdictional bounds. Among the more unrecognizable teamster types, he has recruited aircraft workers and the salesmen of jazz records.

"EVERYBODY FEARS THE TEAMSTERS"

His motto may be summed up as: Attack, never defend. He has stated his inverted golden rule this way: "Do unto others—first." In his first encounter with Kennedy, he boasted: "I do unto others what they do to me—only worse."

Hoffa exults in the undeniable fact that "everybody fears the Teamsters." His braggadocio is not surpassed by Cassius Clay. When a newsman once suggested that Hoffa wielded nearly as much power as the industrial "robber barons" at the turn of the century, he cut in proudly with: "I've got more power than they had."

Hoffa's personality is a real-life successor to that of the gangster "Little Caesar," played in the 30's by Edward G. Robinson. Once, an irreverent organizer responded to a series of barked orders with a mock Hitler salute and a "Hail, Caesar!" Hoffa threw an ashtray at him.

If Hoffa appears to be amoral in his battle against the world, in his private life he is highly moral.

He is deeply devoted to his wife, Josephine (who may be the only person he really trusts). He met her on a picket line in the 1930s. She is an attractive blonde, somewhat shy, and he treats her with obvious affection. Likewise, he is proud of their son, Jimmy Jr., now a Detroit lawyer, and daughter, Mrs. Robert Crancer of St. Louis.

Hoffa has never touched tobacco or liquor. His family life in his unpretentious home in Detroit is a startling contrast to his turbulent other life.

TAKES A DIM VIEW OF STRIP TEASERS

For a man who has long associated with hoods, robbers and extortionists, he is surprisingly strait-laced in some ways. Hoffa has been known to walk out on a strip-tease act and he once stopped a night club from forcing its hat check girls to wear uplift brassieres. (Hat check girls are also "Teamsters.")

Hoffa has passed up the sporting life open to men traveling on an open-end expense account. He would rather talk union shop. On one trip to Europe, he walked the streets of one city and left hurriedly, complaining: "There's nothin' to do in this town—but nothin'." The town was Paris.

Hoffa has been earning a salary of $100,000 a year. But, unlike his portly predecessor, Dave Beck, he does not spend it on $19 silk shirts, antique rugs and other trappings of the good life. What Hoffa does with his salary is something of a mystery to government investigators.

Hoffa does not make it easier for them to find out. He keeps no bank accounts.

CONVINCED NOTHING IS ON THE UP AND UP

The son of an impoverished coal prospector, Hoffa had to go to work at 10. His view of the world has been profoundly cynical ever since. He is convinced he lives in a society in which nothing is on the up and up.

"The zillion-dollar corporations are taking over the country," he remarked bitterly a few years ago.

"Poor son of a bitch steals a loaf of bread, gets two years in jail working on the sand pile; you steal a couple of hundred millions like those characters in the electrical industry and you get 30 days. And they never would have gone to jail at all except the judge was vindictive and wanted to pretend everybody gets treated alike."

"EVERY MAN HAS HIS PRICE," HE SAYS

It should be no surprise that the man who is going to prison for attempting to bribe jurors believes every man has his price.

Some years ago Hoffa, chatting with a reporter, suddenly said, seriously: "Well, what's your price?"

The reporter retorted that he wasn't for sale and could not be bought.

"Oh, for chrissakes, every man has his price," Hoffa persisted.

For all of his temperament, Hoffa has exceptional self-control when the occasion demands. He never explodes when court is in session—it might well antagonize the judge and jury. Before and after sessions, though, he carries on psychological warfare against the government attorneys and witnesses.

During the 1964 pension frauds trial in Chicago, Hoffa became furious because Carmine Bellino sat in the front row, where he could pass notes to the government prosecutors. From his encyclopedic knowledge of the case, Bellino could tell if a defense witness was telling less than the truth.

BACKED BELLINO AGAINST WALL

The Teamsters' efforts to squeeze Bellino out of the front pew were laughable. Two broadly-built goons hemmed him in, making every minute of the session uncomfortable.

Once, Hoffa followed Bellino into the corridor during a recess and backed him against the wall. A squad of Hoffa musclemen closed in around him. The sudden appearance of U.S. District Attorney Miles Lord broke up the attempted intimidation, but Hoffa pretended to spit on Bellino as his parting shot.

After the trial was under way, the government's chief prosecutor fell ill, and the Justice Department chose 32-year-old William O. Bittman to succeed him. Though Bittman had only a week-end to get acquainted with the exceedingly tangled case (there were 140 witnesses involved), he charged into several hot exchanges with Hoffa's 10 defense attorneys in his very first session.

When Bittman finally sat down, Hoffa leaned across the counsel's table and said with a half smile and half sneer: "Boy, Bittman, you're really a tiger or are you just a pussycat? We'll find out."

After that, Hoffa and his bodyguard hissed obscenities at the aggressive young prosecutor as he entered or left the courtroom. The purpose was obviously two-fold—to distract Bittman from what he was doing or to goad him into losing his temper and taking a swing at Hoffa.

PROSECUTOR FEARED FOR HIS WIFE AND KIDS

Bittman ignored the Hoffa vituperation as much as he could. But he finally rapped back that if the Teamsters leader wanted to communicate with him, he could do it through defense attorneys.

Meanwhile, Bittman had to run a gauntlet of growled threats from a group of Chicago racket figures nearly every day in the corridors. The Justice Department assigned two marshals as bodyguards for him during the last five weeks of the trial. Fearing for the safety of his wife and three children, the prosecutor sent them out of the city until the trial was over.

Bittman, now the government's top prosecutor (he recently got a conviction on Bobby Baker), calls Hoffa by far the cleverest witness he has ever tackled.

"I didn't ask him a single question that I didn't know the answer to," Bittman explained today. "You don't do any probing or fishing with a witness having a bear-trap mind like that."

Hoffa has had much success making himself believable to juries; until 1964 he had never been convicted on a major charge. But Bittman proved to be as aggressive and a little smarter. He maneuvered Hoffa into a key admission, as will be related later.

VIETCONG AMASS MURDER TOTAL OF 25,000 CIVILIANS

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Chesly Manly, a veteran reporter who has roamed the troubled areas of the world for the Chicago Tribune after long service in Washington and the United Nations, has returned to Vietnam for an assessment of the situation there. His special qualifications include intelligence service in World War II. In his dispatches from Vietnam he has given a depth to his reports that is difficult for correspondents covering the day-to-day news. Through many years of covering the United Nations, he developed close friends in most countries of the world.

The following article by Mr. Manly is valuable because of the current protests of those who oppose our overall policy in Vietnam and in particular, the bombing of North Vietnam. Invariably, they cite the casualties to civilians in North Vietnam, but curiously fail to exhibit the same solicitude for the people in South Vietnam. As I have pointed out before, there is no distinction made between the accidental deaths in North Vietnam and the deliberate, coldblooded atrocities in the South which are a matter of Communist policy, as spelled out by V. I. Lenin as far back as 1901:

> We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so. Terror is a form of military operation that may be usefully applied, or may even be essential in certain moments of the battle, under certain conditions, and when the troops are in a certain condition.

That Lenin's terror policy has been carried out down through the years is a matter of record. The brutality to innocent people in Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and the other captive nations is almost beyond belief in this civilized age. For our younger citizens there are the examples of Korea, Hungary, Cuba, and now Vietnam. Who can forget the Defense Department pictures of Korean atrocities, of Korean men and women and American soldiers shot in cold blood in compliance with the abovementioned Leninist policy? What of the slaughter in Budapest, Hungary, in 1956, in implementation of Lenin's terror directive? And now, from one day to another, the newspapers carry accounts of Lenin's terrorism being used against innocent people in South Vietnam. And once again the Defense Department has made available pictures of unbelievable savagery against Vietnamese civilians and American soldiers in Vietnam.

But one might argue: "The principles of Marxism-Leninism are a thing of the past; we are entering an era of thaw, with the advent of friendly relations and the building of bridges to the Communist East. Things will be different when we have the Consular Treaty, the Fiat automotive plant in the Soviet Union, and an increase in East-West trade."

How pathetic this line of reasoning is can be judged by a recent Soviet declaration issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union on January 4 of this year. The vicious, inhuman principles of Marxism-Leninism—the policy of terror cited above is a prime example—is still today the indispensable, frightening and compelling impetus for the international Communist movement. But don't take my word for it: let the Soviets tell you in their own words:

> The half-centenary of the October Revolution will be an occasion for reviewing the victories of communism, of Marxism-Leninism, of the life-asserting doctrine of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, inspirer and organizer of the October Socialist Revolution, founder and leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, champion of international Communist unity. Leninism is the eternal living source of revolutionary thought, revolutionary action, and revolutionary courage. New generations of fighters for the social refashioning of society draw on Lenin's ideas. The name of Lenin is infinitely dear to all the peoples of the planet; it has become the symbol of the new world.

As one can readily learn from the above statement, the Soviets and the Communist legions the world over, have no intention whatsoever of striving for peace as we know it. Rather, they have issued an ultimatum declaring that they will continue toward the goal of a Communist planet. Read again these words carefully:

> Leninism is the eternal living source of revolutionary thought, revolutionary action, and revolutionary courage. New generations of fighters for the social refashioning of society draw on Lenin's ideas. The name of Lenin is infinitely dear to all the peoples of the planet; it has become the symbol of the new world.

If the "new generation of fighters for the social refashioning of society draw on Lenin's ideas," will his policy of terror someday be used against American civilians as it has been employed against American soldiers in Korea and now in Vietnam? If the name of Lenin, which is synonymous with the most hideous area of recorded history, "has become the symbol of the new world," how can we possibly place any trust in Soviet smiles with Consular Treaties or any other agreements?

I fervently hope that those sincere people who long for true world peace will realize the urgency of studying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, along with the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement. National organizations such as the American Legion, the American Bar Association, and the National Education Association have recommended serious study of this issue. The State of Florida, for instance, has had for some years a 30-hour mandatory course on this subject for high school students. These are just a few examples of the many attempts to provide responsible information on the most pressing issue of our times.

Perhaps the time will come when the well-directed questions of students trained in the philosophy, tactics, and strategy of communism will reduce the number of college professors who sign stop-the-bombing petitions and embarrass them into serious study on this worldwide menace.

Perhaps there will be a day when Communist members, invited to speak on campuses, will be only too glad to leave the podium when, in reply to casualties in North Vietnam statements, students begin quoting statistics on communism's wholesale brutality since 1917.

For an excellent example of Lenin's terrorism policy as it is practiced today, I include the article, "Vietcong Amass Murder Total of 25,000 Civilians," by Chesly Manly, in the Chicago Tribune of today, March 8, 1967, in the RECORD at this point:

VIETCONG AMASS MURDER TOTAL OF 25,000 CIVILIANS

(By Chesly Manly)

SAIGON, VIETNAM, March 7.—Propaganda as a weapon of war probably has never been as effective as it is in the Viet Nam war. There is world-wide agitation to stop the bombing in North Viet Nam, because some civilians are unavoidly killed, whereas callus indifference to the planned and systematic slaughter of civilians by the Communists in South Viet Nam is almost equally universal.

This anomaly suggests that what passes for "world opinion" is sometimes synonymous with communist propaganda.

American and Vietnamese officials estimate that 25,000 Vietnamese civilians have been assassinated and 60,000 have been abducted by the Viet Cong since 1957. A large proportion of those abducted are never heard from again. Uncounted thousands of other civilians have been killed, maimed, or less seriously injured in indiscriminate acts of terrorism.

The nature of these atrocities was described eloquently and indignantly by Prime Minister Nguyen Cao **Ky** on his recent trip to Australia when he was taunted about the bombing in North Viet Nam by a hostile journalist.

"What about the 3-year-old daughter of a hamlet chief, kidnaped and later murdered?" Ky demanded. "Village officials, doctors, priests, monks, welfare workers, nurses, and school teachers are slaughtered in cold blood. Buses loaded with children going to school and housewives going to market are blown up by mines.

"Village elders are mutilated. Farmers are knifed to death. Churches, pagodas, temples, schools, hospitals, and village meeting places are set to the torch. Newspaper editors and members of the assembly are gunned down in the streets."

TERRORISTS KILL 44, KIDNAP 103 IN WEEK

Assassinations and indiscriminate acts of terrorism are increasing. In a recent typical week, officially confirmed civilian victims of Viet Cong terrorism included 44 killed, 26 wounded, and 103 kidnaped. There is no telling how many such incidents are unreported. In desperation, because of their military reverses and their rising desertion rate, the Communists are getting more reckless in their campaign of terror.

Before the week-long Tet [lunar New Year] "truce" proclaimed by the Communists themselves was over, terrorists fired three mortar rounds that probably were intended for the Saigon headquarters of Gen. William C. Westmoreland, American supreme commander.

One round hit a convoy of Vietnamese airborne troops that was passing the headquarters compound. The terrorists mined the house from which the mortar rounds were fired, to destroy the evidence, and total casualties, civilian and military, were 13 killed and 39 wounded.

KILL CIVILIANS NEAR MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

Feb. 1, at 10:30 p.m., a VC squad attacked the 7th precinct police headquarters in Saigon with machine guns and automatic rifles. Ten mortar rounds were fired but all fell short. Seven civilians, including three children, were wounded.

In broad daylight Jan. 30 [9:05 a.m.], Communists invaded a school near Saigon's 5th precinct police station, held the teacher at gunpoint while they distributed propaganda leaflets, and departed, leaving a hand grenade behind.

In spite of vigilant patrols, terrorists infiltrate areas that are considered secure and kill civilians near the headquarters of the most formidable American and allied military units. On Jan. 27, in the An Nhon district, near the headquarters of the Korean Tiger division, Communists fired into the house of a hamlet chief, killing him and his wife and son.

On Jan. 31, two civilians were wounded by a mine planted outside the conference hall of Di An, near the headquarters of the United States 1st infantry division.

PART OF THEIR PLAN

Terrorism, directed against the civilian population, is an essential ingredient of communist guerrilla warfare. It supports the armed struggle against government military forces by eliminating effective political opposition, destroying confidence in the government's ability to protect the people, and inducing fear, despair, and belief that victory for the revolution is inevitable.

VC terrorism in South Viet Nam began in 1957, when 452 local government officials were assassinated, but it was sporadic and local in character in the early years of the war. In

1962 it was greatly increased, and since then the number of incidents of all kinds, including assassinations, kidnapings, harassing fire, sabotage, mines, grenades, bombings, and armed propaganda visits, has exceeded 20,000 a year.

ESTIMATES ARE MADE

Only estimates are available for the years and months prior to October, 1966, when the government began keeping records as accurately as possible. Records of assassinations of hamlet, village, and other government officials had been kept, but even they were not complete. The total, thru 1966, exceeded 6,000.

A survey conducted by the United States for the first nine months of 1964 indicated that for every government official assassinated four community leaders were murdered. Thus the estimate that assassinations to date exceed 25,000 is considered conservative.

The Vietnamese government estimates that the number of kidnapings since 1962 has averaged more than 10,000 a year, or 50,000 in all. The government makes no estimate for earlier years, but American officials say the total from 1957 to 1962 probably was at least 10,000 and that the estimate of 60,000 for the total to date is conservative.

VILLAGE LEADERS HIT

The chief targets of VC guns are government officials, civil servants, policemen—civilians in some kind of authority. Other major targets are the natural village leaders, such as school teachers, doctors, nurses, priests, monks, or village elders to whom the people turn for counsel and leadership.

Steadily, stealthily, and with systematic ruthlessness, the Communists in 10 years have eliminated virtually a whole class of village leaders. Natural leaders are perhaps the most important element of any society, a human resource of incalculable value. This loss to Viet Nam is inestimable, and will take a generation to replace.

Captured enemy documents reveal two main reasons why the Communists are increasing terrorism.

1. They are concerned about the morale of their own people. There were 20,242 defectors to the government side in 1966 and the rate is much higher now.

Vietnamese and American officials have hopes that the Chieu Hoi (open arms) program will bring in 35,000 to 40,000 defectors this year. Most of the defectors say they were convinced that the military power of the United States was invincible. The Communists seek to impress the guerrillas by spectacular exploits of which they can say, "Look what we can do! No matter how strong the American imperialists are, they cannot stop us."

2. The Communists are increasing terrorism because of increasing resistance to their exactions of tribute in the guise of "taxes," roadblock "customs duties," and "war bond purchases" and their impressment of villagers for slave labor as porters and diggers of hiding places for the VC troops.

FARMERS PAY 50 PERCENT

It is estimated that 40 per cent of the budget of the Communist party's so-called national liberation front from "taxes" and roadblock "duties," 40 per cent comes from "war bonds," and 20 per cent comes from Hanoi.

Farmers in VC controled areas pay "taxes" averaging 50 per cent of the harvest. In some areas recently liberated from VC control, farmers have said they had to buy extra rice to meet the demands of the guerrillas.

A regular schedule of "tariff rates" is in effect in enemy controlled and contested areas for the privilege of passing roadblocks. A truck carrying 12 cubic meters of first grade lumber pays 11,500 piasters [almost $100 at the official rate of 118 to the dollar]. For second grade lumber the duty is 7,500 piasters, and for firewood it is only 700.

A truck hauling 200 cans of petroleum pays 4,000 piasters. On a truckload of vegetables from Da Lat, the tariff is 1,000 piasters. Passenger buses going to Saigon pay 1,000 to 1,500 piasters and passenger buses from Saigon pay 1,500 to 2,000.

Vietnamese rubber plantations pay 350 to 400 ps. per hectare [2.47 acres] a year and French plantations pay 1,200 per hectare.

SAIGON MERCHANTS PAY

Each family in a communist-controlled village is expected to contribute from 7,000 to 10,000 piasters a year for "war bonds." Every hotel-restaurant-bar in Saigon pays off to the VC and those patronized by Americans pay more than the others. If they don't pay they get a grenade or a claymore mine, like the one that wrecked the Chinese-owned My Canh floating restaurant on June 25, 1965, killing 43 patrons, including 12 Americans, and injuring 80 others.

Apologists for the communist front, including many clergymen, professors, and "liberal" politicians in the United States, either refuse to take atrocity stories seriously or cynically maintain that terrorism is just as bad on one side as on the other. The Communists themselves, however, boast of destroying whole hamlets.

Reports on their accomplishments for the period January, 1961, to January, 1965, which were broadcast on Radio Hanoi and Radio Liberation, the clandestine national liberation front station, included this statistic: "Hamlets destroyed, 7,559."

ONLY SEVEN DESTROYED

A report from the Chau Phu district NFL committee to the Chau Doc province NFL central committee, dated Oct. 25, 1965, contained this admission:

"Sabotage activities in enemy hamlets this month were very weak. Only seven or eight out of 73 hamlets in the province were destroyed, all in Chau Thanh, Can Long, and Can Ngang areas, and these were not destroyed totally."

The Communists sometimes hold so-called people's courts for the "trial" of intended victims, usually in their absence.

Some villagers are sentenced to "surveillance" for periods up to two years and given a chance to "redeem" themselves. A captured NFL central committee document says persons under "surveillance" sentences must make a public confession, denounce their accomplices, and perform forced labor to redeem themselves. If still unredeemed when their surveillance sentence is up, they are tried by a people's court and sentenced to death or imprisonment.

"SAW 30 EXECUTIONS"

The Communists maintain their own prisons, and liberated prisoners describe conditions in them as incredibly barbarous. American paratroopers of the 101st airborne division recently rescued 51 emaciated, malaria-wracked Vietnamese civilians from a jungle prison camp 90 miles northeast of Saigon.

One of the prisoners was found locked in primitive wooden stocks. Another said he had witnessed 30 executions in the last year.

A typical communist execution was described by a VC guerrilla leader on the Hanoi radio, July 2, 1964, in an interview with Wilfred Burchett.

"In Mo Duc district, Quang Ngai province, was one Chau, a main Diemist agent responsible for the deaths of hundreds of former resistance members [Communists]. We sent a group of guerrillas disguised as Diemist officers to his house on the night of May 18, 1960. Our men persuaded him that the next day was President Ho Chi Minh's birthday and that the Viet Cong would certainly make trouble, so action must be taken that very night. . . .

"Eventually he agreed and we set out with some of his agents. About one kilometer from his house he was executed and his agents arrested."

In June, 1965, Dr. Dang Van Sung, editor in chief, and Tu Chung, editor, of Chinh Luan, one of Saigon's most respected newspapers, received a warning notice accusing them of "serving American bosses."

It was signed by Vo Cong, "commander of detachment 628, liberation armed forces, Saigon-Gia Dinh area." The letter was turned over to the police. In December the editors received a "last warning," which said the "liberation forces" would dispose of them as "scabby sheep."

The editors published this letter in their paper with an editorial concluding: "We love the life that God has breathed into our bodies, as all men love life. But we will look straight into the gun barrel held by the murderer who comes against us and will say, 'You can kill us, but our spirit will live on.' "

On Dec. 30, 1965, Editor Tu Chung was shot four times and killed by two terrorists as he stepped from his car in front of his house.

This is the national liberation front, which U Thant of the United Nations, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York, and many American clergymen would like to see included in a coalition government in Saigon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. Stratton, for March 9 and 10, on account of official committee business.

Mr. Foley (at the request of Mr. Meeds), for March 6 through March 10.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report on military procurement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Kornegay, for 60 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Vander Jagt), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Vander Jagt), for 10 minutes, on March 9; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts (at the request of Mr. Vander Jagt), for 30 minutes, on March 9; to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Quie (at the request of Mr. Vander Jagt), for 60 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. MacGregor, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. Gallagher (at the request of Mr. Kornegay), for 30 minutes, on March 9; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Ryan (at the request of Mr. Kornegay), for 15 minutes, on March 9; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. FUQUA (at the request of Mr. KORNEGAY), for 10 minutes, on March 9; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. VANDER JAGT) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BERRY.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KORNEGAY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FEIGHAN.
Mr. HOWARD.
Mr. HAWKINS.
Mr. BLATNIK.
Mr. IRWIN.

SENATE ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled joint resolution of the Senate of the following title:

S.J. Res. 4. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim "National CARIH Asthma Week."

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 9, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

498. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of survey of audits of food donation programs administered by nonprofit voluntary relief agencies, Agency for International Development, Department of Agriculture, Department of State, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 20. Resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the studies and investigations authorized by House Resolution 19; with amendment (Rept. No. 74). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 109. Resolution providing for the expenses of conducting studies and investigations authorized by rule XI(8) incurred by the Committee on Government Operations; with amendment (Rept. No. 75). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON.: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 112. Resolution continuing the provision of House Resolution 1029 of the 89th Congress (Rept. No. 76). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 125. Resolution to provide for the expenses of the investigation and study authorized by House Resolution 124; with amendment (Rept. No. 77). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 141. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on Agriculture; with amendment (Rept. No. 78). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 202. Resolution to provide funds for the study and investigation authorized by House Resolution 53; with amendment (Rept. No. 79). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 227. Resolution providing funds for the Committee on House Administration; with amendment (Rept. No. 80). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BURLESON: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 265. Resolution amending the provisions of House Resolution 113, 90th Congress, first session, to extend to March 31, 1967, the payment of compensation for certain committee employees (Rept. No. 81). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. FALLON: Committee on Public Works. Report on economic development programs (Rept. No. 82). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. KASTENMEIER: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2512. A bill for the general revision of the copyright law, title 17 of the United States Code, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 83). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 857. A bill to repeal the "cooly trade" laws with amendment (Rept. No. 88). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 836. A bill to amend the act of March 3, 1901, with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia, with amendment (Rept. No. 89). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 664. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that bagpipes and parts thereof shall be admitted free of duty (Rept. No. 90). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 827. A bill to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act; with amendment (Rept. No. 91). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 829. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act to provide exemptions for certain operations of the House of Representatives from taxes imposed by that act and the District of Columbia Use Tax Act (Rept. No. 92). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 831. A bill to amend the act of July 11, 1947, to authorize members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the United States Park Police force, and the White House Police force to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department Band, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 93). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 834. A bill to amend section 5 of the act of February 11, 1929, to remove the dollar limit on the authority of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims of the District of Columbia in escheat cases (Rept. No. 94). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 1282. A bill to provide for the withdrawal of wine from bonded wine cellars without payment of tax, when rendered unfit for beverage use; with amendment (Rept. No. 95). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 1437. A bill to amend section 10 of the District of Columbia Traffic Act, 1925, as amended, so as to require reports of collisions in which minor vehicles are involved (Rept. No. 96). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 2767. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a farmer an amortized deduction from gross income for assessments for depreciable property levied by soil or water conservation or drainage districts (Rept. No. 97). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 3370. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia," approved May 23, 1918, as amended (Rept. No. 98). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 4765. A bill relating to the income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, as amended (Rept. No. 99). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. KING of California: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 4880. A bill to extend the time within which certain requests may be filed under the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965 (Rept. No. 100). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 4890. A bill to establish a working capital fund for the Department of the Treasury (Rept. No. 101). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 6056. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide rules relating to the deduction for personal exemptions for children of parents who are divorced or separated; with amendment (Rept. No. 102). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 6058. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for rounding the amount of State and local taxes for purposes of computing tax on cigars (Rept. No. 103). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ULLMAN: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 6097. A bill relating to the income tax treatment of certain casualty losses attributable to major disasters (Rept. No. 104). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. House Report No. 105. Report on the disposition of certain papers of sundry executive departments. Ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 1944. A bill for the incorporation of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association (Rept. No. 84). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 2470. A bill to provide for the free entry of one rheogolometer for the use of Tufts University, Boston, Mass. (Rept. No. 85). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MILLS. Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 3029. A bill to provide for the free entry of one ship model for the use of the Lutheran Church of the Covenant, Maple Heights, Ohio (Rept. 86). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MILLS. Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 3737. A bill to provide for the free entry of a carillon for the use of the University of California at Riverside (Rept. No. 87). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABBITT:

H.R. 6776. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exclude agriculture employees employed on a seasonal basis from the act's minimum wage and overtime compensation requirements; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 6777. A bill to authorize a program of research, development, and demonstration projects for electrically powered vehicles; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6778. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide benefits for certain disabled widows without regard to their age; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. AYRES:

H.R. 6779. A bill authorizing the use of certain buildings in the District of Columbia for chancery purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BERRY:

H.R. 6780. A bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act (and the Social Security Amendments of 1965) to eliminate certain mandatory requirements so as to permit the States to provide medical assistance thereunder at a pace geared to their fiscal ability, and to eliminate certain reductions which may occur after 1969 in Federal payments to the States thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 6781. A bill to provide for the appointment of postmasters by the Postmaster General, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. COWGER:

H.R. 6782. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt from income tax the interest on certain obligations of volunteer fire departments; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CUNNINGHAM:

H.R. 6783. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to extend and enlarge the program of grants for educational television broadcasting facilities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DANIELS:

H.R. 6784. A bill to amend supchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DE LA GARZA:

H.R. 6785. A bill to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relating to the protection of vessels of the United States on the high seas and in territorial waters of foreign countries; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FLOOD:

H.R. 6786. A bill to create the Interoceanic Canals Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.R. 6787. A bill to provide for uniform annual observances of certain national holidays on Mondays; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 6788. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit travel or use of any facility in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to incite a riot or other violent civil disturbance, to permit State authorities to seek injunctive relief from such acts in Federal courts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6789. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for optometrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6790. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 6791. A bill to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 6792. A bill to amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HANLEY:

H.R. 6793. A bill to reclassify certain key positions and increase salaries in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6794. A bill to provide an equitable system for fixing and adjusting the rates of compensation of wage board employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6795. A bill to adjust rates of basic compensation of certain employees of the Federal Government and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 6796. A bill to provide for the establishment of a U.S. Armed Forces Medical School, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 6797. A bill to provide assistance to students pursuing programs of higher education in the fields of law enforcement and of correctional treatment of law violators; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6798. A bill creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6799. A bill to authorize the Legislative Reference Service to make use of automatic data processing techniques and equipment in the performance of its functions; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 6800. A bill to provide for a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 6801. A bill to amend section 105 of the Clean Air Act to authorize the establishment of emission standards; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6802. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a full annuity for any individual (without regard to his age) who has completed 30 years of railroad service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6803. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish the position of Chief Veterinary Officer of the Service and provide for the rank of Assistant Surgeon General for said position; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6804. A bill to provide for the establishment, under the National Science Foundation, of a National Science Academy; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

H.R. 6805. A bill to promote the advancement of science and the education of scientists through a national program of institutional grants to the colleges and universities of the United States; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 6806. A bill to establish a Federal sabbatical program to improve the quality of teaching in the Nation's elementary or secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 6807. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for optometrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 6808. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for optometrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KUYKENDALL:

H.R. 6809. A bill to provide for the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers in the postal field service on a merit basis, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6810. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.R. 6811. A bill to promote public confidence in the integrity of Congress and the executive branch; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MEEDS:

H.R. 6812. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H.R. 6813. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6814. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 6815. A bill to amend chapter 39 of title 18 of the United States Code relating to the transportation of explosives and other dangerous articles; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORRIS:

H.R. 6816. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to establish a memorial museum at Las Vegas, N. Mex., in honor of the Roosevelt Rough Riders and their Southwest; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MURPHY of Illinois:

H.R. 6817. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSEN (by request):

H.R. 6818. A bill to enable the District of Columbia to participate in the health and medical assistance benefits made available by the Social Security Amendments of 1965, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. PETTIS:

H.R. 6819. A bill to designate the third Sunday in October of each year as Foster Parents Day, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6820. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 6821. A bill to establish a Commission on Architecture and Planning for the Capitol; to the Committee on Public Works.

My Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 6822. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 6823. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 6824. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H.R. 6825. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 6826. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for optometrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 6827. A bill to amend section 701 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 6828. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual American education programs, and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6829. A bill to amend the Clean Air Act to provide for more effective prevention, control, and abatement of air pollution through the establishment of air regions and standards applicable thereto; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6830. A bill to amend the Clean Air Act to repeal the existing limit on the grant funds which may be expended thereunder in any one State, and to provide for a more effective apportionment of such funds; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6831. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the construction of facilities to control water and air pollution by allowing a tax credit for expenditures incurred in constructing such facilities and by permitting the deduction, or amortization over a period of 1 to 5 years, of such expenditures; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 6832. A bill to provide that Flag Day shall be a legal public holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6833. A bill concerning Federal tax fairness; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 6834. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act so as to extend and improve the Federal-State program of child welfare services; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 6835. A bill to provide compensation to survivors of local law enforcement officers killed while apprehending persons for committing Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 6836. A bill to amend title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 to authorize financial assistance for the provision of street lighting facilities in aid of the prevention or reduction of crime; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 6837. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KORNEGAY:

H.R. 6838. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 6839. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6840. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 6841. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6842. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an accelerated amortization deduction in certain cases for industrial or commercial plants and facilities constructed or established in economically depressed areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 6843. A bill relating to certain discriminatory pricing practices affecting commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6844. A bill to amend the Clayton Act as amended, to strengthen our competitive enterprise system by providing for competitive acts, practices, and methods of competition, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 6845. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending and improving the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities, by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities, by establishing a nonprofit corporation to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, and to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities; and to authorize a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 6846. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code so as to permit members of the Reserves and the National Guard to receive retired pay at age 55 for nonregular service under chapter 67 of that title; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H.R. 6847. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN:

H.R. 6848. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 6849. A bill to equalize civil service retirement annuities and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.R. 6850. A bill to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 6851. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior in cooperation with the States to preserve, protect, develop, restore, and make accessible estuarine areas of the Nation which are valuable for sport and commercial fishing, wildlife conservation, recreation, and scenic beauty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FLYNT:

H.R. 6852. A bill to permit injured Federal employees to receive the benefits of the Federal employees compensation program notwithstanding they are in receipt of military retired pay; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GROVER:

H.R. 6853. A bill to amend section 112 of title 28, United States Code, relating to the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEE:

H.R. 6854. A bill to provide for Federal assistance in the planning and installation of works and measures for the control and prevention of damages resulting from erosion of the roadbeds and rights-of-way of existing State, county, and other rural roads and highways, from erosion of the banks of rivers and streams, and from erosion of unrestored or unrehabilitated surface or strip mined non-Federal lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 6855. A bill to repeal the excise tax on amounts paid for communication services or facilities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 6856. A bill to provide for Federal control over foreign banking corporations operating within the United States, the District of Columbia, the several territories and possessions of the United States, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 6857. A bill to exclude U.S. Route No. 22 from Haafsville to Easton, Pa., from being on the Interstate System and to provide for the designation of an alternative route; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 6858. A bill to provide Federal financial assistance to public agencies and to private, nonprofit organizations to enable them to carry on comprehensive family planning programs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.J. Res. 404. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the

United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.J. Res. 405. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim September 17, 1967, General von Steuben Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the birth of General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARRISON:

H.J. Res. 406. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution with respect to the authority of the House of Representatives to exclude certain individuals from being seated therein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.J. Res. 407. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim the last week in October of every year as National Student Council Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOORHEAD:

H.J. Res. 408. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim April 9, 1967, as Bataan-Corregidor Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.J. Res. 409. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PURCELL:

H.J. Res. 410. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H.J. Res. 411. Joint resolution providing for the designation of a week in September of each year as Industrial Security Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.J. Res. 412. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for educational programs, and for other purposes.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H. Con. Res. 268. Concurrent resolution to provide early appropriations for Federal educational programs; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H. Con. Res. 269. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to recent decisions of the Supreme Court weakening the attempts of State and local governments to guard against the employment of members of subversive organizations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H. Con. Res. 270. Concurrent resolution reaffirming the support of the Congress for United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H. Con. Res. 271. Concurrent resolution to provide early appropriations for Federal educational programs; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H. Res. 371. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H. Res. 372. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MONAGAN:

H. Res. 373. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. REES:

H. Res. 374. Resolution to amend rules X, XI, and XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H. Res. 375. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct an investigation and study relating to automobile liability insurance; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

55. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Montana, relative to providing Federal assistance to domestic gold producers, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 6859. A bill for the relief of Nicholas Diktakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6860. A bill for the relief of Alberto Tortoroli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASHLEY:

H.R. 6861. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Setsuko McFellin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASHMORE:

H.R. 6862. A bill for the relief of Slater C. Blackiston, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARING:

H.R. 6863. A bill for the relief of Spyridon Chalkiopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 6864. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Dimitrios Likomitros and Panagiotis Litkomitros; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6865. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Nicolae I. Spuza, Ana Spuza, Diana Spuza, Decebal Spuza, and Maria Spuza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 6866. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria del Carmen Corbo Mattos de Bernadet, and her son, Ernesto Mario Bernadet Corbo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6867. A bill for the relief of Bernardo Amato; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6868. A bill for the relief of Antonino Ruffino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 6869. A bill for the relief of Liya Hirina Bernaht; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6870. A bill for the relief of Bozo Mario Juravic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 6871. A bill for the relief of Raymond D. Youssefyeh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 6872. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria Fernandez Balseiro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6873. A bill for the relief of Stefano Carollo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6874. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Caruso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6875. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Gambino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6876. A bill for the relief of Anastacia Torres-Gamez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6877. A bill for the relief of Santino Badalamenti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUNGATE:

H.R. 6878. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria Isabelle Liebena Caldwell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6879. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Ben Elfline; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN (by request):

H.R. 6880. A bill for the relief of Cateno Villari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6881. A bill for the relief of Daniel A. Rhino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 6882. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Kase Noguchi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATHIAS of California:

H.R. 6883. A bill for the relief of Dimitra Nicholas Bouzisti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland:

H.R. 6884. A bill for the relief of Jose E. de la Torriente; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 6885. A bill for the relief of Dr. Eduardo Enrique Ramos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 6886. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Marciano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 6887. A bill for the relief of Shakeab Alshabkhoun; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6888. A bill for the relief of Pietro Evarista Tonolini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6889. A bill for the relief of Yru Gok Chan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANDALL:

H.R. 6890. A bill for the relief of Lester W. Hein and Sadie Hein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 6891. A bill for the relief of Kemal and Ramza Saliefendic and their minor son, Hasib Saliefendic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 6892. A bill for the relief of Louise Assadourian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 6893. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reinstate certain oil and gas leases; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. YATES:

H.R. 6894. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Mangiameli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YOUNGER:

H.R. 6895. A bill for the relief of Balasan Babakhan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6896. A bill for the relief of Carolina De Leon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ABBITT:

H.R. 6897. A bill for the relief of Paul V. Minnick; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

43. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the president of the Ad Hoc Committee for Citizens for Equal Opportunity, Oakland, Alameda County, Calif., relative to unfair and discriminatory practices at the Naval Air Station of Alameda, Calif.; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

44. Also, petition of Paul R. Ellenburg, Fort Madison, Iowa, relative to redress of grievance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

45. Also, petition of Mrs. Cora L. Johnson, Aurora, Ill., relative to discrimination in housing; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

46. Also, petition of Pepe A. Susada, Infanta, Quezon, Philippines, relative to the extension of the guerrillas service recognitions and benefits of World War II; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1967

The Senate met in executive session at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by Hon. Ernest F. Hollings, a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Almighty God, in whose keeping are men and nations, in whose hand the future lies—give us understanding minds and patient hearts, that through us Thou mayest be able to create among the nations and peoples of the earth Thy will for freedom and justice.

Give us greatness of soul that the keys of new power may be used to open doors, not of peril, but of plenty for the whole earth.

So distill upon us the dews of quietness and confidence that in simple trust and deeper reverence we may be found steadfast and abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in Him, and for Him, and with Him, our labor is not in vain.

So, send us forth with serenity and calm to meet an agitated world with a quietness which is the inner strength of the soul.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1967.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. Ernest F. Hollings, a Senator from the State of South Carolina, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. HOLLINGS thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, as in legislative session, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, March 7, 1967, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

REPORT ON NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—(H. DOC. NO. 77)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, without being read, was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the third annual report on the status of the national wilderness preservation system.

The national wilderness preservation system, established by the Wilderness Act of 1964, protects and preserves a priceless legacy—the wilderness of America. Under this act, we hold in trust for future generations more than 9 million acres of forest, mountains, and streams: areas free from the imprint of man; areas where nature alone has left its mark.

This in itself is a great achievement. But our responsibility for preserving America's natural heritage does not end here.

The Congress has recognized this continuing responsibility and has called for a review of the Nation's primitive and unspoiled areas for possible addition to the wilderness system. I welcome that task. I have submitted legislation to authorize the first addition to the wilderness system since its establishment—the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, Calif. I will submit further recommendations later this year.

This is important work.

The wilderness and primitive areas of this Nation are a priceless heritage. That heritage is ours to preserve or to destroy.

America has made its choice.

We shall not rest until the job is done.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 8, 1967.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert E. Hampton, of Maryland, to be a Civil Service Commissioner.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AS IN LEGISTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, as in legislative session, that statements during the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures of the Committee on the Judiciary be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication and letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT RELATING TO PROTECTIVE PAYMENTS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN PROGRAM

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report concerning protective payments made in connection with the aid to families with dependent children program (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT ON SPECIAL PAY FOR DUTY SUBJECT TO HOSTILE FIRE

A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on special pay for duty subject to hostile fire, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services

Employment of Aliens in a Scientific or Technical Capacity

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Commerce.

Investigation and Study To Determine a Site for the Construction of a Sea-Level Canal Connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans

A letter from the Chairman, Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Commerce.

Amendment of Subchapter III of Chapter 83, Title 5, United States Code

A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code (with accompanying papers).

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a communication from the U.S. Civil Service Commission be jointly referred to the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, since it contains subject matter within the jurisdiction of both of these committees.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Representation of the District of Columbia in Congress

A letter from the Acting Attorney General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Adjustment of Status of Certain Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered relating to the adjustment of status of certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska; to the Committee on Commerce:

"Legislative Resolution 16

"Whereas, Congress enacted into law an Act on Day Light Time; and

"Whereas, the six months for Day Light Time as provided in such Act is too long a period in some time zones; and

"Whereas, people living in the western part of time zones feel that four months, to-wit May, June, July, and August are sufficient for Day Light Time.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in seventy-seventh session assembled:

"That the Congress of the United States enact into law an Act changing the period for Day Light Time to include only the months of May, June, July, and August of each year before the present Act becomes effective and thus remove the hardship on people living in the western part of time zones. That suitable copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of Congress from Nebraska."

A resolution of the Senate of the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Senate Memorial No. 1

"A memorial requesting the President and the Congress of the United States to recognize the Republic of Rhodesia as an independent nation.

"To the President and the Congress of the United States of America:

"Your memorialist respectfully represents:

"Whereas, the United States of America came into being by declaring independence from the British Empire, of which it had been a colony for over a century and a half; and

"Whereas, Rhodesia has declared its independence as a Nation from Great Britain; and

"Whereas, the United States of America, in spite of speedy recognition of the independence of the many emerging African Nations over recent years, with the exception of Katanga, has refused to recognize the independence of Rhodesia as a Nation; and

"Whereas, the State Department of the United States of America and our Ambassador to the United Nations did quickly announce that our Country would join and support Great Britain in applying severe economic sanctions and moral pressures against Rhodesia; and

"Whereas, Great Britain has grievously failed to apply a single sanction desired by the United States of America against Cuba or Viet Nam, our deadly communist enemies; and

"Whereas, the Government of Rhodesia has neither needed nor requested a penny of our foreign aid and proffers us not debts but friendship; and

"Whereas, according to Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, only Congress has the power to regulate commerce with foreign Nations.

"Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, prays:

"1. That the President and the Congress of the United States take immediate steps to rescind all sanction against the Republic of Rhodesia.

"2. That the President and the Congress of the United States effect immediate recognition of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Rhodesia.

"3. That the Secretary of State of Arizona send copies of this Memorial to the President of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate and the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of Arizona's Congressional delegation."

A resolution of the Senate of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"Senate Resolution No. 8

"Expressing concern for maintaining the public trust by politicians

"Be it resolved by the Senate:

"Whereas the strength of our Nation swells forth not from the power of a few, but from the individually combined power of all citizens; and

"Whereas the heritage of our Nation has granted to each generation the right to be heard, to serve and be served; and

"Whereas the trusted endeavor of serving one's peers in government forums should not be waylaid by serving one's self; and

"Whereas each member of each forum shares in the collective duty to refuse to permit individual members to use the forum to desecrate the trust bestowed upon them individually or collectively;

"Be it resolved that the United States Congress is respectfully requested to reassure the citizens of our Nation that the Congress will not tolerate among its members disrespect for our heritage of applying law equally to all citizens.

"Copies of this Resolution shall be directed to the Honorable Carl Hayden, President Pro Tempore of the Senate; the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and the Honorable E. L. Bartlett and the Honorable Ernest Gruening, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Howard W. Pollock, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress."

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"House Concurrent Resolution No. 45

"Expressing opposition to the Dodd bill and other restrictive gun legislation

"Whereas the Constitution of the United States guarantees the people of this country the right to bear arms, and

"Whereas, Arkansas is a sports-minded state, and thousands of citizens of this State possess firearms used for hunting and other recreational purposes, and

"Whereas, the right to possess and bear firearms is essential to the protection of persons and property, and the possession thereof by large numbers of our citizens is a deterrent to crime, and

"Whereas, since the tragic and unfortunate death of President Kennedy there has been a concerted effort in the Congress of the United States to pass restrictive gun legislation, yet testimony of experts has indicated that this legislation would not accomplish any purpose other than to deprive the citizens of their right to possess and bear arms as guaranteed by the Constitution: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, the Senate concurring therein:

"That the Congress of the United States is respectfully requested to refrain from the passage of the proposed Dodd bill or similar legislation that would limit the rights of citizens of this country to possess and bear arms, it being the consensus of the General Assembly that adequate legislation now exists on the statute books to protect the public against gun abuses.

"*Be it further resolved* that upon adoption hereof, a copy of this Resolution shall be furnished the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate of the United States Congress, and to each member of the Arkansas Congressional delegation."

A concurent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on Public Works:

"Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 13

"Urging Congress to restore all Federal aid highway funds which have been reduced by order of the President

"Whereas, by order of the President of the United States, the amount of federal aid highway funds authorized by the Congress and programmed for distribution to the states for highway purposes have been severely reduced and such reduction in federal highway funds was not contemplated by the states and will result in serious curtailment of progress contemplated for construction this year; and

"Whereas, the State of Arkansas has geared its highway planning to provide for steadily increasing construction under promises, announced policies, budgets, statutes, and urging of federal government, resulting in the employment of a heavy proportion of construction engineers and consultant engineers; and

"Whereas, the private construction industry has increased its employment and capital investments to meet anticipated highway construction programs; and

"Whereas, the federal aid cut-back will create employment difficulties in both state government and private industries, and in addition, many private construction contractors will face serious economic loss of their capital investment if anticipated projected construction projects are not fulfilled; and

"Whereas, the federal aid cut-back of approximately Twelve and one half Million Dollars ($12,500,000), in funds previously anticipated for construction in this State, will mean a reduction of approximately Twenty Million Dollars ($20,000,000) in anticipated highway construction in this State; and

"Whereas, in order to meet the anticipated requirements of federal aid matching obligations, the Arkansas General Assembly met in Special Session in the Spring of 1965 and enacted a comprehensive highway user tax program designed to make available adequate funds to meet the state's obligations under the projected federal aid highway program; and

"Whereas, the people of this State assumed this additional tax burden in order to carry out an adequate highway program and to match contemplated federal funds, and

"Whereas, the federal aid cut-back will severely curtail this State's efforts to achieve an adequate highway transportation system and to fulfill its obligations to complete the portion of the Interstate Highway System located in this State: Now, therefore be it

"*Resolved by the Senate of the sixty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, the House of Representatives concurring therein:*

"That the Congress of the United States is respectfully requested, at the earliest possible date, to devise and approve legislation which will restore all federal aid highway funds to the level of projected authorization of expenditures in effect and contemplated in November, 1966, prior to the cut-back thereof as ordered by the President of the United States.

"*We further resolve* that upon adoption hereof a copy of this Resolution shall be furnished the Director of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and to each member of the Arkansas Congressional Delegation."

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Montana; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"A RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA

"Urging amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public (Law 89–10) to reduce the administrative compliance costs involved in administering the act at State and local levels.

"Whereas, the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 (PL 89–10) has as its purpose the improvement of education in elementary and secondary schools; and

"Whereas, it was designed primarily for schools in urban areas; and

"Whereas, in the course of administering the provisions of this act in Montana, local school districts incur large and needless administrative compliance expenses which partially defeat the purpose of the act; and

"Whereas, the administration of the act requires a great deal of time and effort on the state level by the Department of Public Instruction; and

"Whereas, the net effect of the act is to create confusion and needless red tape.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Montana:

"That the above named individuals reconsider the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 with a view toward finding ways to reduce the administrative compliance costs while preserving the objectives of the act.

"Be it further resolved, that the Clerk of the House is directed to send copies of this resolution to the individuals to whom the resolution is addressed.

"JAMES R. FELT,
"*Speaker of the House.*

"I certify that the within Resolution was adopted February 22, 1967 by the Montana House of Representatives.

"EDNA J. HINMAN,
"*Chief Clerk.*"

A resolution of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT LEGISLATION STRIKING SECTION 14(b) FROM THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

"*Whereas,* In order to end the competitive disadvantages of Massachusetts industry with right to work status; therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That the Massachusetts Senate hereby urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation striking section 14–B from the Taft-Hartley law; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, and to each member thereof from this Commonwealth.

"Senate, adopted, February 20, 1967.

"NORMAN L. PIDGEON,
"*Clerk.*

"KEVIN H. WHITE,
"*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*"

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota; to the Committee on Public Works:

"SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 8

"A concurrent resolution, memorializing the Congress of the United States to direct the Department of Interior and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to promptly determine and maintain a stabilized waterlevel on Lake Francis Case

"Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein:

"Whereas, among the expressed purposes for the construction of Fort Randall Dam and the resulting Reservoir (Lake Francis Case) were the following beneficial features: watersupply for recreational purposes, watersupply for irrigation purposes, watersupply for livestock production, and wetlands for waterfowl habitat and nesting; and

"Whereas, because of the greatly fluctuating waterlevel, recreational facilities for boating and fishing have not been usable during the fall and early winter; and

"Whereas, many commercial enterprises constructed to accommodate vacationers and other persons seeking outdoor recreation have been abandoned because the low waterlevel has made the recreational facilities unusable; and

"Whereas, at low level, much hardship and loss is caused the farmers and ranchers, due to exposed silt left by the receding waters; and

"Whereas, the waterlevel is more constant in the other reservoirs along the Missouri River Development Area than in the Fort Randall Reservoir (Lake Francis Case); and

"Whereas, the recreational and commercial potentials of Fort Randall Reservoir (Lake Francis Case) should receive equal consideration as is given to maintaining navigable waterlevels downstream:

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the Senate of the Forty-Second Legislature of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that the Congress of the United States be, and is, memorialized to direct the Department of Interior and the United States Army Corps of Engineers to promptly determine and maintain a stabilized waterlevel on Lake Francis Case during the late fall and early winter months so that at no time will the waterlevel be so low as to expose the former islands to the extent that old roads and stumps are visible; and

"Be it further resolved, that copies of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and the Members of the South Dakota delegation to the Congress of the United States."

"Adopted by the Senate February 17, 1967.

"Concurred in by the House of Representatives February 28, 1967."

A resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Pelican-Lakes Dairy Cooperative, of Pelican Rapids, Minn., favoring the enactment of Senate bill 612, limiting the importation of dairy products into the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Resolution adopted by the Evergreen Senior Citizens Clubs 1 and 2, of Hoquiam, Wash., requesting the United States and the Legislature of the State of Washington to reevaluate the reasons and purposes for their joint participation in aid for the indigent aged; to the Committee on Finance.

An open letter in the nature of a petition from the Mothers' Crusade for Victory over Communism, of Mesa, Ariz., signed by Mrs. Bette Mathes, relating to the setting of the stage by the United Nations for World War III; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Five petitions signed by John Gellak, and sundry other citizens of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, requesting that the Senate refuse to ratify the consular treaty with Russia; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution adopted by the Downey, Calif., Junior Chamber of Commerce, protesting against the approval of the Rampart Dam Project proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers; to the Committees on Public Works.

RESOLUTION OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the House of Representatives of the New Mexico State Legislature, now in session in Santa Fe, has passed a house memorial to the Congress of the United States declaring support for and urging early enactment of legislation to transfer title to the Navajo Tribe in trust of certain lands in northwestern New Mexico.

I ask unanimous consent that the memorial be printed at this point in the

Record and that a copy be referred to the appropriate Senate committee.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, as follows:

A House Memorial

To the Congress of the United States declaring support for and urging early enactment of legislation to transfer title to the Navajo Tribe in trust of certain lands in northwestern New Mexico

Whereas, some twenty-four thousand Navajo people, citizens of the state of New Mexico as well as members of the Navajo Tribe, living in what is known as the "off-reservation" area in McKinley and San Juan counties and the westernmost parts of Rio Arriba, Sandoval and Valencia counties in northwestern New Mexico, are faced with a steadily worsening economic situation because of an inadequate land base and the intermingling of their lands with federal lands on which they have exclusive grazing privileges but which they do not own, and the peculiar title status of the federal lands which prevents the development of multiple use potentials on the federal lands and the adjoining Navajo owned lands; and

Whereas, this peculiar land title and land use arrangement in this area keeps the entire Navajo population in a chronically depressed condition economically, which in turn creates a drag on the economy of the entire area; and

Whereas, the Navajo Tribe, through the use of its own funds, has made maximum efforts to acquire additional lands for this part of its population and has expended two million one hundred ninety-one thousand twenty-one dollars twenty-nine cents ($2,191,021.29) over the past two years, but the Tribe's declining income is bringing this land acquisition program to a close while the need for additional lands is still great; and

Whereas, transfer of title in trust to the Navajo Tribe of the following lands: railroad relinquished and reconveyed lands, two hundred thirty-seven thousand one hundred thirty-one, two-hundredths acres; agricultural resettlement lands, seventy thousand, two hundred sixty-seven, twenty-four hundredths acres; United States Government (bureau of Indian affairs) reserves, five thousand, four hundred fifty-two, eight-seven hundredths acres, would permit the Tribe, with the assistance of the bureau of Indian Affairs, to include this whole "off-reservation" area in significant ways in the Tribe's overall economic development programs, opening the entire area up to recreation and tourist developments, town developments which will encourage industry to come in to provide jobs, and such developments will increase the purchasing power of this large and steadily growing Navajo population and will thus provide a major stimulus to the economy of the total area, Navajo and non-Navajo alike; and

Whereas, bills are being introduced in the ninetieth session of the United States Congress to transfer title to these lands to the Navajo Tribe in trust and such legislation will require no federal appropriation since these lands are now owned by the federal government, and transferring title to these lands to the Navajo Tribe in trust will permit the bureau of Indian affairs to participate in the overall development of the entire area with federal funds which would far exceed revenues which could be realized through taxes on these lands if title were transferred in fee:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of New Mexico that its strong support of federal legislation to transfer title of these lands to the Navajo Tribe in trust is hereby declared, and that it urges early enactment of this legislation; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this memorial be transmitted to the secretary of the interior, to the New Mexico delegation to the Congress of the United States and to the director, bureau of land management, federal building, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Signed and sealed at the Capitol, in the City of Santa Fe.

[SEAL]

Bruce King,
Speaker of the House.
Albert Romero,
Chief Clerk of the House.
Ernestine D. Evans,
Secretary of State.

RESOLUTION OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the House of Representatives of the New Mexico State Legislature, now in session in Santa Fe, has passed a house memorial requesting the New Mexico delegation to the U.S. Congress to investigate the possibility of constructing a flood control dam on the Pecos River above Tecolotito.

I ask unanimous consent that the memorial be printed at this point in the Record and that a copy be referred to the appropriate Senate Committee.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Public Works, as follows:

A House Memorial

Requesting the New Mexico delegation to the United States Congress to investigate the possibility of constructing a flood control dam on the Pecos River above Tecolotito

Whereas, there is a clear and pressing need for a flood control dam on the Pecos river above Tecolotito in San Miguel county, to prevent continuing damage from erosion on farm lands in or near the communities of Dahlia, upper Anton Chico, La Loma, Dilia and Tecolotito; and

Whereas, three dam sites on the Pecos river above Tecolotito have been surveyed by the United States army corps of engineers; and

Whereas, as the population of New Mexico continues to grow, there are increasing needs for adequate park and recreation areas for our residents as well as the tourists who, by visiting New Mexico, benefit the state economically; and

Whereas, a flood control dam at this location would also provide such an area:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of New Mexico that the New Mexico delegation to the United States Congress is requested to investigate the possibility of constructing a flood control dam on the Pecos river above Tecolotito; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this memorial be transmitted to the New Mexico delegation to the United States Congress.

Signed and sealed at the Capitol in the city of Santa Fe.

Bruce King,
Speaker of the House.

[SEAL]

Ernestine D. Evans,
Secretary of State.

REPORT ON DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

Mr. MONRONEY, from the Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments, to which was referred for examination and recommendations a list of records transmitted to the Senate by the Archivist of the United States, dated February 27, 1967, that appeared to have no permanent value or historical interest, submitted a report thereon, pursuant to law.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. RUSSELL (for himself and Mrs. Smith) (by request):

S. 1216. A bill to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for use by the Secretary of Defense for acquisition of properties pursuant to section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. Russell when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 1217. A bill to provide for uniform annual observances of certain legal public holidays on Mondays, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Smathers when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 1218. A bill to provide for computing the annual Federal payment authorization for the District of Columbia, and establishing a method for computing the annual borrowing authority for the general fund of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 1219. A bill to amend title 5 of the United States Code with respect to pay received by public schoolteachers of the District of Columbia for employment during the summer vacation period;

S. 1220. A bill to amend section 5 of the act of February 11, 1929, to remove the dollar limit on the authority of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims of the District of Columbia in escheat cases;

S. 1221. A bill to provide that the Commissioners may accept or permit the acceptance of the performance by volunteers of services for and on behalf of the municipal government of the District of Columbia;

S. 1222. A bill to amend the Motor Vehicle Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia;

S. 1223. A bill to repeal language relating to the liability of contractors for the repair of new pavements in the District of Columbia;

S. 1224. A bill to establish a register of blind persons in the District of Columbia, to provide for the mandatory reporting of information concerning such persons, and for other purposes;

S. 1225. A bill to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act;

S. 1226. A bill to transfer from the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions the authority to waive certain provisions relating to the issuance of a marriage license in the District of Columbia;

S. 1227. A bill to provide that a judgment or decree of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia shall not constitute a lien until filed and recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1228. A bill to authorize project grants for construction and modernization of hospitals and other medical facilities in the District of Columbia; and

S. 1229. A bill to amend the act of July 11, 1947, to authorize members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the U.S. Park Police force, and the White House Police force to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department Band, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

S. 1230. A bill for the relief of Lester W. Hein and Sadie Hein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK (for himself and Mr. Scott):

S. 1231. A bill to amend the act of June 28, 1948, as amended, relating to the acquisition of property for the Independence National Historical Park; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Clark when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SCOTT (for himself, Mr. Allott, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Burdick, Mr. Byrd of Virginia, Mr. Case, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Dominick, Mr. Fannin, Mr. Fong, Mr. Harris, Mr. Hill, Mr. Hollings, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Javits, Mr. Jordan of Idaho, Mr. Kuchel, Mr. Lausche, Mr. Magnuson, Mr. McClellan, Mr. McGee, Mr. Miller, Mr. Moss, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Prouty, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Smathers, and Mr. Young of North Dakota):

S.J. Res. 50. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim April 9, 1967, as Bataan-Corregidor Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Scott when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1967, FOR USE BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR ACQUISITION OF CERTAIN PROPERTIES

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, by request, for myself and the senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith] I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for use by the Secretary of Defense for acquisition of properties pursuant to section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, and for other purposes.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter of transmittal from the Department of Defense requesting introduction of the legislation and explaining its purpose be printed in the Record immediately following the listing of the bill.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1216) to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for use by the Secretary of Defense for acquisition of properties pursuant to section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, and for other purposes introduced by Mr. Russell (for himself and Mrs. Smith), by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

The letter presented by Mr. Russell is as follows:

The Secretary of Defense,
Washington, February 23, 1967.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: Forwarded herewith is draft legislation "To authorize appropriations during Fiscal Year 1967 for use by the Secretary of Defense for acquisition of properties pursuant to section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, and for other purposes."

Section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, authorizes the Secretary of Defense to provide assistance to military or civilian employee homeowners by reducing their losses incident to the disposal of their homes when the military installations at which they were serving or employed are ordered to be closed in whole or in part. To provide such assistance, the Secretary is authorized "to acquire title to, hold, manage, and dispose of, or, in lieu thereof, to reimburse for certain losses upon private sale of, or foreclosure against, any property improved with a one- or two-family dwelling . . ." The Act establishes in the Treasury a fund to be available to the Secretary for extending such financial assistance to qualified homeowners but subsection 1013(i) requires that appropriations for the acquisition of properties must be authorized by a military construction authorization act and that no monies in the fund may be expended except as may be provided in appropriation acts.

The accompanying legislation would authorize the appropriation of $11,000,000 for providing assistance to homeowners whose eligibility is established prior to the end of the current fiscal year. Funds will be requested for this purpose. Authorization for appropriation of additional funds required to provide future assistance to other eligible homeowners, including acquisition of properties, will be requested in the FY 1968 military construction authorization bill.

This proposal is a part of the Department of Defense legislative program for 1967. The Bureau of the Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the presentation of this proposal for the consideration of the Congress.

Sincerely,

Cyril Vance,
Deputy.

UNIFORM ANNUAL OBSERVANCE OF CERTAIN LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAYS ON MONDAYS

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for the uniform annual observance of certain legal public holidays on Mondays and for other purposes. My bill would change the present observance dates of five major U.S. holidays so they will occur regularly on Mondays, thus creating additional 3-day weekends such as we already have commemorating Labor Day.

Specifically, my bill would change Memorial Day from May 30 to the last Monday in May; Independence Day from July 4 to the first Monday in July; Veterans Day from November 11 to the last Monday in October; and, Thanksgiving Day from the fourth Thursday in November to the fourth Monday in November. Washington's birthday would be changed to Presidents' Day, to honor all of our Presidents, and would be observed on the third Monday in February rather than February 22.

For several years, there have been proposals, both within Congress and without, for changing the dates of certain holidays so they will occur uniformly and regularly on Mondays. Such a plan will be of great benefit to both employer and employee.

The main benefit to the worker is a better distribution of his vacation time. The "Uniform Monday Holiday Plan" would create five extra three day weekends in 1967, for example. The extra "vacationettes" between regular vacations, provide the worker with a better opportunity for rest and relaxation than do the 1-day holidays, which frequently interrupt the regular workweek.

The primary benefit to the employer is an economic one. Uniform Monday observances would reduce the absenteeism that surrounds holidays which fall during midweek. The plan would avoid production interruptions and costly shutdowns caused by midweek holidays. And, it would create a sales stimulus for many types of businesses, such as the travel industry, and others, whose products and services would be useful in the new-found time for recreation.

While changed dates for certain holidays might at first seem to disrupt "tradition" or impair their historical significance, this is not the case. Most holiday dates have been arbitrarily set and, in fact, already lack true historical significance. For example, Independence Day, July 4, might just as well be celebrated on July 2, the day on which the Resolution of Independence was adopted. Similarly, Thanksgiving observance dates have been many and varied throughout our history.

Mr. President, at this time I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, two recent newspaper articles. The first article, "Uniform Holidays Would Benefit Both Business and Labor," by columnist Sylvia Porter, appeared in the Miami Herald on February 20. The second is an editorial entitled "The Long Weekend," which appeared in the St. Petersburg, Fla., Times on February 27.

Mr. President, holidays observed in the United States are not national holidays; they are legal or public holidays. The President or the Congress can designate for Federal employees and the District of Columbia but the individual States determine which holidays they will observe. Congressional enactment of my bill, however, would influence State governments and business firms to follow suit.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the articles will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1217) to provide for uniform annual observances of certain legal public holidays on Mondays, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Smathers, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The articles presented by Mr. Smathers are as follows:

[From the Miami Herald, Feb. 20, 1967]

Uniform Holidays Would Benefit Both Business and Labor

(By Sylvia Porter)

On Wednesday, we celebrate Washington's birthday. Since Washington actually was born on Feb. 11th—and it was the adoption of the Gregorian calendar by the colonies in 1752 which pushed it ahead 11 days—there's no reason why the 22nd should be "sacred." Why not move this holiday to the third Monday in February so we could have a welcome 3-day weekend?

This July, the 4th falls on Tuesday—a signal for massive absenteeism on Monday and for tremendous losses to industry.

Since the Resolution of Independence was approved by Congress on July 2, 1776 and it took another 17 days before all members of Congress reported their approval, why should the traditional July 4 date still be regarded as sacred? Wouldn't it be better all around if Independence Day always was on a Monday?

This November, Veterans Day will fall on a Saturday. This promises to be a mess, because some will have time off on Friday, some on Monday and many of us will have no holiday at all. But Veterans Day, which originally marked the end of World War I hostilities, now has been broadened to commemorate veterans of all wars, making any set date historically meaningless. Wouldn't it be more reasonable to switch it from November, which is loaded with days off—to the first Monday in April which has no holidays?

Of course it makes sense. In fact, a U.S. Chamber of Commerce survey last fall revealed that such a plan would be accepted by business and employes.

Under the "Uniform Monday Holiday Plan" all major U.S. Holidays (except Christmas and New Year's) would automatically fall on Monday.

This would mean at least five extra three-day weekends in 1967. It would, in fact, create a new kind of "vacationette" between regular vacations.

For the businessman the plan would reduce absenteeism when a holiday falls, let's say, on a Tuesday or a Thursday. It would reduce costly shutdowns for single midweek holidays. It would benefit the travel industry because single-day holidays would become long weekends in which people could "go someplace."

OBJECTIONS LISTED

What, then are the objections?

First is, the extra three-day weekends might increase the highway death toll. However, some experts who have studied accident rates on three-day holiday weekends contend that despite nationwide press coverage of the problem, accident rates actually are lower than during single-day holidays when drivers are rushing to get "there and back."

Another objection is tradition. But look at the facts. In addition to the artificiality of Washington's birthday, Veterans Day and Independence Day, Thanksgiving Day has been changed several times over the years and Memorial Day, arbitrarily set on May 30 to honor the Civil War dead, was later broadened to honor all U.S. war dead.

The Chamber's survey may begin a new drive for federal, and later state, legislation to launch the Monday holiday plan. A Monday holiday bill has been introduced before—and this bill surely will come up again.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Feb. 2, 1967]

The Long Weekend

It doesn't sound very stirring—or even faintly historical—but a plan being proposed by business leaders and economists could revolutionize American holiday-taking.

Called the "Uniform Monday Holiday Plan," the scheme calls for all major U.S. holidays, except Christmas and New Year's to fall on Monday. Were it to be put into effect workers would have five extra three-day weekends this year, for example.

In a way, it would be tidier. The awkwardness of mid-week holidays is only exceeded by the absenteeism caused by the Tuesday or Thursday day-off. Somehow, a lot of people never make it in to the office on those intervening Mondays and Fridays.

Canadians use this plan. The British "Long Weekend," though less formal, is justly favored by those who can take it. Three days are bound to be better than the usual two.

It might take a little getting used to, though. Independence Day always on Monday? Likewise, George Washington's birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Memorial Day, Veterans Day and Thanksgiving?

People whose sense of the historical might be outraged can be comforted by the fact that most holiday dates don't really belong where they are anyway. Washington's birthdate got rearranged when the country switched to the Gregorian calendar in 1752; Independence Day could just as well be moved anywhere from the day of the Declaration—July 2—to the time it was approved 17 days later.

There's also an answer for those who say there would be more dashing down the highways killing each other with automobiles. Accident rates, says financial columnist Sylvia Porter, are actually lower on long weekends than on the one-day holidays. Not so much of a rush.

It's a pretty good thought. If most of our national celebrations were to be moved to Monday, the traditional hue of that unlovely day of returning to work might turn from blue to red, white and blue. More colorful anyway.

INCREASED AUTHORIZATION FOR INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott], and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to increase the authorization for the Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pa.

This bill is being offered to facilitate the purchase of property at Fourth and Walnut Streets by the Department of the Interior. The property, a 16-story office building, is abutted on three sides by the National Historical Park.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1231) to amend the act of June 28, 1948, as amended, relating to the acquisition of property for the Independence National Historical Park, introduced by Mr. Clark (for himself and Mr. Scott), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

BATAAN-CORREGIDOR DAY

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on behalf of Senators Allott, Bennett, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd of Virginia, Case, Dodd, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Harris, Hill, Hollings, Inouye, Javits, Jordan of Idaho, Kuchel, Lausche, Magnuson, McClellan, McGee, Miller, Moss, Nelson, Prouty, Randolph, Smathers, Young of North Dakota, and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim April 9, 1967, as Bataan-Corregidor Day, as a tribute to the gallant American and Philippine soldiers who fought, suffered, and died side by side defending the principles of freedom. This proclamation should call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with a minute of silence at 11 a.m. and with other appropriate ceremonies and activities.

April 9, 1967, will be the 25th anniversary of the fall of Bataan. Corregidor fell a few weeks thereafter. It is appropriate to observe this milestone of one of the most heroic battles ever fought by American men.

This date will be observed in the Republic of the Philippines, Mr. President, and I am happy to report that one of my constituents, Arthur A. Bressi, of Mechanicsburg, Pa., has organized a group of 456 veterans of the Bataan-Corregidor battles to go to that great nation for this celebration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 50) to authorize the President to proclaim April 9, 1967, as Bataan-Corregidor Day, introduced by Mr. Scott (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I am proud to join the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott], in support of this resolution to honor the heroes who gallantly fought to defend Bataan and Corregidor. Their stand will forever be remembered as a courageous example of the determination of our country to assist our Philippine allies in their noble struggle for independence and self-determination, for themselves, and, indeed, for all Asian peoples.

Today the soldiers of the Republic of the Philippines stand side by side with those of the United States in South Vietnam. President Marcos, of the Philippines, has shown imaginative initiative and leadership in searching for an honorable settlement to the conflict in southeast Asia that will restore security and freedom to the nations on the other side of the Pacific. Last fall I was pleased to join my Republican colleagues in the call for an All-Asia Peace Conference, an idea which found favor in the Philippines and in other nations in Asia.

The heroes of Bataan and Corregidor fought that the people of Asia might choose their own leaders and be free of tyranny. Their commander, the great Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose understanding of America's role in Asia remains without equal, saw clearly the vital, mutual interests which we share with the people of the Philippines. He took his stand at Bataan. America, the Philippines, and all of Asia will always be grateful.

HEARINGS BY AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON FISHERIES, CUSTOMS, AND MARITIME MATTERS

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, as chairman of the ad hoc Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations appointed to consider various fisheries, customs, and maritime matters, I wish to announce that there will be a public hearing by the subcommittee on March 16 at 9 a.m. in room S-116 in the Capitol to consider the following treaties: the International Telecommunication Convention, Executive O, 89th Congress, second session, and the amendments to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960, Executive E, 90th Congress, first session.

Persons wishing to testify are requested to get in touch with the Chief Clerk of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Arthur M. Kuhl, as soon as possible.

Members of the subcommittee are: Senator DODD, Senator MCCARTHY, Senator CARLSON, and Senator CASE.

FEDERAL JURY SELECTION PROCESS—NOTICE OF HEARINGS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary, I wish to announce that hearings will be held on the Federal jury selection process. These hearings are designed primarily to canvass the jury selection problem in a general way, although specific commentary upon the six bills which I introduced—S. 383, S. 384, S. 385, S. 386, S. 387, S. 388, and S. 989—may be included.

The hearings will be held on March 21, 22, and 29, 1967, beginning at 9:30 a.m., in room 4200 of the New Senate Office Building. Any person who wishes to testify or submit a statement for inclusion in the record should communicate with the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, room 6306, New Senate Office Building.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 1181) to exempt a member of the Armed Forces from service in a combat zone when such member is the sole surviving son of a family, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S.J. Res. 4) authorizing the President to proclaim "National CARIH Asthma Week."

ADVICE TO THE PRESIDENT ON VIETNAM

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, from 1946 through 1958, Vermont was represented in the Senate by Ralph E. Flanders, of Springfield, Vt. During the 12 years he was a Member of this body, Senator Flanders' main interest was in people, and in finding ways by which people could get along and live together, regardless of race, creed, or color. He was also intensely interested in maintaining peace among the nations, and he hated injustice in any form.

Since his retirement from this body, Senator Flanders has lost none of his interest in these ideas. Recently, he spoke before a church meeting in his home town of Springfield, Vt., and I am privileged to have a copy of the statement he made at that time. This statement relates to the situation in southeast Asia at this time. He gives some very good advice to President Johnson, and I ask unanimous consent that the statement of Senator Flanders be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> Let the President pursue an active, aggressive search for peace. It is not enough to listen and wait for "feelers." Let him seek any useful contact with Ho Chi Minh—as direct a contact as possible. Let him express as his main concern the interests of the people of both North and South Viet Nam. Our foreign policy should be directed toward the well-being of people. Governments are means, not ends. Only people count.
>
> While vigorously maintaining the defensive warfare in the South, let him unilaterally cease the bombing of the North, as long as it takes to carry through the negotiations.
>
> Let him offer to Ho Chi Minh a program of rehabilitation and human improvement alike in North and South Viet Nam, in return for his withdrawal of invasion forces and material support to the Viet Cong. As this withdrawal becomes evident, let us withdraw our military aid from the South.
>
> In place of military aid let us extend massive economic aid, restoring transportation, rebuilding peaceful industry and by irrigation and power dams and in other ways increase the food production and the standard of living of both countries.
>
> As for the Viet Cong, let them likewise be appealed to by radio and dropped leaflets where feasible. Urge them to cease resistance and join in assistance to our rebuilding and expanding the national economy, to the end that the standard of living may be raised for all its citizens. If political differences still remain, let them be settled by resort to constitutional political means.
>
> If the proposals are not accepted, let bombing be resumed, but let it be a bombing of leaflets covering the entire country and explaining to the people the proposals we have made. Give the people a chance to bring pressure on their ruler. Meanwhile vigorously continue the military defense of South Viet Nam.
>
> We have not yet sought a just peace with sufficient intelligence and determination. This is one way of doing so. Whether we succeed or not, we will stand clear in the judgment of the world and of our own consciences.

DEATH OF DR. WILSON M. COMPTON

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on Tuesday, March 7, our Nation lost a distinguished scholar, conservationist, servant of government, and citizen in general. Ohio has always been proud of the contributions made by the Compton family in the educational, scientific, and civic life of our Nation.

Dr. Wilson M. Compton was born in Wooster, Ohio, 76 years ago, graduated from Wooster College in 1911, and subsequently received his doctorate from Princeton University.

During the early part of his career, he devoted some time to the field of preserving our forests. In 1934, he came to Washington and became a part-time economics professor and lecturer at George Washington University. He also taught history and economics at Princeton and Dartmouth. In 1944, he became president of the State College of Washington. In 1946 he was made a member of the U.S. Education Commission to Japan, where he rendered distinguished service. He was a delegate, in 1949 and 1950, to the United Nations General Assembly.

Surviving Dr. Compton are his wife, well known in Washington for her civic activities; a son, Ross, now in Japan; and two brothers, Dr. Karl Compton, former chairman of the board of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dr. Arthur Compton, a Nobel Prize winner for his work in radiation.

I mourn the death of Dr. Wilson M. Compton, and my condolences go to his wife, son, brothers, and other relatives.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for 10 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MANSFIELD DENOTES VAST AREA OF AGREEMENT ON VIETNAM

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on Sunday, the majority leader, Senator MANSFIELD, appeared on the Columbia

Broadcasting program "Face the Nation."

The majority leader's appearance was highly significant.

It was significant because it constituted one of the rare occasions on national television in which the Vietnam war was explored to determine how to solve the toughest of American problems constructively. In almost all previous TV discussions of this kind on Vietnam, reporters strive to establish differences of opinion and they succeed. They strive to identify the dove or the hawk and then make either one as sharp and divisive a critic of our policies as possible. Maybe conflict does make news. But when the conflict is false or grossly exaggerated, it does this country a serious disservice.

The reporters interrogating the majority leader repeatedly tried this usual approach to elicit criticism by him of the administration's conduct in Vietnam.

They tried to line him up as for the Kennedy proposal of last week or against it.

They tried to develop a split in the Nation among its top leaders over Vietnam and then to dramatize it.

The majority leader responded patiently to each question. But in doing so he showed that the unity, the agreement among our leaders is far greater, I repeat far, far greater, than any differences.

Not only does the President share the Mansfield and Kennedy objectives of achieving peace as soon as possible, and this Senator MANSFIELD made emphatically clear, but also the President and the Senators who have spoken out constructively on Vietnam share in great detail almost every aspect of what the United States must do to achieve that objective.

The differences are very small. The agreement is very big.

FULL AGREEMENT ON OUR TERMS

Taking Ambassador Goldberg's recent speech on Vietnam at Howard University as a touchstone of administration policy, consider this agreement:

First. MANSFIELD, KENNEDY, and the President agree we should seek a political solution in Vietnam.

Second. All agree we do not seek the unconditional surrender of our adversaries.

Third. All agree we seek a settlement whose terms will result not from dictation, but from genuine negotiations—a settlement whose terms will not sacrifice the vital interest of any party.

Fourth. All agree we are not engaged in a "holy war" against communism.

Fifth. All agree we do not seek an American sphere of influence in Asia; nor a permanent American "presence" of any kind—military or otherwise—in Vietnam; nor the imposition of a military alliance on South Vietnam.

Sixth. All agree we do not seek to do any injury to mainland China nor to threaten any of its legitimate interests.

Seventh. All agree we seek to assure to the people of South Vietnam the affirmative exercise of the right of self-determination—the right to decide their own political destiny free of external interference and force and through democratic processes.

Eighth. All agree we do not seek to exclude any segment of the South Vietnamese people from peaceful participation in their country's future.

Ninth. All agree we are prepared to accept the results of that decision whatever it may be.

Tenth. All agree we support the early consummation of a democratic constitutional system in South Vietnam, and welcome the progress being made to this end.

Eleventh. All agree as regards North Vietnam, we have no designs on its territory and we do not seek to overthrow its government whatever its ideology. We are prepared fully to respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to enter into specific undertakings to that end.

Twelfth. All agree the reunification of Vietnam should be decided upon through a free choice by the peoples of both the north and the south without any outside interference; and the results of that choice also will have our full support.

Thirteenth. All agree that when peace is restored we are willing to make a major commitment of money, talent, and resources to a multilateral cooperative effort to bring to all of southeast Asia, including North Vietnam, the benefits of economic and social reconstruction and development which that area so sorely needs.

FULL AGREEMENT ON OUR POLICY TOWARD HANOI TERMS

And the majority leader, the President and Senator KENNEDY not only agree fully in their attitude toward our own objectives. They agree virtually to the last comma on what our attitude should be toward our adversaries' proposals.

First. The first point proposed by North Vietnam calls for recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, the cessation of all acts of war against the north; the ending of U.S. intervention in the South; the withdrawal of all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds, the dismantling of American bases and the cancellation of what they term the U.S. "military alliance" with South Vietnam.

All agree that the United States would not find any essential difficulty with a reasonable interpretation of any of the terms included in this point and that our chief concern is what it does not include: namely, that North Vietnam also cease its intervention in the south, end all of its acts of war against the south, and withdraw its forces from the south. All agree that such a requirement is obviously essential to the "peace" to which this first point refers.

Second. The second point relates to the military clauses of the Geneva agreements. It provides that, pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, both the north and the south must refrain from joining any military alliance; and that there should be no foreign bases, troops or military personnel in their respective territories.

Here again, all agree that the only real difficulty is the omission of any obligation on the north to withdraw its military forces from the south—although the Geneva accords which established the demarcation line in Vietnam forbids military interference of any sort by one side in the affairs of the other, and even goes so far as to forbid civilians to cross the demilitarized zone.

Third. The President, Senators MANSFIELD, and KENNEDY all reject the Hanoi third point which calls for the settlement of the south's internal affairs "in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam." This point, of course, was not a part of the Geneva accords at all. It introduces a new element.

Fourth. The fourth point calls for the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, to be settled by the people of both zones without any foreign interference. All agree we have no difficulty with this point.

Fifth. There has apparently been added a fifth point—put forward and repeatedly endorsed by both Hanoi and the National Liberation Front since the enunciation of the four points in April 1965. This fifth point was stated by Ho Chi Minh in January 1966 when he said that if the United States really wants peace, it must recognize the National Liberation Front as the "sole genuine representative" of the people of South Vietnam, and engage in negotiation with it. This, like the third of the "four points," introduces a new element which was not part of the Geneva accords.

On this point there is little if any difference. All agree the Vietcong should be a party to negotiations but not the exclusive representative of the people of South Vietnam.

So much, Mr. President, for the alleged disagreements on peace terms and objectives among three of the Nation's leaders whom the press would have us believe are at each other's throats on Vietnam every day and on every occasion.

Actually there is no difference. There is remarkable unanimity of agreement. This should be the story.

SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT ON MILITARY TACTICS

Now, how about the military tactics: the search and find, the bombing, the possibilities of ceasefire.

Mr. President, the major fact about our military tactics in Vietnam is their restraint. Our military tactics are carefully limited. They are designed to reduce civilian casualties to a minimum. They strive to hit the military activity by North Vietnam with a minimum interference with the civilian life of the North Vietnamese.

Every poll shows that this is the point on which most Americans who do disagree with our policy in Vietnam express their disagreement. These Americans think we should sharply escalate, step up our attack on North Vietnam.

Some argue that we should blockade

Haiphong. Some say we should vastly increase our bombing of targets in North Vietnam, including virtually all industrial targets of any kind. Some contend we should invade North Vietnam with the full force of the most powerful armed force on earth. And some even argue we should take the wraps off our fantastic nuclear power and obliterate North Vietnam under an all-out atomic blast.

At any rate, most of the administration's critics—in terms of numbers say that we are not doing enough militarily in North Vietnam, that we should escalate, escalate big, and escalate now.

So first, let it be said that the President, Senator MANSFIELD and Senator KENNEDY all agree in opposing this major alternative to U.S. policy.

Second, let it also be said that all three agree we should not withdraw, pull out, quit.

Third, all agree we would like to cease military activities just as soon as possible.

Cynics charge that the administration may give lipservice to this objective, but does nothing to carry it out. How untrue.

The administration has put into effect not one cease-fire but a series of cease-fires.

It has stopped bombing not once but on two distinct occasions, once for 37 days.

Indeed, for 5 years there was no bombing, no military action by American troops in Vietnam and no indication of a willingness to negotiate by North Vietnam or the Vietcong.

It is true that Senator KENNEDY has proposed a cessation of bombing for one week; and in the event negotiations began during that week the cessation should continue while the negotiations proceeded in good faith.

It is true that Majority Leader MANSFIELD suggests—and I quote from his statement on "Face the Nation"—a much more comprehensive proposal, to wit:

> All sides, the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong, South Vietnam, U.S. Government and our allies there (should) see if a proposal couldn't be made by means of which the fighting would come to a stop on all sides to the end that on that basis maybe negotiations could get under way.

At another point in the program, the majority leader calls for a "cease-fire and a stand fast."

But the majority leader added that the difference between himself and the President has been exaggerated because this is what the President desires and desires very earnestly too.

All three—the President, Senator KENNEDY and Senator MANSFIELD—want to stop military action just as soon as possible. None—not one—wants to stop it unilaterally. None would stop it without condition.

The President wants a reciprocal action on the part of North Vietnam.

Senator KENNEDY wants us to take Premier Kosygin up on his London suggestion and give Hanoi just one week to meet the condition that they enter into and stay in good faith negotiations.

Senator MANSFIELD wants a cease-fire and stand fast—initiative by us—but, of course, stand fast means just that: stand fast. If the other side does not cease fire, if it continues to fight, the only way you can stand fast is to fight back just as hard as necessary. So this is not a unilateral cease-fire. The condition is clear and explicit.

SUGGESTION NOT ARGUMENT

Now, Mr. President, where is the stark or significant difference?

Senator MANSFIELD proposed on "Face the Nation" that the President consider the Kennedy suggestion, and said that he would go along with the President's decision after the President gives the proposal consideration.

Senator KENNEDY has made a modest and limited suggestion. It is not a fight with the President or even an argument. It is a limited suggestion. The majority leader puts it in exactly the right context when he points out that under the Constitution the Senate does have the right to advise, that the final and often terrible and cruel decision must be the President's. And I quote Senator MANSFIELD from "Face the Nation":

> Practically all the speeches made in the Senate (on Vietnam) are not destructive in character but are attempts to be constructive in advancing viewpoints on the Constitutional basis of our duty to advise.

Mr. President, the American press does a superb job in many, many respects, but it has created an almost entirely false picture of the actions and attitudes of leading Senators toward the administration's position on the vital problem of Vietnam.

As Senator MANSFIELD said:

> The Senate in general feels as the President himself feels, uneasy, worried, frustrated. We would all like to find an end, an honorable end to this difficulty in which we are engaged.

The administration has consistently considered the suggestions of Senators over the years and has vastly modified its policy to accommodate to them.

The Nation should know this, just as it should know that the criticisms are meant constructively to improve our policy in this immensely difficult situation, not to destroy it.

I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of the appearance of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD on "Face the Nation" last Sunday, March 5, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACE THE NATION

(Broadcast over the CBS Television Network and the CBS Radio Network, Sunday, March 5, 1967)

Guest: The Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD, Senator, Montana.

News correspondents: Martin Agronsky, CBS News; David Schoumacher, CBS news correspondent; William S. White, correspondent, United Features Syndicate.

Director: Robert Vitarelli.

Producers: Prentiss Childs and Ellen Wadley.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Senator Mansfield, Senator Robert Kennedy has called for an immediate halt in the bombing of Vietnam and a test of the sincerity of Soviet Premier Kosygin's proposal that if we halt the bombing, he can get negotiations for peace started. The President has strongly opposed this proposal, says it is a mistake in policy. Do you agree with Senator Kennedy or with President Johnson?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think, Mr. Agronsky, that you are trying to create a difference between the two which does not exist. As a matter of fact, I would go further and call for a cease fire and stand fast.

ANNOUNCER. From CBS, Washington, in color, Face the Nation, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with the Senate Democratic leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana. Senator Mansfield will be questioned by CBS news correspondent David Schoumacher and Columnist William S. White. To lead the questioning here is CBS news correspondent Martin Agronsky.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Senator Mansfield, I am a bit puzzled when you say that no difference exists. Clearly a difference exists. The President has said that he would not follow the policy proposed by Senator Kennedy. He has been supported by the Secretary of State and you say you would go even further, even further than Senator Kennedy, to a cease fire and a standfast.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes. What I said was that the differences are being exaggerated and I think being exaggerated deliberately because the President has indicated that he is in favor of a cease fire under certain conditions and Kennedy has tried to lay down a condition, such as the Kosygin meeting with Wilson in London, a few days ago. As far as my suggestion is concerned, I think it goes further because I would like to see a cease fire and stand fast on the land, on the sea and in the air. And that, of course, would preclude bombing.

Mr. WHITE. Senator, in this proposal, this suggestion of yours, as you know, there have been previous suspensions of bombing on our part, one of which I believe ran about 40 days which resulted in no give, so to speak, by Hanoi and, in fact, permitted Communists from the North to increase their forces and their logistical movements. Are you suggesting—am I correct in my understanding that you are asking for a cease fire which would cause—which would call for something from the other side rather than merely our halting the bombing?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, yes. It would apply to all areas, to all participants, and may I say relative to your statement about the infiltration of men and supplies that during the pause a year ago and this year, that I am assuming, and I think correctly, that we also infiltrated, if you want to use that word, men and supplies into South Vietnam.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Well, Senator, the President——

Mr. WHITE. Before we leave that, Senator, isn't there a great difference in the circumstances involved there? The movement of outside enemy forces, the great mass of the combat, present combat force against South Vietnam, the Communist force, is coming across the border, is it not, from the North?

Senator MANSFIELD. That is correct, and our forces coming in by sea into South Vietnam. So you have a quid pro quo there.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Mr. Mansfield, the Administration has made a number of both public and, if we can understand, private overtures for peaces. Why haven't these worked?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I don't know why they haven't worked because President Johnson has certainly tried as no man could to explore every avenue, to walk every road, and to put up every kind of a signal he possibly could on his part to try and bring this matter to the negotiation table because no one is more interested than the president in trying to bring this barbaric struggle in which we are engaged to the negotiating table to the end that an honorable settlement can be achieved.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Then the burden is on the other side. Why do we continually propose that the Administration could do something? Why do we continually rethink our policy? Why not just say, well, we've done the best we can?

Senator Mansfield. Well, we have done the best we can but if you are getting back to the Kennedy proposal, the Senator has indicated that he thought that what Kosygin said or was supposed to have said in London in his meeting with Prime Minister Wilson might furnish a kind of a signal.

Mr. White. Senator, to go back——

Senator Mansfield. And may I say when a Senator speaks, it is not necessarily dissent and a Senator has a responsibility and has a right to express his views as his conscience dictates.

Mr. Schoumacher. You don't agree, then, with Senator Dirksen that there is almost a mistake inherent in giving a speech like that.

Senator Mansfield. I do not. I should say not.

Mr. Agronsky. Senator Mansfield, I wonder if we can get one thing straight. Do you feel as Senator Kennedy feels that the sincerity of Mr. Kosygin should be tested?

Senator Mansfield. I think that the matter should be given consideration by the Administration and that the Administration could make the proper proposals through the necessary channels to find out if there is anything to this supposed suggestion made by Kosygin. I think that Ambassador Thompson in Moscow would be the one to make that approach.

Mr. Agronsky. To your knowledge has the President proposed that this be done?

Senator Mansfield. Not that I know of.

Mr. Agronsky. Well, in that case, then, is Senator Kennedy correct in contending the Administration has not done what he proposed which he contends again?

Senator Mansfield. Well, that is something Senator Kennedy will have to answer, not me, because I am not privy to Senator Kennedy's thoughts.

Mr. White. Senator, may I ask a point on that same point that Martin has brought up. Does not this Kennedy speech and doesn't this question of Mr. Agronsky's assume that Mr. Kosygin is in control of what Hanoi is going to do about this, my point being this. If Hanoi wants to make any démarche, any approach to us, is it not true that there are many channels fully open and that have been open for two years for them to make this proposal?

Senator Mansfield. Oh, numerous avenues of communication have been open, but it is my impression that Senator Kennedy chose the approach through Kosygin because of what Kosygin is allegedly—allegedly has said in London.

Mr. White. May I ask one other thing on that point if I may, again on the question of the Kennedy speech.

Now, as you know, Senator, on the day he made it, or perhaps the next day, at any rate, within a few hours one way or the other, the House of Representatives voted seven—300—pardon me. 372 to 18 against such a bombing halt. Within a week the public in the latest of many polls was three to one against such a halt. Now, my question is is there really in a debate of this kind a point at which the opposition stops, that is to say, how long do they go on, how long do they go on rejecting what seems quite clearly to be a repeatedly majority expression in the government and the country?

Senator Mansfield. Well, after all, this is not a monolithic government. This is—we are not operating under a one-party system. There is an equal division of powers between the three branches of the government and I think that a Senator and a Congressman has a right to express his views and as far as I am concerned, they will be assured of that right as long as I am Majority Leader.

Mr. White. I wasn't suggesting nobody had a right to express his views.

Senator Mansfield. You asked if you would stop.

Mr. White. What I was asking, sir, was on the point of the constitutional function of the Senate to advise and consent, how do you interpret that? I would have thought—it is surely true, is it not, that the members of the Senate have every opportunity to advise the President and the Secretary of State any day they wish, but is it necessary to make speeches which Hanoi itself says, for example, this morning, the Hanoi press itself says embarrasses the United States Government in this matter?

Senator Mansfield. That is Hanoi's interpretation of the Kennedy speech which I think you are referring to. That would be their interpretation. I believe in free speech. I believe in constructive dissent. I do not believe in dissenting just for the sake of dissenting but if you do dissent, then I think you ought to have an alternative and I think that practically all the speeches made in the Senate are not destructive in character but are attempts to be constructive in advancing viewpoints on the constitutional basis that the Senate does have the right to advise.

Mr. Agronsky. Senator, can I carry Mr. White's observation a bit further?

Senator Mansfield. Surely.

Mr. Agronsky. Izvestia, the Soviet newspaper in Moscow, is quoted as having written yesterday that the opposition to the President's policy in Vietnam in the Senate is a halfway opposition, and that it is irresolute, that its numbers are small, that it does not influence the course of the White House. What do you think of that observation of Izvestia?

Senator Mansfield. I don't agree with it because when suggestions have been made to the President I can speak from personal knowledge he has given them every consideration. And some suggestions may have had some validity, others not, but the President has not been backward in seeking advice and asking for alternatives and in giving consideration to proposals advanced by members of the Congress.

Mr. Schoumacher. Senator Mansfield, it is popular to say now that it is in the Soviet Union's interest to end this war in Vietnam. Why is that? Why is it not in their interest to continue to bleed us as the other——

Senator Mansfield. Perhaps the latter is more accurate. That is a matter of determination based upon one's knowledge and impressions. I would note that a good deal of pressure has been placed on our relations with the Soviet Union lately in relation to the situation in Vietnam. China has been ignored to a large extent because of the internal dissention within that country. I think it is a mistake because the Chinese in my opinion are just as significant, perhaps more so, than the Soviet Union in the question of continuing the war in Vietnam, and if for no other reason it is a matter of geographical propinquity.

Mr. Schoumacher. One thing that has gotten past us in this furious round of questioning is at the beginning of this interview you proposed a cease fire and a stand fast.

Senator Mansfield. That is right.

Mr. Schoumacher. Could you elaborate on that a bit, what would be——

Senator Mansfield. Yes. I would like to see a suggestion made to the effect that all sides, the North Vietnamese, the Vietcong, South Vietnam, U.S. Government and our allies there see if a proposal couldn't be made by means of which the fighting would come to a stop on all sides to the end that on that basis maybe negotiations could get underway.

Mr. Schoumacher. Would this be unilateral or would this have to be negotiated?

Senator Mansfield. No, no. All sides. If agreement could be reached, then negotiations could be started.

Mr. Agronsky. Are you suggesting, then, that the President should make this proposal?

Senator Mansfield. I think it would be a good one for the President to make.

Mr. Agronsky. Have you proposed it to the President to make?

Senator Mansfield. I think I have.

Mr. Agronsky. What did he say?

Senator Mansfield. What he said I don't know. What he did I don't know. And I also proposed it on the Floor of the Senate a number of times.

Mr. White. Senator, may I turn away from this Topic A——

Senator Mansfield. Not necessarily. You can stay on it as far as I am concerned.

Mr. White. Well, I thought perhaps you might be interested in another question which has been recently involved a lot, and that is the matter of the CIA and the so-called subsidy-of-the-students movement which, as I understand it, meant in effect that CIA money was used to finance American students to go to foreign student convocations which we felt and which experience had rather shown would otherwise have been entirely packed by Communists.

Now, at the time this was first published, first brought to notice, you were quoted as expressing some anxiety about Big Brotherism——

Senator Mansfield. That is correct.

Mr. White (continuing). Or the Big Brother movement. What did you mean——

Senator Mansfield. May I say, Bill, before you go too far there, that had no relation to the Big Brother movement in the United States which I thoroughly approve of.

Mr. White. No. Big Brother, as we both know, comes from Orwell's novel about a highly Fascist society.

What would you have thought—would you have thought that— the principal criticism raised of this matter, as I understand it, is the action of the CIA in subsidizing, if that is the word, the students was covert, wasn't known, and there was some suggestion that the students were therefore intellectually corrupted?

Wouldn't it really follow that they would be less corrupted not knowing who was sending them than they would had they known?

Senator Mansfield. Well, let me answer your question in a roundabout way. In the first place, I do not think the CIA should ever have been involved in covert activities of this sort, and may I say that the CIA felt and still feels the same way.

I am in favor of government subsidies to students to participate in international conferences on the same basis that the State Department subsidizes dance troupes, acting companies, boxers, athletes, singers, and so forth, but that is done openly and there is no reason why the State Department and the HEW Department both could not do the same thing which the CIA has been doing but shouldn't have been doing and was doing against its desires.

Mr. Agronsky. Do you feel the CIA was operating outside the area of its competence and jurisdiction?

Senator Mansfield. I certainly do.

Mr. Schoumacher. But this is a criticism apparently not leveled at the CIA. You are leveling this at the Administration which must have ordered it to get into this.

Senator Mansfield. The question was raised relative to the CIA. I am answering it relative to the CIA and as far as the President is concerned, if that is what you are driving at, I am sure the President had an overall idea what was going on but perhaps, and very likely, he didn't have an idea that this particular series of incidents was going on.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Senator, are you satisfied now with the arrangement that the Congress has for overseeing the CIA——

Senator MANSFIELD. I am.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER (continuing). Inviting a few Foreign Relations members?

Senator MANSFIELD. I am.

Mr. AGRONSKY. How effective is it? It was never effective at all in the past.

Senator MANSFIELD. It is much more effective now since it has been broadened and meetings are held on an average of once a month, and the fact that you have three members of the Foreign Relations Committee I would think gives it the stability which meets with the approval of the Senate and which it sought.

Mr. AGRONSKY. But, Senator, how effective can it really be if, for example, during the entire period of oversight, from 1951 when this business started until now, this Senate Oversight Committee or Congressional Oversight Committee never even knew of this operation?

Senator MANSFIELD. Because a more active interest is being taken into the affairs of the CIA and because I think in Mr. Helms we have the best Director that CIA has ever had.

Mr. WHITE. Senator, is it correct, by the way, that the Oversight Committee knew nothing of these operations? The reason I asked that, I recall seeing a day or two ago that the entire Republican leadership in Congress said it was entirely satisfied with these activities and had no criticism of them. I also recall that Senator Young who, as you know, is the senior Republican member of the CIA committee, said, I believe, something to this same effect.

Is it not really a question here where no Congressional committee can always know everything of every part of the government since they all by definition have different jurisdictions?

Senator MANSFIELD. It is an impossibility, but getting back to what you had to say, it appears to me that according to what I have read, that some members of the committees in both houses may have had knowledge of this. As far as I was concerned, just going on the committee last year, I had no knowledge.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Senator Mansfield, if I could again wrench us back to the cease fire and stand fast, you made a trip to many foreign capitals a little more than a year ago. On the basis of that and on the basis of contacts you have made and maintained since then, would you say there is much chance that North Vietnam and the Viet Cong would accept such a proposal?

Senator MANSFIELD. I couldn't say, Mr. Schoumacher. That is something which the Administration if it is interested would look into and make any decision regarding it.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Senator, eventually what kind of a settlement do you think we are going to have to negotiate?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I don't think this war is going to be won in a military sense. That is finally settled because we are on top, we will stay on top, we will not withdraw. We cannot be driven out. But this matter does have the elements within it of an enlarged war as, for example, the use of 175 millimeter guns across the DMZ, the stepped up bombing of installations off the North Vietnamese coast, the mining of the rivers in the south, and if those don't succeed in stopping the infiltration of men and supplies, where is the next escalatory step going to take place and how long is it going to happen before you get up around Hanoi, maybe beyond Hanoi, and what I keep in mind also is the Korean parallel. When you went across the 38th parallel it wasn't long after that the Chinese came in and despite dissension in China today, you go across the parallel, the 17th in this instance, you go too far, that possibility is very——

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Senator, what would be an alternate, an acceptable solution to this?

Senator MANSFIELD. What the Administration is trying to do and what constructive suggestions have been made in the Congress in a desire to help the administration.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Senator, I don't want to back you into a corner but I——

Senator MANSFIELD. You are not backing me into a corner, Martin. Keep at it.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Good. I really would like to get this cleared up. Senator Kennedy keeps insisting, insisted again yesterday in a statement, that all he is asking that the sincerity of Premier Kosygin be tested.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is right.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Now, do you accept that as a good idea?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think it is a suggestion, as I have said previously, that the Administration might give some consideration to and should explore.

Mr. AGRONSKY. You have said that to the President, have you, Senator?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I have not, because you are the first one who has asked me the question.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Do you think it is a good proposal to make to the President? Would you support Mr. Kennedy on that?

Senator MANSFIELD. That isn't the point. I think if the question is worthy of consideration, the President ought to pursue it, and if it is, he will.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Now, do you think it is worthy of consideration? Let's get into that.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes. I have said that about four times.

Mr. WHITE. Senator Mansfield——

Senator MANSFIELD. But the decision is not mine. It is the President's.

Mr. WHITE. Senator Mansfield, do you know——

Senator MANSFIELD. And what he decides I will go along with.

Mr. WHITE. Do you know in your position, and it is a high position, and you are in contact with the President and in contact with the State Department, and so on, do you know in the whole history of this controversy of a single reliable, substantiated incident in which anyone has been able to bring from Hanoi any proposal for any kind of negotiation that did not first call upon us to halt our bombing but made no promise on their part to halt their invasion? Do you know of a single one from any source ever?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

Mr. WHITE. I just wanted to ask that for the record.

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Now, are they asking that the bombing be halted permanently? That is another question at issue that nobody seems very certain about. The Administration has repeatedly indicated that when they say halting, they——

Senator MANSFIELD. I believe they are.

Mr. AGRONSKY (continuing). They say permanently.

Senator MANSFIELD. I believe that "permanent" is the word although Senator Kennedy in his debate on the Floor the Other day did try to draw a fine distinction between permanent and temporary. It wasn't settled there but in going back, in studying this subject, I believe the word "permanent" is correct.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Well, that would wreck it, then, wouldn't it?

Senator MANSFIELD. That is correct, and, of course, Senator Kennedy was operating on the basis that the word "permanent" would not apply.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Senator, as I go back over my notes, and the questioning is moving faster than I can keep up with it, you said at one point that you didn't think there could be a victory in the military sense, that has been settled. Why not? The United States is doing pretty well. Why can't it win that war?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, very well, but the point is this, if you look at it from that way, then you have to undertake what is known as a policy of attrition and very likely extend the war to North Vietnam, as I tried to indicate, with the possible consequences resulting therefrom. And then, of course, there is the question of the Delta which we are just going into now. I think there are elements of the 9th Infantry there.

That is the most difficult area in North Vienam, far more difficult than the Highlands and the area in the first zone about the DMZ, the four northern provinces. There you have one half the population of South Vietnam. There you have the Vietcong strongholds, the Vietcong organizations. There you have 85,000 men organized and ready to go. There you have 25,000 miles of estuaries and we can't use the kinds of equipment we have used up north down there, and it would be a most difficult area and it will take far more in my opinion than the publicized additions to our forces in Vietnam this year.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. There in short you have a long war stretching into 1968. What will that do to the election chances of the President?

Senator MANSFIELD. It will make it difficult for the Democrats but you not only have that. That I think is incidental. The important thing is it might spread beyond Vietnam and engulf all of Southeast Asia as it is doing to a large extent today and even go into China and that is my big fear.

Mr. AGRONSKY. To return to the political point that Dave raises, Governor Romney of Michigan has contended that the policy of President Johnson in Vietnam is governed by political expediency. How would you respond to that.

Senator MANSFIELD. I wouldn't agree with Governor Romney. I wish he would be a little more specific and explicit in where he stands. He is going all over the rainbow and nobody knows where the Governor of Michigan stands. If he is going to be a Presidential candidate, he will have to take a stand sometime, some way.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. You don't believe in this business of keeping your options open?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not at all because we are all in this and we are all looking for answers. If he has got them, the President would be awfully glad to get them from Governor Romney.

Mr. WHITE. Senator, to go back again to this bombing thing, proposed bombing halt, and this without any particular reference to Senator Kennedy or any other individual, as I remember my biographical facts about you, you were an old infantry soldier yourself, certainly an old Marine.

Now, in fairly human terms, putting aside for the moment all the big picture, does it not strike you as a little hard on our troops in the field to ask us to withdraw the very restrained and limited bombing support, and I think most people accept the fact that it is limited bombing support in the north, in other words, aren't you asking the people who always do the dying to do rather more than usual, that is, the men on the ground?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, that is a difficult question to answer the way you put it. I would point this out, that those men in Vietnam are, I believe, still mostly professionals. They are the cream of the crop as far as the combined services are concerned.

Mr. WHITE. You mean our people?

Senator MANSFIELD. Our people, and what they are doing is carrying out policy laid down by us, and they are doing their job as it should be done because under the Constitution the military is subordinate to the civilian.

But while they are trying to do their best to bring this war to a close, and they want to, we ought to be doing our best to try to bring it to an honorable conclusion as the President is trying to because civilians have responsibility, too, not to tear down but to be constructive.

Mr. WHITE. If I may follow that point on the question I asked you with one other on this same line, General Westmoreland, as you know, is our Commander-in-Chief there and I think is widely respected——

Senator MANSFIELD. He is indeed.

Mr. WHITE. And I am sure by you.

General Westmoreland has said, and the word "pause" he uses, not "halt," it is interesting, a mere pause in this bombing action now would "cost many American lives and probably prolong the war." Do you think that this is a counsel lightly to be put aside?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, but if you keep on going, Bill, as we have been, it is going to cost lives and the war is going to be prolonged and you can't get around it by statements because we are in a difficult struggle here against a fourth rate power.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Senator, to carry you to another part of this whole business of the kind of people that we have fighting for us, you are aware of the recommendations of this panel of the President on Selective Service that was published yesterday.

Senator MANSFIELD. Sketchily.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Well, where they call for a radical reorganization of the military draft and where they call for a virtual lottery, is what it amounts to, among eligible 19 year olds as sort of the basis of the system.

What is your feeling about that?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I haven't gone into it in detail. It just has come up to us, but my general feeling is that there ought to be a universal system under which everybody would be taken in and those who are unfit to carry on combat duties ought to be given other duties within the defense establishment and that is the only fair way I can think of because in that way you get away from these discrepancies which favor some elements of our population and discriminate against others, mostly the poor and others.

Mr. AGRONSKY. The report makes that point you make and others, it says, that the Negro bears the greater burden of the fighting and the dying, for one thing.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is true but——

Mr. AGRONSKY. And that generally——

Senator MANSFIELD (continuing). But I would point out there, Martin, that I read that article, too. I think the one you are referring to.

Mr. AGRONSKY. That was in its report.

Senator MANSFIELD. And most of the Negroes in the armed forces are volunteers and they go in there because they have a better chance for advancement, because they get more pay, and they volunteer for the hazardous assignments like the Airborne, the Green Berets, the Rangers, and so forth and so on, and they are given more security and there is more integration.

Mr. AGRONSKY. The report indicates that one of the spurs for their being in and their volunteering is their economic condition.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is right. It offers them opportunity.

Mr. SCHOUMACHER. Senator, I know you hesitate to speak for your colleagues, but have you noticed any change in the mood there on this whole subject of Vietnam in the past year or two?

Senator MANSFIELD. No. I would say that the Senate in general feels as the President himself feels, uneasy, worried, frustrated. We would all like to find an end, an honorable end to this difficulty in which we are engaged. And it is a feeling that it is hard to describe, but I think what I have said would just about do it and I think that would apply to the American people as a whole.

Mr. WHITE. May I ask a final question, Senator, assuming for a moment that the proposal to halt bombing now and the various alternatives, possible alternatives now proposed, were put to the Senate to a vote, how many out of a hundred-vote Senate, how many votes do you think it would get?

Senator MANSFIELD. Very few is the best I could say.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Then you feel that the overwhelming feeling in the Senate is supporting the President's policy in Vietnam.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes. There is no other choice, but I will emphasize again that when a Senator gets up to speak, he should, I would hope he is constructive, almost all if not all of them are.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Senator Mansfield, thank you very much for being here to Face the Nation.

ANNOUNCER. Today on Face the Nation the Senator Democratic Leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent David Schoumacher, Columnist William S. White. CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky led the questioning.

ECONOMISTS CALL ON ADMINISTRATION TO RECOGNIZE ADVERSE ECONOMIC SIGNS AND CHANGE POLICIES

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the New York Times reports this morning that economists are calling on the administration to revise their economic forecasts for the coming year and to change the policies that are based on these forecasts.

This advice is based on a wise and thoughtful analysis of the economic indicators from the steady drop in new orders and the decline in retail sales to the growth and pile up in inventories.

Of the 30 leading indicators, 19 show a trend. Of the 19 showing a trend only four are favorable, and 15 are unfavorable.

Not only does inflation and employment depend on the tailoring of our tax policies and monetary and investment policies to the economic situation, but also the remarkable growth of this Nation that has continued for 6 years and provided unparalleled national strength as well as prosperity. This, too, hangs in the balance.

As the New York Times reports this morning:

> Economists are not against hoping for the best, but they think the Administration should be prepared for the worst if it is to avoid serious pain for the economy.
>
> They argue that it is still early enough to rewrite the script successfully. Housing after all, is begining to respond to easier credit conditions. A restoration of the investment credit should keep investment spending at a fairly high level. And some additional economic stimulants may prompt consumers to spend freely once again.

I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ECONOMIC PATTERN—ANALYSTS CALL ON WASHINGTON TO ALTER BUSINESS FORECAST AND ENSUING POLICY

(By M. J. Rossant)

Economists are calling on the Johnson Administration to change its current business forecast and the economic policies that are based on it.

Demands for a change have been motivated by mounting evidence that the course of business activity will not follow the pattern predicted by the Administration and hoped for by investors.

Economic policy in Washington and market action in Wall Street have been influenced by the expectation that the pace of the expansion in business would slow in the first half of the year, then speed up vigorously in the second half. This forecast, made less than two months ago, projected steady to rising profits and stable employment for the year as a whole.

But activity is already lagging significantly behind expectations, which portends lower profits and employment in the immediate future and casts a pall over prospects for an advance later in the year.

The First National City Bank of New York has concluded that "the economy has not been following" the Administration's script. And the Pittsburg National Bank has observed that "the degree of similarity between the present economy and the classic recession model is cause for worry."

These warnings are the latest in a series by forecasters who are convinced that the economy faces trouble if the Administration sticks to the script that it presented in January.

The evidence that is available does not mean that a recession is inevitable. But it does not validate the Administration's original forecast that the current sinking spell will be followed by a rapid and possibly inflationary climb that will call for tax increases.

Washington made a similar mistake a year ago. Its script then suggested that the Administration had its hand at its hip, ready to fire if inflation dared to ride into town. Inflation, of course, was already making the scene and, by the time the Administration finally took action, it had done considerable damage.

Now, though Washington has not publicly shifted its position, the Federal Reserve's moves in the direction of greater monetary ease and the Administration's steps to stimulate housing indicate that a revision is under way.

If business activity shows additional signs of slack, as many economists fear, it is probable that the Administration will tear up its original plans entirely, burying its proposed tax increase on corporate and individual incomes and resurrecting the 7 per cent investment credit on business spending soon.

Most economists, including those relatively optimistic about the outlook, are pressing for such a change. According to one optimist, William C. Fruend, chief economist for the Prudential Life Insurance Company, the "time has come not only to withhold action on any tax increase but to restore the investment credit" because a tax increase might smother the forces of expansion and the tax credit is needed to prevent a sharp dip in spending during the second half.

The abandonment of the Administration's plans designed to keep the economy from overheating are obviously desirable if the economy is still cooling off. But some economists think more positive measures may be required to keep recession at bay.

They point out that the economy is suffering from a huge excess of inventories. Goods have been piling up because consumers are spending a good deal less than they were expected to spend. As a result, most of the inventory correction that should have taken place still lies ahead.

If the situation calls for a further decline in production, can a fall in profits be far behind? The First National City's answer is that "the profits squeeze now taking hold may take a long time to ease," a state of affairs that could mean a sizable drop in investment spending.

This picture is not one that will please Washington or Wall Street. Both prefer to believe that, with the tonic of spring, the economy will overcome from its winter doldrums. But the risk of a further decline is rising while the prospect of a snap-back is receding.

Economists are not against hoping for the best, but they think the Administration should be prepared for the worst if it is to avoid serious pain for the economy.

They argue that it is still early enough to rewrite the script successfully. Housing, after all, is beginning to respond to easier credit conditions. A restoration of the investment credit should keep investment spending at a fairly high level. And some additional economic stimulants may prompt consumers to spend freely once again.

SENATOR PROXMIRE TESTIFIES IN FAVOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, today I had the privilege of testifying before the Ad Hoc Human Rights Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee. I was one of more than one dozen witnesses who testified in favor of Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

As I stated to the committee this morning, the joy of the advocates of the human rights conventions is considerably dampened by the failure to include the Genocide Convention for consideration.

The Genocide Convention has languished in some unmarked committee limbo for 18 long years. When President Truman submitted this first great United Nations convention to the Senate for ratification in 1949, only five nations had already ratified. During the intervening period, an additional 64 nations have ratified the Genocide Convention. But the United States is not among them.

Through this convention the commission of specified acts to destroy ethnic, national, racial, or religious groups, as such, is made a crime under international law.

The Genocide Convention has as its stated objective the protection of man's most precious right—the right to live.

It is my fervent hope that the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Human Rights will have its authority enlarged to consider the Genocide Convention. While all proponents of Senate ratification of human rights conventions are today encouraged, I, for one, will not relax until the Senate puts the United States squarely on record by ratifying the Genocide Convention.

Mr. President, I request that my statement before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Human Rights of the Foreign Relations Committee be printed at this point in the Record for the benefit of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement of Senator William Proxmire Before Committee on Foreign Relations, Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Human Rights, March 8, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee: I testify before you today in support of Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

After nearly four years this committee is holding hearings on these three Human Rights Conventions. This first and fundamental step toward eventual ratification is sincerely welcome.

As I am sure the Committee members are aware, I have urged Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on the floor of the Senate during every meeting of the Ninetieth Congress.

The question of human rights is as old as Scripture and as new as the Voting Rights Act. For centuries mankind has struggled valiantly to erase from civilized society those traditional antagonists of human dignity: tyranny, bigotry, and discrimination. The struggle is not yet won—and truly will never be completely won. For the human condition is one of imperfection and our imperfect world faithfully reflects the fallibility of man.

But here in the United States where the struggle has been both bitter and bloody, our national record has been overwhelmingly one of real achievement and great progress. In our pluralistic society we have developed a profound respect for the dignity of the individual. Every American citizen is heir to a tradition of liberty and freedom rare in recorded history.

The rights which are the subject matter of these three Human Rights Conventions are constitutionally guaranteed to every American. Why do we need to ratify three treaties—on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery—which affirm far less than what every American has as his birthright?

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that both national interest and international responsibility compel us to ratify the Human Rights Conventions.

Twice in the lifetimes of many of us, the United States has been forced into World Wars. Twice we watched helplessly while unchecked domestic oppression grew into unprovoked foreign aggression.

Aggression since 1945 has been the exclusive practice of those regimes which first deprived their own citizens of basic human freedoms. By contrast during this same period the Western democracies, where human rights are firmly established, have granted independence and self-determination to over one billion people.

The conclusion is inescapable. Human rights and peace are intimately related and historically interdependent. Where human rights are secure, peace is attendant. When the human rights of any people are threatened, peace, itself, is threatened.

Peace and freedom are the fundamental objectives of this Nation's policies. The Human Rights Conventions constitute a meaningful effort toward the establishment of universal standards of human dignity. The guaranteeing of universal human rights are a direct road to universal peace.

The United Nations has been defined as "the last best hope of mankind." I agree with this definition. The last five American Presidents have pledged this Nation's assistance and allegiance to the United Nations.

The United Nations was founded in the United States at San Francisco. The United States has provided the permanent home for the United Nations since 1950.

For 22 years the people of the United States have given generously of their energies and their resources to sustain this world organization. Most of the American people believe in the United Nations. Most Americans believe, and I am among them, that the United Nations serves the interest of the United States and all mankind, because the United Nations serves the cause of world peace.

As of this moment, only four of the charter members of the United Nations have failed to ratify a single one of these Human Rights Conventions; Bolivia, Urguguay, Union of South Africa, and the United States.

Simply consider what an unpardonable insult and grievous disservice our failure to ratify a single Human Right Convention is to the United Nations.

A strong and vital United Nations can be a determining factor in achieving world peace. A strong and vital United Nations is very much in our national interest.

By ratifying these three Human Rights Conventions, the Senate can successfully reaffirm the United States commitment to the United Nations. And the United Nations today critically needs that commitment.

I believe just as strongly that our international responsibility compels Senate ratification.

No rational observer now proposes United States abdication from the international stage. The question we face is not whether the United States accepts an international role, but whether we choose a role commensurate with our unique opportunities and solemn obligations.

In the continuing battle for universal human rights, the United States cannot indefinitely ignore our opportunity nor permanently postpone our obligations.

The United States must unequivocally proclaim that human rights are not simply a matter of State law or Federal statute. Human rights are inherent and cannot be alternately granted and grabbed at some despot's whim.

We like to think of the United States as a young Nation, still growing and still maturing. But in the last quarter century, sixty new nations have come into existence.

These new Nations are adopting constitutions and enacting statutes. Many of them look to the United States for model legislation. They see the Human Rights Conventions. They inspect the ratification list of these Conventions. They do not see the greatest nation in the world on that list.

Do we have any justifiable right to expect these new nations—or the old nations—to ratify and honor conventions on human rights which we have failed to ratify?

These Human Rights Conventions—developed through American initiative and adopted through American advocacy—have languished too long in the Senate. President Kennedy submitted these three conventions in July of 1963. Since that time while the Senate has procrastinated, fifteen additional nations have ratified the Convention on Forced Labor, twelve additional nations have ratified the Convention on Political Rights of Women, and eighteen additional nations have ratified the Convention on Slavery.

How much longer will the United States be heeded in the councils deliberating human rights? Our participation has become an empty gesture and our signing a cruel charade, through the Senate's failure to ratify.

I believe that the United States does care deeply about the rights of all men. The United States has nothing to fear and much to gain through ratification.

I believe that we have a sacred duty to all members of the family of nations to share the wisdom of our national experience in human rights, to show the way to other nations, to assume the leadership we have dropped by default.

We cannot continue indifferent to the world-wide contest for human rights. If we fail to lead, mankind will be the victim and

History will be our final Judge. Recalling the words of Dante:

"The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who in a time of moral crisis remained neutral."

I urge the Senate to ratify the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

AMERICAN CAN CO. CONTRIBUTES TO ATTACK ON POLLUTION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the winter 1966 issue of the American Can Co.'s report contained a fascinating article on what one company can do and is doing to combat pollution. I am especially pleased with the efforts American Can is making because they have a substantial impact on my State of Wisconsin.

As the article states:

Improvements to control pollution at pulp and paper plants at Ashland, Green Bay, and Rothschild, Wis., have been made. The latest was a $650,000 power boiler at the Rothschild facility which will not only permit burning of excess spent sulphite liquor to retard stream pollution even further, but will also reduce appreciably the emission of soot from mill stacks.

Although I do not completely agree with all of the points made in this article, I strongly believe that we should give credit where credit is due. For this reason I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Protecting America's Heritage," be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Protecting America's Heritage—American Can's Role in a National Effort

The rising clamor for purer air and water will assuredly bring both. But currently the best minds in science, industry and government have only the foggiest notion of what they will be able to accomplish, or how soon, or how much it will cost.

This much is crystal-clear, however: A massive Federal offensive against pollution is underway, to improve health and aesthetics, while heftier taxes and prices for products and services are predicted to pay for it.

Some of these charges will be assessed quickly—before the Federal program really starts. For example, tenants in some rent-controlled buildings may pay as much as 10 per cent more rent when newly-required air pollution devices are installed in New York City over the next 18 months.

Uninformed critics are hurling charges and calling names, primarily against industry. Along with everyone else, industry pollutes. Certainly some industries have more inherent problems with pollution than others. Steel, power and paper have received more than their share of brickbats, although all three have been spending millions over many years trying to become cleaner neighbors.

Oddly, the raucous ones seem never to seek a perspective. Government also pollutes. On one hand it spends about $150 million a year to combat water pollution, while the Corps of Engineers routinely dumps tons of dredged filth into lower Lake Michigan.

Municipalities pollute heavily. New York's Governor Rockefeller has said municipalities must catch up on a century of neglect.

ALL RESPONSIBLE

Every living human being pollutes both air and water. No one is guiltless—vocal critics included.

Even nature is not above reproach. It has been a horrendous polluter since the world began—before man began his own contribution. Lightning-sparked forest fires, volcanic cataclysms, hurricanes, dust and sand storms have soiled the air around the world. Tides and storms erode the ocean shores and muddy the lakes and streams.

The Wisconsin Conservation Bulletin startled natives this way:

"Many people think that if all forms of pollution—domestic and industrial—were removed from the lower Fox River, we would have crystal-clear water. This is impossible, because even the earliest explorers referred to the river as 'the stinking waters.' Much of the condition of this river is due to natural conditions such as the shallowness of Lake Winnebago, high summer temperatures and high algae production."

Green Bay, in the same state, won its name not from an appearance of pristine clarity but from the algae floating down the Fox River into the Bay when the first white men arrived. Yet today there are still some who blame the algae exclusively on the numerous paper and other mills along the river—all of which have been steadily reducing their effluents over the years.

At first, the strident demands for instant purity of air and water seem eminently right and just. But what is "pure?" is all water to be made potable—even minus the deliberately-added "good" pollutants such as chlorine? Hardly. This is impossible and probably always will be. It is also unnecessary.

"From an economic point of view, it makes about as much sense to attempt to achieve 100 per cent purity in the Mississippi River as it does to establish a hunting preserve in the middle of New York City," says Dr. Richard Hoak, Senior Fellow at Mellon Institute. The Institute has maintained the Water Resources Research Project since 1938, a program financed by the American Iron & Steel Institute.

Dr. Hoak also answered those who claim waterborne waste is strictly a twentieth century problem. "This is nonsense. Consider the deplorable conditions that existed in large cities only 150 years ago. A pedestrian on the streets of London, Paris or Rome had to carry an umbrella to protect himself from the slops thrown from windows overlooking the street." Putrefying matter lay until the next rain washed it down the gutters into the streams.

PURE ENOUGH

So whose definition of "pure" or "clean" is to be adopted? "Clean enough" water is not the same to a swimmer, a fisherman and a yachtsman. How do we define purity and how much can we afford to spend to achieve it? No one has answers, no standards are set, though hordes of federal and state technicians are working at it.

Under the Water Quality Act of 1965 every state must submit its own initial criteria for water quality, plus a plan to implement them, to the Interior Department by next June 30, or else Uncle Sam will do it for them.

Air and water are necessities of life and must be utilized. The problems arise in deciding exactly where our burgeoning civilization must or can draw the line on polluting them.

Too much pollution endangers life. Extreme conditions bring death—autopsies prove it. But a vast amount of research lies ahead, before we learn the precise effects on man and his habitat of various kinds and quantities of pollution in our air and water.

There is no instant cure for pollution. It will be a long hard pull—much trial and many errors—with regulatory authorities prescribing a continuing series of progressive enforcement orders, each demanding a little less pollution than the one before it, as money and technical progress permit.

The feeling grows that in the case of water, economics will force setting of purity standards that vary with the use that is made of the stream. The State of New York initially set up six categories for its waters.

"How pure a body of water ought to be always depends upon how pure it *needs* to be for whatever uses man has for it," the state decided. "A lake, for example, that is used as a municipal drinking supply must be kept much cleaner than a river used mostly for transportation."

As a result, New York waters are classified on a "best use" basis—depending on the one of various uses that requires greatest purity. These classes are: drinking water, bathing, fishing, industrial-agricultural-drainage, navigation-waste disposal, and waste disposal exclusively. Other states and perhaps the federal government may adopt similar methods to avoid prohibitive costs.

In an urgent effort to tackle the job. Congress has authorized spending $3.8 billion on a four-year program of water pollution control—more money than the President proposed. Of the total, $3.4 billion is for matching aid to states and local governments for construction of sewage treatment plants. The remainder is for research.

Congress also recently took action to maintain a 7 per cent investment tax credit for stream pollution abatement facilities, while dropping the investment credit for other types of corporate capital purchases.

COMPANY'S POSITION

How does American Can Company view these actions?

"Maintenance of this credit is a step in the right direction, but not far enough," American's John W. Bard, Vice President-Manufacturing, Pulp and Paper Mills, said.

"Industry cannot install facilities which will decrease its profit-making ability to an unacceptable level and present the alternate of shutdown. It would certainly seem that we should not expect the additional burden of taxation on such non-productive 'deadweight' facilities."

Mr. Bard noted that the State of Wisconsin now grants complete property tax exemptions on a perpetual basis for installation of pollution abatement facilities. The state further permits full immediate deduction against income for corporate tax purposes.

"I believe the Federal government should also extend its present laws to permit full and immediate deduction of expenditures for such facilities together with an expanded investment credit beyond the 7 per cent for such installation," Mr. Bard told a chapter of the League of Women Voters.

Meanwhile, the American Can Company disclosed that a new compilation shows that the firm has spent or committed almost $10 million to reduce environmental pollution at its plants in recent years. Of course, other such measures go as far back as the thirties and forties.

TOP PRIORITY

Pollution control has top management priority at every facility the Company owns, and it will be so at properties to be acquired or built in the future.

American Can's capital expenditures to reduce air and stream discharges are augmented by the rising costs of operating and maintaining such systems, and continuing research by the Company and the technical groups it helps support.

In addition to these investments, the battle against pollution has enlisted the efforts of the Company's production experts in making processing changes—especially in the paper field—which offer promise of further restricting the flow of materials into the atmosphere and nearby streams. The Company also noted that virtually all sanitary sewage from its streamside plants is diverted through municipal or local systems.

New processing measures have brought extensive replacement of manufacturing equipment, more rigid controls and additional precision measuring devices for effluents, efforts to reduce total water usage at pulp and paper mills, an intensified search for new markets for existing waste and by-products, plus chemical experimentation which could result in changing or combining waste items into new salable materials.

The Company has spent or committed about $1,125,000 in air pollution abatement at its can plants in recent years, and its wholly owned subsidiary, M&T Chemicals Inc., is engaged in a $500,000 equipment program.

Recent capital investments in American Can's domestic pulp and paper properties alone have reached $7,500,000 in an effort to reduce the waste flow into adjacent streams. Major construction and re-equipment projects are either already functioning or authorized at all five U.S. pulp and paper sites, and at Marathon, Ont.

American's paper mill effluents into streams are primarily minuscule fibers and fillers, and weak spent sulfite liquor, harmless for drinking and bathing. The size of the suspended solid particles vary from those of talcum powder to an average of less than a millimeter (1/25th of an inch) in length or diameter. The liquor's wholesome wood sugar content seems to make fish thrive. But it also encourages microscopic organisms to multiply rapidly and these eventually can absorb so much oxygen from the water that fish and other aquatic life may suffer.

Misunderstanding of the facts is so widespread that only a few months ago when President Johnson was urging antipollution legislation one of his speech writers had him accuse the sulfite pulp mills of pouring tons of sulphuric acid into the nation's streams. Sulfite pulp mills *do not* generate sulphuric acid.

THE HARDWARE

A wide range of pollution abatement equipment has been installed at American's paper locations. Some of it is necessarily experimental, in a field with many unknowns. The Company's Rothschild, Wis., mill, for example, is replacing a profitable chemical precipitation system with new evaporation equipment, at heavy cost, in order to reduce stream discharges.

A new $650,000 power boiler, which began operating at Rothschild in October, will not only permit burning of excess spent sulphite liquor to retard stream pollution even further, but will also reduce appreciably the emission of soot from mill stacks.

Improvements to control pollution at pulp and paper plants at Ashland, Green Bay and Rothschild, Wis., and at Menominee, Mich., and Naheola, Ala. have been made. Several other projects are scheduled over the next few years. The Alabama plant, the newest and largest in the group, was equipped with many of the latest pollution controls in its original construction.

Mr. Bard said the Company's pulp and paper production refinements to date mark an important step not only in pollution restriction but also in forest products conservation, with a reduction of waste. More of the tree is being used than ever before—for pulp, paper and by-products.

The added costs, however, far exceed the slight additional revenue that can be realized from the saving in raw materials. Annual operating expenses of the new equipment at these properties are now running about $100,000, and will be over $150,000 after 1967.

CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

"Although ingenious refinements have been made in paper manufacturing processes in an effort to couple pollution abatement with new markets for salvaged materials, there is every indication that the industry must continue to pile up massive capital expenditures—perhaps $100 million a year over the next 10 years—with little economic offset," Mr. Bard warned.

The nation's paper makers generally have made excellent progress in pollution abatement. The total organic waste load of the industry today is lower than it was 20 years ago, although paper production has far more than doubled.

Mr. Bard said in a statement to Wisconsin and Michigan newspapers that: "Our Company has long recognized and responded to the need for advancing technology in stream discharges. For 28 years we have been members of the Pulp Manufacturers Research League—dedicated to pollution control—and for 22 years we have helped sustain the National Council for Stream Improvement. Our 1967 share of the cooperative research of these two fine organizations will approach $40,000.

"However, the profit realization, particularly in the case of our older mills, is not sufficient to support all costs, let alone pay taxes on the installation."

While Federal enforcement of air pollution abatement regulations is much weaker than in the water area, Congressional observers forecast a renewed attempt next year to intensify an assault on such pollutants. Even so, Congress recently authorized new Federal funds of $186 million to abate air pollution. This is an extension of a Clean Air Act passed in 1963.

An authority writing in the *Harvard Business Review* forecast that during the rest of this century at least $110 billion will be spent for the control and reversal of water pollution by industry and municipalities. Another $105 billion will be committed for air pollution abatement, with at least $60 billion more invested for disposal of solids, primarily rubbish and garbage.

The House subcommittee on science, research and development recommends about a ten-fold increase in federal funding of pollution research: $300 million annually within five years.

As the Public Health Service and others insist, there may never be a total solution, but at least the problem is coming within bounds.

From Next to Nothing: Something of Value

The pulpwood log, raw material of the paper industry, consists of two essential parts; cellulose, the fibrous part from which paper is made, and lignin, the material which cements the fibers together.

For years lignin was considered a necessary evil of the paper-making process, to be disposed of in the form of spent sulfite liquor. Usually it was flushed into the streams that fed the thirsty paper mills. In a less enlightened age this was a source of considerable stream pollution.

American's Marathon group pioneered a program of spent sulfite utilization, rather than disposal, in 1927, with two goals: reduction of stream pollution and profitable by-product use of the material.

Today, the Company's Marathon facilities at Green Bay and Rothschild, Wis. are so busy producing chemical derivatives of spent sulfite liquor that the Company actually buys quantities of it from other paper-makers.

Once these non-glamorous chemicals are separated from the pulpwood, the gap continues to widen, until they reappear in end uses that are far removed from the paper industry.

Marathon is a leading supplier of lignin for vanillin (synthetic equivalent of vanilla bean extracts) used by most food processors.

As "dispersing agents" and "binders", Marathon's lignosulfonates appear in a wide assortment of products: auto tires; storage batteries; fibre dyestuffs; leather goods; animal feeds; pesticides, gypsum board; concrete admixture products; tile and brick; and oil well drilling mud.

PROPOSED EASTER TRUCE FOR VIETNAM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the real escalation of our involvement in a miserable civil war in Vietnam commenced more than 2 years ago. Early in 1965 a strong force of the finest fighting men in our Marine Corps was landed at Da Nang. Almost immediately they were attacked by the Vietcong. Since that time, they have been fighting on the offensive and, on occasion, on the defensive, and always in the best tradition of the Marine Corps.

In recent years and, in fact, more particularly in recent months we have escalated and expanded our fighting in South Vietnam and our bombing of targets in North Vietnam and in South Vietnam. The best that can be said for our huge expenditure of life and money and resources in the last 26 months is that the threat of military defeat no longer hangs over us. Unfortunately, the prospect of victory and peace still escapes us.

It is most unfortunate that administration leaders are encountering a loss of confidence from Americans generally. One principal reason is that Government leaders in Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and Canada report signals from the Hanoi government seeking a cease-fire and an armistice in Vietnam, while Secretary Dean Rusk continues to insist that aggression from the north must cease before there can be any peace talks whatever undertaken. Secretary of State Rusk ignores the fact that historically there has been only one Vietnam—one country.

Defense Department officials state approximately 45,000 North Vietnamese soldiers have infiltrated across the demarcation line fixed at the 17th parallel in 1954 at the Geneva Conference as a temporary demarcation line, and are fighting Americans in South Vietnam. These same officials are silent regarding the fact, but it is a fact, that we have transported into South Vietnam approximately 50,000 soldiers from the Republic of Korea, and more reinforcements will come from that source if this conflict is prolonged. Defense Secretary McNamara says that these South Korean combat soldiers are not mercenaries. The fact is they were transported to Vietnam in American ships. They have been armed, equipped, clothed, and maintained entirely at our expense. The foreign aid from our Government to the Republic of South Korea was increased by $150 million last year, as a quid pro quo for the commitment of this large and fine fighting contingent numbering more than two complete divisions of South Korean soldiers.

Furthermore, our foreign aid to the Philippine Republic was increased by $50 million when 2,000 noncombat engineers from the Philippine Republic were brought to Vietnam on American ships, and then maintained, equipped, fed, and paid with money of American taxpayers.

It would be interesting to note what synonym for "mercenary" the Secretary of Defense would choose to use to define the status of these South Korean and Philippine Republic soldiers.

In recent weeks the total of Americans killed and wounded in combat in Vietnam has been staggering and is exceeding in numbers our casualties of a year ago or even 6 months ago. It is noteworthy that we read nothing whatever of any offensives carried on by the ARVN forces, the so-called friendly forces of South Vietnam. They have apparently ceased to exist as fighting units except on paper. From newspaper accounts, such friendly forces are never on the offensive against the Vietcong and, on the other hand, the Vietcong apparently consider them unworthy of attack. This has become an American war, waged on the ground in just about the worst place in the entire world for Americans to fight.

The policy pursued by this administration in involving us in a land war in southeast Asia, and committing more than 500,000 of the finest youth of America in fighting that war has resulted in a feeling of frustration on the part of the American public, a feeling of disquiet and unrest among our people. There appears to be a commencement of a lack of confidence on the part of our people in this administration.

Furthermore, this erosion of confidence is not merely a domestic problem. It appears that Prime Minister Wilson of England and Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union, who have issued statements far different than statements from our Secretary of State, very definitely no longer accept our word, and it seems apparent that they lack faith in our expressed desire for peace. On the other hand, it is an historic fact that a year ago they believed that we Americans sincerely desired peace. This seems clear from statements at that time from 10 Downing Street, and also from the Kremlin.

In the Washington Evening Star of March 7, 1967, it was reported that Premier Kosygin in Moscow earlier this week said that the United States destroyed a "real chance" for Vietnam peace talks by resuming the bombing of North Vietnam following the lunar New Year bombing pause.

The Soviet Premier said that "a real chance had appeared to start negotiations on Vietnam, but the American Government did not seize this opportunity. Everyone sees that the U.S. pronouncements on a peaceful settlement are nothing but wordmongering, calculated to deceive public opinion."

It is interesting to note that Premier Kosygin also stated that in his opinion the position of the Red Chinese government regarding Vietnam peace negotiations definitely coincides with that of the United States.

From the capitals of the world, and from Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations, we are told that if we cease the bombing in North Vietnam, Hanoi officials would agree to a peace conference. U Thant may be utterly mistaken but let us follow out his suggestion.

With the Easter season approaching I urge that President Johnson declare that for 15 days preceding and following Easter Sunday, we shall discontinue all bombing of North Vietnam. Furthermore, that during this 15-day period we shall cease all offensive air and ground action throughout Vietnam, provided the Vietcong also cease aggressive acts including terrorist bombing. Of course, we would resume fighting if there is an evident, flagrant breach of faith on the other side or in event that at the end of the 15-day period no conference is underway or planned.

Mr. President, in making this statement we should attach no conditions whatever but should clearly state that delegates of the United States desire to meet in conference with delegates of the Hanoi and Saigon regimes and also with delegates of the Vietcong, or National Liberation Front, to strive for a cease-fire and armistice in Vietnam.

Mr. President, I know that Secretary of State Dean Rusk has been evasive on this latter thought. I again ask him the question, "Mr. Secretary, are you willing to have delegates of the United States sit down in conference with delegates of the Hanoi government, delegates of the government of Prime Minister Ky, and also with independent delegates representing the forces who are doing the actual fighting against Americans in Vietnam, the forces of the National Liberation Front, or the Vietcong?"

That is the question our Secretary of State should answer to the American people. Up to this time our President has indicated his willingness to have our delegates sit down at such a conference, but never—never—has our Secretary of State, whom I consider to be the chief war hawk in the President's Cabinet, stated so, and I believe he owes it to the American people to do so.

Frankly, we are in a position to say to the world that we have won a military victory in Vietnam. Not even President de Gaulle, of France, who is exceedingly hostile to this Nation, would challenge this statement. Then, let us follow that declaration with an announcement that instead of destroying Vietnam, we will undertake to help bring about the peaceful and hopefully friendly development of that entire area both north and south of the present demarcation zone.

Mr. President, in the Washington Post of March 7, 1967, there was published an excellent article written by Walter Lippmann entitled "But Why Avoid the Question?" With his usual incisiveness this great journalist points out the need for us to take steps toward peace now while the opportunity presents itself. In very few words he reveals the utter weakness and absurdity in Secretary Rusk's refusal to take Premier Kosygin's suggestion seriously.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 7, 1967]

But Why Avoid the Question?

(By Walter Lippmann)

Before we resign ourselves to the idea that in Vietnam diplomacy is exhausted, that nothing can be done except by intensifying the fighting, we ought to know why the Administration insists on ignoring the public statements of the Soviet Union. Three times since February 9 we have been told that the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam would "open the way" to a negotiated settlement. We have been told by the Soviet Prime Minister, Kosygin, and twice after that by President Podgorny. In these statements from the principal ally of North Vietnam we have been offered openly what the President has repeatedly said is our objective.

Why then do we ignore the Soviet Union? Because, says Secretary Rusk, we know through our private channels of information that Hanoi will not do what the Soviet Union says it will do. Is Washington really better informed about Hanoi than is Moscow? What would be the purpose of the Soviet government in making a proposal on which it cannot make good? To deceive the American people? To deceive the rest of the world? Is it possible that the Soviet government would take the risk of practicing a gross and spectacular deception which, if it is a deception, could so easily be exposed by taking Kosygin and Podgorny at their word, suspending the bombing and waiting for them to make good?

Even more inexplicable than Rusk's refusal to step up to the ball and put it back in the Soviet court, is his strategic speculation as to what might happen if we took up the Soviet offer. He sees a strong buildup of North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam while we, having tied our hands with the promise not to bomb, suffer severe losses. This is a nightmare conjured up by the ambiguous word "permanent" which, though used by some North Vietnamese, has not been used by the Soviet officials. It reduces the whole affair to absurdity to believe that the Soviet government believes that the United States will not fight back if it is attacked, that the United States will disarm itself forever if instead of the way being opened to a peace conference, the way is closed by another Vietnamese offensive.

The stakes are high. There is at stake peace in this cruel war. There is at stake also the good name of the President and of the country. The issue is for the time being quite specific. Nothing is gained and only harm is done by muddying the waters with reports of secret information which contradict the public statements of the Soviet government. The specific issue is: Why has the Administration ignored in March 1967 a proposal which meets exactly what it was demanding in 1966? This is a troublesome and ugly question. And it will not disappear in a cloud of vituperation.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON EXPENDITURE OF CERTAIN FUNDS

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, in accordance with the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the reports of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, the Committee on Rules and Administration, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and the Joint Economic Committee, concerning the foreign currencies and the U.S. dollars utilized by those committees in 1966 in connection with foreign travel.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the reports were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, U.S. Senate, between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Howard Cannon:											
England	Pound	47-19-2	133.85	42-19-11	120.00	35-16-8	100.00	16-10-8	46.15	143-6-5	400.00
Spain	Peseta	2,000	33.57	1,797	30.00	599	10.00	1,599	26.43	5,995	100.00
Subtotal											500.00
Stephen Young:											
England	Pound	47-19-2	133.85	42-19-11	120.00	35-16-8	100.00	16-10-8	46.15	143-6-5	400.00
Spain	Peseta	2,399	40.00	2,097.5	35.00	599	10.00	899.5	15.00	5,995	100.00
Subtotal											500.00
Eilene Galloway:											
Germany [1]	Deutsche Mark					3,119.60	781.85			3,119.60	781.85
Greece	Drachma	660	22.00	150	5.00	145	4.83			955	31.83
Spain	Peseta	3,891	64.95	5,391	90.00	1,497	25.00	1,886	31.49	12,665	211.44
Turkey	Lira	583.75	64.86	225	25.00			171.25	19.03	980	108.89
Subtotal											1,134.01
Total			493.08		425.00		1,031.68		184.25		2,134.01

[1] State Department purchased transportation in deutschemarks.

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	2,134.01

MARCH 3, 1967.

CLINTON P. ANDERSON,
Chairman, Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Richard B. Russell: Bermuda	Dollar		17.60		18.70				9.00		45.30
Senator Stuart Symington:											
England	Pound	10-19-5	30.82					13-4-11	37.22	24-4-4	68.04
Germany	Deutsche Mark			150.00	37.50					150.00	37.50
Do	Dollar		6.30		4.75						11.05
France	Franc					3,718.00	758.78	610.50	124.59	4,328.50	883.37
Switzerland	Swiss franc	426.00	98.16					50.00	11.52	476.00	109.68
Senator Henry M. Jackson:											
Germany	Deutsche Mark					7,171	1,792.80			7,171	1,792.80
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.							29.75	5.16	29.75	5.16
Japan	Dollar								2.00		2.00
Vietnam	Piaster			645	5.50			665	5.53	1310	11.03
Senator Howard Cannon: Trinidad	Dollar		17.35		15.16		2.00		3.00		37.51
Senator Stephen M. Young:											
Puerto Rico	do						221.70				221.70
Do	do						261.15				261.15
Senator Daniel B. Brewster:											
Peru	Sol	1,414.60	52.78	1,270.00	47.39	95.00	3.54	330.40	12.33	3,110.00	116.04
Colombia	Peso	250.00	15.43	35.00	2.17	834.30	51.50	500.70	30.90	1,620.00	100.00
Netherlands	Guilders					2,382.96	660.10			2,382.96	660.10
Canal Zone	Dollar		6.00		2.00				22.00		30.00
United States	do				15.25				21.75		37.00
Puerto Rico	do		19.50		27.25				75.00		121.75
Guantanamo, Cuba	do				7.00				4.00		11.00
Senator Strom Thurmond:											
Korea	Hwan	3,683	13.65	1,777	6.58			480.00	1.78	5,940.00	22.01
Hong Kong	Dollar	226.43	39.37	105.98	18.43	11.83	2.06	39.21	6.82	383.45	66.68
Vietnam	Piastre	3,022	25.61	4,424	37.49			486.00	4.12	7,932.00	67.22
Burma	Kyat							17.50	.74	17.30	.74
Thailand	Baht	1,011	49.15	632	30.77	173	8.41	403	19.59	2,219	107.92
Japan	Yen	13,969	38.80	6,339	17.60	533	1.48	626	1.74	21,467	59.62
West Germany	Deutsche Mark					7,480	1,882.50			7,480	1,882.50
Senator Jack Miller:											
Thailand	Baht	297	14.40	150	7.50			62	3.00	509	24.90
South Vietnam	Piaster			750	6.40			109	.80	859	7.20
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	75	13.15	100	17.50			15.05	2.60	190.05	33.25
Taiwan	New Taiwan dollar.	884	22.10	300	7.50			100.00	2.50	1,284	32.10
Japan	Yen	12,009	33.50	6,530	18.00	3,600	10.00	4,000	11.00	26,139	72.50
Korea	Won	14,980	55.75					71	.25	15,051	56.00
Netherlands	Guilder					6,391.10	1,776.03			6,391.12	1,776.03
Senator John G. Tower:											
Germany	Deutsche Mark					7,523	1,871.50				1,871.50
Republic of China	Dollar						212.00				212.00
John F. Huppertz, USAF:											
Korea	Hwan	3,684	13.65	1,777	6.58			480	1.78	5,941	22.01
Hong Kong	Dollar	226.43	39.37	183.57	31.93	11.83	2.06	39.21	6.28	461.04	80.18
Vietnam	Piastre	3,023	25.61	4,424	37.49			486	4.12	7,933	67.22
Burma	Kyat							17.50	.74	17.50	.74
Thailand	Baht	1,011	49.15	634	30.82	174	8.46	403	19.59	2,222	108.02
Japan	Yen	13,970	38.80	6,340	17.60	534	1.48	628	1.74	21,472	59.62
West Germany	Deutsche Mark					7,480	1,882.50			7,480	1,882.50

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966—**Continued**

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Col. Paul B. Henley, USMC:											
Peru	Sol	1,240.95	46.30	1,270.00	42.39			504.05	18.81	3,015	107.50
Columbia	Peso	250.00	15.43	35.00	2.17	834.30	51.50	500.70	30.90	1,620	100.00
Netherlands	Guilder					2,382.96	660.10			2,382.96	660.10
Lt. Col. Everett L. Harper, USAF: Germany.	Deutsche Mark					7,454	1,863.50			7,454	1,863.50
Lt. Col. Edward C. Peter:											
England	Pound	26–14–4	75.53	5–8–6	15.20			8–1–7	22.69	40–4–5	113.42
Germany	Dollar		4.00		7.15						11.15
France	Franc	650.35	132.72	105.07	21.44	3,718.00	758.78	261.08	53.28	4,734.50	966.22
Switzerland	Swiss franc	234.00	53.92	118.12	27.28			178.68	41.17	530.80	122.37
William H. Darden:											
Japan	Yen	16,182	44.95	16,618	46.16	28,679	77.85	1,500	4.17	62,979	173.13
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	205.90	35.81	239.83	41.73			49.53	8.61	495.25	86.15
Thailand	Baht	1,511.10	73.46	1,241.40	60.35			58.00	2.82	2,810.50	136.63
Vietnam	Piaster			4,945	42.33					4,945	42.33
Philippines	Peso	151.44	39.50	202.31	51.92	116.85	30.00			470.60	121.42
Cost of transportation	German marks					7,530.00	1,887.22			7,530	1,887.22
Charles B. Kirbow:											
Korea	Won	3,683	13.65	1,777	6.58			480	1.78	5,940	22.01
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	226.43	39.37	183.57	31.93	11.83	2.06	39.21	6.82	461.04	80.18
Vietnam	Piaster	3,022	25.61	4,424	37.49			486	4.12	7,932	67.22
Burma	Kyat							17.50	.74	17.50	.74
Thailand	Baht	1,011	49.15	632	30.77	173	8.41	403	19.59	2,219	107.92
Japan	Yen	13,969	38.80	6,339	17.60	533	1.48	626	1.74	21,467	59.62
West Germany	Deutsche Mark					7,480	1,882.50			7,480	1,882.50
James T. Kendall:											
France	Franc	650.35	132.80	585.75	119.60			374.90	76.90	1,611.00	328.90
Germany	Mark	327.96	81.99	499.60	124.90	4,829.60	1,201.92	334.40	83.60	5,991.56	1,492.41
Belgium	Franc	480	9.60	1,270	25.40			750	15.00	2,500.00	50.00
Netherlands	Guilder	60.50	16.80	49.85	13.90			45.00	12.50	155.35	43.20
England	Pound	18–18–2	52.80	20–18–2	58.40			21–18–5	61.20	61–14–9	172.40
Italy	Lire	24,660	39.52	51,168	82.00	30,385.00	48.62	31,824	51.00	138,037.00	221.14
Greece	Drachma	480	16.00	570	19.00			450	15.00	15.00	50.00
Turkey	Lira	297	33.00	432	48.00			360	40.00	1,089	121.00
Spain	Peseta	3,016	50.25	3,740	62.30			2,229	37.45	8,985	150.00
Ben J. Gilleas:											
Vietnam	Piaster	5,317	45.06	34,810	295.00			31,735	268.94	71,862	609.00
Thailand	Baht	373	18.15	1,563	76.00			1,828	88.85	3,764	183.00
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	369.10	64.14	828.72	144.00	300.00	51.46	516.40	90.40	2,014.25	350.00
Taiwan	Taiwan dollar	800	20.00	2,160	54.00			2,320	58.00	5,280	132.00
Korea	Won	8,248	30.55	15,660	58.00			6,341	23.45	30,219	112.00
Japan	Yen	19,440	54.00	45,000	125.00			43,560	121.00	108,000	300.00
Netherlands	Guilder					6,869.30	1,900.22			6,869.30	1,900.22
Okinawa	Dollar		8.00		1.25						9.25
Vietnam	do				3.80				24.50		28.30
Japan	do								32.15		32.15
England	Pound	17–13–6	49.49	31–18–6	89.40			21–16–6	61.11	71–13–6	200.00
France	Franc	562.5	114.80	212.36	146.40			435.14	88.80	1,715	350.00
Germany	Mark	269	67.25	592	148.00	4,948.40	1,231.70	339	84.75	6,148.40	1,531.70
Belgium	Franc	512	10.24	1,100	22.00			888	17.76	2,500	50.00
Netherlands	Guilder	41.25	11.46	70.20	19.50			68.55	19.04	180	50.00
Italy	Lira	24,254	38.87	59,904	96.00			40,642	65.13	124,800	200.00
Greece	Drachma	442	14.73	720	24.00			338	11.27	1,500	50.00
Turkey	Lira	277.2	30.80	432	48.00			442.8	49.20	1,152	128.00
Spain	Peseta	2,622	43.70	3,720	62.00			2,643	44.30	8,985	150.00
Stuart P. French:											
England	Pound	17–4–8	48.06	31–10–5	87.94			22–18–5	64.00	71–13–6	200.00
France	Franc	552.72	112.80	647.78	132.20			514.50	105.00	1,715	350.00
Germany	Mark	252	63.00	552	138.00	4,829.60	1,201.92	396	99.00	6,029.60	1,501.92
Belgium	Franc	525	10.50	900	18.00			1,075	21.50	2,500	50.00
Netherlands	Guilder	41.25	11.46	62.28	17.30			76.47	21.24	170	50.00
Italy	Lira	23,999	38.46	73,008	117.00			58,993	94.54	156,000	250.00
Greece	Drachma	450	15.00	480	16.00			570	19.00	1,500	50.00
Turkey	Lira	227.70	25.30	459	51.00			573.3	63.70	1,260	140.00
Spain	Peseta	2,808	46.85	3,947	66.00			2,230	37.15	8,985	150.00
Vietnam	Piaster	5,310	45.00	36,580	310.00			33,512	284.00	75,402	639.00
Thailand	Baht	373	18.15	1,756	87.80			1,985	94.05	4,114	200.00
Hong Kong	Dollar	374.08	65.00	702.11	122.00			650.31	113.00	1,726.50	300.00
Taiwan	do	800	20.00	2,370	59.25			2,670	66.75	5,840	146.00
Korea	Won	8,248	30.55	18,360	68.00			13,864	51.45	40,472	150.00
Japan	Yen	19,440	54.00	45,000	125.00			43,560	121.00	108,000	300.00
Netherlands	Guilder					6,869.30	1,900.22			6,869.30	1,900.22
Okinawa	Dollar		8.00		1.25						9.25
Vietnam	do				13.75						13.75
Samuel R. Shaw:											
Vietnam	Piaster	5,428	46.00	28,850	244.49			24,022	203.57	58,300	494.06
Philippines	Peso	184.80	47.48	313.20	80.47			280.40	72.05	778.40	200.00
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	385.23	66.93	735.00	127.71			606.27	105.34	1,726.50	299.98
Taiwan	New Taiwan dollar.	800.00	20.00	2,760.00	69.00			2,440.00	61.00	6,000.00	150.00
Korea	Won	8,248	30.55	19,650	72.82			12,574	46.63	40,472	150.00
Japan	Yen	20,935	58.15	47,870	132.97			39,195	108.87	108,000	299.99
Netherlands	Guilder					6,869.30	1,900.22			6,869.30	1,900.22
Japan	Dollar								4.60		4.60
Vietnam	do				5.71						5.71
Okinawa	do		2.00								2.00
Robert M. Neal:											
South Vietnam	Piaster	4,201	35.60	18,054	153.00	1,719	14.57	2,006	17.00	25,980	220.17
Philippines	Peso	184.80	47.48	295.79	76.00	68.18	17.52	54.49	14.00	603.26	155.00
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	370.62	64.40	748.15	130.00	129.48	22.50	103.59	18.00	1,351.84	234.90
Taiwan	New Taiwan dollar.	800	20.00	1,920	48.00	200	5.00	320	8.00	3,240	81.00
Korea	Won	10,117.87	37.50	13,760.31	51.00	3,866.38	14.33	3,507.53	13.00	31,252.09	115.83
Japan	Yen	6,984	19.40	38,880	108.00	6,750	18.75	5,796	16.10	58,410	162.25

Report of expenditures of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966—Continued

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Robert M. Neal—Continued											
Netherlands	Guilder					6,869.30	1,900.22			6,869.30	1,900.22
Transportation	Dollar						124.80				124.80
Okinawa	do		2.00								2.00
South Vietnam	do				3.71						3.71
Japan	do				2.60				3.00		5.60
Glenn A. Smith:											
Germany	Deutsche Marks.					7,454	1,863.50			7,454	1,863.50
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.							24.75	4.30	24.75	4.30
Vietnam	Piasters			645	5.50			6.45	5.50	1,290	11.00
Philippine Islands	Dollar								3.00		3.00
Total			3,587.82		5,664.67		32,050.92		4,171.21		45,474.62

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	44,353.69
Appropriated funds:	
Army	221.33
Navy	421.45
Air Force	478.15
Total	45,474.62

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services.

MARCH 3, 1967.

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Wallace F. Bennett:											
Japan	Yen		111.10		57.35		82.60		31.65		282.70
Philippines	Peso		25.25		5.55						30.80
Honolulu			16.64		13.00						29.64
Subtotal			152.99		75.90		82.60		31.65		343.14
Senator Edward V. Long:											
Italy	Lira			4,375	7.01	9,375	15.02	3125	5.01	16,875	27.04
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	191.52	32.85	287.75	49.36	230.20	39.48	57.55	9.87	767.02	131.56
Taiwan	New Taiwan dollar.	500.00	12.50	226.85	5.67	600.00	15.00	200.00	5.00	1,526.85	38.17
Philippines	Peso	76.80	19.78	80.00	20.60	40.00	10.30	20.00	5.15	216.80	55.83
Thailand	Baht	800.00	38.83	902.80	43.83	890.00	43.20	441.00	31.41	3,033.80	157.27
Vietnam	Piaster			336.00	2.85	220.00	1.86	200.00	1.69	756.00	6.40
Indonesia	U.S. dollar		58.56		25.00		10.00		6.00		99.56
Malaysia	do		78.91								78.91
Burma	Kyat	200.00	8.33	320.00	13.33			200.00	8.33	720.00	29.99
India	Rupee	253.70	33.79	77.00	10.26	205.00	27.30	70.00	9.32	605.70	80.67
Egypt	Pound	26.80	48.24	27.00	48.60	55.00	98.99	23.00	41.40	131.80	237.23
Syria	U.S. dollar		13.78								13.78
Do	Pound			56.00	13.66	41.00	10.00	20.00	4.88	117.00	28.54
Jordan	U.S. dollar		23.40								23.40
Do	Dinar			9.5	26.61	3.0	8.40	3.0	8.40	15.5	43.41
Israel	Pound	72.60	24.20	60.00	20.00	70.00	23.33	60.00	20.00	262.60	87.53
Greece	U.S. dollar		16.60								16.60
Do	Drachma			240.00	8.00	150.00	5.00	300.00	10.00	690.00	23.00
Subtotal			409.77		294.78		307.88		166.46		1,178.89
Helen Dunlop:											
Italy	Lira			3,800	6.08	9,300	14.90	2,850	4.57	15,950	25.55
Hong Kong	Hong Kong dollar.	191.52	32.85	245.00	42.02	185.00	31.73	45.00	7.72	666.52	114.32
Taiwan	New Taiwan	500.00	12.50	185.00	4.63	525.00	13.13	125.00	3.12	1,335.00	33.38
Philippines	Peso	76.80	19.78	65.00	16.74	35.00	9.01	18.00	4.63	194.80	50.16
Thailand	Baht	800.00	38.83	825.75	40.08	775.00	37.62	410.00	19.90	2,810.75	136.43
Vietnam	Piaster			237.00	2.01	160.00	1.36	135.00	1.14	532.00	4.51
Indonesia	U.S. dollar		42.60		17.00		6.00		5.00		70.60
Malaysia	do		27.70								27.70
Burma	Kyat	200.00	8.33	285.00	11.88			170.00	7.08	655.00	27.29
India	Rupee	253.70	33.79	65.00	8.66	190.00	25.31	50.00	6.66	558.70	74.42
Egypt	Pound	26.80	48.24	23.00	41.40	42.00	75.59	35.00	62.99	126.80	228.22
Syria	U.S. dollar		7.43								7.43
Do	Pound			47.00	11.46	32.00	7.80	15.00	3.66	94.00	22.92
Jordan	U.S. dollar		23.40								23.40
Do	Dinar			7.0	19.61	2.0	5.60	2.5	7.00	11.5	32.21
Israel	Pound	72.60	24.20	54.00	18.00	61.00	20.33	53.00	17.67	240.60	80.20
Greece	U.S. dollar		10.67								10.67
Subtotal			330.32		239.57		248.38		151.14		969.41
Total			893.08		610.25		638.86		349.25		2,491.44

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	2,188.39
Appropriated funds: Department of the Army	303.05
Total	2,491.44

JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency.

MARCH 2, 1967.

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Smathers, George:											
Spain	Peseta	3,414.30	57.00	3,761.72	62.80	2,995.00	50.00	1,808.98	30.20	11,980.00	200.00
Local transportation						2,188.00	36.50				36.50
Portugal	Escudo	2,070.72	72.00	2,421.60	84.20	674.42	23.45	585.26	20.35	5,752.00	200.00
France	Franc	392.00	80.00	374.36	76.40	245.00	50.00	213.64	43.60	1,225.00	250.00
Switzerland	Swiss franc	103.73	24.00	79.52	18.40			32.85	7.60	216.10	50.00
International transportation	Mark					1,968.00	494.35			1,968.00	494.35
Talmadge, Herman:											
Switzerland	Swiss franc	831.65	192.00	678.75	156.70	113.05	26.10	109.15	25.20	1,732.60	400.00
Transportation	Guilder					3,343.00	924.76			3,343.00	924.76
Hartke, Vance:											
France	Franc	392.00	80.00	473.83	96.70			114.17	23.30	980.00	200.00
Germany	Deusche Mark	568.00	142.00	492.80	123.20			139.20	34.80	1,200.00	300.00
Greece	Drachma	1,980.00	66.00	2,388.00	79.60			132.00	4.40	450.00	150.00
Local transportation	do					2,978.00	99.27			2,978.00	99.27
Netherlands	Guilder					1,595.00	441.22			1,595.00	441.22
Switzerland	Swiss franc	103.68	24.00	112.32	26.00					216.00	50.00
Local transportation	do					147.00	33.98			147.00	33.98
United Kingdom	Pound	31.11.0	88.00	34.40	95.40			5.19.0	16.60	71.14.0	200.00
Local transportation	do					68.00	189.68			68.0.0	189.68
International transportation	do					21.19.0	61.23			21.19.0	61.23
Total			825.00		819.40		2,430.54		206.05		4,280.99

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	4,280.99

RUSSELL LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance.

MARCH 3, 1967.

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Donald S. Russell:											
Germany	Deutsche Mark					[1] 10,854.40	2,720.40			10,854.40	2,720.40
Israel	Pound	[2] 106.00	35.33			168.00	56.00			274.00	91.33
Total		106.00	35.33			11,022.40	2,776.40			11,128.40	2,811.73

[1] Transportation from Washington, D.C., to Tel Aviv, and return.

[2] This covered miscellaneous items, including lodging, meals, etc., during stay in Israel.

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent) ($11,128.40) S. Res. 180 (2d sess., 89th Cong.)	2,811.73

A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

FEBRUARY 20, 1967.

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Eugene S. Cowen:											
Germany	Deutsche Mark					5,302.80	1,329.02			5,302.80	1,329.02
Israel	Pound			174.00	58.00	200.00	66.67			374.00	124.67
Total					58.00		1,395.69				1,453.69

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	$1,453.69

B. EVERETT JORDAN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration.

FEBRUARY 27, 1967.

Report of expenditure of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
J. O. Pastore:											
Germany	Deutsche Mark					3,918.00	981.95			3,918.00	981.95
Israel	Pound	135.00	45.00	120.00	40.00	60.00	20.00	34.01	11.67	349.01	116.67
E. J. Bauser:											
Austria	Schilling	2,286.00	89.00	1,780.30	69.20	10,627	413.07	989.70	38.50	15,683	609.77
Italy	Lire	20,209	32.40	25,163	40.40	16,400	26.35	9,250	14.85	71,022	114.00
France	Franc	151.00	30.80	26.00	5.30	14.00	2.90			191.00	39.00
United Kingdom	Pound	29.13.0	83.30	17.00.0	47.50	2.10.00	6.98	1.02.09	3.21	49.25.09	140.99
Netherlands	Franc					2,106.78	582.79			2,106.78	582.79
J. T. Conway:											
Germany	Deutsche Mark					1,894.40	474.79			1,894.40	474.79
Ireland	Pound	24.13.10	69.20	7.6.8	20.55					24.20.78	89.75
Spain	Peseta	9,989.86	167.55	6,596	108.95	5,217.03	87.50	357.74	6.00	22,060.57	370.00
United Kingdom	Pound	23.13	66.28	22.40	62.22	2.19.9	8.37	2.13.6	7.50	68.7.2	144.37
J. B. Graham:											
West Germany	Deutsche Mark	408	102.00	240	60.00	2,509.68	625.03	4	1.00	3,161.68	788.03
Italy	Lire	44,928	72.00	27,456	44.00	12480	20.00	2,496	4.00	87,360	140.00
Israel	Pound	135	45.00	120	40.00	30	10.00	15	5.00	300	100.00
G. F. Murphy:											
United Kingdom	do	29.7.2	82.00	29.7.2	82.00	68.2.2	218.55	1.15.9	5.00	39.2.5	387.55
Switzerland	Swiss franc	130.07	30.00	260.14	60.00	86.72	20.00	43.36	10.00	520.29	120.00
Italy	Lire	40,418	65.00	70,022	115.00	25,163	42.48	12,581	20.00	148,184	242.48
Germany	Deutsche Mark	20.00	4.00	84.58	21.00	5,843.40	1,459.37	21.00	5.00	5,968.98	1,489.37
France	Franc	2215	445.00	1590	330.00	640.27	130.97	150	30.00	4,595.27	935.97
Total			1,428.53		1,146.12		5,131.10		161.73		7,867.48

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	7,867.48

JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

MARCH 3, 1967.

Report of expenditures of foreign currencies and appropriated funds by the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Senate, expended between Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1966

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
William E. Duke:											
France	Franc	301.80	60.36	443.20	88.64	105.50	21.10	174.50	34.90	1,025	205.00
Germany	Deutsche Mark					4,712.80	1,181.15			4,712.80	[1] 1,181.15
Greece	Drachma	1,149	38.30	1,260	42.00	293.40	9.78	297.60	9.92	3,000	100.00
Turkey	Lira	410.94	45.66	219.96	24.44			108.00	12.00	738.90	82.10
Subtotal			144.32		155.08		1,212.03		56.82		1,568.25
Jacob K. Javits:											
Argentina	Peso	16,920	90.00	8,460	45.00			2,820	15.00	28,200	150.00
Brazil	Cruzeiro	132,720	60.00	66,360	30.00			22,120	10.00	221,200	[2] 100.00
Chile	Escudo	267	60.00	133	30.00			45	10.00	445	100.00
Peru	Sole	2,412	90.00	1,206	45.00			402	15.00	4,020	[3] 150.00
Turkey	Lira	180	20.00	675	75.00			225	25.00	1,080	120.00
United Kingdom	Pound	32–3	90.00	16–2	45.00			5–7	15.00	53–12	150.00
Subtotal			410.00		270.00				90.00		770.00
Daniel Szabo:											
Argentina		14,213	75.60	7,520	40.00			4,606	24.50	26,339	140.10
Brazil	Cruzeiro	112,148	50.70	19,908	9.00			119.227	53.90	251,283	113.60
Chile	Escudo	105.02	23.60	271.45	61.00			26.26	5.90	402.73	90.50
Peru	Sole	1,242.18	46.35	525.82	19.62	1,353.93	50.52	919.78	34.32	4,041.71	150.81
Netherlands	Guilder					2,708.30	748.30			2,708.30	[1] 748.30
Subtotal			196.25		129.62		798.82		118.62		1,243.31
Total			750.57		554.70		2,010.85		265.44		3,581.56

[1] Round-trip transportation purchased by State Department.
[2] Returned $33 as he had used personal funds.
[3] Returned $60 as he had used personal funds.

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	3,581.56
Total	3,581.56

MARCH 2, 1967.

WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
Chairman, Joint Economic Committee.

AIR POLLUTION—WSBA EDITORIAL

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, station WSBA, at York, Pa., has just sent out over the radio airwaves an editorial broadcast on the subject "Air Pollution," which I consider an excellent piece of radio editorializing.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIR POLLUTION

Opinion would like to take this opportunity to praise President Johnson's message, asking Congress to take aggressive action on air pollution. The President has requested authority to establish and enforce industry-wide limits on the emission of pollutants. He has also asked for the creation of regional commissions to set and enforce clean air standards . . . and strict controls of the emission of gases from motor vehicles. President Johnson said: "The battle for clean air must be won now!" For in ten years it will be too late. To anyone travelling the industrial megalopolis of the East, or for that matter any major metropolitan area in the United States, the problem is obvious . . . our air is polluted! OPINION applauds the President's moves to enforce clean air standards and urges that you contact Representatives Edwin D. Eshleman, George Goodling, and Herman T. Schneebeli, and Senators Hugh Scott and Joseph S. Clark, and demand prompt action to achieve an effective program to battle one of America's most serious problems . . . dirty air.

THE TEACHER CORPS—YOUTHFUL IDEALISM IN ACTION

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, ever since its creation was first proposed in 1965, the National Teacher Corps has been treated as a poor stepchild by Congress. While appropriations for the program have issued forth in the merest trickle, it has been subjected to a veritable flood of criticism.

Why this should be so is a mystery to me. Our young people are continually being charged with being apathetic and uncommitted; through the Teacher Corps they are being given a chance to put their idealism to work and to show their concern with the problems of our society in a positive, constructive way. One would expect unalloyed enthusiasm for the program in Congress. Instead one finds the reverse.

The President has announced that he will seek a supplemental appropriation of $12.5 million for the balance of this fiscal year for the Teacher Corps, for a total of $20 million for fiscal year 1967, and that he will request an appropriation of $36 million for fiscal year 1968. I hope that the Congress will look with favor on these requests, and grant them in full.

I ask unanimous consent that an article by Fred Hechinger in the New York Times of February 12, 1967, under the headline "Education: Uphill Fight for Teacher Corps" appear in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, as impressive evidence of the splendid job the Teacher Corps is doing in my own State of Pennsylvania, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks a letter which I received not long ago from Mr. Martin Kesselman, principal of the William McIntyre Public School at 30th and Gordon Streets in Philadelphia. Mr. Kesselman states that a Teacher Corps team assigned to his school from Temple University is doing "an outstanding job in helping to revitalize education in this low income area," and adds:

> We need all the help which can be made available, especially in the form of dedicated personnel.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I assure Mr. Kesselman, and educators all over the country, that there are Members of this body who have heard their message and who are determined to keep the Teacher Corps alive and to help it prosper and succeed.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the New York Times, Feb. 12, 1967]

EDUCATION: UPHILL FIGHT FOR TEACHER CORPS

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

"The Teacher Corps has brought a much-needed infusion of genuine commitment and imaginative talent to the schools of New York City. I would count it a serious setback to the cause of quality education . . . if the Teacher Corps were not to be allowed to continue and expand its work in New York and across the country."

So wrote New York's Mayor John V. Lindsay last month in a letter to John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Apparently, Mr. Lindsay's praise of the National Teacher Corps is shared by observers across the country. But shared, too, is his uneasiness about the experiment's future.

Ever since President Johnson in 1965 proposed the creation of a substantial force of idealistic young men and women who would, Peace Corps style, spend two years supplementing the teaching staffs of rural and urban slum schools, the idea has been widely hailed as a way of harnessing youthful commitment. At a time when the slum schools suffer most from the teacher shortage, the prospect of getting enthusiastic and expertly supervised interns, fresh out of college, seemed like a promise of rain during a drought.

Since the young teachers in addition would be attached to universities for professional training, it was reasonable to hope that many of them would be lured into teaching as a career—perhaps even specialized teaching in slums.

Although rarely had so much been promised for so little money, Congress has treated the National Teacher Corps as a legislative stepchild.

The reason for this coolness was never totally clear.

In part, it may have been the result of an almost pathological fear of Federal control of education, even though the Corps teachers are under the control of local school districts.

In part, too, conservative spokesmen for the education establishment, especially in its teacher training segment, may have infected some members of Congress with lack of enthusiasm for a scheme that placed premium on innovation rather than the status quo.

In part, the politically conservative sections of the country may fear Corps teachers as "outside agitators."

In part, finally, Congress may have used this fiscally relatively minor program as a means of getting back at the President for having his way with so many other proposals.

The plan called for 4,000 teachers during the current school year, but the program was put through successive wringers until only 1,227—262 veteran "master" teachers and 965 Corpsmen—could be put in the field. New York City, which hoped for several hundred, has only 93 corpsmen in 16 of its 860 schools.

Even more serious was the fact that the last Congress gave the N.T.C. only $7.5 million, just enough to see it through the current academic year. Since each contract is supposed to be for a two-year period, these young men and women are in the dark about whether they can continue their work next September. Meanwhile, they are under pressure to sign up for jobs or more graduate work.

Many of those entering the corps for the two-year service period are college graduates who want to serve the community before going on to other careers.

President Johnson last month said that he would propose legislation to "extend and enlarge the Teacher Corps." Secretary Gardner added that H.E.W. has requested $12.5 million in supplemental appropriations for 1967 and $36 million for the program in 1967–68. This would permit a total of 3,700 corpsmen in September and a subsequent increase to a total of almost 6,000.

Unless recruiting can begin almost immediately for the next school year and contracts with some 50 universities for preservice summer training can be let soon, the N.T.C. is likely to expire just as laudatory reports on the initial round are coming in.

"It is a little program that is making a big difference in our system," said John W. Ambrose, Acting Superintendent of the Lexington, Ky., schools.

A school official in Pontiac, Mich., called it one of the most useful innovations sponsored by Washington.

Perhaps the most important testimony about the program's potential, however, comes from young corps members themselves. A group of young women, serving in slum schools in New York agreed last week that they are "reaching" many of the youngsters mainly because they have the time and opportunity to work with small groups, a luxury most regular teachers cannot afford.

Ann Schrand, a veteran of the Peace Corps in Colombia who is now an N.T.C. member in Junior High School 45 at 120th St. and First Ave. said: "This is like going into another country, too."

Wilease Fields, a young Negro corps member from Maryland, now attached to Public School 19 in Corona, Queens, said her team was offering physical education, which previously had not been provided at all, and art and science, of which there had been too little.

"We can spend a lot of time on research and preparation which the regular teachers simply can't," she added.

As many of the young people tell of their experiences, an even more important aspect of the program becomes clear. Speaking confidentially, they tell about how they had to persuade the regular teachers and school administrators "diplomatically" not to treat them as ordinary student teachers, who are often used mainly to observe and clean the blackboards. They talk about the resistance to such unconventional approaches as home visits. They express disappointment about the conservatism of existing teacher training.

While the universities' special summer programs were given high marks, the overly theoretical courses in the regular education departments during the school year frequently seemed irrelevant.

"I feel the universities have copped out and are taking only a token interest," one corps member said, and others agreed.

Such criticism underlines the potential value of the N.T.C. It could force a rethinking of the existing teacher training procedures. It raises questions about the traditional ways of student teaching and about the need to switch boldly to a system of true internship and on-the-job training. It might make possible new patterns of liaison with the community and with the homes of deprived children. Neither the standard professional concepts nor the economics of routine school staffing has permitted such patterns to evolve.

This should not imply that the corps is magic that will solve the problems of the slums. Despite their enthusiasm, these young recruits quickly admitted that the problems of poverty, of fatherless homes and of omnipresent groups of disruptive and unresponsive children, who should not be in regular schools, cannot be solved by the schools alone.

They sympathize with the regular school staff and admire its competent members. But they also recognize more clearly—perhaps because they are not part of the establishment—the flaws of defensiveness and insecurity of too many school people.

"The good teachers leave first when a principal fails to respond to the real problems, just to avoid trouble with his superiors," said one young corps member.

"You're really in the trenches," said one young woman, not to complain, but to tell why she valued the experience. It is ironic that in the face of widespread criticism of the lack of commitment among today's young people, it remains far from certain whether Congress will keep and reinforce the Teacher Corps in its domestic trenches.

Exhibit 2

William McIntyre Public School,
Philadelphia, February 16, 1967.

Senator Joseph Clark,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Clark: This is to inform you of the excellent job that the National Teacher Corps is doing at the William McIntyre School. There is one team assigned here from Temple University and it is doing an outstanding job in helping to revitalize education in this low income area.

First, it certainly has attracted five dedicated persons to the task of helping disadvantaged children. In this way it is able to extend a positive image of the school into the community.

Second, they have provided teaching services within the school which would not have otherwise been possible, such as the supervision and assistance to our pre-school music program and the tutoring of individual children who otherwise could not receive the high degree of individual attention necessary. They also help individual teachers directly in the classroom to provide for a more intensive, individualized program. In effect, this lowers the pupil-teacher ratio.

Third, they help to provide an added impetus which helps to stimulate those teachers already in service to put forth even greater effort. This, as a morale factor alone, is highly commendable.

Since the Corps has only been operating for such a short time, there is no doubt in my mind that its full potential has hardly begun to be realized despite the mark already being made on the education of the children here.

I strongly urge that everything be done to see that this valuable service be extended for the so-called "ghetto" schools. We need all the help which can be made available, especially in the form of dedicated personnel.

It might also interest you to know that 90% of the Teacher Corps personnel have said that they would like to remain in these "difficult" schools when their term in the Corps has ended.

Very truly yours,
Martin Kesselman,
Principal.

A HEMISPHERIC HURDLE CROSSED

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the editors of both the Baltimore Sun and the Philadelphia Inquirer express growing optimism over the results of the recent Buenos Aires meeting of the hemisphere's foreign ministers, and the new promise they bring to the projected Summit Conference.

The Sun hails "the broad agreement on first steps toward the formation of a Latin American common market" as "cheerful news" and as a sound forward step toward a "profitable summit."

The Inquirer stresses the significance of such a market and applauds the President and Secretary of State Rusk for this "successful advance in their moves to accelerate self-help aspects of Latin American economic growth."

Both articles are interesting and informative and offer fresh insights into the current hemispheric agenda. I ask that they be included in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Feb. 23, 1967]

A Pan-American Summit Meeting

Among noteworthy accomplishments of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States, at their conference in Buenos Aires, is agreement to hold an OAS meeting in Uruguay in April. A major item on the summit agenda will be a proposal to create a Latin-American Common Market on a step-by-step basis over a period of about 12 years.

Significance of this can be summarized as a successful advance for President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk in their moves to accelerate self-help aspects of Latin-American economic growth.

The Alliance for Progress, launched by President Kennedy, was bold in concept and idealistic in principle. From the standpoint of practicality, the Alliance has been weak and the progress slow. Central and South American governments, some of them more dictatorial than democratic, have become overly dependent on U.S. aid at a time when they should have been moving toward a greater degree of economic independence.

Secretary Rusk found a cooperative spirit prevailing at Buenos Aires. President Johnson is hopeful of finding more of the same at the summit in April. It is well to keep in mind, though, that the spirit may be more superficial than real. Rivalry, not cooperation, is the tradition of history among Latin-American governments.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Feb. 22, 1967]

Clearer Summit

Skepticism as to the value of the projected conference of hemispheric presidents must now be tempered in the light of developments at the foreign ministers' meeting in Buenos Aires. Rather unexpectedly, the ministers, gathered as representatives of members of the Organization of American States, have reached broad agreement on first steps toward the formation of a Latin American Common Market. Since the heaviest doubt about a summit meeting arose from fears that it would not face squarely the problems of trade, this can be considered cheerful news.

One participant in the Buenos Aires discussions reports "an unbelievable spirit of cooperation." Another says that the decision to go ahead with the Common Market plans is the most important the Latin American nations have made since (in various ways and at various moments) they became independent. Secretary of State Rusk declares himself "highly satisfied." Careful and objective newspaper men report that the preliminary market talks moved along with surprising smoothness.

This does not indicate by any means that the establishment of the Common Market will be easy. The larger countries, with their complex economies, will want a slow approach, the smaller and poorer nations a fast. Years of intricate adjustment lie ahead. Yet the date of 1980 for a unified Latin American economy does not seem today so unrealistic as it did before the ministers went to Buenos Aires.

Mr. Rusk says that subjects remaining to be discussed before a summit meeting "are not deeply divisive." We may hope this turns out to be the fact. If it does, and if the agenda items on trade are further refined and made firm, the prospects for a profitable summit conference do look brighter.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment, in executive session, until 11 o'clock a.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

AUTHORITY FOR THE SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA, MR. SCOTT, TO BE RECOGNIZED FOR 1 HOUR TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of morning business tomorrow, the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] may be recognized for 1 hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MORSE TO 47TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR COLLEGES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on the night of March 2, 1967, I was honored with an invitation to address the 47th Annual Convention of the American Association of Junior Colleges. The meeting was held at the Hilton Hotel, in San Francisco.

I ask unanimous consent that my address at that meeting be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Time to Every Purpose

(Address by Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, of Oregon, to the banquet session of the 47th annual convention, American Association of Junior Colleges, San Francisco Hilton, March 2, 1967)

Mr. President Priest, Rabbi Fine, President-Elect Don Eldridge, distinguished guests, members of the Association, and friends:

I am greatly appreciative of the honor you have extended to me to meet with you and talk with you about matters of general concern to your membership and the students you exist to serve.

As Chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I am particularly pleased to see before me the physical evidence of the growth and vitality which characterizes your organization. The junior and community college ideal which you embody as an organization has deep roots in the American academic tradition since you are devoted in equal measure to the liberal arts, those studies worthy of a free man, and to those arts of equal dignity and worth which were described in the Morrill Land Grant charter as the mechanic arts. The fusion of these two complementary movements in your institutions are responsible, in my judgment, for the vigour of your operations and for the support you have engendered in the Congress for those operations.

If I am not mistaken, in every great statute enacted in the 1960's to date, the contribution of your program to the education of young Americans has been recognized by the Congress. Explicit note has been taken to make sure that your institutions, your programs, and your student bodies can benefit under the various provisions of the public laws, such as the Morse-Perkins Vocational

Education Act of 1963, the Morse-Green Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Morse-Green Higher Education Act of 1965, the Morse-Powell National Defense Education Act Amendments of 1964, the Morse-Perkins Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and even in the Morse-Brademas International Education Act of 1966.

In each of these statutes and as well the 1966 Higher Education Amendments Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments Act of 1966, my subcommittee has sought the counsel of your officers and your members. In our seminar sessions there has been free and open give and take. Your evidence has been weighed with care in our executive sessions and your imprint is on the statute.

If I may digress for a moment at this juncture to say in public what I have many times said in private with regard to educational legislation of the last four years. On the Senate side, at least, I can speak with conviction and authority. It has been legislation which was in the best sense of the word, bipartisan. In subcommittee and in full committee we have argued and differed over details, but we have been united on the floor and in conference in our determination to get good legislation adopted.

This has been due to the fact that we have agreed upon our objectives, and our variances in recommendations have been limited to the improvement and refinement of the proposals which come to us from our colleagues and the Administration.

We have not always bought unchanged the Administration proposals. Many of us believe and have acted on our belief that Washington, D.C., has no monopoly upon wisdom in the field of education legislation. Many of us feel quite strongly that initiatives for programs should arise from and be modified by the educational community of this nation. It is the community of which your organization is an important constituent.

Let me illustrate my point with a specific instance. As you may know, Public Law 874, which provides grants to defray operation and maintenance costs of educational programs to local educational agencies is based upon a formula which takes into account the number of children whose parents live or work on federal property and the per pupil expenditure of the state. Most of these payments go to local elementary and secondary school districts. However, the Act itself has in it that such payments can be made to local educational agencies which provide free public education. Since some states, like California, have made provision for free tuition in their junior and community colleges, these institutions, as in California, have received such payments. In fiscal year 1967 for California some $2,450,000 will be received by junior and community colleges for operational costs. Since 1950, $15 million has been received from this source. Construction money under P.L. 815, the companion measure to P.L. 874, since 1950 has amounted to an additional $3 to $4 million and it was used to help provide a part of the physical facilities of California junior colleges. No less than eleven junior college districts qualified for such aid in 1965 and 1966.

Among the changes proposed by the Administration to P.L. 874 was one which would have limited such assistance to elementary and secondary schools only, thus removing a revenue source for qualifying junior colleges in this State.

In subcommittee members of the minority party, whose states were not affected, pointed out that Senators Murphy and Kuchel were concerned over the proposals. My guess is that many of the California junior college presidents had presented to the two California Senators a very convincing case for the retention of the language. Senator Murphy is a respected member of the minority who served on the full committee. In my judgment, he made such a powerful case for the retention of this benefit that I urged our committee to accept an amendment to the Administration proposal in this area. We later used these arguments to good effect in our conference with the House and were successful in upholding the Senate position.

I mention this incident for a purpose. I think it demonstrates that our subcommittee tries to meet problems which arise on the basis of the merits of proposals rather than on the basis of party vote roll calls. In this instance I felt, and I am sure that in this I was joined by many, that we should encourage the states to extend the principle of free public education beyond the high school level. At the least, we should not discourage those states which have had the vision to move ahead in this area, by imposing upon them financial stringencies whose end result would have been either the denial of higher educational opportunity to qualified young Americans, or an increase in local or state taxes.

So I honor George Murphy for the position he took on this issue, and I congratulate those junior college presidents and deans who took the time and the trouble to prepare the case for their Senators to present.

Discussion of this particular leads me to develop with you the theme of this address. You may have recognized that my text was taken from one of the Wisdom Books of the Old Testament. It may be found as part of the first verse of Chapter 3 of the Book of Ecclesiastes and in full it reads:

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven."

We know that in the past decade there has been a net increase of 12,000,000 boys and girls enrolled in our elementary and secondary schools. I have it on the authority of a report issued by Senator Hickenlooper for the Republican Senatorial Policy Committee last August that soon, in the next few years, more teachers will be voters than will farmers. Finally, the Congress has looked with increasing favor in the past few years upon assistance to the junior and community college movement.

This, then, would seem to be the time for you to assess your needs now, and for the decades to come. In doing so, it would be my hope, and my earnest counsel to you, that you seek the support of other segments of the higher education community for those provisions of additional legislation, federal and state, you wish to have enacted. It is still true that in unity there is strength. If you can conscientiously support the efforts of graduate schools and your four year counterparts to achieve solutions to their problems, then it seems to me you have established a claim on them to support your objectives.

Each sector of higher education shares certain characteristics. Each has concern for the development and maturation of the student through the provision of skills, the formation of attitudes and philosophies of social behavior, the unceasing search for truth as it is given to man to discover the truth. As importantly it shares the common heritage of a profession and a discipline which stretches from the Stoa of Athens, the schools and synagogues of Jerusalem, the colonnades of the Roman law courts, through the gothic arches of the medieval universities of Siena, Paris and Oxford. It reaches to the new schools of today which are springing up as oases in the former deserts of learning here and overseas, and it provides for a basis of unity of action.

It is a proud tradition of free inquiry. Its hallmark is an attitude of questioning. The weapons of thought and rationality it wields are sharp and penetrating. Who is it that finally assesses the men of power?—the historian through a footnote. Who is it that transforms a culture and creates a new civilization? The scientist, the inventor, the technician. An Edison or a Steinmetz, a Nobel Laureate, a political theorist such as Augustine, Aquinas, Locke, or a sociologist such as Weber, Marx or Veblen, these are the men whose ideas, right or wrong, have, for better or for worse, formed our human condition in the last half of the 20th Century. The matrix from which such men emerge is the school. The insights provided in a lecture, in the laboratory or in the shop can be the spark which ignites the mind of the student to produce a blaze which can illuminate or burn his world.

Because each of you, with your associates, are engaged in this most rewarding and difficult endeavor for all of our people, it seems to me that you have a responsibility to foster, to maintain, and to transmit to your successors the accumulated wisdom of all of your predecessors.

This will force you into opposing, perhaps well meaning, but certainly uninformed, attempts to gain short range advantages, political and economic, which are based upon threadbare and outworn systems of thought. You are dedicated to the search for truth. Never palter with nor compromise your integrity. Advocate what you regard as essential to the fulfillment of your mission.

There is no greater social and economic waste, in my judgment, than the deferral or denial of educational opportunity to the more than 55 million Americans who are now enrolled in educational institutions from pre-school through post-doctoral study.

"Politics" can be a word with perjorative connotations. I call upon you to be educational statesmen who will draw the issues clearly and pose to the people of our democracy the alternatives which could flow from the adoption of what you believe to be misguided policies affecting education. Place your confidence in the good sense of the public. The people, if informed, will not fail you.

There are bound, however, to be temporary setbacks. When these occur, they should be considered as stimulants to encourage you to do better in the next round.

If, however, after you have exhausted the remedies of rational appeal and analysis to no avail, when you find that the political climate of your locality will not permit you to function effectively in your educational capacity because of restrictions placed upon your access to, and your dissemination of, what you believe to be intellectually sound, then you can have recourse, as a last resort, to the unanswerable weapon of the professional. You can withdraw, as did the plebs of Rome and the dons and students who founded Cambridge, to repair to climes where your work is honored and your presence welcomed.

It is a step not to be taken lightly without considered and prayerful reflection, but it is a course open to honorable men and women who are dedicated to the service of their fellow men.

America benefitted immeasurably from the shortsightedness of the European totalitarian regimes which proscribed other than official dogma. The teachers and scholars who came to us more than a century ago and later in the 1930s have enriched beyond counting our national intellectual resources. God grant that such a situation will never arise in this country which could so force such a mass migration of talent. I cannot believe that so foul a weed could be nurtured in the garden of democracy.

But the provocations need not be so extreme as this to justify your withdrawal. Expenditures which are essential, if deferred, can create an irreparable loss. The youngster who drops from school because of financial pressures has lost educational time which can never be recovered. The state and the nation have lost a part of the return from taxes upon his income over his lifetime of earnings because he is not able to receive the financial return from salaries and wages that his innate capacities, if developed through education, could have earned for him. If needed school construction is delayed, because of budget blue-pencilling in an effort to present a pretty fiscal picture, a whole school generation of students is educationally short-changed. It is a pennywise practice. We need fiscal farsightedness, not money myopia, when it comes to meeting the educational needs of our citizens. It will be said that the emergency is a temporary one.

That argument was used too successfully during World War II with the result that the physical plant of American education has been blighted ever since. We are paying, and will continue to pay a very high price, for that "temporary" postponement of social expenditure. That extra twelve million children added in less than a decade to our elementary and secondary rolls will soon be clamoring in ever increasing number at your doors. Unless you want to echo the illfated innkeeper who achieved immortality by saying that there is no room at the inn, you must needs speak out strongly in defense of your convictions. There is a time to every purpose; now is the time for you to speak in this area.

It will be said by some that the state and local governments cannot afford to pay the costs of adequate school housing, decent salary scales, modern equipment in the classroom and the lab. In part this is a correct assessment. The federal government has through the Congress, recognized the partial validity of this assertion and in statute after statute it has provided partial reliefs.

But since we know that a temptation will be created to permit the federal funds to supplant rather than to supplement state and local expenditures, in a great many of these statutes there has been incorporated a "maintenance of effort" clause. I mention it now because I think that the taxpaying citizens should know that budgetary efforts to cut back on educational expenditure may create at the same time an unexpected further decrease in the total funding available from all sources. However, Federal law required no tapering off in local support of schools. For example, if a budget cut is reflected in college or university allotment for instructional equipment of the type funded under Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, then the language of section 604(b) of that Act which states:

"An institution of higher education shall be eligible for a grant for a project pursuant to this part in any fiscal year only if such institution will expend during such year for the same purposes as, but not pursuant to, this part an amount at least equal to the amount expended by such institution for such purposes during the previous fiscal year. The Commissioner shall establish basic criteria for making determinations under this subsection."

would come into play. The net result of such a "saving" would be to give up access from federal funds of between 50 per cent and 80 per cent of the cost of the item. The state plan requirements of Title I of that Act with respect to community service and continuing education programs has a similar stricture against using federal money to supplant institutional funds. In Title II of the Act relating to college library assistance to qualify for library grants the institution must provide satisfactory assurance "that the applicant will expend during the fiscal year for which the grant is requested (from funds other than funds received under this part) for all library purposes (exclusive of construction) (1) an amount not less than the average annual amount it expended for such purposes during the two-year period ending June 30, 1965, and (2) an amount (from such other sources) equal to not less than the amount of such grant:

"(b) provides satisfactory assurance that the applicant will expend during the fiscal year for which the grant is requested (from funds other than funds received under this part) for books, periodicals, documents, magnetic tapes, phonograph records, audiovisual materials, and other related materials (including necessary binding) for library purposes an amount not less than the average annual amount if expended for such materials during the two-year period ending June 30, 1965".

Now I am no prophet; I cannot foresee what future course the Congress may take with respect to further legislation, but based upon some twenty-one years of Senate service, I suspect that where such a provision does not now exist in education laws, it will be offered at the next review and extension.

But the real answer to the argument that local and state tax sources cannot carry the load should be an impartial examination of the facts of the matter.

If one were to take the data published by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census in "Government Finances 1964–65", under the heading of: *Direct General Expenditures of States and Local Governments for Institutions of Higher Education* and relate these figures to personal income data by state for 1964 one finds a series of very interesting percentages emerging.

Higher education expenditures as a percent of personal income, selected States, 1964

State:	*Percentage*
North Dakota	2.50
Colorado	2.48
Vermont	2.29
Oregon	2.04
Mississippi	1.99
Wisconsin	1.90
Minnesota	1.77
Michigan	1.70
Delaware	1.48
Kentucky	1.46
California	1.45

It would seem from the foregoing and partial list that the value of higher education, as seen by the voters of these states, measured by the hard test of pocketbook support and tax take, that this data would militate against any argument raised by political sources that the voters would not stand for additional higher education funding costs.

None of the states on the list I have developed from Kentucky to North Dakota are among the richest in population or resources. But it seems to me that their citizens have an eye to the future. The investment these states are making in the basic natural resource of trained human intelligence will bring dividends and returns far beyond the seed money of institutional support that they have planted.

If these states can make an effort such as this, I would hold that the presumption exists that other and richer states can do more than they are now doing in support of higher education.

There is a time to every purpose. Surely there is a time in each generation for the review and reaffirmation of those ideals and concepts which bind together the people from diverse origins who make up the American society of today. These are the ideas that are at the foundation of your effort as junior college educators. Belief in the dignity of the individual and the worth of his contribution to the welfare of others. Acceptance, as a working hypothesis, of the concept that rationality applied to problems can resolve problems. Belief that despite temporary setbacks, progress can and will occur. Faith that a political system such as ours which is derived from ideals of liberty and based on procedures assuring equality of opportunity to its citizens and one which is restrained from tyranny by a system of constitutional checks and balances, can, will, and should survive and prosper. These ideas are far more than our economic might, the source of our strength as a nation. By discussing these ideas in your curricula you can help to bring about the shared attitude on the fundamental agreements of our society which permit us peacefully to change and innovate within our borders in our continuous quest for improvement.

By illustrating these ideas, I do not, in the slightest, rule out the salutary role that the criticism of these concepts entails, because of my conviction that free and untrammeled intellectual inquiry is the soundest road to the resolution of conflict and the establishment of a just and prosperous society. So while I might accept the slogan, "Keep Politics Out of Education", at a superficial level, at a more basic level, I suggest to you that now is the time for you to accept as a purpose, and to exercise your rights as free men and women to effectuate that purpose, to educate, not only your students, but the communities from which they come.

Speak out on the great issues of our time and bring to bear upon them your intelligence and the insights you have developed from the study of your disciplines. Freedom of speech is a precious guarantee of domestic tranquility, and it, with its corollary, academic freedom, are our most effective checks upon the actions of public officials.

Unless you use these weapons, when in conscience you feel you must, to purify debate and to propound alternatives and consequences, you are not faithful to the trust and privilege reposed in you as a profession.

Let me in closing therefore, remind you of the language used by the Supreme Court in deciding the Sweezy case:

"The essentiality of freedom in the community of American universities is almost self-evident. No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation. No field of education is so thoroughly comprehended by man that new discoveries cannot yet be made. Particularly is that true in the social sciences, where few, if any, principles are accepted as absolutes. Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die."

There is a time to every purpose. I have held you over long. I salute you, I thank you and I wish you well in all your endeavors.

THE INTERRELIGIOUS COMMITTEE AGAINST POVERTY

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the great religious faiths of our Nation have united in a common effort to help in the struggle against poverty. The Interreligious Committee Against Poverty, composed of representatives of the National Council of Churches, the U.S. Catholic Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America, in cooperation with other Jewish groups, has released a statement calling for a massive escalation of our effort to overcome poverty.

Mr. President, the strong stand taken by this committee stresses the religious aspect of the war against poverty, and in so doing places many other issues in better perspective. Because this impressive statement deserves wide attention, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in full at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

POVERTY

When you have eaten your fill and have built fine houses to live in, and your herds and flocks have multiplied, and your silver and gold have increased, and everything you own has prospered, beware lest your heart grow haughty and you forget the Lord your God, Who freed you from the land of Egypt, the house of bondage . . . and you say to yourselves, "My own power and the might of my hand have won this wealth for me." Remember that it is the Lord your God Who gives you power to get wealth . . . (Deuteronomy 8: 12–18)

The Interreligious Committee Against Poverty unites Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in common cause to combat the evil of poverty amidst affluence. Our opposition to involuntary and unnecessary poverty is deeply rooted in theological convictions which are shared by our three religious communities.

We believe that the earth is created by God and that its resources are intended for the sustenance and nourishment of man. Because God is the source of power and affluence, we, His creatures and His children, are obligated to use our bountiful resources in a manner which fulfills His purposes.

It is God's will that the dignity of each human person shall be respected and affirmed. Involuntary poverty, especially in a society of affluence, undermines human dignity. To sanction or allow the continuation of such indignity is to diminish man's stature and to desecrate the image of God.

God wills that the human community be characterized by justice and compassion. The poverty of one impoverishes all. The perpetuation of poverty in an economy of abundance violates man's responsibility both to compassion and to justice. It is evil in the sight of God.

Poverty is not new to mankind. Over the centuries millions have suffered want because of ignorance, sickness, and inadequate mastery over the forces of nature. Famine and flood, barren soil and pestilence, and countless other evils beset this earthly existence. Even now in many parts of the world man's control over natural forces is tragically inadequate.

Poverty in the United States of America today is a different story. Ours is a land of bountiful resources. We have made enormous progress in the sciences and technology. Poverty is no longer forced upon us by the implacable fact of scarcity. Its perpetuation results principally from our social and economic mismanagement.

The poor know how most of America lives: indeed they are constantly bombarded with appeals to buy comforts and luxuries which even the rich could not have secured at the beginning of this century. Hunger and deprivation are heavy burdens under any circumstances, but their bitterness is heightened when the poor feel that their plight is the result of injustice and indifference.

The Interreligious Committee Against Poverty declares that the minimum economic goal of the United States must be adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, education, and social security for every individual and family. The achievement of this goal requires vigorous and positive action both by all levels of government and by a multitude of private groups and individuals serving according to their abilities and opportunities.

Poverty is a complex problem. No single set of remedies can be a total answer. Urban poverty presents problems different from those of rural poverty. Poverty based on racial discrimination presents problems different from poverty stemming from personal handicap. A comprehensive approach to the elimination of poverty must include at least five fundamental dimensions:

1. *The elimination of poverty through economic development*

The heads of many poor families are able, willing, and seeking work, but unable to find employment, or are working in such fragmentary or low-paid employment that their wages still spell poverty. For such the need is for more jobs, better jobs, decent wages, improved skills, and security in time of involuntary unemployment.

2. *The amelioration of poverty through the support of adequate income*

The heads of approximately one-fourth of poor families are aged and the male heads of another fourth are dead or disabled, or have deserted. These families require governmental assistance in order to sustain themselves in dignity.

3. *The prevention of poverty through the development of human resources*

The children and youth of today's poor are potentially parents of tomorrow's poor unless they are equipped with the values and skills necessary for full participation in society. Their crying need is quality education, skill training, and motivation to break the cycle of poverty.

4. *Provision for participation by the poor themselves in anti-poverty programs*

Community action programs drawing upon the maximum feasible participation of the poor constitute an essential feature in a democratic society, and these programs have proved their value in the development of human resources. This same principle should be extended to non-governmental anti-poverty efforts.

5. *The elimination of discrimination on ground of race or ethnic origin*

Poverty is more prevalent among Negroes, Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans than among other Americans. The Interreligious Committee Against Poverty joins its voice to that of the many religious leaders of our nation who have opposed discrimination against these racial and ethnic groups as contrary to our faith. Recognition of this problem and strong and effective programs to meet it are an essential element of any adequate anti-poverty program.

An effective anti-poverty program must distinguish between the poor who can be helped to become self-supporting through employment and wage improvement and those who for various reasons cannot be employed. For the latter group, which includes the very old, the very young, those with chronic physical and mental illness, and mothers heading families of young children, the basic need is for adequate income maintenance programs conceived with full respect for the human dignity of the persons involved.

In addition to standardized programs of public assistance, these people need to experience a warmth of personal concern. This may be extended both by professional social workers and non-professional aides and by other persons with religious motivation. Religious compassion rendered on the basis of person-to-person service can go far to restore a sense of human dignity in these persons.

We urge every community to conduct a human inventory designed to reveal the characteristics, depth, and extent of the poverty problem and to assess the adequacy of community action, housing, medical, and welfare programs available to the poor.

We call particular attention to the need of the poor for access to competent legal aid to protect their rights and press their claims for justice. New and imaginative programs are needed to make lawyers and legal services more effectively available to the poor.

The poor who can be helped to become self-supporting fall into three major classes, which require separate approaches: young persons who are unemployed, older persons and the aged who are able to work and are seeking work but cannot find it, and those who are presently working but receiving incomes below the poverty level.

For unemployed youth, the Economic Opportunity Act and other recent Federal programs hold great promise and merit public support. In addition to governmental programs, the work of volunteers with youth is of great importance. Tutoring programs offer opportunities for college and university students, senior-high-school students, and for older persons, whose children are grown, to render dedicated public service.

Many of the aging poor desire useful and meaningful work. At a time when the social needs of America are so great, when we are concerned with the beauty of our cities, the care of the sick and of dependent children, and the need for many forms of supplemental education, we should seek imaginative programs to use the experience of our aged poor in community service. They can be usefully engaged in housing rehabilitation and subprofessional work in hospitals, and in many other ways they can secure needed income supplements with dignity.

Millions of Americans now work, but receive incomes that keep them below the poverty line. Many of these can benefit from manpower-training programs designed to upgrade their working skills. Public and private funds spent for this purpose not only promote the sense of human dignity in those benefited, but also constitute an excellent capital investment for any community. Maintaining and strengthening the processes of collective bargaining and the extension of collective-bargaining protection to farm workers are essential elements in an action program for the working poor.

The elimination, amelioration, and prevention of poverty require a massive coordinated governmental program on a scale not heretofore projected as politically feasible by any branch or agency of government. The following outline of legislative objectives is offered as a guideline for study and action:

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

We regard the Economic Opportunity Act as a crucial element of the nation's war on poverty. We support it as a symbol and portent of a fresh, new approach to the problems of poverty, but we recognize that it constitutes only one sector of the total war and has thus far been disappointingly limited.

We urge that its principal programs, including Community Action, Job Corps, VISTA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, work experience, adult basic education, migrant education, health services, daycare centers, and farm and small-business loans be continued and expanded.

We especially support the provision for maximum feasible participation in community action programs by representatives of the areas and groups affected.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

The Employment Act of 1946 declared as its purpose the promotion of "maximum employment, production and purchasing power." But persistent high levels of unemployment, particularly among the unskilled, the young and the old, and minority groups, testify to our failure to implement a policy of full employment. It has been estimated that forty percent of poverty in America is due to inadequate employment opportunity. The government should utilize all available fiscal, monetary, and economic instruments, and, if necessary, devise new means for expansion of the nation's agricultural and industrial capacity and for job creation, in order to assure every employable person the opportunity to serve the community through work.

ADEQUATE WAGES

Two-thirds of all poor families have at least one person working, vivid testimony to the consequences of inadequate wages. Despite recent improvement, millions of workers are still not covered by minimum-wage legislation, and for millions more the minimum wage is inadequate to lift their families out of poverty. It is the duty of government to assure a wage standard for all workers which makes possible a decent level of living.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Many State unemployment compensation laws have remained unchanged for decades and are totally inadequate to meet the current situation. These laws should be updated and liberalized by Federal and State action and integrated into a Federal system which establishes minimum standards of benefits, duration, and eligibility. Every person unemployed through no fault of his own should be assured of adequate income throughout the entire period of involuntary unemployment.

IMPROVING PUBLIC WELFARE

The public-welfare program should serve as an ultimate guarantee against poverty. Public-assistance grants should be at a level sufficient to satisfy the basic requirements of those in need, and should be available as a legal right to everyone in need. Social services should be a vital part of all public-welfare programs. Inadequate and uneven payments, arbitrary and confusing eligibility requirements, and insufficient social services tend to demean recipients and deny aid to millions who are entitled to it. The Federal government should establish national standards of grants and eligibility as a condition of the use of Federal funds, and should provide the necessary funds for an equitable national system predicated on the principle of entitlement.

States should be required to abolish laws and administrative regulations which weaken family life by providing that a family may not receive public assistance while an unemployed male is in the home. Also eliminated should be regulations which invade the rights and privacy of the poor.

THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Notwithstanding the adoption of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, systematic exclusion of minority groups from major aspects of American life, and perpetuation of segregation in housing, education, and employment reinforce the poverty cycle. Additional legislation is necessary, but equally vital is the recognition that legislation is only as good as its enforcement. We are gravely concerned lest administrative laxity lead to nullification of existing laws. We urge the President and responsible officials of government to administer more forcefully the laws which are on the books and to take other executive action where necessary.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Current programs of housing, slum clearance, and urban renewal are not keeping pace with the spread of slum and ghetto. New housing is not keeping pace with expanding population, let alone reducing substandard housing. Almost none of the housing being built is within the price range of those who need it most. The government should embark on a program to fill the needs of all Americans for a physical environment conducive to decent and meaningful living. Such a program will entail vastly increased Federal expenditures for rent supplements, comprehensive and coordinated development of urban areas such as proposed in the "Model Cities" legislation, and Federal loans and reduced interest rates to encourage the construction and rehabilitation of housing for the lower-income population.

IMPROVING CONDITIONS IN RURAL AMERICA

The incidence of poverty in rural areas is approximately two and one-half times that in urban areas. Poverty is prevalent in distressed areas characterized by the removal of long-established industries or the depletion of natural resources, migration of leaders, low tax base, and a general insufficiency in economic growth and opportunities for personal development.

Migrant farm labor, farm workers, and even farm owners living on worn-out and uneconomic tracts often bear crushing burdens of poverty, disease, and ignorance. These people benefit least from laws designed to protect the rights of workers, from social security and related welfare programs, and even from most of our agricultural-assistance laws.

The government should raise levels of living in rural America by improving its programs of assistance, offering all farm workers, including migrants, the same protection of rights and security available to other workers, and expanding programs for elevating the economic base of distressed rural areas.

QUALITY EDUCATION

In both rural and urban America the schools attended by poor children are of inferior quality in terms of physical plant, faculty, study materials, and other environmental tools essential to effective education. Rather than compensating for the poor child's deficient home environment, inadequate school systems compound his problem. Poverty thus becomes a vicious circle—poverty, poor education, more poverty. Massive Federal outlays for school construction, teachers' salaries, vocational training, and experimentation with creative institutions and new methods are required. Federal, State, and local governments should adopt polices which will erase the concept of "separate but equal."

Education of the poor should be of the highest quality, to help them break out of the poverty cycle. Many of the parents ardently seek such education for their children. For those who lack this motivation, the success will depend on working with the parents as well as with the children.

* * * * *

All the legislative objectives referred to above are interrelated. In total they will require the expenditure of greatly increased governmental funds, especially as programs are tested and prove their value. There is no doubt that this nation has the capacity to make this investment. It should be given the very highest national priority.

In summary, the Interreligious Committee Against Poverty calls upon all Americans to urge our government to assume leadership in creating a society which will assure racial, economic, and social justice for all its citizens. Justice properly and effectively administered is not a privilege to be bestowed benevolently but a right to which every man is entitled.

CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH LAW AIDING VICTIMS OF CRIME NOT TRUE TEST OF PROPER LAW

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Washington Post of March 5 contains an illustrative story on California's experience with its 1965 welfare-related victim compensation law. The difficulties in California's experience with its law serve to reemphasize the soundness of the victim compensation approach which we have taken in S. 646, which I reintroduced on January 25.

In California, where the administration of victim compensation has been delegated to the department of social welfare, victims seem to be reluctant to go the welfare route for their compensation. The redtape and association with indigence does not seem to appeal to California's innocent victims.

The victim compensation bill which I recently introduced in the Senate will avoid the defect which is now apparent in the California law. S. 646 creates a Federal Victim Compensation Commission which will not use welfare tests in examining the merits of a victim's petition for compensation. Under the terms of S. 646 a victim will not have to use welfare tests to show that he is worthy of Government assistance. My proposal simply requires that the victim prove to the Commission's satisfaction that he has been injured by a criminal act and that his injury is worthy of compensation.

It is my hope that California will continue to benefit from its experience as it proceeds with its early implementation of its victim compensation law. In view of California's problems with its welfare related program, I am reinforced in the belief which I have long held that our own approach to victim compensation should follow the New Zealand and Britain experience. Administration of victim compensation should be delegated to a specially constituted and independent commission.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the March 5 Washington Post article entitled "California Law on State Aid to Crime Victims Is In Trouble."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CALIFORNIA LAW ON STATE AID TO CRIME VICTIMS IS IN TROUBLE

(By Bob Jackson)

LOS ANGELES.—California's new law to give financial aid to crime victims or their relatives is not working well.

First, many recipients feel they are being treated more like charity cases than crime victims. Second, many judges do not know about the plan. And, some victims say they do not get enough money to make the red tape worth while.

Thirty-two crime victims or their relatives have received $54,620 so far in State and county compensation under the law enacted in California in 1965. The sum is only a fourth of the funds appropriated.

Victims whose means are above the poverty level have found they cannot qualify. Others who do qualify all too often find the payments degrading—similar to another welfare dole.

"This law is not worth the paper it was made on," said a 36-year-old victim who was hospitalized with stab wounds. "There is too much red tape and no money at all . . ."

AID SEEN INADEQUATE

A woman who was widowed when her husband was shot in a neighborhood argument is "not pleased" with the program. She feels that her checks, totaling $210 a month, are almost wholly inadequate for her and two children.

State Sen. J. Eugene McAteer steered the pioneering measure through the Legislature in response to pleas from concerned citizens like Superior Judge Francis McCarty.

Judge McCarty, of San Francisco, was angered when an unmarried 50-year-old woman was robbed and beaten by two men and incurred a loss of more than $1000 in hospital and medical bills.

He urged McAteer to do something for "the forgotten man"—either the crime victim or the victim's family.

As finally approved by the lawmakers, and signed by Gov. Edmund G. Brown on July 19, 1965, the program had a ceiling of $100,000 for the first fiscal year. And the law specified payments only "if there is need of such aid."

NEEDY VICTIMS AIDED

The program thus resulted in aid for needy victims. For administrative purposes, the funds were to be handled by the Department of Social Welfare under generally the same standards as Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

The new program even got a welfare-sounding abbreviation—AVCV, for "Aid to Victims of Crimes of Violence." But it has become a poor stepchild by any standards.

In Los Angeles County, for instance, where there are 400,000 welfare recipients of all types, only 37 persons have applied for crime-victim aid in the 13 months the program has been in effect.

Eight of the applicants were found to qualify for regular welfare payments under the dependent children program, so were put in that program instead.

Thirteen other applicants were found to be ineligible for crime-victim aid, mainly because their net monthly income exceeded $100 for single persons or up to $250 for heads of families. The remainder—16—were certified for aid.

STILL GET CHECKS

Eight victims here, or their families, are still receiving their gray semimonthly checks in the mail. They include the wife and seven children of a man who was assaulted and robbed on his way home from work. Until he can recover from his head injuries and return to his factory job, his family is receiving $493 a month.

The program, in its way, has doubtless achieved a measure of acceptance by some. Ed Thoresen, a social welfare administrator here, cites the case of two single persons to whom the program lent a helping hand.

The first was a 17-year-old youth who was shot in an East Los Angeles gang war. His leg was shattered in five places. He received $100 for one month until his mother went to work to help pay his medical expenses.

The second was a 42-year-old woman who was injured by a purse-snatcher near her home. She received crime-victim aid for two months until she began getting State disability benefits.

"It's not a perfect program," said Ronald White of the Department of Social Welfare, "but it's off the ground. Someone at least had the courage to present this program and get it started. Its use should improve as more people realize its existence."

SPENT FIRST YEAR, $4,250

In the first fiscal year, only $4250 was disbursed—less than 5 per cent of the funds appropriated. The State pays two-thirds and counties one-third.

For the 1966–67 fiscal year, which is still in progress, the Legislature appropriated a new $100,000. So far, about $50,370 has been disbursed.

The so-called "indemnity fund" set up to defray expenses of the program has turned out poorly so far. This fund, into which fines levied against offenders were to be paid, has reached only $1200. Welfare officials report that many judges apparently are not aware of the fund. The idea, however, seemed to have merit—a chance for the criminal, where possible, to defray the expenses of his victim.

GENERIC NAMES FOR DRUGS AND PROPOSALS TO BRING PRESCRIPTION DRUGS UNDER MEDICARE

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, much has been written about the virtues of obtaining drugs under their generic names. There is still further ado over recent proposals to bring prescription drugs under medicare. A recent article in the March 4, 1967, issue of Science News treated both subjects factually and objectively. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD, in the hope that others may find it as informative.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Generic Drugs Favored—Generic, Rather Than Brand Prescriptions, Get New Support as Washington Prepares for Drug-Expansion of Medicare

(By Barbara J. Culliton)

Ever since the Kefauver-Harris Drug Amendments shook the drug industry in 1962, the big name companies have successfully fended off proponents of generic rather than brand name prescribing.

Now, on Capitol Hill where pressure is mounting to include prescription drugs in Medicare benefits, there is a movement afoot to cut the Government's drug bill, which already hits close to $300 million a year, by encouraging the use of inexpensive generic drugs instead of their high price brand name counterparts. (In referring to drugs, the generic name indicates the active chemical ingredient in a specific medicine, not a class or type of compound.)

Aspirin is always and only aspirin, whether it cost 39 cents or $1.39; the difference is a matter of semantics. Call it aspirin, and the price is low. Attach a brand name and the cost more than triples.

Price discrepancy is even greater when it comes to prescription drugs, an area in which the consumer-patient is usually in no position to choose among various brands; but his doctor is. Chances are that when the patient pays almost $25 for Achromycin, a widely used antibiotic, he doesn't even know he could get the same thing for about $4.50 by simply calling it tetracycline—its generic or established name.

Serpasil, a brand name antihypertensive and calming agent, is really reserpine. A druggist pays about $40 for 1,000 Serpasil tablets which he retails at a mark up of 66⅔ percent. Call it reserpine, and he pays only 69 cents for the 1,000 pills, also with a 66⅔ percent mark up.

Most physicians prescribe by brand name not because they are trying to burden their patients but because they still think brand name products are better or because they are familiar with a compound's brand name and have no idea what its generic name is. Pharmaceutical houses spend hundreds of millions of dollars every year to send "detail men" out to the field to sell their wares to practicing doctors, and as a result, the doctors do know more about brand name than generic products.

The major drug houses justify high prices for their brands by claiming first and foremost that a brand name is a guarantee of quality. Their less powerful opponents say it has nothing to do with quality, only with profit. That profit is poured into basic research on new and better drugs, the companies retort, and they also point out they have a right to make money, particularly on products they themselves discovered or perfected. It's all part of the free enterprise system, so to speak.

There is no doubt that research carried out by wealthy drug houses has led to the discovery of many new drugs. Whether or not a brand name insures a high quality product, however, is a matter of considerable debate. In fact, a recently reported analysis by the Food and Drug Administration revealed that 8.2 percent of 4,573 drug samples did not meet potency standards. Breaking this down into products marketed under brand names versus those sold under generic names, 8.8 percent of 1,991 brand name samples were deficient compared to 7.7 percent of 2,582 generics. "Nobody came out of this survey looking good," an FDA official commented.

Winton B. Rankin, deputy commissioner of FDA said the real issue is one of quality, not generics versus brands. "If a drug manufacturer cannot put out good drugs, then he will have to get out of the drug business," he said, adding that FDA will apply this yardstick to the full extent of the law. The 1962 drug amendments made the extent of the law far reaching.

It is too early to say whether or not this will be the year of truth for generics, but three pieces of legislation are pending in Congress that, if passed, would give non-brand products a fighting chance on the competitive market by educating the public and medical profession about their existence, their safety and efficacy and their comparatively low cost.

In January, Senator JOSEPH M. MONTOYA (D—N. Mex.) introduced legislation to bring prescription drugs under Medicare. His bill has strong Senate support with 21 co-sponsors but may travel a rocky road in the House, in part because long-promised White House backing for such an extension of health coverage is not likely to materialize.

Some $600 million—about 20% of the drug industry's sales—would be affected; that's the size of the drug purchases by persons over 65, those covered by Medicare.

The Montoya bill, mandates use of generic pricing in filling Government paid prescriptions under Medicare as long as the generic version of a drug is deemed to be of a reasonable quality. It also establishes an independent "Formulary Committee" to decide which products meet quality standards, which brand name drugs should be allowed, how much the Government will pay for each one, and what flat professional fee (rather than mark up percentage) will be allowed to cover pharmacists' services. The bill places these powers in the hands of Surgeon General William Stewart, Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration James L. Goddard, and Director James Shannon of the National Institutes of Health, to be advised by seven representatives of the academic, business and professional communities.

Theoretically, there should be no question of quality in approved drugs, be they brand name products or generics. If FDA is doing its job and keeping up with advances in medicine's understanding of drug action in the body, it ought to be able to guarantee that every drug on the market is safe and effective; in other words that it does what its manufacturer says it will.

FDA pharmacologist Dr. Stephen Krop says that if two products meet the same standards for identity, purity and physical state (tablet, liquid, etc.), those products should be interchangeable theropeutically. Dr. Daniel Baines, special assistant on new drugs at FDA, says that if a manufacturer can demonstrate that his drug works better and is more effective than his competitor's product, FDA will make every effort to learn the reason why. Then one of two things can happen. Either the less effective drug improves, thus becoming the equivalent of the other, or it will be taken off the market for failing to meet FDA's efficacy standards.

A second and complementary piece of drug legislation may be introduced within the next few weeks by Senator Russell Long (D-La.), chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee to which the Montoya bill has already been referred. The Long bill, as does the Montoya proposal, will generally require the use of generics, but applies to Federal drug spending in all welfare and social security programs, not just spending under Medicare. Last year Senator Long introduced similar legislation that drew fire for demanding Government funds be limited strictly to generic version drugs. This year's proposal, seen as a much more reasonable bill, will take into account the fact that there are situations in which brand name products must be used, one case being a drug having only one supplier.

The drug industry, not unexpectedly, opposes any moves to require doctors to write and druggists to fill prescriptions with generics. They condemn it as an invasion of physicians' right and obligation to determine the precise medication patients shall receive.

Both bills, however, do have the support of the prestigious American Pharmaceutical Association which has long encouraged pharmacists to adopt the use of professional fees rather than the mark up system and also endorses greater use of generic drugs. If druggists charged a standard fee, of $2.00 for example, for filling any prescription, the consumer cost of some medicines would go up but the price of high priced drugs would drop significantly. According to Robert Steeves, general counsel to the APhA, druggists who have experimented with the fee system have reported no loss of profit and have enjoyed cutting economic ties to big name companies.

The third piece of relevant legislation, introduced on the floor of the Senate a few weeks ago, will take on added importance if the Montoya and Long bills become law. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) proposed that the Food and Drug Administration be authorized to publish yearly a compendium of all approved drugs, listing clearly both generic or official and brand names and giving comparative data on drug composition, uses and possible side effects. Such a compendium would be the first to put this kind of information into doctors' hands in a usable, convenient form.

Although the FDA has no official comment on Senator Nelson's bill, it is understood the idea originated within the drug agency.

AIR POLLUTION AND THE DONORA TRAGEDY

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the courageous town of Donora, Pa., has known heartache and tragedy from the effects of air pollution. Donora was one of the first communities to suffer a killer smog. In 1 week in October 1948, 20 persons died and about 6,000 persons became ill from breathing the smog hanging over the Monongahela River Valley during a "temperature inversion."

Since that time we have learned that attacks of smog can come in Los Angeles, in eastern States, and in Europe. The same condition which caused smog in Donora in 1948 occurred in the eastern States over Thanksgiving weekend, 1966. During that period, when eyes burned and the air was acrid, persons with heart and lung conditions were warned to remain indoors.

The temperature inversion that blackened Donora is an unusual weather phenomenon, which comes about when a layer of warm, moist air traps stagnant, polluted air below it.

At this time communities are virtually powerless to do anything to reverse a smog attack. I am not going to attempt to describe the efforts underway to improve the quality of air in our metropolitan areas.

However, the Washington Post of February 27, 1967, and the Harrisburg Patriot of March 1, 1967, both contain an article on the smog problem at Donora, Pa., which I think mirrors our growing national concern with the air we breathe.

The writer of this article, Miss Jean White, notes the special message to Congress by President Johnson which calls for far-reaching legislation to check air pollution.

I am sure the people of Donora are eagerly awaiting action by the Federal, State, and local governments, working together, to clear the air over their community. Their experiences of the past two decades are portrayed vividly in the articles.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I have referred, published in the Harrisburg Patriot of March 1, 1967, and in the Washington Post of February 27, 1967, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 27, 1967]

THE 1948 INGREDIENTS LINGER AT DONORA—KILLER SMOG STILL PALLS TOWN

(By Jean M. White)

DONORA, PA., Feb. 26.—This small, blackened steelmill town is famous for two things: smog and Stan Musial.

The first it would like to forget. But like Musial's baseball career, its smog is in the record book: October 1948; 20 dead and 5910 (43 per cent of the population) ill in the worst air-pollution "episode" in the United States.

The Donora tragedy sounded the Nation's first alert that atmospheric pollution is more than a smoke nuisance; it can be a serious public health hazard and even carry the threat of insidious death from the skies.

Today, nearly two decades later, there is a growing national awareness of the dangers of dirty air in our pollutant-producing society. In a special message to Congress, President Johnson has called for far-reaching legislation to check air pollution. His recommendations include regional "airsheds" and national emission standards for certain industries.

In Donora, if anywhere, there is a special reason for concern over the dangers of polluted air.

HAUNTED BY MEMORY

There are many in this small southwestern Pennsylvania town who still remember breathing through blackened handkerchiefs, watching helplessly as elderly relatives fell to the floor gaging for breath, growing nauseated as they watched the annual Halloween parade, and seeing the sun pale and disappear as a smothering fog settled on Donora in October, 1948.

"I guess it's always in the back of our minds," says Norma Ross Miller, city editor of the daily Donora Herald-American.

Perhaps it is.

But today the No. 1 concern of Donora's residents is the loss of steel-mill and zincworks jobs and getting new industry into town. People live through a crisis, survive tragedy, and then go on to forget when it seems necessary.

"It happens every day in Los Angeles. In Donora, it happened once. Yet if anyone writes a story about air pollution, they have to drag in Donora. I got so angry that I wrote a letter to a newspaper a few weeks ago."

The complaint came from Mrs. Joseph L. Costa, "born and raised" in Donora, who now works on the Enterprise Board to bring in new industry and jobs.

She was working as a waitress in a restaurant downtown when a heavy smog gathered over Donora on that Tuesday morning of Oct. 26, 1948. For five days, it hung like a sooty shroud over the hillside steel town.

A BLACK FOG

"It was a black fog," Mrs. Costa recalls. "I walked through it catty-corner across the street from the restaurant. You had to cut through it. You couldn't see across the street."

Last week, on a rainy, gray day in Donora, Mrs. Costa pointed to the nearby bluffs.

"You see how it seems to be hanging low there. That's how the black smoke was that night."

Like the low-lying air, little has changed in Donora since that black October. Most of the ingredients for trouble still are there: industrial town; heavy river, rail, and highway traffic; steep hills and bluffs that serve as windbreakers; low valley pockets to trap stagnant air.

The steel and zinc mills that line Donora's riverfront for three miles have been closing down operations over the last five years for technological and economic reasons.

INGREDIENTS HANG ON

But the nearby Monongahela River Valley is still one large pollutant source of belching smokestacks, soft-coal furnaces in homes and offices, cars, diesel trucks, freight yards, and coal-carrying barges on the Monongahela (the only river of consequence in the United States that flows north).

During that last week of October, 1958, there was one other ingredient: a weather freak that meteorologists call a "temperature inversion." Hot, moist air trapped stagnant air below it. It could not rise or blow out.

Donora was airtight in its polluted pocket for five days.

Normally, warm air rises to the cooler atmosphere above, carrying many pollutants with it into the upper regions. During a temperature inversion, a lid of hot air prevents this circulation.

Temperature inversions are not common. But neither are they a rarity, particularly in the lovely Indian summer days of late fall and early winter.

NEW YORK HAD TASTE

Over the last Thanksgiving weekend, a temperature inversion hovered over New York City. For four days, in the Nation's largest city, people with cardiac and respiratory troubles were warned to stay inside.

A temperature inversion and polluted air can make a deadly combination as happened in Donora in October, 1948.

The small steel town is pocketed amid 500-foot-high bluffs on a sharp horseshoe bend in the twisting Monongahela 30 miles south of Pittsburgh. Poisoned air can't move out if there is a temperature inversion.

"It's like putting a lid on a kettle," Mrs. Miller explains.

She remembers watching the borough's Halloween parade on a Friday night 19 years ago.

"It was murky and hard to see," Mrs. Miller recalls. "I was a member of the church choir and we had sung at a funeral that night. I walked home, and it was hard to climb the hill. I put a handkerchief over my mouth and nose. The air was acrid. I could feel it in my nostrils and down my throat. The handkerchief was black when I reached home."

The next night Mrs. Miller and her husband drove to a nearby town.

WHITE TIRE MARKS

"We drove out of the garage and there were white tiremarks on the blackcoated ground. When we opened the door and walked in, our friends said: 'You're alive. We've been trying to reach you. They say people are dropping like flies in Donora.'

"The thing is that we didn't know the extent at the time. You felt ill yourself but didn't realize how many others were ill.

"It seemed like the typical smoky atmosphere of autumn, maybe a little worse. We were used to a dose of fumes from the mills. It could make you feel nauseated at times."

NOT STRANGERS

People in Donora had grown accustomed to acrid air and sooty fallout. Mrs. John Tokach, who then worked in the zinc plant, remembers the gray smoke that seeped into the offices so she couldn't see ten feet away. Sometimes the office girls became sick with "zinc plant jitters."

But by the fourth night of Donora's smog siege, it was clear it wasn't the normal fall haze. People were collapsing on the streets and in their homes.

John Volk was Donora's fire chief then and still is, as wiry as ever. He was busy sending out inhalators and oxygen tanks on the Friday night of the smog.

"Suddenly it struck me that the cars wouldn't idle. There wasn't enough oxygen in the air," Chief Volk recalls.

On Saturday night it started to sprinkle, and a Sunday rain washed out the dirty air.

FUNERALS FOR 20

Funeral services for most of the victims of the smog—5 women and 15 men, most elderly with cardiac or respiratory histories—were held the following Tuesday after two days of drenching rain.

As Rudolph Schwerha, who then ran the largest funeral parlor in Donora and is now retired, was to recall later:

"I think I have never seen such a beautiful blue sky or such a shining sun or such pretty white clouds. Even the trees in the cemetery seemed to have color. I keep looking up all day."

After the Donora smog deaths, the U.S. Public Health Service began a year-long study that became the first thorough examination into the air pollution problem.

Donora was the first such disaster in the United States. Before then, there had been only one other time when smog reached death-dealing intensity. That had been in 1930 in the industralized Meuse Valley of Belgium, where 60 died.

Now such extreme "episodes" are becoming more frequent as the air becomes more fouled. London had bad air-pollution attacks in 1952 and 1956. New York has had three serious episodes since 1953.

The Public Health Service report on Donora came up with one significant fact: no single substance by itself was present in sufficient quantities to have caused a score of deaths and sickened half a town.

Rather, it was the stagnant-air accumulation of noxious fumes and substances that Donora's residents breathed in their daily air—sulfur dioxide, hydrogen sulfide, nitrogen oxides, florides, chlorides.

The weather capped it all with the temperature inversion, the Public Health Service found. But it also noted that Donora probably had experienced a similar situation in April, 1945.

And just a year after the 1948 tragedy, a steel strike may have saved Donora from another smog seige. Stagnant air again was building up but the mills and river steamers were idle.

In 1959, Weirton, W. Va., another steel town 50 miles from Donora, had its own minor bout with air pollution with 13 hospitalized.

In his foreword to the Public Health Service report, Leonard A. Scheele, then Surgeon General, noted the need for study of the long-range effect of continued exposure to low concentrations of pollutants in the air. The effect could be more insidious if less dramatic than a smog tragedy like Donora.

On the Monday after its week of deadly smog, Donora held a town meeting. A state of emergency had been declared.

MEASURES TAKEN

The zinc plant cut back operations for several weeks. A town ordinance forbade refuse-burning in backyards. The mills agreed to put washing equipment on some smokestacks. Some 40 smog victims got an expense-free vacation in North Carolina.

Then people went back to work and their daily lives.

Today heavy black smoke pours from one of Donora's schools.

"It keeps the children warm. Soft coal is easier on the taxpayer," Mrs. Costa explains.

Today Donora lives in the present-day reality of a dwindling population and the need for jobs. The smog of two decades ago is not forgotten, but it is something in the past.

"It would be sad if we hadn't learned something from the tragedy," says Mrs. Miller.

Increased Dust in Air Seen Cooling Climate

Because of increased dust in the air, the Nation's climate probably has cooled off as much since 1950 as it had warmed up since the 1830s, a University of Wisconsin meteorologist says.

Prof Reid A. Bryson, director of the Wisconsin Center of Climatic Research, said that he believes man has unwittingly caused "the rapid and catastrophic increase in the amount of atmospheric dustiness over the world."

In turn, he said, this tends to change climate.

Bryson's report appeared in the latest issue of the UIR Research Newsletter, a quarterly publication of the University-Industry Research Program at Wisconsin.

The most obvious way man has inadvertently changed the climate, Bryson said, is by building cities—which are dustier, foggier and smokier than the countryside.

"When sunlight falls on a dusty globe, more sunlight is reflected," Bryson wrote, and this "lets less sunlight reach the surface."

Since 1950, Bryson said, "the earth has cooled off as much as it warmed up in the previous 150 years." The temperature drop has been about two-thirds of a degree Fahrenheit, he said, "just about what would be expected from the increase of dustiness in the atmosphere."

The amount of decline may seem small, Bryson argued, but "a small change in the world temperature may be associated with big differences in local climate."

He noted reports of midsummer frosts in Wisconsin during the early 1800s and noted that at the same time the East Coast was experiencing hot, dry summers.

Both have also been true in recent years, Bryson added.

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot, Feb. 28, 1967]

Little Done to Prevent Repeat of 1948 Despite National Alert—Nightmare of First U.S. Smog Tragedy Haunts Donora

(By Jean M. White)

Donora.—This small, blackened Pennsylvania steelmill town is famous for two things: smog and Stan Musial.

The first it would like to forget. But like Musial's baseball career, the smog is in the record book: October, 1948—20 dead and 5,910 (43 percent of the population) sickened in the worst air-pollution "episode" in the U.S.

The Donora tragedy sounded the nation's first alert that atmospheric pollution is more than a smoke nuisance; it can be a serious public health hazard and can even carry death from the skies.

Today, nearly two decades later, there is a growing national awareness of the dangers of dirty air in our pollution-producing society.

In a special message to Congress, President Johnson has called for far-reaching legislation to check air pollution. His recommendations include regional "airsheds" and national emission standards for certain industries.

In Donora, if anything, there is a special reason for concern. Yet little has been done since 1948 to prevent another tragedy.

Many here still remember breathing through blackened handkerchiefs, watching helplessly as elderly relatives fell to the floor gagging for breath, growing nauseated as they watched the annual Halloween parade, seeing the sun pale and disappear as a smothering fog settled on Donora.

"I guess it's always in the back of our minds," says Nora Ross Miller, city editor of the daily Donora Herald-American.

Perhaps it is.

But today the No. 1 concern of Donora's residents is the loss of steel-mill and zinc-works jobs and getting new industry into town. People live through a crisis and then go on to forget.

"It happens every day in Los Angeles. In Donora, it happened once. Yet if anyone writes a story about air pollution, they have to drag in Donora. I got so angry that I wrote a letter to a newspaper a few weeks ago."

The complaint came from Mrs. Joseph L. Costa, "born and raised" in Donora, who now works on the Enterprise Board to bring in new industry and jobs.

She was a waitress in a restaurant downtown when a heavy smog gathered over Donora on the Tuesday morning of Oct. 26, 1948. For five days, it hung like a sooty shroud over the hillside steel town.

"It was a black fog," Mrs. Costa recalls. "I walked through it catty-corner across the street from the restaurant. You had to cut through it. You couldn't see across the street."

Last week, on a rainy, gray day in Donora, Mrs. Costa pointed to the nearby bluffs.

"You see how it seems to be hanging low there. That's how the black smoke was that night."

Like the low-flying air, little else has changed in Donora. Most of the ingredients for trouble still are there: industrial town; heavy river, rail and highway traffic; steep hills and bluffs that serve as windbreakers; low valley pockets to trap stagnant air.

The steel and zinc mills that line Donora's riverfront for three miles have been closing down operations over the last five years for technological and economic reasons.

But the nearby Monongahela River Valley is still one large pollutant source of coughing smokestacks, soft-coal furnaces in homes and offices, cars, diesel trucks, freight yards and coal-carrying barges on the Monongahela.

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It seems that most of the people of Donora had grown accustomed to the acrid air and sooty fallout. Mrs. John Tokach, who then worked in a zinc plant, remembers the gray smoke that seeped into the offices so she couldn't see 10 feet away. Sometimes the office girls became sick with "zinc plant jitters."

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"It keeps the children warm. Soft coal is easier on the taxpayer," Mrs. Costa explains.

Today Donora lives in the reality of a dwindling population and the need for jobs and factories. The smog of two decades ago is not forgotten but it is something in the past.

"It would be sad if we hadn't learned something from the tragedy," says Mrs. Miller.

BIG BROTHER

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, this week's issue of The Machinist, the publication of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, reports that the AFL–CIO's executive council has expressed enthusiastic support for President Johnson's Right of Privacy Act of 1967. This support is, indeed, welcomed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record the March 2, 1967, article published in The Machinist.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Labor Applauds Ban on Bugging

The AFL–CIO Executive Council has expressed "enthusiastic support" for President Lyndon B. Johnson's far-reaching proposal to ban electronic eavesdropping and wiretapping.

If enacted by Congress, the President's proposals would prohibit employer bugging and wiretapping of workers on the job. According to the *Wall Street Journal* such snooping is increasing.

One national detective agency was recently quoted as reporting that its undercover operations are up 10 percent over a year ago.

Phones of employees with access to company secrets are commonly tapped, the *Wall Street Journal* reported.

In a statement adopted at its mid-winter meeting, the Council noted that "successive constitutional conventions of the AFL–CIO have reiterated the concern of American labor for full recognition and protection of the right of privacy."

Existing law on this subject, the statement continued, is totally unsatisfactory, partly because of the development of new types of bugging and partly because of the way the Department of Justice interprets the law.

The Council said that labor welcomes and endorses the proposals sent to Congress by President Johnson and the Attorney General.

The proposals would ban all wiretapping and mechanical and electronic eavesdropping, whether by law enforcement officials or private citizens.

The sole exception would be that the President could authorize wiretapping and eavesdropping by Federal security agencies in circumstances where he finds the security of the nation to be at stake.

Even then, no evidence so obtained could be used in any court.

AMERICAN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE UNDER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS ATTACKS WORLD FOOD PROBLEMS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I should like to address myself to another dramatic and positive step toward the accomplishment of the objectives of the Alliance for Progress.

On Friday, February 24, 1967, a vital new program in the war against hunger was initiated by the signing of a contract between the Agency for International Development and the Pillsbury Co. of Minneapolis.

A fact of life—daily becoming more acutely discernible—is that population is rising at a much faster rate than food production. The result is deprivation and suffering and the undermining of efforts to promote economic and social progress.

World per capita food production is declining and is now less than it was in the 1930's.

Even at realistic maximum rates of world food production, including our country and its surpluses, total food output will probably be insufficient to prevent mass starvation in several of the lesser developed countries in the comparatively near future.

In Chicago, on September 1, 1964, Dr. Raymond Ewell, in an address given before the Division of Fertilizer and Soil Chemistry, American Chemical Society, said:

> If present trends continue, it seems likely that famine will reach serious proportions in India, Pakistan, and China, followed by Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Egypt and several other countries within a few years and then followed by most of the other countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America by 1980. Such a famine will be of massive proportions affecting hundreds of millions, possibly even billions, of persons.

In neighboring Latin America, the population growth statistics are staggering. In 1920, Latin America had 90 million inhabitants. By 1960 the population increased to 212 million. In other words, in 40 years there was an increase of 250 percent. If this situation prevails until 1980—a mere 13 years from now—the 212 million of 1960 will have grown to almost 400 million.

Among all the multiple problems emerging from this awesome growth, the immensely important need of human nutrition becomes immediately apparent as well as demanding of our attention and scientific know-how to create carefully prepared programs to alleviate this insistent pressure.

President Lyndon B. Johnson, in his message on foreign aid said:

> We will wage War on Hunger. Together, the world must find ways to bring food production and population growth into balance.

The Agency for International Development and the Pillsbury Co. have responded to our President's admonition and have launched the first phase of a planned 3-year program designed to increase supplies of protein foods in developing countries.

The Pillsbury Co., one of America's great private enterprises, has developed a vast knowledge derived from its 98 years in the food business and, in its contract with AID, continues to participate in the vanguard of food production in the markets of the world.

Pillsbury has developed and now will test a new complete nutritional food that will supplement the diet and furnish quantities of marginal food components, particularly for the young and the expectant mothers.

The area for initial work will be undertaken in El Salvador. That country has accomplished great gains under the Alliance for Progress and has been one of the more important elements figuring in the success of the Central American Common Market which has been characterized by President Johnson as "one of the most promising innovations in the developing world."

CNF—Pillsbury's "complete nutrition food"—will be produced in El Salvador as a formulated drink using production equipment and facilities available there and will be composed of protein materials which can be produced in ready supply in the Central American area, such as cottonseed, peanuts, and soybeans. Local Salvadoran labor will be used and the plant and business will be financed in part by Salvadoran capital. All of this induces a greater measure of self-help by the people of El Salvador in the development of their own economy.

President Johnson recently asserted:

> The only obligation ties to our aid is the recipient's obligation to itself . . . to mobilize its own resources as efficiently as possible.

El Salvador is doing this.

I am pleased, indeed, to offer my congratulations and best wishes to the people of El Salvador, the Pillsbury Co., and the Agency for International Development for success in this unique undertaking which should do so much to alleviate the immeasurable problems in food production that are developing ahead of us.

HENRY R. LUCE

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, William H. Ewing, of Honolulu, editorial consultant to the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, is one of Hawaii's finest journalists.

Bill Ewing is a "newspaperman's newspaperman" who writes with great style and clarity. For many years he was managing editor and editor of Hawaii's largest newspaper.

This week, Bill Ewing paid tribute to a fallen giant in the field of American journalism—Henry R. Luce.

I ask unanimous consent that Bill Ewing's reminiscences of Mr. Luce be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Mar. 4, 1967]

He Was a Pro

I did not know Henry Luce very well. Well enough to call him Harry without feeling either familiar or presumptious. I stood somewhat in awe of him. He had accomplished so much in so little time. To have ended his career so soon seemed almost as tragic as his death last Tuesday at 68. In other words, the more creative one has been, the more far-reaching the change when creativity is over. Henry Luce achieved what is given to very few men, the fact of leaving the imprint of himself, his ideas and his personality, on the time he lived in. But after that he could only stand by and watch it slip through his fingers.

Such thoughts occurred to me as I watched him enjoying his grandchildren on the beach at the Outrigger or listening quietly to lesser people who courted the company of a famous man. He was slightly deaf, which he made no effort to conceal. But he was not old in any sense. He did not talk a great deal, preferring to listen. When an occasion arose to speak he spoke immediately.

Once, we were arranging a luncheon for Dr. Edward Teller, the physicist, who likes to talk and talks very well indeed. I offered to invite a general officer known to be highly articulate. "Now wait a minute," Harry said, "Which do we want, the general or the scientist? We can't have two stars." "What about you?" I said. "Oh, me. I just listen." And he did.

Reporters have written that he barked at them and there is some justification for this criticism. He had a staccato way of speaking with a tone of finality in whatever he said. So far as the reporters were concerned, he probably had been taken over the jumps in the newspapers often enough to justify his wariness, just as his own publications have taken the newspapers to task. This is a curious thing. Publishers and editors rarely are willing to talk to reporters.

In appearance Mr. Luce gave the impression of a venerable lion, with hair brushed straight back to form a graying mane framing his angular face with the firmly-set mouth and keen eyes beneath bushy brows. He was a tall man, probably over six feet, causing him usually to stand leaning slightly forward to catch the words of the person addressing him. He took to aloha shirts at once on arriving in Hawaii. They became his standard garb unless the occasion called for something dressier.

The extent to which he continued to influence Time's policies after retiring as editor-in-chief in 1964—to become editorial chairman—can only be estimated but it must have been considerable. To this observer the most remarkable thing about Time Magazine is the fact that, over a period of more than 40 years, it has remained so constant to the image created in the 1920's by Luce and his partner, Briton Haddon, who died in 1929. The people who edit it have been switched many times but the magazine has changed very little. And this is probably because Henry Luce was still around.

Even after his retirement as editor-in-chief he was constantly trying to anticipate the course of national and international affairs—the important things. For example, he knew while on a visit to Honolulu in the summer of 1965 the plans of the Johnson Administration, then unannounced, for a big buildup in Vietnam. He believed it would work, too. He thought the end would come sooner than it has, that the pressure simply would be too great for the enemy to withstand. Of course he was not the only one who was mistaken. The President, for example.

He respected Mr. Johnson's strength of purpose, which was natural, this being one of his own outstanding characteristics. He let his regard for the President spill over into other, more personal areas. Once, ordering a drink, he asked for Cutty Sark. "That's what the President drinks," he explained with a twinkle. "I figure if it's good enough for Johnson it's good enough for me."

When it came to politics he allowed Clare, his wife, to do most of the talking, which she was quite able and willing to do. Once he was asked whether he had followed Clare into the Catholic Church. (The story, no doubt apocryphal, is still told of the time when Clare, a fresh and enthusiastic convert, on a visit to the Vatican tried to interest the Pope in joining the Church.) Luce said no, that after Clare found the true faith she tried to bring him into the fold, but he told her he thought he would stick with the Presbyterians.

Mrs. Luce, whose talents and accomplishments are many and varied, admired her husband greatly. "Harry is the smartest man I ever met," she said once. "But I never heard anybody call him an intellectual. And I know the reason why. You have to get a reputation as a liberal, a Democratic liberal, at that, and then everybody starts calling you an intellectual."

The Luces had one or two changes of plan after acquiring the Orvis property on Kahala Avenue, one plan being to raze the old structure and build an entirely new house. Luce became concerned over speculation that, in time, the strip between the avenue and the beach might be rezoned for apartments. "How long do you think that might be?" he asked me once. "Ten years?"

I said I didn't know.

"Well," he said, I "expect to live longer than 10 years." (This was in the summer of 1966.) "But I'd like to feel some assurance that for at least that long I wouldn't have an apartment house going up beside me."

Time, circumstance, industry, imagination, perseverance, all these and more go into the making of a man like Henry Luce. Among other characteristics he understood the peculiar bond of mutual respect and appreciation that exists among people—not all of them—who process information into news. He made a great deal of money but it was his feel for news that made it possible. Some people have it and some haven't. It is the difference between being a pro and not being one. Henry Luce was a pro.

—William Ewing.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I regret that a longstanding previous engagement in my State of Alabama made it impossible for me to be present yesterday to vote on the final passage of S. 355, the proposed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 which passed the Senate 75–9. Had I been here, I would have voted for the bill.

It is my privilege to serve on the joint committee which recommended this proposal. I know how diligently the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney], the chairman of the joint committee, has worked over the months, first to help formulate this bill of needed changes and then to provide the leadership on the floor of the Senate for its passage by the Senate. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney] has done an outstanding job, and I am pleased to have been associated with him.

The bill was thoroughly and carefully considered in committee and extensively debated in the Senate. I am hopeful that the House will take the measure up soon, which may lead to its early enactment.

AFL–CIO APPRAISES THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, probably no American organization has a deeper interest or greater stake in the success of the war on poverty than the AFL–CIO which represents more than 13½ million union members and undoubtedly, also, represents the sentiments and hopes of millions of others who are unorganized.

Recently at its midwinter meeting the AFL–CIO executive council subjected the 2-year-old war on poverty program to a careful scrutiny and appraisal. The AFL–CIO finds itself in an excellent position to make such an appraisal because—in the council's words:

> Organized labor has not only given moral support to this program, but it has been involved at all levels. Today hundreds of AFL–CIO members serve on community action boards and committees. In addition, AFL–CIO unions have assumed active sponsorship of anti-poverty programs.

The AFL–CIO's thoughtful assessment of the war on poverty program—what it has accomplished and what directions it should follow from here—deserve a conscientious reading by Members of Congress and others. The council statement deplored the cutbacks in funds authorized by Congress for the operation of the Economic Opportunity Act and urged the 90th Congress to provide the funds necessary to permit the continuation and expansion of those programs directed toward the elimination of urban and rural poverty.

The council also declared:

> The AFL–CIO remains convinced that our country has the material resources and human talents to meet both its international requirements and its homefront needs. A retreat now—through a failure to appropriate adequate funds to carry the war on poverty forward—will dash the hopes of those millions of Americans who have yet to rise out of poverty and who are still denied full and equal opportunities.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement by the AFL–CIO executive council on the war on poverty be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WAR ON POVERTY

(Statement by the AFL–CIO Executive Council, Bal Harbour, Fla., February 1967)

The AFL–CIO is deeply committed to our nation's efforts to eradicate poverty. When President Johnson first called for "an unconditional war, here and now, on poverty," he struck a deep response from the labor movement. Organized labor, since its birth, has sought to eliminate poverty through trade union organization, collective bargaining, and social legislation.

We have supported, and continue to support, programs aimed at helping the poor move from the hopelessness and despair of poverty toward a sharing of America's general prosperity. The AFL–CIO has long recognized that such programs essentially must be based on:

(1) Job opportunities, at decent wages, for the millions of impoverished who are able to work and seek employment.

(2) Adequate Social Security benefits for the aged who are retired.

(3) Adequate income maintenance, through a much-improved and overall system of public assistance, for those additional impoverished millions who are not self-sustaining, due to the absence of the family breadwinner, disability or other causes.

The road out of poverty requires full and fair opportunities for education and vocational training, decent housing, effective enforcement of civil rights, and adequate social service assistance. The eventual elimination of poverty, however, must emphasize jobs, income and upgrading, as its foundation.

Many essential measures have been enacted by the Congress, since 1961, that are parts of the anti-poverty effort—including civil rights legislation, substantial improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, federal aid to general and vocational education, model cities legislation, and the Economic Opportunity Act. The AFL–CIO was a major force in seeking adoption of all these advances.

The Economic Opportunity Act—with its broad attack on the causes and continuation of poverty—is a vital part of the overall effort to break the poverty cycle.

Organized labor has not only given moral support to this program, but it has been involved at all levels. Today, hundreds of AFL–CIO members serve on community action boards and committees. In addition, AFL–CIO unions have assumed active sponsorship of anti-poverty programs.

Such efforts by organized labor should be expanded in the thousands of communities across the length and breadth of our country—translating AFL–CIO supported national legislation into reality in local communities.

The AFL–CIO is fully aware of the problems that have arisen during the course of developing the Economic Opportunity Act programs. We recognize the complexities and difficulties of administering such new, pioneering and experimental approaches. It would be remarkable, indeed, if there were no problems in getting such varied efforts off the ground. It is our firm conviction, however, that such problems—many of them now being corrected—are not due to inherent deficiencies in the overall program, itself.

We repudiate the attacks on the war on poverty aimed at crippling or destroying the entire program. We likewise reject the attempt to erect a mythology that America cannot afford to wage an effective war on poverty.

The AFL–CIO remains convinced that our country has the material resources and human talents to meet both its international requirements and its homefront needs. A retreat now—through a failure to appropriate adequate funds to carry the war on poverty forward—will dash the hopes of those millions of Americans who have yet to rise out of poverty and who are still denied full and equal opportunities.

Funds for community action programs, during the remainder of the current fiscal year, have been cut back by the reduction in the overall amount authorized by Congress for the operation of the Economic Opportunity Act and the earmarking of funds for specific projects. The net impact of the reduction of available funds is the curtailment of many essential programs. We urge the 90th Congress to provide the funds necessary to permit the continuation and expansion of those programs directed toward the elimination of urban and rural poverty.

This war on poverty is big enough and important enough to require the cooperation, talents and energy of all groups in American society—business, trade unions, the clergy and other private groups, as well as the government. The special talents and abilities of all are required. In this sense, recent proposals to involve the business community more directly in the war on poverty, along with others, are highly commendable. The normal functions of business enterprises, as well as the managerial and technical abilities of industry, have their vital and proper roles in the nation's effort to eliminate poverty.

It is our conviction, however, that no segment of our society should seek to profit from the special services it renders to the war on poverty program. We are opposed to the proposal of a federal charter for a profit-making, war-on-poverty company. We view with skepticism and misgiving other proposals for profit-making business ventures in Office of Economic Opportunity and related programs.

We urge the Congress and the Administration to continue to advance the government's efforts to eliminate poverty.

We call on all affiliated trade unions, state and city central bodies to expand their activities in community anti-poverty programs.

We commend the President for his proposal to establish a commission to examine the many recommendations for income guarantees, "reviewing their merits and disadvantages and reporting in two years to me and the American people."

We request the staff of the AFL–CIO to review these proposals for income guarantees and to report the finding to the AFL–CIO Executive Council.

RANDOLPH COMMENTS ON NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD SERVICE TO LABOR-BUSINESS: INCLUDES SPEECH BY ARNOLD ORDMAN, GENERAL COUNSEL, NLRB IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, one of the milestones in my career as a Member of the House of Representatives occurred during my second term, when the National Labor Relations Act, commonly called the Wagner Act, was passed. Since that time, I have watched with interest the role the National Labor Relations Board has performed in making collective bargaining work throughout our country. Last week I was privileged to participate in recognizing the occasion of the 25 millionth voter in a NLRB-conducted election.

Today I call to the attention of Senate Members another area in which the NLRB is attempting to serve the best interests of the labor relations-business community. In our complex society, there are often several ways of solving any problem. In certain types of labor disputes, both the NLRB and private arbitration are available to the parties Last week at a meeting of the National Academy of Arbitrators the able General Counsel of the NLRB, Arnold Ordman, discussed the interrelation of arbitration and the NLRB and indicated the reasons for NLRB actions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Mr. Ordman's speech, "Arbitration and the NLRB—A Second Look."

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARBITRATION AND THE NLRB—A SECOND LOOK

(By Arnold Ordman, general counsel, National Labor Relations Board, Washington, D.C., before the National Academy of Arbitrators, 20th annual meeting, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., March 3, 1967)

In June of 1964 I put the question whether there was or could be a happy marriage between the National Labor Relations Board and the arbitral process.[1] Since that time some of the obstacles to a successful union have been removed, others have merely been more sharply identified. Complete harmony is not yet assured but now, as then, we can take comfort from the fact that there is a dedicated effort on both sides to make the marriage work.

Let us take a second look.

Long before the *Steelworkers* Trilogy the National Labor Relations Board indicated its awareness of the importance of arbitration in the system of industrial self-government the Act was designed to promote.[2] After all, its first and second Chairmen J. Warren Madden and Harry A. Millis had been distinguished arbitrators before the enactment of the Wagner Act. And Dr. William M. Leiserson came to the Board in 1939 with an outstanding record as one of America's foremost arbitrators.

In 1955 the Board in its landmark decision in *Spielberg Manufacturing Co.*,[3] honored an arbitration award which denied reinstatement to certain individuals allegedly guilty of strike misconduct. The Board stated that it would honor an arbitration award where "the proceedings appear to have been fair and regular, all parties had agreed to be bound, and the decision of the arbitration panel is not clearly repugnant to the purposes and policies of the Act."[4]

The Board thus recognized in situations where an arbitration award has been rendered the public interest in fostering private arbitration. The *Spielberg* safeguards were required to foreclose the possibility that the encouragement of private adjudication of disputes be undertaken at the expense of the sacrifice of the public rights the National Labor Relations Act is designed to guarantee.

There are differences between the private grievance-arbitration process formulated to enforce contractual rights and duties and the statutory administrative processes of the Board established to protect and enforce ". . . the rights of the public in connection with labor disputes affecting commerce."[5] The Board's power and duty to prevent unfair labor practices stems from Section 10(a) of the National Labor Relations Act which provides that the Board's power to remedy unfair labor practices "shall not be affected by any other means of adjustment or prevention that has been or may be established by agreement, law, or otherwise." These statutory provisions make it manifest that the Board is a public instrumentality enforcing "public rights."[6] The parties may not by private contract either circumvent or limit the Board's jurisdiction.[7] The Board "is not just an umpire to referee a game between an employer and a union."[8]

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[1] *Arbitration and the N.L.R.B.—A Happy Marriage?* Address by writer before the Midwest Seminar on Advanced Arbitration, University of Chicago, Center for Continuing Education, Chicago, Illinois, June 5, 1964.

[2] *Consolidated Aircraft Corp.*, 47 NLRB 694, enforced as modified 141 F. 2d 785 (9th Circuit).

[3] 112 NLRB 1080.

[4] 112 NLRB at p. 1082.

An arbitrator, on the other hand, is the creature and servant of the parties selected to determine disputes arising under the system of private law found in the collective bargaining contract and in the practices and customs which illuminate the nature and extent of the promises and arrangements evidenced by that contract. He has a limited charter "in a system of self-government created by and confined to the parties."[9] The arbitrator, therefore, determines private rights and private duties stemming from a private contract.

The *Steelworkers* Trilogy[10] emphasized the importance in the general statutory scheme of labor arbitration as a means for the promotion of industrial peace. The Board's hospitality to the arbitration process was manifested in *Spielberg*, and the Board subsequent to the Trilogy further evidenced its recognition of arbitration as "an instrument of national labor policy for composing contractual differences"[11] discerned by the Supreme Court from the Court's reading of Section 301[12] and 203(d)[13] of the National Labor Relations Act.

The process of accommodation between the public interest in the voluntary resolution of disputes by the parties themselves as expressed in the Trilogy and in Section 203(d) and the public interest in protecting the rights of employees, employers and unions under the National Labor Relations Act was bound to reveal areas of compatibility but also areas of overlap and to some extent conflict.

The Supereme Court soon put to rest the notion that the preemption doctrine of such cases as *Garmon*[14] was relevant to a suit for violation of a collective bargaining agreement.[15] And the Court also made it clear that the preemption doctrine does not bar a suit under Section 301 for breach of a collective bargaining agreement even though the identical conduct would also constitute a basis for an unfair labor practice proceeding.[16] If conflict should arise, however, the Court noted in *Carey* v. *Westinghouse,* the Board's authority is superior.[17]

The *Spielberg* standards are designed to balance these sometimes competing interests in a fashion compatible with the statutory objectives. There are now a substantial number of cases in which the rather generalized *Spielberg* standards have been applied.

I. BOARD PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE WHERE GRIEVANCE-ARBITRATION PROCEDURES HAVE CULMINATED IN AN AWARD

A. *Arbitration awards in unfair labor practice cases*

The *Spielberg* doctrine has obvious application, of course, in situations in which the grievance-arbitration procedure has culminated in an award. The fairness and regularity requirement has not been met where the discharged employee did not receive adequate notice,[18] was denied counsel,[19] or refused to participate under circumstances showing union hostility toward him.[20] And when the arbitrator in adjudicating the alleged contract violation has not passed upon the unfair labor practice issue the Board under well established policy will not honor the award.[21]

The composition of the tribunal must be such as will insure that the grievant will be afforded a fair and impartial hearing. Bi-partite committees as such are not foreclosed[22] but where, as in a hiring hall case or discharge case, the circumstances are such that submission to a bi-partite committee composed of representatives of the contracting parties would constitute a reference of the grievance to a tribunal the members of which would be arrayed in common interest against the grievant the necessary safeguards of fairness and regularity are absent.[23]

An interesting problem is presented where the Board's investigation results in the disclosure of important evidence that was not presented to the arbitrator in the hearing before him and, therefore, not considered by him in making his determination. Should the Board honor the award?

In *Precision Fittings, Inc.*,[24] on its face and upon the evidence before the arbitrator the award seemed to meet *Spielberg* standards. Indeed, special counsel represented the dischargee.

At an arbitration hearing the dischargee, who had been active in conduct looking toward the decertification of the incumbent union, was said by the management witnesses to have been discharged for having falsified his employment application and for having failed to report for overtime work the preceding Saturday. In dealing with the evidence that the discharge took place only a few days after the employee had drawn up a second decertification petition, the arbitrator noted that this evidence was only circumstantial. As to an alleged disparateness in treatment between the dischargee and other employees for offenses charged, the arbitrator concluded that the evidence was insufficient to show such disparateness and that the dischargee was in fact discharged for the reasons assigned by the employer.

At the hearing before the NLRB Trial Examiner, a former company vice president who held that position at the time of the discharge testified and gave an entirely different version of the events relating to the discharge. According to his testimony which was credited by the Trial Examiner, a pretext was sought by the management for discharging the grievant and found in the discovery that the dischargee had omitted mentioning a prior employment in his application for employment. The Trial Examiner and the Board held the discharge to be discriminatory and refused to honor the award because the proceeding was neither fair nor regular. The *Spielberg* standards were subverted. The employer's withholding from the arbitrator the one fact peculiarly within its knowledge which would have shown that the discharge was based on a pretext fraudulently concealed the facts. Such circumstances, it was held, nullify any justification for the Board yielding its statutory power to a private instrumentality.

Repugnancy to the policies of the Act will, under *Spielberg* standards, if found in an award, result in the Board's refusal to honor it. A series of discharge cases illustrate this principle.

In *Virginia-Carolina Freight Lines, Inc.*,[25] the arbitrator upheld the discharge of an employee for seeking Board assistance in a dispute he had with the employer. The Board refused to honor the award.

Where the arbitrator's award results in a retroactive application of a union-security clause in violation of the Act it is clear that the Board would refuse to honor such an award.[26]

And where an arbitration award upholds a discharge of employees for causing a work stoppage as a violation of a collective bargaining agreement, if the work stoppage is a protected activity because caused by employer unfair labor practices the Board will refuse to honor such an award.[27]

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[5] Section 1(b), Labor Management Relations Act.

[6] See *Amalgamated Utility Workers* v. *Consolidated Edison Co.*, 309 U.S. 261, 264, 266–268; *National Licorice Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 309 U.S. 350, 365; *Consolidated Edison Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 305 U.S. 197, 264–265, 267–269.

[7] See *N.L.R.B.* v. *Walt Disney Productions,* 146 F. 2d 44, 47–49 (9th Circuit), cert. denied, 324 U.S. 877; *Lodge 743, Machinists* v. *United Aircraft Corp.*, 337 F. 2d 5 (2d Circuit), cert. denied, 384 U.S. 908.

[8] *Shoreline Enterprises* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 262 F. 2d 933 (5th Circuit).

[9] Shulman: *Reason, Contract and Law in Labor Relations,* 68 Harvard Law Review 999, 1016.

[10] *United Steelworkers of America* v. *American Mfg. Co.*, 363 U.S. 564; *United Steelworkers of America* v. *Warrior & Gulf Navigation Co.*, 363 U.S. 574; *United Steelworkers of America* v. *Enterprise Wheel & Car Corp.*, 363 U.S. 593.

[11] *International Harvester Co.*, 138 NLRB 923, 926, aff'd *sub nom. Ramsey* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 327 F. 2d 784 (7th Circuit), cert. denied, 377 U.S. 1003.

[12] Section 301(a) provides: "Suits for violation of contracts between an employer and a labor organization representing employees in an industry affecting commerce as defined in this Act, or between any such labor organizations, may be brought in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties, without respect to the amount in controversy or without regard to citizenship of the parties."

[13] Section 203(d) provides: "Final adjustment by a method agreed upon by the parties is hereby declared to be the desirable method for settlement of grievance disputes arising over the application or interpretation of an existing collective-bargaining agreement. The Service is directed to make its conciliation and mediation services available in the settlement of such grievance disputes only as a last resort and in exceptional cases."

[14] *San Diego Building Trades Council* v. *Garmon*, 359 U.S. 236.

[15] *Teamsters* v. *Lucas Flour Co.*, 369 U.S. 95.

[16] *Smith* v. *Evening News Association,* 371 U.S. 195.

[17] *Carey* v. *Westinghouse,* 375 U.S. 261.

[18] *Gateway Transportation Company,* 137 NLRB 1763.

[19] *Honolulu Star Bulletin,* 123 NLRB 395.

[20] In *International Harvester Company,* 138 NLRB 923, enf'd *sub nom. Ramsey* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 327 F. 2d (C.A. 7), where the grievant did not agree to be bound by the award, had no notice of the hearings and did not participate in them, the Board noting that the employee's interests were vigorously defended by the employer nevertheless honored an award requiring the employer to discharge the employee.

[21] *Monsanto Chemical Co.*, 130 NLRB 1097; *LaPrensa, Inc.*, 131 NLRB 527; cf. *Tex-Tan Welhausen Company,* 159 NLRB No. 141.

[22] *Denver-Chicago Trucking Company,* 132 NLRB 1416; *Modern Motor Express, Inc.*, 149 NLRB 1507.

[23] *Roadway Express, Inc.*, 145 NLRB 153; *Youngstown Cartage Company,* 146 NLRB 305; see *Lummus Company,* 142 NLRB 517; see *Local 149, etc.* (*Associated Plumbing Contractors of Arizona*), 149 NLRB 39, 45–46.

[24] 141 NLRB 1034.

[25] 155 NLRB No. 52.

[26] *Monsanto Chemical Co.,* 97 NLRB 517 (pre-*Spielberg*).

B. Arbitration awards in representation cases

The Board has held that the *Spielberg* doctrine is applicable to representation disputes. In *Raley's, Inc.*,[28] an arbitrator had found that certain employees were covered by the contract between the parties to the arbitration proceeding. Subsequently, a petition was filed with the Board by a rival union seeking to represent the same employees that the arbitrator had ruled were covered by the contract. The Board, stating that it would apply *Spielberg* standards in representation proceedings as well as in unfair labor practice proceedings when an arbitral award is relied upon by one or more parties, held the contract to be a bar. The award was found consistent with Board principles and petitioner's absence from the arbitration proceeding was deemed immaterial since the employer in the arbitration proceeding had vigorously contended that the contract did not cover the employees in disputes, a position identical with that urged by the petitioner in the representation proceeding.

The application of the rule in *Raley's* case has been limited in several recent Board cases.[29] Of particular interest to this audience is the Board decision in *Westinghouse Electric Corporation*.[30] That case is the aftermath of *Carey* v. *Westinghouse*.[31] In that case the IUE was certified as the representative of the production and maintenance employees. The contract contained an arbitration clause relating to unresolved disputes involving the "interpretation, application or claimed violation" of the contract. IUE grieved concerning the alleged performance by certain employees in the salaried and technical employees unit of production and maintenance work. The salaried unit was represented by another union, the Salaried Employees Association. Westinghouse refused to arbitrate claiming the controversy was a representation matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Board. The state courts so held when IUE sued to compel arbitration. The Supreme Court reversed.

The Supreme Court held that, whether the dispute was regarded as a jurisdictional dispute or as a representation dispute, arbitration was not precluded between the contracting parties even though only one of the two unions would be a participant and bound by the result. Arbitration might, said the Court, have some therapeutic value or, indeed, if the award should run against the participating union, end the controversy. The Court found arbitration could, therefore, be ordered stating, however, that, "The superior authority" of the Board might "be invoked at any time." [32]

Subsequent to the decision in *Carey* v. *Westinghouse*, the arbitration was had between the IUE and Westinghouse. The Board had deferred action on Motions for Clarification of the Certification of IUE and of the Salaried Employees Association filed after the issuance of the Supreme Court's decision by the employer pending the outcome of the arbitration between IUE and Westinghouse.[33]

The arbitrator found that the issue before him was a representation issue. The arbitrator split the unit in the sense that he divided the employees whom the IUE claimed to represent into two groups based upon the wage level of the individual employees.

The Board also found that it was a representation issue because the IUE disputed the unit placement of the employees doing the work and complained of the failure to apply the IUE agreement to those employees. The IUE did not seek to replace employees represented by the SEA with its own members.

The Board first addressed itself to the question as to the weight to be accorded to the arbitration award where all the parties were not before the arbitrator and two contracts were involved. The Board said that the *Hotel Employers Association of San Francisco* case [34] limited the scope of its decision in *Raley's* because in *Raley's* the contested question whether the contract included a specified group of employees was the sole issue presented to the Board. In *Raley's*, also, the Board had found the arbitrator's award to be consistent with Board principle. In *Hotel Employers Association*, however, the Board noted that the award in that case interpreting the contract did not resolve the ultimate issue concerning representation because the arbitrator did not consider the claim of a rival union to represent the employees in question. The Board concluded that in *Westinghouse* as in *Hotel Employers* the ultimate issue of representation could not be decided by the arbitrator on the basis of interpreting the contract under which he was authorized to act but could only be resolved by utilization of Board criteria for making unit determinations. In such cases the arbitrator's award must "clearly reflect the use of and be consonant with Board standards." [35] Accordingly, the Board, while giving "some consideration to the award" applied its own criteria and made a different unit allocation.

Would the Board have reached a different result if SEA had been a party to the arbitration proceeding? If it is assumed that the same award would have issued, the award would still not have been consonant with Board standards and therefore not have been honored by the Board.

If this analysis is correct, the pivotal issue here is less the participation of an interested party than it is the failure to apply established Board criteria.[36]

This brief review of the application of *Spielberg* standards in post-award cases by the Board should not be regarded as indicating that the process of accommodation between the arbitration process and the Board processes is malfunctioning. These cases illustrate situations in which *Spielberg* standards were not met. That is only a part of the picture. There are, of course, other cases in which the Board has honored awards.[37] And, of course, there are still other cases which never reach the stage of issuance of complaint because the Regional Office involved has stayed action on an unfair labor practice charge awaiting the outcome of an arbitration proceeding and has thereafter honored the award after review in the light of the *Spielberg* standards.

II. BOARD PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE WHERE CONTRACT GRIEVANCE-ARBITRATION PROVISIONS EXIST BUT HAVE NOT BEEN USED OR COMPLETED

While the Board will exercise its discretion based upon the circumstances of a particular case, the exhaustion of contract remedies is not normally required by the Board in discharge or other cases which involve statutory questions.[38]

Where, however, the arbitration stage has been reached and arbitration is imminent, the Board will normally refrain from determining the unfair labor practice issue pending rendition of the arbitration award.[39] In *Dubo*, although a trial examiner had issued his Initial Decision, the Board deferred consideration of the discriminatory discharge issues in view of the issuance of a federal court order requiring the respondent employer to arbitrate the discharges under the collective bargaining contract.

In practice, the Regional Offices when a charge is pending and the grievance-arbitration procedure is being actively pursued will defer action on the charge pending the completion of the grievance-arbitration procedure and will encourage active resort to the grievance-arbitration procedure if it appears that there is a substantial likelihood that the utilization of the procedure will set the dispute at rest.

At this point it may be helpful to examine Board cases in situations where the grievance-arbitration procedure has not been resorted to or the grievance procedure was initiated but broken off.

First, let us examine an illustrative discharge case. In *Thor Power Tool Company*,[40] the Board found that the dischargee had been discharged for participation in the grievance procedure in violation of the Act. The Board noted that neither the company nor the union had sought to invoke arbitration, that the grievance procedure had been stopped at the stage prior to arbitration and that the charging employee did not have the right under the contract to require further action under the grievance procedure.

The unilateral action area has been the subject of a number of important Board cases in which a defense to a refusal to bargain was predicated upon a failure to resort to the arbitration process.

The Board has repeatedly held that it is not precluded from resolving an unfair labor practice issue merely because as an incident to such a resolution the Board may be required to construe the scope of a contract which the arbitrator is also empowered to construe.[41]

The *C & C Plywood Corporation* case,[42] recently affirmed by the Supreme Court,[43] is of interest in this area. The contract set forth a wage scale and also provided that the employer reserved the right to pay a premium rate over and above the contractual classified wage rate to reward any particular employee for some special fitness, skill, aptitude or the like. Shortly after the contract was executed the employer posted a notice that a premium pay schedule would be instituted for members of a glue spreader crew who would receive increased pay over and above the contractually specified rates whenever the crew as a whole met certain production standards within a two-week period. The employer placed this pay schedule in effect without a prior notice to or bargaining with the union. Upon complaint by the union the employer refused to rescind the incentive pay plan although it offered to discuss it. There was no arbitration clause in the contract.

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[27] See *Ford Motor Company*, 131 NLRB 1462, where a majority of the Board viewed the arbitrator's award as not ruling upon the unfair labor practice issue.

[28] 143 NLRB 256.

[29] *Hotel Employers' Association of San Francisco*, 159 NLRB No. 15; *Pullman Industries*, 159 NLRB No. 44.

[30] 162 NLRB No. 81.

[31] 375 U.S. 261.

[32] 375 U.S. at p. 272.

[33] The SEA also filed a petition seeking clarification of its certification.

[34] See footnote 29, *supra*.

[35] Slip Op., p. 4.

[36] Compare *International Harvester, supra*, n. 20.

[37] *I. Oscherwitz & Sons*, 130 NLRB 1078; *Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.*, 147 NLRB 1233; *International Shoe Company*, 151 NLRB 693.

[38] *Cloverleaf Division of Adams Dairy*, 147 NLRB 1410; *Smith Cabinet Mfg.*, 147 NLRB 1506; *Aerodex, Inc.*, 149 NLRB 192.

[39] *Dubo Mfg. Co.*, 142 NLRB 43.

[40] 148 NLRB 1379, enforced 351 F. 2d 584.

[41] *Cloverleaf Division of Adams Dairy Co.*, 147 NLRB 1410; *Smith Cabinet Manufacturing Company, Inc.*, 147 NLRB 1506; *Huttig Sash & Door Company, Inc.*, 154 NLRB No. 67; *Century Papers, Inc.*, 155 NLRB No. 40; *C & S Industries*, 158 NLRB No. 43.

[42] 148 NLRB 414.

[43] 64 LRRM 2065, January 9, 1967.

The union filed unfair labor practice charges with the Board alleging a violation of the employer's bargaining obligation and a complaint was issued. The Board rejected the employer's contention that it lacked jurisdiction to adjudicate the unfair labor practice issue because a question of contract interpretation was involved in evaluating the company's contention that its unilateral action was authorized by the "premium pay" provision of the contract. The Board found that the premium pay clause was intended to authorize individual merit increases and not to give the employer the right unilaterally to raise wages of entire crews if they met certain production standards. The Board found a violation of Section 8(a)(5) and issued a remedial order.

The Ninth Circuit denied enforcement of the Board's order. The court held the Board has no power to interpret a collective bargaining agreement and when the employer claims that his unilateral action is privileged by the agreement the Board loses its jurisdiction to determine whether an unfair labor practice has been committed until the contract issue has first been resolved by the courts or, where the contract contains an aribitration provision, by the arbitrator.

The Supreme Court rejected the employer's contention that since the contract contained a provision arguably allowing the employer to act unilaterally the Board was powerless to construe the contract to determine whether the provision did authorize the employer's action because that question must be determined by a court under Section 301. The contract here did not provide for arbitration. Consequently, there was no possible conflict with the Trilogy. Here the Board limited itself to enforcing "a statutory right which Congress considered necessary to allow labor and mangement to get on with the process of reaching fair terms and conditions of employment. . . ." The Board only construed the contract to the extent necessary to determine whether the union waived such statutory safeguards. In necessarily construing the contract to decide the unfair labor practice, the Board did not exceed its jurisdiction.

The Court also upheld the Board's conclusion that the contract did not give the employer a unilateral right to institute the premium pay plan. The Court found that the Board's reliance upon its experience and "the Act's clear emphasis upon the protection of free collective bargaining" was not misplaced.

C & C Plywood seems to me to affirm the Board's *power* to interpret a contract when a contractual provision is urged as a defense to a charge of unfair labor practices. While that case did not deal with arbitration, the same result seems compelled by the logic of the decision when read together with the *Acme Industrial Co.*[44] case which I shall discuss in connection with the duty to furnish information. The exercise of the Board's *discretion* to defer or not to defer to arbitration in a particular case was not directly before the Court in *C & C Plywood.*

The Board has, of course, discretion to defer or not to defer to arbitration. Where a contract issue is raised as a defense to a refusal to bargain charge involving unilateral action the Board ordinarily will not refrain from determining the contract issue insofar as it relates to the unfair labor practice charge if it concludes (1) that the contract issue is insubstantial or (2) that it involves a matter central to the system of collective bargaining established by the Act and requiring the application of the principles developed under the Act and not merely traditional principles of contract interpretation.[45]

Where, however, the defense for unilateral action raises a substantial contract interpretation question, the circumstances indicate the challenged conduct is not subversive of basic principles essential to collective bargaining, and arbitration is likely to determine both the contract dispute and the unfair labor practice issue, the Board has indicated that it will defer to arbitration.[46]

III. ARBITRATION AND THE DUTY TO BARGAIN IN THE FURNISHING OF INFORMATION CASES

It has been settled for some time that the duty to furnish relevant information is a necessary corollary of the duty to bargain collectively. *N. L. R. B.* v. *Truitt Mfg. Co.*, 351 U.S. 149. This principle has been applied in many cases with regard to the furnishing of information relating to the administration of existing agreements.[47]

While there is in the agreement, however, an arbitration provision the courts had been in conflict as to the existence of a duty to bargain prior to the exhaustion of the contract arbitration procedure insofar as the furnishing of information is concerned.[48]

The recent Supreme Court decision in *N. L. R. B.* v. *Acme Industrial Company,*[49] has resolved these conflicts and made it clear that the duty to furnish relevant information to the statutory bargaining representative during the term of the contract persists despite the existence of an arbitration procedure. *Acme* was a companion case to *C & C Plywood* and was handed down the same day.

The contract contained a provision whereby the employer agreed not to subcontract work normally performed by bargaining unit employees where such subcontracting would cause the layoff of employees or prevent the recall of employees who would normally perform this work. The contract also provided that, in the event equipment was moved to another location of the company, employees working in the plant or in the department from which the equipment was removed who are subject to reduction in classification or layoff as a result might transfer to the new location with full rights and seniority. During the contract period upon the discovery of the union that machinery was being moved from the plant information was requested as to the reason for the removal of the machinery and where it was being relocated. The answer was made that there was no violation of the contract and that therefore the employer was not obliged to furnish the information.

Grievances were filed. The grievances alleged that the employer by removing the machinery and by subcontracting the work previously performed on the machines violated the recognition, subcontracting and work transfer clauses of the contract. The union by letter requested information concerning the equipment removal. The union asserted that the information was essential for the servicing and administration of the contract. The employer replied by letter stating that it had no duty to furnish the information since there had been no layoffs or reductions in any classification within five days prior to the formal request for information. Five days was the time limitation established in the contract for filing grievances. The union then filed charges with the Board.

The Board held that the Act had been violated. It found that the information was relevant to the administration of the agreement by the statutory representative in order for it to evaluate intelligently the grievances filed and to determine whether they were meritorious and whether to press for arbitration. The Board also found that there was no waiver of any statutory right to such information and that the mere existence of a grievance machinery terminating in arbitration did not constitute a waiver of the union's statutory right to such information.

The Seventh Circuit reversed the Board and denied enforcement of its order. The court did not upset the Board's finding that the requested information was relevant to the union's performance of its function as statutory bargaining agent nor did it dispute the Board's conclusion that there was no waiver of the statutory right to information. The court ruled, however, that the existence of the arbitration clause precluded the Board from exercising its ordinary unfair labor practice authority. The court held that the factors bearing on a determination of the relevancy of the information requested are interrelated with the construction and application of the contract provisions, a matter exclusively reserved for the arbitrator. The court stated that Board intervention to determine relevancy thus violated the policy of the Trilogy and the national policy embodied in Section 203(d) of the Labor Management Relations Act.

The Supreme Court reversed the Seventh Circuit and affirmed the Board. The Court said that the only real issue in the case was whether the Board must await an arbitrator's determination of the relevancy of the requested information before it could enforce the union's statutory rights under Section 8(a)(5). The Court held that the Board need not do so.

Mr. Justice Stewart speaking for the Court distinguished the Trilogy as dealing with the relationship of courts to arbitrators when an award was under judicial review or the employer contested any duty to arbitrate under the agreement. The arbitrator's greater "institutional competency" was vital to those decisions. The relationship of the Board to arbitrators was said to be of "a quite different order."

In assessing the Board's power to deal with unfair labor practices, provisions of the NLRA which do not apply to courts under Section 301, must be considered. The duty to bargain under 8(a)(5) and the Board's power under 10(a) to prevent unfair labor practices unaffected by any other means of adjustment or prevention preclude a view of the Trilogy as requiring automatic deferral by the Board to the primary determination of an arbitrator.

In any event, the Board was not making a binding construction of the contract when it ordered the production of the requested information. It was only holding that the information was probably relevant and would be useful to the union in performing its statutory responsibilities. The Board did not decide the merits of the union's contractual claims.

The Board's action facilitated the arbitral process. The arbitration system cannot perform its function properly if it is to be swamped by the processing of all grievances to arbitration. The law does not require the union to go to arbitration to learn for the first time "that the machines had been relegated to the junkheap."

The Board's order was consistent with the national labor policy favoring arbitration and the express terms of the Act.

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[44] 64 LRRM 2069, January 9, 1967.

[45] *Cloverleaf Division of Adams Dairy Co.*, 147 NLRB 1410; *Smith Cabinet Manufacturing Company, Inc.*, 147 NLRB 1506; *Huttig Sash & Door Company, Inc.*, 154 NLRB No. 67; *Century Papers, Inc.*, 155 NLRB No. 40; *C & S Industries*, 158 NLRB No. 43.

[46] *The Flintkote Company*, 149 NLRB 1561; *The Crescent Bed Company, Inc.*, 157 NLRB No. 22, p. 4.

[47] *N.L.R.B.* v. *Woolworth Co.*, 352 U.S. 938; *N.L.R.B* v. *Item Company*, 220 F. 2d 956 (C.A. 5), cert. denied, 350 U.S. 836; *J. I. Case Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 253 F. 2d 149 (C.A. 7); *N.L.R.B.* v. *Whitin Machine Works*, 217 F. 2d 593 (C.A. 4), cert. denied, 349 U.S. 905; *Boston-Herald-Traveler Corp*. v. *N.L.R.B.*, 223 F. 2d 58 (C.A. 1).

[48] Compare *Fafnir Bearing Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 362 F. 2d 716 (C.A. 2), with *Sinclair Refining Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 306 F. 2d 569 (C.A. 5).

[49] 64 LRRM 2069, January 9, 1967.

IV. CONTRACT CLAUSES ARGUABLY INVALID UNDER THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

The Board frequently is called upon to determine the validity of contract clauses. The clause may be one which relates to union security and is challenged as violative of Section 8(a)(3).[50] Or the clause may be one which allegedly confers super-seniority in violation of the Act.[51] Or the clause may be one challenged as violative of Section 8(e).[52] The Board's power to determine whether such contract clauses violate the Act is clear and the Board need not refer the case to the grievance arbitration procedure under the contract.[53]

V. ACCOMMODATION PROBLEMS ARISING FROM CONFLICTING VIEWS AMONG ARBITRATORS

Consideration as to when, if ever, the Board should refer or defer to resolution by private arbitration questicns concerning the statutory validity of contract clauses suggests an inquiry into the practices and attitudes of arbitrators faced with unfair labor practice issues.

There is considerable disagreement among arbitrators as to whether they should determine or, for that matter, are empowered to determine unfair labor practice issues in cases before them.

Many arbitrators take the view that they should limit themselves to the question as to whether the contract has been violated.

Arbitrator Seitz believes that:

"If arbitration begins to do the business of the NLRA and the courts, interpreting legislation, effecting national rather than private goals as a kind of subordinate tribunal of the Board, that voluntarism which is the base of its broad acceptance could be eroded and its essential objectives changed. Arbitration can be weakened by freighting it with public law questions which in our system should be decided by the courts and administrative agencies. Arbitration should not be an initial alternative to Board adjudication. It has been (and should be) a separate system of judication respecting *private* rights and duties resulting in final decisions—not decisions on *public* matters reviewable by the Board and deferred to if not repugnant to the Labor Act."[54]

Under such a view the fact that an award would require an employer or a union to commit an unfair labor practice presumably would not be a matter to be considered by the arbitrator.

In *Rowland Tompkins & Sons*,[55] for example, a contract clause between the employer and the union provided, in substance, that the employees could not be required to install pre-fabricated piping which did not bear the union label. The union claimed that the employer's insistence on the installing of pre-fabricated piping not bearing the union label constituted a violation of the agreement. The arbitrator found that the contract was violated by the company's insistence on requiring the pipefitting employees to handle, distribute or install the pre-fabricated equipment. The arbitrator also stated that it might well be that the union may be engaged in an unfair labor practice under Section 8(b)(4)(B) in refusing to handle the pre-fabricated assemblies but found that the issue was not submitted to him and that he was not authorized to decide it. The arbitrator further stated that it might also follow that the contract clause in question was violative of Section 8(e) and unenforceable and invalid. He ruled, however, that he was limited to the construction of the collective bargaining agreement and that he had no authority to determine whether any clause therein is illegal.

On the other hand, some arbitrators take the view that the requirements of the National Labor Relations Act must be considered by the arbitrator.[56]

In *S. S. White Dental Mfg. Company*,[57] an arbitrator enforced a union-security clause challenged by the employer as unlawful. The arbitrator said that if the clause were patently illegal he might refuse to enforce it.

In view of the contrariety of views among arbitrators as to the deference to be given by them to the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act the Agency may well be hesitant to defer to arbitrators in the area of the determination of the legality of contract clauses.

The approach of many arbitrators to contract issues involving challenged unilateral action often differs from that of the Board in evaluating contractual defenses urged as a defense to unfair labor practices involving unilateral action.

The Board's evaluation of the circumstances in which the claim of privileged unilateral action is made usually involves considerations other than the interpretation of a single specific contract provision. Frequently, the claim of privilege is predicated, at least in part, on the presence of a generalized management prerogative clause, the absence of any express contractual prohibition of the particular action taken or the union's failure to obtain a specific prohibition during negotiations. The Board has developed statutory principles for evaluating these general circumstances. For example, the Board with court approval has held that a waiver of statutory rights must be clear and unmistakable and waiver will not be found merely because a contract is silent on a subject protected by the Act, or because the contract contains a general management prerogative clause or because the union in contract negotiations failed to obtain contractual protection for its statutory rights.[58]

Many arbitrators, since they are concerned solely with whether there has been a breach of contract, consider it improper for abritrators to apply the statutory principles developed by the Board or apply them differently than the Board does. Some arbitrators apply the so-called "residual rights" theory where management takes unilateral action, holding that management is free to act unless the collective bargaining agreement expressly prohibits the challenged conduct.[59] In the *Finkheiner*[60] case the employer had transferred work from one plant to another without bargaining with the union contending that this action was permitted by the management rights clause of the contract. The arbitrator held that in the absence of express contractual language prohibiting the transfer of work, the management rights clause must be construed to authorize the unilateral conduct. The arbitrator recognized that the employer's action did concern a mandatory subject of bargaining under the National Labor Relations Act but ruled that he was not empowered to decide the unfair labor practice issue in construing the contract.

In *Mallinckrodt Chemical Works*, 38 LA 267, a practice had existed for 20 years under which employees required to wear special clothing reported 15 minutes prior to the start of the normal work day to change to special clothing. This resulted in an 8-hour and 15-minute work day with pay for the 15 minutes at the overtime rate. The employer without notice to the union and for economic reasons eliminated the 15 minutes overtime and required the change of clothing to be done within the normal 8-hour work day. The affected employees filed a grievance seeking restoration of the status quo and compensation for pay lost as a result of the change.

The arbitrator stated that the past practice may have become a term or condition of employment within the meaning of the National Labor Relations Act but held that the determination of such a matter must be made by the National Labor Relations Board. The arbitrator recognized that such a determination might be found by the Board to result in a refusal to bargain in violation of the Act and that the Board might restore the status quo ante until such time as the employer fulfilled the duty to bargain. The arbitrator held, however, that he was not empowered to compel the employer to adhere to past practice in the absence of some term in the agreement which required adherence to the former hours of work. The arbitrator stated that it would be improper for him to find that the practice had become a statutory term or condition of employment or that the employer had refused to bargain about a change therein. The arbitrator denied the grievance.

The view that the contract is the exclusive statement of the bargaining agent's rights and privileges is inconsistent with *Fibreboard*.[61] In addition, a doctrine which is bottomed upon the theory that management has all "residual rights" is also in conflict with the Board developed and court approved principle that a statutory waiver must be expressed and clear. In short, in a unilateral action case, a reference to an arbitrator for a decision of the contract question may well be either a futile gesture or lead to a result in conflict with the policies of the Act. Under such circumstances, is there justification for the Board to delay enforcement of the public command to bargain collectively until an arbitration is had?

We at the Agency are eager to encourage the use of voluntary arbitration by the parties to a collective bargaining agreement. Last year we participated in meetings in Chicago, New York and Los Angeles with members of the Academy at which we explored our mutual problems. The exercise of Agency discretion to defer to arbitration must be determined on a case-by-case basis. We have been and will continue to extend hospitality to the arbitration process without abdicating our statutory responsibilities. We are grateful for your assistance in that important effort.

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[50] See *N.L.R.B.* v. *General Motors Corp.*, 373 U.S. 734.

[51] *Great Lakes Carbon Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 360 F. 2d 19 (C.A. 4).

[52] See *Minnesota Milk Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 314 F. 2d 761 (C.A. 8); *Meat Drivers Local Union 710* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 335 F. 2d 709 (C.A. D.C.); *Truck Drivers Union Local 413* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 334 F. 2d 539 (C.A. D.C.), cert. denied, 379 U.S. 916.

[53] *Great Lakes Carbon Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, *supra; Woodlawn Farm Dairy Company*, 162 NLRB No. 1.

[54] 88 Monthly Labor Review, at p. 764.

[55] 35 LA 154.

[56] *Sorg Printing Co.*, 38 LA 1162; *International Harvester Co.*, 22 LA 583; Smith and Jones, *The Supreme Court and Labor Dispute Arbitration: The Emerging Federal Law*, 63 Michigan Law Review, 751, 804.

[57] 26 LA 428.

[58] See e.g., *N.L.R.B.* v. *Perkins Machine Co.*, 326 F. 2d 488 (C.A. 1); *Timken Roller Bearing Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 325 F. 2d 746, 751 (C.A. 6), certiorari denied, 376 U.S. 971; *N.L.R.B.* v. *Item Co.*, 220 F. 2d 956, 958–959 (C.A. 5), certiorari denied, 350 U.S. 836; *N.L.R.B.* v. *Yawman & Erbe Mfg. Co.*, 187 F. 2d 947, 949 (C.A. 2); *Fafnir Bearing Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 362 F. 2d 716 (C.A. 2).

[59] Elkouri, *How Arbitration Works*, 287–288 (B.N.A., 1960); *C. Finkheiner*, 44 LA 1109; *Bethlehem Steel Company*, 30 LA 678; *Celanese Corp. of America*, 33 LA 925.

[60] Footnote 59, *supra*.

[61] *Fibreboard Paper Products Corp.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 379 U.S. 203, holding that the Act, in certain circumstances, requires bargaining about subcontracting apart from any contractual requirement.

NOMINATION OF HON. ROBERT C. BELLONI TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this morning I had the privilege of presenting to the Committee on the Judiciary, Judge Robert C. Belloni, of Oregon. President Johnson has nominated him for appointment to the Federal district court bench in Oregon.

As the senior Senator from Oregon, it was my honor, in behalf of the President, to present Judge Belloni to the Committee on the Judiciary. My able colleague from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] joined me in giving our senatorial clearance to the President's nomination of Judge Belloni for a Federal judgeship.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement I made at the hearing in support of Judge Belloni's nomination be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WAYNE MORSE ON NOMINATION OF HON. ROBERT C. BELLONI, OF OREGON, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON, MARCH 8, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

It is indeed a privilege to present a native son of the State of Oregon to this Committee as the President's nominee for the important position of Judge of the Federal District Court for the District of Oregon.

Judge Belloni is at present serving as Judge of the Circuit Court of the State of Oregon for Coos and Curry Counties. As a former Dean of the University of Oregon Law School, I consider it a special honor that Judge Belloni, a 1951 graduate of our Law School, should be selected for this judicial position.

Judge Belloni comes to us with a very fine record both as a lawyer and a jurist. The nominee engaged in private practice of the law from the date of his admission to the Bar of the State of Oregon in 1951 until he was appointed to the circuit bench on July 1, 1957 by Governor Robert D. Holmes of Oregon. He has had a distinguished career as an Oregon Circuit Court Judge. He is currently serving as Presiding Judge of the 15th Judicial District of Oregon and has served as President of the Oregon Circuit Judges Association and President of the Oregon Juvenile Court Judges Association.

He has been particularly active in the field of problems of youth and mental health. In that connection, he served as a member of the Governor's Committee on Children and Youth, was awarded the Meritorious Service Award by the Oregon Corrections Association and received a commendation by the Oregon Mental Health Division.

Judge Belloni has been prominent in the field of continuing judicial education. He has participated in the Northwest Conference of Trial Court Judges, the Oregon Juvenile Court Judges Institute, the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges Association and the Oregon Judicial Council's Judicial Seminar. In addition to the enviable record the nominee has established as a jurist, he has engaged extensively in civic, professional and religious activities in his home community. Included in his civic contributions were his terms as Mayor and Councilman of the City of Myrtle Point, Oregon.

Judge Belloni is married. His family consists of his wife, Doris; his son, James, age 14; and his daughter, Susan, age 12.

Late in 1965, the Oregon State Bar conducted a secret ballot poll of its resident active members to determine their preferences among the 14 candidates listed on the ballot as possible appointees to the position of Judge of the Federal District Court for the District of Oregon. Although Judge Belloni does not come from heavily populated section of the State of Oregon, he received an impressive number of votes on the ballot poll and was listed as 5th among the 14 outstanding lawyers under review in the poll.

Just the other day, I was pleased to receive a wire from the President of the Oregon State Bar, Mr. John E. Jaqua, indicating that the State Bar strongly endorses Judge Belloni and urges prompt confirmation of his nomination for the Federal District Judgeship. In addition, I have received many letters from Oregonians manifesting bipartisan support for the nominee. I ask permission that several illustrative letters of this type be included in the hearing record relative to this nomination.

As the members of this Committee well know, some delay has occurred in the filling of this post since Judge East announced his resignation effective as of January 1, 1966. In fairness to the nominee, I should mention that many weeks before the adjournment of the 89th Congress, an informal inquiry was addressed to me by the Department of Justice to ascertain whether I would give approval to Judge Belloni if he should be named to fill the vacancy created by Judge East's resignation. My office informed the Department of Justice that I would give clearance to Judge Belloni and would do so with pleasure.

When Judge Belloni was nominated on January 20, I issued a statement in which I said:

"President Johnson's nomination of Judge Robert C. Belloni, Judge of the Circuit Court for the State of Oregon for the Counties of Coos and Curry, for appointment to fill the vacancy in the Federal District Court for the District of Oregon is a very good nomination.

"Judge Belloni's name was among the list of many well-qualified Oregon Lawyers and Judges who had been recommended by members of the Oregon bench and bar and other sponsors during the past year. Many months ago, I notified the Department of Justice and the White House that I would give Senatorial clearance, under the advise and consent clause of the Constitution, to each individual whose name appeared on that list.

"When I was advised today that the President had decided to recommend Judge Robert C. Belloni as his nominee to fill the Federal District Judgeship vacancy in Oregon, I advised the White House that I would support the nomination.

"I have known Judge Belloni for a number of years, and I have a very high regard for his legal abilities, his unimpeachable character and his judicial qualifications. I am confident that he will make a fine record on the Federal Bench."

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, again I wish to say for the record that I am pleased to give Senatorial clearance under the advise and consent clause of the Constitution, to this nomination. I feel that this is a very good nomination and that Judge Belloni will make a fine record of public service as a Federal District Judge. I urge the Committee to take favorable action and it is my hope that the Senate will confirm this nomination at a very early date.

I thank the members of the Committee for this opportunity to make a statement on behalf of Judge Belloni.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIME PREVENTION

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, it is most appropriate that this week considerable attention is being directed to both law enforcement and crime prevention measures in the Congress of the United States. Just recently, President Johnson has expressed his strong support for measures to more effectively combat crime within this country, and at the present time committee hearings of extreme significance are being conducted in the Senate. I would like to take this opportunity to commend all parties concerned for their efforts in this regard. At the same time, however, I would like to call to the attention of the Senate some of the activities of our law enforcement people in Wyoming and to make a brief report on progress that has been made in the upgrading of our law enforcement personnel.

Shortly after Public Law 89–197, the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, was enacted by the Congress, the office of law enforcement assistance was established within the division of adult education and community services at the University of Wyoming. This new office was established in complete cooperation with the Wyoming Peace Officers Association. An application for funds under Public Law 89–197 was made and subsequently approved. As coordinator of the law enforcement training program, the governing authorities wisely selected Mr. George Nimmo. Mac Nimmo, an outstanding former student of mine, came into this office with unique qualifications and background. In addition to his academic training as a sociologist, he had many years of practical experience as sheriff of one of our larger Wyoming counties. He was well known to all law enforcement personnel throughout the State; in fact, the professional organization selected him "Law Man of the Year" in 1959, and I am certain that all professionals have complete confidence in his ability and his dedication to the law enforcement profession. Likewise, I know that he has the full confidence of and has received complete cooperation from the personnel at the University of Wyoming, particularly Mr. Vincent Picard, assistant professor of the public administration service, and Dr. John W. Gates, director of the division of adult education and community service, with whom he has worked closely on this project.

While we all realize that to some extent Wyoming is considered a rural area, more than 35 percent of our population is contained in cities of 10,000 persons or more. While even this size city is small compared to national standards, these cities do have law enforcement problems similar to those which exist in other cities throughout the country. In order to provide more effective law enforcement and protection to our citizens, it was considered necessary to provide some type of professional training to law enforcement personnel. Historically in our State, most of the training an individual would receive in this regard would be little more than on-the-job training which was conducted by individuals who in many cases had little formal training or instruction in their own right.

During the past few years this situation has been corrected to some extent by short training programs conducted by the Wyoming Law Enforcement Academy. This program also had the complete support and cooperation of the Wyoming Peace Officers Association as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law enforcement agencies. The training under this program consisted largely of a 2-week course which was conducted annually on the campus of the University of Wyoming at Laramie. This program was a complete success and was invaluable in upgrading the quality of law enforcement personnel in Wyoming. It was recognized by all concerned, however, that it was far too limited in its scope and that broader program would be required to meet the needs of our State.

This broader program was established under the office of law enforcement assistance. Under this program each law enforcement officer in the State of Wyoming is given the opportunity of receiving some 36 hours of training annually in various aspects of law enforcement work. These training conferences are held in various areas of the State three times each year. During each conference sessions are conducted both in the morning and in the evening so that all individuals engaged in law enforcement in that particular area can attend and obtain the advantage of the full course of instruction. Under this arrangement the personnel of a law enforcement agency may have 100-percent participation in the training program and at the same time maintain their police duties on a full-time basis. The first series of these conferences was completed just last month and the total number of officers attending these conferences exceeded 300.

This has been an extremely popular program, one that has been widely accepted not only by the particular personnel involved, but also by the people of Wyoming. I am certain that it will result in greater police efficiency and in better law enforcement to the State generally. With the emphasis which has been placed on law enforcement and crime prevention, I thought it would be appropriate to call this matter to the attention of the Senate at this time.

MESSAGE ON SELECTIVE SERVICE

Mr. INOUYE. The President has sent to Congress one of the most important messages we will receive this session. I am referring to the message on Selective Service, which will have a profound impact on the lives of millions of young Americans.

We know that the draft will never be popular, but it can—and must—be fair.

We know that the draft will be with us for the foreseeable future, and the President, in his message, asked that it be extended another 4 years.

We know that the draft is necessary and vital to our national security, and there is no indication that its needs will diminish in the months and years ahead.

Knowing these facts, I believe that the President has acted wisely and responsibly in his message on this vital matter. He has incorporated into his message some of the findings of two distinguished advisory groups. And he has avoided any impulsive or rash actions that would, in my judgment, magnify rather than remedy weaknesses in the system.

We are dealing with matters that literally involve human lives. Every young man inducted into our Armed Forces must face the possibility that he will be called upon to sacrifice his life for his country.

A young man drafted into the Armed Forces must be assured that he is chosen by a system that is absolutely fair and unquestionably consistent.

The President's message is a giant step toward the achievement of these necessary ends. And he has asked Congress and agencies of the Federal Government to deliberate and formulate new proposals and ideas that will advance the goals of efficiency and equity even further.

Improving the Selective Service System is a very serious and complex matter, worthy of the most carefully considered study and reflection. The President has recognized these considerations, and I join with him in the hope that we shall all find the best ways to administer a system that deals with the fate of our sons.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING FOR YOUTH OF CENTRAL AMERICA

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, my trips during the last 2 years to countries in Central and South America have reinforced my long-held belief in the rather obvious truth that human resources are more important than material resources; that people are more important than things.

Obvious as this truth is, we have not always acted as if we really believed it, at least insofar as our foreign aid programs are concerned.

The Alliance for Progress is aimed toward people—people having the social, political, and economic power to do for themselves. More and more, the programs of the Agency for International Development are oriented, not toward doing things for people, but toward doing things with people and, most important, toward helping them do for themselves.

I am increasingly convinced that our programs of assistance in the developing countries of the world must place greater emphasis on the building of people.

More important, even, than the building of a road by the United States or the building of a school is what we can do to help the local people gain the motivation, skills, and organization to build these things and others, themselves.

This is the right approach for two reasons. First, there simply is not enough money in the U.S. Treasury to pay for everything that needs to be done in all of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But, more important, under such a "people-oriented" program, when the road is built, the local people have more than a road; they have a road, but they also have the motivation, self-confidence, skills, and community organization to build and do other things.

The U.S. Peace Corps is engaged in just the kind of program, and I have been pleased with the work of these dedicated Americans as I have viewed it and visited with them in countles rural areas, city slums, and mountain villages throughout Central and South America.

I was much pleased, too, to learn in Guatemala last November of a relatively small but important program in Central America, financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development, which is especially in line with this "people-oriented" philosophy.

I went out to the town of Chichicastenango to visit a bilingual school which is assisted by U.S. AID and CARE. While there, at the request of our AID officials, I presented a scholarship to a young man by the name of Mauro Canu, who had trained to be a primary schoolteacher. Senor Canu had been selected, I was told, to attend an AID-sponsored, 6-week leadership training course at Loyola University in New Orleans. Local AID officials told me with a good deal of enthusiasm that those Guatemalans who had previously taken part in this training course came back home with new motivation and skills to undertake action programs in their own communities. They told me that the program at Loyola University had proved to be so successful that they were organizing and would finance a similar program in-country this year in addition to the Loyola program.

Desiring to know more about the leadership training course, I went to Loyola during the Lincoln Day recess this year and spent 2½ days attending classes and talking with those involved in teaching and administrative roles. I was much impressed.

During my visit, I renewed acquaintance with Senor Mauro Canu, who was then in his fifth week of the 6-week course and who was quite convinced that, as a result of the course, he would be able to be a real instrument for progressive action in his home community upon his return to Guatemala.

It was on June 30, 1964, that the Agency for International Development entered into a contract with Loyola University of New Orleans to provide leadership training for the youth of Central America. The Dominican Republic and Panama have now been added to the list of countries participating in the program, which is the result of the dreams and thought of a remarkably dedicated and knowledgeable man, Father Louis Twomey, S.J., director of the Institute of Human Relations, the parent organization of the Inter-American Center at Loyola, which is the program sponsor.

In Father Twomey's own words.

> The objectives (of the program) . . . are predicated on the possibility of developing within each participant an understanding and an analysis of the fact that change, rather than stagnation, is a fundamental characteristic of society; that change is accelerating throughout the world at varying rates; that the speed of that change can be influenced within certain limitations; and that change from a traditional to a modern society is the critical problem that leaders from the developing nations are called upon to solve.

Each 6-week seminar is made up of approximately 35 individuals who are all members of homogeneous groups from the following institutional sectors of their society. Leaders of credit unions and cooperatives, secondary school educators, leaders of university student groups, leaders of rural communities, civic affairs leaders, leaders of planning groups, and health and welfare personnel.

Using a beginning 8-day sensitivity training course designed by the National Training Laboratories of the National Education Association, field study trips, as well as interpersonal relations with North Americans in family visits and campus activities, instruction from economists, political scientists, and other social scientists, conferences with local private action groups, and the dynamics of group interaction, the students develop skills and techniques for the identifying, analysis, and solution of problems in their home countries.

The students gain, also, a better understanding of the United States and its people through contact with the diverse elements of our social, economic, and political life.

As Father Twomey, again, has said:

> The motivating philosophy at Loyola University Inter-American Center is predicated on the belief that once people learn to identify, analyze and solve problems on the community level in a democratic manner, then they are prepared to exercise their role as citizens in the larger area of sectional, national and regional problems.

More than 400 participants from Central America, Panama, and the Dominican Republic have now completed the 6-week seminar and returned to their home countries to put to use the new knowledge and techniques thus acquired.

A very exciting development and side result of the training course has been the formation of alumni groups within each country whose mutual support has been reinforcing for the plans and activities of each former student as he seeks to develop his home community.

A particular need, now, in connection with the course is for additional financing to provide better followup and to coordinate the work of these former students after they have returned to their homes.

The Inter-America Center at Loyola has developed a system of small grants, privately financed, which can be supplied to former students to get some local activity underway. For example, one student found that a corporate charter was necessary to get a local activity started. A grant arranged by the Inter-American Center provided the $75 required for incorporation.

Closer contact between these former students and the Peace Corps and U.S. AID, after the students have returned to their home countries, is developing and is quite important.

Mr. President, the principal criticism I have of this program is that it is not big enough. For example, instead of 30 students a year from Guatemala, there should be at least 1,000. Perhaps a part of this need will be supplied by the in-country training program begun this year in that country.

I have taken the time of the Senate to invite attention to this leadership training course at the Inter-American Center of Loyola University in New Orleans because I think it exemplifies the finest tradition of our country—that is, the desire to help people help themselves. When we seek to develop human resources, the initial amount of money involved is not so much an expense as an investment. The "multiplier effect" is at work, and the dividends from the investment continue to accrue.

In many of the countries covered by this program, more than 50 percent of the people are outside the dominant culture, outside the money economy, and are existing at bare subsistence levels.

Improved mass communication is ending the isolation of these people from the rest of the people of their country and the world. A growing sense of relative deprivation is setting in.

Individually, as citizens of the United States of America, and collectively, as a country, we have a moral responsibility to these people which we cannot avoid or ignore. Moreover, unless we give attention to them and their needs, these deprived people, whose numbers are growing and whose restlessness and dissatisfaction is mounting, may yet shake the foundations of our own security and affluence.

That is why, Mr. President, though it is a small effort, I am pleased to see our Government supporting the leadership training course at the Inter-American Center of Loyola University in New Orleans. For as Father Twomey has said:

> Indeed, the mustard seed has been planted and the tree it begets is developing.

RESOLUTION BY GULF COAST ROD, REEL, & GUN CLUB, BEAUMONT, TEX.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of a resolution passed by the membership of the Gulf Coast Rod, Reel & Gun Club, Inc., of Beaumont.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE GULF COAST ROD, REEL & GUN CLUB, INC., AT ITS REGULAR MEETING HELD ON MAY 18, 1966

"Resolved that, whereas, it is the consensus of the membership of the Gulf Coast Rod, Reel and Gun Club, Inc., of Beaumont, Texas, as well as the opinion of practically all conservationists of the State of Texas, that Texas Pollution Laws are woefully inadequate, unenforceable and, apparently, deeply embroiled in politics; and

"Whereas, it is the opinion of the membership of this club that we must publicly acknowledge that our Texas State Pollution laws have completely broken down, resulting in the wanton destruction of marine life and wildlife, as a result of wholesale pollution on the part of industry, municipalities and individuals; and

"Whereas, it is the further opinion of the membership of this club that such continued disregard for the protection of the public waters of our State poses a serious threat to the health of the citizens of and visitors to, our great State of Texas; now,

"Therefore, be it resolved that the Gulf Coast Rod, Reel and Gun Club, Inc., as a conservation group of individuals, appeal to the Federal authorities to take over the enforcement of Federal Pollution laws for the protection of public waters of our State and, further, that this appeal be directed to The Department of the Interior and its department of Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife, to the Secretary of the Treasury, to all United States Senators and Representatives, and particularly such Senators and Representatives from the State of Texas and, further, that we urge the Federal authorities to not only enforce present Federal Pollution laws, but that the Congress appropriately strengthen such Federal Pollution laws, and that enforcement of such Federal Pollution Laws be placed as the responsibility of various departments of our Federal Government, with particular enforcement responsibility being placed with and assumed by representatives of the U.S. Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife, and by officers and representatives of the U.S. Customs Service."

I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of Resolution adopted at the regular meeting of the Gulf Coast Rod, Reel and Gun Club, Inc., at its regular meeting held under date of May 18, 1966, and further, that the membership present at such meeting did authorize the release of this Resolution to all news media in the Beaumont, Port Arthur, Houston and Galveston area, and to the various departments of the Federal Government named in such Resolution, as well as to all United States Senators and Representatives.

JUDGE ALBERT A. RIDGE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, in the death last Thursday, March 2, of Judge Albert A. Ridge, of Kansas City, we lost a fine American who had written an outstanding record in the circuit court of Missouri, the district Federal bench for western Missouri, and in the U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals.

As presented in an editorial in the Kansas City Star of March 4, Judge Ridge "was knowledgeable, scrupulously fair and industrious." He was known throughout the bar for "his dedication to the dignity and obligations of the law. Beneath the formality, he saw the men and women who came before him as human beings, never as numbers on a docket."

Judge Ridge was first encouraged to adopt the law as a profession by his longtime friend, Harry S. Truman, in whose battery he had served following his enlistment in the Army at the age of 17.

Because of the poor health of his father, young Albert Ridge had left school when he was 14 years old to help support the family. His first job was as a railroad messenger. He later worked as a golf club caddy and an office boy for an investment company in Kansas City—all this before World War I.

At the end of the war, while serving as a deputy clerk in the Jackson County Circuit Court, at the urging of Mr. Truman he entered the Kansas City Law School at night and passed the Missouri bar examination in 1923, 2 months before he was graduated from law school.

After serving 12 years on the Jackson County Circuit Court, Judge Ridge was appointed to the Federal District Court for Western Missouri on April 7, 1945, the last appointment made by President Roosevelt before his death. My colleague from Missouri [Mr. LONG] and I recommended him for elevation to the Court of Appeals in 1961, and his was one of the first judicial appointments by President Kennedy. At the time, Judge Ridge's ability was so highly regarded by the bar and the general public in Missouri that no one else from our State was considered for that position.

Because of failing health, Judge Ridge retired on April 16, 1965, but continued to accept special assignments in the eighth circuit. His participation in the work of the court continued until last summer, when he was no longer able to go to his office.

The presence of this distinguished jurist, respected by all who knew him, is missed in the U.S. courthouse in Kansas City, but his years of service on the bench and to the profession he loved and honored will long be an influence for good. I join with all his friends and associates in deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article published in the Kansas City Times of March 3 and an editorial published in the Kansas City Star of March 4, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City Times, Mar. 3, 1967]

JUDGE RIDGE IS DEAD AT AGE 68—RETIRED JURIST DIES AT HOSPITAL AFTER LONG ILLNESS—INSPIRED BY TRUMAN—HE BEGAN STUDY OF LAW ON ADVICE OF EX-PRESIDENT

Judge Albert A. Ridge, 68 years old, retired jurist of the U.S. Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, died yesterday at Baptist Memorial hospital following a long illness.

He had served as a judge of the Jackson County Circuit court and the U.S. District court prior to his appointment to the Court of Appeals in 1961. Born in 1898, in Nevada, Mo., the judge had lived nearly all his life in Kansas City.

ENCOURAGED BY TRUMAN

Judge Ridge, who was encouraged to adopt the law as a profession by his longtime friend, Harry S. Truman, was appointed to the Jackson County Circuit court in December, 1934, by Gov. Guy B. Park. Only 10 years before the appointment he had served as a deputy clerk of the same court while attending night classes at the old Kansas City School of Law.

On April 7, 1945, he was appointed to the Federal District court here by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the recommendation of Truman, then vice-president. It was the last appointment made by President Roosevelt before his death April 12, 1945.

The influence of Truman again was significant, along with that of another close friend and associate, Judge Richard M. Duncan of the Federal District court, in the elevation of Judge Ridge to the Court of Appeals. His ability was so highly regarded that no one else was considered for the position.

Because of his father's poor health, Ridge left school when he was 14 years old to help support the family. His first job was as a messenger for the Kansas City Terminal railway. Three years later, after working as a caddy at the old Evanston Golf club, he was employed by the Maxwell Investment company as an office boy.

When the United States entered World War I, Ridge, then 17 years old, enlisted in the Army and was assigned to Battery D, under the command of Capt. Harry S. Truman. This association provided the basis of a close friendship and one that was to have a profound influence on his life.

With the end of the war Ridge returned to Kansas City where another friendship formed during the war, this with the late James M. Pendergast, a nephew of Thomas J. Pendergast, political boss, led to his appointment as deputy clerk of the Jackson County circuit court.

He served under Judge Clarence A. Burney and soon became intrigued with the practice of law. On the suggestion of Judge Samuel A. Dew, who had succeeded Judge Burney, he entered law school.

Much of his studying was done on the balcony of the haberdashery shop operated by Truman and the late Eddie Jacobson at Twelfth street and Baltimore avenue. Truman became so interested in the law through his discussions at the shop with young Ridge that he enrolled in law school himself.

Ridge passed the Missouri Bar examination in 1923, two years before he was graduated from law school. For the next 10 years, until his appointment as a judge of the circuit court, he was associated with James P. Aylward and Frank P. Walsh, in law practice. Then, in 1945, came the appointment to the U.S. district court for the western district of Missouri. He succeeded Judge Merrill Otis.

As a federal judge his scholarly opinions and decisive manner soon won him distinction as a "no-nonsense" jurist who adhered strictly to the rules of procedure and who ran the courtroom with a firm grip. He was held in high esteem by his colleagues on the bench and lawyers. He often was referred to as "the judge's judge." His tall, black-robed figure, iron-gray hair and stern countenance dominated the courtroom.

On April 16, 1965, because of failing health, Judge Ridge officially retired from the Court of Appeals. He was succeeded by Judge Floyd R. Gibson, who had followed him on the district court here. He continued to hear cases on the Appellate court by assignment until his condition became grave in the summer of 1966 and he no longer was able to go to his office in the federal courthouse 811 Grand avenue.

His retirement, followed a month later by the retirement of his friend, Judge Duncan, signified the end of an era in the federal court here. For two decades these jurists, along with Judge Albert L. Reeves, who retired in 1954, served notice to the underworld that the phrase "hard, swift, federal justice," meant just that.

Though he enjoyed his work on the Appellate court, Judge Ridge's heart remained in the district court where most of his judicial career was spent. He once remarked:

"An appellate judge is what remains after he has been removed from the arena of courtroom trial where the excitement and virtues of trial court atmosphere seemingly are what the crowd admires. It is particularly fascinating, if one is inclined to be studious and likes a somewhat secluded life; but it lacks the glamour of the trial courts. I miss that glamour."

In reviewing his career Judge Ridge never failed to give credit for his success to his wife, the former Miss Margaret Gamble, whom he married in 1922.

"If anyone deserves credit for helping me during those early days of night school and law practice it is my wife, Peg. She was making twice as much money as I. She really kept us going in those days," the judge once recalled.

Besides his wife, the judge leaves two children, Albert A. Ridge, jr., and Miss Kathy Ridge.

The home is at 1 East Sixty-fifth Street.

Judge Ridge was a member of St. Peter's Catholic church and of its Holy Name, society. He was an Oblate of St. Benedict, a director of the Liberty Memorial association and an honorary director of Rockhurst college. .He was a member of the Hillcrest Country club, the Conboy-Nichols American Legion post and the Kansas City and American Bar associations and the Missouri bar.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Margaret Ridge of the home; a son, Albert A. Ridge, jr., 5718 Rockhill Road, and Miss Mary Katherine Ridge of the home, and three grandchildren.

Services will be held at 9 o'clock Monday at the church; burial in Mount Olivet cemetery. The rosary will be said at 2:30 o'clock Sunday by St. Anthony's auxiliary and at 3:30 o'clock by the parish, both at the Melody-McGilley-Eylar chapel, Linwood and Main, where friends may call after 5 o'clock Saturday.

The family requests no flowers and suggests contributions to the Little Sisters of the Poor or the Benedictine Convent of Perpetual Adoration.

[From the Kansas City Star, Mar. 4, 1967]

JUDGE ALBERT A. RIDGE

Judge Albert A. Ridge, who died this week, had served on the state or federal bench in this area for more than 30 years. He was knowledgeable, scrupulously fair and industrious. Sometimes he appeared to be a very grim man. That was because of his dedication to the dignity and obligations of the law. Beneath the formality, he saw the men and women who came before him as human beings, never as numbers on a docket.

Albert Ridge became a Jackson County circuit judge in 1934, long before the nonpartisan court system was considered as a possibility for Missouri. A long friendship with Harry S. Truman didn't hurt. But the truth is, Judge Ridge was one of those jurists produced by the political system who happened to be top-flight. All through the general movement to a nonpartisan judicial system, no one ever questioned the qualifications of Albert Ridge.

He showed remarkable foresight in arranging for pre-trial conferences years before this reform was recognized as one of the basic means to speed justice and clear the backlog of cases. And in those days it took some courage to go out on a limb so unbolstered by precedent.

Albert Ridge was a stern man in court who agonized alone over most of his decisions. Those who knew him well say that he was a gentleman from boyhood, a hard worker whose early life was not easy. He drove himself and he demanded a certain degree of decorum before the bench. His purpose was equal justice of formal law based on a human understanding by the judge in charge. And Judge Albert A. Ridge always was in charge.

SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS COMMENDS CAMP GARY, TEX., JOB CORPS CENTER OF OEO

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the achievements of the Gary Job Corps Center in San Marcos, Tex., are the subject of an excellent editorial published in the San Antonio Express of March 6, 1967.

As one of the stanch supporters of President Johnson's antipoverty program, I point with pride to the achievements of my fellow Texans in San Marcos. The Gary Job Corps Center with its record of 70 percent effectiveness is almost unique among OEO programs. Statistics alone, however, do not tell the story of the 3,000 young Americans who have successfully completed their training at Gary. Embarked upon new careers, these young people can now enjoy the self-respect which comes in knowing they are productive members of society.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the San Antonio Express, Mar. 6, 1967]

Gary Job Corps 3 Years Producing Gratifying Results

Gary Job Corps Centers is three years old and can modestly claim to be one of the best of its kind in the country. It is the largest and it is a diversified, well-operated vocational and technical training center with a record of success that would do credit to any institution.

Job Corps enrollees have been about 70 per cent successful, an excellent achievement. Gary has trained and helped to place some 3,000 young men. Another 3,000 are now enrolled in the 37 vocational classes and shops at the center.

A better statistic is the report of Harold Massey, director of placement. He reports a shortage of workers available to take job offers despite a monthly graduation rate of about 200 men.

Gary is a dramatic demonstration that many young men in disadvantageous circumstances will take advantage of a break if they can get it. In modern America, with the dislocations and competition of fast and heavy urbanization, many young people are overwhelmed by lack of opportunity or the lack of a chance to create opportunity. The Job Corps great and lasting value will be to overcome that lack. Gary is doing it for many who clearly appreciate it and are taking advantage of it to the advantage of employers who need skilled people.

THE PENNSYLVANIA INSURANCE SCANDAL

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the writing of high-risk automobile insurance in Pennsylvania is taking on scandalous proportions. It is now estimated that 43 percent of the companies writing such policies in the State have gone bankrupt in the past 5 years.

We know of 19 companies which are now insolvent, leaving behind a trail covered by millions of dollars in unsatisfied claims for injuries and property damage. Pennsylvania, I am told by the staff of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, has the highest number and the highest percentage of insolvencies.

It also has the lowest rate of recovery for persons with bona fide claims against these companies.

It seems to me it is high time the Senate takes a long, hard look at the problems growing up in the States where insurance commissions have stood by while unconscionable business practices are allowed to flourish.

The background of just one of these insolvencies in Pennsylvania was told in the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin of March 5, 1967. This is a story complete with stolen stock being used as collateral for the sale of the insurance company's assets.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the article entitled "Faceless Ones Sought in Sale of Stolen IBM Stock," written by Rowland Moriarty and Duke Kaminski, and published in the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin of March 5, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin, Mar. 5, 1967]

"Faceless Ones" Sought in Sale of Stolen IBM Stock—Conservative Adams County Jolted by Insurance Scandal

(By Rowland Moriarty and Duke Kaminski)

Since before the Civil War the Adams County area around Gettysburg, Pa., has been a center for thrifty, conservative and highly successful insurance operations.

Few big-city insurance firms had reached out to this quiet, rural countryside.

Local farmers and businessmen organized their own mutual insurance firms. And they prospered, into the millions of dollars.

BUCOLIC HARTFORD

A modern, colonial-style insurance complex was built on Gettysburg's Biglerville road, referred to by some as the local Taj Mahal. To insurance men it was a thriving Hartford in a bucolic setting.

Then, on Dec. 27, the community was shaken. The State Insurance Commission suspended the Bankers Allied Mutual Insurance Co., when a deficit, or shrinkage of assets, of about $6.9 million, was disclosed, along with $5.9 million in unpaid claims, mostly from automobile accidents.

Last week the community got another shock. Stock certificates valued at $1.1 million stolen last summer from a New York securities firm were found in a Harrisburg bank.

PLEDGED AS COLLATERAL

The stock had been pledged as collateral by undisclosed out-of-state interests, for the purchase of the Bankers Telephone Employes Insurance Co., a stock firm which is a sister to Bankers Allied.

No action has been taken against Bankers Telephone, but two of its officers have been subpenaed to appear tomorrow in Dauphin County Court, Harrisburg, to explain how the stolen stock certificates came into the firm's possession.

Some of the history of insurance in Adams County was recounted last week by P. Emory ("Pat") Weaver, insurance executive and president of the Gettysburg Rotary Club.

EX-FARM BOY'S IDEA

He told how in 1954 a successful one-time Adams County farm boy, John E. Hostetter, came back with an idea. Hostetter believed there was money in insuring motorcycles, a coverage handled by few insurance companies at that time. He organized Bankers Allied.

Hostetter, now in his 50s, lives on a farm estate outside of town, has a home in Florida, flies his own planes. He is highly regarded. He does not figure in either of the two inquiries.

At Bankers Allied, he filled his executive positions and board of directors with local men. "Pat" Weaver served as a director. There were no out-of-town men—men known to the community now as the "faceless ones."

SHOWPLACE BUILT

In 1957, Hostetter organized Bankers Insurance Co. of Pensylvania, a stock firm capitalized at $100,000, with himself as controlling stockholder.

Hostetter's two firms prospered and expanded. In the early 1960s he built the showplace Bankers Insurance Group, Building, adjoining historic Oak Ridge.

Hostetter's success was shared with the general business community. He formed a Lincoln Insurance Group, unrelated to his other enterprises, and this prospered also.

There were changes in names of various firms, and in December, 1963, from a merger, came the Bankers and Telephone Employes Insurance Co. This had been a Maryland firm.

In the summer of 1965, Hostetter and his associates divested themselves of Bankers Allied and Bankers Telephone Employes, selling them to what has been described as a "Norfolk group," of whom little is known locally.

Weaver recalls meeting the spokesman for the Norfolk group not long after they took control. He says this official had resignations typed out for him and all the other local men on the board to sign.

"We got our walking papers as soon as they took over," Weaver said, smiling.

The Norfolk group remained "faceless" to the community, even to nearly all the employes.

But in time, the Norfolk group sold out. The Insurance Commission says that two other groups bought and sold the two firms after the Norfolk men departed.

SOLD TO NORFOLK GROUP

In December, 1965, the present ownership of record purchased Bankers Allied and Bankers Telephone. Edward A. Chase is listed as president of Bankers Allied and Charles Phillips as secretary.

Bankers Allied controls Bankers Telephone through ownership of about 60 percent of the second firm's stock. Both Chase and Phillips are from the Miami, Fla., area.

According to the Insurance Commission, Bankers Allied had a $650,000 surplus when the Chase-Phillips combine took over.

But the commission says that six months later, in June of last year, the assets had shrunk $6.9 million and there were millions in unpaid claims.

On Dec. 27, 1966, Mrs. Audrey R. Kelly, then state insurance commissioner, suspended Bankers Allied. Last Feb. 8, Commonwealth Court at Harrisburg ordered the firm liquidated.

Meanwhile, Bankers Telephone was doing very well, according to its 1965 statement, with assets of $4,898,010, liabilities of $1,579,000 and a listed surplus of about $1.3 million. The firm's 1966 report has not yet been made public.

NEW OFFICERS INSTALLED

In the latter part of 1966, a new group of officers was installed to head Bankers Telephone, with Morris Landsman, of Malvern, N.Y., the president. Other officers listed are vice president and treasurer—Walter J. Vreeland, of Melbourne Beach, Fla.; vice president—Richard S. Gladwell, of Miami; John Markham, secretary. Markham's address is listed as the company's address in Gettysburg.

Bankers Telephone was on the market in the latter part of 1966. It was reportedly sold, with the price $150,000 in cash and stock collateral valued at about $1.1 million.

The stock collateral is 26 black and white stock certificates each for 100 shares of International Business Machines Corp. common stock.

Last week an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation went to a safe deposit box in the Harrisburg National Bank and Trust Co. and took possession of the stock.

The FBI said the stock had been stolen from the New York City brokerage firm of Hayden, Stone, Inc., some time between July 13, 1966, and Aug. 26, 1966. During that time, the FBI said, 5,000 shares of IBM stock were stolen from the brokerage firm.

"The stock certificates recovered in Harrisburg," the FBI said, "account for the major portion of the stolen securities."

Insurance Commissioner David O. Maxwell said the stock, valued at $425 a share, had been pledged as collateral by undisclosed out-of-state interests to the surplus account of the Bankers and Telephone Employes Insurance Co.

SUBPENAS SERVED

For tomorrow's hearing in the Dauphin County Court at Harrisburg, Commissioner Maxwell said, subpenas have been served on

Gladwell and Markham, the vice president and secretary of Bankers and Telephone Employes Insurance Co. Maxwell said they were located at the firm's Gettyburg offices.

"We are also seeking to serve subpenas on the other officers and directors," Maxwell said, "although I'm not sure we'll be successful, since all live out of the state."

The directors are: Eugene Milgram, of Coral Gables, Fla.; Robert Fellmy and Irvin Schwartz, of Miami; Harris D. Segat, of Old Bethpage, N.Y.; Saul H. Zalk, of Woodmere, N.Y., and Robert I. Rosenbloom and D. Ritchard McCall, using the address of the James Company, New York insurance brokers.

OFFERED $150,000

The out-of-state group, for reasons which Maxwell says elude him, offered Jan. 10 to buy the stock insurance company from the financially-distressed Bankers Allied.

The group, despite an Insurance Department audit which showed the insurance company as of last June 30 to have a deficit of $437,224.47, offered the mutual company $150,000 for all outstanding stock of the company.

In a move to rehabilitate the company, the group also pledged payment of $50,000 in cash and 2,600 shares of IBM stock into the company's surplus, to permit payment of claims.

The insurance company had been inactive since last October, agreeing not to write policies pending the outcome of negotiations for sale of the company.

On Feb. 8, Maxwell was advised that the deal was going through.

Maxwell said Bruce E. Cooper, local lawyer representing the new owners, on that day advised him that he had received the stock certificates from secretary Markham and had deposited them for the company in a safe deposit box of the Harrisburg Bank.

Maxwell asked the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission to place a valuation on the stock. The SEC asked for the certificate numbers, and after finding that the certificates had been reported stolen last fall, called the FBI.

The FBI agent obtained a search warrant from a U.S. commissioner and seized the 26 stock certificates.

COURT MATTER

The court was asked to permit the FBI to retain possession until the ownership of the securities has been decided.

This is the matter to be decided at tomorrow's hearing.

Attorney General William C. Sennett believes that the insurance company owns the stock if fair value and good intent was involved in its acquisition, Sennett said the Uniform Commercial Code covers such situations.

The Insurance Co. of North America believes otherwise. The Philadelphia-based insurance company has posted a $2 million bond for Hayden, Stone which has asked IBM to cancel the certificates for the original 5,000 stolen shares of stock.

The Philadelphia company will be represented at tomorrow's hearing.

STOCK IS NEGOTIABLE

The stolen certificates are all in IBM's CM and CN stock certificate series. Only five of the 26 certificates have consecutive numbers, running from CN571555 through 9.

The certificates are endorsed in blank, making them theoretically negotiable to anyone having possession.

To date, only 600 shares of the stolen stock have been recovered. Four persons were arrested last year for attempting to sell the stock to a Montreal bank.

With the 2,600 shares here, another 1,800 shares of Hayden, Stone's IBM stock still is missing.

In the meantime, the price of the stock has been increasing.

IBM was selling for $365 a share when the 2,600 shares were brought to town last month. The stock closed Friday at $440 a share.

THE COMPUTER AND INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, when one hears the word "privacy," his first thoughts go to wiretapping and eavesdropping. But there is another aspect of privacy which—though little understood—may be even more important in the years to come. This is the role of the computer as it relates to problems of individual privacy.

Recently, the senior Senator from North Carolina, Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr., spoke to the American Management Association in New York City on this very subject. Senator ERVIN points out that—

> We have nothing to fear from the computer as a machine. Alone, its use does not threaten individual privacy. The threat of privacy comes from men.

Senator ERVIN is to be commended for his interest and his contribution in this area of privacy. As he mentioned in his speech, he took a day off from his senatorial duties to visit a computer center to see for himself how some of these machines actually work, what their limitations and capacities are, and what dangers they actually pose to the privacy of the individual. He concludes that—

> Having seen the computer in action, I believe the industry is capable of devising safeguards against improper access to the computerized information, against illegal tapping of computers, and against purloining of data in shared computers.

Mr. President, on Tuesday and Wednesday of next week, my Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure intends to explore fully the role of the computer and individual privacy. I believe Senator ERVIN's speech is a good starting point to our understanding of this complex problem, and I ask unanimous consent that his entire remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMPUTER AND INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY

(By U.S. Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., before the American Management Association, New York City, Mar. 6, 1967)

Thank you for inviting me to share your meeting to discuss computers and privacy with you today.

When you extended your invitation to talk about this subject, I am sure it was on the basis of a belief that I knew something about privacy. My knowledge about the other half of the topic—computers—reminded me of my first job. It was right after I finished high school, and I was working with a construction crew. On the first day I was pushing a wheelbarrow and my boss called out and asked what I was doing.

I replied, "They told me to carry dirt in this wheelbarrow." The boss said, "You put that right down—you know you don't know anything about machinery."

The fact is, I still don't. I do know something about the right to privacy and, from the complaints coming to the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, I know a little about the effects of computerized questionnaires on the public and on government employees, in particular. But when I received your invitation, I knew nothing whatever about the computer as a machine. I realized that it represented a force which exercises a momentous influence for good in many areas of our national life. Yet it appears from press and scholarly accounts to threaten the individual in a yet undefined way.

So I took a day off from my Senate duties and I visited a computer center to see for myself how some of these machines actually work, what their limitations and capacities are, and what dangers they actually pose to the privacy of the individual. I studied the diagrams, watched demonstrations and listened to an expert engineer lecture on the computers.

As I watched the computer spieling out reams of stored reports, erasing its own mistakes, and beginning again, it occurred to me that science has finally managed to disprove the observation—undisputed for almost 900 years—of the tentmaker, Omar Khayyam, when he said:

"The moving finger writes; and having writ,
moves on:
Nor all thy piety nor wit shall lure it back
to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it."

Not only do we lure it back, but cancel lines, alter them, and wash them out completely, not with tears, but with the touch of a button.

In short, by a computer we can control completely what has been recorded of our lives.

But the computer is only a machine. As one editor has said, we can always pull out the plug.

The belief that the computer is a threat to society must ultimately rest on the premise that man is a mass of atoms in a world of chaos; that a machine can be developed which can duplicate the function of man's brain; and that there exists the possibility, direly foretold in scientific-fiction stories, that man may lose control of the machine he has created—or that man may re-create himself in the image of a machine. But I affirm with complete conviction that the universe and man are not the haphazard product of blind atoms wandering aimlessly about in chaos, but, on the contrary, are the creations of God, the Maker of the universe and man.

The computer is a wondrous invention. We can be proud of living in a society and an economy which have made it possible to produce such devices and put them to the service of mankind. I once jokingly mentioned that the day may come when we will replace politicians with computers. Judging from some of the reasoning of politicians I've seen over the years, I know I would sooner take the logic of a computer. The machine may suffer the same lack of intelligence as some politicians, but at least there is consistency in its idiocy.

If ever we are threatened by a computer "take-over", it will be due to a flame-out of our human creativity, our national ingenuity, and our ability to respond in new ways to new problems. It would be similar to the spoof which appeared in *Esquire* magazine some months ago of the computer take-over of the State Department. The thesis of the article was that our responses to world situations over the years had become so standardized and routine that they could be programmed for all future time. The story, as I recall, ends with the Secretary of State and upper-level officials replaced by the computer, picketing the White House for restoration of their jobs.

On the basis of my own study, I came to the conclusion that we have nothing to fear from the computer as a machine. Alone, its use does not threaten individual privacy.

The threat to privacy comes from men—from the motives of political executives, from the ingenuity of managers, and the carelessness of technicians. And that threat is there whether the data is placed in metal file drawers, storage drums or in electronic computers.

Whatever the method of storage and retrieval, administrators acquiring and recording information have a duty to respect the individual's privacy and his basic right to fairness at the hand of those who wield economic, government, or social power over him.

They have a duty to assure that the personal data collected and filed is relevant, absolutely necessary for management goals, that it is cleansed of emotion-charged, subjective, arbitrary judgments, and that it is not the distillation of unconfronted and unevaluated evidence.

Secondly, coincident with these standards there must be strict adherence to rules governing improper access and improper use of data.

If these principles of good management are observed, much of the concern over privacy issues will be lifted from executive shoulders.

Stripped of all the rhetoric and the sensationalism, the privacy of the individual employee or citizen depends ultimately on the ethical and moral judgments of management.

How to assure that the decisions of administrators reflect the constitutional values, the habits, mores and traditions of the society they serve is a problem which should concern Congress, state legislatures and members of organizations such as the American Management Association.

In an era dominated not only by scientific technology but by the need for rapid and efficient decision-making on a grand scale, how can the goals of public and private management be reconciled with the individual's right to retain certain areas of his thoughts, beliefs, words and actions, free of interference?

I want to talk with you today about the implications of the electronic computer in theory and in practice. As a point of reference, I would use a study of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the rights of 3 million civilian employees of the Federal government.

Computer experts and those who plan for automatic data processing can take their cues from Federal experience with other management tools.

Too often, I think, an agency or organization may seize upon a device or technique with the best intentions in the world of achieving some laudable goal. Giving little thought to alternatives which might be less offensive or blatant, they bow in awe to the expertise of the specialist and too often surrender to him their control of policy. In the process, they may deny the dignity of the individual, the sense of fair play, or the right of the citizen in a free society to privacy of his thoughts and activities.

Do they want to check his mental health, or his capacity to fit into the organization—his conformity to the prevailing norm? They subject him to personality tests and make a record of his responses to questions asking:

I am very seldom troubled by constipation.

My sex life is satisfactory.

At times I feel like swearing.

I have never been in trouble because of my sex behavior.

I do not always tell the truth.

I have not lived the right kind of life.

I have no difficulty in starting or holding my bowel movements.

I am very strongly attracted by members of my own sex.

I like poetry.

I go to church almost every week.

I believe in the second coming of Christ.

I believe in a life hereafter.

My mother was a good woman.

I believe my sins are unpardonable.

I have used alcohol excessively.

I loved my Mother.

I believe there is a God.

Many of my dreams are about sex matters.

At periods my mind seems to work more slowly than usual.

They asked him in another test to answer:

I am considered a liberal "dreamer" of new ways rather than a practical follower of well-tried ways. (a) true, (b) uncertain, (c) false.

When telling a person a deliberate lie I have to look away, being ashamed to look him in the eye. (a) true, (b) uncertain, (c) false.

I think the spread of birth control is essential to solving the world's economic and peace problems (a) yes, (b) uncertain, (c) no.

I think it is wiser to keep the nation's military forces strong than just to depend on international goodwill. (a) yes, (b) in between, (c) no.

Do they want to make extra sure an applicant for a secretarial or research job is fit to handle confidential information? They strap him to a psuedo-scientific device called a lie-detector and make a record of whether or not he gives the right answers to such questions as:

How many times have you had sexual intercourse?

When was the first time you had intercourse with your wife?

Did you have intercourse with her before you were married? How many times?

We found that under pain of prosecution for perjury, Federal personnel have had to fill out medical history questionnaires asking many questions such as:

Has any blood relation or husband or wife ever had: syphilis, cancer, asthma, hives, epilepsy?

Have you ever had or have you now: frequent trouble sleeping; bed wetting; nervous trouble of any sort; homosexual tendencies?

Have you ever: been pregnant, attempted suicide, stuttered or stammered?

and many other questions.

When I saw this form, I was reminded of William Faulkner's comment that men ain't evil; they jest ain't got any sense.

Before they consider a man for any opening in government, he must file forms giving all the details of his life, every job he ever held and the reasons for his leaving; his complete medical history; whether he ever had a nervous breakdown; the organizations he belongs to; every place he ever traveled outside the country; and many other details of his personal life.

Do they want to prevent conflict of interest? They make a record every six months of the employee's creditors, assets, liabilities, property, his household furnishings and outside activities, and those of members of his family.

Do they want to discharge a fault-finding employee without a drawnout hearing with due process rights or the chance to challenge the evidence? They force him to submit to a psychiatric examination by a government doctor and make a record that he was involuntarily retired on psychiatric grounds.

Are they trying to push a savings bond or a charity campaign drive over the top to please the Secretary of the Department or the President of the organization, or the President of the United States of America? Then watch them coerce an employee to make a donation or buy one more bond, and then make a punch-card record of his unwillingness, his lack of team spirit. Watch them record it also on the military evaluation report of a soldier up for promotion and put that in the computer for future decisions on the man's ability.

And what if they want to find out if the company or agency personnel officer has been discriminating, or if supervisors are biased against Indians? They hand every employee an IBM card with his name, birthdate and social security number and tell him to state his race or ethnic or national origin.

Even if he is applying for a nonsensitive position, a person has to complete a form which asks for all identifying numbers, his armed services serial numbers, social security number, passport number, alien registration number, and all others; the organizations with which he is affiliated, the dates and places of residence back to 1937 or his 16th birthday; and the dates, names and addresses of his employers back to 1937.

It is clear how easily a check of government and private files and computers can produce a dossier on him for a nonsecurity investigation. How much more comprehensive must the check be for a sensitive position?

These are true incidents, but only samples, of many practices prevalent in the Federal government as well as private industry.

Letters received by Members of Congress often reveal a visceral reaction to increased use of computers or the establishment of computerized data centers. If all these things can happen to employees now, they reason, how much easier should we make it to obtain, store, and retrieve all available information on any citizen? That we enjoy the amount of privacy that we do have is probably due more than anything to the inefficiency of government and private industry in correlating and assembling all the information they already have.

Science, improperly applied, does threaten the liberty of the individual. One solution, of course, is the education of the expert, the technician and the specialist to the civil liberties aspects of their particular roles. Another is the education of the generalist in the agency or organization to the capacities and potentials of the methods used to obtain information on which their decisions are based. This is one of the contributions of conferences such as this one.

The sensational publicity attending each revelation of the computer's capacity to duplicate man's activities adds to the thinking citizen's innate fear of loss of control over his own environment. It is this fear of loss of identity as an individual, of becoming nothing but a punch card or a dot on a magnetic tape that has prompted the public concern, and which in turn has alerted Members of Congress.

Yet I have the impression from Congressional mail that private citizens in their concern are sometimes willing to throw the baby out with the wash. They forget that the fact that our economy and our government run as smoothly and efficiently as they do in certain areas is due to the timely and carefully programmed use of computers and automatic data processing. And they forget that all collection and storage of data from individuals is not necessarily a threat to the citizen. Rather, it makes possible greater services to individuals and greater mobility for our society. The contributions of medical data centers to the savings of lives is one example.

Last June, the President approved a Budget Bureau Report as a blueprint for action in the processing of information. He sent a memorandum to the heads of all departments and agencies of government and ordered them to "explore and apply all possible means to use the electronic computer to do a better job, and to manage computer activity at the lowest possible cost."

"I want my administration to give priority emphasis to both of these objectives—nothing else will suffice," he stated.

He reminded them that the computer is making it possible to:

Send men and satellites into space.

Make significant strides in medical research.

Add several billions of dollars to our revenue through improved tax administration.

Administer the huge and complex social security and medicare programs.

Manage a multi-billion dollar defense logistics system.

Speed the issuance of G.I. insurance dividends, at much less cost.

Save lives through better research and rescue operations.

Harness atomic energy for peaceful uses.

Design better but less costly highways and structures.

In 1966, 2,600 computers were in use in government, with many more being used in government-sponsored research. Seventy-one thousand people were employed in the Federal government alone, just to operate the machinery.

If all of the Federal managers heed the old infantry drill regulation that a request from a superior is equivalent to a command, it is clear that computers are here to stay. We are not going to turn our backs on progress and reject the benefits of technological advances. But we cannot afford to ignore the theoretical and practical implications of their increased use.

Some people say that the advent of the computer requires new sets of values, a rethinking of basic principles. I disagree. True, the framers of the Constitution did not provide for the computer when they laid out the blueprint for our government. But they did provide an ethical and moral framework for administrative decision-making, and this includes decisions on the fair use of computers. The specific limitations set on the government's power over individuals reflect the quality of the society we were expected to enjoy two hundred years later.

Consistent with the traditions of Anglo-American jurisprudence, they sought also to provide a climate in which substantive due process would prevail wherever the individual was subjected to institutionalized power. That government would not sanction the deprival of his property or freedoms without due process of law was their promise to future generations.

These men undertook: "to secure conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness. They recognized the significance of man's spiritual nature, of his feelings and of his intellect. They knew that only a part of the pain, pleasure and satisfactions of life are to be found in material things. They sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions, and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men."

Historically and philosophically, we are dedicated as a people to the idea of liberty and the spirit of fair play.

To the extent that computers make it possible to assimilate in one spot all information filed on a person, to feed it into a machine and retrieve it instantly, the power of surveillance over a citizen is increased. The chances that inaccurate information may be given to persons who will make decisions affecting his liberties is increased. Since it has no way of recording rehabilitation or excuses and justifications for actions, the odds are increased that whatever happened in his past will catch up with a man tomorrow and affect his chances to make good.

Efforts by Federal management to cope with its mammoth task of information gathering and to make better use of the statistics already gathered led recently to a report to the Bureau of the Budget that a Federal Data Center be established.

A dramatic illustration of this problem of records management lay in the revelations of a Budget Bureau survey that there existed over 600 major bodies of data in 20 selected agencies alone. These were stored on 30,000 computer tapes and 100 million punched cards, and were subject to many differing problems governing access, supervision, preservation and disclosure.

The report pointed to the significance of electronic computers in statistical manipulation and storage, and the benefits and cost/performance factors which must be considered in deciding whether to use automatic data processing.

This seems like a simple housekeeping problem for the Federal government.

Why then, other than for authorization and appropriation purposes, should Congress be concerned about the public policy aspects of the use of computers on this scale?

Another report to the Bureau suggests the answer by describing the existing Federal Statistical System as "a failure to provide access to data in a way that permits the association of the elements of data sets in order to identify and measure the interrelationship among interdependent or related observations."

"Interrelationship" is the key word here. Once the correlating process begins on individual personal data in the many files of government, all the weaknesses and limitations of the computer as a machine will be operating on a grand scale to make possible a massive invasion on the privacy of millions, and it raises the spectre of a possible program of routine denial of due process. Inter-agency, inter-business networks are being established of computers that talk only to each other. Decisions affecting a person's job, retirement benefits, security clearance, credit rating, or many other rights may be made without benefit of a hearing or confrontation of the evidence.

The computer reduces his opportunity to talk back to the bureaucrats. It removes his chances to produce documents, photographs, or other evidence to alter a decision. These threats to due process and the possible diminishing of his freedom concern Congress as the ultimate guardian of the liberties of the people.

It has little to do with the motives of those who administer the affairs of government and business. Yet, as Justice Brandeis has written, "Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by mean of zeal, well-meaning, but without understanding."

Members of Congress and state legislatures have been concerned with the improper use of polygraphs, psychological tests, peepholes, wiretapping, eavesdropping, and other techniques for surveillance and the secret seizure of information on a person's habits, beliefs, thoughts and activities. They should be as concerned with the improper use of a computer and with the establishment of uncontrolled data centers as they have been with unwarranted privacy invasions or with administrative denial of substantive due process.

But, in attempting to control scientific technology and protect the privacy of the individual, and the dignity of the human being, in a free society, are we in the words of the Broadway musical, "Dreaming the impossible dream or fighting the unbeatable foe?"

I submit we are not. I submit that with his God-given intelligence, man has it within his power to beat as well as to create the machine—to allow government and industry to manage their records with the help of this device—without violating individual rights.

Having seen the computer in action, I believe the industry is capable of devising safeguards against improper access to the computerized information, against illegal tapping of computers, and against purloining of data in shared computers.

The computer industry, the data processing experts, the programmers, the executives—all need to set their collective minds to work to deal with the impact of their electronic systems on the rights and dignity of individuals.

While there is still time to cope with the problems, they must give thought to the contents of professional ethical codes for the computer industry and for those who arrange and operate the computer's processes.

If self-regulation and self-restraint are not exercised by all concerned with automatic data processing, public concern will soon reach the stage where strict legislative controls will be enacted, government appropriations for research and development will be denied. And the computer will become the villain of our society. It is potentially one of the great resources of our civilization, and the tragedy of slowing its development is unthinkable.

Congress, with the help of the Executive branch, can assist in this process by defining the threats to privacy for public and private management.

With this as background, we can explore the relationship of these problems to the legal questions raised by the computer, and can weigh the social and governmental interests at stake. If we computerize all Federal employees, as has been recommended, and feed in all the data on them, I believe then we must consider rules governing access to data, the need for accuracy, confidentiality and supervision of data. We must somehow establish the right of the individual to know, to challenge, and to alter his "life history" as the computer has written it.

And if a national statistical data center is ever established, I think some controls along these lines must certainly be enacted. But I think all of its ramifications must be carefully studied by the various committees of Congress. This will be the function of the forthcoming hearings before the Senate Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator Edward V. Long. It is a function which Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher has helped to perform with hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Privacy of the House Government Operations Committee.

In this area, Congress must consider the recommendations in the report of a Committee chaired by Professor Kaysen. They stated that any threat to individual privacy from a Data Center could best be met by congressional action governing disclosure of information collected on individuals either as a byproduct of administrative, regulatory and taxing processes, or through census or sampling procedures.

Although it is difficult to consider remedies in anticipation of the problem, we already have precedents. An alarming amount of information has been compiled about the devaluation of privacy in today's America, and about current violations of the individual's right to keep silent about matters relating to his private self.

Though unique in our history, such a legislative challenge is not at all beyond the reach of our constitutional, legal and administrative resources. On the contrary, the spirit of the Constitution demands it.

To paraphrase Justice Marshall, the restraints on power were not incorporated into the Constitution to promote efficiency. Rather, I believe, they were designed to enable future generations to further values more enduring and infinitely more significant to man in a free society.

We have time on our side, for the "computer revolution," if there is to be one, has not yet arrived.

And we have the limitations of technology on our side. For the very fact that the computer requires information which is reduced to simple language, gathered in standardized fashion and meaningful only to those who will use it, is the greatest deterrent to illegal wholesale use of computerization.

At the same time we are making these long-range plans for guaranteeing privacy in the computer age, I think government and business must do something immediately about the other side of the coin—limiting the gathering of improper information and banning the use of improper techniques to gather it. This is imperative, no matter where the information will be stored.

They must launch a massive nation-wide cleanup campaign to cleanse their present files of improperly acquired, irrelevant personal information.

At the policy level, they must undertake a drastic revision in their estimates of the nature and relevancy of the data they demand from the citizens they serve and from those they employ.

And lastly, I would urge them to give serious thought to the psychological impact of their information-gathering tactics on society and on the particular communities they serve. They cannot avoid collective responsibility for contributing to the big brotherism which does exist in this country: They must assume responsibility for reducing the surviellance of the citizen.

The Federal Government should take the lead in this effort. Its guidelines can be models for state and local governments and for private industry.

The Administration's proposed Right to Privacy Act of 1967 banning wiretapping and eavesdropping is one example of such action.

Another example is a measure which I recently introduced in the Senate with fifty-two other Senators. We consider it an appropriate legislative attempt to help management, in its own best interests, to pursue sound management techniques, and at the same time to compel respect for individual privacy. This bill would prohibit requiring applicants and employees to disclose their religion, race, or national origin, to attend and report on meetings or activities unrelated to their work; or to disclose except in specific cases, their or their families' assets, liabilities, creditors, property, or household expenses. It makes it unlawful to require them to disclose through interviews, tests, or polygraphs, their religious beliefs or practices, their personal relationships with members of their family, or their attitudes and conduct in sexual matters. It prohibits official attempts to coerce employees to invest or donate their money. And it provides administrative and legal recourses against violations of these rights.

In effect, it attempts to strengthen the wall of privacy around the individual. It requires government to recognize his dignity.

That such legislative action should be necessary is a sad commentary on the extent of governmental incursions on liberties which we have tolerated.

But, positive actions such as this proposal are necessary if we are ever to cleanse the slate.

One of the most alarming trends I have noticed where electronic data processing is used on a large scale is an attempt to transfer responsibility to the computer for mistakes in executive judgment or faulty evaluation of data. This is obviously the most important single factor to be considered in the entire computer movement. For a machine has no ethics or morality. If our form of government is to be maintained, the morality of decisions based on computer-processed data and the political responsibility for the results of those decisions must be well defined and inescapable. All else flows from this basic premise. The problem is both a philosophical and scientific one, inseparable from the role of science in government.

If I may indulge in a metaphor appropriate here, I submit that in the memory bank of American history are stored the spiritual, cultural, ethical and philosophical values which we cherish as a people and which our Constitution is designed to protect and encourage. Programmed with them are the struggles, the advances, even the setbacks, which give meaning to our liberties. With this input, I believe the American citizen will be alert to reject any proposals, techniques or devices which unreasonably invade his own or his neighbor's privacy, or which violate individual rights. But he must know when the choice is before him, when to take the tide at the flood.

HERBERT J. WATERS, HEAD OF OFFICE OF WAR ON HUNGER

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the appointment of Herbert J. Waters, Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, to head the new War on Hunger Office recently established by President Johnson is good news to all who feel that the war on hunger should receive absolutely top priority in our foreign aid policies.

I have known Herb for a long time, from the time he worked for Vice President HUMPHREY to the key role he has recently played in improving our policies to meet the world food crisis. His commitment to an all-out war on world hunger is of long standing; his effectiveness in working toward this goal has been admirable.

Mr. President, I can think of no man better suited by his past experience, his ability, and his deep interest to take on this demanding job, and I would like to take this time to wish him the best of success.

RESOLUTION OF SECOND DISTRICT, DEPARTMENT OF TEXAS, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of a resolution passed by the Second District of the Department of Texas, Veterans of Foreign Wars. The statement was approved at the second district convention on February 26, 1967.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Whereas, now under both the old and new pension acts now in force covering the Spanish American, World War I, and the Korean veterans, in the annual income report card that is required to be submitted by the veteran, the Veterans' Administration charges social security, railroad retirement, and civil service retirement pay as income against the veterans' VA pensions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we the delegates to and at the 2nd district, department of Texas, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, duly assembled in district convention at Port Arthur, Texas, on the 26th day of February 1967, go on record and urgently request that the Congress of the United States amend said veterans pension acts, so that no increase in social security, railroad retirement, and civil service retirement payments, state and national that have been made since December 1, 1965, shall be chargeable as income now or henceforth by the Veterans' Administration in computing of the income for veterans pension payments by the Veterans' Administration, and further be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed by the district adjutant of this convention, as soon as this convention adjourns to, Senator Ralph Yarborough, Senator John Tower, Congressman John Dowdy and Congressman Jack Brooks, the resolution copy to be sent by airmail.

EDGAR P. DIONNE,
Commander.

Passed at 2nd District Convention on the 26th day of February 1967.

LEROY GARCIA,
Adjutant.

AMERICAN-FLAG SHIPS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, for some time the Great Lakes Conference of Senators has been decrying the fact that so few American-flag ships ply the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route. The absence of American vessels takes on added significance when it is recalled that defense cargo must be transported mainly in American bottoms. As a result, the Midwest—the "heartland" of the United States—is being discriminated against in the movement of vital defense cargo, a large part of which is actually manufactured in the Great Lakes Basin region.

A step in the right direction was taken recently when the Maritime Administration, recognizing that overseas trade via the St. Lawrence was rapidly expanding, announced that American-flag ships would be taking a more active role in seaway traffic. For the 1967 shipping season three U.S.-flag companies will have operating authority through the St. Lawrence and, for the first time, one of the American shippers must meet a minimum sailing schedule.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article published in the New York Times of March 1, 1967, explaining the Maritime Administration's decision, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SEEKING RISE IN SEAWAY TRAFFIC—THREE LINES AUTHORIZED TO USE LAKES IN OVERSEAS TRADE

(By George Horne)

Federal authorities are hoping to increase this country's participation in the growing Great Lakes overseas trade through the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The Maritime Administration announced yesterday that three United States-flag companies would have operating authorization through the Seaway in the 1967 season, and for the first time it set a minimum sailing schedule for one of the operators.

The three lines are Moore-McCormack, Farrell and American Export Isbrandtsen Lines.

All three of the lines had been going into the Great Lakes in the past on a "privileged" basis, which means that they are authorized to go, but that they themselves could determine whether enough business was being offered to warrant sending a vessel in.

The three companies are subsidized lines, and their Seaway authorizations have been in effect extensions of their subsidized services from New York and other Atlantic Coast ports.

YEAR-TO-YEAR BASIS

Moore-McCormack and Farrell have been entering the system on a year-to-year basis, which meant they had to apply each year for permission from the Maritime Administration to schedule sailings for another year.

The Maritime Administration announced yesterday that they would now be authorized to serve, as American Export Isbrandtsen does, on a permanent basis.

Moore-McCormack operates a service to East Coast ports of South America, and another service to South and East Africa. Hereafter, under the rules announced by the Department of Commerce agency yesterday, it will have to maintain a minimum of four sailings annually from the Great Lakes to South America. Its sailings to Africa can be on a privileged basis.

This company has been operating into the area as cargo developed, but a spokesman for the line said yesterday that appreciable new cargo business was beginning to develop from Brazil and Argentina, including cocoa, coffee, canned beef and gelatin.

Farrell Lines had four sailings last year, one to South Africa and three to West Africa. In the 1965 season, Farrell had no sailings, chiefly because of the 77-day strike of seafaring officer unions.

LARGEST PARTICIPANT

The largest United States-flag participant—again on a discretionary basis rather than under a minimum requirement, has been American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, which operated 11 sailings from the lakes last year, nine to its regular Mediterranean terminals and two to north Europe.

The company will have nine sailings this year, according to John Crosthwaite, manager for the company in the lakes area.

Despite the Federal and the company plans, no one expects a large-scale enhancement of this country's participation in a trade dominated by foreign companies.

This is a result, in part, of a shortage of tonnage, which the companies attribute chiefly to the demands for their tonnage in the Vietnam sealift operation.

THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HARTFORD TIMES

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, a 150th birthday is a great achievement. One of Connecticut's most respected institutions—the Hartford Times—now celebrates its 150th anniversary. As a lifelong Connecticut resident and one of its devoted readers, I proudly salute the Hartford Times and its able and energetic staff.

A great newspaper does more than inform. It challenges and excites the reader and reflects the hopes and aspirations of its times. Its accurate reporting highlights the good and ferrets out the need for reform. These things the Hartford Times does, and does well. Mr. President, I join many, many other Americans in wishing the Times at least 150 more years of success, and I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD some of the highlights of the 150th anniversary issue: "A Region on the Move."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACHIEVEMENTS VIEWED; FORWARD LOOK TAKEN

The Hartford Times today presents its 150th anniversary edition—the largest in its history.

In the 172 pages of anniversary material there are more than 360 pictures, more than 160 stories and more color than has ever appeared in a single day's issue of The Times.

Supporting the supplement are a record 660 advertisers with more than 17,000 inches of advertising and special anniversary messages.

Theme of the supplement is "A Region on the Move," divided into six sections dealing with the region's strength, its economy, its resources, its heritage, its culture and its future—each starting with a symbolic color cover keyed to the contents.

Twelve pages of addenda takes the reader back in time to a more leisurely age in this region.

MONTHS IN PREPARATION

Nat A. Sestero, assistant managing editor, was the editor who had direct supervision of the 150th edition.

Research and writing took several months, with virtually every staff member of The Times participating. The rich history of this region has been treated in depth, with major emphasis on the progress made in many fields during the century and a half The Times has served its readers.

Along with assessments of the region's assets are evaluations of its problems. And there is an attempt to outline the dimensions of the challenging future that lies ahead in a world where man's fund of scientific knowledge is doubling every decade.

PUBLISHER'S STATEMENT

In a special anniversary statement comment on The Times' past contributions, its present role in the community and its aspirations for the future, Publisher Kenneth K. Burke said:

"For 150 years The Hartford Times has served this community as a constructive force. It is our continuing commitment to apply a progressive point of view to the future.

"In knitting together our geographic area with the common interests of each day's news, and in the development of the region's commerce and prosperity, we take great satisfaction. We thank readers and advertisers who have had confidence in our pages.

"Anniversary recollections emphasize this newspaper's initiative in the realization of civic ideals and goals remarkable in their number and importance.

"In this state, for example, constitutional liberalism was established with The Hartford Times as spokesman, and again we were first to call for the recent constitutional revision.

LEADERSHIP CITED

"The Hartford Times has stood in the forefront of battle against prejudice and for decent housing for all of our people.

"The 'Go Ahead Hartford' series of articles awakened city and suburb to their interrelationships, to need for renewal and modernization; sparked regionalism, stirred the building of Constitution Plaza; brought new Connecticut River bridges and construction of the East-West Highway.

"We have carried the message of events over the years; we have urged a flowering of pride in our spreading community through achievements in the fields of education, culture, hospitals and health, human relations, and the preservation of an attractive environment.

"The Hartford Times appreciates its opportunity to serve. If it has gained laurels, it will not let them wither. We welcome the demands of the future."

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., February 27, 1967.

Mr. KENNETH K. BURKE,
Publisher, Hartford Times,
Hartford, Conn.

DEAR MR. BURKE: Since 1817, the *Hartford Times* has chronicled the progress of a hard-working and successful people. It has perpetuated the ideals that inspired their greatness, and recorded the achievements that promise future progress equal to the past.

Eloquent in the pursuit of responsible reform, and unswerving in the search for truth, the *Times* has been a credit to its readers, its staff, and our nation.

As I salute its fine record, I am confident that it will sustain its policy of prompt and reliable news coverage.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE

The One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Hartford Times is an occasion that merits celebration not only by the staff of that excellent journal, but also by the people of Connecticut who are fortunate to have this paper to serve them.

Since January 1, 1817, the Hartford Times faithfully has chronicled community, state, national and world events for thousands upon thousands of readers. Throughout all the years, the Times, true to its name, has kept pace with the times, adopting all of the innovations of journalism to present printed and pictorial news in the best possible fashion.

The many writers and executives of the Hartford Times with whom I have had the pleasure of becoming personally acquainted uniformly have been men of integrity and skill, dedicated to searching out and objectively reporting all of the news.

We in America, where the constitutional guarantee of a free and independent press is almost two centuries old, many tend to take for granted the great privilege of reading journals published under this guarantee.

It is only when we look elsewhere in the world, to nations where no such guarantee exists, that we appreciate what our newspapers mean to all of us.

Gladly, therefore, I salute the Hartford Times on its one hundred and fifty years of service, the value of which no man can calculate, to the City of Hartford and the State of Connecticut.

My "Happy Birthday!" wish to the Hartford Times and its staff is that this One Hundred and Fiftieth milestone will be but one in a succession of significant anniversaries to be celebrated by a newspaper that continues to grow in size, in influence and in service to an ever widening circle of readers.

JOHN DEMPSEY,
Governor.

March 4, 1967.

TO AGITATE AFFAIRS

(*It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed . . . that they meet . . . to elect and choose certain deputies . . . to agitate the affairs of the Commonwealth.—Connecticut Fundamental Orders 1638.*)

For 150 years The Hartford Times has endured the sun and weathered the storms of publication.

It has been an exciting voyage and we look ahead to round the buoy of the next century and a half as trim as now we sail.

Today, in this Anniversary Edition, The Times takes pride in the account of its span of public service, not only that it has hewed to the grain and character of precedent but that it is kindling lively new traditions in which it will continue. Here is a link between the fading shout and tumult of the past and the distant trumpet of all that is to come.

Our pages rustle with each day's responsibilities: To inform; to clarify; to advertise; to search for truth and exalt kindness; to champion justice and liberty and in so doing to speak for America; to raise questions and discuss issues lucidly, reasonably and thoughtfully; to criticize the wayward idea; to expose corruption; to encourage civic betterment; and to inspire progress.

The Hartford Times has a special sense of mission and advocacy in our state.

This newspaper was born in shattering controversy that reformed the Standing Order of a privileged society; that disestablished a state church; that extended voting rights; that established in Connecticut a viable constitution to replace the tutelage adopted from the old royal charter by which this state had been governed even through the Revolution.

We were radical, one of the first publications in the nation to call for a political and social reorganization.

Ever since, The Hartford Times has agreed with Lowell:

> *"New occasions teach new duties;*
> *Time makes ancient good uncouth;*
> *They must upward still, and onward,*
> *Who would keep abreast of truth."*

Over the years our readers have looked to us for initiative.

On this newspaper's 100th anniversary it was stated, "The Times should not emphasize the number of its years but for the conviction, shared we hope by our readers, that the years have been fruitful of achievement in the interest of the community it serves.

"To survive and prosper, a newspaper must identify itself with movements and with men commanding the confidence of the community. There must be policies and purposes appealing to the highest class of citizenship."

We have never confused confidence with conventionalism, the highest class of citizenship with the interests of the few, or the democratic process with the mere tyranny of the herd.

Now we stand at today, looking ahead.

We see a state of greater population with changing community proportions.

In contrast to the past, the thrust of our immediate problems seems likely to be more practical than philosophical.

Despite lingering lacks, faults and prejudices we have agreed, as the accomplishment of our own era, to live together considerately.

The barrage has lifted. We are slowly moving on and leaving the age of contest for the recognition of rights in which the locks and fetters on human dignity and opportunity are struck off.

We face now a new task—to organize and apply the widening blessings of liberty, civic maturity and social justice that have been granted us through a new birth of enlightenment.

The nature of our commitment to action changes, but as at the time of our founding the demand for leadership is insistent.

There will be a resettling of ideas and outlook in the years to come and The Hartford Times expects to stand and be counted in the midst of it—wisely, we hope, and forcefully always.

RUGGED BEGINNINGS SHAPED OUR STATE

(By E. Malcolm Stannard)

The glow of splendor that adorns our old state is a radiance of aspiration and achievement.

Here ideals and enterprise were impressed on hard-scrabble geography to temper a purpuseful society.

From the start, this was to be a region of homes and neighborhoods where men might nourish their talents and expend their abilities. That was its essential strength, cast in the will of its people.

None blew in here on the gust of some golden rumor or lure of eternal youth. Our adventure dealt with permanence and development. The quest was to be constant—"To raise upon this earth a just, friendly and enlightened community."

That purpose, and zeal for its fulfillment, are the treasures of our heritage. The purpose thrives today as we continue to devote our resources to pioneering into the expanses of the future.

So through redevelopment and community interaction we are reclaiming our cities from decline and our region from divisive and pointless separations.

This region is a place of beginnings.

Here were cradled individual liberty and the sense of man's unalienable rights.

It was soon after settlement in 1634 that the Rev. Thomas Hooker asserted, "The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people . . . As God has given us liberty let us take it!"

The Hartford Times was proudly established in controversy to amplify those earliest bold sentiments. This newspaper led the struggle for adoption of the 1818 state constitution that evoked anew the spirit of popular government.

STATE BILL OF RIGHTS

And, remarkably, when our constitution was drafted, our Bill of Rights unlike that of the federal constitution was no afterthought or amendment. It preceded the body of the document, basic to all that followed: "That the great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and established."

It was the privilege of The Hartford Times to lead in advocacy of the recent revision of the state constitution, once again to speak for equal liberties.

A glimpse of the past explains the opportunities that have been raised here. Always, in keeping with the concepts of the times and undismayed by controversy over progress and change, we have thought and labored as free men. For us, freedom has been the well-spring of all that we have done.

The strength that molded us has made this a place of beginnings for other regions too.

Before 1819 nearly 700,000 Connecticut natives and their descendents had settled in other parts of the growing nation.

From 1789 to 1889, 34 men born in Connecticut served in the United States Senate from 14 other states, and 187 of its sons had been members of the House of Representatives from 22 other states.

We have seen lean times, but we have been sustained during periods of dearth and emigration by a rise in initiative, the flowering of invention and the adaptability of the people to new conditions. The job has been to make the very best of what we have, and from such necessity we have drawn strength.

Not central to the nation's markets, Connecticut—and this section of it particularly—overcame the handicap with the attractive diversity and excellence of its many manufactured products. To an unrealized extent, our manufacturers introduced the modern age to America.

Enterprising businessmen, aware of the benefits of financial stability and security among the people, built up our huge insurance concentration.

RESTLESS PEOPLE

The restlessness of our folk, their perpetual dissatisfaction with limited horizons, prompted them to voyage and trade afar—with Europe, the Far East; and to discover the Antarctic continent. Greater Hartford once was the center of a rich West Indies commerce.

For our products sent into the markets of the world we received in compensation not only cash profits but also the invigoration of a cosmopolitan outlook, a thirst for wider knowledge, a sense of involvement with all mankind and an appreciation of culture beyond the homespun circle of our own firesides.

It is significant that our admiration of brawn never has outweighed our appreciation of intelligence. Universities and colleges did not spring up here unbidden; they were implanted by a people aware that knowledge and the cultivation of the mind are inseparable from human betterment and political liberty.

Our region has been braced and strengthened by the influx of thousands of neighbors who have arrived to live with us through the years. They came to contribute to—as well as to share in—the general prosperity.

They have added to us their skills, their labor, and their very diversity and difference which itself has alloyed the older Yankee strain with new strength.

From all has mounted a healthy contest of ideas, of innovations proposed for judgment—a strength never known in the swamps of bigotry and provincial mire.

We are a people with sharp and distinct traditions that flow from our experience. Not dulled by the passage of time, but polished by it, the best of all our traditions is a devotion to progress.

Here is no stodgy backwater of the mind, but a readiness to carry on—to maintain our community "just, friendly and enlightened."

We have been blessed with a happy land.

A FEELING OF HOME

This is a place where strength is gleaned from the variety and loveliness of the landscape, where there is a feeling of "home".

It is a land of gentle beauty when it smiles.

In reach of the blue sea is a strip of sand, sanctuary of quiet woodland, open breadth of field, tangle of swamp, barrier of hill. It is an easy vista in which the eye rejoices.

But it is a land of frowns and hard rock too; stingy in one valley and bountiful in another. Physical change is the state's refreshment.

Nature and location both have challenged and sheltered the endeavors of the past, of which we are heirs.

How shall we pass on the inheritance to the future? Shall it be said of us that at our most prosperous height we faltered in the accommodation of new neighbors, became lost from the qualities that shaped our opportunities, or zoned out of our heritage the original purposes of justice, friendship and enlightenment?

Those who came earlier here confronted the forest wilderness and all of its hazards alone as they made their settlement and their choice of a way of life.

As successors, we are more fortunate. We have their example to lean on.

But around us is the bewilderment of the problems of our day among which we must make our new settlement.

POPULATION GROWTH

We expect that our population will rapidly increase, that the demands on our civic ingenuity will multiply, that the very composition of our communities will undergo change.

There was a time when, after more than 200 years of growth, it was generally accepted that few Connecticut communities would contain more than 5,000 people. When that assumption proved to be wrong, the change called for new perspectives. Today it seems probable that metropolitanism, with its tremendous train of adjustments in local government, will again test the flexibility of our institutions.

We have faith that we shall rise to occasions that demand self assurance and a vigorous spirit—"He Who Transplanted Still Sustains."

STATE A SHOWCASE OF NATURAL WEALTH

(By Ivan Robinson)

If nature goes into business selling her worldly treasures, she can use this pocket-sized state as her showcase.

Connecticut has almost every kind of natural resource—fertile soil, lumber, commercial and sport fish, navigable rivers, deep-water ports, game, minerals like iron and copper, even gold.

It has showcase limits, too. There's enough of everything to arouse interest, rarely enough to meet demand. But the situation, perversely, has been to our advantage.

Shortchanged by nature, Nutmeggers turned early to industry and let the thin, rocky soil return to the wild. Today, when technology and outdoor beauty are both highly prized, Connecticut finds herself ideally equipped.

On one hand, she has 80 per cent of all possible types of industry. On the other, 66 per cent of her surface is carpeted with trees and her friendly rivers, rolling hills and sparkling shore are there not to exploit but to enjoy.

One hundred and fifty years ago, the pattern was already emerging even though the trend, as most trends in their infancy, might have been difficult to detect.

The chief natural resource in 1817 was still farmland. Ninety per cent of the people lived off the soil. Many ministers, doctors and lawyers were farmers first, getting their food, clothing and shelter from their holdings.

There were no cities yet to lure them away. These would have to wait for the Industrial Revolution of 1830 and on and the railroads of the later 1800s. The largest town in 1800 was Stonington, with a population of 5,437. Hartford's population was under 5,000.

CARPETED BY FORESTS

Connecticut, plowed or pastured everywhere except in the stubborn uplands, had looked like a well-cultivated garden for a century. Two-thirds of the state was cleared.

The virgin forest found and feared by the first settlers—200 foot pines, ancient hemlocks, lofty hardwoods—had humbled before the ax and plow and had become houses, ships and firewood.

In 1634, when the English first came, 95 per cent of the land was forested and it was said a squirrel could cross the state without ever touching the ground. But no more. The land was open and the fields crisscrossed by stonewalls.

Wildlife, plentiful in earlier days, also was scarce. Farmers had pushed the deer north of the latitude of Portland, Maine. The wild turkey, having given the name Tom to so many hills that were its roots, was a rare sight. Wolves had quit stalking Capitol Hill a long time ago.

The shad and salmon, unblocked by dams, still came up the Connecticut River to spawn in their timeless migrations from the sea.

In Vermont, settlers there said salmon were so thick they could cross on their backs. But one of today's favorite sport fish, freshwater bass, had not yet been imported from Europe and the Hudson. Neither had the pheasant, a native of Asia.

There was change in the air, though.

MIGRATION TO THE WEST

Farmers' sons, disheartened by the lack of good land, had been moving since 1750 to Vermont and the West, which then meant western New York, western Pennsylvania and Ohio. The end to wars with England sped the migrations, which were to continue well into the late 1800s. Those who stayed behind, hard put for help, were letting the rockier uplands go back to woods.

The state was still recovering from the Revolution and War of 1812. There was much to do and make. At nearly every homestead, the farmer and his wife and children spent the nights and winters crafting farm tools, kitchen implements and homespun garments.

Some families made enough to sell to neighbors and the slickers in Hartford, New Haven, New London, Norwich and Middletown, then the state's only incorporated cities. Their fireside industries formed the foundation for Connecticut manufacturing.

Yankee peddlers were already traveling through the South and effectively, if not always honestly, selling these handicrafts and the clocks and tin, brass and iron articles produced in the small factories springing up in the Naugatuck Valley.

The heyday of the peddlers lasted until 1840. By then, Connecticut was well into the industrial age.

Basically, the state's development is a stream of movement from infertile farms to fruitful factories. Other natural resources were tributaries feeding that stream, helping make Connecticut what it is today.

What attracted Europeans to Connecticut in the first place was not land but, in a loose sense, another natural resource, furs.

EARLY LURE OF NATURE

Shortly after Adrian Block became the first white man to sail up the Connecticut River in 1614 in his ship, the Onrust, his fellow Dutchmen had a going trading post called the House of Good Hope. It was the first European structure in Connecticut located where the power plant is now below Charter Oak Bridge.

The second resource sought by white men was probably sassafras, which was valued for its medicinal and aromatic properties.

In 1633, John Oldham, an Englishman and founder of Wethersfield, was roving the river to barter with the Indians for beaver skins.

Land itself became the prized resource only after the coming of permanent English settlers to Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford in the mid 1630. They established their nucleated villages surrounding their churches and meeting houses, sharing the common to graze their cattle and raise corn and rye in the rich valley.

It seemed an ideal place to settle. The climate was moderate, the growing season fairly long and rainfall good.

(On the average, only 10 days a year here are above 90 degrees and only three below zero. The last killing frost is in May and the first in October. The rainfall averages 44 to 48 inches a year, making this one of 13 states with an average runoff of 20 inches or more.)

FARMING TOUGHER

But as the settlers spread out from the coast and the Connecticut River valley, they found the farming tougher. The glaciers of the Ice Age had scoured most of the state clean, plowing good soil into the sea and, as they melted, dumping pockets of good soil among bad.

One farmer, asking for a tax rebate in later years, said he had had to pare the noses of his sheep so they could reach the grass between the rocks.

Farming, however, was the only way to make a living and the settlers persevered. They were land-hungry and the woods disappeared.

The deep woods to them did not mean beauty. They meant fear—of skulking Indians, wolves, mountain lions and other predators.

The man who set a forest fire was, according to a 1637 law, subject to 20 lashes. But the man who cut trees to homestead was a credit to the community.

The last extensive region of forest was the Great Green Woods in Litchfield County. In 1761, a minister arriving in Norfolk had trouble finding his church.

He reported the place was "so wild"—the old forest standing closely about the church—that on entering the village the building could not be seen."

Until the coming of coal, 10,000 acres were cut down each year for fuel and timber. The clearing was progressive, not selective. The peak didn't come until 1909, when 420 sawmills were cutting 168 million board feet annually.

IRON ORE DISCOVERED

Also contributing to the deforestation of Connecticut was the discovery of another natural resource—iron ore.

In 1732, a brown hematite of a peculiar toughness, ideal for cannon and chains, was found in Salisbury, leading to an "iron rush." By the Revolution, the town was the Birmingham of New England and men were scouring Connecticut and Massachusetts for trees to keep the fires hot in more than 50 iron foundries in the northwest corner of the state.

Forged there were the anchor for the famous Constitution, the 24 pound guns for her sister Constellation and the chain that the Continental Army stretched across the Hudson River to keep out the British fleet.

Ethan Allen, born in 1739 in Litchfield, began his career at 23 as one of the state's first ironmasters, only later going to Vermont to make his fame as leader of the Green Mountain Boys.

Ore Hill Mine in Salisbury, one of the richest, was operated from 1820 to 1900.

Connecticut had other mineral wealth, too, for those willing to work for it.

There was coal in Southbury, pink and yellow granite in Niantic and Stonington, brownstone in Portland quarries, cobalt ore in East Hampton.

Copper was mined from 1707 to 1777 in East Granby. (The mine later became the Newgate state prison.) It was also mined in Cheshire and Bristol where, in 1888, a shaft went down 400 feet to an ancient river bed.

The Portland brownstone, at the turn of the century, was going all over the world as a fashionable building material.

The tenements and mansions of New York City, Philadelphia and other large cities were built of it, as were monuments such as the Memorial Arch on Hartford's Trinity Street.

Garnets were so plentiful they were ground up and used on sandpaper. A quarry in Tolland produced, until a few years ago, a sparkling stone freckled with garnet. It is highly regarded as facing for homes and fireplace chimneys. Some of it was used in the Eisenhower homestead in Gettysburg. A quarry at Bolton Notch still produces it.

GOLD, SILVER LODES

Nutmeggers have found gold and silver in them thar hills, too, particularly in the Naugatuck Valley. At Newtown, British soldiers were working a twice-blessed mine during the Revolution, getting 72 cents of gold and 11 cents of silver from every pound of ore. As late as 1937, a man was ambling up to a shaft in a pasture hillside in New Haven and mining $3 worth of gold every day.

Clay bricks from Glastonbury built the town hall in Parimaribo, capital of Surinam (then Dutch Guiana). North Haven, also in the old glacial beds of the central valley, was another brick center.

Limestone has been taken from the Canaan area, where it was formed by the bodies of marine creatures millions of years ago when Connecticut was under the sea. Marble, which is limestone changed by the subterranean forces of heat and pressure, has also been found there.

Now, most of the quarrying is for rock to use as ballast for highways or fill for construction. This includes the gravel and till left by the glaciers.

Most important, though, is traprock—ridges of volcanic basalt that, in prehistoric times, oozed out in layers over the land, then solidified, and later was thrust up into ridges such as those we know as the Talcott range, the Hanging Hills of Meriden, the Sleeping Giant in Hamden and East and West Rocks in New Haven.

IMPORTANCE OF WATER

Water, of course, was another important natural resource in the development of Connecticut.

Rivers decided the location of cities. They were used as sources of food and for transportation, power recreation and waste disposal.

Of Connecticut's 5,000 square miles, 145 are water. There are 1,000 lakes, 5,000 ponds (under 1½ acres) and some 7,500 miles of streams.

The Connecticut, winding 67 miles through the state and navigable to the Enfield rapids, was once a beehive of sailing vessels and shipyards.

Before 1800, when Connecticut was a straggling colony of agriculture and shipping, masters set sail chiefly for sister colonies in the West Indies and to coastal ports, especially Charleston. Hartford, unable to compete for all cargoes with the shore's eight ports, dealt mostly in molasses and made rum out of it.

New Haven was the big port. In 1802, its 3,500-foot Long Wharf permitted ships to dock despite the shallows there. To southern ports from New Haven went cider, butter, cheese, tinware, clocks. To the West Indies went grain, butter, salted meat and fish, vegetables, tobaccos, cattle and lumber.

In the early 1800s, New Haven's great venture, the South Seas Fleet, was going great guns. Twenty vessels were involved, catching seals on the South American coast, then taking the furs to China and trading them for tea and silk. One ship returned in 1799 from a three-year voyage with a $240,000 profit.

While New Haven may have led in trade, New London led in shipbuilding and in whaling. At the height of the whaling in 1846, 78 of the nation's 200 whaling ships were sailing out of New London. Only New Bedford had more.

Today, Connecticut has three major deep-water ports—New Haven, Bridgeport and New London—receiving petroleum, coal and sizeable quantities of chemicals, cement and steel products for use in Connecticut. Other ports are Stamford, Norwalk, Greenwich and a few more on navigable rivers that like Hartford—accommodate barges and small coastal vessels.

CANAL SYSTEMS

The broad Thames, once prickly with sailing masts, now is the nest of submarines patroling the Atlantic. Shipbuilding goes on at sub yards on the Groton side.

Water was so important for transportation that, in the 1820s, canal systems were begun in Connecticut to tie the state to the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes.

One company completed a canal from New Haven to Southampton, Mass. It was 36 feet wide, four feet deep and lined with wood. Boats were drawn by horses walking on a 10-foot wide towpath.

In breaking ground for the system in 1826 near Salmon Brook in Granby, Gov. Oliver Wolcott had broken his shovel. It was an omen. The canal was plagued from the beginning by leaks and washouts and bad financing.

Another company, Hartford-based, had better luck. It relied on making full use of the Connecticut River through a system of locks. Also, it turned to steam. (The first steamboat built on the Connecticut was launched in Hartford in 1818. John Fitch, inventor of the steamboat, was a native of South Windsor.)

In the 1826, even though work by 400 men on the Windsor Locks bypass was not to begin until the next year, the "Barnet," 75 feet long and drawing only 22 inches of water, shoved and puffed as far as Bellows Falls in Vermont, cheered from the banks all the way.

COMING OF THE RAILS

The canals lasted only until the faster, more efficient railroads pushed them out of the picture. The first line in the state was built in 1837 between Stonington and Providence. In 1839, New Haven and Hartford were connected. By 1872, all the small lines were joined in one large company, the Consolidated Road.

Water also was used for power, giving birth to the many textile mills of eastern Connecticut and to the industries of the Naugatuck Valley.

Today, each man is no longer, as one historian described the early Yankee farmer, a "little monarch of a dominion sufficiently large to furnish all the supplies of competence."

Of Connecticut's residents, 70 per cent live in urban areas. Of her labor force, 98 per cent make goods or supply services. Only two per cent work natural resources.

But natural resources are being worked.

Farming, for one, remains big business. Trees may grow on the stonewalled fields of yesterday. Scrub cedar and juniper dot the hay fields that fed and bedded the horses in every barn and city stable. Farm animals may have to be brought to Hartford each year to show youngsters what they're like. But farming in Connecticut is a $140-million-a-year business.

VARIED CASH CROPS

Litchfield County has gentlemen farmers who will raise nothing but their hats, but it also has plenty of dairy farmers. Eastern Connecticut, where the old Yankee types still abound, is also dairy country. The state's cow population is about 72,000.

Dairy and chickens account for two-thirds of the value of farm products. The state has some 1,500 poultry farms, producing four million chickens a year.

Third in cash value is Connecticut's tobacco crop, grown in the fertile sandy soil of the Connecticut's River's Tobacco Valley.

There are other farm products, too. Rockville is the center of the state's potato industry. Orchards abound in the uplands all over the state. In West Simsbury, one grower raises 28 varieties of peaches and 19 of apples. Wethersfield, once so famed for producing red onions that it was nicknamed Oniontown, has a busy seed trade. In Cromwell, acres of greenhouses mark the center of nursery stock production.

The exploitation of mineral wealth today is less varied than that of farmland. The traprock quarries in the New Haven area produce stone for fill. Gravel pits are also being worked all over the state. But that's about it.

RECREATION PLUS

The state's largest lake is an artificial one—Candlewood Lake near Danbury, made in the Rocky River valley for power purposes. Eight square miles in area (5,400 acres), it gets heavy recreational use. (The largest natural lake is 916-acre Bantam Lake.)

The coastline, 245 miles of it, is heavily settled but 20 miles are suitable for public beaches and the state has four. Where whalers and coastal traders once plowed the waves, now 110,000 sport boats buzz or silently glide around.

Game chased away by the heavy farming of the 1700s and early 1800s has returned and hunting and fishing provide recreation for thousands each year. The salmon is gone. The shad, now blocked by dams, still come in numbers each year up the Connecticut.

Off the coast, winter flounder and menhaden keep the commercial fleets busy and bluefish and striped bass keep the sportsmen hopeful.

For most Nutmeggers, Connecticut's natural resources—the hills, rivers, lakes, seashore—mean one thing and that's recreation.

Because Connecticut is man-sized, a family can be anywhere in it within two hours, enjoying that recreation.

They may visit one of the 82 state parks of 25,119 acres, each usually with some special point of interest. Or hike in one of the 28 state forests totaling 127,182 acres.

Or enjoy spring torrents, dramatic summer scenery, a paintpot of Autumn color or winter skiing in the Litchfield Hills.

Or cruise the unexpected isolation of the Connecticut River.

Or visit the small colonial villages of the eastern highlands.

Or find the fishing fleets of Stonington, the military and commercial traffic of New London, the broad beaches of Rocky Neck or Hammonassett, the seclusion of the Thimble Islands off Branfold or the plush waterfront estates of Fairfield County.

The Connecticut showcase of natural resources has become nearly perfect for sampling and window-shopping.

WORK TOGETHER—COURTS, POLICE PRIDE OF STATE

(By Joseph Crowley)

"Connecticut need never be ashamed of the character of her judges. Not one of them was ever impeached, not one of them ever proved faithless to the high trust conferred on him."

That appraisal of the men who administer justice in the state's judicial system was written in 1895 by Dwight Loomis, a former Supreme Court justice, and J. Gilbert Calhoun, prominent Hartford attorney, prosecutor and deputy coroner for Hartford County. It appeared in their book, "A Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut."

Although the statement was written 72 years ago, it still illustrates the high caliber of civil and criminal judical administration of the state.

Connecticut's courts have the reputation of freedom from the corruption and excessive political influences which have plagued many other states.

Politics plays a part in the selection of the men who serve on the benches of our many courts. Appointment of judges is accomplished by the political forces of the state. But the practice has been to measure character above other qualifications.

The selection of our lower court prosecutors and high court state's attorneys has partisan overtones but these, too, are usually tempered with sound professional judgment.

Judges are nominated by the governor and approved by the General Assembly. Once a man has reached the bench, there are no political strings attached to him.

Other court officers are appointed by the judges. Thus, professionals select other professionals.

Connecticut's Supreme Court, the highest judicial authority in the state, is composed of men who have advanced through the ranks.

It is this court that oversees the activities of all other judicial branches. Thus professionals, the most experienced and learned in our judicial ranks, govern other professionals.

There have been problems in the administration of justice. But most have been minor.

The most striking development over the past decade was on the civil side of the courts.

As we entered an era which found the average layman becoming better acquainted with the legal alternatives available to him, it developed that the volume of legal litigations filed in the courts soon surpassed the ability to dispose of them.

Everyone was suit-conscious. People learned that a fast dollar could be made out of the most minor accident. This is not to say all suits filed were unjustified.

The situation became critical in the past five years and it was imperative that something be done.

The judicial system responded with the appointment of a court administrator. His job was to break the legal logjam by establishing new procedures and beefing up the old ones.

It was decided the position would go to a Supreme Court justice.

Last year John P. Cotter, a Supreme Court judge, was elevated to the Supreme Court as an associate justice with the additional title of chief court administrator.

As a judge, Cotter had gained the reputation of a man who went directly to the crux of a problem. On several occasions he shocked the bar with his pronouncements aimed at moving matters along faster in his courtroom. He was outspoken on the slow pace at which justice was being administered.

Last September he announced a 300 per cent increase in the number of disposed cases in 1966. The logjam has not been broken, but a successful attack has been launched.

Probably the most significant development in Connecticut judicial history came in 1960 with the establishment of the Circuit Court system.

It had been the dream of a former governor, now U.S. Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff.

The new system replaced the old town courts which dated back to 1643. These courts were presided over by a local man, usually a lawyer but in some cases a layman.

The Circuit Court established 18 branches. Judges are rotated. Each court has its own clerk. In many ways the setup is similar to the Superior Court organization.

All criminal cases are handled here except those which are punishable by more than a year in jail. Civil matters are confined to minor amounts.

Usually a more serious crime, which would be out of the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court, has its legal start there and is then bound over to Superior Court.

Measures have been taken to reduce greatly the chances for the lowering of charges or disposing of traffic tickets as was the case in the old town courts.

The Circuit Court is the lowest court in the judicial structure. It is followed by the Court of Common Pleas which was established in 1869 as an outgrowth of the County Courts of 1666. They were restricted to civil matters of not less than $100 and not more than $500. Presently the Court of Common Pleas has jurisdiction over cases in which up to $10,000 is involved.

The Superior Court is the next rung of the judicial ladder. It is an outgrowth of the Particular Court of Assistants of Colonial days.

These courts were presided over by magistrates or in today's language, members of the Legislature. The governor was always the presiding official.

The Supreme Court was originally in the legislature which was called the general Court. It consisted of the governor and members of the General Assembly.

In 1806 it was decided that the judges of the Superior Court would compose the Supreme Court of Errors. One chief judge and eight assistants were appointed.

In 1819 it was reduced to one chief judge and four assistants. The court held annual sessions alternating between New Haven and Hartford.

The Supreme Court of Errors, which is now called the Supreme Court, presently consists of one chief justice and six associate justices. It meets year round. Its name was changed by the Constitutional Convention of 1965.

The Common Pleas and Superior Courts sit in each of the eight counties. Both courts have full time clerks in each county.

Our courts have adjusted readily to recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions on criminal justice which have revolutionized the field of law. In some cases Connecticut courts have played a major role in shaping these decisions.

Another facet of our system of justice in this state has also had to adjust to the changes in the administration of law. The state's policing authorities have perhaps been affected to a greater extent than the courts.

Some of the recent decisions have caused the police great problems. They have been surmounted by cooperation between police and courts.

The authority of the police also dates to the colonial days. In fact the oldest office in the state's history is that of constable. The constables were the first policemen.

Organized police departments followed the constables. The town council of New Haven established a form of police department by setting up a "night watch."

In 1861 the New Haven Police Department was organized. The same year Hartford established a police force. Many towns were chartering police agencies during that period. New Britain's force was founded in 1870.

It was not until 1903 that the Connecticut State Police Department was organized. And at that time it was not a uniformed department. The force began with five plainclothesmen.

The department has often been referred to since as the best in the country. Its most ardent boosters are other state police agencies.

The police and courts here have worked together to produce a wholesome atmosphere for Connecticut citizens. It is only because of the high caliber of both that their goals have been attained.

HISTORIC RIVER DEFILED IN VALLEY OF BEAUTY

(By George W. Bragdon)

When Katharine Hepburn was in Venice making the movie "Summertime," her role called for the actress to be pushed into a canal.

But the director, eyeing the dirtiness of the water, assured her that a stand-in would be substituted.

"Oh, I don't mind going in," said Miss Hepburn. "I was brought up at the mouth of the Connecticut River!"

It's a sad commentary that the Connecticut River, after serving as the mainstay of the white man during his first 200 years of settling the valley, should be repaid by being converted into a sewer.

Today, however, things are starting to look up.

The stream was discovered in 1614 by Adriaen Block. Standing on the deck of the 44-foot vessel Onrust, the Dutch navigator sailed upriver to a point 10 miles past the site of present-day Hartford.

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

More than three centuries later, during a rainstorm on Sept. 13, 1965, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall and Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff stood in the wheelhouse of the excursion boat Dolly Madison peering at the shore along the same route. They, too, were on a voyage of discovery.

The secretary, at Ribicoff's invitation, was exploring a new frontier. This frontier involved ideas as well as physical resources: Namely, the concept of saving the 410-mile-long Connecticut River and its valley for the use and recreation of the public.

When Mr. Udall stepped off the gangplank, dripping but undampened, he said he saw the Connecticut's potential for conservation and recreation "greater than almost any other river in the nation."

The secretary's aides in the party were impressed by the pollution problem. One of them, Director Edward C. Crafts of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, returned five months later to talk to the Governor's Conference on Natural and Environmental Beauty at the Statler Hilton.

"In viewing the river last September," Crafts said, "we were told that it had been 50 years since the Connecticut was swimmable below Hartford. We heard such terms as, 'Too thick to drink and too thin to plow'."

The rest is history. Despite the rain that day, the beauty of the river setting and occasional patches of wilderness came as a revelation to the visitors, particularly because they lie in the center of the industrialized Northeast.

The ensuing federal legislation, spearheaded by Ribicoff, calling for a study of a proposed national recreation area, has enlisted the support not only of Udall but President Johnson and the senators from the four states in the valley.

On Oct. 3, 1966, the President signed a bill authorizing a two-year feasibility study at a cost of $100,000.

The Connecticut River claims many firsts. It's the longest in New England. The proposed recreational area, if it is to extend from the river's source on the Canadian border southward into Connecticut, would be one of the longest of its kind in the nation.

HISTORIC LIFELINE

Today in the space age it is hard to realize how important the river was to the settlers.

History books tell us that the newcomers who arrived at the river towns of Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford in the period 1634-36 had come overland from Massachusetts driving their livestock before them.

But virtually forgotten is the fact that their household goods and tools, and provisions for the first Winter, were sent by boat. Dependence upon the river was to remain a pattern dominating the lives of the valley folk for 200 years—until the railroad huffed into view in 1844.

The Hartford people, as William De Loss Love said in his history of the town, the river became the main artery in their lives. The Connecticut was the highway linking them with the world—on it they sent beaver skins to England and pipe-staves to the Indies, receiving in return finished products not made at home.

The river provided their tables with choice fish such as sturgeon. Men told of salmon and shad coming up stream in "great waves." Good fishing prevailed until relatively modern times. Today in Middletown, Mrs. Frederick C. Fagan remembers her elders telling how local markets gave away a large salmon with every purchase of meat or seafood.

Farms were fertilized in two ways by the Connecticut. Fish were so plentiful that the rule was "one alewife to a hill of corn"; and in freshet time the meadows were nourished on the rich river silt.

As trade expanded, the towns exported horses and lumber to the West Indies. They received cloth, nails, scythes, pewter, brass and guns, delivered in coasting vessels from eastern ports where the cargoes had been transferred from larger ships arriving from England.

The head of navigation for the little coasters was Wethersfield or Hartford, depending on the depth of water on the sandbars.

Preventing Hartford from becoming an important port before 1700 was the Wethersfield sandbar called Penny Wise. In normal times a coaster with goods consigned to Hartford got stuck on the bar, causing expensive delay, many captains however taking a chance in order to save money.

The alternative was to transfer cargo to shoaldraft flatboats. Hence the bar took its name from the saying, "Penny wise and pound foolish."

CENTER FOR TRADE

Penny Wise Bar was where the river, until its course was changed in 1700, touched what is now Wethersfield Cove, a present-day backwater of the Connecticut. The cove was then part of the channel. Today this quiet anchorage is central Connecticut's most popular haven for pleasure boats.

Still standing at the cove is the unpainted Ancient Warehouse, built before 1690, walled with its original three-inch-thick poplar planks laid vertically. It is standing proof of the wealth and romance of the old valley trade.

Commerce was pushed an unbelievable distance above Hartford in flatboats, the freight carried around the waterfalls by oxcart. Consequently new towns were springing up throughout the valley.

Before the Revolution the trade extended to Wells River, Vt., 210 miles north of Hartford.

After the war the Connecticut became the first river in America to be improved by canals bypassing the falls. It earned the distinction also of being navigated above tidewater—that is, above Hartford—more than any other New England stream. South Hadley was first to open its canal in 1795, followed in time by six others, ending with Enfield Canal in 1829.

From the head of upriver navigation at Wells River the freight was forwarded by wagon and cart to towns 60 miles beyond—in other words as far as Canada.

The river became the center of hustle and bustle. Up and down the valley people gathered every day at the town landings "to see that boat come in."

The Connecticut was not without its heroes. They were the "River Gods," a term applied to expert boat handlers and masters of transportation.

TALES OF RIVER HEROES

When a fair wind blew, the sail on the flatboats were spread and the crew members rested from their work of propelling the craft with 20-foot poles. Then the songs of the boatmen echoed across the valley. Some had glorious voices.

As upriver trade grew, before it was killed by the railroad in the 19th century, the flatboats became larger. Seventy feet long, 15 wide, tapered at the ends, with a cabin aft, they carried auxiliary sails consisting of a mainsail 30 by 18 feet, and above that a topsail 25 by 12.

Tales were told of the physical prowess of the rivermen. One was Bill Cummins, who could lift a barrel of salt with one hand by putting two fingers in the bunghole.

A man on a flatboat, called a poleman, labored from sunrise to dark. Pressing the end of his pole against his shoulder, he walked from the bow of the boat aft, shoving with all his might. Each season, great thick callouses "as large as the hand" were raised on the front of his shoulders.

Rich cargoes were poled north. They included rum (in Wethersfield alone were six distilleries making rum from West Indian molasses), salt and iron. Shingles and potash were brought back downstream.

The freight rate was $6 a ton from Hartford to Wells River, a voyage that was made against the current in 20 days. Returning downstream took but half that time.

During the first 150 years of white settlement in the valley there were no roads worthy of the name. That's why the Connecticut was the only good highway in a watershed covering 11,200 square miles, a watershed draining nearly half the area of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The Connecticut was the people's river. It was the common carrier. By the same token, all the early settlements in the colony were located on rivers or the shore of Long Island Sound.

The horrible state of the roads was testified to by the ebullient Madam Sarah Kemble Knight, in her outrageously funny account of a trip she made on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704. Continually urging her horse, from sun-up until dark, she was nine days on the road.

NO LOG CABINS

In appearance the settlements were far from what we imagine. Despite the widespread misconception, there were no log cabins in the Connecticut valley during the first 100 years.

That is what we're told by Howard R. Shurtleff in "The Log Cabin Myth," 1939, Harvard University Press, edited, with an introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison.

The English colonists were complete strangers to the log cabin throughout the 17th century, their first shelters consisting of tents or wigwams, or huts covered with bark, turf or clay.

Frame houses soon replaced them, Hartford possessing a sawpit where boards were cut, only three years after its founding in 1636. Besides, the settlers were skilled in splitting barrel staves, shingles and clapboards from tree trunks without saws.

The log cabin was brought over by the Swedes settling on the Delaware River in 1638, but its influence did not spread far from there until the 18th century.

Steamboating on the river began in 1824, lasting 107 years. It changed the inhabitants' way of life. This was on the lower Connecticut, served by the Hartford-New York boats, which made way stops at the valley towns below Hartford.

The first steamboat, the Oliver Ellsworth, arrived here Friday, May 7, of that year with 50 passengers. Her speed was ten knots and she had miraculously made the trip from Manhattan overnight. Here was something new providing speed and carrying capacity. The Ellsworth was 127 feet long with a 36-foot beam.

PROSPERITY BECKONS

Steam brought Hartford prosperity. The Ellsworth was followed by boats of competing lines. Rate wars followed. Cheap but fast transportation gave impetus to the manufacturing industry, while Hartford's new insurance business began underwriting risks on ships and cargoes.

River commerce reached its peak in the 19th century when 24,000 passenger a year were brought to Hartford, and the ship arrivals and departures numbered 2,500.

When the Ellsworth came here the riverfront was the important part of town. Fine homes lined Front St. (now Columbus Blvd) and Commerce Street.

Standing on the waterfront was Asa Forwall's warehouse, containing so many casks of St. Croix and Jamaican rum that the owner was able to build the finest house in Hartford. An old account says Asa paid for the house "out of a wooden chest in silver and gold of American, French, English and Spanish coins."

The same account continues: "There was the Taylor grocery store in 1835, a great place for people to stop in on their way to see the New York or Springfield boat come in . . .

"The steamboat line to New York was owned by the Vanderbilts, and it was no uncommon thing for Captain Jacob Vanderbilt of the Water Witch—brother of the old Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt—to stop in for his glass of St. Croix rum with a little West Indian molasses stirred in."

Above Hartford, trade was carried on with the city of Springfield in shallow-draft sternwheelers, via the Enfield Canal, but it was crippled by competition from the railroad built in 1844.

There was a saying that the upriver craft drew so little water they could sail across the meadows on a heavy dew. When Capt. Edward King's sternwheeler got stuck on a bar the skipper jumped overboard to check.

"She ought not to be aground here," he said. "It's knee deep."

On the Hartford-New York run the competition between steamboat lines resulted in bitter rate wars. A story was told how the fare started at $4.50 but dropped to a suicidal 25 cents. It was even less for passengers embarking below Hartford.

At Middle Haddam a local resident, an empty jug in his hand, was on his way to the store for molasses when he saw a friend on the steamboat Victor and stepped aboard. Before he knew it the gangplank had been hauled in and he was on his way to New York.

"Never mind," a crew member confronted him. "Your passage to New York is only 12½ cents, and you'll get your molasses cheaper."

A GOLDEN AGE

Persons who moved away from the Connecticut years ago still vividly remember Ol' Man River and the steamboat coming 'round the bend. At the turn of the century Dean Acheson was a 7-year-old boy living in the Episcopal rectory on Middletown's Broad St.

In his autobiography, "Morning and Noon," 1965, the former secretary of state pinpointed that particular time and place as the golden age of childhood.

Every night when the Acheson children finished supper they were faced with a momentous decision: Whether to watch the evening drill at the firehouse, or go to the river to meet the night boat on its way from Hartford to New York.

The last boats in passenger service were the screw steamers Hartford and Middletown, sailing on alternate days on the overnight run for more than a quarter-century. Each 245 feet long, the Middletown was built in 1895, the Hartford four years later.

A shift in passenger patronage from boats to automobiles as well as to trains had already been felt for years when the Hartford and Middletown finally gave up the ghost.

The last departure from here was made by the Hartford, when, late in the afternoon of Oct. 31, 1931, Capt. Charles R. Bacon ordered the lines cast off from the pier at the foot of State St.

There were 64 passengers aboard according to Melancthon W. Jacobus in his splendid "Connecticut River Steamboat Story," the only thorough book on steam on the river.

That was an unusually large number in those declining years, many of the passengers on the final trip being steamboat buffs and others sailing for sentimental reasons.

There was no ceremony. A handful of people stood on the dingy pier waving goodbye. It was a far cry from the year 1815 when the sidewheeler Fulton, probably the first commercial steamer on the Connecticut, visited Hartford on a goodwill mission.

She was 134 feet long, commanded by the famous Elihu Bunker. In a day and a half more than 7,000 visitors crowded aboard the Fulton, a number exceeding the population of Hartford at that time.

The skipper of the steamboat Hartford died 30 years ago. Today two of his daughters, Miss Luella Bacon and Mrs. Charles Wilson, a widow, live in the family house on Lawn Ave. in Middletown. The telephone is still listed under Capt. Charles R. Bacon.

As time is measured on the river it was only yesterday the water in the Connecticut was used for drinking and swimming.

In 1855 the Hartford reservoir was built on Garden St., the water pumped into it through 16-inch mains from an intake in the Connecticut at Riverside Park. This served the city for a number of years until growing needs resulted in building the reservoirs in West Hartford.

Public baths were maintained in the river at Riverside Park until after the turn of the century. Bathers walked across a gangplank to a covered barge, where they splashed into the river water in a pool in the center.

Capt. Stanley Mitchell of Old Saybrook, retiring recently as a river pilot, remembers his father-in-law, the late Thomas Foster, telling about sailing as a boy in a schooner from Sag Harbor, L.I.

Her errand was to pick up a cargo of drinking water out of the Connecticut River!

The schooner, owned by Foster's father, was a water tanker. That was 110 years ago. Sailing up the river until reaching fresh water at East Haddam, she opened her valves and filled her tanks.

The water was then supplied to whaling ships fitting out at Sag Harbor for long voyages. Captain Mitchell says, "The Connecticut water was believed to keep better in the ships' casks than Long Island water."

Today conservation is in the air. In less than two years Ellsworth S. Grant of West Hartford has shown his documentary film on the Connecticut, "The Long Tidal River," before 100 audiences. Twelve prints of the film have been sold and are being shown by organizations.

BEAUTIFUL CESSPOOL

That is the film subtitled, "The Story of Connecticut's Greatest Resource," and narrated by Grant's sister-in-law, Katharine Hepburn. In it she describes the river as "the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool."

Today Hartford's waterfront is totally neglected. There are no facilities for docking boats. To most Hartford residents this is of little concern.

The dikes which were built after the record flood of 1936 serve to hide the river, resulting in an example of "out of sight, out of mind."

Nevertheless, a change has taken place in the public mind regarding the valley's future. The question of stringing high tension wires across the Connecticut is a case in point.

In 1964 when wires were strung between Middletown and East Hampton there was no apparent reaction. But last year the same question gave rise to a hue and cry. Joining the chorus were the 28 school children in a fifth grade class in Manchester, pleading in a letter to the Public Utilities Commission, "Don't give our river away!"

FOR THE PEOPLE

Senator Ribicoff is regarded as the champion of the river and the valley. He has come out with a maximum clean water policy, declaring, "Twenty years from now we'll need the Connecticut River as an auxiliary supply for drinking water, and for home and industrial use."

Of equal importance, Ribicoff is ahead of some or all of the states in the valley in his concept of recreation on the water as not merely a pastime but a matter of public welfare. "We've built national parks out west where there are no people," he said, "and we haven't created them here where there are people."

In 1821 President Timothy Dwight of Yale wrote that the Connecticut, more than any other stream in the world, deserved to be called the Beautiful River.

Today its waters have been defiled. But the amazing thing is that the beautiful valley through which the river flows has remained virtually unspoiled, despite its location in the most densely populated area of the United States.

Education Shifts Gears To Serve All

(By Edwin Matesky)

It's 1817.

Hartford has about 6,000 people living and working in a cluster of buildings along the river front.

Henry Barnard, destined to become an educational statesman and champion of the public school, is a youngster of six. He had been born in Hartford Jan. 24, 1811.

There are in Hartford five district schools and a college preparatory institution. Women teachers are paid $130 to $250 a year. A male teacher gets $300 or more.

Classroom emphasis is on character building and discipline enforced by the birch rod. While there are schools and teachers, education is haphazard. Book learning is still regarded as something of a frill.

For this is still frontier America and a man's worth is judged mostly by what he can do not how much education he has. It's a society where muscle power dominates. And it's a society that doesn't want fancy farmers or fancy mechanics.

Now let's push the clock ahead 150 years, to the present.

Greater Hartford's population approaches 600,000. There are 24 elementary schools, three senior high schools staffed by almost 2,000 people, including about 1,300 teachers. Public schooling for the approximately 26,000 pupils who make up the largest school system in the state is a $16 million a year enterprise.

It is a system embracing the latest educational innovations, including participation in a landmark pupil busing experiment to suburban schools, a response to one of modern Hartford's problems: An increasing in-migration of non-whites to the inner city during the 20th Century. The phenomenon has resulted in "poverty" and "ghetto" neighborhoods and schools.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Greater Hartford also is the home of a host of higher educational institutions undreamed of 150 years before. Among them: Trinity College, the University of Hartford, Hartford College for Women, St. Joseph College, Rensselaer-Hartford Graduate Center, various branches of the University of Connecticut, Wesleyan University and Central Connecticut State College.

And the city proper is ringed by a system of suburban public school systems, one of which, the West Hartford system has been described as one of the best in the nation.

In the interim (1817 to 1967) Connecticut has, with the rest of the nation, come to be considered a cradle of education, particularly private higher education, as exemplified by mighty Yale.

The education business has become one of the biggest endeavors of the community, region, the state and the nation.

Where once pauperism was considered an inherent part of the teaching trade, salaries in the profession had become respectable. Connecticut, according to the National Education Association, is among the three highest paying states—at a figure of $7,200—in average yearly salaries.

The importance of education is also reflected in plant expansion and improvements. Hartford, for example, is on the verge of launching the first phase of what has been estimated as a $100 million school renewal program.

And at the start of the current school year 30 spanking new elementary and secondary schools opened their doors. Another 25 were under construction and expected to open during the school year, the State Department of Education reported.

ULTRA MODERN

Some of these schools are ultra-modern and include such features as wall-to-wall carpeting, overhead "natural" lighting, year-around air conditioning and landscaped grounds.

Long since replaced was the hoary, traditional emphasis on the three "Rs" as, in modern Connecticut public education, the thrust is on innovative techniques and special curricula designed to prepare the youngster for the changing and complex world about him.

An entirely new "discipline"—focusing on the special needs of the culturally and economically impoverished pupil—has emerged, prompted in good part by massive doses of federal and state aid.

Federal aid is here to stay—and in a big way. Just after the Korean War, Connecticut was receiving about $2.5 million a year in federal aid for its schools.

By the 1965–66 fiscal year, the amount had mushroomed to 10 times that figure, to $24.7 million, according to the State Department of Education.

And that's only for elementary and secondary education. The figure doesn't include the millions received for higher education or scholarships and loans to college students, nor the $13.1 million the state received in the fiscal year under the U.S. Economic Opportunity Act.

Another impressive figure (from State Education Commissioner William J. Sanders' annual report for 1965–66 to the governor): Within the provision of various legislative acts, the State Board of Education distributed $113,740,052 during 1965–66 for grants-in-aid in support of local schools, for school buildings, for rehabilitation of the disabled and for scholarship aid.

The comparable figure for 1964–65 was $86,805,488.

Last June, the State Board of Education proposed to the legislature a $272.7 million general fund budget for fiscal years 1967–68 and 1968–69, a $31 million increase over the $240.5 million actually appropriated by the lawmakers for education in 1965–67.

Another facet of the amounts involved in education today—Americans are borrowing about $600 million a year for tuition and other expenses. In 1957–58, by comparison, student financing totaled about $115 million.

There are about 900,000 reasons in Connecticut for this expense and effort. That's the number of people, ranging from preschool tots to collegians and adults in part time education—who are going to school this year.

Nor has the expansion been solely in the public sphere.

Yale University began its 266th academic year in September with an overall enrollment of 8,650 students, an increase of about 100 over the previous year. And the University of Connecticut counted some 15,800 students, a 3.8 percent increase over the previous year's tally.

Significantly both universities, representing the opposite poles in university establishment (Yale being the epitome of private higher education; UConn, the public land-grant "people's university") graduated record, almost identical, numbers last June. Yale handed out 2,400 degrees; UConn award 2,600-odd sheepskins.

URBAN GROWTH

The University of Hartford, a private "urban" university formed in 1957, awarded 520 degrees in 1958 at its first commencement. Last June about 750 received degrees.

The University of Hartford is typical of the private, urban type universities that have mushroomed across the country since World War II. In 1957 the Hartford Art School, Hillyer College and the Hartt College of Music banded under the U. of H. banner. That first year, the fledgling university accommodated a total of 7,160 students. By 1965–66 its student ranks had swelled to about 10,500.

Since 1960, U. of H. has spent some $6.5 million on new buildings alone. Under construction is another $12 million worth.

Trinity College poured $9 million into new construction in the decade, 1956–66. A $3 million Life Sciences Center is now under construction. In the same period Trinity's enrollment increased from 975 undergraduate students to about 1,200 at present.

St. Joseph College has spent $4.8 million on plant construction in the same decade and has seen its enrollment jump 35 per cent to the 550-mark.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

Typical of the specialized institution arising to meet a specific need is the Rensselaer-Hartford Graduate Center. It began in South Windsor in 1955 in response to a need for part-time graduate level programs for engineers, scientists and managers in Greater Hartford. At first there were about 200 students. By 1975, the Center expects an enrollment of more than 1,000.

And by that time it will have moved to Hartford's Windsor Street Redevelopment Area in a $7.8 complex of ultra-modern buildings.

The importance and bigness of modern education is obvious when the legislature in 1965 established a new agency, the Commission for Higher Education, charged with coordinating all higher education in the state.

And the boards under it—the University of Connecticut trustees, trustees for the state colleges and trustees for the regional community (two-year) public colleges—are all planning major expansion of their various units.

So, public and private higher education in Connecticut—mid-1960s style—is big.

But it wasn't always big. It took time. Inertia and the opposition of an entrenched educational establishment were the enemies of such as Henry Barnard and two other New Englanders, Horace Mann and James G. Carter, who championed the ideal of public education.

They had three major goals (1) public support, (2) state control and (3) freedom from religious sectarianism.

Barnard deserves special mention in any history of education.

As Whig in the Connecticut Legislature in 1837–33 he was instrumental in drafting and securing passage in 1838 of a measure that created a state board of commissioners of common schools. He was its first secretary.

REAL PIONEER

He organized the Rhode Island school system in the 1840s and served as that state's first public school commissioner (1845–49). He went on to the principalship of the State Normal School in New Britain in the early 1850s, was chancellor of the University of Wisconsin for a time and, also, president of St. John's College in Maryland.

From 1867 until his retirement in 1870 he served as the first U.S. commissioner of education. And he edited the American Journal of Education which eventually grew to 32 volumes. It documented the pattern and thought in U.S. education during the struggle for public schools.

Barnard wanted more and better schools for all of the people and he fought against lack of fixed school years, lack of uniformity in teaching, lack of supervision, lack of uniformity in texts—among others in a plethora of ills that hobbled education in the 19th Century.

Barnard himself was a victim of one of Hartford's district schools. He once said it took half his lifetime to rid himself of poor mental habits acquired in schools where the discipline was harsh and demoralizing and the methods were wretched.

Hartford's grammar school was still operating in 1847 when the city acquired a high school. The grammar school was absorbed into the high school's classics department and by tracing its history back to the 1600s the high school may be considered the second oldest in the nation.

GENESIS OF YALE

The Collegiate School in Connecticut, eventually to become Yale College, couldn't decide where to settle down. Chartered in 1701 it considered locating in Hartford, Wethersfield, Killingworth and Saybrook.

For a time it operated at Killingworth and Saybrook before finding a permanent home in New Haven in 1716.

Reforms to democratize and intellectualize higher education at such places as the University of Vermont, Amherst and the University of Virginia weren't typical. Higher education was still basically a privilege limited to the new nation's aristocratic classes.

But things changed, sometimes slowly and with reluctance, under the impact of the extracurriculum, the elective system, progressivism and the Federal Land Grant Act of 1862 and the Morrill Act of 1890.

Connecticut public education generally followed the same pattern as experienced in the rest of the nation. At first, secondary and higher educational opportunity was limited somewhat to the economic elite.

The rise of industry toward the turn of the century created the need for a literate working class. At the same time there were waves of immigrants to the country, immigrants who had to be "Americanized."

Progressive education and the life adjustment theory was introduced. Social reformers saw the schoolhouse as the only public agency capable of Americanizing the foreign immigrants.

Now Hartford, and other urban American centers, have another set of newcomers—the Negroes who have poured into the inner cities—and this has posed a new set of problems and new solutions.

Although there have been Negroes in Connecticut since early Colonial days, World War I and its resultant labor shortage brought massive numbers of Negroes from the South. In 1900, Hartford's Negro population totaled 1,887. By 1920 it was 4,199 and by 1960, about 25,000.

Puerto Ricans came here for the tobacco fields around World War II. Their number is estimated at about 10,000 to 14,000.

As non-whites made Hartford home, whites moved to the suburbs. By 1960, for instance, the Negro population had doubled and the white population had decreased by 27,000. A report in the Fall of 1965 showed total grade school enrollment was 51.4 per cent white; 48.6 per cent non-white. The School Department's Research Department has predicted non-white enrollment will climb to 60 per cent by 1968 and that by 1970 possibly account for two-thirds of public school enrollment.

Growing concern with the educational problems of the disadvantaged prompted the federal government in 1965, to enter education in a somewhat massive way under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which prompted Headstart preschool programs and provided money for a host of special, innovative educational programs on the local level.

Another post World War II spur was the Russian launching of Sputnik One in 1957. It caused a hard look at the intellectual quality of public schooling and led to the National Defense Education Act of 1957 which provided scholarships, loans and grants to improve the teaching of science, mathematics and foreign languages and to promote guidance, counseling and testing services that would identify talented youth quickly and accurately.

FEDERAL AID

Federal involvement in education was nothing new. Before World War I it had supported agricultural research and vocational education in the secondary schools. And there was the "GI Bill" after World War II which allowed thousands of veterans to go to college.

How would you compare Hartford public education pre-World War 2 to the post war period? The Times asked former school superintendent Kenneth Meinke, associated with the school system for almost 15 years.

"Before the war," he said, "the emphasis was entirely academic. There were no distributive education programs, for instance, nor the work study programs that are now in effect. Now the emphasis is less on academics and more on preparing youngsters for living skills, a characteristic of education in all large cities."

Major influences in recent years on Hartford education: The series of wars have been an unsettling influence, television has had an impact, a significant influx of Puerto Ricans and a different type of youngster who questions more and is more pragmatic, Meinke said.

Availability of massive federal aid, especially within the past five years, has required school administrators to develop expertise in a new "discipline"—that of developing special programs for the culturally and economically disadvantaged.

When asked to typify modern Hartford public education, Meinke said:

"Hartford has been a forerunner in adapting its educational program to the needs of its youngsters. Since the war this has included tracking in the high school, programs for gifted children; a top work-experience program, an excellent set up for talented youngsters and a more than $1 million a year guidance program at all levels."

LEADERS NURTURED CULTURE IN ROUGH GROUND

(*"For living in the Constitution State a man should be well acquainted with her cultural background, know her people and understand her unique contribution to the American way of life. In certain respects we need to relive the past if Connecticut is to have a future."* The Rev. Hollis M. French, former pastor of Warehouse Point Methodist Episcopal Church.)

(By Florence Berkman)

From 1636 when Hartford was founded to the early decades of the 19th Century this country had great leaders, cultivated men who strove to incorporate into this republic the great ideas of Greece and Rome.

Thomas Hooker who led his followers from Massachusetts to settle Hartford in the fertile Connecticut Valley had bachelor's and master's degrees from Emmanuel College, Cambridge University. John Davenport, founder of New Haven, entered Merton College, Oxford, at 16 and became a classical scholar. And John Winthrop Jr., founder of New London, according to Odell Shepard (Connecticut's own poet, scholar and sometimes politician) was "a man of high culture. He was a mind; he had character and charm, and he was a politician in the best sense of the word."

At one time in the colonial period there was one Oxford University graduate for every 250 people in New England.

Hooker's Fundamental Orders of 1639 gave voters the right to elect government officials. This document constituted the first such instrument in the world, and the Connecticut Constitution of 1818, based on the Fundamental Orders, became a model for the rest of the country and for the national Constitution.

The colonists were for the most part humble people—tradesmen, craftsmen, farmers and laborers. They came from the yeoman or freeholder class in England, a notch or two below the gentry, forerunners of the American middle class.

It was very much in their minds to transplant the English way of life to these shores, not only the determination to serve God unafraid and to insure individual liberty for themselves, but to establish here the same gracious way of life they had seen among the English upper classes.

Yale College was founded only 65 years after the colonists set foot on Connecticut soil. And by 1754 six major colleges had been established in America: Harvard, 1636 (16 years after the Mayflower landing); William and Mary, 1693; Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746; University of Pennsylvania, 1751, and King's College, later Columbia, 1754.

The early pioneers could do little to bring about a brilliant flowering of the arts. For 150 years they concentrated on wresting a living from the soil, developing trade, building homes, schools and churches. Yet from the earliest times itinerant portrait painters went from settlement to settlement, and few homes were without a family portrait. Some times stilted, they still have a naive charm, and they record with some accuracy the character of the people who were willing to face unknown hardships.

The church ruled the colony so it is not astonishing that literature and poetry were merely handmaidens to theology for more than 100 years. Until 1800 there is not much that can be called pure literature or poetry in America.

Music fared even worse. The Puritans were suspicious of songs that could be enjoyed for the melody. When Handel and Bach were creating their immortal works, when Purcell was giving color and beauty to English religious music, the Puritans were just beginning "the long climb from the rude and doleful strains of psalm singing."

If in the beginning, Connecticut lacked the ingredients for high culture—great wealth and leisure—its people had taste of a high order. The most humble homes had something personal and distinctive about them—a lovely doorway, a carved mantle, a bit of fine paneling. Historians agree that some of the finest silver and furniture made anywhere were designed by 18th century American craftsmen. Here, they believe, one finds "the major American artistic achievement of the period."

Commercial companies just emerging hired artists to design their papers. The Hartford Bank Note Co., for example, and later the insurance companies, used artists to design notes and policies issued to the public. Samuel F. B. Morse and George Durrie were among the artists who made engravings for commercial use.

In hiring people of this caliber instead of routine craftsmen, businessmen put into the hands of the public designs of taste and quality. They became the purveyors of a mass culture which even today can be viewed with pride.

WEALTHIER COLONISTS SPENT MONEY FREELY

Some of the colonists amassed wealth by 1735 and, contrary to the general belief, they spent it. Fine furniture, good books, pictures and "everything that a man of taste would require were brought over from England." They built spacious homes and lived in comfort and considerable style.

Even church architecture reflected their respect for good line and good proportion. Some historians believe the concept of Congregational Church architecture is Connecticut's greatest contribution. The simplicity of line and the purity of concept of these church buildings set a stamp upon New England as perhaps nothing else could, save the saltbox house which also was a Connecticut design.

The need to stick to simple lines and decoration led American furniture makers to create pieces of great refinement, as early Connecticut furniture in museums reveals.

Henry Maynard, curator of American art at the Wadsworth Atheneum, said that the colonial man had an eye for a clean line, for symmetry and for understated beauty. "A Connecticut piece stands out," he said. This talent for understatement, seen both in furniture and architecture, was a thread woven into the very fabric of the colonists' lives—in their manners, speech, and approach to business and politics.

Although "Connecticut was not Athens," as Gov. Jonathan Trumbull told his son John when the young man said he wanted to be an artist, the colonists must have had a special feeling for the arts.

Early in history a newspaper article stated:

"An art feeling has sprung up of unusual depth and extent, even in villages . . . It has imparted a knowledge which no textbooks today contain. It is invaluable as an open sesame to the richest blessings of civilization.

"It is planted in the hearts of the people . . . an understanding for that which is truest and best in the work of men's fingers . . . Without art industry is brutality."

The fledgling nation developed a thoroughly English culture. "The capacity of British culture for absorbing and dominating all other cultures in the colonies—and of retaining its influence—is an extraordinary phenomenon not easily accounted for," Dr. Louis B. Wright pointed out in an essay, "The Arts in America: The Colonial Period."

The non-British, he said, left some residual evidence of their presence but it is astonishing how little effect they had on the totality of the developing civilization.

By the time of the Revolution, America had an aristocracy of wealth and culture to finance the war—pledging "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour," and demonstrating a quality of patriotism still unmatched in our history.

It is interesting to take note of the men who represented Connecticut at the Constitutional Convention:

Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, Princeton graduate, later senator, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court and a special commissioner to France.

Roger Sherman (author of the Connecticut Compromise which is said to have prevented the convention from being deadlocked), early in life a shoemaker, later a lawyer and judge of the county court.

William Samuel Johnson, Yale 1744, with a master's degree from Harvard; Superior Court judge, colonial agent in London, president of Columbia College.

They were brilliant men—steeped in the past as they wrought for the future.

When they formulated the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights they took the "Roman Republic" as their model for government and "Plutarch's Heroes" as models for the men in whose hands this republic was to be.

Despite the Revolution these leaders never broke cultural ties with Europe and they were received abroad in the highest intellectual circles as equals. Historians point out that America was at its height intellectually and culturally at the time of Jefferson. These were 18th Century men in the best sense—for this was the Age of Enlightenment and the Age of Reason in education, science and in cultural pursuits.

After the Revolution some colonists made great fortunes which sent many young people to Europe in pursuit of culture. They returned with the determination to build museums, libraries and other cultural institutions. Daniel Wadsworth, founder of the Wadsworth Atheneum, is a case in point.

YOUNG DAN WADSWORTH TOOK "THE GRAND TOUR"

At 12 he went to Europe with his father, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, to make the Grand Tour. On their return a newspaper reported surprise "that a youth of 13 should have acquired so much knowledge, such accurate and vivid impressions of objects of art and taste, so extensive an acquaintance with distinguished people."

In 1841 Daniel Wadsworth headed a drive to build a museum in Hartford. He raised $20,000 and donated his father's house on Main Street for the structure. It was designed by Ithiel Town, a leading American architect.

The Wadsworth Atheneum opened in 1844 with its first collection of paintings purchased by Daniel Wadsworth, David Watkinson (who left $100,000 to found the Watkinson Library) and James B. Hosmer, among others. In 1879 the Wadsworth Atheneum owned 275 works valued at from $60,000 to $80,000.

With the rise of a large commercial and industrial class in the 19th Century, with the "triumph of technology," with the opening of the frontiers to the West where books were excess baggage, the veneration for learning and the arts began to subside.

President Jackson, elected in 1828, was the first president to come out of the frontier. Brilliant but uneducated, he spearheaded the down-grading of education and the traditions of the founding fathers. Unhappily for America, he also rejected the theory that government should be run by carefully selected, educated men. Power gradually passed into the hands of men ignorant of the goals, traditions and ideals upon which this republic was founded.

Jackson became the spokesman for the new wealth, which, having had little contact with cultivated minds, saw no need for a classical training, or even for education itself.

If Connecticut contributed few top names in the fine arts, it nevertheless gave the country some honorable ones and much excellent work. Ralph Earl (1751–1801) was the state's first American artist of distinction and although he was often referred to as a "countrified Copley" he was a fine portraitist, as his painting of "Justice Oliver Ellsworth and his wife Abigail" owned by the Atheneum reveals.

There was John Trumbull, the leading painter of historical scenes in America, and Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872), a talented artist who might have achieved international fame had he not turned to inventions early in life. Hartford-born Frederick Edwin Church and his teacher, Thomas Cole, were landscapists of note.

George H. Durrie (1820–1863) was the first and best interpreter of Connecticut landscape; John Frederick Kensett (1818–1872) was a leading figure in the Hudson River School; and Amos Doolittle (1754–1832) was a top figure in engraving in America.

Hezekiah Augur (1791–1858), the first Connecticut sculptor, was overshadowed by Paul Wayland Bartlett (1865–1925), educated in France and invited to show at the French Salon when he was only 14. The replica of one of his great works, the equestrian statue of Lafayette in the court of the Louvre, stands near the Capitol grounds in Hartford.

In the 19th Century Connecticut had more artists of acknowledged skill than any other state in the union. In 1879 there were more than 200 art students in New York City from this state, with many more abroad.

Strangely the majority of these artists went elsewhere to live when they achieved fame, but in the later part of the 19th Century the process was reversed and noted painters made Connecticut their home. Among them were J. Alden Weir and John Ferguson Weir, sons of the famous Hudson River School painter, Robert W. Weir.

FIRST SUMMER COLONY LYME ARTISTS BEGAN

The first summer art colony in America was started in Lyme with such men as Childe Hassam, Guy Wiggins and Eugene Higgins.

Yale pioneered in the study of the visual arts on this continent and in 1832 established the earliest art museum in the Anglo-Saxon world—the first in this country to be connected with a college.

In 1858 Yale sponsored an exhibition of antique marble statues which drew a crowd of 7,000 (a record even for today). As a result of the turnout the college instituted a course of art lectures recognizing the important influence art and culture had upon the students. Eight years later a separate art department building was built.

The Hartford Art School, now part of the University of Hartford, had its inception in 1877 when a group of cultivated women, including Mrs. Samuel Clemens and Mrs. Charles Dudley Warner, started the Ladies' Decorative Art Society. The school is now the third oldest in the country.

A group called "The Hartford School" dominated the local art scene from the middle of the 19th Century to the first decades of the 20th. Two of the artists attained national reputations: William Gedney Bunce (1840–1916) and Dwight William Tryon (1849–1925). Later Charles Noel Flagg started the Connecticut League of Art Students which he ran like the Paris atelier where he had studied. Among his pupils were James Britton, Louis Orr, the etcher and Milton Avery who was to become a top American artist.

Connecticut had some good art collections early in its history. The first, 250 works by John Trumbull was acquired by Yale after the Revolution. In 1870 it acquired 119 choice Italian primitives from the Jarves Collection.

At the turn of the century the Wadsworth Atheneum's collections were enriched by princely gifts of Meissen porcelains, brasses and paintings from the noted collector, J. P. Morgan. The Morgan wing of the museum was built in 1910 to house the gifts. In 1934 the Avery wing was built and it was the beginning of the museum's climb to international renown.

If not the birthplace, the Wadsworth was at least the cradle of many ideas in art which came to a full flowering after 1927 when A. Everett Austin Jr., a gifted 27-year-old Harvard and Fogg Museum graduate, took the helm. He brought together one of the finest collections of baroque and rococo art in this country. At the same time the museum became a pioneer in presenting important and revolutionary art of this century. In 1934 Mr. Austin presented an exhibition of Pablo Picasso's works, the first on this side of the Atlantic.

Connecticut has several other art museums including the Lyman Allyn in New London (1932) Strong in Connecticut painting, furniture and the decorative arts of the 18th and 19th centuries; the New Britain Museum of American Art (1937) which has more than a thousand works from the 18th Century to the present, the bulk of its painting 20th Century art with emphasis on the Ashcan School, and the Slater Memorial Museum, the only art museum connected with a secondary school—The Norwich Free Academy.

AMERICAN ART SLIGHTED UNTIL EARLY IN CENTURY

Until the second quarter of the 20th Century art institutions here paid little attention to American art. Unlike Europe where, for example, Botticelli's best works are in Florence, Rembrandt's in Holland, Watteau's in Paris, Hogarth's in London, "One may look in vain for Hassams in Norwich or for Kensetts in Hartford," said one writer.

The younger generation of artists has had an easier time because the current art boom has spotlighted contemporary art. Connecticut now has more artists per capita than any state in the country. Noted painters from around the nation and from Europe have made Connecticut their home. Quite a few settled here when the Hitler purge of artists drove them out of Germany. Joseph Albers, of Yale, was one, among many.

Music in the New World for more than 100 years was more functional than esthetic. There was church singing, and music for dancing, for funeral processions and for patriotic occasions.

Of importance in the emerging musical scene in the last century was the Litchfield County Choral Union. Composed of five societies centered in Norfolk, with 700 trained voices, the group, sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Stoeckel of Norfolk, commissioned new works. The Stockel home with its famous music shed is now the Yale Summer School of Music. Jean Sibelius was the first international composer to be so honored and in 1917 he came to Norfolk to conduct his composition in the Shed.

The Yale School of Music, founded by Samuel Sanford (who had been connected with the Damrosch Symphony) brought Horatio Parker to Yale.

Some of the finest performers were brought to Hartford in the '20s by Robert Kellogg and later by the Bushnell Memorial.

Hartford and New Haven by that time had their own symphony orchestras and now there are others in the state. The Bushnell inaugurated a series of concerts by the major symphony orchestras and chamber groups.

The music schools in Hartford also have been a magnet for top talent. Julius Hartt, later succeeded by Moshe Paranov, brought to Hartt School and later Hartt College faculties Harold Bauer, world renowned pianist; Ernest Bloch, composer; Alfred Einstein, musicologist; Dr. Elemer Nagy to revolutionize modern opera staging and directing and Aaron Copland.

The Hartford Conservatory, formerly the Hartford School of Music, has made its contribution in music and drama among other accomplishments. Both schools have pioneered in modern dance. The conservatory is guided by Robert Brawley.

LITERATURE IN VACUUM FOR FIRST 200 YEARS

Literature in Connecticut for 200 years was a "distinguished blank."

It is strange that belles lettres for their own sake were not important in the early days of the colonies since a substantial number of the settlers were university graduates. But for the first 100 years, writers were almost entirely theologians.

Thomas Hooker was Connecticut's first literary man. He used his lucid prose to argue religious questions that concerned the colonists, and to create the Fundamental Orders. But Connecticut literature really started with Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) who was born in East Windsor but spent his mature life in Massachusetts. Philosopher, theologian, scholar and mystic whose "Freedom of the Will" is still regarded as of the first importance, he is considered today to have been one of the top ranking thinkers of the 18th Century.

Even in the 19th Century the devout Christians who settled this land did not consider literature to be part of the "Lord's Work" and when Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" was published in the mid-century, critics asked, "Has the French era begun in American literature?"

Among the distinguished ministers whose preaching was the major literary and intellectual fare of early Hartford were William E. Channing, Lyman Beecher (father of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher) and Horace Bushnell whose writing bordered on literature.

The first real literary society came into existence in Connecticut about 1815. The "Hartford Wits" included about a dozen Yale graduates who had come to Hartford to live. It was the earliest coterie devoted to literature in America where the tendency had been to produce distinguished theologians.

They met regularly to exchange ideas on books, to read to each other, to develop sophisticated conversation and to discuss politics.

It was in the political area rather than in the literary, that the Wits made themselves felt. They wrote political satires on the anarchy and chaos that threatened the country after the Revolution.

The Wits lampooned the political chicanery foot-promotion of local rebellion, paper money and selfish greed.

Although the Wits' writings are now considered mediocre, their work was not without value because it reflected "the strong, unique and earnest personalities who wanted to have a part in building an upright America." Members went on to become distinguished men—a judge in the Supreme Court, a college president, a foreign minister, an ambassador and a noted physician. Among them were John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, Joel Barlow, Richard Alsop and Lemuel Hopkins.

Mark Twain enriched the literary climate of Hartford during his 30 years' stay here (1870-1900). He was a member of a distinguished Hartford group that lived in the Forest Street area, called Nook Farm.

It was a brilliant, energetic and accomplished company of about 18 families, people who raised the intellectual vision of the whole community and left a glow to the city's cultural climate long after the original members moved away or died.

With Mark Twain were Harriet Beecher Stowe, Dr. William Porter, Charles Dudley Warner, Francis Gillette, the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Burton, the Hookers (descendants of Thomas Hooker), Thomas C. Perkins (his home later the home of Dr. Thomas Hepburn and the childhood home of Katharine Hepburn) and Gen. Joseph Hawley, among others.

This small community was inhabited by people who loved life and social activity. John Hooker in his book "Long Remembrances of a Long Life" said of Nook Farm:

> "The early comers were generally family or personal friends and we lived like a little society by ourselves—each of us making free of the others' houses . . . and all of us frequently gathering for a social evening or to welcome some friendly visitor."

POETRY OUTPUT HEAVY, BUT PROVED PERISHABLE

Poetry rather than prose dominated the literary scene in the 19th Century, but it was not first rate. Most of it imitated Europe. One writer called it "the product of a mercantile culture." Another said "The thin dry stream of literature in the 17th and 18th centuries became a river in the 19th, not deep but broad."

Fitz-Greene Halleck was the most distinguished Connecticut poet at the turn of the 19th Century. He wrote satirical verse "with a whip and a lash for a pen." Early in life he left Connecticut to become part of the New York literary scene. James Gates Percival was a physician, geologist and poet; Henry Howard Brownell was another noted name in the literature of the time.

Noah Webster wrote his American dictionary in 1828; Jared Sparks, called the "American Plutarch" became the first president of Harvard; John Fiske was a distinguished Harvard graduate and an eminent historian. Bronson Alcott agonized Connecticut by his advanced educational methods and left to join the Concord group in Massachusetts—Emerson, Thoreau and their group of Transcendentalists.

On another level Hartford's Lydia Sigourney, acclaimed in her time as a lady poet, is looked upon today as sentimental and representing the "immature cultural standards of the epoch." Minor writer followed minor writer.

But Yale University had a considerable influence in the state's literary life. Such distinguished alumni as James Fenimore Cooper, Stephen Vincent Benet, Thornton Wilder and Sinclair Lewis received inspiration for their work during their years in New Haven.

Gov. Wilbur L. Cross authored the definitive biographies of Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne; William Lyon Phelps was a leading critic and writer; Odell Shepard, poet and teacher at Trinity College won the Pulitzer Prize for his "Journal of Bronson Alcott," and Wilbert Snow, poet and teacher at Wesleyan University—these are some of the men who enriched Connecticut.

Robert Penn Warren and John Hersey, both eminent modern writers are the contemporary figures in literature at Yale. And Connecticut is the home of noted historians and literary men in many fields—drawn here because of the proximity to New York City and the state's beauty. An outstanding contemporary poet was Hartford's Wallace Stevens.

If the Founding Fathers were against music for pleasure it is not surprising that the theater was anathema to them, and for 150 years plays were not only frowned upon but forbidden.

In 1794, almost a quarter century before The Hartford Times was founded a group of Hartford people invested money in "The New Theater," located on Temple Street. The owners promised to do everything in their power to see that the plays would be "a source of moral instruction as well as of amusement."

A year later, however, the public attitude toward theater again became "fanatical" and in 1800 the General Assembly passed "An Act to Prevent Theatrical Shows and Entertainment Throughout the State." For 50 years Connecticut remained theaterless and when in 1852 an out-of-state theater group applied for a license to perform in Hartford the matter was taken up at the Common Council. One councilman remarked: "The very proposition that a theater can be moral is an absurdity."

A few years later the Council relented and allowed theater to be presented two-months a year. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was seen here for the first time in 1855.

From 1860 to 1880 road companies flourished along the eastern seaboard and Hartford became the key city for these traveling thespians. The city now had not only the New Theater for vaudeville, but the American Theater (both on Market Street) and Roberts Opera House on Main Street where opera was staged almost nightly.

THEATER'S GOLDEN ERA DATES BACK TO PARSON'S

In 1896 Parsons Theater was opened bringing a "golden age" of theater where old and young saw the best there was to be seen. Winchell Smith, a Broadway playwright and producer from Farmington, opened all his plays at Parsons, and the city became a tryout center for Broadway productions.

Many who were school children then recall with a thrill the magnificent Saturday matinees where they say Minnie Maddern Fiske, Eva Le Gallienne, John Barrymore, Jane Cowl, George Arliss and other luminaries. The Moscow Art Theater came, as did the Diaghilev Ballet.

Sadly, Parsons was razed in the 1930s because of the Depression and because the building was condemned.

After Parsons the Bushnell Memorial began to present plays, but theater languished in the state until the Shubert in New Haven became a try-out place. Later a group from New York started a New Parsons in Hartford but after a few seasons the venture folded. It could not recapture the ambience of Old Parsons.

In the intervening years repertory groups and the college drama clubs helped revive the theater. In the former category are the Hartford Stage Company and the Long Wharf Theater in New Haven. The Yale Drama group under Director Robert Bleustein, gives promise of being something more than just student work.

The Shakespeare Festival Theater in Stratford does much to raise summer theater fare as does Goodspeed Opera House in Haddam.

Today there is a bright future ahead for all of the arts. All over America universities and colleges are making enormous contributions by putting artists-in-residence on their faculties. Students in day-to-day contact with artistic personalities are responding with enthusiasm. They really want to know and they have standards, and these institutions of learning are turning out future leaders whose search for culture will become increasingly meaningful.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

SINGLE CONVENTION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from Executive G, 90th Congress, first session, the single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, transmitted to the Senate today by the President of the United States, and that the convention, together with the President's message, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to accession to the single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, open for signature at New York, March 30, 1961, to August 1, 1961, I transmit herewith a copy of the convention along with the final act of the United Nations Conference at which the convention was adopted.

For nearly 60 years the United States has taken a leading part in international cooperation for the control of narcotic drugs. We should continue this cooperation to the fullest possible extent in combating the scourge of drug abuse.

After a survey by a special task force on the contribution of the convention to the control of illegal international drug traffic, I have concluded that the national and international interest in drug control will be significantly advanced by U.S. accession.

I recommend that the Senate give the convention early and favorable consideration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 8, 1967.*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business which the clerk will report.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D, 88th Cong., 2d sess.).

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I cannot bring myself to vote for the Consular Treaty at this time.

This treaty extends unprecedented immunities to consular representatives in this country from the Soviet Union—immunities that would have to be extended to many other nations. But this is not the reason I am voting against the treaty.

Everyone knows each new Soviet consulate would be a new Soviet spy nest. But this is not the reason I am voting against the treaty.

If this treaty were a first step in relaxing the tensions of the cold war between the Communist bloc and the free nations, which has for years kept the world divided into two armed camps, I would not let these considerations stand in my way. We of this generation have a solemn duty to neglect no opportunity to pave the way for peace rather than nuclear war for those who come after us. In making these grave decisions, if we err, it should be on the side of peace.

This is why I would be willing to overlook the fact that the treaty extends criminal immunity to consular representatives of many nations down to the most minor officials.

This is why I would be willing to overlook the fact that each new consulate would be a base for enemy agents. After all, a few more enemy agents may not be serious, as J. Edgar Hoover has been cajoled into admitting.

This is why I would be willing to overlook the fact that this treaty does not stand alone but, as indicated by the President, is the opening gun for expanded trade and other concessions to the Soviets.

This is why I would even be willing to overlook the fact that few Soviet agreements have remained unbroken, that they have never hesitated to disregard their solemn covenants if it benefited them to do so, and that Americans who find themselves within the territory of the Soviet Union would hardly be safe if we had a hundred treaties.

Yes, Mr. President, I would be willing to stifle all these misgivings to support a treaty that might offer the possibility of starting a thaw in the cold war.

But, Mr. President, we are no longer in a cold war. We are in a hot war. In that war Americans are dying in thousands. And who is killing them? Ostensibly, North Vietnam and the Vietcong are the enemy. But there is not a Member of the Senate who does not know they could not maintain their aggression without outside help. Red China is not the enemy—at least not recently. She has too many problems of her own. The Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone, is fighting this bloody war of aggression. The Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone, has it within its power to stop the killing and bring the combatants to the negotiating table tomorrow.

Soviet Migs are shooting down American pilots from the air.

Soviet missiles are shooting them from the ground.

Soviet rockets are shooting at our camps and bases.

Soviet machineguns and rifles are killing our ground troops.

Soviet ships and Soviet trucks bring in the weapons and supplies.

The North Vietnamese war machine runs on Soviet oil—300,000 tons of it in 18 months.

Add to this field artillery, helicopters, coastal ships, an advanced radar defense system, and heavy construction equipment.

Add also bridge-building materials—that is the kind of "bridge building" they are at present interested in; not the "bridges of friendship" that we are talking about in connection with this treaty.

Mr. President, an interesting article was carried recently by the Novosty News Agency. In it the Soviets attack Red China for hindering their war effort against the Americans. They complain bitterly that Soviet weapons in transit through China are frequently delayed and sometimes stolen. In some cases, they say obsolete models are substituted for the latest Soviet aircraft. In the light of this, can there be any doubt as to who is our real adversary?

But plenty of Soviet assistance is getting through.

Soviet military investment in Vietnam is jumping each year—from $550 million in 1965 to $800 million promised for this year. No one can accuse the Soviets of not being frank and forthright. On at least two occasions, Moscow has proclaimed that it would give "ever-growing assistance to Vietnam in repulsing American aggression." Clearly, they meant what they said.

These are the people with whom our relations are, according to our State Department, softening to the point that they ask us to become the supplicants in seeking a treaty that offers new privileges and tokens of friendship. The time may come, and I pray it may be soon, when we can move to bridge the gap between us and the Soviets, when the two nations, perhaps of necessity, will seek common cause in some areas, when mutual trade and the exchange of tourists and visitors may promote better understanding. But that time is not yet.

Mr. President, at this point my concern is not to make the way easy for American tourists to carry American dollars to the Soviet Union. My concern is not to promote trade or extend credit to the Soviets. For the time being, my concern is not even for future generations. My concern is for the young men we have drafted and sent to Vietnam. If their fathers and mothers and wives could vote on this treaty, there can be little doubt what would happen to it. They cannot vote on it, but we, their representatives, must.

It is my deep conviction that our first business is to end the war and stop the killing. Short of nuclear war, I will vote for any measure, however harsh, that will hasten it. I will vote against any proposal, however appealing, that will delay it. Like every peace-loving American, I would welcome with open arms any sign of sincere peace negotiations by any or all of our adversaries. But I shall not vote to ratify any treaty, make any overtures, or offer any concessions to an enemy while he is killing our people.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COTTON. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the statement just made by the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire is further evidence of his continuing capacity to present a clear and constructive analysis and comment on a most difficult problem. It is also another evidence of his capacity and his willingness to declare himself courageously on an issue as highly controversial as this one.

I ask the Senator from New Hampshire, with regard to the evidence of growing assistance to North Vietnam and the repulsing of "American aggression" to which he referred a moment ago, if he did not take into consideration the increases announced yesterday in the military budget of the Russian Soviets.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I first thank my friend, the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, for his kind remarks.

I prepared these figures on the Soviet military investment on the basis of their own recent statements. I did not incorporate those figures announced only a few hours ago because, frankly, I did not have the time to fully analyze them, and I did not want to say anything in my brief remarks that could be open to question.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the press yesterday carried an announcement to the effect that the Soviets were increasing their budget—I believe my recollection is correct—by some 8 percent. That would amount to approximately $1 billion-plus.

We do not know what the Russians use for dollars or what they use for standards of value, because, after all, they can pay anything they want to pay for steel and charge it to some other account.

If the Soviet Union admits to a figure of 8 percent, we can be quite sure that it is actually more than that. Interestingly enough, the announcement by Russian sources gave as the reason for this increase the continued activities of that imperialistic and expansionist nation—the United States of America—and that it was because of the necessity to continue furnishing military help to North Vietnam that the Soviets are compelled to increase their budget.

It would seem to me that that statement by the Kremlin falls right in line with the thinking of the Senator from New Hampshire in citing the figures which he carefully prepared, and has no doubt documented, on the proposition that that is how the continuance of the war is made possible—through the continual supply of materiel, equipment, armament, and munitions by the Soviets to the Communist government of North Vietnam.

Mr. COTTON. What the Senator says is indeed true, and I thank him for it. I know from his comments that he agrees with me.

We cannot possibly get anything more than estimates and educated guesses when we attempt to pin down to dollars and cents figures Soviet military aid and cooperation, not only in goods and weapons but also in the furnishing of technicians and manpower. But we know that the Soviet Union is supplying our adversaries, the aggressors who are attacking our men in Vietnam, and supplying them in quantity.

I do not claim that my figures are exact. I made them purposely conservative because, as the Senator has well pointed out, we cannot know the full extent to which Soviet assistance is being stepped up.

We do know from the increasing pressure, the increasing attacks, and the increasing supplies that are constantly flowing into North Vietnam and into the hands of our adversaries in South Vietnam that it is being stepped up every single day in every single month. And we know, if we exercise our commonsense, that in the situation in which Red China is at present, Red China is not in a position to be the backbone of this aggression against the United States.

So the aid comes from just one country: It comes from the Soviet Union, and they make no bones about it.

For us to select this time—when their guns are shooting our boys—in which to ask them for a treaty that is only an entering wedge for more treaties leading to trade and credit and money in the hands of our enemies—at such a time, I am sorry, but it seems to me to be not only unwise, but almost insane on our part.

Mr. HRUSKA. Is it not true that the surface-to-air missiles—the SAMS—that are used against American planes come from Russia, and that China, so far as we know, does not manufacture or possess that type of weapon?

Mr. COTTON. The Senator is completely correct. That is indeed true, and it is not disputed.

As I pointed out in my few remarks, the strange and astounding thing is that we read the Russian complaints to the effect that the Red Chinese are actually stealing some of these weapons and some of the latest type aircraft, according to the Russians and, in some cases, are substituting more antiquated and more obsolete aircraft that the Soviet Union supplied to them earlier. Obviously, from these facts, the flow of deadly weapons of the latest pattern and the most effective in use are going straight into the hands of those who are killing our men, and they come direct from the Soviet Union and from nobody else.

Mr. HRUSKA. The more recent news is that the combatants on the North Vietnamese and Vietcong side of the war are now using helicopters in military efforts; and it is not likely, according to the information, that the Senator from Nebraska has, that those aircraft would be coming from Red China or any source other than the Soviet Union. Would the knowledge of the Senator from New Hampshire extend to that particular point?

Mr. COTTON. The information that the Senator from New Hampshire carefully garnered in preparing these few remarks—they are important, and I wanted to make sure that they were documented—substantiates what the Senator from Nebraska has said.

Mr. HRUSKA. Another aspect of the statement of the Senator from New Hampshire is particularly interesting—and I believe the Senator is on the most solid ground in the world when he makes it—it relates to the disclaiming of concern for many things which perhaps under other circumstances might be debated further, but he nevertheless emphasizes the statement: "My concern is for the young men we have drafted and sent to Vietnam." That is one of the things that is uppermost in the thinking of people all over the Nation.

Mr. President, on the floor of the Senate there have been some sharp criticisms and some unjustified condemnation of those who oppose the ratification of this treaty, with the statement that the latter belong at one end of the spectrum of political belief. Also some reference has been made to peoples who have come to this Nation, not on the Mayflower or at the time of the Revolutionary War, but in more recent years. I am the son of an immigrant; my father came here 90 years ago.

I would not presume to know what the American people can or cannot understand, but I can understand the sorrow of a mother and a father who sit down and write to me about the death of their son, their only son, as the pilot of a plane that flew over North Vietnam. They are not recent arrivals; nor do they belong to any political organization that is at one end of the political spectrum or the other. They are intelligent, highly educated, and fine citizens.

I wonder whether the mail of the Senator from New Hampshire would indicate that the concern of his constituents is along the same line as he has expressed—namely, for the young men we have drafted and sent to Vietnam and who now number some 500,000.

Mr. COTTON. Indeed, it is.

I am sure that every Senator receives those letters.

On a recent visit to New Hampshire, I had the task, the duty, which I was more than glad to perform, of visiting and talking with the father and mother of a casualty. No one can go through that experience without realizing that we cease to be statesmen and we cease to be Senators in the ordinary meaning of attending committees and standing on the floor and making speeches and pronouncements and talking over the radio and television. That is the moment that one of us has to enter the door of a home across which the shadow of death or of lifetime injury or blindness has fallen because of the war in Vietnam. The moment we cross that threshold, being a United States Senator—I am sure the Senator from Nebraska will agree with me—becomes a very solemn and painful and frustrating task, and loses all of its glamor and most of its excitement.

I am not suggesting that Senators who disagree with me and with the Senator from Nebraska are not just as anxiously and earnestly and sorrowfully interested in those who are suffering and fighting in Vietnam as are we. But I am saying that I am the keeper of my own conscience. As the Senator from Nebraska has so ably and so fearlessly and so carefully pointed out previously in this debate, so far as I am concerned, I cannot cast my vote for this treaty. I believe that anything we do in the way of making friendly overtures to a deadly enemy while he is killing our people can only be interpreted abroad as a sign of weakness and a lack of firmness. It will prolong the war because of that, and can only be interpreted by those Americans who are suffering sorrow and loss here at home as being an extremely blind course for the Senate to pursue.

I thank the Senator for his comments.

Mr. HRUSKA. I commend the Senator for his courageous stand on this matter. I shall join him in opposing this treaty and in voting against it.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded, and that I may make a statement on a subject that is not germane, in spite of and notwithstanding rule VIII.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE UNDER A DIFFERENT ROOF

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I find myself concerned as I read and hear all the hub-bub about the Central Intelligence Agency's support of overseas activities of various student groups.

There is no question that some sort of Government support should have been given to these groups. Without support, only the representatives of the extreme left or the extreme right would, in my opinion, have built up the necessary head of steam to finance their trips abroad in order to participate in the various international student conventions. The average student just would not have cared enough to have found the money to go. The absence of such students would obviously have hurt our national interest, for the result could have been complete domination of these student conventions by young people of Communist countries.

The mistake was that this support was given covertly by the CIA rather than overtly by the Department of State or the U.S. Information Agency. Perhaps the reason why money was given covertly was that, because the average student group is a little left of center, the administration feared it could not secure the appropriations from the Congress. If this were the case, I would have preferred the administration to have made an outright fight and lost, rather than go around the back door. Another good alternative would have been to use the President's contingent funds; funds which the Congress has actually supported.

Actually, I consider that over the years, the CIA has become a remarkable, skillful, and professional organization. These qualities of excellence are enhanced by the able leadership of Richard Helms.

Nonetheless, I still believe that a closer degree of congressional oversight is needed. If we had had this we might have found some political means to secure the proper funding of these student activities without embarrassing the CIA and the Nation.

Also, once again, we can see in the present furor a good reason for the separation of intelligence collection and analysis from actual operations.

I recommended at the time of the Bay of Pigs as I do now that the intelligence collection and analysis activities of our Government should be under a different roof from other types of covert operations. In this connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the remarks I made in 1963 after the Bay of Pigs. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD columns by Lewis Wolfson, Walter Lippmann, and Tom Wicker bearing on this subject.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Oct. 9, 1963]

SEPARATION OF INTELLIGENCE AND OPERATIONAL FUNCTIONS IN THE CIA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the assessment of intelligence and the carrying out of covert or paramilitary operational activities are two very different functions. These days we often hear the words "conflict of interest." But, if there was ever a conflict of interest, it is when the same group of men, first collect intelligence and make an assessment of the intelligence they have collected and coordinated, and then, secondly, proceed to carry out an operation on the basis of the selfsame intelligence they have collected and assessed. The temptation to trim the intelligence or, at least, their assessment of it, to suit the operation is well high irresistible.

An excellent example of the tragic results that can result from the failure to separate the assessment of intelligence from operational activities was demonstrated at the Bay of Pigs 2½ years ago. If one result was drawn, if one lesson was learned, from that affair, it was that the responsibility for intelligence collection and assessment must be separated from the responsibility for carrying out operational activities.

I remember being among the small group of public officials who publicly took a stand prior to the Bay of Pigs, warning that an invasion would be unlikely of success since the majority of the Cuban people at that time favored the regime, a conclusion derived from my own visit to Cuba following my election in 1960 and a conclusion which I announced publicly after my return. After the Bay of Pigs, a board was set up and the general impression was that there would be drastic overhauls in our Central Intelligence Agency, including a separation of responsibility between those who gather and assess intelligence as opposed to those who carry out operational activities.

In fact, not only does the centralization of responsibility for the gathering and assessment of intelligence and the carrying out of subsequent operations rest under the same roof here in Washington, but the chiefs of station in the field appear to be carrying on these dual and conflicting responsibilities.

In this connection, too, we all recall President Kennedy's instruction to our Government personnel abroad on May 29, 1961, when he said that only the American Ambassador should be responsible for all American Government activities abroad. The President instructed that each Ambassador be fully informed about the activities of all agencies of the American Government in the country to which he is assigned. Yet, I must say that the Ambassador who is both completely at ease and fully informed about all the activities conducted by American Government people in the area of his assignment and aware of all the messages home is indeed a rare bird.

I fully realize that the Central Intelligence Agency is in general run and manned by remarkably brilliant, dedicated, and responsible individuals and that it has scored many successes. I also realize that, being an intelligence organization, the Central Intelligence Agency is in the defenseless position of being attacked for its public failures but unable to discuss freely its successes.

The question where there is doubt in my mind is whether the total number of successes outweigh the total number of failures; whether our American national interest in totality has been helped or hampered by the Central Intelligence Agency. And, when determination is made, I believe we must separate the intelligence and assessment functions from the operational functions.

My own personal view is that a complete, fair assessment would show that the United States would have, on balance, gained greatly as the result of its intelligence collection and assessment activities. But I also believe that, on balance, the U.S. national interest may well have lost more than it has gained from its CIA operational activities, particularly if one takes into account the lives and the dollars that have been lost in the carrying out of these activities. And I believe that an objective appraisal will show that when decisions to carry out operational activities have gone sour, the reason for clouded judgments has simply been that the same group assesses the intelligence and then proceeds to carry out the operation.

Actually, in South Vietnam, where, as the public press has set forth, we have had an excellent and very able Central Intelligence Agency chief of station, we might find ourselves in a better position if there were a greater separation between collecting and assessing of intelligence on the one hand and the carrying out of the subsequent operations on the other. We might not then be playing quite the same role we now do where the United States is helping finance and arm the South Vietnam regime's special forces, which carry out the persecution, beating up, and abuse of political opponents. I do hope that, in order to improve our situation in South Vietnam and throughout the world, the administration will make more positive steps to separate the responsibilities for the gathering and assessment of intelligence from the carrying out of subsequent operational activities.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point a well thought-out editorial from Tuesday's Washington Post illustrating the necessity of such a separation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"OUR MAN IN SAIGON

"The recall of the CIA chieftain in South Vietnam should not be an occasion for recrimination. It should be an occasion for some useful reconsideration of the general role of an intelligence agency in foreign affairs. Ambassador Lodge is reportedly concerned about the prevailing arrangement that makes the CIA both an intelligence-gathering organization and an operational agency in the field. Mr. Lodge is not alone in his concern.

"In theory, within the CIO, the intelligence and operational activities are kept separate. In practice, the two functions cannot be kept apart so easily. Experience has shown that agency operatives in the field have a tendency to use intelligence to support an operational decision. The result, too often, is that Washington receives neither impartial intelligence nor benefits from operations based on a hard-headed perception of reality.

"Clearly the CIA is at a disadvantage in any public debate of its activities; the agency cannot speak for itself. Success often goes unnoticed; failure just as often may lead to an exaggeration of the CIA's responsibility. This is the price that secrecy exacts. But public concern in the agency's performance is legitimate and should not be equated with an attempt to smear or to impeach the motives of any CIA official.

"What is sorely needed is a thorough and fair overall study of the intelligence community. Such an inquiry ought to deal with rivalry between the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency. It ought to draw on experience in other countries where intelligence and operational activities are lodged with separate organizational entities. And Congress should take the initiative in launching such a study.

"For too many years, Members of Congress have closed their eyes to the need for legislative scrutiny into intelligence operations. Yet who else can do the job? The public lacks the facts; the administration has a record to defend; the Agency cannot be expected to study itself. Enough has come to light to justify an impartial inquiry, which might properly be conducted by a special legislative commission drawing on Members of both Chambers and upon private citizens of stature and experience.

"If an investigation should discover no grounds for changing the present arrangement, public apprehension would be lessened. If an investigation should disclose need for basic changes, then the country might be saved from future embarrassment. In either case, the United States would be the gainer and Congress would have discharged a duty that it has been far too reluctant to perform."

[From the Providence Sunday Journal,
Feb. 26, 1967]

THE CIA SCANDAL: A TEST OF DEMOCRACY

(By Lewis W. Wolfson)

WASHINGTON.—The exposure of the Central Intelligence Agency's covert involvement in many areas of American life dramatizes again the question of how far the operations of a secret government organization can be stretched without eroding the freedom of personal thought and action that are the hallmarks of American democracy.

Throughout the history of the United States, its citizens have been able to do with American democracy—and to it—almost anything they wanted, and it has survived.

The beauty of it is that it is flexible—difficult to grasp, easy to bend but hard to break. Its strength gives meaning and purpose to the American people.

But it also derives its strength from the American people, and in the last two weeks the confidence of the American people and its friends in the strength of democracy has been challenged.

On Feb. 13 the forthcoming exposé by Ramparts magazine of heavy CIA financing of the National Student Association, the largest "independent" student organization in the country, surfaced in the press.

Since then disclosures have been made of significant CIA influence or involvement in American domestic life—in education, in the foundations, in organized labor, in business and in church and journalistic organizations.

COMPLETE AIRING

This is being explored further by major newspapers and magazines and at least one academic committee already named—the prestigious American Political Science Association, two of whose top officers were also officers of a CIA-financed operation here.

Logically, what should follow is a complete airing of the true character of the CIA's influence and participation in this country's principal overt overseas missions—its role in American embassies, its influence on foreign service and other personnel and particularly its associations with official programs such as those of the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development and student, teacher and cultural exchanges.

Many Americans at this point are asking what is so wrong about funneling CIA funds to private domestic organizations, especially if they are being used to combat Communist operations overseas, and for good works that these groups do at home in education and other fields.

What difference does it make where the money comes from? That is the question most often asked in the last two weeks.

Times may have changed but the United States is still fighting communism they argue.

Americans, it is said, no longer should have naive illusions about espionage or what Secretary of State Dean Rusk calls the struggle "in the back alleys all over the world," where "no quarter is asked and none given."

It is a dirty war that has to be fought by fellow Americans, many of whom feel that they, in fact, are protecting other Americans and American democracy not simply from nuclear attack, but also from the spiritual ravages of this kind of contamination.

THE DANGER

Maybe we haven't done the best job of keeping an eye on a secret organization, it is said, but why see spooks in everything? What's all the fuss about? The CIA can't take over the country.

The trouble is that it can, or rather that it can become not so much an "invisible government" (to use the title of a book about it) but an invisible, informal establishment that has money, influence and CIA connected people invested in the schools, the economy and the political life of America.

This is not to say that the CIA could become a secret police. But, innocent as it may seem now, the end result could be having men not in the public eye wielding significant unseen power in the political process who are under too lax controls by elected officials or who could even undermine those controls.

Columnist Joseph Kraft has taken the view that it is a problem of the blurring of lines between once-competitive institutions in American life, leading to "shabby bargains" at somebody's expense.

The interconnections means there are fewer and fewer checks within the system. No one can quite tell the heroes from the villains or say who is responsible for what. This troubles thoughtful people deeply, and "the malaise is felt with special force by younger people who are rightly suspicious of their elders anyway."

Now, many young Americans have had their cynicism about the politics of their elders dramatically confirmed.

ADULTS BLINDED

They were the first to talk about credibility because they were the first to see that much of their elders' pride in American democracy was cant. They could see that the honesty had gone out of many American institutions, while most adults have been blinded by the form.

Unfortunately, some young people have not been so quick to see the threat to their ideals embodied in secret uses of an open organization.

The NSA incident has shown that the CIA was able to convince some very bright young men that accepting the funds and assignments was either the patriotic or intelligent thing to do, or both. If the intelligence agency wanted to, it had the power to make promises, that these bright, capable young men would be assured of moving along in careers not just with the CIA, but in the whole public service establishment.

But now they are to some measure compromised by the secret nature of their association and the deception practiced on the NSA membership.

Not only will it be extremely difficult to put NSA back together again, but it will take much explaining to convincingly disassociate these former NSA officials from CIA influence in their lives. They include such U.S. officials as an ambassador (and former presidential assistant), a special assistant to the director of A.I.D., the A.I.D. mission director in Peru and an assistant postmaster general, plus a presidential assistant, S. Douglass Cater, who was a NSA official before the CIA started its subsidy.

TIES THAT BIND

In their case, they signed a security pledge not to divulge the link, and at a press conference NSA officers said that "fantastic pressure" was put on them not to disclose clandestine overseas missions for the CIA.

This is not to say the CIA necessarily could control these people or others with which they deal. But people who have worked for the agency are the first to say that, once the CIA has established a relationship, this link cannot be broken.

The CIA may have no further reason to call on these people, but the agency knows their personal lives—who they have known, where they have lived, etc.—and it may be difficult to refuse later requests from the CIA, particularly if they have been helped in some way by the intelligence agency.

If their services are wanted, they can be pressured in many different ways and there is scant possibility of an outside appeal, knowing the broad influence of the agency and knowing that they can't fight as one man against the power of the whole agency, which operates out of the public eye.

It is said that one can leave the employ of the CIA but never get out, and there are some former full-time agents who know this well. Some of it must be chalked up, however, to the price one pays for espionage work.

"They've always got their hooks into you," said one person who is familiar with agency operations. "The leverage they can exercise on an individual is much greater than other organizations."

Because the CIA is a secret organization, however, it does not mean it has not had to defend itself from bad publicity or that it has been unable to.

Some of the most able and thoughtful men in this city are CIA officials.

They worry as much about preserving the democratic process as the next man. They have friends in Congress and in the press. And like other government officials, they also quietly lobby among them to put the best face possible on the agency's operations.

Moreover, the agency's accomplishments speak for themselves. In the 18 years of its existence, the CIA has made a superb contribution to the containment of Soviet communism.

Without the reinforcement it has provided for U.S. foreign policy, presidents, secretaries of state and ambassadors would have been robbed of many of the trump cards this country has held in the politics and diplomacy of the Cold War.

Intelligence-gathering. the thwarting of political sabotage—and, of course, the countering of enemy propaganda, which is the issue now—are all functions of foreign policy. The steady and increasing CIA success in these areas far outweighs its mistakes and failures.

Last year, a long series of articles in The New York Times, which explained the CIA's operations and oversight, cleared it of certain suspicions about how it affects foreign policy. But the articles did not dispel other doubts.

For years Americans have been vaguely aware that the agency sometimes has overstepped its legal function by influencing foreign officials and organizations and by other political manipulations abroad.

FOREIGN ACTIVITY

But it was tacitly assumed that this was inevitable, perhaps even necessary and, in any event, never so serious that it could not be contained.

To many foreigners and many Americans who have worked overseas, however, the activities were much more real.

As Walter Lippmann wrote last week, the CIA "has been used as a propaganda agency, as a superior diplomatic foreign service, as an agency for clandestine intervention in foreign countries. The breadth of the CIA's authorized activities has . . . generated a cloud of suspicion over American actions abroad."

Normally—and now more than ever—this city is awash with stories or strong suspicions about CIA support, CIO projects, CIO pressures, and CIA placement of personnel overseas—its alleged infiltration of development projects sponsored by the A.I.D., its influence in the universities of other countries, its contaminating use of legitimate but vulnerable agencies like the USIA as a cover, and its employment of diplomatic personnel for more than just carbon copies of embassy reports.

This is to say nothing of maneuverings in the politics of other countries and the powerful position that CIA-men achieve in some embassies, which can disrupt even the ambassador's proper functioning.

Many foreigners have taken for granted for years that the CIA was into everything, and that the United States spied on its friends as much as on its enemies. They believed our tactics were no better or different than Soviet tactics. No amount of argument about American democracy could dissuade them.

WORK SUSPECT

Now the argument has been undercut considerably. It is bound to make nearly every overseas mission suspect.

It would be bad enough to tamper with the credibility of legitimate government agencies and shake the morale of their employes.

It would be worse if it were now found, for example, that CIA money and personnel have been involved in the work of major foundations overseas, especially the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

Their work is crucial for much overseas development. They can operate free of certain diplomatic niceties that restrict federal officials, and they are accepted by most foreigners as what they seem to be—independent advisers and not intelligence gatherers.

"They can be much freer and franker," said one source who has seen their work in India, where the current five year plan for agriculture is largely Ford's doing. "If Ford and Rockefeller are compromised, it will have the most fantastic repercussions in the whole American effort in the underdeveloped countries," he said.

It is the power to check on just this sort of CIA activity affecting foreign policy that the Senate foreign relations committee sought for itself last year.

Sen. Richard Russell, D-Ga., chairman of the existing CIA oversight committee, said it already was filling the bill. In the end, the Senate arranged a compromise whereby two liberal Democrats, Senators J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, and a conservative Republican, Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, would represent the foreign relations committee in the Russell committee's hearings. The matter of controls seemed to have been closed.

Now, with the disclosure of the depth of CIA involvement in domestic policy as well as foreign policy, the situation clearly has outrun the controls.

The CIA and its supporters can argue that its motives in the NSA and other domestic investments were benign and the results beneficial.

THE MAIN POINT

That is important, but does not speak to the main point, which is that a system has been created in which (1.) less noble officials could rise to the top of the secret machinery for dispensing all-purpose funds; (2.) where less noble men could—and already do—exist on the lower levels of the agency carrying out apparently noble plans for investment, (3.) and where even the noble planners could be cutting corners on democratic practices over a period of time.

In the least, they already have allowed the line to become blurred between intelligence functions, which must be kept secret, and functions only remotely connected with intelligence where secrecy hurts more than it helps.

It may be that they should not have been put in the CIA's hands in the first place because it has to think and act in covert fashion in practically everything it does.

With hindsight, it has been suggested that it would have been far better to have conducted such programs as the NSA competition with Communist student groups through the State Department itself, as is done with other educational and cultural programs.

This, of course, would have had the double drawback of pinning a government label on these missions immediately, and of possibly compromising the State Department if these students were used to gather intelligence—as they were.

It also would have posed the formidable task of getting Congress, and especially Rep. John Rooney, D-NY, the chairman of the subcommittee overseeing the State Department, to approve this approach to support of the universities and a liberal student group.

SELLING JOB

In retrospect, the consequences of open support seem far less damaging than hiding the true identity of NSA support while the organization continued to stand for principles that millions of college students endorsed through the years.

Moreover, the selling job with Congress would be far less taxing than what will now have to be done to preserve a reputation for NSA, the CIA and American democracy.

For the future, it will be essential to decide how to prevent the kind of spillover of CIA's functions that have occurred, and to still the suspicions and fears aroused here and abroad by the disclosures.

To some observers that means there is not a political compromise that can be concocted that will restore the confidence of many Americans that somebody might not be secretly peeking into their lives.

Who influences the firms, schools and other organizations to which they belong? Who is using large amounts of tax money secretly for functions of which they are unaware? And what has happened to the elected officials who were supposed to watch these things for them?

There is a strong feeling among many observers here that the CIA should not be allowed to get into areas where it can compromise not only the groups affected, but also its own essential function as an agency gathering and evaluating secret intelligence.

Despite the fact that the CIA money in question has mostly been put to wise and rewarding use, the presence of large, secret funds in any organization has a strong potential for disrupting that organization's principles and programs.

Americans run their organizations by democratic methods. They may leave things in the hands of elected or appointed officials, but most would think twice if they suddenly learned that these officials could spend a lot of money in the organization's name that the rank and file had not been told about.

The ultimate check on the CIA is the President. He relies on a secret Budget Bureau review and a review by a special board of administration officials, including the CIA director, which is supposed to know about involvement in foundations, education, labor unions and, presumably, its influence in other U.S. agencies.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-NY, pinned the responsibility for the NSA incident and other CIA activities to the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Later in the week the Truman administration was included by the ad hoc CIA–NSA review committee in its interim report to the President.

TROUBLED PAST

CIA's political troublesomeness, in fact, has plagued every President since its creation, in one way or another. President John F. Kennedy was burned by the lack of knowledge of some of the details of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Mr. Johnson let it be known that he would ride tight herd over the CIA, but he reportedly did not know about its involvement with the NSA.

Even if the context of fighting communism is accepted as a valid argument for the NSA and other funds, the main responsibility lies with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations for not blowing the whistle on the continued funnelling of thousands of dollars into the NSA and other organizations long after they were needed.

The CIA may be no more immune than any other agency in attempting to preserve appropriations for their programs, but bureaucratic self-protection is an explanation, not an excuse.

Even if President Johnson did know about these investments, one wonders if he or his advisers would have pressed for the sort of moral review that seems to be called for now.

The President's endorsement on Thursday of an interim finding by his special three-man investigation, which upheld CIA's funding of private groups, disappointed those observers here who feel this is a moral problem to be dealt with root and branch.

They had been encouraged by expressions from Vice President Hubert Humphrey and the secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, John Gardner, that they were unhappy about the CIA involvement in education and other areas.

But these observers also are aware that in such a situation restrictions are placed on the President and on men like Senator Kennedy, a prominent member of his brother's administration.

These men have a primary responsibility to protect the CIA as a vital intelligence operation. This fact, and other pressures on them as politicians, may circumscribe their own freedom to speak and act decisively in this situation.

Some observers regard the three-man special probe by the undersecretary of state, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, CIA director Richard Helms and Mr. Gardner as makeshift.

They consider it a limited political reaction to a situation that runs much deeper than has been acknowledged so far.

They feel that such a group is not likely to produce more than a compromise political solution that would not get at the heart of the need to restore confidence in continued control over the operation of a secret organization in the government of an open society.

This basic issue keeps arising and it is not likely to be stilled by Mr. Helms' statement after a closed session with the Senate watchdog committee that funds would be cut off for many projects, nor by the statement of Senator Russell that it was "hogwash" that the revelations were a blow to academic freedom.

This view is not shared by Robert A. Dahl, president of the American Political Science Association. In announcing last week its special investigation of CIA involvement in the academic community, he said he was alarmed by the effect and said "there are bound to be evil effects from such practices."

NEED PROTECTION

He added that scholars must find ways "to protect the integrity of our scholarly affairs from overzealous governmental agencies, particularly the CIA, whenever they seek to inspire conduct markedly different from, and sometimes flatly at odds with, our own codes of professional behavior."

But up to now only the press, taking its cue from Ramparts Magazine, has insistently raised moral issue and pursued it forcefully.

Congress predictably, has reacted with a high degree of political prudence.

Were it any other department or agency of the executive branch with all this free-floating money, there would have been an outcry from both sides of the aisle.

But tangling with the CIA is like tangling with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is political hallowed ground. In addition, some legislators who would be logical critics just do not want to get involved. Nor can anyone be sure which congressmen are not free of CIA influence themselves.

Embarrassed members of the CIA watchdog committees of both Houses have been much busier defending themselves than they have raising searching questions about the agency's domestic entanglements.

They pass on the CIA budget, which is estimated to be about half a billion dollars annually and is scattered through the budget of other government agencies.

Thus, they are supposed to know where the money goes. They do not make a line-by-line review of the budget, but it would seem within their ken to know that CIA funds were going to the NSA, the American Newspaper Guild, the National Council of Churches, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, and a host of other unions, student groups and foundations.

But the nucleus of the watchdog committees in Congress are men who review military budgets, so they do not dwell long on the philosophy and politics of spying when they are taking a look at spending for CIA operations.

This is what led Senators Fulbright and McCarthy to press for a review of how these covert operations affect foreign policy. Now they sit with the watchdog committee, but they do not have the powers to confront this issue or the involvement in domestic policy.

So Senator McCarthy last week renewed his old proposal for a seven-member select Senate committee to make a year-long study, this time with a new twist: "the foreign and domestic-related activities" of the CIA.

Other members of Congress have resurrected the idea of a joint congressional committee like the one on atomic energy which Sen. John O. Pastore heads with Rep. Chet Holifield, D-Calif.

STUDY PLANNED

But, depending on who would be chosen for it, there is no reason to believe that a joint committee would be any more broadly oriented, independent, sharp-eyed or forceful than the existing watchdog groups.

In the House, Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., might resume his brief probe of foundations used by CIA as conduits for funds, but the scope of the hearings would be limited by the fact that his is the committee on banking and currency.

Rep. Carl Perkins, D-Ky, successor to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, D-NY, as chairman of the House education and labor committee, has promised a study of the CIA's influence in education, but sources close to the committee think it would be optimistic to expect a broad and tough investigation from that quarter.

The doubts surrounding the CIA's operations and jurisdiction have persisted too long and now been raised again too insistently to make it seem that another partial, "political" solution will be enough this time.

Mr. Lippmann and others have suggested "a surgical operation" in which CIA's intelligence operations are separated from other activities. This may be the solution, although it does not seem as easy as he envisions to sort out the dirty tricks and the secret propaganda from the intelligence and espionage work to put them under another roof.

The issue now is whether the government—and for that matter the country—will yield to the temptation to keep the lid on the situation. Obviously, there are practical reasons for doing so.

On the other hand, it is being argued that no one has yet offered a convincing case for rejecting the standard principle on which the American government is supposed to operate, that is, that the best weapon American democracy has to cope with its enemies is democracy itself, and that the best propaganda is its openness, its capacity for self-criticism and its vigilance against anything that would encroach on freedom of thought and action.

Those who are arguing this position believe this will remain true no matter how threatening the times or how complex the organization and operation of an increasingly depersonalized society. They believe that the manner in which the current CIA crisis is resolved will be a true test of the preservation of American democracy as an exemplary form of government.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 23, 1967]

Intelligence and Dirty Tricks

(By Walter Lippmann)

The CIA problem is embarrassing and it is a disagreeable subject to talk about. But it is so important that we cannot sweep it under the rug and try to forget about it. For the good faith of the United States government has been compromised by the disclosures, and whether or not we like to think about it, we cannot conduct the affairs of the United States in a cloud of suspicion. We must dispel the suspicion and restore confidence in our good faith.

We may begin by noting that the cloud of suspicion is much wider than the actual operations of the CIA could possibly warrant. Anyone with experience in the outer world must realize that the CIA is almost automatically suspected of being implicated in or of being the prime mover in all manner of happenings abroad. It would be no exaggeration to say that outside the United States the CIA has become the universal scapegoat for any rightist activity which people on the left and in the center dislike. The CIA has acquired a legendary character and its activities are rather like the exploits of superman.

The CIA legend feeds on the fact that the agency has in fact done somewhere some of the things it is accused of doing everywhere all the time. It has overturned governments in Iran and Guatamala. It has organized an invasion of a foreign country in the Bay of Pigs. In the old days it interfered with money in elections in France and Italy. It has subsidized the foreign activities of students, scholars, journalists, churchmen, labor leaders; it has paid for radio stations and magazines abroad. Although these operations have been visible enough, they have been financed secretly. The secrecy has prevented reliable knowledge as to where the real CIA activities end and where the suspected and imaginary ones begin.

In this way the cloud of suspicion has been generated which envelopes so large a part of American action in the rest of the world.

We may go on to note that the Americans are the only people who have not shared in this general suspicion.

There have, of course, been charges and exposures made by minorities on the American left and right. But until recently the great majority have taken for granted the purity of the government's motives and the innocence of its actions. The secrecy of the operation shielded it from suspicion in this country, and with very little questioning and argument the Congress has voted secret funds of unknown size for which there is no public accounting.

If we push deeper into the matter we find, I believe, that the root of the trouble is that the Central Intelligence Agency has been used for much more than genuine intelligence work. It has been used as a propaganda agency, as a superior diplomatic foreign service, as an agency for clandestine intervention in foreign countries. The breadth of the CIA's authorized activities has not only generated the cloud of suspicion over American action abroad but it has spoiled the CIA as an intelligence agency here at home.

The prime example of this was the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. In that affair the CIA organized an invasion of Cuba. As an intelligence agency, however, it was supposed to advise the President about the prospects of the invasion and the probable reaction of the Cubans. Because the same CIA men who were running the invasion had also to advise the President on its prospects, their optimism got the better of their intelligence and the President received wholly wrong advice. Thus he was led into a disaster which very nearly wrecked the Kennedy Administration at the outset.

After the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy was urged to cut the CIA apart, separating sharply the business of intelligence from the business of propaganda and intervention. Unhappily, President Kennedy did not take this advice and, after a little tinkering with personnel and with the details, he left intact the secret conglomeration which is known as CIA.

There will be and there can be no solution to the problem, I believe, unless there is a surgical operation which separates true intelligence work from the whole clutter of other activities. An intelligence agency should deal with espionage, research and analysis. The other activities, propaganda, intervention and dirty tricks should not be in the intelligence agency. They should not be under the same roof, they should not be manned by the same men and they should not be under the same men and they should improve the integrity of the true intelligence work. What will it do to the other operations if they are divorced from the CIA as a secret intelligence agency? Secret propaganda would be abolished. This would make more credible open and avowed propaganda. By taking the business of intervening in foreign countries out of the CIA, the temptation to intervene will be diminished. This would in itself be a good thing, and in the rare cases where intervention was a vital necessity, it could be set up secretly enough in the Defense Department. As to the dirty tricks, like bribing a politician somewhere abroad, the American Republican will survive if such dirty tricks are not performed.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 7, 1967]

In the Nation: Vive la Difference

(By Tom Wicker)

Washington, March 6.—President Johnson's special representatives are studying the Central Intelligence Agency to see what changes, if any, should be made following the discovery that the agency had penetrated a number of private organizations while carrying out its work.

The difficulty is that no conceivable recommendation can reach the most difficult problem that has been disclosed—the attitudes of the men who carry out secret operations, of those supposed to be in "control" of them, and of the politicians who underwrite the effort.

The New York Times published this morning a compilation of the views of many of these men, none of whom could be quoted and few of whom will even talk to the press under normal circumstances. It was a disturbing account.

PUBLIC BLAMED

Those interviewed appeared to be upset only at what they considered a setback to their program. They believed it now would be harder for them to do their work. And they tended to blame a naive public for not understanding the nature of the challenge.

They made it clear that they regarded the United States as in a battle with "Communism" for influence in other countries, that they thought this battle could only be won with the aid of extensive covert expenditures and propaganda; and that whatever "the other side" did in this war had to be matched by "our side."

Now that the C.I.A.'s secret connection with the National Student Association has been broken, for instance, the intelligence men fear there will be no American delegation at the world youth festival in Sofia next year; and one said that "the question is whether the international youth movement is going to be taken over completely by the Communists without a fight."

MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION

But there is a more important question: Is there any reason why an American delegation cannot be financed openly and honorably by the Federal Government, or by one of the private foundations untainted by C.I.A. money?

There is no reason and there never was any reason except the reluctance of Congress to appropriate such money; that is why the C.I.A. has had to hand it out secretly. But if student activities are as important as the agency rightly claims, if American representation at Sofia and elsewhere is now endangered, surely the Administration could make a good case in Congress for the small amounts needed, especially since the publicity of recent disclosures.

That not only would provide representation, it would provide it honestly and openly, without taint of espionage. And if its Government sponsorship would then be public knowledge, certainly the government sponsorship of Communist delegations is as widely known.

VITAL PROPAGANDA

The officials interviewed laid great stress on the vital importance of propaganda and secret influence in other countries. As one man said, putting "a little money" into a free labor union "to keep it alive" may be necessary; but can it only be done by subverting similar organizations in our own society? And can it really be contended that secret tampering with and subsidization of governments, institutions and individuals in other countries is anything but a sort of last-ditch stand made necessary only by the failure or absence of other, more open means?

Such means exist—effective aid to hard-pressed economies for instance (which Congress is so reluctant to vote); sensible assistance, education and training programs; friendly and understanding efforts to help people help themselves; even military protection, if that becomes necessary. Such efforts to help the under-privileged of the world begin to realize their aspirations simply dwarf the importance of secret operations, propaganda and purchased influence.

It may be more glamorous, easy and acceptable in Congress to fight "Communism"—if there is any such monolithic force as the term implies—with covert operations and "dirty tricks," rather than with aid, understanding, friendship and example. But to accept the view that whatever the "other side" does has to be done by "our side" is the moral equivalent of justifying the means by the end; it is the political negation of the idea that there are democratic, American means of accomplishing worthwhile ends; and it begs the qeustion whether, in the long run, there is any real difference between "our side" and "the other side" worth fighting about.

No one can deny that there is a struggle in the world from which Americans cannot escape, but some of them will persist in believing that there is a difference in what this nation and its adversaries stand for, and that that difference requires of us not only the fight itself but different means of waging it.

If that be naiveté, make the most of it.

JIMMY WALKER NAMED TO 1967 ALL AMERICAN BASKETBALL TEAM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I bring to the attention of the Senate, a young man well known to Rhode Islanders. Presently enrolled in Providence College, Jimmy Walker has been named to the 1967 All American basketball team. Moving up from last year's second place team, he has consistently led his team through a difficult schedule. Besides his proficient scoring ability, averaging over 29 points per game. Cocaptain Walker is considered a versatile all-round player.

I would certainly be remiss if I did not congratulate Cocapt. Mike Riordan, Coaches Jim Mullaney and Bill O'Conner, and the rest of this fine team.

Providence College has always fielded great basketball teams and this one is no exception. I wish them the best of luck in the National Invitation Tournament.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D, 88th Cong., 2d sess.).

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in the course of the hearings on the Consular Convention one of the witnesses against the convention was asked whether he was not in effect opposing the efforts of the administration to make peace with the Soviet Union.

I believe that this question misconstrues the motives of those who oppose the Consular Convention. But I am sure the questioner did not so intend it.

For I take it for granted that every Senator, whether he supports the Consular Convention or opposes it, understands the importance of seeking a genuine reduction of tensions with the Soviet Union, of reducing areas of misunderstanding, and of creating conditions that make world peace more secure.

But while we agree on the objectives, there are differences between us on how to go about achieving this objective and on whether the Consular Treaty would truly move us closer to this objective. And there are differences, too, over whether this particular Consular Convention is drafted in a manner that serves our interests or in a manner that militates against us.

Those who urge ratification of the Consular Convention tell us that, with a possible exception of Vietnam, there is a growing detente between the Soviet Union and the West.

I say that this premise is entirely false.

The detente of which they speak is as much an illusion as "the spirit of Geneva" and "the spirit of Camp David" were in their time.

Instead of reducing the cold war, the Communists have been stepping up their cold war activities systematically and on a hundred different fronts.

Starting from this erroneous premise, those who urge ratification of the Consular Convention argue that we must enlarge the detente. They tell us that the Soviet leaders are bound to be influenced if we can persuade them that we seek understanding and accommodation, even at the cost of making a few concessions.

I say that this argument, too, is false.

The many lessons of recent history demonstrate how futile it is to seek to reform totalitarian regimes by being nice to them, by making concessions to them, or by seeking to appease them.

This approach has invariably led to disaster.

I believe profoundly that it is within our power to pursue policies that will ultimately persuade the Communists to abandon subversion and aggression as instruments of politics.

But we will not persuade the Communists to reform by turning the other cheek.

What is called for is a combination of resoluteness and courage and strict reciprocity, which will command the respect of the Communists even while they rage against us.

The policy we are pursuing in Vietnam today is an outstanding example of the policy of firmness which, I am convinced, can ultimately put an end to the cold war and make "peaceful coexistence" a reality instead of a smokescreen for Communist expansion.

Conversely, I believe that the ratification of the Consular Convention runs counter to the policy of firmness and that, like all unilateral concessions to totalitarian aggressors, it would serve to make peace less secure rather than more secure.

WHO GAINS MOST FROM THE CONSULAR TREATY?

Certain advocates of the Consular Convention have tried to persuade us that it is not really a concession to the Soviets, and that we stand to gain far more from it than they do.

On general principle, even without analyzing the merits and demerits of the treaty, I would be prepared to suspect this argument, because it is simply not in the nature of the Soviets to agree to any treaty which does not offer substantial advantages to their side. I do not know how much more experience we need to establish that fact in the minds of people.

The Western nations, in their apparently unlimited desire for accommodation, have frequently entered into agreements with the Soviets in which they received far less than they gave. But the Communist diplomats do not engage in this kind of good-natured diplomacy.

The Communist diplomats are far more adept than our own diplomats at saying "no," far more stubborn in adhering to initial positions, far more skillful in whittling down the position of their opponents until they have an agreement that they find completely palatable.

We are told that under the treaty we will be able to protect more effectively than we can today the 18,000 American tourists who annually visit the Soviet Union, because the treaty provides for early access by American consular officials to any American citizens who may be arrested by the Soviet authorities.

I concur with the estimates of the distinguished Senators who have already discussed the treaty that this protection is at the best highly questionable.

In the exchange of letters which consummated our recognition of the Soviet Union, Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov stated that the rights of legal protection for U.S. nationals, including the rights of notification and access, would be the same as those accorded the nationals of the most favored nation, which was at that time Germany. Mr. Litvinov further stated that these rights "will be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries."

This agreement was repeatedly violated by the Soviets, and these violations were the subject of a series of formal protests to the Soviet Government during the period prior to World War II.

This raises a question of some importance.

Does it improve our position or does it weaken our position to forget all about the agreement of 1933, to ignore the record of Soviet violations and our own protests, and to enter into a brandnew agreement designed to assure the same rights which American citizens in the Soviet Union are already supposed to enjoy under the Roosevelt-Litvinov Agreement?

The State Department has prepared a legal memorandum arguing that the Soviet commitment of November 1933, dealing with legal protection for U.S. nationals no longer holds good. They say the German-Soviet agreement was terminated by the Soviet invasion of Germany, and American rights, they say, were terminated by virtue of this same fact.

I find this reasoning tortured and unsatisfactory.

What Litvinov agreed to was to give American officials the right of access to American citizens apprehended in the Soviet Union.

Nowhere was it stipulated that this right would cease to exist if the Soviet Consular Treaty with Germany should for any reason lapse.

The more I look at the matter, the more convinced I am that we have been remiss in failing to invoke the Litvinov agreement in demanding access to American nationals who have been arrested by the Soviet authorities in recent years.

And I find it passing strange that it is not the Soviet government which has challenged the current validity of this clause in the Litvinov agreement, but the legal experts of the Department of State.

But let me for the purpose of argument concede that the proposed Consular Convention may conceivably make the right of access a reality. This would unquestionably be a plus for our side, even though it still does not guarantee a fair trial for Americans who may in future be arrested by the Soviet authorities.

But it simply is not true that all the Soviets stand to gain from this agreement is reciprocal treatment for the much smaller number of Soviet citizens who annually visit the United States.

The Consular Convention is a smashing diplomatic triumph for the Soviet Union.

It gives them a full and absolute immunity for consular officers, consular employees, and consular premises which far exceeds the norms of existing Consular Conventions, even with our closest allies, and far exceeds as well, the provision of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, which was signed by 32 nations, including the United States in April 1963.

The Vienna Convention provided that consular officers shall not be liable to arrest or detention "except in the case of a grave crime and pursuant to a decision by the competent judicial authority."

The Consular Convention with the Soviet Union places no limitation of any kind on the immunity either of consular officers or their employees. Let me quote the text of article 19, paragraph 2:

> Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment who are nationals of the sending state shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state.

This not merely runs counter to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, it also constitutes a direct repudiation of the Vienna Convention by the Department of State. And this repudiation has given the Soviet Union a diplomatic breakthrough of the first magnitude.

I am convinced that the Soviets will use this diplomatic breakthrough to persuade all other governments with whom they maintain diplomatic relations to agree to a similar relaxation. Having achieved what from their standpoint is unquestionably an optimum consular agreement, they will now try to universalize this agreement.

Ratification of the convention will unquestionably enhance the prestige of the Soviet Union, endow it with an added measure of respectability, and place it in a stronger position to induce recognition by those governments which today refuse to recognize it.

At the present time the Soviet Government is recognized by only four of the 20 non-Communist governments in Latin America.

The Kremlin is bound to use the American Consular Convention and the added respectability that would accrue from this convention for the purpose of encouraging recognition by the 16 American governments that do not now recognize it. And after they get recognition, it is certain that they will seek to expand their diplomatic establishment in every country with which they have relations, by asking for Consular Conventions on the American pattern.

This situation poses a danger of great magnitude to the security of the Americas and a much more serious danger in my opinion, than the damage they can do in our own country through their enhanced facilities for espionage.

It seems to me that the discussion about the treaty has turned too much on espionage. That is not the great danger in this treaty. The great danger in the treaty is subversion of those countries not equipped to cope with Soviet subversion.

It is frightening to think of the damage the Soviets could do in Latin America if, instead of four Embassies, they had 20 Embassies supplemented by some 30 or 40 consulates.

Latin America is wracked by unrest and by Castro subversion.

Guerrilla movements are active in some half dozen countries, while terrorist bands have taken a toll in virtually every country.

The condition of chronic unrest spawned by the Castro-Soviet political offensive in the Americas has produced a vast outpouring of frightened capital. Indeed, indigenous capital is leaving some of the Latin American countries at two or two and one-half times the rate at which the Alliance for Progress pumps in capital.

No one is going to tell me that, in this inflammatory situation, the establishment of a score or more of Soviet embassies and consulates will contribute to the peace and security of the Americas or the peace and security of this hemisphere and the world.

In the advanced Western countries, Soviet diplomats engage in espionage as their major activity.

In the developing countries, including the countries of the Americas, direct subversion, rather than espionage, is the major preoccupation of every Soviet diplomatic establishment. This includes the channeling of funds to subversive groups, the shipment of arms to guerrillas, and the recruitment of trainees for courses in subversion in Castro Cuba, in the Soviet Union or in Czechoslovakia.

I do not minimize the damage that the Kremlin has done and can do through the massive espionage operation it conducts in our country and in every other country.

However, I have little doubt that the FBI, if it is provided with additional funds and additional agents, can deal with this problem efficiently, or at least make it exceedingly difficult for the Soviet agents to operate.

I doubt that some of the weak and unstable governments to the south of us will be able to cope as effectively with the greatly stepped up Communist subversion that would inevitably result from the proliferation of Soviet embassies and consulates in the hemisphere.

Some of my colleagues have pointed out that the provision providing absolute immunity from criminal prosecution to consular officers and employees will almost certainly lead to the extension of the same privileges to most of the 27 nations who have most-favored-nation agreements with the United States and which maintain consulates in our country. They have pointed out, further, that in the establishments of these 27 countries there are 577 employees. The Consular Convention, therefore, will probably ultimately result in the extension of absolute immunity from criminal prosecutions to many hundreds of officers and employees in many consulates across the country.

I have no doubt that the great majority of these consular officers and employees would not take advantage of their enhanced immunity to engage in espionage against us. Many of them are our best friends; some of them are not, and some of these certainly would. But entirely apart from the question of espionage, I consider the wholesale granting of absolute immunity to all officers and employees of consular establishments to be utterly wrong in principle.

In the final analysis, it will redound against the diplomatic and consular community in this country by fostering a growing public resentment against them. There is a related aspect of this incredibly drafted convention to which I would like to call the attention of my colleagues.

Previous consular treaties have all had the provision that consular premises shall not be entered by the police or other authorities except with the consent of the responsible consular officer or the Secretary of State. However, they have all carried the proviso that—

> The consent of the responsible consular officer shall be *presumed* in the event of fire or other disaster or in the event that the authorities of the receiving state have probable cause to believe that a crime involving violence to persons or property has been, or is being, or is about to be committed in the consular office.

The language I just read is taken from our consular agreement with Japan which was executed at about the same time as the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union.

It is significant that we wrote this provision into the agreement with Japan, but what do we do with the present agreement?

The Consular Convention with the Soviet Union allows for no such exceptions. Article 17 reads:

> The police and other authorities of the receiving state may not enter the building or that part of the building which is used for the purposes of the consular establishment or the residence of the head of the consular establishment without the consent of the head thereof, persons appointed by him, or the head of the diplomatic mission of the sending state.

Under this foolish, rigid wording, the fire department would not be permitted to enter a Soviet consulate without permission of the Soviet authorities, even if the fire threatened adjoining premises. Anyone who has the least appreciation of how rapidly fires can spread should understand that a half hour's delay or even a few minutes delay can have catastrophic consequences. But apparently those responsible for drafting the treaty did not even pause to consider this implication of the clause to which they were agreeing.

Under this clause, too, the police would be forbidden to enter a Soviet consulate even if they knew as a certainty that murder or some other serious crime was being committed there.

The celebrated case of Madam Kosenkina is proof enough that this possibility is more than an idle hypothesis. Most Americans of adult age remember this case.

In July of 1948 Madam Oksana Kosenkina, a Ukrainian school teacher attached to the Soviet establishment in New York, decided to defect. She took shelter on a farm in New York State operated by the Tolstoy Foundation. The consulate dispatched a squad of several men to the farm and they brought Madam Kosenkina back in a car. She was placed in a locked room on the fifth floor of the consulate, under constant guard. Driven to desperation after several days' confinement, Madam Kosenkina leaped from her fifth-floor window to the courtyard below. Patrolman Will Taraska, of the New York Police Department, who was stationed outside the consulate, saw her leap. He called for an ambulance—and then climbed over the fence into the consulate yard, took charge of Madam Kosenkina, and refused to permit the irate Soviet officials to drag her back into the consulate.

Patrolman Taraska accompanied Madam Kosenkina to the hospital.

Despite the protests of the Soviet authorities, our State Department upheld the actions of the New York Police Department and honored Madam Kosenkina's request for asylum. Although gravely injured, I am happy to say that Madam Kosenkina lived to enjoy her life in freedom. But I wonder what would have happened to her if the Consular Convention now before us had been in effect at that time.

Mr. President, the entire Consular Convention is so shoddy a job of diplomacy and draftsmanship that, even if I were in favor of ratifying a Consular Convention with the Soviet Union at this juncture, I would move to send this particular treaty back for redrafting. I do not see how anyone can disagree with this. If there was no better reason than that inane clause which denies our firefighting companies and our police the right to intervene when a fire is burning or a crime is being committed, that in itself should require the Senate to say, "Take that back and rewrite it sensibly."

But there are reasons of far greater importance for opposing the ratification of the Consular Convention at this juncture.

I have already dealt with the threat to the security of the Americas which is inherent in this treaty.

Another major danger is that the Consular Convention, because it serves to fortify and formalize the myth of the "detente," will help the Soviets to throw us off guard and disarm us psychologically.

The word "detente" is a very interesting word. I tried, in preparing my remarks, to find an English word which would convey the same meaning. I was not able, however, to find an adequate substitute. In my understanding, it signifies at the same time a cooling off of the cold war and a warming up of our relationship.

THE MYTH OF THE DETENTE

I do not know whether the widespread acceptance of the myth of the detente should be put down as a tribute to the power of the Soviet propaganda apparatus or as a tribute to our own capacity for wishful thinking and self-deception.

The fact is, however, that the word has been used so frequently, so freely, and so assertively by so many editorialists and government officials, that anyone who does not accept the existence of the detente runs the risk of being characterized as a "kook" or "extremist."

Inherent in the myth of the detente is the belief that communism has ceased to be the aggressive expansionist force it was in the days of Josef Stalin. Obviously the Communists would like to have us believe that this is so.

Actually the record is clear that the Kremlin over the past decade has waged the cold war with a vigor and determination unsurpassed during any comparable period since the Bolshevik revolution, and I can prove it.

The apostles of the detente generally concede that the Chinese Communists are admittedly committed to aggression and subversion. But they tell us that the Soviet Communists have long ago outgrown this stage in their development.

To set the historical record straight, therefore, let me examine briefly the Soviet record of aggression and subversion and expansion in recent years, separating their activities as carefully as possible from the activities of the Chinese Communists.

In 1956 there was the suppression of the Hungarian revolution by the Soviets.

In November 1958 there was Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum threatening us with all-out thermonuclear warfare if we failed to yield to his demands.

In January 1959 Fidel Castro siezed power by fraud in Cuba, and then proceeded with Soviet help to impose an open Communist dictatorship on the Cuban people.

In February 1960 there was the World Conference of Communist Parties in Moscow, where all the talk was in terms of a final all-out assault on the bastions of imperialism, and where Khrushchev asked the delegates to "synchronize their watches" in preparation for this assault on us.

In the summer of 1960 the Soviets attempted to seize power in the Congo, working through Patrice Lumumba. They were frustrated only when the army rose against Lumumba and forced the 500-man Soviet mission out of the country.

In December 1960 the Soviets opened the Laotian crisis by publicly mounting an airlift of weapons to the insurgent forces in that country.

In April 1961 there was the Berlin wall.

In August 1961 the Kremlin, after many months of careful preparation, abrogated the moratorium on testing, and embarked on their massive series of atmospheric tests, culminating in the explosion of their 60 megaton superbomb.

In the summer of 1962 the Soviets with the greatest secrecy began building missile sites in Cuba and shipping intermediate range ballistic missiles to equip them.

When the matter was first raised, the Soviets gave us their solemn asurance that they had no missiles in Cuba.

Thanks to President Kennedy's courageous action they were finally compelled to admit that the missiles were there, and to agree to remove them. And I hope they have.

In 1963, there was a bloody Communist coup in Zanzibar carried out by Castro trained Africans, with the participation of Castro Cubans. As a result of the ill-advised federation of Zanzibar with Tanganyika to form the new country of Tanzania, the Communists have now achieved a position of near dominance in the government of President Nyerere. It is a situation which is causing grave concern in all of east Africa.

Beginning in 1963, the Soviets, through their massive shipments of arms to President Sukarno, made themselves primarily responsible for Sukarno's so-called confrontation with Malaysia, which virtually succeeded in bankrupting Indonesia and created a serious danger of war in southeast Asia.

Year 1963 also witnessed Nasser's invasion of Yemen, with arms supplied by the Soviet Union and with its open political encouragement as well. The Soviets cannot escape moral responsibility for this cruel war and for the growing threat it now poses to the entire Arabian Peninsula.

In October 1963 the Soviets further inflamed the highly dangerous situation in north Africa by sending arms and equipment to the Ben Bella government in large quantities and by openly inciting the Algerians against the Moroccans.

In January 1964 there were the terrible Panama riots, organized and led by identified Castro agitators and supported to the hilt by the entire Soviet propaganda apparatus.

In January 1966 there took place in Havana the so-called Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American peoples. The Soviets were the chief sponsors and financial backers of the conference, and the Soviet delegation was the largest to attend it. U.S. imperialism was designated the chief enemy by the delegates to the conference. A continuing apparatus of subversion was set up under Soviet control.

The fact that the Soviet Union has emerged as the principal architect of revolutionary violence in our hemisphere was recognized by the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Organization of American States. Speaking about the Havana Conference, the report of the Committee said:

> The Committee recognized that the tremendous significance of the event, of major seriousness inasmuch as it means a declaration of war against the democracies, lies in the fact that, it is no longer Cuba on its own initiative that proposes to export its "revolution" to the other countries of the hemisphere, but Russia that makes common cause with the "revolutionary movements" and promises determined support to the "popular liberation movements" that follow the example of Cuba.

In 1966 and in this year of 1967 Soviet arms shipment to the leftist regimes of Syria, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, and Somalia, and Soviet political activities have posed a serious threat to the security of every country, all the way from Gibraltar to Aden.

We have been warned by King Hussein of Jordan, and by other Arab moderates, and even by prominent anti-Communists in the United Arab Republic, that the current epidemic of unrest in the Middle East must not be viewed as a rash of unrelated incidents—that each of these many incidents, in fact, is an integral part of a coordinated plan designed to give the Kremlin control of the whole of North Africa, and to give them control as well of Arabia's fabulous oil deposits, which are estimated to contain two-thirds of the world's known reserves.

I challenge anyone to reconcile this current record of Soviet activity—in the Far East, in Africa, in the Middle East, and in Latin America—with the assertion that we are today in a state of detente.

THE CONSULAR TREATY AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF CONCILIATIONISM

In September of 1965 here in the Senate I tried to examine the philosophy and practice of conciliationism. I said then that if the policy had succeeded in even one case, a strong argument could be made for it. But it has failed and failed miserably in every instance in which it has been tried.

There is nothing essentially new about the argument that by the force of our example, and by dint of making a few concessions, we can move even dictators and aggressors to abandon their aggressive ways and to live in peace.

What is not commonly realized is that, thanks to the very strong influence which the conciliationists have until now wielded in the Department of State, we have tried this approach in many of our dealings with the Communist world and with extremist dictators in Asia and Africa.

Invariably, the results have been the same.

Our concessions, our demonstrations of good will, our commitment to the quest for peace even to the point of imperiling our own security, have all been interpreted as signs of weakness and have inspired the Communists and extremists whom we sought to influence to respond with contempt and ingratitude and new aggression.

If our efforts at appeasement and conciliation had scored even a single conditional victory, it might be more difficult to argue against the pundits who have been talking about "detente" and the need for abandoning our rigid and antiquated attitude toward the cold war.

But the fact is that this approach has failed, and failed miserably, in every single instance in which it has been tried.

I could give countless examples to prove my point. But let me limit myself to a few of the most recent instances.

Our most dramatic experience with the fatal consequences of conciliationism took place in 1963.

In July of 1963, on American initiative, a treaty was signed banning all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in space. To achieve this treaty, we made numerous important concessions to Soviet obduracy.

I supported this treaty, and I hope that my resolution of May 21, 1963, played some role in making the treaty possible. I supported this treaty, and I still support it, on its intrinsic merits, and not because I harbored an illusions that it would produce any abatement in Communist activities.

One month after the treaty was signed, in August 1963, the news broke that the Soviet Union was facing one of the gravest food shortages in its history and that it was in the market for American wheat.

In the month of October, we agreed to sell to the Soviet Union $200 million worth of wheat.

The wheat was sold not at the price which the Government had paid the American farmer, but at the artifically low world price, so that the American Government, in effect, was subsidizing the Soviet Union.

Concessions were also made on freight rates and on credits.

The sale was made without condition of any kind.

The test ban treaty has beeng hailed on every side as the first serious move toward a reduction of the arms race and a relaxation of tensions.

The terms of the wheat deal, moreover, should have been enough to persuade the hardest Soviet heart of our good intentions, because here we were saving the Soviet Union and asking nothing in return.

But how did the Soviets react to these two historic manifestations of good will?

First. There was a series of harassments in October 1963, of American and British conveys on the Berlin autobahn.

Second. In the month of October 1963, an official Soviet delegation in Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam, broadcast a call for the expulsion of the "American imperialists" from South Vietnam, denouncing us as terrible people.

Third. The Soviets, again during the month of October 1963, further inflamed the highly dangerous situation in North Africa by sending arms and equipment to the Ben Bella government in large quantities, and by openly inciting the Algerians against the Moroccans.

In the month of November 1963, the Congolese government was compelled to expel the entire Soviet mission when members of the mission were caught redhanded with documents proving their complicity in a leftwing plot to overthrow the Congo Government.

In January 1963, there were the Panama riots, which were organized and led by identified Castro agitators and which were supported to the hilt by the entire Soviet propaganda apparatus.

This was at the time when we were being told, "If you will give them this wheat and you will enter into these agreements, they will understand us better, and they will cease their aggressive activities." They did no such thing. They stepped them up. They got worse.

Such, over a brief 5-month period, was the tally of Soviet gratitude for the nuclear test ban treaty and for our decision to sell them wheat on highly favorable terms.

The record could be extended almost indefinitely.

We signed the Consular Convention—and we were rewarded with the Newcomb Mott case, which involved the coldblooded murder of an American citizen who was being detained by the Soviet authorities. This incident occurred after we signed this Consular Convention, not before.

We voted with the Russians for the U.N. resolution banning nuclear weapons from outer space.

The Soviets followed this a few months later by openly parading an orbital missile in Moscow. And when we suggested in as inoffensive a manner as possible that perhaps this constituted a violation of the spirit of the U.N. resolution, the cold-blooded Soviet reply was that they had not put any nuclear weapons into space—they had merely developed weapons which could be placed into space.

We bent over backward to honor our side of the cultural exchange agreement with the Soviets.

The Soviets responded to the consistent display of American good faith by canceling the "Hello Dolly" show in 1965.

I do not know what they feared about that. I offer it only as an indication of what we are up against all the time.

Next, they refused to permit the American oceanographic research vessel *Silas Bent* to enter Leningrad Harbor in conjunction with the International Conference on Oceanography in May 1966; and then they canceled a track meet with American athletes scheduled for July 1966.

Mr. President, I could speak for another hour detailing the countless failures of the policy of conciliationism, not only in our dealings with the Soviet regime but in our dealings, as well, with other dictatorial aggressors, starting with Adolph Hitler and winding up in current times with Nkrumah and Nasser and Sukarno.

All of these experiences bring us back to the central point that totalitarian regimes respect only firmness, and the unilateral concessions to such regimes makes peace less secure rather than more secure.

TOWARD A GENUINE DETENTE WITH MOSCOW

In an introduction to a recent study of "Intellectual Ferment in the Soviet Union," I took the stand that we should do everything in our power to support and encourage the progressive opening up of Soviet society. Indeed, the opening up of Soviet society should be a cardinal objective of our diplomacy.

To this end I am prepared to support the broadest possible expansion of our cultural exchange program so long as the exchange takes place on a tolerably reciprocal basis. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose from an increase in tourism between the two countries.

We should be prepared to pay a very high price in the form of increased trade and even credits in return for any significant moderation of Soviet policy or for any genuine reduction of her cold war activities.

But the enactment of the Consular Convention and the expansion of East-West trade which the administration has in mind, should be made contingent on several basic conditions.

The minimum conditions I would consider acceptable are: first, Soviet cooperation in bringing the Vietnam war to an end, and second, the liquidation of the continuing apparatus of subversion set up under Soviet leadership at the Havana Conference in January 1966 and the public commitment to abstain from all subversive activity in the hemisphere.

These are the basic minimum conditions. I am opposed to making the concessions implicit in this treaty in advance of getting these conditions because of the undeviating history of Soviet reaction to all of our decent gestures.

I am opposed, even more fundamentally, to ratification of this convention at this juncture, because it is a violation of good sense, of good taste, and of national dignity to enact any such agreement at a time—I repeat—when thousands of our boys are being killed by Soviet aircraft, by Soviet weapons, by Soviet experts training others to do so.

The eyes of the American people and the eyes of the world will be on Moscow over the coming months, in the hope that the Kremlin will abandon its adamant attitude of recent years and truly join us in the quest for an effective regional peace in the Far East, and for agreements that will make peace more secure in other parts of the world.

Mr. President, these, I believe, are the principal reasons why the Senate should not ratify this Consular Convention. It is badly drawn as I have tried to point out and it is offered at, perhaps, the worst possible time. It will hinder us rather than help us in trying to achieve a more peaceful world.

I know that there are those who urge approval. They say, "Well, after all, it's only a matter of 10 or 15 more Soviet officials. What difference does it make? This is a great big country."

Well, Mr. President, it is no such thing. There is vastly more at stake than 10 or 15 additional Soviet officials.

This is a kind of political shill game, thinking about numbers and forgetting about what is really at stake.

I urge all Senators to vote against ratification of this convention.

I am tempted to move for its return to committee, at least for the purpose of removing from the convention the article which provides absolute immunity for consular premises and for all members of consular establishments. No other country enjoys such privileges. I do not know why anyone ever put it into this convention. We wrote a similar agreement with the Japanese at the same time and there was no such provision of absolute immunity. I do not believe any other country has ever asked for such concession and I wonder, too, whether the Soviet Union asked for it in this instance. I should like to know who suggested this, who drafted these specific provisions.

If I were in favor of this convention in every other respect, I could not vote for it—and I do not know how anyone else could—while these provisions remained in the convention. By themselves, these weaknesses call for rejection of the convention.

It is an unprecedented, unparalleled, and unheard of monstrosity.

(At this point Mr. BYRD of Virginia assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question at this time?

Mr. DODD. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. ERVIN. Is it not the understanding of the Senator from Connecticut that the proponents of ratification of the consular treaty urge ratification mainly upon the ground that it will give American consuls access to Americans who happen to be arrested and imprisoned in Russia?

Mr. DODD. Yes, I think that is their greatest argument.

Mr. ERVIN. Is it not the understanding of the Senator from Connecticut that at the time President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia, the Soviet Union entered into an executive agreement with President Roosevelt in which Russia, in substance, promised virtually the same access to Americans that this Consular Treaty would undertake to give?

Mr. DODD. The Senator is absolutely correct. Before the Senator entered the Chamber, I spoke about that. The facts are stronger than the Senator suggests. There was a solemn agreement, written in 1933, guaranteeing the right of access to American citizens who are arrested in the Soviet Union, and I should like to tell the Senator about it. I do not know why in the world we have not insisted that we already have an agreement with them.

Who, does the Senator suppose, says we do not have such an agreement? Not the Soviet Union, but our own Department of State. They came up here with a memorandum in which they said, "Oh, no, that agreement is no good any longer."

Why not?

"Because they said we would get the same terms as the most favored nation. At that time the most favored nation was Germany. And since, during World War II, Germany attacked the Soviet Union, it is no longer the most favored nation, and therefore the agreement is no longer valid."

How anyone can make sense out of that is beyond me. The agreement did not say, "You will have access as long as the Germans have access." It said, "You will have access on the same terms as the most favored nation."

Undoubtedly the agreement with Germany lapsed at the time of the Soviet invasion, but it does not therefore follow that the Soviets are entitled to break a parallel agreement with us.

Mr. ERVIN. So when we examine the main argument, it comes down to the proposition that we should ratify this particular treaty because Russia has failed to comply with the solemn agreement they made with us in 1933?

Mr. DODD. That is just about it. I think the Senator puts it very well.

Mr. ERVIN. Does the research of the Senator from Connecticut agree with that of the Senator from North Carolina that this is the first time in the history of the United States when it has been proposed that we enter into a consular treaty which would give total criminal immunity to consuls and their employees who happen to be nationals of their country?

Mr. DODD. It is the first time, to my knowledge, that it has ever occurred. It is unheard of. We have no such arrangement with the nations most friendly to us. They do not ask for it. I doubt that they would want it in their countries.

As I pointed out earlier, about the time that this treaty was negotiated with the Soviets, we were simultaneously negotiating one with Japan; but no such language is in the agreement with Japan. It is not in any agreement with any other country.

Mr. ERVIN. I ask the Senator if he does not understand that this proposal, which would grant total criminal immunity to Russian consuls and the employees of Russian consulates who happen to be Russian nationals, was not in the original draft of the treaty which was desired by the State Department.

Mr. DODD. I am not sure of the facts. If the Senator is, I accept his statement as true. My own suspicion is that that is the true situation.

Mr. ERVIN. I ask the Senator from Connecticut, under this criminal immunity provision, if the Russian consul, or even a janitor in the Russian consulate who happened to be a Russian——

Mr. DODD. Any employee.

Mr. ERVIN. Should assassinate the President of the United States, or engage in any espionage, he would not be subject to any punishment whatever.

Mr. DODD. None at all, unless the consul agreed. We have got to get their permission. Not even in case of fire. I referred to the case of Madam Kosenkina, who jumped out the consulate window in New York City in 1948. Under this agreement, a New York City policeman could not have climbed the fence into the courtyard and prevented the Soviet goons from dragging her back into the Consulate.

Mr. ERVIN. Would it be inaccurate to say that this treaty, in substance, would confer upon the Russian consuls and their employees who are Russian nationals a license to spy in the United States?

Mr. DODD. In a sense. Of course, I suppose they already have that. They have certainly been acting as if they had, for a number of years. But it would certainly give them a great advantage in that area.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator from Connecticut agree with the Senator from North Carolina that all available information indicates that Russia is supplying weapons and munitions to assist the North Vietnam Government in killing Americans in South Vietnam?

Mr. DODD. There is no question about it.

Mr. ERVIN. Is it not the information of the Senator from Connecticut that most of the American pilots who go to their death in bombing missions over North Vietnam go to their death as a result of being shot down by missiles supplied by Russia to North Vietnam?

Mr. DODD. I do not think there is a bit of doubt about it. I am sure that is so.

Mr. ERVIN. Can the Senator from Connecticut find any justification for the belief that ratification of this treaty will increase the respect in which the United States is held, either by its own citizens or by nations abroad, if the United States, in effect, sips tea with Russia in Washington and Moscow while Russia is aiding and abetting the slaying and maiming of American boys in South Vietnam?

Mr. DODD. Of course not. The Senator well knows that there is only one answer to that. It would dreadfully hurt us.

Mr. ERVIN. I thank the Senator for his views.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator for his questions. They will be helpful, I hope, in understanding what I am trying to say.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. The sale of wheat to which the Senator refers, as I recall reading in the public press, was based, first, on the fact that half of this wheat would be shipped in American ships.

Mr. DODD. I believe it was.

Mr. MURPHY. And, therefore, it would create jobs for American seamen and longshoremen.

Mr. DODD. Yes, I believe that is the same instance.

Mr. MURPHY. Was this carried out?

Mr. DODD. No, it was not done.

Mr. MURPHY. Was it not also mentioned continually in the public press that the sale would help the gold balance of our country?

Mr. DODD. It was.

Mr. MURPHY. Because the wheat was supposed to be paid for in gold?

Mr. DODD. It was not paid for in gold.

Mr. MURPHY. Did they pay for it at all?

Mr. DODD. I am not sure of the precise status of these payments.

Mr. MURPHY. Is it not true that the longshoremen refused to load this wheat?

Mr. DODD. That is true.

Mr. MURPHY. And the President of the United States appealed to them, on the basis of helping international relations?

Mr. DODD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MURPHY. And promised them that they would have at least 50 percent of the wheat shipped in American ships?

Mr. DODD. That is exactly what occurred.

Mr. MURPHY. Is my memory correct that none of these conditions was carried out?

Mr. DODD. None of the conditions was met.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. DODD. There is nothing new about the Soviet Union breaking every agreement they wish to break. If there is anything certain in world history, it is that fact. There is an almost unbroken record of broken agreements.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. I am happy to yield to the Senator.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate the Senator from Connecticut for doing an excellent and comprehensive job of pointing out continued acts of aggression and continued anti-American acts of the Moscow Communist government.

One of the reasons why we are given by advocates of this treaty for its ratification is that communism has now changed. We are never told the date when the change came about, and we are never given the details of the change. We have tried to get them to do so on the record, during the hearings; we have tried to elicit them by correspondence to determine what the changes are and the element of this alleged détente.

The Senator read into the RECORD instance after instance, with dates and specific evidence pointing to the fact that the Communists are still trying to do us in, set us back, and destroy us. The Senator could bring his recital of instances right up to this very hour, because every edition of the newspapers yesterday carried a report in which Kosygin alleged the reasons as to why the war continues in South Vietnam. He said that we disregard on our side any possibility of peace negotiations, putting the finger on the United States. All that we have to do to know where he stands is read what he says. We do not have to have it interpreted by the State Department when it speaks about a détente that does not exist.

Here is what Kosygin said yesterday. He accused the United States of breaking the terms of the truce and moving our troops in a better position while the truce was on, saying nothing about the fact, and it is well known, and we have photographic evidence to verify it, that the North Vietnamese were moving munitions and troops, and shipping supplies, in one violation after another during the entire truce period.

I believe that the Senate is entitled to have the facts which are available before we vote on the ratification of the treaty. If there is a detente let somebody, somewhere, some time describe it in the RECORD. Let us analyze it. Let us have dates of the changes and the evidence when it is said that communism has changed, instead of a lot of nebulous adjectives about a change of position which has not occurred. Of course, this is a changing world. No one alleges that everything is the same.

It is true that when Khrushchev attacked the United States in the United Nations he did so by taking off his shoe and pounding on the desk. The extent of the change seems to be that Communist leaders are condemning us today with spokesmen who have their shoes on instead of off. Is that the kind of change that they are talking about? It is a change or a difference without a distinction. Surely, we are entitled to better evidence than that.

I salute the Senator for presenting to us facts on which to make a reasonable appraisal of this treaty.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator from South Dakota.

I believe the facts that I have stated to be true. I agree with the Senator that it seems to me to be of the utmost importance that this be written into the RECORD.

I wish to add one additional thought about this cultural exchange. After all of this bitter experience in canceling one thing after another, we tried to persuade them to put in a clause preventing such abuses in the renegotiation of the agreement. What did they do? The Russians said "No," so we signed on their terms. This is what we are doing all the time.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. I would like to speak to that point, having been an adviser for some years on the Cultural Exchange.

Mr. DODD. I know that the Senator was on the Cultural Exchange.

Mr. MURPHY. I wish to assure the Senate that what the Senator has said is not only true but, if anything, it is understated.

I know how the negotiations went forward and of the months during which our people sat across the table and was continually insulted.

I recall another interesting experience that may be of interest for the RECORD in connection with this colloquy. At one time a great Russian Moiseyev ballet came to America. The man in charge of that ballet is one of the cultural leaders. He had a magnificent troupe and show. When he returned to Russia, he called in six of the leading people in the active performing arts and explained to them that he had been fooled, that he had been hoodwinked by his government, and that the American people are not bad people. He said that they were nice, friendly, and appreciative; that the theaters and stages were fine; that the directors and the people in the casts were better than he had at home; and that the lighting in the theaters was good. Then we lost track of him for 6 months. He had done the wrong thing. He had gone home to tell the truth.

Mr. President, the reason I recite this experience is that I think it is important in helping to understand the people with whom we are talking about entering into a treaty. Likewise, it shows their character as a part of their diplomacy.

We have come to a time in history when we should deal in facts for a change and stop dealing in wishful thinking and hopeful fantasy. As far as I can discern, there has been no change in their ultimate objective, which is to impose their system on the entire world by force. This flies exactly in the face of everything I have learned in living in this great country for over a half century as an American, and knowing what it is to be free.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator from California.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I commend the able Senator from Connecticut on the magnificent address he has just delivered.

The Senator from Connecticut has studied communism and is as well informed on this subject as possibly any Member of Congress. He understands how communism operates. He understands the conspiracy of communism to dominate and enslave the world. The Senator's address today should be read by every Member of the Senate and, indeed, by every citizen in the country.

I should like to inform the Senator from Connecticut that earlier today the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] delivered an address in which he made this statement:

> The Soviet Union and the Soviet Union alone has it within its power to stop the killing and bring the combatants to the negotiating table at once.

Does the able Senator from Connecticut agree with that?

Mr. DODD. Of course I do. How could I disagree? All that the Communists have to do is stop shipping munitions, stop moving their oil tankers, supplying aircraft, and sending in their experts to train the Vietcong so that they can better kill our boys. Of course they could stop it. They could stop it by 4 o'clock this afternoon, if they wanted to.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that in the years from 1955 to 1964, the average aid provided by the Soviets to North Vietnam was only approximately $35 million? That is for a period of approximately 10 years. But this year alone, it is estimated that the aid given by the Soviets to North Vietnam will run between $800 million and $1 billion. Does the Senator agree with that?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I believe that is approximately the figure.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that the Soviets have provided 1,000 or more surface-to-air missiles to be used to fire at American pilots and knock down American planes?

Mr. DODD. Yes, it is true.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not also true that the Soviets are now replacing with larger and more sophisticated Soviet guns the original installations supplied by the Chinese in more than 6,000 locations?

Mr. DODD. Yes, it is true.

Mr. THURMOND Is it not true that the Soviets are supplying technicians by the thousands to assist with the SAM sites and the complicated radar facilities and communications equipment and other devices used to assist the North Vietnamese in this war?

Mr. DODD. Yes, that is true. I believe it is commonly known to everyone who is familiar with this situation. They are doing that every day.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that the Soviets have taught the North Vietnamese to man more than 350 SAM missiles and have provided 3,000 or more antiaircraft guns to the North Vietnamese to assist them in their war effort?

Mr. DODD. Yes. In my judgment, the North Vietnamese could not continue the war for 24 hours without Russian support. No one can tell me that Red China can do much, with the condition it is in today.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that the Soviets are now supplying the most modern type of helicopters to North Vietnam, and that they have been spotted in North Vietnam, and are there in great numbers?

Mr. DODD. Yes, they are there in great numbers. I had a conversation with an officer who just returned from that area. From what he said, I am confident the Senator is correct.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that the Soviets are supplying the oil to run the machines of war in North Vietnam?

Mr. DODD. Yes, they are.

Mr. THURMOND. And in the past 18 months have supplied more than 300,000 metric tons, and last month alone supplied between 25,000 to 30,000 metric tons?

Mr. DODD. Yes, that is true. There is a long, almost continuous, line of tankers from the Black Sea to North Vietnam. That is how the North Vietnamese can continue the war.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that the Soviets are supplying aid of every kind to North Vietnam and that 80 percent of that aid goes in Soviet ships by sea and about 20 percent goes by rail or plane across China, and at the present time the Soviets are delivering 80,000 or more tons of goods a month to aid North Vietnam in this war?

Mr. DODD. Yes; I believe those figures are correct. I have heard them.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that about a ship a day in some weeks, and when not one a day, one every other day, goes in to assist Hanoi, which ships carry missiles, radars, anticraft guns, and other supplies for North Vietnam to carry on the war?

Mr. DODD. Yes. That is common knowledge. I do not think the Soviets deny it.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that the Soviets are supplying, of all the war equipment going in into North Vietnam, 80 to 90 percent, contrary to the impression that the Red Chinese are chiefly responsible for the flow of materiel to assist in the conduct of this war?

Mr. DODD. I would say the Senator is correct. All the information I have been able to gather supports that statement.

Mr. THURMOND. When we know the Soviets are chiefly responsible for supporting the North Vietnamese, and without whose help, as the Senator has said, the war would end almost tomorrow, is it not unbelievable that we should continue to extend the hand of fellowship and friendship to Soviet Russia at a time when our boys are being killed in Vietnam?

Mr. DODD. That is not understandable. We have been extending the hand of friendship for a long time. We saved the Soviet Union in World War II. I am not going to reread the evil record, but from that day forward we have done everything to help Russia and to demonstrate that we wanted to get along with her. And all we have received in return is more aggression and more trouble.

So why should we agree to this terribly drafted convention? I say even if Soviet Russia were not supporting North Vietnam against us in the war, even if the Soviet Union were not doing the 100 other things she is doing, this convention is such a shoddy job of diplomacy that on this ground alone it ought to be turned down. It is unbecoming to this country even to consider it.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true, concerning the war in Vietnam, that in 1966 the United States suffered 35,000 casualties, and that for the first 6 weeks of 1967 casualties were running 1,000 a week, or at an annual rate of approximately 50,000? In spite of that fact, we are extending the hand of friendship if we ratify this treaty. Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I reassert what I said. I am not, and I am sure the Senator from South Carolina is not, against extending the hand of friendship. I do not know of anyone who does not want to do it.

I have said over and over again: By all means, let us have cultural exchanges and other kinds of agreements designed to open up relations and to open up Soviet society inside the Soviet Union are people who are no different from us. They crave freedom and justice. There are many signs that they are trying to achieve these goals.

I do not know of any war hawks among my colleagues. But I say, For heaven's sake, let us stop this nonsense. If we are going to make concessions, let us ask the Soviet Union to stop sending supplies into Vietnam, to stop guerrilla warfare against our friends, to stop subversion.

What less should we ask for, before we enter into an agreement that confers such marked advantages on them?

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that this war effort would fail within a short while if Soviet Russia did not bolster the enemy, and that we could bring the war to a conclusion and bring the American boys home, because there is a good chance that this year alone 5,000 American boys will be killed in Vietnam?

Mr. DODD. Yes; sad to say, I am afraid that is true.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that all that Soviet Russia has to do to bring a great measure of peace to the world, is to cease its goal of world domination and let other nations alone?

Mr. DODD. Yes. Who is it that is disturbing the peace of the world? Only the Communists.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is absolutely correct. What other nation in the world today is creating the chaos and disorder and trouble in the world on the same scale as the Soviet Union?

Mr. DODD. There are no other nations but the Soviet Union and Red China. We hear the nonsense that little regimes around the world are disturbing the peace. That is not true. There is only one power in the world that is causing trouble, difficulty, and distress. If only that power would be reasonable and join with us, to devote our full energy and talents to helping the poor and the downtrodden and the needy in the world, in building hospitals and schools and other necessities of mankind, how different the world would be. The American people want to do it. Millions of other people want to do it. It is the Soviet Union primarily that is preventing the realization of this objective.

Mr. THURMOND. Some news media in this country have led our people to think that the big, bad wolf is Red China. Of course, I have no sympathy with Red China and her aspirations, but right now Red China is torn from within. A struggle is going on between the Soviet Chinese and the Mao Chinese, and Red China is not able to extend aid to the war in Vietnam. She is not in a position to do harm to the world or to the United States, as the Soviet Union is. Is it not true that the main threat to peace in the world today is Soviet Russia?

Mr. DODD. I am sure the Senator is correct. Red China is so involved in internal difficulties that she cannot do much else but try to help herself. Nevertheless, I think she is a very worrisome factor in the world. But I must answer the Senator that the principal cause of trouble in the world is the Soviet Union rather than Red China.

Mr. THURMOND. Again, I commend the able Senator for his fine address. I think he has made a great contribution to this debate.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator from South Carolina, who, with his questions has, I am sure, clarified what I am trying to say.

I know my facts are right.

I know that the events I have listed are correctly listed.

I do not think I have strained any understanding of events. I cannot imagine that anyone would consider that I have.

Somehow, the idea has gotten around that there has been this big change in Soviet policy. How, I pray, that that might be so; how we all pray. But regrettably the facts point to the conclusion that it is not yet so.

WAIVER OF RULE XXXVII—UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXXVII, that it be in order for Senators to call up amendments to any article of the pending treaty at any time until the Senate has concluded its consideration as in Committee of the Whole, instead of reading and amending the treaty article by article.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I remain unalterably opposed to the ratification of the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union. It seems to me that any treaty is inappropriiate at a time when the Soviet Union is chiefly responsible for supplying the sophisticated weapons which are killing American servicemen in Vietnam. The proponents of this treaty, it seems to me, have reversed the order of progression in the steps we must take toward peace. Until our substantive objections to Soviet policy are first removed, no progress can be made. Until the Soviet Union halts its aggressive aims, the so-called lessening of tensions is an illusion. A more objective description of these diplomatic concessions is "piecemeal surrender."

Mr. President, my further study of this treaty has brought to light a sleeper clause which has not, even at this late date, received the attention it requires. This clause casts the shadow of doubt upon the assertion that the basis of this treaty is reciprocity. The conditions of a closed and an open society are so dissimilar, the principles of a totalitarian and a free society are so greatly antagonistic, and the very facts of diplomatic life are so strikingly different in the Soviet Union and in the United States, that there can never be actual reciprocity in fact. The plain facts are that the Soviet Union would never have agreed to this treaty, unless its leaders, bent upon world conquest, firmly believed that they were getting a significant advantage in the continuing war of attrition against the capitalist world.

In my judgment, the Soviets will have won a major battle in their war of subversion against the United States if this treaty is ratified, because of the inclusion of this particular clause.

I refer to article 2, paragraph 8, which reads as follows:

> With the exception of members of the staff of the diplomatic mission of the sending state, as defined in paragraph (c) of Article 1 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, no national of the sending state already present in the receiving state or in transit thereto may be appointed as a consular officer or employee of the consular establishment.

The apparent function of this paragraph is to prevent the Soviet Union from filling their consulates in the United States with men who have not been cleared in advance. Its purpose is ostensibly to guarantee that the United States has the opportunity to approve each individual appointment to a Soviet consulate within our boundaries. Yet this clause has a major exception that will make the control of subversion extremely difficult. I quote again:

> *With the exception of members of the staff of the diplomatic mission of the sending state,* as defined in paragraph (c) of Article 1 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

This exception needs a few words of explanation. First of all, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations has not yet been ratified by the United States, nor has it been brought to the Senate floor, even though it was signed in 1961, 3 years before the signing of the Soviet consular treaty. As a multination treaty, covering the general field of consular relations, one would think that the Vienna Convention would have been brought up for consideration before the present treaty. The Soviets are not even parties to the Vienna Convention, and the Vienna Convention is not before us. What concerns us here is only the particular definition of "consular staff," embodied in the Vienna Convention, and here made a part of the consular treaty with the U.S.S.R. That definition is:

> The "members of the staff of the mission" are the members of the *diplomatic staff*, of the *administrative and technical staff*, and of the *service staff* of the mission.

These three categories of personnel are therefore included in the sleeper exemption to be granted in the Soviet consular treaty.

What this means is that any person of any category attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, to the Soviet mission at the United Nations, to the Byelorussian mission at the United Nations, the Ukranian mission at the United Nations, or at the United Nations Secretariat may be named as a Soviet consular officer, with all the attendant privileges and immunities—without the consent or even the knowledge of the United States. When we consider that at present 908 Soviet nationals are now attached to Soviet missions within our boundaries, the guarantees of paragraph 8 are largely meaningless.

What is the practical effect of this sleeper clause? The practical effect is that 908 potential spies already in the United States will be granted immunity from prosecution. For example: The Soviets could appoint an obscure member of the mission from category 3—a chauffeur, or a gardener—as a consular officer. He would immediately get the special consular immunities not attached to a mere diplomatic mission. The United States would not be aware of his consular status. He could travel freely throughout his consular region—conceivably the whole United States, if no districts were agreed upon. He could carry diplomatic pouches and baggage whose fastenings would be inviolable. If apprehended, perhaps even in the midst of espionage activity, he would only have to identify himself as a Soviet consular officer to go free, with whatever baggage he might be carrying. The only recourse of the United States would be to declare him persona non grata.

This clause puts the danger of espionage activity in a different light. The FBI would be watching not merely 15 additional Soviet nationals at a cost of $125,000 a year as the advocates of this treaty proclaim. The FBI would have to watch 908 potential spies and saboteurs, with no reasonable guide as to which ones might have secretly been appointed consular officers with immunity from prosecution. Of the 908 Soviets in the United States attached to diplomatic missions, only 452 have immunity now because of their status. Under the Soviet consular treaty, any of the 908 could get immunity through appointment as consular officers; and it must be noted, further, that the 452 diplomatic officials who presently enjoy immunity would enjoy the heightened immunity that comes from occupying consular premises.

Let me explain. The premises of any mission to which a consular official was attached would immediately get all the immunities of a consulate. The Soviets' No. 1 request for a consulate would undoubtedly be for their Embassy in Washington. The Embassy would instantly gain privileges it does not now have. An Embassy may not be entered now except in three cases: First, by means of a court order; Second, presumed consent in case of fire; Third, presumed consent if police officers have reason to believe that a felony is being committed within the premises.

An embassy which won status as a consulate could not be entered for any reason whatsoever. Neither fire nor police officials could enter. It must be remembered that in 1948, the Soviet Consulate in New York was closed after the Russian schoolteacher, Mrs. Oksana Stepanova Kasenkina, jumped to a courtyard of the consulate. Her injured body was removed by New York City police officials and carried to safety. Under the Soviet Consular Treaty, there could be no more Kasenkina cases; police would have to stand by helplessly while such a victim bled to death on the paving stones. The Soviet consular treaty erects a wall as high and as tragic as the Berlin wall.

With such a wall around the Soviet consulates, article 18 also takes on additional significance. Article 18 says that a consular establishment may make "use of all ordinary means of communication." In the light of modern accomplishments in radio communication, such a privilege is easily abused. Frequencies can be shifted to illegal bands; messages can be transmitted in speeds up to 1,000 words a second. Although radio can be monitored, the chances of catching such transmissions and cracking their codes would be virtually negligible. While the Soviet Union is still our enemy, and while the Soviet Union is still supporting a cruel war against us, it seems astonishing that we would willingly provide the Soviet Union with special immunities for rapid transmission of intelligence data.

Let us remember, then, that a consular officer gets not only immunity from the process of justice, but from jurisdiction as well.

Under this treaty he will get immunity from civil and administrative process as well. This means that he cannot be arrested, sued, or regulated by the rules set up by the duly authorized authorities for the order and welfare of the community. He has, in effect, a license to travel at will, with whatever baggage he chooses. And when he returns to his home base, he can shut himself up in security and transmit intelligence to Moscow without interference. What better setup could be imagined for espionage activity?

Diplomatic immunity as now understood does not confer these privileges. The diplomat is immune only from process, not from jurisdiction. He is not free to travel at will. His diplomatic luggage is inviolable only in transit between the embassy and his home state. No present treaty allows him to operate direct radio transmission home. His premises may be entered with a special court order. It is inconceivable that the Soviet Union would not seek to confer the higher status of consular officer upon many of its present diplomats here in this country.

It may be noted further that the Soviet missions at the U.N. could demand the same immunities for their premises in New York as accorded to the Embassy in Washington, once the Embassy has been raised to the privileges of a consulate under this treaty. Under the International Organization Immunities Act, a diplomatic mission may seek the same treatment accorded to any other diplomatic mission. Thus, not only can the Soviet missions demand the same treatment as its Embassy-consulate, but all 121 missions to the U.N. can ask the same. The snowball effect of this treaty has not been carefully considered.

One other point, a lesser point to be sure, must also be considered. Once we enter upon this treaty, we have no method of suspending any of its provisions, short of terminating the validity of the entire treaty. Once a consulate is opened, it is opened as long as the treaty is in force. We appear to have the right to suspend consular operations under article 2, paragraph 5. There it states:

> A head of a consular establishment may enter upon the exercise of his duties only after having been recognized in this capacity by the receiving state.

By withholding this recognition, we could suspend the functions of that office. Such a situation might be desirable after a consular head is expelled by declaring him persona non grata. In a period of tense relations, such a suspension could be a beneficial safety valve.

Yet in article 6, we find that the sending state—in this case, Soviet Russia—has the power unilaterally to appoint a "temporary head." The full name of this person must be transmitted in advance. But nothing is said about the recognition of this temporary head. There is no opportunity to suspend recognition. Nevertheless, article 6, paragraph 2, says:

> A person empowered to act as temporary head of the consular establishment shall enjoy the rights, privileges and immunities of the head of the consular establishment.

Some people may say that the privileges which the Soviet Union gains are reciprocal. They say that the United States will get the same exemptions. But in the context of the Soviet police state, the exemptions are meaningless. This difference is amply illustrated by a comparison of the provisions of the U.S. Constitution and the Soviet Constitution dealing with treaties. Our Constitution, says, article VI, and I quote:

> All treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Soviet Constitution is somewhat different. Article 14 says:

> The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its highest organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces: (a) Representation of the USSR in international relations, conclusion, ratification, and *denunciation* of treaties of the USSR with other states. . . .

Whereas we consider a treaty to be a matter of national honor, superseding even our own laws, the Soviets stand ready to denounce a treaty the moment it no longer gives them the upper hand. I do not think that the Soviets intend to denounce this treaty any time soon, because the manifest advantages are all on their side.

My belief is that the Communists will seek to exploit these advantages until they are caught in some flagrant attempt at subversion in the United States. Alternatively, they will pay lipservice to its provisions until the moment arrives when they wish to create an international incident.

Any intelligence successes we might score by having a "listening post in Leningrad" are not to be compared to the advantages available to Soviet spies operating in a free society. It has been hinted that a U.S. consul in Leningrad would be able to keep tabs upon the antiballistic-missile installations which the Soviets have been putting in place. It is difficult to believe that diplomatic personnel, sitting in an office in Leningrad, in a country where movement is restricted and watched, would be able to learn much about such sensitive installations. Such observations would be tantamount to playing the old pea-and-shell game.

Let us, therefore, review the nonreciprocal benefits which the Soviets would gain from this treaty.

First. The Soviets get the absolute right to name any of 908 diplomats now within our country to the privileges and immunities of a consular officer.

Second. The United States would not know which diplomats were so named.

Third. Such an unknown agent could travel at will, carrying diplomatic luggage.

Fourth. The immunities of the Soviet Embassy premises could be raised to consular status, with absolute nonentry.

Fifth. The premises of Soviet U.N. missions could also gain the right of absolute nonentry.

Sixth. All other U.N. missions could claim the same treatment under the reciprocity of the International Organizations Immunities Act.

Seventh. The Soviets presently have twice as many diplomats at the U.N. as at their Washington Embassy; the United States, of course, has only the Embassy at Moscow. The absolute right of naming consular officers without prior approval, therefore, is not reciprocal on a comparable basis.

Eighth. The restrictions in the Soviet society make any comparisons of opportunities for espionage a poor joke.

Mr. President, I addressed this body on February 19 and raised other points which made it appear incredible to me that we could expect any benefits to accrue from this treaty. I pointed out that the Soviets had consistently violated their past agreements on so-called protections to be granted to U.S. citizens who travel within the Soviet Union. I pointed out that the Soviets have not even made the gesture of honoring the present agreement, on an interim basis, since it was signed. I pointed out the precedents it would establish, and the problems it would cause for smaller states. Yesterday I sent a memorandum to all Senators which summarized these points. I ask unanimous consent that this memorandum now be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORL, as follows:

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND, REPUBLICAN, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, OPPOSING THE CONSULAR TREATY

1. No treaty necessary in order to establish foreign consulates on U.S. soil. (We have had Soviet consulates in the past without a treaty.)

2. Roosevelt-Litvinoff Agreement of 1933 provided similar "protections" to those sought in this treaty. (See Thurmond Remarks to Senate, February 9, 1967, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 3227–3229.)

3. Soviets have consistently violated Roosevelt-Litvinoff Agreement of 1933.

Litvinoff agreed to offer consular protection to U.S. citizens even without negotiating a consular treaty.

U.S. State Department used the 1933 agreement as the basis for official protests against violations of U.S. rights.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull held that U.S. citizens had a right of access to U.S. officials even without written agreements by U.S.S.R.

4. Soviets have not honored the provisions of the 1964 treaty during the 30 months since it was signed.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk has cited 20 cases since the signing where the standards of the treaty have not been met.

5. Soviets agreed to this treaty because it provides immunity against prosecution for consular personnel.

Soviets insisted upon this provision, because it allows only for the expulsion of consular personnel, and not for prosecution of criminal acts, including espionage. This is a dangerous precedent in law.

6. A precedent would be set facilitating the establishment of Soviet consulates in Latin American countries, nations which might well be less equipped to counter massive subversion.

7. If Soviet law is so capricious that U.S. consular employees need special immunity while in the U.S.S.R., then the time is not yet ripe to normalize travel and trade relations with the Soviets.

8. Protection sought in the Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—by an arrested U.S. citizen would amount to *de facto* recognition of the forcible inclusion of these nations into the Soviet empire.

The U.S. has never recognized these states as part of the U.S.S.R.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THURMOND. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished and able Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from South Carolina is a distinguished high ranking former officer in the armed services of this country and a long-time student of military and international affairs. Does the Senator know of any other country to whom we have granted the immunity provisions for consular officials now contemplated in this consular treaty?

Mr. THURMOND. In reply to the distinguished Senator from South Dakota, the Senator from South Carolina would say that he knows of no other country to which such concessions have been granted, and, having had research done, has been informed that there are none.

Mr. MUNDT. That would include even our friendliest countries, such as English-speaking United Kingdom and Canada, together with West Germany?

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. So, in this instance, for some reason which has not quite been made clear to the Senate, we proposed a complete degree of immunity to a country which certainly is less friendly to the United States than are Canada, the United Kingdom, and West Germany; and, as the Senator from South Carolina has pointed out, a country with whose industrial complex our boys in Vietnam are at war, because they are being killed over there with the sophisticated weapons given by the Communists in Moscow to their Communist associates in Hanoi.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct.

Earlier today, I made the point that the Soviets are supplying, in North Vietnam, antiaircraft artillery, surface-to-air missiles, Mig planes, complex radar installations, artillery, and many other weapons that are used to kill American boys.

Mr. MUNDT. Based on the Senator's long and distinguished career as an officer of our Armed Forces, would he say that petroleum is an important military essential in modern warfare?

Mr. THURMOND. Petroleum is an essential, and the Soviet Union is supplying virtually all the oil that North Vietnam is using to fight the Vietnam war.

Mr. MUNDT. How long does the Senator believe that the North Vietnamese could continue their fighting without oil?

Mr. THURMOND. I believe that the war would end very shortly if the Soviets discontinued their support to North Vietnam.

Mr. MUNDT. It would tend to follow, therefore, that anything that tends to decrease the flow of oil and of sophisticated weaponry to North Vietnam would tend to shorten the war. Is that correct?

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Would the reverse side of the coin be equally true—that anything that makes it easier or more acceptable for the Communists in Russia to supply petroleum and sophisticated weaponry to North Vietnam would tend to prolong the war?

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Does the Senator agree with the Senator from South Dakota that what the people of this country desire more desperately than anything else at this time is an early and successful conclusion to the war in Vietnam?

Mr. THURMOND. Certainly, that is most essential, in order to save American lives. It has been estimated that 5,000 American boys will die this year in Vietnam, in this war.

Mr. MUNDT. Speaking of statistics, somebody pointed out that 18,000 Americans visit Russia per year, on the average, for pleasure or for profit, and that of the 18,000 Americans visiting Russia for the purpose, approximately nine per year have become involved with the toils of the law—about three of them per year for serious offenses or for trumped-up charges which appear serious, the other six for lesser reasons. But nine Americans getting into difficulty in Russia per year does not appear to the Senator from South Dakota to be quite on a par with the problems and the perils and the difficulties confronted by 500,000 Americans fighting in Vietnam. While we should, of course, as Senators, share great concern for any American in trouble or in peril anywhere, I would think that the emphasis on the part of the Senate should be on what we can do to reduce the problems, the difficulties, and the perils of the 500,000 boys who are fighting in Vietnam, rather than to show so much concern for the nine people per year getting in trouble in Russia while traveling there for their own profit or pleasure.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator from South Dakota is eminently correct, in my judgment.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, to justify the treaty, we are told that if we ratify it, these nine Americans, on the annual average, getting into difficulties in Russia, shall have the guarantee that American authorities will be notified that they are in jail, and that then American consular officials would have the right to confer with them. Does the Senator find anything at all in the treaty, in big print or small, indicating any other benefit accruing to the American in trouble in Russia except the right of notification and the right to confer with the consular officers?

Mr. THURMOND. I have studied it very carefully. I have had it researched carefully. The only point that seems to be made, I believe, in the report by the majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations is on page 5 under the word "Conclusion," where it is stated:

> A majority of the committee believes that the Convention will afford significant and needed protection for American travelers in the Soviet Union and for any American consular officers and employees who may, at some future time, serve in consulates that may be established in the Soviet Union.

That is the main point that the committee seems to make in advocating approval of this treaty. I would answer that in these four points. I would say, first, that the right to be visited by an American consul does not protect an American against the vagaries of Soviet law or guarantee a fair trial. Second, the right of visitation does not protect an American citizen against trumped up charges.

Third, the right of visitation does not protect an American from mistreatment, and perhaps even murder such as was accorded Newcomb Mott.

Four, it is interesting to note that planned diplomatic immunity is necessary for our consular officers because of the danger of trumped up charges.

That is a direct quotation from the State Department memorandum. What kind of protection will ordinary citizens get if we have to have this kind of treaty to protect consular officers over there?

Mr. MUNDT. It is also true, is it not, that there is nothing in the treaty anywhere, directly or indirectly, by implication or expression, which assures the American who is unfortunate enough to be sent to prison in Russia of anything beyond notification and consultation? There is nothing even remotely assuring his release to American officials or the granting to him of his freedom.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Taking the position of the State Department at its best, accepting everything else as a fact, all we hope to get out of these concessions, out of this treaty, out of this encouragement to the Russians to send even more supplies to their Communist fighting allies in Hanoi, is that these nine people who get into difficulty will have a chance to notify their officials, and that the American consular official can go in and visit them.

The supporters of the treaty go one step further than that. They then say that is why we want the treaty and then they hint that there may be another benefit because we are going to be able to send 15 consular officers to the city of Leningrad, and this may give us a new kind of listening post; that these consular officers can roam around Russia in that closed society and notice what is going on which is adverse as far as the United States is concerned.

But here again, the generalization shrinks to an item of small significance when it is related to the facts because the facts in that connection are contained in article 27 of the treaty, which is found on page 291 of the committee hearings. It is a short one-sentence concession. I shall read it:

> ARTICLE 27
>
> Subject to the laws and regulations of the receiving state concerning zones entry into which is prohibited or regulated for reasons of national security, a consular officer shall be permitted to travel freely within the limits of his consular district to carry out his official duties.

Meaning, an American consular office in Leningrad is subject to the laws and regulations of the receiving state of Russia. Who decides that? The Russians.

It can be a legitimate reason or an entirely false reason, but for any reason whatever, if they say this is off grounds for consular security reasons, our consulate people cannot visit there.

Again, I wish to read that article.

> Subject to the laws and regulations of the receiving state concerning zones entry into which is prohibited or regulated for reasons of national security, a consular officer shall be permitted to travel freely within the limits of his consular district to carry out his official duties.

They have hamstrung and surrounded the alleged freedom of any consular officers that we may place in Leningrad or anywhere else so that they are circumscribed from seeing or hearing anything the Russians do not want them to visit, see, or hear; whereas, over here, they have "open sesame" permission to visit any place that any American tourist can visit. That was brought out in the hearings.

The question was asked of Dean Rusk: If, in fact, this listening post and observation post has any validity, why do we not put our American consul in Vladivostok or Kiev, where we know nothing of what is going on? The answer is in the hearings. They said that Vladivostok is a closed city. Americans cannot visit there and they cannot place them in Kiev.

Many Senators have been in Leningrad. I spent considerable time there. It is 90 minutes from Moscow. It is a seacoast city, a cosmopolitan city, the most western of all Communist cities. In Leninrad they have developed a customary cosmopolitan approach rather comparable to seacoast cities anywhere. Tourists can go to Leningrad by the thousands and see anything there that a consular officer can see, and hear anything that a consular officer can hear. The Russians do not let this country consider putting the consulates in the areas where it is important for us to know more about Russia, Russian thinking, Russian installations and programs, and Russian plans and plants.

The second of the only two reasons that the State Department advances for ratification of the treaty, therefore, falls as flat as the first, because in the first the American citizen is guaranteed nothing but a visit through the bars from his consular officer. In the second, the consular officer is guaranteed nothing but the right of movement around the consular district on official duties where the Russian Government prescribes it is permissible for him to roam.

For all of that we jeopardize a great

deal. I shall address the Senate during this debate on some of the very great losses we will suffer from this kind of treaty, losses in terms of national unity at home and international support abroad, losses in terms of the morale of the troops who do not understand a government which helps strengthen the economy of the Russian war machine which is dedicated to the killing of their comrades fighting with them in Vietnam.

I wanted to point out those matters because to my surprise many Senators have not read the treaty. It is long. It is complicated. It is highly interesting. I heard a Senator say today, "I am 100 percent against expanding trade with Russia when we are at war with the Russian machine, but there is no relationship between the machine and the treaty."

However, it is written in the treaty. If Senators will read the draft, one of the purposes, functions, and objectives of the consular treaty is the expansion, and precisely that, of trade. The President candidly stated in his state of the Union address in a single sentence—not separated by a comma, connected together—that he wanted the Senate to approve the consular treaty and East-West trade.

The President put them together. The Department of State put them together. They are in the treaty. Accordingly, we had better decide what we are going to do once we have opened up this lock, so far as marching down the road is concerned, in continuing to expand exports to Russia, to strengthen her war machine, to increase her supplies of arms to North Vietnam in order to prolong a war which everyone in America, from the President on down, is trying to bring to a successful end.

I should like to see a message to Congress from the President, or the Secretary of State, or anyone else, advocating this treaty, giving one single, solitary reason how strengthening the Russian industrial complex so that it can increase its supply of arms to Hanoi, can shorten the war. Not unless it is going to be shortened by driving out American troops, or causing us to surrender. That alternative, I am sure, the vast majority of Senators abhor and abominate.

I salute the distinguished Senator from South Carolina on his very informative and interesting statement. I hope that all Senators will read the hearings, because they are now before us, and perhaps, read the treaty, too, which is a precedent-shattering, American diplomatic move in time of war. I also recommend a careful reading of all points of view expressed in the committee report which is also now available.

Let any Senator, if he can, during the course of this debate for the remainder of this week and part of next week when we will continue to debate it before it is voted upon, deny that never before—I repeat, never before—in American history has a Commander in Chief of an American Government, busily drafting boys to go overseas to fight, ever dared to propose that we expand the capacity of the enemy to kill our troops by letting a few American profiteers sell to the industrial complex of the enemy, so as to shore up his economy in order that he can concentrate on making additional weapons to send to our enemies to be used to kill and maim American boys in uniform.

I thank the Senator from South Carolina for yielding to me.

Mr. THURMOND. I thank the Senator from South Dakota for his kind remarks.

EXECUTIVE AMENDMENT NO. 1

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I call up executive amendment No. 1 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated by the clerk.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> Amend paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 19 to read as follows:
>
> "2. A consular officer shall be exempt from arrest or prosecution in the receiving state except when charged with the commission of a crime which, upon conviction, might subject the individual guilty thereof to a sentence of imprisonment for a period of one year or more.
>
> "3. The immunity granted by paragraph 2 may be waived by the sending state. Waiver must always be expressed."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, section 2 of article XIX of the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union provides that—

> Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment who are nationals of the sending state shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state.

Never before in the history of our Republic has a consular treaty been made with this provision. The first grant of immunity was made in 1790, during the first term of President George Washington, but it related purely to diplomatic officers. Consular treaties have always been considered to cover economic officers, and not diplomatic officers.

We have had many friends throughout the world since 1790. We have had a special relationship with Great Britain. At one time the Republic of France was one of our close friends. We have enjoyed friendship with our great neighbor to the north, Canada, over many years. We have enjoyed friendship with our southern neighbor, Mexico, and many other nations of the earth. But our Government has never seen fit heretofore to grant immunity to consular officers on such a far-reaching basis as section 2 of article 19.

It seems strange, indeed, Mr. President, that at a time when we are fighting a war in South Vietnam, with some half a million of our finest young manhood involved, and the Soviet Union is furnishing the sophisticated weapons with which those young men are being killed and maimed, that we would grant, to the Soviet Union particularly, criminal immunity, which we have never granted to any nation on earth.

The sum and substance of my amendment, Mr. President, would be to change article 19 and make it similar to the consular treaties that we have with every other nation on earth. It would provide for immunity for misdemeanors and misdemeanors only. It would not provide immunity for felonies. Why should we give a greater status to the consular officials of the Soviet Union than we give to the consular officials of Canada, or of Great Britain, or any other power on the face of the earth? It seems to me inconceivable at this time that we should grant criminal immunity to the Soviet Union, which would authorize a janitor in a Soviet consulate to assassinate the President of the United States, and the only recourse we would have would be to expel that janitor from the United States of America.

Mr. President, I shall not address myself further on the amendment at this time, but I shall do so tomorrow.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it is my intention to support the consular convention with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which the Committee on Foreign Relations has reported favorably and which is now before the Senate for consideration. My decision on this matter has been made only after careful deliberation and weighing the evidence on both sides of the question. In view of the large number of inquiries from and expressions of opinions by constituents on this issue, I wish to summarize briefly the reasons which have led me to this conclusion.

It is evident that there has been a great deal of misunderstanding about the potential threat this treaty might pose to our national security. Much concern about the convention has been expressed because of the presumed opposition by the distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. Because of conflicting reports regarding his views, I wrote Mr. Hoover on February 1, asking him to inform me about his true position. The response of the Director clearly indicated that he did not believe the treaty would be a serious danger to internal security.

In commenting about his testimony on March 4, 1965, before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, Mr. Hoover stated that his reference to making the work of his agency more difficult was not intended to imply that "the problems presented by an increase in the number of Soviet-bloc personnel in the United States could not be handled by the FBI."

A common misconception about the treaty is that, if it were approved, the U.S.S.R. would be able to open consulates in a number of major cities in the United States and to flood our Nation with large numbers of espionage agents. This, of course, is not true. The convention itself does not directly provide for opening consulates; the establishment of any consulate would be open to future negotiation and approval.

Moreover, contemplated at present is only one consulate with a staff of no more than 12 to 15 Russian nationals. When it is kept in mind that there are already something over 450 Soviet nationals in this capacity in the United States, all of whom are no doubt kept carefully under surveillance by the FBI, the additional danger which might arise from this small increment appears to be very minimal, indeed. It seems reasonable to suppose that, if our Federal agents can protect us from any espionage which might be conducted by the sizable group of Soviet representatives now in the United States, it could render the same excellent service if that number should be increased by a dozen or so.

Let us remember and take pride in the fact that the United States is a free and open society. With comparatively few restrictions, all foreign nationals are at liberty to travel, study, and live in the various areas of our country. At the present time Russian citizens who are here visiting or working for their Embassy or for the United Nations may legitimately acquire most of our latest scientific, political, economic, and other publications. As a mater of fact, it is now much more difficult for the U.S. Government to obtain reliable information about the U.S.S.R. than it is for Russian agents to secure accurate data about us.

It must be emphasized that the Consular Convention provides for reciprocal rights. If we should agree to allow a Soviet consulate to be opened in the United States, we would then have the opportunity of establishing an American consulate in one of the cities in the U.S.S.R. In my opinion our Nation would stand to gain greatly from such an outpost. It would give us the privilege of observing firsthand many of the major events taking place in the Soviet Union and would provide additional direct contacts with the Russian people.

Many persons have tended to overlook or have not realized the significance of one of the most important parts of the treaty. I am referring to the fact that the United States would gain, for the first time, guaranteed access to any American citizens who may be apprehended and detained while traveling or visiting in the U.S.S.R. If the treaty is approved it would obligate Russian officials to notify our Embassy or consulate about such an arrest within 1 to 3 days and provide free access to any detained American within 4 days.

The importance of the right of U.S. officers to meet with American citizens who may be arrested and jailed cannot be denied. It is well to remember that some 18,000 U.S. citizens visited the Soviet Union last year without this protection. Unfortunately, several were jailed for extended periods without their families, their friends, or even their Government knowing where they were or what had happened to them. They simply disappeared. To me, this guaranteed safeguard for American citizens is of paramount importance and far outweighs any possible difficulty which the convention could cause within our borders.

To be sure, it is always possible that officials of the Soviet Union might at some time in the future refuse to honor all provisions of the treaty. If this should ever happen, our Government's recourse would be to declare the treaty to be no longer binding and its provisions nonoperative. In other words, while in my opinion it would be in our best interest to approve the convention, we must always be on the alert against any failure to observe its terms and to disavow the agreement immediately if it should be violated.

On balance, then, I believe that the United States has more to gain than to lose from ratifying the Consular Convention and that our gain would be comparatively much greater than any advantage which might possibly accrue to the Soviet Union. Consequently, Mr. President, I intend to vote "yea" on this important measure.

MILITARY PROCUREMENT

Mr. **RUSSELL**. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes. As in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. **RUSSELL**. Mr. President, there were three differences in the versions of S. 665 for resolution by the conference.

The difference that probably is the subject of most interest in the Senate relates to the so-called Mansfield-Clark amendment, containing the declaration of congressional policy on support of our Armed Forces in Vietnam and on finding an honorable way to end the fighting there.

The Mansfield amendment had three paragraphs. The first two paragraphs were retained intact by the conferees. A modification was made in the third paragraph to accommodate a reluctance by the House conferees to accept what appeared to them to be an unqualified approval of the Geneva accords. The compromise language expresses approval of the fundamental principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 and support for the reconvening of the nations that participated in those conferences or for a meeting of any nations that are involved and concerned to try to agree on plans for ending the fighting in Vietnam under honorable conditions.

Mr. President, I am happy that, in my opinion, this in no wise detracts in the slightest degree from the purport and intent of the Mansfield-Clark substitute and that it does no violence whatever to its intent. In general, it somewhat clarifies it.

The second item in conference was the addition by the House of $81 million in authorization of appropriations for the procurement of EA-6A aircraft. This kind of aircraft is used for electronic countermeasures. The Marine Corps strongly desires to procure more aircraft of this type. It has proved to be of great value in Vietnam. The Senate conferees agreed to retain the additional authorization.

The third difference was the amendment sponsored by the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS]. This is another expression of congressional intent that contracts be formally advertised and awarded to the lowest responsible bidders whenever the circumstances permit such action. This provision was retained in the conference agreement.

The total of the bill as it passed the Senate was $4,467,200,000. With the addition of the $81 million for the EA-6A aircraft the total of the bill agreed to in conference is $4,548,200,000.

Mr. President, I urge approval of the conference report.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, as I interpret the changed language in subsection 3, which reads as follows:

> (3) its support for the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conferences or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962, and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion.

It is my belief that the intent expressed in the course of debate on March 1 when the original resolution was adopted by a vote of 89 to 2 and 72 to 19 on final adoption remains the same. The administration has many times called for a reconvening of the nations who participated in the Geneva Conferences, and I emphasize the word "conferences" because it means without question the Geneva Conferences of 1954 and 1962. If the nations who participated in those conferences were to be reconvened they would, of course, use as a basis for discussions the agreements reached in those years.

As far as the statement "or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested" is concerned that would, in my opinion, take in the United Nations as a whole or in part for the formulating of plans seeking to bring the Vietnamese conflict to an honorable conclusion. It would also include such meetings as the proposal of the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] who has advocated an all-Asian conference and it would include any other grouping which has already been mentioned or considered or which might still come into being for this specific purpose. In my opinon, and I am in accord with the distinguished Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the changed language in subsection 3 strengthens the resolution passed by the Senate in that it is now more flexible and will have the approval of both Houses rather than the Senate alone.

I am delighted and encouraged with the agreement reached by the conferees and I urge the Senate to place its stamp of approval on the conference report now before us.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT TO 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m.), the Senate, in executive session, adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 9, 1967, at 11 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 8, 1967:

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Maurice J. Williams, of Maryland, to be Assistant Administrator for the Near East and South Asia, Agency for International Development, vice William B. Macomber, Jr.

FEDERAL RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION

Albert Scheffer Lang, of Minnesota, to be Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration, new position.

IN THE COAST GUARD

The following officers of the Coast Guard for promotion to the grade of lieutenant (junior grade):

David A. Carter
Harry W. Clarke
Armand L. Chapeau
Michael J. Blaschum
Bruce T. Collings, Jr.
David A. Bailey
Kermit Johnson
Freddie R. Lewis
Frederick K. Patterson
Paul L. Hooper, Jr.
William F. Golden
Jack L. Conerly
Joseph F. Gall
James V. Sorce, Jr.
Billy R. Warren
Gary L. Hutchens
Bertram "B" Townsend
Richard J. Burke

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

CALIFORNIA

Richard S. Long, Needles, Calif., in place of E. S. Chadburn, retired.

Carl H. Winnefeld, Nipton, Calif., in place of F. R. Coggins, declined.

COLORADO

Emil G. Johnson, Durango, Colo., in place of S. C. Parker, retired.

ILLINOIS

William F. Johnson, Bradley, Ill., in place of J. T. Lustig, retired.

Charles W. Cornish, Dunlap, Ill., in place of C. H. Harker, Sr., retired.

James C. Bukowski, Momence, Ill., in place of L. V. DuMontelle, retired.

INDIANA

William H. Hauser, Coal City, Ind., in place of O. A. Karns, transferred.

IOWA

John E. Tomb, Eldora, Iowa, in place of J. R. Bahne, retired.

KENTUCKY

Barbara B. Brand, Jeffersonville, Ky., in place of G. P. Bedford, retired.

LOUISIANA

W. Leo Wall, Alexandria, La., in place of E. W. Cruse, retired.

MICHIGAN

Gerald L. Veldman, Hudsonville, Mich., in place of Kenneth VanHeukelum, resigned.

MINNESOTA

Ragnvald N. Aaker, St. Hilaire, Minn., in place of H. L. Holmes, retired.

MISSISSIPPI

M. Deaton McAuley, Byhalia, Miss., in place of E. E. Perry, retired.

Delois W. Lowery, Georgetown, Miss., in place of J. S. Catchings, retired.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Russell P. Merrill, Jr., Hampton Falls, N.H., in place of R. P. Merrill, retired.

NORTH DAKOTA

Delores E. Moore, Emerado, N. Dak., in place of V. M. Fosnes, retired.

NEW YORK

Harry H. Emmons, Interlaken, N.Y., in place of J. V. Kellogg, retired.

Lowell R. Felder, Redwood, N.Y., in place of R. I. Gates, retired.

NORTH CAROLINA

Gilbert L. Ferguson, Kernersville, N.C., in place of J. H. Linville, retired.

OHIO

Charles E. Franz, Sr., Stony Ridge, Ohio, in place of L. H. Hurrelbrink, retired.

OREGON

Alma M. Elliott, Chiloquin, Oreg., in place of J. C. Zadina, resigned.

TEXAS

Mary L. Montandon, Aiken, Tex., in place of I. M. Langfeldt, retired.

Webster T. Graves, Coleman, Tex., in place of P. R. Warren, retired.

John H. Wood, Dimmitt, Tex., in place of E. L. Davis, deceased.

UTAH

Ned B. Mitchell, Altamont, Utah, in place of L. J. Orr, retired.

VIRGINIA

Lester L. Hall, Montpelier, Va., office established November 30, 1962.

WISCONSIN

John F. Mooney, Janesville, Wis., in place of L. J. Ford, retired.

IN THE NAVY

The following-named Reserve officers for permanent promotion to the grade of rear admiral:

LINE

George A. Weaver
Charles N. Paxton

MEDICAL CORPS

Howell E. Wiggins

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for temporary appointment in the U.S. Air Force under the provisions of chapter 839, title 10 of the United States Code:

To be major generals

Brig. Gen. Larry A. Smith, FR19176, Regular Air Force, Medical.

Brig. Gen. Charles H. Roadman, FR3379, Regular Air Force, Medical.

Brig. Gen. Paul T. Cooper, FR4861, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Robert W. Strong, Jr., FR2010, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Jeffrey, Jr., FR2057, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Joseph S. Bleymaier, FR3883, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Robert H. McCutcheon, FR4150, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William H. Brandon, FR4712, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Fred J. Higgins, FR20019, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Ernest C. Hardin, Jr., FR8211, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Ernest A. Pinson, FR3117, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Robert W. Paulson, FR3871, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. John L. Locke, FR4042, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Richard A. Yudkin, FR4480, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Albert W. Schinz, FR4646, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Gordon F. Blood, FR4766, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Sam J. Byerley, FR4875, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Thomas N. Wilson, FR5255, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William H. Reddell, FR8874, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Andrew S. Low, Jr., FR8890, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Richard D. Reinbold, FR8927, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William C. Garland, FR8934, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. David C. Jones, FR9887, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William B. Martensen, FR4113, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Guy H. Goddard, FR7111, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Paul K. Carlton, FR8693, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. George M. Johnson, Jr., FR8810, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Joseph R. DeLuca, FR33749, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Robert J. Dixon, FR14462 (colonel, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William G. Moore, Jr., FR34534, (lieutenant colonel, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force).

To be brigadier generals

Col. John A. Brooks III, FR4059, Regular Air Force.

Col. James M. Vandehey, FR3941, Regular Air Force.

Col. David V. Miller, FR4763, Regular Air Force.

Col. Jowell C. Wise, FR4887, Regular Air Force.

Col. Richard A. Knobloch, FR4989, Regular Air Force.

Col. Henry C. Dorris, FR19282, Regular Air Force, Medical.

Col. Allison C. Brooks, FR4363, Regular Air Force.

Col. James P. Jernigan, FR21722, Regular Air Force, Medical.

Col. Morgan S. Tyler, Jr., FR7923, Regular Air Force.

Col. Raymond A. Gilbert, FR8226, Regular Air Force.

Col. William S. Chairsell, FR8501, Regular Air Force.

Col. George E. McCord, FR8642, Regular Air Force.

Col. Robert J. Meyer, FR8704, Regular Air Force.

Col. Roy C. Crompton, FR8791, Regular Air Force.

Col. Guy M. Townsend, FR8840, Regular Air Force.

Col. Roger L. Hicks, Jr. FR8844, Regular Air Force.

Col. John W. Harrell, Jr., FR8887, Regular Air Force.

Col. William E. Gernert, FR8936, Regular Air. Force.

Col. Robert A. Berman, FR8939, Regular Air Force.

Col. Richard M. Scott, FR8948, Regular Air Force.

Col. Jones E. Bolt, FR9276, Regular Air Force.

Col. Benjamin H. King, FR9574, Regular Air Force.

Col. DeWitt R. Searles, FR9907, Regular Air Force.

Col. Frank M. Madsen, Jr., FR9991, Regular Air Force.

Col. William R. MacDonald, FR10019, Regular Air Force.

Col. Albert R. Shiely, Jr., FR10106, Regular Air Force.

Col. James M. Keck, FR10122, Regular Air Force.

Col. Benjamin B. Cassiday, Jr., FR10133, Regular Air Force.

Col. Ernest T. Cragg, FR10152, Regular Air Force.

Col. John R. Kullman, FR10171, Regular Air Force.

Col. John B. Hudson, FR10174, Regular Air Force.

Col. Dale S. Sweat, FR10190, Regular Air Force.

Col. Hugh E. Wild, FR5076, Regular Air Force.

Col. Ernest J. White, Jr., FR8947, Regular Air Force.

Col. Clayton M. Isaacson, FR9216, Regular Air Force.

Col. Joseph H. Belser, FR9604, Regular Air Force.

Col. John H. Buckner, FR9753, Regular Air Force.

Col. Charles W. Lenfest, FR9760, Regular Air Force.

Col. William E. Bryan, Jr., FR9888, Regular Air Force.

Col. Leo C. Lewis, FR9914, Regular Air Force.

Col. Earl W. Brannon, Jr., FR19288, Regular Air Force, Medical.

Col. Augustus A. Riemondy, FR51698, Regular Air Force.

Col. Douglas T. Nelson, FR11124, Regular Air Force.

Col. David S. Chamberlain, FR19927, Regular Air Force.

Col. Archie S. Mayes, FR33267, Regular Air Force.

Col. Robert A. Duffy, FR11984, Regular Air Force.

Col. Leslie W. Bray, Jr., FR18136, Regular Air Force.

Col. McLean W. Elliott, FR12307, Regular Air Force.

Col. Earl L. Johnson, FR33837, Regular Air Force.

Col. John B. Kidd, FR34076, Regular Air Force.

Col. James A. Shannon, FR14510, Regular Air Force.

Col. Roy N. Casbeer, FR14858, Regular Air Force.

Col. Joseph G. Wilson, FR15284 (lieutenant colonel, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Col. George J. Keegan, Jr., FR15333 (lieutenant colonel, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Col. Robert N. Ginsburgh, FR18108 (lieutenant colonel, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Col. James E. Hill, FR20741 (major, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Col. Levi R. Chase, FR37352 (major, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of first lieutenant, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Aadnesen, Paul R.
Ackerman, Roger L.
Allen, Charles T., III
Allen, Larry W.
Allison, Robert C.
Ambrose, Raymond H.
Amos, Richard H.
Andrews, Richard W.
Angel, Donald K.
Angell, Harris R., Jr.
Angelo, Nickolas J.
Armstrong, Clifford H.
Ash, Charles E., Jr.
Ayers, Allan F., III
Ayre, Albert G.
Bache, Thomas C., Jr.
Ballenger, Glen A.
Banks, Barry V.
Banks, Jeffrey C.
Banks, Ronald E.
Bannister, Roland S.
Barba, Richard D.
Barnes, Eric M.
Barnett, Charles E.
Baroch, Jerome P., Jr.
Bartels, William E., Jr.
Bartlett, Donald L.
Beck, Barry N.
Beckner, Dan P.
Beeler, Robert A.
Beers, Robert R.
Benigo, Ronald
Benson, Stanley L.
Biggers, Roy R.
Bishop, Edward A.
Black, Gary D.
Blackwood, Edward W.
Blades, Arthur C.
Blaha, William C.
Bonham, Edward L.
Bourre, Norman P.
Brandon, Dennis F.
Brennan, Charles J.
Britt, Victor H., III
Britt, Willard C.
Brosnan, John F.
Brown, Carol W.
Brown, Edward C.
Brunelle, Roland J.
Brunsvold, Kenneth T.
Buckelew, John D.
Buglewicz, Eugene G.
Buirge, Charles O.
Burch, James M.
Burchette, Bernard V.
Burke, Charles O.
Buse, Henry W., III
Bush, Edward J., Jr.
Bussey, Walter O., Jr.
Cadick, Jerry R.
Caldwell, Paul R.
Calhoon, Charles M.
Canaga, Bruce L., III
Carley, Michael J.
Carrano, Anthony V., Jr.
Caskey, John B.
Cates, Henry I.
Cavagnol, Richard M.
Cazier, Russell E.
Cheatham, Charles W.
Cherbonnier, Laurence M.
Christy, Charles W.
Chumer, Michael J.
Cichon, Richard P.
Clark, Edward T., III
Claxton, Sammy R.
Clickener, John R.
Cline, Maurice G.
Coltrin, Charles B.
Connors, John R., Jr.
Cooney, James P.
Corbett, David C.
Corriher, Charles R.
Costello, Martin E.
Cotellesse, David P.
Coulter, Ronald J.
Cowart, Jerry J.
Creel, John B.
Creel, Marvin L.
Croft, James B.
Culler, Carson L.
Cunningham, Gary W.
Curtis, Ronald J.
Custar, James G.
Dalhouse, John D.
Dallas, Marc R.
D'Amura, Ronald M
Daniewicz, John J.
Davis, Donald E.
Davis, James R.
Davis, Ray Y.
De Matteo, Douglas A.
Dennis, Oscar M., Jr.
Detki, William A.
De Woolfson, Bruce H., Jr.
Diaz, Francis F.
Dicke, Dennis M.
Dillon, John H., Jr.
Dolwick, Paul D.
Donaghy, Richard E.
Donegan, Frederick J.
Dougal, Robert J.
Drewett, Clyde P.
Dullaghan, John F.
Dupler, Harley H., Jr.
Duroe, William G.
Dyke, Walter
Earley, Gordon E.
Early, Thomas M.
Ebbecke, Vincent R.
Eck, Christian J., Jr.
Ellingwood, Kendall
Emerson, George R.
England, David E.
England, Jerrold I.
Entriken, Barbara W.
Ernest, John F., Jr.
Eskridge, Douglas B.
Eubanks, George K.
Evans, Richard J.
Fagan, Fred T., Jr.
Farmer, Martin T.
Farro, Jerry J.
Fehr, Kenneth A.
Fernandez, Joseph A.
Fichthorn, Donald G.
Fitz, Dennis R.
Flynn, Joseph G.
Forehand, Gerald T.
Forney, William A.
Foss, David E.
Foster, William C.
Fox, Edward M.
Frankovich, Paul M.
Fratarcangelo, Paul A.
Frederick, David A.
Fritz, David E.
Gabelman, Harold F.
Gangle, Randolph A.
Garcia, Anthony J.
Gardner, Chester M., Jr.
Garner, David P.
Gatewood, Ronald L.
Gerhard, Edward C.
Gerhardt, Mario G.
Giacinto, Joseph T., Jr.
Giles, Jerry M.
Gleeson, William J.
Goldberg, Robert A.
Gorman, Earl J., Jr.
Gosney, Robert K.
Gould, David W.
Grabill, James S.
Graff, Arthur D.
Grant, Karen J.
Grassi, Frank T.
Grattan, John B., Jr.
Graves, Paul B.
Gressly, Donald A.
Griffin, Richard H.
Griffing, Darryl R.
Griffis, William A., III
Groves, Ronald R.
Gustafson, Lyal V.
Hainsworth, John J.
Hamilton, Edward M.
Hamilton, Raymond G.
Hammock, Roy D.
Hansen, Alvin W., Jr.
Harbison, Bobby L.
Harding, Francis W., Jr.
Hare, James J., III
Harper, James R.
Harris, Philip S., Jr.
Harrison, Henry S.
Hartman, John H., IV
Harvey, Ellis R., Jr.
Harvey, Robert W., Jr.
Hastings, Eric E.
Hatton, Frederick L.
Havens, Paul D.
Hay, Orville E.
Hayes, Kyle G.
Haynes, Stanley E.
Hayslip, John V.
Henderson, Wayne F.
Henderson, William A.
Henderson, William T.
Henricksen, Robert F.
Herder, William R.
Herring, Dewey L.
Herrmann, Douglas J.
Hershley, Francis G.
Hester, Mendle R.
Hewitt, Jerry T.
Hill, John T.
Hire, Homer E., Jr.
Hogan, Jeffrey C.
Holden, Thomas J.
Hollands, Patrick E.
Hollingsworth, Bobby G.
Howard, Marshall L.
Howe, Mark W.
Huber, Robert S.
Huddleston, Gene K.
Hudson, Jack N.
Huff, Larry D.
Hughes, Jimmy W.
Hurst, John C.
Hutcheson, Larry G.
Ingram, Leonard "L"
Jacobson, James W.
Janidlo, Thomas F.
Jaroch, Roger M.
Jeffries, Jeffrey D. E.
Jeruc, Donald J.
Jesse, Clyde A.
Johnson, Jeffry L.
Johnson, Anthony A.
Johnson, Robert J., Jr.
Johnson, Donald P.
Joiner, William C.
Jones, Frederick K.
Jones, Virgil W., Jr.
Juul, John F.
Kabza, Karl J.
Kane, Richard R.
Kay, William M.
Keeley, Robert M.
Kehoe, Michael A.
Kelly, Charles W.
Kelly, Thomas W.
Kempf, Rodney P.
Keown, James D.
King, William G.
Kinsey, Conrad L.
Kirby, Clifford R., Jr.
Klingerman, James L., Jr.
Klipp, Larry P.
Kossiver, Calvin
Krulak, Charles C.
Kurashige, Alice K.
Kutchma, Lawrence C
Lancaster, James E.
Lankford, Shelton F.
Lapham, David L.
Larson, Lewis C.
Laughlin, David R., Jr.
Lavelle, James H.
Lazos, Antone J.
Legge, Glenn F.
Leidy, John P.
Leigh, William C., III
Le May, Granville T.
Levendis, George P.
Litwin, Michael A., Jr.
Lorenzo, David W.
Lowry, Peter H.
Lowther, William T.
Luedtke, Brice R.
Lundy, Michael E.
Lux, Dale J.
Lyles, Herbert G.
Lynch, Bertie D.
MacCaskill, Douglas C.
MacDermant, Thomas E.
MacEvitt, James M., Jr.
Mallard, Robert M.
Manion, Robert G.
Manning, Gary L.
Marsh, Dianne L.
Marshall, Douglas L.
Mason, Charles G.
Massie, Malcolm R., Jr.
Max, William J.
McCoy John J.
McCoy, Paul
McDonald, James E., Jr.
McGee, John C.
McHugh, Jack D.
McKinley, William H.
McMahan, Thomas E.
McPheron, Donald A.
McVey, William A.
Menezes, Manuel E.
Miglarese, Edward F., Jr.
Miksad, John R.
Miller, Ernest M., Jr.
Miller, Edward A., Jr.
Miller, Gerald L.
Miller, Michael R.
Mills, William F.
Mock, Stuart J.
Molloy, Peter M.
Montgomery, Barry R.
Moran, Gerald F.
Moreland, William D.
Morgan, James W., Jr.
Mosley, Donald H.
Mulherin, Byron J., Jr.
Mulhern, James R.
Mullinax, Alan C.
Nagazyna, John K.
Nick, Paul M.
Nielsen, David K.
Noguera, Dolores R.
Nordin, John A.
Norris, Court T.
O'Block, Dennis F.
O'Bryan, James R.
O'Connell, John J., III
O'Donnell, Douglas W.
Olivas, George S.
Oliver, Leonard E., Jr.
Olson, Philip K., Jr.
O'Neill, Gene P.
O'Neill, Vincent E.
O'Reilly, James R.
Otto, William R.
Pagan, John P.
Page, Douglas B.
Pankey, Paul A.
Panther, James C.
Panzer, Jean M.
Parr, Walter O., Jr.
Partin, Richard A.
Patak, Lowell W.
Paul, Charles H.
Pentz, Everett W., Jr.
Perkins, Dennis N. T.
Perry, Jack F.
Perso, James C.
Peters, William J.
Piatt, Joseph M., Jr.
Pickersgill, Douglas W.
Pierce, Charles G., Sr.
Pinney, Charles A., III
Pistelli, Ido E.
Pitts, Samuel J.
Polyascko, Gerald J.
Poolaw, Robert W.
Powell, Joseph L., Jr.
Price, Lawrence A.
Puskar, Robert J.
Quinn, Jon D.
Ramsdell, Jeffrey K.
Rankin, William
Ranta, Berton M.
Rapuano, John J., Jr.
Rath, William H.
Rauwald, Thomas C.
Ray, Ronald D.
Raymond, Herbert D., III
Reed, Don T.
Reynolds, Clarence O., Jr.
Richards, Robert J.
Richtsteig, David J.
Rick, Kevin G.
Rick, Ronald A.
Riggs, Robert K.
Robbins, Dennis W.
Robinson, Larry L.
Robinson, George R.
Roe, Frederick S.
Roser, Herbert G.
Rowe, John H.
Ruhlman, Richard L.
Russell, David R.
Russell, Glenn W., Jr.
Russillo, Victor M.
Russom, Kenneth S.
Saarela, David E.
Sackett, James S.
Sassaman, Margaret M.
Saum, Robert W.

Saunders, Robert S., Jr.
Schensnol, John L.
Schiller, Paul J.
Schmit, Harvey T.
Schmitt, James H.
Schultz, Donald D.
Schwartz, Donald M.
Schwartz, Thomas E.
Schwartz, Timothy P.
Shabosky, Ronald J.
Shands, Ray C.
Shoff, James R.
Shortal, Denis L.
Singer, John D., III
Skultety, Edward S.
Sligar, Howard B., Jr.
Smith, Frederick J., III
Smith, Larry M.
Snell, Charles S.
Snyder, Ray G.
Springer, Robert C.
Steele, Thomas W.
Steigelman, Herbert M., Jr.
Stern, George E., Jr.
Stevens, John L., III
Stevens, John M.
Stewart, Raymond A., Jr.
Stewart, Joseph D.
Stiemke, Dean A.
St. John, David W.
Stoughton, David H.
Strong, David E.
Sullivan, Daniel J., Jr.
Sundberg, Alexander G.
Sutton, Russell H.
Sweeney, Charles T.
Tatlock, Alan R.
Taylor, Arthur J.
Taylor, Charles L.
Teall, Robert R.
Thompson, Charlie H., II
Thompson, Jack C.
Thompson, James R.
Thompson, Ky L.
Timberg, Robert R.
Tinsley, William A., III
Tokarz, Anthony P.
Tomlinson, Stanley R., Jr.
Trott, John O.
Tschan, Robert E.
Tucker, Phillip E.
Van Houten, Robert A., Jr.
Vankat, William J.
Varrell, Thomas A.
Vetter, Lawrence C., Jr.
Vincent, William T.
Vogel, Lyman W., Jr.
Vollendorf, James A.
Wade, Lloyd R., Jr.
Walke, Alfred J.
Walker, James R.
Wallick, Dwight A.
Ward, Joel D.
Warren, Robert T.
Waters, Francis A.
Weeks, Larry L.
Wegge, James A.
Welch, Bruce E.
Welch, Jerome A.
Westling, William K.
White, Richard T., Jr.
Whitehouse, John J.
Whorton, William S.
Wilkins, James R.
Williams, Charles G., Jr.
Williams, James T.
Williamson, Russell L.
Williams, Raymond H.
Willson, Gordon R.
Wilshin, David B.
Wilsmann, William K.
Winters, John W., Jr.
Wirsching, Robin F.
Wood, Mansel M.
Woods, Erik C.
Woodson, Carolyn E.
Wooldridge, Larry A.
Wright, Joseph D.
Wright, William E., Jr.
Zavacki, Francis
Zelm, William E.
Zenda, Stanley M.
Zey, Richard B.
Zimmermann, Jack B.
Zoller, John C.
Anderson, Robert M.
Arroyo, Joseph U.
Butler, James T.
Cadieux, William L.
Caldon, David L.
Chapman, Leonard F., III
Cirie, John A.
Deichl, Richard J.
Fulford, Frank D.
Gleason, James P.
Haase, Harold C.
Hein, Robert W., Jr.
Higgins, Martin C.
Hitchens, Alan W.
Hughes, Jimmy W.
Innerarity, Vernon E.
Johnson, Kenneth E.
Jones, William C.
Lindemood, James L.
Maust, Dester C.
McWilliams, Timothy E.
Parris, Jefferson D., III
Pearson, James W.
Prout, Patrick M.
Reilly, Richard M.
Reither, Dean W.
Schwantes, John W.
Sears, Stephen H.
Smith, Donald D.
Tallman, Anne S.
Weld, Stanley A.
Williams, David B.
Wood, Charles L.
Woudstra, Chris R.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 8, 1967:

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Robert E. Hampton, of Maryland, to be a Civil Service Commissioner for the term of 6 years expiring March 1, 1973. (Reappointment.)

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

Robert L. Catrett, Stockton.

CALIFORNIA

Robert S. Nelson, Alturas.
T. Carol Shahan, Knightsen.
Ben Garden, Los Alamitos.
Wanda H. Davis, Wilseyville.

FLORIDA

Dennis E. Allen, Crystal River.

GEORGIA

Mary L. Coleman, White Plains.
Lucille S. Spratlin, Winterville.

INDIANA

Kenneth N. Crandall, Fremont.
Rose L. Campbell, Saint Anthony.

KANSAS

Warren L. Mann, De Soto.
Lois E. Strnad, Munden.
D. Beth Whitman, Paradise.
James H. Piland, Waldo.

KENTUCKY

Margaret J. McAllister, South Shore.

LOUISIANA

Paul T. Buras, Boothville.
Mary D. Methvin, Simsboro.
Marcia J. Roberson, Sterlington.

MARYLAND

Mary L. Mattingly, Chaptico.
Francis P. Manning, College Park.

MINNESOTA

Clarence R. Gagner, Brooks.
B. Earl Loeffler, Fergus Falls.
Walter W. Wandschneider, Lengby.
Leslie W. Cook, Mahnomen.

MISSISSIPPI

Louise Boyd, Scooba.

MISSOURI

Clyde A. Davis, Cuba.
Albert J. Robertson, Denver.
Oscar J. Torrence, Herculaneum.
James N. Whitehead, High Ridge.

NEBRASKA

John C. Theobald, Beaver City.
Marjorie M. Felps, Shelton.

NEW JERSEY

John J. Schettino, Fanwood.

NORTH CAROLINA

Donald B. Harris, Monroe.

OHIO

John C. Williams, Alger.
Richard W. Spencer, Hiram.
Herbert C. Willey, Pataskala.

OKLAHOMA

Barbara J. Sweger, Talala.
Kenneth J. Driskill, Temple.

SOUTH CAROLINA

James H. Seay, Moore.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Melvin D. Engelbrecht, Garretson.

TENNESSEE

Dorothy L. Bridges, Milledgeville.
Luther W. Payne, Telford.

TEXAS

Gerhardt H. Witte, Yoakum.

VIRGINIA

Ralph C. Wall, Axton.
Joseph D. Mann, Colonial Heights.
Claude I. Guinn, Culpeper.
Marguerite F. Maupin, Free Union.

WEST VIRGINIA

Norman I. Young, Buffalo.
Helen V. Horton, Slab Fork.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Investigation Needed in Agriculture Reporting Methods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 8, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture in January sharply revised earlier predictions of beef cattle numbers. Previous estimates had indicated that a decline in beef output was the trend, but actual census figures have revealed that the estimates missed the mark by more than 3 million head of beef which were not included in the past 5 year's cattle number estimates.

The results in the marketplace have, of course, been very disruptive. This departmental error has been a major factor in the price skid in feeder cattle in the Dakota markets during recent weeks and price drops from around the country have been reported in the wake of this USDA error.

The livestock industry is very dependent upon accurate statistics from the Department, and every effort must be made to find out where the estimates went wrong and where they can be corrected.

The Department must carry out a complete and thorough inquiry into this mistake. Congress must demand that a top-to-bottom investigation be made to avoid this type of error in the future.

The Department should take a second look at its reporting and estimating techniques to make sure that they are in tune with the times. The current polling method may well be outdated in this day of fewer units with larger production per unit and marketings of fed cattle at an earlier age.

Whatever the cause behind the mistake, the Department must spare no effort in determining where its methods are incorrect and promptly make the appropriate adjustments.

The Captive Nations, Too, Shall Overcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 8, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, here in the United States, the theme of the civil rights aspirants has been: "We shall overcome."

This is a theme, I believe, which could easily be adopted by the captive nations of Europe and particularly by the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.

I say this because after 50 years of captivity—after a half century under the heel of a Soviet oppressor—it would be a simple—and understandable—matter for a spirit of depression, of discouragement, to set in.

Here, for 50 years, the people of the captive nations have been screaming for their freedom—and those loyal to the captive nations have joined in the screaming and to no avail.

What would be easier than to adopt an attitude of defeat, of despair, and saying: "We're not getting anywhere—let's chuck it"?

This, I say to you, is exactly what the Soviet oppressors would like for you to do. This would be just what they would like to see happen. They would like to see you quit.

But you must not—you cannot—and I am confident you will not quit. You will continue to fight for a restoration of freedom to your homeland—you will continue to battle for the four freedoms for the Ukraine—the freedoms of speech, of conscience, from fear, and from want.

You will—and you must—continue the struggle against enslavement. You will—and you must—continue to resist Communist aggression against the free nations of the world.

Do these things and I know in my heart, as you must know in yours, that with the help of God some day—perhaps sooner than we have a right to expect—the captive nations, too, shall overcome.

National Teacher Corps Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 8, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Education and Labor has begun hearings on the National Teacher Corps program. Although I am not a member of the committee, I have a vital interest in the program, having served myself for some years as a school principal. It gives me great pleasure, therefore, to commend to the attention of my colleagues a newsletter by the Honorable FRANK THOMPSON of New Jersey which discusses the National Teacher Corps:

NATIONAL TEACHER CORPS PROGRAM

The House Education and Labor Committee, of which I am a member, is holding hearings this week on proposals to extend and amend the controversial National Teacher Corps program.

More than 1200 Teacher Corpsmen are now at work in 275 schools throughout the country. The Corpsmen's purpose is clear: teach youngsters who need intensive remedial help—on Indian reservations, in migrant communities, in the Mississippi delta, Harlem, the Ozarks and in Appalachia.

Approximately 80% of the Corpsmen are interns, college graduates working toward a master's degree at a nearby university while carrying out their teaching responsibilities. The average Teacher Corps intern spends 25 hours each week working directly in the local school, 9 hours in university classes, 14 hours studying and preparing for school work and 7 hours working in related community activities.

The other 20% of the 1231 Corpsmen are experienced teachers. Most of them have their Master's Degree and have lived and worked in poverty communities. Many served in the Peace Corps and now seek at home another area of public service.

Richard Graham, Director of the National Teacher Corps, has asked of Congress only that we look at the Corps' record to realize that it deserves our continuing support.

The record is impressive even at this early date:

75% of the universities participating in the training of Corpsmen say the Teacher Corps is a better program for teacher training than any other they have used.

The principals of the schools which now have Corpsmen want more. The average request is for three times more Corpsmen than are now available.

The Teacher Corps already has inspired significant changes in curricula at colleges where Corps' interns are studying for their degrees. Among universities reporting, an average of 37% of the courses offered interns had never been offered before.

Nor is the record of Teacher Corps achievement merely one of percentages. I am proud that New Jersey's only Teacher Corpsman are at work within my district, teaching at Trenton's Jefferson Elementary School. And teach they do. For example, Miss Donna Hutton, a pert 22-year-old intern, takes slow learners at Jefferson out of class and gives them special attention. She also directs a cooking class, teaches a flute group, and helps with a school chorus.

In the afternoon, Miss Hutton assists in a supplementary reading program and visits with the parents of Jefferson students, explaining such things as the new math and the food stamp program. During some of her evenings, she puts her piano training to good use, accompanying a PTA singing group. Reports from the teachers and administration at Jefferson have been uniformly enthusiastic; in fact, Miss Hutton has been asked to stay on after her stint with the Teacher Corps is over.

Along with her teaching duties, Miss Hutton commutes to Philadelphia each week where she is working toward a Master's Degree in special elementary education at Temple University. There too she makes an impression. Dr. Evan Sorber, who teaches at Temple, says, "If the Corps should end tomorrow, the College of Education at Temple would never be the same. We are constantly incorporating the new techniques we've learned with Teacher Corps into the regular curriculum for all education majors."

In short, the Teacher Corps offers a unique contribution. It is able to attract bright, dedicated, imaginative, a warm young people to one of the toughest jobs in the profession—teaching the disadvantaged child. The program deserves Congress's support.

National Conference of Christians and Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 8, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, February 22, during Brotherhood Week 1967, it was my privilege to attend the 22d annual brotherhood meeting of the Temple Men's Club at the Temple in Cleveland, Ohio.

The meeting was cosponsored by the Cleveland chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Temple Men's Club.

The sixth annual Harry Gellin Award was presented to Cleveland's PACE organization. The plaque was accepted by R. W. Jewell, executive director of PACE, an organization which last year had more than 20,000 volunteers in a program designed to help the education of inner city children and adults.

There was an outstanding panel discussion on the topic, "People and Progress—Will Modern Technology Destroy Human Values?" Members of the panel were: Dr. Robert W. Morse, president of Case Institute of Technology; Dr. Frederick Herzberg, chairman of the psychology department of Western Reserve University; Dr. Bert Thomas, president of Battelle Memorial Institute, and Dr. Herman Stein, dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University. A summation of the panel was given by Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver of the temple.

While attending the meeting, I could not help but think of the philosopher and essayist Thomas Carlyle who once said:

> Men are mystically united: a mysterious bond of brotherhood makes all men one.

Reflecting upon Carlyle's statement, I thought a short explanation of the history and processes of a most worthwhile organization devoted to spreading the concept of human brotherhood should be brought to the attention of this body.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded in 1928 by a group of distinguished Americans, among them Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, S. Parkes Cadman, Roger W. Straus, Carlton J. H. Hayes, and other distinguished Americans. A civic organization of religiously motivated people, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, seeks through education and discussion to promote civic cooperation and mutual understanding among all religions and ethnic groups. Its purpose is to mitigate the strife and disharmony that emanate from conflicts based on race, economic interest, and political belief, as well as from religious differences. Its approach is essentially educational. Through summer workshops the NCCJ seeks to deal with the problems of human rights and human relations; of civil liberties and their denial to some citizens; of family life, particularly as it relates to child development; and of creating greater communication between teachers and students from various ethnic, religious, and cultural groups.

The annual NCCJ police-community relations project brings police officials together to discuss their methods of dealing with minorities and conducts seminars during the year for law enforcement agencies throughout the nation. Religious freedom projects explore the religious implications of public issues with a report of the findings. Religious News Service, the world's only interreligious news agency and the journalistic arm of the NCCJ, has a network of nearly 1,000 news and photo correspondents covering such diverse activities as civil rights issues, social welfare programs among the poor of Latin America, and the religious difficulties in certain newly emergent nations of Africa. RNS covered the second Vatican council in Rome and reported the 1964 presidential campaign. Finally, the equal opportunity in business project attempts, through surveys and seminars, to encourage the fair treatment of minorities in all business activities. Labor-management meetings discuss the problems of automation, school dropouts, and vocational training and seek to secure a broader base of understanding between employers and employees.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews embellish the very ideals of Brotherhood Week. It is well that they do, since they originally sponsored the week.

Federal Manpower Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 8, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a propaganda campaign being waged across the country to discredit the strategic Federal manpower programs which mean so much to unemployed Americans.

I am especially disturbed because my State—particularly the Los Angeles area—has been a prime target of this drive, which seems to be fueled in part by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

It would be most useful for us to shed some light on this serious matter and clear the air of some of the pollution that has been left by misguided spokesmen for the campaign.

Nation's Business, the official chamber of commerce organ, has recently made an unjust attack on Federal manpower programs and urged that private business should go it alone in providing help for the jobless.

Cruelly, the magazine has also given the impression that the chamber can find a job for any unemployed person who is willing to work.

This promise, which the organization could not possibly fulfill, comes at a time when 3 million Americans are unemployed—hundreds of thousands of them family breadwinners.

Declaring that Federal manpower programs have produced "a mere trickle in results," the magazine recently went to great lengths to belittle the joint training efforts of business and the Government.

These efforts, I might add, have produced most heartening results across the country and have brought new hope into the lives of thousands upon thousands of citizens.

The chamber of commerce and others who maline or overlook the role of Federal training programs would do well to seek the advice of a prominent California businessman who is working hard to open job opportunities for the disadvantaged of south central Los Angeles.

I refer to H. C. "Chad" McClellan, chairman of the management council for merit employment and training and a former Assistant Secretary of Commerce under the last Republican administration. His nonprofit council works closely with Los Angeles area business firms to find jobs for the disadvantaged. Mr. McClellan also knows that Government cooperation is most essential in these private efforts.

Mr. McClellan, who works closely with the California Employment Service "as our major relationship in order to see that the people that are qualified are placed," made this statement, in part, before a meeting of a Regional Manpower Committee in Los Angeles on February 16, 1967:

> We can't operate without the cooperation of the agencies established for that purpose (manpower programs) and I have said constantly that this is a problem that must be dealt with by the government and by the church and by the labor unions and by the community generally, as well as by the employer. None of us can handle it alone. And if anybody tries to exclude government or to make light of the role that government must play in this, he hasn't read the McCone Commission report or doesn't believe it. And, certainly, I believe it. The thing that we have relied on from the very first day is the cooperation of the government agencies established to serve this purpose.

A recent Nation's Business article had the temerity to mention that Mr. McClellan's council agreed not to seek or use Government funds without disclosing that the organization cooperates with the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act programs in Los Angeles. Approximately $16 million in Federal funds have been allocated for Manpower Development and Training Act programs in Los Angeles since last July. This includes allocations for fiscal 1967.

I want to salute the private organizations that have contributed so much of their time, energy and talent to help combat poverty and eliminate disadvantages. Their efforts are indispensible in Los Angeles and elsewhere in America. But, at the same time, I want to make it abundantly clear that the Federal Government is doing most worthwhile work in the manpower field.

While monumental tasks lie before us in the manpower and related fields, it is only fair that we recognize the progress which has been made so far through Federal programs in training Americans for productive employment.

In Los Angeles, for example, that "mere trickle" of results mentioned by the chamber of commerce is spelling new opportunity for thousands of the area's disadvantaged.

Here are some of the results of these vital manpower programs in the Metropolitan Los Angeles area:

From August 1962 through June 1966, more than 34,000 persons were authorized for training or other services under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

From January 1965 through January 1967, nearly 19,000 job opportunities were opened for disadvantaged youth under the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

In 1965 and 1966, nearly 54,000 young people were served by six youth opportunity centers, receiving vocational counseling and referral to training programs and jobs. Some 1,500 job placements were made through these centers last December alone.

Nationally, the record of these and other programs has been equally impressive and encouraging—nearly three-quarters of a million persons have been authorized for training under the Manpower Development and Training Act; more than 1 million job opportunities have been provided under the Neighborhood Youth Corps; approximately 1.5 million youngsters have been served by youth opportunity centers; some 1 million young people got jobs in both the summers of 1965 and 1966 through the President's highly successful youth opportunity campaign.

It is simply unfair, Mr. Speaker, for anyone to slam these far-reaching programs which have done so much to help so many people break the bonds of poverty and public dependency and become productive, self-respecting citizens. This is what these programs mean to America.

I urge the critics of these efforts to recognize that fulfillment of the American promise of equal opportunity for all is the business of not just one element of our society. It is the business of every sector of our society—public and private.

Mrs. Esther Peterson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 8, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, it was announced last Saturday that Mrs. Esther Peterson is leaving her job as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs to devote all her time to her job as Assistant Secretary of Labor. I think it appropriate that the House take note at this time of the work of this outstanding public servant in behalf of the American consumer.

Three years ago when she was appointed the first presidential consumer advisor, President Johnson noted that her appointment would insure that the voice of the consumer would be "loud, clear, uncompromising, and effective." No higher compliment can be paid to Mrs. Peterson than to say that she has fulfilled this mandate—and fulfilled it well, despite the fact that she was able to spend only half her time in this job.

All consumers can be grateful that the position of consumer advisor has now been elevated to full-time status, under Miss Betty Furness. But the work of Mrs. Peterson will not soon be forgotten.

We in this House are well acquainted with Mrs. Peterson's advocacy of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Bill. Were it not for her tireless efforts in behalf of this bill, it may well have been forgotten, and consumers may have been deprived of the money-saving benefits that will come from clearer labeling and more honest packaging.

But Mrs. Peterson's legislative activities were just one small part of her achievements for the consumer.

More than anything, Mrs. Peterson deserves credit for awakening Americans to their rights and responsibilities as consumers. The era of "caveat emptor" is rapidly dying, and Mrs. Peterson has hastened its demise. Consumers will no longer silently accept bad products or bad practices, and the net result will be an economy that is more responsive, more healthy, and more prosperous.

Mrs. Peterson's job has not been easy. Yet she has handled her tasks with grace and a boundless energy. To many who fear the consumer's voice, Mrs. Peterson served as a convenient target. Yet at all times she attempted to meet unjust criticism with fact and reason. Her consumer door was always open to those with opposing viewpoints, and she never, to my knowledge, ducked an argument. Instead, she went out of her way to put the consumer viewpoint before business and other groups. In the last 3 years, she formally addressed hundreds of audiences, most of them consisting of businessmen with conflicting viewpoints and, in countless other meetings, she carried on a continuing dialog so as to reduce these differences. Not all differences were resolved, but no person who met Mrs. Peterson could fail to be swayed by her warmth and the sincerity of her purpose.

Her work with businessmen led, in fact, to the formation of a textile industry committee that has launched a voluntary campaign to expand and improve care labels on consumer garments. I understand that this same constructive approach is also being employed with the footwear industry.

Within the Government, Mrs. Peterson was an equally strong advocate. She helped develop an awareness of the consumer problems of the poor within the Office of Economic Opportunity. She worked with the Commerce Department to insure that the consumer viewpoint would be heard in standards-making procedures. She worked with the Defense Department to develop rules of fair business conduct involving our servicemen. Her work with the Federal Trade Commission most recently resulted in that agency's investigation of supermarket contests.

Similarly, Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Peterson worked hard and long to get the States and private organizations to recognize their responsibilities and opportunities in the consumer field. And these efforts often met with success. It is worth noting, for example, that the number of States having counterpart consumer representatives doubled in the last 3 years, from three States to six, and that the number of States with consumer protection agencies of other kinds has grown to 21.

Not all these accomplishments can be directly attributed to Mrs. Peterson, but it is a fact that she more than any other individual has done the most to make the long-ignored need for consumer protection known.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, and with due respect to our colleagues across the aisle, I wish to note that Mrs. Peterson has been an outstanding Democrat. She has always given first consideration to her country, but her second consideration has been her party. I have been told that during the last general election, the demands for appearances by Mrs. Peterson was third only to those of the President and Vice President.

I know that Mrs. Peterson will carry on in her Labor Department job with the same dedication and energy she has given to all her enterprises. For this dedicated lady's services, all Americans can be grateful. We wish her well in all her future activities.

SENATE

THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1967

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

Rev. Milton W. Sanderson, Jr., minister, Baptist Temple, Huntington, W. Va., offered the following prayer:

O God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, our shelter from the stormy blast, and our eternal home. We come unto Thee, Gracious Lord, because we have no other to lean upon. We pray, O Gracious Lord, that Thou will endow these leaders with understanding, wisdom, and courage to make right decisions. We realize, Gracious Lord, that some of the tasks they face are quite difficult. We pray that Thou will remind them that they can come unto the One who said, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

With the world groping for peace today, and our young men fighting and dying on the battlefronts, remind us once again, Gracious Lord, that there will never be any eternal peace until we find the Prince of Peace. May He be our constant guide and companion.

Now, our Father, as we commit ourselves unto Thee once again, we pray that Thou will give us the strength that is necessary to stand up for the task, to be men of conviction, bold in our declaration. May the God of Peace and the God of Glory watch over and sustain us through this time and as we yield ourselves to Him once again through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1967.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, March 8, 1967, was dispensed with.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Committee on the District of Columbia was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AS IN LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, as in legislative session, and that each Senator's statement therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE RECOGNITION OF SENATORS SCOTT, BAKER, AND PASTORE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, as in legislative session, that at the conclusion of the address to be delivered by the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] may be recognized for 20 minutes; that at the conclusion of the address to be delivered by the Senator from Tennessee, the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] be recognized for 20 minutes; all as in legislative session.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR HOLLAND

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, as in legislative session, that following the speeches of the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], and the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], I may be allowed to speak for 10 minutes, as in legislative session, prior to the taking up of the pending business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 2 OF 1967—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 78)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1967, concerning the U.S. Tariff Commission. Without objection, the message will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and appropriately referred.

The message was referred to the Committee on Government Operations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1967, concerning the U.S. Tariff Commission.

The plan is a step toward fulfilling my pledge to the American people that Government must be reshaped to meet the tasks of today. It underscores my conviction that progress can be achieved by building upon what is strong and enduring, but that we shall never hesitate to discard what is inefficient or outmoded.

This plan has a single, clear objective—to strengthen the operations of the Tariff Commission by transferring to its Chairman certain routine executive and administrative functions now divided among its six Commissioners.

In taking this long overdue step, the plan adopts a proven concept of good management recommended by the first Hoover Commission: in the interest of efficiency purely administrative functions—budgeting, personnel supervision, and general management—should be vested in the chairman of a commission rather than diffused throughout the Commission.

This principle was followed by each of my predecessors—Presidents Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

It has been applied successfully to most of our Commissions, including the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the U.S. Civil Service Commission, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

The reorganization plan I recommend will extend it to the Tariff Commission.

The Tariff Commission plays a key role in safeguarding the Nation's economic vitality. It reviews our commercial policies and studies how these policies affect competition between foreign and domestic products. Periodically, after public investigation, the Commission reports to Congress and the President concerning the effect of imports on our domestic industries and our workers.

The Commission's tasks are demanding and complex. They require skill and careful judgment. Often, the Commission must work under intense time pressure.

The plan I forward today will promote efficient operation of the Tariff Commission by:

Centralizing and consolidating in a single executive—the Chairman—the purely administrative functions of the Commission;

Freeing the other Commissioners from these routine burdens so they can devote full time to investigative and advisory responsibilities.

Thus, the plan transfers, from the Commission as a whole to the Chairman of the Commission, these duties:

Overall management of the Commission's activities;

Direction and supervision of the employees of the Commission;

Personnel actions, such as hiring, promotion, salary, transfer, removal of Commission employees, and

Allocation and use of funds appropriated to the Commission.

This plan will allow the Nation's businessmen and workers—and indeed every citizen—to reap the benefits of modern and effective Government.

As a result of this plan, the Tariff Commission will be managed more efficiently. It is too early, however, to estimate the exact dollar savings that will flow from these improved operations.

This plan was prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code.

After investigation, I have found, and I hereby declare, that each reorganization included in the accompanying plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5.

I urge Congress to permit this reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967.*

REPORT ON U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. No. 82)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, transmitting a report on U.S. participation in the United Nations. Without objection, the message will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and appropriately referred.

The message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am submitting herewith the 20th annual report on U.S. participation in the United Nations, covering calendar year 1965.

That year gave new evidence of our country's vigorous commitment to the world organization, and to the cause of peace which it serves. All of the American efforts recorded here—whether political, economic, social, legal, or administrative—were designed solely to further that commitment.

The whole world shared our grief when Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson died in London on July 14, 1965. The respect and affection in which he was held, and the world's gratitude for his contributions to the United Nations, found expression in messages from officials and leaders around the globe, and in the rare tribute of a memorial meeting in the General Assembly hall at the United Nations.

One measure of a nation's regard for the United Nations is the quality of representatives it sends to the Organization. Accordingly, I asked Arthur J. Goldberg to leave the Supreme Court of the United States and to succeed Ambassador Stevenson as our permanent representative to the United Nations.

Ambassador Goldberg's first important task was to help end the paralysis suffered by the General Assembly in 1964 as a result of the U.N. constitutional crisis. It had become clear that the membership as a whole was not prepared to apply the penalty provided by article 19 of the charter—loss of vote in the Assembly for those more than 2 years in arrears—to those members who had refused to contribute their assessed shares of certain peacekeeping operations. On August 16, Ambassador Goldberg announced that the United States would not seek to frustrate the evident desire of many members that the General Assembly should proceed normally. At the same time, he made it clear that the United States reserved the same option to make exceptions to collective financing assessments in the future.

The consensus reached by the General Assembly included agreement that the Organization's financial difficulties should be solved through voluntary contributions, particularly from those delinquent in their payments. A few nations contributed, but those furthest in arrears did not. The financial condition of the United Nations thus remained precarious.

During 1965, the Security Council made a major contribution to international peace by halting the hostilities between India and Pakistan arising from the Kashmir dispute. In thus arresting a full-scale war on the subcontinent, the Organization prevented untold tragedy in Asia—and proved anew its value as an instrument for peace.

United Nations peace forces and truce supervisors continued to stand guard throughout 1965 in Cyprus, in Kashmir, in Korea, and along the troubled borders of Israel. The Security Council also dispatched United Nations representatives and observers to the Dominican Republic during the disorders there; but the primacy of the Organization of American States in dealing successfully with this regional problem, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, remained unimpaired.

During the year, concrete steps toward disarmament were again strongly urged from all quarters, although progress proved disapprovingly slow; the serious problems of race relations and colonialism in Southern Africa were also a cause of increasing debate and concern; and the United Nations and its members were repeatedly urged by the United States to join in the search for peace in Vietnam.

In my speech in San Francisco on June 25, 1965—the 20th anniversary of the United Nations—I called upon its members to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the negotiating table those who seemed determined to continue the conflict. Ambassador Goldberg addressed similar appeals to United Nations members. Indeed, in his first official communication as U.S. representative, a letter to the Security Council President on July 30, 1965, Ambassador Goldberg recalled the legitimate interest of the Security Council in the peace of southeast Asia and asserted that—

> The United States stands ready, as it has in the past, to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world.

Unfortunately, these initiatives produced no affirmative response from those supporting the aggression against South Vietnam. Two suspensions of the bombing of North Vietnam during the year were no more successful in opening the path to honorable negotiations. The tragic conflict continues unabated in Vietnam. But we are continuing our efforts untiringly to seek a peaceful settlement of this issue through the United Nations and all other channels. This was the key issue dealt with in Ambassador Goldberg's statement to the 21st General Assembly in the general debate in September 1966.

The year 1965 marked the midpoint of the United Nations development decade. It was a year of sober assessment. Despite substantial progress in some areas, it was clear that in most of the more than 100 countries with per capita incomes of less than $200, economic growth had been largely swallowed up by the mounting tide of population growth. Multilateral programs of aid, trade, and investment, although substantial in absolute terms, are not sufficient—even when combined with all the other large programs, public and private—to narrow the development gap.

This discouraging assessment stimulated new efforts to cope with development problems:

The newly created U.N. Conference on Trade and Development began its search for new trade patterns and practices which would benefit the developing countries.

The establishment of a new U.N. Organization for Industrial Development was approved by the General Assembly.

The U.N. development program was established by merger of the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. The United States had worked long and hard for the integration of these two major U.N. operational programs in order to permit better planning and more effective use of resources.

Foundations were laid for the new Asian Development Bank with a capitalization of $1 billion, including a $200 million subscription by the United States. It promises to be one of the most effective agencies for the financing of economic and social development in Asia.

A new African Development Bank, designed to play a similar role in Africa, opened for business.

Through these and other instrumentalities, our delegations in U.N. agencies have given leadership and positive support to major goals in the struggle for a better life: more food production; assistance in voluntary family planning; the training of skilled manpower; development of transport and communications; fuller utilization of natural resources; and increased application of science and technology.

The year 1965 had been designated International Cooperation Year—ICY—by the U.N. General Assembly, and U.N. members were urged to commemorate it in appropriate ways. The culmination of the American celebration was a White House Conference attended by more than 5,000 distinguished Americans—leaders in their communities, in business and industry, in educational and labor organizations, in the arts and sciences, and in the professions. The Conference discussed reports on international cooperation in agriculture, atomic energy, disarmament, health, the welfare of women and youth, and many other fields. Many of its recommendations have already been put into effect. Others are being thoroughly evaluated by a special White House committee which will shortly submit its report to me.

Public support for the United Nations continued at a high level as the organization approached its 21st anniversary. Most thoughtful people know that the United Nations is a far from perfect organization, in a far from perfect world. Yet they also recognize that it and its specialized agencies are the best system yet devised for sovereign nations to work together with equality and self-respect.

Our investment in the United Nations, and its various agencies and special programs, supplements other activities undertaken to preserve, protect, or promote a wide range of national interests. Above all, our commitment to the United Nations is an expression of faith which has illumined the entire history of our country: a faith that the creative powers of democracy and human reason can overcome the evils of tyranny and violence.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967.*

REPORT ON MARINE SCIENCE ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 79)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, transmitting a report on marine science activities of the Federal Government. Without objection, the message will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and appropriately referred.

The message was referred to the Committee on Commerce, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to report on the marine science activities of the Federal Government.

The resources of the oceans can help us meet many of the challenges that face our Nation and the world today.

The vast food reserves of the sea must be developed to help end the tragic cycle of famine and despair.

The continuing pollution and erosion of our seashores, bays, estuaries, and Great Lakes must be arrested and reversed to safeguard the health of our people and to protect the resources of the sea.

The influence of oceans on the environment must be understood so that we may improve the long-term forecasting of storms, weather and sea conditions; protect life and property in coastal areas; and improve the prediction of rainfall in the interior.

The wealth of the ocean floor must be freed for the benefit of all people.

Finally, the seas must be used as pathways to improved international understanding and cooperation.

The great potential of the seas has not gone unnoticed. During the past 6 years, we have invested increasingly in the development of marine scientific and technical manpower, ships, and facilities. The quality of our research fleet, deep sea vessels, and laboratories is unsurpassed. The small but growing corps of highly trained specialists provides a strong creative base for our marine science and technology.

The 89th Congress also responded to the challenge of the oceans by enacting:

The Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act which provides a stronger policy and organization framework and gives new momentum to our marine science activities.

The Sea Grant College and Program Act, which will improve our capabilities for training and research in marine sciences and engineering.

The act authorizing pilot plants for the production of fish protein as a usable source of food.

The new National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, chaired by the Vice President, has made significant progress in carrying out its responsibilities for planning and coordinating the Nation's marine science activities. In consultation with the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Academy of Sciences, and other agencies of the Federal Government, the Council has reviewed our current work and has identified the areas in which action should be taken.

We must:

Launch a pilot program to assist the protein-deficient countries of the world in increasing their capacity for using the fish resources of the seas;

Implement the Sea Grant College and Program Act to strengthen oceanographic engineering, expand applied research and improve technical information activities;

Accelerate studies to improve the collection, storage, retrieval, and dissemination of oceanographic data;

Expand ocean observation systems to improve near-shore weather prediction services, and study ways to make more accurate long-range predictions of precipitation levels and drought conditions;

Study the Chesapeake Bay to determine the effects of estuarine pollution on shellfish, health, recreation, and beauty, and to provide a basis for remedial measures;

Explore off-shore solid mineral deposits;

Improve technology and engineering for work at great ocean depths;

Equip a new Coast Guard ship to conduct oceanographic research in sub-Arctic waters.

Details of these programs are set forth in the accompanying report of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I have this year recommended to the Congress a 13-percent increase—from $409 million to $462 million—in appropriations to support marine science activities. These funds will permit us to expand our efforts to understand the sea and develop its vast resources. They will enhance the capabilities of local government, universities, and private industry to join in this vital enterprise. They will enable us to support the important new efforts recommended by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I urge the Congress to provide the necessary funds to support these important efforts.

In January I appointed 19 distinguished Americans, including four Members of Congress, to serve as members and advisers of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. This Commission will complement the activities of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, by providing impartial insights into the strengths and weaknesses of our marine science programs.

The Commission will be called upon to identify still more opportunities for a concerted public and private effort—to develop the resources of the sea through a creative and cooperative partnership of Government, industry, and the academic community.

The depth of the sea is a new environment for man's exploration and development, just as crossing the West was a challenge in centuries past.

We shall encounter that environment with the same conviction and pioneering spirit that propelled ships from the Old to the New World.

We shall bring to the challenge of the ocean depths—as we have brought to the challenge of outer space—a determination to work with all nations to develop the seas for the benefit of mankind.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

The White House, *March 9, 1967*.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

AUDIT OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS OF VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE U.S.A., INC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the National Quartermaster, Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, an audit of the financial transactions of that organization, as of September 30, 1966, which, with accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RESOLUTION OF RHODE ISLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague [Mr. Pastore] and myself, I present to the Senate a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, memorializing the Congress of the United States to increase the benefits under social security as recommended by President Johnson.

I should also like to take this opportunity to voice my full support of the action taken by the Rhode Island General Assembly, for I too am most concerned by the plight of our elderly living on fixed incomes in this period of rising costs. It was for this very reason that I introduced S. 193, which calls for the joining of social security benefits with the Consumer Price Index compiled by the Department of Labor.

Every day which passes, without Senate action to alleviate the social security benefit problem, is another day during which our elderly must suffer due to the lack of funds. I urge the Senate Finance Committee to take note of the resolution from the Rhode Island General Assembly and trust that expeditious action will be forthcoming.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

"H. 1181

"A resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to increase the benefits under social security as recommended by President Johnson

"Whereas, millions of elder citizens are attempting to survive on small fixed incomes; and

"Whereas Social Security benefits, in very many instances are their only income; and

"Whereas, Consideration should be given to the constantly rising cost of living index, particularly as it concerns this considerable group of low and fixed income citizens; now therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the general assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations does hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to increase the benefits under Social Security as recommended by President Johnson; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be and he hereby is authorized and directed to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the senators and representatives from Rhode Island, in the Congress of the United States, urging them to exert every effort to affect the increase in Social Security benefits."

I, August P. La France, Secretary of State of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, hereby certify that the aforegoing is a true copy of resolution (H. 1181) entitled "Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to increase the benefits under social security as recommended by President Johnson" taken from the records in this office and compared with the original resolution (H. 1181) passed by the General Assembly at the January Session, A. D. 1967 and approved by the Governor on the first day of March, 1967 and now remaining on file and of record in this office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Rhode Island, this second day of March, A. D. 1967.

August P. La France,
Secretary of State.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

S.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to provide for the administration and development of Pennsylvania Avenue as a national historic site (Rept. No. 64).

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. Metcalf):

S. 1232. A bill providing that certain privately owned irrigable lands in the Milk River project in Montana shall be deemed to be excess lands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RUSSELL:

S. 1233. A bill to extend to the professional team sport of soccer the same treatment under the antitrust laws which heretofore has been accorded to other professional team sports; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONRONEY (for himself and Mr. Harris):

S. 1234. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mountain Park reclamation project, Oklahoma, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Monroney when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. DOMINICK:

S. 1235. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to acquire certain real property in the District of Columbia determined to be necessary for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States or as sites for offices of other international organizations or governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BAKER (for himself, Mr. Carlson, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Dominick, Mr. Fannin, Mr. Griffin, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Hruska, Mr. Javits, Mr. Morton, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Percy, Mr. Scott, Mr. Tower, and Mr. Young of North Dakota):

S. 1236. A bill to provide for the sharing with the State and local governments of a portion of the tax revenues received by the United States; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. Baker when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota:

S. 1237. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exclude from gross income the expense allowances, not exceeding a total of $2,000 a year, paid to members of State legislatures; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey):

S. 1238. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special series of postage stamps in honor of Amerigo Vespucci; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. LONG of Missouri):

S. 1239. A bill to provide a deduction for income tax purposes, in the case of a disabled individual, for expenses for transportation to and from work; and to provide an additional exemption for income tax purposes for a taxpayer or spouse who is disabled; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.

By Mr. RIBICOFF:

S. 1240. A bill to prevent vessels built or rebuilt outside the United States or documented under foreign registry from carrying cargoes restricted to vessels of the United States; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. RUSSELL (for himself and Mrs. SMITH) (by request):

S. 1241. A bill to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. RUSSELL when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. ALLOTT (for himself and Mr. DOMINICK):

S. 1242. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. ALLOTT when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. DOMINICK (for himself and Mr. ALLOTT):

S. 1243. A bill to revise the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. DOMINICK when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts:

S. 1244. A bill for the relief of Marie Sahely; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1245. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to lease airspace above and below freeway rights-of-way within the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1246. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to enter into leases for the rental of, or to use or permit the use of, public space in, on, over, and under the streets and alleys under their jurisdiction, other than freeways, and for other purposes; and

S. 1247. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to fix and collect rents for the occupancy of space in, on, under, or over the streets of the District of Columbia, to authorize the closing of unused or unsafe vaults under said streets and the correction of dangerous conditions of vaults in or vault openings on public space, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. TYDINGS when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTION

TO PRINT AS A SENATE DOCUMENT A COMPILATION OF MATERIALS RELATING TO THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. HAYDEN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 92); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and *Administration*:

Resolved, That there be printed, with illustrations, as a Senate document a compilation of materials entitled "Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, One-hundredth Anniversary, 1867–1967", and that there be printed five thousand additional copies of such document for the use of the Committee on Appropriations.

MOUNTAIN PARK RECLAMATION PROJECT, IN SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I introduce for myself and the junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mountain Park reclamation project in southwestern Oklahoma.

The project would be constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation. It would provide a municipal water supply for Altus and Snyder and the Altus Air Force Base. It would provide flood control and incidental recreation and fish and wildlife benefits.

Local and State governments affected are willing to meet all requirements of Federal law for reimbursement and repayment.

This project is in an area of our State generally deficient in both quality and quantity of water, and almost annually we suffer severe drought or floods. Therefore, it is necessary to completely develop the resources that are available if cities and towns and industries are to have adequate water supplies for present and future growth and if industries are to be attracted to the area.

Estimated construction costs of the various projects features are tabulated below. The costs are considered to reasonably represent January 1962 prices.

Stage 1 facilities	$14, 308, 000
Mountain Park dam and reservoir	8, 790, 000
Aqueduct system	5, 008, 000
Fish and wildlife facilities	210, 000
Recreation facilities	[1] 300, 000
Stage II facilities	4, 450, 000
Bretch diversion dam	1, 001, 000
Bretch diversion canal	3, 449, 000
Total Federal project construction	18, 758, 000

[1] Does not include $290,000 of non-Federal costs for accessory recreational facilities recommended by the National Park Service.

The average annual operation, maintenance, and replacement costs of the Federal works over the 60-year repayment period are estimated to be about $56,200 based on prevailing prices. This amount envisions the operation of stage I facilities over the 50-year period, with operation of stage II facilities beginning in the 19th year and also continuing through a 50th year. Repayment of stage II facilities would be completed 10 years after repayment of stage I. The plan contemplates the project organization would operate and maintain all project works except the recreational and fish and wildlife facilities. Operation and maintenance of the recreational facilities and the wildlife management area would be assumed by appropriate State entities without cost to the United States.

The annual economic Federal project costs are estimated, on the basis of the above, to average $685,400 for a 100-year period of analysis.

The benefits assignable to project construction have been estimated to total about $1,450,435 annually. Comparison of the evaluated benefits and the estimated annual costs indicate a benefit-cost ratio of 2.12 for a 100-year period.

Of the $18,758,000 construction cost, $13,383,000 is allocated to municipal water supply and is reimbursable with interest. The remaining $5,375,000 is allocated to flood control recreation, and fish and wildlife and is considered nonreimbursable. These latter allocations are $2,428,000, $836,000, and $2,111,000, respectively.

Of the $13,383,000 in construction costs allocated to municipal water supply, $10,437,000 is apportioned to Altus and Snyder. The remaining $2,946,000 is apportioned to future demands under the provisions of the Water Supply Act of 1958.

I ask unanimous consent that a plan for the development of the Mountain Park project be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAKER in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and without objection, the plan for development will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1234) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mountain Park reclamation project, Oklahoma, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MONRONEY (for himself and Mr. HARRIS), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The plan of development presented by Mr. MONRONEY is as follows:

PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MOUNTAIN PARK PROJECT, OKLAHOMA

The Mountain Park project would divert a portion of the flows of Elk Creek into Otter Creek, both of which are tributaries of the North Fork of Red River in southwestern Oklahoma, regulate the combined flows to furnish needed municipal water supplies for the cities of Altus (including the Altus Air Force Base), and Snyder, Okla., and deliver those supplies to the cities. It would also provide additional municipal water supplies at the reservoir for anticipated future demands; substantial flood control benefits; desirable fish and wildlife benefits; and needed recreational opportunities.

The plan of development for the Mountain Park project represents the culmination of investigations which began with consideration by the Bureau of Reclamation (then the Reclamation Service) of a Mountain

Park reservoir on Otter Creek in 1903. Potentialities of the Elk and Otter Creek Basins were reported by the Arkansas-White, Red Basins Interagency Committee. A reconnaissance appraisal of the project was completed by the Bureau of Reclamation in October 1955. The detailed feasibility investigations are summarized in this report. The latter investigations have been conducted in full cooperation with the concerned local entities, State agencies, and other Federal agencies.

The plan of development contemplates, as a Federal project, (1) the construction of Bretch Diversion Dam on Elk Creek; (2) construction of Bretch Diversion canal to divert a portion of the flows of Elk Creek into Otter Creek; (3) construction of Mountain Park Dam and Reservoir on Otter Creek; (4) construction of an aqueduct system to deliver waters stored in the Mountain Park Reservoir to the cities of Altus and Snyder; (5) purchase of lands and construction of minimum basic recreational facilities at the Mountain Park Reservoir for recreational purposes; and (6) purchase and development of lands at that reservoir to mitigate upland game losses and enhance the waterfowl resources of the project area.

The conservation capacity included in Mountain Park Reservoir provides for the optimum development of the streamflows of Elk and Otter Creeks. This conforms to the declared policy of the State of Oklahoma that, to the extent practicable, project plans provide for maximum development of the available water resources.

The forecast municipal water supply demands and the available streamflow records indicate that Mountain Park Reservoir, developing only Otter Creek flows, could reasonably meet the project water requirements of Altus and Snyder for about 10 years. Thus, the plan of development contemplates stage construction in which the Bretch diversion dam and canal would be deferred for about 10 years, with consequent savings in interest and operation, maintenance and replacement costs.

Inclusion of the aqueduct system necessary to deliver waters stored in the Mountain Park Reservoir to the cities of Altus and Snyder resulted from an analysis of the financial status of those cities, which established that construction of the aqueduct system under private financing would probably not be feasible. Construction of the necessary water treatment and intracity delivery systems would be the responsibility of the project cities.

Adequate storage capacity would be provided in the Mountain Park Reservoir, in accordance with the recommendations of the Corps of Engineers contained in the appended report of that agency, to fully control flood flows of Otter Creek at the damsite.

The plan of development contemplates purchase of the lands and construction of the minimum basic recreational facilities recommended by the National Park Service, as desirable for protection and accommodation of the visiting public. The contemplated minimum basic facilities would be provided at three sites around the reservoir. The plan contemplates that the additional accessory recreational facilities deemed by the National Park Service to be desirable to permit optimum recreational use of the reservoir would be provided at non-Federal expense. The National Park Service report is appended.

The plan of development also contemplates accomplishment of all measures, except maintenance of Snyder Lake, recommended by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife in the appended report of that agency, to provide the optimum project fish and wildlife benefits. Maintenance of Snyder Lake is considered impracticable because of construction difficulties and costs involved and the nominal fishery benefits which would result therefrom. The principal measures involved are purchase and development of lands at the Mountain Park Reservoir to mitigate upland game losses and enhance waterfowl resources.

The Mountain Park project would provide the municipal water deliveries requested by the cities of Altus and Snyder. These deliveries would be supplemental to present sources of supply at Altus, and would provide the total requirement for Snyder.

Estimated construction costs of the various project features are tabulated below. The costs are considered to reasonably represent January 1962 prices.

Stage I facilities:	
Mountain Park Dam and Reservoir	$8,790,000
Aqueduct system	5,008,000
Fish and wildlife facilities	210,000
Recreation facilities	[1] 300,000
Total	14,308,000
Stage II facilities:	
Bretch diversion dam	1,001,000
Bretch diversion canal	3,449,000
Total	4,450,000
Total Federal project construction costs	18,758,000

[1] Does not include $290,000 of non-Federal costs for accessory recreational facilities recommended by the National Park Service.

The average annual operation, maintenance, and replacement costs of the Federal works over the 60-year repayment period are estimated to be about $56,200 based on prevailing prices. This amount envisions the operation of stage I facilities over the 50-year period, with operation of stage II facilities beginning in the 10th year and also continuing through a 50th year. Repayment of stage II facilities would be complete 10 years after repayment of stage I. The plan contemplates the project organization would operate and maintain all project works except the recreational and fish and wildlife facilities. Operation and maintenance of the recreational facilities and the wildlife management area would be assumed by appropriate State entities without cost to the United States.

The annual economic Federal project costs are estimated, on the basis of the above, to average $685,400 for a 100-year period of analysis.

The benefits assignable to project construction have been estimated to total about $1,450,435 annually. Comparison of the evaluated benefits and the estimated annual costs indicate a benefit-cost ratio of 2.12 for a 100-year period.

Of the $16,758,000 construction cost, $13,383,000 is allocated to municipal water supply and is reimbursable with interest. The remaining $5,375,000 is allocated to flood control, recreation and fish and wildlife and is considered nonreimbursable. These latter allocations are $2,428,000, $836,000, and $2,111,000 respectively.

Of the $13,383,000 in construction costs allocated to municipal water supply, $10,437,000 is apportioned to Altus and Snyder. The remaining $2,946,000 is apportioned to future demands under the provisions of the Water Supply Act of 1958.

Prior to construction, it would be necessary for Altus and Snyder to form a master conservancy district, authorized under the laws of Oklahoma, to execute a contract with the United States for repayment of the reimbursable costs apportioned to those cities, and for operation and maintenance of the appropriate project works. It is anticipated that supplemental contracts would be executed between the master conservancy district and the project cities concerning the water deliveries and repayment arrangements to prevail.

The repayment plan assumes that reimbursable municipal water supply costs apportioned to Altus and Snyder would be repaid, with interest computed in this report at a rate of 2.936 percent, concurrent with payment of operation and maintenance costs, in variable annual installments which would increase from year to year, generally in proportion to the schedule of water deliveries adopted for the repayment period. Final determination of rate of interest to be paid will be made by the Secretary of the Treasury in accordance with provisions of the Water Supply Act. Deferral of interest for a period of 10 years on $1,080,500 of cost apportioned to Altus and Snyder is provided for in accordance with the provisions of the Water Supply Act of 1958. On this basis, the cost of raw water to the matter conservancy district over the repayment period would average about 16 cents per thousand gallons.

The plan also assumes that repayment of reimbursable municipal water supply costs apportioned to future demands would be deferred until project water deliveries utilizing water reserved for future demands are first made.

The Mountain Park project is strongly supported by the project cities. Their governing bodies have submitted formal resolutions endorsing the plan of development, and expressing willingness to enter into negotiations directed toward the consummation of appropriate repayment contracts.

At the request of the project cities, and in accord with Oklahoma laws, the Secretary of the Interior requested withdrawal from further appropriation for use by the Mountain Park project of all unappropriated waters of Elk Creek above the point of diversion, and of Otter Creek above the Mountain Park damsite. By letter of May 4, 1955, the Oklahoma Water Resources Board (then the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board) advised that these waters were withdrawn for the Mountain Park project.

The Oklahoma Water Resources Board, by letter dated July 3, 1962, concurred in the findings of this report; agreed to take the necessary actions to insure repayment to the United States of the water supply storage costs which are deferred as costs allocable to future water supply under the Water Supply Act of 1958, as amended by Public Law 87–88; and agreed to make, at the appropriate time, a hydrographic survey of Elk and Otter Creeks for the purpose of perfecting water rights in the basin, including the May 4, 1955, withdrawal of waters by the United States.

POSTAGE STAMP COMMEMORATING AMERIGO VESPUCCI

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, March 9 marks the birthday of Amerigo Vespucci, scholar, explorer, and geographer.

Born in the middle of the 15th century, Vespucci was the son of an influential and wealthy family active in commercial interests in Florence. After finishing his studies in the physical sciences, he went to Spain and found himself plunged into the exciting age of discovery and exploration. He was a friend of Columbus and made six voyages to the New World. His letters were not only literary successes of that time, but also give valuable information on early explorations and mapmaking.

Today, one third of the globe's land surface carries his name, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. It would be fitting for the United States to honor his memory in a special way, and I therefore introduce, on behalf of myself and the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], a bill calling upon the Post Office Department to issue a special stamp commemorating Amerigo Vespucci.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill

will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1238) to provide for the issuance of a special series of postage stamps in honor of Amerigo Vespucci, introduced by Mr. Javits (for himself and Mr. Williams of New Jersey), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

TAX DEDUCTION FOR THE HANDICAPPED

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, for myself and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], I introduce a bill to provide the disabled an income tax deduction of up to $600 to cover transportation to and from work, and to allow them the same additional $600 income tax deduction as is now given the blind.

It is estimated that some 300,000 disabled persons would qualify under this legislation, at a maximum cost to the Government of $40 million. This cost seems small when we consider the average cost of from $479 to $544 to rehabilitate each disabled individual. What we will be doing through this legislation is helping these people to help themselves and aiding them to achieve some personal independence from institutions, from overburdened families, and from local and State governments.

Our handicapped citizens are capable of being productive workers, contributing to the Nation's economy instead of being dependent upon it. But their disabilities impose upon them additional expenses in pursuit of their livelihoods which are not fully tax deductible, such as special orthopedic devices; extra travel costs because they are unable to utilize routine methods of transportation; expensive additions to office, shop, or home to facilitate their movements; special prosthetic devices; higher insurance costs, and the costs of hiring help to perform the simple tasks which the nonhandicapped perform for themselves. In addition, rising costs are particularly burdensome. For example, the prices of some special orthopedic shoes needed by the disabled have doubled in the past year.

Under this bill, the disabled taxpayer, in order to qualify for the additional $600 exemption, must suffer from a loss of one or more extremities or 50 percent or more loss of ability as defined under the Schedule for Rating Disabilities of the Veterans' Administration. In addition, both the blind and the disabled would qualify for the tax deduction of up to $600 for expenses of going to and from work.

Last year, some 30 governors indicated to the Joint Handicapped Council their support of this proposal. It has had editorial support ranging from the New York Times to the Progressive Farmer. Endorsements also include the AFL–CIO, the VFW, the General Federation of Womens Clubs, the National Association of Social Workers, and the National Council of Churches of Christ. This measure is similar with the bill I introduced last year, S. 3304, and a successor to similar legislation which I first introduced in February 1950, in the 81st Congress, as a Member then of the House of Representatives.

The prospects for this bill seem especially bright now. Hundreds of thousands of Americans have endeavored valiantly to transform their physical handicaps from stumbling blocks to building blocks. They wish to use their crutches to move on, not to lean on. This legislation will help them do just that. It is as hard-nosed and practical in economic terms as it is humanitarian. It is, in effect, a practical bill to benefit those who have no alternative than but to be practical.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1239) to provide a deduction for income tax purposes, in the case of a disabled individual, for expenses for transportation to and from work; and to provide an additional exemption for income tax purposes for a taxpayer or spouse who is disabled, introduced by Mr. Javits (for himself and Mr. Long of Missouri), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

CERTAIN CONSTRUCTION AT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, by request, for myself and the senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith], I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize certain construction at military installations and for other purposes.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter of transmittal from the Department of Defense requesting introduction of the legislation and explaining its purpose be printed in the Record immediately following the listing of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter of transmittal will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1241) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Russell (for himself and Mrs. Smith), by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

The letter of transmittal presented by Mr. Russell is as follows:

The Secretary of Defense,
Washington, March 9, 1967.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: There is forwarded herewith a draft of legislation "To authorize certain construction at military installations and for other purposes."

This proposal is a part of the Department of Defense legislative program for 1967. The Bureau of the Budget advises that its enactment would be in accordance with the program of the President.

This legislation would authorize military construction needed by the Department of Defense at this time, and would provide additional authority to cover deficiencies in essential construction previously authorized. Appropriations in support of this legislation are provided for in the Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year 1968.

Titles I, II, III, IV, and V of this proposal would authorize for the active forces $1,802,938,000 for new construction as follows:

a. For requirements other than those for Southeast Asia activities, $1,706,810,000, of which $418,469,000 are for the Department of the Army, $545,581,000 for the Department of the Navy, $523,760,000 for the Department of the Air Force, and $219,000,000 for the Defense Agencies in Titles I, II, III, and IV respectively.

b. For requirements in support of Southeast Asia activities, $96,128,000, of which $40,864,000 are for the Department of the Army, $21,264,000 for the Department of the Navy, and $34,000,000 for the Department of the Air Force, all in Title V.

Title VI contains legislative recommendations considered necessary to implement the Department of Defense family housing program and authorizes $787,000,000 for all costs of that program for FY 1968.

Title VII requests authorization for appropriation of $27,000,000 for homeowners assistance in base closure areas.

Title VIII contains General Provisions generally applicable to the Military Construction Program.

Title IX, totaling $18,300,000, would authorize construction for the Reserve Components, of which $4,500,000 are for the Naval and Marine Corps Reserves, $9,800,000 for the Air National Guard, and $4,000,000 for the Air Force Reserve. These authorizations are in lump sum amounts in accordance with the amendments to chapter 133, title 10, United States Code, which were enacted in Public Law 87–554.

Sincerely,

Robert S. McNamara.

CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION, AND MAINTENANCE OF THE COLORADO RIVER BASIN PROJECT

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I send to the desk on behalf of myself and Senator Dominick, a bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and ask that it be appropriately referred.

The bill authorizes the construction of the central Arizona project with an aqueduct capacity of 2,500 cubic feet of water per second. It also authorizes the construction of the Hualapai Dam at the originally proposed height and site, and the construction of five participating projects in the Upper Colorado River Basin. The five projects are: the Animas-La Plata in Colorado and New Mexico; the Dolores, Dallas Creek, West Divide, and San Miguel, all of which are in Colorado.

The bill is very similar to a bill introduced by Chairman Aspinall in the House of Representatives. There are two major differences between my bill and Mr. Aspinall's bill, H.R. 3300. First, my bill omits the provisions relating to the establishment of the National Water Commission. This was done because the Senate has already acted upon legislation for the creation of the National Water Commission. However, the Senate should have placed a priority on this Commission, and set a time certain for the completion of its study of water needs in the Colorado River Basin, and I so stated in my additional views to the committee report on the legislation.

The second major difference is that my bill requires the completion of a feasibility study on the importation of water from sources outside the Colorado River

Basin, providing that the required reconnaissance report indicates a supply of water surplus to the needs of the area of origin, and also providing that benefits exceed costs and that repayment can be made.

In other words, what this provision says, in effect, is that if the Secretary finds a source of water which is not needed by the area of origin, that due to the recognized shortage of water in the Colorado River Basin, the Secretary should not delay the commencement of a feasibility report upon which Congress can base its decision as to whether the proposal should be authorized. Congress will, of course, be the final judge as to whether any importation works should be constructed, but to delay the necessary investigation which will make available to Congress the necessary information upon which to base its decision has no justification. Therefore, my bill authorizes this more detailed study, providing that the preliminary reconnaissance investigation is favorable.

There is another minor modification to section 305(a), which is in the nature of a perfecting amendment. This subsection deals with California's guarantee of 4.4 million acre-feet of water per year, and I have added the following qualifying sentence:

> Nothing herein shall be construed to alter, amend, repeal, modify, or be in conflict with the agreement required by Section 4(a) of the Boulder Canyon Project Act (45 Statutes 1057) and made by the State of California by act of its legislature (Chapter 16, California Statutes 1929, p. 38) so far as the benefits of said agreement are conferred upon the States of Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming,

Mr. President, my colleague, Senator DOMINICK and I are also sponsoring a bill which will expand the Grand Canyon National Park to include essentially all of the 60 miles of land and river between the present east boundary of the park and Glen Canyon Dam, which includes Marble Canyon. It also expands the park westward to include portions of the Vermillion Cliffs. The Lake Mead Recreation Area is also greatly expanded and would include the Grand Canyon National Monument and all of the lake to be formed by the Hualapai Dam, including that part of the shoreline which would be within the present boundaries of the park—a narrow strip, approximately 13 miles long. This would constitute a solution for those who believe that a harmful precedent would be set by the lake's intrusion on the park, since that precedent would not be set if action is taken on both of these bills.

The area now constituting the Grand Canyon National Monument, which would be transferred to the Lake Mead Recreation Area, would still retain its protection from any mining activity.

It is my intention that the water development bill be first considered, and that immediately upon favorable action on it that the bill expanding the Grand Canyon National Park should be taken up and expeditiously acted upon.

The two bills taken together represent a real solution to the proponents of true conservation. For true conservation does not mean simply preservation, it must also include the "wise use" of our resources. To preserve simply for the sake of preservation is meaningless since it lacks purpose, but to conserve for "wise use" is meaningful since its purpose is to make the blessings of God more abundant to man. Preservation for preservation's sake alone may amount to waste, and waste is the very antithesis of conservation.

As a longtime proponent of conservation, I recommend this approach to others who share my belief that in this era of "exploding populations" we can little afford to waste resources so necessary to our economy and the needs of our people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1242) to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. ALLOTT (for himself and Mr. DOMINICK), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REVISION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, my colleague from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] and I are introducing today a package plan for the development and use of the Colorado River Basin and Grand Canyon National Park. The measures we propose are similar to legislation which has already been introduced in the House of Representatives by Chairman ASPINALL and would provide for both the construction and development of the Colorado River Basin projects and a significant expansion of the Grand Canyon National Park to include new and beautiful recreation areas. This plan will not only allow for the economic development and beneficial use of water in the Colorado River but will embrace some of our country's most beautiful natural scenery within the confines of the Grand Canyon National Park.

The bill which has just been introduced by Senator ALLOTT will allow the Secretary to make a reconnaissance report on the importation of water into the Colorado River Basin and if the report is favorable, to make a companion feasibility study which will be submitted to Congress. The bill authorizes the construction of the central Arizona project and the dam within Bridge Canyon. In addition, a development fund will be created and funded by revenue from the Hoover, Davis, Parker, and Hualapai Dams, and these revenues would be used to finance the cost of importing water and to assist in the repayment of the central Arizona project. The bill would also allow for the construction of five water storage projects in Colorado.

The second bill, which our plan encompasses is a great step forward in the preservation and conservation of the famous areas within and near the present Grand Canyon National Park. The bill allows for the extention of the present park to the south, north, and west. The final product would be a park and recreation area approximately 375 miles long, following the Colorado River.

The Vermillion Cliffs formation, to the west of the present park, is an example of a beautiful but unprotected area to be included within the confines of the new park. The addition of these lands will contribute over 80,000 acres to the present park and will not only be a significant contribution to the preservation of some of our country's most precious and awe-inspiring scenery but will allow the development of some of our most promising new recreational areas.

Mr. President, I now send to the desk on behalf of myself and Senator ALLOTT, a bill to revise the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park and ask that it be appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1243) to revise the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DOMINICK (for himself and Mr. ALLOTT), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE USE AND RENTAL OF PUBLIC SPACE AND AIRSPACE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, three bills relating to the use and rental of public space and airspace in the District of Columbia. The first of these bills would grant authority to the District of Columbia Commissioners to lease airspace over and under freeways.

Today we are literally wasting miles of invaluable space over and under freeways in the District of Columbia. As the highway construction program progresses, more space will be wasted unless this legislation is enacted. The space around freeways must be used so that freeways are not eyesores in the community. The space around freeways must be used for new housing and construction of unified neighborhoods to replace the housing destroyed by freeway construction and to insure that freeways do not cut through and fragment traditional neighborhoods. The space around freeways must be used to replace tax revenues which are lost by removing freeway lands from the tax rolls. The bill I propose today will make all this possible.

Enactment of this bill will permit the District of Columbia to take another step forward toward achieving a truly balanced transportation system—by permitting us to use highways not only as strips of concrete to drive on at maximum speed, but also as stationary objects to live with at maximum comfort and beauty. The freeway program should be a positive instrument of urban renewal in the District of Columbia—not a program at odds with urban renewal.

Recently, the plans for the north central leg of the Washington Freeway system were published, and although parts of the freeway were recessed, and designed to harmonize with surrounding neighborhoods, no use was made of the space over the freeways. It was announced that no use could be planned until the Commissioners had clear authority for such use of freeway airspace. There is thus some urgency in securing passage of this legislation. Although, as I understand it, the District government intends to propose legislation similar to the bill I introduce today, I believe we must get the legislative processes moving as quickly as possible on this matter. The planning of the freeway program is going ahead—and options to use freeway airspace are rapidly closing on us.

The bill I propose requires that, in determining what use should be made of freeway airspace, the Commissioners must first determine whether the space is needed for municipal purposes such as housing for low-income families, park or recreational facilities, vehicle parking facilities, or public works. If the space is not needed for such municipal purposes, the Commissioners may make it available, in order of priority, to the National Capital Housing Authority for low-income housing, to the Federal Government for Federal facilities, to public or private developers of low- or moderate-income housing, to nonprofit corporations such as hospitals, or to private businesses.

The second bill I am introducing authorizes the District of Columbia Commissioners to use or to rent space over, on, and under public streets, other than freeways. This bill will also provide a useful and flexible instrument for urban renewal. One obvious beneficiary of the bill is the central business district of the city. Under the bill, private businesses might join together to construct pedestrian malls above city streets, which would permit vehicular traffic to move unimpeded while pedestrians strolled and shopped above.

Older residential neighborhoods are another obvious beneficiary. Wide spans might be built across heavily traveled streets to create space for recreation areas, and for public facilities generally which could unify residential neighborhoods by creating focal points of social activities and public services. Today we are failing to develop the full potential of the space around our city streets. This bill is the first step to ending that waste.

The third bill I am introducing authorizes the Commissioners to issue regulations to fix and collect rents for private use of public space on, over, or under the streets. Today many private businesses are making quite profitable use of public space, for example, under public streets for fuel storage or other purposes and on the streets for outdoor restaurants. I am in favor of continuing and expanding such private use of public space. But I believe the public should share equitably in the profits gained from the use of public space. This bill would permit the District Commissioners to establish rents so that the public would receive its fair share of the profits made.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills, introduced by Mr. TYDINGS, were received, read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as follows:

S. 1245. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to lease airspace above and below freeway rights-of-way within the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1246. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to enter into leases for the rental of, or to use or permit the use of, public space in, on, over, and under the streets and alleys under their jurisdiction, other than freeways, and for other purposes; and

S. 1247. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to fix and collect rents for the occupancy of space in, on, under, or over the streets of the District of Columbia, to authorize the closing of unused or unsafe vaults under said streets and the correction of dangerous conditions of vaults in or vault openings on public space, and for other purposes.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1181) to exempt a member of the Armed Forces from service in a combat zone when such member is the sole surviving son of a family, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1012) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the following colleagues be listed as cosponsors on these bills: Senator BREWSTER and Senator FONG on S. 917, a bill to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes; Senator FONG on S. 915, a bill to provide for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center, and S. 916, a bill to assist in combating crime by creating the U.S. Corrections Service; and Senator TYDINGS on S. 798, a bill to provide compensation to survivors of local law enforcement officers killed while apprehending persons for committing Federal crimes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 479) to provide for the flying of the American flag over the remains of the U.S.S. *Utah* in honor of the heroic men who were entombed in her hull on December 7, 1941.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1104) to promote public confidence in the integrity of Congress and the executive branch.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of Senate Joint Resolution 30, to establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to astronauts who lose their lives in line of duty in the U.S. space program, the name of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE OF HEARING FOR AUTHORIZATION OF ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SALINE WATER CONVERSION PROGRAM

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to announce that the hearing date on S. 1101, a bill to authorize additional appropriations for the saline water conversion program, has been changed from April 3 to Friday, March 17, 1967, at 10 a.m., in room 3110, New Senate Office Building.

Anyone interested in testifying is requested to advise the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS RELATING TO ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON TECHNOLOGY AND THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD (for Senator MUSKIE). Mr. President, I would like to announce for the information of the Senate and other interested persons that the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations has scheduled hearings on Senate Resolution 68, to establish a Senate Select Committee on Technology and the Human Environment.

The hearings will be held on Wednesday, March 15; Thursday, March 16; and Monday, March 20, beginning at 9:30 a.m., in room 1114, New Senate Office Building. Leading off a most distinguished panel of witnesses on the 15th will be Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Director, Office of Science and Technology, Executive Office of the President; followed by Dr. Joseph L. Fisher, president, Resources for the Future, Inc.; and Dr. Detlev Bronk, president of Rockefeller University.

On March 16, the subcommittee will hear Dr. Howard R. Bowen, president of the University of Iowa; Dean Don K. Price, School of Public Administration, Harvard University; and Dr. Harrison Brown, head of the Division of Geological Sciences, California Institute of Technology.

On March 20, the witnesses will be Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission; Mr. Jack Conway, executive director, Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO; Prof. Donald Michael, Center for the Application and Utilization of Scientific Knowledge; and Dr. Leland J. Haworth, director, National Science Foundation.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 665) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** announced that on today, March 9, 1967, the Vice President announced that on today, he had signed the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 4) authorizing the President to proclaim "National CARIH Asthma Week," which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

By Mr. **GRIFFIN**:

Statement of congratulations by him in observance of 25th anniversary of the Jewish News, Detroit, Mich.

JEC STUDY OF CHINESE ECONOMY SHOWS SURPRISING WEAKNESSES

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Mr. President, earlier this week the Joint Economic Committee released a study on the Communist Chinese economy. This study was the result of an excellent suggestion made last year by the senior Senate Republican on the committee, the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. The wisdom of this suggestion is now becoming apparent, as attested to by a number of newspaper articles on the study which I will insert at the conclusion of my remarks.

The articles highlight some of the conclusions reached by the 20 China experts who contributed to the study—conclusions that undoubtedly will come as a great surprise to those not intimately acquainted with mainland China's economy. From the standpoint of China as a threat to peace, the most encouraging information disclosed by the study has to do with the startling weakness of the Chinese economy. Communist China, the study indicates, is one of the few countries in the world which has made virtually no progress in the years since 1958. In that year, the Chinese gross national product hit a peak of 108 billion yuan, a level which it did not attain again until 1965. Thus, the Chinese threat may well have been overestimated by many.

Furthermore, although the present small arms and construction assistance to North Vietnam can be sustained by the Chinese economy, the country is not in a position, according to the study, to supply sophisticated weapons of the type the Russians are providing.

Joint Economic Committee hearings on the Chinese economy will begin next month. I hope that they will further amplify many of the points made by the study papers.

At this time I ask unanimous consent to include in the Record comments on the study appearing in the Washington Post, Washington Star, and New York Times.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Mar. 5, 1967]

PEKING FOUND UNHURT BY ITS HELP TO HANOI

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

Red China's military aid to North Vietnam can continue indefinitely without seriously disrupting Peking's economy, a major congressional study asserts.

"In spite of the steep rise in military activities in Vietnam . . . there is no evidence of strain on the basic economic resources of China," the two-volume report on the nation's economy says.

The report, compiled by a score of scholars and government and non-government organizations, was released last night by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, headed by Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis.

"The kind of support that China has given to North Vietnam in this conflict has involved, chiefly, large quantities of small arms. Beyond that to be sure, it was required to provide rail transport, presumably on a regular payment basis, for Soviet shipments of military supplies, chiefly air defense equipment," the report continued.

ENGINEERING TROOPS ALSO

"Another contribution by China to the war has taken the form of sizable numbers of engineering troops to assist in the building and repair of roads, bridges, and rail lines in North Vietnam.

"On the whole, the effort made thus far in connection with the war has been low in cost, and has, by and large, drawn on the kind of resources in which China has a comparative advantage," it said.

The report said, however, that if China had to supply large supplies of sophisticated weapons—such as are now supplied by the Russians—"such an increased effort could not conceivably be made without endangering the already precarious balance in the economy between available resources and irreducible needs."

In general, the report concluded that the military establishment does not cost the Peking regime as much as the continuing dislocation of industry and agriculture by periodic changes in policy and by the cultural revolution currently taking place in the countryside.

A-WEAPONS AT TOP

But the report anticipates that in the next five years, top priority will be given to nuclear weapons and their means of delivery—a view held also by the Defense Department.

The key question, however, is whether the economy will grow gradually, continually assimilating new technology from Japan and the West, or will be forced into another Great Leap Forward, which could lead to another economic disaster similar to the one in 1960–61 following the first Great Leap.

One of the "staggering economic problems" facing China, the report said, is the search for a balance between the rapidly growing population, and the limited supply of arable land.

China accounts for 25 percent of the world's population, but contains only 7.8 percent of the world's cultivated land. This means there is only .35 acres per inhabitant, compared with 1.9 acres in the United States.

TWO CHOICES OBVIOUS

There have been two obvious choices facing China's planners—to either develop more arable land, or to intensify the land now under cultivation.

The lands in West China where additional acreage can be found has "unfavorable soil and climate conditions," and the alternate policy of intensification calls for additional, expensive investments, which would further strain China's limited resources, the report says.

China's industry is faced also with investment problems—primarily over how much of the resources to spend in the military sector, an issue still not resolved.

The consumer goods industry is expected to continue to receive a small share of investments, and the total growth rate for industry is calculated at 5 percent a year for the next few years.

One of the problems in making this study, the committee found, was the lack of statistics after 1960.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 7, 1967]

CHINESE ECONOMY IS FOUND LAGGING—U.S. EXPERTS SAY OUTPUT IS BELOW 1960 LEVELS

(By Harry Schwartz)

A report by United States Government and academic experts has found that Communist China's economy has lost much ground in the nineteen-sixties, and that the prospects for substantial improvement in the years immediately ahead are poor.

These conclusions emerge from a symposium on the Chinese economy made public by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. Titled "An Economic Profile of Mainland China," the symposium's reports give the most comprehensive survey of the Chinese economic situation ever published in English.

Several of the articles raise the possibility that China may suffer economic retrogression in the period immediately ahead because of disruption caused by the Cultural Revolution.

The darkest prospects appear to exist in agriculture where, according to Marion R. Yarsen of the Department of Agriculture, the food situation was tight even before recent disorders. "A serious decline in the agricultural sector" could result if recent political unrest persists into the period of farm work, according to the report.

PAPER BY CIA MEN

A review of China's industry concludes that the country will be fortunate if it is able to regain the 1960 peak of industrial production by 1970. The author, Dr. Robert M. Field of the Central Intelligence Agency, concludes that at best by 1970 the Peking regime's "misguided economic policies . . . will have cost China a full decade's industrial growth."

Dr. Field expects slow Chinese industrial growth in the coming years because of the continuing drain of China's atomic and other weapons programs on resources needed for heavy industry and because consumer goods production depends upon output in agriculture where substantial production increases are unlikely.

The common thread running through the articles is agreement that China is still paying heavily for the mistakes made when it overextended itself during the period of the Great Leap Forward during 1958–60. The consequence was a sharp decline in industrial and agricultural output during the early nineteen sixties, followed by a slow recovery that has not yet brought China back to the peak levels reached almost a decade ago.

OTHER LANDS SHOW GROWTH

While China's recovery has been slow, other countries have been increasing their output rapidly. Data presented by Dr. Field, for example, indicate that India's industrial output rose about 40 per cent between 1960 and 1965, while China's industrial production was almost 20 per cent below the 1960 level in 1965.

The most impressive economic achievement described in symposium is the success achieved in modernizing military equipment. J. G. Godaire of the Central Intelligence Agency suggests that the stock of modern arms, based on domestic resources, may now be equal to the maximum domestic production of 1957–59 plus the value of the Soviet military aid given at that time.

Mr. Godaire comments that "domestic production of military equipment seems to have had priority over the production of civilian investment goods at considerable cost to the overall Chinese economic growth rate."

A picture of Chinese economic growth is presented by data on gross national product the total production of goods and services, by Prof. Ta-Chung Liu of Cornell University.

DATA ON CHINA'S GNP

Expressed in the Chinese monetary unit, the yuan, and in constant prices, the data indicate that the gross national product rose from 71.4 billion yuan in 1952 to a peak of 108 billion yuan in 1958. Then the gross national product fell to a low of 92.2 billion yuan in 1961 and finally reached the 1958 level once again in 1965. Yuan values cannot be easily expressed in dollar terms.

An alternative gross-national-product calculation in dollar terms is presented by Edwin F. Jones of the State Department. He estimates that the Chinese gross national product grew from about 65-billion in 1957 to $73.3-billion in 1965, or just enough to keep per capita production, for a rising population, constant at $101 annually.

In 1965, Mr. Jones estimates, output consisted of $33.7-billion from agriculture, an 8 per cent gain over 1957; $21.5-billion from industry, construction and transport, a 24 per cent increase over 1957; and $18.1-billion from trade and services, a 10 per cent gain over 1957.

The Joint Economic Committee, an informed source said yesterday, intends to hold five days of hearings next month on the Chinese economy, hearing testimony on the papers just published as well as expert evaluations of national policy.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 8, 1967]

PROPITIOUS MOMENT

Mao Tse-tung, Communist China's "master helmsman," has changed course. Just as his Cultural Revolution threatened to utterly rend the economy and provoke widespread civil war and provincial disintegration, he began to retreat. Whether his own sense or the power of his foes compelled the turn is less important than the apparent fact that the Cultural Revolution is subsiding. Mao's doctrine of progress by inspiration and sacrifice has, clearly, failed.

A movement catching up a whole nation inevitably has many causes and defies the patterns which either its makers or critics would lay upon it. Mao's giant ego and his grandiose vision of China's future doubtless played a part in the Cultural Revolution, and so did the hidden machinations of Chinese politics, and the pressures of security and pride generated by Peking's disputes with the Soviet Union and the United States.

But the central impulse and the central issue was how to modernize China and enable it to feed and serve itself, to make its way in the world, and to sustain its self-image of grandeur. For a nation with China's heritage of humiliation, and its ambition, this was and is the truly pressing national question. For Mao personally, it has been since the Chinese revolution the central question of his rule.

As the Joint Economic Committee's fine new study "An Economic Profile of Mainland China" makes evident Mao pushed the pedal to the floor in 1958 with his Great Leap Forward. But instead of spurting forward, the economy stalled out. Only now is it regaining the 1958 level. Another way of stating this proposition is that Mao, in his desperation and impatience, wasted a full decade of China's development.

Seemingly that experience would have taught him the folly of a frenzied arbitrary approach to growth. However, as Mao observed the so-called economic rationalists who took over after the Leap, he became convinced their prescriptions would not insure China the growth to match its inflated hopes and expanding population. To him the dilemma could hardly have been more stark: haste meant waste, yet caution meant inadequacy. It was hardly surprising that an old willful revolutionary in his 70s should make one last lunge toward the China of his dreams. Such was the Cultural Revolution.

The meaning of its abatement is not just that the bureaucrats and rationalists, associated with Chou En-lai, have won the day. If China's choice were merely between political frenzy and economic progress Peking would have no problem at all. The true meaning is that the Cultural Revolution has left the issue of development even more raw and unresolved than before that grotesque campaign began. The avenue of exhortation and forced-draft discipline has been foreclosed. But the avenue of safe rational progress is no more promising either.

China's quest is not at an end. Its efforts to become a great power mainly on the basis of its own resources has collapsed. Its need now is to look for help to the outside world. The most likely place to look is the Soviet Union; cooperation with Moscow supported Peking's considerable pre-Leap progress. The question is whether their political hostility can be tamed to the extent necessary to resume important economic ties.

This is an extremely delicate time for American policy. As the Russians have nervously sensed, Peking in its weakness is particularly receptive to arrangement with Washington that would reduce tension and provide a sort of breathing spell in East Asia. The failure of the Cultural Revolution cannot itself have failed to shake Peking and make it uncertain of its future course. It is a propitious moment to assay the small steps with which America's eventual reconciliation with China must begin.

CONGRESS SHOULD PROMPTLY RESTORE THE INVESTMENT CREDIT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a front-page story in the New York Times this morning reports the results of a study by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange Commission of business plans to invest in plant and equipment during the remainder of the year.

The study shows that business will invest even less than an earlier McGraw-Hill survey which disclosed a sharp falloff in the rate of gain of business investment from the rapid increase over the past 3 years.

For the past 3 years economic growth has been largely fueled by an extraordinary growth in this accelerating factor in the economy—business investment in plant and equipment.

For each of these years the gain had been from 14 percent to nearly 17 percent over the preceding year.

This year, the latest survey shows, the gain will slow down to about 4 percent.

But this tells only part of the story. The pattern of investment is expected to show a marked slowdown in the first half of the year, followed by a relative speedup in the last half.

Now, Mr. President, this may be possible, but it is very unlikely, indeed, unless Congress repeals the present suspension of the investment credit.

Certainly, some businesses may go ahead with their plans to invest, regardless of the investment credit consequences; but thousands of businesses, large and small, will defer that investment come late next summer and fall, when they recognize that such deferral will bring them an increase in net profits of 7 percent of their entire capital investment.

A firm planning to invest a hundred million dollars in the last half of the year could pick up a profit of $7 million by simply waiting until January 1.

There is one other danger signal here. As the New York Times points out, although there are some exceptions, the usual pattern of investment spending nationally is that once it slows down, it is likely to stay down, and not to rebound for many months or even years.

Under these circumstances, it is most logical for Congress to consider now—not next June or next fall, but now—the restoration of the suspended investment credit.

American business needs it. The turndown in indicator after indicator suggests we need it. And doing nothing—that is, letting the suspension run until January 1, as the law now provides—might turn into a recession-provoking blunder.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the New York Times, reporting the expected slowdown in the rate of business investment gain, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSINESS SPENDING IN UNITED STATES TO SLACKEN, SURVEY FINDS—GOVERNMENT REPORT POINTS TO SLOWDOWN IN OUTLAYS FOR PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT IN FIRST HALF, WITH RISE LATER IN 1967

(By Eileen Shanahan)

WASHINGTON, March 8.—Business spending on new plants and equipment was added today to the lengthening list of signs of a general slowdown in the economy this year.

A Government survey of business investment plans—a key indicator of future economic trends—showed that business expected their outlays for new plants and equipment to turn down slightly in the first half of this year. For the year as a whole, outlays are expected to rise only 3.9 per cent from the 1966 total.

The survey, conducted by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange Commission, had been anxiously awaited by both Government and business, not only as a clue to the economic outlook but also as a guide to Government tax policy.

It was not immediately clear, however, whether the prospective sluggishness in business investment would be considered significant enough by the Administration to justify a request to the Congress for restoration of the 7 per cent tax bonus on business outlays for equipment. The special tax credit was temporarily repealed by the Congress last fall at the Administration's request, and is not scheduled for restoration until next January.

The expected increase of 4 per cent in business investment for 1967 is appreciably less than the 6 per cent rise that was forecast at the start of the year by McGraw-Hill, Inc., the trade publishing organization, which conducts one of the leading private surveys of business spending plans.

Government officials had made no secret of their hopes that the McGraw-Hill figure would be confirmed by the Government's survey.

In addition to the smallness of the expected rise in business investment outlays—the 4 per cent foresene for this year contrasts with a 16½ per cent rise in 1966—economists also saw reason for concern in the predicted downturn in investment in the first two quarters of this year.

A downturn for two quarters and then a rebound—which is the pattern the survey predicts—is extremely unusual although not unprecedented. Such a dip in investment, limited to two quarters, occurred in 1952 and 1962. It is more usual, however, for business investment to decline over a considerably longer period, once it starts heading down.

ANNUAL RATES GIVEN

The survey showed that actual business outlays for new plants and equipment were at an annual rate of $62.8-billion in the final quarter of last year.

Outlays on an annual basis for the first quarter are expected to dip to $62.6-billion and to drop further for the second quarter to $62.25-billion. For the second half of this year, expenditures are forecast at an annual rate of $63.65-billion.

For 1967 as a whole, the expected outlays work out to a total expenditure of $63-billion, which is essentially unchanged from the level for the fourth quarter of last year.

Business investment outlays for all of 1966 totaled $60.6-billion, the survey found.

MIXED PATTERN DISCERNED

The survey also disclosed a mixed pattern, by quarters, compared with the spending expectations disclosed by the Government's most recent previous survey of business spending, which was made last fall.

Actual investment in the fourth quarter of last year was slightly higher than anticipated by businessmen during the November survey. But planned outlays in the first and second quarters of this year were revised downward by 1½ and 3 per cent, respectively, from the earlier forecasts.

A pattern of downward revisions of earlier expectations has often preceded even larger cuts in actual investment outlays.

Government officials at the policy level declined to discuss the survey figures or what they might produce in Government action on taxes.

EARLIER THAN PLANNED

A Government move to restore the 7 per cent investment tax credit earlier than originally planned—if that is the decision—would not necessarily mean that the Administration would also scrap its request for a 6 per cent tax increase on all businesses and all but the lowest-paid individuals.

CONGRESS LEANING TOWARD ITS OWN PANEL ON DRAFT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a column by Richard Wilson, entitled "Congress Leaning Toward Its Own Panel on Draft," which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 8, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS LEANING TOWARD ITS OWN PANEL ON DRAFT

(By Richard Wilson)

Congress appears to be paying more attention to the report of its own civilian advisory panel on the draft than to President Johnson's commission. The argument doesn't center so much on drafting 19-year-olds first as on the proposed lottery-like random selection system, and college deferments.

The congressional advisory panel is dead set against the lottery system and abolishing college deferment. So are a good many influential Members of Congress and they may change the law before letting the President bring about any drastic change in the Selective Service System under his discretionary authority.

The Pandora's box has been opened and it is not at all unlikely that the draft system will end up in a complete mess after many years of successful administration by Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey.

Hershey views what is going on coolly, but he is ready to carry out the orders of the President, while not commenting on the fairness of a lottery system that he has opposed.

Lotteries have been tried before without much success—in both the North and the South during the Civil War, in World War I, and a part of World War II. After these and other systems created more inequities than they eliminated, the present system was adopted. This system establishes date of birth as the sequence for operating selective service.

It should not be supposed that a lottery system will eliminate inequities. On the contrary such arbitrary and haphazard choice will inevitably select many young men who would be deferred if reason, justice and the national interest were the measures. From the pragmatic point of view, a lottery might keep out of the military service by luck men best adapted to it, and take into it men who showed no promise of being good soldiers. Inequities of this kind are implicit in any system.

College deferment seems to many to be an inequity, and it cannot be questioned that there have been noxious abuses of this privilege. But it is not true that the deferment of students has meant they have been protected from the draft or given favored treatment as a class. Sixty percent of the college group has served in the armed forces either as volunteers or inductees, compared to 57 percent of non-college students, according to the congressional civilian advisory panel.

In any large-scale war, where the national security was at stake, there would be little argument that certain classes of students—scientists, doctors, dentists and others—should be deferred until they had mastered their special disciplines that were imperative to the national interest. In those circumstances, this would also include many graduate students whose deferment Johnson has now revoked.

The congressional panel appears to have approached this matter in a more practical way than the President's commission. The congressional panel called for rightening up student deferment.

What underlies almost all the trouble about the draft right now is one simple fact: Under present conditions the supply of young men exceeds by far the needs of the armed forces. All those available and qualified for military service are not required for active duty.

The local draft boards have tried to bring reason and justice into the selection, faultily in some cases, but on the whole with a keen concern for the national interest as well as local conditions. The President's commission would wipe out these boards and replace them by no more than 500 area centers applying uniform policies of classification and appeal.

Hershey's view is that the concept of local draft boards "is built on a uniquely American belief—that local citizens can perform a valuable service to the government and at the same time personalize the government's procedures to a young man fulfilling one of his earliest and most serious obligation of citizenship."

Perhaps it is at this point that the proposed new system breaks with the old. It would replace the old personalized system with a computerized, unpersonalized selection by chance, and with little concern for the human judgment that has made the Selective Service System work pretty well the last 25 years.

The congressional panel on the draft contained men no less distinguished than the larger President's commission, although not so many who are popular in liberal circles. The more traditional and tried approach with all its errors appears to be carrying the heaviest weight in Congress.

THE CIA CONTROVERSY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a column by David Lawrence, entitled "Damage to United States as Well as CIA Seen," which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 8, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAMAGE TO UNITED STATES AS WELL AS CIA SEEN

(By David Lawrence)

Evidence is beginning to mount that those people who started to publicize CIA operations and criticize its practices didn't help the cause of the United States in its battle against Communist imperialism.

On the surface, it looked like a natural thing for some youngster in the ranks of a student organization to attract attention to himself by demanding an end to CIA subsidies of his group. No thought was given however, to the consequences of the exposure. Some newspaper dispatches crated the impression that something unethical and improper had been done by the government of the United States.

War, of course, is unethical in itself. Thus, to try to prevent a war by finding out what the enemy is doing involves surreptitious detective work and it is essential. But there are some critics who can say that even this is an invasion of somebody else's privacy.

Realistically speaking, the damage now has been done. The CIA has been given a body blow which can interfere with its effectiveness in future years. Throughout the world, where there are many intelligence systems, officials have watched with dismay and surprise the manner in which America's intelligence organization is being thwarted in its efforts to combat the Soviet operations in different parts of the world.

An intelligence officer who represents the

United States in some foreign countries had this to say recently to a representative of U.S. News & World Report:

"The U.S., not just the CIA, suffered a severe defeat in this thing.

"The U.S. still must fight to prevent the Communists from having all their own way in international meetings of students—or teachers, or scientists, journalists, labor unions, whatever.

"But now that the CIA cover has been 'blown,' the job will cost much more. And it will take a long time before any U.S. organization or group can regain the effectiveness that the National Student Association had.

"These students were not instructed how to act, except in a very few cases. Main reliance was on the American instincts and patriotism of almost all the students who were financially helped to attend."

Little did the Americans who criticized the CIA, both inside and outside of Congress, realize perhaps how penetrating is the Communist influence in Latin America, where at any moment trouble can be stirred up which can involve the United States in more wars. What is happening too, in the Eastern bloc of Communist countries in Europe is an example of how difficult it is for the United States to "build bridges" with those countries. Despite all the outward appearance of a growing friendliness and the talk about the advantages of consular treaties, the Warsaw government deliberately denied former Vice President Richard Nixon a visa to enter Poland.

Unfortunately, some members of the American press did not take into account the damage they were doing their own government in the kind of publicity they gave to the exposure of the CIA subsidies to student organizations. The impression conveyed was that the United States government was subsidizing students within the United States and attempting to interfere with their operations in this country.

Actually, the Central Intelligence Agency has no authority or jurisdiction over anything that happens within the United States. The whole purpose of the CIA is to get information from foreign countries and to help American students who travel abroad to present the American point of view and learn what the Communist imperialists are saying and doing in student gatherings.

Now that student organizations have been held up to public criticism, doubtless these same youth groups will find more difficulties abroad. They will be suspected of representing the government, and they will have a problem in trying to prove that they are independent of governmental influence and subsidies. All this could have been avoided if the CIA had been given in a Cold War operation the same patriotic support that a military force receives at all times.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD EUROPE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record a column by William H. Stringer, entitled "U.S. Policy Toward Europe," which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of March 7, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Policy Toward Europe

(By William H. Stringer)

London.—The United States is giving more careful and detailed attention to Europe than the headlines, or some of the calamity-howlers in Britain would suggest.

Washington's policy has had a poor press in London at various times lately. Yet there is much to be said on the other side.

In criticism of American behavior, the BBC carries documentaries on Vietnam which emphasize civilian casualties, say little about Viet Cong terrorism.

Sen. William Fulbright is featured on television declaring the United States should unconditionally cease bombing North Vietnam as the first step to peace.

The strident play "US" by the Royal Shakespeare Company at the Aldwych Theater denounces United States Vietnam policy.

Some members of the intellectual establishment complain that the United States, doing the wrong thing in Vietnam, is not doing much right about Europe either—is giving only a "lick and a promise" to European problems.

To set the record straight, there are these points in rebuttal:

1. The United States is quietly supporting Britain's bid to join the European Common Market. More, the White House hopes that if France's President de Gaulle again slams the door on Britain, the British will continue to "lay active siege" to the Continent, intending to gain entry at a later date.

2. The United States is working actively at Geneva to get a nuclear nonproliferation treaty signed. When West Germany has balked at some of the terms, Washington has softened its insistence on strict international inspection.

3. President Johnson has not totally abandoned the idea of making a trip to Europe—particularly to Bonn and London—this year. The proposal is simmering on the back burner, to be taken up again if conditions seem right.

4. By the end of February a tripartite committee will again be wrestling with the "Troops in Europe" issue, and deciding what cuts may be be possible, what financing will keep troop strength in Europe at safe levels, and—eventually—what new strategies should govern NATO.

5. Aware of the stubborn technological gap between America and Europe, the United States is proposing studies and plans for narrowing this gap. This is either outright altruism, or an intelligent awareness that technologically advanced nations make the best customers.

6. Washington is not criticizing Prime Minister Harold Wilson for his Vietnam maneuvers during the Kosygin visit to London, even though some officials rather wryly note that every time peace hopes are raised without substantiation, and then sink again, this saps morale all over the lot. President Johnson understands Mr. Wilson's problems with his party's left wing.

What does all this add up to? To American spokesmen, it means that President Johnson and the executive branch in Washington are indeed aware of Europe's concerns. Perhaps they haven't done enough, to date, to make their interest known. On the other hand, this may be a time to "leave Europe alone" and permit the British, the Germans, the French, and the Russians to modernize their relationships.

Perhaps it is on Vietnam that Britain hasn't received a sufficient argument from Washington, though the Conservative Party and Prime Minister Wilson's branch of the Laborites both uphold American policy, however strenuously some may argue oppositely.

Washington's view is that the Vietnam war is changing the entire outlook in Asia. For instance, Premier Lee of Singapore, no close ally of the United States, has declared that the Vietnam war is "buying Asia time"—time to regroup—and that it must not waste this precious time.

What is happening, in Washington's view, is that Asia is discovering that China can be contained. Asia is not becoming a Chinese continent. Thus other countries can breathe more freely. There is opportunity ahead to rationalize Asia's power balances.

This tremendous development makes the Vietnam war seem worth while, in the White House view.

Meanwhile the peace feelers out of Hanoi are so meager as to be almost nonexistent. Washington is well aware that Hanoi may believe that if it can hold out until 1968, in the hope that in a political year the United States Government will be ready for peace at almost any price.

Hanoi may discover that this view is totally wrong.

And where does the bombing of North Vietnam fit in?

Washington's estimate, as relayed here, is that the bombing is doing about as much damage to the North as the Viet Cong guerrillas are doing in the South. In other words, at long last a countervailing force against guerrilla warfare has materialized in Vietnam.

The United States Government recalls that more Americans were lost during the Korean truce negotiations than during the war years previously. The White House does not intend to have that sort of thing develop from a premature, unreal truce in Vietnam.

AN EDEN WITHOUT SERPENTS? UNLIKELY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I call attention to a magnificent article in last Sunday's New York Times by Walter Kerr, "An Eden Without Serpents? Unlikely," pointing out that even with the tremendous advance in national and State establishments on the arts, which I had the honor to originate in 1949, deep problems still exist; that these problems exist with respect to so-called State theaters abroad, in Communist countries, and that the problems do not differ from the problems experienced by our own theater. Indeed, our theater is more fluorishing and far more vital, because it has the protection and security of civil liberties and private enterprise.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

An Eden Without Serpents? Unlikely

(By Walter Kerr)

Worry, worry, worry. In the past week or so I have picked up the morning paper several times and seen, again, alarming signs of the instability of that grand new movement toward across-the-nation municipal theaters, and round-the-clock repertory, that we all so long for.

Yet another director has been fired in Pittsburgh; apparently he'd been doing too much Brecht. And the Long Wharf Theater in New Haven was on its knees begging for funds; apparently it had been doing too many brand-new presumably experimental scripts.

Naturally, we cry woe. Are our dreams unsound, is the looked-for miracle that is about to renew the American theater, a mirage, have we been kidding ourselves? Is there some fatal flaw in the whole notion of having dozens and dozens of local playhouses doing dozens and dozens of unfamiliar plays (unfamiliar because they are *old* or unfamiliar because they are new)? Is this nothing more that the vaunted "community" theater of the 1920's making its promises and breaking its neck all over again? (I suppose it should be remembered that earnest and intelligent men were writing books called "The Theater of Tomorrow" and "Footlights Across America" in the 1920's, too, sure that the municipal millenium and a playwriting renaissance were both at hand, hand in hand.)

BIGGEST MISTAKE

I think that before we cry woe we should learn to become realists. Our biggest mistake to date, I think, is to have imagined that sunup would come with nary a cloud in the sky, that the moment the new national program for the arts was announced it would just plain naturally flower and flourish, that we were going to get what we wanted without pain, patience, and the constant thunder of setbacks. Having a vision in our heads and much virtue in our hearts, we assumed that art would come leaping into our arms simply because our arms were now open, that quality would instantly follow upon generously doled-out cash, that virtue would in effect become its reward and ours. Why should there be problems when the over-all program is so distinctly desirable?

And so, having erected a quick kingdom upon a myth, we stagger under the blows that fall. There is no need to. Indeed, what we must do is brace ourselves to the inevitable onrush of more blows, and then, when we have begun to get somewhere, to the utter certainty that the most perfectly realized vision is still going to house an astonishing brood of vipers, day by day, decade by decade. We must stop being innocents and face the fact that even well-established repertory contains its own festering cankers and that proud municipal playhouses invariably manufacture their own paste jewels, their own home-grown perplexities.

SAME STORY

Last summer I spent four weeks at Salzburg talking to young directors, managers, actors, and translators, most of whose work was being done in state-subsidized, fully guaranteed, permanently staffed houses in countries all over Europe, including some behind the Iron Curtain. I learned a great deal.

In speaking of certain unpleasant conditions in the New York commercial theater—as opposed to the "secure" theater that might be created by endowed continuity—I happened to mention the plight of some of our best performers. An actress, I said, might have an enormous and thoroughly deserved success. She might then have another, perhaps a third—though with a little time out between them to search for scripts and bargain with commercial packagers. Then, I continued, she might easily hit a dead stretch, through no particular fault of her own. The right play might not come along; it might not be possible to cast properly a play she liked; any sort of foul wind might stop her dead in her tracks. At the height of her powers, and with her freshness due to decline yearly as freshness so disloyally does, she might spend as much as five seasons out of work. The waste is incredible. Yet that's the way the catch-as-catch-can commercial theater works, I concluded.

"But that's exactly what can happen in our theater!" a charming woman from Central Europe exclaimed, I was puzzled. Weren't the actors in her theater regularly employed? Yes, they were; once they'd graduated from the necessary preparatory school, and satisfactorily passed the tests imposed by the theatrical state board, they had jobs for life—or just about.

IN LIMBO

But my friend went on to explain. A girl out of school, a delightful ingénue, might join a company and work successfully, and frequently, for five or eight years. She would then be getting just a bit thready for ingénues, though not ample enough for character roles. She'd have arrived at a middle-ground "leading lady" position. Except that the company might already have an oversupply of "leading ladies," firmly entrenched and determined to stay that way until their wigs and chokers gave out. They were permanent, too, and had priority. The result: the maturing ingénue might not work for as much as ten years—until someone conveniently died or until she turned into a crone who could be cast in bits. She'd be paid all this time, true. But it wasn't pay, it was growth, we were talking about.

Another relatively young manager wanted out of state-subsidized repertory as fast as he could get out, though he had relatively few other places to go. He was fed up with the effects of security on his actors. They'd grown lazy, high-handed, reluctant to rehearse, and—what's more to the point—extremely unwilling to tackle roles they hadn't already established themselves in. They behaved both like stars and bureaucrats, he complained. They tended to stick to their bag of tricks; and they couldn't be budged because they couldn't be fired, they were office-holders.

Another kind of example. A director from behind an Iron Curtain country had, for a considerable time, been forced to do plays for the "workers," which meant old-line agit-prop plays imported from Russia or at the very least (very best, let's say), Brecht. "Finally," this director said, "I had to jump up and down and scream. I had to scream because the workers didn't like the plays and wouldn't come. I had to make the officials see that the actors became very discouraged playing to nobody." It seems that in this particular case the dictum from above was relaxed; the director had just finished doing "Luv," which the workers liked.

And there you are. Now none of this is to say that European municipal systems don't have their virtues. They have many. The most interesting practice, to me, was one pursued in Sweden. In certain cities there playrights do not give any one theater an exclusive right to a play; there is no bidding for rights, as there is, say, in Prague. The playwright simply publishes his play, which means that it is now released to any management wishing to perform it. Six theaters may put it on simultaneously—and more or less *as written*. The author rarely bothers to go rehearsals, though he may if he is asked. In due time he has six different opportunities to see his play differently done—and, obviously, his chances of getting a "right" production, and a success, out of so much independent activity are mightily increased. The future of his work isn't staked on a single "all or nothing" throw. If I were a playwright, and didn't need too much money, I'd move to Stockholm.

My purpose this morning, however, is neither to praise what is admirable nor fall back in mock astonishment at what is dismaying in the European methods we are striving so hard to copy. My purpose is to point out that credits *and* debits exist in any system, in all systems. Turn where you will, and dream as you may, the theater is going to grow thorns as well as rosebuds, and very often the thorns are going to be a necessary complement to the rosebuds. Good and ill come together, Helen of Troy must have had her flaws, anything we put hand to turns out to be a mixed blessing.

NO MAGIC WAND

The important thing is to know this, and not to imagine that heaven hovers somewhere just beyond a big enough endowment or near a greenroom in which all of the actors are *knee-deep in social security*. Such disappointment as we feel whenever a new crisis turns up in Philadelphia or New Haven is due to our having supposed that one last benevolent gesture would do the trick, that a sufficient supply of goodwill would corral perfection forever. We can't imagine serpents in Eden because we are still innocents about the theater: we do expect the good, the true, and the beautiful to flow immediately and without embarrassing interruption from our having made such an effort and having had such good intentions. We've had noble thoughts; why can't playwrights and playhouses, directors and prima donnas, live up to them?

I think that if we tighten our belts a bit against the possibility of not getting an instant full meal, if we agree to acknowledge the fact that every plan devised by mortal man breeds its own form of discontent, if we agree to junk the illusion that the wave of a magic wand will somewhere bring an altogether untroublesome, altogether uncorrupted kind of theater into existence, we'll find ourselves in better shape to deal with the slings and arrows that do seem to impede progress.

When we learn to stop idealizing any one sort of practice, and begin to be tough-minded about the dirty tricks of fate we may expect everywhere, we will not be so discouraged by occasional bulletins from the front. Even when we get what we want, we'll find it in some ways wanting. All right, so be it. Thus armed, we may get on with it. It is the realist, not the idealist, who is able to keep his spirits up.

NEW YORK TIMES BACKS PENSION REFORM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on February 27, 1967, I introduced S. 1103, a bill designed to deal as comprehensively as possible with the various problems which have so far manifested themselves in connection with pension plans. At that time, I pointed out that the administration bill, S. 1024, dealt only with one aspect of the problems, and ignored such important matters as vesting, funding, portability, and reinsurance.

In its lead editorial on March 7, 1967, the New York Times recognized the necessity of affording comprehensive protection to the millions of workers covered by private pension plans, and endorsed S. 1103.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GAPS IN INVESTING

Private pension plans and mutual funds are mushrooming without adequate protection for those who participate in them.

An immense pool of money, amounting to almost $100 billion and growing fast, is accumulating in the private pension programs that cover more than 40 million Americans. The nation's mutual funds have over 3.5 million shareholders and assets of close to $40 billion. Because such huge sums are involved, President Johnson has rightly urged Congress to provide greater safeguards over both mutual funds and pension plans. But his recommendations appear more intent on avoiding controversy than on affording real protection.

In the pension fund area, for example, he simply seeks fuller disclosure and other measures for limiting abuse that are already standard operating procedure in the financial community. Unquestionably, these established rules of good conduct should be applied to pension funds. But, as Senator Jacob Javits has pointed out, they do nothing to guarantee pension rights.

A Presidential Committee on Corporate Pension Funds examined the issue of security benefits in 1965 and made a number of recommendations to secure their strengthening. It proposed that the Treasury set up specific funding requirements for pension funds. It also called for giving beneficiaries a vested interest in their funds and recommended that benefits be made portable from one pension plan to another. In addition, it suggested that it might be feasible to provide reinsurance of pension obligations in much the same way that the Federal Government now insures savings accounts.

Admittedly the committee's proposals aroused opposition in industry. But the millions of workers covered by pension plans are not completely assured of comprehensive protection unless they are provided more adequate funding and vesting. In omitting any mention of the problem, the President has left a potentially dangerous gap.

There are similar dangers in the mutual fund field. While the President stated that the Securities and Exchange Commission's report on mutual funds "provides a sound basis for measures which will be beneficial to the investing public and promote the health and stability of the industry itself," he failed to endorse its specific proposals. His modest show of support might be enough if the mutual fund industry were prepared to compromise, but it has been unwilling to concede that there is a need for either lower costs or greater protection for investors.

So it is up to Congress to explore the areas of controversy and contention. Senator Javits has introduced a bill embodying the proposals of President Johnson's commission to strengthen the position of participants in pension funds. Similar action is needed to protect shareholders in mutual funds. Providing adequate safeguards for these millions of small investors can be accomplished without harm to corporations or the financial community. What is involved is the savings and the security of a majority of Americans. By giving them greater protection, Congress will be bolstering the nation's over-all economic defenses.

THE COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND COORDINATION ACT OF 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, hearings over the past year in both the Executive Reorganization and Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee have made all of us more aware of the existing problems of our federal system. I have for many years recommended a greater use of regional and metropolitanwide planning and am pleased to be a cosponsor of Senator Scott's proposal, the comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967—S. 799. The proposal would make Federal matching funds available for the establishment of regional planning agencies with grants of up to two-thirds of the cost of planning activities of such agencies. In addition after fiscal 1968, any application for Federal assistance by an agency of State government would be accompanied by the comments of the comprehensive planning agency of the State government.

I ask unanimous consent that the recent remarks of Richard Murphy, legislative assistant to Senator Scott, before the National Legislative Conference of County Officials, on February 27, 1967, be placed in the Record at this point. I believe that Mr. Murphy has presented an excellent statement of the problems together with the projected solutions of Senator Scott's proposal.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967

(By Richard W. Murphy, legislative assistant to Senator Hugh Scott)

(Remarks before the County Planning Committee of the National Association of Counties at the First National Legislative Conference of County Officials, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 27, 1967.)

I am honored and pleased to appear before this distinguished group of local government officials. Let me say at the outset of my remarks that you are fortunate to belong to the National Association of Counties. This public interest group, led by its outstanding executive director, Bernie Hillenbrand, and assisted by an able staff which includes my good friend and your legislative representative, C. D. Ward, is increasingly making its presence felt in Washington. We on the Hill know NACO as an effective advocate of the interests of county government.

My topic is S. 799, the Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967, which was introduced on February 2 by Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and is cosponsored by Senators Jacob Javits of New York, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, and Jack Miller of Iowa. It is appropriate that Senator Scott is the author of this legislation, for, as a member of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board, he is actively concerned with the need and importance of planning as a device for coordination. I hope you will agree that Senator Scott's bill is of great significance to local government.

The Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967 tries to cope with the problem of coordination. That problem is a natural consequence of the growth in number, size, variety, and complexity of Federal grants-in-aid that has taken place in recent years. There are 220 of these grants; they are funded under more than 400 separate authorizations and are administered by 21 Federal departments and agencies.

I don't need to tell you how difficult is the problem of coordination at the local level, but I was impressed by this description of the impact of proliferating Federal aids on local government which was given by James L. Martin, NACO's assistant director for Federal relations, in the January issue of *American County Government:* "Only one county in one hundred has a full-time county manager; only 350 counties out of 3,049 have populations over 100,000; and only 39 per cent of the cities over 100,000 population have a full-time mayor. There has been a vast increase in federal activities at the local level; at the same time, local governments are not fully equipped to cope with the situation."

The quest for coordination is not easy, as Harold Seidman, Assistant Director for Management and Organization of the Bureau of the Budget, observed in these comments last summer:

"In ancient times alchemists believed implicitly in the existence of a 'philosopher's stone which would provide the key to the universe and, in effect, solve all the problems of mankind. The quest for coordination is in many respects the twentieth century equivalent of the medieval search for a philosopher's stone. If only we can find the right formula for coordination, we can reconcile the irreconcilable, harmonize competing and wholly divergent interests, overcome the irrationalities in our government structures, and make the hard policy decisions.

"We are prone to forget that coordination is not neutral. To the extent that it results in mutual agreement or a decision on some policy, course of action, or inaction, inevitably it advances some interests at the expense of others, or more than others. It assumes at least some community of interests with respect to basic goals. Without such community of interests, there can be no effective coordination. Coordination contains no more magic than the philosopher's stone. It does contain, however, a good deal of the substance with which the alchemists were concerned—the proper placement and relationship of the elements to achieve a given result."

Notwithstanding the difficulties involved or the obstacles that may be encountered, Senator Scott has embarked on a quest for coordination by sponsoring the Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967. I doubt that the Senator would claim that his bill embodies the "right formula for coordination," but he can justifiably contend that it represents an important step in the right direction.

The purpose of the Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967 is to help State and local governments fashion more effective instruments to coordinate their human, economic, and physical resource development programs, many of which are assisted by Federal grants-in-aid. The bill would accomplish this purpose by providing regular Federal financial assistance, on a matching basis, to comprehensive planning, programming, and coordination agencies of State governments, regional groupings which the bill calls "development districts," and metropolitan areas. A development district is "any multijurisdictional area, including interstate areas, established under State laws, or in the absence of such laws, under a plan approved by the Governor of the State or States, comprising more than one unit of general local government, which area has common or related problems of development requiring cooperative, comprehensive planning and concerted action for the effective solution of such development problems." A metropolitan area, under the terms of the bill, is a development district which usually comprises a standard metropolitan statistical area.

Viewing coordination as an executive responsibility, the bill specifies that the comprehensive planning agencies to be assisted pursuant to its provisions must be, in the case of the States, "generally responsible to the Governor," and, in the case of development districts, "responsible to the elected officials of the unit or units of general local government comprising such development district or metropolitan area."

Generally speaking, Senator Scott's bill authorizes Federal grants to cover up to two-thirds of the costs of planning activities of the recipient agencies. There is a bonus which I shall describe in a few moments. The legislation carries an authorization of $50 million for fiscal 1968 and $75 million for each of the two fiscal years thereafter.

The formula for allocating the funds authorized by this legislation is designed to assure a regular if minimum base of support of the activities of State and metropolitan area comprehensive planning, programming and coordination agencies. Some of my friends on NACO's Washington staff have expressed concern over the apparent ineligibility of rural areas for assistance under this formula. It is true that in allotting a minimum of $50,000 annually to each State comprehensive planning agency and of between $20,000 and $50,000 to each metropolitan area comprehensive planning agency (depending on the area's population), the formula provides no minimum annual allotments for the comprehensive planning agencies of other developement districts. Let me point out, however, that in addition to the foregoing minimum allotments, the formula sets aside 40% of the annual appropriation for distribution among the States on a straight per capita basis and the remainder for additional planning grants to be made at the discretion of the Director of the Office of Comprehensive Development and Emergency Planning, the agency to which administration of the program authorized by the Scott bill is assigned. Thus, while development districts outside the metropolitan areas would not receive funds in the first round, they would be eligible for the ample funds that would still remain in subsequent allocations during a given fiscal year.

Coordination of resource development programs would be achieved under the Scott bill by a review process that goes considerably beyond the scope of the metropolitan area review process mandated by Title II of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. After fiscal 1968, any application for a Federal loan or grant to an agency of State government would be accompanied by the comments of the comprehensive planning agency of the State government. Such comments would relate the activities and plans to be assisted under the loan or grant to State comprehensive development plans and programs. The same review procedure would apply in the case of applications for a Federal loan or grant to an agency of local government within a development district or metropolitan area. In addition, any Federal agency contemplating direct activities that may significantly affect the development of a State, development district, or metropolitan area (e.g., construction of a post office) is to consult with the Governor or the planning agency of the development district or metropolitan area, as the case may be, regarding the relationship of the contemplated activity to the planning program of the State, development district, or metropolitan area, as the case may be.

The most controversial feature of Senator Scott's bill, as far as certain elements of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government are concerned, is Section 4, which places responsibility for administration of the Act in the Executive Office of the President. Senator Scott has long felt that there must be a central focus for coordination of diversified development programs of the Federal Government. Accordingly, his bill would change significantly the functions of the Office of Emergency Planning so that it, under a new name, the Office of Comprehensive Development and Emergency Planning, would administer the Act. The Office of Emergency Planning is strategically situated as an arm of the President and above the line departments and agencies of the Executive Branch. It is equal to and relates to the Council of Economic Advisers and the Bureau of the Budget. Moreover, it has the greatest computer capability of any civilian agency in the Federal Establishment and has performed useful work in the area of economic projections which would be applicable to some of the activities contemplated in the Act. This Office would not have the problem that an operating department faces in trying to coordinate the activities of other departments that are its equals in the President's Cabinet.

Another provision of Senator Scott's bill, while not directly concerned with the problem of coordination, might be of interest to you. Section 10 encourages States and development districts to provide inputs into the Federal planning-programming budgeting system. Those State and development district comprehensive planning agencies which elect to submit to the Director of the Office of Comprehensive Development and Emergency Planning a detailed annual development program are eligible for Federal planning grants of up to three-fourths (instead of two-thirds) of the costs of their planning, programming, and coordination activities. These inputs into the Federal PPBS would permit a more complete assessment of State and local development needs and demands and would improve the ability of the Federal Government to allocate its resources more efficiently.

This, in highlight form, is a summary of the Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967—Senator Hugh Scott's "quest for coordination." The primary purpose of this legislation is to help the States and multijurisdictional groupings of local governments establish appropriate machinery to coordinate their resource development programs. Washington's interest in this undertaking stems from its financial support of most of these programs, its realization of the growing confusion surrounding the existing thicket of Federal grants-in-aid, and its desire to rationalize our Federal aid system and to make it operate with optimum effectiveness.

Before concluding, I want to point out that coordination of Federal grants-in-aid to State and local governments is but one of Senator Scott's current concerns with respect to the functioning of our Federal system. He is also seeking consolidation of existing grants-in-aid into broader functional or block grants through legislation to provide periodic Congressional review of these programs. Finally, to give maximum flexibility to the States and local governments in the administration of Federally aided programs, he has proposed a tax-sharing bill. In all three of these measures, Senator Scott seeks to strength the independence of the States and their political subdivisions and their ability to serve their citizens.

MEDAL OF HONOR PRESENTATION TO LAWRENCE JOEL, SPECIALIST, SIXTH CLASS, U.S. ARMY

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on this day the President of the United States conferred the Nation's highest military award, the Medal of Honor, upon Lawrence Joel, specialist, sixth class, U.S. Army, who distinguished himself by gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on November 8, 1965, while serving as a medical aidman in combat in Vietnam.

North Carolina is very proud of the gallant act which resulted in this North Carolinian being awarded the Nation's highest medal for valor.

On behalf of my colleague, Senator Jordan, and myself, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the citation setting out the gallant act for which the Medal of Honor was awarded to Sp6c. Lawrence Joel be printed in the body of the Record.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Citation

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to Specialist Six Lawrence Joel, United States Army for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Specialist Six Lawrence Joel (then Specialist Five) distinguished himself by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on November 8, 1965 while serving as a Medical Aidman, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion (Airborne), 503d Infantry on a battlefield in the Republic of Vietnam. Specialist Joel demonstrated indomitable courage, determination, and professional skill when a numerically superior and well-concealed Viet Cong element launched a vicious attack which wounded or killed nearly every man in the lead squad of the Company. After treating the men wounded by the initial burst of gun fire, he bravely moved forward to assist others who were wounded while proceeding to their objective. While moving from man to man, he was struck in the right leg by machine gun fire. Although painfully wounded his desire to aid his fellow soldiers transcended all personal feeling. He bandaged his own wound and self administered morphine to deaden the pain enabling him to continue his dangerous undertaking. Throughout this period of time, he constantly shouted words of encouragement to all around him. Then, completely ignoring the warnings of others, and his own pain, he continued his search for wounded exposing himself to hostile fire; and, as bullets dug up the dirt around him, he held plasma bottles high while kneeling completely engrossed in his life saving mission. Then, after being struck a second time and with a bullet lodged in his thigh, he dragged himself over the battlefield and succeeded in treating thirteen more men before his medical supplies ran out. Displaying resourcefulness, he saved the life of one man by placing a plastic bag over a severe chest wound to congeal the blood. As one of the platoons pursued the Viet Cong, an insurgent force in concealed positions opened fire on the platoon and wounded many more soldiers. With a new stock of medical supplies, Specialist Joel again shouted words of encouragement as he crawled through an intense hail of gun fire to the wounded men. After the twenty-four hour battle subsided and the Viet Cong dead numbered four hundred and ten, snipers continued to harass the Company. Throughout the long battle, Specialist Joel never lost sight of his mission as a Medical Aidman and continued to comfort and treat the wounded until his own evacuation was ordered. His meticulous attention to duty saved a large number of lives and his unselfish, daring example under most adverse conditions was an inspiration to all. Specialist Joel's profound concern for his fellow soldiers, his conspicuous gallantry, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty are in the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflect great credit upon himself and the armed forces of his country.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO KEEP DRAFTEES FROM BEING SENT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, tomorrow, as early as possible, I will take the floor to state the reasons I have for proposing, when the draft extension bill comes to the floor of the Senate, an amendment to that bill which would prohibit draftees from being sent to southeast Asia without their consent.

As I will explain, the United States already has sufficient men under arms to obviate the need for using draftees in Vietnam or in southeast Asia without their consent.

NEED TO RESTRICT DAIRY IMPORTS

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, anyone reading the papers or the farm magazines these days can see that the American farmer is up in arms over the low prices he is receiving for working long hours on the farm. The American farm is changing as quickly as the cities of this country, and we are going to have to meet specific problems with specific solutions.

No one bill will solve all the problems of the American farmers. But there is one bill which would do much to help the dairy farmers of America. Forty-three U.S. Senators, including me, have their names on the "Dairy Import Act of 1967" which would solve the No. 1 problem the dairy farmer must face. And this problem of unchecked imports calls for some corrective legislation, and that action is needed as soon as possible.

This act would limit imports to the average butterfat and nonfat milk solids shipped in from 1961 through 1965. This means that importers will be able to continue to ship in dairy products as they have in the past, but a share of the market also will be protected for the American dairy farmer. The bill would allow the President to authorize additional imports if necessary in the national interest. The law would let importing nations share in the domestic market as it grows.

We all know that the dairy farm industry must be kept at a production level high enough to meet the needs of American consumers. The flow of imports—which are evading quotas—are cutting into markets the U.S. dairy farmer has counted on for years, and this is one major reason prices paid dairy farmers are not in line with the rest of the economy.

Sometimes we forget that only 6.5 percent of our population is in farming. With only one farmer feeding 37 persons, most of our work force is available for the production of other products. And in this country we really pay less for better food than do the people of any other country. The average spent for food in this country is 18 percent of the family budget. In Britain it is 29 percent, and in Italy it is 45 percent. American farmers are the most efficient in the world.

It is the same with our dairy industry. Production per cow keeps going up each year. While the number of dairy farms is decreasing, production is about the same. Of course, this is not enough. As our population increases, production is going to have to increase.

Something is going to have to be done for the dairy farmer so that he will get a higher price for his milk.

Passage of the "Dairy Import Act of 1967" would help protect a share of the market for our dairy farmers. This legislation is needed to protect the dairy farmers and allow them to receive a fair price for their milk.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial, entitled "Need To Restrict Dairy Imports," published in the Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger on February 16, 1967, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEED TO RESTRICT DAIRY IMPORTS

Our own Mississippi industry suffers from the growing flood of dairy products being shipped into the United States from other countries, as a result of loopholes in our import laws, seriously threatening the American dairy industry as a whole.

Here are some facts and figures on the inroads of foreign competition against our dairy products industry:

Total imports of dairy products are 12 times as great as the amount authorized under U.S. import quotas;

Imports will rise by 567 per cent—nearly 7 times above 1953—if USDA estimates of dairy products imports for 1967 prove correct;

Three times more dairy products—milk equivalent—have come into the United States in 1966 than was imported in 1965;

In 1966, for the first time, the United States imported more dairy products than were exported.

Such unconscionable levels of import have been possible because of easily circumvented import restrictions. By changing the name or slightly altering the contents of dairy products, importers have been able to successfully evade existing import protections.

It should be pointed out that most dairy products and derivatives shipped into the United States are cheaper because of subsidies available to foreign importers and lower world prices.

Dick Braun, writing in the February issue of Farm Journal magazine, points out:

"There is even evidence that some Common Market countries are buying our butter at 26 cents a lb., adding sugar to it, and shipping it back here as ice cream mix at 45 cents a lb. Their butter costs 6 cents to 8 cents delivered here because some countries pay shippers an export subsidy."

The National Milk Producers Federation has found the Common Market countries' minimum import prices for butter range from a low of 70 cents per pound in the Netherlands to 94 cents per pound in Belgium and Luxembourg. Such prices are maintained by import levies. These same nations export butter at prices as low as 20 cents per pound.

Such unfair competition harms the American dairy industry, and the situation demands additional restrictions on foreign imports without further delay, if our own producers and processors are to stay in business with a reasonable margin of profit.

THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, page 413 of the budget for fiscal year 1968 merits special attention. It underscores the fact that Federal spending in fiscal 1968 will cross the $200 billion mark for the first time in U.S. history.

The table shows expenditures on a checks-issued basis for all Government-administered funds except deposit funds.

As the budget indicates, the increase of nearly $46 billion from 1966 to 1968 is largely for two functions—about $18 billion for national defense—in part due to the buildup relating to Vietnam—and slightly over $13 billion for health, labor, and welfare, mostly due to health service for the aged and the increased expenditures from social-economic trust funds.

An article discussing Federal spending amounts not generally appreciated by the public appears in the February 25 issue of Business Week, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD along with page 413 from the budget.

There being no objection, the article and tabulation were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE B-9.—*Gross expenditures of Government-administered funds*

[In millions of dollars]

Function	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate
National defense	60,570	73,555	79,089
International affairs and finance	5,340	5,889	6,763
Space research and technology	5,934	5,612	5,316
Agriculture and agricultural resources	16,523	19,215	19,463
Natural resources	3,580	3,778	4,085
Commerce and transportation	12,382	13,229	13,900
Housing and community development	4,953	5,894	6,037
Health, labor, and welfare	32,689	38,929	46,241
Education	2,792	4,065	4,683
Veterans benefits and services	7,026	7,877	8,129
Interest	10,224	11,241	11,468
General government	2,606	2,773	2,899
Undistributed—Special allowances	--------	100	2,150
Total	164,619	192,156	210,222
The total is derived as follows:			
Administrative budget expenditures (table 14)	106,978	126,729	135,033
Trust fund expenditures (tables 14 and B-4):			
Total of such transactions	34,864	40,882	44,507
Elimination of deposit funds included in total	520	159	122
Intragovernmental transactions (table A-4):			
Trust fund payments to the administrative budget	−120	−124	−116
Administrative budget payments to trust funds	−3,239	−4,900	−5,204
Receipts from the public netted in conventional totals:			
Receipts of public enterprise funds (table B-1)	16,580	18,638	21,442
Receipts of trust revolving funds (table B-5)	850	1,168	1,939
Reimbursements to appropriations and intragovernmental funds (table B-8)	2,302	2,418	2,624
Substitution of annexed budgets:			
Gross expenditures of annexed budgets (table B-7)	8,068	9,411	10,517
Elimination of net expenditures of Government-sponsored enterprises (included in table B-4)	−2,184	−2,224	−642
Total	164,619	192,156	210,222

ECONOMICS $40 BILLION THE BUDGET LEAVES OUT

(Tucked away in the federal budget, it's spending that few people know about.)

It would take some fancy bookkeeping to make General Electric Co., a $7-billion operation, look like, say, a $500-million operation. But Washintgon has been pulling a similar trick with the Post Office Dept. for years—with no protests from the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, and only a few adverse comments from unorganized economists.

Just how far Washington's accounting magic is carried can be seen by turning to last month's 478-page budget message. Not until page 413 is it revealed that federal spending will in fiscal 1968 cross the $200-billion line for the first time in U.S. history.

In fact, gross federal expenditures are expected to come to $210.2-billion—almost

$40-billion above the cash budget—which is the biggest spending total given for the federal government in any of the traditional budgets. (They are the cash, national income accounts, and administrative budgets.)

The tipoff. If the $200-billion landmark had been reached four years ago, it could have been found out only by someone who went through the budget page-by-page to add up the spending totals. It was only after Congress' Joint Economic Committee pointed out in 1962 how much spending was hidden in the official total that the Bureau of the Budget started doing the necessary calculations itself, and reporting a total for gross expenditures. Needless to say, though the bureau now publishes the gross expenditure figure, it does not publicize it.

An instructive example of the government's bookkeeping is the Post Office, which in fiscal 1968 will spend some $6.7-billion. Yet, as far as the budget is concerned, Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien will have at his command only his deficit—$544-million. Ironically enough, he will have more than that to work with only if Congress fails to approve President Johnson's proposed postal rate increase.

Curious counting. The paradox stems from the fact that money from the sale of stamps is subtracted from government spending rather than being added to receipts. So it is operating deficits, not outlays, that count as federal expenditures. In the same category are close to a hundred other "public enterprises" and related government activities, whose spending approaches the $40-billion mark.

There's perhaps more logic than there are shenanigans in this process. Obviously, the money that a college student spends to buy a stamp for a letter home should not be counted as a tax, and his parents should not be considered the beneficiaries of Washington's largesse. There is managerial sense and a good bit of discipline in a budget system that shows clearly whether government operations that are patterned along business lines are paying their own way.

Nevertheless, it means that none of the three budgets that Washington publicizes is telling the whole story about the size of government.

The federal role. Because the deficits and surpluses of the public enterprises are put into the budget, the current system does not distort the most closely watched budget figures—total deficit or surplus. But the system now in use does obscure the true role of the federal government.

The gross budget gives a picture of where Washington is putting its emphasis that is significantly different from the cash budget. For instance, the cash budget says that the federal government intends to spend $4.1-billion on "agriculture and agricultural resources." This figure hides most of the complex operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation. The actual outlays will be more than four times as much: $19.5-billion.

Similarly, federal spending on housing will be three times the officially reported $1.8-billion; commerce and transportation activities will be double the cash budget's $6.9-billion; and spending for education will be $4.9-billion, not the $2.7-billion the cash budget sets down.

Doubtful arithmetic. Most of the difference comes from the activities of "public enterprises." In fiscal 1968, these subsurface operations will write checks to the public for some $28.7-billion and be charged on the official books with only $6.3-billion.

The Post Office and the Dept. of Agriculture account for most of the public enterprise spending—though the new Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, with gross expenditures of $5.5-billion in fiscal 1968, is breathing down their necks. But tucked away in the budget of nearly every department are operations that are largely self-financing.

The Food & Drug Administration has, for example, a revolving fund that applies drug-licensing fees to its investigative operations. The Dept. of Labor has a "farm labor supply revolving fund." The Pentagon owns the record for inconsequence: The laundry service at the U.S. Naval Academy is run as a separate public enterprise and reports every quarter to the Dept. of the Treasury.

Two years ago, when the Johnson Administration decided to help the balance of payments by selling U.S. arms to foreign governments, the operation was set up as a public enterprise known as the "foreign military sales fund." It will entirely disappear from the budget next year when receipts fully match expenditures.

Map-selling sideline. But it doesn't always take public enterprise status to get a source of funds that can be used to offset budget expenditures. There are separate accounts scattered all over Washington for agencies that sell things to the public and keep the proceeds for themselves rather than turning them over to the Treasury. One example is the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which has a profitable sideline of selling maps. Another is the Atomic Energy Commission, which sells and rents fuel for private reactors.

And there are some government operations that don't figure in the budget at all. The gross expenditure figure includes $10.1-billion for the so-called "annexed" budget's seven government operations. They include the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Co., and the Milk Marketing Administration, none of which ever has to go to Congress for funds.

The long-term result of all of this is a growing divergence between the official figures and what Washington actually spends. In 1963, the first year in which the gross expenditure figures were published, the difference between the cash budget and the gross budget was $24.6-billion. In 1968, it will be $37.8-billion. Because public enterprises are proliferating, the difference will be even wider in the future.

The government will spend much more than appears in the big cash budget because it understates the true expenditures of "public enterprises":

[In millions of dollars]

Some examples	Fiscal 1968	
	Estimated expenditures	Figure that appears in cash budget
Commodity Credit Corporation	7,475	+1,829
Export-Import Bank	1,720	−365
Farmers Home Administration	1,879	−671
Federal Housing Administration	1,006	+8
Federal National Mortgage Association	2,421	−127
Post Office	6,699	+544
Tennessee Valley Authority	503	+111

And does not include some key expenditures in the budget:

Estimated fiscal 1968 expenditures

[In millions of dollars]

Some examples:

Federal intermediate credit banks	8,091
Banks for cooperatives	2,366
Comptroller of the Currency	23

Data: Budget Bureau.

REDUCTION OF TRADE RESTRICTIONS ON OUR AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO THE COMMON MARKET

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 expires on June 30.

It is known that this Kennedy round of negotiations in Geneva—negotiations vitally affecting our industries and our farmers—have not progressed very well.

There have been reports that we may back down in certain areas, such as our insistence that trade restrictions on our agricultural exports to the Common Market be substantially reduced before we made concessions on imports of their manufactured goods.

It is my fear—hopefully I will be proven to be wrong—that concessions will be made at the expense of our farmers.

As I said, I hope I will be proven to be wrong but rumors persist that the American farmer will be sold short.

In the March issue of the Farm Journal, editor Carroll P. Streeter has sized up the situation. It is not an optimistic report.

I think his article and the accompanying editorial merit the scrutiny of Senators, and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Farm Journal, March 1967]

HOW BIG A MARKET FOR YOU IN EUROPE?—THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WILL TELL

(By Carroll P. Streeter)

Watch what happens between now and midnight June 30, for in that period the future of your big cash market in Central Europe will be decided for the next several years.

The six nations of the Common Market (Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy) are your biggest dollar customer abroad—*$1.6 billion worth a year.*

This big market is right now up for grabs, with the Europeans trying to take more of it for themselves and we striving not only to hold our share but increase it.

The battle, which Farm Journal has reported by sending editors to Europe four times since 1960, has been growing in intensity. It will come to a climax in the GATT negotiations [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] in Geneva, Switzerland, between now and June 30. That's when our Trade Act expires. That will mark the end of the "Kennedy Round."

To see what our prospects are, I've just taken a swing around Central Europe, including Geneva, and here's what I found:

Three amazing things are due to happen over there July 1, no matter what happens before—*and each will affect you:*

1. On that day the Common Market will put into operation Common Agricultural Prices for farmers in all six nations on 90% of their commodities (with the rest to follow by 1968). Imagine it:

French farmers will suddenly see their prices go up 10% while German farmers will swallow hard and take 10% to 15% less. As a group *prices will shoot up 7% to 30%,* depending upon the commodity and the country.

2. On that day all tariff barriers between the six will vanish. Here are countries that have been at war with each other twice in the last half century. Each has been trying with every protective device known to man to shield its own food supply and its farmers. From here on there'll be one food supply, not six, which should help preserve peace among former enemies.

Farmers of these nations will suddenly be exposed to one another competitively. Apple growers in Italy will ruin some German fruit growers. Dutch poultrymen will put some chicken raisers in France out of business. The adjustments will be excruciating, but they'll be bravely made in an attempt to be "European."

Meanwhile these nations will buy more from each other, less from us.

At the same time tariff walls against our products will be raised to protect the higher prices just established within. We don't belong to the "club." Nor are these ordinary tariffs. Normally tariffs are fixed amounts, tacked on to world prices. If world prices go low enough, the combination can be climbed over.

The Common Market has thought up an ingenious device known as "variable levies." Figured daily on grains, they are the difference between the world price and the Community's Common Agricultural Price. They vary, all right, as much as necessary on any given day; but the level of protection always ends up the same, and it's high.

No matter how much more cheaply we can produce, we have no competitive advantage. And of course that's the idea. The farmers of Europe on their small acreages are no match for us in production costs, even though they often get higher yields per acre.

As one European farm leader put it to me quite bluntly: "We don't intend to let your rich American farmers run our little farmers out of business. You have your farm policy; this is ours."

We have been urging the Community to adopt relatively low Common Agricultural Prices, both for their sake and ours. Theirs because high prices merely perpetuate an inefficient agriculture, bring on high food costs, then high labor costs and inflation. Ours because high prices stimulate more farm production over there, making it harder for us to sell.

We've urged lower tariffs and said we'd lower ours. That's what the Kennedy Round is all about. But here the Europeans are approaching this great meeting for liberalizing trade with tariffs they have just put higher!

Up to now we've done well selling them our farm stuff, except for poultry and wheat, despite the fact that variable levies have been in effect since 1962 on several of our major commodities. Since 1960 we've increased our farm exports there by 42%. In 1965–66 they were 16% better than a year earlier.

Europe has been booming since our Marshall Plan helped put it on its feet (although it is in something of a slump now). People there have been eating more meat and other protein foods. Although western Europe's farm production has risen, demand for food has risen faster.

Consequently we've had a fast-growing market, especially for feedstuffs. Feed grains have been the top performer, with soybeans second (there's no tariff against them because Europe can't raise its own).

Feed grains and soybeans will continue to be our best sellers. Europe will raise most of her own poultry and livestock, but if her people can continue to increase their meat eating, as they want to, she will never raise enough feed. She doesn't have the land for it.

Wheat is another story. The Common Market is not only self-sufficient in soft wheat, she is dumping great quantities on world markets, in competition with us, by paying a whooping export subsidy of $1.35 a bushel. (Our own export subsidy on wheat is around 5¢.)

Europe has to buy durums and hard wheats to blend with her own, but they get most of the latter from Canada because the Canadian wheats are "stronger" in protein. Consequently our wheat sales to Europe are slipping and doubtless will continue to decline.

Poultry furnishes the classic example of what can happen when prices and tariffs are hiked too high. You may remember the "chicken war" of 1962—which we lost decisively. Tariffs against our broilers were then around 5 cents a pound, and we had a growing business of $59 million a year. Then the Community decided *they'd* raise the chickens, so they hiked the tariff to 13 cents, and by 1964 got it up to 18 cents.

We retaliated by raising our tariffs on brandy, trucks and starches. Nevertheless all this killed our broiler market, as intended, although we still sell some chicken parts and turkey. But it did something else. The Europeans, particularly the Dutch, went head-over-heels into broilers.

The little farmers of Brittany in northern France, hard-pressed to make a living with grain, envisioned chickens as their salvation. They sat back awaiting happy days.

But alas! The Community was presently flooded with chicken, and started dumping it abroad, of course with an export subsidy, which demoralized our market in Switzerland and Austria.

Before long prices had fallen to 15 cents a pound.

The enraged farmers of Brittany descended on the town of Morlaix by busloads. They attacked the town hall, bashed in the door with a battering ram, threw chicken manure and dead chickens around. Not until three riot squads of police reached the scene with tear gas was the town square cleared.

What are our prospects after July? That depends on whom you ask. The Europeans I talked to quite naturally assured me we have nothing to fear. They had three arguments:

1. While the Community will raise more food under the stimulus of higher prices, it can't raise a lot more. Livestock yes, but not grain. There will be some increase in yield per acre, but all the good acres in northern France (the best farming region in Europe) are already producing full blast, they say.

2. Unless Europe has a depression, growing demand will sop up increasing supplies and then some. So far that's been the truth, but the new high prices aren't yet in effect.

3. Farmers' costs will go up right along with their prices, taking much of the incentive out of farming harder. Their costs have been going up, all right, but prices will surely leap ahead of them this summer.

Our agricultural representatives over there are worried.

"Every commodity we ship to Europe, except cotton and soybeans, will be hurt—not just by higher local production but by the higher tariffs against us," says one of our most experienced observers over there. Actually, even cotton and soybeans may feel some competition from African vegetable oils. The Community now has two associate members, Turkey and Greece, and preferential trading agreements with 16 African nations.

French farmers can put marginal land under the plow for barley and corn when the price is right. She had more land in cultivation in World War I than she has now. French plant breeders have developed corn that does well as far north as Paris. With better prices, more of southwest France could be irrigated.

See what we are up against in Germany:

As of last Oct. 25, our No. 3 yellow corn brought $1.75 a bushel, freight paid, at the German border. We paid a levy of $1.15 a bushel to get it in. This plus a few other costs made the total price $2.96.

French corn of equivalent grade was $2.60 at the border, paid only 23¢ duty, had a total price of $2.89. So the French got 85¢ more at the border than we did, but undersold us by 7¢ in Germany!

And that was last October. Come July they won't pay their 23¢ duty while ours will be higher. Who do you think will get the business?

Our only hope is that demand in Germany will boom so much that the French can't supply all of it, no matter how had they try. Barring a recession, that's likely to happen.

This much is sure, though: However much we manage to sell, we'd sell more if the prices and levies over there hadn't been put so high. It is small comfort to be told our share of the market won't *shrink* when the whole market is growing. We want growth, not the status quo.

The ironic thing is that it is we who are paying in large part, both for the stimulus within the Community and the export subsidies with which it dumps its stuff elsewhere. We're financing our own competition through the levies we pay!

The Community, already gigantic, will doubtless expand in the next few years to include Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia and other countries around the edges, which will make access the more important for us.

What can we do about it?

Well, at the moment our only hope lies in the GATT negotiations in Geneva. We'd like to have the Community lower its Common Agricultural Prices and variable levies.

It looks as though we had surrendered on that front; instead we are now trying to get an International Grains Agreement. In that we are asking a firm percentage of the farm market over there, thus assuring us a share of growth, with a firm commitment of help in feeding the world's hungry nations.

The Community's proposed agreement has so many loopholes as to be meaningless. Prospects are dim for one we could accept unless we retreat. What the State Dept. will do we'll have to wait to see. Fortunately the U.S. Senate must ratify any agreement of this sort.

There's only one way, probably, we can get even a reasonably good farm deal: We can refuse to reduce our tariffs on the industrial goods Europe wants to sell here, unless she reduces hers on our farm stuff.

We'd better stick to it or we could be traded out of our shoes.

[From the Farm Journal, March 1967]

Poker Game

The other day we visited the room in the Palace of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, where the biggest poker game of recent times is about to be played—with your grain market as the chips.

It's the Kennedy Round of the GATT negotiations (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) where the nations are trading "offers"—"we'll reduce this tariff if you'll reduce that." It's a game where tough traders are determined not to give away more than they get, and not that much if possible. There's a deadline of June 30, and the traders are now "eye ball to eye ball."

While there's intense bargaining on everything, agriculture is the chief sticking point. Our Trade Act binds our negotiators not to concede more on our industrial tariffs than the Common Market concedes on agricultural tariffs. This is not just in farmers' behalf, either; it's for the sake of our trade balance. Our farm products now constitute one-fifth of all U.S. exports.

The Common Market got ready for all this by jacking up its agricultural tariffs before it got to Geneva, to put itself into a strong bargaining position.

We want those tariffs lowered, to which the Common Market replies, "No chance." So now we are resorting to an international grain agreement. We are seeking one that would (1) guarantee us "access" to at least as much of the European market as we've had, (2) provide that we share in any growth of it, (3) establish a range of world grain prices and (4) get a firm commitment from the Common Market to help us feed the hungry nations.

The Common Market offers us a loose sort of agreement that falls so far short of this as to be ridiculous. It proffers all the rest of the world, *including* us, 10% of their food market (as compared with 14% now) and there's nothing in the offer, so far, to guarantee even that.

We doubt the value to us of such an agreement in the first place. Second we doubt that we can come out with a "good" one according to our standards, although it is too early to say.

In the first place, international commodity agreements aren't meant to favor efficient producers like us who, in a competitive market, could take more of the marbles. They are meant to protect the inefficient. The idea is to parcel out the market in "shares," with everybody's share safe and secure and not exposed to competition. That's what the Europeans, most of whom are socialists in some degree, call "stabilizing" markets and making them "orderly." Actually it's a cartel.

Second, such agreements aren't kept; as soon as they get uncomfortable for somebody, they are ignored.

Third, they can be a way of legislating U.S. farm policy by way of Geneva. There's a feature in the proposed agreement—suggested by the United States—which illustrates what we mean. It is a proposal to raise the world price of wheat 40 cents a bushel. That would put it above the market.

What would that do? It would hold a price umbrella over less efficient nations encouraging them to go heavier into wheat. It would cut world demand for wheat. And when the price got so high the market couldn't decide who was to make the sale the sellers would have to decide it among themselves. We'd get a "share," and that would be it. To live within such a share we'd have to adopt "appropriate" policies, like acreage control, unless we were willing to give away unlimited amounts or store up surpluses again.

We could guarantee "access" another way, if we'd be tough enough: We could withhold tariff concessions on industrial goods until Europe got tired of it. As for food aid, we prefer President Johnson's idea of getting countries to coopertae through the World Bank, furnishing surplus grain if they had it, cash if they didn't.

The truth is, the fate of the Kennedy Round depends in considerable measure on whether there *is* a grain deal. And the danger is that we may be so anxious to see the GATT negotiations come to something substantial that we make a face-saving deal on grain, at the expense of farmers rather than in their long-range interests.

Unless we can bargain for tariff reductions, not a "share" in a cartel, we might better come home June 30 and await another day. We doubt that anything catastrophic would happen in the meantime.

THE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, has for a number of years been both one of the foremost and most forceful of spokesmen for those who approve a clear, cold look at the dangerous and complex Sino-Soviet relationship and its possible effects upon the United States.

General Hittle, who is Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a syndicated columnist of the Copley News Service, recently published two articles on this critical issue, articles which I believe deserve widespread reading and the most thoughtful consideration by every American.

General Hittle was among the very first, if not, in fact, the first, to indicate that the present turmoil in China might very well have as its basis the growing breach between Red China and Red Russia. Circumstances and developments in recent weeks appear clearly to prove the wisdom and value of this conviction.

Mr. President, I ask that the text of these two articles by General Hittle to which I have referred be included in the body of the Record following these remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the San Diego Union, Jan. 22, 1967]

Pro-Russians Purged?—Sino-Soviet Split May Be Behind Turmoil in China

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

Washington.—Much mystery hangs over the Red China mainland. However, the big question mark over all the clash and clamor is the Kremlin.

Somewhere in the background of the bizarre events shaking Mao Tse-tung's hold on what could be a tottering regime is the basic issue of Peking-Moscow relationships. It is too early in the power play to see Russia's role clearly and fully, yet there are clues that strongly support the speculation that the Sino-Soviet rift is an important factor in the incipient civil war on the China mainland.

PUTTING THE PUZZLE TOGETHER

This is the way these pieces in the Red Chinese jigsaw puzzle seem to fit into place:

Struggle for power is a traditional and inherent characteristic of the Communist system. This has been the case from the early days of the Communist movement in the Soviet Union. There were the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. Then came the Trotskyites and the Stalinists, followed by the purges, power-grabs and assassinations since Josef Stalin's death.

Because the Communist system is inescapably totalitarian and dictatorial, it cannot tolerate division of authority. This principle applies to communism nationally. It also applies to international communism.

This is why, in spite of superficial issues overemphasized in the West, the struggle for leadership of the world Communist camp is so fundamental to the Red Chinese-Russian feud.

DETERMINED TO BE RED BOSS

Mao, as the self-appointed successor to Stalin, was determined to wear the mantle of boss of the world Communist movement. Regardless of the squabbling in the Kremlin after Stalin's death, Moscow had no intention of letting Mao get away with the power-grab.

With much astuteness, the Kremlin went about the job of isolating Red China. One of the principal weapons of the Kremlin was its industry. Although hard up for many products at home, Russia delivered the goods in terms of military and economic assistance to Communist regimes around the world.

Red Chinese agents preached and promised but could not deliver like the Kremlin.

The 23rd Communist Congress in Moscow, in March, 1966, had far more significance than was realized generally in this country and Europe.

The Communist countries attending and supporting the Soviet Union, rather than sticking with Mao, demonstrated that Red China was a veritable outcast of the Communist camp.

BREZHNEV TOOK TOLERANT VIEW

Contrary to expectations, the Kremlin did not read Peking out of the international system. In fact, the manner in which First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev handled the Red China rift surprised many.

He seemed to take a tolerant view of Mao's mischievousness. His attitude was almost casual as he prophesied the reestablishment of friendly relations with Communist China.

Was he saying, in effect, that there was a strong faction in the Red Chinese hierarchy that, with Mao's passing, would restore Russian-Red Chinese cooperation? That could have been what the Peking hotheads thought.

The purge and turmoil soon began.

COULD HAVE TRIGGERED TEMPEST

Brezhnev's lightly veiled boast could well have helped trigger the tempest engulfing Mao's realm, bringing Red China to the brink of civil war.

Whether a Russian reapproachment faction does exist in Red China, as Brezhnev hinted, is not as important as the fact that Mao apparently took the hint and is hooked on a potentially disastrous purge.

If it does turn out that such a faction does not exist, Brezhnev's suggestion that it does, would be, figuratively, one of the biggest and most effective "red herrings" in the whole smelly history of Communist intrigue.

[From the San Diego Union, Jan. 23, 1967]

Military Tie Is Suspect—Russia Clue to Peking Trouble

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

Washington.—There are more clues that Russian-Red Chinese relations are an underlying factor in Mao Tse-tung's purge.

What is involved is the increasing number of high Red Chinese economic and military officials being made targets of Mao's rampaging Red Guard.

It is precisely this element of the Communist Chinese hierarchy which could have cautioned against widening the rift with Russia to the point of an open, irreconcilable break.

Take for instance the recently reported Red Guard arrest of Gen. Peng Teh-huai. Peng was no routine casualty of the purge. He was commander in chief of Red Chinese military forces in the Korean War. Later he moved up the Communist power structure to defense minister and also vice premier of Red China.

PRIME SUSPECT

If Mao's clique believes, as frantic political maneuvering indicates it does, that there is a faction in the Communist Chinese hierarchy that favors at least a working reconciliation with Moscow, then Peng would be a prime suspect.

As former commander of the Red Chinese forces in Korea, he has a background of working with the Soviet Union. Mao's army in Korea was essentially a Russian-equipped army. These were the days when Stalin was giving, and Mao was taking, huge amounts of military assistance.

Thus, the logistic support of Mao's aggression against Korea depended on close and continuing command and staff coordination between the Russians and Red China.

Peng, as Mao's field commander could not have avoided learning his lesson of how much the Red Chinese military machine depended on Russian supplies.

HEAVY EQUIPMENT

The reason is simple: The military equipment of the Communist Chinese army was largely Russian. This was particularly so in tanks, trucks, heavy weapons, and complicated electronic items.

Peking, since the Korean War, has made extreme efforts to develop a self-sufficient armaments industry. Again, however, Mao's accomplishments do not match the goals.

Intelligence reports from Asian sources

are that Russian-made vehicles, and heavy and complicated equipment, still are widely used in the Communist Chinese army. This material is getting old. It also is wearing out.

SUPPLIES CUT

Russia reportedly has cut the flow of critical military spare parts to a trickle.... It is not enough to keep the Red Chinese army in repair. It is enough to be a constant reminder to the military commanders that the solution to their logistic repair problem depends on getting along with the Soviet Union.

Little wonder, then, that Mao's firebrands could suspect that Peng, who worked so closely with the Russians, might be harboring hopes for reestablishing Russian logistic support of Red China's critical military equipment.

The Red Guard fear may be well justified that some army commanders feel the loss of Russian logistic support is too high a price to pay for Mao's continued posing as Stalin's successor. This may help explain the hesitancy, or inability, of Mao and Lin Piao to bring the full power of the army to bear against their opposition.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, along the same line of thought is a letter from Missionary Carl Blanford, who vividly describes his firsthand impressions of Communist China in support of the theory presented by General Hittle. I think Mr. Blanford's comments will add to our total knowledge of the situation in Communist China, and thus I ask unanimous consent to have his letter reprinted in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Sapan Luang Chinese Church,
Bangkok, Thailand, January 13, 1967.

Dear Carl: Thank you for your letter of Jan. 1st, with good news about progress in the Yuma Church, and in an active witness in your community.

You ask about my opinions regarding the Vietnam situation. I think our government is doing the right thing in accepting the South Vietnam government's request for military aid against the Communist attacks. I deplore those in our country who would let the reds have a free hand in this part of the world. Firmness on the part of the U.S. has a great influence on weakening the communist power and influence. I think our firm stand in Vietnam was one of the factors that helped the Indonesian people oust the reds in their land. It is unbelievable the complete changeover that has taken place in Indonesia, and shows the deep hatred of people for the oppression of thought and action brought upon them by communist propaganda and police state methods. I think our pressure on the reds in Vietnam is also responsible in part for the breaking apart of unity within Red China itself. If we just let them take over these Southeast Asian countries as they planned to do, they would have more unity and less bickering among themselves.

I spent nine months under the Chinese Communists, and have come to hate their ideas and their methods. They cannot offer progress and hope to our world. I think hope for the bettering of the life of people lies in a more free society that offers better educational and economic opportunities to its people. How can a society progress when you systematically kill off all those who have the brains, ability and training to bring progress about. It seems to me that revolution can only be destructive, it can never bring about constructive improvement in society. (Especially in Communist forms.)

I think those who are shouting about bombing of civilians in North Vietnam don't realize the true situation. In the first place, I have seen Communist armies living in schools and hospitals, and also in the homes of the populace. They cannot be destroyed without damage to the places where they are living, and without loss to the people around them. In the U.S. we separate military and civilian operations, but there is no such separation among the Asian communists. In the second place the Communists have killed many more civilians in South Vietnam maliciously than the U.S. planes have killed in North Vietnam by mistake.

War is a terrible thing, but the results of not stopping the reds would be even more terrible.

Our family moved to a new home on the campus of the Chiao Kwang Christian School last week. This is the new school being built by the members of the Sapan Luang Church. Construction on a 27-room classroom building will be finished in two more months, and we take in our first classes in May. Total cost will run about $175,000. So far we have raised about $125,000 here in Bangkok. We have requested help from the United Presbyterian Commission, but haven't had any answer as to whether or not they can help. We asked for $40,000. God has blessed this project, and we are certain that He will provide, if not through the Presbyterian Commission, then by some other means. This school will accommodate about 1,000 students in grades 5 to 10.

Please give my greetings to all our friends in Yuma. Our next furlough comes in the summer of 1968, and hope to see you then.

Yours in Him,

Carl Blanford.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT—COMPLIMENT TO SENATOR MONRONEY

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, never, since I became a Member of the Senate have I heard so many compliments paid to one Senator as I have heard in recent days concerning my distinguished senior colleague from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney] on his outstanding work in connection with the Monroney-Madden legislative reorganization bill.

Both on the floor of the Senate and privately, Senators have expressed their admiration for the expert knowledge, diligence, and patience that he has exhibited in the preparation and handling of this important legislation.

I fully agree with the lead editorial, entitled "Salute to Monroney," published in the Washington Post of Thursday, March 9, 1967, in which it is stated:

> Since he was also joint author of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946, he has earned the distinction of having contributed more than any other living person to the smooth operation of Congress.

The editorial further points out that the Senate by an overwhelming, 8-to-1 vote passed the bill. I might add that it is a tribute to Senator Monroney's legislative ability that only three amendments were adopted out of 31 rollcalls, so the bill has been sent to the House in virtually the same form in which it was reported by the Monroney committee.

Mr. President, Congress must be as modern and efficient as possible in its work if it is to remain a branch coequal with the executive department.

The senior Senator from Oklahoma is entitled to great credit from us and from the citizens of this country whom we represent for his outstanding work toward this goal.

I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post editorial be printed in the Record.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the Senate acted wisely in passing the Legislative Reorganization Act on Tuesday of this week. I deeply regret that a promise made last year to participate in a conservation conference for the Northwest at Wenatchee, Wash., prevented my being present to vote on final passage. Had I been here, I would have voted for the bill.

The measure has been received in the House of Representatives, where the distinguished gentleman from Indiana, Hon. Ray J. Madden, will lead the drive for passage. His great ability and the confidence in which he is held by Members assure his success.

Mr. President, the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, of which I was privileged to be a member, labored long and diligently to prepare the measure that has now received the overwhelming approval of the Senate. In its deliberations, the committee was uncommonly fortunate in its leadership. Possessed of unusual qualities of experience, knowledge, and skill, the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney] brought to bear yet another unusual attribute—patience.

Senators have seen in the last several weeks during his splendid management of S. 355 the depth of Senator Monroney's knowledge of every facet of the legislation. They have seen him demonstrate an impartiality and a willingness to cooperate with all points of view, wherever compromise did not do violence to the fundamental reforms of the bill, persuading where he could not yield and, by his forbearance, saving virtually intact the second legislative reform measure considered by Congress in this century.

Mr. President, I echo the summation of the Washington Post editorial writer who said this morning:

> Since he (Senator Monroney) was also joint author of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 he has earned the distinction of having contributed more than any other living person to the smooth operation of Congress.

Mr. President, Senator Monroney's leadership was superb, and I am proud to have beeen associated with this great effort.

I join in the unanimous-consent request of the distingiushed junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris] that the editorial be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent requests of the Senator from Oklahoma and the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 9, 1967]

SALUTE TO MONRONEY!

It has been customary to speak of the Monroney-Madden bill as a conglomeration of minor congressional reforms. The description is accurate in the sense that it does not touch filibustering or the major leadership problems of the two houses. But the passage through the Senate of a bill which overhauls the lobbying law, sweeps out political postmasters, upgrades staff, opens hearings to the public, reforms the Capitol page system and provides a summer vacation for Congress is no minor achievement.

The improvement of the Lobbying Act is itself a highly significant reform. Under the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law, the number of persons registering as lobbyists has sharply diminished. The new version will require individuals and associations who are paid to influence legislation to identify themselves if lobbying is a "substantial purpose." At present they do not need to operate in the open unless lobbying is their "principal purpose." Senator Monroney may have been too optimistic when he estimated that the new bill would place 90 per cent of the paid lobbyists on record in contrast to the current 10 per cent; nevertheless, the improvement should be substantial, and administration of the law by the Comptroller General will enhance its effectiveness.

The elimination of Senate confirmation of postmasters and House control over rural carriers in favor of merit appointments wholly within the Post Office Department is likewise a reform of major proportions. This relinquishment of the traditional patronage plum was sold to the Senate as a means of freeing itself from "time-consuming activities," but it might even help the Post Office to reduce its colossal deficit.

The "bill of rights" for committees should curtail the power of arbitrary chairmen and permit a majority of the members to function in more democratic fashion. An increased flow of information through the Legislative Reference Service, improved fiscal studies, review specialists and legislative assistants should improve the efficiency of Congress. Certainly it makes sense too for Congress to take a vacation in August, unless the country is in a declared war, even if it must return in the fall to finish its work. And a special bit of applause is in order for the move toward a professional Capitol Police Force and for free guide service on Capitol Hill.

Some of Senator Monroney's colleagues were impatient because he insisted on holding his reform package to the original proposals which had been carefully studied by the Joint Committee. The outcome shows that he was wise in clinging to his limited purpose. Since he was also joint author of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 he has earned the distinction of having contributed more than any other living person to the smooth operation of Congress. The House ought to duplicate the Senate's 8-to-1 vote for the Monroney-Madden package at the first opportunity.

THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HARTFORD TIMES

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, few newspapers equal and none surpass the Hartford Times in honorable and continuous service to the general public.

It has given Connecticut 150 years of fair, reliable, often exciting, and always challenging news coverage.

I know we can expect at least another 150 years of equally high quality service by the Hartford Times.

As a life-long resident of Connecticut and a daily reader of this newspaper, I congratulate the owners and the staff of the Times on their 150th anniversary.

REDUCTIONS IN PROGRAMS UNDER TITLE I OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in the last several days I have received many letters from school administrators throughout the State of Wyoming in reference to reductions which have been made in their programs under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I have called this situation to the attention of the Commissioner of Education; however, I would also like to bring it to the attention of the Members of this body since I feel this situation is of concern to all of us.

That the case of our Wyoming schools is not unique. I am certain a similar situation apparently exists in school systems throughout the entire country. During the first year of the operation of these programs adequate funds were made available and activities under title I were conducted in a most satisfactory manner. In planning for its second year of operation, my Wyoming school administrators were advised that there would probably be some reduction in the funds, but they could plan on being funded at 90 percent of the first year level. Unfortunately, at this time I do not know specifically who made such representations or in what capacity any such individual acted. It was obviously someone in a responsible position, however, since my school administrators acted on this advice and planned their programs with a 10-percent reduction of funds anticipated. These particular school men are well known to me, and I have great confidence in their professional and administrative abilities. I am certain they would not have taken such action had not specific representations been made by someone on whom they thought they could rely.

Just recently these school administrators were advised of the substantial reduction of their title I funds far in excess of the 10 percent which they had anticipated and on which they had planned. In each case this has left an individual school system with a shortage of funds involving several thousands of dollars at this midpoint in their fiscal year. Without exception these school districts are operating under rather strict budgetary and fiscal policies, and this amount will work a definite hardship on both the administrators and employees of the school systems.

This condition is aggravated by the fact that while some schools have been denied adequate funds, other schools have not taken up their full allocation, and for that reason there are actually unused funds for the State of Wyoming and the Nation as a whole. It is my understanding that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has concluded by administrative action, however, that these unused and uncommitted funds may not be reallocated to those districts or areas in which they are so badly needed.

We all realize, of course, that the Office of Education, like any other Federal instrumentality, must operate with the funds provided by Congress. I would suggest, however, that more adequate planning and closer cooperation with the school districts would be in order. Undoubtedly, had the school administrators been advised of the funds which would be available regardless of what that amount might be, they could have taken this into consideration in their budget processes. Coming as this does, however, in the middle of their fiscal year, it is most damaging. I hope that the Commissioner of Education will take appropriate action at this time to alleviate the present condition to every extent possible. Likewise and perhaps more important, I hope that the Office of Education can plan ahead on a sufficient basis so that the local school districts will know what funds might be available to them in ample time to plan for their forthcoming fiscal year. This, I believe, they have a right to expect, and correspondingly, I feel the Federal agency has an obligation to fulfill in this regard.

THE FLOOD OF FOREIGN TEXTILES

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, last week the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Textiles of the Committee on Commerce addressed the Senate on the serious situation which has developed in the textile industry as a result of burgeoning textile imports.

Senator PASTORE deserves our thanks for focusing attention on the increasing difficulties being experienced by the industry and by workers in the textile industry as a result of the cheaper flood of foreign textiles which land at American docks daily. There can be no doubt that the position of American textile manufacturers deteriorates still further and further with every bolt of material lifted from the holds of importing carriers.

The Senator from Rhode Island has already quite adequately outlined for the Senate the history of our efforts during the past decade to discourage excessive imports. I wish to draw attention today to the current situation and the effect on our balance of payments, and to make some observations on the overall causes of this dilemma.

The disadvantaged position of American textiles—both in domestic markets and as exports to foreign markets—is only an example of the overall problem facing American industries: high costs—especially labor costs—and their effect on American ability to compete in international markets. As has been pointed out, American manufacturers are having to compete with industries which have been built partially as a result of American goodwill expressed in foreign aid.

I cite this contributory factor—high labor costs—certainly not out of any desire to see American workers receive lower wages, but in the realization that it is a factor with which we will have to contend for some time to come. If we are to effectively surmount the problem, we must look elsewhere for the solution.

Senator PASTORE has suggested the need for more effective Government action in administration on the long-term arrangement now in effect governing imports of cotton goods. He proposes new international agreements to give relief to our woolen and synthetic textiles industries.

In any event, strong measures of some

sort need to be undertaken. It will not be enough to raise a protective tariff umbrella over the industry and keep it raised even when the sun begins to shine. We must guard against assuming that all we have to do is invoke tariff relief and forget about the problem.

We must have activity aimed at genuinely strengthening the industry. A protected industry is not necessarily a strong industry just because it is being artificially assisted. What is needed is a thorough study and implementation by the industry of ways American manufactures can compete with more cheaply produced foreign manufactures. We have many strengths to offset our disadvantage as a result of high wage rates. Our industrial laboratories are the envy of corporate scientists around the world; American selling techniques are models for nearly every other country; the quality of workmanship and goods is unexceled. Probably no other country has a per worker capital investment ratio as high. Surely these advantages must outweigh our fortunate disadvantage of high wage rates.

Two years after the end of World War II, the United States was enjoying a textile trade surplus of over $1 billion. Last year the United States imported $902 million more in textiles than it exported. Our $1 billion advantage reversed to nearly as great a disadvantage in the period since 1947. Our trade balance overall is not strong enough to absorb the brunt of this drain on our gold supply.

In 1961, we were importing 964 million square yards of textiles of all types; in 1962 we bought 1,543 million square yards from abroad; in 1963, 1,494 million square yards; 1964 saw imports rise again to 1,523 million square yards; in 1965, imports jumped to 2,083 million square yards, and last year, while imports of wools decreased, imports of cotton and manmade fibers pushed the figure to 2,811 million square yards.

Mr. President, freer movement of goods between friendly nations is to be valued: our policy should basically strive for that goal. Trade and commerce are, indeed, valuable tools for encouraging enduring friendship between already friendly nations. Trade protection is best used as a tool to be used sparingly and in an enlightened manner—an aid for a time to cushion vast economic shocks.

I do not doubt, Mr. President, that the situation which confronts the American textile industry is serious; and I believe we may properly act to restrain textile imports at this time. I urge we do so. It is now time for serious consideration of the feasibility of providing some effective governmental relief.

UNITED STATES SHOULD OPENLY FINANCE STUDENT TRAVEL TO INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCES

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in an excellent column published in the New York Times of March 7, Tom Wicker asks:

> Is there any reason why an American delegation to a world youth festival cannot be financed openly and honorably by the Federal Government, or by one of the private foundations untainted by CIA money?

Mr. Wicker feels that "there is no reason and there never was any reason except the reluctance of Congress to appropriate such money."

Whatever may have been the political realities of the past that would have made it difficult to get Congress to appropriate funds for international student conferences, the situation is different today. Congress should authorize and appropriate funds so that American students with their expenses openly supported by their Government can represent the United States at these international conferences. In this regard I have introduced S. 981, a bill to amend the International Education Act of 1966, in order to authorize grants to individuals broadly representative of American students for travel to international youth conferences.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wicker's article entitled "Vive la Difference" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION: VIVE LA DIFFERENCE

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, March 6.—President Johnson's special representatives are studying the Central Intelligence Agency to see what changes, if any, should be made following the discovery that the agency had penetrated a number of private organizations while carrying out its work.

The difficulty is that no conceivable recommendation can reach the most difficult problem that has been disclosed—the attitudes of the men who carry out secret operations, of those supposed to be in "control" of them, and of the politicians who underwrite the effort.

The New York Times published this morning a compilation of the views of many of these men, none of whom could be quoted and few of whom will even talk to the press under normal circumstances. It was a disturbing account.

PUBLIC BLAMED

Those interviewed appeared to be upset only at what they considered a setback to their program. They believed it now would be harder for them to do their work. And they tended to blame a naive public for not understanding the nature of the challenge.

They made it clear that they regarded the United States as in a battle with "Communism" for influence in other countries; that they thought this battle could only be won with the aid of extensive covert expenditures and propaganda; and that whatever "the other side" did in this war had to be matched by "our side."

Now that the C.I.A.'s secret connection with the National Student Association has been broken, for instance, the intelligence men fear there will be no American delegation at the world youth festival in Sofia next year; and one said that "the question is whether the international youth movement is going to be taken over completely by the Communists without a fight."

MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION

But there is a more important question: Is there any reason why an American delegation cannot be financed openly and honorably by the Federal Government, or by one of the private foundations untainted by C.I.A. money?

There is no reason and there never was any reason except the reluctance of Congress to appropriate such money; that is why the C.I.A. has had to hand it out secretly. But if student activities are as important as the agency rightly claims, if American representation at Sofia and elsewhere is now endangered, surely the Administration could make a good case in Congress for the small amounts needed, especially since the publicity of recent disclosures.

That not only would provide representation, it would provide it honestly and openly, without taint of espionage. And if its Government sponsorship would then be public knowledge, certainly the government sponsorship of Communist delegations is as widely known.

VITAL PROPAGANDA

The officials interviewed laid great stress on the vital importance of propaganda and secret influence in other countries. As one man said, putting "a little money" into a free labor union "to keep it alive" may be necessary; but can it only be done by subverting similar organizations in our own society? And can it really be contended that secret tampering with and subsidization of governments, institutions and individuals in other countries is anything but a sort of last-ditch stand made necessary only by the failure or absence of other, more open means?

Such means exist—effective aid to hard-pressed economies, for instance (which Congress is so reluctant to vote); sensible assistance, education and training programs; friendly and understanding efforts to help people help themselves; even military protection, if that becomes necessary. Such efforts to help the under-privileged of the world begin to realize their aspirations simply dwarf the importance of secret operations, propaganda and purchased influence.

It may be more glamorous, easy and acceptable in Congress to fight "Communism"—if there is any such monolithic force as the term implies—with covert operations and "dirty tricks," rather than with aid, understanding, friendship and example. But to accept the view that whatever the "other side" does has to be done by "our side" is the moral equivalent of justifying the means by the end; it is the political negation of the idea that there are democratic, American means of accomplishing worthwhile ends; and it begs the question whether, in the long run, there is any real differences between "our side" and "the other side" worth fighting about.

No one can deny that there is a struggle in the world from which Americans cannot escape, but some of them will persist in believing that there *is* a difference in what this nation and its adversaries stand for, and that that difference requires of us not only the fight itself but different means of waging it.

If that be naiveté, make the most of it.

AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION STATEMENT ON DEFERRAL OF HIGHWAY FUNDS

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, on February 27 and 28 the Senate and House Committees on Public Works held joint hearings on the deferment of Federal aid to highways. The fact that such an almost unprecedented step was taken is a clear indication of the seriousness of the problem as well as congressional concern for the future of the vital Interstate System.

On February 27, Mr. Alan Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, announced that $175 million in deferred funds was being released immediately—a comparatively small sum in itself but an indication that the administration was moving in the right direction. Mr. Boyd's welcome news was followed on Tuesday by the testimony of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Charles Schultze. Mr. Schultze stated that additional funds probably would be released shortly. In addition, President Johnson has implied that a significant restoration of highway trust fund money could be expected before the end of the fiscal year. On the basis of these good faith statements the joint committee voted to recess the hearings subject to the call of the distinguished chairman, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] and Representative FALLON.

Mr. President, due to the sudden change in the committee's schedule, a number of witnesses who had been asked to testify did not have the opportunity to appear in person. Although their statements will in time be printed in the hearing record, some of them deserve more immediate attention. I am certain that Senators will be particularly interested in the views of the American Automobile Association because of the long period of time it has been studying problems of traffic safety and its acknowledged expertise in this important field. As the executive vice president of that organization points out, the greatest danger which may come from the cutback will be "to delay the building of modern, controlled-access highways which, it has been proven beyond doubt, contribute to traffic safety."

Mr. President, I am pleased to notice also that the American Automobile Association indicates its support for Senate Concurrent Resolution 10, the sense-of-Congress resolution I submitted on February 15 and which now has 49 cosponsors. Senate Concurrent Resolution 10 calls on the President to restore all of the deferred and frozen Federal highway funds.

In view of its immediate significance, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full statement by Mr. George A. Kachlein, Jr., executive vice president of the AAA, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

(By George F. Kachlein, Jr., executive vice president, American Automobile Association, before Senate and House Public Works Committees, Mar. 2, 1967)

My name is George F. Kachlein, Jr. I am Executive Vice President of the American Automobile Association—a national federation of motor clubs with more than ten million members who are owners and drivers of passenger cars.

We appreciate this opportunity to inform the Congress of our reasons for opposing what we consider to be a wholly unjustified cutback in the Federal-aid highway funds, previously apportioned to the states, and on which they had based their roadbuilding programs.

Certainly the pledge of the Administration restoring the Federal-aid highway program to a $4.4 billion expenditure schedule, beginning July 1, 1967, as announced by the Secretary of the Department of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd, on Monday is good news for the motorist and the economy.

We were gratified to learn that the Executive Branch intends to repair some of the damage caused by last November's sudden cutback through an immediate token restoration of $175 million for land acquisition and preliminary engineering. We hope that the Executive Branch can follow this up very quickly with additional construction funds to move some of the projects where preliminary work already is completed.

During the past few days you gentlemen have heard considerable testimony regarding the economic effect of the cutback in Federal-aid highway funds announced last November. At this time, I should like to concentrate my testimony on the effect of the cutback on the persons who are footing the bill for this entire operation—the highway users.

You will recall that back in 1956, highway users enthusiastically supported the great expanded Federal-aid highway program to give the nation the roads it so desperately needed. Highway users even agreed to—and vocally supported—increased special highway user taxes to support the effort. A trust fund was established to assure these taxes once collected would be used for highway construction. From that day to this, despite obvious advantages to other beneficiaries and contribution to the defense effort, highway users have continued to bear the sole burden of financing this great road enterprise.

In the interim, highway users have been subjected to increased taxes to make sure that this expanded program—especially the 41,000-mile National System of Interstate and Defense Highways—should not be unduly delayed.

From the standpoint of the user, the most dangerous effect of the cutback is to delay the building of modern, controlled-access highways which, it has been proven beyond doubt, contribute to traffic safety. Thus, the cutback is mystifying to the user at a time when the Federal Government is laying such stress on safety, with stringent requirements for safer vehicles and for state and local traffic safety programs.

There has been much contention of late concerning the relative contribution of the driver, the vehicle, the road and the pedestrian to the over-all problem of traffic safety. Yet the nation knows that good roads save lives.

Experience to date shows that Interstate highways are at least twice as safe per vehicle-mile of travel as the older highways which they have replaced. When the entire network is completed, it is estimated that it will save at least 8,000 lives per year.

Each week in 1966, over 1,000 Americans met death on our nation's highways. It seems frightening to us that, faced with a weekly domestic casualty rate many times that of the war in Vietnam, we callously delay known and proven remedies. Delays in committing every penny of available resources at the earliest possible moment will cost us hundreds of lives and tens of thousands of injuries.

It should be emphasized that the Federal-aid program is more than a highway construction project.

One of the most important new highway safety programs initiated by this Administration in the last several years was the spot improvement program designed to eliminate hazards at high accident locations. Approximately three years ago President Johnson called upon the Department of Commerce, through its Bureau of Public Roads, to undertake an accelerated attack on traffic accidents. In this connection he indicated that states and local governments, ". . . should be encouraged and assisted in developing priority safety programs, giving special attention to hazards on highways with high accident experience."

Following this expression of personal concern by the President, the Bureau of Public Roads initiated the Highway Safety Improvement Program which was designed to accomplish the ends spelled out by the President. Emphasis on this program was considered so important in 1965 that the Bureau requested each state to complete an inventory of all such hazardous locations and to eliminate them by 1969. States were warned that approval of other Federal-aid projects might be deferred until adequate provision had been made for such safety improvement projects. Clearly the Federal Government meant business in the elimination of these hazards. It received the full support of AAA, even to the extent that we developed a traffic hazard elimination guide for the use of AAA Clubs in processing hazardous locations reported by members.

Over the relatively short time that the states have been participating in this program, there has been a constant increase in the proportion of their Federal-aid funds devoted to this activity. Almost 8% of their project costs of AB highways is channeled into these safety improvement projects. During the second quarter of 1966, the Secretary of Commerce reported that such improvement projects undertaken in that quarter equaled 21.1% of the cost of all ABC projects of that quarter. When one realizes that the cutback announced the following quarter represents even more than the amount assigned to this activity, one can only speculate on what effect this cutback had on the scheduling of these projects. We feel that it would be pertinent for this Committee to investigate this situation to determine if, in fact, there has been any slowdown in the systematic elimination of these hazardous locations.

Just last week the Bureau of Public Roads announced an ambitious new program designed to reduce traffic congestion in our downtowns. As we understand the proposal, Federal-aid funds will be used on major arterials even though they might not now be on existing Federal-aid systems. The funds also may be used on most of the street grid in the downtown area and for transit loading platforms.

Last year we celebrated fifty years of partnership in the Federal-State joint responsibility for construction of highways. Some taxpayers who are paying for this program are taking a very close look at the direction this partnership has taken in the last few years. What kind of a partnership is it when one partner can make a unilateral decision, without even consultation with the other partner, to withdraw or reduce his financial support? What kind of a partnership is it when one partner can unilaterally penalize the other for failure to take actions which are only indirectly related to the principal purpose for which the partnership was formed?

A few short weeks ago a report estimating costs of implementing the Beautification Act of 1965 was sent to Congress. Up to $3 billion was estimated as the cost for eliminating billboards, screaming junkyards and otherwise improving the aesthetic qualities of our highway corridors. AAA has been in favor of highway beautification for many years and strongly supported the legislation in 1965, but isn't it time that we took a look at priorities? How can we seriously propose the implementation of this program while at the same time delay the construction or improvement of the basic facility which the beautification program is designed to enchance?

After the comprehensive toll road hearings held by the House Public Works Committee last year, all of you gentlemen are well aware of the pressures in some states to finance the building of badly needed modern highways through toll charges. On again-off again support for our highway program provides arguments for the backers of toll roads in their efforts to get states to support this highly expensive method of road building. The user then pay twice for the same road—

once through his state and Federal user taxes, and again through tolls.

We also want to add emphasis to the testimony of other witnesses on the increased costs associated with the speedup and slowdown scheduling of public works projects. This affects the taxpaying highway user very seriously. He obviously will get fewer highway improvements for his tax dollars. Not only will costs go up by the task of recovering lost momentum in the construction industry, but there also is the element of inflation. Prices went up seven percent in 1966. Under such conditions, a deferment of spending available funds means only one thing—the general public is the loser.

The whole history of the Highway Trust Fund clearly represents a commitment by the Federal Government to provide services in return for prepayment of the costs of those services. To refuse to provide such services which continuing to charge for them is a breach of faith with the people. It is entirely inconsistent with President Johnson's statement made at the signing of the Federal-aid Highway Act of 1964. Then he stated:

"For much too long the man who owns and drives an automobile has been treated like a stepchild. We require him to pay for the highways he uses and we require him to pay in advance. We divert his taxes to other uses and we delay the building of the roads that he deserves. . . ."

Less than three short years after this expression of keen insight into the problems of highway users, we appear to have a complete turnabout.

Is it any wonder that the user is beginning to ask himself:

Is the Trust Fund really a trust fund at all, or is that a misnomer?

Should additional safeguards to built into the present Highway Trust Fund?

Is this whole process legal?

If the Federal Government promises to perform certain services, provided that the states do certain things, can the Federal Government then refuse to provide those services when the states have fully complied with established requirements?

If the Executive Department is permitted to use the Trust Fund as an extension of its fiscal policies, how can the states plan for the orderly utilization of Federal-aid highway funds? One of the chief benefits of the Trust Fund has been the certainty of the Federal Government's level of participation in the road building program. If this element of stability is removed, then the uncertainty will affect the programing of the states and could result in more inflation.

Isn't a precedent being established by this action which will permit the Executive Branch to reduce arbitrarily the level of authorized expenditures without any regard to the availability of Highway Trust Fund receipts?

AAA recommends that this Joint Session of the Senate and House Public Works Committees recommend to the Congress a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that expenditures from the Highway Trust Fund be in accordance with and equal to the amounts authorized by the Congress.

LETTER FROM A PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks the text of a letter from a Peace Corps volunteer to the director of the Selective Service System in his State. It would be inappropriate for me to offer any opinion on the merit of this volunteer's appeal for a deferment of military service until the completion of his tour of duty in the Peace Corps. I commend this letter to the attention of the Senate because of its eloquent and sensitive exposition of a Peace Corps volunteer's concept of his work.

In all my experience, I have never seen a more impressive account of why the Peace Corps is an important activity, important not only to the host country but equally to the preservation of our own self-respect, or what some of us like to think of as the American dream.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

December 16, 1966.

Col. Morris S. Schwartz,
State Director, Selective Service System,
Western Republic Building, Austin, Tex.

Dear Colonel Schwartz: I am writing this letter to request an appeal on the draft classification that my local board in Amarillo recently sent, as they declined to consider giving me a one-year deferment with which to finish the job I am involved in before I undertake my military service. I think this work is probably the most important and most worthwhile thing I have done in my life, and being right in the middle of the job, would like very much to have your careful consideration given to my appeal. To help you understand what the Peace Corps is doing in Colombia, and my part in it, I am going to describe my site and my work in the past year in some detail, with your indulgence.

Acción Comunal, as it is called in Colombia, or community development, as it is known to social scientists, is at least half educative and half concerned with the realization of physical projects. The educative aspect is concerned with changing the attitudes of the very poor Latin American about his own worth as a human individual and about his ability to act on his own behalf for the material well-being of himself and his community. In the United States we take voluntary associations from labor unions to Boy Scouts to the United Fund completely for granted. We form them and dissolve them in enormous quantities nearly every day in our society for purposes as diverse as the protection of animals from inhuman treatment to the canvassing of precincts in behalf of our favorite candidate at election time. Such voluntary associations, and the plethora of them, was one of the most notable features of American society in the eyes of the French social scientist, Alexis de Tocqueville, when he made his historic trip through the United States during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. In his classic of social analysis written following that trip, *Democracy in America*, he asserted that voluntary associations are characteristic of more or less egalitarian, mass societies such as developed in our country. De Tocqueville pointed out how they take the place of oligarchies: the European commoner in the same period had to seek the help of some noble or cleric to represent his interests before the government. In the United States, the common man, rather helpless as a single individual, forms an association of like-minded fellow citizens which uses the sheer weight of its numbers and pooled resources to influence public opinion and government for its cause. Even the high school civics student is aware that pressure groups or lobbies have become institutionalized appendages to our legislative process at all levels, though never provided for in the Constitution.

The experience of Latin America has been just the opposite. In contrast to British colonial policies of the same period, the Spanish kings tried to administer the American possessions to the greatest extent possible, given the technology of communication of that time. After the wars of independence that the various Latin American republics waged and won in the first decades of the nineteenth century, conditions for the indigenous masses didn't change much. In fact, they only really succeeded in exchanging the rule by Spanish oligarchy for rule by the creole oligarchy—the wealthy and powerful families that literally owned whole countries among themselves. Four hundred years of Colombian history, in this specific example, has shown sadly enough that government by oligarchy has provided very few social benefits and pitifully small material progress for the masses of the people. Surely, historians of the next century will describe this century as the one of the great social transformations, perhaps as one of the great social revolutions. We can already see that the revolutions that will characterize these times when we were alive began in war and savagery; Leon Trotsky said after the Russian Revolution was well underway that the man who wanted to live a quiet life in our times had simply picked the wrong century in which to be born. Since the Russian Revolution, we have seen what happens when long-suffering peoples suddenly decide that they can endure no longer: China, Cuba, and even Viet Nam at its saddest and most brutal; Mexico, India, Bolivia as cases that happily *didn't* result in totalitarianism as a result of popular social upheaval.

We in the Peace Corps believe that the social setting in Latin America, and in a host of other countries in the world, is revolutionary in the sense that profound social change in behalf of, and on the part of, the miserable masses is imminent. But, we think that a revolution in flames is a wretched last resort that only despairing peoples resort to. We hope to be able to help the process along gradually and permanently without having to abandon these people to the horrors of purges and firing squads and deportations to concentration camps at the hands of the Stalins of the world.

These are grand designs, admittedly, but that is the total scene we hope to contribute to, a mosaic of social justice, each small tile represented by the effort made by each of us working with the Colombian government and the Colombian people, who will compose the final scene according to their own culture, history and tastes.

I am working in a very tiny town in the poorest and most-abandoned province of the Department of Cundinamarca in the Colombian Andes. The site had never been worked by a Peace Corps Volunteer or a Colombian Promoter of Acción Communal. The town would be a pretty sad place indeed if it weren't for the people. It is an arduous six-hour bus ride on a winding, bumpy one-lane dirt road from the capital city, Bogotá. But that six-hour ride in many ways takes you more than six hours from what Bogotá represents. It takes you back into the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and, in agricultural technology, to Egyptian times. Ubalá, the town, is a very peaceful little cluster of adobe and red clay tile-roofed houses on a mountain side. It probably won't always be peaceful, though, unless things begin to change. Inevitably, the people will become more and more aware of the differences between the way they live, and life in Bogotá, a modern city of parks and wide avenues, tall buildings, and the elegant houses of the very rich: the cruel parade of life in our times—the contrast between the very rich and the very poor—the contrast between space capsules and wooden plows drawn by oxen on stirile, tiny, mountainous farms.

I have been in Ubalá for about ten months now. I came in February of this year. I have had an enormous amount of work to do. First, I have had to gain the acceptance and then the friendship and confidence of the people. I had to begin to try to influence people to *try* to do something for themselves. People who have never been expected, and sometimes never allowed, to do something jointly. Our work has its enemies surely: humble, ignorant, hopeless people are much more docilely exploited than those who are not. Therefore, to be influential and effective I have had to work on Spanish every day in order to try to become modestly articulate and convincing in a language that is not my own, not to mention just to be able to be a good listener. There have been times when I thought that the inertia of centuries of abandonment of these people was more than I could ever hope to overcome. Most of the people I need to reach live in isolated little farm houses that can only be reached on horseback. More than once I've gone six hours on horseback to visit the little community of Santa Rosa that also belongs to the *municipio* (county) of Ubalá. And, more than once I have come back from a trip out to the countryside riding in the rain after dark, covered with mud, soaking wet, miserable with occasional diarrhea from some of the stuff I've had to eat in order not to offend someone who was offering the only thing he had, in an effort to be very kind, and thought that I must surely have been out of my mind to have ever *asked* for this job. Yet, I have never left. I believe in those people and I believe in their ability as much as in their right to build a better life for themselves.

My plugging away has just begun to pay off. People are beginning to wonder *why* they have to live the way they do. Gradually, you can convince them that while the cost of a little school is beyond the hope of any one *campesino*, you can make a good start on one if a hundred families can manage to contribute a hundred or so pesos; and while the work involved in constructing it is an onerous task for one or two men, it can be done in a reasonable length of time if twenty-five men work on it one day every two weeks or so. Then, once you manage to arouse a little hope about satisfying some of the needs they feel, you have to go about trying to teach them a little elementary democracy. You help them organize a *junta* or council, to elect the people they see as their own natural leaders, and then decide what it is they are going to try to do, and how it is that they are going to go about it. Next, you try to help them get the swagger of a successfully completed project under their belts. By the time you finish the two years, hopefully they are ready and able to go on working on the other needs of their community alone. All the time you have to be careful not to become indispensable to the *junta* so that it doesn't collapse when you go. You waste a lot of time making small decisions because you know that they would take *your* word for it, but you want to hear what so-and-so has to say, and then his brother, and so on, so that they get into the habit of getting together and talking out their problems. Then you run into all sorts of problems that set you back. We had an awful time getting a secretary and a treasurer for the *junta* that is now my pride and joy. We couldn't find anybody who could read and write well enough. Sure, I could do it, but what about when I leave? Then we started on a school. I had a Peace Corps engineer come out with a transit to lay out the foundations. Now I have to go all the way back to Bogotá to tell him he has got to come back because the guys who promised to fence the lot just didn't get it done for some reason, and some damned cow knocked down all the stakes.

But we are making progress. We need a road to the same little hamlet. I got a Colombian promotor of Acción Communal to get an audience with the governor of Cundinamarca. Then seven of these guys paid the thirty pesos that they don't have to waste, and went to Bogotá, and walked into his office and told him what was on their minds. That probably doesn't mean much to you, but it does to me. I was proud as hell of them . . . I knew them when they would take their hats off and look at the ground when I tried to talk to them. Now, they not only do the talking, but they looked the man right in the eye when they did it.

I have two *juntas* that are ready to build schools. Moreover, people in the town of Ubalá decided that they don't necessarily have to put up with no light in their community. It took just a little pushing and they formed a committee and held dances and a queen contest and rented a movie projector and films and I loaned them a portable gasoline-powered generator that belongs to the Peace Corps, and they managed to raise a respectable 20,000 pesos towards that end. Now that they have shown some interest and initiative, I hope to be able to help them get the engineering advice that they need, and get some money from the government, even if we have to get an audience with the President of the Republic to do it.

After all my work in those first months, things have *just* started to develop. But, they still look to me for help. In a sense, they are in a political infancy. They are learning to walk, but they don't have a lot of confidence yet. Therefore, I'm very sure that if I am drafted and have to leave Ubalá, all my work will collapse. But worse than that, because these people have been promised things for so many years by politicians and have always been disappointed, I am sincerely afraid that they may decide that Peace Corps Volunteers are just so many more liars, and lose so much faith that it will make that site extremely difficult for a subsequent Volunteer to work in.

I have only fourteen months more until I finish the mission I came down here to do. I sincerely believe that I can leave something of value both to them, and in a certain sense, to the United States, if the peaceful resolution of the social problems that confront Latin America is as important to our national survival as a number of American statesmen think, *if* I can get a deferment to finish what I have so painstakingly begun.

This has been a rather long letter, I know. But I have taken the time to write it in order to try to explain as clearly to you as possible what it is that I am doing, why I think it is important, and why, therefore, I would *like* very much to be allowed to finish it. I am asking, then, for a deferment until the end of the mission, February of 1968. Because we are in the dry season of the year when it is possible to do a great deal of work outdoors, I am asking that you please consider my request at your earliest convenience, so that I may know the result. I am losing time right now, because I am afraid to initiate several (I think) important long-range projects because I don't want to start anything *else* that I might not be able to finish.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration

Yours very sincerely,

Hubert L. Smith,

Peace Corps Volunteer, Peace Corps, Colombia.

COURAGE ON TARIFFS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, both the New York Times and Washington Post have heartily commended President Johnson for an act of courage in cutting back the tariffs on watch movements and sheet glass.

Moreover, both of these newspapers declare that the President's action will prove beneficial to the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations.

His decision to end the escape-clause rates of duty will thus have broader international implications than trade in the products specifically affected would indicate.

In the Post's view, the President has provided more than the rhetoric of freer trade. He has demonstrated an indispensable willingness to stand on principle regardless of the political consequences.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin also reports favorably on the President's action, saying he has now removed two particularly irritating issues from the negotiating table.

Each of these editorials warrants study, and I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 14, 1967]

Mr. Johnson's Tariff Courage

President Johnson's decision to roll back watch and sheet-glass tariffs—despite powerful opposition mobilized by those industries in a Congress he no longer dominates—was an act of political courage with broader world implications than trade in those products would suggest. It affects the atmosphere of the entire Kennedy Round of trade negotiations now nearing completion in Geneva.

The Kennedy Round centers on an American offer of deep tariff cuts to persuade the Common Market to lower trade barriers toward other European countries and the outside world as a whole. Economically, success is vital to the export trade of Britain and many other countries, including the United States. Politically, the unity of the Atlantic Community is involved.

The decision on watches, a major Swiss export, eliminates the danger that Berne will withdraw many of its Kennedy Round offers, a move that could trigger similar action by the Common Market. The partial rollback in glass tariffs is symbolically important because the tariffs were raised in 1962, only a few months after a previous reduction. This circumstance outraged Belgium, and the Common Market as a whole joined in retaliatory tariff increases against several American export products.

Even more significant is the fact that the original American tariff increases for watches and glass took place under an "escape clause" which long had been a psychological impediment to trade liberalization. Europeans had come to suspect that the United States would rescind tariff cuts whenever foreign industries really succeeded in penetrating the American market.

Business requests for escape clause protection were, in fact, rarely granted by Washington. But the frequency of such requests and the lengthy procedures involved often created enough uncertainty to discourage European companies from the huge investment in product adaptation and merchandising needed to crack the American market.

To persuade Europe to enter the Kennedy Round, the 1962 Trade Expansion Act turned toward a new concept, "adjustment assistance" to American business and labor affected by foreign competition. The escape clause itself was made more difficult to use and a Presidential review was instituted that promised to roll back tariffs previously raised under escape clause procedures.

With his action on watches and glass, President Johnson now has kept that promise in all five of the cases on which he has had to rule and given Europe new reason for confidence that the tariff cuts made in the Kennedy Round will not be easily reversed.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 14, 1967]

An Act of Courage

President Johnson has said so little about the need for lowering tariff barriers to international trade that some observers erroneously concluded that he had little sympathy for that cause. They were wrong. The President's decision to terminate the high, escape-clause rates of duty on watch movements and glass is an act of courage, one that was vehemently opposed by protectionist spokesmen from industry, labor and the Congress. By acting with firm conviction, the President made some political enemies. But he has increased the likelihood of success in the Kennedy Round of tariff-cutting negotiations and advanced the cause of freer international trade.

The high tariff on watch movements dates back to 1954 when President Eisenhower declared it necessary to protect the domestic industry from serious injury as a result of increased imports that were attributed to concessions granted under the reciprocal trade legislation. In the ensuing years the domestic industry insisted that protection was also essential on grounds of national defense. The late President Kennedy raised the tariff rate on glass in a misguided effort to assist the depressed economy of West Virginia. There was instant retaliation by European countries.

Of the two decisions, the action on watch movements is the most important, both in terms of the volume of trade and the political impact. The Swiss government felt so strongly about the watch-tariff issue that they were threatening to withdraw their Kennedy Round trade offers. Had that happened most of the Common Market countries, under the most-favored-nation principle of nondiscrimination, would have been compelled to withdraw many of their offers, and the chain-like reaction could have wrecked the negotiations.

Paradoxically the principal opposition to reducing the watch tariff comes from the domestic companies that are also major producers in Switzerland and Japan. By playing the protectionist game, they were apparently inflicting more injury upon their competitors, the independent importers, than they suffered as importers of their own, foreign-made products.

In making his decision to terminate the escape clause duty, the President was assured by the Defense Department that the national security will not be impaired. The demand for missiles and other timed weapons has widely diffused the skills needed to produce horological mechanisms. There need be little concern about the financial position of the domestic watchmakers. Their order books are full.

The voice of the White House has often been raised in behalf of freer trade, but President Johnson provided the indispensable element, not the profile, not the rhetoric, but a willingness to stand on principle when the political disadvantages hopelessly outweigh any prospects for gain. That is the essence of political courage.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Sunday Bulletin, Jan. 15, 1967]

A Kennedy Round Fillip

President Johnson omitted direct mention of the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations at Geneva in his State of the Union message, but he took a step the day after the message that speaks louder than words.

By reducing tariffs on Swiss watches and Belgian glass, Mr. Johnson removed two particularly irritating issues which had brought retaliation in the case of glass and the threat of it in the case of watches.

Using the escape clause in the Trade Expansion Act, President Eisenhower had raised the tariff on watches and President Kennedy did likewise on glass. The reaction in both Switzerland and Belgium was strong. At Belgium's request, its European Common Market partners raised tariffs on a number of U.S. exports, and Switzerland has threatened retaliation in the form of no concessions to the U.S. in the Kennedy Round.

National security was involved in the watch tariff, but the Office of Emergency Planning has assured the White House that this is no longer so. Both tariffs have been under consideration in the Tariff Commission for some time and the decision to reduce now ought to help create a favorable atmosphere for reciprocal tariff reductions in the Kennedy Round, which is entering its final months of tough bargaining.

CONDUCT OF AIR OPERATIONS IN VIETNAM

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I have received a copy of a letter one of our dedicated airmen has written home from Vietnam. In it he graphically states his views on conduct of our air operations and tries his best to explain to his family what it is really like to bear the responsibility of flying for his country over North Vietnam.

I have been three times with our airmen who fly these missions, and my own views about the need to liberalize the many restrictions on them are well known. May I simply say now that I think it important that the American people know exactly how these young men feel, what hazards they are operating under, and their view of how to alleviate that situation.

Therefore, I wish to read this pilot's letter to the Senate so that it may be printed in the Congressional Record for all Americans to consider:

Letter From a Vietnam Airman

Flying is a little slow right now, due to many factors. One is the weather over North Vietnam; but the biggest is that if we strain too hard we might win this thing, and we don't want to do it too fast. I'm being a little sarcastic, because the sad story articles in the States about us Imperialist War Mongers bombing civilians tend to hack me off just a little. These same irate citizens and government officials tend to overlook that there are 100's of time more civilians being purposely killed by the VC in South Vietnam through bombings, shootings and other forms of terrorism. Also, we didn't start this little war, and when the people of the States learn that Uncle Ho Chi Minh purposely moves his people around military establishments in NVN to protect those establishments from our bombing, then maybe the irate newspaper, press and people in the land of the "great BX" will open their eyes. Due to the inexact science of dive bombing—weather, terrain, flak, SAM's and other minor worries (possibly MIG's), a few bombs might hit civilian areas. We have never, and I doubt if we will ever intentionally, go after a populated target as such.

The people of Asia only understand one thing—physical force. It's sort of like the mule that you have to hit on the head to get his attention.

The only way I personally see that we could win this war, though, is to hit NVN so that *they* want to quit, not that *we* want them to quit. War is a terrible way to settle anything, but *if* we are waging a war, a half-war is not the way to do it.

We went up for another MIG shoot. The MIG's were smart; they never came up. The only thing we saw were SAM's, and we saw a bunch of them. One F–4C was shot down by a direct hit by a SAM. The crew didn't even know what hit them. Yesterday I didn't fly, but our squadron was flying escort for B–66's and one of the two B–66's took a direct SAM hit. What this is all about is that 90–95% of all the SAM's that are brought into that country come in through the Port of Haiphong—which the Air Force or the Navy could put out of action in one day, but we can't hit within 10 miles of Haiphong, because we might hit a civilian or some other such silly nonsense.

Of course, playing the "White Knight" has another drawback. We as a country are afraid of what other countries are going to say if we should do such a dastardly thing as defend ourselves. I only hope that we as a nation—knowing full well that no matter what we do people are going to complain on one side and pat us on the back on the other side—and being the most powerful nation in the world, show it by having the guts to win this war.

We might make a few of our "friends" mad when we sink a few of their ships in the Port of Haiphong or stop them from going in, but if we don't want to lose another 500 planes over NVN (at a cost of 2.5 million apiece and a trained crew), we are going to have to say, "OK, on these dates we are going to bomb Haiphong and Hanoi—civilians, sorry about that, but move out of the city." We would then totally destroy their means of waging war at the minimum loss of life to all concerned.

Don't get too concerned over our bombing civilians, because right now they have more civilian casualties from their own anti-aircraft shells and SAM's than by all the bombs we have ever dropped in the North. But to a newspaperman shown a blasted hut—how is he to know if it was by a falling SAM, MIG, AA shell or American plane or bomb or what. It's just good propaganda for the North, though, and they will always be willing for the American press to come in and make a "personal interest" story for the world to see. It saves them a lot of propaganda printing because of it.

I just wish few more Americans could take a ride in the back seat of the F–4C on a mission to the North and let the dickens be scared out of them by all the SAM's and the anti-aircraft fire and receive the first warm greetings of friendship that we receive every day, and then fly directly over the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong and watch how all those centers of civilian population turn into flak sites or hidden SAM sights, and fly over the untouched air fields of Phuc Yen, Kep, Gin Lam, and Cat Ho and the two new fields up near the China border, and count the 100s of MIG's that we don't worry about and then fly down into MIG valley along the Red River and count the seconds it takes the MIG's to get airborne and be at 6 o'clock (on your tail), and see all the ground radar centers that operate their fighting force—that also have no bomb craters near them due to their location in the populated centers. I guess I'm just thinking of my next 75 missions over that wonderful country that we are so concerned about the indigenous population of.

MRS. ESTHER PETERSON: CONSUMERS' CHAMPION AND VOICE

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, it was with much regret that I noted the retirement of Mrs. Esther Peterson from one of the two major positions she has been occupying with such credit and accomplishment. As an Assistant Secretary of Labor she has been a credit to the Government of this Nation. As the President's Adviser on Consumer Affairs, she has broken new ground every day for 3 years—years that have been as full of turbulence as they have been enlightening to the consumer.

Her efforts have shed long overdue

light in many hitherto darkened corners, and the criticism she has received she may wear as a badge of honor, for at last, that long-suffering and unheard citizen, the American consumer, has found a voice in the highest councils of the land.

I wish to take this opportunity to say that those who have criticized Mrs. Peterson most vociferously may yet have cause to thank her more than anyone else. For she, by advocating consideration for the consumer and truth in the marketplace has pointed out the surest future path for American free enterprise.

Some of her critics have forgotten that honest products freely competing with one another are their own best advertisements, and that the American consumer is a better educated, more aware and dollar-conscious shopper with every passing year. Consumer abuses are cumulative, and if they continue and mount, the American businessman and producer will find a climate of distrust within which it will be increasingly difficult to operate.

Therefore, I believe Mrs. Peterson has done great service to our industrial-business-advertising community by alerting them to abuses perpetrated by a few of their number.

The consumer owes Mrs. Peterson a debt of gratitude that will grow as time goes on, because it was this altruistic woman who first spoke out against abuses many were aware of, but which no one had spoken out against before with such honesty, forcefulness, and courage.

As a result of her pioneering actions, the attention of our Nation has more than once been focused upon evils and dangers that jeopardize the health of the consuming public and our dollar.

Throughout our history there have been courageous trailblazers who have been willing to sacrifice themselves to the cause of what they considered the common good. At times they have suffered for their courage, beliefs, and actions.

Mr. President, hindsight is always 20–20. As we look back upon various moments in our history, the names of these people shine forth as those who condemned them sink deeper into historical oblivion. Society has cause to bless the names of these people of courage.

Mrs. Esther Peterson will, I am positive, go on to new heights of public service in her lifetime. But no matter what she may do after this time, her place in historical perspective is guaranteed as one who sought honesty in the marketplace, first-class goods for all and consideration for every one of us who goes forth to buy every day. We each owe her our gratitude and best wishes.

DEATH OF FRANCIS J. DAUBEL

Mr. **LAUSCHE**. Mr. President, I regretted to learn yesterday of the passing of Francis J. Daubel, the publisher of the Fremont, Ohio, News-Messenger. Mr. Daubel had published the Fremont Messenger for 41 years. I knew him personally, and always found great comfort and joy in the meetings which I had with him. He was an untiring worker, promoting the cultural, civic, and economic life of Fremont and its environs.

I mourn his death. My sympathies go to his wife, Irma, and to his sons, Donald and Paul, and his daughter, Mrs. Frank Zielsdorf, of Sidney, Ohio.

THE 25 MILLIONTH NLRB SECRET BALLOT

Mr. **SPARKMAN**. Mr. President, a total of 25 million ballots have been cast in National Labor Relations Board elections during the last 31 years.

On the whole, these elections have been good for labor and good for business. We have adequate proof of this in the fact that the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations and the National Association of Manufacturers together sponsored a reception 1 week ago to celebrate the casting of the 25 millionth ballot. Furthermore, Electronics Industries Association was cohost for a private Capitol Hill luncheon sponsored by Senate and House leaders of the Labor Committees of Congress.

A public observance in the Department of Interior auditorium saw the NLRB honor 39-year-old Leonard P. Sheno, of Carteret, N.J., a maintenance technician in the Reynolds Metals Co. manufacturing plant at Woodbridge, N.J. Mr. Sheno cast the ballot symbolic of the 25 million votes the NLRB has counted since 1935.

Even though Mr. Sheno is not from my State of Alabama, the fact that he works for Reynolds Metal Co. gives him something in common with the more than 5,000 who work at the Reynolds plant at Listerhill, Ala.

Those 5,000 workers, the Listerhill plant management, and I—and, indeed, tens of thousands of Alabama business leaders and workers—congratulate Mr. Sheno, the NLRB, and those forward-looking leaders of labor and business who have worked together through the years to settle labor-management problems by peaceful means.

CHINA IN TURMOIL

Mr. **McGEE**. Mr. President, in an editorial published by the Saturday Evening Post, the turmoil of mainland China is explored in the context of what has been called the cold war. It is a good thing for troubled China, the editorial points out, that blinkered antagonists, East and West, are unable to fulfill Mao Tse-tung's fears of an anti-Chinese alliance. Indeed, as the editorial points up, the current furor over the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union would make one think that the presence of a few Soviet bureaucrats in, say, Chicago was going to undermine our Republic; like that talk of expanded trade is disastrous because poor, simple-minded, and innocent Americans just cannot be expected to match wits with the wily Russians.

Mr. President, I do not subscribe to these ideas any more than do the editors of the Saturday Evening Post. I think their views, contained in the editorial entitled "China in Turmoil," are pertinent. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHINA IN TURMOIL

> So vast is our country that no fable could do justice to its vastness, the heavens can scarcely span it—and Peking is only a dot in it, and the imperial palace less than a dot. . . . And besides, any tidings, even if they did reach us, would arrive far too late, would have become obsolete long before they reached us. . . .
>
> —Kafka, *The Great Wall of China*.

There is something awesome about the spectacle of a great nation tearing itself apart. This is the torment of China, the ancient land where man first invented paper and silk and gunpowder; the vast land, far larger than the United States, extending from the world's highest mountains to one of its grimmest deserts; the swarming land where one fourth of the human race lives and works in perpetual poverty. For nearly two decades it had seemed that Mao Tse-tung's revolution had finally brought a kind of order and even progress out of the gigantic chaos that is China. It has been a hard order and a hard progress, God knows, founded on mass executions, and rationed hunger, and forced labor for the millions, but, year by year, the factories were built, and they produced, and China began to recognize itself again as one of the world's great powers. But for months now, the harsh discipline of Communist rule has been giving way to rioting and confusion until China today seems in a state of virtual anarchy.

It is impossible, of course, to know. In reading newspaper reports from Tokyo, which quote Japanese correspondents in Peking, who in turn are quoting wall posters describing clashes that may or may not have occurred in Shanghai, one realizes that the gap between reality and our understanding of reality has never been wider. Observing China's "great cultural revolution" has been compared to observing a raven flying through a midnight sky, and interpreting it has been compared to interpreting the struggle of two sea monsters, fighting to the death underwater. But the two basic forces seem to be those traditional antagonists, the visionaries and the technicians. On the one side stands the legendary old Mao, creator of Communist China, marshaling his hysterical young Red Guards to maintain the "purity" of the revolution; on the other, the leaders of the party bureaucracy are entrenched in power and committed to the post-revolutionary realities. Mao has gigantic prestige, and the passion of his beliefs, but his opponents may have a greater strength—the power to obstruct and the knowledge that the aged leader is running out of time.

Neither side shows any sign of compromise with the outside world. At the height of the storm, China's propagandists continue to cry imprecations against both the United States and the Soviet Union, and rampaging crowds rough up the hated foreigners, Russians and West Europeans alike. But precisely because Peking's internal crisis has veered and wavered for so long, the struggle that ravages China can provide a respite for China's enemies. It is often argued that dictators create foreign crises to solve their domestic problems, but this is not easy when a nation's rulers are at war among themselves. At such times a nation is vulnerable and essentially helpless.

None of this has been lost on the Europeans, both West and East. Helpless though Peking may be at the moment, the Soviet Union has little desire to confront a hostile China on one flank and a hostile NATO on the other. And as Moscow calls home part of its diplomatic community from China, it has left little doubt that it would like to improve its relations with the West—not out of any softening of the spirit but simply as a matter of common-sense national interest. The smaller nations have acted accordingly. Where once the Germans and East Europeans refused to deal with each other, Bonn established full diplomatic relations with Romania last month and expects to work out similar ties elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Only in the United States, it seems, do men in high positions cling to the myths of the Cold War at its coldest, the myth that all Communists of all countries are identical robots, that all are united in a vast conspiracy, that all are dedicated solely to spying and sabotage. The plan to open more U.S. consulates in Russia, in exchange for a similar number of Soviet consulates here, was proposed by President Eisenhower and signed fully two years ago, but recent Senate hearings sometimes made it sound as though the presence of a few Soviet bureaucrats in Chicago would undermine the Republic. And on the more important question of expanded trade between the U.S. and Russia, the assumption seems to be that Americans are too simple and innocent to work out an equitable exchange of goods with the wily Russians.

It is one of the ironies of Mao Tse-tung's xenophobic view of the world that he has always suspected the Soviets and the U.S. of joining forces against China. It is a good thing for China that its antagonists are too blinkered by their own ideology to explore anything as daring as that.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT COMPANY LOAN PROGRAM

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, we are all concerned about poverty in this land of plenty, and I for one am delighted that we are doing something about it. The antipoverty programs proposed by the President and enacted by the Congress in 1964 have been, in the main, successful. These programs have taught thousands of economically deprived citizens how to read and write; these programs have given the underprivileged basic skills they did not have before; and most important of all, they have given hope where there was none before.

Mr. President, it is basic that the potential labor force being created by antipoverty programs must eventually have jobs. It is most certainly not the objective of President Johnson or of Congress to have created better qualified unemployed.

Mr. President, I further submit that there are Federal programs which create productive jobs in the private sector. One of the most outstanding of these is the local development company loan program, which is administered by the Small Business Administration. An example of the creative federalism that President Johnson and this administration are using to meet the pressing needs of the Nation in this decade, the local development program also creates an effective partnership between the private and public sector for the benefit of the community.

Public-spirited citizens first join together to form a corporation and raise funds to expand existing small businesses or to help attract new industry to their community. These corporations determine what projects may be best suited to develop the economic potential of their own community.

Once the local group has raised 20 percent of the funds needed for the project, the corporation may then apply to SBA for the remaining 80 percent of the cost of the project. In communities of 50,000 or more the local group raises 20 percent, a private lending institution 40 percent, and SBA 40 percent.

SBA's loan funds may be used to acquire land, to construct buildings, to buy machinery, or to convert, expand, or modernize a plant.

The SBA is doing an excellent job through this program of helping small firms, and of strengthening the economic stability of local communities and States.

Mr. President, I have learned from SBA that my own State of Minnesota was the first in the entire country to pass the 100 mark in local development company loans approved by the Small Business Administration. These loans to small businesses in Minnesota have created nearly 3,000 job opportunities that did not previously exist.

Mr. President I commend the SBA and the administration for their efforts in bringing this outstanding, yet very low-cost program to the people of the United States.

THE PEACE CORPS' PROGRESS: ITS FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I wish to recommend for the attention of Senators the fifth annual report of the Peace Corps. This remarkable document tells a story about the unique achievements of this young agency.

This report also promises that the Peace Corps' progress will continue under the able leadership of its Director Jack Vaughn. We are fortunate that President Johnson had the foresight to entrust the fortunes of this important enterprise to the hands of a man as competent and responsible as Mr. Vaughn.

I have supported the Peace Corps idea from its earliest advancement and supported the original bill and its later enlargements. In my travels in other countries, I have found the Peace Corps to be of great service and value.

I am especially proud of my 325 fellow Texans who are serving in the Peace Corps. They are not only providing valuable services, but are accumulating experiences which will make them more productive and better informed citizens of the communities to which they will return at the end of their Peace Corps service. Our Nation, the world community, and Texas will be richer as a result of their service.

GRAGG-SHERRILL POST, AMERICAN LEGION, PROTESTS TOPLESS GO-GO GIRLS FOR VIETNAM GI'S ENTERTAINMENT

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of a resolution passed by Gragg-Sherrill Post No. 248 of the American Legion, Corpus Christi, Tex., be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A RESOLUTION TO PROTEST AGAINST TOPLESS GO-GO GIRLS FOR VIETNAM GI'S ENTERTAINMENT

Whereas, a news release appearing on March 2, 1967, alleges that:

A businessman revealed plans Wednesday to "bring America to our boys overseas" by opening a topless discotheque in Vietnam.

"We think this will be fun for the GIs," said Richard L. Bast of Washington. "This will be the sort of club servicemen are used to at home, but can't find in Saigon."

He said the firm of Redex-Vietnam, Inc., is selecting 10 to 25 American girls of "high caliber" to open in the club in about eight weeks.

"We feel this entertainment will be well received," said Bast, a frequent visitor to Asia. "The topless idea originally came from the military itself. An Army colonel friend pointed out that servicemen are shipped from San Francisco and are used to topless girls."

"Then they get to Vietnam and find nothing like home. This can be a morale problem," Bast said. "We want our girls to contribute to the war effort. During the day they may visit hospitals."

Bast said his associate in the night club is Nguyen Ba Hung of Saigon. He said a license has been approved and a site chosen.

Prospective recruits are to be given lie detector tests, he said. "We'd be out of business fast if we shipped some communists over there. These are going to be nice, wholesome American girls."

Newspaper ads require applicants to be between 21 and 26, single and willing to sign a six month contract which stipulates that they remain unmarried. "We do not want any hard-bitten strippers," Bast said.

"They'll be topless on stage, which I'm sure will appeal to the GI. When they mix with patrons, they will be covered."

Prices are steep compared with stateside standards: $5 admission and a minimum of $10.00 worth of beer or whisky. "For $15 the GI will have rock'n'roll to listen to and American girls to observe," he said. "A bargain." Now, therefore be it

Resolved, By Gragg-Sherrill Post No. 248, The American Legion, Corpus Christi, Texas, other war veterans, patriotic, religious, civic and other local organizations and individuals in formal meeting assembled in Corpus Christi, Texas, this 3rd day of March, 1967 that:

1) We emphatically deplore and protest against the appearance of so-called topless, American, go-go girls, strippers and other ecdysiasts as entertainers on programs staged for our American servicemen or women in Vietnam or elsewhere;

2) That the United States State and Defense Departments take remedial action to require the immediate revocation of visas or permits of any nature granting the departure from the United States for overseas stations of our Armed Forces of such American go-go girls, strippers and other ecdysiasts and to their business agents and managers or employers; and to deny the issuance of such visas and permits in the future;

3) The United States State Department, Defense Department or other concerned department, take the necessary measures to obtain the revocation of licenses or permits issued by the Vietnam, Saigon and similar governments and agencies permitting the operation of clubs which stage the appearance of American go-go girls, topless or otherwise, strippers and other ecdysiasts for the entertainment of our servicemen and women; and to insure that no licenses or permits for such purposes are issued in the future:

4) The Army colonel who is alleged to have said, in effect, that servicemen shipped from San Francisco are used to topless girls be in-

vestigated; and if the allegations are found to be true that the said Army colonel be subject to the appropriate disciplinary action for making irresponsible and derogatory remarks to the detriment of our country's defenders, our servicemen and women.

5) This entire immoral, evil, degrading, alleged plan, with its direct accusation of debauchery, lechery, moral turpitude, depravity and degradation being either inherent in or inculcated by association in our Armed Forces is calculated to destroy the trust of all peoples of all faiths throughout the world in the morality, ideals and integrity of the United States of America and its Armed Forces, and to subject us to the ridicule of the communistic nations;

6) That copies of this resolution be sent to the leaders of our State and Defense Departments, to our Congressmen, the press and first of all to the President of the United States.

EAST-WEST TRADE

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have read the text of the speech delivered on Monday by the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] to the World Affairs Council of Tacoma, Wash., on the subject of East-West trade. The Senator has stated quite well the importance of moving ahead with measures to improve trade relations with the Soviet Union and other nations of Eastern Europe in spite of the pall cast on East-West relations by the war in Vietnam. Senator MAGNUSON is well qualified to speak on this subject. The Committee on Commerce, under his leadership, has taken an active interest in East-West trade relations for a number of years and last fall the Senator visited the Soviet Union, where he talked with many trade officials and political leaders.

Although the Senator from Washington and I do not agree on some foreign policy issues, such as Vietnam, we do see eye to eye on the political significance of trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. His speech is a commonsense, rational approach to what is all too often an emotional subject, and I commend it to Senators and other readers of the RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SENATOR LOOKS AT EAST-WEST TRADE

(By Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, to the World Affairs Council, Mar. 6, 1967)

His name may be Ivanoff or Ionescu; his home, Sofia or Bucharest. He may or may not be a member of the Communist Party; in any event, he has learned to survive and get ahead in a Communist state. He may be the director of a State trading company, the manager of a manufacturing enterprise geared for exports, Chief of the North American Office of the Foreign Trade Ministry, or, believe it or not, the Vice President of a Communist Chamber of Commerce.

As strange as his name and language and as foreign his politics and economics—you and I have a deep and abiding interest in this fellow. To us, he represents a growing challenge and opportunity, and that challenge and opportunity are what this country's East-West Trade policy is all about.

For at least ten years now, the Communist countries of Eastern Europe have been undergoing a revolutionary reversal of their relationship to the industrialized, capitalist West. Stalin was determined to weld the Communist Bloc into a self-contained economic and political whole, totally independent economically, as well as politically, from the West. Trade was tolerated only to meet emergency needs, or to supply prototype plant and equipment to be copied and reproduced. The Bloc was gripped in a state of economic isolation which the economists call "autarky."

Stalin died. The West prospered beyond our brightest hopes and expectations, while the Communist East bogged down in the rigidities and waste of Communist dogmas. As the political grip of Moscow on the satellite capitals relaxed perceptively, the national self-interest of each of the Eastern European countries began to assert itself—even within the local Communist Party superstructures which the Russians had placed in power.

Gradually at first, then with a quickened pace, the countries of Eastern Europe turned to their traditional trading partners in the West—not to exploit one-shot deals—but to reinstate the mutually beneficial long term partnerships on which Europe thrived before the erection of the Iron Curtain.

To rebuild economies shattered by the war and shuttered by the inefficiencies of Communist planning, these countries looked to England, France, Italy and, ironically, West Germany to supply the sinews of modern industrial economies.

But from the beginning the shopping lists carried by the Communist buyers from the East were endless, while their pocketbooks were almost always bare.

With few exceptions, the products produced in Eastern Europe were shoddy, untailored to Western standards. Not only was the quality inferior but the Cold War isolation of the East had left its manufacturing and trading enterprises grossly ignorant of product tastes and trading methods of the West.

The Communist Party "Apparachik" who was placed in charge of a shoe factory because of his political reliability may have been a deadly guerrilla fighter in the revolution, but he met his factory's quota of a hundred thousand pairs of shoes by producing 200,000 left shoes! And few were the Party faithful who could strike a hard bargain over a negotiations table with Western businessmen.

Bankers hardly fit the stereotype of the victorious proletariat, but how do you finance exports and imports without a modern banking system? And if you are hostile to visitors, buyers and money-laden tourists will shunt you for friendlier climates.

So if you are a Communist state in Eastern Europe faced with an unquenchable thirst for products and know-how from the West, some inevitable and very interesting things begin to happen to you.

First, you become less concerned with Party loyalty and more concerned with ability in your choice of enterprise managers—specifically, the ability to turn a profit, a word which slowly creeps back into your vocabulary. You look for able, young, university graduates with ambition and, with surprising frequency, you even rehabilitate pre-war merchants who have been barely existing on the fringes of your Communist state.

And then you turn increasingly to greater market incentives for firms and workers. Profit rather than quantity becomes the key to production. Labor and management are rewarded with bonuses not for exceeding arbitrary quotas of inferior widgets which no one will buy, but for producing quality widgets sold at a profit.

Gradually, your closely controlled economy and society begins to loosen up. All of your export executives must learn English, because English is now the dominant international language of traders. Also, the Chamber of Commerce subscribes to *Time Magazine* and the *London Economist.*

The wife of a Communist news correspondent edits an English language export promotion journal. To practice English she listens to Willis Conover. Do you know who he is? I didn't, until I talked with the people in Europe. He is the star Disc Jockey of Voice of America.

Travel to the West becomes a necessity, and the conscientious commercial representative in London or New York can't shut himself up in the self-contained cell of his embassy or legation. He has to get out and mix and sell. And then he gets corrupted by Western influences, begins to dress well, wants a car—an American car. One young fellow who led a Communist Trade Delegation to Egypt told us that as soon as he landed in Cairo he headed for the latest James Bond movie—despite the official view of his government that James Bond is the prototype of the reactionary imperialist. He envies the open political views of his Western counterparts. Soon he begins to try his hand at a political joke or two on his own government.

"Why don't Hungarian workers go on strike," one Hungarian asked us. The answer, "Because nobody would know the difference."

"Why doesn't Switzerland have a Communist government? Because it is too small to afford it."

The Communist trader begins to think of himself more as a trader and less as a Communist. We asked a director of the Foreign Trade Bank for one of the Eastern European countries how he would characterize his work. "I would like to think of myself as a merchant banker, just like the English merchant bankers."

"I would like to forget that I am working for the government" the head of one trading company told us and another, who had been the director of an exporting enterprise for nearly twenty years, watching it expand and grow, proudly referred to it as "my company."

Competition creeps in. Two or three trading companies compete over who can do the best job buying and selling heavy machinery. A state manufacturing enterprise with vague jurisdictional lines and a hustling managing director decides it can build and operate chicken processing plants more efficiently than the outfit that is doing the job now—and does.

How do these Eastern traders feel about America? "As a businessman," he will tell you, he has the greatest admiration for American goods, technology production techniques, and our ability to deliver on time. The way to say know-how in Rumania is "know-how."

He likes Americans—he likes to deal with them. He respects and trusts the American business ethic. If he had enough dollars, he would buy everything from the Americans.

And he likes Americans personally, as he gets to know them. The Agricultural Minister of one of the Eastern countries has come to the United States several times to purchase plants and equipment and has developed close friendship with the Americans with whom he deals. One told me that he had brought the Minister to his home in the Mid-West for a weekend of relaxation and, on Sunday morning, asked his guest if he would join the family at church. The Minister replied that he would like to go, if it were a small church, where no one would see him.

How does he feel about Vietnam? He wishes it would go away. Does he have a missionary zeal to spread Communism throughout the world? Not likely. Aggressive expansion of Communism threatens peaceful relations with the West is a threat to his job.

In short, we have a stake in the new breed of Communist traders because they have a stake in us.

Suppose the secret police in his country threaten to arrest a tourist who tries to talk politics with a citizen. The trader protests, "Leave the tourist alone, we need hard currency."

He wants to buy a corn flake or potato chip factory from an American firm. He is hoping that the United States Office of Export Control will grant an export license. Does he want his government to announce that it is shortly sending volunteers to Vietnam? He does not. He does not want to rock the boat and lose the contract.

But the manager of a state trading company has his problems. He promises the combine that manages all food processing that the Americans will deliver a corn flake factory faster and better than anyone else. The Foreign Trade Bank allocates precious, hard-earned currency for the factory and the contract is negotiated and signed. But the Young Americans for Freedom decide to picket the firm that is selling the plant (one Rumanian official said he knew it was the "Young Democrats" that were the root of the trouble). The American firm now gets cold feet and cancels the contract, at the last minute.

The Food combines Five Year Plan for producing corn flakes is shot and the plant manager blames his Trade Ministry for getting involved with the no-good Americans.

And do you know who is happy with this result? The Young Americans for Freedom are happy with the result and the Communist Secret Police are happy with the result. Communist hard liners rub their hands and say "See, we told you so. To trade with the Americans is to buy trouble. Capitalists are no ——— good."

"You kept us from sending volunteers to Vietnam, you kept our shipments of supplies limited, you muzzled our military men and our diplomats, all because of this ridiculous notion of co-existing with the West. It is time to forget this nonsense and get on with our wars of liberation."

The position and moderating influence of the traders declines.

This is where our own East-West Trade Policy comes in, and it might be useful for us at this point to briefly review that policy.

Generally speaking, our relations with the Communist world in the last two or three decades have had both defensive and affirmative aspects.

Defensively during the course of the last twenty years, the United States has had to confront Communist military aggression, and subversion in many parts of the world. This we have done, this we will continue to do so long as necessary. We believe in and we abide by the principle that no power has the right to impose its ideas or its system on others through the use of arms.

Greece was threatened by Communist subversion in the immediate post war years; we did not hesitate to come to the aid of Greece. We did not hesitate to send our young men and commit our resources to the Korean War to insure that peace and stability would prevail in the North Pacific. Because we did not hesitate, Communist China as well as Stalin's Russia learned painfully and at considerable cost that the United States is unflinching when faced with the threat of force.

In Europe we have made it clear to friends and foes alike that we stand by our commitments. We have been tested twice in Berlin, and today the citizen of Berlin does not fear for his future. When the Soviet leadership concluded that we could not be stared down in a nuclear confrontation through the planting of missiles in Cuba, we stood firm. Circumspection prevailed.

And so, fitfully and painfully, a measure of restraint has come to characterize American-Soviet relations. Make no mistake of it, this restraint exists primarily because we have permitted the Soviets no illusions about our willingness and determination to meet force with force.

This is why we are in Vietnam today. The issue there is not a local one. The stake is the peace of Asia, and the strategic course international Communism will follow in this decade. In Europe and Korea, they tried open force and failed. In Vietnam, by adopting the coloring of a national "war of liberation" they are testing the efficacy of covert force.

By standing firm, as we are, we are also strengthening the hand of those Communists, such as the traders of whom we have spoken, who seek to discourage international adventures which threaten the life line of trade.

While these defensive aspects of our policy have been designed to dampen the appetites of the radical Communists, the affirmative aspects have been designed to extend a firm hand to the moderates who shun aggression. We helped Yugoslavia with its efforts to maintain independence from the Soviet Union, and we have helped Yugoslavia to move away from doctrinaire Communism to a freer economic and political system.

President Eisenhower supplied surplus grains to Poland partly in response to that country's maintenance of a free enterprise agricultural system.

Now we are attempting to strengthen the hand of the Eastern traders. Proposing to Congress the East-West Trade Relations Act, which I have had the honor to sponsor in the Senate, President Johnson has demonstrated to the East his good faith in seeking to abolish the discriminatory tariff rates imposed during the ice age of the Cold War.

Step by step we are attempting to build those bridges of confidence which must become thoroughfares if peace is ever to return to this planet which we share, like it or not, with the Communists.

We have now agreed with the Soviet Union to a treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space. We have concluded a civil air agreement providing direct air service between New York and Moscow. I, myself, have been deeply involved in the recent conclusion of a just and reasonable Fisheries Agreement. The result has been an agreement far more favorable than we earlier thought possible. The Soviet negotiators accepted logical recommendations without trying to interject cold war objections.

We have renewed the US–USSR Exchange Agreement for another two years. We now have before us in the Senate for ratification the US–Soviet Consular Convention which would constitute an unprecedented breakthrough, furnishing protection to American travelers and American consular officials in the Soviet Union. We are making substantial progress toward an agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

The President has authorized the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, as well as Rumania. Export controls have been amended to permit the sale, under simplified licensing procedures to Eastern Europe, of several hundred non-strategic items. Our Legations in Budapest and Sophia and the Hungarian and Bulgarian Legations in Washington have been raised to the status of embassies.

We have just concluded a new two-year agreement with Rumania on Cultural, Scientific and Educational Exchanges. And the National Academy of Sciences has concluded agreements with several of its European counterparts for specific scientific exchanges.

Are these efforts really worthwhile? And are they really in our interest? Wouldn't we rather have the Rumanians making corn flakes than increasing jet fuel production?

But does all this answer the basic painful question, "Why should we trade with the Communists when they are supplying the weapons that kill our boys in Vietnam? Fortunately, the answer cannot be as simple as the question, but there is an answer.

First and foremost trade in strategic goods is banned, both by agreement with our Western allies and by our own laws, and no one proposes to lift that ban. Second, nothing that we do on our trade policy will deny the North Vietnamese access to any military equipment. The Communist world is self-sufficient in military production and has been for many years.

Ironically, the Russians are supplying us with scarce magnesium, vital to U.S. aircraft production and therefore to the Vietnam war effort.

On the other hand, our Intelligence sources tell us that the bulk of the enemy equipment in Vietnam is Chinese in origin with Soviet supplies constituting a "relatively minor component." According to Deputy Under Secretary of State Kohler, "The big Soviet military aid has gone to North Vietnam in the form of anti-aircraft guns, and missiles and radar and fighter planes, items the Soviets describe as defensive."

There seems, in fact, to have been some element of restraint here, perhaps referred by Moscow as paralleling our own limited purposes in Vietnam.

Clearly the growing and continuing need for trade with the West *does* act as a restraining influence on the Communists. If we remove that trade potential, then the Communists will have nothing to lose by pulling out all the stops.

As Senator Jackson observed in an incisive and compelling speech, which he made to the Senate last week:

"We need to learn the art of doing two things at once: to work with the Soviet Union where we can and to keep up our strength as a basis for working with them and for encouraging them to view us with a healthy respect. This is not easy to do, for it is an old tendency of ours to see things in black and white terms, but it is the task we face.

"In general, we should be ready to do business with Moscow wherever our interests and theirs truly converge. There may therefore be advantages to each side in an expansion of the peaceful contacts growing out of trade and tourism and other exchanges."

There is perhaps no field as fertile for the Monday morning quarterback as foreign policy. We could easily lose count of the foreign policy decisions of the last two decades which have failed to bear the test of time and reflection.

The Marshall Plan, in its main force and objectives, must surely rank as a singular American triumph in foreign diplomacy as well as in international compassion, but we may have erred in coldly excluding the Soviet Union and the satellites from the Plan. Of course, we had justification enough arising from Stalin's aggressive behavior. But the decision to further isolate the Soviet Bloc may well have strengthened and confirmed the worst suspicions of the Russians and provoked them to veer more sharply along the road to the Cold War and the Iron Curtain.

I have even less hesitation in judging that Secretary Dulles was wrong in impeding the free elections in Vietnam contemplated by the 1954 Geneva Agreement. I disagreed with the Administration at the time and said so.

I make these observations not to unearth old chestnuts or to pick the bones of past policies which may have appeared wise and just at the time, but only to dramatize the constantly shifting nature of foreign affairs, the hazards of viewing both friendly and hostile relations as permanent fixtures.

Change, rapid fomenting change, characterizes not only our society, but all societies. Our challenge is to recognize, if possible to anticipate, change and to be alert to respond to change.

CRISPUS ATTUCKS WEEK

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, on last Sunday, March 5, a delegation of some 24 persons representing the Crispus Attucks Society, Inc., made a pilgrimage to Boston for memorial services and the laying of a wreath at the Attucks Monument.

The pilgrimage was the first event of a week officially proclaimed "Crispus Attucks Week" in New Jersey in honor of the first patriot to give his life in the Revolutionary War in the cause of freedom and liberty for all Americans, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. The weeklong celebration will be climaxed by the Crispus Attucks Day Parade in the city of Newark this Sunday. The parade is intended as a tribute to the courage and sacrifice of American fightingmen from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam.

This is only one way in which the Crispus Attucks Society, dedicated to the history and culture of the American Negro, endeavors to bring into proper focus an understanding and knowledge of the invaluable contributions men of color have made to the American society. The basic philosophy the society seeks to emphasize is, "It is better to march with pride—than in protest."

I commend the society and its activities to the attention of Senators from other States. It is making, I believe, a significant contribution toward helping the nation "march with pride" toward a fuller realization of American brotherhood.

The founder of the Crispus Attucks Society is John A. Thomas. Other officers of the Crispus Attucks Day Parade Committee are:

General Chairman: Capt. Roscoe Jennings.

Honorary Chairman: Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio.

Vice Chairman: Lewis N. Miles, II.

Honorary Vice Chairman: James Threatt, Sheriff Leroy J. D'Aloia.

Treasurer: James Moore, Jr.

Secretary: Connie Woodruff.

Grand Marshall: Timothy Still.

Deputy Grand Marshall: Hattie Coppock.

Chief of Staff: Det. William A. Stewart.

Deputy Chiefs of Staff: Melvin Calloway, Officer Harold Gibson, Jenkins Holman, Fireman William Thomas, Danny Williams.

Parade Adjutant: John H. Brown.

Asst. Parade Adjutant: Frank Ray, Richard Lang.

Public Relations: Rudy Kinchen.

Publicity: William S. Thomas.

Trustees: Irvin B. Booker, Esq., Chairman, James E. Anderson, Ida Barker, Joseph James, Queen E. James, Rev. Langston Miles, Simeon Moss, Rev. James E. Myers, Loretta Starks, Tally Talbot, Annette Wheeler.

Committee: James Blair, Cheri Coleman, Patricia Gibbs, Barbara Gibson, Kenneth A. Gibson, Hickman Holmes, Sarah Jennings, Carolyn Kelly, Mae Massie, William Mercer, Marlene Miles, William D. Payne, George L. Richardson, Mervin Robinson, Bernice Sanders, Vera L. Stewart, Major Taylor, Stephen S. Thomas, Esta Williams.

GUN CONTROL

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unananimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Spiral to a Gun," written by Martha Gellhorn, and published in Harper's magazine for October 1966.

Miss Gellhorn describes poignantly the brutal consequences of the mere availability of guns which escalate a fist fight to murder, and a tantrum to a life in the penitentiary.

This article represents an important segment of the American press, and I recommend it to Senators as they consider S. 1, a bill to amend the United States Code, title 18, relating to the unregulated interstate commerce in firearms.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPIRAL TO A GUN

(By Martha Gellhorn)[1]

The St. Louis Municipal Courts Building was finished in 1911 and must have seemed like the last word in Palaces of Justice at the time. Made of gray stone, it is three very high storeys high, adorned with carved wreaths around impressive windows, a sweeping front stairway, slabs of Corinthian columns, and two large, handsome granite ladies, in 1900 hairdos and draperies, lounging on the roof beside an outsize flowerpot which sprouts granite flames. Except for Juvenile offenders and Federal offenses, all the law violation of the city—from parking tickets to murder—is brought to judgment inside this one building.

On weekday mornings, the wide corridors of the first floor resemble a bus station, strewn with candy wrappers, paper cups, and cigarette butts and crowded with restless people. These are the clientele of the Police Courts (maximum punishment, three months in the workhouse and $500 fine) and the Courts of Criminal Correction (maximum punishment, one year in the City Jail and $1,000 fine). On the third floor, in suitable quiet and decorum, the Circuit Courts handle felonious (punishment, from two years in the state penitentiary to death).

The personnel of the courts is an intimate, practically permanent group; Judges are addressed as Judge, everyone else by first names. It is pleasing to hear a Judge call a Special Assistant Circuit Attorney "Buster," during a trial recess. No one can make a fortune here; driving ambition would be pointless; no one is worked to ulcers in this unhurried atmosphere; and no one is bored with his job. If you are on the right side of the law, the Municipal Courts Building is singularly agreeable. To an outsider, constant dealing with crime and punishment would seem melancholy and finally disgusting. It is not. Crime, here, has a face and a story, and human behavior is still the most fascinating subject on earth. Crime, like war, strips off everyday camouflage. In these courtrooms you get a full view of the basement of our society and the basement life that produces criminals. No one could be bored with that, though attitudes to the work vary.

The majority of officials see their function and duty as punishment: catch and convict, and the heavier the punishment the better; keep the misfits out of circulation as long as possible; and protect the law-abiding. The minority cling to a concern for individuals and the tired but humane belief in a second chance. Nobody talks of justice, a condition not to be obtained here below. The best that men of goodwill and sensitive conscience can aim for is the limiting of injustice.

St. Louis is the tenth-largest city in the United States and a steady, settled sort of place. The law-abiding population is much given to civic responsibility and pride. By old custom, wealth is not flaunted and poverty stays largely out of sight, on side streets. Crime seems not only dangerous in this solid middle-class setting, but abnormal. Crime may be expected in flashy cities like New York or Chicago or Los Angeles but it is a shock, here, to feel nervous about walking in the parks or on the streets after dark. St. Louisans read in their papers that major crimes—murder, rape, robbery, assault—have increased in their town by 8 per cent in 1965; and they are alarmed and indignant. Like all other urban Americans.

The Deputy Sheriffs are old men with a tendency to wear their stomachs over their belts. One of these shouts a name. A door to the left of the Judge's dais opens and a man, watching his feet, walks down a few steps and is nudged into place, before and below the Judge. The man is dressed however as he was when arrested. These are the criminals who have pleaded guilty; none of them are advertisements for the affluent society. Too poor to pay a bondsman's fee and buy liberty until the Judge decides their fate, too poor to hire a lawyer, they have been locked in the City Jail until this moment. The sentencing. If it please Your Honor, says an Assistant Circuit Attorney, and recites the man's crime and vital statistics, including any previous convictions. The man waits; he has already waited for two months in the cells down the street. He is a Negro, the poorest of the poor. Crime is a failure too, beginning with the first one, which leads inevitably to the others. Who wants to employ an unskilled Negro with a prison record? There are more than enough unskilled and unblemished Negroes.

TOO DAZED TO UNDERSTAND

It goes briskly now; these confessed criminals are the delight of the police, the ease of the Circuit Attorney's Office. This Judge is a kind man; a local newspaper, when it has nothing better to do, howls at him for being too generous with paroles. The criminal is twenty-three years old, thin, of medium height, shabby, his skin a lifeless soot color. He has been in the penitentiary almost steadily since he was eighteen; he is a hopelessly incompetent, small-time burglar. He never tried for a big haul and he got nothing except two different prison terms and, in between, ninety days in the workhouse for carrying a concealed weapon. He has been caught for the third time. He pleaded guilty and asked to be sent to the Federal Hospital for Narcotic Addicts. The Federal Hospital, however, is full and, besides, not eager for felons.

The Judge says regretfully that his request has been turned down and he will, instead, be sentenced to seven years in the penitentiary. The man cries out, "Seven years!" The cry becomes a choking sort of gasp; then he is sobbing, "Seven years, seven years." The Judge says he is sorry and the Deputy Sheriff hustles the man back the way he came. He was the only man, in a month, who showed emotion when the final words of the sentence were pronounced. Most of them seem too dazed to understand. All courtrooms have a curious air of unreality; the very rules of law prevent people from speaking out about real life.

An elderly white man, a rarity because he is white, shuffles in; he is fifty-two and was arrested after an accident caused by his drunken driving. Searching his car, the police found two guns and a knife. The man has been arrested five times before, for drunkenness, gambling, and disturbing the peace; but never jailed. He is a steady worker and keeps saying this: years and years at the same job, married, with one child. Why did he have that collection of weapons? He mumbles incoherently about taking them to a friend, didn't know they were in the car. He is given fifty days in the workhouse, but the sentence is suspended, and he goes free on probation.

Now it is the Court of Criminal Correction:

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[1] Martha Gellhorn, a correspondent in five wars, went to Vietnam this summer. She is the author of eleven books (chiefly fiction) and has studied and written about the basement of society since 1936, when she reported for Harry Hopkins on unemployment relief.

a Negro is in the witness chair, accused of stealing three shirts from a shop in a slum street. His face is ravaged, cut in black stone; his body is not as old as his face. The prosecuting Attorney says this man has "numerous convictions." The Judge asks, "Did you threaten to kill him?" indicating the shop owner, a small, puffy white man with glasses. "I didn't have no weapons," the Negro says. Who would threaten to kill without a gun? He needs a new shirt badly.

Three Negro boys are on trial in a Circuit Court for attempted burglary. The police say they were trying to tunnel their way through a brick wall into a supermarket. The crimes often sound dotty, being the handiwork of pea-brains. These boys had enough money to pay a bondsman so they came into court free, neat, and clean; they they could also hire a lawyer. The police on the beat keep a mistrustful eye on Negroes. They arrest fast, but they are not adequately trained to collect the sort of evidence that stands up infallibly in court. The defense lawyer is a Negro and very talented. The jury is not convinced by the police evidence and returns a verdict of Not Guilty. If nothing else is clear, it is clear that money makes a big difference. All men are equal before the law but some are more equal than others. A man is a lot more equal if he walks into court from the street, not the City Jail, wearing a clean shirt and a pressed suit, with a good lawyer by his side.

Behind the scenes, the Parole Office is more revealing than the courts, where desperation and muddle and humanity are smoothed out into fancy questions and incomplete answers: "Were you in close proximity to the accused at the time of the incident?" "Prior to this incident, were any words spoken to you by the accused?" In the Parole Office a cheerful young Negro is reporting to a new, sympathetic, young white Parole Officer. They chat inside a glass cubicle; it was rather like a friendly consultation between patient and family physician. The Negro had been convicted of burglary, nothing much; another case of stealing from need. Now, free on parole, he has miraculously found a job at $40.00 a week, for a thirty-hour week, and can spend $20.00 of his wages on fun, and it is gilded heaven after Alabama, his home state. He goes bowling, has a few beers, takes in the movie shows, knows a girl: bliss. "There's very little sign of the criminal mentality around here," I suggest. "Oh, no," says the young Parole Officer. "They're just uneducated and dumb and unlucky, most of them. They're pretty nice people."

A white boy checks in now, accompanied by his mother, recently widowed, and beside herself with anxiety—the boy has had another run-in with the police. The boy is nineteen, with rimless glasses and a weak chin, a dull boy, "a good boy," his mother insists. But he drinks beer in a tavern and "somebody says something" and he gets fighting mad. He is on parole from a conviction for assault; he attacked another boy with a tire tool. To look at him, you would not think he would attempt to beat up a rabbit. "The police see us sitting around and they just pick us up," the boy says, without rancor. This happens steadily to Negroes, apparently also to poor whites. "There's nothing to do in our neighborhood," the boy says, trying to explain himself and the emptiness of his life. He worked as a printer's apprentice but was fired after his conviction; only two boys in his set have jobs. He dropped out of high school after two years: "I just never could get interested in books." The boy is suffering from boredom as if from infantile paralysis. "What do you *want* to do?" I ask. He'll only have to get beery drunk once more and assault someone else and he's off to the penitentiary. "I've never really thought about it," the boy says.

THE CHILDREN WERE RAPISTS

That month, the children were rapists, not the adults. In the Juvenile Court, the Judge was hearing the case of a thirteen-year-old girl raped by five boys, two of whom were under sixteen and three of whom had just passed seventeen and were therefore beyond the jurisdiction of this court. The girl was skinny, shamed, wearing ill-assorted, outgrown clothes; the boys were resplendent in their uniforms of black felt hats, three-quarter-length black leather coats, black trousers, and shoes. She knew all these boys. The story was odious but puzzling; it was as if kids' street games had turned into this. Like their elders, the children are nocturnal and nomadic. The girl had been twenty blocks from her home at ten at night, presumably to meet one of the boys, her steady. She was not a virgin before the mass assault.

The scene of this orgy for babies was the tenth-floor corridor of a giant apartment block which the state built, as slum clearance. A housing project. This one is a cold, inhuman congeries of buildings that look like factories, where the poor are packed together to form the densest population of the city. The crime rate there is also the highest. It must have been a fairly noisy event but no one opened a door into that corridor, no one looked out or called the police. The poor live in these apartments as if barricaded inside separate caves, hiding from wild animals. Slum clearance, which simply produces bigger slums, is a hideous joke; everyone knows this, yet the great slums of the future are still planned and erected.

The juvenile rapists were sentenced to reform school; the older ones went free because the girl's mother could not bear to prosecute them in public at the Municipal Courts. The two boys, led off to the detention wing, asked about their leather coats: could they send them home, would they be safe, were they going to lose them? The coats were all their status in the world. Later, waiting in a little room for a different sort of uniform, they put their heads down on a table and looked like scared children.

The Juvenile Court is a heartbreak place, for here the pitiful, usually fatherless families start to crack up, and the children are marked with their first official brand as failures. A Negro woman, helplessly weeping, agrees that her son must be sent away to reform school; he isn't a criminal yet, he is a rebel; she cannot control him. The boy, aged fourteen, gets up from his chair, kisses her quickly and gently on the cheek, pats her shoulder, and goes through the door which is a door to jail, head high. Another woman, screaming with tears, follows her daughter to that door which shuts in her face. *"No! No! You ain't gonna take my daughter! I wants my daughter! I needs my daughter! What you tryin' to do, take all my chillrun away from me! I loves my chillrun! I needs my chillrun!"* This is the worst; there is no gleam of light here, it is pure tragedy.

"Yes, these people got a lot of love," says the young Negro Juvenile Officer. He has left that messy, passionate, menaced basement life far behind. He is well integrated into the American Way of Life. "But love isn't enough."

In the adult courts, even in murder cases, one has glimpses of the basement life which are not all folly and misery, mistakes and hardship. There are hints of indomitable gaiety; people living on the bottom of the world are still so alive that they make joy for themselves, out of nothing, on the spur of the moment. There are hints, too, of a prevailing generosity; the impoverished are always lending money, regardless of risk. And in these families, amputated by poverty, brothers and sisters are loyal to each other, and the mother loves unquestioningly. Their friendships are astounding too, as if each man had a private little country made up of his friends. Their lives are nightmares of insecurity, and yet they have saved some human qualities which are not so readily found on the comfortable upper storeys of our society; enviable human qualities. You catch sight of these, briefly, even in murder trials.

A quite beautiful Negro woman, with small, elegant features and a Nefertiti neck, had been giving a party. Her brother-in-law dropped in, bringing a friend of his; a woman neighbor came along bring a chum of hers. It was open-house hospitality, one of the most endearing aspects of basement life; strangers are welcome. There was music from the radio to dance to; the men went out and borrowed money to buy whiskey and beer; the unplanned party breezed on happily into the small hours. The beautiful woman, a widow, had an ex-lover, a bad type who had molested her daughter. She denounced him to the police for that, but he was now out of jail and had threatened her. She bought a rifle and told her troubles to her brother-in-law, a handsome bus driver studying to become a preacher. At 2:30 in the morning, the ex-lover arrived, drunk, to crash the impromptu party.

"He talked in a rough tone like he was ready to take on anybody," said the bus driver, on the witness stand. Presently, the ex-lover put his hand in his pocket, a fatal gesture; it means reaching for a gun. The bus driver jumped him; they fought in the kitchen; the bus driver was winning, the ex-lover was flat on the floor, his shoulders held down. Suddenly there were three shots, the ex-lover was dead, and panic set in. If guns were not as available as transistor radios, there would have been no death that night. There would have been a fight, and an unwanted drunk would have been kicked out of the house.

SHEEP TO THE SLAUGHTER

Now, in a Circuit Court, the bus driver's companion is accused of this murder and has signed a confession but retracted it. He had never seen the beautiful woman and the ex-lover before that night; he came to the party with the bus driver, his best friend, his hero. The accused was a slow, simple fellow, a dutiful wage earner, with not so much as a parking ticket against his name. At the last minute his family hired a lawyer, but the lawyer could get no sensible story from his client. Bewildered and outraged by this sheep led to the slaughter, the lawyer asked, "Why did you sign that confession?" It was indeed baffling. The beautiful woman had confessed too, but the police made no record of her confession and she later denied it. Yet she was the obvious suspect; she alone had cause to hate and fear her ex-lover. "The police tell me she was having a heart attack so I better sign up and stop all the trouble." He was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary for manslaughter; the jury was uneasy about the case, and allotted the minimum punishment. It turned out that the murdered ex-lover had no gun in his pocket anyhow, but who was to know?

This murder was even more meaningless. A very thin, small young Negro sits in the chair of the accused; he is shrunken inside a cheap suit. The light and space and voices of the courtroom dazzle him. He has been sitting in a cell in the City Jail for eleven long months, waiting for his trial. An essential witness vanished, so the trial was delayed. The accused of course could not pay a bondsman's fee and thus buy his last months of freedom. Nearly a year ago, in a slum coffee shop at four in the morning, he shot and killed another young man; after which he ran to his girl friend's house and wept. She hid the gun under her bed and they took a taxi to his sister's house. The sister and a neighbor advised that he call the police; it was not a hard case for the cops. The law is not obliged to make sense of a crime, nor does it try.

The first witness for the state was the girl friend, now nineteen years old. At sixteen she and the youth James became something, it is not clear what, because the accused is a homosexual. In the opinion of the detectives and lawyers, this was a crime of passion but the wrong way round. The murdered man was James's lover, jealous of the girl and more jealous of a new boy who was about to replace him. The victim, properly, should have done the shooting. If there is a grain of reason in it, one must assume that James feared this and shot first.

The girl friend, pot-faced, homely, wearing a bandanna and a grimy coat, took the oath and settled in the witness chair. She had not seen James since the night of the murder. For a moment, the lawyers huddled in consultation with the Judge; everyone forgot these two. Unnoticed by the white grown-ups, they smiled at each other across the well of the court, smiled with such warmth and gentleness and love as one rarely sees anywhere. Then the white grown-ups took over again. The girl's face went blank; she answered in monosyllables; she seemed nearly half-witted in her stupidity; she didn't want to send this frail idiotic boy to prison.

The missing witness had been found; he was apparently the new love and the cause of the tragedy. He was an impish coffee-colored boy,, whom the police located at last because, in a gay mood, tight as a tick, he stole a Greyhound bus in Arkansas and drove it straight into a wall. The Arkansas police extradited him. When the news of this subsidiary crime came out, everyone in court laughed; so did he. "Are you a homosexual?" the State's Attorney asked. "Not that I know of."

Without a gun, this grotesque story would have finished in a tiff, insults, pique, a general change of partners, and they would have forgotten there was anything to tiff about, and gone on their obscure, harmless way. Instead one young man is dead and James was sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary which, for all practical purposes, is the end of that mixed-up life.

THE BIGGEST AND THE BEST

These are samples of the major crimes: murder, rape, robbery, assault. And samples of the criminals. They do not look very impressive, supposing that a criminal has some ability in his work. They look like people whose lives have been a downward spiral since childhood. "We never get any clever people in here," said the Circuit Attorney. Statistics appear to bear out the observation of eye and ear, for in 1965 only 36.8 per cent of all crimes in St. Louis were solved; and this is approximately the national average. The uncaught 63.2 per cent of criminals must be the more competent and deadly: the psychotic killers; the vandals whose lust is to destroy rather than steal, or destroy what they cannot steal; the sadists who beat their victims as much for that pleasure as for the stolen wallet; the rapists; the successful robbers.

The basement of our society is unfit for human habitation, a disgrace to the world's richest nation, and moreover it is victimized. The criminals who are spawned there prey first on their neighbors, the law-abiding poor. Aside from being unlivable, a disgrace and a menace, our national basement is also an armory. It begins to seem that everyone in it is armed with a gun and fear of the other man's gun.

Missouri is one of the seven states in the Union that forbid the purchase of handguns without a police permit. But anyone can buy a gun across the river in Illinois, or order a dozen by mail, or pick up a second-hand weapon on a dingy street corner for $5.00 if he is known in the neighborhood. Testifying on a proposed (but shelved) Federal Firearms Act before a Senate Subcommittee, the chief law-enforcement officers from every crime-ridden city in America stated that the growing volume and violence of crime are *directly* related to our free-for-all system of obtaining weapons. No other civilized Western democracy indulges in such insanity; nowhere else can lethal weapons be acquired as easily as tennis rackets. But we've always been hipped on being biggest and best, so perhaps it is not surprising that we also have the biggest and best slums, the biggest and best private armaments, and the biggest and best crime.

Mr. DODD. And, Mr. President, the same issue of Harper's included an anecdotal view of the student body of one university, the University of Texas, following a sickening shootup by a sick college student who murders some dozen and a half innocent people and wounded twice that number.

I ask unanimous consent to insert it in the Record for the benefit of my colleagues as this Congress considers legislation to control the traffic in firearms.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Guns on the Campus

Any adult who is not a felon may buy any common type of weapon in Texas, and no registration or adequate record is usually made. Cheap guns are sold in department and sporting goods stores, and I know of drug and liquor stores that carry them. Ammunition may be purchased at the supermarket or the drive-in.

Texans do not find this surprising. A series of censuses of my classes has revealed that, on the average, about half the boys and perhaps a third of the girls have weapons with them at the University [of Texas]. Normally about 25 per cent of the gun owners in my classes admit to keeping pistols. When I have asked the students why they feel the necessity for firearms in their rooms or glove compartments, they have universally replied that they need them "for protection." When I have asked what they have that needs protecting at the hazard of their own lives or another's, they have become confused. As a result of a number of unfortunate incidents the University now prohibits the keeping of weapons in dormitory rooms—but this rule is flagrantly violated.

(Reece McGee, former associate professor of sociology at the University of Texas, writing in *The Nation*, December 21, 1963.)

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND GENOCIDE TREATIES IS A STRONG FORCE IN PUSH FOR SENATE RATIFICATION—XXXV

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as I rise today to urge Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery, I want to pay tribute to a group which has played a major role in the drive for Senate ratification—the ad hoc Committee on Human Rights and Genocide Treaties.

The ad hoc Committee on Human Rights and Genocide Treaties is a deeply committed, actively engaged coalition of 51 labor, religious, civic, and nationality groups. Although only 3 years old, the committee has effectively carried the case for Senate ratification to millions of people. The fact that after almost 4 years the Foreign Relations Committee has held hearings on the Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery is, in part, a tribute to the ad hoc committee's efforts.

I have had the privilege of working closely with the ad hoc committee in our mutual campaign to win Senate ratification on the Human Rights Conventions. I have found the committee members and representatives to be informed and responsible citizens who care deeply about the United States and human rights.

The spokesman for the ad hoc Committee on Human Rights and Genocide Treaties who testified recently before the Foreign Relations Committee was Richard N. Gardner. Mr. Gardner is presently professor of law and international organizations at Columbia University. From 1961 to 1965, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. Mr. Gardner's appearance was indeed fitting in view of the fact that he was President Kennedy's principal adviser when the late President submitted the Human Rights Conventions to the Senate.

The ad hoc committee has publicly reaffirmed once again its commitment to Senate ratification of the Genocide Convention. While the committee is gratified by the progress the other three Human Rights Conventions appear to be making, the committee believes strongly, as I do, that Senate ratification of the Genocide Convention is imperative.

Mr. President, I commend the ad hoc Committee on Human Rights and Genocide Treaties for its invaluable and inspired efforts to secure Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions.

I request unanimous consent that the names of the 51 groups comprising the ad hoc Committee on Human Rights and Genocide Treaties be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Ad Hoc Committee on the Human Rights and Genocide Treaties—Member Organizations

American Civil Liberties Union.

American Ethical Union.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL–CIO.

American Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO.

American Friends Service Committee.

American Humanist Association.

American Jewish Committee.

American Jewish Congress.

American Roumanian National Committee.

American Veterans Committee.

Americans for Democratic Action.

B'nai B'rith.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL–CIO.

The Episcopal Church.

Farband, Labor Zionist Order.

Friends Committee on National Legislation.

General Board of Christian Social Concerns, the Methodist Church.

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America.

Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL–CIO.

International Rescue Committee.

International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO.

Jewish Labor Committee.
Jewish War Veterans.
League for Industrial Democracy.
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
National Board, YWCA.
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.
National Community Relations Advisory Council.
National Conference of Christians and and Jews.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Spiritual Assembly of Baha'is of the U.S.
Quaker UN Program.
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL–CIO.
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO.
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.
Ukrainian National Association.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
Unitarian-Universalist Association.
United Automobile Workers of America, AFL–CIO.
United Church of Christ.
United World Federalists.
Women United for the United Nations.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
Workers Defense League.
Workmen's Circle.
World Jewish Congress, American Section.

ADVISORY MEMBERS

Catholic Association for International Peace.
Conference of UN Representatives of the Council of Organizations, UNA–USA.
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

STUDENT ATTAINMENT IN MATHEMATICS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the front page of the Washington Post of March 7, 1967, contained an interesting article which pointed out that in a 12-nation comparison of student attainment in the field of mathematics, the United States ranked fifth. The basis for this statement is a study to be published this month in New York entitled "International Study of Achievement in Mathematics," which was edited by Torsten Husen, of the University of Stockholm, Sweden; and a summary of its findings made public by the University of Chicago.

It should be noted that this comparison was done on a random sample basis and that a spokesman for the U.S. Office of Education cautioned that national rankings may be unfair. However, as the old saying goes, "Where there is smoke, there is fire," and one must take alarm at the words of Prof. Benjamin Bloom, principal American member of the research team, who stated:

> The best overall job of mathematics instruction in public schools appears to be done in Japan. The United States is among the least effective in this respect.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, written by Gerald Grant, Washington Post staff writer, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Pupils Trail Japan, Four Others in 12-Nation Math Comparison

(By Gerald Grant, Washington Post staff writer)

The first large-scale international comparison of how well students learn math shows the United States lagging behind Japan and several European countries.

America suffers somewhat in the rankings because comprehensive high schools here are compared with elite European schools serving a much smaller, more select group of pupils. This is like comparing a prep school with a large city high school.

However, when adjustments are made for this discrepancy, the United States still falls significantly behind Japan, England, Sweden, France and Belgium. But American youngsters outscore pupils in Australia, Germany, Scotland, Finland and the Netherlands.

More than 130,000 youngsters in 12 countries were tested during the five-year study. Educators claim it is the first international study using tests that scholars agreed were fair to all countries involved.

The tests measured a wide range of mathematical skills including reasoning, capacity to analyze problems, techniques and skills, ability to translate a verbal problem into symbols and "inventiveness."

Results will be published this month by John Wiley and Sons, Inc. in New York under the title "International Study of Achievement in Mathematics," editor by Torsten Husen of the University of Stockholm, Sweden.

Students were tested at age 13 and during the final year of secondary school.

The mass of data collected by the researchers has already produced some disagreement about the significance of the results.

A summary of the findings made public by the University of Chicago and approved by the principal American member of the research team, Prof. Benjamin Bloom, says flatly:

"The best overall job of mathematics instruction in public schools appears to be done in Japan. The United States is among the least effective in this respect."

George S. Carnett, a research coordinator at the U.S. Office of Education, which partially supported the study, cautions that national rankings may be unfair.

According to the Chicago analysis, here are some highlights of the study.

Among 13-year-olds, the United States ranked eighth, with 43 per cent scoring in the top half on the test and 5 per cent in the top tenth. This compares with 76 per cent of Japanese 13-year-olds scoring in the top half and 31 per cent in the top tenth. Trailing front-ranked Japan in this age group were Belgium, the Netherlands, Australia, Scotland, England and France, the United States, Sweden and Finland, in that order.

At the end of secondary school, the leading countries for students scoring in the top tenth on the test were England, Japan and Belgium, with the United States lagging considerably behind.

However, both these comparisons unfairly penalize America for educating such a large percentage of students, compared with European schools that screen out less able pupils.

In America, nearly 70 per cent of the pupils finish high school. Generally less than a fifth of the students in most European countries complete secondary school.

One exception is Japan, where 57 per cent of the students graduate from secondary schools. And while the United States scored below countries with more selective schools systems in France and England, Japan outranked them.

When the results were interpreted to show how students fared as a percentage of their total age group, rather than as a percentage of the age group lucky enough to be in school, America's ranking improved markedly.

Again, Japan was first with 1.75 per cent of all youngsters in an age group scoring in the top tenth on the test. England and Sweden followed with 1.3 per cent; Belgium 1.1 per cent, United States slightly less than 1 per cent. Australia, Germany, Scotland, the Netherlands and Finland all trailed the United States with less than one-half of one per cent.

It was also found that the best students among comprehensive American schools do as well as the best students in the elite European or Japanese schools.

In general, selective schools in Europe tend "to succeed relatively well in bringing a small student body up to outstanding accomplishment," the Chicago analysis concluded. But American-style comprehensive schools "can bring a larger group of students up to fairly high levels of performance."

Prof. Arthur W. Foshay of Columbia University, one of the project researchers, says that therefore the American schools "serve the population better than selective secondary schools on the European model."

Other highlights of the study:

Students who have had the "new math" seem to do better than those following traditional methods of instruction, but the sample in the study who had the new math was not regarded large enough to be conclusive.

Boys have more interest in math than girls and do better at it. But differences in math scores between the sexes are not as pronounced at coeducational schools as they are between all-boy and all-girl schools.

Class size appears to have an inconclusive relationship to pupil achievement. Average class size ranged from 24 in Belgium to 41 in Japan. Nor does amount of time devoted to math seem to be directly related to achievement: Japanese students who received only five hours of math instruction per week outscored French pupils who received an average of nine.

In countries with the best math scores, students "tend to consider mathematics an important subject for the society."

However, the first two volumes of the study that will be published this month do not attempt to deal in detail with the reasons why some countries do better than others in mathematics achievement. This will await further analysis of the data.

Carnett, in an article to be published by the U.S. Office of Education, suggests that the lack of qualified math teachers may have affected American achievement. He notes that a recent survey here showed that only 70 per cent of the new-math teachers hired last year were fully qualified to teach the subject.

The international study was carried out by research centers in the countries involved, each of which bore its own costs. The U.S. Office of Education furnished $450,000 for planning and international meetings.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, reading this article brought to mind the fact that there is a growing controversy in our country about the ranking and testing of students. The catalyst in this controversy has been the Carnegie Corp., which, in conjunction with the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, is presently conducting a pilot national testing program entitled the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Unfortunately, many elementary and secondary school administrators and educators have been critical of this testing program and have gone so far as to urge their fellow administrators and educators throughout the country to withhold cooperation with the Carnegie study group.

I believe it is most unfortunate that such a short-sighted stance should be taken by these individuals and groups. Their reaction has been somewhat visceral and emotional, for they see the Carnegie study as either a present attack on their performance or the prelude to future action detrimental to their positions. Therefore, I was most interested to read in the Providence Journal of February 18, 1967, an editorial entitled "A Vital Student Testing Tool," which succinctly sets forth the issues, chastises those who oppose the national assessment project, and also points out the great need for a program of this type. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A VITAL STUDENT TESTING TOOL

School superintendents around the country who oppose the National Assessment of Educational Progress are fighting a losing battle. Clearly, they deserve to lose.

This project, which has strong backing from the nation's top education leaders, offers too much promise to be scuttled or even down-graded by school administrators who fear that by comparison their image may suffer, that the assessment may force them to alter their pet modes of operation or that it may lead to national testing and a national curriculum.

The project in recent months has aroused a searing controversy in teaching circles. It is supported by funds from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education. No federal monies are involved. Up to 5,000,000 youngsters aged 9, 13 and 17 and some young adults eventually will be tested to determine what they have learned in various subjects. The program will compare reading levels, for example, and relate achievement to economic background.

Last month the executive committee of the American Association of School Administrators advised the organization's 16,000 members not to cooperate with the project. The assessment, it said, "will be coercive, will inevitably lead to the pressure of regional, state and local comparisons, and will have national overtones in the dispensing of federal aid."

Former U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel called this position "ridiculous." We agree.

How anyone interested in education, let alone professional educators and school administrators, can rationalize opposition to the plan is difficult to understand. As the Carnegie Corporation said, "A nation that has hitched its destiny to the star of education and pours billions of dollars into the enterprise is collectively crazy if it does not try to find out the result of all this effort. We don't know . . . whether most high school graduates know more or less above more or fewer things than high school graduates did 20 years ago."

America needs this important data. While every effort is being made by project officials to avoid invidious comparisons at the local and state levels, perhaps the sensibilities of those who run our schools are being too warmly coddled. The instinct of professional self-preservation cannot be allowed to stand in the way of what is best for the youth of this and future generations.

Mr. PELL. Lastly, Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to S. 367, a bill to promote excellence in education, and for other purposes, introduced by me and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER]. This proposal would provide for a voluntary program of national assessment to be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I realize that the final report of the Carnegie Corp.'s national assessment program is vital before action can be taken on this measure. However, it is interesting to note that the recognized leaders in education in our country realize that some type of mechanism is needed to assure that we are getting the most for our educational dollar and that our greatest national asset, our youth, are not being given a second-rate education.

The enactment of S. 367 would provide a vehicle to assure that education in this country is excellent and would have the ultimate result of revising those alarming statistics previously noted in the Washington Post article.

THE KENNEDY ROUND

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, with respect to negotiations now going on, many people are concerned that, in seeking some food aid contribution by the Common Market countries as part of the grains agreement, U.S. negotiators will make questionable concessions in our industrial tariffs.

If after these concessions are made the Senate rejects the grains agreement, the United States would pay twice—first in accepting the high variable levies, partly in return for EEC food aid to underdeveloped countries which in themselves would limit U.S. grain exports to the Common Market; second, in agreeing to lower industrial tariffs that would mean increased imports into the United States.

Moreover, the supplying of food aid to underdeveloped countries by the EEC is actually of little benefit to U.S. balance of payments, because we can supply surplus grains to these underdeveloped countries which would be counted as exports, and therefore a plus item in our payments.

Again, therefore, it would be unfortunate if the United States, in order to get the EEC to supply food aid, agreed to high variable levies which would limit our experts to that same Common Market.

NUCLEAR SHIP "SAVANNAH"—RESOLUTION OF CITY OF GALVESTON, TEX.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the City Council of the City of Galveston, Tex., recently passed a resolution opposing the decision made to lay up the nuclear-powered cargo liner *Savannah*. The council was courteous enough to furnish me with a copy of the resolution, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION

"Whereas, decision has been made by the Federal Government to lay up the Nuclear-powered Cargo Liner Savannah; and

"Whereas, this swift 23-knot vessel is needed when the Vietnam sealift is being maintained by slower outmoded ships from the mothball fleet; and

"Whereas, the United States has enjoyed an improved image as a result of the tremendous impact of this vessel's voyages around the world; and

"Whereas, we, the Members of the City Council of the City of Galveston, feel that the dividends the Savannah has delivered to our country in terms of prestige, goodwill and scientific advancement far outweigh the cost of its operation: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the City Council of the City of Galveston, Texas, urge your full support in our efforts to retain the N. S. Savannah in service and call upon the Congress of the United States to act immediately in our behalf."

I, Patsy M. Poole, City Secretary of the City of Galveston, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Galveston at its meeting held on the 23rd day of February, 1967, as the same appears in records of this office.

In witness whereof, I subscribe my name officially hereto under the corporate seal of the City of Galveston on this the 24th day of February, 1967.

PATSY M. POOLE,
Secretary of the Council,
City of Galveston, Tex.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD TO WILLIAM REESE, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to the words of a young man who already, in a relatively short life, has earned the respect and admiration not only of his neighbors in New Haven but of his many friends throughout the State.

An early and active participant in urban redevelopment, a leader of the Young Democrats, and an alderman on the city council, William Reese was recently presented the Distinguished Service Award by the New Haven Junior Chamber of Commerce.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks he made when accepting this award be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS UPON RECEPTION OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD BY WILLIAM H. H. REESE AT AWARD BANQUET OF JAYCEES, PARK PLAZA HOTEL, MARCH 1, 1967

This high award is deeply moving and stirs within me a sense of its unusual significance. The Distinguished Service Award enables one to march in the ranks of honor with other recipients—with Paul Elsberry, Harlan Kleiman, Bob Frankes, Bob Forsberg, Bob Zampano. I am very grateful to my nominator, Carl Feen, to the Judges, and to the Jaycees for the confidence and the trust placed in me and shall always conduct myself to be worthy of it.

But in a larger sense we are here to celebrate not the presentation of an important award but rather the participation of young men as community leaders. This award dramatically symbolizes the proposition that young men can change the world. Truly, they can change the world: William Pitt, one of England's greatest prime ministers was first appointed at the age of 25; Shakespeare wrote "Romeo and Juliet" at 30; Michaelangelo created the Pieta at 26; Einstein evolved his theory of relativity at 26; Newton discovered the theory of gravity at 23; by 26

Churchill had published 5 books and was first elected to Parliament; at 32 Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. In our time, the ten outstanding young men selected each year by your national organization have all made tremendous contributions at a tender age.

As we enter the final third of the twentieth century, the world is rapidly becoming a young man's world: by 1970, 48% of the American population will be under age 24. The energy and education of the young have given them an advantage in our complicated tele-communicated, automated society. And, yet, the problems, with which the young must deal, and which weight heavily on their minds, have no historical precedent: The problems of mass transportation and full employment; the problems of the dispossessed and the disinherited of our convulsing cities, the high incidence of mental illness; dope addiction and crime; the war in Vietnam; the cold war; and the control of nuclear weapons.

It is therefore essential that members of our generation assume positions of leadership and dedicate themselves to solving these problems, if we are to pass to our children a better world.

The leaders of our generation must escape from the narrow confines of self interest and serve others with sincerity and with charity. They must develop self discipline and high personal integrity which holds fast to that which is permanently true. They must heed the words of Isaia: "Justice will bring about peace; right will produce calm and security".

The leaders of our generation must have the judgment to select worthy objectives, which inspire the loyalty of others, and must have the ability to translate those objectives into immediate tasks.

The leaders of our generation must have the self confidence and the courage to assume the responsibility to perform those tasks and must diligently, persistently organize and effect the required action.

The leaders of our generation must have an intense will to win; that indomitable spirit that is willing to destroy the chains of old customs and to create new opportunities; that spirit that is willing to escape from the bondage of the past to direct the exciting activities of the present, that spirit that is willing to believe in a new and better world and has the precious sense of purpose to construct it.

This concept of leadership, inspired in large part by my experience as chairman of your Leadership Training Committee in 1958, motivated me to move into a deprived neighborhood and to pursue a career in public service.

It was to improve the general condition of the people among whom I live that I purchased a home in the Dwight Redevelopment area, a once-lovely section of town that had steadily deteriorated because of the lack of concern for a quarter of a century. Participating in this fundamental fashion in the physical and spiritual rehabilitation of my neighborhood has been enjoyable and beneficial. There is now a new energy in Dwight, a new vitality, a new pride. Many blighting and sub-standard structures have been removed; nonconforming uses are being relocated. We are graced by magnificent quarters for our senior citizens and by a new and improved school, where a summer program for our children was successfully initiated last year. A vest-pocket park, off street parking facilities and three low and middle income apartment houses are under construction. Many dusty old buildings have been restored to elegant representations of a former era. Most important, we have made great progress in creating a vital and diverse neighborhood within which people of different background and circumstances can live peaceful, productive, decent lives.

Public service has offered me the best opportunity to advance the well being of the community—

To advance the health of our people by struggling to eradicate air pollution;

To advance the abolition of racial discrimination by actively supporting two civil rights ordinances;

To advance the beauty of our city by assisting to preserve East Rock Park, the library, City Hall and the traditional character of the Green;

To advance the cultural activities of the community by introducing legislation to institute a Fine Arts Commission.

To advance the generous humane impulse in the 600 foreign students who temporarily live among us and in our many visitors and in all those who look to us for guidance by helping to establish here in New Haven a community which can serve as a beacon not only of the proper functioning of the democratic process but also of the fulfillment of the grandest ideals of the American dream.

The Jaycees, in honoring these objectives—an honor which shall serve as a source of great encouragement to me—pays tribute to herself, for she is dedicated to creating a better world and to developing young leaders as instruments of that endeavor. Let us therefore reaffirm our faith in the fundamental principles of the Jaycees and strive to make them a reality. It is in this spirit and with all humility that I accept your high award, which I shall "Bequeath to [my] issue as prized treasure".

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As in legislative session, under the previous order, the Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Barton Hertzbach, of the staff of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, be accorded the privileges of the floor during my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING WITH THE STATES

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, before I begin my discussion of the crime report, I wish to congratulate the present distinguished occupant of the chair, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], for his bill providing for the sharing of Federal revenues with the States on a no-strings-attached basis. I am happy to be included among those cosponsoring this bill.

I believe it is a useful, important, and challenging concept in dealing with one of the most serious problems confronting the Government today; namely, the problem created by the seizure of the tax base by the Federal Government and the frequent lack of willingness on the part of too many State governments in the past to use the taxing power they have, or to move to recapture some of the taxing power which they have lost, either in whole or in part.

Mr. President, I am most happy that the Senator from Tennessee is making this move. I have my own tax-sharing bill as well, because I believe that we can consider various parallel approaches. I hope that before this session of Congress ends we may be able to establish the tax-sharing principle before the whole game is lost and the States become mere appendages to an overly large and often capricious Federal Establishment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAKER in the chair). The Senator from Tennessee is proud to cosponsor with the Senator from Pennsylvania his proposal in this direction. I thank the Senator very much.

CRIME IN AMERICA

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the failure of our society today is its inability to maintain law and order. For what is the purpose of society if not to provide a setting in which citizens may live productive lives, free of the fear that others are able to abridge their rights, injure, or kill them at will? A nation guided by law must be a nation protected by law.

It is especially significant that in recent years, while the standard of living in the United States has increased—in economic growth, average income, educational levels, technological know-how—the rate of crime has not decreased. Today it is worse than ever.

This is a shocking commentary on a "justice gap." A nation within reach of the moon cannot guarantee its citizens the safety of their streets.

We have failed to grant the highest priorities to the maintenance of law and order. Therefore, I commend the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice for its report focusing attention on the extent of crime pervading American society and proposing methods that can be employed to reduce it. On the basis of this report, our Nation must make clear its commitment to total involvement in this crucial area, and commitment must be followed by appropriate action.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

As we apply ourselves to such a task, there are certain basic considerations which must underlie our approach.

POVERTY AND CRIME

There are no simple answers. While poverty breeds crime, all crime does not arise from poverty. Poor people are not the only ones who cheat on their tax returns or arrange fraudulent transactions. The poor do not control the national crime syndicates. The motivation for sexual assaults is not money. While there have been many well-meaning attempts to increase economic levels and better the overall living conditions, they have brought no significant decrease in criminal activity. Far from suggesting an end to necessary social welfare legislation, I counsel acceptance of clear evidence that more than egalitarian proposals are required to roll back the crime-wave.

FEDERAL-STATE PARTNERSHIP

Any approach to crime fighting must be a combined and cooperative undertaking of the Federal Government and the States to be effective. The Safe Streets Act of 1967—S. 917—which I cosponsored, takes a meaningful step in this direction. Although it creates an incentive through Federal grants, this legislation leaves the initiative for specific action with the State and local governments. But I would caution anyone against thinking that a system of Federal grants for research, equipment, and the like is the whole solution. The Federal Government has a continuing responsibility in this area, and "passing the buck" even where it is the Federal buck, does not totally fulfill this responsibility.

I am also concerned by the present confusion in the Federal Government's policy of planning assistance to State and local governments in all activities, not only in those directly related to crime. I have recently introduced the Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967—S. 799—the purpose of which is to strengthen, through a coordinated approach, the method of funding and planning various Government functions, such as transportation, water supply, pollution control, and law enforcement. The planning contemplated in the Safe Streets Act must similarly be related to and coordinated with the long-range plans of the States and localities in other problem areas also, and together with these other functional plans, it must fit into the overall comprehensive development plan of a State or locality.

PUBLIC SUPPORT

An effective program of crime fighting requires a community effort. Citizen involvement is a necessity. Law enforcement personnel, at all levels, cannot function in a vacuum.

There should be an increased dialog between law enforcement agencies and the people to make them aware of the important role they can play in this field. Public support should be evidenced in all areas open to a concerned citizenry, including a willingness to bear increased tax burdens. It will cost money to bring the necessary personnel and equipment to bear on this problem.

A citizen who shirks his duty in this area is not necessarily an accessory to the crime, but he undoubtedly weakens the entire fabric of law and order. This shirking can range from the reluctance to volunteer information on suspicious activities to turning away from an elderly man under atack by a bunch of young hoodlums. In this latter area, citizen involvement might be encouraged by Good Samaritan laws which would provide reimbursement for persons injured while attemping to prevent a crime from being committed. It would be useful to examine the effectiveness of this approach.

AN EFFECTIVE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

While there are many components to a successful criminal justice system, I will concentrate this discussion on three: The facts which go into it, the criminal justice system itself, and the people affected by it.

THE FACTS

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

A bill to establish a National Institute of Criminal Justice—S. 992—has been introduced in the Senate. The stated purpose of the Institute would be to "conduct research and development projects in crime prevention and control, the administration of justice, and the rehabilitation of offenders." Seeking new ways to strengthen and implement the Federal-State partnership in these areas, the Institute would examine the causes of crime, the means of preventing it, and the theories and techniques for correction and rehabilitation. In effect, this would create a permanent body to carry on the task performed by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. This proposal falls within the range of proposals which might merit support under the Safe Streets Act of 1967, but its paramount importance in the Nation's assault on crime would seem to call for a specific legislative proposal to this effect.

REGIONAL ACADEMIES OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Another relevant area is covered by a bill that also would establish Regional Academies of Criminal Justice—S. 993. These academies, as opposed to the national outlook of the national institute, would conduct research in the field with emphasis on problems peculiar to their regions. They would offer nondegree training in administrative techniques and management. The extensive resources of the universities would be brought to bear on a permanent basis on this problem through these regional academies. These institutes could also be used to teach those who staff the basic training institutions, the police academies, and the colleges of police science. Both these bills, for a national institute and for regional academies, appear to be useful components in an effective system of criminal justice.

OBSTRUCTION OF INVESTIGATIONS AND WITNESS IMMUNITY

When it comes to the problem of obtaining information about specific criminal cases, the law enforcement agencies need more useful tools. For example while it is presently a crime to obstruct a court proceeding, it is not a crime to obstruct an investigation. Thus, by successfully stifling the flow of information at the investigative level either through violence or the threat of violence shadowy interested persons prevent the case from ever reaching the courtroom. I am a cosponsor of legislation—S. 676—which would make such obstruction a Federal offense.

We need also a witness immunity statute. Through the proper legislative framework and with the proper safeguards, this would enable the U.S. Attorney General to grant immunity from prosecution to a witness where that witness could provide testimony essential to the conviction of the accused. Used with the proper attitude and in the appropriate circumstances, this bill would provide a useful tool in the war on crime. I have joined with other Senators in proposing such legislation—S. 677.

WIRETAPPING

Probably the most controversial means of obtaining information is through the technique called wiretapping. There are those who say that electronic eavesdropping is the only effective tool to fight many crimes. Others condemn this tool as a dangerous invasion of privacy. There are valid arguments on both sides. But the final decision must be based on both the rights of individuals and the need to protect society, not an emotional harangue which too often accompanies wiretapping debates.

The present U.S. wiretapping law is totally unsatisfactory. Neither the right of privacy nor enforcement of the law is adequately served.

There are presently two bills pending on this matter. One which I have cosponsored—S. 928—would prohibit all wiretapping and eavesdropping, with the exception of national security cases. The other—S. 675—would permit wiretapping by duly authorized law-enforcement officers engaged in the investigation or prevention of specified categories of criminal offenses.

I am a cosponsor of the first bill because I am reluctant to authorize the overhearing of private conversations even where there is the possibility that important evidence concerning criminal activity will be uncovered. However, there may be a different way to accomplish the same objective and I look forward to hearings on both these bills.

If I may interpolate here, notwithstanding the general prohibition in my bill, I would certainly be openminded as to the inclusion of permissive action, with court approval, in such a case as kidnaping.

These three areas, obstruction of investigation, granting of immunity, and use of wiretapping should be especially considered within the context of the problem of organized crime syndicates. For it is here that the conspiracy of silence, backed up by convincing and brutal authority, is continually met.

Many believe that the implementation of legislation along the lines discussed above is the only means to successfully crack the organized crime syndicates which infest the Nation and have refined criminal activity to frightening new levels. Of particular concern is the corrupt link which exists between gambling syndicates and public officials. I have heard reports of the Commission's reluctance to attack this most damaging and widespread area of crime because of the linkage between big city machines and organized crime. I am glad that the Commission overcame its reluctance and gave a nod in that direction by inserting a chapter on organized crime. But more is needed than deprecatory utterances. This area must be diligently pursued, no matter what the damage to political organizations.

THE SYSTEM

If the criminal justice system needs facts on which to move, it also needs a workable and reasonable framework within which to use these facts.

REFORM OF FEDERAL CRIMINAL LAWS

As new laws are enacted on a multitude of subjects, there has been no comprehensive attempt to bring the entire body of criminal law into a consistent mold. Many laws which were born of another time, another mood, and other circumstances remain on the books. Many laws on the same kind of crime may be found in varied places throughout the United States Code. Penalties on similar violations and illegal activities are totally divergent and not always appropriate to the crime. This must be corrected if we are to have a workable and truly equitable framework for our criminal justice system.

In this context, a National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws was created by recent legislation. The Commission will make a complete study of the statutory and case law constituting the Federal system of criminal justice and make recommendations for revision, reform, and recodification of the criminal laws, including the repeal of unnecessary or undesirable statutes and appropriate changes in the penalty structure. As a cosponsor, I await the results of the Commission's toll with interest.

FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

Our system to be effective requires courts administered in a manner which brings the accused to trial promptly. One means of reaching this goal might be the proposed Federal Judicial Center S. 915. This center would conduct research in all aspects of the Federal judicial administration and conduct programs to train personnel in the judicial branch of Government.

FEDERAL MAGISTRATES ACT

Another means of expediting the criminal justice process, while maintaining all necessary safeguards, is the plan proposed under the Federal Magistrates Act—S. 945—which I cosponsored. This legislation would make several important changes in the present U.S. commissioner system. The U.S. commissioner is the Federal officer who issues arrest and search warrants, fixes bail, and holds preliminary hearings in felony cases. This legislation would improve the quality of the commissioner system by increasing the responsibility of these officers, placing them on a salary basis, training them for the job, and requiring that they be attorneys. The U.S. commissioners can perform many vital functions as an adjunct to the Federal court system and leave the Federal judges with more time to devote themselves to trials and other more complex courtroom procedures.

JUDICIAL SELECTION

I concur most wholeheartedly in the Presidential Commission's conclusion that "the quality of the judiciary in large measure determines the quality of justice." The quality of the judiciary also determines whether equity is done. The Commission recommends strengthening presently ineffective screening procedures in the States for potential candidates for the judiciary. I endorse this approach and would further like to see such a screening procedure in the Federal system. To this end, I have introduced legislation—S. 949—proposing a Judicial Service Commission that would recommend to the President the most qualified man to sit on the Federal bench.

There should be no doubt in the minds of the people that judicial ability and not political affiliation places men in a position to make important decisions affecting all our lives. Patronage considerations are a poor substitute for a totally unobligated judiciary corps.

APPELLATE REVIEW OF SENTENCES

On these lines, we should remember the tremendous discretion vested in the trial judge in the Federal system. This is as it should be. The trial judge is the individual who sees events reconstructed and people reacting in a manner which can hardly be reproduced on a record before the appellate court, no matter how extensive. There is always the safeguard that, if the trial judge be clearly in error, the appellate court can reverse. But one exception to this rule is the sentence imposed on one found guilty.

Under present conditions, courts of appeal have no authority to review a sentence, if it is within statutory limits. The result is that similar crimes under basically similar crcumstances result in widely disparate and sometimes quite disproportionate sentences.

There are several undesirable results from such a condition: Appellate judges often look to technical errors on which to reverse the lower court judge, not because they feel the defendant not guilty, but because they feel the sentence somewhat out of line with the circumstances. Thus, the state of the criminal law and of judicial precedent is distorted. Many persons found guilty under similar circumstances naturally learn of the great disparities in sentences imposed on persons guilty of similar offenses. This may impede rehabilitation if the individual who receives a sentence longer than those of persons convicted under similar circumstances, without reasonable basis for the disparity, feels he has been treated unfairly by the system. Also, these disparities result in many appeals which might not occur were the system changed.

For instance, an individual found guilty might not really disagree with the finding of guilt, but be heavily shaken by the length of the sentence. If appeal were possible on the basis of the sentence, the trial judge might have attempted to sentence the individual more in line with the prevailing standard for the particular type of case in point. Thus the need for the appeal would be eliminated. At the least, the defendant might still appeal, but he would address himself to the real point in issue—the length of the sentence. Thus, the courts could focus on the main point in contention. In addition, the issue of sentencing might take less time than appeals based on supposed errors of law.

Over a dozen States and many foreign countries provide some form of judicial review of sentences. This issue is presently being studied by a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee—S. 2722, 89th Congress, second session.

CONSOLIDATED FEDERAL CORRECTIONS SYSTEM

Both this year and last, bills have been introduced which would create a consolidated corrections system under the Department of Justice—S. 916.

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to end the undesirable effect of the fragmentation presently existing in our corrections process. Basically, probation and parole supervision are conducted as a part of the court system while prisoners and other institutional services are the responsibility of the executive branch. The proposed legislation would create a U.S. Corrections Service which would combine under a single direction the supervision of convicted persons, irrespective of whether they are confined in an institution or totally free in the community on probation or parole.

I look forward to hearings on this legislation in order to know the views of those most directly connected with these problems. For if such consolidation can bring into being a more effective Federal corrections system without creating an undesirable crossover between the prosecuting activities of the Department of Justice and the most effective correctional approaches, this would be desirable.

THE PEOPLE

Whenever we examine the workings of our criminal justice system, we must keep one thought uppermost in mind: We are dealing with people—injured people, accused people, frightened people, innocent people, and guilty people—guilty of varying crimes and in varying degrees. The paramount consideration in our efforts must be how the system affects these people. Flow charts, statistics, and analytical studies should ever erase the fact that this is a very, very human problem. We should be continually searching for ways to better the effects of the system on those people who come in contact with it.

In doing that, let us constantly bear in mind the necessity for harmonious relations between law enforcement officials and the public. This relationship should be founded upon mutual respect and confidence. Just as we expect the citizen to obey the law and to respect the institutions which rest upon it, so do we expect those who enforce the law to respect the rights of all individuals.

LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

The law enforcement officer, undertaking grave risks daily, is one person coming in constant touch with the system. He must be able to undertake his tasks with a free mind—for it is an extremely difficult task that we ask him to undertake. For this reason, I have cosponsored legislation—S. 798—which would compensate the survivors of local law enforcement officers who have been killed while apprehending persons for committing a Federal crime. It is difficult to imagine the feeling that must be in the minds of the family of a law enforcement official every time he leaves home for the day's hazardous duty. This compensation plan, while not only creating an incentive to bring more top-level men into the law enforcement field, would also make a difficult job a bit less trying—and a bit more comforting.

VICTIMS OF CRIMINAL VIOLENCE

There are also those victims of crimes of violence whose injury, shock, and broken lives are not reflected by scanning a list of crime statistics. Therefore, we should further examine pending legislation to create a Federal Violent Crimes Compensation Commission—S. 646.

CONFESSIONS

This is a subject, I may interpolate, of hearings that are now going on before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures. This subcommittee, under the chairmanship of the distinguished senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], is developing a body of opinion from judges, lawyers, sociologists, academicians, and private citizens in many fields on the whole question of the Supreme Court decisions in the Escobedo and Miranda cases and is seeking to pick up the encouragement which appears at page 29 of the Miranda decision, where the Court urges Congress to examine this whole problem and encourages it to come up with a solution, which, I can only read into the Supreme Court's language, is a better proposed solution. The Supreme Court couples its encouragement to Congress with a judicial warning that the solution must be in consonance with the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and presumably with the Court's disposition at that time. But the latest decision, the Miranda decision, hanging upon the tenuous thread of one man's opinion, is far from an ultimately satisfactory conclusion of a matter which affects not only the life and liberty of the accused, but also affects the life and security of all American citizens in this process.

I, therefore, hope that the Judiciary Subcommittee will be able to make recommendations to the full committee, and the full committee to the Senate, in order to find a way out which will prove to be fairer, more effective, and more in keeping with what the political scientists like to call "the genius of the people," in what will be truly best for the people in the long run.

So I hope the labors of Congress, so encouraged by the Supreme Court, may result usefully. While we do not need the encouragement of the Court, since we already have the stimulus of the opinion, nevertheless I am glad that the judicial branch feels that there are some functions left for the legislative branch to pursue.

I hope the executive branch will take note and that the President, in his search for a better system of law enforcement in this country, may provide a little encouragement to the legislative branch, as he fills the current vacancy and may perhaps be called upon to fill other vacancies on the High Court; because by the action of the President in his selection of candidates to make these judgments, the Court may perhaps some day be able to formulate some fundamental rules of law or, as some would think, changes in the law by something more than the hairline measure of the judgment of a single Justice.

Our criminal laws must seek to create and maintain an equitable balance between the rights of the individual and society. Laws must be drafted with as full purpose to protect the innocent as to preserve the rights of those charged with offenses. Of course, the innocent can be either a victim of the crime or a person wrongly accused of committing it.

Today, there is much controversy about the manner in which the correct balance can be struck between these rights in the area of confessions. No doubt this is another instance where Congress must take a long, hard look.

There is currently before the Senate a bill—S. 674—which would relate the admissibility of confessions to the question of their voluntariness. As prestigious a body as the President's Commission recognized the importance of this issue. Although the main body of the report does not discuss this question, the additional views of seven members of the Commission appear at the end of the report. This statement declares that recent Supreme Court decisions that limit police interrogation and confessions have tilted the balance of justice too far in favor of defendants. While these members state, and rightly so, that these decisions are the law of the land, they go on to make the point that a body such as the Commission should have studied this important area. I agree. This must be marked down as a regrettable lapse in the Commission's generally good performance.

Here is an area for careful study by the proposed National Institute of Criminal Justice.

BAIL SYSTEM

In resolving the question of detention and bail, rights of the accused and of society must again be balanced. As one who was in charge of a bail department of a prosecutor's office for a decade, I believe a reasonable balance has been worked out in the Bail Reform Act of 1966. This bill revises the bail practices to assure that all persons shall not needlessly be detained regardless of their financial status. Thus, the bill will do much to relieve the load on our prison system. The Bail Reform Act applies to detention pending an appearance to answer charges, to testify, or pending appeal, when detention serves neither the ends of justice nor the public interest. As cosponsor of this bill, I consider it a praiseworthy law, and I feel it deserves a fair chance to be tested and to be judged in action.

REHABILITATION

Two recently enacted bills also deserve mention here. The Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966 and the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965. Both of these bills fit into my thinking that the corrective system should be the starting point for a new chance in life and not the last stop. For this reason, I cosponsored both.

The Narcotics Act authorizes pretrial civil commitment of addicts charged with certain essentially nonviolent Federal offenses. If the addict successfully completes the treatment program, the criminal charge is dismissed. If treatment fails, the addict is returned to court for resumption of the prosecution. Sentencing certain convicted addicts to a treatment program instead of to an ordinary prison term is also permitted. The act also provides for voluntary commitment of the addict upon his own application as well as the compulsory commitment of the addict upon the application of a third person, in both cases where the addict has not been charged with any criminal offense—that is, in another category. By creating the proper safeguards for the community, it is hoped that this new approach will prove the best means of approach to the narcotics problem.

It is clear that punitive approach to narcotics addiction, which has so long dominated the treatment of these people, is ineffectual and positively harmful to public and patient in some of its effects. Clearly, prosecution and imprisonment are not the answer. This legislation, by incorporating a program of hospitalization, followup treatment, and supervision, embodies a new approach to this field by stressing the medical aspects of the problem rather than the criminal aspects.

The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act is designed to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States. Prison officials are permitted to assign convicts nearing the end of their terms to residential community centers, the so-called halfway houses, to make it possible to reintroduce prisoners to the community in a gradual and controlled manner. Moreover, this legislation enables selected inmates to work at gainful occupations or train in the community. The Director of Prisons referred to this work release law as the "most important single piece of legislation to advance correctional practices in the Federal Government since the Bureau of Prisons was created in 1930." He further stated that the enthusiasm of industry, unions, and other community elements is beyond prior expectations.

CONCLUSION

As I stated earlier, the most important factor to remember about crime is the difficulty of classifying it.

I diverge here again to say that I served, by proxy, for the district attorney of Philadelphia, 40 years ago, on the National Crime Commission, which was headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Louis Henry Howe was the Executive Director. The actual work of the Commission was carried on by Raymond Moley.

At the opening session of that first National Crime Commission, Mr. Moley said:

> I think, in relation to the statement frequently appearing in the press that there exists in the United States a crime wave, the first question we must ask ourselves is, "Is there a crime wave?" and the second is, "What can we do about it?"

That statement is again applicable when I speak of the difficulty of classifying crime, because we still need more information, factually, on crime, on punishment, and on prevention and correction.

The difficulty of classifying crime, then, is as diversified as the conditions which create it, and these cannot be easily listed or categorized. For this reason, I have tried to set out some general considerations that must be borne in mind when attacking this problem, but have not attempted to specifically detail all manners of approach.

I began by saying that society is failing its people by its inability to maintain law and order. The recognition of that fact alone would be an important step toward rectifying the problem. Therefore, I again commend the President's Commission for generating such wide public interest in the problem of crime in America.

There is no one solution to this problem, no quick answer. But there are things that can be done. We need more research and more effective tools to conduct that research into crime, it causes, and its possible solutions. We need to improve the machinery of justice—better trained law enforcement officials, better courts, better judges.

But above all we need more public awareness and greater citizen involvement. If more people will understand that their rights are being abridged and their lives are in jeopardy because of the extent of crime in America, more people will be willing to help. With that help we will be able to close the justice gap that exists today.

THE CONSULAR TREATY

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I expect to have something further to add later on this subject, but I wish to state now that I do favor the proposed Consular Treaty. I favor it for many reasons which I have discussed before and may well discuss again; but, to summarize, I think it should be remembered that this treaty is advanced by the United States; that it was the United States which first indicated its interest in the treaty; that that interest began under President Eisenhower, was advanced by the then Vice President Nixon, and has been supported in the Kennedy administration and the Johnson administration; that its fundamental purpose is the protection of American citizens, to extend to them rights greater than those given by the Soviet Government to its own citizens; and that we have each year 18,000 Americans traveling over there, whose protection concerns us. The Russians have 700 to 900 over here annually.

The addition of 10 or 15 Russians to a consulate here means the addition of 10 or 15 Americans to a consulate there. Their purpose is the same in both countries. I am sure the Russians would have no difficulty keeping an eye on 15 Americans, and I would be ashamed to have to admit that our security services would find it difficult to keep an eye on 15 Russians, because to my mind that would indicate a form of weakness and futility which does not exist in the United States.

So to those who counsel from fear, I would say, "Be not afraid"; to those who counsel from ignorance, "Be enlightened"; to those who counsel from a true concern for the security of the United States, "Be assured."

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCOTT in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE TAX-SHARING ACT OF 1967

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, as in legislative session, on behalf of myself and Senators CARLSON, COOPER, COTTON, DOMINICK, FANNIN, GRIFFIN, HANSEN, HRUSKA, JAVITS, MORTON, PEARSON, PERCY, SCOTT, TOWER, and YOUNG of North Dakota, I introduce, for appropriate reference, the Tax-Sharing Act of 1967, a measure designed to permit an immediate beginning of sharing Federal revenues with the States on a no-strings-attached basis.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1236) to provide for the sharing with the State and local governments of a portion of the tax revenues received by the United States, introduced by Mr. BAKER (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I believe that the most urgent domestic problem confronting this Republic today is the threat to the traditional system of federalism which has produced the maximum good for the maximum number with maximum responsiveness in Government over the entire history of this Nation. The federal system as we know it consists of an effective partnership of governing authority between the Central Government on the one hand and the State and local units on the other. The net effect has been a unique recognition and implementation of the problem solving tools and techniques required by the many diverse areas, groups, and interests within our population. I believe that the future welfare of this country to a high degree interrelates with our ability to preserve in its most effective form this system of partnership government.

In the course of the last several years, we have witnessed the increasing concentration of effective governing authority in the Central Government and a decreasing ability of the States, the counties, and the city governments throughout the Nation to cope successfully with the seemingly limitless problems which confront them. The shape and dimensions of this dilemma are not outlined by some vague, sinister plot to destroy the partnership of governing authority, in my judgment. Rather, the dilemma has resulted in response to the time-honored axiom that the taxing power is the governing power, and the Central Government, since the advent of the graduated Federal income tax, has had most of the taxing power. An increasingly mobile population, a complex economy, and an informed and sensitive public have combined to create demands on government at every level that are manifold and compelling. As the matrix of local governmental units are unable to fulfill the legitimate demands and aspirations of their constituencies because of an inadequate tax base and ineffective fiscal tools, vacuums of service and responsibility are filled by the Central Government. This has been the direction of the movement of responsibility in the Federal partnership over the past four decades.

The burden of these remarks is not an appeal to some academic concept of States rights, sovereignty, or independence, nor calculated to be in derogation of the absolute requirement for a vital, strong, effective, and imaginative central government, but rather is a plea for the reinvigoration and revitalization of the authority of the State and local governments so that they may undertake and discharge their governing responsibilities at the same time.

There is no easy answer to this problem. In my view there is no single device which will reverse the trend toward absolute concentration of governmental authority in Washington. But there is a concomitant requirement that we make the effort to shift the direction, and at least begin the return to partnership stability. Federal revenue sharing, I believe to be the best device for beginning this new direction. The bill which I introduce provides initially for the return of 1 percent of the net Federal revenues, after first deducting the cost of debt service and national defense, to the States for their own purposes and for redistribution to the cities and counties. There are no strings attached. There are no Federal directives regarding the nature of the expenditures. There is no provision for matching funds or other conditions precedent to this revenue entitlement. One of the principal justifications for general no-strings-attached Federal revenue sharing is that the fiscal requirements of one State or one locality may be entirely at variance with those of another, and while one area may direct its revenues to education, another may require them for antistream pollution, water or sewage plants, or other equally valid public purposes. The determination of how available fiscal resources are to be dedicated within a given State, county, or city is in most instances best made and most responsively determined at some level other than the central level. The economies of administration and execution of the various governmental plans thus financed are demonstrable.

The bill provides for a trust fund financed in two ways. Not only will tax-sharing funds be generated annually by the percentum formula just described, but Congress may also in its discretion make additional appropriations to the fund from time to time. I recognize that no rigid mathematical formula for State and local participation in Federal revenue collections can truly reflect the financial needs and be consistent with fiscal policies of every given moment in the continuing process of government. Therefore, the concept for the two-part plan provides for a reasonably certain flow of Federal tax-sharing revenues by mathematical percentage computation upon which the State and local units of government may depend from time to time, but without depriving the Central Government of the essential fiscal flexibility which it must retain in order to discharge its function as the modifier of the national economy in its efforts to combat the cyclical nature of the economy, and without depriving the Congress of the ability to respond immediately in this field in the event there is a sudden and drastic reduction in the requirements for national defense.

The bill provides for a council on tax sharing to be composed of five Governors, two mayors, and five representatives of the public at large, who will be charged with the administration of the program. Although the Council on Tax Sharing is charged with the implementation of the provisions of this act, it is without authority to interfere, direct, coerce, or otherwise modify the rights of the States to apply their own best judgments to the solving of their own special problems. The cost of administering the program is virtually nil and the return of Federal revenues will be almost 100 percent.

I recognize the enormous financial demands that our effort in Vietnam causes. *I recognize the apparent inevitability of* budgetary deficits this year and probably thereafter. I recognize the persistence of the cruel taxation of inflation which is the probable corollary of these frustrations, but I also believe that the threat *to the traditional balance of governing authority is so great and the plight of* our cities, counties, and States is so grave that we must not postpone the new direction and the new approach to governmental technique which is implied in the adoption of the principle of Federal revenue sharing. The cost of the program, based on *1966* Federal revenues, would have been approximately $518 million. Even in a time of near fiscal crisis, I believe this Nation can ill afford to fail to pay this price to ward off the threat of the destruction of effective local self-government.

The bill provides for a three-part formula to determine each State's share of available monies from the trust fund. The three elements are: First, population—to express an approximation of the theoretical total need of a given State; second, the average per capita income, a factor which expresses the need of poorer States for a larger ratable share of the funds; and third, the initiative of the State expressed in terms of a ratio of the per capita taxing effort of a given State in relation to the average taxing effort of all other States, to prevent a State from asserting less than its best effort to provide revenues for its own requirements; this would avoid the possibility that the States would in fact become chattel wards of the Central Government. The net result of the application of this three-part formula to available revenues would provide some premium to the States having greater fiscal need and some slight premium to those States exercising their best efforts to provide for their own requirements. Correspondingly, the formula penalizes those States which do not make conscientious efforts to generate their own tax revenues.

I recognize and commend the proposition that Federal revenue sharing is a bold new direction in the total governmental concept of this Republic. But I feel the urgency of the threat requires the substantial nature of the proposal. Nevertheless, tax sharing does not imply the emasculation of efficient national authority and the destruction of independent national effort. It does not imply the abolition of the existing concepts of the various Federal grant-in-aid and matching fund and other type Federal programs, but rather is calculated to supply a new and different tool to meet the exigencies of the present moment and the challenges of the future. Increasingly, in the years to come the effect of Federal revenue sharing and the attendant revitalization of local governmental effort will relieve the demands on the National Treasury for domestic and administrative intervention. At the same time there will always continue to be matters of national importance which require the direct action and coordination of the Central Government to carry out these national purposes. Hence, I view tax sharing as simply another part of the total governing process, working in *tandem and in parallel with existing* governmental concepts together to produce more economical, more responsive, and more effective government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill and the accompanying tabular display of State participation, with *footnotes*, and accompanying formulas be printed at the conclusion of these remarks.

There being no objection, the bill and material were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1236

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Tax Sharing Act of 1967".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. For purposes of this Act—

(1) the term "Council" means the Council on Tax Sharing established by section 7;

(2) the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Treasury;

(3) the term "State" means the several States and the District of Columbia; and

(4) the term "trust fund" means the tax sharing trust fund established by section 3.

TAX SHARING TRUST FUND

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund to be known as the "tax sharing trust fund". The trust fund shall consist of the amounts appropriated to it by subsection (b) and the amounts appropriated to it under subsection (c).

(b) There is hereby appropriated to the trust fund, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1967, and for each fiscal year thereafter, an amount, as determined by the Secretary under subsection (d), equal to 1 percent of the amount by which the net Federal tax revenues received in the Treasury during such fiscal year exceed the amounts disbursed from the Treasury during such fiscal year pursuant to appropriations for—

(1) interest on, and servicing of, the public debt, and

(2) the national defense.

(c) In addition to the amounts appropriated by subsection (b), there are authorized to be appropriated to the trust fund for each fiscal year such amounts as may be desirable to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(d) The Secretary shall during each fiscal year determine the amount described in subsection (b), and transfer the amount so determined from the general fund of the Treasury to the trust fund. Such transfer may be made on the basis of estimates made by the Secretary. Proper adjustment shall be made as soon as possible after the close of each fiscal year, to the extent the amount transferred was in excess of or less than the amount which should have been transferred, by the transfer of additional amounts from the general fund to the trust fund or by the transfer of amounts from the trust fund to the general fund.

(e) For purposes of subsection (b), the term "net Federal tax revenues" means with respect to any fiscal year—

(1) the total amount of the taxes imposed by the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 received in the Treasury during the fiscal year, minus

(2) the total amount of refunds of overpayments of the taxes imposed by such Code disbursed from the Treasury during the fiscal year.

(f) Determinations by the Secretary under this section shall be final and conclusive.

METHOD OF PAYMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 4. (a) Each State shall be entitled to payments out of the trust fund during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968, and during each fiscal year thereafter, as provided in this section.

(b) The total amount of payments to each State during each fiscal year shall be the amount determined under section 5. Payments shall be made by the Secretary not less than quarterly. Payments to any State made during the first and second quarters of any fiscal year may, to the extent necessary, be made on the basis of estimates by the Secretary in determining the amounts under section 5. Proper adjustment shall be made in the payments to any State during the third and fourth quarters of any fiscal year to the extent that payments in the first and second quarters were in excess of or less than the amounts which should have been paid.

AMOUNT OF PAYMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 5. (a) The total amount of payments to each State for each fiscal year is an amount (computed by the Secretary) equal to the product obtained by multiplying—

(1) the total amount appropriated to the trust fund for the preceding fiscal year, by

(2) the product obtained by multiplying the distribution percentage of such State for the fiscal year by the revenue effort percentage of such State for the fiscal year.

(b)(1) For purposes of subsection (a), the distribution percentage of any State for any fiscal year is the arithmetical average of its per capita need percentage and its population percentage for such fiscal year.

(2) For purposes of paragraph (1), a State's per capita need percentage for any fiscal year is the percentage which such State's per capita need factor for such fiscal year is of the sum of the per capita factors of all the States for such fiscal year. A State's per capita need factor for any fiscal year is the product obtained by multiplying the population of such State by a fraction the numerator of which is the per capita annual income of individuals residing in all the States and the denominator of which is the per capita annual income of individuals residing in such State.

(3) For purposes of paragraph (1), a State's population percentage for any fiscal year is the percentage which the population of such State is of the total of the population of all the States.

(4) For purposes of paragraphs (2) and (3), the population of each State and the per capita annual income of individuals residing in each State shall be determined on the basis of the latest statistics and information available in the various departments

and agencies of the Government, except that the same period shall be used in determining the population of all the States and the same period shall be used in determining the per capita income of individuals residing in all the States.

(c) For purposes of subsection (a), the revenue effort percentage of any State for any fiscal year is the percentage which the revenue effort factor of such State for such fiscal year is of the average revenue effort factors of all the States for such fiscal year. A State's revenue effort factor for any fiscal year is the result obtained by dividing—

(1) the total of the revenues derived by such State from its own resources (including revenues derived by the political subdivisions of such State) during the calendar year ending within such fiscal year, by

(2) the total adjusted gross income of individuals residing in such State during such calendar year as reported on returns of the tax imposed on individuals by chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. If the information for a calendar year for any State is not available, the Secretary may make the computation under the preceding sentence with respect to such State on the basis of information for the latest calendar year for which such information is available.

STATE UNDERTAKINGS

SEC. 6. (a) To be eligible to receive payments under this Act, a State shall undertake—

(1) to assume the same responsibility for fiscal control of and accountability for payments received under this Act as it has with respect to revenues derived from its own resources,

(2) to furnish such information and data to the Secretary as the Council may prescribe by regulations, and

(3) to submit the reports to the Council required by subsection (b).

(b)(1) Each State shall, on or before such date prior to the beginning of each fiscal year as the Council may prescribe, report to the Council its plans for the use of the funds which it will receive under this Act during such fiscal year. Such report shall include the anticipated distribution, if any, of such funds by such State to its political subdivisions for their own use.

(2) Each State shall, on or before such date after the close of each fiscal year as the Council may prescribe, report to the Council on the expenditures of the funds received by it under this Act during such fiscal year. Such report shall include the amounts, if any, distributed by the State to its political subdivisions for their own use and the expenditures by such political subdivisions of the funds so distributed to them.

(3) The reports required under paragraphs (1) and (2) shall be submitted by the Governor of each State, or by such State officer as he may designate. Such reports shall be in such form and in such detail as the Council may prescribe. Neither the Council or any other Federal agency or Federal officer shall have power to approve or disapprove the plans of any State, or the expenditures of any State, as set forth in such reports.

COUNCIL ON TAX SHARING

SEC. 7. (a) There is hereby established as an independent agency of the Government a Council on Tax Sharing. The Council shall be composed of twelve members as follows:

(1) Five members appointed by the President from persons who are Governors of a State, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party;

(2) Two members appointed by the President from persons who are mayors of a city and who do not belong to the same political party; and

(3) Five members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate from persons who do not hold any Federal, State, or local government office, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party.

(b) Members of the Council who are appointed from private life shall receive compensation at the rate of $100 a day for each day they are engaged in the performance of duties as members of the Council. Members of the Council who are Governors or mayors shall serve without compensation. All members of the Council shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of duties as members of the Council.

(c) The Council shall, from time to time, select one of its members to serve as chairman and one to serve as vice chairman.

(d) Seven members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

(e) It shall be the duty and function of the Council—

(1) to oversee the operation and administration of this Act,

(2) to prescribe by regulations the information and data to be furnished by the States to the Secretary under section 6(a)(2) and the manner and form in which such information and data shall be furnished, and to prescribe by regulations the form and detail of the reports required by section 6(b),

(3) to prescribe such regulations as it deems necessary with respect to the manner in which computations under section 5 of this Act shall be made by the Secretary, and

(4) to make determinations under section 8 of this Act with respect to withholding of payments from any State.

In carrying out its duties under paragraphs (2) and (3), the Council shall endeavor to reduce to a minimum the administrative burden on the States, consistent with the needs of the Secretary and the Council for information and data to carry out their duties under this Act and of the Congress to carry out periodic reviews of this Act, and shall endeavor to keep the reports and forms required under this Act at an absolute minimum and in as simplified a form as is practicable.

(f) The Council is authorized to afford to the States such technical advice and assistance as may be necessary to assist them to receive payments made available to them under this Act and such information and assistance as they may request to assist them in the utilization of such payments.

(g) The chief administrative officer of the Council shall be an executive director who shall be appointed by the President and shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed by section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, for positions at level V of the executive schedule. The executive director shall perform such functions and duties as the Council may prescribe.

(h) The Council is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such employees as are necessary to enable it to carry out its duties under this Act. The Council is authorized to procure temporary or intermittent services under section 3109 of title 5, United States Code.

WITHHOLDING OF PAYMENTS; JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 8. (a) Whenever the Council finds, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the Governor of a State, that there is a failure by such State to comply substantially with any undertaking required by section 6, the Council shall notify such Governor that further payments under this Act will be withheld until it is satisfied that there will no longer be any failure to comply. Until the Council informs him that it is so satisfied, the Secretary shall make no further payments to such State under this Act.

(b) Any State which receives notice under subsection (a) that payments to it will be withheld may, within 60 days after receiving such notice, file with the United States Court of Appeals for the Circuit in which such State is located a petition for review of the Council's action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Council. The Council thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which it based its action as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

(c) The findings of fact by the Council, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Council to take further evidence, and the Council may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify its previous action, and shall certify to the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

(d) The court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Council or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 9. The Council shall, on or before February 1, 1969, and on or before February 1 of each year thereafter, report to the Congress and to the President on the performance by it of its functions and duties under the Act during the preceding fiscal year. Such report shall include a summary of the reports received under section 6(b)(2) from the States on their use of the funds received by them during such fiscal year and a summary of the reports received under section 6(b)(1) from the States of their plans for the use of the funds to be received by them during the current fiscal year. Each such report shall also include any recommendations for changes in the amounts appropriated to the trust fund which the Council deems advisable.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., January 31, 1967.

The following amount was determined to be available for distribution to the fifty States and the District of Columbia under provisions of Sen. Baker's Federal tax-sharing bill:

Total Federal tax collections, fiscal year 1966	$128,879,961,000
Less refunds	7,314,599,000
Net Federal tax collections	121,565,362,000
Less the following Federal expenditures made during the fiscal year 1966:	
National defense (includes Department of Defense, military functions, foreign military assistance, atomic energy program, and defense-related activities	57,718,000,000
Interest on the public debt	12,014,000,000
Net amount	51,833,362,000

These data were derived from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year 1966 and the latest Federal budget document just submitted for the fiscal year 1968.

One percent applied to the $51,833,362,000 would make $518.3 million available for distribution to the States under Baker's Federal tax-sharing plan.

Estimated distribution by State of $518,300,000 under Senator Baker's tax-sharing bill

State	State and local revenue from own sources, fiscal year 1965	Adjusted gross income, calendar year 1964	Revenue effort factor (col. 2÷3)	State revenue effort percentage (col. 4÷16.0)	Total resident population July 1, 1965	State population percentage (col. 6÷193,795,000)	Per capita personal income, calendar year 1965	Per capita need factor		Per capita need percentage, (col. 10÷200,279,000)	Distribution percentage (average of col. 7 and col. 11)	Col. 5× col. 12	Unadjusted State allotment (col. 13× $518,300,000)	Col. 14× 1.4 percent	Total State allotment (col. 14 − col. 15)[1]
								$2,746÷ col. 8	Col. 6× col. 9						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	Millions	*Millions*			*Thousands*				*Thousands*				*Thousands*	*Thousands*	*Thousands*
Alabama	$768.3	$4,668.9	16.5	103.1	3,486	1.80	$1,910	1.4377	5,012	2.5	2.14	2.21	$11,454	$160	$11,294
Alaska	101.6	514.4	19.8	123.8	267	.14	3,187	.8616	230	.1	.11	.14	726	10	716
Arizona	538.8	2,779.3	19.4	121.3	1,575	.81	2,370	1.1586	1,825	.9	.85	1.03	5,338	75	5,263
Arkansas	393.3	2,305.2	17.1	106.9	1,941	1.00	1,845	1.4883	2,889	1.4	1.19	1.27	6,582	92	6,490
California	8,439.8	45,599.3	18.5	115.6	18,403	9.50	3,258	.8428	15,510	7.8	8.64	9.99	51,779	726	51,053
Colorado	728.8	3,952.2	18.4	115.0	1,949	1.01	2,710	1.0133	1,975	1.0	1.00	1.15	5,960	83	5,877
Connecticut	966.5	7,486.9	12.9	80.6	2,830	1.46	3,401	.8074	2,285	1.1	1.27	1.02	5,287	74	5,213
Delaware	201.4	1,312.4	15.3	95.6	503	.26	3,392	.8096	407	.2	.23	.22	1,140	16	1,124
District of Columbia	270.0	1,936.7	13.9	86.9	802	.41	3,708	.7406	594	.3	.36	.31	1,607	22	1,585
Florida	1,766.0	10,012.1	17.6	110.0	5,796	2.99	2,423	1.1333	6,569	3.3	3.14	3.45	17,881	250	17,631
Georgia	1,086.5	6,759.8	16.1	100.6	4,391	2.27	2,159	1.2719	5,585	2.8	2.53	2.55	13,217	185	13,032
Hawaii	268.0	1,473.1	18.2	113.8	710	.37	2,879	.9538	677	.3	.34	.39	2,021	28	1,993
Idaho	214.5	1,101.8	19.5	121.9	693	.36	2,395	1.1466	795	.4	.38	.46	2,384	33	2,351
Illinois	3,332.9	26,235.7	12.7	79.4	10,641	5.49	3,280	.8372	8,909	4.4	4.94	3.92	20,317	285	20,032
Indiana	1,554.5	9,908.1	15.7	98.1	4,893	2.52	2,846	.9649	4,721	2.4	2.45	2.40	12,439	174	12,265
Iowa	929.1	5,078.7	18.3	114.4	2,758	1.42	2,676	1.0262	2,830	1.4	1.40	1.60	8,293	116	8,177
Kansas	749.8	4,106.4	18.3	114.4	2,248	1.16	2,639	1.0405	2,339	1.2	1.18	1.35	6,997	98	6,899
Kentucky	705.7	4,507.6	15.7	98.1	3,173	1.64	2,045	1.3428	4,261	2.1	1.86	1.82	9,433	132	9,301
Louisiana	1,053.2	4,921.3	21.4	133.8	3,560	1.84	2,067	1.3285	4,729	2.4	2.10	2.81	14,564	204	14,360
Maine	270.7	1,710.4	15.8	98.8	986	.50	2,277	1.2060	1,189	.6	.55	.54	2,799	39	2,760
Maryland	1,111.7	8,906.3	12.5	78.1	3,534	1.82	3,001	.9150	3,234	1.6	1.71	1.34	6,945	97	6,848
Massachusetts	1,844.9	12,542.5	14.7	91.9	5,361	2.77	3,050	.9003	4,827	2.4	2.58	2.37	12,284	172	12,112
Michigan	2,944.1	18,921.6	15.6	97.5	8,317	4.29	3,010	.9123	7,588	3.8	4.04	3.94	20,421	287	20,134
Minnesota	1,326.9	6,805.2	19.5	121.9	3,562	1.84	2,666	1.0300	3,669	1.8	1.82	2.22	11,506	161	11,345
Mississippi	514.6	2,260.7	22.8	142.5	2,309	1.19	1,608	1.7077	3,943	1.9	1.54	2.19	11,351	159	11,192
Missouri	1,220.8	8,659.7	14.1	88.1	4,492	2.32	2,663	1.0312	4,632	2.3	2.30	2.03	10,521	147	10,374
Montana	237.9	1,165.0	20.4	127.5	703	.36	2,438	1.1263	792	.4	.38	.48	2,488	35	2,453
Nebraska	418.8	2,661.6	15.7	98.1	1,459	.75	2,629	1.0445	1,524	.8	.78	.77	3,991	56	3,935
Nevada	182.6	1,095.3	16.7	104.4	434	.22	3,311	.8294	360	.2	.21	.22	1,140	16	1,124
New Hampshire	181.4	1,337.5	13.6	85.0	673	.35	2,547	1.0781	726	.4	.38	.32	1,659	23	1,636
New Jersey	2,163.6	16,728.5	12.9	80.6	6,781	3.50	3,237	.8483	5,752	2.9	3.19	2.57	13,320	186	13,134
New Mexico	359.6	1,548.2	23.2	145.0	1,014	.52	2,193	1.2522	1,270	.6	.56	.81	4,198	59	4,139
New York	7,951.4	46,327.5	17.2	107.5	18,106	9.35	3,278	.8377	15,167	7.6	8.47	9.11	47,218	661	46,557
North Carolina	1,145.9	7,055.7	16.2	101.3	4,935	2.55	2,041	1.3454	6,640	3.3	2.92	2.96	15,342	215	15,127
North Dakota	242.4	984.7	24.6	153.8	652	.34	2,279	1.2049	786	.4	.37	.57	2,954	41	2,913
Ohio	2,892.1	22,098.9	13.1	81.9	10,241	5.28	2,829	.9707	9,941	5.0	5.13	4.20	21,769	306	21,463
Oklahoma	705.9	4,037.9	17.5	109.4	2,448	1.26	2,289	1.1997	2,937	1.5	1.37	1.50	7,775	109	7,666
Oregon	686.7	4,126.7	16.6	103.8	1,938	1.00	2,761	.9946	1,928	1.0	1.00	1.04	5,390	75	5,315
Pennsylvania	3,381.8	24,559.5	13.8	86.3	11,583	5.98	2,747	.9996	11,578	5.8	5.88	5.07	26,278	369	25,909
Rhode Island	263.7	1,899.2	13.9	86.9	891	.46	2,823	.9727	867	.4	.43	.37	1,918	27	1,891
South Carolina	518.5	3,240.7	16.0	100.0	2,550	1.32	1,846	1.4875	3,793	1.9	1.60	1.60	8,293	116	8,177
South Dakota	214.3	966.9	22.2	138.8	686	.35	2,213	1.2408	851	.4	.38	.53	2,747	38	2,709
Tennessee	856.5	5,661.8	15.1	94.4	3,850	1.99	2,013	1.3641	5,252	2.6	2.30	2.17	11,247	157	11,090
Texas	2,889.8	17,435.3	16.6	103.8	10,591	5.47	2,338	1,1745	12,439	6.2	5.83	6.05	31,357	440	30,917
Utah	307.4	1,887.0	16.3	101.9	994	.51	2,355	1.1660	1,159	.6	.56	.57	2,954	41	2,913
Vermont	128.5	692.4	18.6	116.3	404	.20	2,312	1.1877	479	.2	.40	.47	2,436	34	2,402
Virginia	1,059.4	7,763.7	13.6	85.0	4,420	2.28	2,419	1.1352	5,018	2.5	2.38	2.02	10,470	147	10,323
Washington	1,152.8	6,462.2	17.8	111.3	2,973	1.53	2,906	.9449	2,809	1.4	1.47	1.64	8,500	119	8,381
West Virginia	427.5	2,774.8	15.4	96.3	1,815	.94	2,027	1.3547	2,459	1.2	1.06	1.02	5,287	74	5,213
Wisconsin	1,510.2	8,309.2	18.2	113.8	4,140	2.14	2,724	1.0081	4,174	2.1	2.11	2.40	12,439	174	12,265
Wyoming	131.0	639.9	20.5	128.1	330	.17	2,558	1.0735	354	.2	.19	.24	1,244	17	1,227
Total	63,312.3	395,926.6	[2] 16.0	100.0	193,795	100.00	[2] 2,746	1.0000	200,279	100.0	100.00	101.42	525,660	7,360	518,300

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[1] It was necessary to take a number of additional steps to arrive at this distribution. By multiplying the State revenue effort factor (col. 5) by the distribution factor by the $518,300,000 available for allotment, it was impossible to arrive at a total distribution which coincided with the $518,300,000. In this case, the total unadjusted State distribution amounted to $525,660,000, or $7,360,000 more than the $518,300,000 available for allocation. This $7,360,000 represented 1.4 percent of the $525,660,000 derived. We then multiplied this factor (1.4 percent) by each State's unadjusted allotment and subtracted the result (col. 15) from the unadjusted State allotment (col. 14) and arrived at the adjusted State distribution given in col. 16.

[2] Average.

Sources:

U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Governmental Finances in 1964–65. GF No. 6. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, pp. 31–33; Population Estimates. Series P–25, No. 350, Oct. 5, 1966, p. 2.

U.S. Department of Commerce. Office of Business Economics. Survey of Current Business, August 1966, p. 13.

U.S. Treasury Department. Internal Revenue Service. Statistics of Income, 1964. Individual Income Tax Returns. Preliminary Report. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 30.

Mr. **COTTON**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **BAKER**. I yield.

Mr. **COTTON**. I commend the distinguished Senator from Tennessee for his bill and for his very lucid and able explanation of it. I am happy to associate myself with him on this bill.

As the Senator may know, prior to the adoption of the so-called Federal aid to education measure passed in the 89th Congress, I sought during several Congresses to secure Federal aid to education by a refund to each State of 1 percent of the direct income taxes collected within its border. No strings were attached, so long as the money was used for educational purposes. The tax-sharing plan of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee is an extension of this principle, a principle which I believe must and should commend itself to the Senate and to the entire Congress, because tax revenue in many States has been in varying degrees pre-empted by the Federal Government.

The Senator from Tennessee is rendering a fine contribution to this problem, and I shall deem it a privilege to help him in every way in my power to advance consideration of his measure.

Mr. **BAKER**. Mr. President, I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Senator from New Hampshire for his early and very effective efforts in this general field of an attempt by legislative means to prevent the centralization of all authority in the Federal Government, and for his previous efforts in the field of education generally, to revitalize the partnership concept that has made this Nation great.

I thank the Senator for his cosponsorship of this bill, I value it very highly.

Mr. **PERCY**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **BAKER**. I yield.

Mr. **PERCY**. I am proud, indeed, to be a cosponsor of the bill that has been presented by the distinguished Senator from Tennessee. I am grateful to him for the careful research and the creative work that he has done on this subject. It enables us to sponsor a bill that takes into account both the tremendous cost of the war in Vietnam and the vast continuing cost that the Government bears in servicing the national debt. By deducting these expenses and only applying the percentage of sharing to the remaining expenditures of Government, the Senator has given us a responsive, flexible program to fit the Nation's present and future needs.

I represent a State that will contribute far more proportionately in income taxes than it will be taking back under the proposed tax sharing, but I also commend the Senator for recognizing the differing capabilities of our States to bear their share of the cost and their varying needs.

I believe that the people of Illinois will gladly accept such a tax-sharing plan. They will recognize that areas such as education present national problems since many Illinois residents have come from poorer States, which could not afford the educational system that will give all children the opportunity we all want them to have, I believe they will see the need to assist these States in education and other similarly important areas.

Mr. President, we should stress that. The $20 million that the people of Illinois would derive if this plan were in effect at this time would also place upon our State legislature and our State executive branch a great responsibility. For State government must remain responsive to the needs of the people by taking the present taxing authority of the Federal Government and making certain that a full $20 million worth of accomplishment is achieved through the decentralization of the spending of this money made possible by the plan.

The centralized authority of the Federal Government for collecting revenue is one of its most efficient functions. In fact, the Internal Revenue Service is one of the most efficient branches of any government in the world today—I am afraid we can all testify to that.

But the Federal Government is not renowned for its efficiency in spending money; nor do our States present themselves as models of efficiency. If the States are to assume this additional responsibility from the Federal Government, it is up to the States to demonstrate that they are equal to the challenge. I, for one, am confident they can and will do this.

I would be most happy to work with our State legislature and the executive branch in Illinois to make certain that if this plan were to become law, it would provide a more efficient way of channeling tax revenue. We must see that the Federal system works and works properly. We can only do that when we have a strong local, State, and Federal government. This plan is gratifying to me because it strengthens the constructive partnership between State and Federal Government, and again, I want to congratulate the Senator from Tennessee for this valuable piece of legislation.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BAKER. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. I wish to direct this question to the Senator from Tennessee and the Senator from Illinois. Do not the Senators feel that if we are going to get into a tax-sharing program we should give some thought to an equalizing of the burden with respect to the unemployment compensation tax?

There are many States that have a multifactor economy. For instance, one factor could be agriculture. The Congress supports agriculture. I realize that ultimately the burden falls upon the consumer but the fact remains that in those States that have a diversified economy, such as agriculture along with manufacturing, and other services, usually the Federal Government makes certain that in order to sustain our agricultural output we do support prices. Yet, we find in this Nation, and it is one Nation, we have many States that have a very low unemployment compensation tax, which is a tax upon the gross receipts of a manufacturing establishment. This is without regard to whether or not that establishment makes a profit. We find in some States the possible ceiling on that tax is reached, while in other States it is low. This leads to rivalry and sometimes to piracy with respect to industry, because industry is induced to go into a State where the unemployment tax is 1 percent of the gross income as against another State, such as Rhode Island, for instance, which is usually near the top because we are a manufacturing State and have very little agriculture. Therefore, we get little price support from the Federal Government.

Does not the Senator think that in this entire complex of equalizing and protecting the economy, we should give some thought to making the unemployment compensation tax uniform?

Mr. BAKER. If I may answer, I agree with one particular point which the Senator from Rhode Island mentioned. This is, in fact, one nation. It is a requirement that this Nation and all of its States and localities be concerned for the general welfare, and the general welfare of opportunity for every other sector.

At the same time, it is obvious and I believe traditional and highly desirable, that there are variations from area to area and from State to State that must be taken into account in developing an effective State, community, and city government partnership. It is my hope that tax sharing will militate toward the accomplishment of this objective.

Specifically on the question of equalizing the unemployment compensation benefits, I believe, without avoiding the question, that there is much to be said for an effort to render them more nearly uniform. However, I think I would resist absolute uniformity of unemployment compensation benefits by Federal legislation without taking into account the diverse economies of the States.

Mr. PASTORE. I understand unemployment compensation benefits. I am familiar with them. But I am talking about the imposition of the tax.

If we are going to inaugurate a new concept of tax sharing—that is, if we in the Congress assume the responsibility of raising the money while we let the various States enjoy the privilege of unrestrained spending of the money—I think that we are getting into a concept which has been foreign to us up to this point.

I realize that much money goes back to the States by way of grants, but we are talking here in the complex of the U.S. Congress about imposing a tax upon the taxpayers of America, then taking that money and sending it back for the Governors and the legislatures of the States to spend as they will, and as they see fit to do.

I understand this talk about decentralization, but I always thought that the privilege of spending tax money should carry with it the responsibility of raising it, if we want to avoid waste and corruption. It is usually said on the floor of the Senate that it is an easy game to appropriate money and a hard game to impose a new tax. That is fundamental.

The one salutary restraint on spending money is the responsibility to account to the people for raising it. I am not saying that we should not do more for the States. I am all for that. I realize, too, that the Federal Government has preempted many avenues and channels of taxation, and perhaps that should be reviewed, too.

Personally, I would rather see the Federal Government get out of the business of imposing certain taxes. I would suggest leaving more of that to the States, rather than Congress raising the money.

As I understand it, expenditures for the fiscal year 1968 will be $135 billion, and the receipts will be $126.9 billion, which includes an imposition of a 6-percent surtax to bring in $5.5 billion.

Therefore, this year we will have a deficit of $8.1 billion. If we do not impose the surtax, it will be $5.5 billion more than that, which will give us a figure of $13.6 billion. Our debt at the present time is $329.9 billion. Our ceiling up to a short time ago was $330 billion, and we raised it by another $6 billion.

If we are going to get into new allotments of giving back new money to the States, there is no question that we either have to raise taxes or raise the deficit, and, thereby raise the ceiling. These are the courses that are open.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. There is a third alternative: reduce expenditures.

Mr. PASTORE. Reduce expenditures.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator from Nebraska may be correct. We could cut expenditures—or could we? Where does the money go?

In direct answer to the question raised by the Senator from Nebraska, we are going to spend $135 billion. Of that sum $75.5 billion is for defense, which leaves $59.9 billion that can be played around with. Of the $59.9 billion, I am made to understand that a large part of that is for fixed charges, such as interest on the debt, veterans, and so forth, which leaves us $30.1 billion.

In that area of $30.1 billion I understand that $15 billion is already obligated, which already leave us only $14.1 billion. Therefore, if we begin to fool around with $14.1 billion and cut it all out that is the greatest amount by which the budget could be reduced. Of course, Congress is not going to cut it all out because there would be an irresistible clamor on the floor of the Senate. If we were to try and try, the best we could do would be to cut that amount in half or a little lower than one-half, whereupon we can talk about whether or not we are going to impose a surtax.

Mr. AIKEN. The clamor would originate back home, not on the floor of the Senate. The floor of the Senate would then explode with another clamor.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator remembers the old adage——

Mr. AIKEN. I know.

Mr. PASTORE. That one has to be elected in order to be a statesman.

Mr. AIKEN. Right.

Mr. PASTORE. There are a lot of politicians, even in the Senate, and they are going to listen to this clamor.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I commend the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] on the occasion of his maiden speech today. I would observe that he has not tackled one of the easiest problems facing Congress, not alone at this time, but also later in the session, because interest in the issue will gain momentum as time goes on.

I have listened with interest to the sound observations of the Senator from Rhode Island. He is one of the keener analysts of the fiscal picture. I accord to him my greatest respect.

Is, I ask the junior Senator from Tennessee, if it is not true, however, that with regard to this business of the States refusing to engage in the taxing process on their own and then asking for a handout from the Federal Government that this bill contains a partially guarding provision in the factor of distribution; namely, that it is expressed in terms of a ratio of the per capita tax, and the efforts of a given State in relation to the average taxing efforts of all other States. Would that not be a governing factor in this redistribution in the face of unduly low State taxing?

Mr. BAKER. There is a tendency on the part of some States to abandon or refuse to exercise their own efforts to raise their own tax revenue. There is one additional corollary that bears upon this same issue, in my judgment, and that is the proposition that the best government is active government. The States themselves have not been so active, I am sorry to say, in as many fields as I think they might, if they had a tax base and the resources to undertake these projects over a period of time. I really believe that the exercise of the use of effective local governmental power at the State or lesser levels will produce a more effective series of local governments, and further reduce the Central Government's burden.

I would like to reply to the comment of the Senator from Rhode Island that he favors the de-involvement of the Federal effort from certain tax efforts so that the States may themselves move into those fields. I respect that point of view. It is one of the approaches which has been considered both by me and by others in this field. However, I would also express my own preference for Federal revenue sharing instead of Federal de-involvement or Federal tax credits, on the theory that in a Federal union there is some responsibility implied in the very structure of Government for the union itself to be concerned with the welfare and equality of opportunity of the various States within it.

In a tax credit system, or in a de-involvement concept, there is no element of equalization of opportunity throughout the union.

Let me add this point, that the available taxing devices of the States, counties, and cities, are either the regressive kind of taxes such as the sales tax, the ad valorem property tax and the like, or the State income tax.

I think we would almost all agree that regressive, ad valorem type taxes are less equitable in their application than is a graduated income tax.

By the same token, a series of 50 State income taxes, each at variance with the other, each applied and administered not uniformly would, I think, greatly deter the freedom and mobility of civilization within this country, and the freedom of movement, employment opportunity, and industrialization.

I favor the concept that one of the future, legitimate functions of the federal system will be to raise internal revenue and to redistribute it equitably to the various States and local units of government, so that we can revitalize them.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator from Rhode Island that his time has expired.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 4 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized for 4 additional minutes.

Mr. PASTORE. I want to say to my distinguished colleague from Tennessee that I congratulate him on his maiden speech.

I am very happy to see that he has touched upon a problem which is of very grave importance. Whether I agree with him or not, I want him to understand that I was not challenging him at this moment. Senators never do that when a Senator is making his maiden address on the floor of the Senate.

I congratulate the Senator from Tennessee for his presentation and say to him, incidentally, but sincerely that he is one man in the Senate that I can look straight in the eyes.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. HRUSKA. Let me observe that it was with great pleasure I joined as a cosponsor on this measure. Regardless of what its final form will be, or its ultimate wisdom, I believe that it is a good vehicle for inquiry of an intelligent nature into this question.

I am sure that as we proceed on the testimony and further discussion of the issue, the elements which have been incorporated into the bill will be useful to further that inquiry.

Again I congratulate the Senator from Tennessee on a very fine speech.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Nebraska for his kind remarks.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with those Senators who have already congratulated the Senator from Tennessee on his maiden speech, especially on the fact that he is dealing with one of the really difficult problems of our time. I believe that he has made some highly constructive suggestions. All of us must face the fact that something needs to be done to help reestablish the strength and the viability of our local governments and our States. They are all confronted with tremendous problems.

The concept of tax sharing is one which I have long embraced. I believe that the Senator from Tennessee has cranked into his legislation some highly constructive, useful, and practical proposals.

I encourage him to press forward, full steam ahead.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of this colloquy, the remarks prepared by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], who is unavoidably absent today.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR HANSEN ON INTRODUCTION OF TAX-SHARING BILL BY SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

I want to thank Senator Baker for allowing me this opportunity to have a statement inserted in the record in the context of initial comment on his tax sharing bill. I want to heartily congratulate him for the excellent measure which he has brought forward today. I have worked with him on numerous occasions on matters pertaining to this bill and I feel that he has handled it extremely well. Certainly this bill will merit the very careful consideration of the Congress.

One of the most significant features of this bill is its financial feasibility in view of the current international situation and the continuance of certain existing Grant-in-Aid programs.

Speaking as a cosponsor, I assert that we are not asking for federal money for our states and cities. This bill envisions a return to state and local governments of monies which ought to have been their's in the first place, so that they will have the vital lubricant for the mechanism of local government.

Perhaps at no other time in our nation's history have we faced more demanding problems at the state and local level. Perhaps at no other time have the problems been so vast, so complicated, so comprehensive. Today our nation's larger cities are burdened by problems of urban renewal, water pollution control, air pollution control, education, crime control, transportation, and a host of other equally challenging, equally demanding problems. And as the need for solutions increases, as the demand for funds to solve these problems continues to grow, the sources of revenue for the cities slowly dry up. Their powers of taxation are stymied and hindered by the very nature of their existence.

Heavy industry has increasingly moved out of the city and thus out from under its taxing powers. The middle and upper class populace on which our taxing system depends so heavily no longer lives in the city; the suburbs is their home—but the city *still* their place of work.

Sales taxes are, beyond a point, highly inequitable due to the nature of the cities' residents, and employment taxing proves to be highly unpopular or at least economically unwise.

And so our nation's mayors, from Chicago and Detroit, from New York and Los Angeles, come to Washington to seek assistance—assistance with problems which, due to the drying up of revenue sources, have gone beyond their cities' financial abilities. The price tag they have placed on revitalization of our urban centers alone stands at over 200 billion dollars.

But the challenge has not been thrown to the cities alone. It lies also at the doorstep of our state houses. Today the needs of education are fantastic; welfare, the highways, natural resources all demand a heavy expenditure of funds—funds which increasingly the state does not have. The mere existence of a grant-in-aid program indicates the demand for assistance which reaches from our Nation's capitols.

A look at the figures reveals the situation all too graphically. From 1966 to 1965, state and local expenditures increased by more than 100 per cent from $36.7 billion to $75 billion, while the disbursements of the federal government increased by only 60 per cent from $68.8 billion to $110 billion. State and local debt burdens in the same period shot up over 100 per cent from $48.9 billion to $99.5 billion, as the federal debt increased by a relatively slight 17 per cent from $272.8 billion to $317.9 billion.

Dr. Joseph Peckman, former head of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, in his recent book "Financing State and Local Governments" estimated that by 1970 expenditures at the state and local levels will exceed general revenues (including federal grants) by $15 billion.

The problem, we quickly recognize; the necessity for a solution, we readily admit. But the manner of that solution stands unsolved. The grant-in-aid programs are considered a very plausible step toward alleviating the existing problems and have thus increased from $5.1 billion in 1958 to $15.4 billion in 1967—an increase of nearly one billion dollars a year! But yet the original design of such legislation, the concept of pointing out a state or local problem by federal financial assistance and then allowing the state or local area to take over the problem using their own creative concepts of government, has not taken place.

But the effect of grants-in-aid is much more than neutral. The programs and the manner in which they have been administered have had certain decidedly negative effects.

These programs, issuing from the federal government in Washington, have been in a great many instances, ignorant of the states' judgment of their own particular priorities.

Grants are being made and carried out by a variety of public, private, quasi-public, quasi-private bodies, resulting in the fragmentation of local government and almost complete lack of coordination at the point of impact.

This, of course, has been due to the lack of understanding at the federal level of the political and fiscal realities of local government. Because of the vastness of our governmental system, it is physically impossible and administratively unwise to expect the Bureaucracy to know the particular problems of each of our country's 91,186 governmental units. Even with the grant-in-aid programs at their present level, the burden of administrative red tape is overpowering.

State and local officials are often blinded in their desire by the abundance of red tape and the stringent federal coalitions imposed for qualification of these programs. While at the same time, federal officials struggle under the onerous details now required in the administration of existing grant-in-aid assistance.

Unfortunately, many of the states have taken a rather extravagant attitude with these federal grants because of their very nature. The people have seen them not as grants, or stimulating funds, but rather as "free money" to be used without regard to fiscal economy.

Congressman Goodell put the problem in excellent perspective when he spoke before the U.S. House of Representatives on January 30, 1967:

"State and local government are now buried under a mass of over 400 federal aid appropriations for 170 separate aid programs, administered by a total of 21 federal departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out federal tax dollars. Even those who previously proclaimed that proliferation of federal grant-in-aid programs would solve our nation's problems are now raising anguished crises of protest at the resulting administrative chaos."

The attempts at administration of these programs have caused an increase in the bureaucratic machinery, thus stacking additional weight on the federal side of the governmental scale. And as these funds become increasingly centered in Washington, the state loses out. Its cities, recognizing the real source of strength, bypass the state houses and come straight to Washington to establish their own independent lobbying forces.

With this particular drawing of the lines of government goes the federal system—the American system—of a federal, state and local level of government, each doing its own specific and traditionally assigned duties for the people of its domain. To increase the power and jurisdiction of one is to naturally decrease the power and viability of the other.

The federal government cannot do all that must be done, but if we continue to weaken the system by allowing the states to be bypassed, then certainly there will be nothing left but the federal government. State lines and county boundaries would, for all practical purposes, disappear.

The Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations states the problem well: "The federal, state and local governments are interrelated parts of a single governmental system; each level, however, must effectively discharge its mandated responsibility if all of its rights as a member of this partnership are to be preserved." By acquiescing in the weakening of the state governments we are all aiding in the downfall of our traditional federal system. It is our responsibility to see that the state governments remain strong so they can continue to do what we, at the federal level, cannot and should not attempt to do. I believe most strongly that the best manner of achieving this end is by means of a tax sharing program.

The inability of state revenues to keep pace with advancing expenditures is due to a great extent to the saturation point which has been reached by the states' taxing policies. The basically regressive sales and property taxes utilized by a vast majority of the states cannot yield the revenues necessary. They no longer offer an adequate source of revenue, because they are not growth elastic—they simply cannot keep up with the increasing GNP. But yet the most lucrative area—that of the income tax—has already been taken by the federal government. Attempts by a state to institute an income tax over and above the federal tax have often been met with political opposition.

But it is more than politically inadvisable; the pure economics of the threat of business to leave a state due to a proposed income tax is also highly relevant. A tax sharing program would eliminate these objections to income taxes on a state level.

Some would accuse our state governments of an intrinsic inability to deal with their problems effectively. Some would say that the states ignore the needs of their citizens and spend state funds unwisely. How true is such an accusation? We need turn to no greater authority than the people of these states for our answer. In their view, which government serves them the best, which government spends their tax dollars most wisely? According to a recent Gallup Poll, 18 per cent of the people answered the federal government, while an astounding 49 per cent say *their own state governments are the wiser spenders of their tax dollars.* And the facts uphold their convictions. It can be easily demonstrated that a large proportion of state expenditures have been in the areas of education, health and welfare. The people's needs have definitely not been ignored.

To the argument that a funneling of funds through the state house will be at the expense of the urban areas of the state, we can only reiterate Congressman Goodell's statement before the House of Representatives, that "the twin facts that states devote over one-third of their own revenues to state aid for localities and provide 30 per cent of total local revenues certainly indicate that cooperative federalism is a working reality at the state-local level."

This, plus the application of the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" rulings shows, I believe, that no locality will suffer at the hands of their state legislature.

Given due representation, and the already compassionate attitude of the state houses toward the cities and their problems, there will undoubtedly be a highly equitable distribution of these funds, especially if they are allocated on a population and per capita income basis as has been often proposed.

Not only would the channeling of tax funds through the state add to its political ability to function, but the process would also be more highly efficient because of the increased responsiveness to local needs.

To quote the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations again, "administrative and financial practices and procedures must be geared to the needs of the individual program and not to any abstract standardized principles."

The people and their representatives in each state understand the problems and the needs of their state to a much greater extent than does the distant federal government. It is logical that those closest to a problem tend to be the most familiar with its intricacies.

It would allow the local level to experiment and to test, possibly finding a solution heretofore never considered.

The value of our 50 states is the value of 50 different roads to the same end—allowing us more quickly to find the optimum solution. Not only that, but the means utilized by the local units would be those particularly suited to specific areas.

Since this program's allotments would be made on the basis of the fiscal effort of no state, we will be assured that states continue to improve their taxing programs. And obviously, the per capita distribution originally advised by Dr. Peckman and now included in Senator Baker's bill, will assure that a rich state will not receive relatively more than a poor state.

Mr. President, I am pleased and proud to be identified as a co-sponsor of the bill discussed this day by my good friend and fellow freshman Republican, Howard Baker. I commend the Senator on the depth and scope of his research, the eloquence of his language and the soundness of his logic. I sincerely hope that this measure, which could be the rebirth of a new dimension of responsibility and promise for state and municipal governments, can be passed by the Senate and the House with the greatest dispatch.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to congratulate Senator BAKER on the introduction of his tax-sharing bill, of which I am a cosponsor. Together with the bill I introduced in January and those introduced by Representative GOODELL and Senator SCOTT, the Republicans in the Congress have now put forth slightly varying proposals involving a fundamental issue facing the country today. It is important to note that tax sharing has the support of Representatives GERALD R. FORD and MELVIN LAIRD in the House and Senator DIRKSEN and a growing group of Republicans in the Senate.

The proposal introduced today by Senator BAKER, the bill I introduced, and the bills introduced by other Republicans are moving the dialog forward on tax sharing. With the mounting effect of good bills and growing support from influential groups on the outside, such as the National Governors Conference, the National League of Cities, and others, I believe that Congress will have to take action on this issue before much longer. I strongly urge the chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator LONG, and Chairman WILBUR MILLS of the House Ways and Means Committee to put hearings on tax sharing high on their committees' agendas.

Support for tax sharing is growing, both in Congress and in the country. The President's failure to propose legislation in this area has provided Republicans with a major issue. I am very pleased to say that we have seized the issue, and also that we have put forth specific and detailed proposals to implement it.

Unless legislation is enacted giving States and local governments a share of the Federal tax revenues with maximum freedom to spend it consistent with protective conditions precedent against abuse, the trend will continue inexorably toward more conditional grant-in-aid programs, with increasing Federal intrusion into decisionmaking at the State and local levels.

In my judgment, there can be no genuine partnership between the Federal and local governments without some well-designed program of Federal-State revenue sharing. The bill being introduced today, and those that have been introduced before this year, are designed to accomplish this in the most meaningful and equitable way, so that the poorer States will have an opportunity to improve their services and so that the so-called richer States will have the resources necessary to meet the overwhelming problems of their urban complexes.

The choice facing the States and local governments today is not between more State dollars and Federal dollars, but between Federal dollars bound by strings and conditions, and funds which are relatively flexible in use and can help buttress the capability of State and local governments to carry their responsibilities and not to abdicate authority to the Federal Government due to the financial inability to discharge them.

THE CONSULAR CONVENTION

NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I want to say at the outset that I am now addressing myself to the Consular Treaty before the Senate. While my prepared remarks presently to be delivered, are not directly connected with the treaty, they are indirectly connected with the Consular Treaty for the reasons that I shall give momentarily.

It was President Kennedy who said that peace and tranquillity in our time will not come in any cataclysmic way. It will not suddenly descend upon this world, coming as a bolt out of the blue. Whatever we are able to achieve in this very disturbed and sensitive world will have to come step by step. And somewhere, and somehow, and by somebody, that first step will have to be taken.

Today we are considering, in this arising debate, the question of the Consular Treaty. A great deal can be said on one side or the other. One can argue dramatically for it or dramatically against it. However, the fact still remains that, somehow, this world will have to begin to understand that unless we learn to live together, we shall die together. Today there is enough destructive firepower in the world to equal 10 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth.

What the administration is trying to do—whether one considers it right or wrong—is to take that step or develop that détente which will be necessary in our time to face what I consider to be the challenge of mankind in our day. That is to prevent a nuclear or thermonuclear holocaust.

I shall listen to the debate very attentively. I will not be carried away by emotional flashes of oratory, by scare phrases which are very appealing, but which have not been thoroughly and exhaustively analyzed in the light of the kind of world in which we live—its perils—and yet its possibility of peace.

It is along that line that I address myself to this body, to this administration, and indeed to the entire world.

Less than 1 year ago—to be exact, on May 17, 1966—a most serious matter was before the Senate. The subject was embodied in a resolution which was simply worded—not highly technical—not difficult to understand—and impossible to ignore.

It was a resolution for nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

The resolution passed the Senate without a dissenting vote.

I believe it was—and is—a profound declaration of the consensus of the Senate. Important as it was last year, I believe, indeed, it may be even more important today. So I ask the indulgence of my colleagues and read that Senate Resolution 179 of the 89th Congress, second session, we passed that day. It read:

> [S. Res. 170, 89th Cong., second sess.]
>
> RESOLUTION
>
> Whereas the spread of nuclear weapons constitutes a grave threat to the security and peace of all nations, and
>
> Whereas the knowledge and ability to design and manufacture nuclear weapons is becoming more universally known, and
>
> Whereas the danger of nuclear war becomes greater as additional nations achieve independent nuclear weapon capability, and
>
> Whereas it is the policy of the United States, as stated by President Johnson, "to seek agreements that will limit the perilous spread of nuclear weapons, and make it possible for all countries to refrain without fear from entering the nuclear arms race": Therefore be it
>
> *Resolved*, That the Senate commends the President's serious and urgent efforts to negotiate international agreements limiting the spread of nuclear weapons and supports the principle of additional efforts by the President which are appropriate and necessary in the interest of peace for the solution of nuclear proliferation problems.

That was the end of the resolution. On May 17 that resolution passed in the Senate by a vote of 84 to 0.

Today—March 9, 1967—the international disarmament conference is meeting in Geneva. Representatives of 17 nations of the world are engaged in an effort to negotiate a nonproliferation treaty.

The effort is arduous. Negotiations have been underway since February 21. As anyone who has been reading the newspaper reports well knows, there are currently some difficulties in negotiating and drafting the treaty language.

Specifically, there is disagreement among some nations, including our allies, with regard to article III of the proposed treaty submitted by the United States.

Article III has to do with international inspection of civilian nuclear facilities within the signatory countries.

There are two worthwhile international organizations that have been, and are, sponsoring civilian uses of atomic energy—the International Atomic Energy Agency and Euratom.

There appears to be developing in the minds of some that a choice must be made of one of these organizations to the exclusion of the other for the purpose of assuring that civilian nuclear material and equipment are not diverted to military purposes.

This is absolutely wrong.

I believe it would be worth while if we review the wording of article III as it was originally proposed by the United States and alternate variations that have been under consideration, and what problems there are.

As a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and as present chairman of that committee, I have been closely following this matter, and I would hope that as we have been able to do in the past, the members of the Joint Committee can make some contributions to help solve the problems that may now be facing us in the international control of atomic power.

Article III in the proposed treaty tabled on August 17, 1965, and again on March 22, 1966, by the United States, stated as follows—and I wish to say here that when I use the word "tabled," it does not carry the same connotation that it would be given in the Senate. "Tabling" a measure in the Senate means to kill it. "Tabling" a matter here means merely that it was submitted. This is what article III stated:

> Each of the states party to this treaty undertakes to cooperate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency or equivalent international safeguards on all peaceful nuclear activities.

As my colleagues recall, last year when I introduced Senate Resolution 179 on January 18, I was critical of the wording of article III as proposed. I felt the phrasing was vague and noncommital. I said then, and I repeat now, if we really believe—and I know that we do—that the application of international controls is necessary and we intend to support international safeguards—let us say so in clear, explicit, definite, unequivocal language.

Last year, I therefore recommended much stronger language—language that would make mandatory international controls—international safeguards to be applied to nuclear material and equipment transferred between nations. At the time I recommended the following specific language:

> 1. Each of the nonnuclear states party to this treaty undertakes to accept International Atomic Energy Agency or similar safeguards on all of their nuclear activities.
>
> 2. Each of the states party to this treaty undertakes to provide source or fissionable material, or specialized equipment or nonnuclear material for the processing or use of source or fissionable material or for the production of fissionable material, to other states for peaceful purposes only if such material and equipment will be subject to International Atomic Energy Agency or similar international safeguards.

I was saying—pure and simple—that any nation that gives fissionable material for civilian use shall make sure that the recipient of such material agrees to international inspection and all those who receive it in turn agree that they will subscribe to international inspection.

In my proposed language I used the words "International Atomic Energy Agency or similar international safeguards" and I chose those words quite carefully for the following reason:

The International Atomic Energy Agency, with a current membership of 97 nations has established a safeguards system but to date has not fully developed that system. Euratom, an organization consisting of six Western European nations has been operating an inspection system among its members which I hoped would also be used to assure compliance with the nonproliferation treaty.

While the International Atomic Energy Agency is further developing its capabilities, I wanted to be certain that we continued to draw upon and use the capabilities of the existing system within that region where it exists. When I made my recommendation I did not then, nor do I now, support any type of language that would put off into the undetermined future the requirement for some sort of international inspection. *It was my strong belief then,* and it remains today, that we must be definite as to when and how international inspection will be applied to verify the civilian uses of atomic energy and to assure materials are not diverted to military purposes in contravention of *any nonproliferation treaty entered into* by the United States and other nations. This has been U.S. policy from the inception of President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace program enunciated in 1953. The United States has always required that agreements for cooperation in the civilian uses of atomic energy carry with them procedures and requirements for inspection. At first the United States on its own assumed that responsibility. Bilateral agreements with other nations included the right of U.S. inspectors to personally verify that equipment and material were being used in conformance with our agreement. Thereafter, when Euratom was formed in 1957, we encouraged this group of six Western European nations to develop international-type safeguards within that organization. Within Euratom, nationals of the other member nations inspect Euratom material and equipment located in France; Dutch and Italian nationals inspect Euratom equipment and material in West Germany. However, from the beginning it was understood that in the event of the establishment of an international safeguards and control system under the International Atomic Energy Agency, Euratom would consider the International Atomic Energy Agency's assuming some safeguards and controls over Euratom nuclear material.

In 1958 the chief of the Euratom delegation, in a letter to the U.S. Representative to Euratom, assured the United States:

> . . . in the event of the establishment of an international safeguards and control system by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United States and Euratom will consult regarding assumption by that Agency of the safeguard and control over the fissionable material utilized or produced in implementation of the program contemplated by the Memorandum of Understanding.

The full text of the letter is as follows:

LUXEMBOURG,
June 18, 1958.

Ambassador W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH,
U.S. Representative,
European Atomic Energy Community,
Luxembourg.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: As you are aware, in the course of the final negotiations on the text of the Memorandum of Understanding regarding the joint nuclear power program proposed between the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the United States of America, the question was raised as to the intent of the Parties regarding section 11D of the Memorandum. Section 11D provides for frequent consultation and exchange of visits between the Parties to give assurance to both Parties that the Euratom safeguards and control system effectively meets the responsibility and principles for the peaceful uses of atomic material stated in the Memorandum and that the standards of the materials accountability systems of the United States and Euratom are kept reasonably comparable.

I wish to confirm the understanding of the Euratom Commission that the consultations and exchanges of visits agreed upon in the referenced section and the assurance provided for therein include within those terms permission by each Party for the other Party to verify, by mutually approved scientific methods, the effectiveness of the safeguards and control systems applied to nuclear materials received from the other Party or to fissionable materials derived from these nuclear materials. *In the Commission's* judgment, this understanding is implicit in the text of the Memorandum of Understanding.

I wish further to confirm the Commission's understanding that with respect to Section 11E, in the event of the establishment of an international safeguards and control system by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United States and Euratom will consult regarding assumption by that Agency of the safeguard and control over the fissionable material utilized or produced in implementation of the program contemplated by the Memorandum of Understanding.

Sincerely yours,
MAX KOHNSTAMM,
Chief, Euratom Delegation.

Ambassador Butterworth, U.S. Representative to Euratom, confirmed the understanding as follows:

JUNE 18, 1958.

MAX KOHNSTAMM, Esq.,
Chief, Euratom Delegation,
Luxembourg.

DEAR MR. KOHNSTAMM: As you are aware, in the course of the final negotiations on the text of the Memorandum of Understanding regarding the joint nuclear power program proposed between the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the United States of America, the question was raised as to the intent of the Parties regarding section 11 D of the Memorandum. Section 11 D provides for frequent consultation and exchanges of visits between the Parties to give assurance to both Parties that the Euratom safeguards and control system effectively meets the responsibility and principles for the peaceful uses of atomic materials stated in the Memorandum and that the standards of the materials accountability systems of the United States and Euratom are kept reasonably comparable.

I wish to confirm the understanding of my government that the consultations and exchanges of visits agreed upon in the referenced section and the assurance provided for therein include within those terms permission by each Party for the other Party to verify, by mutually approved scientific methods, the effectiveness of the safeguards and control systems applied to nuclear materials received from the other Party or to fissionable materials derived from these nuclear materials. In the Commission's judgment, this understanding is implicit in the text of the Memorandum of Understanding.

I wish further to confirm my government's understanding that with respect to Section 11 E, in the event of the establishment of an international safeguards and control system by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United States and Euratom will consult regarding assumption by that Agency of the safeguard and control over the fissionable material utilized or produced in implementation of the program contemplated by the Memorandum of Understanding.

Sincerely yours,
Ambassador BUTTERWORTH,
U.S. Representative to the European Atomic Energy Community, Luxembourg.

Mr. President, since its inception I have been a strong supporter of Euratom. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, of which I am honored to be the chairman, has consistently supported various cooperative programs aimed at assisting Euratom in furthering the development of civilian nuclear power within Western Europe. Every proposal for cooperation and assistance—whether it involved information, technical assistance or fissionable material—was supported by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation for a number of years I consistently and constantly lent my voice and support to assisting what I believe to have been, and still to be, a worthwhile endeavor—Euratom. I therefore am surprised and disappointed when I read statements emanating from within Euratom nations resisting, if not opposing, the nonproliferation treaty and, particularly, International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. Statements reportedly originating in West Germany claim that a nonproliferation treaty, as now being proposed in Geneva, adversely affects the civilian nuclear power program within that nation. This, if true, is an incongruity and I daresay an untenable position. Each of the Euratom nations, as a member of Euratom, has already accepted international inspection within its own organization. In addition, each of the six member nations of Euratom has had bilateral agreements for cooperation with the United States which in the past authorized U.S. inspection. During the past several years two members of Euratom agreed to Euratom inspection of equipment received under their bilateral agreements with the United States. Following extended negotiation and review on August 1, 1965, Belgium entered into agreement by which it came under Euratom international inspection on all material and equipment it receives from the United States. On November 20, 1966, France also did the same. This year West Germany is expected to do the same.

In all cases, whether it be through bilateral agreements or through Euratom, the six nations of Euratom have agreed not to use material or equipment received from the United States for military purposes. This has not in any way adversely affected their civilian program. Similarly, each of the six in one way or another has accepted international inspection from its neighbors. I am therefore concerned that these nations that have been complying with non-proliferation-type restrictions should now raise objections by claiming that the nonproliferation treaty would prevent or hamper the civilian uses of atomic energy.

As I have over the years sponsored and supported Euratom, similarly I have been a strong supporter of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 1955, when President Eisenhower appointed me a delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, I helped in the drafting of the U.S. resolution which first sponsored the International Atomic Energy Agency. I presented the draft proposal before the first political committee of the 10th General Assembly of the United Nations. I have seen the International Agency grow to what it is today—an organization dedicated to the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes with a membership of 97 nations, soon to be increased to 99.

Beginning in 1960 the International Atomic Energy Agency has been developing an international inspection system. It is still developing that system. It has, I am informed, approximately 13 individuals assigned to it whose responsibility it is to visit facilities throughout the world and to verify that equipment and material designated for civilian peaceful purposes are not diverted to military uses.

I personally do not believe that this limited personnel of the International Atomic Energy Agency system to date is adequate to assume its responsibilities throughout the entire world. I am convinced that in the last several years much has been accomplished in developing techniques and training International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors. A great deal more is necessary. I am sure it is important that in the years to come the United States and other nations dedicate themselves to improving and strengthening the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system.

Now, I do not believe that we are compelled to make a choice, that is, to be either one or the other—the IAEA or Euratom. In my opinion, it can be a cooperation and understanding between the two.

Nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is of prime importance. We need any and all assistance we can receive to assure fissionable material and equipment are not diverted from civilian uses to nuclear weapons. We need the Euratom safeguards, we need the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, and we need any additional regional safeguard systems that may hereafter be set up.

I, for one, would welcome an organization, even of Warsaw Pact nations, that might be formed to further the civilian uses of atomic energy. But even if they did form an organization of nations, this should only be with the coordination and under the aegis of the International Agency for Atomic Energy, which is stationed now in Vienna.

I would welcome a system whereby Polish nationals would inspect Hungarian or Czechoslovakian facilities and vice versa.

I would welcome a group of South American nations that might form on a regional basis and which might develop an international safeguards system within their region.

There again, such systems should be supplementary by and in cooperation with the international agency.

On the other hand, I would not recommend nor would I support individual regional safeguards systems which would exclude International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors or which would be in lieu of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

Mr. President, as I have indicated on numerous occasions in the past, I believe it is important that article III of the proposed nonproliferation treaty set forth a definite commitment that material and equipment transferred for peaceful uses will be subject to international inspection. I recommend that article III be clearly understood not to require the International Atomic Energy Agency inspection system or other international inspection to be exclusive of each other; that any regional system that currently exists, like Euratom or others that may subsequently be formed, be encouraged to assist in this important work, but that they be coordinated with and under the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system. To this extent I recommend that the U.S. representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency be instructed to propose an arrangement whereby the International Atomic Energy Agency would enter into a formal agreement with Euratom to develop equivalent technical standards for their safeguards systems and under which International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors would be authorized to verify Euratom's system. I would also recommend that such an agreement should include a joint research program to develop improved technical methods for safeguarding fissionable materials.

Organizations such as Euratom and the International Atomic Energy Agency, whose objectives are similar, should not be at odds with one another. They should be cooperating and supplementing one another. If these two organizations will enter into an agreement to help develop better safeguard methods, conceivably they could also enter into other joint projects in fostering the civilian use of atomic energy for their mutual benefit.

There are five nations today capable of unleashing a nuclear war. As additional nations develop nuclear weapon capability, the danger of accidental or deliberate nuclear war will increase. Every President—every administration—from President Truman to President Johnson—has supported a policy to prevent further proliferation of nuclear weapons. Beginning with President Eisenhower, the United States also has sponsored an atoms-for-peace program to help other nations and groups of nations throughout the world obtain the benefits of peaceful uses of atomic energy. It would be a sad and tragic event if jealous rivalry between two international organizations, both of which were formed to advance the peaceful uses of atomic energy, were to prevent an effective nonproliferation treaty from being adopted.

Individual nations within Euratom and within the International Atomic Energy Agency have been willing to give up some degree of their sovereignty for the benefit of the group. I might say that today we have a civilian nuclear plant operating at Rowe, Massachusetts. This is under international inspection. And we have suffered no inconvenience, and no discomfiture. Nor have we suffered any loss of security in that area. Further advancements can be made for the betterment of all if these separate international agencies will cooperate in developing and supporting an international safeguards system.

We must not falter. And we must not fail.

We are thousands of miles from Geneva today—but our tomorrow could depend on these discussions—those differences—and their decisions.

The very fact that mankind has a problem of nuclear proliferation to discuss, magnifies the perils that multiply with the expansion of the nuclear club.

We shuddered at the potential nuclear annihilation when the threat was in just two hands—ours and the Soviet Union.

All the wars of the 20th century have cost 100 million lives. Three hundred million might well be lost in the first hour of an all-out nuclear war.

I do not want to be overdramatic. The drama is in the facts—and the fears. If we precipitate an all-out nuclear war that would kill between 150 and 250 million people on the face of God's earth—and that is actually possible—I say to my colleagues that the living would envy the dead.

The conflagration, the destruction, the irradiation, and the contamination would make this world unbearable to human life. That is the holocaust that frightens me—when anyone speaks loosely and blithely about the use of atomic power. God forbid that day of doom will ever come to pass.

Today, five nations are in the "nuclear club," and a dozen nations stand in the wings counting the cost—against the prestige.

There are thousands of missiles actually on target at this hour in this divided world. Multiply them in mad hands—and "tomorrow" might become the most uncertain word in the language of man.

But mankind has a still more powerful weapon: the power of speech, of reason, of reasoning, of words, of communication, of understanding, man to man.

We have seen its power in these 20 years—growing into an active, articulate idea of a world of law and order.

We have seen its great instrument—the United Nations—become a power to maintain and restore peace among peoples.

We have seen the achievements of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—our nuclear treaties in outer space—our "hot line" between the Kremlin and the White House.

We have seen these successes achieved when the hour seemed to promise pessimism—despair—defeat.

This hour at Geneva therefore calls for optimism.

It calls for the courage to compromise doubts and differences.

It calls for confidence in international cooperation.

It calls for a compact of nuclear security conceived in commonsense.

It calls for a partnership for peace.

I conclude by saying that the surest way we can guarantee the tranquillity of every home, the peace of every mind, and the security of every individual on God's earth—man, woman, and child—is to make certain that somehow, some day, we develop a system of international inspection and control, of man's nuclear capability so that atoms for peace may insure that peace—and to make doubly sure that the cheater cannot destroy civilization.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Rhode Island has expired.

Mr. PASTORE. I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes, in order to accommodate the distinguished Senator from Vermont.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. AIKEN. I commend the Senator from Rhode Island for the speech he has just delivered. He has displayed a remarkable degree of sanity and commonsense which is all too seldom seen in the Halls of Congress. What he has said is absolutely correct, but it is so serious that it probably will not receive sufficient attention in the outside world. If we all had the sanity and the outlook possessed by the senior Senator from Rhode Island, we would be a much better legislative body.

Mr. PASTORE. I appreciate the sincere comments of the Senator just as I respect his concern for world peace.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Pursuant to the previous order, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Florida for 10 minutes, as in legislative session.

ARBITRARY ACTION OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR IN RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I have read with great interest and concern the remarks of the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] that appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Monday, March 7, on page 5620, with reference to the latest arbitrary action of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wirtz, in raising the minimum hourly wage that he will require California farmers to pay from $1.40 to $1.60 in order to be eligible to obtain needed foreign supplemental, harvest labor. By this same action, Mr. Wirtz has raised the minimum wage that he will require Florida farmers to pay before they can secure needed offshore supplemental harvest labor from $1.15 an hour to $1.35.

Mr. President, I concur completely in the remarks made by the junior Senator from California. Indeed, as Senator Murphy stated, the earlier capricious actions of Mr. Wirtz have resulted in increased cost of perishable foodstuffs throughout the land. They have resulted, in some cases, where fruits and vegetables have rotted in the fields for lack of a labor force to harvest them. In other cases they have forced farmers to reduce their plantings in order to avoid great losses.

Further, Mr. President, this latest action of Mr. Wirtz is but another example of the Department of Labor taking over jurisdiction through arbitrary arrogant action that wholly disregards the expressed intent of Congress. Just last year, as pointed out by our distinguished colleague from California, the Congress passed a new minimum wage bill now Public Law 89-601. This law amended the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and among other things this new law for the first time extended the minimum wage to agricultural workers with certain minor exemptions. By so amending the act to cover agricultural labor, Congress required employers in agriculture to pay not less than $1 per hour during the first year after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, or not less than $1.15 an hour during the second year from such date and not less than $1.30 an hour thereafter. The effective date of this new law was February 1, 1967.

In other words, by the latest action of Mr. Wirtz, he is arbitrarily requiring those farmers who will need supplemental foreign harvest labor to pay a wage which, in the case of California, is 60 cents an hour higher than the minimum farm wage set by the new law for the year ending February 1, 1968. In the case of Florida, he is requiring a farmer who will need supplemental off-shore harvest labor to pay a minimum wage of 35 cents higher than the minimum wage set by the new law for farm labor during the year ending February 1, 1968. And he is requiring not only that his new wage figures shall apply to all supplemental harvest labor which he may graciously certify as necessary, but also to all domestic farm labor employed by the farmer. And under his order, the farmer, unless he complies with the new Wirtz mandate, will be denied the certification of his need for and right to secure supplemental foreign harvest labor, regardless of how grave the farmer's need may be and how great his loss will be in the event he cannot secure the needed extra workers.

I feel that the great departure of Secretary Wirtz from the standards set by the Congress last year is also clearly shown by the fact that the minimum rates which he is prescribing for farmers in California and Florida exceed by the same large amounts just stated the minimum rates provided by the new law in its first year for all new workers in nonagricultural industries who are included under the wage and hours law for the first time, such as workers in the laundry and hotel industries and in many stores. All newly covered workers were required to be paid a wage of not less than $1 an hour during the first year from the effective date of the new law with an additional 15 cents being added for each of the second, third, fourth and fifth years covered by the new law. In other words, in California the agricultural rate of $1.60 an hour fixed by Mr. Wirtz to be paid by farmers this year as a condition for their securing needed foreign supplemental harvest workers is a larger rate than that required to be paid to newly covered industrial workers until the fifth year of operation of the new law and thereafter.

In the case of Florida, Mr. Wirtz requires farmers this year to pay a minimum wage of $1.35 per hour—a higher rate than that required to be paid to newly covered industrial workers until during the fourth year of operation of the new law.

In other words, while Congress clearly showed its decision to fix the ultimate minimum wage for agricultural labor at a lower level than that fixed for industrial labor which is just being brought under the coverage of the Wage and Hours Act, Mr. Wirtz has jumped to the opposite decision that he will require farmers to pay more for farm labor than is required by the act of Congress to be paid to newly covered industrial workers.

Mr. President, it seems to me that such capricious action as that taken by Mr. Wirtz is not only clearly illegal controverting the will of Congress as expressed in the new law passed last year, but is also brutal in the extreme in depriving a producer of perishable fruits or vegetables of any chance to secure needed supplemental foreign labor unless he has first bowed to the tyrannical mandate of the Secretary of Labor and obligated himself to pay a minimum wage much greater than that which has been set by law, duly enacted by the Congress, in the exercise of its legislative responsibility.

Mr. President, following my dictation of the remarks which I have just made, I received from the Department of Labor, over the signature of Mr. David S. North, assistant to the Secretary, a letter addressed to my legislative assistant, Mr. Thomas A. Young, replying to our request for information about the new regulations on foreign farm labor which had been announced by the Secretary of Labor. I ask that this letter from the Department of Labor be incorporated in my remarks at this time as a part thereof.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington.

Mr. THOMAS A. YOUNG,
Office of Senator Holland,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. YOUNG: You asked for some information about the new regulations on foreign farm labor which were announced by the Secretary. Perhaps the following will be helpful:

Wages—Growers seeking foreign farm workers must offer American workers jobs with stipulated wage rates and certain other benefits, such as transportation and housing; if he makes such an offer and fails to attract workers, then the grower can ask the Secretary to set in motion the necessary machinery (involving the Immigration Service as well as the Labor Department) to bring in the foreign farm workers. The new regulations have increased the rates required, called "adverse effect" rates, as noted on the attachment.

Effective Date—These regulations will go into effect for crop activities starting after April 1. For all practical purposes this means that they will have no effect in Florida until next fall, because crop activities, such as cane and citrus harvesting are now under way. The Secretary did not want to change any wage patterns in the middle of a season.

Other provisions—The new regulations, which will be issued shortly, will be easier to work with than the earlier one (published in December 1964). It will be one document, rather than several.

Growers in states not requiring workmen's compensation for farm workers must supply accident insurance to the workers, and the levels of benefits have been increased in case of death or disability. (This has little or no significance for Florida—sugar cane workers have been covered by workmen's compensation for years.)

Previously we had a maximum limit of 120 days for worker certifications. In effect it meant that the sugar cane industry had to process two sets of papers for one season. This limit has been dropped in the new regulations.

Impact on Citrus—The new regulations will have no impact on this year's citrus harvest, as noted above. We expect that the industry will again want an extension of the special, crew average—no guaranteed minimum arrangement next fall, and that they again will petition for it. (The Secretary has twice approved such an arrangement.) The current arrangement calls for a crew average of $1.50, which has caused the growers no difficulty at all, because the average hourly pay has been in excess of $2.00 an hour.

Impact on Sugar—There will be no impact on the sugar cane industry, which is currently paying its men a guaranteed minimum rate of $1.35 an hour, which was set by the Department of Agriculture. If history is any guide, this rate will be higher next year by a nickel or a dime.

The higher rates reflect higher wages paid to farm workers in recent years. The rates were last set in December 1964.

If we can offer more information, please let us know. Sorry you had trouble reaching me this morning.

Sincerely,

DAVID S. NORTH,
Assistant to the Secretary.

(Enclosure.)

Adverse effect rates

State	1964 regulations	1967 regulations
Florida	$1.15	$1.35
Virginia	1.15	1.35
West Virginia	1.15	1.35
Maine	1.25	1.45
New York	1.30	1.50
Massachusetts	1.30	1.50
Rhode Island	1.30	1.50
New Hampshire	1.30	1.50
Vermont	1.30	1.50
Connecticut	1.40	1.60
California	1.40	1.60

NOTE.—Rates were set only for those States where foreign farmworkers had been employed in the years 1965 or 1966. If need be, the Secretary would set rates on a comparable basis for States not here listed.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, it will be noted that the new regulations which have not yet been issued have already increased the minimum wage rates required in Florida and California as set forth in my statement in detail, but will also be applicable later in the year to the nine other States listed in the compilation attached to the letter of Mr. North. Those States are Virginia, West Virginia, Maine, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut. It is clear that all along the line wherever foreign farm labor has been employed in the years 1965 or 1966 the Secretary of Labor is following the same course that I have already mentioned as applicable now to Florida and California, that is, he is raising the minimum rate for agricultural labor to figures well above those set by the new law for agricultural labor and for newly covered industrial labor. In other words, the Secretary of Labor is deliberately and arrogantly reversing the policy and standards adopted by Congress in the passage of the new 1966 wage and hours law and is proposing to enforce against all farm employers the requirement that they must pay to their farmworkers minimum wages well above the level required by law as a condition to their being allowed to have certified for their use needed foreign, supplemental, harvest labor.

I had also requested from the Department of Labor figures covering the number of foreign laborers admitted so far this year as supplemental, foreign, harvest laborers and they have furnished me the following information; namely, that 8,762 canecutters have been certified this year to Florida sugarcane growers from off-shore labor, and that 2,558 Canadian woodcutters have been certified to New England States and New York. For some reason the Secretary of Labor always prefers to ignore the presence in the United States of Basque sheepherders which are certainly agricultural laborers. I am advised, but not by the Secretary of Labor, that the number of Basque sheepherders now in the United States at this time is from 1,600 to 1,700. I am not advised what the policy of the Secretary of Labor is relative to the wages required to be paid to these Basque sheepherders.

Before closing, I wish to call clear attention to a fact which the producers of perishable foods in this Nation are not forgetting for a single moment, which is that when the Senate sometime ago was evenly divided on the question of whether the Secretary of Agriculture should be substituted for the Secretary of Labor in handling the problems of agricultural labor, the Vice President, himself, broke the tie vote and defeated action of the Senate under which the Secretary of Agriculture would have been given, so far as Senate action could accomplish it, the responsibility in this field. By that vote of the Vice President, the present national administration accepted full responsibility for the mishandling of this problem by the Secretary of Labor which has already occurred and which is now assuming more damaging proportions. It is high time that the national administration took a corrective hand in this sorry business so as to require fairer treatment of the hundreds of thousands of producers of perishable foods within this Nation by recognizing that there is a real shortage of domestic labor for the harvesting of indispensable food crops and that the availability of needed supplemental foreign harvesters be recognized in such an adequate way and in such timely fashion as to prevent further damage to our great food producing industry.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator from Florida, as usual, has undertaken to protect the farmers of his State and the United States. I feel, however, that he has an uphill job in order to be very effective in this field.

In regard to the fixing of farm labor prices above the amount which is set by the Congress as to minimum wages I am not so much concerned about the level at which Secretary Wirtz has set the wages as I am about the assumption of power on the part of one of the executive agencies of the Government.

The farmers of this country are apparently hitting the skids. Twelve percent of the dairymen in my State will go out of business this year. It will not be much less than that all over the country as a whole. Other farmers are quitting wholesale at a time when we are told that we have to have more food.

There is a reason for this quitting. Farm prices in just one year have dropped eight parity points, if I am correctly informed—from about 82 to 74 percent of parity, that parity representing prices received by the farmer as compared with prices and income received by those engaged in other segments of the economy.

They say that the farmer may not amount to much any more but, nevertheless, over 30 percent of all the people gainfully employed in this country depend upon agriculture for their livelihood today, either in the manufacturing of supplies, producing on the land, or in processing and handling the products of the farm.

Yet very little consideration is being given to the farmers. I do not believe that Congress has given enough consideration to the problems which confront our farmers. Many of our people are over in Europe undertaking to make arrangements for trade agreements. It seems that American agriculture may be simply a pawn to be used for the aggrandizement of some of our industrial people who have transferred much of their own production to Western Europe.

Thus I feel that the Senator from Florida has done well. We cannot afford to let agriculture go down hill.

I voted against the bill, day before yesterday, which had many good points in it, simply because that bill undertook to transfer jurisdiction over agricultural colleges, the Extension Service, experiment stations, and agriculture research from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to a new Committee on Education, which in all probability will be made up almost wholly of nonfarm people, some of whom will have very little knowledge of agriculture—although I do not want to say that they are not knowledgeable in the fields of education or health.

I do not admit that American agriculture has been a failure. I think it has been one of the most outstanding successes in all history. American agriculture has not only given to the United States the highest standard of living the world has ever known but it has also driven famine from many countries in the world and has kept many a country from changing its very form of government. Yet it seems as if every agency of the executive branch of the Government wants to take jurisdiction over American agriculture. Certainly, the State Department would love to take it over and use it as an instrument in international negotiations.

The Department of Labor, as has been pointed out by the Senator from Florida, undertakes to run American agriculture by determining costs. The Interior Department already has taken over a good deal of the work and jurisdiction which used to belong to the Department of Agriculture. And, as I have pointed out, now the Department of HEW wants to get the rest of it.

Mr. President, when American agriculture goes down the drain—and there are many forces pushing it in that direction at the present time—it will be a very sad day for the United States.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I express my great appreciation to the Senator from Vermont and say for the record that, as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and also as an ex officio member of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Agriculture, on both committees of which I have the honor to serve with the Senator from Vermont, he is fighting unceasingly for agriculture. The agricultural producers of this country have no better friend in Congress than the Senator from Vermont.

I agree entirely with the distinguished Senator that the amounts of the "upping" of the minimum wage as just announced by the Secretary are not of too great concern to many kinds of producers.

In fact, in his letter, the Secretary states that the average rate received by the citrus pickers of Florida last year was above $2 and, therefore, that very important industry, so far as wages are concerned, is not directly affected.

So far as cane is concerned, he already admits that he cannot find any Americans who want to get down on their knees in the muck and with machetes cut down the cane; and he has, therefore, given us consent to bring in people from the areas where that is a customary procedure on their farms, in order to harvest our cane.

However, as in the case of vegetable producers and strawberry growers, we are witnessing great quantities of our tomato production, both from the eastern and western parts of the country, going to Mexico and other countries, simply because of the smaller cost of labor. We are also witnessing our strawberry producers going out of business, and other industries which I can mention being seriously and adversely affected by this inane policy of the Secretary of Labor, who rules the producers of perishable foods with such an iron hand.

Yet he goes to court when he is called before the U.S. district court in Orlando, Fla., and says that he has no authority in this matter at all, that all he can do is advise the immigration authorities as to whether they should let them in, and, therefore, he does not have to answer, in law, for what he is doing.

To me, this is a rather outrageous thing which this man is doing and has done to the producers of perishable, agricultural commodities in this Nation.

I remind the Senator from Vermont that I see here that his own State has turned periodically to Canada for woodcutters and apple pickers, beyond what Vermont can furnish from its own population, and under the mandate of Secretary Wirtz, the rate is raised from $1.30 an hour—which has been the rate prevailing since 1964—to $1.50 per hour.

So I do not know whether that would seriously inconvenience them or not.

Mr. AIKEN. No.

Mr. HOLLAND. The fact is that the standard is set up one-half again as large as that set by Congress, in its wisdom, only last year. The Secretary of Labor allocated to himself the authority to do that.

I resent that. I protest as vigorously as I can against any executive official setting up his discretion, his judgment, particularly in a field about which he knows very little, as against the expressed judgment of Congress under a law it passed, and which was signed by the President.

Mr. AIKEN. It is not the rate for the apple pickers, because we cannot get them to work for $1.50 an hour anyway; it is the fact that the orchardist has to get down on his knees and crawl half a mile to the Labor Department before he can get pickers at all to help him. It is not the price that bothers him. It is the system whereby the Secretary of Labor does everything he can to force the orchardist to take people from other areas. He tried to bring in people from Boston, Mass., a year ago, but that did not work out very well. They didn't want to pick apples. I do not believe they got more than half a dozen in all from that source.

Before I sit down—and I am ready to do so momentarily—I want to say to the Senator from Florida and the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations, of which he is chairman, that his committee is almost the last bulwark between the American farmer and several forms of disaster.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank my distinguished friend. All I can say is that if I happen to stand in that position, I am well supported by the Senator from Vermont and numerous others, although they are too small in number. We were not able to get an even split in the Senate on the matter of transferring jurisdiction from the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of Agriculture, who knows something about agriculture, when the matter of agricultural labor was before us. But we will keep trying. In the meantime, I call attention again to the fact that I think the current national administration has a very great responsibility in this matter. It accepted that responsibility when the Vice President voted to break the tie by which we would have approved the transfer. I am calling attention to it again today. I will continue to call attention to it from time to time during this session and as long as necessary until the matter is corrected.

There is no good judgment in permitting a part of the administration to do something which reflects discredit on the rest of the Government, from the President on down, of which I am proud to be a part. I am complaining about the scurvy treatment given to producers of perishable food throughout the country, and shall continue as long as I am able to do so.

I want to say to my friend from Vermont that there is another thing that bothers me. Not only is agricultural income going down, but the percentage of the consumer dollar that is received by the producer of perishable crops generally is considerably below the level of the percentage of the dollar other agricultural producers receive.

The perishable producer has to observe so many safeguards and go through so many processes that when he gets his crops to the market he finds subtracted from the total price paid by the consumer the cost of many more things than in the case of the stable crops.

Perishable crops are a large part of the necessary food supplies of this Nation and for our children, and it seems to me the producers of those perishable crops should be given better treatment than they are.

I close by mentioning another thing. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken] is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations as well as the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and he sees both sides of this question. I think our abundance of the production of food not only helps to sustain in this country the highest standards of nourishment of any nation, but also permits us to ship many tons of food to countries in many areas of the world, and has prevented famine in important countries—important not only because human beings are affected, but important because they are democratic nations who are trying to keep their heads up. To treat producers of these agricultural products in this scurvy way, when our agricultural abundance is used in our foreign relations, is something which I cannot endure without speaking out. I am sure many others feel as I do and as the Senator from Vermont does.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

EXECUTIVE RESERVATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business, which the clerk will state.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D. 88th Cong., second sess.).

The Senate resumed the consideration of the convention.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I send to the desk executive reservation 1 on the Consular Convention with Russia, and call attention to the fact that this is in the nature of what I believe could be described as a good faith reservation.

The reservation deals with the matter of providing our consular officers in Russia with the right to call in the press to answer criticism made by Communist officials of that area on the spot where they are made—the same kind of exact reciprocal provisions, the same reciprocal conditions, and the same reciprocal practices which the Russian diplomatic corps now exercise in the city of Washington.

It also provides that there shall be freedom of expression, association, and reciprocity in connection with the number of newsmen, and the treatment of newsmen as they move back and forth between the two countries.

It seems to me that that should have been in the treaty as it deals with reciprocity. It is tremendously important that our people there have the same reciprocal advantages in Moscow that their people have here.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the reservation dealing with freedom of expression of the press and association may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the reservation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Executive Reservation 1

Reservation intended to be proposed by Messrs. Mundt, Dominick, and Hruska to the resolution of ratification of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964: Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of the convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States until the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have agreed (1) to permit the distribution to the Soviet press or any segment thereof by United States diplomatic and consular officers of announcements of United States public policy, both foreign and domestic, and answers to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press, and (2) not to impose or enforce any limitation on the number of United States citizens permitted to be in the Soviet Union at any time as representatives of the United States press which would effectively reduce them below the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States."

EXECUTIVE RESERVATION 2

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the other reservation, which I think is a good-faith reservation, deals with the matter of providing that the treaty shall not go into effect until the President of the United States first sends a message to the Congress declaring one of two factors existing: the first in the happy eventuality that he can send a message to the Congress that the troops, the Armed Forces of the United States, are no longer required overseas to protect South Vietnam. That would trigger the activation and the implementation of the treaty. In lieu of that, if the President can send a message to the Congress of the United States to the effect that the return of our Armed Forces from Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed by virtue of the fact that the Soviet Union is supplying arms and weapons to continue the war, that fact would serve to activate the treaty.

It seems to me that while we are seeking to decrease the problems and perils of Americans traveling in Russia for pleasure or business, we should be sure we do nothing to increase the problems and perils of the Armed Forces fighting for freedom in Vietnam.

I think we should ask the question, Why should we protect people who can afford to travel in Russia and ignore the boys who can ill afford to be drafted to be sent to Vietnam to fight for freedom over there?

This reservation would simply have the effect of deferring the applicable date of the treaty until we could be sure our boys were not needed there, or, if they were needed there, they were not being killed by weapons and supplies furnished by the other party to the treaty.

This reservation will not necessarily delay the ratification date, because we should recognize that the Soviet Presidium, the legislative body of the Soviet Union, has not yet ratified the treaty. There will be full time to ratify whenever that comes up for consideration.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the reservation be printed in full at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the reservation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Executive Reservation 2

Reservation intended to be proposed by Mr. Mundt on behalf of himself and Senators Miller, Murphy, Tower, Curtis, Cotton, and Hruska to the resolution of ratification of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964: Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "Subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this Convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force, until the President determines and reports to the Congress that (1) it is no longer necessary to assign members of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam or (2) the removal of members of the Armed Forces of the United States from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union."

EXECUTIVE UNDERSTANDING 1

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I believe that many Members of the Senate are deeply concerned about the making of a treaty with a country that is providing the real backbone of the materiel and equipment for the aggressor in North Vietnam and Vietcong forces that are killing American servicemen in Vietnam.

I believe that many Members of the Senate do not wish to kill the proposed Consular Treaty with Russia even though they are deeply concerned about the fact that Russia is providing the materiel and equipment that is being used not only to kill American servicemen but also greatly bolsters the refusal of North Vietnam to respond to the offers of the President of the United States for a peaceful negotiation of the end of the war in Vietnam.

Because of this, I intend to propose an amendment to the resolution of ratification, which will provide an opportunity for Members of the Senate to clearly express themselves on this point and I send the proposed amendment to the desk and ask that it be ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The understanding No. 1 is as follows:

Executive Understanding 1

Understanding intended to be proposed by Mrs. Smith to the resolution of ratification of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964:

After the period at the end of the resolution of ratification add a new sentence as follows: "In giving its advice and consent to the ratification of this Convention, the Senate expresses its hope that before the United States consents to the opening by the Soviet Union of any consular establishment in the United States, an honorable conclusion will be achieved in the Vietnam conflict, whereby United States military forces will no longer be needed to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam."

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I rise, once more, to speak on behalf of the pending United States-Soviet Consular Convention.

In my first speech to the Senate on this subject, a little more than a month ago, I suggested that a great deal of the opposition was due to a misunderstanding of the convention and its provisions.

Subsequent developments have proven the truth of this prediction. My office has been bombarded with a stream of mail citing article 2 as "proof" that this convention authorizes and directs the opening of additional consulates here. It does not. What article 2 says is that—

> A consular establishment may be opened in the territory of the receiving state—

But—and here is the important qualification that is often overlooked—

> only with the consent of the receiving state.

This, in essence, is nothing more than a restatement of the permissive authority to initiate reciprocal negotiations for this purpose already granted to the President under the U.S. Constitution. Thus, the Consular Convention has no direct bearing on this question.

This convention is nothing more and nothing less than a set of legal safeguards designed to govern consular operations between this country and the Soviet Union. For us, however, it represents an unusual opportunity to provide to Americans, assigned to and traveling in the Soviet Union, protections not now available. Of particular importance for our consular personnel is freedom from Russian criminal jurisdiction; of equal importance for private Americans, traveling and doing business in Russia, are the guarantees of immediate diplomatic notifications and access in cases of arrest.

In practice, this country already allows to Soviets accused of crimes here the same constitutional guarantees available to all Americans. Our citizens in Russia have no such protection, but the Consular Convention will be a vital step in this direction. I think it is worth noting, again, that the provisions of this convention represent unique concessions by the Russian Government. The Soviets, for the first time, will be extending to Americans, through this convention, protections not even given to Soviets in their own homeland.

Mr. President, I, for one, am growing tired of the argument that we should somehow "forget" those Americans who travel and do business in the Soviet Union and that "they shouldn't be there in the first place." We are told, "You should be worrying more about the 180 million Americans right here at home." Similarly, we are told that it is somehow "wrong" to consider this convention while engaged in a war against Communist aggression in North Vietnam.

Both arguments, I believe, ignore the realities of the current world situation. We cannot return to the isolationism of an earlier era; nor can we be guided by an assumption that total war is the only inevitability. Therefore, we must continue to seek those avenues, and those areas of negotiation which remain open to us, which offer some hope that the lasting peace we all seek between the Communist and non-Communist worlds can eventually be built. The Consular Convention, in my opinion, must be viewed in this light. I urge its approval.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, in our consideration of the Consular Treaty it is imperative that we place foremost in our minds its possible effect on the security and future well-being of America.

In its present form, I do not believe that it would be wise or in the best interests of the United States for the Senate to give its advice and consent to this treaty. It is for this reason that I rise to urge the Senate to strike from the treaty, article 19, sections 2 and 3, which I believe to be the convention's most serious defect.

There are, of course, many pros and cons of the treaty and they are now being explored by the Senate, as well they should be. However, it seems clear to me that if we adopt this convention without correcting this significant deficiency, we stand to lose far more than we could gain.

On the plus side, the treaty would provide for protection of Americans in Russia in the event of arrest by Soviet authorities. Americans now traveling in Russia number close to 20,000 a year, and provisions of the treaty are designed to eliminate the threat of our citizens being arrested and held incommunicado in Soviet jails for long periods of time, and would allow U.S. officials to maintain contact with and counsel arrested Americans.

Russian citizens traveling in America total only about 900 a year.

Thus, at least in this regard, the treaty definitely leans in our favor.

Aside from the interest of our Government in establishing consulates in the Soviet Union, this is probably the most outstanding favorable provision of the convention.

However, notwithstanding this safeguard, it is nonetheless vitally important that we hold this treaty at arm's length and give it our most careful scrutiny.

I now come to what I believe to be the most compelling reason why the Senate should not accept this treaty as it now stands. I refer to provisions in the treaty, contained in article 19, sections 2 and 3, which would grant immunity to Soviet consular officers and employees from criminal prosecution, both misdemeanor and felony.

Mr. President, never before in the annals of our Republic have we seen fit to grant to the consular officers or employees of any country total immunity from criminal prosecution. That immunity goes only to diplomatic officials and embassy officials. These provisions were instituted during the administration of George Washington, in 1790. Since that time, we have had friendships with many countries all over the face of the earth, but never during all that time have we granted absolute and complete immunity from prosecution to consuls, members of their staffs, or employees.

It is strange indeed that we should pick out the Soviet Union, which has given the world much trouble for the past 50 years, for this special privilege. This immunity would be absolute, Mr. President. For example, the janitor of a Soviet consular office could assassinate the President of the United States and, under the provisions of Article 19, what would be the remedy? What would be the result? The U.S. Government would be empowered only to declare him persona non grata and only to expel that Soviet subject, and he could go back to the Soviet Union, after having assassinated the President of the United States of America with impunity.

This treaty would set a dangerous precedent indeed by providing for the first time for unlimited exemption from criminal prosecution of consular personnel. In the past, consular conventions have allowed such an exemption only in misdemeanor cases and not felonies. Consular personnel are primarily economic officers and not diplomats, and it has never been construed by our government that they should be entitled to the same diplomatic immunity extended ambassadors and embassy staffs.

In short, consular officers have never been granted total immunity from criminal prosecution in all the history of our Republic, and they should not now be exempted from the jurisdiction of the State and Federal laws of our Nation.

It is inconceivable to me that the United States should enter into a bilateral treaty which would grant diplomatic immunity to consular officers of the Soviet Union when we have never done so before with any other nation, not even those most friendly to this country.

At a time when Americans are fighting Communist aggression and dying in Vietnam, and when the Soviet Union is helping to furnish the sinews of war to the Hanoi regime, I question the wisdom and propriety of, in effect, singling out the Soviet Union for special privileges not even afforded our allies. Moreover, we are dealing here with a nation that has won no prizes for honoring agreements. We have much historical evidence to indicate that the Communists will abrogate a treaty whenever it suits their purpose to do so.

While we consider granting special privileges and immunities to the Soviet Union, we would do well to keep these things in mind.

Mr. President, I submit that the immunity provision is fraught with great peril.

It would significantly increase the danger to the U.S. internal security resulting from increased Soviet espionage

Although the Russians need no invitation to conduct espionage and subversive activities in America, article 19 would surely encourage and enable them to enlarge the sphere of their spying and under these provisions they would be able to do so without fear of punishment, and without being liable for prosecution of any kind.

Staff members and employees of consulates, wherever they might be located in the United States, could rob, steal, commit murder, or perpetrate any heinous crime, and our authorities would be helpless to even bring them to trial and seek convictions. All we could do in effect would be to slap them on the wrist, declare them persona non grata and have them expelled from the country—which is about like locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen.

Consular officers could engage in espionage and subversion and attempt to entice U.S. citizens into committing high treason, and the best our Government could do would be to send them back home—after the security of the United States had already been breached.

Moreover, we have strong indications from the FBI that the establishment of more consulates in the United States would by itself make the Bureau's work more difficult, but the granting of diplomatic immunity to consular officials in various American cities would greatly multiply this problem.

In sum, this immunity once granted would amount to carte blanche authority to Soviet agents to violate our laws at will and to expand their espionage activities with impunity.

Moreover, there is still another very important consideration. If these immunity provisions are adopted, they would apply not only to Soviet consular personnel, but to consular officers and employees of some 27 other countries—including Yugoslavia and Rumania—with which the United States has consular agreements containing most-favored-nation clauses. It would in effect open a floodgate which I think most of us will agree should remain closed.

It is for these reasons, and I urge their careful consideration by the Senate, that at this time I ask the Senate to strike article 19, sections 2 and 3, from proposed convention and insert in lieu thereof the language of my amendment, which is identical to the language that our Government has used in providing for every consular office that has ever been established in these United States of America. Mr. President, it is amazing to me that we should establish a new policy, totally different from what has existed for almost 200 years, with the Soviet Union.

To illustrate that this idea apparently originated with the Soviet Union, the Soviets have apparently negotiated since that time with Great Britain a Consular Treaty similar to this, granting total and complete criminal immunity to Soviet consular officers and employees stationed in Great Britain. But since the negotiation of that Consular Treaty, the British and the Soviets have had some troubles. A man by the name of Brooke, representing the British Government in the Soviet Union, was arrested. And the British have not ratified the treaty to date.

The Soviet Union also negotiated a similar treaty with the Japanese. I do not know whether Japan has yet ratified that convention or not. But that is the pattern, Mr. President. We deviate from a policy of almost 200 years with the Soviet Union, then the Soviet Union negotiates a similar treaty with Great Britain, which has not been ratified, and undertakes to negotiate a similar treaty with Japan.

For some reason, the Soviets apparently want their consular officers and employees throughout the world to be granted immunity from criminal prosecution, whatever the crime may be.

Imagine what information, what espionage, what crimes, Mr. President, could be handled by consular officers, staffs, and employees throughout the world, for the Soviet Union, when their agents are free and immune from any criminal prosecution whatsoever.

I hope that the Senate will agree to the amendment.

I deem some provisions of the treaty to be in the national interest, but I do not believe that an absolute grant of immunity from any criminal law by any State or any nation is in our best interest.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TALMADGE. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Georgia, who has, in my opinion, placed his hand upon the Achilles tendon in the heel of this treaty.

In order that it may appear in the RECORD that the committee in its judgment recognized but, for some reason, did not consider as too important the very facts which have been so eloquently pointed out by the Senator from Georgia, I read into the RECORD at this time the appropriate paragraph from the report of the majority of the committee as filed by the chairman of the committee, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]:

> The provision of the convention which gives unrestricted immunity from criminal prosecution to consular officers and employees is a provision which has not been included heretofore in any consular convention or agreement to which the United States is a party. The United States now has consular conventions and agreements, containing a most-favored-nation clause, with 35 countries. Twenty-seven of these 35 have consular establishments in the United States employing a total of 577 personnel. Any of these 27 countries may, of course, request that such immunity be granted to their consular officers and employees providing they are willing to do likewise. On the basis of a preliminary survey conducted by our embassies in these 27 countries, however, it is estimated that only 11 countries would be interested in requesting such immunity so that only 290 foreign consular officers and employees would presently be affected.

Mr. President, it seems to me that the committee itself shows by this paragraph that this is a provision which we may not overlook and, so far as the senior Senator from Florida is concerned, he is not going to overlook it.

I thank the Senator for his eloquent address.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I thank my friend, the senior Senator from Florida, for his generous, personal remarks. I deeply appreciate his contribution.

The committee apparently brushed it over hurriedly, but they recognized as most unusual a change in the pattern of almost 200 years. Why we should pick out the Soviet Union to give this favored treatment, more favored treatment than we have ever given to any other nation on the face of the earth, is beyond my comprehension.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, we must remember that we are used to having this problem of diplomatic immunity in Washington, the Capital of our Nation, and in New York, the capital of the United Nations. But we are not used to having this problem in many cities of the United States in which consulates are already located which, prior to the opening of any Soviet consulate, could come under this provision of the treaty, if they wished to and were willing to be mutual in the matter.

I think trouble enough in this matter of diplomatic immunity has come up to embarrass the agents of other countries and our country many times in the 20 years in which I have served in the Senate.

We have trouble enough in Washington and New York where we are used to the problem.

How the problem would affect the peace and tranquility of the many cities throughout the Nation where consulates already exist and where consulates might exist in the future under this proposal, I am unable to say. But I do not believe they would be as able to cope with the problem as are the police, the Secret Service, the FBI and all the other manifold agents of our Government in Washington and New York.

I think we should strike this provision from the treaty.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield the floor.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr President, to respond to the question that the distinguished Senator from Georgia asked himself as to how in the world this question of complete immunity could creep into a treaty of this kind, the testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate is very precise on that point.

This was a provision that was insisted upon by Moscow. They insisted that this complete immunity, this totally unprecedented granting of immunity, be incorporated in the treaty.

It was not the suggestion of American consulates, although they yielded to the pressure of the Communists to put it in. That will be found in the hearings.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, along with all my colleagues, I have been receiving a tremendous amount of mail on this treaty.

I have very carefully gone through the mail. It was a burdensome task and, I might say from my standpoint, not very pleasant, because one gets tired of being called everything under the sun and having people offer to send you rattlesnakes and whatnot. However, it was a necessary job to do.

Many very cogent, very carefully considered, and excellent questions were raised in the thousands of letters I have received in connection with this Consular Convention.

Mr. PERCY. Mr President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORTON. I shall yield, but before I yield, I wish to say that I have discovered that my colleague, the junior Senator from Illinois, has been going through his mail.

Illinois and Kentucky are neighbors. The only difference is that the State of Illinois has three or four times as many people as does Kentucky. So, I assume that the Senator has received four times as much mail as I have, and that he, too, has been studying the problem.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, as the Senator from Kentucky knows, I have received a good deal of mail, and I have discussed some of it with the distinguished Senator.

I receive about 1,000 letters a day from Illinois, and I would say that for the last 5 to 6 weeks, heading the list of the questions that continue to come up persistently is the question of the Consular Treaty and its ratification.

The mail divides itself sharply into two categories: those for and those against it.

I have received more than 7,000 letters from people who are against the treaty, and 46 from people in favor of the treaty.

Those who are against the treaty, I find, are again divided into two categories: those who are militant and well organized and are obviously channeled by organizations designed to put pressure on the Senators in the discharge of their responsibilities.

One man wrote me a letter and said:

> I am in charge of organizing the correspondence coming to the Senate from northeastern Illinois, and I will not turn the spigot off until you stand up and say you will vote against the ratification of this treaty.

Other correspondence comes from citizens who are deeply disturbed, who have probing questions, and who are not motivated by anything other than their own consciences and their concern and interest for the well-being and security of the United States.

If the Senator from Kentucky does not mind, I should like to read a series of questions—some of which we have already discussed—that have been put to me and raised both in correspondence with me and in person by many citizens who have called on me.

The State of Illinois, like many other States of the country, has large ethnic groups that have come from Europe. Many of them have deep ties with other countries.

We have in Chicago the second largest Polish population of any city in the world. Chicago is the largest such city outside of Warsaw.

In Chicago we have large representative groups from every ethnic group, certainly from Eastern Europe.

These people are all deeply interested in this question. That is why my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Illinois, the minority leader, has perhaps spent more time, energy, effort, and thought on this one question than he has on many others that have come before the Senate, certainly this year.

The first question concerns the experience of Americans traveling abroad. I can speak with some feeling on this subject, having traveled through Eastern Europe about this time last year and having been delayed in Riga for several hours by the authorities. During the course of that questioning, I wondered what recourse I would have, as an American citizen, if they decided to detain me. We do not even recognize the areas I was in, so that the situation presented peculiar problems.

Can the Senator from Kentucky answer this question: Why do we need a treaty to obtain prompt notification of the arrest of American citizens in the U.S.S.R. and quick consular access to these Americans? Can we not simply demand this treatment on the basis of reciprocity?

Mr. MORTON. To be effective, such a "demand" would have to imply that if we did not get satisfactory notification and access rights for our citizens, we would hold Soviet citizens incommunicado when charged with crimes in this country. Under U.S. law, we cannot do this.

Our bargaining position would be further weakened by the fact that there are 20 times more Americans who travel in the U.S.S.R. than Soviets who travel here. While several American visitors run afoul of Soviet law or the Soviet police each year, we know of few cases of Soviet visitors—as opposed to Soviet officials resident here—who have been arrested or detained here.

Of course, we have demanded prompt notification and access to Americans detained in the Soviet Union in the past and will continue to do so in the future. But experience has shown that these demands do not bring the results we need, and that is why this treaty was negotiated. Obviously, we are in a far stronger position if we can base our demands on agreed treaty provisions than if we can only appeal on the basis of reciprocity or "fairplay."

Mr. PERCY. Can the distinguished Senator from Kentucky answer this question: Do we not already have a valid agreement to protect American citizens in the U.S.S.R. in the 1933 Litvinov agreement? Why do we need a new one?

Mr. MORTON. One of the letters exchanged by President Roosevelt and Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov when the United States recognized the U.S.S.R., in 1933 committed both sides to the immediate negotiation of a consular convention—a commitment only followed up 26 years later. In the meantime, the Soviet Government unilaterally promised Americans in the U.S.S.R. treatment not worse than that enjoyed by the most-favored-nation—specifically, Germany—under a 1925 German-Soviet treaty.

The operative portion of this Soviet commitment is now extinct. Even if it were still valid it would not be adequate to enable us to give Americans in the U.S.S.R. the protection they need.

The Litvinov agreement's promise of most-favored-nation treatment was tied to the Soviet-German agreement of 1925, which contained specific guarantees of notification within 3 to 7 days and access "without delay." However, this treaty did not survive World War II, and prior to the signature of the United States-U.S.S.R. Consular Convention in 1964 there was no other Soviet treaty under which we could claim most-favored-nation treatment and obtain specific protections for Americans.

Even if the German treaty was still in force, and its provisions were applied to American citizens on a most-favored-nation basis, we would still need the United States-U.S.S.R. convention. The Soviets interpreted both the Litvinov agreement and the Soviet-German treaty as requiring notification and access only after the preliminary investigation, which can continue as long as 9 months. The United States-U.S.S.R. convention plugs up this loophole by specifying that both notification and access must be granted within 4 days from the time of arrest or detention.

Mr. PERCY. Would not the multilateral Vienna Convention on Consular Relations be a better vehicle for the regulation of United States-Soviet consular relations than the bilateral United States-U.S.S.R. Treaty?

Mr. MORTON. No, I do not believe it would, and three reasons are involved.

First, the Soviets have not signed the Vienna Convention, and we have no indication that they will do so. Therefore, it would not enter into force between the United States and the U.S.S.R even if we ratified it.

Second, the limited immunities provisions of the Vienna Convention would not be adequate to protect American consular officers and employees whom we might send to the U.S.S.R.

Third, the Vienna Convention provisions on notification and access would not provide adequate protection for American travelers in the U.S.S.R. With no time limit spelled out within which notification and access must be granted, the Soviets could well continue to deny access to arrested Americans during the preliminary investigation—that is, for up to 9 months. In fact, the Soviets have interpreted treaties worded like the Vienna Convention in just this manner. The wording of the United States-U.S.S.R. convention eliminates this pitfall.

Mr. PERCY. I have received a number of comments from citizens of Illinois who ask, "Why should the Senate of the United States ratify this treaty when the Soviets have not?"

Is it true that the Soviet Union has not ratified the treaty; and if it has not, does the Senator from Kentucky have any assurance that it will ratify the treaty?

Mr. MORTON. The Soviets have not yet ratified this convention. It was we, not they, who proposed its negotiation, and they may expect us to act first for this reason. Also, it is not their practice to act first when dealing with Western governments. They have not ratified the consular conventions they have negotiated with the French, British, or Japanese, either, presumably because they are waiting for the other side to make the first move. They handled the ratification of the Limited Test Ban Treaty in a similar manner.

We have no reason to believe that the Soviets will not ratify this agreement after we do, assuming that it is not altered by reservations or understandings.

Mr. PERCY. Another question that has been raised frequently is, "Why do we not demand some concessions from the Soviet Union before we ratify this treaty?" Can we get any concession—in Vietnam or elsewhere—in return for our ratification of this treaty?

Mr. MORTON. This is not a treaty which gives the Soviets something they badly want and gives us less in return. It was the U.S. Government—not the Soviet Union—which proposed the convention. It was the U.S. Government which took the initiative in pushing for negotiations. We believe we have more to gain from ratification than has the U.S.S.R. We can no more expect the Soviets to pay a price for our ratification than they can expect us to make an important concession to them in return for their ratification.

Carefully negotiated bilateral agreements such as the Consular Convention must stand or fall on their own merits, for they themselves are the result of give and take, not the beginning point for negotiations.

Mr. PERCY. In cases where American citizens have been arrested since this treaty was signed, the Soviets have not granted us notification and access within the time limits specified in the convention. Is this evidence to the Senator from Kentucky that bad faith exists on the part of the Soviet Union?

(At this point, Mr. HARRIS assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. MORTON. The Soviets are not obligated by the provisions of this treaty—nor are we—until both parties have ratified it and it enters into force. We have not claimed that the Soviets are obliged to notify us within 1 to 3 days of the arrest of an American citizen and grant access to him within 2 to 4 days before the treaty enters into force. We have stressed that, on the basis of reciprocity, we expect prompt notification and access, and in fact Soviet performance in this regard has improved since the treaty was signed in 1964. Contrast, for instance, the case of Marvin Makinen—1961—no notification; four visits allowed in 2 years—or Peter Landerman—1963—prompt notification but only three visits within a year and a half—with those of Craddock Gilmour and Buel Wortham—October 1966—notification within 5 days, access within 10, and seven times thereafter.

Mr. PERCY. Do the notification and access provisions of this treaty provide real protection for American citizens?

Mr. MORTON. I believe so. Of course, this convention does not clear American tourists with immunity from arrest. However, it does provide us with essential tools to protect them when they have been arrested or detained.

Unless we know an American is in difficulty abroad, we can do nothing to help him. Notification is essential to start the whole protective mechanism in motion in cases where an American citizen has been detained but no one on the scene is willing or able to tell the American Embassy about it. Further, the notification process brings a case to the attention of the highest levels of the foreign government quickly, where it can be considered from the point of view of foreign relations and national policy instead of from the narrow police point of view only.

I think there have been cases where American citizens were arrested in Russia and the Russian Government knew nothing about it in that they were local actions.

Access to arrested Americans in the U.S.S.R. is vital also. The consular officer has the opportunity to see whether the American is being treated decently and whether the investigation of his case is proceeding in accordance with Soviet law. More important, he can tell the American of the efforts which his Government and his friends and relatives are making to win his release. This kind of moral support can be very important to a prisoner in a foreign country, particularly in countries where standard interrogation techniques emphasize isolation from the outside world in an attempt to win cooperation. Also, the knowledge that an American consular officer will be repeatedly visiting a prisoner certainly has an effect on the attitude of the prison authorities.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I have two remaining questions. This question has been asked of me many times, not in so much as a question, but as a statement which people have written to me.

It is their understanding that if we ratify this treaty, we would then be required to establish consulates at the request of all other Communist countries and grant their consular personnel immunity. Is this true or not?

Mr. MORTON. No. First, the ratification of this convention does not obligate us to permit Soviet consulates in the United States, let alone consulates of other Communist countries, not parties to the treaty.

Second, only one Communist country has consulates in the United States and a consular treaty with us giving most-favored-nation rights concerning immunity. This is Yugoslavia, which is not a member of the Warsaw Pact and whose independence we have supported over the years. While we have most-favored-nation provisions regarding immunity in a 19th century consular treaty with Romania, there are no Romanian consulates in the United States.

Third, ratification of this treaty with the U.S.S.R. in no way obligates us to negotiate consular treaties with other Communist states. If such treaties were to be negotiated, we would not be obliged to use the United States-U.S.S.R. Convention text as a model if we did not wish to. However, this gives us an element of choice.

Mr. PERCY. Lastly, on the floor of the Senate many questions have been raised with respect to subversion. I believe that this question is uppermost in the minds of many American citizens concerned about Soviet subversion in this country.

If we ratify this consular convention would we not be opening the floodgates to Soviet consulates—and Soviet subversion—throughout the hemisphere? How can we expect the weak nations of Latin America to resist Soviet pressures for consulates if we set the precedent?

Mr. MORTON. The countries of this hemisphere have never felt compelled to follow our lead in dealing with Communist countries where they have seen their interests as different from ours. More than 33 years ago we set an important precedent by recognizing the U.S.S.R. and establishing diplomatic relations. To date, only six of the 22 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean—including Cuba—have followed our lead. We understand that a Soviet consulate will be opened in Canada this year.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I wish to conclude by indicating that I do not wish to leave any impression, by asking what might be termed antagonistic questions, that I am in any respect unfriendly to this treaty.

I have searched my mind and my conscience as thoroughly as I can, and I have resolved to stand foursquare behind the ratification of the treaty by the Senate. I have great regard for Senators who have chosen the other side. They are men of deep conviction and men who have been asking penetrating questions which should and must be answered.

I think the able and distinguished Senator from Kentucky provided answers to many of these questions that have disturbed not only many of my colleagues but many other loyal and dedicated American citizens. I commend him for the perception and thoroughness of his answers.

I think that today we are living in a world of great risk. I think we must decide whether we are going to move forward with the progress that is being made by many of our friends and allies in Europe or whether we are going to stand back; whether we are going to continue to wage cold war, or recognize that the Iron Curtain of the days of Stalin has already been perforated and can be perforated more effectively by interaction and contact with the Western World.

I have no fear that the power of our ideas and institutions is what the Soviets fear the most.

This opportunity that we now have to penetrate, to learn, to have our people proceed with greater safety as they travel about the Soviet Union, and to have our people learn more about what is going on in that part of the world will be the first step. I think that this will be the first of many steps that we must take.

The big question before us is whether the advantage is our way or the other way. This is the question I think all of us are conscientiously asking ourselves. I have answered that question to my satisfaction. I am convinced that the advantage is in favor of the free nations of the Western World and the United States. Before taking this position in Washington, I took it before the

Republican State Convention in Detroit 2 weeks ago.

I wanted to take that position in the Midwest, in a Midwestern city, whose roots go back to Western and Eastern Europe. Although there were some boos in that audience—and I do not respond to boos any better than anyone else—I have a deep conviction that as this debate is carried on, the overwhelming weight of evidence will be on the side of our taking this next step forward in an attempt to find a way to live in a dangerous world, and to live in it effectively and well. Mr. President, this step will strengthen the United States and everything we stand for and believe in.

I believe that we can say with conviction that we have nothing to fear by a dozen or 15 Soviets coming here: There are 1,000 Soviets here already. However, if we can take one institution, one idea to the world abroad—and I think this will help us do that—I believe it will help give freedom to people who desperately crave it. Next we should increase contacts with the people of Eastern Europe. The more contact we have with them, the better it will be for all the people who desire freedom.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PERCY. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I welcome the leadership which the Senator from Kentucky has taken in this matter. I hope that this is a good precursor for the future. The tradition of the Senate is that Senators lead on issues. The question of party regularity and party discipline, fortunately for the people of this country, is interpreted in that sense, especially on an issue of foreign policy. Bipartisanship developed on this side of the aisle under the inspired leadership of Arthur Vandenberg. It is, therefore, a source of tremendous satisfaction to me that a Senator of such skill and experience as the Senator from Kentucky, generally considered in the country to be moderate in his views, has taken the position he has upon this matter. The Senator from Kentucky inspires real confidence in the country by his espousal of this cause.

I, too, should like to address myself to the remarks made by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY]. It is not easy to come into this body as a new Senator and plunge immediately into the great affairs of the world, especially when one's colleague is the minority leader. But, we cannot keep quiet here. The Senator from Illinois represents, in part, 8 or 9 million people in his State—perhaps it is 10 million—and those people demand representation. To expect the conventions of the past to be observed, where a new Member is seen and not heard, is simply denying to constituents the representation to which they are entitled.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] is not a man of that kind. He came to the Senate to do a job in highest conscience, and he is doing it. I have been uplifted and I think that the country will be uplifted by the eloquence of his words and the depth of his understanding as a truly enlightened American business leader.

Speaking for myself, with leave of the Senator from Kentucky, let me say that there are three important points which stand out as discussed by the Senator from Kentucky, on which I should like to ask him some questions.

The first is on the question of immunity from all kinds of prosecution, which is unique in this treaty. Is it not a fact, I ask the Senator, that we are inclined to be myopic on this question? To give a relative example, when we talk about the veto being exercised by the Russians in the United Nations, is it not a fact, from the Senator's own experience, that this country would not have approved membership of the United States in the United Nations, or agreed to its charter, if the standing, permanent veto had not been incorporated therein?

Is it not a fact that we would not send our people into the Soviet Union, unless they had complete immunity, because we would be afraid that they would be picked up on some nonsensical charge—such as the Senator mentioned—and they could be put in jail for life.

Mr. MORTON. The Senator is correct on both observations. It is a fact that although I was not a Member of Congress at the time the United Nations Charter was adopted, the veto was included so that we could get it through the Senate. Any historian knows that to be a fact. It is also a fact that I would hate to recommend a constituent of mine going to Russia as a clerk, telephone operator, or secretary, to work in a consulate in any city in Russia without having the kind of immunity which is envisaged in this agreement.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague and I thoroughly agree with him.

The next thing I would like to ask him bears on this question: It is said that Russia is up to its armpits in Vietnam. They are. I have been challenged on the floor by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations on this fact, but I still maintain that the overwhelming supply of sophisticated and large materiel of war going to North Vietnam is being sent there by the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORTON. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. Their ships are in the majority traveling into Haiphong Harbor. We admit that. The argument is conveyed that we should not ratify this treaty until Russia ceases to aid North Vietnam.

I ask the Senator this question: Is it not a fact that in Korea, at the very time we were negotiating with the Chinese at Panmunjom, the fighting was going on all the time and American casualties were being incurred? But that did not deter us. Is it not a fact, too, that if North Vietnam offered to negotiate now, we would negotiate with them, even though there were no cease-fire?

Mr. MORTON. That is correct. I was in the State Department at the time the cease-fire on Korea was finally negotiated, and we suffered 90,000 casualties after we started negotiating. If we had said, "Oh, we are never going to talk to you until you do something about stopping the war," we would still be fighting there.

Mr. JAVITS. We are living in a crazy world, and I am willing to call it that; but, nonetheless, we have to live in it. If we expect, somehow or other, to come ultimately to an accommodation with these people who are, to use curbstone language, the most "nuts," we have got to meet some of the conditions that are realistic. If we say that the Russians have got to get out of helping North Vietnam or there will be no treaty, then on that basis there would have been no nuclear test ban treaty, no disarmament, there would not have been any Antarctic treaty, and there would be no treaty now. Neither would there be one on weaponry in outer space. We would have nothing. We would be proceeding on the same old treadmill, keeping on the restrictions which we would threaten to keep on until we could arrive at a stage where we could come to some kind of agreement.

Mr. MORTON. The Senator is correct. As the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] pointed out, we must, somehow, perforate the Iron Curtain. I think we are beginning to do it. We will come to an accommodation and an honorable peace in Vietnam, in my judgment, much sooner by taking the attitude, "All right, let us get together on some things that we can agree on," rather than saying, "We will wait and see. Until your position changes, or you quit fighting, we are not going to speak to you."

Mr. JAVITS. Another point I should like to ask my distinguished colleague is on the question of a detente with the Soviet Union. Does the Senator, in view of the history of this consular treaty, the length of time it has been negotiated, and the fact that we have this treaty on the "front burner," another one on the "back burner"—to wit, control of outer space with respect to weaponry; and yet a third one being readied on a nonproliferation treaty—and, I hope, many more being negotiated—does not the Senator feel that if we put the brake on now and stop on this one, we would be jeopardizing all the other things which might conceivably be done to bring some peace to this aching world; that the Russians would take it that the position of the United States had hardened against them, and so would Europe, because Europe is all for a detente and, therefore, that the United States might as well be counted out?

Mr. MORTON. I agree completely with the Senator from New York. If we put the brake on this one, it will put us back, in my judgment, 10 or 15 years back to the days of Stalin, back to the days when there really was an Iron Curtain that did not have any loopholes.

Mr. JAVITS. My final question is this: We are all adults. We are all over 21 years of age. Senators get elected and have to be reelected at given times. Yet, we are told that if we approve this treaty, it will mean that we are going down the road to becoming vulnerable to the Russians, they will overreach us, and we will approve everything they hand us including denuding us of the atomic bomb. Does the Senator really believe that this is any credible argument, and that a Senator like myself, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], and other Senators in the Chamber who are likely to vote for this treaty, and I hope and pray that they will—will be perfectly ready to stop this treaty, the next one, even on outer space, if we do not like what the Russians are doing?

Mr. MORTON. I intend to vote on each treaty that will be coming up, as long as I happen to be a Member of the Senate, without regard to how I may have voted on any previous treaty.

I have just become a member of the Committee on Aging. Thus, Senators can see what is happening to me. I do not know how long I will be in the Senate, but I am in on it now, and that question will be occupying a great deal of my time and a great deal of my thought—more so than it has in the past, let me say.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague very much for his answers. I should like to state that on those grounds disclosed by this colloquy, and the fine statement of the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Illinois, I shall vote for ratification of this treaty. I hope that the Senate will do so.

What is even more important than that, I hope that these questions and answers will go out to the country as reassurance—to wit, notwithstanding what the people may hear in opposition, that we have not lost our minds or our patriotism, that we understand what is at stake, what is involved, and that we are responsible for our reasons for thinking this way, against the views of the opposition, that we feel that this is the way in which to forward progress and peace.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORTON. I am glad to yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. It was very gratifying to hear the very capable answers of the Senator from Kentucky to the questions propounded by the distinguished Senator from Illinois. We all know the Senator from Kentucky served with distinction and great competency in the Department of State, and we value his thoughts on so many of these questions. I was pleased to hear the question asked as to whether the notification and access provisions of this treaty provide real protection for American citizens.

I believe the Senator from Kentucky was present on the floor on January 31 when it was represented that this Consular Convention gives to American citizens arrested and jailed in Russia rights which are superior to those of citizens of Russia itself. Whether the Senator from Kentucky was present at that time or not, does he agree with the accuracy of that statement?

Mr. MORTON. I believe such a representation was made. I think I read it in the Record.

Mr. HRUSKA. This representation was made:

> Under this convention he (an American citizen) would have more rights than Soviet citizens. He would be entitled to a lawyer, and entitled to be sprung from the pokey in 3 days. Who is more likely to be stuck in the pokey: 18,000 Americans traveling over there or 900 Russians over here?

Is that provided under the Consular Treaty? Is there anything that creates or even assures that Americans jailed in Russia for any reason would receive rights superior to rights given to Russian citizens—which do not include the right to a lawyer, the right to a jury trial, the right to bail, or even prompt investigation or being charged with any specific crime, which can last for years or months?

Mr. MORTON. Nine months for Russian citizens, and, without this treaty, 9 months for American tourists.

Mr. HRUSKA. At any rate, where is the assurance that Americans would get rights not given even to Russian citizens?

Mr. MORTON. It may be that it will not work out that way in practice, but it might encourage Russian citizens to get better rights in court which they do not have at the present time, and which the American people have.

Mr. HRUSKA. May God speed the day, but there is no indication they are going to grant those rights to its citizens.

Mr. MORTON. I hope God may speed the day. I am enough of an optimist to think that the American Government as an example of government will prevail even behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. HRUSKA. That the American system of jurisprudence will even prevail behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. MORTON. I say, I am hopeful some day this will happen.

Mr. HRUSKA. I hope so, too.

Then a question was asked with respect to whether or not we do not already have a valid agreement to protect American citizens in the U.S.S.R. in the 1933 Litvinoff agreement, and why we need a new one.

May I ask the Senator, for clarification, has it been set forth that the Litvinoff agreement is operative and in existence?

Mr. MORTON. The Litvinoff agreement was based on the most favored nation clause, which had its basis in a 1925 treaty between Germany and Russia. That treaty between Germany and Russia became nonoperative after World War II—in fact, during the inception, I understand, of World War II, or at least after the inception of hostilities between Hitler's Germany and Russia. The Litvinoff agreement or exchange of letters between President Roosevelt and Foreign Minister Litvinoff, if my memory serves me correctly, did have its substance in the most favored nations agreement, and that went back to the 1925 treaty between Germany and Russia.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken] is present. He is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. He can probably correct me if I am wrong, but I think that is the history of it.

Mr. HRUSKA. I have made diligent inquiry of the Department of State and was not able to get any specific answer as to the abrogation of the Litvinoff letters of 1933.

Mr. MORTON. The Senator can well understand that if the letters were based on a treaty which existed between Germany and Russia dated in 1925, this treaty arrangement ceased to exist after World War II began. Do not get me in the wrong position. Please do not have me defending the State Department. I left the Department some years ago, and I am not going to be its advocate now. I will turn that job over to the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken], senior Republican member on the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. HRUSKA. My recollection is that the Litvinoff papers—and I may be remiss in not having my memory sharpened a little——

Mr. MORTON. I am sure the Senator's memory is much better than mine on this matter.

Mr. HRUSKA. But the Senator will probably remember that on November 16 a letter was sent by President Roosevelt to Mr. Litvinoff——

Mr. MORTON. Was that in 1934?

Mr. HRUSKA. No, 1933. The letter stated that the rights specified in the above paragraphs would be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries. It does not say anything about when they would start to negotiate or when the rights would be enjoyed and be granted to Americans.

I do not want to say that is the final word, but I do know that on several occasions the Department of State relied upon these letters, in more recent years, in saying that in addition to this reciprocity, there is this outstanding agreement on the part of the U.S.S.R. to accord those rights to American nationals and that therefore we are holding them responsible for this obligation.

Mr. MORTON. Yes; we have used that argument repeatedly in intervening for the release or prompt trial of fellow Americans. I think any Secretary of State would have been negligent if he had not used every possible means to try to get American nationals to the bar of justice promptly and see that justice prevailed. But that does not mean we necessarily had that right. The Senator has tried many lawsuits, and I am sure he has used every device he could. He is one of the most brilliant lawyers in this body, and I am sure he has used such devices in behalf of his client, even though he knew he had a bad case.

Mr. HRUSKA. It might seem strange that this convention is requested when we have an agreement virtually the same as the pending consular convention with respect to notification and access and it is ignored and not honored by the U.S.S.R., but now it is said we are going to enter into an agreement which has the same provision in it. Later in the debate I am sure this point will be brought out in more detail, but this point should be borne in mind and clarified. If it has not worked for 34 years in the past, there is no reason to think it will work for 30 years in advance.

With respect to the remarks made by the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], that perhaps such a treaty may be a means to ease tensions, and that perhaps we can enter into some kind of arrangement for peace, I point out that only last October 15, the press reported that Mr. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist Party leader, in a speech at a Soviet-Polish friendship meeting, said it would be vain to expect or to have any idea that our relationships on any score or at any level between the U.S.S.R. and the United States could improve until the United States ceased hostilities in Vietnam. He called such hopes "a strange and persistent delusion." That is at strange variance with the idea that a treaty of this kind, which has been variously described as not very important, as innocuous, as insignificant, may be proof that we are making progress, in view of that flat and steely announcement made by Mr. Brezhnev.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, before I yield the floor, I wish to point out to the Senator page 162 of the hearings on this convention, which has a letter addressed to the distinguished chief of staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Honorable Carl Marcy, signed by Douglas MacArthur II, which I think might cover some of the points we have debated. If I am factually in error, I apologize to the Senator.

Mr. HRUSKA. I am grateful for the reference, and if I am in error, I should like the record set straight.

Mr. MORTON. I am sure the Senator is not.

Mr. HRUSKA. I am more likely to be than the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter appearing on pages 162 and 163 of the transcript of the hearings on the Consular Convention, signed by Douglas MacArthur II, our Assistant Secretary of State, addressed to the Honorable Carl Marcy, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington.

Hon. CARL MARCY,
Chief of Staff, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARCY: Thank you for your letter of February 23, 1967, in which you pass on the Foreign Relations Committee's inquiry as to when and by what communication the "Litvinoff agreement" of 1933 was abrogated by the Soviet Union. Your reference presumably is to Foreign Minister Litvinoff's letter to President Roosevelt of November 16, 1933, in which the Soviet Union promised unilaterally to extend to American nationals the provisions for consular notification and access contained in the Soviet-German Agreement Concerning Conditions of Residence and Business and Legal Protection of October 12, 1925. I am attaching a copy of Mr. Litvinoff's letter which included the pertinent extracts from the Soviet-German Agreement of 1925.

The Soviet-German Agreement was never, to our knowledge, formally abrogated. It ceased to have effect, however, upon the outbreak of armed hostilities between the two countries during World War II, when each country withdrew its diplomatic and consular personnel. After the war, and the occupation and division of Germany, the prewar Soviet-German Agreement was not revived. Instead the Soviet Union negotiated new Consular Treaties with both the Federal Republic of Germany and the so-called "German Democratic Republic"—neither of which contain any guarantees of consular notification or access to arrested nationals. I am attaching a copy of Article 17 of the Soviet Agreement of 1958 with the Federal Republic of Germany.

The post-war legal situation with respect to consular protection of American citizens in the Soviet Union, prior to the 1964 signature of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Consular convention now pending before the Senate, may thus be summarized as one in which there were no Soviet treaties in force to which the Litvinoff most-favored-nation pledge could attach. This was one of the reasons that persuaded the Department to negotiate the 1964 Convention, containing as it does clear and explicit guarantees of consular notification and access.

The Litvinoff pledge itself, for what it was worth, has also never been formally withdrawn. However Mr. Litvinoff's letter linked the Soviet pledge to the stated expectation that the two countries would "immediately" negotiate a consular convention on the same subject. As you know, this expectation was not fulfilled since no convention was negotiated to agreement until more than thirty years later. The Soviets have long been in the position plausibly to maintain that the Litvinoff pledge was merely an interim undertaking which lapsed upon the failure of the parties "immediately" to negotiate a consular convention.

The legal deficiencies of the "Litvinoff agreement" were among the reasons persuading the Department that the time had come to conclude a treaty containing clear and unequivocal provisions giving us the rights of notification and access in cases of Americans arrested in the Soviet Union. These provisions are essential if American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union are to be afforded the consular protection they deserve. The 1964 Consular Convention and its Protocol achieve this purpose by making it unambiguously clear that notification and access must be granted within four days from the time of arrest or detention of an American national and on a continuing basis thereafter.

If I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II.
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. HRUSKA. If the Senator from Kentucky will permit, could that include the letter addressed to Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt and signed by Maxim Litvinoff, which begins also on page 163?

Mr. MORTON. Yes; I think that, too, should me included.

Mr. HRUSKA. Was that included in the Senator's offer?

Mr. MORTON. No; I did not request it, but I should be happy for the Senator's request to be complied with.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, addressed to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, dated November 16, 1933, which appears at pages 163 and 201 of the transcript of hearings on the Consular Convention, together with President Roosevelt's reply of the same date, which appears at page 202, and the letter from Litvinoff to Roosevelt of the same date appearing at pages 200 and 201 of the transcript, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, *November 16, 1933.*

Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States of America, The White House.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Following our conversations I have the honor to inform you that the Soviet Government is prepared to include in a consular convention to be negotiated immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries provisions in which nationals of the United States shall be granted rights with reference to legal protection which shall not be less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. Furthermore, I desire to state that such rights will be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries.

In this connection I have the honor to call to your attention Article 11 and the Protocol to Article 11, of the Agreement Concerning Conditions of Residence and Business and Legal Protection in General concluded between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on October 12, 1925.

ARTICLE 11

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to adopt the necessary measures to inform the consul of the other Party as soon as possible whenever a national of the country which he represents is arrested in his district.

The same procedure shall apply if a prisoner is transferred from one place of detention to another.

FINAL PROTOCOL

Ad Article 11

1. The Consul shall be notified either by a communication from the person arrested or by the authorities themselves direct. Such communications shall be made within a period not exceeding seven times twenty-four hours, and in large towns, including capitals of districts, within a period not exceeding three times twenty-four hours.

2. In places of detention of all kinds, requests made by consular representatives to visit nationals of their country under arrest, or to have them visited by their representatives, shall be granted without delay. The consular representative shall not be entitled to require officials of the courts or prisons to withdraw during his interview with the person under arrest.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

WASHINGTON, *November 16, 1933.*

MY DEAR MR. LITVINOV: I thank you for your letter of November 16, 1933, informing me that the Soviet Government is prepared to grant to nationals of the United States rights with reference to legal protection no less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. I have noticed the provisions of the treaty and protocol concluded between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on October 12, 1925.

I am glad that nationals of the United States will enjoy the protection afforded by these instruments immediately upon the establishment of relations between our countries and I am fully prepared to negotiate a consular convention covering these subjects as soon as practicable. Let me add that American diplomatic and consular officers in the Soviet Union will be zealous in guarding the rights of American nationals, particularly the right to a fair, public, and speedy trial and the right to be represented by counsel of their choice. We shall expect that the nearest American diplomatic or consular officer shall be notified immediately of any arrest or detention of an American national, and that he shall promptly be afforded the opportunity to communicate and converse with such national.

I am [etc.]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE SOVIET COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (LITVINOV) TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

WASHINGTON, *November 16, 1933.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In reply to your letter of November 16, 1933, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a fixed policy accords the nationals of the United States within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the following rights referred to by you:

1. The right to "free exercise of liberty of conscience and religious worship" and protection "from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship".

This right is supported by the following laws and regulations existing in the various republics of the Union:

Every person may profess any religion or none. All restrictions of rights connected with the profession of any belief whatsoever, or with the nonprofession of any belief, are annulled. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 3.)

Within the confines of the Soviet Union it is prohibited to issue any local laws or regulations restricting or limiting freedom of conscience, or establishing privileges or preferential rights of any kind based upon the religious profession of any person. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 2.)

2. The right to "conduct without annoyance or molestation of any kind religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature".

This right is supported by the following laws:

A free performance of religious rites is guaranteed as long as it does not interfere with public order and is not accompanied by interference with the rights of citizens of the Soviet Union. Local authorities possess the right in such cases to adopt all necessary measures to preserve public order and safety. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 5.)

Interference with the performance of religious rites, in so far as they do not endanger public order and are not accompanied by infringements on the rights of others is punishable by compulsory labour for a period up to six months. (Criminal Code, art. 127.)

3. "The right and opportunity to lease, erect or maintain in convenient situations" churches, houses or other buildings appropriate for religious purposes.

This right is supported by the following laws and regulations:

Believers belonging to a religious society with the object of making provision for their requirements in the matter of religion may lease under contract, free of charge, from the Sub-District or District Executive Committee or from the Town Soviet, special buildings for the purpose of worship and objects intended exclusively for the purposes of their cult. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 10.)

Furthermore, believers who have formed a religious society or a group of believers may use for religious meetings other buildings which have been placed at their disposal on lease by private persons or by local Soviets and Executive Committees. All rules established for houses of worship are applicable to these buildings. Contracts for the use of such buildings shall be concluded by individual believers who will be held responsible for their execution. In addition, these buildings must comply with the sanitary and technical building regulations. (Decrees of April 8, 1929, art. 10.)

The place of worship and religious property shall be handed over for the use of believers forming a religious society under a contract concluded in the name of the competent District Executive Committee or Town Soviet by the competent administrative department or branch, or directly by the Sub-District Executive Committee. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art 15.)

The construction of new places of worship may take place at the desire of religious societies provided that the usual technical building regulations and special regulations laid down by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs are observed. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 45.)

4. "The right to collect from their coreligionists . . . voluntary offerings for religious purposes."

This right is supported by the following law:

Members of groups of believers and religious societies may raise subscriptions among themselves and collect voluntary offerings, both in the place of worship itself and outside it, but only amongst the members of the religious association concerned and only for purposes connected with the upkeep of the place of worship and the religious property, for the engagement of ministers of religion and for the expenses of their executive body. Any form of forced contribution in aid of religious associations is punishable under the Criminal Code. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 54.)

5. Right to "impart religious instruction to their children either singly or in groups or to have such instruction imparted by persons whom they may employ for such purposes."

This right is supported by the following law:

The school is separated from the Church. Instruction in religious doctrines is not permitted in any governmental and common schools, nor in private teaching institutions where general subjects are taught. Persons may give or receive religious instruction in a private manner. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 9.)

Furthermore, the Soviet Government is prepared to include in a consular convention to be negotiated immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries provisions in which nationals of the United States shall be granted rights with reference to freedom of conscience and the free exercise of religion which shall not be less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. In this connection, I have the honor to call to your attention Article 9 of the Treaty between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow October 12, 1925, which reads as follows:

"Nationals of each of the Contracting Parties . . . shall be entitled to hold religious services in churches, houses or other buildings, rented, according to the laws of the country, in their national language or in any other language which is customary in their religion. They shall be entitled to bury their dead in accordance with their religious practice in burial-grounds established and maintained by them with the approval of the competent authorities, so long as they comply with the police regulations of the other Party in respect of buildings and public health."

Furthermore, I desire to state that the rights specified in the above paragraphs will be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries.

Finally, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, while reserving to itself the right of refusing visas to Americans desiring to enter the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on personal grounds, does not intend to base such refusals on the fact of such persons having an ecclesiastical status.

I am [etc.]

MAXIM LITVINOFF.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, after listening to the debate, I am beginning to get a little worried for fear that the debate will result in the compilation of two lists of Senators—one a list of those who love or at least trust the people of the Communist world, and the other made up of Senators who hate every Communist ever born, and will continue to hate them until they die, and who insist that America will be destroyed if we have anything to do with them.

In making up lists of those who would establish closer relations with Eastern Europe, and those who would do everything possible to destroy the governments of Eastern Europe, I find that there would be some rather unusual bedfellows.

On last October 20, it appears that 24 U.S. executives visited Eastern European countries, to seek to stimulate trade and to establish better feelings between Eastern Europe and the United States. I think we ought to know who those 24 business people were.

The expedition was organized by the late Henry Luce and his associates of Time magazine. At the time, the press noted that it was expected they would be received by heads of state and other officials. They were. They were wined and dined, and well treated, as I understand it, during their trip to Eastern Europe.

The first member of that group of businessmen mentioned in the report of October 21, 1966, is John L. Loeb, senior partner of Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co. He said he was confident the trip could definitely further the administration's recently stated policy of increasing trade with Eastern Europe. The delegation, he said, planned to explore possibilities of expanding financial and commercial relations, and to develop better understanding of American industry.

Mr. President, the list of the executives who went on that trip intrigues me. In addition to Mr. Loeb they included the following:

John L. Atwood, president, North American Aviation, Inc.; Eugene N. Beesley, president, Eli Lilly & Co.; James H. Binger, chairman, Honeywell Inc.; William Blackie, chairman, the Caterpillar Tractor Co.; Edgar M. Bronfman, president, Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.; Joseph F. Cullman 3d, president, Philip Morris Inc., and Russell DeYoung, chairman, the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Also A. P. Fontaine, chairman, the Bendix Corp.; Henry Ford II, chairman of the board of the Ford Motor Co.; Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange; Gordon Grand, president, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.; John D. Harper, president of the Aluminum Company of America; Robert E. Ingersoll, chairman, the Borg-Warner Corp.; George A. Murphy, chairman, Irving Trust Co.; Robert S. Oelman, chairman, National Cash Register Co.; Frank Pace, Jr., president, International Executive Service Corp., and S. Warner Pach, president, Gillette Safety Razor Co.

Also Henry R. Roberts, president, Connecticut General Life Insurance Co.; Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., president, Rockwell-Standard Corp.; C. William Verity, Jr., president, Armco Steel Corp.; Leslie H. Warner, president, General Telephone & Electronics Corp.; Rawleigh Warner, Jr., president, Mobil Oil Corp., and Kendrick R. Wilson, Jr., chairman, Avco Corp.

In addition, there were traveling with those people Dr. Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, and Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

It may be said that this group traveled only to Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia. While that is true, Mr. Auer at that time pointed out that they had made two similar trips in the past, one to the Soviet Union in 1963 and another to southeast Asia—where there is a war going on now—in 1965.

All the participants paid their own way. The story will be found on pages 106 to 108 of the transcript of hearings on the consular treaty.

What puzzles me is are all these well-known businessmen, each of them heads of billion-dollar corporations, sympathetic to communism, or are they distrustful of the form of government which we have had here in the United States, which has permitted them to become the heads of billion-dollar corporations? It all does not make sense.

Of course, they went over there to make more business for themselves. In order to do that, they had to establish more friendly relations with these countries of Eastern Europe.

I just hope that when the lists are made of the people who sympathize with communism, or trust it, and those who hate it from the day they are born until the day they die, the names of these gentleman will not be included in the list of sympathizers.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I understand that the yeas and nays have been asked for and ordered on the pending amendment, the amendment of the Senator from Georgia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a 30-minute time limitation on the pending amendment, the time to be divided equally between the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the absence of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who is absent on official business at this time, I would like to make a few brief remarks in his behalf, and in my behalf as well, on Executive Amendment No. 1 as proposed by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] yesterday.

The effect of the amendment would be to change the provisions in the convention which grant unrestricted immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving State to the consular officers and employees of the sending State in two respects. First, consular employees would no longer have any immunity from criminal jurisdiction. Second, consular officers, as distinguished from employees, would have immunity only for misdemeanors, but not for felonies.

May I raise this hypothetical question: Suppose there were an American official in the Embassy at Moscow. He would have diplomatic immunity, which would give him unrestricted immunity from criminal jurisdiction. But what would happen to him, if this amendment were agreed to, if he were transferred to a consulate in the Soviet Union? He would lose his unrestricted immunity and would be immune only for misdemeanors.

I do not see why there should be a difference between the protection enjoyed by a consular official and that enjoyed by a diplomatic official, especially in view of the fact that three decades ago we joined the two so that we now have a combined diplomatic and consular service in this country.

Mr. President, I believe that this amendment should be opposed for the following reasons.

In the first place, the amendment would make it impossible for the United States to open a consulate in the Soviet Union because, as the Department of State has stated in a memorandum which appears on page 138 of the hearings on the convention:

> We would not send American officials or clerical employees to serve in the U.S.S.R. without this protection.

The memorandum makes it clear that the protection referred to is full immunity from criminal jurisdiction for both consular officers and consular employees and I am talking about American consular officers and American consular employees. This point is emphasized in a letter received today by Senator FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, from the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations in which he stated:

> Secretary Rusk has stated and I would like to repeat that we would not open a consulate in the Soviet Union, and send our consular officers and employees to such an office, without the protection of full criminal immunity.

In the second place, I understand that the Soviets would be unwilling to renegotiate the convention if Senator TALMADGE's amendment were agreed to, so that, in effect, the amendment would kill the treaty. The Assistant Secretary of State's letter to which I have referred previously said:

> In our judgment an attempt at renegotiation would be fruitless and would result in there being no treaty.

As I have said before, I am convinced that the treaty is in the national interest and would naturally be opposed to any amendment which would result in there being no treaty.

In the third place, I would like to point out that the treaty was submitted to the Senate on June 12, 1964, and then referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It has thus been before the committee for almost 3 years. There has been ample time, therefore, to submit amendments and reservations to the treaty.

Amendments and reservations should have been proposed while the treaty was under active consideration in the committee so that they could be examined thoroughly. In a matter as delicate and complicated as the convention we are considering, amendments should not be made in haste, at the last minute, and without serious consideration. The fact that an amendment is proposed at the final hour indicates to me that the true intent of the amendment is to defeat the treaty.

Finally, Mr. President, while none of us certainly wishes to denigrate the power of the Senate to amend a treaty or to attach reservations to it, the fact is that amendments or reservations require a majority vote, while advice and consent to ratification requires a two-thirds vote. When an amendment or reservation is proposed that is of such importance that it involves the life or death of the treaty, the effect of such an amendment or reservation is to make the two-thirds rule ineffective and to substitute for it a majority vote.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD a letter to the chairman of the committee, dated March 9, 1967, from William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1967.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been asked by the Secretary to reply to your letter of March 8, 1967 which requests our view on the amendment proposed by Senator Talmadge to the Consular Convention between the United States and the Soviet Union.

This amendment is, in effect, a demand for renegotiation of the Convention in such a way as to alter fundamentally the nature of Article 19, concerning the immunity of consular personnel from criminal jurisdiction. In our judgment an attempt at renegotiation would be fruitless and would result in there being no treaty. As Secretary Rusk has emphasized previously, we consider this treaty essential to obtaining rights we need for the protection of Americans travelling in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, we consider the immunity provisions as they are now set forth in Article 19 of the Convention to be in the best interest of the United States.

The adverse effect of this amendment would be twofold. It first would substitute for the full criminal immunity provision of Article 19(2) language often used in our earlier consular conventions, which in effect grants immunity to consular officers from the local jurisdiction only for misdemeanors. The second effect of this amendment would be to deny any immunity whatsoever to consular employees.

The Department of State strongly opposes this amendment. The matter of full immunity from Soviet criminal jurisdiction for our consular officers and employees is one of the important benefits of this Convention for the United States. Secretary Rusk has stated and I would like to repeat that we would not open a consulate in the Soviet Union, and send our consular officers and employees to such an office, without the protection of full criminal immunity. The purpose of Article 19(2) is to protect our consular personnel from arbitrary Soviet pressures, whether they are motivated by the purpose of retaliation or otherwise.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. PASTORE. Is it not fair to assume that, regardless of how one feels about this consular treaty, whether he is for it or against it, this amendment would be to the disadvantage of American nationals?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. PASTORE. They would be required to go to Russia and live in a closed society, whereas other nationals would come to this country in an open society.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

The protection we seek in this treaty for our consular officials would be done away with if a U.S. consulate were established in the Soviet Union. Under this treaty, however, so far as Soviet employees in a consulate in this country are concerned, they would continue to be given the full benefit of American law and protection of the Constitution. The treaty would not deprive them of this benefit and protection but our people in the Soviet Union would receive the same treatment that a Soviet citizen receives.

Mr. PASTORE. Also, in the case of a felony committed in our country, an individual is entitled to a hearing before a grand jury, before he is indicted and before he is brought to trial, and he must be given a trial by his peers. But now, by a reciprocal agreement, if we invoke this restriction as against, let us say, Russia, and we allow our nationals to go there and not have immunity in the case of a felony, they would not be entitled to grand jury hearings, they would not be entitled to an indictment, they would not be entitled to a judgment by their peers.

It occurs to me that while there may be a certain connotation to this amendment which would show that we do not want these Russians to come to this country and to be immune in the case of a felony, we are forgetting the reciprocity involved, which would outweigh the disadvantage experienced by American nationals serving in a U.S. consulate in Russia, who would be placed in a prejudiced position.

Mr. MANSFIELD. This feature should be of interest: If the Russians abuse the immunity provision of the convention, we may terminate the agreement on 6 months' notice, under article 30.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I call attention to one example where the adoption of this amendment would be very much to the disadvantage of the United States.

The senior Senator from Rhode Island will recall that when we were in Moscow 3 years ago, we were very pointedly advised that photographing a bridge is a crime in Russia, whereas in the United States, you can photograph 10,000 bridges, and still it is not a crime. In many other instances, an action would be considered a crime in Russia which would be considered a misdemeanor or no violation at all in the United States.

If we adopt this amendment, we would forgo the protection for our people who go to Russia—protection which is afforded to Russians who come to the United States.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I shall yield myself 1 minute, and I wish to reserve the remainder of my time.

So far as I am concerned, the most important feature about this treaty is that it protects Americans in the Soviet Union—tourists as well as consular officials and employees. That is a feature we should always keep in mind.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would rather withhold my time. Does the Senator desire 1 minute?

Mr. ALLOTT. A parliamentary inquiry——

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I was not aware, at the time I left the floor, that a unanimous-consent agreement on time had been given.

I wish to join generally in the statement made by the distinguished majority leader and in the colloquy with the Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from Vermont.

I have studied this matter interminably, as have many Senators, and at the moment I am not prepared to commit myself as being either for or against the Consular Convention.

As I view the Consular Convention, three arguments can be made in favor of it: one, the protection of our tourists and businessmen who go to Russia; two, the protection of the consulate and its employees; and, three, what other benefits may come from the establishment of a consulate in the Soviet Union.

It is my view of this matter that if we were to adopt this amendment, the Senate might just as well stop considering the Consular Convention, because if we would derive one thing from it, it would be the protection of our own people in the Soviet Union. To put the matter another way, it would be unthinkable that we would send people to a consulate in the Soviet Union and make their immunity apply only to what is recognized as a misdemeanor in this country.

I am not prepared at this moment to make a commitment on the convention; but if we are to receive anything from the convention, we must have complete immunity as a part of it. Therefore, I urge Senators not to vote for this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. TALMADGE. I yield myself 5 minutes.

Most of the debate today on the Consular Convention has centered around the merits and demerits of the treaty. I agree that the treaty does have some advantages. I agree that under certain conditions it ought to be ratified by the Senate. But let us keep the real issue in perspective. If Senators will turn to page 10 of the message from the President of the United States transmitting the convention, they will find that article 19, paragraph 2, reads:

> Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment who are nationals of the sending state shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state.

Mr. President, this is the first consular convention in the entire history of the Republic in which total immunity has been granted to consular officers. In 1790, during the administration of President Washington, immunity was granted to embassy officers or officials who are located in the capital of the receiving state and who are dealing with the day-to-day diplomatic questions that affect their countries. But never before in the history of our Republic have we granted immunity to consular officers.

Who are the consular officers and employees? They are persons who are located in Atlanta, Ga.; in Providence, R.I.; in Cleveland, Ohio; in Jacksonville, Fla.; and who are there to deal with economic matters so as to promote the interests of their countries.

This convention proposes to give them the same immunity that ambassadors and members of ambassadorial staffs have.

Note that the language is "consular officers and employees." The immunity that would be granted is absolute, complete, and total. It would affect the criminal laws of all 50 States and every criminal statute of the entire United States of America.

How broad is this provision? It is broad enough so that a janitor in a consular office could assassinate a President of the United States, and what would be his punishment? All we could do would be to bid him farewell. We could not punish him, but only bid him farewell. We could declare him to be persona non grata.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield?

Mr. TALMADGE. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. But in terms of reciprocity, if we sent one of our nationals to the Soviet Union and he were accused of assassinating Kosygin, he would have as much immunity there as a Russian would have immunity here.

The point that I make is that whatever we give, we receive, as well. If I were to be tried for a crime or were to be accused of a crime in Russia——

Mr. TALMADGE. I am not prepared to yield for a speech. I am speaking on limited time.

Mr. PASTORE. Would the Senator not agree that if I were to be accused of a crime, I would rather be accused in the United States than I would in Moscow?

Mr. TALMADGE. I will agree with that; certainly.

Mr. PASTORE. If I were——

Mr. TALMADGE. I do not yield for a speech. The contention of the Senator from Rhode Island is absolutely correct. But I would point out that the U.S. embassy officials and consular officers of the United States of America do not go to other countries to engage in criminal activity or in treason. Crime is not an instrument of policy of the United States of America. Crime is an instrument of policy of the Soviet Union.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TALMADGE. I will yield for a question only.

Mr. PASTORE. Yes. Is it not true that although our embassy personnel may not go to Russia with that motive, they could be charged wrongly with that activity, and that that is what we are trying to protect them against?

Mr. TALMADGE. The Senator is correct, but I do not agree that after almost 200 years of the history of our Republic we should select the Soviet Union for this grant of total and complete immunity. For the record shows that they have used every one of their offices, whether embassy or consular offices, for espionage and subversion. I am not in favor of granting such complete and total immunity to the Soviet Union.

Under our most favored nation provision every other country on the face of the earth that had a provision that contained the most favored nation treatment could request complete immunity if we sign this convention.

Imagine what it would mean to have consular officials of the Soviet Union throughout Latin America and throughout the world with total and complete grants of immunity. They would have a license to engage in espionage worldwide.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

I do not need to tell the Senate the long history that the Soviet Union has had in this country, with us expelling their embassy officials for espionage.

As a matter of fact, in 1948, Russian consular officials were forcibly holding Oksana Kasenkina, a refugee, against her will in the New York consulate office and in order to escape she was forced to jump from the third floor of the consulate.

When they did that, we expelled their consular general and they closed their three consulate offices in the United States.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I am not trying to kill this treaty. It has many provisions which I think are desirable, but I cannot, for the life of me, understand why we should grant total, complete, and absolute immunity. These consular officers would be scattered throughout the United States, could assassinate, murder, torture, commit treason, and rape with absolute impunity. All that we could do would be to declare them to be persona non grata and send them home.

I think that the amendment should be agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 3 of his minutes?

Mr. TALMADGE. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 2 of those minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I would rather vote against the treaty than accept this amendment and vote for the treaty with the amendment in it.

Russia could pass a law tomorrow saying that whoever goes by Lenin's tomb and does not genuflect is guilty of a felony. That passerby could be an American and he could be tried under Russian law, and he could go to jail for 10 years under Russian law, and there is nothing we could do about it.

The reciprocity that it is involved should be considered. It is true that we are taking a risk by giving immunity to all Russian nationals who are sent here and that our only alternative would be to send them back to Russia persona non grata.

At the same time it must be realized that we are receiving as much as we are giving; and we are giving protection to Americans who go there and could be charged under Russian law with a felony under circumstances that we in this country would consider ridiculous.

We are buying safety for Americans who go to Russia. That is why I am against this amendment.

The statement of the Senator from Georgia is true when he said that they could come here, commit murder, and have immunity; but by the same token we could go there and have immunity. The argument is made that we do not go there for that murderous purpose. That is true, but we could be charged with that purpose, and that is what we are trying to protect our nationals against.

As far as being treated in an open society as an American as against being treated as an American in a closed society, like Russia, I would take my chances on this immunity and say that it is to the advantage of American nationals.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield myself the remainder of the time.

Mr. President, reference has been made to the Kasenkina case. She was not a refugee. She was an employee of the Soviet consulate in New York.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. TALMADGE. But she was trying to escape and get asylum.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, but she was an employee of the Soviet consulate there, teaching officials of the consulate

If that had been an American consulate in the Soviet Union, and the same thing had happened there, I would have wanted the officials of the American consulate to go down and act in the same way in the Soviet Union that the Russian officials acted in New York.

Mr. President, a great deal has been said about the grant of unrestricted immunity from criminal jurisdiction to consular officers and employees. May I repeat at this point a portion of the remarks made by the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations on the floor of the Senate on March 7. He said:

> This provision is a new departure for the United States. In other consular conventions to which the United States is a party, such immunity has applied only to misdemeanors and not to felonies.
>
> On the other hand, as far as diplomatic immunity is concerned, nations observe an even broader immunity which extends not only to criminal jurisdiction but to civil jurisdiction as well and also applies to the families of diplomatic officers. Our diplomats in the Soviet Union, and indeed all over the world, have such immunity, as do all foreign diplomats, including Soviet diplomats here.
>
> In other words, this convention brings the protection which those working in consulates enjoy more closely into line with the protection those working in embassies have. . . .
>
> But those who are concerned about the immunity provision in this convention are not interested in the disappearing distinctions between diplomatic and consular immunities. Their interest in the immunity provision is a result of their fear of espionage.
>
> They see a danger in the immunity provision because if a Soviet intelligence officer assigned to a Soviet consulate in the United States were to commit espionage he could not be prosecuted. Like any Soviet official assigned to the Soviet embassy in Washington who committed espionage, he could only be expelled.
>
> It is a fact of life—an unpleasant fact, to be sure—that all of those assigned to foreign embassies and consulates in the United States and all of the Americans assigned to our embassies and consulates abroad are not what they appear to be.
>
> Some are not career diplomatic and consular personnel but intelligence officers. The Soviets use embassies and consulates for intelligence purposes as do other countries including the United States. Perhaps in a gentler age this may not have been true, but it is the case in the world today. In this sense, there is a common interest involved, for I gather that both we and the Soviets would prefer to have our intelligence officers expelled rather than imprisoned.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Section 2 of article XIX was inserted in the treaty at the express and urgent demand of the Soviet Union.

This is the first time in the history of our Republic that it has ever made a consular convention with any country at a time when the Soviet Union is furnishing supplies to maim and kill half a million Americans in Southeast Asia.

It strikes me as being a most inopportune time to grant a proposal of total, absolute, and complete criminal immunity to the Soviet Union. It will be the only nation on the face of the earth to whom such a provision will have been granted.

What has happened since we made this convention with the Soviet Union?

A similar consular convention was

negotiated with Great Britain. What happened?

Something happened to a British officer named Burke in the Soviet Union, and the British have not yet ratified the consular convention.

A similar consular convention was negotiated with Japan. The Japanese have not yet ratified this convention.

This is the first convention with any nation on the face of the earth, coming before the Senate this afternoon, to grant total, complete, and absolute criminal immunity to a Soviet consular officer and his staff, even to the janitors.

Mr. President, I do not believe that the Senate should be stampeded into any such position, despite the proposal of the State Department that they never want anything which they handle changed in any way.

They do not realize that the responsibility on the Senate constitutionally is to advise and consent.

That is what I am seeking to do here today, to advise and consent.

I am seeking to advise the State Department that it should not give janitors in consular offices in the Soviet Embassy freedom to assassinate the President of the United States, and then our only recourse would be to bid him farewell when we send him back to the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield briefly?

Mr. TALMADGE. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What the distinguished Senator from Georgia has said about the Japanese and British consular conventions is correct. What the Senator did not say was that those consular conventions, if and when ratified, will extend far beyond the convention now before the Senate, because it is my understanding—and I stand subject to correction—that it includes families of consular officers as well.

Mr. TALMADGE. I do not know. I would accept the Senator's word. He is on the committee, and I am not.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Let me say that in response to the question inherent in the——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair interposes to ask the Senator from Georgia whether he will withhold his request to yield back the remainder of his time.

Mr. TALMADGE. Yes, Mr. President, I do.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Let me say to the Senator from Georgia, first, that I am deeply grateful to him for his customary courtesy and consideration. The question inherent in this body on voting was raised in committee. In reply to a question raised by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], here is Secretary of State Rusk's answer:

> Because when we look at this proposal—
>
> Full immunity, that is—

and look at the reciprocal advantages itself for having the same arrangements for our people in the Soviet Union, we felt that this would be a constructive thing to do from the point of view of our own interest; otherwise, we would have said no, let us not have any consular convention.

Thus, I think this is an important question which has been discussed in part in the committee.

Mr. TALMADGE. If the Senator will yield at that point, I am not trying to say that the Soviet Union should not have consular officers in this country. I merely say that they and their staffs and employees should not have total and absolute criminal immunity.

Mr. MANSFIELD. But the Senator would agree that this is a reciprocal proposal which would apply to our people in the Soviet Union on the same basis, would he not?

Mr. TALMADGE. It applies to both, but the Soviets use crime, torture, assassination, and treason as instruments of national policy. Our Government does not.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield?

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. TALMADGE. I am happy to yield 1 minute to the Senator from South Dakota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. MUNDT. In support of the persuasive arguments made by the Senator from Georgia, let me say that it would be a terrific indictment of the State Department and our negotiators if all the advantages attributed to this kind of immunity actually obtained as described by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore], because our negotiators did not ask for them. They were forced on us by the Russians. Thus, if, in fact, all these benefits will accrue, I think that we must look at the whole treaty with a jaundiced eye because our negotiators badly let us down. During years of negotiation, they never asked for this immunity until, finally, they yielded to pressure by the Soviets, and they put it in.

Quite obviously, the Soviets must feel that there is some advantage to be gained here, or they would not have insisted on it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has now expired.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has now expired.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Stennis] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ellender], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea," and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]. If present and voting, the Senator from Ohio would vote "yea," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Stennis] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ellender]. If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea," and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 53, as follows:

[No. 58 Leg.]

YEAS—26

Bible
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Gruening
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Long, La.
McClellan
Montoya
Mundt
Murphy
Russell
Spong
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.

NAYS—53

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Burdick
Carlson
Case
Church
Fong
Fulbright
Griffin
Harris
Hart
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Morton
Moss
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—21

Bartlett
Brewster
Brooke
Cannon
Clark
Cooper
Dirksen
Dominick
Ellender

Gore
Hansen
Hartke
Kennedy, N.Y.
Lausche
Magnuson
Morse
Muskie
Prouty
Smathers
Stennis
Young, Ohio

So Mr. TALMADGE's amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there further amendments?

If there are no further amendments, is there objection to the treaty being considered as having passed through its various parliamentary stages up to and including the presentation of the resolution of ratification?

Mr. MUNDT. Will the Chair yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will state it.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senate has always been so slow to legislate and so quick to ratify treaties that we are not as familiar with the rules on treaties as we are on legislation. So, although no Senator has suggested, to me at least, that he has other amendments to propose which are not in the form of reservations, I think it might be appropriate, Mr. President, if the Chair inquired now, while we have so many Senators present, whether there is anyone else who wishes to offer such an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there further amendments to be offered?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, since apparently there are no further amendments, it is my understanding that we must reach the point of presentation of the resolution of ratification before reservations become eligible for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. Reservations and understandings are not eligible for consideration until after the presentation of the resolution of ratification.

Mr. MUNDT. If we now agree that there are no further amendments, that will not prevent any Senator from later offering a reservation about which we may not have been informed up to this point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No further amendments would be in order. The Senator is correct, reservations would be in order.

Mr. MUNDT. That is why I suggested that the Chair inquire whether there were any further amendments. If there are not, I would see no objection to proceeding with the presentation of the resolution of ratification.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HRUSKA. Is there any urgent need for obtaining this unanimous consent at this time? In deference to other Senators who may not be present, or who may wish time, overnight, to decide whether to offer an amendment, would it not be well, in the absence of urgent need, to defer this unanimous-consent request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has simply laid the question before the Senate, because reservations and understandings would not be in order until a resolution of ratification has been presented and reported to the Senate. The decision as to whether to move to that stage is a matter of policy over which the Senate has control.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I should just like to observe that if there is anyone who does wish to submit an amendment, he would be foreclosed from now on; this is a substantial right in a very important matter, and I just wonder if action on the unanimous-consent request could be delayed until a future time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the purpose of the request was to follow the regular procedure which has been followed many times before. The question has been raised, and inquiries have been made privately among Senators. There has been no response to the question raised by the Presiding Officer, the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma, as to whether there were further amendments, and it would just be in the interests of orderly procedure to move forward. Nobody's rights are foreclosed. We have to reach this point before resolutions of reservations become eligible for consideration; and the Senator from Maine, the Senator from South Dakota, and others who have reservations and understandings pending or might wish to offer a resolution of reservation would be foreclosed from having such matters considered until this point is reached.

Mr. HRUSKA. With that explanation, Mr. President, I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no objection, the convention will be considered as having passed through its various stages up to and including the presentation of the resolution of ratification, which the clerk will now state.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> *Resolved, (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein)*, That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Executive D, Eighty-eighth Congress second session).

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, I have sent to the desk today two reservations, which will be printed and on the desks of Senators tomorrow morning. I have been advised by the distinguished senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] that she has sent to the desk today an amendment in the form of an understanding to the resolution of ratification, which will also be relevant, for consideration at this point, and which will be printed and on the desks of Senators tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the will of the Senate?

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT ON MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 81)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As in legislative session, the Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States on the investment tax credit on machinery and equipment. Without objection, the message from the President will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and will be appropriately referred.

The message from the President was referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

On September 8, 1966, I asked the Congress to suspend temporarily the 7-percent investment tax credit for machinery and equipment and the tax benefits of accelerated depreciation on buildings.

That suspension was specifically designed to relieve excessive pressure on the overheated capital goods industries and the resulting strain on our financial markets. My economic advisers and I believed that the measures then proposed would relieve the acute inflationary pressures of the capital boom on the capacity of our machinery producers, the supplies of skilled workers, interest rates, and the availability of credit for private homebuilding.

The Congress promptly enacted the legislation. The legislation provided for automatic restoration of these special tax provisions on January 1, 1968. At the time I signed the bill into law, I stated:

> If . . . any *earlier reinstatement* would be *appropriate*, I shall recommend prompt legislative action to accomplish that result.

In enacting the law, the Congress and the administration assumed the obligation to terminate this selective fiscal restraint and restore these tax incentives as soon as changes in the situation justified such action. The reports to the Congress of both the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee stated:

> If military requirements in southeast Asia should decrease before January 1, 1968, or if for some *other reason* it should become *apparent* that suspension of the investment credit and suspension of the use of the accelerated depreciation methods with respect to buildings are *no longer necessary*

to restrain inflation, the Congress can *promptly* terminate the suspensions. The Administration has also indicated that it *would recommend terminating* the suspension period *before* January 1, 1968, under such conditions.

In appearing before the Senate Finance Committee, the Secretary of the Treasury testified:

> The Administration will be alert to any change in the situation and will be prepared to recommend terminating the suspension period before January 1, 1968, if a change in circumstances makes that at all possible, and I would hope that the Congress would, in turn, be willing to entertain such a recommendation.

When I signed the bill last fall, I listed clearly what my economic advisers and I expected the legislation to accomplish. I said it would help "restore more normal interest rates and ease tight money and credit conditions; free funds and resources for homebuilding and other essential uses; trim down excessive backlog of machinery orders; curb upward pressures on prices and costs of capital goods; guard against a needless repetition of the old pattern of boom and bust in capital spending; and improve our current balance-of-payments positions."

In the 6 months since Congress received the temporary suspension legislation it has already effectively done the job we hoped it would do.

INTEREST RATES

Since last September, aided by action of the Federal Reserve Board, interest rates have fallen dramatically: 3-month Treasury bills—down 22.2 percent; long-term Treasury securities—down 9.3 percent; new corporate Aa bonds—down 12 percent; new municipal bonds—down 15.1 percent.

FUNDS FOR HOMEBUILDING

Funds are again flowing into our thrift institutions. Savings and loan associations—our key mortgage lenders—accumulated funds at an annual rate of only $100 million last spring and summer. Subsequent to our action last September, there has been a very sharp rise in their accumulation of funds. From October 1966 through January 1967, their accounts grew at an annual rate of $8 billion.

Mortgage interest rates have started to come down, and new housing starts have now risen for the last 3 months in a row.

BACKLOGS OF MACHINERY ORDERS

Last September, new orders for machinery and equipment were 18 percent higher than a year earlier, and order backlogs had grown 28 percent over that period. Order backlogs for machine tools were particularly large.

Orders for machinery and equipment have declined steadily since September, by a total of 7 percent. Order backlogs have leveled off, and in January actually declined for the first time since June 1963. For machine tools, backlogs have fallen *substantially*, as shipments exceeded orders by 17 percent in December and January.

PRESSURES ON PRICES AND COSTS OF CAPITAL GOODS

The machine industry had been straining their capacity—running close to 100 percent of maximum use—in August 1966. Between August and January the average utilization rate of capacity has declined to a healthier and more efficient rate. For makers of electrical machinery, the decline is from 97 percent to 91.5 percent.

Acute shortages of skilled labor, that plagued the machinery industries last spring and summer, are gradually disappearing.

GUARDING AGAINST BOOM AND BUST

In 1965, plant and equipment spending rose 16 percent. In 1966, it rose 17 percent. That was an unsustainable pace. At that rate, the capital boom was headed for a bust. Now, the latest survey of investment plans for 1967, conducted by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange Commission, shows a modest increase of less than 4 percent. That is a sustainable pace of advance.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

During the first three quarters of 1966, imports of capital equipment soared an average of 14 percent a quarter. In the fourth quarter of 1966 the rise was only 3.9 percent, and this partly reflected deliveries against earlier orders. Now that domestic producers can take care of domestic demands, this extra drain on our balance of payments should be alleviated.

On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that the investment credit and accelerated depreciation, consistent with our promise and in justice to our society, should now be safely restored. Although the demand for capital goods continues to be strong and remain at record levels, my Council of Economic Advisers informs me that it no longer threatens to strain our growing ability to produce.

In fulfillment of the commitment made by this administration as well as the Congress at the time we asked that these tax incentives be suspended, and in accordance with the *strong* recommendations of my Council of Economic Advisers, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Budget, I recommend immediate and prompt reinstatement of the 7-percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation.

I recommend restoration of these incentives effective today, the date on which legislation will be introduced in the Congress.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on this legislation without delay so that there will be no uncertainty or doubt in our free enterprise community.

In doing so, the Congress and the administration can show the country and the world once again that we can and will work together for stable prosperity in our growing and free economy.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967*.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I commend the President of the United States for the action he has just taken on the 7-percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation.

I have not read the message, but I understand that it will reinstate the legislation after a certain date.

I stated last fall that this was an unfortunate move to be taken by the administration and Congress. I have prepared a speech on the matter and a bill for introduction this week to reinstate the investment credit and accelerated depreciation at the earliest possible date.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, as in legislative session, that my speech and a copy of the bill that I had expected to introduce be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech and the bill were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CARLSON

The senior Senator from Kansas was one of the staunchest advocates of the investment tax credit which was enacted into law as part of the Revenue Act of 1962. I felt that the investment credit was an essential element in any program to stimulate modernization of U.S. industry and to equalize competition between U.S. products and those of foreign manufacturers.

The tremendous aid and assistance programs of the United States after World War II brought a rapid reconstruction of the war-devastated economies of the major industrial countries in Europe and of Japan. With U.S. money and technical assistance, foreign industries were able to modernize to a point where they far surpassed our own companies in newness of equipment and buildings.

As a result, U.S. products suffered in competition in the world market and our balance of payments suffered accordingly.

To redress this situation, the investment credit, a credit against taxes equal generally to 7 percent of the cost of the new investment, was adopted and was to be of great benefit to U.S. business, stirring a new era of modernization and technological change. However, mounting inflationary pressures in 1965 and 1966 prompted the Johnson Administration to propose a suspension of the investment credit along with a suspension of the methods of accelerating depreciation of property. The suspension of the investment credit and accelerated depreciation was advocated by the Administration as necessary to dampen these inflationary pressures. From the moment the suspension of these tax incentives was first proposed, I expressed my opposition to it. I voted against the suspension bill in the Senate Finance Committee and on the Senate floor. My opposition to the measure was predicated on several grounds.

First of all, when the investment credit became law in 1962, assurances were given to business that it was to be a permanent part of our tax structure, that it was not to be used as a spigot to be turned on and off as the economic situation of the day demanded. But the Administration did not keep its word. At the end of last summer, the President decided the incentives must be suspended. I believe that when any segment of the American public relies on the Government's assurance that a specific policy will be maintained, the Government has a moral obligation to keep that policy in effect.

Further, though, I thought the suspension would not do what the Administration claimed it would do, immediately reduce inflationary pressures, but instead would contribute to weakening the economy. The lag between the time that the decision to invest was made and the time when the credit could actually be taken was of such a duration that a suspension to take effect in the fall of 1966 would not really reduce investment spending until a time when indicators showed the economy would need a boost, not a restraint. A declining stock market and the tightening of the money market were not only curtailing activity in the housing and commercial construction industry, but could well curtail plans for the expansion of business plants and for capital expenditures of government agencies. With these conditions on the horizon, it was no time to provide a depressant in the form of suspension of the tax incentives.

I felt also that it was inconsistent and discriminatory on the part of the Administration to suspend the tax credit of companies investing in the United States and at the same time advocating it for companies investing abroad. The Administration was doing just that in advocating such a credit for investment abroad as part of certain tax treaties then before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The effect that a suspension would have on small business and on the agricultural community particularly concerned me. Farmers had begun to make a little money but desperately needed to purchase additional farm equipment in order to keep up with the demand for their products. Small business needed expansion of its facilities and modernization of its machines. The suspension of the investment credit would kill the only method by which farmers and small businessmen could buy the necessary implements and not return to the red ink side of their ledgers. I am happy to say that amendments were made in the original proposal which exempted from the suspension of the credit investment up to $20,000 and which exempted from the suspension of the accelerated depreciation a structure or structures costing up to $50,000. Even these exemptions would not be enough to keep the suspension from adversely affecting the farmer and the small businessman. For example, the purchase of one or two combines or tractors would probably exceed the $20,000 exemption afforded to the farmer.

Of course, the bill was passed and signed into law on November 8, 1966. I hate to say I told you so, but the fact is that my worries at the suspension of the investment credit have come to pass and the suspension's detrimental effects theorized in 1966 are realized in 1967. The economy is dragging, business is off, and, if the suspension remains through the end of this year as it is supposed to, we could well be in a serious recession.

In a report of February 20, 1967 to the President on the impact of the suspension Acting Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge shows that businessmen have trimmed their capital spending substantially and are indicating great cuts in capital spending for the remainder of this year. Most of the cutback in the 1966 capital spending outlays occurred in commercial business. In 1967, manufacturing and commercial firms share an equal portion of the anticipated reduction in outlays attributed to the suspension. Expenditures for new plant and equipment declined drastically in the first month of 1967 and in the predictions for the remainder of 1967. Such a drop in capital outlays cannot be countenanced if our economy is to continue to grow and to prosper.

The signs of an impending slack in business are all around. In its February 20 issue, the Wall Street Journal reports that new factory orders for durable goods dropped sharply in January and that the inventory buildup in the fourth quarter of 1966 was even bigger than previously thought. An inventory buildup means fewer purchases and is one of the most important indications of a slow-down in business.

Salutary amendments that the Senate made in last year's bill to suspend the investment credit, but which were eliminated by the conference, would have exempted various transportation industries from the suspension. These exemptions, especially the one for the railroads, were needed because of the shortage of transportation facilities, particularly of boxcars. Improved and adequate transportation facilities were necessary to ship the nation's commodities from origin to processor. Specifically, railroad freight cars were in demand to transport farm products from the agricultural centers of the Midwest to the industrial centers of the East. Since the exemptions were denied in the bill which was finally enacted, just as I feared, the railroad equipment industry has suffered from the suspension of the tax credit. There is a startling decline of about 80 percent from a year ago in orders for freight cars and locomotives according to an article in the February 27 edition of the Wall Street Journal. The implications of this severe reduction in freight car and locomotive orders affect not only the railroad industry but the suppliers of railroad equipment and its components and the users of the railroads, particularly the farmers. And then there are corporate profits which after the longest, most vigorous boom in business history, have changed directions.

All of these indicators make it apparent that unemployment will rise and a sharp turn-down in the economy will result as the year advances.

Therefore, I am today introducing a bill to reinstate the investment credit and accelerated depreciation, to terminate the suspension of these tax incentives in advance of the December 31 date presently called for in the law. The suspension would cease as of the date of enactment of this bill.

I am happy to see that I am not the only one calling for an end of the suspension of these tax incentives. For example, the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. Proxmire, championed this idea in a statement in the February 27 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; two of the leading Washington newspapers, the Evening Star and the Post, in February 27 editorials called for the suspension to end now. It would not be inconsistent for the Administration to adopt such a position either. At the time of the suspension, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler said it would not continue for the scheduled 16 months if the economy exhibited marked signs of cooling off. These signs are much in evidence today—the economy is cooling off and will become rather frigid unless the investment credit and accelerated depreciation suspensions are lifted. I hope that my bill to lift these suspensions is given early consideration by the Senate Finance Committee.

S. —

A bill to terminate the suspension of the investment credit and the suspension of the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 48(j) and section 167(i)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to definition of suspension period) are amended by striking out "December 31, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "the date of the enactment of the Investment Credit and Accelerated Depreciation Restoration Act of 1967".

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 2. This Act may be cited as the "Investment Credit and Accelerated Depreciation Restoration Act of 1967".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY UNTIL MONDAY NEXT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am about to propound a unanimous-consent request which I hope will be acceptable to the Senate as a whole.

I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business tomorrow, Friday, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of business on Monday next, the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock on Tuesday morning; that on the completion of business on Tuesday, the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MUNDT. I have no objection. That is with the understanding that there will be the usual period for the transaction of routine business.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, beginning at the conclusion of the morning business on Tuesday next, there be a time limitation of 4 hours on the Mundt free press amendment, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished senior Senator from South Dakota and the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT]; that following that, on the second amendment to be offered by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota, there be 6 hours allotted, the time to be equally divided on the same basis.

Mr. MUNDT. With the understanding that the morning business period on Wednesday will not be taken out of the time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is correct—on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Mr. MUNDT. On Tuesday and Wednesday.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And that with respect to the Smith understanding, there be 1 hour allocated to that proposal, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] and the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. Is it the purpose of the majority leader to have a period for the transaction of morning business on each day, Tuesday and Wednesday?

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is.

Mr. HRUSKA. Time limitations to follow the conclusion of morning business?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object to the various unanimous-consent requests that have been made, I am sure that the distinguished majority leader has worked out the time requests in each of these instances with the Senators involved, and that it is satisfactory with them.

However, in my opinion, this treaty and the various reservations that have been proposed constitute one of the most serious questions that have come before the Senate for a long time; and what this ends up in is that the majority leader or the minority leader or the proponent, as the case may be, controls the time; and with all good faith—which, of course, they have—we find ourselves often in the position I found myself in today. However, through the kindness of the majority leader, I was still able to say a few words.

I should like to ask if there is any reason why we could not defer these unanimous-consent requests until next week. I would have no objection to the first one. But I certainly wish to object to blocking myself into a situation with respect to this treaty where I could not discuss any phase of it or any phase of the reservations at as great length as I wished. With all good faith, the majority leader or the proponent of the reservation may find himself in a position where he can give a Senator only 5 minutes to discuss something that perhaps the Senator would, in all good conscience, wish to discuss at some length.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. Will the Senator answer that question?

Mr. MANSFIELD. May I say to the Senator that the situation was a little different this afternoon, because the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] was prepared to vote right at that time, without anyone having spoken in opposition to his amendment. I can assure the Senator from Colorado—he has my word for it—that he will have as much time as he desires, and he need have no worries in that respect.

Mr. MUNDT. May I add one other statement: This unanimous-consent agreement leaves open ended the right of any Senator to offer a reservation of his own, on which he would then control his part of the time.

Mr. ALLOTT. I understand that, Mr. President. With that assurance, and with the understanding that there will be no unanimous-consent request upon the treaty itself without notice to us on the final passage.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is satisfactory.

Mr. ALLOTT. So long as there will be no time limitation on ratification, I will not object.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator, and I assure him that every Senator will receive ample notice before the treaty is finally voted on.

Mr. ELLENDER. Reserving the right to object, is it the opinion of the majority leader that we might be finished with this treaty next week?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would hope so, yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thought that would be the purpose of the unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection the unanimous-consent agreement is entered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered, That effective on Tuesday, March 14, 1967, at the conclusion of any routine morning business under order of the Senate, during the further consideration of the treaty Ex. D, 88th Cong., 2d sess., a Consular Convention with the U.S.S.R., debate on Executive Reservation No. 1, intended to be proposed by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], shall be limited to 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by Mr. MUNDT and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]; debate on Executive Reservation No. 2, intended to be proposed by Mr. MUNDT shall be limited to 6 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by Mr. MUNDT and Mr. FULBRIGHT; and debate on Executive Understanding No. 1, intended to be proposed by the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], shall be limited to 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by Mrs. SMITH and Mr. FULBRIGHT.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator from South Dakota, the Senator from Nebraska, and the Senator from Colorado for their consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.) the Senate in executive session, adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, March 10, 1967, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 9, 1967:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named persons for appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 1, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Dr. Charles E. Klontz, of Illinois.
Mrs. Gladys Pearlson Rogers, of Maryland.

New Foreign Service officers of class 2 and secretaries in the diplomatic service, to be also consular officers of the United States of America:

Clifton P. English, of Florida.
John G. Gossett, of Oklahoma.
Charles G. Sommer, of Ohio.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 2, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

William F. Keyes, of California.
Clarence A. Wendel, of Montana.

New Foreign Service officers of class 3 and secretaries in the diplomatic service, to be also consular officers of the United States of America:

Neil C. McManus, of New Jersey.
Mathias J. Ortwein, of Pennsylvania.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 4, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

John M. O'Grady, of California.
John E. Ray, Jr., of Virginia.
C. Lester Stermer, of Florida.

Now a Foreign Service officer of class 6 and a secretary in the diplomatic service, to be also a consular officer of the United States of America:

William A. Feldt, of South Dakota.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 7 to class 6:

Kenneth A. Guenther, of the District of Columbia.
John J. Youle, of New York.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 7 to class 6 and to be also consular officers of the United States of America:

Parker W. Borg, of Minnesota.
Stephen W. Buck, of New York.
Harold F. Colebaugh, of California.
Miss Nancy E. Fitch, of New York.
Sydney Goldsmith, of New Jersey.
Maurice N. Gralnek, of Illinois.
Alphonse F. LaPorta, of New York.
Harvey I. Leifert, of California.
David L. Mack, of Oregon.
Joseph V. Montville, of New Jersey.
Miss Sheila-Kaye O'Connell, of Massachusetts.
John H. Penfold, of Colorado.
Bruce C. Rogers, of New York.
Theodor Rumme, of Massachusetts.
Richard L. Schott, of Kansas.
James W. Shinn, of the District of Columbia.
John D. Stempel, of Indiana.
James E. Taylor, of California.
John Way Vincent, of Illinois.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 8 to class 7 and to be also consular officers of the United States of America:

William E. Barreda, of Texas.
David L. Blakemore, of New York.
Miss Mary Rose Brandt, of Oregon.
Robert D. Brown, of Idaho.
Colby Cornish Coombs, of Massachusetts.
James J. Ehrman, of Wisconsin.
Terry D. Hansen, of Utah.
Frederick H. Hassett, of Missouri.
Miss Genta A. Hawkins, of California.
Arthur H. Hughes, of Nebraska.
Richard L. Jackson, of the District of Columbia.
Dennis W. Keogh, of West Virginia.
E. Mark Linton, of California.
Peter S. Maher, of Illinois.
Gene B. Marshall, of New Hampshire.
Richard Keller McKee, of Illinois.
Patrick A. Mulloy, of Pennsylvania.
John E. Ormond, Jr., of Rhode Island.
Alan Parker, of Kansas.
Robert Petersen, of Ohio.
Albert J. Planagen, of New York.
Bruce F. Porter, of Iowa.
Mark S. Ramee, of New York.
David L. Schiele, of California.
Miss Elizabeth J. Townsend, of Connecticut.
Miss Katherine A. Verebelyi, of Texas.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 7, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Edward E. Archer, of California.
John A. Barcas, of New Jersey.
Alan H. Bergstrom, of North Dakota.
Roger P. Bradley, of Illinois.
Charles H. Brayshaw, of Colorado.

Weldon D. Burson, of Texas.
Frederick H. Gerlach, of Wisconsin.
Arthur Houghton, of the District of Columbia.
Larry Craig Johnstone, of Washington.
Robert K. Kelley, of California.
Sheldon I. Krebs, of New York.
David Burton Langhaug, of Michigan.
A. Frank Lattanzi, of California.
Lewis R. Luchs, of Virginia.
Miss Clara Sigrid Maitrejean, of California.
Robert P. Milton, of Georgia.
Dennis P. Murphy, of Washington.
Richard N. Otto, of New York.
Dennis R. Papendick, of California.
Thomas R. Reynders, of Massachusetts.
William Frederick Rope, of New York.
Harlan F. Rosacker, of Nebraska.
Robert S. Simpson, of Virginia.
W. Kenneth Thompson, of the District of Columbia.
James C. Todd, of California.
Edward A. Torre, of Maryland.
John H. Will, of Texas.

For appointment as Foreign Service Officers of class 8, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Richard L. Bagnall, of Washington.
Paul E. Barbian, of Wisconsin.
Victor H. Borcherdt III, of Colorado.
J. Grant Burke, of Massachusetts.
Martin W. Cooper, of Viringia.
Miss Mary Teresita Currie, of New York.
James A. Edris, of Pennsylvania.
Robert P. Gallagher, of Rhode Island.
Thomas Humphrey Gerth, of New York.
Daniel V. Grant, of North Carolina.
Miss Katherine Hashmall, of New York.
Miss Lynn Dean Hyatt, of Utah.
Peter R. Jones, of California.
Delmar Karlen, Jr., of New York.
Lawrence E. Modisett, of the District of Columbia.
Miss Marilyn L. Muench, of Idaho.
Miss Marguerite M. Orr, of Virginia.
Peter S. Perényi, of Connecticut.
George E. Richardson, of Massachusetts.
Miss Elizabeth Molin Roueché, of Maryland.
Dennis A. Sandberg, of Minnesota.
Miss Barbara L. Schell, of Pennsylvania.
Kirby L. Smith, of Florida.
Miss Marsha D. Smith, of Maryland.
Luis G. Stelzner, of California.
George S. Stone, of New York.
Miss Rosa Lee Unger, of Virginia.
David M. Walker, of Oregon.
Miss Melinda A. Wendell, of California.

Foreign Service Reserve officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

William B. Bromell, of Virginia.
Thane A. Kuhlman, of Michigan.
Charles G. Williamson, of Virginia.

Foreign Service Reserve officers to be consular officers and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Preston E. Amos, of Wisconsin.
Robert H. Behrens, of New Jersey.
Richard E. Benedick, of California.
Keith A. Botterud, of Montana.
Kenneth R. Boyle, of Alabama.
Frank P. Catanoso, of New Jersey.
Kenneth E. Clair, of Illinois.
F. Weston Fenhagen, of Maryland.
Kenneth L. Flynn, of Virginia.
Charles R. Hare, of Virginia.
Dixon H. Harris, of Missouri.
Warren S. Hawley, of New Jersey.
John L. Hopkins, of Virginia.
William E. Hutchinson, Jr., of Maryland.
Norman A. Jones, of Virginia.
Charles E. Waterman, of Massachusetts.
James Kim, of Maryland.
Bruce R. Koch, of Pennsylvania.
Lawrence B. Larkin, Jr., of Virginia.
Howard E. Larson, of Maryland.
Lewis H. Lederer, of California.
John D. Lorenzen, of California.
Robert Marrero, of Maryland.
Miss Marion M. Montague, of Virginia.
Alan G. Morrill, Jr., of Oregon.
Edgar E. Noel, of the District of Columbia.
Eugene E. Pfaff, of North Carolina.
Miss Jeanne M. Pryor, of Arizona.
Hal Ryerson, of New Hampshire.
John C. Scafe, of Kansas.
Edmund Schechter, of the District of Columbia.
Paul F. Taylor, of Florida.
Miss Marie Louise Telich, of California.
Earle M. Welch, Jr., of Virginia.
Walter E. Wells, of Connecticut.
Donald L. Whittaker, of Florida.
Peter C. Wolcott, of New York.

Foreign Service staff officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

Miss Carolyn M. Allen, of Oklahoma.
Miss Elizabeth M. Arnold, of Pennsylvania.
Arthur J. Brickhill, of Massachusetts.
Miss Mary R. Carroll, of Massachusetts.
Arnold J. Denys, of Pennsylvania.
John D. Dodge, of Virginia.
Eric L. Faley, Jr., of Texas.
Richard C. Faulk, of New York.
Miss Phyllis S. Flaschner, of Massachusetts.
Miss Debbie R. Guiler, of Florida.
William D. Heimbach, of California.
Robert W. Jensen, of Montana.
Guy C. Johnson, of California.
Miss Charmaine V. Keyes, of the District of Columbia.
Jack S. Komitor, of New Jersey.
Miss Frances M. Leicht, of Minnesota.
Robert M. Linn, of Pennsylvania.
Alfred L. Malone, of Texas.
Milan R. McClelland, of Minnesota.
Miss Geraldine S. Mulrenin, of Oklahoma.
Robert K. Nelson, of Washington.
Miss Elizabeth A. Powers, of Maryland.
Oscar A. Reynolds, of Texas.
Miss Barbara A. Roberts, of Maryland.
James J. Romano, of New York.
Miss Elizabeth A. Smith, of Utah.
Charles L. Stephan III, of Illinois.
Edward T. Stever, of Virginia.
Arthur P. Strelick, of Pennsylvania.
Richard D. Sweet, of Idaho.
Miss Mildred P. Tamny, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Elayne J. Urban, of Ohio.
Miss Victoria Valcárcel, of Puerto Rico.
Edward H. Wilkinson, of Indiana.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

The House met 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. George N. Conomis, St. Demetrios Greek Orthodox Church, Jersey City, N.J., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Thou hast said: *Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord*—Psalm 33: 22.

Blessed has been our Nation, for Thou hast been our Lord. From the days of the pilgrims and the Founding Fathers of our Republic, our trust is in Thee.

Unto Thee do we humbly lift up our souls in truth and sincerity to praise and thank Thee for all thy blessings.

We humbly beseech Thee to ever accept us as Thine inheritance. Grant unto our beloved President and those in authority, in interpreting and perpetuating those inalienable rights bestowed by Thee, strength of wisdom so that they may continue to serve our Nation and its goals of justice, prosperity, and peace at home and throughout the world. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on March 2, 1967, the President approved and signed a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 4573. An act to provide, for the period ending on June 30, 1967, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 355. An act to improve the operation of the legislative branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 665) entitled "An act to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes."

SCHLESINGER GUILTY OF A CARELESS MISTAKE IN HIS ATTACK ON PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PEACE EFFORTS

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the quest for peace in Vietnam is difficult at best. We do ourselves and the world no real service when we complicate that difficult task still further by a lack of clear thinking or precise use of words in the English language.

What is even more regrettable is when a bitter attack on the President and our Nation's efforts to achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam is based, as it was yesterday in the speech my former fellow member of the Harvard faculty, Arthur Schlesinger, gave to the ADA here in Washington, upon a careless mistake in understanding the English language.

As one who has followed the quest for peace in Vietnam rather closely as a Member of Congress, I can say flatly that Mr. Schlesinger is absolutely 100 percent dead wrong when he charges that this country refuses to sit down and talk peace with Hanoi unless Hanoi first reduces the level of its military aggression.

We are ready now as we have been consistently in the past to sit down and talk peace with Hanoi without any conditions at all.

What we do refuse to do, however—and quite properly so—is to purchase Hanoi's attendance at these talks at the price of ending our bombing of North Vietnam.

The reciprocity we seek from Hanoi is not in return for our sitting down at the peace table. It is in return for our ending the bombing.

Mr. Schlesinger certainly should have known that simple but very important distinction. Once it is understood his attacks yesterday on the President and on our national policy add up to one fat, round goose egg.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BRIEFING WITH RESPECT TO VIETCONG BUILDUP IN RECENT TRUCE IN VIETNAM, TO BE HELD MARCH 14

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a general announcement to the Members of the House of Representatives.

On Wednesday, March 8, the Committee on Armed Services was privileged to hear a briefing by Mr. John Hughes, of the Defense Intelligence Agency, with respect to the Vietcong buildup during the period of the recent truce in Vietnam. Many questions have been raised as to what transpired during the truce period. I invite every Member of the House of Representatives to be present to receive a factual presentation which will leave no doubt in anyone's mind as to what actually transpired during this period.

I have arranged to have this presentation made by Mr. Hughes at 9 a.m., Tuesday, March 14, in the main committee room of the Committee on Armed Services, the Carl Vinson Room, room 2118, Rayburn House Office Building. I hope every Member of the House of Representatives can be present. If it should be necessary, I will make arrangements for another briefing at a later date in order that all Members may have an opportunity to receive this briefing. I regret that because of the security classification of this presentation it must be limited to Members of the House of Representatives only.

The presentation lasts about 30 minutes.

This will put to rest some of the arguments of those who have to have another lull in the bombing.

I hope Members will come to see this. They will be surprised. They will be wiser. They will have more information.

It is a pleasure to accommodate the Members with this announcement.

THE AGE OF THE COMPUTER

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with the House an interesting and delightful experience I had today. The age of the computer is here, but even with its great efficiency it does occasionally produce some surprises. This morning the mail brought to my office a computerized fundraising letter. It was a good letter which was addressed to me personally. It had my name typed right in the body of the letter. Imagine my surprise to see that the letter came from the Democratic National Committee and was signed by its chairman, John M. Bailey. I want to say especially to my good Democrat friends how pleased I am.

Mr. Speaker, the letter was warm and friendly. It referred to me as a "sensitive, loyal American." I liked that.

Mr. Speaker, it said:

> Your help contributes to the good health of our country's political system.

Mr. Speaker, while the credit belongs to many, I did work hard in this last election for my ticket.

This team effort helped elect a Republican Governor in the great State of Florida—for the first time in almost 100 years—a new Republican Member from the great State of Florida to this House of Representatives, the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. BURKE], our able colleague, and a host of new Republican legislators and local officeholders. In short, Mr. Speaker, this represented the greatest Republican victory in the history of the State of Florida.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank Mr. Bailey and the Democratic National Committee for this warm recognition and with this kind of understanding, coupled with the evident confusion in the computer system of the Democrat National Committee, to again refer to Mr. Bailey's letter—"the good health of our country's political system"—ought to be even better in 1968, with even greater Republican gains.

SOUTH KOREA WANTS M-16 RIFLES

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, with our close ally South Korea today demanding M-16 rifles to use in Vietnam, I have today asked Secretary Rusk to lose no time in preempting a private shipment of 5,000 of these weapons to be sent this month by the Colt Firearms Co. to the neutral government of Singapore.

Two weeks ago the Korean commanding general, in asking for these guns for his 45,000 troops in Vietnam, said they could be put into battle use in 2 weeks and would double the firepower of his men.

Yesterday a prominent newspaper in Seoul said the sale of the guns to Singapore made Korea feel "betrayed" and Seoul officials plan next week to visit Washington to request modern rifles, not only for their men in South Vietnam but along the border with North Korea. The Pentagon insists that it is getting all the M-16's it can use. This obviously is not the truth.

Because 5,000 of these guns are scheduled for shipment this month to Singapore, 2,000 more next month, and because an additional 10,000 guns could easily be secured by keeping the Colt plant on a full-time schedule through July, it is especially urgent that action be taken now to preempt fully all available production for allied use.

Under present circumstances, with our forces and our allies badly needing better rifles, the requirements of neutral nations must wait.

Text of a wire dispatch published today by the Associated Press:

> SEOUL.—America's South Korean allies are saying "me too" in a big way after learning that the U.S. is selling Singapore 20,300 modern automatic rifles.
>
> The Koreans want up-to-date guns for the troops along the North Korean frontier as well as for those in Vietnam who are still armed with World War II model weapons.
>
> Defense Minister Kim Sung-lun told a news conference he will ask U.S. officials to issue modern automatic weapons to the 45,000 Koreans in Vietnam when he accompanies Premier Chung Il-kwon to Washington next week
>
> Kim refused to comment on the Singapore weapons deal, but he said it was urgent that "the out-moded small firearms of our boys in Vietnam be replaced with automatic weapons suitable for jungle warfare."
>
> The Seoul newspaper, Hankok Ilbo, said the sale of automatic weapons to Singapore "makes us feel as if we had been betrayed by a friend."

DEMOCRATS SOLICIT HELP OF REPUBLICANS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, with the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY], I want to be recorded on the side of the angels.

I received only this morning a personally addressed envelope from the Democrat National Committee, signed by Chairman Bailey, the first sentence of which reads, including the salutation:

> DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: Will you back your political beliefs with money?

And I am then offered the opportunity to contribute from $500 down to—well, blank dollars. I do not know what the unfilled square means, but the other squares call for $500, $250, $150, $25, $10, and then just a dollar sign.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. No; Mr. Speaker, I prefer not to yield at this point.

The worst part of this is that if I do give the Democrats $500 or any part of $500 I would have to pay the postage because the Democrat National Committee did not bother to send along a business-reply envelope, and they did not even bother to send along a postage stamp.

Mr. Speaker, I might add that before the Democrats get any money from me for their political campaigns they will be gone where the woodbine twineth and the whang-doodle twangeth.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS. I did not make any public outcry about it, but I got two such letters within the last 6 weeks from the Republican National Committee—and maybe we just ought to trade letters.

Mr. GROSS. I do not think it would be anywhere near a fair swap.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO FILE CERTAIN REPORTS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the District of Columbia may have until midnight Friday, March 10, 1967, to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE ON MARCH 15 AND 16

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary may be permitted to sit during general debate on March 15 and 16.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON WILDLIFE AND FISHERIES OF COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Wildlife and Fisheries of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 31]

Ashley
Bow
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Chamberlain
Clancy
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Cunningham
Dawson
Derwinski
Diggs
Donohue
Fallon
Fascell
Foley
Fountain
Friedel
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gettys
Goodell
Gubser
Hagan
Halleck
Hardy
Herlong
Jacobs
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
King, Calif.
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Lennon
McEwen
Mink
Morse, Mass.
Nix
Pettis
Philbin
Pool
Pucinski
Resnick
Ronan
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Waldie
Watkins
Watson
Whitener
Willis

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 369 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 2 OF 1967, CONCERNING THE U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 78)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, together with accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1967, concerning the U.S. Tariff Commission.

The plan is a step toward fulfilling my pledge to the American people that Government must be reshaped to meet the tasks of today. It underscores my conviction that progress can be achieved by building upon what is strong and enduring, but that we shall never hesitate to discard what is inefficient or outmoded.

This plan has a single, clear objective—to strengthen the operations of the Tariff Commission by transferring to its Chairman certain routine executive and administrative functions now divided among its six Commissioners.

In taking this long-overdue step, the plan adopts a proven concept of good management recommended by the first Hoover Commission: in the interests of efficiency purely administrative functions—budgeting, personnel supervision, and general management—should be vested in the chairman of a commission rather than diffused throughout the Commission.

This principle was followed by each of my predecessors—Presidents Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

It has been applied successfully to most of our Commissions, including:

The Federal Trade Commission,

The Securities and Exchange Commission,

The U.S. Civil Service Commission, and

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

The reorganization plan I recommend will extend it to the Tariff Commission.

The Tariff Commission plays a key role in safeguarding the Nation's economic vitality. It reviews our commercial policies and studies how these policies affect competition between foreign and domestic products. Periodically, after public investigation, the Commission reports to Congress and the President concerning the effect of imports on our domestic industries and our workers.

The Commission's tasks are demanding and complex. They require skill and careful judgment. Often, the Commission must work under intense time pressure.

The plan I forward today will promote efficient operation of the Tariff Commission by:

Centralizing and consolidating in a single executive—the Chairman—the purely administrative functions of the Commission;

Freeing the other Commissioners from these routine burdens so they can devote full time to investigative and advisory responsibilities.

Thus, the plan transfers, from the Commission as a whole to the Chairman of the Commission, these duties:

Overall management of the Commission's activities;

Direction and supervision of the employees of the Commission;

Personnel actions, such as hiring, promotion, salary, transfer, removal of Commission employees; and

Allocation and use of funds appropriated to the Commission.

This plan will allow the Nation's businessmen and workers—and, indeed, every citizen—to reap the benefits of modern and effective government.

As a result of this plan, the Tariff Commission will be managed more efficiently. It is too early, however, to estimate the exact dollar savings that will flow from these improved operations.

This plan was prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code.

After investigation I have found, and I hereby declare, that each reorganization included in the accompanying plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5.

I urge Congress to permit this reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967.*

THE 20TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS COVERING CALENDAR YEAR 1965—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 82)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed, with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am submitting herewith the 20th annual report on U.S. participation in the United Nations, covering calendar year 1965.

That year gave new evidence of our country's vigorous commitment to the world organization, and to the cause of peace which it serves. All of the American efforts recorded here—whether political, economic, social, legal, or administrative—were designed solely to further that commitment.

The whole world shared our grief when Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson died in London on July 14, 1965. The respect and affection in which he was held, and the world's gratitude for his contributions to the United Nations, found expression in messages from officials and leaders around the globe, and in the rare tribute of a memorial meeting in the General Assembly hall at the United Nations.

One measure of a nation's regard for the United Nations is the quality of representatives it sends to the Organization. Accordingly, I asked Arthur J. Goldberg to leave the Supreme Court of the United States and to succeed Ambassador Stevenson as our permanent representative to the United Nations.

Ambassador Goldberg's first important task was to help end the paralysis suffered by the General Assembly in 1964 as a result of the U.N. constitutional crisis. It had become clear that the membership as a whole was not prepared to apply the penalty provided by article 19 of the charter—loss of vote in the Assembly for those more than 2 years in arrears—to those members who had refused to contribute their assessed shares of certain peacekeeping operations. On August 16, Ambassador Goldberg announced that the United States would not seek to frustrate the evident desire of many members that the General Assembly should proceed normally. At the same time, he made it clear that the United States reserved the same option to make exceptions to collective financing assessments in the future.

The consensus reached by the General Assembly included agreement that the Organization's financial difficulties should be solved through voluntary contributions, particularly from those delinquent in their payments. A few nations contributed, but those furthest in arrears did not. The financial condition of the United Nations thus remained precarious.

During 1965, the Security Council made a major contribution to international peace by halting the hostilities between India and Pakistan arising from the Kashmir dispute. In thus arresting a full-scale war on the subcontinent, the Organization prevented untold tragedy in Asia—and proved anew its value as an instrument for peace.

United Nations peace forces and truce supervisors continued to stand guard throughout 1965 in Cyprus, in Kashmir, in Korea, and along the troubled borders of Israel. The Security Council also dispatched United Nations representatives and observers to the Dominican Republic during the disorders there; but the primacy of the Organization of American States in dealing successfully with this regional problem, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, remained unimpaired.

During the year, concrete steps toward disarmament were again strongly urged from all quarters, although progress proved disappointingly slow; the serious problems of race relations and colonialism in southern Africa were also a cause of increasing debate and concern; and the United Nations and its members were repeatedly urged by the United States to join in the search for peace in Vietnam.

In my speech in San Francisco on June 25, 1965—the 20th anniversary of the United Nations—I called upon its members to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the negotiating table those who seemed determined to continue the conflict. Ambassador Goldberg addressed similar appeals to United Nations members. Indeed, in his first official communication as U.S. representative, a letter to the Security Council President on July 30, 1965, Ambassador Goldberg recalled the legitimate interest of the Security Council in the peace of southeast Asia and asserted that:

> The United States stands ready, as it has in the past, to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world.

Unfortunately, these initiatives produced no affirmative response from those supporting the aggression against South Vietnam. Two suspensions of the bombing of North Vietnam during the year were no more successful in opening the path to honorable negotiations. The tragic conflict continues unabated in Vietnam. But we are continuing our efforts untiringly to seek a peaceful settlement of this issue through the United Nations and all other channels. This was the key issue dealt with in Ambassador Goldberg's statement to the 21st General Assembly in the general debate in September 1966.

The year 1965 marked the midpoint of the United Nations development decade. It was a year of sober assessment. Despite substantial progress in some areas, it was clear that in most of the more than 100 countries with per capita incomes of less than $200, economic growth had been largely swallowed up by the mounting tide of population growth. Multilateral programs of aid, trade, and investment, although substantial in absolute terms, are not sufficient—even when combined with all the other large programs, public and private—to narrow the "development gap."

This discouraging assessment stimulated new efforts to cope with development problems:

The newly created U.N. Conference on Trade and Development began its search for new trade patterns and practices which would benefit the developing countries.

The establishment of a new U.N. Organization for Industrial Development was approved by the General Assembly.

The U.N. development program was established by merger of the U.N. expanded program of technical assistance and the special fund. The United States had worked long and hard for the integration of these two major U.N. operational programs in order to permit better planning and more effective use of resources.

Foundations were laid for the new Asian Development Bank with a capitalization of $1 billion, including a $200 million subscription by the United States. It promises to be one of the most effective agencies for the financing of economic and social development in Asia.

A new African Development Bank, designed to play a similar role in Africa, opened for business.

Through these and other instrumentalities, our delegations in U.N. agencies have given leadership and positive support to major goals in the struggle for a better life: more food production; assistance in voluntary family planning; the training of skilled manpower; development of transport and communications; fuller utilization of natural resources; and increased application of science and technology.

The year 1965 had been designated International Cooperation Year—ICY—by the U.N. General Assembly, and U.N. members were urged to commemorate it in appropriate ways. The culmination of the American celebration was a White House Conference attended by more than 5,000 distinguished Americans—leaders in their communities, in business and industry, in educational and labor organizations, in the arts and sciences, and in the professions. The Conference discussed reports on international cooperation in agriculture, atomic energy, disarmament, health, the welfare of women and youth, and many other fields. Many of its recommendations have already been put into effect. Others are being thoroughly evaluated by a special White House Committee which will shortly submit its report to me.

Public support for the United Nations continued at a high level as the organization approached its 21st anniversary. Most thoughtful people know that the United Nations is a far from perfect organization, in a far from perfect world. Yet they also recognize that it and its specialized agencies are the best system yet devised for sovereign nations to work together with equality and self-respect.

Our investment in the United Nations, and its various agencies and special programs, supplements other activities undertaken to preserve, protect, or promote a wide range of national interests. Above all, our commitment to the United Nations is an expression of faith which has illumined the entire history of our country: a faith that the creative powers of democracy and human reason can overcome the evils of tyranny and violence.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967.*

MARINE SCIENCE ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 79)

The **SPEAKER** laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to report on the marine science activities of the Federal Government.

The resources of the oceans can help us meet many of the challenges that face our Nation and the world today.

The vast food reserves of the sea must be developed to help end the tragic cycle of famine and despair.

The continuing pollution and erosion of our seashores, bays, estuaries, and Great Lakes must be arrested and reversed to safeguard the health of our people and to protect the resources of the sea.

The influence of oceans on the environment must be understood so that we may improve the long-term forecasting of storms, weather, and sea conditions; protect life and property in coastal areas; and improve the prediction of rainfall in the interior.

The wealth of the ocean floor must be freed for the benefit of all people.

Finally, the seas must be used as pathways to improved international understanding and cooperation.

The great potential of the seas has not gone unnoticed. During the past 6 years, we have invested increasingly in the development of marine scientific and technical manpower, ships, and facilities. The quality of our research fleet, deep sea vessels, and laboratories is unsurpassed. The small but growing corps of highly trained specialists provides a strong creative base for our marine science and technology.

The 89th Congress also responded to the challenge of the oceans by enacting:

The Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act which provides a stronger policy and organization framework and gives new momentum to our marine science activities;

The Sea Grant College and Program Act, which will improve our capabilities for training and research in marine sciences and engineering; and

The act authorizing pilot plants for the production of fish protein as a usable source of food.

The new National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, chaired by the Vice President, has made significant progress in carrying out its responsibilities for planning and coordinating the Nation's marine science activities. In consultation with the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Academy of Sciences, and other agencies of the Federal Government, the Council has reviewed our current work and has identified the areas in which action should be taken.

We must:

Launch a pilot program to assist the protein-deficient countries of the world in increasing their capacity for using the fish resources of the seas;

Implementing the Sea Grant College and Program Act to strengthen oceanographic engineering, expand applied research, and improve technical information activities;

Accelerate studies to improve the collection, storage, retrieval, and dissemination of oceanographic data;

Expand ocean observation systems to improve near shore weather prediction services, and study ways to make more accurate long-range predictions of precipitation levels and drought conditions;

Study the Chesapeake Bay to determine the effects of estuarine pollution on shellfish, health, recreation, and beauty, and to provide a basis for remedial measures;

Explore offshore solid mineral deposits;

Improve technology and engineering for work at great ocean depths; and

Equip a new Coast Guard ship to conduct oceanographic research in subarctic waters.

Details of these programs are set forth in the accompanying report of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I have this year recommended to the Congress a 13-percent increase—from $409 million to $462 million—in appropriations to support marine science activities. These funds will permit us to expand our efforts to understand the sea and develop its vast resources. They will enhance the capabilities of local government, universities, and private industry to join in this vital enterprise. They will enable us to support the important new efforts recommended by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I urge the Congress to provide the necessary funds to support these important efforts.

In January, I appointed 19 distinguished Americans, including four Members of Congress, to serve as members and advisers of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. This Commission will complement the activities of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development by providing impartial insights into the strengths and weaknesses of our marine science programs.

The Commission will be called upon to identify still more opportunities for a concerted public and private effort—to develop the resources of the sea through a creative and cooperative partnership of government, industry, and the academic community.

The depth of the sea is a new environment for man's exploration and development, just as crossing the West was a challenge in centuries past.

We shall encounter that environment with the same conviction and pioneering spirit that propelled ships from the Old to the New World.

We shall bring to the challenge of the ocean depths—as we have brought to the challenge of outer space—a determination to work with all nations to develop the seas for the benefit of mankind.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967*.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—PERMISSION TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT SATURDAY TO FILE A REPORT ON THE BILL H.R. 5277

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs may have until midnight Saturday to file a report on the bill H.R. 5277, to amend the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 267

Mr. YOUNG. My Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 365 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 365

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India. After general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolution, and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the joint resolution shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the joint resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, pending which I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 365 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of House Joint Resolution 267, a joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India.

Approximately 1 year ago the Congress passed and the President approved Public Law 89-406, which expressed the continued good will of the people of the United States toward the people of India at a time of perilous food need in that nation.

That legislation expressed the sense of Congress that our Government should help India to meet her pressing food shortages and combat malnutrition.

Timely action last year, principally by the United States, with some aid from other nations, avoided a famine in India. Everyone anticipated a substantial increase in India's food production this year; however, for the second year in a row, continued drought in northern India has substantially cut crop production and dealt India's food output a serious setback. Based on present estimates, India will again need to import about 10 million tons of grain in calendar year 1967.

In the absence of continued emergency food aid from abroad this year, many millions of Indians will again face the grim prospect of death and degradation by starvation and malnutrition.

In the long run, of course, the American people will be unable to assume alone the burden of feeding India's ballooning population and India herself must shoulder the basic responsibility for feeding her own. However, it is recommended that, on the basis of estimates now available, up to an additional 3 million tons of U.S. grain be furnished to India this year.

House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead.

Mr Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 365 in order that House Joint Resolution 267 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, House Joint Resolution 267 recommends that the United States provide an additional supply of food grain to India in an amount not to exceed 3 million tons, at an estimated cost of $190 million during the calendar year 1967, this to be appropriately matched by an equal amount contributed by other countries. The Joint Resolution further recommends that the President provide an additional $25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

The resolution is unnecessary. Current law gives the President authority to make this decision if he finds it in the national interest. What he has done, as one witness has said, is "to have the Congress sign the check with him." The language provides that "the Congress approves the participation of the United States" and others in urgent international efforts "to supply the food needed to avert famine."

Notwithstanding the fact that this resolution is not needed, I support it, as I believe it is a good idea for the President of the United States to let the Congress in on some of these agreements that are made outside of the country. This is one of them.

The joint resolution also has language calling for a self-help program by India. India has moved very slowly in the past, bogged down on such questions as to whether private industry or the State would own new fertilizer plants.

While I am speaking about India being bogged down, I believe some restraints—meaningful restraints—should be applied to its population explosion. But notwithstanding all this, I intend to support House Joint Resolution 267 for two very obvious reasons. First, I believe we should feed starving people; and second, I believe our American farmers will benefit by it.

Everyone knows the American farmer needs help. Our farmers are caught in a terrible cost-price squeeze and not too much is being done about it. Our commodity programs, requested by the administration and adopted by this Congress, are not due to expire until 1969. Even Secretary Orville Freeman has said he is "deeply concerned" about the cost-price squeeze of our farmers.

I refer to Mr. Freeman's remarks made just recently to a delegation of the Ohio Farmers Union while visiting him in his office. Mr. Freeman said:

> With supply and demand in good balance, and with a long-term predictable farm act on the books, plus the food for freedom legislation of 1966, we possess most of the tools to do the job. We must demonstrate that this new freedom can work. We will demonstrate it.

The news report on this meeting goes on to say that:

> Secretary Freeman said he was "deeply concerned" about a cost-price squeeze in rural America, which at the moment is driving down prices the farmers receive for their products and boosting prices they must pay for the things they buy.

After the last India wheat deal was consummated, the Department of Agriculture increased wheat acreage allotments by some 33 percent. Before the millers can mill any part of this additional 33 percent, every bushel—and I stress that, every bushel—must be represented by a wheat certificate purchased from the Government. The cooperating farmer gets no certificate payment for this additional 33 percent that he is now producing.

If the Department of Agriculture and this Congress really want to do something about farm income, they can give him certificates for this additional 33 percent that he is producing. According to the Crop Reporting Board of the USDA, the average price received by wheat farmers throughout the United States during February 1967 was only 58 percent of parity. I repeat, only 58 percent of parity. This is part of the reason the overall parity ratio has fallen to 74 percent for February 1967, one of the lowest points in the 34-year history of this Government statistic.

In fact, I believe I should take the time of this House now to report on some of the falling prices being received by our American farmer. I call your attention to a UPI story dated March 2, 1967. I am quoting from this:

> Farm prices, steadily declining since last summer, have sagged even further.
>
> Farm prices for the month ending Feb. 15 were 1 percent lower than the month before and nearly 7.4 percent lower than last August when the current decline began. The farm price level is now 7 percent below the level on Feb. 15 a year ago.
>
> Another significant continuing decline was revealed in the latest farm price figures released by the Agriculture Department this week.
>
> A comparison of prices farmers received and the cost of items they must buy showed that prices in mid-February averaged only 74 percent of the "fair earning power" parity level, the lowest level in two years and 8 percent below a year ago.
>
> Parity is the price needed to put the value of products sold on par with the cost of things farmers must buy.
>
> Sharp drops in egg prices, together with a decline in turkey prices and a seasonal reduction in dairy prices were blamed for the latest decrease.
>
> The brightest spot in the farm price picture was an 11 percent increase in prices for broiler chickens and a 4 percent gain for upland cotton.
>
> Most of the rest of the market picture continued dim. Livestock prices softened slightly during the month—

Since I am speaking of livestock prices, I might refer to a news item which appeared in our local newspaper, the title of which is: "Hog Prices Lowest in 2 Years." Returning to this article—

> Livestock prices softened slightly during the month and the price index dropped 1 percent from a month earlier, down 15 percent from February 1966.
>
> Prices for beef cattle averaged $21.60 per hundredweight at mid-month, down 10 cents from January and a full dollar below a year ago. Hog prices averaged $18.80 per hundredweight, 10 cents lower than January and $8.40 below February 1966.
>
> Prices of lambs were off $1.80 during the month and sheep were down 14 cents. The feed grains and hay price index declined 1 percent during the month, chiefly as a result of a 2-cents-per-bushel drop in corn prices.

Despite all of this, our farmers are still being blamed for the high prices paid in retail outlets throughout the country. The facts simply do not bear this out, and our consumers should be made aware of it.

This week, the U.S. News & World Report, in its March 13, 1967, issue, cites some figures which should be spread across the Nation by everyone interested in seeing the American farmer get a fair shake in this price controversy. The item in the U.S. News & World Report reads:

> Food cost as a percentage of family income available for spending is the lowest it has been since records were kept. The percentage is 16.4. Price trends are down at the farm. Farmers now get only 5.5 percent of the nation's disposable income. Others handling food get 10.9 percent.

These are figures which I believe the American public should be made well aware.

So in supporting this resolution, I hope I have directed some needed attention to the plight of the American farmer.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I should like to ask a question of someone on the committee, as to where the hearings on this bill may be found?

Mr. LATTA. I shall be glad to yield to the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the gentleman asked that of the staff this morning, and they told him they would be glad to send him the stenographic reports. Obviously, the hearings are not printed.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know anything about stenographic reports.

Mr. POAGE. Did they not offer to send the gentleman the stenographic reports of the hearings?

Mr. GROSS. The answer is emphatically "no."

Mr. POAGE. I will check that with the staff, because they told me they did offer to send the stenographic reports.

Mr. GROSS. The office said there were printed hearings. When I sent for them, I got back a copy of the report.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY].

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I, too, regret that printed hearings are not before this body, because, even though they are brief, they do contain some information and some comments on important questions raised during the course of the hearings. In my view, one of these questions is especially important, and quite obviously the printed answers that will eventually be available to Members of this body do not really answer the question at all.

During the committee hearings the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Dole], asked that some questions be answered by Secretary Freeman in the Record. One of these questions was:

> Do you anticipate any difficulty in enforcing the Findley amendment in Public Law 480 in regard to trade with North Vietnam and Cuba? Does the Administration make a distinction between commerce by governments and commerce by individuals or non-governmental institutions with Cuba and North Vietnam in the enforcement of the Findley amendment in Public Law 480?

Here is the answer, which I am told will eventually be in the printed hearings. This answer was supplied by Secretary Freeman, as follows:

> It is anticipated that no difficulty will be encountered in enforcing the "Findley Amendment."
>
> No case has yet arisen under the new PL 480 legislation that involves the question raised by the Findley Amendment with regard to the distinction between commerce by government and commerce by individuals or non-governmental institutions with Cuba and North Vietnam.

That is no answer whatever as to the attitude of the administration on this important question of distinction. It is no answer whatever. I think it is unfortunate that the Members of this body could not have seen this answer in advance and thus had in their own minds a very proper question about what the administration would do should it develop, for example, that private groups in India—and I have no reason to think this is the case, but suppose that private groups in India are being used as a front for sending some supplies to North Vietnam. This may not be as incredible as it seems on the face of it, but should this be determined to be the case, will the Findley amendment then disqualify India from further benefits under the Public Law 480 program? This is the question that Mr. Dole sought to clarify when he placed it before Secretary Freeman. I would like to raise the question again at this point. If any members of the committee, on the majority or the minority side, would like to give their interpretation of this question of distinction, I would appreciate their comments at this point. To me it is a very important distinction. When I offered the amendment, I had in mind very clearly and very definitely disqualifying from certain benefits under Public Law 480 any country that permits shipping of any kind, either in its own vessels or in the vessels of other nations to go to North Vietnam. Yet, despite what I feel was a clear expression of intent of the Congress when the amendment was placed in the law, the administration, despite evidence that Yugoslavia had been making regular shipments to North Vietnam, contended that because the aid was being funneled through so-called private organizations within Yugoslavia, the Findley amendment did not apply and therefore benefits under Public Law 480 could be extended to Yugoslavia.

Now, Mr. Speaker, of recent date we have had some revelations showing that, due to CIA activities, private organizations long believed to be entirely nongovernmental proved to be otherwise. It now appears that they have benefited from some rather sizable gifts from the U.S. Treasury, funneled through the CIA.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, if we can properly question the private character of some so-called private organizations in this country, we can just as properly question the private character of organizations elsewhere, organizations especially located in Communist countries.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, permit me to say, first of all, that I agree the response the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] referred to is rather broad.

Mr. Speaker, I share the view which has been expressed by the gentleman from Illinois. However, I speak only for myself as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture. It is my firm belief the gentleman's amendment should apply to any governmental or nongovernmental unit which may be operating in any country.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that we are making significant legislative history here in this respect. No one has challenged the intent of this amendment as I have interpreted, so I consider this establishes the intent of the Findley amendment to Public Law 480 as applying to private as well as governmental shipments.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Dole].

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Poage], and I introduced the joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India, we said in a joint statement that "India needs help and she must help herself."

This combination, in my opinion, is the key to India's survival.

We need to help, other countries need equally to help, and above all India needs to do the utmost to help herself.

This approach is set out in the President's February 2 message on India food and it is the approach that underlies our proposed joint resolution. It is a practical approach. I sincerely hope that the Congress will give its overwhelming endorsement to it.

There is no question, of course, that India has a continuing food emergency on her hands. When I was in India in December, food shortage was the subject you heard the most about. During this second year of India's crop failure, we must continue to help out with food shipments. We have made a big investment in India—through food aid and other forms of aid—and it would be unthinkable at this time to fail to protect all we have invested in her survival.

At the same time, it is neither desirable nor practical for the United States to bear the full weight of helping India live through this crucial period of her history. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Poage], Senator Miller, and I concluded during our trip to India—and we so recommended to the President—that other nations must step in and share the load.

It is not desirable or practical for us to try to bear the full weight for a couple of reasons. For one, it is too much of a burden on the American taxpayer. For another, it is far too great a responsibility for the people of one single nation to provide the food aid that keeps millions of people alive in another nation. A food problem as big as India's is a world problem; it has to be shared by all countries that are able to contribute. Furthermore, I am convinced that the multilateral approach is the most effective approach. It is the best way to do the job. This is why we particularly endorse the effort to insure that other advanced countries carry their appropriate share of the load.

In the long run, however, India's survival will depend not on what we and others do but on what she does for herself. She needs to vastly improve her food production through a comprehensive self-help approach—and here let me say that I am encouraged by what I observed during my trip to India and the reports that have come to my attention since.

It is no secret that for some time India was slow in recognizing the enormity of her food problem and in coming to grips with it. This state of mind has definitely changed for the better. I would like to quote from a statement the Indian Government issued on its new 5-year plan last December, in which the No. 1 emphasis was placed on the food and population program:

> The main focus in the Fourth Plan is on redressing the imbalance arising from a high rate of population growth and inadequate expansion in agricultural production, particularly food production. The maximum possible effort will be devoted to acceleration of agricultural production on the one hand and nationwide implementation of population control programs on the other.

A short time ago the small newspaper issued by the Embassy of India here in Washington, called India News, said frankly that—

> The grave food situation that stares us in the face has to be tackled on a war footing.

And the article went on to say:

> Even greater hardship will have to be endured in 1967 than in the previous year. Renewed sacrifices may have to be made by all sections of the people in order to ensure food to everybody irrespective of the capacity to pay. Simultaneously, the whole nation has to engage itself with redoubled vigor in attaining self-reliance in food grains. Production should catch up with demand and imports should be dispensed with. This way alone lies a lasting solution to our recurrent food problem.

To these statements I would add that these are not just words. The leaders of India fully recognize India's extremely serious problem and they are taking a number of much-needed steps to cope with it.

It is going to take some time for India to get her house in order. As she works at it, we and other countries need to lend a strong helping hand. We, along with others, need to supply food aid—hopefully, in decreasing amounts. We need to supply some of the strategic elements of production, such as fertilizer. We need to continue and in some cases expand our technical advisory services—giving India the benefit of our own excellent experiences and advancements. In this connection we should not hesitate to include new approaches where they appear to have promise, and I would include the program of farmer-to-farmer assistance that is provided for by section 406 of the recently revised Public Law 480 program. I hope that a constructive new approach will be developed under this authority.

In the program proposals that have been made to help India, we have the elements of practicality and reality, along with a warmhearted response by the American people to the need of their Indian friends.

The program needs to move ahead, and it can best do so with the combined support of the Congress and the administration. I strongly urge that we give it this needed support by endorsing the joint resolution as this House did a year ago on a similar resolution.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLE. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman spoke of the appropriate sharing by other countries. I call the gentleman's attention to the table on page 17 of the committee report indicating that Canada has given 0.18 of 1 million tons, Australia 0.15, and the U.S.S.R. 0.20, and expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program, 2.67, or a total with Indian commercial purchases of only 3.4 million tons out of a total of 10 million tons.

How much of this multilateral food grain program, if the gentleman knows, is on a purchase basis, and how much is on a contribution basis by other countries?

Mr. DOLE. First let me discuss the country putting up most of it, and that is, of course, our country. Let me also point out that our country's 1966 contribution of food aid was about 8.1 million tons. We were hopeful it would be on a 50–50 basis for the entire calendar year 1967, but that does not now appear to be possible.

The report includes a table showing the amount of United States and third-country aid to India during 1966 and 1967. Let me answer your question by reading that report:

Food grain matching by other countries

	Million tons
Calendar year 1966:	
U.S. supplied	8.1
Other countries supplied	2.1
Total	10.2
Calendar year 1967:	
Food grain requirement to prevent famine in India as determined by World Bank, United States, and Indian officials	10.0
U.S. allocations last year to be delivered in 1967	0.7
U.S. allocated in 1967	.9
U.S. interim allocation pursuant to President's message of Feb. 2, 1967	2.0
U.S. proposed addition to be appropriately matched by other countries pursuant to H.J. Res. 267, up to	3.0
Proposed U.S. supply subtotal, up to	6.6
Additional food grain aid from other counties pledged to date:	
Canada	.18
Australia	.15
U.S.S.R.	.20
Commercial purchases by India	.20
Expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program	2.67
Other countries and Indian commercial purchase subtotal	3.40
SUMMARY	
Total proposed U.S. supply, up to	6.6
Total other country supply	3.4
Grand total	10.0

Mr. WYMAN. Is not the fact of the matter that we are putting up almost all of this on a grant basis; is that true?

Mr. DOLE. Under the resolution it is my understanding we will sell, for rupees, 6.6 million tons, and the rest of the world will provide 3.4 million tons—though I am not certain what the consideration for this will be.

Mr. WYMAN. On that basis, even that which they are putting up is on a paid basis, while we are giving it to India.

Mr. DOLE. Very little is on a hard currency basis because India has very little money. They have purchased a small quantity from Australia because of the proximity of Australia, and their immediate need. But, disregarding all this, it is fundamentally a question of whether India is going to have or not have starvation.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING].

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, in 1843, the English poet Robert Browning wrote a novel poem about a piper who charmed the rats away from Hamelin town with his musical pipe. We need the services of one with such a unique profession today, for the United States could put him to work in India in the interests of mankind.

Although it is only an estimate, Mr. Speaker, we are told by those bold enough even to try to estimate the rat population of India that it is as high as 5 billion—roughly 10 times the human population of that country.

This teeming population of rodents eats up to around 10 or 12 percent of the annual grain crop in India, a volume approaching 8 million tons.

At the same time, we are told that India currently has a 10-million-ton food deficit, and this means that, as a rough estimate, rats are eating just about four-fifths of India's food deficit.

In other words, we are viewing the sorry spectacle where, in India, rats are growing fat while men, women, and children are going hungry.

This raises the very serious question as to what is being done to control the population explosion of rats in India, for America is planning to send millions of tons of grain to India this year in order to relieve the hunger that is ravishing that drought-stricken land.

Ganda Singh, Minister of Agriculture in Uttar Pradesh State, India, has suggested a solution that is revolting and highly offensive by American standards. His suggestion is that rats might be destroyed and, at the same time, the food supply could be increased if the people of India were to eat the rats, which are said to be rich in protein.

When Secretary of Agriculture Freeman was before the House Committee on Agriculture, I inquired of him what controls were in effect for rodents in India. The Secretary's response was quite general and vague, failing to give me any positive assurance that an effective rodent control program was in effect in India.

The Secretary also assured me that the destruction that was occurring to grains via rats in India was happening to Indian grains and not to those grains that were being shipped to India by America. Frankly—as I informed him—I do not think it is of any consequence whether it is American or Indian grain going into the bellies of rodents—the important thing is that the grain is not going into the stomachs of humans, and the deficit—no matter in what area it is occurring—is being met, in one degree or another, by American grants of grain.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is highly imperative that for the legislative record, either the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Agriculture—or both—should file with the appropriate committees of the Congress a thorough and comprehensive report on whatever rodent control program currently is in effect in India. Such a report should be submitted immediately and before the legislation presently before this body is acted upon by the Senate.

This would be in the taxpayer's interest, Mr. Speaker, because, after all, he is the one that is going to pick up the tab on the costs of this program of grain gifts to India. The 10-million-ton food deficit that is India's has a value estimated to be in the vicinity of $725 million, and it is well recognized that America is going to supply a good quantity of this deficit. While there is a humane consideration involved in all of this, there should be no thought on privilege for rodents—the American taxpayer is already filling too many ratholes.

My only concern is that I do not want to see the American citizen trapped in a situation where his tax money is being used to keep rats rather than people. Let us not have the rats of India pull a reverse Pied Piper of Hamelin on the taxpayers of America.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD a pertinent editorial from the February 21, 1967, issue of the Chicago Tribune entitled "Food for Peace—Or Food for Rats?"

FOOD FOR PEACE—OR FOOD FOR RATS?

President Johnson recently proposed a 10-nation consortium under chairmanship of the World Bank to help supply India's continuing critical need for food. He estimated the cost of filling that country's 10 million ton food deficit at 725 million dollars. Our own once vast food surpluses have been depleted to the point where we must ask other developed countries to increase their food aid, but even so we plan to send 6.6 million tons of grain to India this year under the food for peace program.

Of more than passing interest, then, are some remarks which P. C. Sen, chief minister of West Bengal state, made the other day at a Calcutta conference on rodent control. He appealed to his countrymen, millions of whom are hungry if not near starvation, to destroy hundreds of millions of rats that are ravaging India's inadequate grain supplies. Estimates place India's rat population as high as 5 billion, or 10 times the human population, and grain losses at up to 10 to 12 per cent of the annual crop, or more than 8 million tons.

"Rats should not be allowed to fatten while men go hungry," Sen said. While to western minds this should be so obvious that it need not to be stated, the problem is considerably more complex in India, where an exaggerated respect for animal life is so widespread that the idea of killing even rats is offensive to large numbers of people. Perhaps that is why Sen suggested the rats could be reduced by catching them and injecting them with hormones to space out their litters or by feeding them vitamin-deficient food to impair their fertility.

He did suggest, however, the rats also could be gassed in their holes. Genda Singh, minister of agriculture in Uttar Pradesh state, suggested the rats could be destroyed and the food supply increased at the same time when he appealed to his countrymen to eat rats, which he said are rich in protein.

India's problems of food shortages and rats certainly are not new. We in this country continue to hear disturbing reports that the Indian government is unable or unwilling to move some of the bumper crops in its southern states to the northern drought stricken areas, that it has been preoccupied with the recent election campaign while food problems are neglected, that government red tape has kept the agricultural economy on dead center, and so on.

What is new is that the United States no longer is in a position to supply India with virtually unlimited supplies of food, and there is serious question whether other countries can or will make up the deficit. Up to now our efforts to encourage Indian leaders to increase their own food production seem to have brought few more tangible results than displays of pique and criticism in New Delhi over what the Indians regard as "pressure" to get them to change some of their policies. Our government denies using pressure, but it would like India to grant concessions to foreign investors in the fertilizer industry, lift some strangling controls on the economy, liberalize imports, and take other steps to increase its food supply.

The fact is that world food supplies are failing to keep pace with the alarming increase in world population. Under these circumstances, and with rats eating the equivalent of four-fifths of India's food deficit, the Indian leaders ought to wake up to the fact that the developed countries cannot long continue to pour food down ratholes.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ANDREWS].

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, quite frankly the grain shipments to India proposed in this legislation are very late and far too little. The need for food in India today is greater than it has ever been and the President by withholding relief shipments several months ago, has made the problem even more acute than usual. For this reason, I object strenuously to the limitation that the President has requested in this resolution which provides that further shipments shall not exceed 3 million tons of grain. This limitation represents a cut of 2 million tons from last year.

I would like to remind my colleagues that Congress, in passing the Food for Peace Act of 1966, already provided the President with the necessary authority to ship more than $7.4 billion worth of grain to needy countries throughout the world during 1967 and 1968.

There is, therefore, no need for this resolution, which will only serve to ratify the President's failure to adequately utilize the Food for Peace Act. Many of us feel that he is making a grave mistake in limiting this food that can be used far better than bullets and bayonets in our efforts toward gaining peace and understanding in the world. We certainly need not limit shipments of wheat for fear of a shortage in this country.

Last year our domestic consumption accounted for only about 45 percent of the wheat produced in the United States. With the increased acreage allotments instituted by the Department of Agriculture for this crop year, domestic consumption should take only about one-third of the wheat produced, leaving a huge quantity available for export. It should be noted that exports of wheat in the food-for-peace program can be doubled for less than 2 percent of the amount of the funds we are using for the military side of our budget.

Wheat farmers are not guaranteed more than the $1.25 per bushel support price on this wheat which is not consumed domestically, and, as a result, unless markets are provided for this increased production, wheat prices will probably dip to the support level.

No farmer can survive producing wheat for $1.25 per bushel, and if he does not receive more than this, we may find ourselves without the production that is needed, because farmers in my part of the Nation simply cannot afford to plant these extra acreages, even though they may be needed, if they continue to lose money on the wheat produced. Our farmers must know whether this wheat is to be used or if it will serve as a price-depressing surplus.

You can see, therefore, that both the hungry people of India and the American wheat farmers will suffer from this unreasonable restriction. The entire world, too, will share in the resulting risk of further unrest and revolution by its undernourished millions because of the administration's failure to make use of our food production capability as a positive weapon for peace.

Mr. Speaker, while the people of India and many underdeveloped countries of the world are starving, the American farmer stands ready and willing to make a major contribution to world peace and American good will abroad by producing needed food. The Congress has already provided the machinery to accomplish this most worthwhile purpose. It makes no sense at all to now seriously restrict and frustrate that goal.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OTTINGER. I congratulate the gentleman on a very fine statement. I share his reservations with respect to the limitations contained in the resolution. I am concerned that we not retard a very important task, which is to see to it that the great democracy in the East, India, and its very fine people do not suffer mass starvation.

From the point of view of clarification of the record, however, I would like to point out that the limitations are stated to be "on the basis of estimates now available." So that it is my understanding we would not be freezing ourselves to an absolute limitation of 3 million tons.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. I certainly hope not. I hope, as the gentleman from New York does, that the President is not looking for Congress to serve as a fall guy in passing this resolution, so that later, when his policy of restricting the food-for-peace program brings the trouble it may bring around the world, he will be able to point the finger at us and say that we were responsible for this short sightedness.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MIZE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with those who support House Joint Resolution 267. In doing so, I emphasize the position which I took on the floor of the House on February 6 when I spoke out in favor of giving special attention to India's food crisis.

Mr. Speaker, the report on the resolution, the statements of our colleagues who have visited India and who have seen for themselves the extent of the food shortage, the pictures in the news magazines of the undernourished children and the dying cattle—all of these give ample testimony to the gravity of the problem which millions of people face in that far-off land.

We cannot turn our backs on those who are starving and undernourished. We have an obligation to take the leadership in meeting as much of this critical need as we can. In responding quickly and generously we encourage other nations to come forward with their own contributions to share in a burden which is not the responsibility of any one nation—it is the responsibility of all nations of good will to participate according to their means and their capabilities.

But all of us have a responsibility beyond this present crisis. To put India in a position where it can meet emergencies of this type in the future, we must take a hand in teaching them to help themselves, in controlling their population, in conserving their resources, in increasing food production through the application of methods we know are effective and in a greater recognition of the necessity for self-reliance.

We must be prepared, I feel, to keep our helping hand extended as long as it is needed because India will not solve its tremendous problems overnight. Months, years, and probably decades will be involved, and we are the one nation in the world which can be depended upon to recognize its commitments and to honor them.

Recently I read an article in U.S. News & World Report on the subject, "Why America Carries the World's Burden." I commend this article to my colleagues. It will give each of you new pride in the important role we play in the world. Let me quote this paragraph:

> Yet every indication is that this country, as the one great power among nations, will be unable to escape any part of its present role. The scope of that role, instead, is expected to increase, rather than diminish as an era of development opens in large areas of Asia.

And apropos to the resolution we are debating today:

> American farmers are called upon not only to feed the American people but also to provide food in important quantity for hungry people in other parts of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully urge the adoption of this resolution as evidence that America recognizes its role and that it is prepared to carry its share of the burden.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Broomfield] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 267, to provide emergency food assistance to India.

It is sadly paradoxical that the lives and health of millions in India are threatened by a grave food shortage while we in America are still paying some of our farmers to leave their fields uncultivated.

But the answer, unfortunately, does not lie in that paradox. With one-half of the world's people facing the prospect of famine, no nation can hope to permanently fulfill the food needs of any other.

What we and other prosperous nations can do is to help developing countries in their efforts to find their own answers to their own problems.

That is what this resolution proposes to do. For India is on the verge of a major breakthrough in agriculture—a breakthrough that has been obscured by the droughts of the last 2 years.

A rural revolution is well underway in India, spurred by ambitious programs to encourage use of new agricultural techniques on the one hand and an intensified and far-reaching effort to promote birth control on the other.

New kinds of seeds and new methods of irrigation and fertilization have sparked major changes in India's 500,000 rural villages—changes thought impossible of attainment just a few years ago.

For the first time in history, India's farmers are motivated not just to produce for their families but are adjusting their sights to urban markets far from their villages.

And while the path to increased food production is being smoothed, ambitious targets have been set to cut the country's population growth rate in half during the next 10 years.

The Union Ministry of Health has been reorganized and renamed the Ministry of Health and Family Planning and a variety of new birth control programs have been launched.

Despite its vast population, India already is budgeting more money per capita for birth control than any other nation.

Religious opposition has been slight, and it appears to be mainly a matter of time before the results of the program begin to take effect.

If the Indian Government continues its energetic sponsorship of these two programs, India hopefully will have attained agricultural self-sufficiency by the mid-1970's.

Unfortunately, nature has been harsh to India's present and future. For the second year in a row, millions of Indians face the grim prospect of death and degradation by starvation and malnutrition.

Failure of the monsoon rains for the second consecutive year also threatens to slow the long-range program of self-help.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates India will require about 10 million tons of grain from abroad to prevent this from happening this year.

The United States already is committed to supplying 3.6 million tons and another 700,000 tons are in the pipeline to India from other sources.

House Joint Resolution 267 would authorize the United States to provide another 3 million tons, increasing our total commitment this year to 6.6 million tons.

The United States cannot be expected to provide all of the help by itself. In past years, members of the India Aid Consortium, Canada and Australia, have also offered assistance along with private contributions from the Italians and the Dutch.

We must support the Indian Government's efforts again this year to enlist the aid of other nations in helping India solve her agricultural problems.

With this sort of temporary assistance, we can help India move toward agricultural self-sufficiency during the next decade.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 267 to support emergency food assistance to India.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the Committee resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 267, with Mr. Monagan in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

• By unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Poage] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Belcher] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, before I proceed, I would like to compliment two of the preceding speakers who, in my judgment, made especially splendid presentations. I believe the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Dole], a member of the Agriculture Committee, made as clear and cogent an explanation of this resolution as it has been my privilege to hear. I believe the former member of the Agriculture Committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta], gave a very fine discussion of the present low level of agricultural prices and the danger that is involved in a continuation of such a low level of agricultural prices. I pay tribute to both of those gentlemen for their excellent discussion of these subjects.

I do not believe it is necessary to take much of the time of the House to review the resolution. This is a resolution; it is not a bill. This does not change the statutory law. It does, as has been explained, express the will of the House that the President continue with the aid to India program on a rather modest basis.

I recognize there are those who feel, as has been expressed in the debate on the rule, that we are not going far enough, that we are not committing ourselves to supply India with enough food. It was on that basis that the last speaker and the gentleman who questioned him based their objections. I respect their feeling although I cannot embrace it.

Of course, I recognize that, on the other side, there are those who very sincerely feel that we should make no effort to assist the Indians or any others who they feel may not hold the views which we hold on some very vital matters.

I must confess that from time to time certain officials in India have expressed themselves in a way that has made it hard indeed for me to feel that we should continue to give them any aid. But when I see—and I did have an opportunity to see—the starving masses in India, and when I have the information which is available to all of the Members of the

House relative to the tragic situation which exists in India today, I cannot find it in my heart to say that because certain of the politicians of India—which is a country with more than twice the population and probably four times the politicians of the United States—have seen fit to be what seems to me unduly critical of the United States, that I should be a participant in the effort to deny food to those people, who have done nothing to offend our country—and that is about 475 million of the 480 million people of India. No, I cannot find it in my heart to say that those people should be allowed to starve, or that we should do nothing for them because certain leaders in India have been unfair and unduly critical.

What those politicians in India are doing is, of course, what politicians in the United States have long done. I can remember—and many of the Members can remember—when a mayor of one of the great cities of the United States retained his control over his city for a great many years simply by, as he said, "twisting the lion's tail." He condemned King George III of Great Britain and pointed out what a menace he was to the freedom of the people of the United States, and for a long time that mayor was reelected and reelected on the basis that he was protecting his people from this great King George III across the seas.

Some of my friends across the Rio Grande have engaged in that same sort of thing for a long time. They point to the "colossus of the north" and to what a great danger these people to the north of them are, and they condemn the Yankees, and they get elected time and again as a result.

Those politicians in India are doing exactly the same thing. Since the United States has become the recognized leader of the world, we are going to have to accept the fact that all over the world local politicians are going to be critical of the United States. That is true not only for India but also for all parts of the world.

I believe we must have a little understanding. We must look at these things from a practical standpoint and recognize that the cruel and crude expressions of some of the Indian politicians have not been an expression of the people of India. We have to forgive those statements.

In spite of, not because of, that kind of attitude we have to go ahead and help people who are really in need.

The President has the power, as has been stated, to enter into agreements under Public Law 480 which might extend aid to India in the future and without limit as to amount. But the President has recognized, and I believe properly, that this is a matter of tremendous importance, that it is a matter on which the representatives of the American people should be taken into consideration. He has therefore asked, in effect, the advice and consent of the Congress of the United States to proceed with an additional aid-to-India program.

He has suggested, and I believe wisely, that such a program be circumscribed so that we would require participation on the part of other nations of the world, and we provide for that participation on the part of other nations of the world.

The President has suggested, and I believe very wisely, that we call upon the Indians to do substantially more than they have done in regard to helping themselves. I believe that is wise and that it is proper. We do call on the Indians to do more for themselves.

That kind of self-help could take a great many forms. One form is that they could put more of their land into the production of food. I do not know the acreage of all nonfood crops in India, but I happen to be a little more familiar with cotton, and I happen to know that there are 20 million acres of cotton in India, which is almost twice as much as there was in the United States last year. I know they do not need to grow that much. I know they could grow food on that land. Of course, we could supply them with cotton much more easily than with food.

I believe that people who are hungry ought to cooperate with the people who are willing to help them. I believe that India ought to do more for herself. I believe that the people of India are surely willing to reduce their cotton acreage by at least as much as American cotton farmers cut their own acreage last year, which was approximately 28 percent.

The gentleman suggested a few moments ago that India was plagued with rats. I presume she is. It is true that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Dole] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] and I visited over a large part of India last December. I did not see rat one.

Of course, I believe one could go on my farm down in McLennan County, Tex., and probably he would not see any rats, but I know there are rats there. I know they are all over the United States. I know we ourselves are suffering very substantial losses to rodents.

I certainly would agree with the suggestions that India ought to do more toward eliminating the rat plague and all other plagues.

When it comes to the final analysis, the question is, are we going to help these people avoid starvation? And they are starving. Some of the Members have seen the recent issue of Time magazine, showing some of the starving babies and showing some of the dying sacred cows.

There is no doubt that the cow problem is a serious problem in India, but I do not think that you and I are going to be able to solve it. You will not be able to get people to change their religious convictions so easily simply by passing a resolution, and this is a religious problem there. You will not change it simply by condemning it. It is unfortunate, but it makes the whole problem more difficult.

So, Mr. Chairman, I think we have come to the House with a very reasonable resolution and one which provides aid for India and insists that other nations of the world participate in that aid and one which calls upon India to help to contribute a larger share of self-production rather than calling on us for more aid.

I hope that the resolution will be approved by a substantial vote.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Price].

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, in approaching the debate on this resolution, I think we all recognize that the nature of the resolution is such that it does not amend existing law. I would like to specifically point out in the committee report on page 14, the sentence that states that "this resolution does not amend existing law, but it sets forth the sense of Congress that," and then goes on to cite the four main points in the resolution.

I would also point out on page 15 of the committee report the following sentence:

> In endorsing the stated Presidential policy and in submitting the proposed recommendation, the committee wishes to point out again that House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead.

Furthermore, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Belcher], during the hearings before the committee, engaged in a colloquy with Secretary Freeman that is a part of the record that the administration has ample authority, with or without this resolution.

Therefore, it is clearly understood by everybody here today that this resolution is nothing more or nothing less than the expression of congressional policy to ratify what the President has already decided.

I personally have deep reservations about this method of handling legislation.

It seems unusual, to say the least, that the President would seek to put Congress on record on something that he has already decided, and it leaves us little choice to dispute it.

For example, if we were to amend this resolution today to provide for 5 million tons instead of 3 million tons, or $100 million instead of $190 million, such an action would have absolutely no binding legal effect on the authority of the President, and he could still do what he thought desirable under the authority of the law.

The last Congress amended Public Law 480 in many respects. I have before me here a copy of that law, and I would like to read just one section of it in regard to congressional policy concerning the emphasis on self-help in the developing countries such as India:

> SELF-HELP MEASURES
>
> "Sec. 109. (a) Before entering into agreements with developing countries for the sale of United States agricultural commodities on whatever terms, the President shall consider the extent to which the recipient country is undertaking wherever practicable self-help measures to increase per capita production and improve the means for storage and distribution of agricultural commodities, including:
>
> "(1) devoting land resources to the production of needed food rather than to the production of nonfood crops—especially nonfood crops in world surplus;
>
> "(2) development of the agricultural chemical, farm machinery and equipment, transportation and other necessary industries through private enterprise;
>
> "(3) training and instructing farmers in agricultural methods and techniques;

"(4) constructing adequate storage facilities;

"(5) improving marketing and distribution systems;

"(6) creating a favorable environment for private enterprise and investment, both domestic and foreign, and utilizing available technical know-how;

"(7) establishing and maintaining Government policies to insure adequate incentives to producers; and

"(8) establishing and expanding institutions for adaptive agricultural research; and

"(9) allocating for these purposes sufficient national budgetary and foreign exchange resources (including those supplied by bilateral, multilateral and consortium aid programs) and local currency resources (resulting from loans or grants to recipient governments of the proceeds of local currency sales).

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, in agreements with nations not engaged in armed conflict against Communist forces or against nations with which the United States has no diplomatic relations, not less than 20 per centum of the foreign currencies set aside for purposes other than those in sections 104(a), (b), (e), and (j) shall be allocated for the self-help measures set forth in this section.

"(c) Each agreement entered into under this title shall describe the program which the recipient country is undertaking to improve its production, storage, and distribution of agricultural commodities; and shall provide for termination of such agreement whenever the President finds that such program is not being adequately developed.

"Sec. 110. Agreements shall not be entered into under this title during any calendar year which will call for an appropriation to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation in an amount in excess of $1,900,000,000, plus any amount by which agreements entered into under this title in prior years have been called or will call for appropriations to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation in amounts less than authorized for such prior years."

(C) By amending title II to read as follows:

Mr. Chairman, does the adoption of the resolution endorsing the President's authority mean that every time the President makes a Public Law 480 agreement with dozens of countries that benefit in the program, we here in the Congress adopt a resolution endorsing it?

When an agreement is proposed for Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, Vietnam, Pakistan, and so forth, will the House be flooded with a series of resolutions saying, "Yes, Mr. President, we agree with exactly what you are doing in each of these agreements?"

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that Congress by law has given the President ample authority to execute and administer this food-for-peace program, and it is my hope that as one Member in this House, that he take all appropriate steps to meet the needs of hungry people in India and to carry out the legislative mandates that are now in Public Law 480.

I thought this might be the appropriate time to focus attention upon the fact that at this time the American farmer, particularly the grain producer, is being called upon to produce grain at market prices well below parity. For example, the February 1967 price in the marketplace for wheat, as reported by the Crop Reporting Board of the Department of Agriculture, was only 58 percent of parity. For grain sorghum, it was only 76 percent of parity. In other words, the market prices for these two grains that are to be shipped to India are bringing the farmer well below the fair market price.

Furthermore, there are some other facts that are pertinent to the discussion of this legislation:

The farmer is receiving 13 percent less today than in 1952 for his products.

Sixty percent of the cost of food is added on after it leaves the farm.

Ten years ago, 25 percent of a man's income was spent for food; today only 18 percent of a man's income is spent for food.

We had 15 million people living on the farms in 1960; today there are less than 12 million people living on the farms, with actually less than 4 million doing the farming and 100,000 farmers a year leaving this business.

The average age of the American farmer is now 58 years and only 2 out of every 100 boys born on a farm are now choosing agriculture as a profession.

Farm indebtedness since 1960 has increased 66 percent, to an all-time high of $41.6 billion. In 1960 it was $24.8 billion. Since 1960 increased interest rates have cost the American farmer $800 million.

We are told that there has been a dramatic decrease in our surplus.

When Secretary Freeman appeared before the Agriculture Committee early this year, I asked him the value of the commodities that had been disposed of in our foreign aid programs, and he informed me that it was $15 billion since the inception of the program.

Mr. Freeman said we sold for soft currencies approximately $15 billion worth of commodities under Public Law 480. Of that amount, roughly $1.5 billion has been used by us to pay the cost of our embassies and our market promotion. The other $13.5 billion, roughly, has gone to the receiving country either in terms of grants under the economic development programs or in terms of loans which are subsequently paid into the economic development of the receiving country as well.

I said to Mr. Freeman:

> What I was driving at here, perhaps, is the use of our foreign aid dollars to purchase our own products so that the end result is an increase in our overall indebtedness, and if this is increasing our overall indebtedness because of the program, we in the end really are not getting anywhere.

I asked Mr. Freeman:

> What was the loss in dollars by the Commodity Credit Corporation this past year?

His answer to this question was:

> I think it has been about 1.4 billion dollars to partially restore capital to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

According to a recent appraisal of the Commodity Credit Corporation, Congress appropriated $3.6 billion to reimburse CCC for unreimbursed losses for fiscal 1965 and the remainder of the loss for fiscal 1964. At the beginning of fiscal 1967 and after the appropriations were enacted, there remained on the books of the Corporation a total of $4 billion in unreimbursed losses.

Under this policy we provide huge amounts of grains to such areas at growers prices far below price goals of farm programs.

Farm product prices have declined 6.2 percent since a peak reached last August—this despite the fact that surpluses have been greatly reduced and demand continues strong for their products. Estimates are that farm income this year will be down 5 percent from last year.

Farmers should not be called upon to subsidize the Nation's foreign policy of using American food to aid and stabilize needy areas.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie].

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I support this resolution and realize the concern of many people about India's cows. Recently I read an interesting article, "The Myth of the Sacred Cow," by Marvin Harris, which appeared in the March 1967 issue of the magazine Natural History.

Mr. Chairman, I have made statements on many occasions to the effect that the Indians could have more food if they only ate their cows or, at least, kill them.

However, I find this is an extremely interesting article and when we parliamentarily go back into the House, I shall ask permission to include it with my remarks and also to include a New York Times news item as well.

Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to note that the average production of Indian cows is 413 pounds per year. Mr. Chairman, that compares with my own farm where we produced a little bit over 12,000 pounds per cow per year.

But, Mr. Chairman, it is also interesting to note that they need the bullocks. They claim, therefore, that they need the cows with which to produce the bullocks, Mr. Chairman, in essentially the same fashion as we in the past used horses as the form of motive power with which to cultivate our crops.

Also, Mr. Chairman, it is further stated that the cows and bullocks produce 800 million tons of manure which has annually been bequeathed to the Indian countryside and 300 million tons which are consumed in cookery, representing a B.t.u. of 35 million tons of coal or 68 million tons of wood.

This is an interesting explanation of Indian attitudes toward their cows.

The article referred to follows:

THE MYTH OF THE SACRED COW

(By Marvin Harris)

"New Delhi, December 1.—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi appealed today to India's holy men to stop fasting and agitating against cow slaughter.

"In an effort to halt the spreading wave of fasts by the saffron-clad Hindu Sadhus, Mrs. Gandhi wrote directly to Muni Shushil Kumar, president of the All-Party Cow Protection Campaign Committee.

"The Muni has announced his intention of starting a fast tomorrow to demand a nationwide ban on the slaughter of cows, which are revered by Hindus as symbols of abundance but whose meat is often eaten by India's Moslem minority.

"On Nov. 7 thousands of demonstrators, led by a group of holy men smeared with white ash and draped with garlands of marigolds, rioted in front of Parliament. Eight persons were killed and 47 injured." (*The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1966).

Among the popular myths of cultural anarchy, none is more widely accepted than that of the Indian sacred cow. Protected by Hindu taboo from being slaughtered and eaten, these supposedly useless animals wander about at will, impeding traffic and, it is reported, damaging crops. Indeed, in some parts of India, aged cattle are even housed in Gosadans—bovine old-age homes.

But the myth of the sacred cow is part of a widespread overemphasis on the mismanagement of food production by primitive and peasant peoples. One often hears, especially in these times of vast aid programs for the underdeveloped countries of the world, that irrational ideologies and customs prevent the effective use of available food resources.

In the case of the sacred cow, it must be admitted that the Indian dairy industry is among the least efficient in the world. In India, the average annual yield of whole milk per cow has been reported at 413 pounds, as compared with an average of over 5,000 pounds in Europe and the United States. Furthermore, of the 79.4 million cows maintained in 1961, only 20.1 million were milk producers. Among the 47.2 million cows over three years old, 27.2 million were dry and/or not calved. If we go on to accept the proposition that India can make no profit from the negligible slaughter of its enormous cattle supply, we have completed the case for the great cattle bungle. Hence the conclusion of a 1959 Ford Foundation report on India's food problem:

"There is widespread recognition, not only among animal husbandry officials, but among citizens generally, that India's cattle population is far in excess of the available supplies of fodder and feed. . . . At least one third, and possibly as many as one half, of the Indian cattle population may be regarded as surplus in relation to feed supply."

This view is endorsed by government agronomists, and the Indian Ministry of Information insists that "the large animal population is more a liability than an asset in view of our limited land resource." Because of the perpetual food shortage for humans in India, refusal to slaughter cattle seems to prove that the mysterious has triumphed over the practical. Some would even have us believe that in order to preserve his cow the individual farmer is prepared to sacrifice his own life. Such is the myth of the sacred cow.

A better understanding of the cow complex in India involves the answers to the following two questions: (1) Is it true that the rate of reproduction and survival of the Indian population is lowered as a result of the competition between man and cattle for scarce resources? (2) Would the removal of the Hindu taboo on slaughter substantially modify the ecology of Indian food production?

The answer to the first question is that the relation between man and cattle—both cows and bullocks—is not competitive, but symbiotic. The most obvious part of this symbiosis is the role played by male cattle in cultivation. Indian farming is based on plow agriculture, to which cattle contribute up to 46 per cent of the labor cost, exclusive of transport and other activities. Obviously, tractors are not a realistic alternative.

Despite the existence of 96.3 million bullocks, of which 68.6 million are working animals, India suffers from a shortage of such animals. It is generally agreed that a pair of bullocks is the minimum unit for cultivation. But a conservatively estimated 60 million rural households dispose of only 80 million working cattle and buffaloes. This would mean that as many as two-thirds of India's farmers may be short of the technical minimum. Moreover, under existing property relations the bullocks cannot be shared among several households without further lowering the productivity of marginal farms.

M. B. Desai, an Indian economist, explains why: ". . . over vast areas, sowing and harvesting operations, by the very nature of things, begin simultaneously with the outbreak of the first showers and the maturing of crops respectively and especially the former has got to be put through quickly during the first phase of the monsoon. Under these circumstances, reliance by a farmer on another for bullocks is highly risky and he has got, therefore, to maintain his own pair."

We see, then, that the draft animals, which appear to be superfluous from the point of view of what would be needed in a perfectly engineered society, turn out to be considerably less than sufficient in the actual context of Indian agriculture.

But what of the cows? The first thing to note is again obvious. No cows, no bullocks. Of course, the issue is not so easily settled. Although the need for bullocks establishes the need for cows, it does not establish the need for 80 million of them. We are, however, coming closer to the answer, because we now know that to the value of the milk and milk products produced by the cows, we must add the value of the 69 million male traction animals also produced.

Among the other immediate and important contributions of the cow is the dung. In addition to the relatively minor value of dung as plaster in house construction, this material is India's main cooking fuel. India's grain crops cannot be metabolized by human beings without cooking. Coal and oil are, of course, prohibitively expensive for the peasant family. Thus, dung alone provides the needed energy, and cattle provide the dung on a lavish scale. Of the 800 million tons annually bequeathed the Indian countryside, 300 million are consumed in cookery. This amount is the Btu equivalent of 35 million tons of coal or 68 million tons of wood, an impressive amount of Btu's to be plugged into an energy system.

Of the remaining 500 million tons of dung, the largest part is used for manuring. It has been claimed that 160 million tons of this manure is "wasted on hillsides and roads," but it must be noted that some of this probably re-enters the ecological system, since, as we shall see in a moment, the cattle depend upon hillsides and roads for much of their sustenance. (Needless to say, the intensive rainfall agriculture characteristic of large parts of the subcontinent is dependent upon manuring. So vital is this contribution that one scholar argues that substitutes for the manure consumed as fuel "must be supplied, and lavishly, even at a financial loss to government.")

In the present context, the most important point to note about the fuel and manure functions of India's cattle is that old, dry, barren animals do not cease to provide dung. On this score alone, one might expect more caution before the conclusion is reached that the sacred cow is a useless luxury.

Two additional contributions by cattle, including cows, remain to be mentioned. In 1962 India produced 16 million cattle hides. Much of this output is consumed in the manufacture of leather products vital to the traditional farming technology. In addition, despite the Hindu proscription, a considerable amount of beef is eaten. Those who stress the quaintness of the beef-eating taboo fail to give proper emphasis to the millions of people in India who have no caste to lose. Not only are there some 55 million members of exterior or untouchable groups, many of whom will consume beef if given the opportunity, but there are also several millions more who are pagan, Christian, or Moslem. It seems likely that a high proportion of the 20 million bovines that die each year get eaten. Moreover, it is quite clear that not all these cattle die a natural death. On the contrary, the very extent of the agitation for antislaughter bills reveals how widespread the slaughter actually is.

We see that to the contribution of the cow as a producer of milk, we must add the production of meat, bullocks, manure, fuel, and hides. The extent of the symbiosis between man and cow, however, is not thereby demonstrated. There still remains the possibility that all these needs could be met at a lower energy or monetary cost per peasant household by reducing the number of aged cows that the peasant tolerates in his ménage. To prove that the ecosystem under discussion is essentially adaptive for human life it must be shown that resources consumed by the cows, old and young, do not, from the point of view of the peasant's balance sheet, outweigh the enumerated contributions. This proof is fairly easy to establish.

Note, first of all, that one of the most persistent professional complaints against the scared cow is that the beasts wander all over the place, cluttering up the markets, railroad stations, and roadsides. Many authorities seem not to inquire why all this wandering takes place from the point of view of the cow, since presumably she has remained uninformed of her sacred privileges. The cow is wandering about because she is hungry and is looking for food—in the ditches, around the base of telegraph poles, between the railroad ties, along the hillsides, in every nook and cranny where something edible has reared its head. The sacred cow is an exploited scavenger, a mere walking skeleton for most of the year, precisely because her ecological niche is removed from that of human food crops.

An ecological explanation of why so many cows are kept is now possible: Each farmer needs his own pair of bullocks. Lacking cash, he cannot afford to buy these animals. Rather than risk going into debt at usurious rates, he prefers to try to breed bulls (which he will exchange later for bullocks). Since all the available land is given over to human food crops, the breeding cows must scavenge for their food. Being undernourished, they breed irregularly. The farmer refrains from culling uncalved animals since they convert grain by-products and scrub vegetation into useful dung. Meanwhile, there is always a chance that the cow will eventually conceive. If a female calf is born, the scrub and chaff are converted into milk, while the calf is gradually starved to death. In the long run, the more cows an individual farmer owns, the greater the likelihood that he can replace his bullocks without going into debt.

This explanation does not involve references to ahimsa, the Hindu doctrine of the sancity of life. Instead, the large number of cows and bullocks is seen as the result of ecological pressures generated by the human population's struggle to maintain itself. Ahimsa may thus be regarded as an ideological expression of these pressures; in other words, ahimsa itself derives power and sustenance from the material rewards it confers upon both men and animals.

In answer to the second question under consideration, it would thus seem that the basic ecology of Indian cattle production is not a mere reflex of the Hindu taboo on slaughter. Removing that taboo might temporarily alter the ecosystem. In the long run, however, the rate at which cattle are presently slaughtered in India is governed by the ability of the peasantry to slaughter them without impairing the production of traction animals, fuel, fertilizer, and milk. It is a well-known fact that the least efficient way to convert solar energy into comestibles is to impose an animal converter between plant and man. Hence, it is wrong to suppose that India could, without major technoenvironmental innovations, support any large number of animals whose principal function was to supply animal protein. It has already been shown that the supply of beef is now one of the functions of the cattle complex, but this must necessarily remain a marginal or tertiary attribute of the ecosytem. As a mater of fact, it is obvious that any large-scale drift toward animal slaughter before the traction, fuel, and manure needs of the productive cycle were met would immediately jeopardize the lives of tens of millions of Indians.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK].

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak with some compassion in my heart because I too want no one in the world to go hungry if they are deserving, and are putting forth some effort. I rise to speak not for India, but for America.

As Representatives of our people, very shortly each of us is going to be asked to raise the income taxes on our folks back home. What has India done as far as raising income taxes to take care of the burden of its own people? Certainly we know that they do have hard cash, because in the testimony of Mr. Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, before the committee, he said that agriculture was second only to national defense.

Mr. Chairman, if we are going to assume there are people starving—or at least hungry—in India, what in our hearts can we think of a nation that puts its hard-earned cash in guns, tanks, planes, and comes forward with no tax increase or action to buy food from the American farmer?

My colleagues, if national defense is the No. 1 spender of India, who are they defending against? Communism? Where have we seen their boys in Vietnam? Where have we seen their voice in support of some of our leaders, as your sons and your constituents' sons back home fight today in Vietnam?

We Americans are fighting the war to stop Communist aggression in southeast Asia. We are now asked also to feed the multitudes.

Mr. Chairman, if we were to take all of the grain in our reserves and place it in India, there would still be Indians who are hungry.

How the Members of this House vote is their conscience, but I must vote for my people. I will vote "no."

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to ask a few questions and to make a few observations.

First of all, I would be much interested in knowing what has happened under the tobacco provision in the food-for-India bill that went through the House a couple of years ago, or whenever it was—these food-for-India bills, and resolutions come so fast that I cannot keep up with them. I do wonder how much tobacco we have sent in the guise of food for the starving people of India?

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] talks about the "understanding" that we must have. If I am correctly informed we have had about $3.5 billion worth of this same kind of "understanding" in 10 years or less, and they are still starving in India, and they will continue to starve in India with or without this bill. As the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK] well said a few minutes ago, you could ship all our surplus food grains to India and there would still be hungry and starving people.

And what about the other hungry millions around the world?

I have read the committee report on this resolution backward and forward. I have read the so-called agreements in this report, and I do not find a single mention of the fact that India, which had 5 million or more men under arms in World War II, has agreed to send a single combat soldier to Vietnam to help us out.

On whose threshold is this Communist aggression in Asia? Is it on our threshold or is it on their threshold?

There is not one word—and apparently nobody wanted to talk about it—not one word concerning any form of reciprocity. It is American blood that is being spilled over there today, and no matter what we do we get no help from India in the department of fighting and dying.

What we are getting is fellow travelers from India who travel to Moscow to undermine our position in Vietnam. That is what we are getting for all of this.

I wonder how much India has spent with the Russians for arms? I wonder if the committee went into the question of how much the Indian Government has taken out of the till and sent to Russia for arms instead of buying food for the hungry?

I wonder how much gold they bought—the government and private citizens of India—in the last year? Some reports say that they have paid as high as $90 an ounce for gold.

It is time we quit raiding American taxpayers to send food to India.

I got my fill of it the last time out and stated then that it would be the last time around for me. Yet, here you are again and there is no end in sight.

I also note the failure of the Department of Agriculture to carry out the mandate of Congress that previous grain shipments be properly disposed of.

I wonder, too, how much of this is going over as flour? And how much is going over as whole grain? I can understand some of the interest around here today if it is wheat. But there is another party at interest and that is the American taxpayer who is footing this bill—close to $3.5 billion in the last 10 years. I wonder how much more in foreign aid and other forms of aid to India in addition to the feed grains that have been dished out? And I would like to know how many more billions of dollars in foreign aid we have put into India, a country that shows no disposition—no disposition whatever to help us but rather to undermine us.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this resolution as I think you can gather.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I am rising only to ask unanimous consent that I may revise and extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD for the opportunity of answering some of the remarks that have just been made.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the courtesy of the distinguished chairman of the Agriculture Committee in yielding time to me at this point. He has made a very statesmanlike presentation in support of House Joint Resolution 267, in his introductory remarks, and I wish to associate myself with those remarks and to join in urging the adoption of this measure.

I requested time at this point because I was somewhat disturbed at the remarks of the two preceding speakers, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK], and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS]. While I have the highest regard for their contribution to the Congress, and for their undoubted devotion to the welfare of the U.S. taxpayer, I want to raise the question as to whether their analysis and criticism of this measure, which supports the President in providing U.S. agricultural assistance to the 500 million people of India, may actually be doing a disservice to the U.S. taxpayer. I am afraid that if their views were to prevail it might lead to consequences which could deeply endanger the very security of the United States, and the entire world.

I would like to support this view by pointing to the results of the recently completed elections held in India. This election was a near catastrophy to the ruling Congress Party of India, the party which has represented some degree of progress, stability, and commitment to democratic goals since India gained her independence from Britain. The Congress Party, as a result of this election, will have a ruling majority in only 8 of the 16 states of India. Five of 13 Cabinet ministers in the national government were defeated, and a host of state Cabinet officials. The electorate voted out of power a Congress Party-controlled government in the State of Madras that had long been considered a model government. The State of Kerala gave a large majority to a Peking-oriented Communist Party. In most of the state governments the far left and the far right were strengthened, at the expense of the moderate elements. The relations between the national government and the state governments are seriously weakened, leaving the specter of the possible Balkanization of India.

Why has this happened? Undoubtedly a major factor was the discontent arising from drought and famine in large parts of the country. Probably the failure of the government to produce the improvements in agriculture, in industry, and in general economic level that was promised and expected all contributed to the Congress Party setback.

But another large factor was the fact that India has moved closer to U.S. policy in many areas over the past few years. Our efforts to use food as a political weapon to force a closer alinement of United States and Indian policies, to force her to depart from her historic policy of nonalinement and neutralism—undoubtedly helped swell the number of anti-Congress votes.

In other words, a U.S. policy which could be interpreted as holding out the promise of food and economic assistance in return for subservience to U.S. policy may have materially contributed to the weakening of a formerly stable and friendly government and strengthening the forces which lead to both chaos and anti-Americanism.

If I may suggest the possibility, our entire AID program may have had serious elements of error in India in the past as a result of the pressures to make it a vehicle for securing conformity to U.S. policy. For example, our military assistance has encouraged a larger diversion of scarce resources to military support and related activities than has been good for India. It certainly made possible the brief but bitter war with Pakistan, from which both emerged weaker, and from which the U.S.S.R. emerged with greater prestige and influence as a result of her role as a peacemaker.

U.S. AID programs in the past may have encouraged an inappropriate effort at heavy industrial development, when the primary need was in agriculture, light industry, and in social and cultural changes and population control.

The suggestion made by the two distinguished previous speakers that our assistance to India in meeting her food needs be conditioned on support of our military effort in Vietnam would be, to put it mildly, catastrophic to the Government of India, to our relations with her, and to our prestige and influence throughout the underdeveloped world. In addition, for what small importance it might have, India's acquiescence would destroy her role as the neutral member of the three-nation International Control Commission, which still has some potential in a peaceful settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Much as I dislike to differ with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Texas, I believe that his views expressed this afternoon, and which are likewise contained in the committee report, that we should "encourage India to give up some of her cotton production in favor of more food grains," could likewise be a mistake. To make India dependent on the United States for cotton, which is the basis for a good part of her light industry, because we have a current surplus of cotton production, might well merely shift our problem from one commodity to another, while destroying a vital part of India's economy. I am sure that the chairman would agree that such a subject should be approached with utmost care and any steps taken only after intensive study. While I cannot predict how farmers in India would react to this situation, I am sure that an American farmer who was told that he should get out of one type of farming and into another because a powerful foreign country thought it was good for him, would react quickly and explosively, and adversely. Even our own Government has much difficulty in making any substantial changes in agricultural crop patterns.

Why should we be concerned with the possible adverse reaction of Indian farmers to our policies, or even with the fall of India's Government, if we think we are right in enforcing such policies, as I am sure some of my colleagues would feel? Let me express briefly some of my views on this question.

India is the largest democracy in the world, and the second largest country, in population, in the world. She is a country with close ties to the West, with a governmental system based on the English one, as is ours, and a country whose culture and language are largely English. She is striving to solve the great problems of this era—economic development, population control, stable government—within the democratic traditions of the West. But the dynamic forces of nationalism, of pride in independence and freedom from colonialism, make it impossible for any government to exist which—in the eyes of the people of India—is but a tool of the most powerful nation of the world: the United States.

If the friendly, although nonalined, governments which India has had for nearly a generation should be replaced under those circumstances, it will be by either chaos or by a Communist or Communist-leaning government. China, although she has little to offer the underdeveloped world in material assistance, at least offers the example of a country completely free from Western domination. She offers also the example of a country which, on her own, has eliminated the threat of famine, educated her children, wiped out major epidemic disease, rooted out graft and corruption, and begun a widespread industrialization. To culminate this she has broken the monopoly of the developed countries on nuclear weapons in a remarkably short time and, following the example they have set, can rattle the nuclear sword with the best of them.

India, and much of the underdeveloped world, may weigh this in the balance against the grudging assistance of the most affluent of civilized nations, given only in return for subservience to their political aims and policies, and decide that loss of an ephemeral freedom and democracy in their society is not too great a price to pay.

I do not wish to see an alliance of the world's two most populous powers, joined inevitably by a coterie of smaller ones, arrayed against the West. Nor do any of us, who lamented the loss of China to the free world, wish to see the political trauma that will occur as we vie to place the blame on the party or the policies which lost India to the free world.

Yet this could happen tomorrow, or next year, or the year after. It could happen, particularly, if in our ignorance we do not see the relationship between our AID policies, our food for peace policies, our actions and expressions on this floor, and the political happenings in India today.

To return for a moment to the committee report on this measure, I was gratified by much of what I read there. The President's message on India's food, quoted therein, is full of humane insight on the problem of India. He says:

> We know, too, that failure to act, and to act now, will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

And further on in his message:

> The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

I pray that the Members of this Congress, and the people of this country will heed these words. Unless we do, there will be no peace for mankind in our time.

I am pleased to note also the comment in the committee report, referred to by several of my colleagues, that passage of this resolution does not irrevocably fix the amount of U.S. grain to be shipped, in the event that circumstances demonstrate the need for more. This is indicated on page 15 by the following statement:

> In endorsing the stated Presidential policy and in submitting the proposed recommendation, the Committee wishes to point out again that House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they exist in India in the months ahead.

I am not quite so pleased with the economic aspects of our food shipments to India. Some have referred to this as a gift. I wish that were so. It is not a gift, but a sale for rupees, which are, in turn, to be retained in India as loans to finance economic development projects—65 percent—as grants to the government to assist in economic development, family welfare and family planning programs—22 percent—and for paying U.S. expenses in India—8 percent. Five percent will be used for loans to private firms in which there is joint United States-Indian collaboration. India may have to pay a part of the costs—such as the shipping costs—in dollars, which would be a serious blow to her slender reserves of hard currency.

It is claimed that the United States already owns 2.5 billion Indian rupees—over 20 percent of all of India's money. This could rise to 30 percent in the near future and represents a formidable stranglehold for a foreign power to have on the economy of any country. If I am correct in my belief that India's stability and continued nonalinement are threatened by the strength of our control over her economy and her political policies, then we are indeed cutting our own throat by the amassing of ever-growing mountains of rupees in that country.

Let us look for a moment in comparative terms at India's economic level and our economic sacrifice in assisting her. India has about 500 million people with an average annual income of about $70. This adds up to a total national income of about $35 billion. In this great and wealthy society of ours, with 200 million people, 40 percent of India's population, we spend each year on liquor and tobacco enough to completely support 300 million Indians—$22 billion in 1965. Our social security payments to our aged and needy exceed the total income of 500 million Indians by $7 billion, and our expenditure on clothing and jewelry exceed that total income by $9 billion. We spend on recreation almost as much as the total Indian national income—$26 billion.

Our food aid to India since 1951 is, according to the committee report, $3.8 billion. This is a total of about $7 per Indian during the last 15 years, or 50 cents per year per Indian. I am sure we have spent at least a like amount in other forms of assistance—which would make our total assistance about $1 per year per Indian for these 15 years.

Our economic assistance to Vietnam today is about 50 times that amount, or $50 per person per year. And our military costs today in Vietnam are running at about $2,000 per year per South Vietnamese.

It may be argued that our interests in Vietnam are worth that price. I, for one, do not believe it. But no one in his right mind can argue that we should not spend the $1 per Indian that we are spending, or even 5 or 10 times that much, if it would prevent the development of a South Vietnam in India.

Obviously, the number of dollars that we spend are not the key to our success in helping a country. Otherwise, South Vietnam would be a beacon light of success. It is, instead, the knowledge, the understanding, the compassion that goes with these dollars. I am not happy about the knowledge, the understanding, the compassion displayed by our total assistance program. Too often we try to buy our way, to pay for friendship and loyalty with cash. We will never succeed.

I would like to see a generosity in our aid to India commensurate with our resources. I would like to see it go without strings. I would like to see it followed by our best technical and scientific brains, imbued with humility, who would seek to understand India and help them to use their own resources and their own people to meet their needs. I do not think India would be recreated in the image of America, nor should she. But America would be richer, and in ways not measured in dollars.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BINGHAM].

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the distinguished chairman yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment the gentleman and his colleagues for their visit to India and for the report that they brought back, and for this resolution that is now before us.

I was in India myself in November and it was my third visit. I was once again impressed by the truly appalling problems that that country faces. It is difficult for us to conceive of the magnitude and complexity of those problems.

There are explosive forces at work in India today. I just hope that none of us will be responsible if the day ever comes when this great country—the world's largest democracy—falls into chaos because of the failure of the rest of the world to respond with helping hands.

I believe the Indians have been making great efforts in their own behalf, but they have not by any means solved their problems. As a humanitarian measure, and as a purely practical measure, we should continue the assistance that is embodied in the pending joint resolution.

I am somewhat concerned that the resolution is too restrictive, but I am glad to note that the committee has indicated that the restrictions are not absolute and that the President will be accorded flexibility in handling the problems in the future. I think that the resolution represents minimum support by the Congress for what the administration is attempting to do in a most important part of the world.

I give my strongest endorsement to the basic principles of House Joint Resolution 267, which incorporates the legislative proposals set forth by the President in his eloquent message to the Congress on food aid for India. President Johnson clearly enunciated the U.S. concern when he said:

> The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

Both the existing Food for Peace Act, which the Congress passed last year, and the pending resolution, which reinforces the policies of last year's legislation, attest to our commitment to help India meet both her immediate food crisis and long-range needs for food production.

However I am uneasy over certain portions of the pending resolution. In his message to the Congress, the President relied heavily on the fact that India was in grave need of a 10 million-ton emergency grain shipment, without which more than 70 million people would suffer near famine. Despite the prodigious efforts India has made to increase her own production of foodstuffs, these were no substitute for the rains which failed to come. To meet this emergency, and relying on substantial contributions from other grain-producing countries, the President called for an additional U.S. allocation of at most 3 million tons.

Unfortunately, the situation in India has deteriorated even further in the short time since the President formulated his estimates. The representative of the National Grange testified before the Agriculture Committee that India's needs have grown by another 2 to 2½ million tons, thus making the 3 million-ton figure spelled out in the resolution inadequate.

I am glad to note the committee's statement that its endorsement of the President's 3 million-ton figure was "not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead." The committee specified that its approval of the 3-million-ton figure was based on "estimates now available." In the light of the committee's flexible and realistic attitude, and the fact that estimates have already changed since presentation of the President's message, I trust it will be clear that the President retains the freedom and maneuverability to allocate more grains for India if he thinks the situation so warrants.

Another concern of mine is the resolution's emphasis on "appropriate" matching from all other nations to meet the U.S. contribution of 3 million tons. I certainly agree with the committee's conclusion that—

> The principle of equal sharing . . . is both sound and desirable.

Yet I am also worried by the fact that other countries may not be able to match our own food aid at this particular time, and that India will be the one to suffer. Even though America is heading for the largest wheat harvest in its history, Russia is apparently expecting a poor harvest, and Western Europe is expecting only average yields. My point here is that I hope that, in implementing this resolution, the executive branch will not allow a legitimate concern for adequate participation by other nations to take precedence over an even more pressing concern for the well-being of the Indian people.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the most serious consideration be given to making these food grains available on a grant basis under Title II of Public Law 480 rather than on the purchase basis under Title I called for in the resolution. A nation that has suffered from a major drought for 2 years and in which more than 70 million face near-famine conditions would seem to clearly merit grant aid under the broad language of Title II. As I recall, last year we authorized the expenditure of up to $600 million a year for such Title II aid to meet famine conditions or provide urgent or extraordinary relief.

Such grant assistance would also help forestall another major crisis—that caused by India's diversion of her scarce foreign exchange from economic development to food purchases and shipping costs. Under the resolution's title I sale provisions, India would have to pay shipping costs in hard currency with the United States paying only for the extra cost of using American bottoms. At this time, she has only $330 million in foreign exchange—barely enough to cover the costs of her imports in any 2-month period. Moreover, it is not clear whether this title I transaction would be a dollar or rupee sale; even if it were a rupee sale, this would only add to the unmanageable rupee balances that already exist as a result of past Public Law 480 transactions.

I am, of course, well aware that the United States has been very generous to India over the years. We have given abundantly of our dollars and our products. But this generosity has not gone to waste. In addition to helping India combat the specter of famine and widespread hunger, I think that our help has played a major role in maintaining India's political independence and economic viability during her difficult early years. There is no question that India still faces enormous internal difficulties and that much more foreign aid and technical guidance will be needed to further her economic development. But India's role in Asia is crucial. Her continued economic growth and political stability are vital to our own goals and hopes for Asia.

Should India fall into chaos, should her staggering problems completely overwhelm her and bring down her political structure, we would have real reason to fear for the future of all Asia. Thus, our purposes in helping India are twofold; humanitarian and practical. The

United States, as the richest Nation in the world, cannot sit idly by and witness the misery and hunger of many millions. Nor can we tolerate the prospect of the political splintering or disintegration of the Indian nation—because of insufficient aid at this crucial juncture.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I have one further request for time. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER].

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] for yielding me this time and to assure him that I support the joint resolution.

I should like to commend him, the chief sponsor of the resolution, for the statesmanlike manner in which he has brought this legislation to the House. I commend both him and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] for taking a firsthand look at the situation in India on behalf of the President and for the forthright and perceptive recommendations they made to the President upon their return.

The gentleman from North Dakota and I, and other Members of this body, I am sure, are very concerned that the amount of food aid represented in this resolution may turn out to be insufficient to meet India's needs because of the limitations. Were it not for the qualifying language, the resolution might be unduly restrictive and potentially harmful.

I would like to ask the chairman of the committee a question. The resolution under consideration contains certain limitations on United States food aid to India, which is qualified by the phrase, "on the basis of estimates now available;" of the imports required to meet the food shortage in India. Am I correct in assuming that should these estimates of India's needs prove inaccurate, the United States will be able to adjust its food aid assistance?

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman is correct, and the resolution so provides.

Mr. OTTINGER. One further question, Mr. Chairman: I have recently been made aware that there may be a report in the possession of the administration which would tend to substantiate the testimony to the Agriculture Committee by the legislative representative of the National Grange to the effect that India's food grain production in 1967 will actually fall far short of the estimates on which this resolution is based. Is the Chairman aware of such a report?

Mr. POAGE. No; I am not aware of it.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I intend to support House Joint Resolution 267, although I feel it is unnecessary and find some of its provisions unduly restrictive. The good in it is congressional endorsement of the importance of meeting India's critical food import requirements and helping her avoid mass starvation.

I am sure that most of the Congress as well as most Americans join me in endorsing the President's proposals for a joint approach to India's food problems by a consortium of "have" countries. Certainly, to meet urgent food needs of the fast-growing populations of the "have not" nations, to avoid mass starvation and political upheavals in these nations, the cooperation of all "have" countries will be needed. The United States cannot and should not bear these burdens alone.

I support the President's proposals for sharing India's food-deficit burdens, but with the understanding that the President does not intend to lock in the U.S. position to such an extent that starvation of Indian children becomes a principal bargaining tool to obtain contributions from other "have" nations, or for any other political objectives.

During the hearings on this resolution, both the Secretary of Agriculture and the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs stated that it is the administration's intention to leave itself flexible in making food allocations to India in the event there are unforeseen contingencies. During those same hearings, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] made clear that the drafters of this resolution were concerned that, despite strong efforts by the United States to get other nations to match our food contributions, exactly equivalent allocations might not be forthcoming. The gentleman from Kansas said in that event the United States should be in a position to supply additional food. This is fully supported both by history and logic, since last year the United States supplied 8.3 million of the 11 million tons of food grains India had to import to meet her vital needs—and other "have" nations simply did not produce surpluses to enable them to supply half of these needs even if they had wanted to.

In his testimony before the Committee on Agriculture, Under Secretary of State Eugene Rostow stated:

> We cannot expect those countries to take over the task of meeting half of India's food import needs immediately. Full matching of our concessional deliveries will not be possible this year, although we have not given up hope of success in that effort.

Apart from the problems of equal sharing in India's food import program, let us look at the food commitments contained in the resolution before the House today. We have already committed 3.6 million tons to India this year. In the resolution under consideration, we pledge an additional 3 million tons "provided it is appropriately matched." Assuming other nations come up with 3 million tons of food to match our allocation, the total outside aid to India this year will amount only to 9.6 million tons, which is far below even the most conservative estimates of India's needs.

Last August, the Indian Government estimated its import requirements at 10 million tons of food grains for the period November 1966 to December 1967. This was based on expectations for a normal crop year in which production would exceed 80 million tons. It is obvious now that India's food grain production will be far lower. The legislative representative of the National Grange testified last week that our estimates of India's food needs were based on out-of-date figures and that because of severe drought conditions, Indian food production will be somewhere between 72 million tons and 76 million tons. I am reliably informed that this estimate is supported by figures in the possession of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of State, but that those figures have not been released.

I urge my colleagues to consider carefully these figures and read closely the language of House Joint Resolution 267. They raise some urgent questions:

Will other nations be willing and able to match our 3-million-ton allocation?

Even if our 3-million-ton pledge is fully matched by other nations, will this assistance be sufficient to prevent mass starvation in India later this year?

If other nations do not provide a full 3 million tons, or if India's requirements substantially exceed 10 million tons, will the administration come back to Congress for another resolution consenting to the allocation of an additional amount of food grains?

Would such a resolution have a reasonable chance of passage in the face of the limitations in House Joint Resolution 267?

Or will the administration be content to sit by and watch millions of Indians starve to death for failure of the accuracy of the estimates in this resolution or for failure of other nations to provide a full matching share?

The likelihood that India's food import needs will substantially exceed the limitations of House Joint Resolution 267 are so great that one must question the wisdom of having them in the resolution.

The consequences of failing to respond if India's requirements exceed these limitations are so grave that one cannot fully comprehend their impact. Leaving millions of Indians to starve to death, particularly if we realize the domestic production presently anticipated, would be unthinkably inhumane. Furthermore, it would have dire political consequences for the largest bastion of democracy in the East—a democracy already under severe stress from prolonged famine and serious economic problems.

Support for House Joint Resolution 267 can only be justified on the basis of the qualification that its limitations are premised "on the basis of estimates now available." I am therefore pleased that the administration, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and the coauthor of the resolution [Mr. DOLE], have all clearly indicated that, should the estimates on which the limitations are based prove inaccurate, other arrangements can be made to adjust our assistance. This qualification is vital to our own interests as well as to the humanitarian principles for which this Nation has always stood.

Unfortunately, the record of this Government's handling of emergency food relief for India does not justify complete confidence that adequate flexibility will actually be employed. For example, House Joint Resolution 267 includes a $25 million allocation in emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies. These funds were appropriated last year. They were requested nearly 4 months ago, and the administration knew at that time that they were urgently needed to avert widespread starvation among some 10 million children in the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Although approval of this grant was fully within the administration's authority under Public Law 480, as amended, action on it was delayed for reasons never disclosed. In my view, this is a poor way to handle emergency food relief, for our delay could be interpreted, unfortunately, as playing politics with the lives of children.

There is no question that India has not done enough to put her agriculture on a self-supporting basis. Much remains to be done, but positive steps have been taken by the Indian Government to meet the needs of the people. I think India's self-help measures were recognized by the congressional delegation which visited India at the request of the President last December. A comprehensive study of these steps has also been made by the Department of Agriculture, and I present herewith for the Record a letter I received from the executive assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture in response to my request for that study:

Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C., February 3, 1967.

Hon. Richard L. Ottinger,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ottinger: Thank you for your letter of January 27 in which you request a copy of a report to the Department of Agriculture by Martin E. Abel on self-help measures undertaken by India.

A formal report evaluating agricultural self-help measures in India was not prepared. However, the findings of the Department of Agriculture team can be summarized as follows:

Starting in late 1965 the Government of India began to place increasing emphasis on agricultural development. The food crises of the past few years made it unmistakably clear to India's leaders that agriculture, among all the development objectives, had to receive top priority. Very significant changes have occurred in India's agricultural policies and the commitment of resources to agriculture. Public investment scheduled for agriculture during the Fourth Five-Year Plan will be more than double that the Third Plan. Agriculture is second only to national defense in the Fourth Plan. Accelerated investments in agriculture have already begun to take place. Budget expenditures for agriculture during 1966–67 are 43 percent above the 1965–66 level. In addition to the Fourth Five Year Plan the Indian Government has developed an annual subplan which will permit early evaluations of performance. This procedure introduces a new degree of flexibility in adjusting resource allocations within agriculture to ensure that production targets are met.

Since 1964, the Indian Government has been providing food grain producers minimum price support at levels sufficient to encourage greater production.

In 1964, also, the Indian Parliament created a statutory agency for the purpose of making the price support schedule effective. This agency, called the Food Corporation of India, was charged with two additional responsibilities: To help insure equitable distribution of food among consumers at reasonable prices by gaining a commanding position in the market through purchase, storage, and movement; and to build up gradually a national food reserve.

The tight food grain situation of the past two years has kept market prices well above support prices, thus minimizing the need of the Food Corporation to support prices. The Food Corporation has gradually taken over the procurement responsibility of other Center agencies and, this year, the Food Corporation will be the procurement agent for almost all State governments. Eventually it will operate over the entire country. In a further step, a meeting of state and central government leaders in November, 1966, agreed that a national food budget system should be immediately developed to facilitate greater sharing betwen surplus and deficit states. The staff work for the food budget is nearing completion and the budget is expected to be announced in March.

The Indian Government took a number of steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production capacity and to ensure sufficient imports of fertilizer to meet established targets for total fertilizer availability.

India has taken the following steps to improve the investment climate for the manufacture of fertilizer in the private sector: (a) All geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing within each state have been removed, and New Delhi plans to remove constraints on interstate movement as soon as supplies permit. (b) All private manufacturers of fertilizer who commit themselves to invest in India prior to March 1, 1967, will be allowed freely to price and distribute their products, with no government regulations. (c) Simplified and streamlined procedures for approving and licensing foreign private investment in the manufacture of fertilizer have been put into effect and, together with new policies on foreign private investment (e.g., acceptance of management control by the foreign collaborator), have succeeded in speeding negotiations with investors already underway and in stimulating proposals from other foreign firms. (d) In allocating foreign exchange, top priority has been given to fertilizers, including fertilizer for seeding programs of new plants, fertilizer raw materials and spare parts for fertilizer plants. (Foreign exchange allocations for fertilizer in 1965/66 were $163 million and in the current year it is $268 million.)

Substantial progress has been made to increase the operating efficiency of fertilizer plants in the public sector. As a percent of capacity, production has been raised from 63 percent in 1965 to an estimated 80 percent in 1966. The principal reasons for operation of plants at low levels of capacity were a lack of raw materials, a shortage of spare parts, and poorly designed plants. Indian efforts to date have improved the situation on all these fronts. Steps are also being taken to reduce the dependence upon sulphur—in short supply world around—in the manufacture of fertilizer in India and to develop India's pyrite deposits which can meet the entire sulphur requirements by 1974.

To maximize food production from available inputs, India has adopted a strategy of concentrating the combination of agricultural inputs on the most productive land with an assured supply of water. This concept was first embodied in the Intensive Agricultural District Program, later incorporated in the larger Intensive Agricultural Areas Program and now embodied in the High-Yielding Varieties Program. For the Fourth Five-Year plan a target of 32.5 million acres has been set for the High-Yielding Varieties Program and an adequate supply of fertilizer, improved seed varieties, plant protection materials, and irrigation are to be assured for this acreage.

India plans to cover 6.4 million acres of the best crop land with an assured water supply under the High-Yielding Varieties Program during the 1966–67 crop year—an effort without precedent. Domestic supplies of high-yielding varieties were augmented by 18,000 tons of imported wheat seed from Mexico in an effort to meet the targets. Although available evidence indicates that the concentration of available inputs on the selected acreage has been carried out effectively, drought has affected this program to the extent of ruling out the possibility of reaching the target of one additional ton of food grain per acre. But the program is demonstrating that Indian farmers, given proper guidance and necessary inputs, can dramatically raise productivity levels.

A cabinet level committee on agricultural credit has been established. Also, a working level committee of the GOI is currently studying ways to establish a national agricultural credit program. Steps have been taken this year to increase (about 10 percent over last year) the supply of credit to cultivators through the co-ops and, on a pilot basis, to use the Food Corporation of India to extend credit to cultivators as an advance on their crop. Cultivators can pay off their loan by either grain or cash. Finally, private banks have been urged to establish rural credit programs.

There has been some speedup in Indian performance in the soil and water management field. The basic outline for a new program has been developed (with USAID/US Geological Survey assistance) and a central coordinating body has been set up and is partially staffed. In addition, India has developed, and is beginning to implement (with USAID/Soil Conservation Service assistance), a program for the better management and more intensive utilization of available water.

Recent evaluations of Indian agricultural development by other organizations such as the World Bank are in substantial agreement with the findings of the Department of Agriculture team that was in India in November and December 1966.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas R. Hughes,
Executive Assistant to the Secretary.

In the event that questions will be raised regarding the ability of the United States to do more for India than this resolution foresees, the legislative representative of the National Grange testified that the 1967 wheat crop in the United States will be an all-time record of about 1.6 billion bushels. With our current carryover of 400 million bushels, the total available wheat supply would be 2 billion bushels. This means that after using 650 million bushels for domestic requirements and another 650 million bushels for export—which includes 3 million tons for India—the United States will have a carryover of 700 million bushels this year—some 175 million bushels more than we need to feed this country for a year.

Let me make clear that what we do for India should not be considered simply an act of humane generosity. Any obligation to provide this food is not to India, but to ourselves. It is vitally in our national interest to help see to it that starvation does not tear asunder the largest free democracy in the Eastern World. No greater defeat of freedom, no greater favor to our enemies could be imagined.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, a few years ago I had an opportunity to stop for a briefing on Indian Agriculture with our most able Ambassador, our former colleague, Honorable Chester Bowles.

At that time the village concept of farm planning was taking hold on the Indian farm areas.

Chet Bowles was able to arrange for on the scene trips to the various villages. We had meetings with government officials and community gatherings of the people to discuss their serious food problems.

While our main objective was a study of our Department of Defense schools, we felt that the food problems of India were of a nature to compel any Member of Congress, or for that matter any citizen, to learn all he could about it.

Thanks to Chet Bowles and his dedication to these problems of serious concern to India, I have been receiving information on this and other areas which affect our own interests and peoples in their relationship to the rest of the world.

This legislation before us requires more than passing concern. It will affect the lives of millions of people.

I am happy to be able to put into the RECORD at this point a recent survey and report on the high hopes of the Indian peoples and Government to provide for themselves in the not too distant future:

Although today's newspaper headlines focus on the severe drought and near-famine conditions in Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh, we believe that India may be on the verge of a major breakthrough in agricultural production.

I. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IS COMMITTED

Minister of Food and Agriculture, Mr. C. Subramaniam, recently affirmed that India is determined to become self-sufficient in agriculture by 1971 and pledged that the Indian Government will provide all of the resources required to achieve this goal.

While this target may be optimistic, with an even break in the weather and with a sustained nationwide program giving agriculture top priority we believe agricultural self-sufficiency in five to seven years is feasible.

The Government of India is acting on Subramaniam's pledge. It has allocated Rs. 293 crores ($390.64 million) for agricultural programs for 1966/67 as against Rs. 219 crores ($292 million) allocated for 1965/66. This is an increase of 34%.

In addition, the carry-over into the regular (non-plan) 1966/67 budget of projects initiated during the Third Plan will add a substantial amount which, according to official Ministry of Food and Agriculture estimates, could reach a figure as high as 60 crores rupees ($80 million).

With these additional funds the increase in agricultural investment for 1966/67 over 1965/66 will be well over 40%. This increase is especially noteworthy since it is taking place at a time when total Plan investment is being scaled down 10% from last year because of the general economic lag following the war with Pakistan and the severe drought.

Moreover, the Indian Government is now publicly committed to a 100% plus increase in Fourth Plan agricultural expenditures, from Rs. 1103 crores ($1470.4 million) for the Third Plan to Rs. 2410 crores ($3213.2 million) in the Fourth Plan. The Government has further stated that more money will be made available if more is needed.

II. THE NEW INPUTS ARE INCREASINGLY AVAILABLE

For several years India's eight agricultural universities (modeled after US land-grant institutions) and a number of specialized institutes sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, have been conducting extensive programs of research and experimentation. The practical results of this basic effort are now providing India with the tools which are required if India is to achieve self-sufficiency within the next five to seven years.

A. Fertilizer

The GOI has announced the following steps to increase fertilizer availability:

(1) Removal of geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing;

(2) Abolishment of the Government's near-monopoly control of the fertilizer supply;

(3) Permission for fertilizer prices to be set by the market demand;

(4) Provision of adequate foreign exchange to operate public fertilizer plants at full capacity;

(5) Institution of administrative and procedural changes to ease approval and licensing procedures for foreign private investment in new fertilizer plants;

(6) Provision if increased credit to farmers regardless of where they buy their fertilizer; and

(7) Abolishment of the requirement of government participation in the ownership of private fertilizer plants.

These steps have now been largely carried out. India expects to produce 535,000 tons of nitrogen-based fertilizers in 1967. This is a 78% increase over the 1966 production of 300,000 tons. New plants now under construction will raise India's indigenous fertilizer production by 1.8 million tons. The successful conclusion of current negotiations with American, British, Japanese, and Italian interests would assure production of nearly 2.5 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer from Indian plants by 1972.

The fertilizer import program, although substantial in size (634,000 tons in 1966) has been subject to some delays. Consequently there was not sufficient fertilizer available to meet the quotas for last summer's crop (kharif crop). However, the fertilizer pipeline is now full and the winter (rabi) crop which will be harvested in early 1967 should benefit very significantly.

B. Seeds

Not only has India imported substantial amounts of high-yielding seed varieties (Mexican wheat and Taiwanese rice) which have been multiplied domestically, it is also pressing forward with several major programs which have developed both excellent adaptions of the imported varieties and promising new local strains.

During the current crop year, as a first step toward its new drive for increased production, India has planted 5.5 million acres with these new high-yielding seeds. Nearly three million acres out of this total were planted with locally produced seeds. If the weather is normal, this year's crop should provide enough high-yielding seeds so that India can meet its goal of covering 16 million acres next year and 32 million acres by 1972 with new varieties solely from domestic sources.

C. Irrigation

Already roughly 25 percent of the arable land in India is irrigated. The substantial increase called for in the Fourth Five Year Plan will, if it is realized, assure significant progress towards freeing the farmers from the uncertainty of the monsoon rains.

Partially in response to the severe drought conditions these past two years, greater emphasis is being placed on the digging of shallow wells, tubewells, and improving local irrigation systems, especially along the Gangetic Plain. This area is believed to have one of the greatest ground water reserves in the world.

At the end of the Third Plan in 1965, total acreage under irrigation was 85 million. The Fourth Plan aims at adding 17 million acres irrigated by minor projects and 9 million acres irrigated by major projects. By 1971 this will provide a total acreage under irrigation of 111 million acres, roughly one-third of India's potential farmland.

The emphasis on minor well-digging projects offers a quick impact since within a very short time the water can be used by the farmer. The Government of India has purchased or rented every drill rig available in India through commercial channels in order to move forward rapidly with minor irrigation schemes.

III. NEW METHODS POINT TOWARD A RURAL REVOLUTION

Here is an example of what the new agricultural technology can mean to a small North Indian farmer.

He grows wheat on his two and one-half acres of land and he sells it in the market for Rs. 650 a ton. By using the new agricultural technology—high yielding seeds, irrigation, chemical fertilizers, and pesticides, this farmer can at least triple his production. His comparative budget will look like this:

	Costs by traditional methods	Costs by new methods
Plant protection..........rupees..	0	30
Seeds....................do....	50	100
Irrigation capital changes at 20 percent a year gross return on investment of 1,500 rupees..rupees.	0	300
Irrigation, operating charges do....	0	50
Fertilizer................do....	0	250
Labor and bullock power..do....	250	250
Total................do....	300	980
Yield....................tons..	1.5	4.5
Total sales..............rupees..	975	2,925
Net earnings on 2.5 acres:		
Rupees....................	675	1,945
Dollars....................	91.33	259.33

Thus, using these new methods already so successful in Japan and Taiwan, the farmer has tripled his production and nearly tripled his earnings. High initial costs will soon amortize, and by planting two or even three crops a year, the farmer can expect to earn substantially more.

On a five acre farm, with half of the land double-cropped, an Indian farmer can now earn almost Rs. 6000. If he has a family of five, their per capita income will be twice the present Indian average. Moreover, the farmer using the new technology has not only increased the yield of one growing season; he has also sharply increased the overall productive capacity of his land.

IV. RESULTS OF THIS REVOLUTION ARE ALREADY BECOMING EVIDENT

Concrete examples of these sharp increases in rice as well as wheat production can already be seen throughout India.

For instance, of the 1.3 million acreas in Kerala now cultivated in rice, 130 thousand acres have been planted with the new Taiwan seeds and fertilized with nitrogen, yielding an average crop three times greater than the previous high. Kerala agriculture officials estimate that over 700 thousand acres will be planted with this seed variety by 1968.

In the Tanjore district of Madras the same kind of revolutionary changes are taking place. Recent visitors to Tanjore report a similar increase in yields there with 200 thousand acres in that district alone planted with improved seeds (up from ten thousand acres in 1965.)

V. THE IMPACT ON INDIA'S ECONOMY GENERALLY

The multiplied effect of increased agricultural production on the economy of India cannot be overemphasized.

As the farmer's productive capacity increases, his income rises. With more money he begins to purchase consumer items—sewing machines, transistor radios, bicycles, small tractors, etc.

As the consumer market is stimulated by increased demand, more money will be invested in factories, mills and smaller scale industries. As India's industrial and agricultural production rises, so will its ability to export and earn valuable foreign exchange.

This agriculture-based process of national economic growth is already responsible for spectacular gains in Japan, Taiwan and

South Korea. Now there is reason to hope that the same process is beginning to work in India with its crucially important one-seventh of the world's population.

VI. EFFECTS OF DROUGHT STILL HAMPER PROGRESS

Nevertheless, in spite of the vast effort which is now underway India as a whole will continue to face serious food shortages in 1967 as a result of the failure of the monsoon rains for the past 2 years.

In the rice bowl area of Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh and northeast Madhya Pradesh—areas with a total population of more than 100 million people—the drought last year has had a severe impact with the current foodgrain crops down to ⅓ to ½ of normal output.

The advent of the December-January rains in this area has brightened prospects somewhat, but the rains have so far not been sufficient enough to promise more than an average winter crop.

The impact of the drought in Bihar is compounded by the low state of India's grain reserves. In 1965–66 the effects of that year's drought on the food situation were made somewhat more manageable by the existence of substantial reserves of grain in the hands of tens of thousands of grain dealers, cultivators and consumers following the record harvest of 1964.

These "invisible reserves," which may have been as high as six or seven million tons in rural and commercial stocks, are now largely gone. As a result even though total foodgrain production in 1966 may have been ten million tons above the previous year (despite the severe regional drought) India faces calendar year 1967 with the prospect that imports from abroad must at least equal those of calendar year 1966.

IN CONCLUSION

The Indian Government has embarked on a massive program to modernize Indian agriculture. This effort is sparking a revolution in India's 500,000 villages which would have been impossible to visualize only a few years ago. The great majority of farmers are now eager for fertilizer, for better seeds, and the more efficient use of water.

For the first time in history India's farmers are motivated not just to produce more for their families but to adjust their sights to urban markets far from their villages. In this new mood they find their Government willing to cooperate and prepared to undertake large commitments in their behalf.

The impact of this remarkable change which is occurring in Indian agriculture has been largely obscured by two consecutive droughts.

However, if the rains during the next few years are normal throughout India and if the Government of India continues energetically to place its top priority on agriculture, Mr. Subramaniam will be able to point proudly to rapid progress and perhaps even to redeem his pledge of self-sufficiency in foodgrains by 1971.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to add my voice to those of other Members urging passage of Joint Resolution 267, supporting emergency food assistance to India.

The Indian nation, largest democracy in the world, is passing through a most trying period in its national life. Members are aware of the effects of the two most disastrous monsoon failures in a hundred years of Indian history. If these natural disasters were not enough, the effects of two major wars in the past 4 years have compounded them.

The first, with Communist China on India's eastern frontier, was followed by a second with Pakistan on the western border. Leaving aside the merits of these clashes, both placed a severe strain on Indian resources and added in some measure to the already staggering developmental problems facing her Government.

And just last week a third complicating factor has been added, a rather major realinement in the composition of the Indian Government as a result of the national elections, the effects of which remain to be seen. I do not, of course, intend to comment on the results of this election since they are, after all, an internal Indian affair. Suffice to say that a new factor has been added and uncertainties over the future course of events have been planted in many minds.

This, then, is a period of great stress for India, and one in which, it seems to me, this Government's position should be one of doing everything it can to add to the stability of India's institutions.

Joint Resolution 267 is one device whereby we can do so. It will provide some 3.6 million tons of grain, and some $25 million of additional emergency food for distribution by private agencies, to meet a serious food deficit. It encourages the Government of India in its quest to become self-sufficient in food, and calls upon other nations to assist the Government of India with all means at their disposal.

To quote from the resolution:

> The programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India.

In my opinion, this critical time is no time to delay those measures which will add to the stability and strength of the fabrics of Indian society. It is rather a time for action.

I urge the passage of House Joint Resolution 267.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I want to voice my firm support of this resolution.

We who serve in the Congress of the United States conduct our business never far away from the hungry mouths and and beseeching voices of the world's deprived.

The basic problem of survival which confronts a large segment of the human family challenges us as representatives of a humane nation. As the world population increases and political complexities multiply, we must remain flexible in the methods which we employ to alleviate hunger.

I support the administration's attempts to encourage the participation of other able nations in food and other aid programs. However, I would like to express my concern that the earlier estimates of need, placed at 3 million tons, may prove to be insufficient. If that should be the case, as many authorities indicate it will be, I urge that we maintain a flexible policy on the amount of grain to be sent to India.

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to add my voice in support of House Joint Resolution 267. In this resolution are contained the essentials of what must be done to avert a food crisis affecting the one-fifth of mankind living in India.

U.S. agricultural commodities and resources will be made available to meet the immediate food deficit threatening in 1967.

The President's policy of seeking equal participation by other nations in meeting the developmental and food aid needs of India will be endorsed.

And finally, the Government of India will be encouraged and assisted in achieving self-sufficiency in meeting its own food needs in future years.

Members recognize, I am sure, the vital necessity of self-help efforts in India and the other developing nations. Its importance cannot be overemphasized.

Total world population will double in the next 33 years, rising to some 6 billion people by the turn of the century. Fully four-fifths of these new people will be born in the developing nations.

These developing nations, as a group, were net grain exporters only a generation ago. Today they are importing more than 30 million tons of grain a year in a desperate effort to feed a populace that can no longer be sustained by the primitive tillage of their own soils.

These massive imports have taken their toll. For 6 years now world grain stocks have been declining. Each year since 1961 world food consumption has exceeded production. In short, the world has been eating up its accumulated capital of grain.

But now the grain stocks are reduced to near-minimal levels. They cannot be reduced much further. Production must go up, or consumption will come down.

Accomplishing this, however, will take massive effort and time, and human beings must feed their bodies in the present, and not in the future. And so while we press ahead to provide the long-range solutions, I urge action on House Joint Resolution 267 to meet India's immediate needs.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, we have before us today a most important legislative proposal, in House Joint Resolution 267, to support emergency food assistance to India. The need for this legislation results from a 2-year drought in India and that country's unfortunate economic position. Approval of this resolution by the Congress will give support to our President's efforts to have the world community of "have" nations join with our own country in viewing this emergency situation as one requiring international responsibility and response; and, a proposal to that effect is being supported by other countries of the world.

Our Government's representatives, in January of this year, visited a number of countries which have accepted the idea that the emergency should be viewed as an international responsibility. There is broad agreement that a consortium of nations, under the World Bank, could provide an effective systematic basis for organizing such an international effort.

As I pointed out, the emergency food situation results from a 2-year drought. In 1966, there was a worldwide response to India's food problems when 36 countries, including our own, contributed foodgrains or food-related aid to meet the emergency created by last year's drought. For a comprehensive explanation of the problem, I suggest that the Members of the House read the statement of the Honorable Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, made before the House Agriculture Committee on February 28, 1967.

India as a nation has demonstrated its commitment to the democratic process. In its most recent election, which started on February 15, 1967, more than 175 million people voted in what is undoubtedly a most mammoth display of democracy in action.

Mr. Chairman, those who have been blessed with an abundance of wealth—such as we have been blessed—should be willing to share.

Let me conclude by saying: One always loses—not by failing to take—but by failing to give.

It is for these reasons that I will vote in favor of House Joint Resolution 267.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, the Honorable Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, appeared before our House Committee on Agriculture on February 28, 1967. His statement quite clearly explains the position of the United States in regard to the food-for-India program and what India is doing to help herself in this period of adverse food supply. I include his statement before our committee at this point in the Record and recommend its reading to my fellow Members of Congress:

Statement by the Honorable Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Before the House Agriculture Committee, Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee on Agriculture, I appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you today the food situation in India. Secretary Freeman has already covered a number of the key points. I propose only to outline briefly the nature of the international response to India's food problem, particularly the impressions I gained as a result of my recent trip to various world capitals at the direction of the President, and to touch on a number of the other considerations, in the international field and in India, of importance to your deliberations.

Before I begin, however, I thought I might comment on the recent political events in India. The largest election in the world began on February 15 and the results of it became known over this past weekend. More than 175 million people have been to the polls in an election which saw democracy at work on a mammoth scale. Some powerful political figures have been toppled by newcomers in some constituencies, while familiar names have been returned to Parliament or to the State Assemblies from others.

The full implications of these election results on the makeup of the post election government and the policies it will pursue are not yet discernible. But the most striking characteristic of this election, in my judgment, was its demonstration of India's commitment to the democratic process. This expression of the will of the Indian people in a democratic election stands in sharp contrast to recent developments in China which have been marked by violence bordering on anarchy and civil war.

The election also demonstrated the nature of the changing Indian society which both underpins and is responsive to the democratic process. India's democratic institutions have been taking root for several decades. The system has managed the world's largest and most pluralistic democracy through the early years of independence, through four general elections and through two major succession crises.

The Congress Party has now been returned to power at the center, albeit with a much smaller majority, and a new government must now be formed. Once we know the make-up of that government, we will be able to gauge its policies. But the way in which the elections were played out, the issues involved and the results thereof, all suggest that the high priorities assigned to agricultural production and economic development will continue. Whatever the complexion of the future government and its policies, one thing is certain. We will continue to have a stake in the success of India's democratic institutions.

To turn now to the problem of Indian food, I should like first to speak briefly about the trip Under Secretary Schnittker and I took in January at the request of President Johnson. We visited eight major capitals of the world. We exchanged views with governments of seven countries belonging to the India Consortium—Japan, Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium—as well as with the Government of India.

In each capital, we conveyed President Johnson's grave concern that the developing world is losing ground in the race between food and population; that despite U.S. efforts to increase acreage, our country can no longer be counted on to supply an inexhaustible reserve of food grains for the hungry; and that the United States believes all nations of the world, rich and poor alike, must shoulder their share of the world's fight against hunger and malnutrition.

We also emphasized the President's view that the failure of other nations to join in this effort would lead the world on the road to intolerable suffering; that India was not alone in facing the specter of near famine, but that India could serve as a model for other developing countries facing like problems, if the Indian effort were adequately supported through international action.

All the countries we visited accepted the idea that food aid for India during this emergency should be viewed as an international responsibility. There was also broad agreement that the Indian consortium under the World Bank could provide an effective systematic basis for organizing such an international effort. The India consortium is already coordinating international efforts to help India fulfill its broad economic plans, including its plans for increased food production. It was recognized that adding food aid to the consortium's responsibilities would ensure that food aid needs are coordinated with India's other assistance requirements and with India's own economic development efforts, particularly those directed at increasing food production.

Finally, there was substantial agreement that emergency food aid for India should not be allowed to diminish the flow of resources coming forward under other developmental programs but should be in addition to existing targets for economic assistance. Everyone agreed that if the Indians have to use large quantities of their foreign exchange for food, India's strong programs of economic and agricultural development and trade liberalization would have to be suspended, thus ending India's hopes for achieving food sufficiency within the next five years. Consequently, those countries which are not food exporters could contribute cash to buy food, or fertilizer, pesticides or shipping to transport food or fertilizer on concessional terms, since such contributions in kind would release Indian foreign exchange to buy food.

Still another form of contribution would be to offer India relief from its mounting debt burden. Such relief, on generous terms, would not only free foreign exchange for food purchases, but would also help India to stave off a balance of payments crisis arising in large part as a result of the food shortages and droughts of the past two years.

But whatever form the contributions might take the important point is that such contributions must be additional to planned economic assistance targets, if India's progress toward self-sustaining growth and food self-sufficiency is to continue.

* * * * *

Nevertheless, in 1966, the United States still provided about 85 per cent of the grain made available to India on a concessional basis. We feel very strongly that other advanced nations will now have to carry more of the load than they have in the past. That is the idea underlying President Johnson's Consortium proposal for matching U.S. contributions. But we cannot expect these countries to take over the task of meeting half of India's food import needs immediately. Full matching of our concessional deliveries will not be possible this year. Many advanced nations which agree with the concept of burden-sharing have budgetary problems, or are in the midst of elections, or are unable to make additional aid available on short notice. Nonetheless the President's proposal is a clear move in the direction of greater burden-sharing, and we are working toward that objective.

Our efforts to secure a greater international response have not been limited to the Consortium countries we visited. We have also held discussions about the Indian food problem through regular diplomatic channels with the other Consortium members and with other interested governments. Indeed, our Government has approached a total of nineteen other governments in support of the President's call for an international food effort for India.

And the international response is growing. Several governments have announced additional emergency food aid in recent months. Last November Canada announced it would donate 150,000 tons of wheat plus some flour and dried milk immediately and an additional 661,000 tons of wheat, worth $50 million, in the period from April 1967 to March 1968. Australia made a 150,000 ton grant of wheat in December and the Soviet Union made a 200,000 ton wheat gift that same month. The World Food Program donated 35,000 tons of wheat in December and also promised 82,500 tons of feed grain and 8,500 tons of dried milk powder as part of a long range development program. To mention a few other gifts, Norway and Sweden have announced fertilizer aid and the French Government has decided to donate milk powder.

We understand that some other governments have decided to make donations but have not yet formally announced their decisions. Still others, for reasons which the members of this Committee no doubt appreciate, are still uncertain about the amount they can obtain from their legislatures. But two international meetings are expected within about a month's time to discuss the Indian food situation, and we should have a better idea of the extent of this international response after those meetings.

The advanced nations of the world have a responsibility in helping India to meet its food needs in this emergency. But as President Johnson stressed in his India Food Message, "none of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance." Secretary Freeman has just reviewed for you India's self-help program in some detail, and I know that you, Mr. Chairman, and others on this Committee, have examined this question very seriously. Therefore, I do not propose to discuss India's agricultural program at great length.

I should like, however, to stress several points. First, there does seem to be "light at the end of this tunnel."

The members of this committee have had great experience in agriculture; you all know now difficult it is to receive dramatic changes in agriculture in a very short time. Nevertheless, dramatic changes in policy and attitude have taken place in India during the past 2 years. The Indian Government's high priority for agriculture has been translated into appropriate budgetary allocations. The new emphasis on providing fertilizer and other badly needed inputs to the cultivator and on incentive prices for the farmer has been firmly established and seems to me to be irreversible. Unfortunately, the effects of the past two years of drought have masked these changes. But the results obtained from these new attitudes and policies in areas unaffected by the drought are encouraging and the prospects for the future, assuming good weather, are promising.

Second, I would like to take note in particular of the Indian Government's activities in the drought-stricken area in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The Central Government's grain deliveries to Bihar have been increased to 200,000 tons a month and to Uttar Pradesh to 90,000 tons. Previous deliveries were 100,000 tons and 66,000 tons respectively. Part of the increase came from the states in India which have a local grain surplus; part came from abroad. This permitted the increase of the ration covering 19 million people in the drought area from 4 ounces per day to 6 ounces, which is still well below subsistence level and represents only half of a man's normal daily requirement.

In order to increase the grain available for the drought area, the Indian Government reduced the weekly foodgrain ration by 12 per cent for 28 million people in other parts of India. A ration cut for additional millions is under consideration for the same purpose.

For India's landless laborers, crop failure means immediate unemployment and the suspension of income. For these people, left without money to buy food, the Bihar State Government has established public work projects. In December 1966, some 500,000 people were engaged on relief projects in Bihar. State officials estimate that 1.5 million people will be working on relief projects by the end of this year.

Other emergency food relief measures in the drought area include CARE meals for mothers and children, some additional milk for school children not covered by the CARE program, and distribution of multivitamin tablets—all directed to the most vulnerable segments of the population. In addition to CARE, the Church World Services, Catholic Relief, Lutheran World Services, and UNICEF are also operating in the drought-stricken areas. At the present time, 3.6 million mothers and children in Bihar are receiving assistance from the voluntary agencies. These agencies have shifted supplies from other areas in order to step up their activities in the drought areas. Congressional approval of the $25 million donational program will permit the expansion and continuation of these programs.

The food outlook in Bihar for the rest of this year depends on a variety of as yet unknown factors. If New Delhi can maintain 200,000 ton monthly grain shipments to Bihar and if the state's spring crop is adequate, widespread famine can be avoided. However, if the Central Government is unable to maintain the current flow of grain supplies to the area or if the spring crop is poor—and the failure of the normal winter rains indicates a poor crop—the situation will be touch and go until the area's major harvest in December. We are watching the situation closely because we recognize that it may be necessary to increase our donational program for the drought area; the $25 million program may not be enough.

Third, one cannot speak of the Indian food problem without speaking of the population problem. And the action taken by the Indian Government makes it clear that India now fully appreciates the critical importance of family planning programs. In its new Fourth Five Year Plan, India proposed to devote four times as much money to family planning as was spent during the first three Five Year Plans combined. The right organizational steps are being taken as well. A separate sub-Cabinet level department has been established to be responsible for the administration of family planning programs. This department includes some of the high officials who ran India's most successful state family planning program in the Punjab. Thus far, the implementation of the program has been weak but we expect improved results with the more adequate funds and better direction which are now being provided.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the President's program, which follows in large measure the wise recommendations of your Congressional team, deserves the support of the Congress for a number of reasons. First and foremost, there is the humanitarian reason. People are hungry, very hungry, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and we have food to spare. The tradition of helping a neighbor in distress is strong in America, and this is a tradition we should live up to. As the President stated in his message, "We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe."

Further, we believe that India is on the right track in its agricultural development program and that if we help India over this crisis, we will see its foodgrain import requirements drop as its agricultural development program takes hold. On the other hand, if we do not provide India with the foodgrain that the President has recommended, the Indian Government would be forced to spend more hard currency on food to prevent widespread starvation. In order to do this, the Indian Government would have to divert large amounts of hard currency, hundreds of millions of dollars, from its economic development plan. This would undermine programs which the United States Government, other Western governments, and the World Bank have encouraged and supported. It would be most unfortunate if this year's drought forced the Indian Government to postpone its economic development program.

Finally, by this new initiative, President Johnson proposes to use United States food aid as a basis for stimulating a greater international effort in the War on Hunger.

Similar efforts are also underway in other international forums. To form a basis for a long-range approach to the world food problem, the United States is proposing in the Kennedy Round negotiations an international grains agreements containing a multilateral food aid program to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike.

And to facilitate the flow of fertilizer and other agricultural inputs so essential to increasing production in the developing world, the U.S. has urged the establishment of a food fund supported by OECD members and designed to encourage private investors in OECD countries to invest in agriculture and agriculture related industries in the developing world.

Through these efforts, the President is seeking to develop the habits of collective responsibility and collective action and the reflex sense of a common humanity, with the belief that such international partnerships are our best hope for future peace and progress.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I hope that your committee will give the President's program its full support.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I will support this resolution to continue food aid to India, but let me say, that I will be doing so with real misgivings.

I accept the argument that India is hungry. I also accept the idea that the world ought to help India. But I question the wisdom in sending food to India without insisting that the Indians try and develop a viable economy with the proper stress on agriculture and free enterprise instead of industry and socialism.

It is about time that the Indians learn that their programs for socialism and industrialization just have not worked. I think perhaps the recent elections are some indication of popular disenchantment. At least, I hope so. Something has to be done to shake India into affirmative and realistic action.

Mr. Chairman, today we are voting on a resolution to keep the food flowing to India. Meanwhile, food on the hoof is wandering around India, spreading disease. I refer to the sacred cows of India. India's predominantly Hindu population will not touch them. They will not kill them. This is part of the problem. India will not kill its sacred cows, physical or ideological. India cannot face the 20th century. Her traditions are diametrically opposed to reality and progress.

India must kill her sacred cows. India must kill the sacred cow of socialism. That sacred cow is just as burdensome to India as the dead cows in the streets of Calcutta and Bombay. India must also kill the sacred cow of immediate and rapid industrialization. India's future—or at least her immediate future—must be one of agricultural achievement. Nothing—I repeat, nothing—India can produce in factories can feed her starving masses.

So when I say that India must kill her sacred cows, I mean it in several ways. And I regret to say that I do not think that this country is exerting the firm hand that it must. It is all very well and good to give India food, but I think we owe it to the American taxpayer to give India some serious advice in addition. Somebody has to tell India to shape up and think and act in the 20th century.

We cannot go on feeding India forever. We have a right to expect India to begin to put her own house in order. The measures she has begun to take are only a beginning.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, public reaction and newspaper comments from around the country lead me to believe that the latest food aid agreement with India is being well received by the American people.

One reason for this favorable reaction undoubtedly is the strong indication that India means business about undertaking self-help in meeting its own food needs.

Commenting on President Johnson's recent Indian food aid message, the Des Moines, Iowa, Register said:

> India has already done a good many things in the past year toward solving a vast new problem: food rationing, incentives to get farmers to use artificial fertilizer and improved seeds and methods, improved rural credit. Better seed rice has been coming from Taiwan, better seed wheat from Mexico. Agreement has been reached on finance from abroad for the first of several fertilizer plants. Population control efforts have been stepped up.

From the Dayton, Ohio, News comes this observation:

> Any idea that India is just bleeding and pleading in all this has been dispelled by reports from recent U.S. missions there. India has stamped agricultural development top priority.

The Gainesville, Fla., Sun had this to say:

> The President's policy served a useful purpose. It let the rest of the world know that it must also share in the job. It told the Indians that they must move further along the path of building their own agriculture.

An interpretive story in the Kansas City, Mo., Star said:

> President Johnson was saying aid no longer would proceed unlimited, or, in effect, that our grain shipments would not continue to expand as they had in recent years because other nations are going to have to help.

When Congress enacted the new food aid legislation last year, it included the provision that self-help would be a condition of receiving such aid. It is heartening to see the spirit of this provision being carried out so genuinely in the first Indian agreement under the new program.

The Department of Agriculture's official announcement of the first grain agreement with India under the new program lists major targets of the Government of India for 1967–68 which will help meet the self-help provisions of the new law, as follows:

A 4-billion-rupee—$533 million—investment in agriculture;

Fertilizer production of 535,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen and 150,000 tons of phosphate;

Fertilizer imports of 850,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen, 350,000 tons of phosphate, and 300,000 tons of potassium;

A total of 15 million acres under new varieties of seed;

One hundred twenty-five million acres sprayed for crop protection;

Increase of 3 million acres in minor irrigation and concentration on use of irrigation for intensive production;

An increase of 1 billion rupees—$133 million—in Government rural credit; and

Increase of total commodity storage capacity by 1.35 million tons.

The Indian Government has also agreed to take the following actions: First, timely announcement of price support levels to encourage greater production; second, increased end-of-year Government grain stocks through price supports; third, development of a national food distribution policy; and fourth, accelerate domestic production capacity for fertilizer and other agricultural inputs.

From the testimony of congressional and other observers who have been in India of late, there can be no doubt that that hard-pressed land is giving agricultural development top priority. It is imposing food rationing, streamlining food distribution methods, giving incentives to farmers, expanding rural credit, and raising grain storage capacity.

It is sometimes overlooked that these measures have already begun to have beneficial effects. Overall, the situation is blighted by a second straight year of drought. But in states not affected by the drought, production is said to be well above that of any previous year.

India is also stepping up family planning and has agreed to use a significant part of the rupees generated by the new food aid agreement for family planning programs so important to halt the growth of its population.

An article in the official India News reports that the birth rate in India is showing decline in certain areas where accurate statistics are available.

The News quotes Dr. Sushila Nayer, Health Minister, as saying that the immediate task of the family planning program is to reduce the birth rate to 25 per thousand as soon as possible by popularizing family planning methods, including education for raising the age of marriage and voluntary sterilization.

The article says there are more than 20,000 family welfare planning centers of various types in the country and the number of IUCD users exceeded 1 million, and voluntary sterilization operations more than 1.5 million.

The future of India is of vital concern to this Nation on both political and humanitarian grounds. We can all take heart from the obvious sincerity with which the Government of India is undertaking to carry an ever greater share of its own burden, while putting our grain to good use to stave off famine.

India faces a rough road ahead. It has a long way to go before its food problem will be solved. But it is off to an encouraging start, and I think we can look to its future with hope.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Feb. 14, 1967]

Effective Aid for India

Sharing food with the hungry is one of the oldest and best of American traditions. In President Johnson's recent message to Congress on food for India, he called it "the first obligation of the community of man," and said the duty extended to rich and poor nations, food-surplus and food-shortage nations. "The United States," he said "is prepared to do its share."

Three million of the five million tons of food grain for India proposed in the presidential message is dependent on assent of Congress and "appropriate matching" by other countries. The whole emphasis of the plan is multi-national, with the India Aid Consortium of the World Bank the major channel. The plan includes emergency aid now, but relies for the future on strenuous efforts by India to help itself—by population control, by better organization of distribution, by much greater food production in India itself.

This approach may seem cold and hard-hearted, but it is not. India's problem is too serious to be met any other way. Two years of short crops are only a small part of the trouble. The main thing wrong is that India produces far too little food and far too many people.

When India was newly independent, it "solved" its food problem in one year by building a single fertilizer factory. This turned it from a food-deficit country harassed by periodic famines into a country where there was enough food to go around for everyone if properly distributed. The solution did not last long, because of population growth, but the approach was sound as far as it went.

Under pressure from the international consortium, India has already done a good many things in the past year toward solving the vast new problem: food rationing, incentives to get farmers to use artificial fertilizer and improved seeds and methods, improved rural credit. Better seed rice has been coming from Taiwan, better seed wheat from Mexico. Agreement has been reached on finance from abroad for the first of several fertilizer plants. Population control efforts have been stepped up.

Much remains to be done, and the consortium intends to keep pressure on India to do its share—which is the greatest share—while helping judiciously from outside.

This is by far the most humane and effective way to help. Here is a gigantic piece of foreign policy far removed from the power struggle and the arms race. Capitalists, socialists, traditionalists and—if the wish—Communist can work together to help the government and people of India make their huge section of the world a better place. Here is a program which deserves full support and understanding of both parties and all factions in Congress and among the American people.

[From the Dayton (Ohio) News, Feb. 13, 1967]

Bold New Attack on India's Hunger

In what could be labeled one of the most elegant and humanitarian addresses ever presented to Congress, President Johnson asked for indorsement of an international program to stave off famine in drouth-plagued, food-short India.

The President said the United States would ship two million tons of grain to India immediately and asked approval for another three-million-ton shipment. This food tonnage, added to that already sent by America and other nations in the help-India consortium, will see that populous Asian country over the 1967 hump.

Realizing food aid is "stop-gap, not a permanent cure," the President called upon the international community to organize for collective food aid action, to promote agricultural self-help, to develop a long-range food program to meet India's problem. There are encouraging signs that nations around the world are picking up the challenge in India and preparing for the first major test in the food-population war.

Any idea that India is just bleeding and pleading in all this has been dispelled by reports from recent U.S. missions there. India has stamped agricultural development top priority. The country is imposing food rationing, streamlining food distribution methods, giving incentives to farmers, stepping up family planning, working on new fertilizer plants, expanding rural credit, seeking agricultural advisers. Could any nation with some citizens living on roots and grass do any less?

Why does America dig deep into its dwindling grain bins to feed India? Why does it accept leadership in supplying food to this hungry nation? Because, as President Johnson said, "America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe."

[From the Gainesville (Fla.) Sun, Feb. 12, 1967]

The Difficult Problem of Feeding India

In recent months, President Johnson has—rightly, we believe—tightened strings on U.S. food aid to India. As a result, he was criticized for humiliating—a word used by the New York Times—the government of India shortly before a national Indian election by putting the aid on almost a month-to-month basis.

We think, however, that the President's policy served a useful purpose. It let the rest of the world know that it must also share in the job. It told the Indians that they must move further along the path of building their own agriculture.

In releasing two million tons of grain for shipment to India, the President last week mentioned plans to channel future aid through a 12-nation consortium. The President's references to this consortium seemed vague, and well they should, for there is yet no suitable mechanism for bringing into international aid plans the other major food-producing countries. Such a scheme is presently part of the discussions in the Kennedy round trade negotiations—but it is far from certain yet what will emerge.

But even if a food aid system is developed in the Kennedy round, it would not involve the Soviet Union, which demonstrated in 1966 its great food-producing potential. The President's action last week in charting food aid to India for longer than a month-to-month basis will be welcomed by those who objected to the short-term policy, but solutions to the dual problems of India self-sufficiency and a workable international food aid system still seem somewhat distant.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, Feb. 12, 1967]

SELF-HELP GOAL OF U.S. AID CURB

(By Roderick Turnbull)

Careful reading of the text of the message President Johnson sent to Congress on food for India may suggest to farmers what the official position of the U.S. will be in the future toward donations of grain to needy nations.

In brief, the President explained that while this country would continue to help underdeveloped nations, the brakes were on to the extent that the U.S. would not carry the whole load and the recipient countries would have to do more to help themselves.

Another interpretation might be that President Johnson was saying aid no longer would proceed unlimited, or, in effect, that our grain shipments would not continue to expand as they had in recent years because other nations are going to have to help.

Already some farm interests are sensing that the market for U.S. food grains will be curtailed by the policy outlined. The National Grange last week complained that the President's emergency allotment to India was too small. This allotment was 2 million tons, of which 1,200,000 was wheat and the other 800,000 was milo. In total, the grain shipments to India this calendar year will be 6,600,000 tons, compared with 8,300,000 in the calendar year 1966.

The Grange complaint was that the allocation for India was about 4 million tons less than the projections used to justify the second increase of 15 per cent in the wheat acreage allotment last summer. In essence, the Grange said that farmers were asked to increase their plantings of wheat on an assumption of exports greater than now will be possible under the President's allocations to India.

Harry L. Graham, Grange legislative representative, wrote agricultural leaders in Congress that the new commitment to India was a threat to the adequacy of minimum diet requirement for the people of that nation and also a "threat to the wheat price levels of American farmers."

The President, however, carefully explained, that this government was puting new emphasis on joining with other nations in helping India. Also, it is determined that India must extend its efforts to feed itself. What he said of India also applies to other *needy nations now getting U.S. aid.*

"There is no substitute for self-help," Johnson said. "The first responsibility of each nation *is to supply the food its* people need. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves. Food aid is a stopgap, not a cure. It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it."

Continuing, the President said:

"Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs. The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted, while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.

"Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program. Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving balance between industrial and agricultural growth.

"Fertilizer, seed and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before. . . .

"All advanced nations, including those which import food, must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves."

The President went on to explain that this country had been discussing world food problems with other nations through the United Nations Food and Agriculture organization and other international groups. He said the pattern of international co-operation had improved steadily. Canada currently is giving India 150,000 tons of wheat, Australia 150,000 tons and the Soviet Union 200,000 tons. This grain joins the 1,600,000 tons from the United States that already is in the pipeline to India.

From now on, President Johnson specified, this nation's food aid policy will be to make it a part of a multilateral assistance program (along with other nations).

He then said the best present estimate was that India would have to import 10 million tons of food grains this year. Already, 2,300,000 million tons are in the pipeline, from this country and others. In total, more than 6 million tons of the 10 million that India needs would come from the U.S. The remainder would be supplied by other nations.

Apparently, while the President has made it clear what the United States will do, the other nations which are expected to help have not publicly stated their positions. So there still is an "if" in Johnson's program. However, in his message he made no mention of alternative plans should the other nations renege in any way.

By every implication, what the President said was that the United States was willing to bear a heavy share of the load of feeding India and other needy nations but that it would be government policy to insist that this be an international effort.

The implication, too, was that this country was attempting to draw a line on how much it would continue to give away from its grain stocks. No mention was made, of course, of limiting dollar export sales in any way.

The grain market was in a sort of doldrums last week, with little news to bring about reactions one way or another. First-hand owners of grain were selling very little; buyers were not actively trying to make purchases.

One Chicago grain firm commented that the time was ripe for reports to begin coming in of kills on the wheat crop in certain localities. At the Kansas City Board of Trade, some were saying that such reports would almost certainly be coming from Southwest Kansas and adjacent areas unless moisture came soon.

It is an amazing situation, some were contending, that the crop in much of the *Plains* area has been holding on month after month without adequate moisture. Something is bound to give some day, either the arrival of the needed moisture or the reports of crop failure.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of House Joint Resolution 267 to support emergency food assistance to India for two reasons.

The first is the overwhelming necessity for such aid immediately, a need occasioned by 2 successive years of widespread drought on the subcontinent, subsequent crop failures and the drawdown of grain reserves.

The second is that India has made impressive progress in building its own agricultural plant and, in my belief, we should give assistance to allow her to continue this vital job.

In the past year a food rationing system has been imposed, transportation has been improved and prices paid to Indian farmers have been increased, providing more incentives to use fertilizer and improved technology.

Agriculture, I understand, now has top priority in India's economic plans. The Indian Government plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100 percent during the new 5-year plan.

As part of this new effort, rural credit will be expanded, water supplies will be improved and the distribution of fertilizer to remote rural areas will be accelerated.

This is one side of the food-population equation. On the other side, I understand that India is planning to step up its other services to bring future population into better balance with available resources.

Members know that much more needs to be done by the Indians themselves. But the evidence is unmistakable that India has started on the right path. Their government is aware that cooperation among the eight Indian state governments needs to be improved and that much more effort needs to be made in the future, before self-sufficiency in food is achieved.

House Joint Resolution 267, it seems to me, both recognizes the greater efforts needed on the subcontinent, and, at the same time, offers our support in providing the needed grains to meet the immediate and pressing problems occasioned by the two worst droughts in recent Indian history.

The aid which would be provided by this resolution, plus that of other nations, will allow the Indians to continue the very real progress they have made so far, and to avoid a catastrophic interruption of the worthwhile projects now underway, an interruption that would surely occur in the face of widespread famine.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, the present food situation in India is acute. During the 1965-66 crop year, the subcontinent experienced its most disastrous monsoon season in nearly a century. The failure of the rains was fairly uniform all over India. Total food-grain production dropped from 89 million tons, during the 1964–65 year, to little more than 72 million tons last year.

As a result, food consumption of food grains per person per year had to be cut from some 187.7 kilograms to 175 kilograms and stocks accumulated in the previous year drawn down by more than 4 million tons.

The situation this year is no less critical. Again, the monsoon rains failed, this time largely in northern India. *Food-grain production is estimated at* some 78.5 million tons, up 6 million tons from last year, but still 10½ million tons short of the 1964–65 crops.

This is the situation which precipitated the President's message on India food of February 2. It is the same situation which the able and distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] witnessed and investigated in depth during the holiday season, and reported on to this House.

The urgency of the need of the Indian people is such that the United States has already committed some 3.6 million tons of grain as part of the 8 to 10 million tons of imports needed by India during calendar year 1967.

These on-going efforts are noted in House Joint Resolution 267, and further efforts are called for.

We would provide an additional amount of food grains not to exceed 3 million tons, providing this amount is appropriately matched, and support allocation of some $190 million of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation to accomplish this purpose.

We would recommend that the President provide an additional $25 million of emergency food relief for distribution in India by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

In addition, we would endorse U.S. participation with other countries, and with multilateral organizations, to provide India with both food aid and the tools and technical knowledge to become self-sufficient in food production. This self-sufficiency is absolutely vital in meeting the long-range food needs of her population.

Mr. Chairman, I endorse House Joint Resolution 267 and urge its passage.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, while the immediate future of food aid to India has been brightened by the first agreement under the new Public Law 480—an agreement which will provide 2 million tons of U.S. grain to meet India's most urgent food needs—we must not lose sight of the fact that the Indians still face a precarious food situation.

During the past 5 years, they have had only one good crop year. The India News Service issued here in the United States characterizes the current situation as "no less grave than a threat of external aggression."

India's ability to import some 10 million tons of grain in the past year—more than 8 million tons of it from the United States—averted a major national calamity. The Indians had hoped that another year of heavy imports would not be necessary. The failure of rains during the summer crop season, however, has largely dispelled these hopes, and India must continue for the foreseeable future on virtually a war footing to feed its people.

The President, the administration and the Congress have made it abundantly plain that the people of the United States intend to help India with its food problem. I think the American public and press are generally in agreement with this commitment.

Says the Houston, Tex., Chronicle on this point:

> India may seem remote from America's shores, but we have a big stake in her future. Unlike the other Asian giant, Red China, India has chosen the way of freedom. If India can improve the life of her people, then the free world will have won an enormous victory. If India fails, then Asia's millions may conclude that democracy cannot work outside of Europe and America.

From the Paris, Tex., News come these words:

> India's plight remains our concern because, as the President said, "the first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all its members." We can hope that in time India may conquer her immense problems, and we should insist that she work toward doing this. In the meantime, we cannot let her people starve.

But the challenge of Indian food aid is far beyond the capacity of our Nation to solve alone. As the President said:

> All advanced nations—including those which import foods—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.

The President's proposal that an India Food Aid Consortium be brought into the picture to combine our efforts with those of other countries appears to offer a practical approach.

There is already in existence an India Aid Consortium, composed of Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. With the World Bank as chairman, it has been helping India with foreign exchange problems since 1958.

As Secretary Freeman pointed out in his testimony on the India resolution:

> The proposed integrating of Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance, and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development, can provide a much stronger helping hand that India must have if it is to cope successfully with its mountainous problems of too little food for a large and growing population.

A good start has already been made in the direction of an international program to help India avoid starvation. Canada has contributed approximately 200,000 tons, Australia has granted 150,000 tons and sold another 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union has made a grant of 200,000 tons of grain. This grain is already in the pipeline, along with 1,600,000 tons from the United States.

I am confident there will be other contributions of grain and that there will be cash contributions as well by nations which do not have grain available to contribute.

The problem of India today is the age-old problem of the underfed—multiplied and aggravated by the country's great size and by its strategic location in a tense and troubled world. It is a problem in which many nations have a stake and with which many nations must help.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Houston, Tex., Chronicle, Feb. 11, 1967]

A SYMBOL OF INDIA'S AGONY

The rock which struck Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the face as she addressed a crowd of hecklers is symbolic of the agonizing problems which grip India.

This world's biggest and poorest democracy is in the throes of its fourth general election since India gained independence in 1947. Crisis besets the land on every side. There are too many people and too little food. Famine threatens missions. Corruption in Mrs. Gandhi's ruling Congress Party is rampant. Widespread ignorance and ancient religious tradition impedes attempts at reform.

That Mrs. Gandhi, her nose bleeding and her lip bruised, was forced to leave a political meeting under a hail of stones indicates how the situation has deteriorated. Mrs. Gandhi unfortunately doesn't possess the mystical quality of her late, revered father, Jawaharlal Nehru, who so inspired his people. Her leadership is being seriously challenged.

She promises her countrymen no easy solutions, for there are none. In her campaign appearances, she tries to reason with her people, explaining to them why their life is hard. She recalls India's struggle for freedom and warns that a still greater struggle lies ahead. "If we fight together in the same way we will give a new, better life to our children and grandchildren," she tells them.

India may seem remote from America's shores, but we have a big stake in her future. Unlike the other Asian giant, Red China, India has chosen the way of freedom. If India can improve the life of her people, then the free world will have won an enormous victory. If India fails, then Asia's millions may conclude that democracy cannot work outside of Europe and America.

The United States is helping, of course. Our grain shipments have prevented mass starvation. And, as President Johnson pointed out recently, India is not alone in facing the specter of famine. Half the world's people face this same problem.

The rock which struck Mrs. Gandhi is an ugly reminder that hungry, demoralized people cannot wait forever.

[From the Paris (Tex.) News, Feb. 9, 1967]

INDIA'S PLIGHT, OUR PROBLEM

President Johnson has requested additional shipments of wheat to India to state off impending starvation. Actually, the President has little choice in the matter—the feeding of India has come to be regarded by the world as our burden, rightly or wrongly.

But someday, perhaps soon, the United States must lay this burden aside—or at least find others with which to share it. Our grain surpluses are disappearing, for one thing. For another, the continued dependency of India on us for food really is not best for India.

The President, of course, recognizes this. Earlier we concluded our long-term agreement to aid India; the present request is well below aid sent to India last year. The problem is how to go about shifting the burden or—most desirably—make India able to feed herself.

To solve this, the President is holding down grain shipments to India, while trying to make them contingent on proof from India that she is doing everything possible to develop her own food production capacity. Additionally, we are attempting to obtain the pledges of other nations to assist India. Australia, in particular, recognizes the merits of this approach.

India's plight remains our concern because, as the President said, "the first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members." We can hope that in time India may conquer her immense problems, and we should insist that she work toward doing this. In the meantime, we cannot let her people starve.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, in order to get a balanced view of this picture, I think I should insert at this point the *remarks I made in our committee hearings* on this resolution with regard to food aid to India:

> First, I would say that I thoroughly agree with the basic approach to this problem which the distinguished chairman stated on Wednesday on India. The chairman characterized India as an applicant for public welfare. He stated that India has not made the kind of effort he would expect to be made by a private citizen of his community toward doing what he could to solve his own problems before requesting aid from others. India could and should do much more than has been done in this regard. My concern is, as has just been expressed by the chairman, based on domestic wheat prices which might result from our nation being locked into a position which limits our export possibilities. I believe that I share the concern of the National Grange, if I have understood your statement correctly, Mr. Graham. This is a matter, basically, of our own self-interest.
>
> I am not suggesting at this point that we either reject or modify the resolution now under consideration. I believe it is important that we carefully study the prospect for wheat production in the United States during 1967 and the total wheat disappearance we can expect. A very close balance, it seems so me, is most important here in order that we do have adequate supplies and carry-over, and in order that an over-supply does not drag down the price of wheat to the American farmer.
>
> In other words, I am always concerned about doing all that we can to feed hungry people wherever they are, provided they are interested in doing their part. I am also deeply interested in expanding agricultural exports. My first responsibility, however, must be to those American citizens who use their land, equipment, money, and labor to produce this food supply.

Mr. **MATSUNAGA**. Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge the adoption of House Joint Resolution 267, to support emergency food assistance to India.

I view the legislation now being considered on the floor with a vivid recollection of the tragic scenes I witnessed during my visit to India in December of 1965. In Calcutta, for example, of its 3 million people, 250,000 were then without food or shelter. Men, women, and children, and even infants, slept along the highways at night, with hardly any clothing on their backs and without food in their stomachs. As I walked along the streets of that dismal city during the day, I was approached by begging children who looked more like animated skeletons than human beings. Although I had been advised not to do so by American consular and Indian officials, I could not help but dig into my pockets for whatever rupees I happened to have to give to those children.

It was in the wake of these facts and circumstances that I firmly resolved that I would do everything within my influence and capabilities to bring relief to the starving peoples of India.

I supported a similar measure in the last session of Congress which provided for this Nation's participation and support in relieving the hunger of India's starving millions, and I welcome again the opportunity to cast my vote in favor of continuing such food assistance.

Mr. Chairman, in approving this legislation we ought to take great pride that Americans are humanitarian by nature. It is abundantly clear that in providing this assistance to India we are not seeking any gain or advantage, economic or *otherwise, but that we are simply lending* assistance to our fellow human beings who are in dire need. And as long as we are blessed by the Almighty more than our neighbors, should we not continue to share those blessings with those in real need?

There appears to be little doubt that world history will record as being particularly noteworthy the fact that the United States in this era of India's greatest need, came so quickly and generously to her assistance in order to relieve the grave famine confronting her people. And history will also note that the action that was taken by the Congress last year and the action that will be taken by this body today were entirely consistent with our national humanitarian outlook and the image of our great Nation.

Mr. Chairman, upon adoption today of this joint resolution, and I have every confidence as to the favorable outcome of the vote on the measure, I shall go home tonight and sleep a little better, knowing that the starving children of Calcutta will be provided with food from the United States.

Mr. **SCHEUER**. Mr. Chairman, 2 years of serious drought in India have intensified the need of her people for continued food assistance from the United States. In addition to the grain now being shipped, the President has asked Congress to authorize 3 million more tons to be equally matched by other countries.

This humanitarian move on the part of the administration should be supported. However, more recent estimates raise the question whether even this will be enough. We hope that the intent of this legislation is to provide as fully as we can for India's needs in the face of adverse weather conditions, and that if more is needed the United States will respond generously.

While it is highly desirable that other countries should contribute as much as they are able, either in grain, fertilizer, or money, should the U.S. participation be tied firmly to equal matching? Should not our country do what is required to meet this disaster condition, even if other countries are not able to fully match the proposed 3 million tons? Present prospects for the 1967 wheat crop in the United States, according to Harry Graham in testimony before the House Agriculture Committee in the hearings on the India food crisis, may be the largest in U.S. history. Let us not play arithmetic with human misery. Let us rather demonstrate what the American people can do to prevent the starvation of millions of people in India.

The long-term solution, of course, requires greatly enlarged food production in India, drastic reduction in the rate of population growth, and more rapid economic development. It is to America's self-interest as well as an expression of our humanitarian impulses that the United States should both aid generously in this long-term program and respond now adequately from the agricultural abundance with which we are blessed.

Mr. **FRASER**. Mr. Chairman, we are all concerned about the world food shortage, and we have heard many proposals to alleviate that shortage and *avert world hunger. Today we are discussing* emergency action to prevent famine in India. Approval of Joint Resolution 267 is of the utmost importance in meeting India's immediate needs.

Today I would like to enter some brief remarks about two longer range factors in the war on hunger which have not had the attention they deserve.

The first factor—enlisting the private sector of the economy in the war on hunger—ties directly with the second—meeting the protein deficiency in the hungry nations.

In his message on India, the President pointed out that the war on hunger is too big for governments alone. He said:

> Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies and cooperatives join the battle.

There is the practical matter of money, and investment capital comes, for the most part, from private business—and not from the Government. This is the first factor.

And now for the second. There are two kinds of hunger, each as insidious as the other. Caloric hunger is the more familiar, but nutritional hunger causes the deaths of millions of children each year and contributes to the poor health of millions of surviving adults.

Protein malnutrition can inflict hidden damage, because children who do not get adequate protein in their diets may suffer permanent physical and mental damage.

The Department of Agriculture is now working with the U.S. food processors in developing commercial ventures to manufacture of otherwise provide protein foods suited for the less developed countries.

The Department believes that the two main approaches to improving the world's protein food supply will be fortification of cereal grains to improve their protein content, and development of commercial protein food industries within the less developed countries themselves.

For maximum immediate usefulness, protein quality must be improved without materially changing the basic cooking patterns or eating habits of the users. If entirely new foods are developed, they must be acceptable to the ethnic groups expected to use them—as well as being nutritionally adequate.

This month, the Pillsbury Co. of Minneapolis, contracted with the Agency for International Development to study the acceptability of newly developed protein food supplements from cottonseed, peanuts, and soybeans in El Salvador. These, as well as other protein-rich crops, can be grown throughout Central America.

Dr. Aaron Altschul, Secretary Freeman's special assistant for international nutrition improvement, has pointed out the potential for American soft-drink producers who could develop drinks that might prove profitable, acceptable, and nutritious for other parts of the world.

He cites the example of Vita-Soy, a

drink made from soybean extracts which now appears to be a commercial success in Hong Kong. Competitive in price with conventional soft drinks, this high protein beverage appears to be outselling even the popular cola drinks. It has a pleasant soy-like taste acceptable in Hong Kong, is made from materials readily available, and was developed locally.

Mr. Chairman, these are the kinds of actions and imaginative projects, jointly undertaken by the private and public sectors, that are as needed in the longer range war on hunger as passage of House Joint Resolution 267 is needed in the short run.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, in India there are eight agricultural universities modeled after the land-grant colleges of the United States, and it would be difficult to overstate the extent of their contribution to the herculean effort India is making to achieve a food sufficiency by possibly as early as 1971. That goal may not be reached, but India is making the effort with real determination.

They with other specialized institutes sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research are carrying on extensive programs of research and experimentation. By 1972 it is expected there will be between 2 and 3 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer available from Indian plants compared with the 300,000 tons available at the present time. Moreover, India has planted over 5 million acres with new high-yielding seeds, and continued progress in irrigation, now serving a fourth of the usable land in India, contributes to the hopeful picture that the end of India's food shortage may be not too far distant.

Rapid rise in India's population has presented a problem equally as vexatious as that of food shortage. In 1961 the annual birth rate in India was 42 per 1,000 population and the annual death rate was 16 per 1,000 population. This meant that every year the 500 million population of India was increased another 12 million people.

Present Indian family planning targets call for an early drop in the birthrate to 25 per 1,000 population. While India has an able commission of family planning, the implementation of the family planning program is the responsibility of each state. Thus the central government is working constantly to stimulate effort on the part of the states.

I think, Mr. Chairman, I have said enough to dispel the thought in some quarters that India has been derelict in seeking to meet her own problems. I would say, Mr. Chairman, India is making a very satisfactory contribution in research, in effort, and in downright work.

India and the United States both are fortunate that the Ambassador of the United States to India is our own former colleague in this body, the Honorable Chester Bowles, with whom it was my high privilege and happiness to serve on the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. I am told by visitors returning from India that Chester Bowles is as highly and affectionately regarded by the men and women of India as he was by his colleagues in this body and that his great popularity is shared by his charming and dedicated wife. I think it is fitting that I should make this observation at this time when the body of which Chester Bowles was a Member is voting as surely he would have voted were he still here.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, I rise to add my voice to those who support the continuance of American food aid to the Government of India. Our continued support of the Government of India is both vital to our interests and to our position as a world leader, and increasingly urgent for the stability and continued freedom of India.

In the last 15 years the American people have provided India with $2.9 billion in development loans and $392 million in outright grants, of which almost $100 million was for technical assistance and close to $300 million for project assistance. In addition, the United States has delivered $4.7 billion in foodgrains, cotton, and other agricultural fibers, one-fourth of which has been in outright grants. Total American aid amounts to $7.3 billion. This is about three-fifths of the economic assistance that India has received from the entire world.

America's interest in India is, however, not based solely or considered only in terms of our own economic advantage. Our investments in the future of India represent an investment in the future stability and security of the free world. The assistance we have given to India has helped to modernize her railroads, sharply increase her electric power capacity, strengthened her educational system, practically eliminated malaria, helped her to develop her mineral resources and to stimulate her industrial growth.

This almost unbelievable accomplishment on the part of the Government of India is not only obvious from the official reports we receive from our able and hard-working Ambassador, the Honorable Chester Bowles, but it is observable in the person of the individual Indian citizen. On a recent trip to India I observed a great deal of self-assuredness and self-confidence in the ever more sophisticated Indian political and civil personnel. To this extent, our aid has been worth ten times the money we have actually spent.

However, this encouraging situation in India is tenuously maintained. India, though outwardly showing signs of being an industrial country, is still, and basically, overpopulated and underfed.

Last year's famine in India dramatized the dependence of the food deficient countries on American grain. This year's famine places in jeopardy the very political stability and viability that we have for so long encouraged in India. The original food-for-peace plan was intended to meet just this kind of problem while simultaneously trying to prepare the food deficient countries to meet the problems by themselves. Its aim was to encourage the underdeveloped countries to save themselves from starvation by their own efforts.

India, until last year's drought, was on her way to strengthening her economy on her own. Now, the drought has prohibited her from continuing on this road. Her immediate and most pressing problem now is to avoid and prevent the starvation of her people.

For the past 15 years American assistance to India has had a direct and clear purpose: it is designed to help India become an economically self-sufficient and politically viable country.

Such an India will make its own massive contribution to world peace by demonstrating to the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that democracy can achieve what totalitarianism—either Communist or Fascist—can never achieve: a society both prosperous and free.

If we in the United States do not come to the aid of this country in a moment of dire necessity, then we cannot claim to be the greatest and richest country in the world. If we deny these people the food with which to fight hunger and the faith with which to fight oppression then we cannot claim to be a country in whose hands the fate of the world lies.

Food aid to India is not only a necessity for the people of India, it is an obligation for the people of America. The President's proposals are both wise and effective. Moreover, they represent an encouraging step toward the internationalization of responsibility and the eradication of the fear of starvation for the peoples of the world. I believe it to be one of man's "last and great hopes" for the establishment of a free and prosperous future.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to remind the Members of the Congress at a time, when their efforts and energies are being directed at the problems that confront America's relation to India, of the inspiring and dedicated work that our Ambassador, Chester Bowles, has been and is doing for our country and for the people of India. His long and continued interest in India has served to spotlight the many faceted problems which we have faced as friends of India and which the Indians have faced as a growing and developing country. His concern for people of the less-developed countries in general and the Indian people in particular must stand as a reminder to us that our relations with the many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America must be based as much on personal relations as on financial assistance. At this time, and in conclusion, I would like to express my own personal thanks to Ambassador Bowles both for his excellent guidance and his continued service to our country.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.J. Res. 267

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at $275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including $25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of $190,000,000 as the United States share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately $190,000,000 of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional $25,000,000 of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, lines 7 and 8, strike the word "Agricultural" and insert in lieu thereof the word "Agriculture".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, there are two additional committee amendments to the preamble.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will inform the gentleman they cannot be considered until the body of the resolution has been perfected, at which time they will be considered.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On page 3, after line 2, add the following paragraph:

"Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480 transactions tends to depress market prices, it is the sense of Congress that, in carrying out this aid to India program, the administration should make announcements of intention, purchases and shipments of commodities on schedules and under circumstances which will protect and strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, while, of course, I cannot speak for the committee officially, the gentleman has tendered the amendment to the chairman and we have discussed it. We feel there is nothing improper about the amendment and as far as we are concerned, we will be glad to accept it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the comments of the gentleman.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from Texas. I have had the opportunity to examine this amendment. As far as I know, there is no opposition to it from the committee members on this side of the aisle.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to encourage the administration to announce all details concerning Public Law 480 transactions as far in advance as possible, so farmers and traders can plan accordingly.

In recent months the uncertainty of administration intentions concerning aid to India undoubtedly contributed to the unexpected decline in wheat market prices.

I hope that the Congress will soon establish regulations to give more specific protection to markets in this respect. Public Law 480 handles commodities in such giant quantities that the man who calls the signals; namely, the Secretary of Agriculture, is able thereby to manipulate prices to the disadvantage of farmers and sometimes does.

Adverse price fixing is certainly something farmers can get along without. The parity ratio has dropped to 74, and the Economic Research Service of USDA recently predicted a 5-percent decline in farm income will occur during 1967. This means the cost-price squeeze is hitting farmers doubly hard, and they do not deserve to be made the scapegoats of inflation.

Although today's circumstances leave little choice but to support this resolution, the Congress should not approve further India resolutions until satisfactory answers are secured.

The Congress is entitled to know in precise detail what India has done during the past year to increase its own food output. In my view, generalities and promises should not be accepted. India has ample land and water to feed twice its present population. What specifically has India done to shed religious taboos so costly to its food supplies? What specifically has India done to create price incentives for greater output? Has India done all that could be reasonably expected to boost its own food output?

To what extent have U.S. food gifts actually impeded agricultural progress in India? For example, is it true that the operation of so-called fair price markets stocked mainly with gift grain from the United States has kept prices too low to provide an adequate incentive for higher production? Has the Government taken adequate steps to give public credit to the United States for our generosity? To what extent has the Government been content to lean on regular gifts?

What specifically has India done politically or militarily in return for our food generosity? Has aid in any form been provided by India to our military forces and others defending South Vietnam? Are any Indian military forces helping us? Has the Government which has received so much from the American people made even the slightest move to speak up for our objectives in South Vietnam, or to mitigate the effect of hostile, anti-American theater productions in Bombay?

How much of the grain supplied virtually free to the Government of India was in turn distributed free to destitute people? Is it true that almost all of our food gifts were put on the market and sold?

What can be done to assure that the food gifts will actually be donated to people who have no money?

If it is determined that extensive free distribution is not practicable, would it be better for our Government to make cash gifts instead of grain gifts to India, so that grain requirements can be purchased through market channels and thus strengthen rather than depress local production incentives?

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, this joint resolution marks the first legislative effort by the House Committee on Agriculture under the able leadership of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] as chairman of the committee, and the new ranking minority member, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER]. Our new chairman is not just a student of agriculture, he is a scholar. There is no man in America who has the broad and profound knowledge of farm problems here and over the world as BOB POAGE. He has served on the House Committee on Agriculture for more than a quarter of a century with honor and distinction. I commend the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER] for his splendid cooperation as well as the other members of the majority and minority in supporting this legislation and expediting its movement through the Rules Committee and to the House floor.

This is the second resolution which has been presented to aid India in meeting its food requirements for its large population. India's population of almost 500 million people compares with the population of 68 smaller United Nation countries. The first resolution that was presented to the House was the result of the 1965–66 crop season in India which showed an extensive dropoff and decline in grain production from 88 million tons the previous year to only 72 million tons harvested. This loss in production was due to the country's worst drought in many, many years—in fact, in this century. This disaster is referred to by the Indian people as the "failure of the monsoon." An effort worldwide in scope brought relief last year but it was necessary for India to draw upon its reserve supply of food to meet the crisis. It cannot do this now, as such supplies have been greatly diminished or depleted.

India has suffered its second year of major drought in a row. While it is not as severe as the 1965–66 one, the grain production is not expected to exceed 79 million tons this year. Imports of 10 million tons for the calendar year 1967 are essential to prevent a famine of serious proportions affecting more than 70 million people. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are being moved into India for use in the first 2 or 3 months of this year. Canada is furnishing 185,000 tons, Australia, 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union 200,000 tons. Our Nation is providing 1,600,000 tons in this joint effort to help in this emergency. The purpose of this legislation is to aid in supplying the needs for the remainder of 1967, which is estimated to total 10 million additional tons of wheat and grain sorghum.

To find the answer for India's hunger needs, it must come from increasing tremendously her own agricultural activity. Food deliveries from India's agriculture plant have not kept pace with the needs of the vastly growing population. Self-help is the real emphasis that is being placed on this legislation by the executive department and the Committee on Agriculture. India needs to do much more to produce its food needs. It will, however, require time, for India to become self-sustaining in agriculture. That time gap must be bridged. A large disaster would be the result if the acute shortage of grain is not alleviated this year. India is laying her plans to continuously increase Government outlays for agricultural purposes. She is also planning to build fertilizer plants. India is aiding itself but more of her resources should go into food production. I hope the resolution is approved without undue delay.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendments to the preamble.

The Clerk read as follows:

In the second paragraph of the preamble strike the word "Indian" and insert in lieu thereof the word "India".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read the next committee amendment:

In the third paragraph of the preamble strike the phrase ", including $25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MONAGAN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that the Committee having had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, pursuant to House Resolution 365, he reported the joint resolution back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendments to the preamble.

The amendments to the preamble were agreed to.

The preamble, as amended, was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. GROSS. Unqualifiedly, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. GROSS moves to recommit the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to the Committee on Agriculture.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the "ayes" appeared to have it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 312, nays 63, not voting 57, as follows:

[Roll No. 32]

YEAS—312

Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Biester
Bingham
Blanton
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Clark
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Conable
Conte
Culver
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Dingell
Dole
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Flood
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Gude
Gurney
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Howard
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Irwin
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lloyd
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Railsback
Randall
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Wampler
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Widnall
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—63

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Baring
Bevill
Blackburn
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Carter
Clawson, Del

Colmer
Cowger
Davis, Wis.
Devine
Dickinson
Dorn
Dowdy
Edwards, Ala.
Fisher
Flynt
Fuqua
Gardner
Goodling
Gross
Hagan
Haley
Hall

Hébert
Hosmer
Hull
Ichord
Lennon
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Miller, Ohio
Myers
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Quillen
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Satterfield

Saylor
Scott
Sikes
Snyder
Stuckey
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Utt
Waggonner
Walker
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wylie
Younger

NOT VOTING—57

Blatnik
Bow
Brinkley
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen,
Don H.
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Dawson
Derwinski
Diggs
Donohue
Fallon
Fascell

Foley
Friedel
Gettys
Gray
Gubser
Hardy
Herlong
Hicks
Jacobs
Jones, Mo.
King, Calif.
Kluczynski
Leggett
McEwen
May
Miller, Calif.
Mize
Montgomery
Morse, Mass.
Nix

Pettis
Philbin
Pollock
Pool
Pucinski
Resnick
Ronan
Sandman
Scheuer
Springer
Stafford
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Waldie
Watkins
Watson
Williams, Miss.

So the joint resolution was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Corbett for, with Mr. Montgomery against.

Mr. Cabell for, with Mr. Pettis against.

Mr. Sandman for, with Mr. Derwinski against.

Mr. Fascell for, with Mr. Williams of Mississippi against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Stratton with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Stubblefield with Mrs. May.
Mr. Jacobs with Mr. Clancy.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Philbin with Mr. Springer.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mr. Stafford.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Watson.
Mr. Gray with Mr. Gubser.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Cahill.
Mr. Hicks with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Fallon with Mr. Chamberlain.
Mr. Helstoski with Mr. McEwen.
Mr. Donohue with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.
Mr. King of California with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
Mr. Hardy with Mr. Pucinski.
Mr. Friedel with Mr. Diggs.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Nix.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Ronan with Mr. Dawson.
Mr. Foley with Mr. Waldie.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on House Joint Resolution 267 and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

PRIVILEGE OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER. The Chair, in his official capacity as Speaker of this House, and as an individual, has been served with summons issued by the U.S. district court for the District of Columbia in connection with the action—civil action No. 559–67—brought by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and other parties plaintiff in that court.

The Chair is informed that the following named Members and officers of the House of Representatives have been served with similar process:

Carl Albert, Gerald R. Ford, Emanuel Celler, Arch A. Moore, Jr.; W. Pat Jennings, Clerk; Zeake W. Johnson, Jr., Sergeant at Arms; and William M. Miller, Doorkeeper.

Under the precedents of the House, the Chair, the Members and officers, heretofore mentioned, are unable to comply with these summonses without the consent of the House, the privileges of the House being involved.

The Chair, on behalf of himself and the Members and officers, heretofore referred to, submits the matter for the consideration of this body.

The Clerk will read the summons.

The Clerk read as follows:

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559–67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendants

To the above named Defendant: John W. McCormack, as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorney, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[seal of court] Robert M. Stearns,
Clerk of Court.
Meriam M. Jenkins,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

Note.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court fot the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559–67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plainiff *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendants

To the above named Defendant: John W. McCormack, Individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorney, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 2001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[seal of court] Robert M. Stearns,
Clerk of Court.
Meriam M. Jenkins,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

Note.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

The SPEAKER. Inasmuch as the summonses were served on other Members of the House and officers of the House, similar to the summons served upon me as Speaker and as an individual, without objection, the summonses served on the other Members of the House and officers of the House will be inserted in the Record at this point, as well as a copy of the pleadings.

Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The material referred to follows:

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559–'67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendants

To the above named Defendant: Carl Albert, individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C., 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

Robert M. Stearns,
[seal of court] *Clerk of Court.*
Meriam M. Jenkins,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

Note.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559–67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendant

To the above named Defendant: Gerald R. Ford, individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is, P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[seal of court]
Robert M. Stearns,
Clerk of Court.
Meriam M. Jenkins,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

Note.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559-67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff v. John W. McCormack, et al., Defendant

To the above named Defendant: EMANUEL CELLER, individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States.

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT]

ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559-67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff v. John W. McCormack, et al., Defendant

To the above named defendant: ARCH A. MOORE, JR., individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559-67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff v. John W. McCormack, et al., Defendant

To the above named Defendant: W. Pat Jennings, individually, and as Clerk of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and require to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorneys whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559-67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff v. John W. McCormack, et al., Defendant

To the above named Defendant: Leake W. Johnson, Jr., Individually, and as Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorney, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

Note.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Summons: U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action File No. 559-67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiff v. John W. McCormack, et al., Defendant

To the above named Defendant: William M. Miller, individually, and as Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon Frank D. Reeves and Herbert O. Reid, plaintiff's attorney, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

Note.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

In the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Division, Civil Action No. 559-67

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., 120 West 138th Street, New York, New York
A. Philip Randolph, 2588 Seventh Avenue, House No. 7, New York, New York
Percy E. Sutton, 311 West 118th Street, New York, New York
Basil Patterson, 400 Manhattan Avenue, New York, New York
J. Raymond Jones, 270 Convent Avenue, New York, New York
Lillian Upshur, 2160 Madison Avenue, New York, New York
Hulan Jack, 45 West 110th Street, New York, New York
Geraldine L. Daniels, 28 West 123rd Street, New York, New York
Antonio Mendez, 1215 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York
Hilda Stokley, 58 East 130th Street, New York, New York
Margaret Cox, 626 Riverside Drive, New York, New York
Fannie Allison, 279 Third Avenue, New York, New York
Charles B. Rangel, 74 West 132nd Street, New York, New York
James P. Jones, 239 West 138th Street, New York, New York
Individually, on their own behalf, and on behalf of all others similarly situated, Plaintiffs, *v*
JOHN W. MCCORMACK, H-206 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
CARL ALBERT, H-150 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
GERALD R. FORD, H-230 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
EMANUEL CELLER, 2136 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.
ARCH A. MOORE, JR., 2440 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.
Individually, and as members and representatives of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States; and
JOHN W. MCCORMACK, as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States; and
W. Pat Jennings, H-104 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
Individually, and as Clerk of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States; and
Leake W. Johnson, Jr., H-124 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
Individually, and as Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States; and
William M. Miller, H-153 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.
Individually, and as Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States, Defendants.

COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT, INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AND MANDAMUS

1. This action arises under Article I, Sections 1, 2(1)(2)(4), 5(1)(2) and 9(3) of the Constitution of the United States and the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th and 19th Amendments thereto and Title 2, Section 31 et seq. and Title 42, Sections 1971(1)(2), 1981, 1983 of the United States Code. This court has jurisdiction pursuant to Title 28, Section 1331, 1343(4), 2201, 2202 and 2282 and Title 42, Sections 1971(1)(2), 1981, 1983 of the United States Code and the amount in controversy exclusive of interest and costs exceeds the sum of $10,000.

2. a. The plaintiffs Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Percy E. Sutton, Basil Patterson, J. Raymond Jones, Lillian W. Upshur, Hulan Jack, Geraldine L. Daniels, Antonio Mendez, Hilda Stokley, Margaret Cox, Fannie Allison, Charles B. Rangel and James P. Jones bring this action on their own behalf and on behalf of all other persons similarly situated, pursuant to Rule 23(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. Plaintiffs are all non-white citizens of the United States and duly qualified electors of the 18th Congressional District of the state of New York and upon information and belief voted at the general election of 1966 for plaintiff, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

b. There are common questions of law and fact affecting the several rights of these plaintiffs as non-white citizens of the United States, male and female, to vote and to have the duly elected representative of their choice, having met the qualifications prescribed by Article 1, § 2 of the Constitution of the United States, represent them in the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States.

c. That the claims of the representative parties are typical of the claims of the class.

d. The members of this class are so numerous as to make it impractical to bring them all before this Court in a single proceeding. A common relief is sought and the interest of all the class are adequately represented by plaintiffs.

3. Plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell is the duly elected Representative to the 90th Congress of the United States from the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York and sues herein in the capacity.

4. a. Defendant John W. McCormack is the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States. As the duly elected representative from the 9th Congressional District of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, he is being sued individually and as Speaker of the House of Representatives and as a representative of a class of citizens who are members of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress.

b. Defendants Carl Albert, Gerald R. Ford, Emanuel Celler, Arch A. Moore, Jr., and Thomas B. Curtis are the duly elected representatives to the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the 3rd Congressional District of the State of Oklahoma, of the 5th Congressional District of the State of Michigan, of the 10th Congressional District of the State of New York, of the 1st Congressional District of the State of West Virginia, and of the 2nd Congressional District of the State of Missouri respectively.

c. Defendants described in paragraphs 4a and b are all being sued individually and, pursuant to Rule 23(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, as representatives of a class of citizens who are presently serving in the 90th Congress as members of the House of Representatives.

d. Defendant W. Pat Jennings is the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States and is charged with the performance of such duties as are prescribed by law. He is being sued individually and as the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

e. Leake W. Johnson, Jr. is the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States. He is charged with performing such duties as are prescribed by law. He is being sued individually and as the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives.

f. Defendant William M. Miller is the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress. He is charged with such duties as are prescribed by law. He is being sued individually and as Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives.

5. Plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. was duly elected as the Representative from the 18th Congressional District to the 90th Congress of the United States at the general election for such Representatives held on November 8, 1966. Thereafter, he was duly certified by the Secretary of State of the State of New York as being the duly elected Representative from the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York.

6. a. On January 10, 1967 the House of Representatives adopted House Resolution No. 1 which is in part as follows:

"That the question of the right of Adam Clayton Powell to be sworn in as a Representative from the State of New York in the Ninetieth Congress, as well as his final right to a seat therein as such Representative, be referred to a special committee of nine Members of the House to be appointed by the Speaker, four of whom shall be Members of the minority party appointed after consultation with the minority leader. Until such committee shall report upon and the House shall decide such question and right, the said Adam Clayton Powell shall not be sworn in or permitted to occupy a seat in this House."

A copy of aforesaid resolution is set forth in full in Exhibit A to this Complaint (the Hearing before the Select Committee pursuant to House Resolution No. 1) at page 3 thereof.

b. Pursuant to the authority granted by House Resolution No. 1, the defendant John W. McCormack appointed the following Select Committee: Emanuel Celler, Chairman; James C. Corman, Claude Pepper, John Conyers, Jr., Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Arch A. Moore, Jr., Charles M. Teague, Clark MacGregor and Vernon W. Thomson.

c. The Committee met in public session on February 8, 14, 16 and on February 23, 1967 submitted a report to the House of Representatives. This report is attached hereto as Exhibit B to the Complaint and made a part thereof.

7. The Report of the Select Committee found that the plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. is over twenty-five years of age, is a citizen of the United States in excess of seven years and is an inhabitant of the State of New York. It concluded that since plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. met the requisite qualifications of age, citizenship and inhabitancy for membership in the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress and had been duly certified as the elected Representative from the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York, that he was entitled to be seated and sworn as a member of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress. The findings and conclusions herein referred to are set forth in the report of the Select Committee, at page 31 et seq., which report is attached hereto as Exhibit B to this complaint.

8. On March 1, 1967 the House of Representatives passed and enacted House Resolution 278 which is as follows:

"Whereas, The Select Committee appointed Pursuant to H. Res. 1 (90th Congress) has reached the following conclusions:

"First, Adam Clayton Powell possesses the requisite qualifications of age, citizenship and inhabitancy for membership in the House of Representatives and holds a Certificate of Election from the State of New York.

"Second, Adam Clayton Powell has repeatedly ignored the processes and authority of the courts in the State of New York in legal proceedings pending therein to which he is a party, and his contumacious conduct towards the court of that State has caused him on several occasions to be adjudicated in contempt thereof, thereby reflecting discredit upon and bringing into disrepute the House of Representatives and its Members.

"Third, as a Member of this House, Adam Clayton Powell improperly maintained on his clerk-hire payroll Y. Marjorie Flores (Mrs. Adam C. Powell) from August 14, 1964 to December 31, 1966, during which period either she performed no official duties whatever or such duties were not performed in Washington, D.C. or the State of New York as required by law.

"Fourth, as Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, Adam Clayton Powell permitted and participated in improper expenditures of government funds for private purposes.

"Fifth, the refusal of Adam Clayton Powell to cooperate with the Select Committee and the Special Subcommittee on Contracts of the House Administration Committee in their lawful inquiries authorized by the House of Representatives was contemptuous and was conduct unworthy of a Member; Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That said Adam Clayton Powell, Member-elect from the 18th District of the State of New York, be and the same hereby is excluded from membership in the 90th Congress and that the Speaker shall notify the Governor of the State of New York of the existing vacancy."

The proceedings of the House on March 1, 1967 which contains the debates on the above resolution are attached hereto as Exhibit C to this complaint.

9. Plaintiffs and class they represent aver that House Resolution No. 278 is null and void and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, in particular Articel I, Section 2(2) thereof which sets forth the exclusive qualifications for membership in the House of Representatives. Article I, Section 2(2) provides that a Representative must be twenty-five years of age, seven years a citizen of the United States and an inhabitant of the state from which he was duly elected. These are the sole and only qualifications prescribed by the Constitution for members of the House of Representatives, and they cannot be altered, modified, expanded or changed by the Congress of the United States. The House found that plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. possesses the requisite qualifications for membership in the House (House Resolution No. 278 in paragraph 8), but nonetheless voted to exclude him.

10. House Resolution No. 278 is a further nullity in that it violates Article I, Section 1 of the Constitution of the United States which provides that members of the House shall be elected by the people of each State.

11. The refusal of the House to allow plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell to be sworn and seated as a Member thereof despite its own findings and conclusion that he possesses all the requisite constitutional qualifications therefor is a gross violation of the basic rights of the electors of the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York to elect to the House of Representatives a Representative of their choice as long as the person so chosen meets all the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

12. Moreover, the plaintiffs, being non-white citizens of the United States, are being subjected to the pains and penalties of discrimination based upon race and color forbidden by the various provisions of the Constitution of the United States, to wit the 5th, 13th and 15 Amendments thereof.

a. In depriving the Negro electors of their choice of Representative to sit in the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, plaintiffs and all other non-white electors in the aforesaid Congressional District are being subjected to vestiges of on slavery and involuntary servitude in violation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

b. In being deprived of the right to have their chosen Representative sit in the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, plaintiffs and all other non-white electors of the 18th Congressional District are being deprived of the equal protection of the laws and due process of the law in violation of the mandate of the 5th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

c. In being deprived of the right to have the Representative of their choice sit in the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, plaintiffs and all other nonwhite electors of the 18th Congressional District are being deprived of the fundamental right to cast a meaningful vote in the general election for representation in the Congress of the United States and are as effectively disenfranchised as non-white citizens of the United States as if House Resolution No. 278 denied them the right to vote expressly on the grounds of race and color—all in violation of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

d. In being deprived of the right to have their chosen Representative sworn and seated as a member of the 90th Congress, plaintiffs Lillian W. Upshur, Geraldine L. Daniels, Hilda Stokley, Margaret Cox, Fannie Allison and all other qualified female electors in the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York are being denied rights guaranteed under the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

13. House Resolution No. 278 in effect constitutes a bill of attainder and an ex post facto law as to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell in violation of Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution of the United States, in that it imposed punishment upon the named individual by legislative act and created and imposed punitive standards retroactively. In addition, it constitutes cruel and unusual

punishment in violation of the 8th Amendment to the Constitution.

14. The hearings before the Select Committee and the Resolution and debate thereon in the House by which plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell was denied the right to sit and all the other electors in the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York were denied the right to elect a Representative of their choice, was a proceeding in which charges were made and punitive action taken without said plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell being accorded, as he demanded, the elemental rights of due process, including but not limited to notice of charges, the right of confrontation of witnesses, effective representation by counsel who could cross-examine witnesses in regard to any matter alleged, all in violation of the 5th and 6th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States despite the fact that timely objectives to this denial of basic rights were made and preserved. In effect, the whole proceeding amounted to a trial for infamous crimes without presentment or indictment by a Grand Jury.

15. Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of the State of New York has been notified that a vacancy exists in the 18th Congressional District and has announced that an election to fill such vacancy will be held on April 11, 1967. This special election, upon information and belief, will cost the City of New York approximately $100,000.00. In declaring the seat of the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York vacant and in notifying Governor Rockefeller of said vacancy and in causing the City of New York to undergo the expense of $100,000.00 to hold a special election, defendant John W. McCormack, acting pursuant to the mandate of the House of Representatives violated the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution in that vacancies in the House of Representatives may occur only pursuant to the manner and method prescribed in the Constitution and laws of the United States—withdrawal, resignation, expulsion or impeachment (Article I, Section 2(4)(5), Section 3(6)(7) and Section 5(2) and Title 2, Section 8 of the United States Code.

16. The defendant John W. McCormack, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, has refused and threatens to continue to refuse to administer the oath of office as a member of the House to the plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell under color and authority of his office and the illegal and unconstitutional actions of the House of Representatives in adopting House Resolutions No. 1 and 278.

17. The defendant John W. McCormack further threatens to exclude the plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell from the occupancy of his office in the House Office Building and to deprive him of all of the emoluments and privileges of office to which he is entitled as a Representative to the 90th Congress of the 18th District in clear violation of his authority as Speaker of the House, and the authority of the House of Representatives itself under the Constitution of the United States, namely Article I, Sections 1, 2 and 5 and the 5th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

18. a. The defendant W. Pat Jennings, the Clerk of the House, threatens to refuse to perform for the plaintiff those services and duties to which he is entitled as the duly elected Representative of the 18th Congressional District under color of the authority and mandate of House Resolution No. 278 and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

b. Defendant Leake W. Johnson, as Sergeant-at-Arms of the House, refuses and threatens to continue to refuse to pay over to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. the salary and other monies due him as the duly elected Representative of the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York under color of the authority of House Resolution No. 278 and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

c. Defendant William M. Miller, Doorkeeper of the House, refuses and threatens to continue to refuse to admit Adam Clayton Powell to the Hall of the House as the duly elected Representative of the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York under color of the authority and mandate of House Resolution No. 278 and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

19. Plaintiffs aver that this is a proceeding to restrain the enforcement, operation or execution of House Resolution No. 278 on the ground that such Resolution is unconstitutional on its face in that it is in clear violation of Article I, Section 2(2) and is unconstitutional as applied to these plaintiffs and the class they represent in that it violates not only Article I, Section 2, but Article I, Section 1, 5 and 9 as well, and the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

20. Plaintiffs further aver that this is a proceeding wherein they seek a declaration of their rights under Title 28, Sections 2201 and 2202 of the United States Code, in that the defendants, their officers, agents, servants, employees, attorneys and those persons acting in concert with them or participating with them by refusing to seat Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. as a Member of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, to have the oath administered to him and to be allowed to participate in the proceedings of the House on the same terms and conditions as all other members are violating Article I, Sections 1, 2(1)(2)(4) and 9(3) of the Constitution and the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th and 19th Amendments thereto and are denying to him and to the electors of the 18th Congressional District due process of law and the equalization protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

21. Unless this Court restrains the enforcement of this illegal, unconstitutional, null and void House Resolution No. 278 and all acts taken thereunder, the plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell and the non-white electors of the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York will suffer serious, immediate and irreparable injury in that the plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell will be deprived of all rights, privileges and emoluments to which he is entitled under the Constitution and laws of the United States and rules and precedents of the House as a Representative of the 90th Congress of the United States; the plaintiff non-white electors and all other electors of the 18th Congressional District will be deprived of their fundamental right to be represented in the House of Representatives by their duly chosen Representative who has met all the requisite constitutional qualifications therefor. The 18th Congressional District is overwhelmingly composed of non-white electors and is the only such district that has elected the same Congressman to the House of Representatives for a period of twenty-two years. In so doing, these electors have attained through their chosen Representative, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., privileges, authority and status pursuant to the rules and precedents of the House. This is an interest and investment which they are now threatened with being deprived by virtue of House Resolution 278 and the unlawful and unconstitutional action taken in reliance thereon.

22. There is between the parties an actual controversy as herein set forth. The plaintiffs and all other electors similarly situated and affected in the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York on whose behalf this suit is brought are suffering irreparable injury as aforesaid and are threatened with irreparable injury in the future by reason of the actions herein complained of. They have no plain, adequate or complete remedy to redress the wrong and unlawful actions herein complained of. Any other remedy to which these plaintiffs and the class they represent could be remitted would be attended by such uncertainties and delays as to deny substantial relief, would involve multiplicity of suits, cause further irreparable injury, damage and inconvenience to the plaintiffs and the class whose interest is herein asserted.

Wherefore, the premises considered, plaintiffs pray:

1. That this Court take jurisdiction of this case and certify the necessity for convening a statutory three-judge District Court, and that such Court be duly and speedily convened to hear and determine this case as provided by law pursuant to Title 28 of the United States Code, Sections 2282 and 2284;

2. that after such hearing, it issue a permanent injunction restraining the defendants, their agents, servants, officers and employees or attorneys and all other persons in active concert or participation with them from enforcing, operating under or in any maner whatsoever executing House Resolution 278;

3. that it issue a permanent injunction restraining the defendant John W. McCormack, as Speaker of the House, from refusing to administer the oath of office as a member of the 90th Congress to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.; defendant W. Pat Jennings, Clerk of the House, from refusing to perform for plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., such services and duties as he is required as Clerk to perform for members of the House of Representatives; defendant Leake W. Johnson, Sergeant-at-Arms, from refusing to pay Adam Clayton Powell all salaries and moneys due him by law as a Representative of the 90th Congress; defendant William M. Miller, Doorkeeper, from refusing to admit him to the Hall of the House, and restraining defendants John W. McCormack and W. Pat Jennings from excluding plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell from his office in the House Office Building and from denying to him any of the rights, privileges and emoluments to which he is entitled as a Representative of the 90th Congress; and restraining defendants John W. McCormack, Carl Albert, Gerald R. Ford, Emanuel Celler, Arch A. Moore, Jr., and Thomas B. Curtis and all other members of the class of citizens they represent who are members of the House of Representatives from taking any action to enforce House Resolution No. 278 or any other action which will deny to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the right to be seated as the duly elected Representative of the 18th Congressional District to the 90th Congress.

Plaintiffs further pray that relief in the nature of mandamus be granted, pursuant to Title 28, Section 1361, United States Code, ordering and directing John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress of the United States to administer the oath of office to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., as the duly elected and qualified Representative from the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York to the 90th Congress of the United States; and that similar relief be granted ordering and directing W. Pat Jennings, as Clerk, and Leake W. Johnson, Jr., as Sergeant-at-Arms, respectively, of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States to pay over to Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. all money, salary, and allowances and accord him all rights, privileges and emoluments due to him as the duly elected and qualified Representative from the 18th Congressional District of the State of New York.

Plaintiffs further pray that pending final hearing and determination as to their right to permanent relief:

1. A preliminary injunction be issued restraining the defendants, their agents, servants, officers and employees or attorneys and all other persons in active concert or participation with them from enforcing, operating under or in any manner whatsoever executing House Resolution No. 278;

2. that a preliminary injunction be issued restraining the defendant John W. McCormack, as Speaker of the House, from refusing to administer the oath of office as a member of the 90th Congress to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.; defendant W. Pat Jennings, Clerk of the House, from refusing to perform for plaintiff, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., such services and duties as he is required as Clerk to perform for members of the House of Representatives; defendant Leake W. Johnson, Sergeant-at-Arms, from refusing to pay Adam Clayton Powell all salaries and moneys due him by law as a Representative of the 90th Congress; defendant William M. Miller, Doorkeeper, from refusing to admit him to the Hall of the House, and restraining defendants John W. McCormack and W. Pat Jennings from excluding plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell from his office in the House Office Building and from denying to him any of the rights, privileges and emoluments to which he is entitled as a Representative of the 90th Congress; and restraining defendants John W. McCormack, Carl Albert, Gerald R. Ford, Emanuel Celler, Arch A. Moore, Jr., and Thomas B. Curtis and all other members of the House of Representatives from taking any action to enforce House Resolution No. 278, or any other action which will deny to plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the right to be seated as the duly elected Representative of the 18th Congressional District to the 90th Congress.

Plaintiffs further pray that the court advance this case on the docket and order a speedy hearing thereon, adjudge, decree, and declare the rights and legal relations of the parties hereto in order that such declaration shall have the force and effect of a final judgment or decree; and plaintiffs further pray that the court enter a judgment or decree declaring the practice, policy, custom or usage of the defendants, their agents, servants, officers, employers or attorneys and those persons in active concert or participation with them of excluding plaintiff Adam Clayton Powell from the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress as a member thereof and in denying to him any and all rights and privileges pertaining thereto to be a violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States.

Plaintiffs further pray that this Court adjudge and decree House Resolution No. 278 null and void on the grounds that its operation, enforcement and execution is unconstitutional on its face in that it is in violation of Article I, Section 2(2) of the Constitution of the United States and that this aforesaid House Resolution No. 278 is unconstitutional in its application to plaintiffs and the class they represent in that it violates Article I, Sections 1, 5, and 9 of the Constitution of the United States and the 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 15th, and 19th Amendments thereto.

Finally, plaintiffs pray for such other and further relief as to the Court may seem just and proper.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Percy E. Sutton, Basil Patterson, J. Raymond Jones, Lillian W. Upshur, Hulan Jack, Geraldine L. Daniels, Antonio Mendez, Hilda Stokley, Margaret Cox, Fannie Allison, Charles B. Rangel and James P. Jones, Individually and on behalf of all other persons similarly situated.

By: Lillian W. Upshur,
Plaintiffs.

State of New York,
County of New York, ss:

Lillian W. Upshur, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: that she has read and understands the foregoing complaint by her subscribed in behalf of herself, the other named plaintiffs, and other persons similarly situated, and that the matters and things alleged therein she verily believes to be true.

Lillian W. Upshur.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of March, 1967.

Steven J. Hyman,
Notary Public.

My commisison expires March 30, 1968.

Frank D. Reeves,
Herbert O. Reid, Sr.,
P. O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, 797–1395.
Jean Camper Cahn, 1308 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Robert L. Carter, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York; Hubert T. Delany, 55 Liberty Street, New York, New York; Arthur Kinoy, William M. Kunstler, 511 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York; Henry R. Williams, 271 West 125th Street, New York, New York, Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

In the U.S. District Court for District of Columbia, Civil Division, Civil Action No. 559–67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiffs, *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendants.

APPLICATION FOR CONVENING OF THREE-JUDGE DISTRICT COURT

Plaintiffs, upon their complaint heretofore filed, hereby make application for hearing of this cause and of the plaintiffs' motion for an interlocutory injunction herein before a three-judge district court as required by Section 2282, Title 28, United States Code, and request that the Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit be notified pursuant to Section 2284, Title 28, United States Code, of presentation of plaintiffs' application for injunction in order that necessary designation of judges for said court may be made.

Frank D. Reeves, Herbert O. Reid, Sr., P. O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, 797–1395; Jean Camper Cahn, 1308 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Robert L. Carter, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York; Hubert T. Delany, 55 Liberty Street, New York, New York; Arthur Kinoy, William M. Kunstler, 511 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York; Henry R. Williams, 271 West 125th Street, New York, New York, Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

In the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Division, Civil Action No. 559–67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiffs *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendants

MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION (THREE-JUDGE COURT)

Upon the verified complaint of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., annexed hereto, the plaintiffs move the court as follows:

1. To issue a temporary injunction suspending and restraining the operation, enforcement, or execution of that portion of United States House of Representatives Resolution No. 278, Ninetieth Congress, enacted March 1, 1967, which is specified in Paragraph 5 of the Complaint in the above-entitled action, pending the final hearing and determination of this cause.

2. To convene for the purpose of hearing and determining this application for a preliminary injunction and this cause, a statutory court of three judges at least one of whom shall be a circuit judge, in accordance with the provisions of Section 2284, Title 28, United States Code.

The grounds of this motion, as more fully set forth in the verified complaint are that:

a. The portions of the said House Resolution No. 278 complained of are invalid.

b. The United States House of Representatives, Ninetieth Congress, unless enjoined, threaten to enforce said House Resolution.

c. The said House Resolution and its enforcement are causing and will cause immediate and irreparable injury to the plaintiffs.

d. Unless the operation and enforcement of the said House Resolution be restrained pending final disposition of the action, the injury to plaintiffs in the interim will be irreparable even by final judgment for plaintiffs.

e. No injury will be sustained by the defendants or by the public through issuance of a temporary injunction.

Frank D. Reeves, Herbert O. Reid, Sr., P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C., 797–1395; Jean Camper Cahn, 1308 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Robert L. Carter, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York; Hubert T. Delany, 55 Liberty Street, New York, New York; Arthur Kinoy, William M. Kunstler, 511 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York; Henry R. Williams, 271 West 125th Street, New York, New York, Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

In the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Division, Civil Action No. 559–67, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., Plaintiffs *v.* John W. McCormack, et al., Defendants

MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' APPLICATION FOR THE CONVENING OF A STATUTORY THREE-JUDGE COURT PURSUANT TO 28 U.S.C. SECTIONS 2282 AND 2284

In ascertaining whether the statutory three-judge court jurisdiction has been properly invoked, the United States Supreme Court, in *Idlewild Bon Voyage Liquor Corp.* v. *Epstein,* 370 U.S. 713, 715 (1962), placed the scope of the inquiry in these words:

"When an application for a statutory three-judge court is addressed to a District Court, the court's inquiry is properly limited to determining whether the constitutional question raised is substantial, whether the complaint at least formally alleges a basis for equitable relief, and whether the case presented otherwise comes under the requirements of the three-judge statute."

In *Schneider* v. *Rusk,* 372 U.S. 224, 225 (1963) the Court stated that:

". . . the constitutional questions involving deprivation of nationality which were presented to the district judge were not plainly insubstantial. The single-judge District Court was therefore powerless to dismiss the action on the merits, and should have convened a three-judge court. Ex parte Northern Pac. R. Co., 280 U.S. 142, 144, 50 S. Ct. 70, 74 L. Ed. 233; Stratton v. St. Louis S.W.R. Co., 282 U.S. 10, 15, 51 S. Ct. 8, 10, 75 L. Ed. 135; Ex parte Poresky, 290 U.S. 30, 54 S. Ct. 3, 78 L. Ed. 152; Idlewild Bon Voyage Liquor Corp. v. Epstein, 370 U.S. 713, 82 S. Ct. 1294, 8 L. Ed. 794." [1]

In this Circuit, the standards for convening a statutory three-judge court have been definitively stated in *Reed Enterprises* v. *Corcoran,* 354 F. 2d 519, 521 where Circuit Judge J. Skelly Wright framed the issues as follows:

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[1] See also *Bailey* v. *Patterson,* 369 U.S. 31, 33 (1962); *Powell* v. *Workmen's Compensation Board of New York,* 327 F. 2d 131, 138 (1964); *Keyishion* v. *Board of Regents,* 345 F. 25 236, 239 (1965), rev'd on these grounds — U.S. —

"The problem presented as to whether the convening of three-judge Districts Courts is required in these cases divides itself into three parts: (1) the presence or absence of a substantial constitutional question; (2) the necessity for injunctive relief; and (3) the presence or absence of a case or controversy. We shall consider these issues seriatim."

1. "THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF A SUBSTANTIAL CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION"

It can hardly be argued that the question as to whether the House of Representatives, in refusing to seat a member-elect, has exceeded its powers under the Constitution of the United States—particularly under Article I, Section, Clause 2 and Section 5, Clause 2—is not a "substantial constitutional question." It is plaintiffs' contention that the House of Representatives is constitutionally required to seat a duly elected Congressman who meets all of the qualifications required for membership therein as set forth in Article I, Section 2, Clause 2, which reads as follows:

"No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of 25 years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State in which he shall be chosen."

The history of the proceedings at the Constitutional Convention, during which these qualifications were accepted and all others rejected, reveals the clear intention of the framers that the legislature was to have no power to alter or add to the constitutional qualifications and that accordingly the power of each House to be a "judge of the . . . qualifications of its own members" (Article I, Section 5) was, by the Constitution itself, restricted to the qualifications of age, citizenship and inhabitancy set forth in Article I, Section 2, Clause 2, supra. In this connection the Court's attention is respectfully referred to Warren, *The Making of Our Constitution* (1928), pp 420–24; 2 Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, p. 248 et seq; *The Federalist Papers*, No. 68. See also Storey, *Commentaries on the Constitution* (5th ed.), p. 460; Cushing, *Elements of the Law and Practice of Legislative Assemblies in the United States of America*, p. 27 (1866); McCrary, *Elections* (3rd ed.), p. 214 and p. 387; Va. L.R. 322, 334 (1947); Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*; Tucker, *Treatise on the Constitution*, p. 394; Foster, *Treatise on the Constitution*, p. 367; Paschal, *Annotated Constitution*, 2d Ed., p. 305 § 300; Willoughby, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2d ed. p. 305 § 300; Willoughby, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2d ed. § 337; Meecham, *Public Offices*, 164 (1890); Throop, Public Offices, § 73.

Only this Term the Supreme Court of the United States in *Bond* v. *Floyd*, 87 S. Ct. 339 (1966), in a unanimous opinion, reminded us that it was the clear intention of the framers that Congress was to have no power to alter, change or add to the constitutional qualifications for membership in either House. In so doing, it ordered seated in the Georgia House of Representatives a member-elect who possessed all of the constitutional qualifications but had been barred for reasons other than those constitutionally prescribed.

In the course of its unanimous opinion, the Court, speaking through the Chief Justice, reiterated the fundamental constitutional mandate of the framers that the national legislature as well had no power to refuse to set a member-elect who met the constitutional qualifications. At page 340, in footnote 13, the Court analyzed the intentions of the framers:

"Madison and Hamilton anticipated the oppressive effect on freedom of expression which would result if the legislature could utilize its power of judging qualifications to pass judgment on a legislator's political views. At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Madison opposed a proposal to give to Congress power to establish qualifications in general. Warren, *The Making of the Constitution* (1928), 420–422. The Journal of the Federal Convention of 1787 states:

" 'Mr. Madison was opposed to the Section as vesting an improper and dangerous power in the Legislature. The qualifications of electors and elected were fundamental articles in a Republican Govt. and ought to be fixed by the Constitution. If the Legislature could regulate those of either, it can by degrees subvert the constitution. . . . Qualifications founded on artificial distinction may be devised, by the stronger in order to keep out partisans of a weaker faction.

* * * * *

" 'Mr. Madison observed that the British Parliament possessed the power of regulating the qualifications both of the electors and the elected: and the abuse they had made of it was a lesson worthy of our attention. They had made the changes in both cases subservient to their own views, or to the views of political or Religious parties, 2 Farrand, *The Records in the Federal Convention of 1787* (Aug. 10, 1787), pp. 249–250.

" 'Hamilton agreed with Madison that:

" 'The qualifications of the persons who may choose or be chosen . . . are defined and fixed by the constitution: and are unalterable by the legislature.' The Federalist, No. 60 (Cooke ed. 1961), 409."

Certainly, the complaint in the instant case which raises this constitutional issue is not "patently frivolous." *Reed Enterprises v. Corcoran* and *Idlewild Bon Voyage Liquor Corp. v. Epstein, supra*. In this connection see *Krebs v. Ashbrook*, (D.C. D.C.) Civil Action No. 2157–1966, *Hobson v. Hansen* (D.C. D.C.) Civil Action No. 82–66, 252 F. Supp. 4 (1966), and *DuBois Clubs of America v. Katzenbach* (D.C. D.C.) Civil Action No. 1087–66, all cases pending in this District in which statutory three-judge courts were convened.

2. "THE NECESSITY FOR INJUNCTIVE RELIEF"

It is equally obvious that the complaint, in the words of the Court in *Idlewild*, "at least formally allege[s] a basis for equitable relief." The allegations conform to the requirements of *Ex parte Young*, 209 U.S. 123, which underline the power of federal courts to enjoin the enforcement of unconstitutional statutes. "The basis for injunctive relief in the federal courts has always been irreparable harm and inadequacy of legal remedies." *Beacon Theatres, Inc. v. Westover*, 359 U.S. 500, 506–507 (1959). The power of a Federal District Court to entertain a cause of action seeking injunctive relief from the threatened enforcement of unconstitutional statutes is not open to question. *Ex parte Young*, supra; *Truax v. Reich*, 239 U.S. 33; *Terrace v. Thompson*, 263 U.S. 197; *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496; *American Federation of Labor v. Watson*, 327 U.S. 582; *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 268 U.S. 510; and *Hale v. Bimco Trading Co.*, 306 U.S. 375.

3. "THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF A CASE OR CONTROVERSY"

The power of federal courts to restrain acts of Congress has been unquestioned since *Marbury* v. *Madison*, 5 U.S. (1 Cranch) 137, 177 (1803). Ever since *Marbury*, the judicial branch has asserted the right and duty to exercise the power of judicial review over acts of Congress claimed to be violative of the Constitution in cases properly brought before them. In Marshall's words, as applicable now as then:

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is . . .

"So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution apply to a particular case . . . the Court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of the judicial duty."

There can be no question that plaintiffs expressly state a cause of action arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States as required by 28 U.S.C. 41(1) and, in particular, under Article I, Section 1, 2(1) (2) (4), 5(1) (2) and 9(3) of the Constitution of the United States and the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th and 19th Amendments.

In *Bell* v. *Hood*, 327 U.S. 678, 683 (1946) the Supreme Court, in reversing a dismissal of an action for damages based on violations of the 4th and 5th Amendments, held that where "the alleged violations of the Constitution . . . are not immaterial but form rather the sole basis of the relief sought," the matter in controversy "arises under the Constitution or laws of the United States, whether these are suits in 'equity' or at 'law' ". As Mr. Justice Black stated, ". . . where federally protected rights have been invaded, it has been the rule from the beginning that courts will be alert to adjust their remedies so as to grant the necessary relief." (at 684)

CONCLUSION

As demonstrated above, the complaint contains "a substantial constitutional question" which is not "patently frivolous"; at least formally alleges a basis for equitable relief; and sets forth a justiciable case or controversy. All the necessary prerequisites for the invocation of the statutory court jurisdiction set forth in *Idlewild* and *Reed*, supra, have been compiled with. The three-judge court should be immediately convened in order to bring before it promptly this case of high constitutional order.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank D. Reeves, Herbert O. Reid, Sr., P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20000, 797–1395; Jean Camper Cahn, 1308 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Robert L. Carter, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York; Hubert T. Delany, 55 Liberty Street, New York, New York; Arthur Kinoy, William M. Kunstler, 511 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York; Henry R. Williams, 271 West 125th Street, New York, New York, Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the privilege of the House, and offer a resolution (H. Res. 376) which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman submits a resolution relating to the privilege of the House, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. Res. 376

Whereas Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al., on March 8, 1967, filed a suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, naming as defendants certain Members and officers of the House of Representatives, and contesting certain actions of the House of Representatives; and

Whereas this suit raises questions concerning the rights and privileges of the House of Representatives, the separation of powers between the legislative and judicial branches of the Government and fundamental constitutional issues: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States is hereby authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such special counsel as he may deem necessary to represent the House of Representatives, its Members and officers named as defendants, in the suit filed by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al. in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, as well as in any similar or related proceeding brought in any court of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That any expenses incurred pursuant to these resolutions, including the compensation of such special counsel and any costs incurred thereby, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized and signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and approved by the Committee on House Administration; and be it further

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House of Representatives transmit a copy of these resolutions to the aforementioned court and to any other court in which related legal proceedings may be brought.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs], is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Louisiana yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield for the purpose of an inquiry. Yes.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to withhold yielding for a moment. I would first like to make a brief statement, and then I will be happy to yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I am certain that all of you listened to the reading of the resolution by the Clerk. The resolution speaks for itself. The language is clear. It authorizes the Speaker of the House to employ counsel to defend the action which has been brought against the Speaker and certain other Members of this body and certain officers of the House of Representatives. I would say that this resolution is offered in the hope that it will be adopted and adopted by an overwhelming majority if not unanimously. It was drafted with the cooperation of the leadership on both sides of the aisle. I am making the presentation because I am not a party defendant.

However, I would like to say that we have consulted with representatives of the Department of Justice and the reason why the action is requested here today in the form of this resolution is because involved here is a very fundamental question, the fundamental constitutional question of the separation of powers, that is, the separation of the legislative from the executive and from the judicial. It was the feeling of the leadership that this matter so goes to the heart of representative government that this body as a body should be represented independently by independent counsel to be designated and chosen by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Now I will yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Does the adoption of this resolution waive the constitutional rights of each Member who has been served here?

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman repeat?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Does the adoption of this resolution in any manner waive the immunity that you and I as Members of this House have under the Constitution not to be sued under civil action during the time that we are coming to and from our duties here? I mean this action taken here by this resolution. The Constitution says that you and I and all other Members are not subject to civil suit while we are here. Does the adoption of this resolution—my parliamentary inquiry is, Does the adoption of this resolution waive that right?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that there is nothing involved in the present proceedings that waives the constitutional rights of any Member of the House. The Chair could see nothing involved in that question as far as our present situation is concerned.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a further parliamentary inquiry. Does the fact that you are authorized to hire counsel waive any right that I may have as a Member of this body in a civil suit which I am not made a party of but which you are and which you would be required apparently to follow the dictates of the court in? Am I bound by what the court may tell you under this resolution?

The SPEAKER. The Chair sees nothing involved in the question at this time raised by the gentleman from Colorado. The Chair considers this to be a procedure that is consistent with the privileges of the House since the legislative branch is a coordinate and coequal branch of our Government.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Does the fact that you, as the Speaker of the House of Representatives, are authorized under this resolution to pay the expenses of an attorney, does that in any manner waive any right of you, Mr. Speaker, or that we waive any right to assert our rights and your rights under the Constitution?

The SPEAKER. There is no constitutional right enjoyed by any Member waived by this resolution.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Louisiana yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Rivers].

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, in so many words, does this mean that you as the presiding officer of this body are submitting to the jurisdiction of this court, following up what the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Rogers] has said?

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman repeat his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. RIVERS. Does this mean that you as the presiding officer of this House of Representatives, keeping in mind the separation of powers, are submitting to the jurisdiction of this court in this matter?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Well, the pending resolution authorizes the Speaker to appoint counsel and to take such steps and actions which are consistent with the Constitution in protecting the dignity and the rights and the prerogatives of the House of Representatives.

It seems to the Chair that it would be an orderly step to follow.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Louisiana yield to me at this point?

Mr. BOGGS. Well, I shall yield to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford], in just a moment.

However, I would like to say that the resolution, as I read it, would simply authorize the Speaker of the House of Representatives to employ counsel.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Paid out of the money which the House of Representatives may make available?

Mr. BOGGS. Is the gentleman suggesting that counsel be hired without being paid? No such procedure would be sensible.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. But the point is that in any legal action, and as every lawyer in this body knows, you would be most concerned that the counsel may very well acknowledge the jurisdictional question.

Mr. BOGGS. Well—excuse me for just a moment, if the gentleman does not mind. He might fail—he can determine whether or not the plaintiff has any right to know or whether the plaintiff can be called into court, which is the point made by the gentleman from Colorado; but, without counsel, the argument could not even be made, and that is what this resolution seeks to do.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of the Chair as to whether or not this counsel, if employed, will have as his first duty upon any appearance in court on behalf of this body, to represent this body, bearing in mind the fact that there is a body of jurisprudence that holds that one is not held to be subject under certain circumstances to the further jurisdiction of the court, but by another body of jurisprudence under the jurisdiction of the court, should we contemplate that if counsel were employed he would have power to enter a special appearance?

The SPEAKER. If the resolution is adopted, the counsel is empowered to represent the House of Representatives.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I shall be very happy to yield to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on this precise point I believe the resolution itself authorizes the Speaker to employ counsel who would appear without any prejudice whatsoever to any of the rights of any of the Members of this body, or its employees.

The second point I wish to make is that I was present when the Speaker was served, and I heard what was said to the Speaker in the process, and what the Speaker responded at the time he was served the paper, and I can assure you that no sacrifices of the rights of this House under any circumstances were made in either the service or the receipt of that service. Therefore in my judgment the questions raised by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Rogers] are well handled under the circumstances of the resolution.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I might point out further to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford] that the action here is not unprecedented. We have authorized the employment of counsel on several occasions heretofore. One that comes to my mind involves, if I remember correctly, some action brought in Los Angeles County, Calif., against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. There have been others. I have not researched the question.

But certainly the employment of counsel in those cases not only did not constitute any waiver of rights or any acceptance of jurisdiction. Quite to the contrary, they were employed to defend rights wherever they may have been included, and the lack of jurisdiction, if that may have been the case.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. I will be happy to yield for a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MacGREGOR. The Speaker has indicated a few moments ago that under the precedents Members cannot respond to a summons without the consent of the House. My parliamentary inquiry is this, Mr. Speaker: Will the adoption of the Boggs resolution constitute that consent of the House which is necessary so that the Members sued in this action may fully respond to the summons?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state there is nothing in the resolution which authorizes the Members to do anything.

Mr. MacGREGOR. A further parliamentary inquiry, if the gentleman will yield for that purpose.

Mr. BOGGS. I will be happy to yield.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, is it permitted under the rules of the House, since no Member, to my knowledge, has seen the resolution until it was read a few moments ago, to lay this matter over until Monday so that we may have a chance to carefully consider this very important question?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that is a matter for the House to decide.

The Chair might say to the gentleman that this has been gone into in depth by the leadership on both sides. It is not a question of whether the leadership on one side of the aisle concedes to this procedure. The resolution is with the collective consideration and judgment of the leadership on both sides, and of other ranking members of the committee on both sides.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Would the patient gentleman from Louisiana yield for one more parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, do I understand that it is contemplated in the summons that those sued shall have 20 days within which to respond, or 60 days within which to respond?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that in reading from one of the summonses it says 60 days.

Mr. MacGREGOR. I thank the Speaker.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman, Mr. Speaker, for a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, my parliamentary inquiry is this:

If this resolution is adopted would it then be necessary before the Speaker or any other officer or Member of the House submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the court, and make an appearance in the court, to first have the consent and approval of the Members of the House by resolution subsequently adopted to the one we are discussing?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the gentleman from North Carolina has asked a very pertinent question, and the answer to that question is "Yes."

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for one further parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, would this include the fact that they would not be authorized to make a special appearance without the further consent of this House even if that special appearance is for the purpose of contesting jurisdiction?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the House of Representatives can always protect its prerogatives at any time.

Ordinarily the procedure would be to refer the matter to the Attorney General. But, in view of the serious implications involved, it was felt, after consultation with the Department of Justice, that this procedure should be followed.

The resolution is before the House as the result of profound consideration on the part of responsible Members of the House. Of course, all Members of the House are responsible, but the Chair is referring to those Members in the responsible positions of leadership on both sides.

The Chair would make the personal observation that the simple question involved here is whether we really ought to follow the ordinary procedure and send a letter to the Attorney General or by the adoption of this resolution authorize the Speaker to select counsel, in view of the serious implications involved, to represent the House of Representatives.

Beyond that there is nothing else at this time that is involved by this resolution.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ALBERT. Of course, the question involving the prerogatives of the House of Representatives is involved here. We thought it was better we have our own counsel than that another department of the Government furnish counsel.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford], the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the time given to me by the distinguished majority whip.

Mr. Speaker, may I say at the outset, I agree wholeheartedly with the recommendations that have been made and that are included in this resolution.

I fully concur in the observations made by the distinguished majority whip and by the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives as to the need and the necessity for us to take this action.

Mr. Speaker, as was anticipated, the former Member who was excluded from this body on two occasions by majorities of the magnitude of 6-to-1 and 3-to-1 has now challenged our action in the U.S. Court for the District of Columbia. It is, of course, the right of every citizen to seek redress of grievances, real or not, in the courts. But the question now is, what shall this House do about it?

After much deliberation and full debate of a quality and caliber that has rarely been surpassed during my years in this body, the House voted by two very substantial majorities to exclude a Member-elect from a seat in this Congress. On January 10, opening day, we voted 364-to-64 in effect to exclude the Member-elect temporarily, while a select committee examined the law and the facts and afforded him an opportunity to respond to the allegations against him; and on March 1, by a rollcall of 307-to-116, we voted finally to exclude the Member-elect and declare the seat vacant.

I do not propose to replow old ground. Whatever may have been the views of each of us on these questions, and I am sure every member had opportunity to express them, the House acted in an orderly and lawful manner with full cognizance of its rules and traditions to carry out its responsibility under the Constitution. All of us were extremely conscious, I am certain, of the grave constitutional issues involved, and the several opinions and precedents bearing upon these fundamental rights and duties were fully and expertly argued. Then the House worked its will which is, in the absence of a national referendum, the closest approximation to the will of all the people which exists under our form of representative Republic.

Therefore I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the difficult and complex case which has thus far dominated this first session of the 90th Congress has moved on to higher and historic ground. On January 10 many of us argued that the House must be firm and fair to the Member-elect, Mr. Powell. Today I say that the House of Representatives must be firm and fair to itself and to future Members of this, the greatest forum for the voice of democracy in all the world. The integrity of the House must be preserved, protected, and defended from without as well as from within. And only we, who have the honor to serve here, can do this.

Mr. Speaker, in Government as well as in engineering, the most solid and steady structure rests upon three equal bases. The framers of our Constitution, having behind them the experience of the Roman Republic and of the British parliamentary evolution, as well as their colonial governments and the Articles of Confederation, wisely wrote into the Constitution the permanent and inviolable separation of Federal power among the coequal legislative, executive, and judicial branches. It is worth passing note that the Congress was established in the first article.

While, in general, legislative power is shared by the House and the Senate, and limits are placed upon it both by Executive powers and judicial precedents, the two legislative bodies have internal organizational powers that are separate and specific and are not, in my judgment, subject to any superior power. Among these is article I, section 5, which provides for the censure, punishment and, by a two-thirds vote, expulsion of a Member, and also states that—

> Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

In short, if this body is the judge in these matters, there cannot be any other judge nor any higher appeal. We did not legislate in H.R. 1 nor in H.R. 278—we rendered a judgment. That judgment is, in my view, final unless it is changed in the future by this House of Representatives. Neither the Senate, within the legislative branch, nor any court created by the Constitution or by the Congress in the judicial branch nor any officer of the executive branch, has any jurisdiction here.

Mr. Speaker, I can assert without reservation that one of the most fundamental and precious principles—perhaps the most important principle which has preserved the liberties of our people and insures the welfare of our posterity—is this constitutional provision of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial branches. It is true that at various periods of our history one branch or another has sought to overextend its power and authority. Every schoolboy knows how President Andrew Jackson declared:

> John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it.

Nor has the Congress been guiltless. During the post-Civil War period, Representative Thaddeus Stevens, a Member of the House, thundered at President Johnson—Andrew Johnson—

> Though the President is commander-in-chief, Congress is his commander, and God willing, he shall obey. . . . This is not a government of kings and satraps, but a government of the people, and Congress is the people.

But, fortunately, whenever any one of our three independent branches of Government has overreached itself, time and the lively conscience of the American people have redressed the balance.

After the action of the House on March 1, our present Chief Executive was asked by the press for comment on the exclusion of Mr. Powell. His reply was exemplary and I commend it to the attention of every Member.

President Johnson said:

> No, I would have no comment on that matter, other than what you have been given before—that is a matter for the members of the House that is reserved for them by the Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, what the chief spokesman of the executive branch said is, I submit, precisely and absolutely correct. I would hope that substantially the same statement would be made by the judicial branch in this matter. But we cannot rely on hope when faced with such an historic challenge. The integrity of the House and of the legislative branch of this Government can only be defended in this instance by the House itself, step by step as the circumstances require.

Mr. Speaker, though trained in the law, I have no intention of pleading the constitutional cause of the House of Representatives here today. I believe that every Member of this body, from yourself, Mr. Speaker, to the most junior new Member of the 90th Congress, regardless of his vote on the decision we have taken and irrespective of his position in the majority or minority, has an equal stake and an equal interest in preserving, protecting, and defending the rights and privileges, the independence, and integrity of this House. I yield to no one in my love for this House and I ask no one to yield to me.

When I urge that the House face up squarely to its duty and responsibility, to the oath each of us has taken to support the Constitution of the United States and its fundamental doctrine of divided powers, I do not speak selfishly or out of a narrow desire to prove ourselves in the right. Obviously, the House is not always right any more than the decisions of a democratic people are always right. They are merely, as Sir Winston Churchill observed, the least often wrong of any system yet devised.

If it is not quite true that Congress is the people, it is the closest thing to the people that we have—particularly here in the House of Representatives. So when we defend this House we defend the people's House. We have heard and doubtless will continue to hear much argument as to whether we have the right to exclude a Member-elect from this body. I submit that this question already has been pleaded before the only court of competent jurisdiction under the Constitution, the House of Representatives; and judgment has been passed by substantial majorities, on two rollcalls, that we do have that exclusive right and power. I believe this accords with the intent of the Founding Fathers and the rules and precedents of the House. This judgment has been challenged and must be vigorously and ably defended. This is our simple duty to the past and to the future.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentlemen sat in on conferences involved in this resolution. The issue before the House, as I understand it—and I want the gentleman to agree or disagree—is whether or not the House of Representatives authorizes the Speaker of the House to employ competent counsel to represent the House in this action.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The answer is "Yes," and I will plead strongly that it must be done today. Time is of the essence.

Mr. BOGGS. May I ask the gentleman one or two other questions. Does the gentleman have any doubt whatsoever, of any kind, of the remotest kind, that this waives any right or privilege of any Member of this body?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. In my judgment this resolution waives no right as far as any individual Member nor as to the House as a whole.

Mr. BOGGS. The gentleman will also recall that there was discussed at the meeting the provisions of section 118, title II, United States Code, which sets forth that in any action brought against any officer of the House the U.S. attorney for the district involved shall defend the action.

In this case there is a joinder of Members of the House and officers of the House. Now, in the event that there were no defense offered by the Members, such as the distinguished gentleman, who is a defendant, the officers of the House, under the express language of the statute, would go down and would have the U.S. attorney representing them, while the Members of the House, under the terms of the subpena which they have now been served, would be defaulted within 60 days because there would be no answer filed. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The gentleman from Louisiana is correct.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RIVERS. Let me ask the gentleman a simple question.

Suppose you go downtown and tell a lawyer, which you select, "Somebody served these papers on me; will you advise me of my constitutional rights under the separation powers theory?"—and under that magnificent statement the gentleman made, that judgment has been final—and he tells you, "Pay no attention to it; judgment is final." What are you going to come back and tell us?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. As a practical matter, there has to be someone to go down and tell them that it is none of their business.

Mr. RIVERS. Tell whom?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. RIVERS. I do not understand that we have yet submitted to this jurisdiction. What about this lawyer? You obviously do not want to trust the Department of Justice—for lots of reasons.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. May I correct a statement there, because I do not want the wrong impression left.

Mr. RIVERS. You said, because of the separation of powers.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I want that clear, that we are asking for a separate counsel, for the Speaker to have the right to make that recommendation, because we want someone representing one of the three coequal branches without depending upon the skill and ability of another.

Mr. RIVERS. Now, what if he tells you, "They do not have jurisdiction, nor can they get it." What are you going to tell the House?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the with the assumption they do not have jurisdiction, but someone has to go down and represent us; otherwise, a default judgment could be taken against us.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. We start out gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. On the question which the gentleman from South Carolina asked prior to his last question, regarding the jurisdiction of the Attorney General coming into the matter, this was done after consultation with representatives of the Attorney General. We did not fail to call in the Attorney General's office because of any reason other than the separation of powers and the wisdom of doing so in this case.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The majority leader is exactly right.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. You have very eloquently outlined the separation of powers and said here that the action taken by the House of Representatives was final, that nobody can question it. What would be wrong with the Speaker writing a little letter down here to the judge and saying, "I am a Member of the House, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I am not subject to this suit. Will you therefore excuse me and the remainder of the Members?"

Why can we not do that?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. My answer to the gentleman from Colorado would be—and he is a lawyer of long experience—that he knows that is not the way to handle a lawsuit.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I know, but on the other hand why should we spend the taxpayers' money going into an area which you say has already been made final—and I agree with you. So why should we spend any time with it?

Suppose that the Speaker did go down and the court said, "Well, now, Mr. Speaker, you have got to give the oath to Adam Clayton Powell."

Am I bound by that?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Will the gentleman let me respond to that? The gentleman from Colorado has tried many lawsuits and has represented many clients. I am sure he has represented clients where the plaintiff, he knew as the defendant's attorney, did not have a case, but he could not take the gamble not to go down there and represent his client as the defendant.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. If you did not have jurisdiction, then it has no effect whatsoever, and the court here does not have it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. I would say in response to the gentleman from Colorado that assuming the simple procedure he spelled out a moment ago, namely, that the distinguished Speaker address a letter, is followed, it might very well be that counsel after the examination of all the law would advise the Speaker to do just that.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Well, now——

Mr. BOGGS. The other answer, of course, is equally obvious. In my State—and I can only speak to my own State—the plea of jurisdiction is a very frequently used one. We go in and say that the court has no jurisdiction and no other issue is debated or argued until that one is resolved.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HUNGATE. I thank the gentleman from Michigan. I want to express wholehearted approval of his distinguished outline of the philosophy of the House of Representatives in this case.

I would like to ask—and, if I may, I will ask the gentleman from Michigan, and perhaps we can get assistance from the gentleman from Louisiana—if he is not aware of the fact that there are jurisdictions in which you come in and enter a special appearance in which you challenge the jurisdiction, and when that is determined adversely to you, then you are subject to the jurisdiction. That may not be true in Louisiana or some States, but it is true in other States. If you are in a lawsuit in which they do not have jurisdiction over your client and then you voluntarily come in to contest jurisdiction and it is ruled adversely to you, then you would be in the lawsuit.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Michigan 2 additional minutes to respond to that inquiry.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. It has been suggested that the judge to whom this case may be assigned can certainly take judicial notice of the fact that the chief parties defendant are all Members of the House of Representatives and upon that basis he could certainly follow his own duty and responsibility and say, "We will have nothing to do with it."

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary [Mr. Celler].

Mr. CELLER. I would ask the gentleman this question for the record: Am I correct in saying that by the passage of this resolution we do not forfeit the right to challenge the jurisdiction of this court over these proceedings as far as the House is concerned or any of its Members?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. That would be my interpretation of the resolution.

Mr. CELLER. And is it not further true by the passage of this resolution we do not yield any right of immunity of the House or any of its Members?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I would agree with the gentleman's statement.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would like to attempt to clarify the answer to a question which I believe you gave the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs], a moment ago. He asked you whether or not it was your opinion, if this resolution passed, that the House would be employing, through its Speaker, counsel to represent the House in this matter. The gentleman replied that that was his opinion. Would it not be more proper to say that if this resolution passes, the House is employing counsel through the Speaker to advise the House, because even if this resolution passes, it will be necessary for the House to pass an additional resolution authorizing the Speaker and those others here in the House and the officers of the House to appear in court?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I would agree with the reservation which has been taken by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Waggonner] as to the use of the words, although I would argue, perhaps, that it is a matter of semantics. However, I would accept the language.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority leader yield to me at this point?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, first I would like to compliment the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford] for his very excellent and what I believe to be a very clear statement.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that I agree with the questions propounded by the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler], and the answers that those questions so propounded brought forward.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that this resolution does not enter an appearance by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, or by any Member of the House of Representatives in court. It simply authorizes the Speaker to employ counsel to proceed, at least, in the initial stages in this matter and to protect the interests of the Speaker and the Members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, it is elementary law, as I recall it, that limited appearances are not unusual in the Federal courts and that they are not unusual in most, if not all, of the State courts. And, Mr. Speaker, if there is a pleading filed—a dilatory motion—or a motion testing the jurisdiction of the court, that does not enter the Speaker of the House of Representatives or any Member of this House in court, if the proper limitations thereon are made.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the Speaker and the Members of the House would be in court without prejudice as to further actions.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I hope it will be adopted, and that it will be adopted unanimously.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution will serve a useful purpose for one of the three great branches of our Government, if it is so adopted.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

The gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

The SPEAKER. What period of time does the gentleman from Louisiana yield to the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, just for a question. I have just a series of questions. I am not going to filibuster.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I do yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I have only had a very short opportunity to read the resolution which has been offered by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS], and as I read it, Mr. Speaker, the resolution states "to represent," and not to just advise, but "to represent."

Mr. BOGGS. May I read it to the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. GIBBONS. Yes.

Mr. BOGGS. Permit me to read the resolution again, in full:

> Whereas, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., et al., on March 8, 1967, filed a suit—

He filed it—

> in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, naming as defendants certain Members and officers of the House of Representatives, and contesting certain actions of the House of Representatives; and
>
> Whereas this suit raises questions concerning the rights and privileges of the House of Representatives, the separation of powers between the legislative and judicial branches of Government, and fundamental constitutional issues; now, therefore, be it
>
> Resolved—

And here is the essence of the resolution—this is it—

> That the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States is hereby authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such special counsel as he may deem necessary to represent the House of Representatives——

Mr. GIBBONS. Well——

Mr. BOGGS. Permit me to read further:

> its Members and officers named as defendants, in the suit filed by Adam Clayton Powell Jr., et al., in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, as well as in any similar or related proceeding brought in any court in the United States—

The rest of the resolution is unimportant.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I might say to the gentleman I have only been licensed to practice law for 20 years, but to me when you say you are going to represent somebody, that means to go into court, to go and file pleadings. I do not know that there is any other connotation to it in the English language.

This resolution does not say to advise, if I may say to the gentleman, so I think it should be amended. I believe it should be considered and maybe we should vote on this on next Tuesday, or something like that.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me for just one observation?

Mr. BOGGS. I will be happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT].

Mr. ALBERT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is clear from the legislative history as made by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS], who has handled this resolution, and the distinguished minority leader, who was a party to the preparation of these matters, and by the answers of the Speaker, that no question of jurisdiction of the House is involved in this matter, and that this resolution, if passed, will be passed with that certainty in it.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER], 1 minute.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I do not claim to be a constitutional lawyer, and I have refrained from doing anything in this whole controversy except to vote, but there are grave questions in my mind, as a country lawyer, about the question of employing legal representation because of the jurisdictional question involved.

There is a difference of opinion here obviously; but in my opinion, when an attorney appears in court as a lawyer representing a client, then his client is in court. So, Mr. Speaker, I believe this raises a very grave and serious question.

It is my opinion that under the constitutional separation of powers I do not believe that the court has any jurisdiction in this matter. If it should go to the High Court in its palace across the plaza here, I am sure the answer of this House should be the same as that which was given by President Jackson, I believe it was, to Chief Justice Marshall when he said, "You have made your order, now enforce it."

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman know of any reason why we cannot postpone this until next Tuesday, especially since we have 60 days?

Mr. COLMER. That would possibly be the proper procedure in view of the serious questions raised here.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER].

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the gentleman is familiar with section 1 of article III of the Constitution, which says the judicial powers of the United States shall be fixed in one Supreme Court and in such other inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time decide to establish.

Mr. COLMER. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. WHITENER. So that it is elementary that we have the right to fix the jurisdiction, and perhaps it may be less expensive to just pass a bill taking away any possibility of jurisdiction by these Federal courts, and then we will not have to pay attorneys' fees, and we would have the matter solved once and for all.

Mr. COLMER. I know of no one any better qualified to offer such a piece of legislation than the gentleman from North Carolina, and I assure him of my support to that end.

I regard the able gentleman from North Carolina, a valuable and sound member of the Judiciary Committee, as one of the ablest constitutional lawyers.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I regard the question posed by this lawsuit as the most serious challenge to the constitutional provision of the separation of powers between the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative departments of the Republic.

This is an arrogant action by an arrogant man.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I have examined this resolution as carefully as one possibly can. I find, in common parlance, no bugs in it.

I think this resolution follows the precedent we have established on several previous occasions where Members of the House of Representatives have been sued and efforts were made to bring Members and the House of Representatives itself to book for certain actions growing out of proceedings in the Committee on Un-American Activities.

At that time we passed resolutions in haec verba—containing the words that are in this very resolution. No objections were raised on those previous occasions and I do not see any valid reason why we should not accept the resolution which has been read to you and which is now before the House.

I have examined this resolution carefully and I find nothing in it that would militate against the rights of either the House of Representatives itself or the rights of the Members thereof.

I find nothing in the resolution that would invade the privileges of the House of Representatives or the rights of Members of the House.

I find nothing that would in anywise forfeit our rights to attack the right of the court to hear these proceedings.

I find nothing in the resolution which would in any degree hurt or harm a Member who would seek any sort of immunity. I see nothing that would hurt the immunity of the House of Representatives itself.

So from every conceivable angle, I do hope the House of Representatives will embrace this resolution.

Now there has been some talk about the use of the word "represent" in the resolution, part of which reads as follows:

> That the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States is hereby authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such special counsel as he may deem necessary to represent the House of Representatives.

Now that is exactly what a counsel does. A counsel really represents his client. The counsel would represent the House of Representatives.

There is embraced in the term "represent" the action of advice and counsel and presenting to the court the rights and the privileges of the client. That is all embraced in the word "represent."

I do not think there is anything beyond that and I do not think there is anything that should cause us any concern or worry by the use of the word "represent" because it means exactly the hiring of counsel.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. I would like to know just where we would be if we do pass this resolution?

Does it mean, as to what the attorney does, that he would be guided by the advice and direction of the Speaker of the House of Representatives or would the matter come back to the House for appropriate authority?

Ordinarily when a counsel is employed, he does what his client or superior tells him to do.

Mr. CELLER. I think that in a case of such a high degree of importance that any counsel who would be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives would be in sympathy with the views of the Speaker of the House of Representatives; he would be in direct contact with the Speaker at all times.

There would be constant communication between him and the Speaker of the House.

I cannot conceive of any difference which would arise between them. They would confer with each other. The Speaker would confer with the majority leader and the minority leader.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PEPPER. If we pass this resolution, would the attorney be authorized to appear in court in a general way and present objections as to the jurisdiction of the court?

Mr. CELLER. There is no doubt that they would have that right. There is no question they would have that right.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The question was raised by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] and the distinguished Speaker of the House in response to his question stated that before the counsel could take any definite action he would have to come back and get a resolution from the House.

Do you understand that if a lawyer is hired in this case he will get guidance and direction before he makes his appearance in court?

Mr. CELLER. As I understood it, if someone wished to split this matter up and have this resolution limited——

The SPEAKER. I think the gentleman from Colorado should direct his question to the record as it stands.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. If the question addressed to the gentleman is whether it takes a further summons to appear, that would be a different propostion.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, may I then make a parliamentary inquiry at this time?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York has the floor.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. With whom will the counsel that is selected by you confer before he takes any action? All the Members who are sued here, including yourself, voted to seat Adam Clayton Powell. It is those who voted against him who should have an opportunity to express themselves as to how they shall be represented.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that lawyers who have had some practical experience realize and know that in practice you certainly keep your clients advised.

In the opinion of the Chair, the matter should be referred to the Department of Justice or we should employ our own counsel. It is a simple proposition, it seems to me.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Who would be the client to whom the lawyer selected would be responsible?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is too good a lawyer not to know who it would be: the Members named in the complaint.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. I appreciate the gentleman yielding. I was wondering if the chairman of the Judiciary could not along with the rest of us who serve with him, expedite approval of legislation which would make it clear that in cases involving membership in either branch of the Congress, the Federal courts would have no jurisdiction. This would seem to be in keeping with the Constitution. If we could pass legislation like that, we would not really need as much legal advice from downtown or anywhere else, would we? I did not hear the chairman's answer.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, several other Members have expressed a wish to speak. How much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana has 14 minutes remaining.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, several questions have been raised relative to jurisdiction and whether or not a mere plea of jurisdiction constitutes the assumption of jurisdiction. The gentleman from Missouri, if I remember correctly, made that observation. I replied to the gentleman that my recollection covered only my own jurisdiction, where I know the answer is, "No."

I now have before me the Rules of Civil Procedure for the U.S. Courts. Rule 12 states in part as follows:

> Every defense, in law or fact, to a claim for relief in any pleading, whether a claim, counterclaim, cross-claim or third-party-claim, shall be asserted in the responsive pleading thereto if one is required, except that the following defenses may at the option of the pleader be made by motion: (1) lack of jurisdiction over the subject matter, (2) lack of jurisdiction over the person, (3) improper venue, (4) insufficiency of process, (5) insufficiency of service of the process—

Et cetera.

In any event the rule spells out quite specifically the plea of jurisdiction, if overruled, does not accord jurisdiction.

Now, the gentleman from Louisiana had asked me to yield, and I will be very happy to yield to him.

Mr. WILLIS. I wanted to call to the attention of the gentleman that very rule to which he just referred.

I have had experience, unfortunately, in matters of this kind as chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Just last year, while in Chicago, I was served with an injunction process, and in that case we abided by the normal procedure and were represented by the Department of Justice.

There is no trick about this thing. Counsel who is to represent this body and the Members named is going to file a pleading reading somewhat like this:

> And now comes the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, who, appearing herein for the purposes of this—et cetera, et cetera—and for special purposes, only say the following:

And then he files his plea to the jurisdiction. And then he would, no doubt, add, I would suppose with that, that the pleading diminishes no right or cause or action known to law. Then we would have the right to argue to the judge the right of separation of powers as a reason why a plea should be accorded. Of course, if we have sloppy pleadings and submit ourselves to the jurisdiction, then our duck is cooked. But we have a perfect right to file an exception.

Mr. BOGGS. Will the gentleman from Louisiana yield to me for a question?

Mr. WILLIS. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. I believe this is a very important matter, because it bears on the main question. The gentleman referred to the fact that in the Chicago suit, when he was appointed a defendant—and he is a Member of the House of Representatives, just as the distinguished Speaker is and just as the distinguished Member from West Virginia and other Members are—he was defended by the Department of Justice. Is that not correct?

Mr. WILLIS. Exactly. That has happened many times, to my recollection, that injunction suits against that particular committee have occurred, and as I recall in each instance we appeared before this House and asked for permission to be represented, and in each instance it was done without all this bother before.

Mr. BOGGS. Another question. In the Los Angeles case, the Judiciary Committee was authorized to employ a special counsel?

Mr. WILLIS. A special counsel.

Mr. BOGGS. Did that constitute in any sense any waiver of any right, any waiver of any privilege, or any waiver of any immunity of any Member?

Mr. WILLIS. Of course not.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the gentleman would show me in my book under these rules where it states that if we make that motion of special appearance, and it is overruled, that we are not subject to the jurisdiction.

Could I have that?

Mr. BOGGS. I gather that the gentleman was asking me for an interpretation of rule XII?

Mr. HUNGATE. That is correct. Please read that part of the rule.

Mr. BOGGS. I am not prepared to give an interpretation of that. That is why I believe we have to have counsel. I am not prepared to interpret the rules.

Mr. HUNGATE. I interpret it otherwise.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SCOTT] 2 minutes.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am one of the rookie Congressmen who did not vote with the leadership of his party on the Adam Clayton Powell matter. Of course, the majority of the entire House revolted against the leadership on both sides. But I am pleased to say, Mr. Speaker, that I am in complete accord with the leadership on both sides today. They are doing something here to protect the honor and the integrity and the rights of this House in which we sit today. I am proud of our leadership and certainly I intend to vote in favor of this resolution.

I am an attorney, and I have practiced law for more than 25 years. I recognize the right of a special appearance on behalf of this House in questioning the jurisdiction of the court in this matter. My position would be, first, to question the jurisdiction of the court by special appearance. Then if the court should overrule us, we would have the trial in the trial court, and enter an appeal in the court of appeals, and in the Supreme Court.

If we lost in all of these courts, we would not be in any worse position than we are in in the matter without filing an appearance. Then, should we lose in the Supreme Court of the United States, we could very well say, "The Court made its order; let it enforce it."

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. If this resolution does not pass I, as a defendant, would be compelled then to hire my own lawyer at my own expense. Is that correct?

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct.

Mr. CELLER. And that would be the same situation with respect to all the other Members?

Mr. BOGGS. Not only would the gentleman from New York have to do so, but all the others.

Mr. CELLER. One more question. Is it not true I could not even defend myself without a resolution passed by this House?

Mr. BOGGS. I believe that is correct. In addition, if the gentleman will answer further, in the case of the officers of the House—in the case of Mr. Jennings, the Clerk; of Mr. Miller, the Doorkeeper; or Mr. Johnson, the Sergeant at Arms; who are parties defendant, too—they could immediately call on the Department of Justice and say "We want you to defend us," but the gentleman could not do that.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] has raised a question that if this resolution is not passed to allow the House to employ counsel to represent the Members of the House in this matter he would be required to pay from his own pocket the required cost of an attorney to represent him. I am a little bit puzzled, because it seems we might have this problem as a result of this gentleman from New York having recommended that Mr. Powell go to court.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to take the position that the people who have been served with summonses ought not to be represented by counsel, and I do not believe they ought to have to dig into their own pockets to get legal advice, but I question the propriety of establishing the garden variety of attorney-client relationship in a matter this important.

I have before me the Corpus Juris Secumdum, the title "Attorney and Client," section 79. I do not have the time to read this. I wish I did.

This discusses the scope of the authority of an attorney, where a general attorney-client relationship arises, and the authority of an attorney is very great. There are many things he can do without consulting his client. He can make appearances. He can prepare pleadings. He can appear in court on behalf of his client. He can do things without consulting his client.

I believe we should amend this resolution to say that the Speaker and the parties defendant should be authorized to retain counsel for the purpose of consulting with them, obtaining legal advice, and we should pay them for it; but I strongly oppose the creation of a general relationship of attorney and client.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD].

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, permit me to say with some humor, that I speak from a position of some clarity on this legal question, in that I am not a lawyer and I have never practiced law.

First, I want to commend the able gentleman from Louisiana and the distinguished minority leader for their leadership on this matter. I am confident that the remarks by the gentleman from Michigan will, in the coming decades, be considered as one of the great speeches given in the House.

I should like to make three brief points.

With respect to the last comment by the gentleman from Georgia, it is my view that it begs the question. Either the counsel will be appointed by the House of Representatives as provided for in this resolution, or by the Department of Justice as has been the case in some previous instances. In either situation the House will have counsel. The question here is not whether but who—ours or the Department of Justice's.

Next, the debate by the gentleman from Florida about what the word "represent" means, has, I believe, been adequately clarified. Any person can make an arrangement with an attorney to represent him in, for example a contract negotiation that never ends up in court. The word "represent" in the terms of this resolution, as has been repeatedly verified by the floor managers, certainly is meant to refer to a legal advice and does not in any way suggest that there has been a decision to accept the jurisdiction of the court or that the defendant must go into court.

Finally, this Member considers it unfortunate if we in the House, here on the floor today, attempt to make final and binding decisions or try to draft the pleadings. The job here is to pass the resolution which will permit the House of Representatives to hire counsel, which I believe is perfectly proper and appropriate. Further, we have the eloquent statement of the minority leader clearly indicating what approach the leadership intends to take. That is good enough for me.

I thank the gentleman for yielding and urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, the debate on the pending privileged resolution and the wide divergence of opinion on the procedure which should be followed clearly indicates that further consideration of this resolution should be carried over until there has been an opportunity to have it printed and carefully studied. There is no immediate necessity for precipitate action, and further consideration should be deferred until Monday or Tuesday next.

I take the position that the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, in which the plaintiff filed this civil action, is wholly without jurisdiction to entertain the suit. I believe that the court should dismiss it upon its own motion on the constitutional principle that a creature of the Congress—for the U.S. District Court is a creature of Congress—has no jurisdiction over the Congress itself. While it is true that the civil action names certain individuals as parties defendant, it, nevertheless, attacks the authority of the House of Representatives to take the action which it did on March 1, 1967.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford], has clearly and articulately enunciated the principle of separation of powers. If his views that the legislative and judicial branches of the Federal Government are coequal and coordinate are correct, then neither the *Supreme Court of the United States nor* any inferior court has jurisdiction over action of the House of Representatives in passing upon the qualifications and fitness of a Member-elect.

The question has two aspects, depending upon two different sections of the Constitution of the United States, and different decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

First: Article III, section 1, provides that the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

The Supreme Court of the United States in *Lockerty, et al.* v. *Phillips*, 319 U.S. 182 (1943) unanimously held:

> The congressional power to "ordain and establish" inferior courts *includes* the power of investing them with jurisdiction either limited, concurrent, or exclusive, *and of withholding jurisdiction* from them in the exact degrees and character which to *Congress* may seem proper for the public good.

Today the House of Representatives should be considering legislation to clearly state that it does not recognize any jurisdiction in the U.S. district courts or the U.S. Courts of Appeal over cases involving the elections and qualifications or behavior of Members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. We should not be considering a resolution which even hints that a U.S. district court has jurisdiction over the House of Representatives.

The decision in *Lockerty, et al.* v. *Phillips, supra*, has been consistently followed. See U.S. Court of Appeals, Constitution, article III, section 1, note 1, and especially *Bruner* v. *United States*, 343 U.S. 112, 72 S. Ct. 581, 96 L. Ed. 786.

Second: Article III, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution provides:

> In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and Fact, *with such exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make*.

While the appellate power of the Supreme Court of the United States extends to all cases within the judicial power of the United States, actual jurisdiction under the power is confined within such limits as Congress sees fit to prescribe.

"The Francis Wright," 105 U.S. 385, 26 L. Ed. 1100.

See also *Luckenback S.S. Co.* v. *United States*, 272 U.S. 533; *St. L. R. Co.* v. *Taylor*, 210 U.S. 281.

In the famous case of *Ex parte McCardle*, 7 Wallace—74 U.S.—506, 513, the Supreme Court had before it an act of Congress of 1867 which expressly negatived the appellate jurisdiction of the Court in cases of habeas corpus. The Supreme Court upheld the act, saying:

> We are not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the legislature, we can only examine into its power under the Constitution; and the power to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of this court is given by express words.

Mr. Speaker, some Members may feel *that courts have jurisdiction over the* civil action brought by the former Representative from the 18th District of New York.

My interpretation of the Constitution of the United States is that the only forum for the determination of that question is the House of Representatives itself, and that no district court nor any court of appeals of the United States has jurisdiction over the subject matter and the civil action under discussion.

I hope that the previous question on the resolution will be voted down and that the House may have additional time to study this question and to amend the resolution as necessary or desirable.

Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation which would amend section 1346, title 28, United States Code, to reaffirm the principle that the U.S. district courts have no jurisdiction over questions or civil actions involving the right of either the House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate to judge, the elections, returns, qualifications and behavior of its Members.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I know the time is just about up. How much time remains?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, before moving the previous question on the resolution, I should like to point out that again we are confronted with a fact and not a theory. I hold in my hand a petition filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. This is not just something that somebody is talking about. It exists. I have been away from the practice of law for a good many years, sometimes I must say regretfully, so, but I do know that a lawsuit has to be answered.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. No. Unfortunately I just have a minute to conclude.

All we seek to do is follow the logical proposition of saying that the Speaker has been sued, the minority leader has been sued, the majority leader has been sued, the vice chairman of the committee, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Moore], has been sued, the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler], has been sued, Mr. Johnson has been sued, and Mr. Miller has been sued, and Mr. Jennings has been sued, and they have been served.

The Speaker says, "Well, now, look here. We have a great conflict of authority between the executive and the legislative and the judicial branches of the Government. The sacred separation of the powers is involved. Rather *than turn this over to the normal proc*esses of the Department of Justice, I ask, as the head officer or the leading officer or the representative of the House of Representatives, the privilege of consulting with and of advising with counsel of our own choosing."

That is all that is involved in this resolution. It has nothing to do with your feelings about how Mr. Powell should sue or should not sue and whether Mr. Powell should have been seated or not seated. It has to do with whether or not the House of Representatives has *the right to employ counsel to advise, to* consult, to represent, and to do whatever it is required to in order to protect the inviolate rights of this great institution.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question, and I hope it will be adopted.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, is the House of Representatives considering this resolution as a privileged resolution?

The SPEAKER. This concerns the privileges of the House.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Will there be opportunity to amend this resolution if the previous question is not voted down?

The SPEAKER. That depends on the action taken by the House in connection with the previous question.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. If we vote down the previous question, then we have the resolution before us and we can then amend it; can we not?

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be before the House for such action as the House desires to take.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Under the terms of the resolution, Mr. Speaker, this being a class action, if any member of the class or any Member of the House feels that the representation would be inadequate—and I so feel, having heard the discussion here today—am I free or is any Member of the House free to retain his own counsel?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will say to the gentleman from New York certainly this is hardly within the field of a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, then may I limit it to this question. Is any Member of the House free to retain his own counsel?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the gentleman can certainly answer the question for himself.

The question is on the previous question.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Thirty-three Members arising. An insufficient number.

The yeas and nays were refused.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Mr. Speaker, on this vote I demand a division.

The question was again taken and there were—yeas 128, noes 37.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER**. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 254, nays 85, not voting 93, as follows:

[Roll No. 33]

YEAS—254

Adair
Adams
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Biester
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolton
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Carter
Celler
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Conable
Conte
Cowger
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Wis.
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Dow
Dulski
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Evans, Colo.
Farbstein
Feighan
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Grover
Gude
Gurney
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harrison
Harsha
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Holifield
Hosmer
Howard
Hunt
Hutchinson
Irwin
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kyros
Laird
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Moore
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Nedzi
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Price, Tex.
Quie
Railsback
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tunney
Udall
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Wampler
Whalen
Whalley
Widnall
Wiggins
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wylie
Young
Younger
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—85

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blackburn
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Calif.
Casey
Colmer
Davis, Ga.
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Flynt
Fountain
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gibbons
Griffiths
Gross
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hébert
Henderson
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Kupferman
Kyl
Landrum
Langen
Lennon
Long, La.
McMillan
MacGregor
Mahon
Mills
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Neal, Ga.
Patman
Pryor
Purcell
Quillen
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Roudebush
Satterfield
Selden
Sikes
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Waggonner
Walker
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten
Willis
Wyman

NOT VOTING—93

Addabbo
Barrett
Blanton
Bolling
Bow
Brinkley
Brock
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Culver
Curtis
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Dent
Derwinski
Diggs
Donohue
Eshleman
Fallon
Fascell
Findley
Foley
Friedel
Gathings
Gettys
Gilbert
Gubser
Hanley
Hanna
Hardy
Harvey
Herlong
Hicks
Holland
Horton
Jacobs
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Leggett
McEwen
Mathias, Calif.
May
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Mize
Montgomery
Moorhead
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Multer
Nix
Ottinger
Passman
Pettis
Philbin
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Ronan
Sandman
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Stafford
Stratton
Sullivan
Ullman
Waldie
Watkins
Watson
Williams, Miss.
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Charles H.
Wydler
Yates

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Gilbert for, with Mr. Williams of Mississippi against.

Mr. Addabbo for, with Mr. Montgomery against.

Mr. Multer for, with Mr. Kornegay against.

Mr. Delaney for, with Mr. Passman against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Hicks with Mr. Pettis.

Mr. Scheuer with Mr. Eshleman.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Kuykendall.

Mr. Philbin with Mr. Morton.

Mr. Donohue with Mr. Harvey of Michigan.

Mr. Miller with Mr. Pollock.

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Bow.

Mr. King of California with Mr. Gubser.

Mr. Jacobs with Mr. Findley.

Mr. Cabell with Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Fascell with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Stafford.

Mr. Friedel with Mr. McEwen.

Mr. Gettys with Mr. Watson of South Carolina.

Mr. Hanley with Mr. Horton.

Mr. Stratton with Mr. Cederberg.

Mr. Ronan with Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Mathias of California.

Mrs. Sullivan with Mrs. May.

Mr. Leggett with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Carey with Mr. Wydler.

Mr. Culver with Mr. Schneebeli.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Cahill.

Mr. Foley with Mr. Dellenback.

Mr. Hardy with Mr. Rhodes of Arizonia.

Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Williams of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Karsten with Mr. Clancy.

Mr. Clark with Mr. Watkins.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. Cramer.

Mr. Holland with Mr. Sandman.

Mr. Yates with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.

Mr. Ullman with Mr. Michel.

Mr. Corman with Mr. Dawson.

Mr. Ottinger with Mr. Waldie.

Mr. Hanna with Mr. Diggs.

Mr. Price of Illinois with Mr. Conyers.

Mr. de la Garza with Mr. Nix.

Mr. Gathings with Mr. Pool.

Mr. **STUBBLEFIELD** changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Ratchford, one of his secretaries.

REQUEST TO SUSPEND TEMPORARILY THE 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT FOR MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT AND THE TAX BENEFITS OF ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION ON BUILDINGS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. 81)

The **SPEAKER** laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

On September 8, 1966, I asked the Congress to suspend temporarily the 7-percent investment tax credit for machinery and equipment and the tax benefits of accelerated depreciation on buildings.

That suspension was specifically designed to relieve excessive pressure on the overheated capital goods industries and the resulting strain on our financial markets. My economic advisers and I believe that the measures then proposed would relieve the acute inflationary pressures of the capital boom on the capacity of our machinery producers, the supplies of skilled workers, interest rates and the availability of credit for private homebuilding.

The Congress promptly enacted the legislation. The legislation provided for automatic restoration of these special tax provisions on January 1, 1968. At the time I signed the bill into law, I stated:

> If . . . any *earlier reinstatement* would be *appropriate*, I shall recommend prompt legislative action to accomplish that result.

In enacting the law, the Congress and the administration assumed the obligation to terminate this selective fiscal restraint and restore these tax incentives as soon as changes in the situation justified such action. The reports to the Congress of both the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee stated:

> If military requirements in southeast Asia should decrease before January 1, 1968, or if for some *other reason* it should become *apparent* that suspension of the investment credit and suspension of the use of the accelerated depreciation methods with respect to buildings are *no longer necessary* to restrain inflation, the Congress can *promptly* terminate the suspension. The Administration has also indicated that it *would recommend terminating* the suspension period *before* January 1, 1968, under such conditions.

In appearing before the Senate Finance Committee, the Secretary of the Treasury testified:

> The Administration will be alert to any change in the situation and will be prepared to recommend terminating the suspension period before January 1, 1968, if a change in circumstances makes that at all possible, and I would hope that the Congress would, in turn, be willing to entertain such a recommendation.

When I signed the bill last fall, I listed clearly what my economic advisers and I expected the legislation to accomplish. I said it would help: "restore more normal interest rates and ease tight money and credit conditions; free funds and resources for homebuilding and other essential uses; trim down excessive backlogs of machinery orders; curb upward pressures on prices and costs of capital goods; guard against a needless repetition of the old pattern of boom and bust in capital spending; and improve our current balance-of-payments position.

In the 6 months since Congress received the temporary suspension legislation it has already effectively done the job we hoped it would do.

INTEREST RATES

Since last September, aided by action of the Federal Reserve Board interest rates have fallen dramatically: 3-month Treasury bills—down 22.2 percent; long-term Treasury securities—down 9.3 percent; new corporate Aa bonds—down 12.0 percent; new municipal bonds—down 15.1 percent.

FUNDS FOR HOMEBUILDING

Funds are again flowing into our thrift institutions. Savings and loan associations—our key mortgage lenders—accumulated funds at an annual rate of only $100 million last spring and summer. Subsequent to our action last September, there has been a very sharp rise in their accumulation of funds. From October 1966 through January 1967, their accounts grew at an annual rate of $8 billion.

Mortgage interest rates have started to come down, and new housing starts have now risen for the last 3 months in a row.

BACKLOGS OF MACHINERY ORDERS

Last September, new orders for machinery and equipment were 18 percent higher than a year earlier, and order backlogs had grown 28 percent over that period. Order backlogs for machine tools were particularly large.

Orders for machinery and equipment have declined steadily since September, by a total of 7 percent. Order backlogs have leveled off, and in January actually declined for the first time since June 1963. For machine tools, backlogs have fallen substantially, as shipments exceeded orders by 17 percent in December and January.

PRESSURES ON PRICES AND COSTS OF CAPITAL GOODS

The machine industry has been straining their capacity—running close to 100 percent of maximum use—in August 1966. Between August and January the average utilization rate of capacity has declined to a healthier and more efficient rate. For makers of electrical machinery, the decline is from 97 percent to 91.5 percent.

Acute shortages of skilled labor, that plagued the machinery industries last spring and summer, are gradually disappearing.

GUARDING AGAINST BOOM AND BUST

In 1965, plant and equipment spending rose 16 percent. In 1966, it rose 17 percent. That was an unsustainable pace. At that rate, the capital boom was headed for a bust. Now, the latest survey of investment plans for 1967, conducted by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange Commission, shows a modest increase of less than 4 percent. That is a sustainable pace of advance.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

During the first three quarters of 1966, imports of capital equipment soared an average of 14 percent a quarter. In the fourth quarter of 1966 the rise was only 3.9 percent, and this partly reflected deliveries against earlier orders. Now that domestic producers can take care of domestic demands, this extra drain on our balance of payments should be alleviated.

On the basis of this evidence, it is clear that the investment credit and accelerated depreciation, consistent with our promise and in justice to our society, should now be safely restored. Although the demand for capital goods continues to be strong and remains at record levels, my Council of Economic Advisers informs me that it no longer threatens to strain our growing ability to produce.

In fulfillment of the commitment made by this administration as well as the Congress at the time we asked that these tax incentives be suspended, and in accordance with the strong recommendations of my Council of Economic Advisers, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Budget, I recommend immediate and prompt reinstatement of the 7-percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation.

I recommend restoration of these incentives effective today, the date on which legislation will be introduced in the Congress.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on this legislation without delay so that there will be no uncertainty or doubt in our free enterprise community.

In doing so, the Congress and the administration can show the country and the world once again that we can and will work together for stable prosperity in our growing and free economy.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1967*.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO RESTORE INVESTMENT CREDIT AND CERTAIN METHODS OF ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION, AND SCHEDULE THEREON

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, at about the time the President made his announcement at his press conference today on the action that he has described to the House in his message, I introduced a bill, H.R. 6950, to restore the investment credit and the allowance in accelerated depreciation in cases of certain real property.

It will be my intention to confer with the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] in the hope that it may be possible for us to consider this matter in the Committee on Ways and Means next week, and cause it to be reported from the committee during next week. My plan is to hear Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler in public hearing on Tuesday next, March 14. I also plan to announce that we will be glad to receive statements in writing from the public not later than the close of business Monday, March 13.

Whether or not we will have the bill ready for House action next week I do not know, but I would like for the majority leader, after having discussed it with him, to put it down as a possibility for action by the House next week.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time in order to ask the majority leader the legislative program for the remainder of this week, and for the following week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished acting minority leader, we have finished the legislative business for this week, and will ask to go over until Monday upon the announcement of the program for next week.

The program for the House of Representatives for the week of March 13, 1967, is as follows:

Monday is District day. There are 10 bills on the calendar, one of which, I am advised by the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, the chairman of the committee, may not be called up, but we do have 10 on the calendar.

They are:

H.R. 827, to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act;

H.R. 829, exempting House majority and minority printing operations from the sales tax;

H.R. 831, Police Band, include Firemen, Park, and White House Police;

H.R. 834, decedents' estates escheating to District of Columbia, compromise of;

H.R. 836, to exempt wages in Maryland from attachment in hands of employers also in District of Columbia.

H.R. 1437, to require copies to the police of motor vehicle collision reports;

H.R. 1944, to incorporate Merchant Marine War Veterans Association;

H.R. 2529, relocation of displacees of waterfront priority holders;

H.R. 3370, to waive District of Columbia Board exams for podiatrists for holders of national board certificates; and

H.R. 3371, to permit voluntary admission of mentally retarded to the District of Columbia Training School.

On Tuesday there are a number of unanimous-consent bills from the Committee on Ways and Means, 20 of which the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas told me will be ready for sure, and there are three others which may be ready if the reports are filed on time.

The 20 bills that passed the House by unanimous consent last year have been unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

I ask unanimous consent that I may insert the list of these bills at this point in the RECORD without taking the time to read them.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the list of bills is as follows:

BILLS REPORTED UNANIMOUSLY FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

H.R. 286—Duty-free treatment of dicyandiamide.

H.R. 653—Duty treatment of certain nonmalleable iron castings.

H.R. 664—Duty-free treatment of bagpipes.

H.R. 1141—Duty-free treatment of limestone for cement.

H.R. 1282—Taxfree withdrawal of wine unfit for beverage use.

H.R. 1326—Exemption from excise tax of shells and cartridges used to frighten birds.

H.R. 2155—Tariff classification of Chinese gooseberries.

H.R. 2767—Deduction of certain assessments for depreciable property.

H.R. 4765—Tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act.

H.R. 4880—Extension of filing time for certain refunds.

H.R. 4890—Working capital fund for the Treasury Department.

H.R. 6056—Income tax exemptions for children of parents who are divorced or separated.

H.R. 6058—Rounding of State and local taxes in computation of tax on cigars.

H.R. 6097—Income tax treatment of certain casualty losses.

INSTRUMENT BILLS (FREE ENTRY)

H.R. 1566—Carillon for Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools.

H.R. 1886—Mass spectrometer and rheogoniometer for Princeton University.

H.R. 2470—Rheogoniometer for Tufts University.

H.R. 3029—Ship model for the Lutheran Church of the Covenant.

H.R. 3737—Carillon for the University of California at Riverside.

H.R. 4934—Mass spectrometer for Indiana University.

H.R. 4977—Triaxial apparatus and rheogoniometer for Northwestern University.

Mr. ALBERT. There are three other bills which will probably be reported by Monday:

H.R. 3349, temporary continuation of suspension of duty on nickel,

H.R. 3652, temporary continuation of suspension of duty on manganese oil, and

H.R. 5615, temporary continuation of suspension of duty on metal scrap.

These three bills, as I stated, have been ordered, reported unanimously, by the Committee on Ways and Means and will probably be called up Tuesday next.

On Wednesday next:

H.R. 6098, Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967.

Thursday: The supplemental defense appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1967.

H.R. 5277, continuing civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

I desire to announce in conformity with what the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means just said that if the investment tax credit bill is ready, it may be called up later in the week and we will try to advise the House well in advance. We have not put it on the program but it will probably be called up next week. It is not ready yet, of course. As I understand, it was just introduced today.

This announcement, of course, is made subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time and that any further program may be announced later.

Mr. ARENDS. I thank the gentleman.

ADJOURNMENT OVER TO MONDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

SUBSTITUTE FOR CIA IN IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation creating a federally chartered corporation whose purpose will be to give open support to organizations which through their inherent worth will symbolize democratic values and will gain support throughout the world for these values through direct confrontation and competition with similar Communist groups.

The purpose of this legislation is to provide a viable substitute for the CIA in its role as a clandestine supporter of educational, labor, student, and other units who bore the brunt defending the society of the United States and our institutions throughout the world.

The fault with the CIA sponsorship of these activities did not lie in their lack of importance or in the necessity of doing them, nor did it reside in the inefficiency of their performance, since all agree that they were efficiently and effectively carried out. The error lay in the allocation of the responsibility for their sponsorship to an organization whose primary function was to gather information in secret and whose nature was governmental, rather than private.

I believe that sponsorship and support should be given to these groups of American citizens who are eager to combat the Communists on their own ground and who are highly capable of doing so.

The essence of my bill rests in its independence from governmental control and its open character. Fifteen members of its directing board would be appointive and only five members would serve ex officio. Also four members would be appointed from House and Senate by their presiding officers. It would be a federally chartered corporation which would be authorized to receive contributions and it is fervently hoped and expected that its necessary expenses would be met from private funds which are specifically made tax deductible in the bill. In the event that private funds were not sufficient, authorization is given for appropriations by the Congress. Thus while there could be some governmental support, at least it would be open and its extent would be known.

The independent character of the organization would be protected since two-thirds of its members would be appointive and successors to the original appointive members would be selected by a majority of the Board of Trustees.

The system of the free economy and of free political activity will survive because of its inherent value. We are also confident that its value will become self-evident when its performance is contrasted with that of the totalitarian States with their regimented economies and political controls. The work of active participation in this necessary debate must continue and active members of labor unions, student groups, and educational organizations are most capable of doing this job effectively. They have demonstrated this in various Congresses throughout the world. I hope that they will continue this work. I recognize that they will need assistance to do so and in a straight forward and reasonable way. I believe that my bill would provide the framework whereby this objective could be achieved.

CHAIRMAN GEORGE P. MILLER RECEIVES GODDARD MEMORIAL AWARD

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, among the key leaders who have led our Nation's remarkable progress into space is our esteemed colleague, Chairman George P. Miller. Recently it was announced that his outstanding achievements will be recognized on March 15 by the National Space Club; Chairman Miller has been selected as the winner of this year's Robert H. Goddard Memorial Trophy—an annual award given only to distinguished space leaders.

Those of us on the Science and Astronautics Committee join in congratulating Chairman Miller and wholeheartedly "second" the award. His vision and dedication to maintaining the scientific and technological supremacy of our country have been an inspiration to all of us.

Today it is also appropriate to recall that he was in the vanguard of another area of science—oceanography. Chairman Miller led a special House committee in 1959 which set the stage for the great undertakings now beginning to unfold in the sea.

Truly, he is one of the congressional "fathers" of two enormous fields of national scientific accomplishment which hold vast potential for the benefit of all mankind.

An editorial from the Oakland, Calif., Tribune of February 27, 1967, follows:

Space Age Honor

As chairman of the House Committee on Science and Aeronautics, Rep. George P. Miller, D-Alameda, has been a leader of this nation's efforts to achieve and maintain supremacy in the space race.

In this key post, Miller helps shape and secure passage of the legislation necessary to authorize and finance the U.S. space program. His contributions to the U.S. space effort have just been recognized with a significant honor.

The veteran Eastbay lawmaker has been picked as winner of the National Space Club's Robert H. Goddard Memorial trophy, an award named for America's pioneer rocket scientist. The best indication of the significance of this award is a glimpse at the list of past winners. The first to receive it in 1958 was rocket scientist Wernher Von Braun. Other winners include President Lyndon B. Johnson (1966) and Astronaut John Glenn.

The citation naming Congressman Miller for this year's trophy said he was selected for being the "chief spokesman and advocate of America's space program in Congress and for his sustained leadership in the United States' space programs."

The trophy will be presented March 15 at a dinner in Washington with Vice President Hubert Humphrey as the principal speaker.

The Tribune adds its salute to the many expressions of congratulations that Congressman Miller will be receiving at the ceremony.

OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—WHAT IS IT? HOW DOES IT FUNCTION?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, thanks to our friend and colleague, the Honorable Wayne Hays, of Ohio, the Government Printing Office has just finished and delivered to the folding rooms in the House and Senate copies of House Document 530 of the 89th Congress, second session, but prepared for the 90th Congress, first session—1967 edition.

Each Member will get a large number of these pamphlets delivered to him as they will be pro rated to Members of the House and Senate for a period of 60 days, after which the unused balance will revert to the respective Senate and House document rooms.

In order that the Members may know the contents of the document, which in addition to having the names of the present State delegations, Government heads and congressional heads, including the President, Vice President, and Cabinet, whips of the majority and minority, also contains the Senate and House standing committees and chairmen, select committees of the House and Senate and chairmen, House and Senate joint committees and chairmen.

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PREPARATIONS FOR INTERFERING WITH THE PRIVATE LIVES OF SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, it has been reliably reported to me that Secretary McNamara is preparing again to thrust the nose of the Defense Department into the private lives of service men and women, by issuing an imperial edict that no member of the armed services may live in any apartment or other like establishment in the Washington-Virginia-Maryland area which is not integrated. Any service family now guilty of this "heinous crime" will be ordered to give up their lease when it comes up for renewal and move to integrated housing.

If there is any Member of this body naive enough to think that this man would be content with botching his assignment as Secretary of Defense without intruding himself into the personal, after-hours affairs of the military family, that Member is in for a rude awakening. This man will not be satisfied so long as there is one private anywhere who is able to exercise any personal freedom of choice.

This military bull which he is planning to issue—and I cannot think of a more appropriate, descriptive word—follows the demands of that rag-tag band of unwashed which paraded around Washington last year under the name, ACCESS.

The Secretary needs to be reminded by this body, and reminded in no uncertain terms, that, first of all, we have never passed an open-housing law, but have, to the contrary, specifically rejected it. He must be told also that the private life of the service family off-base is just that, their private life, and if they choose to live apart from the Negro race or any other race, it is none of the Secretary's business. He also should be instructed to concentrate on running the Department of Defense and winning the war in Vietnam, neither of which has he shown the capacity to do.

We are apparently stuck with this man as Secretary of Defense despite the fact that I have never heard any member of the service, from the newest private to the most seasoned general, express any confidence in either his judgment or his ability to run this Nation's defenses. Since we are stuck with him, the least we can do is instruct him to stay out of the personal affairs of the service family and confine his blunders to the bailiwick to which, regrettably, he has been appointed.

I hope that, by bringing this proposed edict to the attention of the House, sufficient protest will be lodged to prevent his carrying out this extralegal intrusion into a field in which neither he nor any other Cabinet member has any right.

And I would add my own personal suggestion. If it is "ACCESS" he wants, I think we should give it to him in the form of access to a civilian job, if he can find one.

PELLY AMENDMENTS TO HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT WIN WIDE APPROVAL

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Legislature of the State of Washington has decided not to enact any legislation this year conforming to the Highway Beautification Act. The legislature's decision is based on the assumption that we here in Congress will amend and clarify the billboard and junkyard control statutes. I understand that other States are also likely to wait for this clarification, relying on what I am told was the assurance of the able and distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KLUCZYNSKI], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads of the Public Works Committee, that no State will suffer the penalties provided in the Beautification Act under these circumstances.

It is my feeling that the Congress owes an obligation to these States to rework the basic legislation. Nothing would be accomplished by watering down the standards and criteria for billboards in industrial or commercial areas. The high cost, the administrative unworkability, the erosion of traditional State and local government powers, all these problems would still be with us.

I invite my colleagues on the Public Works Committee to seriously consider the principles embodied in H.R. 4137. This bill, which I introduced on January 30, would amend the Highway Beautification Act and make it workable. Under my proposal fewer miles of highways would be controlled, but they would be controlled more effectively. This bill is supported by many citizens interested in beautification; moreover, I feel it would be supported by many State highway departments and responsible outdoor advertising firms.

There is one error in the print of H.R. 4137 which should be corrected. Page 2, line 21, should read "on the interstate and scenic roads systems." In connection with my scenic road proposal, I note the appearance last week of the Bureau of Public Roads publication, A Proposal of Scenic Roads and Parkways. This proposed program verifies that the States have already studied and evaluated some 86,000 miles of the existing highways which could be developed as scenic roads. This lends support to my proposal to protect about 80,000 miles of the most scenic primary and secondary roads, rather than attempting to regulate all 225,000 miles of the primary system.

I have been flooded with letters and wires supporting H.R. 4137 from a great many States of the Union. Mr. Speaker, I include at this point, under unanimous consent, a representative selection of these letters together with a question-and-answer analysis of my bill, H.R. 4137:

QUESTION-AND-ANSWER ANALYSIS OF H.R. 4137

Question. Most of the roads on the secondary system are under the control of county governments. If the state highway department comes in and tells the county that one of its roads is now a national scenic road, the county may be rather unhappy. Won't there be difficulties in the states when they apply this scenic designation to 10% of their secondary roads?

Answer. The 10% figure is for the purpose of computing the scenic road mileage in each state. Once a certain number of miles have been computed, the state can choose this entire mileage from its primary system if it wishes to. For example, in the State of Washington, in 1963, the federal aid primary system was 3,053 miles long. Our federal aid secondary system then stood at 11,220 miles. The two systems totalled 14,373 miles. This means scenic roads would be designated on 1,437 miles—which could be taken entirely from the primary system and still constitute less than half the primary system mileage in the state.

Question. Is this police power proposal the same one which the administration proposed in 1965 and which was rejected by the Public Works Committee?

Answer. No. The administration bill provided "when a state submits evidence satisfactory to the Secretary that it is unable to secure effective control under its police powers" then it could apply to the Secretary for a share of its compensation payments. That formula cast a presumption in favor of police power control and put the burden on individual states to prove that they could not use their police power. H.R. 4137 provides that a state may secure effective control by whatever means it deems proper. Thus, a state may choose to pay compensation even if it could constitutionally use its police power to control billboards and junkyards. But when the popularly elected officials of a state honestly desire to control roadsides with the police power, as they do in the State of Washington, this bill would permit them to so proceed.

Question. May a state designate all its freeways and limited access roads on the primary system as elements of the scenic system?

Answer. Yes. The selections of the state governments are final and not subject to disapproval by the Secretary of Transportation.

Question. How does the procedure for excluding highways in incorporated municipalities work?

Answer. The state, acting through its highway department, decides which incorporated cities and towns on interstate or scenic roads can administer land use control—including billboards and junkyard control—by themselves. The state then notifies the Secretary that it proposes to leave these towns out of its effective control system as required by the Beautification Act. If there was a zoning code in effect as of September 1965 (just before the present beautification law was enacted) the Secretary must accept the state's nomination. That means he must accept any general zoning code, not necessarily a billboard regulation ordinance. But if there was subsequently enacted a zoning ordinance, or if there is none, then such a city may be left out of the statewide, effective control program only if the Secretary approves its exclusion.

Question. What about roadside land zoned industrial or commercial by a county government outside any incorporated municipality?

Answer. This situation would arise almost entirely along the interstate system as few if any scenic roads would be designated in business areas. HR 4137 does not grant the exclusion for county zoning because county zoning practices vary so much more than city zoning. Many counties, for instance, zone open and undeveloped land as industrial or commercial with the hope of attracting new firms to locate there. This land should not have its present scenery obliterated by billboards because a county commission hopes to attract a factory or two some day.

On the other hand, some counties such as Montgomery County just outside the District of Columbia here—are built up and zoning is handled by the county rather than by the municipal governments of Chevy Chase, Bethesda and so forth. We might authorize the Secretary to define "municipal government" in such a way as to define entities like Montgomery County. This is the sort of question which should be explored carefully in committee.

California Roadside Council,
San Francisco, Calif., February 2, 1967.
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: The California Roadside Council hereby expresses its unqualified support of H.R. 4137.

The proposed revision of certain portions of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, as accomplished by H.R. 4137, would relate the provisions of the Act more accurately to its stated purpose.

It would create a more rational formula for billboard-free highways, on the one hand, and, within certain areas, opportunity for outdoor advertising, on the other.

It would eliminate ambiguities and would simplify administration at all levels.

By removing the mandatory feature of the "compensation" formula, it would relieve both federal and state governments of a large financial obligation which (in most states, at least) is entirely unnecessary and unwarranted. The "compensation" requirement, moreover, as it exists under the present Act, creates serious problems in states where present progress in local abatement of non-conforming signs is accomplished legally under the police power. These problems would be eliminated by H.R. 4137.

We understand that the Bureau of Public Roads opposes any substantive changes in the present Act; therefore it opposes H.R. 4137. We understand that the Bureau minimizes (a) the enormous administrative complexities involved in the Act, which H.R. 4137 would greatly simplify; (b) the cost to state and federal governments involved in mandatory compensation; and (c) the difficulties and handicaps which local administrations will suffer in their own sign-control procedures as a result of mandatory compensation applying to certain selected highways.

These defects in the present Act the Bureau of Public Roads claims are of little importance. In making precisely the opposite claim, we do not intend disrespect to the Bureau of Public Roads. Nevertheless we insist that our judgment of the present Act rests upon intimate, firsthand knowledge of the workings of sign control on the ground level.

We repeat that in both state and local administration the present Act will cause confusion, hardship and in certain important areas, a long step backward in effective sign control. With all due respect to the federal officials, we venture the opinion that because of our 35 years of specialized work in sign control in its actual application at ground level, we can speak from greater practical experience than can the federal officials who uphold the imperfections of the present Act.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Ralph A. Reynolds,
President.

National Council of State
Garden Clubs, Inc.,
Mount Dora, Fla., February 18, 1967.
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
U.S. Representative,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Pelly: I appreciate your letter of the 7th and copy of bill introduced by you to amend the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

Personally, I think your amendment is far superior to the original. I notice there is a difference in dates listed under "131. Control of outdoor advertising" in your bill to that drawn by the Washington Roadside Council, Inc. You state under "c" . . . "Effective control means that after January 1, 1970" and the Washington Roadside Council bulletin says "after January 1, 1968."

The two bills are very similar and very commendable. I pray your H.R. 4137 will get out of Committee and will pass.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Vernon L. Conner,
Director, Deep South Region.

The Outdoor Circle,
Honolulu, Hawaii, February 16, 1967.
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: May I thank you for your letter and a copy of H.R. 4137 to amend and improve the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

Although we are in accord with the intent of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, there are no commercial billboards in Hawaii and the stand of our organization for the past fifty-five years has been firmly against this method of advertising.

We, therefore, believe we can comment on H.R. 4137 only as it would affect the laws of the State of Hawaii.

All land in Hawaii is either zoned or owned by the Federal Government.

The provision (k) that states *may establish laws imposing stricter limitations* is definitely needed and we are pleased to see that it is spelled out in your proposal.

The position of the State Department of Transportation at the public hearing on draft standards, criteria, etc. held last year was that "specific information panels" not be made mandatory. The Outdoor Circle supports our Highway Department, as such advertising would be contrary to our State Billboard Law, and not needed here in Hawaii where our land area is limited.

Act 45 was enacted by the Hawaii State Legislature of 1966 implementing the Highway Beautification Act and included the just compensation provision. However, there would be no real conflict, as far as I can see, with amending this controversial provision, as we have no billboards to be removed.

Again, thank you and our congratulations to you. We hope you will continue to keep us informed.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Jack Marnie,
Sign Chairman.

Oregon Roadside Council,
Portland, Oreg., February 15, 1967.
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: The Oregon Roadside Council is indeed glad to support HR 4137 which you have introduced.

We supported passage of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 because the principle of billboard and junkyard regulation was one we have long supported and worked for. We felt that Federal recognition of this principle was important and that the serious defects in the bill could and should be corrected by early amendment.

The phrase "just compensation" in Title 1 is causing great concern to states and local jurisdictions which have long relied on police power to enforce zoning regulations. Oregon's Scenic Area Act relies on police power to enforce and does not offer any compensation to sign or land owners.

Your bill would allow a state to effect control by whatever means it deems proper. We support this and believe it is consonant with existing Oregon law.

Sincerely yours,
Elizabeth C. Ducey,
Secretary.

J. V. Bailey Nurseries,
St. Paul, Minn., February 14, 1967.
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
Representative, First District,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: I am very pleased to have your letter of February 7th enclosing a copy of a bill that you have introduced relative to the Highway Beautification Act. This piece of legislation HR–4137 seems to me to overcome much of the criticism of the rules and regulations as applied to the legislation passed previously.

I, also, appreciate your enclosure of "An introductory speech explaining my bill." This helps me to understand the meaning as I am not an attorney and many of these pieces of legislation do require many hours of careful study to get the real meaning from them. Inasmuch as the billboard owner is allowed time to depreciate the cost of this investment before requiring removal, it seems to me only fair that it be done without cost to the federal government or the state. Furthermore, I can see no reason why the taxpayers should be saddled with any part of the expense of reimbursing property owner for the loss of revenue which in the first place was created by the building of the road at taxpayers' expense.

HR–4137 seems to me to be a step in the right direction and I hope that means will be found to lessen the burden on the taxpayer. It seems unreasonable that when we allow as much time as the present legislation allows that there is a need to reimburse either the billboard industry or adjoining property owners. I support your legislation, or any modification, which will accomplish the results of protecting the motorist from unsightly alleys of billboards and preserve the natural beauty along these public built highways.

Sincerely,
VINCENT K. BAILEY,
Chairman,
Minnesota Roadside Council.

WEST VIRGINIA GARDEN CLUB, INC.,
Charleston, W. Va., February 11, 1967.
Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
Representative in Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PELLY: Thank you for sending me a copy of H.R. 4137 and of your speech to the Congress. We are most grateful to you for introducing this bill and offer you our support. Please call on us if there is anything we can do.

I have written Senator Jennings Randolph as follows: "We realize that the Highway Beautification Act did leave much to be desired, would cost millions to administer, and did, indeed, work hardships in some instances. We have studied suggested modifications and are pleased to endorse H.R. 4137, as introduced by the Honorable Thomas M. Pelly. The West Virginia Garden Club knows that you will thoughtfully consider H.R. 4137 now in the Senate Public Works Committee. We hope you will be able to endorse it also."

I will be happy to report Senator Randolph's comments if you so desire.

Sincerely yours,
BEAULAH L. HASH,
Mrs. John W.
Legislative Chairman.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS,
Athens, Ga., March 2, 1967.
Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: The American Society of Landscape Architects hereby expresses its enthusiastic support of H.R. 4137.

The proposed revision of certain portions of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, as included in H.R. 4137, would more closely meet the needs of America in the control of outdoor advertising, control of junkyards, and the development of federal-aid scenic roads system. There are flagrant deficiencies in the original Federal Highway Beautification Act and the rules and regulations set up by the Bureau of Public Roads. We are informing our 3,000 members throughout all 50 states of the bill before Congress, H.R. 4137, which you have introduced and are urging their support.

Sincerely yours,
HUBERT B. OWENS,
President, ASLA.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.,
February 10, 1967.
Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: We enthusiastically support bill H.R. 4137. We feel it would create a more rational formula for billboard-free highways as well as, in certain areas, opportunity for outdoor advertising.

Sincerely yours,
HELEN MARIE BABCOCK,
ARTHUR L. BABCOCK.

MARIN CONSERVATION LEAGUE,
Ross, Calif., February 21, 1967.
Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: The Marin Conservation League hereby expresses its unqualified support of H.R. 4137.

We were, and are, dissatisfied with the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 as it was finally adopted. We feel that the revisions embodied in this Bill will make the 1965 Act the significant and effective piece of legislation it should be.

We understood that the "California Roadside Council" has endorsed this Bill and has pointed out in detail problems it foresees with the 1965 Act which would be rectified by the passage of H.R. 4137. We have always found their guidance to be objective and most carefully considered.

Our federal highways when first opened are often quite beautiful as they cut across new, unspoiled land. But eventually they all tend to become linear shopping centers with businesses and bill-boards strung out along the highway competing for the eye of the speeding motorist. The signs become larger, brighter and more numerous until they cancel each other out and we are forced to drive through corridors of confusion. This process is so consistent and has become so entrenched that it will only be overcome by a strong, workable beautification act.

Thank you for introducing this Bill. We hope you are successful in its passage.

Yours very truly,
GRACE WELLMAN,
(Mrs. T. C.) Grace Wellman,
President, Marin Conservation League.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,
February 17, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY: *You are to be congratulated on H.R. 4137.* We urge your continued efforts to complete passage of this Highway Beautification Act which will mean so much to all citizens.

Sincerely,
LOIS and HARRY WAMSLEY.

EL CERRITO, CALIF.,
February 16, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY: *We congratulate you on H.R. 4137,* and urge your continuing efforts to secure passage of this worthwhile version of the Highway Beautification Act.

Sincerely,
Mr. and Mrs. E. SAWYER.

CITY OF MORRO BAY,
Morro Bay, Calif., March 3, 1967.
Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: The City of Morro Bay has been following with interest the proposed bill entitled "H.R. 4137, related to the Highway Beautification Act of 1965." Discussion of this subject was brought before the City Planning Commission recently. They expressed concern over the mandatory compensation features of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

Ordinances regulating outdoor advertising in this jurisdiction would be greatly affected if a mandatory compensation formula were retained in the Act. The City of Moro Bay has conscientiously attempted to regulate outdoor advertising since its incorporation several years ago. If mandatory compensation features were retained by Federal law, the amortization of nonconforming advertising may cause great expense to the City. It is our feeling that continued regulation of outdoor advertising would be impaired unless this amendment is passed.

We would hope that members of the Subcommittee on Roads would take cognizance of local jurisdictions sincerely attempting to exercise reasonable sign control without undue expense to the jurisdiction.

Your consideration of our needs would be appreciated.

Sincerely,
NED A. ROGOWAY,
Planning Director.

RESOLUTION NO. 67–53—BEFORE THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF THE COUNTY OF MONTEREY, STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Opposing Section 131(g) of Public Law 89–285, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965

Whereas the Congress of the United States has heretofore enacted the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 for the purpose of providing for scenic development and road beautification of the federal-state highway systems and that such Act contemplates and requires action by the several States; and

Whereas Section 131(g) of the Act requires payment of compensation upon the removal of certain outdoor advertising signs, displays and devices, such compensation to be shared by the federal government and the States; and

Whereas with respect to the State of California, payment of compensation for such removal is unnecessary and wasteful because such removal and the consequent securing of "effective control", as defined in the Act, can better be accomplished under the police power of this State; and

Whereas over a period of many years the police power of the States has become and now is the well established and judicially recognized means of enforcing zoning and similar land use controls, and, accordingly, the compensation provision in the Act is likely to confuse and undermine established practices and procedures: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Monterey, That this Board hereby declares its opposition to section 131(g) of Public Law 89–285, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, and urges the Congress to delete said provision by appropriate amendment to the Act; and it is further

Resolved, That the Clerk be, and he is hereby, directed to prepare a certified copy of these resolutions and forward them to United States Senators Thomas H. Kuchel and George Murphy and to Honorable Burt L. Talcott, Representative in Congress.

On motion of Supervisor Hudson, seconded by Supervisor Atteridge, the foregoing resolution is adopted this 21st day of February, 1967, by the following vote:

Ayes: Supervisors Church, Atteridge, Wood, Anderson, and Hudson.

Noes: None.

Absent: None.

COUNTY OF MONTEREY,
State of California ss:

I, Emmet G. McMenamin, County Clerk and ex-officio Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Monterey, State of California, hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of an original order of said Board of Supervisors adopted by the Board of Supervisors on the 21st day of February, 1967, and now remaining of record in my office.

Witness my hand and the seal of said Board of Supervisors this 21st day of February, 1967.

Emmet G. McMenamin,
County Clerk and Ex-Officio Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, County of Monterey, State of California.
By Delia H. Feiring,
Deputy.

Piedmont Garden Club,
Piedmont, Calif., February 18, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: The Piedmont Garden Club urges you to revise the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 and to support H.R. 4137.

We are in favor of modifying the present Act to simplify its administrative problems at the local level and to eliminate the mandatory payment of compensation for signs which are subject to removal under local ordinance.

Sincerely yours,
Ann B. Adams,
Conservation Committee.

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838 Idlewood Rd., Glendale, Calif.,
February 19, 1967.

Hon. Thos. M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: My husband and I support your bill H.R. 4137 one hundred per cent. The present act has too many defects.

Sincerely,
Catherine A. Freeman,
Barnard B. Freeman.

San Francisco, Calif.,
February 10, 1967.

Re H.R. 4137.
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: Those of us who are for highway beautification, and for billboard control, were elated at the time the Highway Beautification Act was passed by Congress—till we found out what had been passed. It was a sad story.

However, your H.R. 4137 seemingly takes care of the many flaws in the original bill. We do hope this bill will not have to suffer too many amendments. We wish you luck—we are for you all the way.

With best wishes,
Sincerely yours,
Mr. and Mrs. F. Methner.

Pasadena Beautiful Foundation,
Pasadena, Calif., February 14, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: The Pasadena Beautiful Foundation wishes to express its support of H. R. 4137.

The Foundation, devoted to the cause of protecting the beauty of our environment, believes this Bill would create a more rational formula for billboard-free highways and would help to eliminate some of the ambiguities of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

Sincerely yours,
Janet S. Lindvall,
President,
Pasadena Beautification Foundation.

American Forest Products Corp.,
San Francisco, February 9, 1967.

Subject: H.R. 4137
Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: There is a Bill before Congress for the beautification of our Freeways and Highways known as H.R. 4137. This is a real improvement over the previous Bill to accomplish improvements.

I realize there are strong lobbies representing billboard and advertising companies, but there are plenty of places to advertise without blinding our scenery along the Nation's roads.

We urge your strong support of this all important Bill.

Sincerely,
Walter S. Johnson.

February 12, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: Living in one of those very interesting regions in California in which, not one, but three highways have been designated by the state as "Scenic" I am naturally very much interested in Highway legislation.

I do not feel, as do some, that roadside advertisements and billboards have some prior right. Since they clearly are capitalized on the basis of traffic-count which precedes the valuation of signs as a property, they are not justified as having any value per se.

From this sort of reasoning I base my own support of H.R. 4137.

We are fortunate in Santa Cruz to have a very farsighted city council which has only recently passed sign ordinances. I can see a possibility under legislation now pending wherein damages might be collected by property owners denied the continued use of signs, that such local legislation would become virtually impossible because of the tremendous expense which must be incurred in buying off the sign people.

Most advertising is what I would call "secondary"; that is its primary function is derivative and not direct. It advertises name brands which in most cases has little to do with the benefits or services needed by motorists. Laws, if enacted by the Federal Government should make it easy for localities to accomplish the resulting improvements needed; state and federal laws should insofar as possible complement each other and should never (again, if possible) open up areas of conflict. I hope that your committee will take all these things under advisement when considering H.R. 4137.

Yours very truly,
Robert S. Hall.
Santa Cruz, Calif.

San Francisco Beautiful To Maintain, Retain and Create Civic Beauty,
San Francisco, Calif., February 12, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: San Francisco Beautiful hereby expresses its unqualified support of H.R. 4137.

Good billboard legislation is of prime importance in this day when we are becoming more and more aware of retaining valuable recreation areas and beauty spots.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Hans Klussmann,
President, San Francisco Beautiful.

City of Carlsbad, Calif.,
February 14, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: The City of Carlsbad, California enacted an ordinance in 1965 to ensure billboard-free highways through our city. Removal of nonconforming signs is scheduled for 1968. The passage of H.R. 4137, revising the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, will give national support to our local effort.

Sincerely,
Donald Schoell,
Planning Director.

The Women's Civic Club,
Solana Beach, Calif., February 20, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: The Women's Civic Club of Solana Beach wishes to be counted as supporting H.R. 4137 (Amending the Federal Beautification Act) and we strongly urge its passage as presented.

We believe the California Roadside Council has performed an inestimable service to all those truly desirous of seeing fair and effective legislation as regards Highway Beautification and we go on record as supporting their recommendations for the adoption of H.R. 4137.

Representatives from our organization have attended numerous hearings, etc. on this subject held at the State level and we have also been active for many years at the local level in the field of Billboard control. We are very conscious of the need for careful and thoughtful legislation.

Respectfully yours,
Clarisse Carlton,
Billboard Chairman.

Portland, Oreg.,
February 15, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

Oregon Roadside Council of several hundred members strongly endorses your 4137 to amend Highway Beautification Act and hopes for a favorable report by the committee so as to correct flagrant injustices to many States in 1965 Act.

Mark Astrup,
Vice Presdent, Oregon Roadside Council.

City of Eureka, Calif.,
February 14, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: I am writing to express my complete support of H.R. 4137.

The proposed revision of certain provisions of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, as accomplished by H.R. 4137, would eliminate all the basic defects of the present Act, including the mandatory payment of compensation. In its amended form, the Federal Highway Beautification Act will serve to be a constructive and effective instrument for promoting beautification of our rural and urban landscape.

Sincerely,
William E. Wanket,
Director of Planning.

Ojai Valley Garden Club, Inc.,
Ojai, Calif., February 16, 1967.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pelly: Ojai Valley Garden Club, Inc., Ojai, California, wishes to express strong unqualified support of H.R. 4137.

Naturally, our efforts in respect to properly controlled outdoor advertising pertain to a limited area, without the greatest degree of success, but H.R. 4137 would effect the broad scale beneficial aim. Accordingly we respectfully solicit your support of H.R. 4137.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Marguerite C. Rowe,
Corresponding Secretary.

Benton County Parks and Recreation Department,
Kennewick, Wash., February 27, 1967.

Hon. Tom Pelly,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: It has been brought to the attention of the Benton County Park Board that Governor Evans has requested that you sponsor an amendment to the 1965 Federal Beautification Act to make it more compatible with Washington State's 1961 Billboard Control Act.

It is our understanding that the Federal act requires payment to owners of billboards when they are ordered removed from scenic highways. The State, under its act, can order the billboards removed without payment to owners under its police authority.

It is the opinion of the Park Board that this legislation is both logical and desirable, and we propose to endorse Governor Evans' policy. Therefore, we urge that you do what you can regarding this matter.

Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,

BENTON COUNTY PARK & RECREATION BOARD,
JAMES R. BOLDT, *Chairman.*

THE GARDEN CLUB OF AMERICA,
New York, N.Y., February 21, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: Thank you for sending me copies of your H.R. 4137. Certainly enactment of this legislation would improve the Highway Beautification Act which in itself is, in our opinion, an impossible piece of legislation to administer. The Garden Club of America has always been a purist in connection with any billboard legislation, and we are reluctant to support any bill which advocates compensation payments. We are opposed to such as a matter of principle and feel that in addition the tedious specifications involved tend to make the act economically impossible for States to administer and enforce.

Your legislative assistant was kind enough to send me some additional copies of your bill, which I have mailed to some of our members in other sections of the country for their study and comments. When we have all had a chance to crystallize our thinking, I will be in touch with you again.

Sincerely,

WILHELAMINA V. WALLER,
Mrs. Thomas M. Waller.

FEBRUARY 23, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am chairman of Roadside Development of the Deep South Region of the National Council of State Garden Clubs.

We thank you for your interest in The Highway Beautification Act and urge you to never give up in despair.

If you need us to help—we are meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, March 25th, 1967. What can we do?

Sincerely,

SUE MATHEWS,
Mrs. George Mathews.

COLUMBUS, GA.

CITIZENS FOR REGIONAL RECREATION AND PARKS,
San Francisco Bay Area, March 2, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
Subcommittee on Roads and Public Works, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: We are writing to express support for HR 4137 amending the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

This legislation would not only clear up several obscure points in the present Act, but, most important, it would eliminate mandatory payment of compensation to billboard interests in removing outdoor advertisements along Federally Assisted Scenic Routes. In California, as you know, zoning ordinances, upheld by court decisions, can provide for removal of signs under the police power. This compensation requirement in the Federal Act, not only creates serious problems in the administration of our State regulations but is a heavy burden financially on California and American taxpayers, estimated to be half a billion.

We appreciate your leadership in proposing legislation to remedy this element in the present Highway Beautification Act and wish you the utmost success.

Very truly,

JOHN H. SUTTER,
Central Building, Oakland.

IMPORTANCE OF OUR HIGHWAY SYSTEM

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult, if not impossible, to accurately assess the full value and importance of our highway system. From the two-lane rural roads to the multilane, access-controlled super highways, it stands as a living and much used tribute to American engineering and ingenuity. It represents a sizable investment from which our Nation has received, is receiving, and will continue to receive great dividends. Our highway system is a "blue chip" investment in which we should increase our holdings.

In view of the foregoing, it is easy to understand and share the widespread disappointment over the manner in which the administration is undermining the national highway program.

Quite frankly, I was shocked by the news reports last November 23, indicating that the President was ordering an immediate cutback in the Federal-aid highway construction program.

I had observed and had been the recipient of an outpouring of statements from the executive branch emphasizing that programs directed toward eliminating poverty, accelerating the economic development of distressed and depressed areas, and improving the employment picture were in full swing and would continue to receive strong support.

I had read the many White House pronouncements on highway safety and had agreed with the call for such meaningful action as passage of the Highway Safety Act of 1966.

I had listened to the President's impassioned plea for Congress to approve the Appalachia program because of the great emphasis the legislation placed on highway construction for the purpose of opening a poverty-stricken area for economic development.

I had followed the administration's great push to have approved a Cabinet-level Department of Transportation, including the Bureau of Public Roads, to coordinate the activities of the Federal Government in this important area.

All of this came to mind when the news reports flashed across the airwaves. Surely, I said, there must be some mistake or misunderstanding. Such a thought was only wishful thinking for subsequent reports verified that the President had indeed announced a cutback. The plan revealed by the Chief Executive was both sudden and devastating.

At a time when the 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System was already behind schedule and when many States, like my own, were in the midst of planning for additional urgently needed highways, the President reported to the Nation that he was directing a freeze of $1.1 billion of the moneys in the highway trust fund. This represents approximately 25 percent of the total amount expected to be available to the States for new obligational authority during fiscal year 1967.

To bring the matter into sharper focus, let us take a look at the effect the President's action will have on New York State's plans. The Presidential freeze will eliminate $73,554,859 from the total amount of trust fund money New York State expected—and had every reason to believe would be made available—for reimbursable obligations during fiscal year 1967. That is a 30.1-percent freeze on the $244,099,859 that could be made available for fiscal year 1967, a staggering figure when it is considered we are talking about money that could be used very effectively to build new highways that are important not only to New York State, but also to the entire northeastern section of the country.

Is it any wonder that I am pressing for a rapid thaw in the freeze?

As soon as it became apparent that the administration was serious in intent, I immediately made known my views to the House Public Works Committee and urged that prompt hearings be scheduled to determine the most appropriate course of action for the Congress to follow in an attempt to block the drastic cutback in the highway program. This was not a solo effort; several of my colleagues, from both sides of the political aisle, responded in like fashion.

At this point, I feel it important to stress that the highway trust fund does not come from general revenues. There may be some public confusion in this regard since the overwhelming majority of Federal-aid programs do receive funding as the result of congressional appropriation of moneys obtained by the Federal Government from personal and corporate taxes.

Rather, the trust fund's income is derived solely from highway user taxes imposed on such items as gasoline, diesel fuel, tires, and trucks. A limited amount of money is obtained from interest payments to the fund as the result of Treasury Department investments of fund money not currently needed for highway expenditures. This is mentioned in order to make it clear that the obligation of the full $4.4 billion that could be made available from the trust fund for highway construction in fiscal year 1967 in no way has any relationship to the ever-increasing national debt. The Presidential freeze of highway funds does not represent a step forward toward a balanced budget, but rather, in accord with the so-called new economics that appears to be in vogue with this administration, merely reserves a sizable sum of money that will be borrowed for other programs.

Despite administration claims to the contrary, it is my belief that this plan was promulgated primarily for the purpose of borrowing from the highway trust fund to carry out other programs. This is unequivocally wrong, against the intent of Congress and must not be permitted to happen.

The pressure applied by public and congressional opinion resulted in the administration's reassessment of its plan and at least a token release of the cutback, which was announced by Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd in his February 27 appearance before a joint session of the House and Senate Public Works Committees.

The Secretary, apparently yielding to reason and proven need, revealed that the administration would release immediately $175 million of the $1.1 billion funds frozen. This represented a step in the right direction, but only a very small step—more like a half shuffle—for the $175 million will be made available only for preliminary engineering and right-of-way acquisition. When distributed on a 50 State basis, this averages out to less than $4 million per State, hardly what is needed to proceed with a highway building program of the magnitude required.

Secretary Boyd and the administration have indicated that another look is being given the matter and that other similar announcements may be forthcoming before the end of fiscal year 1967 if the moderation in economic activity and in price trends continues. I would certainly think so.

It is absolutely unthinkable to me that the President would decide on a cutback in the distribution of Federal funds for highway construction while almost simultaneously requesting an increased obligational authority in his 1968 budget for $380 million for the highway beautification program.

An essential program is being jeopardized and one that is only desirable—but by no means essential—is being championed. A curious circumstance indeed.

There is only one sound and sensible course for the President to now follow. If he is sincere in his statements concerning the importance of a comprehensive and progressive national transportation network; if he really wants to further the economic development of areas with great potential and expectations; and if he desires to give a meaningful boost to highway safety programs, he will take steps to completely rescind, at the earliest possible date, his freeze order. Such action would, without question, be in the Nation's best interest and I strongly urge that it be taken.

ETHICS AND STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that I am disturbed at the fact that the House Administration Committee yesterday asked for—and received—$50,000 to investigate the conduct of Members of this body.

Certainly the question of ethics and standards of conduct for Congressmen is a vital issue—in fact, I think there is no more important issue before this House. That is why the House Rules Committee is presently conducting hearings on the Bennett House Resolution 18 which I fully support and have also introduced House Resolution 294 with expanded language.

It is disturbing to me that the House Administration Committee—which has so lately come to life on the ethics issue—felt the need to take this step at this time, just prior to the recommendations of the Rules Committee on the Bennett resolution, which are imminent. I view this preemptive move by the House Administration Committee—by use of its contingent committee funds—as a step designed to head off the formation of a badly needed permanent committee on ethics. By its timing, it cannot be interpreted any other way. That is the way it is being interpreted by the press and the American people.

The House will, within days, make its own decision on where it prefers to vest its responsibility for ethics and standards of conduct. And I think the House should be absolutely free to act in this matter without reference to this sudden $50,000 investigation fund.

It is all too clear to most people that the last minute appearance of this funding request is a chess-board move designed to hurt the chances of the formation of a permanent ethics committee.

If this is the strategy—then this fight is just beginning and the American people can be assured that we who favor a permanent ethics committee are proceeding with increased determination—and this issue of ethical standards, and jurisdiction over them, will finally be resolved—in the open—on the floor of this House; not by the back door technique of "quickie" authorizations of committee contingency funds.

MESKILL BILL WOULD END "FEDERAL BLACKMAILING" IN LOCAL, OPEN-SPACES PLANNING

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, at present, the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development refuses to authorize grants under the open-space program to communities which are not part of a regional planning agency. I introduced today a bill which would allow grants where the program involved affects a single community only.

This bill is the direct result of a situation that developed in Brookfield, Conn., last year but it will meet a problem that is nationwide in scope.

Brookfield won approval at both local and State levels for a proposal to acquire a 97-acre farm in the town known as the Gurski tract. Application was made for Federal assistance of about $57,000 under the terms of the Housing Act of 1961. Brookfield complied with every single Federal requirement and everything looked rosy. The Gurski tract is located near the center of town and has no regional significance whatsoever.

Last October, HUD rejected the grant application on the ground that Brookfield does not belong to a regional planning agency, in spite of the fact that no such agency exists. Brookfield is one of seven communities assigned by the Connecticut State Development Commission to a proposed Danbury Planning Region. State law requires 60 percent of the towns to vote for regional planning to put the agency into effect. The proposal has been approved by Redding and Danbury and rejected by Ridgefield, Bethel, and New Fairfield. Brookfield and Newtown have not acted on the proposal.

The HUD attitude toward other kinds of programs in the State amounts to a form of Federal blackmail intended to force cities and towns to form regional associations which they may not wish to. My bill, insofar as the open-spaces program is concerned, would remove the legal basis for this Federal blackmailing operation. If HUD persists in this attitude toward all the programs it administers I shall consider broader legislation to strengthen home rule. The open-spaces program was created to help communities and not to compel them into planning arrangements ordained by some bureaucrats in Washington.

CONGRESSMAN HORTON SUPPORTS PAY-LEVEL INCREASE FOR ALL NONSUPERVISORY POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues in the House a portion of "Level 5, Simple Justice; Not Pay Raise," by James H. Rademacher, editor of the Postal Record. The following appeared in this month's issue:

> The duties and responsibilities of the nation's letter carriers have tremendously increased with the progress of the country. Thirty years ago our members did not have the responsibility of delivering the multitudinous checks, the expensive shipments of jewelry and other merchandise, and very few were charged with the responsibility of operating a vehicle in the performance of their duties. Times change, the country grows, the population explodes, and necessary adjustments must be made. It . . . is time that the change be made in the determination of the status of the man who carries the mail.

This year promises to be one in which the Congress will thoroughly review many aspects of the postal service—everything from postal rates to rates of pay has been the subject of comprehensive legislation already introduced in the 90th Congress.

With this opportunity before us, and with the new and diligent chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee we have in Representative DULSKI, this House must see to it that the often neglected matter of salary comparability is not again overlooked. For as long as the comparability principle has been in existence, a dispute has raged over how it should be applied. It obviously does little good to espouse the principle of comparable rates of pay for Federal and private employees having similar duties, while seeking, as the administration has done, to hamper its implementation by using misleading comparability data which tends to support salary rates which are little better than those we know to be inadequate.

One occupation in the private sector comes to mind as being similar in responsibility to that of many persons in the postal service. I am speaking of passenger bus operators, who draw a starting salary of $6,900 now in the District of Columbia. This is 23 percent higher than the $5,331 starting salary now in effect for postal workers. After 9 years' service, a postal clerk receives only $6,563. The case for raising the classification of postal workers, as provided for in my bill, is not weakened by the argument that the Congress yearly enacts salary increases for Federal employees. Last year's increase did not even compensate Federal employees for the rise in the Consumer Price Index over the past 12 months.

The best testimony to the urgent need for improving comparability lies in the fact that last year, in order to achieve a net gain of 89,000 postal employees, it was necessary for the Post Office Department to hire 180,000 new employees, or twice as many. Even discounting employees lost through retirement, these figures demonstrate the very high turnover rate among career postal employees. Considering that the Post Office employs upwards of 700,000 persons, a turnover rate of 9 percent yearly for career regulars and 18 percent yearly for career substitutes is extremely high.

The bill I am introducing today will improve comparability for both letter carriers and postal clerks, maintaining pay level differentials within the postal service while raising the classifications of many segments of the service.

If we are to achieve an efficient and loyal postal service, which can absorb the rapidly increasing volume of mail generated by our growing population and economy without skyrocketing costs, it is essential that we seek and keep high caliber people as postal employees. This can only be done through an honest and early reappraisal of past applications of the comparability principle. I know that my colleagues recognize the importance of such a reappraisal, and that they will join me in urging that it be begun.

CONGRESSMAN HORTON OFFERS PLAN FOR IMPROVING THE LIVING STANDARDS AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF OUR AGED CITIZENS

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in this age of rising prices and an expanding economy, much attention has been directed to the problems of older Americans. Much of this attention has centered around the social security system and proposals to improve it in order to improve the lot of the aged. Although I do not subscribe to the view that we can solve all of the problems of the aged through the existing social security structure, I believe that by making several broad changes in its operation, this structure can be made to better serve those who benefit from it now and in the future.

THE LAST 2 YEARS

Since Congress last dealt with the social security system, the consumer price index has climbed over 5 percent. This means that much of the increase Congress enacted in old age, survivors, and disability insurance payments in 1965 has already been eroded by inflation. Congress has had to face the problem of adjusting the fixed incomes of these recipients ever since the social security concept was born in the 1930's. As part of the proposal I am submitting today, I have advocated a mechanism which will eliminate the use of social security benefits as a perennial political football. As we have shown time and time again, it is the continuing intent of Congress to make the social security system a meaningful and adequate program. We are well aware that in an expanding economy such as ours, prices will rise, adversely affecting any fixation of income at any given point in time.

In order to keep the program both adequate and meaningful, Congress has raised the benefit rate on many occasions. I believe that we can and should learn from our history of action in this area. Incorporated in my bill is a system of automatic benefit adjustments which takes into account both inflation and general rises in the national standards of living.

OVERALL INCREASE IN BENEFITS

First, in order to compensate recipients for the inflationary erosion of their purchasing power over the past 2 years, and to share with retired citizens part of the overall economic advances we have made, I have proposed an overall increase in benefits under title II of the Social Security Act of 10 percent.

AUTOMATIC STANDARD-OF-LIVING INCREASES

Second, my bill would establish a system of automatic standard-of-living increases in title II benefits. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be charged with reviewing changes in the Consumer Price Index each quarter. When he determines that the index has risen 3 percent from its level during the base period—the final quarter of 1966—an automatic increase in social security benefits would be determined under the following formula: The percentage increase in the cost-of-living index since the base period—or since the last automatic increase—is added to the percentage increase in per capita disposable personal income during the same period. Social security benefits will be increased at a percentage rate equal to one-half of this total.

Per capita disposable personal income, when measured over a period of time in comparison with the cost of living, is an accurate gage of the extent to which American citizens are sharing in improvements in productivity and real income. In December, 1966, the consumer price index for all items was 3.3 percent higher than its January level. During the same period, per capita disposable personal income climbed over 3.8 percent. Thus, there was a rise in real income of about 0.5 percent during the course of the year.

Under my formula for automatic standard-of-living increases in benefits as applied to 1966, benefits would be increased by about 3.6 percent, or 0.3 percent more than the increase in the cost of living for the same period. In effect, social security recipients would share in half of productivity and real income gains made by the Nation in any given period. Today, many persons who must depend in large part on social security payments for their incomes are living at near subsistence levels. A cost-of-living increase mechanism alone would only serve to keep their heads above water, with no relative improvement in their economic status. Under my plan, retired persons who have measurably contributed to the productivity of this Nation in prior years would be able to share in our economic progress during their leisure years. I am submitting a similar proposal for such increases under the Railroad Retirement Act.

This formula also enhances the value of the social security program for those who contribute to it currently in payroll taxes. It means that today's working force can look forward to benefiting from a retirement program which will not force them to live on a fixed, inadequate income, but instead, one which is responsive to economic growth.

NOT A WELFARE PROGRAM

Many Members of this body have recommended that a social security bill be passed which would include a substantial increase in the minimum benefit payable to recipients who have worked for a minimum period of time in jobs covered by the program. Very cogent reasons for such an increase have been set forth, showing that out of 18 million Americans over 65, nearly 2 million are receiving welfare or public assistance payments. These 2 million include many who are receiving the minimum monthly social security benefit, now set at $44.

While the 10-percent automatic increase in my bill will bring this figure up to $50, I do not advocate use of the social security system to replace public assistance programs. The Federal share of State-Federal welfare programs is paid for out of general revenue funds derived from graduated income and other taxes. Social security payments, on the other hand, are made with funds derived from more regressive social security taxes. By raising the minimum benefit in order to supplant welfare payments to older persons, we would be shifting a much higher percentage of the burden of supporting public-assistance-type programs onto the shoulders of persons whose incomes are already low. While I recognize that urgent measures must be taken to improve the lot of older Americans who receive public assistance, I do not believe the social security system should bear the brunt of this burden.

One very important aspect of my bill does offer additional help to those at the bottom of the benefit scale. Under the terms of the automatic standard-of-living increase formula, increases would be based on a presumed minimum benefit of $100 per month. Thus, a person receiving $50 in social security benefits every month—in addition to welfare income—would receive a monthly increase of $3.60 instead of $1.80 under the hypothetical 3.6-percent automatic increase for 1966, as outlined above. In other words, the standard-of-living increase would be applied to a presumed $100 per month income, without shifting the burden of supplying that level of income entirely to the social security system.

The social security system is not a welfare program. When it was originally conceived, it was designed to provide to retired workers a rate of return based on their contribution to the system during their working years. Today, many young people are disenchanted with social security because it does not provide this rate of return in all cases. If we cannot improve the prospect of social security benefits for regular, middle-income workers who are the "bread and butter" of the system, then we cannot expect these citizens to swallow additions to their social security tax burden.

ELIMINATE EARNED INCOME LIMITATION

One aspect, in particular, of the present system marks it as a program which discourages initiative and productivity and which ties its benefits to stringent income limitations. I am referring to the $1,500 limitation on annual earned income, which operates to penalize recipients who earn money in excess of this limitation. Other retirement payment plans based on contributions during working years, do not require their recipients to remain idle during the benefit years. If a person has worked in social security-covered employment for a requisite number of years, whether or not he continues to earn after age 65 does not diminish his contribution to the system. Yet, under present law, too much work and initiative after retirement operates to reduce measurably a person's rate of return in benefits.

Today, a recipient of $100 monthly benefits who earns the maximum $1,500 per year will have a total income of $2,700 for the year. This is less than the $3,000-plus figure which is treated under other Federal programs as a poverty-level income. It makes no sense to reduce monthly benefits for such a person, while at the same time, retired executives and investors may receive their full social security benefits while getting substantial "unearned" income from investments and other sources not covered by the earned income limitation.

My proposal includes a plan which will do away with this unfair penalty on earned income. Instead, it will encourage those presently on near-poverty level incomes to seek opportunities for part-time employment to better their lot. In all likelihood, the virtual elimination of the earned income limitation which I propose will lessen the number of older citizens on welfare, while at the same time it will increase the productivity of our economy.

Under my bill, full benefits would be paid to any recipient whose annual income from all sources does not exceed $580 per month, or approximately $7,000 per year. The President has proposed a rise in the earned income limitation to only $1,620, in effect, prolonging the present restrictive and unfair nature of this provision. At a recent meeting of the national Republican task force on problems of the aging, on which I serve, a substantially higher increase in the limitation was recommended.

In my view, any income limitation that is confined to earned income necessarily discriminates against millions of citizens who cannot look forward to retirement years of total leisure wherein adequate income has been provided for. The system as it now stands not only stigmatizes the earning activities of older persons, it takes earned benefits out of the pockets of those who need them most. By allowing a total income from all sources of $7,000 per year before a reduction in old age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits, we will insure that no recipient will be discouraged or prevented from improving his income to a respectable level because of a backward penalty clause. For many older Americans, in fact a majority, the sole "investment" they have made for retirement purposes is their contribution to social security. How, logically, can we erode this investment as a penalty for working, when we continue to provide full benefits to those who have high incomes from diverse private investments?

Like my proposal for automatic standard-of-living increases, this broad liberalization of the retirement test enhances the prospects of social security returns for today's young workers. By enacting this bill we will insure that one's right to social security benefits is neither penalized by an inflexible earning restriction, nor continually eroded by inflation.

EQUITY FOR WIDOWS

In addition to the general revisions of the Social Security Act discussed above, my proposal provides relief to some special groups in the treatment afforded them under the act. One of these groups consists of widows over age 62. At present, a widow 62 or over is entitled to receive 82½ percent of the primary benefit rate her husband was entitled to. Needless to say, in the majority of households where the husband has been the sole source of support, the need for support-income after his death is a crucial one. Under my bill, widows who are 62 and over would receive 100 percent of the primary rate of the husband's benefit.

AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO FARMING AND SMALL BUSINESS

At a time when the world's need for agricultural products is growing at a rapid rate, and when U.S. food surpluses are dwindling, American farmers are leaving agriculture for more lucrative occupations at an alarming rate.

Also, each year, the concentration of industrial production and retail marketing in large firms grows, diminishing the role of the small businessman and other self-employed persons. Despite the fact that many Federal programs are designed to encourage farming and self-employment generally, the social security structure holds built-in disadvantages for self-employed persons.

Under present law, self-employed persons must pay 150 percent of the social security tax paid by an employee with the same income. This additional burden on self-employed farmers and merchants at the lower end of the income scale contributes to the low rate of return which has caused thousands of these people to give up their own businesses. As a member of the House Select Committee on Small Business, I am fully aware of the difficulties encountered by self-employed persons. My bill includes a provision which would reduce the premium in social security taxes paid by self-employed persons earning between $10,000 and $15,000 in self-employed income per year. It eliminates the premium entirely for those whose self-employed incomes are under $10,000.

While $10,000 is well above the average family income, I feel that it is important for the Federal Government to encourage expansion of our free enterprise system at all levels. Just as my proposal to raise the "retirement test" income to $7,000 is well above subsistence figures, I do not believe that any aspect of a contribution-pension plan like social security should operate to the benefit of only those persons whose incomes are below or near poverty levels.

I am confident that by changing the "premium tax" provision of the present law, we can markedly contribute to the encouragement of free enterprise in both commercial and agricultural segments of our economy. Forgoing the premium tax yield is a small price to pay for a revision which reaches out effectively toward this worthy and necessary goal.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I am submitting today is the product of many months of research and discussion. The district which I represent has one of the highest proportional populations of persons over 65 in the Nation. At the same time, it boasts a vibrant economy, with many successful small and large firms, and an unemployment rate near 1 percent. Thus, I have attempted to tailor this proposal to the needs of our aged citizens; at the same time eyeing the interests of today's working Americans.

Contained in this measure are provisions which I believe can significantly improve the standard of living of older Americans, not only by providing needed and automatic increases in benefits, but also by encouraging initiative and productivity among retired persons. I am confident that the Members of this House will study these provisions diligently, and that in the near future, we will enact a bill reflecting many of the ideas outlined in this proposal.

FINO INTRODUCES FOOD CONSUMERS LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing four bills on behalf of food-consuming America. My legislation was prompted by the June 1966 report to Congress of the National Commission on Food Marketing. All of my bills have their genesis in the recommendations of the Commission.

My first bill would restrict tax deductions for advertising as a business expense to 10 percent of a food manufacturer's food sales receipts. As the Commission observed, food advertising is rising to the $5 billion a year level, including appropriate packaging and promotion expenditures. This is the biggest single factor behind increased food prices. My second bill would strengthen antimerger policy in the food industry by requiring premerger notifications. My third bill would establish a Federal Department of Consumer Affairs. The fourth bill would require the Secretary of Agriculture to draw up a grade-labeling program for food products.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of this House the appropriate passages of the National Commission's report supporting my proposals and an article from the New Republic on January 28, 1967, describing how Lyndon B. Johnson, the self-proclaimed champion of the consumers, has run out on the recommendations of the Commission under pressure from the food, advertising, and communications industries. The text of the report excerpts, my statement, and the New Republic article follow:

Report of the National Commission on Food Marketing, June 1966

1. EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTER 12, PAGES 91 TO 93

The market orientation of the food industry

The food industry and the agriculture that supplies it form a highly productive system in which obtaining raw materials or processing and distributing them ordinarily are not major difficulties. Efficiency in performing these functions is essential to business success, but increasingly the ability to develop and hold markets determines growth and profits of individual firms.

This shift of emphasis from production to selling is accentuated by the changing nature of the consumer market. As family incomes rise, consumers are less influenced by price and are better able to indulge their individual tastes, liking for variety, and desire for services. Changes in the role of women and in family living accentuate the importance of convenience in food preparation. The appeals that can be made to consumers in such a market are much more complex than offering basic foods at minimum prices. Skill in making successful appeals and in shaping consumer preferences is an important determinant of business success in several branches of the food industry.

Although other characteristics often are more important in determining conduct and performance in the food industry, the influence of the industry's market orientation is nevertheless extensive. It helps to explain why farm-retail price spreads for numerous foods are wide and increasing; why firms grow, often by merger and acquisition, beyond the size necessary to produce efficiently; the relative market power of various groups in the industry; the high rate of product innovation; and the survival of distribution methods that use labor and equipment wastefully.

Product differentiation

Product differentiation is a leading means of gaining and holding a preferred market position. To the extent that a seller can convince consumers that his product is distinct from and in some respects superior to others, he has an element of monopoly in its sale. Successful product differentiation eases the necessity of competing strictly on a price and quality basis with competitors of approximately equal production efficiency.

Among manufacturers, brands backed by extensive advertising and sales promotion are the most common means of gaining access to consumers. New products are an effective form of differentiation, especially if they are genuinely original, useful, and not easily duplicated by competitors. But really new products are not easily created, and much product differentiation consists of minor variations in ingredients, shape, color, or the like.

Food retailers strive to differentiate their services from competitors' by advertising, giving trading stamps, offering prizes, or conducting games. Special sales at featured low prices are essentially promotions that tell little about the prices a consumer will pay for a week's food supply. Parking space, air conditioning, and attractive stores are examples of differentiating devices that, when widely adopted, provide useful services to the public. Retailers' brands succeed primarily because of their price appeal, but many retailers also regard private label as a means of differentiating their stores.

Advertising and sales promotion

Advertising and sales promotion are a significant reason for the substantial spread between farm and retail prices. In 1964, food corporations spent $2,172 million for advertising (1,400 million on domestically produced farm products), and retailers spent $680 million for trading stamps. For the industry as a whole if not for each firm in it, these amounts were added to processing and distribution costs and became part of the food bill.

Amounts so added to the food bill were not entirely wasted. Consumers received premiums and other things of value for trading stamps and some other forms of sales promotion. Advertising helped to pay for television, newspapers, and magazines—and made publications costlier to produce. Whether this way of supporting the communications industry is good economic and social policy is outside the scope of a study of the food industry; but the costs added to the food bill are a reason for the size of the bill.

An unknown but substantial portion of advertising and sales promotion serves only to urge consumers to patronize firm A instead of B, or to buy brand C instead of D. It is highly unlikely that costs thus incurred add value to goods purchased by consumers. From the standpoint of the individual firm, however, the expenditures are warranted to hold or expand sales against competitors' similar efforts.

One function of advertising is an appropriate charge to the food bill—dissemination of information about products and prices. Consumers benefit from knowing what products are available, where they are for sale, and at what prices. A particularly significant case is the introduction of new products, discussed in the following section.

Two restraining influences on high selling costs tend to be generated within the food industry. One is the sale of retailers' label products, which are merchandised within the store rather than by extensive advertising. Retailers frequently are able to offer comparable quality under their own brands at lower prices and with more margin for themselves. Competition thus given to advertised brands is keen for staple, fairly homogeneous products, but has not been effective for a number of highly processed products.

The second restraining influence is the discount food store, which commonly gives no trading stamps and eliminates some services and amenities usually offered by supermarkets. Discount stores, operated both by chains and independents, are important in some local markets but have little influence in others.

Consumer grades, and to some extent standards of identity, are another restraining influence, although not one arising within the industry. The widespread use of Government grades in the retail sale of beef has been an important reason for the small amount of product differentiation. Consumer grading of foods is much less extensive than would be feasible.

New products

The food industry has developed and successfully introduced many new products of undisputed value to consumers. The costs going into market testing and initial promotion for some new products have been high, as chapter 9 makes clear. Gaining rapid acceptance of a useful new product is beneficial to consumers and hastens the development of sufficient volume for low production costs.

There is a tendency for some new products to pass from an early stage in which prices and promotion are high to a later stage in which promotion and prices are lower. The second stage is reached when similar products are put on the market by other manufacturers and by retailers under their own brands. Then the product becomes a staple food, and consumer grading often would be feasible.

If price competition fully asserted itself at the second stage, the overall performance would be good. But some products show little tendency to pass from the first stage to the second. Even for products long on the market, prices of advertised brands often remain well above private label prices. In a Commission study of 10 such well-established foods as canned peas and frozen orange juice concentrate, retail prices of advertised brands averaged 21 percent higher than retail prices of retailer brands of generally comparable quality. Means of heightening price competition at the second stage, as by consumer grading, are desirable.

The proliferation of new products indicates that ample incentives exist for product innovation. The opportunity to differentiate products and to participate in a rapidly growing branch of the food industry has been a powerful magnet inducing firms in staple food fields—dairy products, flour milling—to diversify into convenience foods of all kinds.

The changing nature of the consumer market both invites and makes possible a gradual shifting from staple, fairly homogeneous foods to highly differentiated foods. Emphasis on advertising and sales promotion and on new products will continue to increase. Retailers may use their own brands less exclusively for price competition and begin to adopt some of the brand promotion devices of the leading food manufacturers. Total selling costs will be a rising part of the food bill.

2. EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTER 13, PAGES 105 AND 106

Concentration in individual fields of the food industry

There is a tendency for business in the several fields of the food industry to become more concentrated in the hands of a few large firms except where special circumstances prevail—for example, in meat packing. In neither food processing nor distribution do economies of operation resulting from large size necessitate high concentration in national markets. The United States is fortunate in being large enough to permit both high efficiency and effective competition in foods. But as indicated in chapter 12, firms tend to grow, especially by merger and acquisition, well beyond the size needed to attain full operating efficiency. In the absence of restraint, concentration is expected to increase in most fields of the food industry.

Concentration of purchasing power by food retailers is especially significant. The increasing market orientation of the food industry and changes in the organization of buying have transferred market power from processors and manufacturers to retailers. Prospective developments in the industry are likely to further enhance their position. Increasing concentration of purchases restricts the alternatives open to suppliers, stimulates compensating concentration on their part, and weakens the effectiveness of competition as a self-regulating device throughout the industry.

Concentration of much of the food industry is not yet high enough to impair seriously the effectiveness of competition, and we do not suggest divesture of current holdings even where concentration is highest unless future conduct demonstrates the need for it. Nor do we believe that internal growth should be restrained if achieved fairly. The principal danger of impairment of competition appears to be merger and accquisition by dominant firms.

It is our conclusion that acquisitions or mergers by the largest firms in any concentrated branch of the food industry, which result in a significant increase in their market shares or the geographic extension of their markets, probably will result in a substantial lessening of competition in violation of the Clayton Act. In this connection, we believe accumulations of buying power have a significant effect on the competitive process and that food firms should not be permitted to form buying groups representing a greater sales volume than a single firm would be permitted to gain by merger or acquisition.

An urgent need, as we see it, is positive action by the regulatory agencies to make clear and effective the policy of Congress as declared in the Clayton Act, and we favor development of guidelines by the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission to make the policy specific in those food fields to which its application is most significant.

There is at present no regular method by which responsible Government agencies are advised of mergers and acquisitions. Neither are the regulatory agencies afforded any opportunity to evaluate the legality of mergers and acquisitions before they are effected. It often happens that mergers and acquisitions are completed without any clear indication of the Government's position, and too frequently this results in unnecessary litigation. Moreover, assets may become intermingled before the Government can act, and if divestiture is ordered, "unscrambling" is difficult and expensive. If advance notice were required, safeguards might be adopted to avoid jeopardizing legitimate mergers and acquisitions.

We conclude that legislation requiring some form of premerger notification is desirable.

The work of the regulatory agencies in dealing with mergers and trade practices would be made more effective if firms were to refrain from objected-to actions until a decision was reached as to their legality. *In order to accomplish this purpose, we consider it necessary to give the regulatory agencies power to issue temporary cease and desist orders, to be effective for a limited time and from which appeals can be taken to the courts.*

3. EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTER 13, PAGES 109 AND 110

Services to consumers

The central purpose of the following proposals is to provide consumers with the choices and unbiased information they need to get the most satisfaction for their money. Given such choices and information, individual consumers are responsible for their own decisions. Collectively, these will guide the production of goods and services by the food industry. Toward this end, we make the following suggestions:

1. *Consumer grades should be developed and required to appear on all foods for which such grades are feasible, that are sold in substantial volume to consumers, and that belong to a recognized product category.*

The grades should prominently appear on consumer packages if the product is ordinarily sold in such packages by manufacturers. Except for foods for which other nomenclature is well established, the grades should be in the form A, B, C . . . as established by the responsible Government agency.

It is not intended that genuinely new products should carry consumer grades when first put on the market. If a new product becomes widely used and takes on an identity of its own, it should then be considered for consumer grading. Nor is it intended that products sold in highly heterogeneous or perishable form should be consumer graded. In our view, rigid rules should not be laid down in this field but, rather, a flexible program of consumer grading should be adopted.

Although the principal purpose of this suggestion is to inform consumers, it may also serve to reduce the excessive use of promotion, thus contributing to a better performance of the food industry.

To carry out the program, the Department of Agriculture could be authorized to promulgate consumer grades, determine the products for which they are feasible and required to be used, and check on compliance. The unit charged with this work would have ready access to the technical skills available in the Department. Provision should be made for hearing the views of the food industry before new grades are put into effect.

2. *The Food and Drug Administration should establish standards of identity for all foods recognized by the public as belonging to a definite product category and for which standards are practicable.*

Standards of identity define what a given food product is, so that consumers will not be misled and reputable processors will not be exposed to unfair competition.

In numerous instances where either standards of identity or consumer grades are not in use, it would be practicable to give consumers needed information by requiring labels on processed foods to state certain facts determined to be especially indicative of quality. For example, butterfat content and overrun (indicating the air in the product) are important measures of quality in ice cream and should be shown on labels as long as grades are not used.

3. *Packages and their labels should assist consumers in gaining an accurate impression of the contents and in making price comparisons.*

These are positive values for consumers, to be sought wherever they do not necessitate unreasonable cost. They are distinct from but merge into another matter, that of preventing deception through packaging and labeling. We urge the Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration to give more attention to this area, and we favor further legislation if needed to give them authority they lack.

4. *A centralized consumer agency should be established in the executive branch of the Government by statute.*

Such an agency should assume the primary consumer protection roles now held by other Government agencies, such as the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, the Department of Agriculture, Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Labor, etc.

Although such an agency would represent consumers in areas other than food, the food industry is so large and so important to consumers that it justifies and requires this action.

With respect to food, such an agency should not only speak on legislative matters, but it should make a major effort to educate the consumer to play a more intelligent role in purchasing food. It would thus effectuate our earlier suggestions by informing consumers as to grades, standards, and packaging. Further, it should educate consumers in the more efficient and economic use of food. This might be accomplished through all types of media and by use of the services of all segments of the food industry, the country's educational facilities, and existing organizations, both private and public, whether local or national.

FINO INTRODUCES FOOD CONSUMERS LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE

Congressman Paul A. Fino, Dean of the New York Republican House delegation and senior member of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, today introduced a package of legislation designed to help the American consumer and keep food prices down.

The bills introduced by Mr. Fino are: 1.) to deny food manufacturers deductions from taxable federal income for advertising expenses in excess of ten percent of their gross receipts from the sale of foodstuffs; 2.) to establish a federal Department of Consumer Affairs; 3.) to provide that corporations must give the Federal Trade Commission prior notice of intent to merge (to discourage further mergers in the ever-more concentrated food industry); and 4.) to require that the Department of Agriculture draw up a plan for grade labeling of foodstuffs:

Mr. Fino based much of his legislation on the National Commission on Food Marketing Report to Congress. The Congressman accused the Johnson Administration of "running out" on the recommendations of the National Commission under pressure from the food, advertising and communications industries.

In introducing this legislation, Congressman Fino told the House:

"In June of 1966, the National Commission on Food Marketing reported to Congress. The Commission told Congress that the excessive cost of advertising and other forms of promotion is the chief cause for the rise in food prices. In the last ten years, the dollar volume of food processor advertising has quadrupled while food sales have only doubled. Food advertising and promotion expenditures amount to about $5 billion a year. Advertising accounts for 10% of the cost of most foods to housewives, but in the case of breakfast foods, advertising comprises almost one-quarter of the cost. The NCFM found that in 1964, the twenty-two largest food manufacturers spent an average of 16.3% of sales on advertising, with four of them—all breakfast cereal processors—spending about 20%. This is absurd. This advertising does not bring about price competition, NCFM, said, it merely tries to convince the public to buy 'Toasty Flakes' at an inflated price instead of 'Crispy Flakes'. Manufacturers are creating food wants so that they may satisfy them. It is the new products that produce fat profits, once they catch on, not the humdrum staples.

"My limited business expense deduction for food advertising costs would curb this cycle of waste. At present, food people are obliged to spend vast sums of money just to pitch their advertising above a 'noise level' of other advertising. A limited deduction would reduce the noise level and put food advertising costs a few notches lower as a factor behind food prices.

"The Commission also told Congress that price competition in the food industry has declined because of mergers and acquisitions. The Commission suggested corporations be required to file notification of intent to merge. This would strengthen anti-merger policy and reduce unnecessary litigation. This is my second bill.

"Furthermore, I think it would be a good idea to establish a federal Department of Consumer Affairs. I stated several times last year that I thought that American consumers ought to have a 'spokesman' in the government, just as labor and industry do in the Departments of Labor and Commerce. The proposed department would bring together under one roof the present spectrum of agencies and bureaus having consumer protective and other regulatory functions. My consumer legislative package includes a bill to establish a federal Department of Consumer Affairs. This was also suggested by the Commission.

"Last, but not least, I am introducing a bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to draw up plans for a 'grade-labeling' program, whereby all foodstuffs, except new, highly heterogeneous or perishable foodstuffs, would be labeled by grade or type in a way that would distinguish only as to contents and quality of ingredients, not as to matters of taste. The idea behind this bill is to eliminate the type of advertising and packaging which uses terminology like 'highest quality' or 'superfine' to spur product sales. Grade labeling would eliminate much of the impetus for extravagant, price-boosting advertising. All of this would be of great benefit to the American consumer. I was pleased to see the National Commission on Food Marketing recommend such a grade-labeling program.

"In a few weeks, I expect to introduce my second package of consumer legislation, which will relate to regulation of commodity trading and price-fixing international commodity agreements.

"I am sorry that the President, with all the talk he indulges in about helping American consumers, has not seen fit to endorse any of these much needed legislative proposals made by the Commission. It seems to me as if the Administration is running out on the recommendations of the Commission under pressure from the food, advertising and communications industries."

TO MARKET WE GO . . . LIKE LAMBS TO THE SLAUGHTER

(By Ed Dowling)

Senator Philip Hart (D, Mich.), a little weary after his four-year struggle to reform the packaging industry, is scouting the battlefield, trying to decide whether it's worth making a fight in this Congress for grade-labeling, or even if any meaningful standards can be set up. Should the senator and other legislators decide to forego the challenge, you can give some of the credit to the food lobby.

Representing the canners, freezers, driers, millers, packagers and bottlers of edibles, that lobby recently spent close to three-quarters of a million dollars trying to prove that when products compete with each other, they get better and lead to lower food prices. The money wasn't spent on disinterested gamesmanship, but rather to reach a political goal: the suasion of a presidential commission.

In 1964, ranchers were complaining about a sudden plunge in the prices they were getting for beef. The drop was all the more disconcerting in that it was not reflected in retail beef prices, which continued high. Cattle-state congressmen agitated for an investigation and President Johnson asked Congress to set up a commission to study not just beef prices but the marketing of food in general.

No sooner had the National Commission of Food Marketing been set up than the food lobby, formally known as the Grocery Manufacturers of America, decided the moment had come to launch what food lobbyist Howard Chase has called "a monumental study of the way competition works" in the food industry. At the outset, the Grocery Manufacturers raised some $400,000 from lobby members and quickly hired the research firm of Arthur D. Little, Inc., along with a number of economic theoreticians, among them Professor Jesse W. Markham of Princeton, Dr. Charles C. Slater of Michigan State, and Professor Raymond Bauer of Harvard. Later, needing still more money to complete its *magnum opus*, the GMA put the touch on TV networks, women's magazines and members' advertising agencies—all of them dependent to some extent on food advertising—for about $225,000. The GMA was fearful the President's commission might uncover something in food marketing that, if made public, would be harmful to lobby members.

Perhaps another cause for concern was the presence on the commission of a few veteran champions of the consumer. Senator Warren Magnuson (D, Wash.); Representative Leonor K. Sullivan (D, Mo.); Elmer R. Kiehl, Dean of the College of Agriculture at the University of Missouri, and Senator Hart.

But if there were consumer protectionists on the commission, their presence was balanced by Republican Senators Thruston Morton of Kentucky and Roman Hruska of Nebraska, Democratic Representative Graham Purcell of Texas and William Batten, president of the J. C. Penney Co.

The political behavior of the remaining seven members of the commission seemed less easy to augur. If these seven commission members could be swayed, the Grocery Manufacturers of America might be able to transform the commission report into an endorsement of the status quo in the food industry.

For 18 months, from late 1964 through January 1966, the President's commission and the GMA pursued their studies independently of one another. The GMA had in mind a definite goal, which was to show how competition *works*. The Little firm went about making an elaborate mathematical model of the industry's structure, based on case histories of 20 products in five food categories. The case histories were supposed to demonstrate how well the products filled consumer needs. Meanwhile, according to Lobbyist Chase, professors under contract were assigned "an examination of consumer sociology," the object of which was to show how the food industry develops new products only in response to "the genuine needs of the changing character of households in our society." (An example of such a product might be Kellogg's Toast'em Pop-Ups, "a tart with delicate crust and pure fruit filling" that one drops in a toaster to warm up. The need that one assumes is being filled by the Pop-Ups is a need for something to put in a toaster other than bread.)

In a scant year-and-a-half the GMA researchers managed to come up with quite a bit. One of their surveys produced information to show that "people like food advertising better than other advertising." As long as the consumer "likes" food advertising, the hypothesis might have gone, he has no right to gripe about paying for it.

Early in 1966, the GMA turned over its fat volume of researches to Dr. G. E. Brandow, executive director of the President's commission. The GMA expressed the hope that its studies would be of some assistance.

When the food commission's first, roughly assembled draft began to circulate on Capitol Hill in the spring of 1966, it appeared that the GMA's exercise had been academic, for indeed the draft report seemed to show no influence by the GMA's massive study. Letters of protest were written by lobby officials deploring that the conclusions being drawn by the commission were contradictory to the conclusions drawn in the GMA/Little study. The GMA began circulating among its members lists of things to say to the press, the public and to politicians in eventual congressional hearings, in refutation of the commission's conclusion.

During meetings of the commission to work up a final draft for the President, members wrangled over the proposed recommendations, and out of the disputes a clear minority emerged that would not endorse the proposals made to protect the consumer. In this minority were Senator Hruska, Senator Morton, Mr. Batten, Mr. Mitchell and Representative Purcell. (The Texas Democrat made an eleventh hour attempt to take the teeth out of the report by declaring that the commission had exceeded its mandate in choosing to term its recommendations, "conclusions," and therefore had stepped outside the law.) Later this minority was joined by Rep. Catherine May (R, Wash.).

Weeks before the commission made public its report, the six dissenting members rushed out a minority report. The minority scored a public-relations coup: newspapers were running its version of the events long before any mention had been given to the report itself. In the text of the minority report—much of which was lifted verbatim from the GMA/Little study—and in the language of two other dissenting statements filed by minority members, the efforts of the GMA finally bore fruit.

Although the minority takes the majority's recommendations to task, the dissidents themselves make no proposals of any scope, other than watering down measures proposed to aid farmers.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

At the end of June, the National Commission on Food Marketing presented to President Johnson the final draft of its report, "Food from Farmer to Consumer." As the food lobby had feared, the report damned food advertising as wasteful, urged that food companies be stopped from becoming near monopolies, and, perhaps most radically, proposed compulsory federal grade labeling for almost all foods as a way of counteracting the immense power of brands, and thus restoring price competition. Under the commission's grade labeling scheme, the Department of Agriculture would grade all but a few foods in which hierarchies of quality cannot be established.

Since World War II, retail chains have used federal grades in buying from wholesalers. This voluntary grade system was set up to simplify procurement of food for the armies. Today, the shopper sometimes gets a glimpse of these grades on beef ("Choice" or "Prime") or on potatoes ("US No. 1"). But few chains print the grades on their store-brand processed foods, and brand manufacturers almost never do.

In the compulsory system, the top grade on every food would be "A," unlike the current system, based on century-old wholesaler usage, when top may be "Fancy" or "Extra Fancy" or "AA." ("US No. 1" for example, is second-grade potatoes; US Fancy" is first.)

The measure would drag grades down from wholesale to retail and extend them to the gamut of processed foods, as is done in most Western countries.

Now why does such a simple proposal trouble the food processors? Because it would knock out most of their profits. Most of the big processors sell their products under two labels, their own and retailers' brands—the so-called "private labels." For example, in an A&P, a can of A&P's "private-label" peas may come from Del Monte and be part of the same batch as the peas under the Del Monte label nearby on the same shelf. Usually the private-label stuff sells for less than the national-brand stuff even when the product is identical. (The brand packer is forced to supply the retailer with the same product under the retailer's label because otherwise the retailer might refuse to carry the big-brand stuff.)

The private label, in such a case, is of the same grade and quality as the big brand. If both were stamped "Grade A," people would probably buy the stuff selling for less, and the price of the big brand would have to be lowered to stay in competition. The "Grade A" alone would knock the stuffing out of the advertising for the big brand. "The brands would be destroyed," said a lobbyist.

The brands may go, but the manufacturers would survive by turning out the same products and, unburdened by the heavy costs of advertising, selling them at competitive prices. Grading would bring down the prices of both the national brands and the private label goods pegged to them.

Predictably, the minority fires on the grade labeling proposal, blasting it as a "sterile notion" that would "foster static uniformity and inhibit innovation." What they mean is that grading might knock out attempts to hoke up products by trivial differentiation, such as the new six-sided French Fry ("Tasti-Fries") being put out by General Foods.

Crying *"de gustibus non disputandum,"* the dissidents claim the grading won't work because grades are necessarily subjective. As evidence that compulsory grade labeling is impracticable, the minority cites the famous applesauce case, dear to the hearts of brand advertisers. In 1959 Cornell surveyed how a number of people liked applesauces graded by the Department of Agriculture. Most of them preferred Grade C to Grades A or B. This finding the minority interprets as *a priori* demonstration of the impossibility of fixing grades in accordance to popular tastes. But back in the forties, when Agriculture set up its applesauce grades, it sampled consumer preferences to ascertain what should be Grade A. And brand manufacturers themselves use similar tests in developing their receipts.

If grade labeling goes into effect, it won't have much bite if people aren't told about it. Unless grades are publicized by the government, it's unlikely that brand advertisers will feature them in their ads. (Retail advertising is another matter. Some chains use the voluntary grades to spur sales of their private-label goods. Last summer, A&P, foreshadowing consumer awareness of grade labeling, ran an ad campaign stressing that its own brands are all "Grade A.")

To tell consumers about grades and about how to shop economically, the commission urges that government set up a consumer agency as an executive department. (Similar proposals have been advanced from other quarters, notably from the President's Consumer Advisory Council, headed by Mrs. Esther Peterson. Donald Turner, head of the antitrust division of the Department of Justice, has proposed government testing of consumer products, akin to the work performed by Consumers Union and Consumer Research, two private, nonprofit bodies.)

Senator Hruska lambasted the consumer agency proposal, saying that "no consumer cataclysm demands the erection of another executive department to give home-to-market care to 200 million Americans."

But even with a system as rational as compulsory grading promises to be, and with a government department to make it effective, the charisma of the established brands will be difficult to dispel.

An advertising agency was dismayed to find in a recent survey that the average adult can only remember some 1,800 brand names "in unaided recall." Belief in brands has been promulgated as a kind of lay religion. A Boston housewife was reported by *The New York Times* as saying, "As prices go up, I don't go into cheaper brands, I just buy less."

Although the value of a brand exists only in the minds of consumers disposed to buy it, the brand-owners count on consumer credulity in brands as if it were money in the bank. Witness, for example, what was claimed in a recent Supreme Court case: Borden *vs* FTC.

The case arose when two Ohio retail chains complained to the FTC that Borden refused to sell them private-label stuff. However, the dairy company chose to argue that although it supplies the same condensed milk for private labels as is sold under its own brand, the stuff carrying the Borden brand could legally go to retailers at a higher price because "consumer acceptance" of the Borden brand makes it worth more than physically identical milk under a private label. (In other words, the brand is worth whatever the consumer is willing to pay for it.)

The Supreme Court ruled last March that the Borden's brand adds no value to the condensed milk. (The decision caused ululation along Madison Avenue.) But if brands have no real economic worth, they continue to have an almost mystical significance for many. A beer baron once said of his brew, "The customer imbibes the image." And so it is with food.

Among those who find such images most palatable are the poor. A food industry spokesman remarked in an unguarded moment that "the poor put more faith in brands than does the rest of the population." Possibly food brands are status symbols for poor families who would be better off buying private label.

In a decrepit neighborhood in Brooklyn the most popular item in a small mom & pop store was a national brand of dog food. Upon inquiry it turned out that dog food was a mainstay of the local indigents. One wonders whether they would have bought the stuff had they not seen it continually advertised on their TV sets.

The National Commission on Food Marketing found that poor people pay more for food because they shop in mom & pop stores, (supermarkets are fewer per population density in slums than in neighborhoods above the poverty line) and because they buy in small quantities, missing out on whatever savings are possible with the "large, economy" sizes.

Respectably enough, the food lobby suggests the poor be taught how to buy economically. Such instruction has yet to appear in the ads.

THE PRICE RIGGER: ADVERTISING

Last spring, food prices for the first time in the US attained the distinction of leading the inflationary movement, in a reversal of what happens in classic inflationary patterns where food lags far to the rear. The food prices in the Consumer Price Index had climbed by 6.2 percent in a year, twice the rise of the overall CPI. Since last summer, as the general inflation has gone from trot to canter, food prices have begun to fall behind the classic indicia. Momentarily the curve of food prices seems less steep, but their upward spending movement is bound to continue; accelerated price rise is now built into the structure of food distribution, independently of flood, glut or famine.

The Food Marketing Commission points out that the excessive cost of advertising and other forms of promotion is the chief cause for the rise in food prices. In the past two decades the amount spent by food processors on advertising alone has quadrupled, while total food sales only doubled.

Last year the processors spent more than $2 billion on ads. Another billion was spent on merchandising, retail advertising, premiums and push-money (bribes to store clerks), and yet another billion on that part of packaging which should be accounted advertising. (Over $5 billion a year is spent on food packaging.)

Food advertising has swollen to such a volume that it has virtually eliminated price competition. It pushes retail prices continually upward. Instead of competing through price, food processors compete through advertising, and food retailers compete through showmanship, trading stamps, free parking and Muzak.

As if in echo of the Supreme Court's decision in the Borden case, the NCFM stresses that promotion adds nothing of value to the product. The consumer pays higher prices as a result of it, and yet gets nothing in return other than free TV shows and the like. The NCFM found that in 1964 the 22 largest food manufacturers spent an average of 16.3 percent of sales on advertising, with four of them—all breakfast cereal processors—spending around 20 percent. (On new products, promotion costs may *exceed* sales for the first year or so in the marketplace.)

Before the publication of the NCFM report, no government body had ever put the finger on advertising as a cause of jacked-up prices.

Advertisers talk about the need to spend enough to pitch their ads above the "noise level," the general din resulting from the heavy volume of all advertising. Whenever a new product is launched the noise level rises, and with it, prices, as competitors increase their spieling to shout down the newcomer. Up through the din the prices rise, behind a smokescreen of "specials," cents-off deals, and two-fers—momentary illusions all. (If a retailer loses a cent on a special, he recoups it by raising prices on non-specialed items.) Competing through advertising, and thus burdened with excessive promotion costs, manufacturers and retailers forswear undercutting their competitors.

As if in anticipation of the commission's charges, the Grocery Manufacturers had ready a theory elaborated by one of its consultants, Robert D. Buzzell of Harvard, attempting to show that in the "life-cycle" of a product, advertising paves the way for price competition. According to Buzzell, whenever a heavily advertised new product succeeds in the marketplace, small processors and retail chains rush out imitations. By getting a free ride on the advertising already done by the innovator, the coattailers can sell their knock-offs for less, or so the theory goes. In practice, though, the coattailer usually pegs his price only a notch or two below what the original is fetching.

Professor Buzzell goes on to claim that promotion costs are not excessive in the long run, since once a new product succeeds, the heavy advertising expenditures of the introductory period ("Phase 1") are trimmed and the price comes down proportionately ("Phase II").

The President's commission states flatly that Phase II is seldom reached. Price competition rarely comes into play and retail prices stay high. Whatever money has been spent promoting a new product has primed a pump for high markup and high profits throughout the product's lifetime.

Spinning wobbly in the wheelhouse of Buzzell's tinker-toy model is the battered old prayer wheel of admen, the claim that advertising is the *primum mobile* of the economy, that without the demand it stimulates mass production would be impossible, jobs fewer, unit costs higher and buying power lower.

There was a time when the price-lowering claim often held true. But that was earlier in the century, when advertising expenditures were a fraction of what they are today, and when the deluge of new products had not yet begun.

Yet, in the face of multiplying advertising expenditures, pro bono publicists continue to maintain that want-creation is responsible for the vaunted American standard of living, forgetting that SOL is an expression of what wages and salaries will buy. In food, at least, the rising prices resulting from hopped-up advertising tend to *depress* the SOL, since wages lag behind.

To bolster the standard-of-living claim, the Grocery Manufacturers association boasts that Americans spend only 18 percent of their income for food, down from 23 percent in 1939. As General Foods president C. W. Cook preened in a statement to *Business Week* magazine, "We must be doing something right."

Although this statistic is indeed evidence of a rising standard of living, it is not, as the President's commission points out, "evidence of superior performance by the food industry." It's axiomatic in economics that the greater the prosperity, the less the share of income spent for food. In fact, it's surprising so much is still being spent on food. In some measure this may reflect substitution of steak for potatoes, but it may also reveal the ingenuity of food processors in wringing a number of wants out of a necessity (food).

Want-creation is responsible for raising the prices of *all* food products. For example, a retail chain figures it can make more money on processed foods than it can on raw produce, so it limits the variety and quantity of raw stuff it will carry. As a result, the cost of the produce goes up.

No economist seriously opposes the fact that in today's economy wants are created by manufacturers who hope to satisfy the wants they create. Yet the food lobby piously claims that new products are "developed in response to consumer needs" as ascertained by market research. (In addition to sounding out markets for new products, it is also the task of "market research" to find ways to overcome any consumer resistance to a product a company has decided to launch.)

Profit possibilities are much higher on new products than they are on the old. Kellogg's Applejacks, a cinnamon-flavored corn cereal, sells for more than twice as much per ounce as Kellogg's Corn Flakes.

As a result of marketing new products—even more fanciful, more highly processed, and more remote from basic food—profits of the large food companies have been rising through the past decade at the rate of 7.3 percent a year.

The market for staples, plain old peas and potatoes, is fairly saturated, growing only in relation to population gain. Companies could, of course, hang on in business by simply supplying the growing population. But to make the big money and pump up ever higher profits, they twist out new products.

In the food-processing industry, the failure rate for new products is half what it is in all other industries.

THE BIG GROW BIGGER

It's part of the contemporary American credo that big corporations are more efficient than small ones, that they can make and sell their products for less. However it may be with heavy industry, this assumption does not hold true in the food industry, where, as the commission report points out, there are no further economies-of-scale to be realized once a company has reached middling size. Yet processors in several food fields are well on the way to monopoly. Campbell Soups, with some 95 percent of the sales of prepared soups, is already there. Borden and National Dairy (Kraft) together sell most of the processed cheese; National Dairy and Corn Products together sell most of the salad dressing; four companies—Kellogg, General Foods, General Mills, Quaker Oats—sell over 85 percent of the breakfast cereals. Even in fields where monopoly is a distant prospect, as in "crackers and cookies" or in potato chips, the number of firms is shrinking as big corporations take over or merge with other food processors. Worse, some conglomerate firms—like National Dairy or General Foods—acquire quasi-monopolistic positions in a number of food fields.

The high costs of advertising and the problems of getting good distribution are central factors in the push toward merger. Small companies can't afford the costs of advertising on television and in other media, and without such coverage they find it difficult to persuade retailers to give them the distribution and favorable shelf space they need.

Big advertisers, on the other hand, get volume discounts from the media, and so spend less per pitch. The bigger the advertiser the more shelf space he can command from retailers. Once an advertiser has attained wide distribution he's fairly sure of shelf space for the products of any food company he happens to buy up—as long, of course, as he keeps up his advertising.

Thus, advertising helps put weight on those who are already fat, while trimming down the number of firms able to survive in competition. The fewer the survivors, the more remote any possibility of price competition.

For this reason, the National Commission on Food Marketing urges that a halt be called on mergers or acquisitions involving companies that are already "dominant" in a particular food field. "Dominance," by the commission's rule of thumb, exists if a company is one of four or fewer having half the sales in any one food field. (The criterion is clearly met in the breakfast cereals industry, where four companies do 85 percent of the business.)

To make it easier to determine who's dominant, the NCFM proposes that companies be required to report sales on each of their product lines. The minority insists that with modern accounting methods, any sort of product-by-product report on sales is impracticable. (It also protests that publication of such information would aid a company's competitors.)

To prevent oligopoly from becoming monopoly, the commission wants the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice, in line with the Clayton Antitrust Act, to issue cease-and-desist orders on any mergers or acquisitions by dominant firms.

THE THEORY OF "SUBSTITUTABILITY"

The Grocery Manufacturers declare that sales figures are no measure of monopoly, or oligopoly, or dominance. They argue that every food product competes against all other food products for the consumer's food dollar: *i.e.,* if one company sells 99 percent of the canned soup in the US it's still far from monopoly because the soup competes against every other existing foodstuff. The lobby calls this notion, "substitutability." If a housewife wants to serve ice cream for dessert and finds the price too high, she can, according to the theory of "substitutability," buy pie or cookies or cake, instead. (This is rather like saying that if you're in the market for a new car and find the prices too high, you can always go out and buy yourself a bicycle.)

As evidence that high concentration doesn't exist in the food industry, the minority report points to the fact that the four biggest companies (General Foods, National Dairy, Campbell's Soup and Corn Products) had altogether only 6.1 percent of the total food sales in the US in 1963. (Sales for these companies came to $4.7 billion, out of a total of $77 billion that year.)

After examining the figures on *processed* foods for that year, however, the President's commission pointed out that the four biggest companies did over a third of the $11 billion business. (Even were this not so, the minority sidesteps the commission's point, which is to find out how much of the soup sold is Campbell's, how much of the processed cheese is National Dairy's [Kraft] and so on.)

There's a general anxiety throughout the country over what may be causing higher food prices and who's to blame for them. Milk distributors charged with collusion blame dairy farmers and drought. California fruit growers blame the jump in produce prices on the government's ban on *bracero* labor. Hugh Marius, assistant commissioner of markets in New York, attributes the higher food prices in slums to exploiters of the poor and ignorant. Some misguided urban politicians continue to point the finger at government farm policy and price supports.

The Secretary of Agriculture believes the fault for the rise in food prices lies not with the farmer but with the middleman, Mr. Freeman has read the commission's report. "Someone is profiteering along the line," he said, when he asked the Federal Trade Commission to look into the matter of food prices.

Such an investigation may seem superfluous in view of the voluminous evidence already assembled by the National Commission on Food Marketing. However, the press has been curiously silent on the NCFM report, although it has been accessible since early July. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have duly noted the fact that the report was submitted to the President, but along with other media they've forborne to make public its contents, even when alarms over high food prices were page-one stories. Eleven volumes of evidence supporting the proposals in "Food From Farmer to Consumer" came off the presses of the US Government Printing Office. The findings were ignored by the news media, although the documents were in demand in advertising and food-marketing circles. Yet the commission's findings and the proposals based on them are an arsenal for any legislator looking for what Washington calls a "people issue," one that transcends party lines. But if a champion of the consumer comes forth to pick up the cudgels, he had better be stalwart. Opposition from the food lobby promises to be intense. Enlisted in the defense of the big food brands is the advertising business—in toto and wholeheartedly, along with its handmaidens, the mass media.

WASHINGTON'S POLLUTED AIR

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a newspaper editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's revelation that Washington's air is the fourth dirtiest in the Nation is really not news. However, the current hearings are succeeding in bringing the matter to public attention.

The Metropolitan Council of Government has been at work on our area's air pollution problem for over 2 years. I have been preparing and am today introducing air pollution legislation for the District of Columbia substantially patterned on the model ordinance drafted by the council of government. Among other things, my bill would prohibit the burning of fuels with a sulfur content above 1 percent. Sulfur dioxide pollution has been declared by public health officials as being at a dangerous level. It troubles me that the Federal Government, through its heating plants, appears to be a major contributor to this problem. The Government should clean up its own house.

The model ordinance is the result of a lengthy, comprehensive, and technical study of the specific air pollution problems of this area. District and suburban officials were involved in the planning process.

I am proud that my own Montgomery County has adopted substantial portions of the model ordinance and I am hopeful that they will complete their work by adopting the sulfur provision. Prince Georges County is also beginning to act. We in Congress must do our part by adopting legislation for the District of Columbia. Local government cooperation is the best approach to solving our area problems.

An editorial follows:

[From the Washington Post, March 9, 1967]

WASHINGTON'S AIR

Now we have at hand the means of determining just how serious the Federal Government is about air pollution. The Public Health Service has found dangerous concentrations of sulfur dioxide in Washington's air. Levels are consistently above those sufficient to cause worsening of chronic bronchitis, emphysema and other chronic respiratory diseases. They are in fact, at levels associated with impairment of respiratory functions and increased respiratory disease and death rates.

One third of this concentration has its origin in the heating plants of the Federal Government itself. Another major contributor is the Potomac Electric Power Co. The public will be entitled to think the Government is not very serious about this whole problem if it does not announce measures that will stop the Government contribution to this health hazard within 30 days. And having stopped its own contribution to the illness and disease of citizens, it can then try to check the offenses of private interests. A national Government that wittingly and knowingly continued to poison the atmosphere of the Capital City and contribute to the illness and death of its residents would not succeed in abating pollution anywhere else in the country. The situation calls for immediate action.

FORTY-BILLION-DOLLAR FOLLY?

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, $40 billion for an antiballistic missile system would provide doubtful security and perhaps would be utter folly. I am informed that this vast expenditure of $40 billion would provide questionable protection for only 50 American cities and possibly protection for only 25 cities. What then would happen to my constituents and the millions of other patriotic Americans in the thousands of cities and rural areas throughout our country?

It is my understanding that these cities now marked for protection were selected by a computer. In my own area only one city has been selected for protection. The rest of us are marked for a fiery and sudden extinction.

Charleston is a major military complex. It is the chief port of our area. It is a beautiful and historic city and should undoubtedly have the very highest priority for security from atomic attack. I believe, however, that the computer was a little off when it failed to include for protection the $3 billion atomic energy plant near Aiken, S.C., in my congressional district, with its highly skilled employees who reside in the Aiken, North Augusta, Augusta, Ga., and surrounding area. I believe the Aiken County—Horse Creek Valley—Fort Rordon-Augusta area with its huge industrial complex including the atomic energy plant is just as essential to the defense of this country as any area.

Mr. Speaker, what about Columbia, the capitol of our State, with its railway and highway networks and Ft. Jackson? Mr. Speaker, what are we going to do about Greenville–Spartanburg, with its vast textile industry so essential to the defense effort—an industry now supplying our boys in Vietnam and throughout the world with uniforms, medical supplies, parachutes, and other essentials for their survival? Mr. Speaker, what about Charlotte, the largest city in the two Carolinas? In the last 15 months, the textile industry supplied our military forces with 600,000,000 yards of textile materials. What about the Raleigh research triangle? What about Anderson and Clemson University?

Are the rest of us marked for sudden extinction? Would Charleston really be protected from fallout should nuclear warheads fall on Augusta, Charlotte, Ft. Bragg, Columbia, or Savannah? What would happen if the billion-dollar electric generating complex on the Savannah River was left unprotected and destroyed by an atomic attack? Would the tens of thousands of acres of water suddenly released flood and destroy Augusta, the atomic energy plant, and the great city of Savannah with contaminated water?

The American people are beginning to ask these questions about their homes, their children, and their cities. They want to know where they stand. They want to know who is expendable.

I dare say, Mr. Speaker, that instead of $40 billion, the cost of such an antimissile system could be well over $200 billion when the American people demand protection for every section of our country.

Mr. Speaker, such a purely defensive missile system would create a defense complex in the minds of our people, which is the first step toward defeat and destruction.

Centuries ago England made her decision to use her science and technology for offense. She built a navy that controlled the seven seas of the world for generations and even centuries. A small island with several million people—through the British Navy—influenced for good the destiny of the entire world. British art, culture, standards of living, Christianity, and representative government were spread throughout the world. If England had refused to use her science and technology, but had instead built a wall around her borders and manned it with artillery, England would not have survived and the United States as a great Nation would not be here today.

My colleagues, I cannot recall any truly great nation or great civilization in the history of the world who built an impregnable defense. France placed her hope and her destiny in a Maginot line which was crushed in a matter of hours by the offensive might of Germany—parachute troops, panzer divisions, and dive bombers. Herman Goering, commander of the German Air Force, proudly proclaimed and boasted that no bomb would ever fall on Germany. They had an antiaircraft defense that could not be pierced. Germany was virtually destroyed by American and British airpower raining death from the skies.

The military history of our own Nation points to near tragedy. We courtmartialed Billy Mitchell because he warned the American people about airpower. When Hitler started to build panzer divisions and fleets of bombers, many of our leaders did not believe a bomb could sink a battleship. Our men were still being trained in horse cavalry, and tanks could be seen few places other than in museums. If Japan, at the time of Pearl Harbor, had had the same industrial potential as the United States, we would have lost that war in 10 minutes. We must not make that mistake again.

Greece and Rome developed offensive instrumentalities of war as the best method of defense. Alexander conquered the world with the Greek phalanx. The Roman legion protected for hundreds of years Rome, the Eternal City and the Italian peninsula by offensive tactics and operations in foreign lands.

The great wall of China has been pierced many times by invaders and conquerors.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely believe that not only the best way but the least expensive way to protect all of the American cities—not just a few cities—would be to develop spacecraft and further refine our capabilities to destroy, on a moment's notice, any potential enemy anywhere in the world. A deterrent force is our only real security. It is too late when the bombs and missiles begin to fall.

An attack base on the moon or in space will provide more security for all of us than a missile system on the ground around 25 or 50 cities. Stations or bases in space that can control the weather and currents of the sea might well deter a madman dictator and provide peace for the entire world. Spacecraft capable of raining atomic warheads from 50,000 miles in space could be an instrumentality of peace for all mankind. Manned bombers and fighters, highly trained pilots, control of the seas, and a highly trained, skilled, mobile, and modern army, and Marine Corps ready to be rushed anywhere in the world where they might be needed—these are the elements of a sound defense.

It is this type of offense that could win in Vietnam. It is this type of offense that our Nation needs not only to prevent, but to meet, future "Vietnams" and brushfire wars. And it is this type of conflict for which we must be prepared as well as for any nuclear exchange. It is this type of hard-hitting offense that this Nation must have to provide real security for all its people. Russia and Red China will not be deterred by a questionable and perhaps outmoded missile defense around 25 or even 50 of our cities. Russia, Red China, and Castro Cuba will only be deterred by the certain knowledge that their homeland will be completely destroyed should they attack the United States.

DAIRY IMPORT ACT OF 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced dairy import legislation which is a revised version of the Dairy Import Act introduced by me last year and again on the first day of Congress this year. As we all know, the Secretary of Agriculture has all of the authority he needs under present law to restrict imports of dairy products from abroad. The problem, which is aggravating the profitless prosperity that is plaguing our farmers, is that the Secretary of Agriculture has so far refused to utilize the authority he possesses under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Mr. Speaker, section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act gives the administration all the authority it needs to remove one of the prime causes of the profitless prosperity that is plaguing our farmers.

The Secretary's refusal to invoke this authority is the major reason for my reintroduction of a dairy import bill today.

Under the terms of this legislation, a total annual import quota would be established on butterfat or nonfat milk solids in any form based on the average annual quantities imported during the years 1961–65.

Mr. Speaker, the biggest threat to dairy prices today comes from the fantastic volume of dairy product imports produced abroad under unsanitary conditions.

Unless something effective is done to ease the cost-price squeeze that is driving our farmers off the land, America's dairy industry will be in serious trouble.

Today, as we all know only too well, there are only 500,000 dairy farms in our Nation as compared to almost two and a half million in 1940. If this trend is not reversed or halted, an adequate milk supply in this country will be seriously threatened.

The administration already has imposed quotas on Cheddar cheese but millions of pounds of disguised Cheddar unfortunately are not subject to these quotas. I refer of course to Colby cheese, for example, which in reality is Cheddar but is not called Cheddar.

Mr. Speaker, America's dairyland wants no special favors. All our dairymen want is an opportunity to compete on a fair and equitable basis. This requires elimination of policies which favor foreign producers at the expense of our own farmers.

Even Communist Bulgaria can ship Colby cheese to New York, absorb its production and transportation costs, and still sell it on the American market at 10 cents a pound cheaper than our dairy industry in Wisconsin can produce it.

The reason is that Wisconsin dairymen must comply with rigid standards imposed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, the U.S. Public Health Service, the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture, and the Wisconsin Public Health Service.

Foreign producers do not have to comply with these standards. These standards were set up, Mr. Speaker, in order to protect the American consumer. It seems to me they are entitled to equal protection from American-produced dairy products as well as foreign-produced dairy products. Either apply the quotas under present authority or require foreign producers to meet the same standards required of Wisconsin agriculture. This is the only fair and equitable course open to the administration in this area.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to do everything I can to bring about congressional action on the Dairy Import Act of 1967 unless or until adequate measures under present authority are utilized by the Secretary of Agriculture.

THE LATE MAJOR GENERAL VANIER, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, as one who has the privilege of serving as chairman of the House delegation to the United States-Canada parliamentary meeting, I rise to express our grief, and I am sure the grief of the entire membership of the House of Representatives, on the recent death of the Governor General of Canada, Major General Vanier, who has served his country with dedication and with great patriotism.

Mr. Speaker, the death of Maj. Gen. Georges P. Vanier represents a sad loss for our neighbor to the north. General Vanier was the first French Canadian and the first native of Canada to serve as Governor General. He was a distinguished soldier in World War I. Some 40 years ago he entered upon a record of continuous service in behalf of his country in the international field. During World War II he was a member of the Joint Board of Defense, United States-Canada; Canadian Minister to the Allied Governments established in the United Kingdom; Canadian representative to the French Committee on National Liberation in London and Algiers. He then served as Canadian Ambassador to France from 1944 to 1953. His own Government as well as foreign governments honored him on numerous occasions. The climax of his public service came with his appointment in 1959 as Governor General of Canada.

Many of us who have served on the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group came to know him as a man of breadth, sensitivity and unbounded charm. I know that many Members of this House will mourn his passing. To his lovely wife, sons, and daughter I express the deepest sympathy upon this sad occasion.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members desiring to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in the House today in expressing my sorrow upon learning of the passing of the Governor General of Canada, Gen. Georges Philias Vanier, on last Sunday. As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and former Chairman of the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, I have had firsthand knowledge of the love and respect the people of Canada have had for their Governor General. General Vanier was the first Canadian of French origin to be appointed Chief of State for Canada, when he assumed that office on September 15, 1959.

To Madame Vanier and to all his family, and to the people of Canada, I extend my most sincere sympathy.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in paying tribute on this occasion to the late Governor General of Canada, the Right Honorable Georges Philias Vanier.

As the lone Representative in the Congress from the State of Vermont, I am proud to point out whenever possible that we in Vermont have a happy and mutually fruitful relationship with our good Canadian friends to our immediate north. This year will mark the third year that I have also had the pleasure of being a member of the United States-Canada Interparliamentary Group, and this experience has given me an even deeper insight into the outstanding leaders who guide the great country of Canada.

General Vanier was certainly such a leader. His military accomplishments were distinguished, and as a diplomat, he served his country brilliantly. His death is a great loss for Canada, and we in Vermont and the United States share with our friends to the north the heartfelt grief which his passing brings.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join in the splendid tribute paid by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] on the occasion of the passing of the Right Honorable Georges P. Vanier, the Governor General of Canada. As a member for a number of years of the U.S. delegation to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group meetings, I know the esteem and affection in which the Canadian people held the Governor General. He was a distinguished military officer, a superb diplomat, and a skilled administrator. It is most regrettable that he could not have lived long enough to participate in the festivities planned for later this year on the occasion of the centennial of Canadian confederation. It would have been a fitting climax to the career of one of Canada's most distinguished sons who gave more than a half century of service to his country. Mrs. Murphy joins me in our expressions of deepest sympathy to Lady Vanier, their sons, and daughter.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] for asking time that some of us may pay a word of tribute to one of Canada's foremost citizens. The death of the Governor General of Canada, the Right Honorable Georges P. Vanier, is a sad day for Canadians. Not only his native Canada but many foreign governments recognized his services in the cause of humanity and justice; they paid him many honors during his long and full life. A lawyer, a soldier, a diplomat, and a statesman—in each of these callings he served his Nation and his fellow citizens with distinction. The climax to his career came in 1959 with his appointment as Governor-General of Canada, the first Canadian and the first Canadian of French extraction to hold that exalted position. As one who has had the privilege of meeting with Canadian Parliamentarians over the years I can appreciate more fully the loss which the Canadian people feel. Mrs. Johnson joins me in expressing our deep sympathy to our numerous Canadian friends on this occasion.

INTRODUCING A BILL TO MAKE ALL BRAIDED MATERIAL UNIFORMLY SUBJECT TO A 42.5-PERCENT AD VALOREM RATE OF DUTY

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, foreign dominance of our domestic market is a fear that casts its shadow over many of our domestic industries. However, for the braided rug industry, it is a stock reality that threatens the very existence of this important domestic industry.

At this moment, foreign manufacturers of braided rugs dominate over 75 percent of the domestic market.

Since 1960, imports of braided rugs have doubled and continue to rise, showing a 30-percent increase during the first 9 months of 1966.

What is most disturbing, Mr. Speaker, is the assertion by the domestic braided rug industry that 95 percent of these imports enter at a lower rate than is intended through a loophole in our tariff laws. This loophole, which resulted from an unappealed U.S. Customs Court decision rendered 23 years ago, enables foreign-made braided rugs to be imported as tubular mats at a much lower duty rate.

In ascertaining whether a tubular braided sheath around a filler core was truly a braid, two of the three Customs Court judges in this highly disputed decision held that it was not a braid because the braided outer covering of the material never had a separate existence as tubular braid. However, both of these judges conceded that the tubular outer covering, without the core or filler, would be braid. And the third judge, in a vigorous dissent, held that if the covering would be braid if removed or separated from the core or filler, then it answered all the requirements for braids under the tariff laws.

Mr. Speaker, braided rugs are made either of a braided material without a core or of a material consisting of a braided tube with a core. However, both types of braid are made on a braiding machine and both types of rugs are identical in outward appearance and are referred to in the trade as braided rugs. But, Mr. Speaker, because of the aforementioned Customs Court decision, the first type of rug—without a core—is subject to duty under the tariff laws at a single rate of duty, presently at 42½ percent ad valorem; while the second type—with a core—is dutiable at various rates depending on the component material of chief value, at present about 16 percent ad valorem.

In a report issued by the Tariff Commission in 1959 on this matter the Commission stated:

> From the tariff standpoint, there is no reason for different treatment of the two types of rugs solely because of the difference in the braid used.

Why must we allow this inequity to continue? Why must we allow rugs that are sold in our domestic market as braided rugs to be imported as tubular mats thus subject to 16 percent ad valorem rate of duty rather than 42.5 percent ad valorem which would apply had they been properly classified?

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill today that would remove this inequity by making all braided material—with or without a core or filler—uniformly subject to a 42.5-percent ad valorem rate of duty.

I rise today in an effort to gain the support of my colleagues in removing this inequity in our tariff laws that threatens the very existence of our domestic braided rug industry. I ask their support of my bill which, if enacted, will allow our domestic industry to fairly compete with foreign manufacturers in our domestic market. I am not seeking special treatment for our domestic braided rug industry. I am simply asking for fair treatment through more equitable tariffs.

This legislation, which has been introduced in the other body by my colleagues from Rhode Island Senators PASTORE and PELL, must not be passed on to the 91st Congress for action. We must act upon it now for the matter has lingered on too long and at too great a price to our domestic producers.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I concur with the distinguished cochairman of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, Hon. RAY J. MADDEN, that the time has come for the entire membership of the House of Representatives to act on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. I have had the honor of serving on this committee for almost 2 years and I can assure you that every Member of Congress has had opportunity to express his views and to evaluate critically recommendations contained in our final report. I remind the Members of the House of Representatives that the U.S. Senate made the Reorganization Bill the first order of business this session of Congress. I remind them also, Mr. Speaker, that the Senate passed this measure by a vote of 75–9, an overwhelming majority, and although there were some amendments, none substantially altered the basic recommendations of the committee. I am aware that for some Members the bill may go too far; for others not far enough, but I urge the Rules Committee to take prompt action and report this bill to the floor so that we can vote it up or down.

One final comment, Mr. Speaker, and that is that many of the provisions contained in the reorganization bill as passed by the Senate are measures that will substantially improve and strengthen the Congress. I am confident that an overwhelming majority of the Members will approve these provisions, and frankly, the sooner we approve them the sooner we can implement them and get started in the direction of major congressional reform.

The Nation awaits the action of the House of Representatives on this important matter.

REMARKS OF FOREIGN MINISTER OF REPUBLIC OF GUINEA AT LUNCHEON IN HIS HONOR

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include an address by the foreign minister of the Republic of Guinea.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today it was my privilege and pleasure, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to host a luncheon in honor of His Excellency Louis-Lansana Beavogui, Foreign Minister of Guinea. Among the many distinguished guests were Chairman THOMAS E. MORGAN, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congresswoman FRANCES P. BOLTON, ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the Honorable Joseph Palmer II, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The remarks of Minister Beavogui at the conclusion of the luncheon made a profound impression on all present and are worth the reading by all my colleagues in the House, especially by those interested in the continuing development of cordial and understanding relations with the new nations of Africa. Minister Beavogui's remarks follow:

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chairman, Members of the House of Representatives, and dear friends, for me, as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea, and for my friends, Ambassador Bangoura Karim and Mr. Bangoura Mohamed Kassory, Director General of Cooperation, it is a signal honor to be your guests today here in the House of Representatives, which is one of the high places symbolizing what is dearest to our peoples: freedom and democracy.

Mr. Chairman, in the name of President Ahmed Sékou Touré and the people of Guinea, I salute you, the friend of Guinea and of Africa. Your interest in the African Continent is not something new. At the close of the first Conference of the Organization of African Unity, following the signing of the Charter of Unity at Addis Ababa, we proudly noted your remarks, the favorable tenor of which was most encouraging to our Continent. Eloquently, and with objective sincerity, you characterized the new born African Charter as follows: "Strength through unity and maturity expressed in mutual understanding." And you added at once that you considered that document as "one of the most important in History." On this vital point, history will patiently but surely bear your prophecies out. For today, in spite of obstacles and difficulties of every kind, unity in Africa is making its way, each day bringing peoples and States only recently divided by colonial systems a little closer together.

The Republic of Guinea, which was the first Territory of the French Colonial Empire in West Africa to accede to total independence, as the United States was the first country in the British Colonial Empire to seize its independence and freedom, is proud to be building its future in cooperation with your great country.

The basic aim of the domestic and foreign policy of Guinea has been, and continues to be, to establish:

1. A nation composed of the ethnic groups which, all during the colonial period had nothing in common but their condition of having no sovereignty of any kind, and, in order to face their future, nothing but the struggle which they had carried on in order to throw off the yoke of colonialism.

2. The political, economic, and cultural independence of the country, accompanied with cooperation with all the States that recognize Guinean sovereignty and that accept such cooperation, on a basis of equality, in every field.

What makes the Guinean régime distinct from many other régimes set up in Africa, in fact, is the primacy which it accords to the laying of solid national foundations, something which colonial rule has never fostered, nor even allowed. The progress achieved is encouraging; for tribalism, regionalism, and religious conflict no longer exist in Guinea. Even though a few individuals may continue to be influenced by considerations relating to tribalism or regionalism, no organized conflicts, no collective movements are any longer manifest in Guinean political life. The independence which we seek to strengthen is bound up with the stability of the political, economic, and social structures of the nation. Independence is for the people, not against the people. That is why all initiative is left to our people, and why the determination of national policy rests upon their will.

The democratic character of our regime has nothing to do with the demands of any ideology other than that which would have our people feel confidence in their own Government, and consider themselves the sole architects of their welfare. This means that all foreign aid, whatever its volume, is recognized as useful, of course; but as a supplement to the means which our people intend to use in order to ensure their rapid development. And this policy is none other than a policy of complete responsibility for all the needs of our future. It can be said that Guinea has one or another characteristic in common with one or another country in one of the world blocs. But it can never be said that Guinea is aligned with any other country, or espouses the political, economic, or cultural concepts of any other country. Our structures are original because our people are always consulted on their form and operation. And since the influence of outside ideologies affects only a minority, the usual effect of the democratic character of the régime, which brings the vast majority of the people into the planning and discussion of policy and into all decisions affecting the Nation, has been that in such decisions the special characteristics of the majority of the people are taken more into account.

In our foreign policy, we have chosen nonalignment, and we truly desire to remain non-aligned. If Africa remains truly independent and non-aligned, we think that it may make a more positive contribution to the establishment of a lasting peace and fruitful cooperation between all parts of the world, without regard to political and philosophical ideology. That is our profound conviction, reflected in our international activity. It seems to be a fair policy; but it is not always properly understood, and the effects of it are not always favorable to us.

We have never refused partnership with private capital in our economic development. We consider such partnership possible, and even desirable; for it may enable us to have at our disposal the industrial and financial means to increase national production in every sector. In this vitally important field, I shall cite three examples:

1. The FRIA Alumina complex, eighth largest in the world in production (520,000 metric tons per year), is a completely private business, which has been operating satisfactorily since its completion in 1960. Negotiations are now in progress to expand the installations and increase production to 720,000 metric tons per year. A private American company, Olin Mathieson, holds 48.5 per cent of the shares, or a majority.

2. The BOKE Bauxite mining project, whose production will total 5,000,000 metric tons per year by 1970, is an almost exclusive partnership between the Government of Guinea and the large American companies, Alcan, Alcoa, and Harvey. Our friend Keith Linden, Vice President of Harvey Aluminum, who is here, may bear witness to the extent to which our relations with him, with his Company, and with the other American partners, are trustful and fruitful.

3. Mack motor vehicle assembly plant: Guinea is also associated with Mack, one of the largest American automotive vehicle companies. Its plants at Conakry are now operating in the best conditions, assembling trucks, doing repair work, and training Guinean personnel.

We should like to thank all of you here, in the name of President Ahmed Sékou Touré and the people of Guinea, for the continuing and sympathetic support which you have lent to the completion of these projects, the success of which will arouse considerable interest throughout Africa in the opportunities for fruitful cooperation between our young Nations and large private American companies.

The facts which I have just set forth bear witness to the cooperative, fruitful nature of our bilateral relations with the United States Government in the course of the last five years and to the mutual respect for the sovereignty and independence of each State in the conduct of those relations.

Whatever lack of understanding, misunderstandings, and incidents may arise between our two countries, they are, in the end, always brought to a happy issue by means of open, frank, and thorough discussions.

The support which you here have already lent to the Republic of Guinea, and will, I am sure, continue to lend, indisputably remains the best guarantee of the vitality of these relationships.

In the name of Guinea, I wish to thank, first of all, you personally, Mr. Chairman, and then, the honorable members of your Committee, the House of Representatives, and the Congress of the United States.

ADOPTION OF AFRICAN CONSTITUTION AN EVENT IN HISTORY

Mr. Speaker, as His Excellency Louis-Lansana Beavogui, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Guinea, graciously has referred to my remarks at the close of the first conference of the Organization of African Unity, I am further extending my remarks to include my address on May 29, 1963, speaking under a special order, with the able and distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. HANSEN] presiding, as reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date:

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Madam Speaker, what recently happened in Africa was an event in history. I am confident that when time has brought a proper evaluation of the world-reshaping movements and decisions of the period in which we live, the conference at Addis Ababa will hold a high place in historical significance. It well may mark the emergence of the continent of Africa as a world power, somewhat to be compared to the Articles of Confederation that loosely bound our States together during the Revolutionary War and the critical period which led to the adoption of the Constitution that perfected our Union.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, and speaking, I am sure, for all its members, I warmly congratulate the participants in this historic conference, commend them for their dedication to their task and their statesmanlike restraint in avoiding temporary matters of controversial differences while mapping the blueprint of the common interests and endeavors of all the peoples and nations of the mighty continent of Africa.

In the Charter of African Unity, signed by the leaders of Africa during the early morning hours of May 26 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Africa has given today's world a glimpse of tomorrow's Africa.

In this charter the nations of Africa have established an Organization of African Unity.

By this charter they have laid the cornerstone for a strong, free, democratic and unified continent composed of nations that have pledged to respect the rights of one another, while accepting their responsibility to one another and toward other nations.

The signing of the Charter of African Unity brought to a close one of the most important meetings ever assembled in modern times. After several years of hard preparation by themselves and their officials at bilateral, multilateral, and regional meetings, an Emperor, a Crown Prince, 19 Presidents, 6 Premiers, and 3 Foreign Ministers—the leaders of 30 African States containing nearly a quarter of a billion people—gathered together in Addis Ababa.

At this conference, Africa's leaders succeeded in reconciling the views of the bold and the timid to arrive at a common ground for mutual cooperation and lay the foundation for a democratic, progressive and unified Africa by establishing the Organization of African unity.

The leaders of Africa have said this is but the first step toward a unified Africa. But, it it is a giant step—one deserving our applause, support and understanding.

AFRICA'S POLITICAL MATURITY

In creating the Organization of African Unity, Africa's leaders have demonstrated a political maturity of the highest order. It is an answer most convincing to those who tend to regard the nations of Africa as less politically mature, less possessed of the experience necessary to effective international cooperation than the more sophisticated developed countries who too seek political, economic and social progress through one form of unity or another.

Those who gathered at Addis Ababa were able to set aside the dramatic rhetoric which creates headlines, but often little else, to reject the use of the conference as a platform from which to advance special interests in favor of addressing themselves to the needs and interests of all of the peoples of Africa. They have declined to place emphasis on oratory as an instrument to influence other peoples of the world and instead demonstrated an understanding of the problems of others.

They have pledged their allegiance to certain basic principles but publicly acknowledged their own failure always to live up to these principles. They have rededicated themselves to helping in the achievement of independence for all who would be independent, but have recognized that independence is no end in itself; that without economic and social development there can be no lasting political independence and that this independence will only be achieved through joint action and mutual cooperation of a kind that accepts a self-responsibility for its achievement.

All of this is reflected in the charter signed at Addis Ababa. This document is significant because it embodies the desires and the efforts of Africans to meet Africa's needs and aspirations. It is an example of truly independent action, formulated independently of the influence of this Nation—or any non-African nation—and subscribed to without promise of aid or assistance except that which the signers have pledged toward their common cause. It reflects Africa's determination to rally its own resources behind its own efforts.

CHARTER THE CREATION OF MANY MINDS

The Charter of African Unity is the joint creation of many African leaders of fine ability. It is not the creation of any one person. It represents the meeting of the minds of the able statesmen of many African nations, as our own Articles of Confederation and our own Constitution represented the thinking, not of one or two, but of the many.

The participants in the Conference joined in giving special notice to Emperor Haile Selassie in his role as host of the African Summit Conference.

His approach to African unity, his refusal to accept the preconference recommendation of the Foreign Ministers of the participating states that the drafting of the charter be postponed until a later date, and his successful insistence from the day of the Conference's commencement that the chiefs-of-state not leave his capitol until the document be approved, has been hailed by African and non-African alike.

Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to the United States in October is looked forward to as affording an opportunity for the American people to become more familiar with the blueprint for African unity, the blueprint for tomorrow's Africa, that was drawn at the Conference hosted by the Emperor. He is the head of the most independent nation in Africa, indeed the oldest government in the world. He was our stout ally in World War II.

Madam Speaker, I have said many times that as Africa goes so will go the world. What happened at Addis Ababa strengthened that faith. I regret that while the American press gave liberal coverage to the conference, and printed brief summaries of the African Charter, space did not permit the printing of the charter in full. I regard the All-African Charter of Unity of such importance as a statement of the common objectives of the African nations and the methods agreed upon for the advancement of the interest of an entire continent that I am extending my remarks to include the complete text.*

TELEVISION SERIES ON WORKINGS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House the fact that a committee called Operation Government is now hard at work developing an extensive television series on the workings of the Federal Government.

This committee is composed of wives of Members of the House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate, the Supreme Court, and the Cabinet. I am pleased to point out that my wife has joined Mrs. Charles A. Vanik, wife of the distinguished Member from Cleveland, Ohio, as cochairman of this active committee.

The members of this group are as follows:

Cochairmen: Mrs. Gerald R. Ford, Michigan; Mrs. Charles A. Vanik, Ohio.

Members: Mrs. Carl Albert, Oklahoma; Mrs. William H. Ayres, Ohio; Mrs. Jonathan Bingham, New York; Mrs. Hugo Black; Mrs. Hale Boggs, Louisiana; Mrs. John W. Byrnes, Wisconsin; Mrs. Edmond Campbell, WETA–TV; Mrs. Frank Church, Idaho; Mrs. Everett Dirksen, Illinois; Mrs. Peter Dominick, Colorado; Hon. EDITH GREEN, Oregon; Mrs. Fred R. Harris, Oklahoma; Mrs. Chet Holifield, California; Mrs. Warren G. Magnuson, Washington; Hon. CATHERINE MAY, Washington; Mrs. Thomas J. McIntyre, New Hampshire; Mrs. Winston Prouty, Vermont; Mrs. Ogden Reid, New York; Mrs. Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; Mrs. John J. Rhodes, Arizona; Mrs. Stewart L. Udall.

Executive director: Mark E. Talisman.

Producer: Michael Sklar, group W, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.

Consultants: Dr. D. B. Hardeman, Trinity College; Dr. Hugh LeBlanc, George Washington University; Dr. Howard Pennyman, Georgetown University; Dr. William Prendergast, Republican conference committee; Mr. Nick Zappel, U.S. Senate Commerce Committee.

The intention of this committee is indeed laudable. As set forth at the press conference announcing this program on October 11, 1966, it was announced that this series of half-hour television programs on the three branches of the Federal Government will be produced in cooperation with group W—Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.—and will be available to television stations throughout the country as well as educational channels for schoolroom use. In addition, 16-millimeter version of this film for those areas not now covered by educational television programing will be available.

This program is fully bipartisan in nature and will attempt to portray honestly and forthrightly all aspects of the legislative, executive, and judicial processes which, when combined, form our Federal Government.

It is my hope that Members on both sides of the aisle of this body will see fit to cooperate in every way possible to assure a fair representation of the work of the House of Representatives. There will undoubtedly be an opportunity in the near future to meet the production staff in charge of this program of Operation Government.

There is nothing that can substitute for an accurate portrayal of the complex nature of our Federal Government and its three branches. I wish to commend the hard-working ladies of the Operation Government Committee, as well as its staff. The work of Operation Government should receive our hearty support and encouragement.

TARAS SHEVCHENKO: UKRAINIAN POET LAUREATE

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Friday, March 10, is the anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian poet laureate.

Shevchenko still serves as the great driving spirit of Ukrainian nationalism against the insidious Communist control of the Ukrainian nation, even though he died 106 years ago.

Dramatic evidence of the effective impact of Taras Shevchenko's leadership in the free world is his statue, which was dedicated here in Washington 2 years ago.

Today the Ukraine is the largest non-Russian nation within the Soviet Empire. Despite cruel repressions, the Ukrainian people continue in their search for freedom. Taras Shevchenko, the greatest of all Ukrainian poets, fought all his life, not only for the freedom of Ukraine, but also for the freedom and individual dignity of all human beings.

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*Complete text of the charter will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 109, pt. 8, pp. 9852–9853.

Although this occasion can be observed only clandestinely in the Ukraine, Americans of Ukrainian descent are celebrating this anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and solemn pledges to continue their work to further the ideals of human freedom and the freedom of Ukraine of which Taras Shevchenko sang with such lyric beauty in his poetry.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my friends of Urkrainian background in honoring this great poet and in praying that freedom for all peoples will come as Taras Shevchenko so fervently hoped.

EXCLUDING REIMBURSED MOVING EXPENSES FROM TAXABLE INCOME

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Widnall] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to clarify the status of certain reimbursements for moving expenses made by an employer to his employee. It applies only to taxpayers who have been employed by the same employer for the previous 12 months. The moving expenses must be incurred as the result of a transfer by the employer of the employee to a new principal place of work that is at least 20 miles from his former residence.

That ours is a mobile population is amply demonstrated statistically. It has also been recognized by the Congress. In 1964, the Congress passed tax legislation making several categories of moving expenses tax deductible. Last year, the Congress amended the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 to provide reimbursement of a number of moving and storage expenses of Federal employees when transferred from one official station to another. While such reimbursement was not made nontaxable, because of questions of committee jurisdiction, the intent of Congress spelled out, for example, in the Senate Government Operations Committee report, was clearly expressed that this should not be subject to tax.

If this is true for Government reimbursement to its own employees, it is impossible to use a different standard for private employees. My bill would clarify congressional intent in both cases. It would remove tax liability for the following reimbursed expenses:

First. Expenses of moving household goods and personal effects, including storage costs, from the former residence to the new residence;

Second. Traveling expenses, including meals and lodging, from the former residence to the new residence;

Third. Traveling expenses of the taxpayer, his spouse or both in searching for a new residence;

Fourth. Meals and lodging costs for the taxpayer and his household for up to 30 days at the new place of residence while occupying temporary quarters;

Fifth. Expenses incident to the sale or exchange of the taxpayer's former residence or to the settlement of an unexpired lease;

Sixth. Expenses incident to the purchase of a new residence; and

Seventh. Miscellaneous expenses attributable to the transfer up to $1,000 for families; and $500 for single taxpayers, or two times the average weekly wages of the taxpayer, whichever is the lower.

Taxing the employee on any reimbursements for the legitimate expenses of transfer required by his employer is clearly inequitable. It has been estimated that 38 percent of all migrants could fall into this classification, which is an indication of the seriousness of the problem. Within my own congressional district, as of 1960, 43 percent of the population has changed residences in the previous 5 years with over 65,000 residents coming from out of State. This situation can be multiplied many times over around the country.

The bill I have introduced today has drawn bipartisan support both in this Congress and in past Congresses. Tax liability on this type of reimbursement serves as a barrier to the type of labor mobility necessary for a thriving national economy. There is no adequate reason why Congress should not and could not enact legislation to correct this inequity in this session.

CREDIT EXTENSION BY FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Widnall] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today legislation to provide the Federal Reserve banks with the authority to extend credit to member banks and others on any satisfactory security. The bill would eliminate the penalty rates which Federal Reserve banks must now levy on member bank borrowings secured by collateral other than Government securities or so-called eligible paper.

The present definition of "eligible paper" as short-term, self-liquidating paper bears little relationship to the type of loans which commercial banks now extend. Since 1935 the Reserve banks have had permanent authority to make advances on any security satisfactory to the Reserve banks, but at a penalty rate of interest, one-half of 1 percent above the regular discount rate.

My bill would eliminate both the penalty rate and the necessity for cumbersome administrative procedures for deciding between eligible and ineligible paper. It would greatly increase the ability of the Federal Reserve banks to perform one of their principal responsibilities, the provision of appropriate credit assistance to member banks.

I introduced similar legislation on January 4, 1965, during the 89th Congress. As S. 1559, the bill was affirmatively voted out of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on August 5, 1965, and passed by the Senate on August 6, 1965. The bill's origins date from August of 1963 when the changes were recommended by the Federal Reserve. I regret to say that no action has ever been taken on this meaningful reform in the laws pertaining to the Federal Reserve System by the House Banking and Currency Committee.

In the other body, Senator William Proxmire, of Wisconsin, has reintroduced the measure this year as S. 966. I would hope that this proposal, which would assist the Federal Reserve System and the banking community in their continued performance in the public interest, would receive the attention it deserves this session in both houses of Congress.

I include, as part of my remarks, a section-by-section analysis of the proposed legislation:

In general, the first section of this bill would confer upon the Federal Reserve banks broad authority to make advances on any satisfactory security and the remaining sections of the bill are largely of a conforming nature.

Section 1: A new section 13A would be inserted in the Federal Reserve Act. It would authorize any Federal Reserve bank to make advances to any of its member banks on the note of the member bank secured to the satisfaction of the Reserve bank, subject to such limitations, restrictions, and regulations as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System may prescribe. In making such advances, the Reserve bank would be required to give due regard to the "maintenance of sound credit conditions and the accommodation of commerce, industry, and agriculture" and to keep itself informed as to the character and amount of the loans and investments of its member banks, with a view to determining whether undue or inappropriate use is being made of bank credit for speculative purposes or for purposes inconsistent with the maintenance of sound credit conditions. These requirements are substantially the same as those now prescribed by the eighth paragraph of section 4 of the Federal Reserve Act.

In addition to advances to member banks, the Reserve banks would be authorized to make advances to individuals, partnerships, and corporations on the security of obligations of the United States, an authority similar to that now contained in the last paragraph of section 13 of the Federal Reserve Act, although the new authority, like that with respect to advances to member banks, would not specify any maturity limitation. As under present law, the authority to make advances to corporations would cover advances to nonmember banks.

Section 2: Because they would be superseded or rendered obsolete by the authority conferred by the new section 13A, the provisions of the Federal Reserve Act hereafter described would be repealed.

Section 10(a) of the act (12 U.S.C. 347a), enacted in 1932, authorizes advances to groups of five or more member banks. This authority has never been utilized and would be unnecessary in the light of the new authority.

Section 10(b) (12 U.S.C. 347b), containing authority for advances to member banks on any satisfactory security but at a one-half-of-1-percent penalty interest rate, would likewise be rendered unnecessary by the new legislation.

Section 11(b) of the act (12 U.S.C. 248 (b)), authorizing the Board of Governors to permit or require a Federal Reserve bank to rediscount the discounted paper of other Reserve banks, has not been used since 1933 and is of no practical importance today.

The 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, and 13th paragraphs of section 13 of the act (12 U.S.C. 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 361, and 347c, respectively) contain the basic provisions of present law regarding discounts and advances by the Federal Reserve banks. These provisions limit eligible paper to paper "issued or drawn for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes, or the proceeds of which have been used, or are to be used, for such purposes"; provide emergency authority (never used) for the discounting of eligible paper for individuals, partnerships, and corporations; authorize the discounting of sight drafts in certain limited circumstances; authorize the discounting of bankers' acceptances and "dollar exchange" acceptances of the kinds described in paragraphs 7 and 12 of section 13; limit the amount of paper of one obligor that may be discounted for a member bank; authorize advances (as distinguished from discounts) to member banks secured by Government obligations or eligible paper, provide for the regulation of discounts by the Board; authorize advances to individuals, partnerships, and corporations on the security of Government obligations; authorize the discounting of agricultural paper, paper held by Federal intermediate credit banks, and paper of cooperative marketing associations; and provide that certain types of real estate loans by national banks shall be regarded as commercial paper for discount purposes. All of these provisions would either be superseded or covered by the new section 13A added by section 1 of the present bill.

Section 3: The eighth paragraph of section 4 of the act (12 U.S.C. 301) presently requires each Federal Reserve bank to consider the maintenance of sound credit conditions and the accommodation of commerce, industry, and agriculture in extending credit to member banks, and to keep itself informed regarding undue uses of bank credit for speculative purposes; and the Board of Governors is authorized to suspend any member bank from access to Federal Reserve credit for any such undue use of bank credit. These provisions would be retained in substance in the new section 13A. Accordingly, the similar provisions of section 4 would be repealed, so that the eighth paragraph of that section would provide only—as it does now—that the board of directors of each Federal Reserve bank shall administer its affairs "fairly and impartially and without discrimination in favor of or against any member bank or banks."

Section 4: The 13th paragraph of section 9 of the act (12 U.S.C. 330) would be amended to repeal the proviso limiting the amount of paper of one obligor that may be discounted for any member bank. This limitation, like the similar limitation in section 9 of the act, appears unnecessary in view of the fact that most State laws limit the amount of loans that may be made to one borrower by State banks, in terms similar to those applicable to national banks under section 5200 of the Revised Statutes.

Section 5: The last sentence of section 11(c) of the act (12 U.S.C. 248(c)), regarding the addition to the discount rate of any tax paid by the Reserve banks on deficiencies in their reserves against Federal Reserve notes, would be modified to refer to the interest rate charged on advances under the new section 13A.

Section 6: The language of the last sentence of section 11(m) of the act (12 U.S.C. 248(m)), regarding suspension of rediscount privileges for certain increases in loans secured by stock or bond collateral, would be conformed to refer to suspension of use of the credit facilities of the Federal Reserve banks.

Section 7: The provision of section 12 of the act (12 U.S.C. 262), authorizing the Federal Advisory Council to make recommendations in regard to discount rates and rediscount business, would be changed to refer to advances under the new section 13A and interest rates on such advances.

Section 8: The first paragraph of section 14 of the act (12 U.S.C. 353) would be amended to eliminate a reference to paper eligible for rediscount and, at the same time, to omit a reference to regulation of Federal Reserve bank open market operations by the Board of Governors, a function that has been subject to regulation since 1935 by the Federal Open Market Committee.

Section 9: A conforming change would be made in section 14(c) of the act (12 U.S.C. 356) to eliminate a reference to paper arising out of commercial transactions, as hereinbefore defined.

Section 10: Section 14(d) of the act (12 U.S.C. 357), relating to the fixing of discount rates, would be amended to refer to interest rates under the new section 13A. At the same time, this provision would be broadened to authorize the fixing of different rates, not only for different classes of paper, but also according to such other basis or bases as may be deemed necessary to accomplish the purposes of this provision. The amended provision would also include separate authority as to rates on advances to individuals, partnerships, and corporations under subsection (c) of the new section 13A.

Section 11: The provision of section 16 of the act (12 U.S.C. 412) authorizing the use of paper acquired under section 13 as security for Federal Reserve notes would be modified to refer to notes of member banks or others acquired under the provisions of [the new] section 13A of this act.

Section 12: The provision of section 19 of the act (12 U.S.C. 463), prohibiting member banks from acting as agents for nonmember banks in obtaining Federal Reserve discounts, without the Board's permission, would be conformed to refer to advances instead of discounts.

Section 13: A provision of section 23A of the act, relating to security for loans to affiliates of member banks, would be conformed to eliminate a reference to drafts eligible for rediscount.

Section 14: A provision of the act of July 21, 1932 (12 U.S.C. 1148), authorizing agricultural credit corporations to rediscount eligible paper with the Federal Reserve banks, would be repealed.

FHA INSURANCE OF VACATION HOMES

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RUPPE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to authorize FHA insurance of vacation homes. My bill, identical to one introduced in the other body by the Honorable PHILIP HART, of Michigan, will do much to achieve the continued economic revitalization so necessary to areas like northern Michigan.

The tourist and vacation industry is a key that will unlock new doorways to prosperity in areas like northern Michigan. The Federal government is already doing a great deal to provide direct and indirect assistance. Michigan's Gov. George Romney has instituted a vigorous program. We must constantly seek new and more ingenious ways of bolstering this vital industry. Extending insurance of mortgages to vacation homes is just such a program.

Many of our rural areas lack the tax base that is necessary to healthy and coordinated growth. In areas like the 11th Congressional District of Michigan, which I represent, this is complicated by the fact that the Park Service and Forest Service have taken large tracts of land off the tax rolls. The Park Service and Forest Service programs are, for the most part, excellent, and in themselves will greatly increase tourism. Nevertheless, at least a short-range problem is created for many jurisdictions in nonurban areas. The increase in the tax base created by vacation homes would certainly be substantial.

The purchaser of a vacation home is a good risk. He is generally a responsible family man, and I understand financial institutions dealing in the vacation home field rarely have collection problems. Furthermore, the great percentage of these homes are in the $10,000 to $15,000 range.

From every point of view this is desirable legislation. It encourages recreation for families generally confined to cities most of the year. It bolsters the economy of areas presently in need of economic development by attracting new people on a semipermanent basis, increasing the tax base, providing new jobs for local labor forces, and opening new markets.

The second home market is booming all over America. It is time for Congress to recognize this fact, and extend FHA insurance for seasonal homes. The bill I have introduced today, amending section 203 of the National Housing Act, accomplishes this purpose.

VERMONT VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. STAFFORD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is with much pride that I place in the RECORD a speech of Donald C. Chaffin, of Bennington, Vt., which was adjudged the winning speech in the Vermont Voice of Democracy contest conducted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies' auxiliary:

(By Donald C. Chaffin)

Few Americans would define Democracy as the absolute freedom to do what one wants, be it right or wrong. Most Americans understand that even though Democracy does offer them many opportunities to do what they want, it does so only insofar as what they want is right.

The word "Right" plays a very important, historical role in our Democracy. In fact, one of the Basic Documents on which our Democracy rests has been called "The Bill of Rights."

We say a thing is "Right" when it is as it should be. For instance, in a Democracy such as ours the citizens are guaranteed the exercise of certain rights so that they can—as it should be—promote personal growth and maintain personal freedom while, at the same time, they are contributing to the Common good of all.

Very few citizens have to be prodded into promoting and defending their own rights. Very many, however, are remiss in promoting and defending the rights of the other citizens, especially when they feel that the deprivation of the rights of others has no direct bearing on their own. Unfortunately, they are only too willing to let some citizens suffer a wrong, while they themselves enjoy the opposite right.

But to prevent or correct injustices—which is nothing more than the absence of rights that should be present—is as necessary to the development of a True Democracy as the freedom to exercise one's own rights. For in truth, the exercise of one's own rights and the correction of injustices inflicted on others go hand in hand. A Democracy such as ours, which purports to be the citadel of each man's basic rights, cannot long exist if its citizens promote justice in one area and allow injustice in another.

Americans who do not prevent or correct injustices because they are afraid to become involved, or because they are unwilling to do the work necessary to conserve and promote Democratic principles, are not living up to their serious obligations. In fact they are undermining, to a greater or lesser degree, the very foundation of our Democracy, which guarantees equal rights for all its citizens.

It would be unfair of me to criticize Adult Americans without, at the same time, criticizing students. For Adult Americans were once students, and much of what they learned—or didn't learn—about Democracy, much of what they do now—or don't do—to promote rights or to correct injustices—has its roots in their student days.

Consequently, I think it is imperative for students to know Democracy and put its principles into action while they are still students, because student Days are the days in which to establish strong roots for future growth.

Students must come to know our Democracy—from its foundations through its evolutionary growth. They must understand the rights guaranteed under our Democratic form of Government, and they must be made aware of the fact that some of the rights guaranteed have been, in fact, lacking to some of its citizens.

Once having understood this, students must examine their own house. They must see that Democratic Principles are brought to bear upon their own society, for they will promote rights and correct injustices as Adults to the degree they do the same as students.

Two things I do personally to promote Democratic principles within our school system are:

(1) I vote for those student Government candidates who honestly seek to correct injustices or inequalities present within the School Politic or for those who pledge to promote the well-being of all the students, and not just the few; and

(2) I encourage, allow and participate in free discussions of all ideas, whether it be in the Public Forum of School Government, or in the private sector.

In conclusion—Democracy means to me the enjoyment of my own personal rights and the opportunity to promote and defend the rights of another, for in promoting his I guarantee my own.

INDIA SHOULD TRY HARDER

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. BURKE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Joint Resolution 267, the resolution now before the House concerning continued food aid to India.

In the consideration of such a serious matter as the shipment of food to hungry people, I do not think it amiss to point out that India, to whom it is proposed we send emergency food assistance, should try harder. No one begrudges India food when natural disasters overtake the crops, or when the most efficient use of the soil still fails to produce enough food for her teeming millions. But we do have the right to object, I think, if India does not make the best use of her agricultural resources, and comes to expect, as a matter of course, that America will make up the gap. It is India's responsibility to do her absolute best to feed her people.

The resolution before us, House Joint Resolution 267, approves the participation of this country with other nations and with multilateral organizations in efforts designed to develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger, based on a fair sharing of the burdens among the nations of the world. How this is to be accomplished is not spelled out. In his war-on-hunger message, the President indicated that food and food-related assistance to India should be administered through the 11-member consortium already operating under World Bank leadership for the joint provision of economic aid to that country. The resolution would be strengthened, it seems to me, if it conditioned our assistance on the performance of certain tasks by the Indian Consortium, such as regularly reviewing India's self-help efforts, conditions which appear in the President's message. I greatly fear that unless Congress makes it crystal clear just what this country can do and is willing to do, the entire burden of short and long range food assistance to India will fall upon us.

In its report on this resolution, the Agriculture Committee, of which I am a member, pointed out that the resolution does not amend existing law. It is not meant to restrict the authority of the President to take such action as he sees fit at a later time. The resolution, in short, is a "sense of Congress" resolution. It constitutes an expression of Legislative support for a policy that the Executive could adopt without such support. I appreciate the fact that congressional approval is being sought. By the same token, however, I believe that since Congress is not making law by means of this resolution, it ought at least to record its belief, in clear cut fashion, that India must take certain specific steps to help herself if she is to merit this Nation's confidence, and that this country will participate in any multilateral assistance program for Indian food relief only as long as other members meet their commitments.

Among the specific steps which India might take to relieve her seemingly chronic food shortage is to give a higher priority to agriculture in her development planning. During her first development plans India was lucky. Her harvests were good. The result was to continue planning in terms of large industrial expansion, without paying sufficient attention to the agricultural base. India is now paying a price for that shortsightedness, but it is not a price that should continue. This much of the remedy, at least, is in Indian hands. Furthermore, India could plant food crops on land presently devoted to cotton, which is a world surplus crop. This country has a right to expect that India is meeting the requirements of Public Law 480 as amended, in this regard, before it continues to make wheat available out of its own shrinking supplies.

India is making efforts at population control. This is commendable, for unless the Indian population can be kept within some limits, all the assistance in the world will be for naught. Unfortunately, reports on the success of India's family planning program are mixed. Admittedly, this is a tremendous problem, but additional effort is necessary if food aid for India we are called upon to support is to be of any value, now or in the future.

In its report, the Agriculture Committee also pointed out that both the present resolution and existing legislation make it possible for grain shipments for India to be in the form of products, and it recommends that the Secretary of Agriculture use his authority under Public Law 480 to make a reasonable amount of assistance available in product form. I join in that recommendation, and again, I wish it had been included in the resolution. Either that, or let the rupees spent in India for this aid be used instead to help American exports and the balance of payments.

In short, let us seize this moment to review our foreign aid programs. I know this has been done many times before, and I am not suggesting an overall policy review. What I am suggesting is that this country make a searching examination of the extent to which self-help programs have taken hold, not only in India, but throughout the underdeveloped world. Otherwise aid becomes a treadmill. I fear that unless the so-called third world realizes that there is a limit to Uncle Sam's bounty it will not put its house in order. It is because I believe this, and because I believe that India, as a leader of the third world, has not set the example it could and should, that I cannot vote for this resolution.

ARROGATION OF POWER BY SUPREME COURT

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, of late a growing number of Members of Congress are becoming more resentful of the attitude and philosophy of the Supreme Court.

Recent decisions reflect the Court's propensity to arrogate—with summary disdain for either public good or public preference—power delegated to the legislative branch of Government. The more notorious rulings include those involving Communist teachers in public schools, prayer in school, reapportionment, and persons suspected or convicted of crime.

If ever an example of the Supreme Court's encroachment were needed, the reapportionment rulings provided all the evidence necessary to prove that action is necessary to get our system of checks and balances back on even keel. Here the Court went clearly beyond constitutional limitations by assuming an unprecedented political position in Baker against Carr, then proceeding to ignore even county lines in Reynolds against Sims.

Mr. Speaker, when one branch of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people insists upon following a course that is repugnant and intolerable to most of the people, it becomes the responsibility of those elected by the people to reappraise and to readjust.

Today I am introducing a bill to provide for a constitutional amendment to permit Congress, by a two-thirds vote of each house, to override a decision of the Supreme Court. I was author of similar legislation in the 88th Congress, but I believe that the need for it is now more obvious and more urgent. Instead of attempting to rescind decisions through constitutional amendments in installments, Congress should enact my bill as soon as possible in order to supply prompt and precise remedy for both odious and overbearing Court actions.

NATIONAL SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL WEEK

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on February 7 I introduced House Joint Resolution 269 to designate the second week in May "National School Safety Patrol Week."

Residents of Washington are well aware of this annual event, for more than 20,000 boys and girls converge upon the city at this time of year for the honors so richly earned in their capacity as patrol leaders. I am happy to report that 800 to 900 boys and girls from the Cambria County area, sponsored by the AAA Club of Johnstown, will be here to participate in the parade and other functions.

The national school safety patrol parade is always a most impressive episode in this exciting week, and the heartbeat of every spectator is further quickened at the presentation of Gold Lifesaver Medals to those alert and courageous youngsters considered directly responsible for saving the lives of fellow students.

Each of the 900,000 patrol members who serves faithfully in protecting America's school populace from injury merits the appreciation of a grateful nation. Moreover, the young boy or girl who recognizes this responsibility and carries out the appointed duties of the safety patrol will be a better citizen for it. At the same time the familiar badge and belt are a symbol of authority which tend to impress upon all students—and adult passersby alike—the need for respecting the laws that safeguard our society.

Traffic fatality statistics are a testimony to the success of the safety patrol program. It began to take form in 1916, and in the past 45 years the traffic death rate of schoolchildren has been cut almost in half while the traffic death rate of other age groups has doubled.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate members of the patrol and all who cooperate actively in this vital program—including school authorities, police officials, and local motor clubs affiliated with the American Automobile Association.

LAWS TO AID SENIOR CITIZENS NEEDED TO COMBAT GROWING INFLATION — SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS MUST BE INCREASED

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, because of the large numbers of retirees in my district, I have had the opportunity to witness firsthand the many problems they face. The situation of the retiree in today's economy is very serious and in many respects promises to become even worse as the administration continues to pursue a policy of planned deficits which is resulting in a continuing debasement of the retirement dollar.

I have today introduced a series of bills which, if enacted into law, would help ease the heavy burden imposed on senior citizens as a result of the inflationary policies of the administration.

The first of my bills would amend title II of the Social Security Act and would first, provide benefits for certain disabled widows without regard to their age; second, increase the outside earnings permitted without loss of benefits from $1,500 annually to $2,400 annually; third, pay benefits to the surviving spouse despite marriage or remarriage if the blissful event occurs after the attainment of age 55; and, fourth, provide automatic social security increases with increases in the cost of living.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support an immediate, across-the-board increase in social security benefits. I have refrained from specifying any particular percentage increase believing that the members of the House Ways and Means Committee, who are presently considering this matter and who have all the facts before them from which to make this determination, will come up with a reasonable increase. I strongly urge, however, that the above enumerated bills be made a part of any legislation recommended by the Ways and Means Committee.

I believe it essential, for example, that the automatic increase provision be incorporated into this year's social security amendments. Inflation strikes far more rapidly than the Congress acts. To our older or disabled citizens living on a reduced and fixed income, inflation produces infinite hardships. It is impossible for many of our senior citizens to manage today's living costs on yesterday's fixed income. It is essential that Congress act to provide a means whereby increases in social security benefits keep pace with increases in the cost of living. An automatic increase provision is a reasonable means to attain this desired end and should be approved by the Ways and Means Committee.

In addition to my bills to aid social security recipients, I have introduced other bills which will be helpful to older Americans.

I have introduced a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act which also calls for an automatic benefits increase with increases in the cost of living. As with social security, I am in support of an immediate increase in Railroad Retirement benefits as well.

I have also introduced a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to restore the provisions permitting the deductions of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors. I have also filed a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide that annuities received under the Civil Service Retirement Act shall not be subject to the income tax.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is high time we stopped relegating the senior citizen to a second-class citizen role. We must recognize that many of our older workers are physically and mentally capable of engaging in gainful employment and, in many cases, need such an opportunity in order to participate in community life as happy, self-respecting citizens. With this in mind, I have introduced today a bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps so that maximum utilization of the talents and experience of our senior citizens can be made.

I have also introduced a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit discrimination in employment because of age. I believe that every individual who is mentally and physically capable of working and who desires to work should not be excluded from employment solely on the basis of age. It should be pointed out that this problem confronts not only the worker of 60 years of age or more. It hits also the middle-aged workers as well. I repeat: our objective should be to assure that all citizens have an opportunity to work if mentally and physically able to do so.

I have also introduced a bill aimed at benefitting civil service retirees in addition to the Internal Revenue Code amendment discussed above. This bill would eliminate the reduction in annuity presently experienced when the spouse predeceases the person make the election, thus permitting the survivor to receive a full annuity instead of a reduced annuity. The bill also provides that the retiree, in the alternative, may elect to designate a new spouse as survivor when such new spouse has attained age 60 and thereby permit a second spouse to become eligible for a survivor annuity.

The bill would also extend benefits under the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act to retirees entitled to receive a "deferred annuity"—that is to say, persons who leave government service prior to retirement age and who are eligible to draw their retirement, based on their years of government service, upon reaching age 62.

This bill would further provide for recomputation of annuities of retirees who retired prior to October 11, 1962. The purpose of this recomputation is to give those retired before 1962 the benefit of the more liberal computation formula instituted for those retiring after the 1962 date.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that enactment of these bills, would go a long ways toward assisting senior citizens in many walks of life. I urge their enactment into law.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER IN WASHINGTON

Mr. **SMITH** of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on February 27, President Johnson sent a remarkable message to the Congress calling for the establishment of an international center in the heart of Washington which would be, he said, "available for foreign chanceries and the offices of international organizations." He also said that he would "recommend legislation, which, consistent with the legitimate interests of the District citizens, would specify an area northwest of Washington Circle" to be used for these foreign governments and international organizations.

I say remarkable because additional details of this proposed international center are becoming available daily and it is becoming increasingly clear that the State Department and the administration has other plans in mind in addition to those stated by the President.

The Washington Post, in an editorial today on the international center, reveals some of the other proposals in the plan which the Members of the House must consider carefully. The editorial says:

> The planners and the State Department are looking not only to present demands but also to the indefinite future when much more space will be needed for international activities here. It would be highly desirable to have a specially designated center with hotels, restaurants, perhaps shops with many foreign specialties and office space for any country or international agency seeking it. Incidentally, such an International Center would also add greatly to the attractiveness of the city.

Just why the State Department and the planners think that the taxpayers of the Nation should help subsidize locations for new hotels and restaurants is something that should be explained. There are many fine hotels near the present international section of the Nation's Capital where the French Embassy, the Italian, Mexican, and Spanish Embassies, and scores of chanceries are located. This is highly questionable, particularly when the development scheme would displace scores of businesses providing jobs for thousands of breadwinners and heads of families and knock out millions of dollars in taxes paid by these businesses to the Federal and District of Columbia Governments.

The New York Times on March 8 reported on the State Department proposal as follows:

> The Administration proposal would authorize the General Services Administration, the Federal Government's housekeeping and purchasing agency, to buy most of the property in an area of aging residences north of Washington Circle at Pennsylvania and New Hampshire Avenues, N.W.
>
> With an expenditure of about $50 million, the G.S.A. would raze the area and, following procedures common in urban renewal development resell or lease the assembled parcels of acreage to foreign governments for use as chanceries and embassies.

There are several things that become clear from this New York Times article about President Johnson's proposal which he neglected to tell the Congress in his message of February 27. It is not "an area of aging residences," but one of the fastest developing commercial and residential areas in the Nation's Capital and one which is developing without 1 cent of Federal urban renewal funds. The land in the area is selling in the vicinity of $80 a foot.

It should be noted that there are 10 acres of vacant land in the Kalorama area, an historic Embassy-chancery area, which could be obtained for a figure of approximately $5 million. By comparison, to acquire the Washington Circle site something in excess of $100 million would be required for the land alone.

It is time that Members of both the Senate and the House took a harder look at the administration's plan for an international center and asked if this project is not a $100 million boondoggle and a get-rich-quick land-development scheme in which the administration is using foreign Governments and international organizations for the purpose of refurbishing its sagging image in the Nation's Capital. There are enough hidden costs in this project to keep it rolling for the next 20 years.

[From The Washington Post, Mar. 9, 1967]

INTERNATIONAL CENTER

The concept of an International Center is an important part of the National Capital Planning Commission's new "comprehensive plan" for Washington. President Johnson obviously had this plan in mind when he asked Congress recently to authorize the acquisition of about 42 acres between Washington Circle and Potomac Park for use by chanceries and international organizations. The site has been well chosen. It lies between the State Department and the cluster of chanceries and embassies near Massachusetts and Connecticut Avenues. It is also reasonably close to various international organization headquarters.

There are, of course, other attractive sites for embassies and chanceries, and no one should suppose that all of the 113 foreign governments represented in Washington will ever wish to be in an international center. The Government has an obligation to make suitable sites available to meet a wide variety of requirements. It is good policy to provide special inducements for international organizations to locate here.

The bill approved by the House District Committee authorizing the acquisition of two separate sites for chanceries, one at 16th Street and Florida Avenue and the other near the Zoo, does not alter the concept of an International Center. Both sites may well be used for chanceries if they meet the requirements of the countries concerned. The planners and the State Department are looking not only to present demands but also to the indefinite future when much more space will be needed for international activities here. It would be highly desirable to have a specially designated center with hotels, restaurants, perhaps shops with many foreign specialities and office space for any country or international agency seeking it. Incidentally, such an International Center would also add greatly to the attractiveness of the city.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 8, 1967]

HOUSE PANEL AND STATE DEPARTMENT CLASH ON EMBASSY ENCLAVE

(By Ben A. Franklin)

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Another round in the perennial debate over where to put Washington's large number of foreign diplomats began today. As usual, Congress and the State Department were on opposite sides, with residents of the District of Columbia in the middle.

At stake is a long-discussed plan to create a diplomatic enclave in Washington—a sort of ambassadorial industrial park—to relieve a critical shortage of office space for the staffs of foreign missions here.

The diplomatic office problem is compounded here by city zoning restrictions that severely limit the areas available for chanceries, or staff working quarters, as distinct from ambassadorial residences, which can be built anywhere.

Despite nearly three years of planning and consultation with diplomats and members of Congress on its proposal for a 42-acre downtown enclave, the State Department today found itself temporarily one-upped by the House Committee on the District of Columbia, which has distinctly different ideas.

The committee headed by Representative John L. McMillan, Democrat of South Carolina, reported favorably to the House today a plan that differed radically in concept, scope and size from the State Department plan. The State Department bill is not expected to reach the Capitol until tomorrow.

The committee bill runs against the wishes of President Johnson, who called, on Feb. 27, for passage of the State Department plan to relieve "an unnecessary irritant in our international relationships."

A State Department spokesman said that diplomats here would not accept the committee version, if passed.

The two sites offered by the committee were far removed from the downtown complex of Government and international agencies.

The Administration proposal would authorize the General Services Administration, the Federal Government's housekeeping and purchasing agency, to buy most of the property in an area of aging residences north of Washington Circle, at Pennsylvania and New Hampshire Avenues N.W.

With an expenditure of about $50-million, the G.S.A. would raze the area and, following procedures common in urban renewal development, resell or lease the assembled parcels of acreage to foreign governments for use as chanceries and embassies.

Existing structures that would harmonize with the proposed development, shops and residences and newer apartment buildings would be untouched under both plans. Both would also provide a special site at Federal expense for a new headquarters of the Organization of American States.

The O.A.S. now meets in crowded quarters in the old Pan American Union Building and is one of the chief supporters of the State Department's "international center" plan.

Under the department's proposal, the new O.A.S. building would go up in the block bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, 25th Street, M Street, and Rock Creek Park, eight short blocks from the State Department.

The District Committee plan calls for the acquisition of a total of about five acres in two parcels, separated by about half a mile, each about two miles from the State Department.

One site would be at the location of the so-called Henderson Castle at 16th Street and Florida Avenue N.W., an abandoned mansion built in 1888 by Senator John B. Henderson, Democrat of Missouri who helped draft the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery.

The other site would be between Calvert Street N.W. and the National Zoological Park, west of Adams Mill Road.

THE TIME IS RIPE

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has just been presented with a golden opportunity to prove his concern for the concept of constitutional government and his regard for the integrity of the highest judicial body in the land.

With the vacancy created by the pending resignation of Justice Clark the President has the chance to live up to the spirit of the amendment I have proposed requiring that Justices be selected from among the qualified jurists of the Nation rather from among political cronies.

Mr. Speaker, I grant you that there may be more political cronies around than jurists, but there are still a good many highly qualified men in the Nation who have proven their judicial qualifications as members of the Federal and State courts. This has always been true, but more often than not the President in choosing a Justice has made the selection on grounds other than experience with the law.

We have in our time seen Court packing to fill the bench with men of the President's political persuasion. The amendment I have proposed would require, in addition to judicial experience, that the balance between the political philosophies be made more even. Even with my amendment, we have no way of determining that the President will choose the most qualified man, but as the law stands now, there is no requirement that he choose one with any qualifications at all.

We do not need to be reminded of the vast importance of the Supreme Court and the tremendous power those nine men wield. And the power to appoint them rests almost entirely with the discretion of the President.

I am hopeful that the President will take this opportunity to assure the worried Nation by appointing a qualified man chosen from the many on the courts today, and that he will be more concerned with the man's ability than with his politics.

I am further hopeful that the Congress will act to assure that future appointments will be based on merit by considering the amendment I have proposed.

ABC-ITT MERGER

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, as the ranking Republican member of the House Select Committee on Small Business, I am deeply gratified at the announcement by our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. EVINS], that an investigation will be made into the facts surrounding the proposed merger of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., and the American Broadcasting Co.

Certainly all that we have read and heard concerning this action, and especially concerning the procedures under which the proposed merger was at first approved by the Federal Communications Commission, gives us just cause to wonder how well the public interest will be served.

For us on the Small Business Committee, there remain a great many unanswered questions concerning the impact of the ABC-ITT merger on competition in broadcasting and related industries. A strong segment of this industry, especially in the fields of radio and UHF television, comprises small unaffiliated stations scattered throughout the country. It is primarily on this basis that the committee will undertake its investigation.

A great measure of credit must go to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE], who foresaw the many problems that would be raised by this merger and who called upon the FCC to extend its proceedings and delay a final decision on the merger barely hours before its approval was announced on December 21, 1966. Although he had no way of knowing at the time, the Commission had apparently made its decision well before the gentleman's statement.

The many unanswered questions and unexplored facets of the action which prompted the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] to call for a more deliberate and penetrating study by the FCC, were more than emphasized by a bitter dissent from the majority report by two members of the Commission.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] has continued to keep the matter in focus and has taken steps to make certain the public interest will not be neglected or jeopardized. In a style that is so characteristic of him, he has spoken up loudly and firmly on behalf of the independent businessman and fair competition. He has reaffirmed his basic conviction on the necessity for a healthy, viable, independent business community.

The need for a review of the proposed merger from the point of view of independent competition was brought to the attention of our chairman by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] in a letter dated December 23, barely 48 hours after the FCC had formally approved the move. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] also sent a similar letter to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce [Mr. STAGGERS], and I understand that able committee is also making a study within its own perview.

Since then, of course, the Justice Department has intervened and the FCC has set aside its initial approval pending submission of additional facts and evidence in the matter.

As the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] himself has said repeatedly, the ultimate outcome of this situation may well be to confirm the merger. It may be that we will find no threats to the public welfare or to the competitive atmosphere within which hundreds of independent communications enterprises must function. But we cannot assume this. We must explore the record and we must lay the facts before the public. We must be sure, and we cannot afford to cut corners in reaching that assurance.

It is my understanding that the study will be made by the subcommittee on which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] is the ranking Republican. I am sure his contributions will be as valuable and penetrating during these deliberations as they have been in the preceding weeks.

The American public owes a vote of thanks to our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts for his determination and steadfastness in keeping their interests uppermost in the decisions and deliberations of government.

As the ranking Republican on the House Small Business Committee I know I speak for my Republican colleagues in praising and endorsing the efforts of the distinguished Representative of the State of Massachusetts, Silvio Conte.

SOVIET-FIAT DEAL

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Snyder] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the last time there was official talk of Soviet "mellowing" in the cold war, it was immediately followed by the Soviet missile crisis of 1962, when the Russians tried to get an atomic "drop" on the United States from Cuba.

Today the official line is again that there is a Soviet "thaw" on, at the very moment they are escalating their direction and supply of the big-scale war of Communist conquest in Vietnam.

We are being asked to trade with the enemy behind the backs of our fighting men, a move unique in American history. To this end, AID proposes to give $50 million of our taxpayers' money to the Italian Fiat auto works to construct an automated plant in Communist Russia, which has less than a million automobiles right now, poor roads, and insufficient consumer income to buy bicycles, let alone automobiles.

An administration-dominated House Subcommittee of Banking and Currency has dutifully reported in favor of this handout to our enemies.

The voters are strongly against this trading with the enemy. It is the voters—not the State Department—who elect the Congress. This, I suggest, we should all keep in mind. The Congress can, and must, oppose construction of this plant which could make more Russian munitions to kill our men in Vietnam or elsewhere.

PRESIDENT'S VETERANS MESSAGE

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Adair] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I have carefully analyzed the President's message on servicemen and veterans received in the House of Representatives on January 31 of this year. As most Members are aware, two subcommittees of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs have been conducting public hearings on bills that will implement some of the recommendations contained in the President's message as well as other pending proposals dealing with the same subject.

Following a careful study of this entire subject, I have introduced three bills that I believe will provide more equitable relief to veterans in the areas touched upon in the President's message.

The first of these bills will provide a cost of living increase in monthly pension rates for veterans, widows and orphans. It will provide increases ranging from $90 to $400 in the various income limitations of existing law. The bill will create a new housebound rate of $100 per month for "old law" pensioners. The bill contains several other features that will liberalize the existing pension program.

The mail of most Members of Congress has called attention to the potential adverse effect that the contemplated increase in social security benefits will have upon the veterans pension program. The President's recommendation would solve this problem by permitting a veteran pensioner to waive any increase in social security or other Federal retirement annuities. I believe a more equitable approach would be to increase the income limitations of existing law, thus permitting a veteran to accept a modest increase in income from any source, without effecting his monthly pension payments.

The second bill I have introduced would extend certain benefits not already authorized to veterans of Vietnam service and, in some instances, their survivors. These include non-service-connected pension benefits for veterans, widows, and orphans; additional medical benefits for veterans; automobile allowances for certain seriously disabled veterans with disabilities that are service-connected and compensation for service-connected disabilities at wartime rates.

The third bill, Mr. Speaker, will authorize increases in the monthly educational assistance allowances payable to veterans who are pursuing educational programs under the Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966. Additionally, this bill would extend the scope of the new GI bill to include on-the-job training and flight training among the programs available for veterans education and training. Although the President's message was silent with respect to the inclusion of these programs, I believe they are necessary if we intend to provide a full program of career opportunity to the returning serviceman. Both the World War II and the Korean conflict GI bills included this program and I believe veterans of current service should have the same opportunity.

I am extremely hopeful and expectant that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs will act favorably upon legislation on these subjects in the immediate future.

ROBERT A. FORSYTHE, A DISTINGUISHED MINNESOTAN

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Langen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to some very thoughtful remarks recently delivered by a distinguished Minnesota citizen, Mr. Robert A. Forsythe. He takes a close look at our Nation and our people and our national purpose. His words are important to all Americans as we struggle with the growing problems of national and world leadership.

Mr. Forsythe is a former Minnesota Republican State chairman, and has devoted most of his life in the realm of public service on all levels of government. I heartily commend the following speech, delivered by Mr. Forsythe on March 4, 1967, before the Otter Tail County Republican Convention in Perham, Minn., in my congressional district:

> I think it is imperative that each citizen continually review his role in society and his responsibility to his fellow man. None of us live in isolation from society, economic developments, politics, and governmental involvement. We have but to look around us and we find the problems of today mingled with the hopes of tomorrow.
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> We live in the throes of great and dramatic change. Projecting ahead the next quarter century we can see nothing but change. Change in population, growth, change in concentration of population, change in educational demands, change in business, labor, government. Change will be a key word to all.
>
> Change is always accompanied by frustrations. It is because change is difficult to manage. It is difficult to comprehend. It is hard to accept. It forces problems.
>
> We have had great periods of change in the history of our nation. We look back upon them now as historical periods of growth. But during those times there was apprehension, fear, differences of opinion. None of the periods was free of stress and strain.
>
> Yet through it all progress was made and to varying degrees people felt a sense of national purpose at work. This is essential in America—namely that we feel a sense of national purpose. Our nation and its cause in the world must mean something to the individual.
>
> Today we look around and find a myriad of problems and issues in a new era of change. We find draft card burnings, refusal of youngsters to serve their nation. We find confusion in the civil rights movement. We find great difficulty with terms such as "black power." We have student demonstrations. We have witnessed talk of economic guidelines in relation to management and labor and prices and wages. We have the problem of war and peace. It would almost seem that we have an avalanche of problems each in itself difficult of solution.
>
> Maybe what these really represent are symptoms of a larger problem. Perhaps we have reached a time when we lack the feeling of a national sense of purpose. Maybe what each of us has to do is to sit down and sharpen our own evaluation of our nation's purpose. That really should not be too difficult.
>
> It would seem to me that America has always had three general principles or goals:
>
> 1. The pursuit of peace
> 2. The preservation of freedom
> 3. The belief in the dignity of man.

These three principles have been woven into the fabric of America from the day of the founding of this Republic. They are as worthy of pursuit today as they have been at any time in the past. But they must be spelled out anew for all to hear and to feel.

I think there are also certain precepts which America has become associated with over a long period of time which are of growing importance to our situation today. I have a strong belief that America:

1. Has always stood for progress and not regression. Our nation has always moved forward—never backward. And our nation like all others cannot stand still. It must be involved in movement. Ours must be a dedication to help it move forward in progress.

2. Has rewarded labor—not idleness. This is important in view of some suggestions that an individual may have a certain "right" to monetary remuneration even if he does not work at anything and even if he does not contribute to our economy and society in a constructive way. This would be a radical departure from the precept that one's labor should be rewarded.

3. Has inspired promise and hope—not despair. I know that there are people in large numbers who have been born into despair, who live a life-time in despair and who die in despair. Many are doomed to this cycle through no fault of their own. But this is not America. America was born to lift all into the realm of promise and hope. That is the inherent story of America. We now have an obligation and a responsibility to make sure that promise and hope are dominant over the element of despair.

4. Has smiled on individuals—not upon a faceless mass of humanity. This precept goes directly back to the fundamental principle that America is concerned with the dignity of man. It means that the individual is important. That the individual is more important than the government which governs it. This dignity of man must be constantly before us in our considerations and actions. It is fundamental to the continuance of a free society.

5. Has been more filled with love than hate. I suppose to some today it would seem that hatred has emerged as dominant force in our society. People talk of increased crime, violence, discrimination, demonstrations, etc. . . . At this point it is important to recognize that our younger people in high school and college might draw the inference that hatred is a dominant theme. But here we have a responsibility to avoid distortion and to constantly remember and recall the millions of acts inspired by love which go unnoticed in the news reporting of our day. Man's impulse for love is far greater than his possibility for hatred. By his very nature man seeks love and desires to evidence love. This too is important from the standpoint of the future of our nation.

These three principles or goals and these five precepts are all involved in what can be termed a national sense of purpose. Now we must spell it out. This is the obligation and duty of leaders. Leaders in all areas of activity must be responsible for this. Certainly the President, Senators, Congressmen, Governors, Legislators and other elected officials must seek and try to spell it out. But it is up to every citizen to somehow contribute to a spelling out of what America is and what it means.

This is a challenge to individuals and to our society in a moment and hour of great and difficult change. This is a challenge we must all accept.

EMERGENCY FOOD AID TO INDIA IN NATIONAL INTEREST

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the 1965–66 crop year, India experienced the worst drought of the century, which threatened millions with starvation and diseases associated with malnutrition. The drought caused a drop in India food production from 88 to 72 million tons.

In order to avert an international catastrophe, the United States and many other nations, private organizations and individuals joined in helping India meet its food crisis. Under our food-for-peace program, the U.S. Congress approved sending over 8 million tons of food grains to India as a major part of this effort.

Earlier this year, the President reported:

> The fact that India did not experience famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation.

But unfortunately, drought has continued to plague India. According to the President:

> Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar year 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

So it is my purpose today to urge support for House Joint Resolution 267. This resolution recommends that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed 3 million tons at an estimated cost of $190 million as the U.S. share toward meeting the India food deficit, providing it is appropriately matched. It agrees to the further commitments of additional food aid already negotiated by the administration, and provides funds for emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

Mr. Speaker, the longstanding purpose of our food-for-peace program has been to help combat starvation while developing new markets abroad for American farm commodities. In spite of our increasingly limited resources, and the importance of greater self-help efforts by food deficit nations, we cannot in conscience sit idly by and watch a people starve when we have a program to do something about it.

Avoidance of a catastrophe such as India presently faces is exactly why the food-for-peace program was established during the Eisenhower administration. It is clearly to the advantage of both America and India to do what we can to avoid famine and preserve peace in this land which borders on Communist China and wartorn southeast Asia.

Congressional agreement to the emergency proposals means a potential market for American farm production will be given encouragement at the same time U.S. humanitarian and foreign policy interests are carried out.

Therefore, I again urge the House to support emergency food assistance to India proposals contained in House Joint Resolution 267.

APPAREL IMPORT PROGRAM

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I represent, among my constituents, about 4,000 apparel workers, or one-sixth of all apparel workers in Kentucky. These people work in approximately 20 plants, 12 percent of the apparel plants in Kentucky. The major product of these plants is men's and boys' dress and sport shirts. Men's and boys' shirts are running into extremely stiff competition from imported shirts which are coming into this country in very large quantities. Apparel imports of almost every kind are entering the United States in ever-increasing amounts, and this problem is of genuine concern to me, not only as a representative of part of the industry, but as an American who believes that the apparel industry of this country should not be undermined by foreign producers who overbuild their apparel industries just to export their excess goods to the developed nations of the world.

I am especially concerned about the increasing imports of men's and boys' shirts, since these products are an important part of the apparel production in my district. Men's and boys' dress and sport shirts are coming into this country in alarmingly large quantities. From 1964 to 1966, a period of only 3 years, our imports of cotton and synthetic fabric dress and sport shirts grew by 61 percent—from 43.4 million shirts in 1964 to 69.7 million shirts in 1966. This is an increase of 26 million shirts in this short period. The greatest increases have been in shirts of synthetic fabrics, which have been entering this country restricted only by tariffs which obviously provide a very low barrier.

These shirts can enter this country and, after the appropriate tariffs are paid on them, importers can sell them for a lower retail price than comparable, domestically produced shirts. The foreign manufacturers, the wholesalers, and the retailers all can make money by selling these imported clothes even after the duties are paid. This means that the original selling price of the manufacturer, and therefore his costs, are much lower than those for American apparel manufacturers. This lower selling price is due to two principal factors: lower wages and more productive machinery. In many foreign countries the apparel industry is quite new, or it has been rebuilt since the Second World War. This means that machinery is new and efficient, and in some cases more efficient than our machinery. Although the foreign apparel worker is not generally as efficient as the American apparel worker, he can produce very low priced goods with the help of modern machines.

In contrast to foreign apparel industries, the American apparel industry is one of the oldest industries in the country. In some cases plant and equipment is old and not as efficient as it could be. Our industry needs time to modernize, and even more important, it needs the assurance that imports will not take over our markets any more than they already have. If apparel imports continue to grow at their current rate, all the growth in market demand will eventually be taken over by imports, and the domestic industry will not be able to grow at all. This prospect does not give our apparel manufacturers the necessary incentive to invest large amounts in more efficient plant and equipment which will help them become more competitive with imports.

As I mentioned above, the greatest growth in imports currently is in the area of synthetic fiber apparel. The only barrier to their entry into this country is a rather ineffective tariff, which our negotiators in Geneva have proposed be cut by as much as 50 percent. These tariff cuts under the Kennedy round of negotiations are due to be authorized before the Trade Expansion Act expires this June. If this is done, we can expect imports of wool and synthetic fiber apparel to rush into this country as never before.

International trade of cotton apparel products, on the other hand, is regulated by an arrangement signed by 29 countries, including the United States. This arrangement allows the exporting countries to participate in the markets of the importing countries without causing dislocations in these markets. There is a provision for annual growth in these imports so that the domestic industry can share its growth in demand with imports. This enables apparel producers in both importing and exporting countries to plan production and investment.

An arrangement, similar to that governing trade of cotton products, could be established for the trade of synthetic and wool fiber apparel and textile products. This would allow our apparel and textile industries to share the growth in their markets with imports without having imports take over the entire growth. Until this type of arrangement is instituted, it would be foolish to lower apparel tariffs. If tariffs were lowered now, we might be too late to help when an arrangement is negotiated, hopefully very soon.

PLANS FOR PROGRESS

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Kupferman] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been informed that a group of businessmen are forming a merit employment council in New York City which will carry out on a community basis the national program of plans for progress.

Plans for progress is the national voluntary equal employment opportunity program of American business. Through it, some 354 major corporations undertake individual and collective programs which are expanding employment opportunities for minorities and are having increasing impact on the motivation and training problems of young people. These projects include work at the national and community level, as well as extensive in-plant activities to achieve the objectives expressed in the individual companies' plans-for-progress pledge.

Plans for progress is staffed by eight executives loaned for 1 year by member companies which continue to pay their salaries and benefits. They work from Washington headquarters, with administrative support from the U.S. Department of Labor.

The 1967 staff of plans for progress is headed by Eugene F. Rowan, of the J. C. Penney Co. Serving as administrative coordinators are: Christopher B. Conner, Pepsi Co., Inc.; Robert W. Goode, Mellon National Bank; David S. Nye, Mobil Oil Corp.; Malcolm H. Oettinger, Jr., National Broadcasting Co.—RCA; Clifford E. Puckett, General Dynamics; George S. Sunday, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., and I. L. Van Voorhis, Jr., Aluminum Co. of America.

In addition to sparking the internal action programs of its members, plans for progress administers several programs on a national level.

National and regional educational conferences have reached more than 10,000 businessmen, educators, and students, stressing both the social and economic advantages of equal employment opportunity and showing how it can be achieved. This program includes annual conferences between industry recruiters and administrative officials of predominantly Negro colleges to inform each group of the needs and capabilities of the other. A total of 488 participants, representing 177 companies and 69 colleges, attended the 1966 conference.

A series of vocational guidance institutes were held in 1966 at which the teachers and counselors of teenage students were given instruction and motivation to prepare minority youth for jobs in business. The U.S. Department of Commerce, through its Economic Development Administration, enabled plans for progress to expand its VGI program through a grant of $125,000. With this seed money, plans for progress companies contributed in excess of $200,000 to bring the program to 17 cities across the Nation.

The task force on youth motivation sponsors visits to 70 predominantly Negro colleges where 220 Negro executives, employed by plans-for-progress companies, discuss with the students the advantages of a business career. Additionally, some 500 high school graduates now employed in responsible jobs with PfP companies have visited high schools and junior high schools as living witnesses that opportunities exist in business for those who prepare for them by getting a high school degree and developing a skill. This program is being expanded to reach students from the seventh grade up.

Plans for progress has organized meetings in more than 25 cities at which experts explain to businessmen the manpower development programs of the Departments of Labor, HEW, and OEO, and how businessmen can make use of these programs.

Since its formation in 1961, plans for progress has added significantly to the number of minority employees in positions of responsibility in the member companies. The number of white-collar employees, particularly, has increased substantially. Certainly part of this increase is attributable to the general economic health of the Nation during this period, but plans-for-progress companies also believe they have contributed to the increase by actively seeking out minority employees.

Both as a national program and through participation of member companies, plans for progress works closely with the voluntary employer associations of 49 major U.S. cities. These associations perform a variety of community services in the equal opportunity employment field, such as training minority workers for jobs in business and industry and serving as a clearinghouse and source of employment information. Similar programs are planned for 42 additional cities in 1967. New York City will participate in this effort.

I am pleased to note that among those companies initiating this affirmative action are the following from the congressional district I represent:

Plans for Progress Companies Headquartered in Manhattan

ACF Industries, Air Reduction Company, Allied Chemical Corporation, American Airlines, Abex Corporation, American Can, American Home Products, American Radiator & Standard Sanitary, American Sugar, AT&T, American Tobacco Company, Arwood Corporation, Avco Corporation, Babcock & Wilcox Company.

Celanese Corporation, Colgate Palmolive, Columbia Broadcasting System, Combustion Engineering, Continental Can Company, Corn Products Company, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., Eastern Airlines, Inc., Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S., General Dynamics, General Electric Company, General Telephone & Electronics Corporation, W. R. Grace & Company, Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company.

Hooker Chemical Corporation, IT&T, Kennecott Copper Corporation, Lever Brothers Company, Magnavox Company, McGraw Hill, Inc., Merritt-Chapman & Scott Corporation, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, National Biscuit Company, National Dairy Products Corp., National Distillers & Chemical Corp., National Lead Company, New York Life Insurance Co., New York Telephone Company, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.

Olivetti Underwood Corporation, Otis Elevator Company, Pan American World Airways, J. C. Penney, Inc., Pepsi Co., Radio Corporation of America, Railway Express Agency, Inc., Saint Regis Paper Company, Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc., Shell Oil Company, Singer Company, Mobil Oil Corporation, Sperry Rand Corporation, Standard Brands, Inc., Stauffer Chemical Company.

Sterling Drugs, Inc., Texaco, Inc., Todd Shipyards Corporation, Trans World Airlines, Inc., Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp., Union Carbide Corporation, U.S. Industries, Inc., U.S. Plywood Corporation, Uniroyal, Inc., Vitro Corporation of America, Western Electric Company, Inc., Western Union Telegraph Co., National Board of YMCA, American Electric Power Service Corp., Time, Inc.

SPECIAL TAX EXEMPTION FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Taft] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill that would permit a $200 tax exclusion per month for law enforcement officers nationwide. The proposal would give these deserving public servants up to a $35 per month reduction in Federal income taxes and in effect provides an "instant pay increase."

In addition to this nationwide police pay raise, the bill would give much needed recognition of vital national status and of dangerous duty to our law enforcement personnel. Combat soldiers currently enjoy a similar privilege.

The risks taken by our law enforcement officers often equal those taken daily by many of our Armed Forces in combat areas. We have talked about the spiraling crime rate, the lack of police officers, the need for action. It is estimated that there are 50,000 vacancies in police positions in the nation today. This bill is a step in the right direction. It will offer some incentives to those considering police work.

We have all, at one time or another, uttered flowery praise in support of law enforcement officers. Today, we have an opportunity to turn those words into action. I hope that the House will act favorably and quickly on this measure.

DMSO, THE PERSECUTED DRUG—PART IV

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Wyatt] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I have more to report to the Members of this body concerning the 18th century attitude of the Food and Drug Administration toward the new drug, DMSO.

Early last month, Dr. Chauncey Leake, a respected pharmacologist from the University of California was in Portland, Oreg., and addressed the Portland City Club. This man is a true expert, and as disinterested an analyst as possible. His remarks were reported in the news story hereafter presented for your consideration by Marge Davenport, a reporter for the Oregon Journal. He makes an excellent point regarding the bumbling manner of the FDA in handling this exciting new medical principle.

Likewise, I would like to read to the Members the editorial of the Oregon Journal regarding his talk. Dr. Leake presented a summary of the symposium on DMSO held in Vienna last November, which I also bring to the attention of Members of Congress:

[From the Oregon Journal, Feb. 11, 1967]

Bureaucrat Hands Slapped for Curb on DMSO Testing

(By Marge Davenport)

"The licensed physicians of this country charged with the health of the people should be the judges of whether or not a drug is safe for their patients. This decision should not be made by a bureaucrat sitting in Washington, D.C."

This is the opinion of Dr. Chauncey Leake, University of California pharmacologist, who spoke to Portland's City Club Friday on the "Saga of DMSO" (dimethyl sulfoxide).

Reviewing the history of the controversial Oregon wonder drug which was removed from clinical testing in 1965, Dr. Leake charged the Food and Drug Administration with "unwarranted interference in the practice of medicine" by regulations on drugs that he said have been proved safe by extensive experiments.

Dr. Leake, who headed the New York Academy of Sciences symposium on DMSO and the International DMSO Conference in Vienna last year, is considered one of the world's leading authorities on drugs.

The pharmacologist told his Portland audience, which included physicians, both for and against DMSO, that he does not know of any other drug "that came into clinical use with so many indications of safety and effectiveness."

He charged that the FDA's ban on DMSO, which went into effect in 1965 (and has only recently been relaxed slightly), was a "characteristically bureaucratic act" which was unwarranted. He said America should be wary of its "growing bureaucracy" and "too many rules and regulations."

"DMSO is extremely nontoxic. It has amazing chemical properties and enormous medical potential," Dr. Leake declared.

He pointed out that the FDA chief, Dr. James Goddard, came to power about the time DMSO was being tested widely and began showing usefulness in a large number of cases.

Dr. Goddard put complicated new regulations into effect in connection with drug testing. These involved an enormous amount of red tape and were a "terrible burden" to the investigators, Dr. Leake continued.

"Therefore, it was very easy for a bureaucrat to note that regulation 5 of section 23 was being violated by 'Dr. Wigglesworth' in Portland. Doctors all over the country were using the drug DMSO and were not conforming with the new regulations, so of course there were going to be all sorts of violations. Then on went the ban.

"But this left the FDA in a hole because no bureaucrat wants to be thought of as a bureaucrat. So the FDA issued a press release saying there were 23 cases of eye injury from DMSO.

"Later, it turned out that these were 23 cases of lens changes reported in dogs that had been given doses many times the human dosage," Dr. Leake said.

Refuting this report are hundreds of reports of tests from all over the world that show DMSO is a safe, nontoxic drug, Dr. Leake continued.

"I believe DMSO is safer than either alcohol or aspirin," he later declared.

Extending his theme of the evils of bureaucracy, Dr. Leake referred to Portland's drug raids this week and warned that "we have to be careful how far we go in thinking laws will solve the problem."

He said we tried to control alcohol with prohibition and it was a dismal failure.

"Such things as drugs and alcohol have to be controlled by education. I am pessimistic about government regulations," he said.

He said too much bureaucracy contributed to the downfall of Egypt, the degeneration of China in ages past, and that bureaucracy led to horrible things in Russia and Germany.

"The U.S. should not be caught in the same trap," Dr. Leake warned.

[From the Oregon Journal, Feb. 15, 1967]

Many Would Take the Risk

The case for more liberal testing of dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO), the Oregon-developed "wonder drug", would not be so strong if its advocates were limited to those who have a special interest in its distribution and use.

But highly respected and disinterested voices have been speaking out strongly in its behalf. One of the most respected of these is Dr. Chauncey Leake, University of California pharmacologist, who addressed the Portland City Club last week.

Dr. Leake, one of the world's leading authorities on drugs, criticized the restrictions placed on the testing of DMSO by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration as an example of heavy-handed bureaucracy. (The FDA put a complete ban on testing in 1965 after changes had been noted in the eyes of animals which had been given extremely heavy doses over a long period of time. It has now relaxed the ban but has placed heavy restrictions on testing).

Dr. Leake joins other eminent medical men in believing that DMSO is "extremely nontoxic" and that it has "amazing chemical properties and enormous medical potential." One of its hoped-for uses is in the relief of pain for arthritic sufferers. Dr. Leake declared flatly that he believes DMSO to be safer than alcohol or aspirin.

The worst adverse effect, he said, is that it causes the user temporarily to smell bad. Conceivably this can have serious ramifications. A UCLA athlete reportedly lost his girl friend because she was offended by the odor after he had been liberally doused with DMSO for muscular soreness.

But many pain sufferers, we believe, are willing to risk offending others for the relief DMSO might give them if they were allowed to use it.

Summary of Vienna Symposium on DMSO, November 8, 9, 1966

(Submitted to Science by Chauncey D. Leake, Ph. D.)

An International Symposium on Dimethyl Sulfoxide (DMSO), the third of its kind in two years, was held in Vienna, Austria, November 8 & 9, 1966. The meeting, under the auspices of the Faculty of the University of Vienna Medical School, included 150 scientists representing 12 nations. Forty-three presentations placed a third volume of animal and human studies before the scientific community.

Earlier reports of lens changes in experimental animals receiving high dosages of DMSO resulted in a remarkable awareness and interest in this problem by the scientists in attendance. Serial ophthalmological evaluations were reported on 138 individuals treated for as long as 30 months. Clinical data on over 11,000 patients were presented. The unanimous opinion of the clinicians was that to date no lens toxicity had occurred with DMSO treatment in man.

Additional animal studies suggested that the toxic effects on the lens of the eye were related to at least three factors: (1) the species used, (2) the route of administration, and (3) the total dosage administered.

The ability of DMSO to act as a membrane penetrant and as a carrier promoting diffusion was expounded by several authors. DMSO given in 1 g/kg dosage orally to rats increased the intraduodenal absorption of para amino hippurate. It was shown to be a valuable carrier for cytostatic and even carcinogenic agents in rodents. Two patients with terminal metastatic carcinoma of the breast were treated with one percent testosterone in DMSO topically. This produced a three-fold rise in the urinary 17-ketosteroid level.

DMSO applied topically to the paw of the rat following traumatic edema induced by a steel stamp resulted in a rapid dissolution of the swelling. In another experiment, subcutaneous hematomas following the injection of blood in rats were readily dissipated by topical DMSO.

Preliminary evidence was presented revealing a reversal of antibiotic sensitivity of the tubercle bacillus following *in vitro* treatment with DMSO. Organisms resistant to 2,000 ug of streptomycin or isoniazid in the test tube became sensitive to 10 ug following contact with 0.5 percent DMSO.

Tubercle bacilli were stained in two minutes using DMSO as a carrier for carbolfuchsin and decolorized in the same period of time without heat. It was observed also that the head of the human spermatozoon contains acid fast material that could be stained with carbolfuchsin-DMSO.

In an exciting immunologic study, DMSO was shown not to damage the defense mechanisms of mucous membranes. It did, however, alter both bacterial and viral antigens, the former to a greater extent. This finding was not surprising inasmuch as most proteins are precipitated by solutions greater than 40 percent. The authors reported that mice infected with Rickettsia Typhi, the causative agent of murine typhus, and pretreated with only DMSO, showed the same degree of protection as when the animals were given the antigen. This nonspecific ability of DMSO to enhance resistance to infection needs further evaluation.

Topical DMSO to rats in a dosage of 0.5 g/kg increased urine volume ten-fold, the urine becoming alkaline. Oral DMSO to rats was strongly diuretic but did not produce an alkaline urine.

In some miscellaneous experimental results, DMSO was shown to prevent abnormal soft tissue calcification in rats, resulting from the injection of compound 48/80. Data were also given on the ability of DMSO to reduce the adhesiveness of blood platelets.

The majority of the presentations related to the use of topical DMSO for the treatment of acute and chronic musculoskeletal disorders. Whether comparative, "double-blind", or clinical impression types of reports were given, the results proved to be comparable and impressive. Depending on the type of musculoskeletal disease, results were good to excellent in from 60 to 80 percent of the evaluated cases. Differences in drug response reflected not only the type of pathology but the age of the patient, duration and extent of the disease process, criteria of measurement, and drug dosage.

Topical DMSO was reported to be the "treatment of choice" in acute traumatic injuries incurred during amateur and professional athletic endeavors. In these patients it resulted in a dramatic relief of pain. It increased joint motion, lessened hematomas, relieved muscle spasm, and significantly reduced disability time.

Additional data were presented on the successful treatment of the cutaneous manifestations of scleroderma with histologic evidence of collagen alteration in the skin. Sixty-six percent of 61 scleroderma patients showed good to excellent improvement following therapy. Ninety-one percent of patients with well-developed finger-tip ulcers showed healing. Concurrent with dissolution of collagen, calcium and hydroxyproline were mobilized as measured by increases in urine levels of these substances in patients treated with DMSO. The best results were obtained when the involved limbs of patients with scleroderma were actually immersed in DMSO.

Triamcinalone dissolved in DMSO was reported to be effective in the treatment of some patients with psoriasis and 5 FU in DMSO was of benefit in Molluscum contagiosum.

Clinical and histologic diminution in the size of subcutaneous fibrosis following cobalt therapy was reported in patients treated with topical DMSO. These same individuals showed increased levels of urinary hydroxyproline.

DMSO applied to the skin of patients with xanthomata resulted in diminished levels of lipid in the skin and subcutaneous tissue and a drop in triglycerides. DMSO was shown to be of value in the treatment of superficial thrombophlebitis.

This meeting established that after two and one-half years of clinical therapy with DMSO, it remained a substance of low toxicity. Side effects in man include the potential for an allergic reaction, nausea, headache and diarrhea. The incidence of side effects was compared with indomethacin, butazolidin, and cortisone and reported to be lower than any of the aforementioned compounds.

The range of both laboratory and clinical usefulness of DMSO continues to expand. Publications on toricologic, pharmacologic, and clinical aspects of DMSO added to the ones presented at this conference bring the total to now over 350. A critical evaluation of these articles reveals that DMSO represents not only a new therapeutic agent but a significant new principle of medicine.

THE NEED TO RESTORE THE 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT CREDIT

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. BUTTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, today United Press International reported that administration officials were weighing the possibility President Johnson's proposed tax increase may be affected by an unexpected decline in businessmen's capital spending during the last 2 months. It had been anticipated spending for new plant and equipment the first quarter of 1967 would increase $1.5 billion from the $62.8 billion seasonally adjusted annual rate of last year's fourth quarter. But projections issued by the Commerce Department yesterday put the current quarter's capital investment rate at $62.6 billion, the first actual decline in the rate since 1963.

Public Law 89–800 was passed last year, which suspended until December 31, 1967, the 7-percent investment credit, with the idea of helping alleviate the money panic we found ourselves in last year. The indication from the Commerce Department yesterday of the continued slowdown of the U.S. economy, particularly capital investment, would seem to represent a giant step backward in the administration's attempt to combat inflation.

Many businessmen in the 29th Congressional District are calling attention to layoffs of employees they have been required to make because of reduced purchase orders from major buyers. The individual businessman and corporations that face these economic hardships have expressed to me the condition is primarily the result of the suspension of the 7-percent investment tax credit last fall.

I believe it is time for Congress to recognize the need to restore the 7-percent investment credit and accelerated depreciation for commercial and industrial buildings.

I have asked consent that a letter to me from Alco Products, Inc., of Schenectady, N.Y., and an article from the Wall Street Journal pertaining to the tax credit suspension be printed in the RECORD.

ALCO PRODUCTS, INC.,
Schenectady, N.Y., March 2, 1967.

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BUTTON: As you probably have seen in the Schenectady newspapers, through no fault of Alco's we have been obliged to lay off approximately 600 Schenectady employees within the last few months, and it is quite possible that things will get worse before summer.

The cause of this situation is primarily the suspension of the 7% investment tax credit from October of last year to January 1, 1968. During the Congressional hearings, the railroad industry, including the suppliers, attempted without success to have the railroad industry exempted from the suspension of the investment tax credit. In fact, some railroad executives testified that without this credit they would be obliged to defer purchases. Since that time the railroads have purchased very few locomotives.

To show you a comparison, in the 4th quarter of 1966 (after suspension of the investment tax credit) 57 locomotives were ordered in the United States. In the same quarter of the year 1965, 359 locomotives were ordered, which is about normal. This is an 80% reduction in business from one period to the other. There has been very little pickup in domestic locomotive orders placed since January 1st, 1967. Only 57 locomotives have been bought, with Alco getting 12. Unfortunately, we obtained very little export business during the same period. We have now gone almost five months with no appreciable business.

I believe that the investment tax credit should be reinstated immediately. If this were done, I am sure the railroads would resume their normal purchases of locomotives, which would enable us to reverse our employment trend and begin to build up again. I would be glad to discuss this with you or a member of your staff at your convenience.

Your active support in getting this investment tax credit reinstated as quickly as possible will be appreciated by all concerned.

Very truly yours,

A. T. LAWRANCE.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 27, 1967]

SLOW TRACK FOR SUPPLIERS: ORDERS FOR RAIL EQUIPMENT SAG SHARPLY; PRODUCERS BLAME TAX-CREDIT SUSPENSION

(By Todd E. Fandell)

CHICAGO.—The railroad-equipment industry, historically plagued by cyclical ups and downs, is currently highballing toward another low point.

But this time, rather than being done in by the vagaries of the economy, competition or customers, the industry claims it's largely the victim of the law. Specifically, railroad-equipment makers blame the Defense Emergency Tax Act of 1966, which sought to cool off the economy by suspending the 7% investment tax credit.

The act apparently succeeded all too well as far as the railroad-equipment industry is concerned. Just six months ago, the industry was breezing along at full throttle with steadily increasing backlogs extending up to a year or more into the future. Recent surveys, however, indicate a startling decline from a year ago of $1,250,000,000, or about 80%, in orders for freight cars and locomotives.

Implications of this practical halt in equipment orders from railroads are obvious. Although most of the equipment companies are still operating at full tilt, due to big order backlogs, the months ahead spell sagging sales and profits, layoffs, plant closings and a long, arduous return to normal operations once the railroads decide to resume ordering.

EFFECT ON OTHER INDUSTRIES

Steel mills, which sell about 5% of their production to rail suppliers, and other industries anticipate disruptions in their operations as a result.

Railroads themselves have generally been hesitant to blame the investment tax credit suspension alone for their decreased expenditures. In cutting its 1967 capital outlays by 57% to about $80 million from $187.5 million, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, for example, also cited tight credit and the increasing inadequacy of its car fleet. "It would be a serious mistake to assume that we'd suddenly come through with a slug of big orders the minute the tax credit was reinstated," comments an executive of one big Western road. But, he hastens to add: "It sure would help."

In any case, the crisis has succeeded in banding together the railroads and all their suppliers—a rare achievement—in an effort to win reinstatement of the credit, currently scheduled for next Jan. 1, at the earliest possible date. Even a mid-year restoration of the credit, possibly in exchange for the proposed 6% income-tax surcharge, might be too late to avoid serious disruptions of the industry, rail-equipment officials say.

MEET WITH OFFICIALS

A week ago, about three dozen representatives of the Association of American Railways, the American Railway Car Institute and the Railway Progress Institute (an association of railway-supply companies) descended on Washington for a full day of discussion with the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Treasury Secretary Fowler and Transportation Secretary Boyd.

In these sessions, industry officials painted a grim portrait:

—A Railway Progress Institute survey shows that between last Oct. 11, the effective date of the credit suspension, and Dec. 31, railroads ordered only 2,759 freight cars and 57 locomotives, down 78% from 12,593 cars and off 84% from 359 locomotives ordered in the year-earlier period. Orders for signaling, communications and other equipment fell an average of 30% to 40%.

—A recent AAR survey of the 43 largest railroads, which account for 94% of all railroad spending, indicates these roads expect to order only 16,651 new and rebuilt freight cars in 1967, down from 91,874 cars last year and 87,555 in 1965. Locomotive orders are expected to tumble to 166 from 1,204 in 1966 and 1,228 in 1965 for these 43 roads.

—Another study, of roads that account for about 89% of total freight car fleet ownership, indicates car orders will decrease by 72,959 units this year and locomotives by 982, with the dollar amount down about $1,210,000,000.

DECLINE OF $1 BILLION

The various estimates don't match up precisely, but they're reasonably close. The most optimistic guess of total 1967 car orders from all sources—railroads, leasing companies and private lines—produced by a random sampling of rail-equipment industry officials is 27,000 new and rebuilt cars, down from 102,342 in 1966. At an average cost of better than $15,000 each, this would represent a decline of more than $1 billion in car orders alone.

Because of the huge car order backlogs existing when the tax credit suspension became effective, sales of rail-equipment makers this year are expected to fall only slightly compared with the order decline. Railroads took deliveries of about $1.2 billion of freight cars in 1966, with other car buyers adding another $300 million. With new car deliveries this year expected to be about 75,000 down from 89,883, total car expenditures are expected to drop to about $1.2 billion, but it's the last half of this year and first half of next year that car builders say they're concerned about.

Most major freight-car producers expect their order backlogs to keep them reasonably busy for some months. Pullman-Standard division of Pullman Inc., perhaps better situated than most builders because of the great demand during 1966 for the types of cars it builds, doesn't expect trouble until the fourth quarter. An executive of the American Car & Foundry division of ACF Industries Inc. predicts it will be mid summer—"perhaps August or September"—before the worst comes and "we have to think about layoffs and plant closings unless there's a radical change in certain areas of our business."

Despite such backlogs, however, many rail-equipment concerns, especially the smaller car fabricators and component-supply companies, are already feeling the pinch. Although full-fledged layoffs have occurred in only a few spot situations so far, work forces have been reduced significantly, mostly through attrition, in the past few months, says Nils Lennartson, president of the Progress Institute. Such job reductions are measured only in the thousands so far, but layoffs covering tens of thousands are imminent and by next Jan. 1 present estimates indicate that work forces in railway-equipment plants will be down 60% to 70% from levels at the start of this year, he says.

REDUCTIONS AT BUCKEYE

Typical of concerns already affected in the industry is Buckeye Steel Castings Co. of Columbus, Ohio, a supplier of heavy components for railroads cars. Since October, Buckeye has reduced its hourly plant payroll to 1,300 workers from 1,600 mostly by attrition, and may be under 1,000 workers by April, says J. W. Henderson Jr., president and general manager. "So far, our profitability hasn't been hurt; we've lost a lot of marginal workers, overtime is down, January shipments were a 24-year high and first quarter profit may be the best in 10 years," he says. "But after that layoffs are imminent; we've already asked all our customers to help us stretch out delivery times to the last minute to make our backlog last."

Buckeye is far from an isolated example. Bethlehem Steel Corp. last week closed down a freight-car building line for six days at its Johnstown, Pa., plant for what a spokesman called "a temporary curtailment of piggy back car production for inventory adjustment." A big Midwestern plant of a major car builder says it's in the process of cutting employment during the first quarter to 1,400 men from 1,750, as its order backlog starts to dwindle rapidly. "I wish you could tell me how to tell our shareholders that we just had a record year, anticipate a fine first quarter and then things will go completely to hell," laments the president of one company.

The nation's three major producers of locomotives, which last year produced more than $300 million of diesel engines for the railroads, expect to be hit hard by the investment credit suspension. Impact at the 9,000-man plant of General Motors Corp.'s Electro-Motive division at La Grange, Ill., which builds more than half the nation's locomotives, "undoubtedly will be substantial," says a spokesman. Current orders will carry production into summer but a major softening of business in midyear and especially in the last quarter is anticipated, he says.

The rail-equipment industry is aware that, as the situation stands, it might expect a spate of orders from railroads next January when the tax credit is reinstated. But this could be too late. "The problem of a supplier later coming back into production after he's forced to close down is a difficult one," says W. Ashley Gray Jr., president of General Steel Industries Inc. and the Railway Progress Institute. Most rail-supply concerns estimate it would take at least six to nine months to resume normal, efficient production after going down for 30 days or more, he says.

PROBLEMS OF REHIRING

Problems involved include rehiring and retaining of employes, reopening supply lines, engineering time and administrative requirements, Mr. Gray notes. "The tax credit suspension could easily cost this industry thousands of its best skilled workers and disrupt its operations for years, to say nothing of lost production," says another official.

The railroad industry and its suppliers almost succeeded in winning an exemption last October from the tax credit suspension, failing at the last minute as other groups tried to obtain similar privileges and created a problem at drawing the line. The rail industry argued the legislation was at cross-purposes with a firmly declared Federal Government policy to resolve economic bottlenecks created by the nation's chronic freight-car shortage, which reached record proportions last year. Railroads had, in fact, been exempted from Government requests for voluntary capital-spending restraint early in 1966.

Some critics contend the railroads are holding back on equipment spending to prove they were right last fall. "It's an awfully costly way to make your point," says one supply-concern official. William T. Taylor, chairman of ACF, not joining in such sharp criticism, thinks the railroads can't afford to forgo for much longer the 20% return on investment they can earn on some types of freight cars. Likening the halt in car orders to the Green Bay Packers calling time out in the middle of a crucial touchdown drive ("They know it is fatal to kill momentum"), Mr. Taylor says he's hopeful the rails will end their buying slowdown soon "because of very clear economic justification."

SAVINGS FROM DELAY

But most observers say the rails can't be faulted for the hard economics of their decisions to defer spending. Orders placed during the suspension period are subjected, in effect, to a 14% "sales tax" (at a 50% tax rate, loss of 7% credit is equivalent to a 14% deductible sales tax), they say. Credit carryovers and other accounting methods can, in many cases, make current orders even more costly, they add. One big Western railroad is said to have deferred $93 million in orders because it can save more than $20 million by waiting until 1968.

The extent of the decisions to postpone spending, however, has surprised even the railroads themselves. In seeking an exemption last fall, they argued that removal of the investment tax credit, a major incentive for heavy car-building programs in recent years, could cut $500 million from 1967 budgets, which at the time were expected to exceed 1966 spending levels slightly. The cutback, based on present indications, appears likely to be more than double such estimates, which were called "inflated" and "overly pessimistic" at the time.

The cutback also comes right after the first year in more than a decade in which the railroads made marked progress toward resolving their car shortages. New and rebuilt cars placed in service in 1966 exceeded retirements by 26,853 units, halting a long and steady decline in the number of freight cars in service.

It was the continuing demand for cars and the economic resurgence of the railroads over the past five years that caused the rail-equipment industry to predict an end to its cyclical past and a long period of heavy capital expenditures by railroads. For the long pull, the equipment builders have lost little of this enthusiasm, pointing to recent "conservative" forecasts that railroad spending for cars will average $1.3 billion to $1.7 billion a year over the next 10 years.

IMPORTS OF DAIRY PRODUCTS

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Betts] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to restrict the imports of dairy products. Our Ohio dairy farmer is the forgotten man. A recent report from the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture on farm costs and income show that a dairy farmer in the Central Northeast area, which includes the State of Ohio, realizes a return of about 60 cents an hour on his and his family's labor. This is less than half of the amount Congress has established as a minimum hourly wage, and it does not include any return on his investment.

In attempting to restrict the imports of dairy products, we are not dealing with anything that affects the price of milk. We are talking about imports that get around existing laws. There are too many loopholes so that the market for processed dairy products has been flooded with imports from abroad. Those of us who serve on the Ways and Means Committee well know that if there is an opening or loophole in our trade laws, foreign imports will find a way to wiggle through that hole.

While all of us want to keep food prices down—including the price of dairy products—if we are to have a bountiful domestic supply, we must try to see that the dairy farmer earns a fair return on his labor and his investment. He cannot be expected to stay in business very long if he is unable to make a decent living with a dairy herd. While this bill will not assure that, at least it will help.

IMPORTS OF TEXTILE PRODUCTS AND APPAREL

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Brock] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I concur in the remarks of my colleagues as to the serious problem posed by the ever-increasing volume of imports of textile products and apparel.

Few people realize the vital role played by the textile industry complex in the Nation's economy. Manufacturing of textiles and apparel employ well over 2 million people. The textile industry is the largest customer of the Nation's chemical manufactures, and obviously its economic health is vital to our Nation's cotton and wool producers. For these reasons, current difficulties are not sectional in their applications, but national. It is imperative that all Members recognize this fact.

Certainly I have a deep concern, for in the State of Tennessee as a whole, 30 percent of the current manufacturing jobs are provided by textile mills, apparel plants, and manmade fiber producers. In the Chattanooga area these industries provided 16,500 of the total 51,500 manufacturing jobs in December 1966.

Less well known is the fact that these industries supply 26 percent of all manufacturing jobs in the section of our Nation known as Appalachia. In many Appalachia counties, three out of four of the jobs are provided by these manufactures.

One of the purposes of the Appalachia Regional Development Act is to stimulate through private enterprise the economy of this region. Because of the significance of the textile and related industries to this region any threat to them is a threat to the economic well-being of Appalachia. And certainly the current volume and trend of textile imports pose a serious threat to the textile industry. By what kind of logic can we ignore potential job destruction due to inept or inadequate adherence to international agreements only to put people back in the breadline? For what are we training Appalachian men and women, if not to be productive citizens?

There are supposed to be controls on the volume of cotton textile imports under the long-term arrangement for trade in cotton textiles. However, cotton textile imports have more than doubled since 1961. There are no limitations on imports of manmade fiber and wool products. Since 1962 imports of manmade fiber textiles have tripled. Wool textile imports now account for about one-fourth of domestic consumption. Products blended from manmade fiber and cotton are being substituted in great quantity for cotton textiles. This has the effect of completely circumventing the long-term arrangement.

Economically, too, we cannot ignore our current grave difficulties with our balance of payments. Not since 1957 have we had a favorable dollar balance of trade in textiles. Our dollar deficit in textile trade has grown from just under $225 million in 1961 to some $800 million in 1966. If we include manmade fibers, the U.S. imbalance of trade in textile products was over $900 million in 1966. The total U.S. balance-of-payments deficit last year was about $1.4 billion. Thus textile imbalances caused approximately two-thirds of our total national deficit.

The time has arrived for action to be taken. Orderly trade in textiles and apparel is required. We can achieve this only with reasonable and responsible adherence to existing agreements by the U.S. Department of State and other government agencies. Additionally, given the current difficulties our negotiators face in gaining reasonable agreement at the Geneva trade discussions—the Kennedy Round—immediate attention must be given to possible alternative courses of action should their talks not succeed.

Finally, as one committed to reduced trade barriers, and ultimately free trade, I am deeply concerned with the apparent tendency in many circles, including the administration, toward a new isolationism.

It is easy to justify on a short-term basis. There are 59 nations which do not even allow 1 pound of American textiles to cross their borders. But rather than close our ports, let us tell them trade is a two-way street. I do not care who we make mad, it is simply time we were honest enough to tell the world "you cannot do this, you cannot come hat in hand selling goods and taking foreign aid without meeting your half of the bargain." We are the greatest nation in the world. Let us act our age. Let us accept our responsibilities.

The "fortress America" concept, whether expressed in military or economic terms, never was realistic. However, in today's world it represents a terrible threat to our future as a free people. This is why I feel it is so vital that we face this textile problem now, before circumstances become so grave they force an overreaction which can have adverse long-term effects.

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD BERNHARD, RESCUER IN BAJA CALIFORNIA

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Bob Wilson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the brave deeds of a dedicated American whose unfailing determination and sheer guts saved the lives of two college students lost for 17 days in the treacherous mountains of Baja California. Eleanor Dart and Ogden Kellogg, Jr., had intended to take a pleasant and invigorating holiday to climb in the Sierra San Pedro Martir. They started out on February 5 but failed to return to school on February 13, triggering a massive air and land search to find them. Efforts to locate them in the vast and spiny slopes of the Baja mountains proved futile in spite of the efforts of rescuers on both sides of the border. One man, however, did not give up. His name is Edward Bernhard, better known to his friends as "Bud." An expert mountaineer and outdoorsman, Bud was convinced that the lost couple could be found in one of the many canyons, in all probability, one of three.

Sheriff's Sgt. Bob Morse, his men, and the Sierra Madre search group combed each canyon, after being briefed by Bernhard on the obstacles of each, but without success. At this point, I think Bernhard himself can best describe how he found the young people, as told in an interview from the San Diego Union:

> So I felt the only way—there was nothing in the mouth of these canyons—was to go up on the plateau and send some horsemen on to scour the mountain and to see if the trail had gone over on the Diablo side. Diablo was a key canyon because it surrounds El Diablo peak, known as the Providencio peak or Sierra la Tentado. The Sierra Madre searchers did everything they knew how to do. In the Sierras they would have succeeded but in this treacherous country they couldn't. These canyons go to dead ends into the mountain walls. There were no footprints on the plateau itself, so I knew that no one had left the canyons. Those kids had to be locked in the heart of the mountain or in that upper region of Diablo Canyon which no one had walked. I didn't want to say what I really thought, that I had them blocked, so I did a foolish thing and descended down a precipice alone. That, you're not supposed to do. I did exactly what the students did, but at least I was a mountaineer and knew what I was doing. . . . I dropped on down to about the 7,000 foot level and got down on my hands and knees and looked for footprints. I found Eleanor's within an hour and I knew they were only three days old. So I simply followed them like a little Beagle, through the brush.

And Eleanor he did find. Interrogating her intensively as to every detail of their activities on that hike, he managed to divine just where young Ogden would probably also be located. He stayed with the search and located the student, trapped on a dangerous ledge. The final helicopter pickup of Ogden took almost 4 hours, but this was anticlimatic to the amazing search which had located him. The young couple was flown to the nearby Meling Ranch and from there to San Diego for hospital care and reunion with excited and thankful families.

This rescue is in itself a feat beyond compare. But this is only one of the many rescue efforts by Bernhard. He has participated in eight other search and rescue operations in the Baja wilderness. For his bravery the 42-year-old Coronado, Calif., brick mason has received the San Diego Kiwanis Club's Moral Fiber award. The committee chairman, Frank L. Price, said of the award:

> The committee took recognition of the fact that many humanitarian Californians and Baja Californians joined forces side-by-side and gave of their time and talents to make the dramatic rescue possible. Bernhard is representative of all those who so gallantly participated and is symbolic of the gigantic effort expended by authorities and civilians alike.

In addition, the parents of Ogden Kellogg, Jr., have contributed $1,000 to set up a trust fund, to be called the Bernhard Mountain rescue fund, which will provide emergency money for future searches in the Baja area. It may be expanded to set up a locally organized team similar to the Sierra Madre rescue team. The need for this type of group has been stressed by Bernhard himself.

Our story ends on this happy note. I know my colleagues in the House join me in paying tribute to the bravery and fortitude of Bud Bernhard in the dramatic rescue of Elearnor Dart and Ogden Kellogg, Jr.

WHAT ABOUT THE REDWOODS?

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Don H. Clausen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, a man of highest esteem in the profession of forestry recently delivered an enlightening and scholarly lecture on the subject of redwoods—a subject which most likely will be before the 90th Congress in full array. Mr. DeWitt Nelson, for many years California State forester and later California director of conservation, under former Governor Brown, retired last year and now is a visiting professor in the Forestry Department of Iowa State University. I include in the Record the first talk in his current lecture series, "What About the Redwoods?":

What About the Redwoods?*

(By DeWitt Nelson, visiting professor, Department of Forestry, Iowa State University)

INTRODUCTION

One of the most controversial issues that will come before Congress in the next few months will deal with the proposal to establish a Redwood National Park.

I can think of no better introduction to the problem than a quotation from Stuart Nixon's recent book titled, "Redwood Empire". He opens his discussion of the controversy with, "Like floods and fires, conflict seems inevitable in the Redwood Country. In its larger than life setting, trappers battled the wilderness, settlers fought the Indians, engineers assaulted the mountains, sailors braved the sea.

"Strong men with strong opinions tamed the land of giants. Now in the old arena their descendants face a new kind of strife, a battle whose causes are only dimly perceived, but whose effects are feared like a Yurok (Indian) raid. This conflict has many names: vandals against trees, poetry versus economics, sentiment against fact."

Both redwood forests for production, and redwood forests for parks, play a dynamic role in the economic and social world of California. There must continue to be a place for both. But not until this controversy is settled and a decision made, can the people, the industries and the governments of the redwood region settle down to an orderly development.

THE PROBLEM

What about the Redwoods? That is the question put to me by many people in Iowa when I first meet them and they learn that I am from California. There is no black and white, yes or no answer to this question. I know of no issue that has generated as much written and verbal debate, as much emotion or as many charges and counter-charges as has the proposal for a Redwood National Park.

The charges and counter-charges from both extremes of the spectrum—the dependent industries, businesses and local governments on one hand, and the preservationists on the other, have made it impossible to yet find an area of reasonable agreement, or even a climate for rational discussion.

This is understandable for either of the two major proposals will take over one or two existing major State Redwood Parks and eliminate at least one major timber industry and destroy the major payroll and tax base for one county. The promise to off-set this loss with "in lieu" taxes for five years and to make economic adjustment payments to displaced persons and affected allied or service businesses holds little appeal to the people affected.

It is easy for someone far removed from the area to make an emotionally motivated decision to take a large portion of this resource out of production by establishing a great National Park or to even go so far as to say "no more redwood trees should be harvested." Because much of the publicity promoting this issue has been based on emotions it is difficult to approach it coolly and objectively. It is equally difficult to separate the facts from the non-facts in preparing a brief presentation of the several proposals.

Because I have been close to the problem since its beginning, and because I think I can see the strengths and weaknesses of both sides, I must admit to having mixed emotions on the subject. This is now a political and economic issue heavily weighted with emotion that has been developed through widespread publicity and heated debate. I sincerely hope that it will be settled one way or the other during this session of Congress. If it is not, both the proponents and the opponents will suffer materially. This unsettled issue has depressed the local economy and will continue to preclude orderly development of the area until a decision in reached.

The questions then are:

(1) What is the background and how much of the redwoods are presently preserved in State Parks?

(2) What are the current National Park proposals?

(3) Should there be a Redwood National Park?

(4) How much will it cost?

(5) What will be the impact on the local economy—tax base and payrolls?

(6) Is the coast redwood a vanishing species?

The Redwoods, we speak of here are the commonly known Coastal Redwoods, the Sequoia sempervirens, to differentiate them from the Sierra Redwoods, the Sequoia gigantia.

ORIENTATION

For proper orientation the coast Redwood occurs naturally only along the northern California coast from southern Monterey County (south of San Francisco) north for 500 miles to just over the Oregon state line. It is a broken strip of irregular width interspersed with other coniferous forests and open grassy glades. Very few coast redwoods occur more than 30 miles east of the Pacific Ocean. Geologically it is a very old species. It is believed that it has been in California for perhaps 40 million years. Fossil remains have been found in various parts of the

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*Presented on January 11, 1967, as the first of a six lecture series on "Preservation, Production and Politics—Facets of Wildland Use".

United States and Western Europe. Even in California petrified specimens occur.

The redwoods are best known for their great size. Most people visualize all redwoods as towering giants growing in dense stands on the alluvial flood-plain bottom lands. But as they advance up the mountain sides in shallower soils and recede from the fog-drenched coast they become smaller and mixed with other coniferous and hardwood species. By an early definition any timber stand containing a minimum of 20% redwood is classified as a redwood forest type. This definition tends to distort the public concept of the 1.9 million acres of original redwood stands of which 1.6 million acres in either a virgin or cut-over condition remains.

The great dense redwood stands—the kind that are photographed, are found primarily on the river benches and lower slopes. The superlative groves, most of which are presently in State Parks are found on these bottom lands which have been subject to flooding and silting down through the centuries.

AGE AND SIZE

Dr. Emanuel Fritz, a recognized authority on redwoods points out that there is no correlation between age and diameter. The oldest recorded redwood was 12 feet in diameter at 2,200 years of age while many other specimens of the same diameter ranged as low as 550 years of age. Contrary to belief the redwood is not a slow growing tree. It has the power to grow very slowly and stay alive where competition for food, light and moisture is brutal. On the other hand release it from competition and it is one of our fastest growing species.

HISTORY

The magnificence of the redwoods and the importance of preserving a significant portion of the best stands has long been recognized. In 1901 the California Legislature authorized the establishment of the Big Basin Redwood State Park in Santa Cruz County (South of San Francisco). In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt established the Muir Woods National Monument, just north of San Francisco. In 1918 a group of private citizens created the Save-the-Redwoods League. Since that time they have secured many millions of dollars from contributions which have helped finance about half of the purchase price of the existing 28 state parks embracing more than 110,000 acres (about 175 square miles), of which some 55,000 acres are the superlative groves of virgin redwoods. In 1927 the State of California passed a bond issue to make public funds available for matching purposes. Since then millions of dollars have been appropriated for purchase and development of redwood State Parks.

In 1963 the National Geographic Society financed a redwood study. It was that study which discovered the "Tallest Tree"—367.8 feet high which was written up in the National Geographic magazine. During the past summer Dr. Paul Zinke of the University of California found a tree in the Humboldt Redwoods State Park that reached 369.2 feet, a measurement confirmed by representatives of the National Geographic party. Since then there is an unconfirmed report of the discovery of a 385 foot specimen in the Redwood Creek drainage.

WHAT ARE THE NATIONAL PARK PROPOSALS:

It was from the National Geographic Society's study that the National Park Service designed several alternative proposals in 1964 for a Redwood National Park.

Since that time a number of bills have been introduced in Congress for the creation of a Redwood National Park by combining existing State Parks with the acquisition of additional areas. Briefly these proposals are:

1. *The Redwood Creek proposal sponsored by the Sierra Club*, introduced by California Congressman Jeffery Cohelan. Several identical bills have been introduced by others.

This proposal encompasses:

91,000 acres total of which 13,000 acres are in the existing Prairie Creek State Park which includes Gold Beach and Fern Canyon.

80,000 acres to be purchased from private owners.

About 43,000 acres virgin redwood.

National Geographic Society's tall tree 367.8 feet.

18 miles of usable State Park Gold Beach.

22 miles of scenic river.

18 miles scenic highway through the park.

Roosevelt Elk at Prairie Creek State Park.

Estimated cost for acquisition ranges from $150,000,000 to $250,000,000 plus in-lieu taxes for at least 5 years.

Impact: Would put one major industry out of business and severely affect two other major companies, including their tax base, payrolls and detrimental effects on service industries.

2. *The Mill Creek proposal sponsored by the Administration (Dept. of Interior) and supported by the Save-the-Redwoods League.* Introduced in the Senate by California Senator Thomas Kuchel.

Encompassed in this proposal would be:

45,000 acres total including 15,000 acres of the existing Jedediah-Smith and Del Norte Coast State Parks.

25,000 acres to be purchased from private owners of which 18,000 acres are virgin redwoods:

8 miles of coast line.

2 miles of usable beach.

8 miles of beautiful river frontage (Smith River).

12 miles of scenic highway and 24 miles of scenic back roads.

Smith River fishing and swimming.

Includes 1400 acre Tall Tree grove on Redwood Creek.

Estimated acquisition cost—$45,000,000 to $90,000,000 plus in-lieu taxes for at least 5 years plus relief to displaced persons.

The Federal government proposes to exchange the 483 acres in the Muir Woods National Monument and 31,000 acres of Public Domain Land in the King Range for the state's 15,000 acres of State Parks. The values are not comparable.

Impact: Would remove *the* major industry (Miller Redwood Company) with the county's largest single payroll and tax base from Del Norte County. Seventy-three percent of the county is presently in public ownership, mostly National Forest.

3. *Congressman Don H. Clausen's "Redwood to the Sea" proposal.* A bill for this proposal will be introduced early in this session of Congress.

This proposal includes:

53,000 acres including Jedediah-Smith, Del Norte Coast, Prairie Creek, Patricks Point and Dry Lagoon State Parks.

Will include the Tall Trees—1400 acres in Redwood Creek.

23,000 acres of virgin redwoods largely in the existing State Parks.

14,000 acres of land, forest and ocean frontage to be purchased from private owners.

46 miles of coast line.

25 miles of usable beaches.

54 miles of scenic highways.

3 fresh water lagoons excellent for recreation development and use.

Cost: No appraisal of costs have yet been made but it is estimated at about ⅓ of the Administration's plan or, say $20,000,000 or $30,000,000.

Impact: Would not seriously affect any single industry and would spread any tax loss over two counties.

4. *The American Forestry Association proposes* the enlargement of Humboldt Redwoods State Park. It is expected that a bill for this proposal will be introduced early in this session of Congress.

It would include:

48,000 acres including 38,246 acres of existing Humboldt State Park and will have:

21,800 acres of virgin redwoods including the magnificent Rockefeller Grove on Bull Creek.

10,364 acres to be purchased from private owners.

(Here it should be noted that the State S–R–L have purchased most of the upper watershed of Bull Creek in the last few years.)

About 35 miles of the wonderfully scenic Avenue of the Giants road including the Hammerskald Grove.

20 miles of scenic highways.

45 miles of scenic rivers.

The tallest confirmed tall tree found to date—369.2 feet.

The Founders tree which for many years was the tallest known tree—364 feet.

1400 acres of Redwood Creek Tall Trees as a National Monument.

5. *The King Range Wild Area sponsored by Conservation Associates* would extend Humboldt State Park to the sea. This is an area of wild beauty with 30 miles of the state's most spectacular shoreline. It contains no redwoods but it is an area that could accommodate thousands of recreationists with the full gamut of recreation activities.

Approximately 150,000 acres of which 31,000 acres are federally held by the Bureau of Land Management. No estimated cost of acquisition but it is relatively cheap land.

THE BATTLE LINES

These then are the proposals. The major battle lines are presently drawn on the Sierra Club's Redwood Creek proposal as opposed to the Administration's Mill Creek proposal.

There can well be some shifting of support when Congressman Clausen's and the American Forest Association's proposals are cast in bill form.

Another factor, that of cost, has become more critical during the past year. The Land & Water Conservation Fund, as a money source, has not produced the anticipated revenues. Rumors from Budget Committees indicate a tightening of the belt on recreational expenditures.

So far proponents have shown little regard for the economic impact on local persons and communities. It is easy to ignore these problems from a detached position and point of view. However, to the affected individuals they are very real.

WHAT ARE THE CHARGES?

The proponents charge the timber industry with devastating exploitation through clear-cutting forest practices. In some parts of the region selective-cutting can and is being used successfully. In the northern portion of the region selective-cutting has proven to be wasteful and unsuccessful due to severe wind-throw of the residual trees. Therefore, clear cutting in blocks is permitted in that area with the requirement that the area be reseeded immediately following logging. If the reseeding fails the operator must then plant seedlings. The reseeding is being very successful.

Redwood seed, like most other seeds must fall on bare mineral soil to germinate and become established. The logging operation tills the soil as a farmer tills his soil before planting.

The Redwood is *not* a vanishing species. I know of no species that has as much vitality as the redwood. It reproduces abundantly from both seeds and sprouts. It is one of the fastest growing species that we have. In addition to these characteristics the redwood has no tree killing insects or diseases. It has the ability to withstand flooding and siltation. In fact we find the best groves on the bottom lands where floods have repeatedly deposited heavy layers of silt.

The redwood is *not* in danger of extinction.

The timber industry is not blameless. They can and must do a better job, particularly in the area of erosion control and stream protection. The industry has permitted itself to be insulated against public opinion. It has failed, until recently, to be responsive to public pressures in a number of critical areas.

This can not, however, be made as an all inclusive statement, for several of the owners have been holding thousands of acres of their best bottom-land groves for many years—waiting for the California Department of Parks & Recreation to get the funds for their purchase. Some of these have been held for 28 years. There still remains about 5000 acres being held for public purchase. A year ago one Company deeded the spectacular and unique Fern Canyon to the State as part of the Prairie Creek State Park. The industry permits all forms of recreation on 365,000 acres of its land holdings.

WHAT ARE THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS?

Both the proponents and opponents have had an economic analysis made by nationally known firms skilled in the business.

Their short term findings on loss of tax base, payrolls and service businesses are quite comparable. However, their projected long term benefits based on increased tourist travel resulting from the creation of a National Park are far apart.

The redwood region's economy is largely timber oriented. Increased tourist and recreation travel will be economically helpful—if in securing it the existing economic base is not too seriously damaged. The existing State Parks attract large numbers of tourists. No analysis has been made to show the increased attracting power of a National Park as opposed to the nationally known state parks. Improved highways, population pressures and more leisure time will result in increased travel into the area. Recreational use in the redwood region is highly seasonal, limited mostly to the three summer months.

Public purchase of a large segment of redwood lands for the park will materially affect the local tax base with the inevitable shift in the local tax burden to the remaining tax payers in the county.

SHOULD THERE BE A REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK?

Because the redwood is a unique species, growing in a limited area, I presume that as a matter of national pride we should have a Redwood National Park. Since the State of California, in cooperation with Save-the-Redwoods League, has already acquired the major redwood grooves, any National proposal must incorporate one or more of the State Parks in order to meet the quality standards that we expect to find in our National Parks. Some additional purchases will be needed for rounding out existing State Park boundaries and to eliminate scattered in-holdings. Any large additional purchases are of questionable importance unless it is just acres that is being sought. Under the State's program acquisition will be accomplished in rounding out the existing parks, plus corridor connections between several of them. This will be accomplished whether a National Park becomes a reality or not.

Late information indicates that the Redwood Creek proposal is losing some of its support, based on personal inspections by strong advocates who conclude that these lands are not of National Park Caliber. Yet informed sources say that the Redwood Creek proponents insist on "that or nothing."

The Redwood Creek and Mill Creek proposals are now in the hands of the Bureau of the Budget.

The decision whether a Redwood National Park will be authorized, and if so, where it will be located and how much land will be acquired, will be based, in my judgment, not on the fact-supported needs for a National Park and a broadened redwood preservation base, but as the result of a wide spread promotional program which has generated a nation wide emotional appeal primarily based on the misconception that the redwood is a vanishing species.

In closing I emphasize that there is unanimity in the support for the establishment, preservation and necessary development of an adequate example of the unique redwood forests. The problem centers on what is adequate? In other words, where and how much and what considerations should be given to alternative uses and values.

The people of California, with contributions from over the nation have done a magnificent job in acquiring and preserving the 28 existing redwood parks.

I opened my remarks with a question from Stuart Nixon's "Redwood Empire" book. I shall close with another quote from him—"The Redwood Empire continues as a land of paradoxes; lumbermen cutting trees to save forests, wilderness-lovers fencing off public woods and demanding birth control, engineers bulldozing hillsides to bring people closer to beauty, governments competing for the right to administer a park that local interests oppose.

THE NUMBERS GAME

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Harsha] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, now I see the administration is playing the old numbers game. First, they cut back the highway construction program some 25 to 45 percent depending upon the State involved, saying this is necessary because of the economy and inflationary pressures. And then, today, the administration pulls another number out of its hat and asks the Congress to restore immediately the 7-percent tax incentive to business. The President alleges this move is necessary, "to keep the Nation's economy prosperous."

If it is necessary to restore the 7-percent tax credit, certainly it is equally necessary to thaw the freeze on trust funds for highway construction.

Mr. Speaker, it is inconsistent for the administration on the one hand to ask for special tax incentives to encourage the buying of new facilities and equipment, and on the other hand freeze highway user funds which would prevent the construction of highways and the purchase of construction equipment. If the inflationary pressures have subsided enough for the administration to restore the 7-percent tax investment credit, then they certainly have reduced enough to continue the highway program and it should be done immediately before any further disruptions occur in the orderly procedure of this program and before any more equipment orders are canceled.

Furthermore, these funds are from a special trust fund and have no bearing upon the receipts or expenditures of the Federal budget.

As for deterrents to inflation, the Government could well look to some of its other far less useful spending programs. It was estimated that tax increases for calendar year 1967 would amount to $975 million as a result of the suspension of the 7-percent investment credit. Thus the administration will pump this money back into the economy by its request of today yet it still withholds the use of an almost comparable amount in highway trust funds.

Yet Mr. Speaker, while the use of highway trust funds will not be reflected in the deficit of this administration the loss of the taxes represented by the 7-percent investment credit will directly affect the deficit and may add to the inflationary pressures by cheapening the value of the dollar. Truly the numbers game is on and the highway program and the taxpayers are suffering as a result.

WHY NOT A VOLUNTARY CAREER ARMY?

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rumsfeld] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on December 4 to 6, 1966, the Ford Foundation sponsored a conference on the draft at the University of Chicago's Center for Continuing Education. The 4-day conference, which was chaired by Prof. Sol Tax, served the useful function of bringing together more than 100 individuals from across the country, representing different parts of the Nation and various interests and viewpoints. A number of papers were presented for study and discussion by the participants. Among these, four were concerned with the question of the feasibility and desirability of a voluntary system of military manpower recruitment. They are:

First. "The Costs and Implications of an All-Volunteer Force," by Prof. Walter Y. Oi, department of economics, University of Washington.

Second. "Why Not a Voluntary Army?" by Prof. Milton Friedman, department of economics, University of Chicago.

Third. "Politics and Conscription: A Proposal To Replace the Draft," adapted from a paper of the Ripon Society by Bruce K. Chapman, author of "The Wrong Man in Uniform, Our Unfair and Obsolete Draft—and How We Can Replace It," published by Trident Press, New York, 1967.

Fourth. "Toward A Voluntary Career Army," by Hon. Thomas B. Curtis, Congressman, Second District, Missouri.

Because the Selective Service Act and proposed amendments to it will be before the House for consideration in the near future, I am inserting these four papers, together with the remarks which I made at the conclusion of the conference, for the interest of the Members.

It should also be noted that these papers, together with the other papers presented at the conference and the discussion which took place, will be published by the Chicago University Press later this year.

The material follows:

Remarks by Congressman Donald Rumsfeld, Republican of Illinois, on the Selective Service System, University of Chicago Conference on the Draft, December 7, 1966

Most accept the political reality that the United States, during this period of its history, requires a military capability. The question to be answered is what is the best mechanism to recruit the required manpower.

The present draft system, therefore, must be evaluated from the perspective of whether it is the most desirable and efficient method of recruiting the military manpower for today's anticipated range of needs. A reasonable conclusion, and an obvious one from the numerous criticisms which have been properly leveled at the present system, is that it very likely is not.

Not only is the present system subject to a host of criticisms on the basis of inequities and uncertainty. It is based on the principle of compulsion. During the overwhelming majority of U.S. history, there has been a voluntary system, and certainly there is broad agreement in a free society that for an involuntary system to be tolerable, there must be demonstrated need for the compulsion.

On the question of the need or lack of need for compulsion, or conversely, the feasibility of a volunteer system, different viewpoints have been put forth. However, the recent four-day conference sponsored by the Ford Foundation and hosted by the University of Chicago demonstrated, I believe, that there is a sufficiently serious lack of factual information at the present time as to prevent a final conclusion as to the feasibility of a volunteer system without further study. Specifically, to my amazement, representatives of the DOD and the Selective Service System were unable to document their opinions and positions that a voluntary system was not feasible. Further, Dr. Walter Oi offered substantial documented testimony to show that such a system is feasible, although he admits that further study is necessary.

Those favoring a volunteer system, assuming it would be feasible, or at least favoring a study to determine the feasibility of such a system, put forth the following advantages of a volunteer system:

1. Greater efficiency in the military services resulting from a lower turnover rate in a volunteer system, and, thus, dollar savings in man-hours and dollars currently wasted in training.

2. Preservation of the freedom of the individual to serve or not serve, or, conversely, avoidance of the compulsion inherent in either the present system, a lottery, or universal military training.

3. Avoidance of the arbitrary discrimination and inequities under the present system.

4. Removal of the uncertainty problem for individuals subject to a compulsory system.

5. Avoidance of the burden on educational institutions, presently being imposed by individuals who might prefer working, but attend school in the hope of avoiding the military.

6. Elimination of some of the difficult Constitutional questions relating to conscientious objectors, religious or political. And,

7. That a voluntary system would properly require that military personnel be fairly compensated for their services, which is clearly not now the case. This, of course, could, and should be achieved whether the system is voluntary or not.

There were two principal problem areas or potential difficulties of a volunteer system set forth in the conference.

First, the feasibility of such a system was questioned. That is, whether the cost required to recruit sufficient numbers would be prohibitive. This resulted in a difference of opinion, but not necessarily differences as to facts, because there was broad agreement that sufficient information gaps exist today as to prevent reasonable conclusion on the question of feasibility. To me, this strongly argues in favor of a study to determine feasibility.

Most of our citizens have assumed, as have I, that a voluntary system was not feasible, simply because DOD said so, and that they could back up that position with facts. The cold, hard facts are that DOD cannot back up their position with facts. I fully agree that, with the current military personnel policies and pay scales which the DOD is able to retain only because there is compulsion, a voluntary system is not feasible. Whether under different pay and personnel procedures, more competitive with the competition for manpower, it would be feasible, I don't know. I do know, however, that DOD doesn't know either, and, in my opinion, there is no excuse for our not finding out.

Two. Next, the argument is made that a voluntary, and therefore professional army, could develop into a threat to establish political institutions. Certainly, any fear of threat to our political institutions merits careful attention. Such a threat, however, could be expected to come from the officer corps, rather than enlisted personnel, and in the United States, officers of all services have *always* been career or voluntary. Further, our proper tradition of civil control over the military has thus far always been sufficiently strong so there has been no serious threat of military takeover.

Further, history seems to show in other nations that military threats to civil political institutions have come from conscript armies as well as from volunteer armies, and that many nations have not had such threats regardless of whether they had conscript or volunteer armies.

I believe that such a threat is a serious matter—to be watched and prevented—but that with attention and care, it can be as readily avoided in a volunteer system as in a conscript army, by building in some turnover in the system.

To conclude, during the discussions held during the four-day conference I was impressed that very few valid arguments against a voluntary system, arguments supported by documentation or fact, were put forth. I felt that the numerous and compelling advantages of the proposed voluntary system were not effectively rebutted, and a review of the transcript of that conference would so indicate. Also, I was struck by the surprising degree of support for a voluntary system, and by not only the number of proponents, but, in addition, by the diverse political, ideological, and personal viewpoints of the individuals uniting in their support of the concept of a volunteer system.

Recognizing that Presidential commissions, blue ribbon or not, have proved to be a rather unproductive mechanism for dealing with this problem, and recognizing further that the Congress of the United States has a primary responsibility in this area, and with the above facts in mind, my conclusion from the conference is that a reasonable course of action now would be:

1. That the Congress give prompt attention to establishing as a goal the institution of an all-voluntary system and of phasing-out any compulsory draft system as a device for maintaining any-size military force other than that which might be required in a massive land war.

This, of course, recognizes that our nation will need some compulsory mechanism available to raise the substantially larger numbers that might be required in a major war effort. There would need to be some compulsory system superimposed above any possible voluntary system, which would be available to be used in the event a need arises.

2. That the 90th Congress, early in the First Session, establish a Joint Committee to determine the feasibility of a volunteer system; to try to fill existing information gaps; to study possible improvements in any compulsory system which may be necessary, whether as a primary or reserve mechanism; and, finally, to study all possible alternative systems.

It is certainly no credit to our Government, this would include both the Executive and Legislative Branches, that in the past twenty-five years, there has not been a comprehensive review of this problem area, and that the serious information gaps still exist today.

I, personally, am of the opinion that it would be very difficult for a single committee, such as the Armed Services Committee, to do the type of study required. I say this because the subject touches upon the jurisdictions of so many different Congressional committees that it seems the only logical group to make the necessary study is one composed of individuals who serve on a variety of legislative committees. Thus, a Select Committee is required. Further, the time problem, in that the Selective Service Act comes up for review during the summer of 1967, leads me to believe that it should be a joint Committee, rather than separate committees in each body of the Congress. And,

3. That, if a voluntary system is found to be feasible, but that it would take a period of years to achieve, which very likely would be the case, the Joint Committee should recommend to the Congress a "transitional system" designed to move towards the goal of an all-volunteer system.

Opposition to the approach set forth above, it would seem, must be based on one of two attitudes. First, that one has all the information necessary and is fully convinced that a voluntary system is not feasible. I consider such a position totally unsupported by the testimony provided at the conference. Or, the view that whether or not a voluntary system is feasible, one would oppose it in favor of *any* compulsory system. It would seem to me that the latter position is not consistent with the general opposition to compulsion in a free society to which even the Department of Defense pays lip service.

Under present circumstances, and based upon the information available, the case for such a course of action by the Congress seems to me to be overwhelming.

The Costs and Implications of an All-Volunteer Force

(By Walter Y. Oi, University of Washington)

(Author's note.—A considerable amount of the research for this paper was done while

I served as a consultant for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense from June 1964 to July 1965. I am deeply indebted to many members of the OASD staff who provided assistance and information. The opinions and conclusions which appear in this paper are solely my responsibility and do *not* in any way reflect the position of the Dept. of Defense. I am especially indebted to Mr. William A. Gorham, Dr. Harold Wool, and Prof. Stuart H. Altman who provided counsel and advice in my year of service on the manpower study. They are absolved of responsibility for any errors of fact or interpretation which may still remain in this paper. A shorter version of this paper which emphasizes the economic cost of the draft is due to appear in the *Papers and Proceedings* of the American Economic Association (May 1967).)

The draft constitutes one means of supplying the Armed Services with qualified personnel. Except for a brief lapse from March 1947 to June 1948, a military draft has been in continuous operation in the United States since 1940. Under provisions of the current draft law, every qualified male incurs a liability to serve for two years in active military service and up to six years in the stand-by reserves. Some men obtain deferments or exemptions from this liability, while others discharge it through voluntary entry into military service. The remaining qualified youths have, however, been involuntarily inducted into active duty service.

In times of war when nearly everyone must serve, alternatives to a draft are judged to be too costly or infeasible. The peacetime demands for military personnel are, however, considerably smaller with the consequence that a draft becomes selective. Rules must therefore be established to determine which qualified youths will be involuntarily selected. The equity of the selection process (which under the current draft translates into deferment policies) is then questioned. These debates over the equity of a draft are testimony to the fact that some alternatives should be given serious consideration and perhaps even adopted.

One of several proposed alternatives to the current draft is the establishment of an all-volunteer force.[1] To say that a particular alternative such as an all-volunteer force is preferable to the current draft implies that the cost of the alternative is, in some sense, lower than the cost of procuring military personnel with the present Selective Service System. If the draft were abolished, military pay and other recruitment incentives must be improved to attract enough recruits to meet prescribed manpower objectives. In his statement before the House Armed Services Committee, the Hon. T. D. Morris (Assistant Secretary of Defense) indicated that an all-volunteer force of 2.65 million men would increase the military payroll budget by 4 to 17 billion dollars per year.[2]

The budgetary cost of the Department of Defense (hereafter abbreviated DOD) is *not* the economic cost of labor resources which are allocated to the uniformed services. The presence of a draft has affected both the level and structure of military pay. Moreover, the men who are in the Armed Forces were recruited and conscripted through manpower procurement programs which rely in differing degrees on the coercion of a draft liability. Adoption of a purely voluntary force entails increases in pay as well as substantial changes in the procurement channels through which men are recruited. The composition and structure of an all-volunteer force would thus differ significally from that of the present force containing many men who were enlisted under the pressure of a draft liability. The structure of the Armed Forces is thus a product of manpower procurement and retention policies. In this paper, I shall compare the costs of two procurement systems; a purely voluntary system, and the system which has evolved under the current draft law.

The implications of projected military manpower demands are first examined in parts I and II for the two cases—a mixed force under a continued draft and a voluntary force. Part III presents estimates of the financial cost of the Armed Forces in terms of the value of civilian goods and services that could have been produced by men in the Armed Services. The full economic cost of the draft acknowledges the occupational preferences of prospective recruits. If a youth has an aversion to service life, he could in principle be compensated by enough to induce him to become a volunteer. Presently, many men who would demand such compensations are involuntarily inducted, while others reluctantly volunteer before they are drafted. The magnitude of these costs which are imposed on reluctant service participants is estimated in part IV. Finally, the mechanics of the current draft create uncertainties about the incidence and time of involuntary induction. Some of the costs associated with these uncertainties are briefly discussed in part V.

I. FORCE STRENGTHS AND MILITARY MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS UNDER A DRAFT

The labor resources demanded by the Armed Services can be approximated by force strength which is simply a stock demand for military personnel unadjusted for the quality of servicemen or for the proportion in an effective (non-training) status. The total defense establishment is conveniently divided into three force strengths, (1) officers on active duty, (2) enlisted men on active duty, and (3) paid drill reservists. The last component engages in active duty mainly for training and is rarely used to bolster active duty strengths.[3]

The average force strength in all active and reserve components for the six years prior to Vietnam was just under 3.7 million men of whom 2.6 million were on active duty. The fluctuations in force strengths which are shown in the upper panel of Table 1 are largely explained by international tensions. Since a discussion of factors determining force strength objectives is clearly beyond the scope of this paper, the peacetime force strength objectives are taken to be exogenous.

A more meaningful concept of demand is provided by the gross flow demand for new accessions from civilian life. The gross flow demand is the number of required accessions A_t that must be recruited or conscripted to replace losses during the year L_t and to achieve prescribed changes in strength objectives, $(S_t - S_{t-1})$.

$$A_t = L_t + (S_t - S_{t-1})$$

If force strength is kept stable, $(S_t - S_{t-1})$ will be zero. In this case, the gross flow demand is simply a replacement demand for losses which arise during the year because of voluntary separations upon completion of obligated tours of duty, retirements, deaths, and other discharges for medical or unsuitability reasons. The actual accessions between FY 1960–65 are shown in the lower panel of Table 1.[4]

An annual average of 645 thousand men were recruited or conscripted from civil life to maintain the average strengths which prevailed over the period FY 1960–65. The ratio of annual accessions to force strengths provides a rough measure of military personnel turnover. Using the six year averages, FY 1960–65, from Table 1, the data indicate the following implicit turnover rates.

Implied actual turnover rates by component, fiscal year 1960–65 (percentages):

Total DOD (Active Forces)	19.7
Officers	11.3
Enlisted men	21.0
Army (Active Forces)	24.6
Officers	13.7
Enlisted men	26.0
Reserves and National Guard	12.2

Since the obligated tour of a draftee is considerably shorter than that of a regular voluntary enlistee, the Army with larger inputs of draftees necessarily experiences a higher turnover rate. For prescribed peacetime force strength objectives, turnover rates determine the gross flow demands for new recruits. Elimination of the draft and policies which raise re-enlistment rates thus operate to lower the gross flow demand corresponding to a given stock demand. This point is amplified in part II below.

The manpower procurement channels which have evolved under a draft have strongly influenced the characteristics of servicemen. Of the 645 thousand annual accessions to military service in FY 1960–65, 539 thousand (83.6 per cent) entered through a variety of voluntary programs. An individual can discharge his draft liability by serving as an enlisted man or officer. He can accomplish the former in any of three ways: (1) as a regular voluntary enlistee, (2) as a volunteer to a two-year active duty reserve program in the Navy or Marine Corps, or (3) as a draftee.[5] Except for the doctors and dentists draft, all officer procurement programs are voluntary. Finally, the draft liability can be satisfied by volunteering for a Reserve or National Guard program requiring active duty only for training. Many men who discharge their draft liabilities through voluntary entry into military service can properly be called reluctant volunteers who entered a particular program in preference to being involuntarily drafted. In order to extrapolate the characteristics of men who are likely to enter military service in the future, it is convenient to study the military service experience of age classes born in specific years.

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[1] The three leading alternatives to the current draft are (1) an all-volunteer force, (2) lottery at a younger age, and (3) equivalent service. In the third alternative, men could discharge their draft liability by equivalent service in some other endeavor such as the Peace Corps or VISTA. Given the projected growth in male population, these "other endeavors" would have to be greatly expanded if all qualified youths are to serve their country. Adoption of this alternative would put the Federal Government into many new activities as well as a sizable rise in budgetary costs. The cost of a lottery selection system cannot be evaluated until its specific details are clarified. The impact of a lottery on voluntary accessions to enlisted ranks, officer procurement programs, and reserve units must be assessed. A comparison of the lottery and the present Selective Service System is clearly beyond the scope of this paper.

[2] House of Representatives, 89th Congress, Second Session, "Review of the Administration and Operation of the Selective Service System," Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services (June 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 30, 1966), [hereafter abbreviated *House Hearings*], pp. 9923–9955. See especially pp. 9936–9940.

[3] In the last decade, reservists were recalled to active duty in significant numbers only once. During the Berlin crisis of FY 1962, some 111 thousand National Guard and Army reservists were recalled to raise Army active duty force strength from 858.6 in FY 1961 to 1,066.4 thousand in FY 1962. This generalization does not apply to officers. In the five years, FY 1960–64, an annual average of 1,287 reserve officers were activated accounting for 3.5 per cent of total officer accessions.

[4] The data in the lower panel of Table 1 may differ from other estimates of accessions for at least two reasons. One is that "first enlistments" include some men with prior service while other data may pertain to non-prior service accessions. The other is that "reserves to active duty" which I have included with first enlistments except for the unusual situation prevailing in FY 1962 are often neglected. The remaining discrepancies are, however, quite small.

The disposition of military service obligations by men born in 1938 was estimated from a sample of Selective Service registrants. By July 1964, this age class reached the age of 26 at which the draft liability is effectively terminated.[6]

According to the data of Table 2, the incidence of military service was highest for men with some college education, 59.5 per cent, and lowest for college graduates, 40.3 per cent. Only 18 percent of this age class was formally rejected and placed into draft classifications IV–F and I–Y. This low rejection rate is probably due to the fact that men obtaining dependency and occupational deferments were never examined.

Physical and moral standards for military service have remained quite stable and appear to be unrelated to educational attainment. Mental qualification standards which are based on the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) scores have, however, been varied in response to changing manpower demands. If the minimum mental standard is set equal to the 16th percentile on the AFQT, I obtain the estimated rejection rates shown in the following Table.[7]

Estimated rejection rates by education

Reason for rejection	Years of education				
	Less than 12	12	13 to 15	16 and over	Total
Physical	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0
Moral	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
Mental [1]	28.4	7.6	2.0	0.9	14.6
All reasons	40.8	24.7	20.1	19.1	30.4

[1] The mental rejection rate is applied to the population of physically and morally qualified males. This procedure assumes that the incidence of mental rejections is uncorrelated with the other 2 causes for rejection.

The population of men who were physically and mentally qualified for military service was thus estimated by applying these rejection rates. The incidence of military service in relation to the base of qualified males is now highest, 85.5 per cent, for men with less than 12 years of education. Only 74.3 per cent of qualified males with some college (13–15 years) experienced military service.

The avenues by which men entered military service cannot be identified from Table 2. A study by the DOD Statistical Office developed estimates of the age and education distribution of new accessions to all reserve and active duty components during FY 1963. The results of this study are summarized in Table 3. This pattern of military service participation appears to be representative for the age classes born in 1936–40.[8] If peacetime force strengths return to their pre-Vietnam levels, future accessions to military service in FY 1970–75 are likely to be distributed in a similar fashion.

Of 563,159 accessions in FY 1963, 53.5 per cent volunteered for regular enlisted ranks. Fully 78.8 per cent of these did so before their 21st birthday, and a majority had, at most, a high school degree. A similar pattern is observed for entrants to the two-year active duty reserve programs.[9] Since the oldest liable men are taken first in the Selective Service System's order of call, low draft calls raise the average age of draftees. The draftees in 1963 (a year of low draft calls) are thus considerably older than regular enlistments.

Nearly all new officers (96.2 per cent) held college degrees. During the Korean War, candidates without degrees could qualify for many aviation cadet programs. Finally, the initial enlistments to Reserve and Guard components are somewhat older and more educated than accessions to the active forces.

An independent estimate of the pattern of military service participation can be constructed from the data of Tables 1 and 3. The male population was distributed by education according to the educational distribution of the male labor force, 25–34 years of age as reported in the 1960 Population Census. The qualified populations were obtained by applying the rejection rates developed above. Since men born in 1938 entered military service between 1956–64, the average annual accessions in the next to last column of Table 1 indicate the major components which they entered. The 614 thousand men who reported some military service were thus allocated to active duty and reserve components; confer the first column of Table 4. The entrants to each component (say voluntary enlistments) were distributed by education on the basis of the percentage distributions of Table 3.

The estimated pattern of service participation in the upper panel of Table 4 differs from the Selective Service sample of Table 2 in one notable respect. In my estimates of Table 4, there are too few servicemen with 0–11 years of education. This discrepancy is partially due to the upgrading of mental qualification standards. Because of the higher mental standards which prevailed in 1963, many high school dropouts who could have qualified as volunteers in FY 1956–58 were denied entry in FY 1963. However, if mental standards are held constant into the future, the characteristics of initial accessions shown in Table 3 should apply.

The participation rate in active duty forces (in relation to the total population) was 59.2 per cent for the age class of 1938. The uneven incidence of active military service is evident from the qualified participation rates shown in Table 4. Over three-fourths of qualified high school graduates served in the active duty forces, while less than one-third of college graduates discharged their draft liabilities in this way.

To determine the financial cost of the Armed Forces, it is necessary to estimate the age and educational distribution of the entire force. Special tabulations provide estimates of the percentage of enlisted men with high school degrees and officers with college degrees; these data for selected dates apply to total DOD active forces.

Educational attainment of servicemen on active duty (total DOD, selected dates)

Date	Percentage of enlisted with high school degrees	Percentage of officers with college degrees
Dec. 31, 1952	52.7	46.2
May 31, 1956	55.2	55.5
Feb. 29, 1960	66.1	56.8
Dec. 31 1963	72.8	69.4

Sources: Special tabulations, DOD Statistical Office.

Secular improvements in the educational attainment of the entire population and higher qualification standards both contribute to the upward trend in the education of the Armed Services. A more detailed description was obtained from the 1960 population Census and is described by the data of Table 5.[10]

Attention is next directed to projections of military service participation under two vastly different procurement systems corresponding to a mixed force of volunteers and conscripts and a purely voluntary force. In this section, I examine the mixed force case in which the current draft law is assumed to be continued. Flows of volunteers and draftees are demanded to maintain the assumed force strength of 2.65 million men. Projections of required accessions (gross flow demands) over the period FY 1970–75 were developed for this case in the DOD study; the annual averages for the six years appear in the last column of Table

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[5] Draftees have mainly been channeled to the Army. A few delinquents (usually reservists who failed to attend drill meetings) are drafted into the other three Services. In 1956, the Navy accepted draftees, while the Marines did so in FY 1966. A two-year active duty reserve program was offered by the Army in 1956, but the program was dropped in 1958. Finally regular enlistments are obligated to initial tours of three years in the Regular Army and four years in the Air Force. The length of initial tours is more variable in the Navy and Marines with some recruits signed to six year tour.

[6] The draft liability is extended to the age of 35 for men holding occupational and student deferments. However, older liable men are placed in a lower order of call so that few individuals over 26 years of age are drafted. One exception is the draft of doctors and dentists.

[7] More careful estimates of mental and physical rejection rates have been prepared by Dr. Bernard Carpinos of the Department of Defense. His estimates indicate that the physical rejection rate rises with educational attainment. The difference between the estimates of Dr. Carpinos and my estimates are, however, quite small.

[8] Earlier age classes experienced considerably higher participation rates because of the Korean War. Moreover, larger fractions of these age classes entered active duty ranks between 1953–60. The Reserve and National Guard programs requiring active duty for training only were largely developed since 1958. In the current Vietnam build-up, over 900 thousand men entered active duty components in FY 1966 implying considerably higher participation rates for the age classes of 1942–45.

[9] The data of Table 3 indicate that 70.8 per cent of the two-year reservists did not have a high school degree. The educational attainment of this group is misleading. Many recruits enlist while they are still enrolled in school but enter active duty only upon graduation. Indeed, the mental distribution of recruits to the Navy's 2x6 program is considerably higher than that of Regular Navy enlistments.

[10] The 1960 Census data applied to Servicemen stationed in the U.S. The total DOD force strength in FY 1960 included 2,447 thousand males, but the Census enumerated only 1,715 thousand. The Census figures were expanded to the assumed force strength of 2.65 million by multiplying by (2,650/1,715) = 1.545. This procedure assumes that Servicemen stationed abroad have the same age and educational distribution as those stationed in the U.S. I suspect that this procedure leads to upward biases in both the median age and education of the force.

1.[11] In the light of the expanding population base, it is projected that the other Services (Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps) will enjoy excess supplies of enlistment applicants. A statistical analysis of time series data on Regular Army enlistments suggested that the appropriate base from which such recruits are drawn is the population of 18–19 year-old males not enrolled in school. Since the proportion of an age class that remains in school is increasing, Army enlistments do not grow in proportion to the growth in the population of qualified males.[12] Army enlistment rates were also found to be correlated with unemployment. If the unemployment rate falls from 5.5 to 4.0 per cent, voluntary enlistments are expected to decline by 16 per cent.

In a steady state, the required accessions to sustain the assumed force of 2.65 million men are equal to losses during the year. Losses can be approximately from retention profiles which indicate the proportion of men remaining on active duty N years after entry. Retention profiles which were estimated from the experience of the late 1950's are shown in Tables 6 and 7. The sum of retention rates in a column represents the force strength that could be maintained by an input of one man per year; it is simply the integral under the retention profile. The length of the first term of service is evident in these profiles by the sharp drop in the retention rate. It is convenient to divide the area under the profile into two parts. Let F be the sum of retention rates over the first term, while C is the sum for the career force on their second and later tours. The maintainable force from an annual input of one man is simply F+C. The turnover rate for a stable force is simply the reciprocal of (F+C). The turnover rates implied by the DOD projections are obtained by taking the ratio of accessions to strengths from the last column of Table 1.

Comparison of turnover rates from retention profiles and DOD projections [1]

Component	F	C	F+C	Turnover rates	
				1/(F+C)	Implied
Enlisted men:					
Total DOD	2.9252	2.3728	5.2981	18.9	20.4
Other services	3.5958	3.4472	7.0430	14.2	17.7
Regular Army	2.7292	2.1375	4.8667	20.5	25.0
Army draftees	1.9001	.0540	1.9541	51.2	
Officers:					
All officers	3.064	6.403	9.467	10.6	10.5
Regular officers	3.847	13.494	17.341	5.8	----------
Non-Regular officers	2.894	3.198	6.092	16.4	----------

[1] The first 3 columns are sums of retention rates from tables 6 and 7. The last column is derived from the projected accessions and strengths in the last column of table 1.

The discrepancy between the two estimates of turnover rates is small, especially for the Army enlisted men. The retention profiles were also compared to the actual active duty forces as of 30 June 1965 which appears in Table 8. The two conform quite closely. The percentages of enlisted men with less than ten years of service were 73.4 percent in Table 8 and 73.7 percent as implied from the retention profile. Likewise, 51.5 percent of officers in 1965 had less than ten years of service as compared to an implied 59.5 percent from the profile of Table 7.

In order to infer the incidence of future military service under a continued draft, the projected accessions were juxtaposed to a typical age class born in 1946–48 which according to Census projections will contain 1,880 thousand males. Some 562 thousand will, however, be rejected for military service. By applying the pattern of military service participation shown in Table 3, I distributed the accessions across education groups. In this manner, I constructed the data shown in the lower panel of Table 4.[13]

Although 41.5 percent of males born in 1938 are estimated to have entered active military service, only 27.0 percent of men born in 1947 are projected to be required to sustain an active duty force of 2.65 million men. The participation rate in relation to the qualified population falls from 59.2 to 38.5 percent. Only 18.9 percent of qualified college graduates are projected to enter active duty forces in FY 1970–75.

II. SUPPLIES OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE ABSENCE OF A DRAFT

The task of estimating the cost of an all-volunteer force was aproached in two steps. It was first assumed that the draft would be abolished with no accompanying changes in pay or other recruitment incentives. An implication of this exercise is that supplies of volunteers fall short of requirements for a force of 2.65 million men. In the second step, military pay was advanced to attract enough recruits to meet the prescribed force strength objective.

If the draft is eliminated, the Services would obviously lose the draftees who had accounted for 21 per cent of accessions to enlisted ranks in FY 1960–65. In addition, the flow of new accessions is likely to be reduced by the reluctant volunteers who enlist in preference to being drafted. To determine the probable number of reluctant volunteers, the Dept. of Defense conducted a survey in the fall of 1964 of men on active duty and male civilians who were 16–34 years of age. Regular enlisted men in their first term (all of whom had volunteered between 1960 and 1964) were classified as true or reluctant volunteers on the basis of their response to the question, "If there had been no draft, and if you had no military obligation, do you think that you would have volunteered for active military service?" Those replying "no definitely" or "no probably" were classified as reluctant volunteers. Percentages of true voluntary enlistments in sub-groups identified by age and education are shown in the first column of Table 9. The incidence of true volunteers is highest in the youngest and least educated group and declines as age and education are increased. The projected flows of enlistments under a continued draft appear in the fourth column. If these are multiplied by the respective percentages of true volunteers, one obtains the estimated flows of true volunteers if the draft were abolished with no pay changes.[14]

This question on draft motivation was also asked of officers on their first obligated tours. Percentages of true volunteers classified by source of commission are shown in the first column of Table 10. The Direct Appointments which include doctors and dentists exhibit the lowest incidence of true volunteers, followed next by the college graduate procurement programs. The "Other" category which is mainly composed of men without a college degree reveals the smallest fraction of reluctant, draft-motivated volunteers. The estimated flows of officer accessions in the absence of a draft (the fifth column of Table 10) should be regarded as only representative.[15]

The reduction in active duty force strength will be less than the fall in voluntary accessions because of offsetting improvements in retention. Air Force studies reveal that first-term re-enlistment rates were higher for Airmen whose primary reason for entry was unrelated to the draft.[16] The data of Table 11 show that the re-enlistment rate of draftees in FY 1960–65 was only a third as large as that of regular enlisted men. If the re-enlistment rate of draftees, R_d, is assumed to apply to reluctant volunteers, one can estimate the re-enlistment rate if all recruits were true volunteers. The observed re-enlistment rate R of regular enlisted men in FY 1960–65 is simply a weighted average of the rates applicable to true and reluctant volunteers.

$$R=kR_v + (1\text{-}k)R_d$$

where k is the proportion of true volunteers. Setting $R_d=7.67$ per cent (the average rate for draftees), one can solve for R_v; the results are shown in Table 11.

Similar improvements in retention can also be expected of officers. Since all officers (except doctors and dentists) are obtained from voluntary programs, we have no data corresponding to R_d. However, from a survey of intentions to remain on active duty, it proved possible to develop estimates of retention rates in an all-volunteer force.[17]

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[11] The projected accessions appearing in Table 1 correspond to an assumed strength of 2.7 million men and assume that the civilian unemployment rate will be 5.5 per cent—the average unemployment rate from 1957–64. A lower civilian unemployment rate reduces voluntary enlistments to the Army thereby increasing the projected number of draft calls.

[12] The qualified manpower pools in FY 1970–75 are projected to be 42 per cent larger than the qualified populations in FY 1960–65. However, the DOD projections indicate that Army enlistments rise by only 26 per cent. If excess supplies of enlistment applicants to other Services are channeled to the Army, the DOD estimates could prove to be on the low side.

[13] The education distribution of the male population in FY 1970–75 was assumed to be the same as in 1964. Moreover, the education distribution of voluntary enlistments was also assumed to be the same. These assumptions tend to understate the educational attainment of future military service participants.

[14] The estimates in the fifth column of Table 9 contain a downward bias. Since the other Services are expected to enjoy excess supplies of enlistment applicants in FY 1970–75, the figures in the fourth column do not represent voluntary supply responses.

[15] Officer procurement programs are considerably more variable than procurement channels for enlisted men. For example, the Army and Air Force now offer scholarships and stipends for some ROTC students; a similar program is also offered by the Navy. It is likely that in an all-volunteer force, the non-college graduate programs (especially for flight training) will be expanded.

[16] Air Force surveys have attempted to identify the single most important reason for original entry. Two of several possible responses can be interpreted as draft-motivated reasons: these are "choice of Service" and "volunteered in preference to being drafted." Followup studies reveal that re-enlistment rates are considerably lower for Airmen selecting these two responses.

The substitution of true volunteers for draftees and reluctant volunteers operates to raise retention rates in an all-volunteer force. Annual losses for a given strength will thus be smaller implying a lower gross flow of required accessions. If one ignores the transitional problems of moving from a mixed to a voluntary force, required accessions can be estimated from the new retention profiles. The impact of lower turnover rates on required accessions is indicated by the following comparison.

Comparison of officer retention rates

Source of commission	Mixed force (actual 1960-64)	Voluntary force (estimated)
Academy	82.1	82.1
Officer Candidate School	26.0	48.5
ROTC	35.3	53.9
Direct appointments	(1)	33.0
Other	82.1	83.1
Total, Department of Defense	41.9	59.3

[1] Not available.

Gross flow demands (required accessions) for a strength of 2.65 million

Component	Voluntary force (no draft)	Mixed force (with draft)	Ratio
Total required accessions to enlisted ranks	333.5	472.0	0.707
Other services	188.9	257.7	.733
Army, total	144.6	214.3	.675
Volunteers [1]	144.6	159.0	.909
Inductions	0	55.3	
Required accessions of officers	28.4	35.7	.796
Total gross flow demands	361.9	507.7	.713

[1] Assumes a 5.5 percent unemployment rate.

Voluntary supplies in the absence of a draft (confer the fifth columns of Tables 9 and 10) fall short of these requirements. Hence, if the draft were eliminated with no pay changes, the sustainable force strength would fall to around 2.2 million men. Moreover, the reduction in force strength would be largest for the Army which accepts the largest number of draftees and draft-motivated volunteers.

These deficits in voluntary supplies could be eliminated by raising military pay. The responsiveness of voluntary supplies to pay changes was estimated from cross-sectional data for nine census regions. From the DOD survey, it was possible to estimate voluntary enlistment rates, E, in the absence of a draft.[18] Although first term military pay, M, is the same for all recruits, relative pay in relation to alternative civilian employment varies because of regional differences in civilian pay C. Relative military pay Y-M/C is higer in regions such as the South where C is low. Data for the nine regions indicate that the hypothetical voluntary enlistment rate is positively correlated with relative pay Y.

Of several functions which were fitted to the data, the most consistent fit was provided by a complement supply equation given by, (1) $(1-E)=\alpha Y=\beta$, where α and β are parameters. According to this equation, a 1 per cent increase in relative pay Y leads to a 6 per cent decline in the remainder of the population $(1-E)$ *not* in military service. The elasticity of supply, ϵ, is given by, (2) $\epsilon=\beta(1-E/E)$. As the enlistment rate E approaches unity, the elasticity of supply approaches zero. The parameters of this equation were estimated by least squares for two groups: (1) all enlistments to total DOD in mental groups I to III and (2) Army enlistments in mental groups I to III.[19]

An upper bound to the cost is obtained by estimating the necessary pay increase to fill the deficit in Army enlistments. According to DOD projections, annual inputs of 214.3 thousand are required in FY 1970–75 to sustain an Army enlisted strength of 857 thousand. The turnover rate for the mixed input of draftees and regular enlistees is 25 per cent. If all inputs were three-year enlistees, the retention profile of Table 6 (applicable to inputs of true and reluctant volunteers) implies that the turnover rate could be reduced to 20.6 per cent.

Next, the substitution of true for reluctant volunteers in an all-volunteer force leads to a further gain in retention. The first-term re-enlistment rate can be expected to climb from 22.1 per cent (for mixed inputs of which only 56.8 per cent are true volunteers) to 33.0 per cent in a voluntary force: confer Table 11. Hence, when all recruits are true volunteers who freely choose military service over alternative civilian jobs, the turnover rate is reduced to 16.9 per cent.[20] In a steady state, this turnover rate determines the required accessions of 144.6 thousand to sustain a voluntary Army strength of 857 thousand enlisted men. If the draft were abolished, Army enlistments are projected to fall by 43.2 per cent (the percentage of draft-motivated reluctant volunteers) to annual flows of 90.3 thousand. The ratio of required accessions to enlistments, $(A/E)=(144.6/90.3)=1.601$, describes the magnitude of the deficit. The necessary pay increase, (Y_1/Y_0), was then calculated from the complement supply curve, equation (1).

$$(3)\quad (1-A/1-E)=(Y_1/Y_0)^{-\beta}$$

where $Y_0=M_0/C$ is the initial relative military pay, and $Y_1=M_1/C$ is the new pay scale that is required to eliminate the deficit. The Army enlistment rate, E, before a pay increase was found to be 8.33 per cent of the labor force for a specific age class, while A was 13.33 per cent. The least squares estimate for β in the Army supply curve was $\beta=.108$ implying an elasticity of $\epsilon=1.36$. By substituting these values in equation (3), the necessary pay increase was found to be $(Y_1/Y_0)=1.68$.[21]

Since pay increases apply to men in their first term, it is essential to discuss briefly the mechanics of implementing this pay increase. The income of a serviceman includes money payments for various items and some income in kind. In this paper, I shall use the concept of tax equivalent income consisting of (1) base pay, (2) quarters, subsistence, and uniform allowances when received in money, or (3) the imputed value of quarters and subsistence when no money payments are received, and (4) the tax advantage.[22]

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[17] The actual retention rates were taken from a special tabulation prepared by the DOD Statistical Office. Retention rates for the all-volunteer forces were based on responses of officers who stated that they definitely or probably would have volunteered if there had been no draft. Each officer on his first tour indicated whether he intended to remain on active duty after completing his present tour of duty.

[18] Data on voluntary enlistments in mental groups I to III were available by states for FY 1963. Since enlistments of men in mental group IV are limited by recruitment quotas, their omission assures that the data represent supply responses. The number of true volunteers was inferred by applying the results of the 1964 DOD survey in a manner analogous to that shown in Table 9. The voluntary enlistment rate was expressed in relation to the male civilian labor force, 17–20 years of age, adjusted for physical and mental rejections.

[19] In estimating the complement supply equation, the unemployment rate of youths in each region was included as an additional explanatory variable. The data on enlistment rates, E, relative military/civilian earnings, Y, and unemployment rates, U, can be found in the *House Hearings*, Table 6, p. 9957. A more detailed discussion of voluntary supplies of military personnel is contained in a forthcoming paper by S. Altman and A. Fechter in, American Economic Association, *Papers and Proceedings* (May 1967).

[20] In the mixed force, an annual input of one Regular Army enlistee (only 56.8 per cent being true volunteers) produced a sustainable force in which F = 2.73 men were in their first term and C = 2.14 were in the career force. Since losses during the first term arise from discharges for medical, hardship, and unsuitability reasons, the number in the first term, F, will be unaffected by the move to a voluntary force. However, the number in the career force will climb to $C'=C(33.0/22.1)=3.20$ men. The turnover rate of an all-volunteer force is then simply $(1/F+C')$ or $(1/5.93)=16.9$ per cent.

[21] My estimate of the necessary first-term pay increase is lower than the DOD estimates. The DOD study presented three estimates corresponding to three values of β; the point estimate of β and the point estimate plus and minus one standard error of the regression coefficient. For the case of a 5.5 per cent unemployment rate, I have reproduced the estimates of percentage increases in first-term pay; confer *House Hearings*, p. 9958:

DOD low estimate	80
DOD best estimate	111
DOD high estimate	181
My estimate	68

The discrepancy is probably due to differences in our estimates of the required accession rate A. I assume a steady state, while the DOD study appears to use a required accessions rate applicable to the transition period.

[22] Quarters, subsistence, and uniform allowances are classified as non-taxable income, thereby bestowing a tax advantage to servicemen. The monetary value of this tax advantage accounts for around 5.5 per cent of tax equivalent income. In addition to these items, many men receive money payments for flight pay, sea duty, jump pay, etc. I have also omitted the imputed value of other forms of income in kind such as medical care, insurance, free military transportation, and PX privileges.

Annual tax equivalent incomes for enlisted men classified by years of service are shown in Table 12. Military pay in the first two years of service is extremely low because pay increases which were legislated prior to 1964 applied mainly to the career force. Since the supply of new accessions could be assured by the draft law, there seemed to be no need to raise entry level pay. In implementing the 68-per cent increase in first-term pay, I assumed that the discontinuity in the pay profile would be eliminated. Consequently, the average military income over the first three years of service climbs from $2,500 to $4,200 per year. In order to prevent reversals in the pay structure by years of service, men in the career force would receive pay increases which average around 17 per cent.

With these pay increases, the Armed Forces should be able to meet their strength objectives with voluntary supplies of new accessions. Since the incidence of reluctant volunteers was highest for older, more educated men, the voluntary force is likely to have a lower educational attainment. From the estimated flows of true volunteers in Tables 9 and 10, I constructed a plausible pattern of military service participation in the absence of a draft which appears in Table 13. The voluntary force with its higher retention requires fewer accessions to sustain the same active duty strength. Consequently, the qualified participation rate falls from 38.5 per cent in the mixed force to 27.5 per cent. Relative declines in qualified participation rates which appear in the last row of Table 13 reveal that the largest decline is for college graduates. These changes in the probable educational mix of recruits will, in a steady state, be reflected in the educational attainment of the entire force.

The move to a voluntary force is likely to be accompanied by considerably higher first-term re-enlistment rates. Each voluntary recruit is expected to have a longer tenure of active duty. If marginal retention rates are assumed to remain stable, one can construct new retention profiles from the anticipated higher first-term re-enlistment rates. The projected age structure of an all-volunteer force was developed from the new retention profiles and appears in Table 14.

Finally, the age and educational distribution of a voluntary force was inferred from the educational mix of new accessions. It was assumed that officer procurement programs for non-college graduates would be expanded. The proportion of enlisted men with 0–8 years of education is small for two reasons. Firstly, the population base of men in this group is growing only slightly because of secular improvements in overall educational attainment. Secondly, mental standards are assumed to be held at a minimum AFQT score of 16. The hypothetical distribution of the voluntary force by age and education is shown in Table 15.

In estimating the cost of an all-volunteer force, I neglected at least three pertinent factors: (1) the transitional period, (2) the savings which obtain from lower personnel turnover, and (3) possible substitutions of civilians for uniformed men. The required accessions, A, were estimated for a steady state in which the retention profile of a voluntary force prevails. In order to maintain force strengths in the transition, required accessions are likely to be around 10 per cent higher. The necessary pay increase to supply this higher gross flow demand is estimated to be 94 per cent as compared to the previous 68 per cent increase in first-term pay. If, however, pay is advanced prior to eliminating the draft liability, losses (and hence required accessions) can be reduced during the transitional period.

At least 10 per cent of the mixed force with its high personnel turnover is engaged in training. Since initial accessions to a voluntary force of the same size are some 30 per cent smaller, the voluntary force could be reduced by 3 per cent and still retain the same number of men in an "effective" status. In addition, men who are engaged in training others can be moved to other assignments producing further savings. Neglect of these savings from lower personnel turnover thus imparts an upward bias to my estimate of the necessary pay increase.

Many clerical, medical, food service, and maintenance positions which are now staffed by servicemen could be assigned to civilians. Given the low levels of first-term military pay, the assignment of uniformed personnel to these jobs may well produce the lowest budgetary cost. However, if military pay is sharply advanced, it becomes economical, even from the viewpoint of budgetary cost, to substitute civilians for military personnel.[23] By implementing such substitutions, the size of the active duty Armed Forces could be reduced without changing the tasks performed by the totality of civilians and uniformed men. A careful study of the possibilities for substituting civilians should, in my opinion, be an essential part of moving toward a voluntary force.

III. THE FINANCIAL COST OF THE ARMED FORCES

There are at least three senses in which the Armed Forces entail a financial cost: (1) the budgetary cost, (2) the cost to the economy, and (3) the cost to reluctant military service participants. In this paper, I propose to compare these costs for mixed and voluntary forces with the same active duty strength of 2.65 million men.

According to the defense budget for FY 1965, the cost of active duty military personnel was $12,662 million plus an additional $1,384 million for retirement benefits.[24] Another estimate of the payroll cost can be derived by applying the annual military incomes of Table 12 to the 1965 force shown in Table 8. This estimate of $12,049 million differs from the DOD budget because my measure of annual military incomes excludes many pay items.[25] This latter approach is, however, the only convenient way to estimate the budgetary cost of a hypothetical voluntary force.

In order to achieve a voluntary force, the entire pay profile must be shifted upward with the largest pay increases applying to men in the first few years of service. Moreover, the longer service life of recruits to a voluntary army implies that the higher incomes of the career force receive more weight. If the higher pay profile is applied to the age structure of a voluntary force (Table 14), the budgetary cost is estimated to be $16,103 million.[26] My estimates suggest that the defense budget for active duty military personnel would rise by $4 billion per year to acquire recruits and new officers on a voluntary basis. It should be repeated that the additional budgetary cost of an all-volunteer force neglects the higher cost during the transition, and the savings from lower personnel turnover and possible substitutions of civilians.

Turn next to the financial cost of the Armed Forces to the economy as a whole. In both mixed and voluntary forces, 2.65 million men are allocated to maintaining the defense of the nation and are thereby kept out of the civilian labor force. The alternative cost of these labor resources is the value of civilian goods and services that could have been produced by these servicemen. An ideal measure of this cost requires data on the marginal value products of the particular men in service. A useful approximation is obtained by assuming that servicemen could have earned the incomes of civilians of comparable ages and educational attainment. The 1964 annual civilian incomes classified by age and education and adjusted for unemployment are presented in Table 16. The tacit assumption is that if servicemen were relocated to the civilian economy, they could earn the same incomes as their civilian counterparts.[27]

Age and education are the best available surrogates for measuring the alternative incomes (representing the value of civilian goods and services) that could have been earned by servicemen. The estimated age and educational distributions of mixed and voluntary forces are respectively shown in Tables 5 and 15. If the draftees and volunteers in the mixed force received the civilian incomes of Table 16, their aggregate income would have been $13,041 million. The corresponding sum for an all-volunteer force is $14,233 million or 9.1 per cent more than the mixed force. Although the voluntary force has more men without a high school degree, it also contains older men, and on balance, the age effect outweighs education. These financial costs ignore the effects of personnel turnover. In a mixed force, larger flows of men from each age class enter military service for shorter periods. The critical question is, "Are civilian incomes in later life reduced or enhanced by short (two to four years) tours of active military service?" The relationship of income to age (given education) can be explained in two ways. One is that older men acquire on-the-job training which is reflected in their incomes. The other argues that income is a proxy for maturity and stability which command more income.[28] If the first explanation is correct and military training is only an imperfect substitute for civilian job experience, the financial cost of the mixed force would be higher than $13,041 million. Finally, it should be noted that these financial costs disregard the occupational preferences of individuals, some of whom are involuntarily drafted to serve.

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[23] The stock demand for servicemen is not completely inelastic, and at higher prices, fewer men would be demanded by the Armed Services. A consideration which operates in the opposing direction is the provision of rotational billets for men on rotation from overseas and sea duty assignments.

[24] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1966,* Table 153, p. 112.

[25] The major omissions include pay for flight, jump, sea duty, and hazardous duty. Moreover, the age structure of the force refers to years of active military service, while pay is determined by years of service for pay purposes. The latter is always equal to or greater than the former tending thereby to deflate my estimate of the payroll cost. An error in the opposing direction is present because roughly 5.5 per cent of tax equivalent income represents the implicit tax advantage. Finally, I had only rough estimates of annual military incomes for officers.

[26] In arriving at this cost, I assumed that an enlisted man received $3,900 in his first year of service with yearly increases of $300 for three years. The pay of enlisted men in their fourth and later years of service was raised by 17 per cent. The officers pay profile was adjusted to eliminate the discontinuity between the second and third years. This resulted in a 20.1 per cent increase in first-term pay for officers.

[27] The dynamic adjustments of labor markets are ignored in this analysis. If all servicemen were placed in the civilian labor force, wages would surely fall during the transitional period. Two pieces of evidence suggest that servicemen could, on average, earn more than civilians. The median incomes of veterans in the 1960 Population Census were around 2.5 per cent higher than those of all civilian males. Second, the 1964 DOD survey revealed that weekly earnings were higher for men in mental groups I and II. The mental distribution of military personnel is, moreover, higher than that of the entire population because of the mental rejections. The incomes of Table 16 can thus be regarded as under-estimates of the alternative earnings of servicemen. The median incomes of veterans can be found in *U.S. Census of Population 1960,* "Earnings of Total Civilian Male War Veterans in Experienced Labor Force in 1959," Table 16 PC (2), 8c. "Earnings of Males 25–64 in Experienced Civilian Labor Force in 1959," Table 1, PC (2) 7b.

The third concept of financial cost measures the monetary losses suffered by individual military service participants who were coerced into active duty service by the draft liability. By FY 1970–75, it is projected that annual draft calls will fall to 55.3 thousand. If the survey responses of Table 9 are valid, they imply that another 153.7 thousand men will enlist each year because of their draft liabilities. The annual flows of these reluctant service participants to enlisted ranks are distributed by age and education in Table 17. In his first two years of service, a draftee receives an annual military income of $2,100, while the reluctant volunteer who serves for a longer period earns an average income of $2,500; these figures apply to the 1963 pay scales. The alternative civilian incomes for these men were estimated from the data of Table 16 and reveal the following averages:

Estimated annual incomes of draftees and reluctant volunteers

	Annual accessions	Civilian income	Military income	Ratio
Draftees	55.3	$3,810	$2,100	0.55
Reluctant volunteers	153.7	3,450	2,500	.72
Total	209.0	3,545	2,400	.68

The differential between civilian and military incomes is obviously larger for older, more educated men. The infrequent college graduate who is drafted into the Army can expect to lose over $6,000 over his two years of service. If each draftee serves for 1.9 years, and each reluctant volunteer for 3.5 years, the aggregate financial loss for reluctant participants from an age class is $691 million. This is surely an obvious tax that is placed on those who are coerced to serve. To the extent that many officers (especially doctors) reluctantly serve an initial tour of obligated duty, this financial cost is even larger. If the discontinuity between first-term and career military pay is eliminated, most of this financial cost would disappear.

IV. THE ECONOMIC COST OF A DRAFT

The full economic cost embraces the principle that equalizing income differentials are properly included in the opportunity cost of acquiring men for military service. Since pay cannot be separated from the working conditions of a job, workers' preferences (the utilities and disutilities of the job) necessarily affect supplies of labor to particular occupations. In this paper, military service is regarded as an occupation. Suppose that individual A could earn an income C in the civilian labor market. If A has an aversion to military service, he would remain a civilian even if first term military pay, M_0, were the same as C. Military pay could, in principle, be advanced by enough to compensate him for his disutility, thereby attracting him into military service. There is some minimum supply price M (military pay) with its accompanying differential δ which would make A indifferent between employments in military and civilian sectors. If first term military pay were M_1, where $M_1 > M = (1 \div \delta) C$, A would become a true volunteer. If $\delta > O$, the individual must be compensated to induce him to enter military service. It is possible that some men prefer military service, in which case δ would be negative. The supply curve of volunteers in the absence of a draft would thus be determined by the joint frequency distribution of alternative civilian incomes C and equalizing differentials δ which summarize workers' preferences. The supply of volunteers with no pay changes consists of those individuals for whom current first-term pay M_0 is greater than $(1 \div \delta)$ C. As pay is advanced, the Armed Services attract men with higher alternative incomes or with greater aversions for service life.

Manpower procurement under a draft imposes costs on men in the Armed Forces in at least three ways. First, more men from an age class are demanded under a draft because of the high turnover of draftees and reluctant volunteers. Second, some men are coerced to serve by the draft without being compensated for their aversion to service life. At sufficiently high levels of military pay, all of these reluctant, draft-motivated men could have been induced to become true volunteers. Finally, true volunteers who enlist at low levels of pay irrespective of the draft law are denied the higher pay that would have prevailed in an all-volunteer force.

In the years ahead, FY 1970–75, it is projected that under a continued draft, 209 thousand accessions to enlisted ranks in each year can properly be called reluctant service participants; confer Table 17. All 209 thousand men would not be demanded by a voluntary force which enjoys lower personnel turnover. In fact, the supply of true volunteers need only be increased by 75 thousand to sustain a force of 2.65 million men; 55 thousand in the Army and 20 thousand in the other Services.

An ideal measure of the economic cost of the draft requires data on the minimum supply price M at which each draftee and reluctant volunteer could have been attracted into active military service. Such data are clearly unavailable and some simplifying assumptions were made to arrive at an estimate of this cost. It seems reasonable to suppose that the 153.7 thousand reluctant volunteers who enlist in preference to being drafted have less aversion to military service when compared to draftees or men who never enter military service. Indeed, if the draft were abolished and military pay advanced, I suspect that most of these men would become regular volunteers to enlisted ranks. A lower bound to the economic cost is thus obtained by assuming that these men have the lowest minimum supply prices above the current first-term pay M_0. According to the complement supply curve for enlistments to total DOD, first-term pay must be raised by a factor of 1.88 to attract an additional 153.7 thousand recruits on a voluntary basis.[29]

The exposition is facilitated by referring to the supply curve of Figure 1 [cannot be reproduced in the RECORD]. When the draft is eliminated, the annual supply of enlistments is projected to be 263 thousand men at the current and unchanged level of first-term pay $M_0 = \$2,500$. If pay is increased by a factor of 1.88 to $M_1 = \$4,700$, the annual supply increases to 416.7 thousand men; i.e., from OA to OB accessions. The reluctant volunteers (the line segment AB) are projected to enlist at the lower pay because of the threat of a draft. Differences between minimum supply prices (indicated by the height of the curve along DE) and current first-term pay, M_0, represent the implicit taxes which are levied against these men. The aggregate annual cost is given by the area of the triangle, DB′E, which is equal to $141 million. This estimate assumes that each reluctant volunteer would be compensated in a discriminatory fashion without compensating others. If, however, pay were raised to $4,700 for all recruits, the annual cost is increased by the quadrangle, M_0DEM_1 or $917 million.[30] The lower annual cost of $141 million which excludes rents constitutes a lower bound to the tax that is implicitly placed on reluctant volunteers who were coerced to enlist by a draft liability. In a sense, each reluctant volunteer pays an annual implicit tax of $915 during his first term of service. If the point estimate of β had been used (implying a steeper supply curve), the annual cost climbs to $192 million.[31] Since each reluctant volunteer serves for 3.5 years, the total implicit tax levied on reluctant volunteers from an age class is estimated to be $493 million; the best estimate is $672 million.

The economic cost of conscripting men is harder to assess. The Selective Service System does not attempt to draft men with the

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[28] Becker contends that nearly all of the age profile of income can be attributed to investment in human capital via on-the-job training: confer: G. S. Becker, *Human Capital*, (Columbia University Press, New York, New York, 1964).

The second hypothesis could be rationalized by my theory of fixed employment costs. Older men are more likely to be married and to possess other attributes associated with low labor turnover. If hiring and initial training costs are high, it behooves the firm to pay higher wages to men with longer expected periods of employment; confer, W. Y. Oi, "Labor as a Quasi-Fixed Factor," *Journal of Political Economy* (December 1962).

[29] The complement supply curve for enlistments to total DOD produced an estimate for 8 of .315 with a standard error of .087; confer equation (1). In the absence of a draft, the enlistment rate for men in mental groups I to III was estimated to be 27.8 per cent of the qualified labor force in an age class. In deriving the supply curve depicted in Figure 1, I set 8 equal to .402, the point estimate plus one standard error. The elasticity was +1.04. The upward bias in the supply elasticity tends to understate the magnitude of the economic cost.

[30] In competitive labor markets, these rents are included in the cost of acquiring larger supplies of labor. If college professors could be conscripted, or if we could recapture the economic rents from teaching, the budgetary cost of higher education could be sharply reduced.

[31] When the value of β is lowered from .402 to its least squares estimate of $\beta = .315$, the elasticity of supply falls from 1.04 to 0.82. The necessary pay increase climbs from $4,700 to $5,600.

least aversion to military life. An assumption that draftees would be next in line above the point E in Figure 1 (implying that they have the next lowest minimum supply prices) is less plausible. However, a lower bound estimate of the cost is again obtained by invoking this implausible assumption. The complement supply curve of Figure 1 indicates that first-term pay must be raised from $M_1=\$4,700$ to $M_2=\$5,600$ in order to attract 55.3 thousand more recruits on a voluntary basis. If each conscript (the line segment BC) is compensated in a discriminatory fashion, the implicit annual tax placed on draftees is $175 million, the area of the trapezoid EB′C′F.[32] Since the average active duty tour for a draftee is 1.9 years, the total implicit tax for draftees in an age class is $333 million.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

A manpower procurement system predicated on a draft liability compels some men (draftees) to serve, while others (reluctant volunteers) are coerced to enlist at abnormally low pay scales. Each draftee and reluctant volunteer could, in principle, have been induced through higher pay to volunteer for the Armed Forces. The difference between his minimum supply price and current first-term pay is surely a tax that is implicitly paid by each reluctant service participant. A lower bound estimate of the economic cost of the draft for those who serve as enlisted men is provided by the area DC′F. The cost to members of an age class is conservatively estimated to be $826 million. If the best estimate of the supply elasticity had been used, I obtain the estimates in the last column of the summary table below:

Estimates of the economic cost of the draft (for reluctant participants serving in enlisted ranks)

	Low estimate (β=0.402)	Middle estimate (β=0.315)
Annual first-term pay:		
M_0	$2,500	$2,500
M_1	4,700	5,600
M_2	5,900	7,450
Annual cost excluding rents (millions):		
Reluctant volunteers (DB′E)	141	192
Draftees (EB′C′F)	175	243
Aggregate cost for members of an age class (millions):		
Reluctant volunteers	493	672
Draftees	333	462
Total	826	1,134

These estimates are biased downward because the men (reluctant service participants) who bear the cost are assumed to have the lowest supply prices in the absence of a draft. Put in another way, if the draft were abolished, I have assumed that the reluctant participants would be the ones who would be induced to enter an all-volunteer force. Under a draft, the true volunteers are denied the higher military pay that they would have received if the Armed Forces were obliged to acquire labor in a competitive labor market. By including these rents to true volunteers, the full economic cost rises to $5,364 million.[33]

In this paper, the economic cost has only been estimated for men who serve in the active duty enlisted ranks because of the draft law. A fuller analysis must include the costs borne by draft-motivated accessions to officer ranks and to reserve components. According to the 1964 DOD survey, 41.3 per cent of newly commissioned officers indicated that they probably or definitely would not have volunteered if there had been no draft. The available evidence suggests that reservists have even higher aversions to service life.[34] If we had estimated the cost of military service for these individuals, the economic cost of the draft would be considerably greater.

In addition to the direct costs borne by those who ultimately serve in the Armed Forces, the draft allegedly creates other indirect costs which derive from the mechanics of the selection process. Under the current Selective Service system, a youth can remain in a draft liable status for seven and a half years. There is some evidence which suggests that employers discriminate against youths who are still eligible to be drafted.[35] The youth who elects to wait and see if he can avoid military service is likely to suffer more unemployment. He may be obliged to accept casual employment which does not provide useful job training for later life. Moreover, long perods of draft liability encourage youths to pursue activities which might bestow a deferment. When married non-fathers were placed in a lower order of call in September 1963, it was followed by small increases in marriage rates of males in the draft liable ages. It is also alleged that the draft prompts men to prolong their education or to enter occupations which grant deferments. These costs which derive from the uncertainly of the present draft are, in my opinion, small when compared to the direct economic costs incurred by those who are involuntarily inducted or who become reluctant volunteers.

If the current draft law is extended into the decade ahead, it is projected that only 38.5 per cent of qualified males will be required to staff a mixed force of 2.65 million men. Since the draft assures adequate supplies of initial accessions, military pay can be kept at artificially low levels. Many servicemen on their first tour can correctly be called reluctant participants who pay substantial implicit taxes because they were coerced to serve. A conservative estimate of the economic cost (excluding rents) is $826 million; the amount of compensation which would have been demanded by these men to enter on a voluntary basis. If all recruits received the first term pay needed to attract the last draftee, the opportunity cost of acquiring new accessions would exceed $5.3 billion.

An all-volunteer force offers a polar alternative to the draft. With its lower personnel turnover, a voluntary force of the same size could be sustained by recruiting only 27.5 per cent of qualified males. The budgetary payroll cost would, however, have to be raised by $4 billion per year.

It should be emphasized that the figures appearing in this paper represent my estimates. The two crucial ingredients are (1) the supply curve of voluntary enlistments in the absence of a draft and (2) required accessions which are determined by the assumed force strength and personnel turnover. Complement supply curves were estimated from cross-sectional data on estimated voluntary enlistment rates.[36] The new retention profiles which were used to derive gross flow demands for an all-volunteer force generated an age structure of the force which closely resemble those of smaller professional armies in Canada and the United Kingdom. In the light of the data examined, I am reasonably confident of my cost estimates, at least for the assumed force strength of 2.65 million men.

If peacetime military requirements necessitate larger active duty forces, all costs necessarily climb. In order to sustain a force strength of 3.3 million men on a voluntary basis, required accessions must be increased by roughly 30 per cent. The additional budgetary cost of a voluntary force over a mixed force of the same size would be in the neighborhood of 8 to 10 billion dollars.[37] The high budgetary cost of a voluntary force is not the only relevant consideration. If men are procured by a draft, the high turnover of draftees implies that over 60 per cent of

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[32] Recall that a draftee serves for less than two years. Consequently his average annual military pay is $2,100 as compared to M_0 = $2,500 for reluctant and true volunteers. The annual cost is, therefore, slightly larger than the area EB′C′F in Fig 1. If β is set equal to .315 first-term pay must rise to M_2 = $7,450 to attract draftees on a voluntary basis. In this event, the annual cost climbs to $243 million, and the aggregate cost for an age class climbs from $333 to $462 million.

[33] The low estimate of the pay increases ($\beta = .402$) were used to arrive at this cost. Each true volunteer is presumed to receive an additional $3,100 (the difference $M_2 - M_0$) which is the rent he would receive.

[34] The DOD survey revealed that draft-motivated enlistments accounted for 70.7 per cent of new accessions to Reserve and National Guard components. Moreover, the percentage of reluctant volunteers was larger for men with higher alternative civilian earnings as indicated by the following except from the *House Hearing* (p. 9956):

Percentage of draft-motivated enlistments:

Annual civilian income:	
Less than $2,999	54.1
$3,000 to $4,999	71.6
$5,000 to $7,499	72.1
$7,500 and over	82.2

[35] A survey of college placement offices in 1964 indicated that 48 per cent of employers placed restrictions on draft liable males. According to the DOD Survey of 22–25 year-old civilians, 26 per cent with draft classification I–A said that they had difficulty in securing employment. The credibility of this type of question is challenged by the finding that 17 per cent of men with dependency deferments, III–A, also stated that they had difficulty securing employment because of their draft liability. The percentages having "difficulty" climbed with age and educational attainment. Further details of these surveys can be found in *House Hearings*, pp. 10008–10010.

[36] Enlistment data on a regional basis were only available for 1963. The recent enlistment experience has been strongly influenced by the Vietnam build-up with over 900 thousand men entering active military service in FY 1966. An on-going research effort on the supply of volunteers and manpower utilization practices of the Armed Services is surely needed.

[37] Estimation of the necessary pay increase to achieve this larger force involves an extrapolation of the supply curve beyond the range which I consider to be meaningful. The confidence intervals for predictions from a regression equation become extremely wide as one moves outside the range of the sample observations. Hence, the following estimates should be viewed as indicative of orders of magnitude. In a steady state, Army enlistments for a force of 3.3 million men are estimated to be 185 thousand. According to the complement supply curve for Army enlistments, first-term pay would have to be raised to $6,350 as compared to the previous increase of $4,200 for a force of 2.65 million men. If part of the higher pay could be given as initial enlistment bonuses, the defense budget for active duty military personnel would rise by 8 to 10 billion dollars a year.

qualified males would be demanded to maintain a mixed force of 3.3 million men. Annual accessions under a draft would rise by more than 50 per cent in the mixed force case.

The alternative of a voluntary manpower procurement system has been criticized because of its inflexibility to changing military demands. If, for example, force strengths must be increased from 2.65 to 3.3 million men within a single year, it would be difficult to accomplish this through higher pay. The criticism is, in my opinion, valid for changing demands of this magnitude. However, a voluntary procurement system could be designed to accommodate minor fluctuations in stock demands—say from 2.65 to 3.0 million men. Entry level and career military pay could be set so that there would be excess supplies of enlistment applicants and servicemen who wish to re-enlist. The number of men who are accepted (either as new recruits or as reenlistments) would be determined by the stock demand meaning the force strength objective. In response to a short-run increase in strength objectives, the Services would accept more of the excess supplies. The criticism of inflexibility is only valid if "peacetime" military demands are so highly variable that they involve increasing force strengths by more than 10 per cent in a single year.

The defense budget for active duty military personnel is obviously lower with a draft. However, the conscription of military personnel simply substitutes implicit taxes levied on those men who serve, for explicit taxes on all citizens to finance the higher payroll of an all-volunteer force. The real economic cost of maintaining a defense establishment is partially concealed because these implicit taxes never appear in the defense budget. The real opportunity cost of acquiring military personnel must include the full economic cost of the draft.

TABLE 1.—*Force strengths and accessions from civil life (actual fiscal year 1960–65 and projected fiscal year 1970–75)*

[In thousands]

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Annual averages	
							1960–65	1970–75 [1]
Force strengths: [2]								
DOD (active duty) total	2,476.4	2,483.8	2,807.8	2,697.7	2,685.2	2,653.1	2,634.0	2,650.0
Officers	316.7	314.8	343.1	333.4	336.4	337.6	330.3	340.0
Enlisted	2,159.7	2,168.9	2,464.7	2,364.3	2,348.8	2,315.5	2,303.7	2,310.0
Army (active duty) total	873.1	858.6	1,066.4	975.2	972.4	968.3	952.3	969.5
Officers	101.2	99.9	116.1	107.8	110.3	111.5	107.8	112.5
Enlisted	771.8	758.7	950.4	867.4	862.2	856.8	844.6	857.0
Reserves and National Guard (paid drill)	1,079.0	1,086.0	958.0	964.0	1,048.0	1,006.0	1,023.5	
All components, total	3,555.4	3,569.8	3,765.8	3,661.7	3,733.2	3,659.1	3,657.5	
Accessions from civil life:								
DOD total	469.8	475.3	622.4	488.0	569.3	495.0	520.0	507.7
1st enlistments [3]	349.0	386.0	423.0	373.0	377.0	352.0	376.7	416.7
Inductions [3]	90.0	60.0	158.0	74.0	151.0	103.0	106.0	55.3
Officers [4]	30.8	29.3	41.4	41.0	41.3	40.0	37.3	35.7
Army	206.3	188.6	303.2	203.0	285.8	221.0	234.6	228.5
1st enlistments [3]	106.0	118.0	127.0	113.0	117.0	103.0	114.0	159.0
Inductions [3]	90.0	60.0	158.0	74.0	151.0	102.0	105.8	55.3
Officers [4]	10.3	10.6	18.2	16.0	17.8	16.0	14.8	14.2
Reserves and National Guard [5]	130.0	130.0	90.0	110.0	170.0	120.0	125.0	
Total entries, all components	599.8	605.3	712.4	598.0	739.3	615.0	645.0	

[1] House hearings, p. 9954.

[2] Active duty force strengths include both sexes as reported in Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1966, table 365, p. 261 (Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 1966). The paid drill Reserve and National Guard strengths were obtained from unpublished data, Department of Defense, Statistical Office.

[3] 1st enlistments include 2-year Reserve enlistments but exclude Reserves recalled to active duty. Confer Statistical Abstract, ibid., table 366, p. 262.

[4] Data for officer accessions taken from a special tabulation prepared by the Department of Defense Statistical Office.

[5] House hearings, p. 10001.

TABLE 2.—*Estimated military service status of 26-year-age class [1] by educational level, July 1964*

[In thousands]

Status	Total [2]	Less than high school	High school	Some college	College
Total	1,190	495	355	131	154
Entered military service	614	247	203	78	62
No military service, total	576	248	152	53	92
Available for service (I–A) [3]	13	3	3	1	5
Not available for service:					
Disqualified (I–Y and IV–F)	217	126	43	18	18
Student deferments (I–S and II–S)	12		(4)	2	9
Occupational deferments (II–A and II–C)	20	1	1	1	17
Dependency deferments (III–A)	296	116	103	30	38
Other deferred and exempt groups	20	3	2	1	4
Estimated qualified male population	828	289	267	105	124
Military service participation:					
Percent of total population	51.6	49.9	57.2	59.5	40.3
Percent of qualified population	74.2	85.5	76.0	74.3	50.0

[1] Includes individuals born in calendar year 1938 and who were therefore approximately between 25½ and 26½ years old in July 1964.

[2] Also includes registrants whose educational attainment is unknown.

[3] Includes individuals between 25½ years and their 26th birthday who were still liable for induction until they attained age 26. It is probable that most of the small number of qualified, unmarried men in this group were reached for induction before their 26th birthday.

[4] Less than 500 persons or 0.5 percent.

Source: House hearings, table 7a, p. 10011.

TABLE 3.—*Nonprior service accessions to active duty and Reserve components, fiscal year 1963*

[Percent distributions]

Education and age at enlistment	Grand total, all DOD	Accessions to active duty forces					Reserves and National Guard
		Total	Officers	Voluntary enlistments	2-year Reserves	Inductions	
Less than high school graduate (total)	32.90	33.85	0.01	32.75	70.75	35.32	29.30
20 and under	26.58	27.51	0	29.33	69.13	11.99	22.99
21 to 23	3.79	3.52	0	2.97	1.46	8.35	4.82
25 and over	2.53	2.81	.01	.44	.17	14.98	1.48
High school graduate (total)	43.74	45.82	.43	55.39	21.53	39.57	35.79
20 and under	29.51	33.14	.01	45.11	18.32	6.91	15.67
21 to 23	10.10	8.41	.14	9.56	2.95	10.18	16.59
24 and over	4.12	4.28	.28	.73	.26	22.48	3.53
Some college, no degree (total)	13.14	10.98	3.39	10.59	4.87	19.00	21.39
20 and under	3.69	3.39	.01	4.38	1.92	1.62	4.84
21 to 23	6.70	5.01	1.74	5.55	2.71	5.44	13.14
24 and over	2.75	2.58	1.64	.66	.24	11.94	3.41
College graduate (total)	10.22	9.36	96.18	1.26	2.86	6.11	13.52
20 and under	.01	.01	.04	.01	.01	0.00	.03
21 to 23	5.12	4.37	48.88	.61	1.70	.79	7.99
24 and over	5.09	4.98	47.26	.65	1.15	5.31	5.51
All education (total)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
20 and under	59.79	64.05	.05	78.83	89.37	20.53	43.53
21 to 23	25.71	21.30	50.76	18.68	8.82	24.76	42.54
24 and over	14.50	14.65	49.18	2.48	1.81	54.71	13.93
Total number	563,159	446,334	33,638	301,503	36,806	74,387	116,825

Source: Unpublished tabulations from DOD statistical office.

TABLE 4.—*Estimated military service participation of 2 age classes*

[In thousands]

	Years of school completed				
	Total	0 to 11	12	13 to 15	16 plus
AGE CLASS BORN IN 1938					
1. Total male population	1,190.0	464.1	392.7	154.7	178.5
2. Less rejections	355.8	193.2	97.1	31.1	34.4
3. Qualified male population	834.2	270.9	295.6	123.6	144.1
Entered active military service as:					
4. Voluntary enlistment	366.7	133.4	191.2	36.9	5.2
5. Induction	90.0	31.8	35.6	17.1	5.5
6. Officers	37.3	0	0.1	1.3	35.9
7. Total accessions to active duty	494.0	165.2	226.9	78.1	82.6
Accessions to active duty as:					
8. Percent of total population	41.5	35.6	57.8	35.7	26.1
9. Percent of qualified population	59.2	61.0	76.8	44.7	32.3
AGE CLASS BORN IN 1947					
1. Total male population	1,880.0	733.2	620.4	244.4	282.0
2. Less rejections	562.1	305.2	153.4	49.2	54.3
3. Qualified male population	1,317.9	428.0	467.0	195.2	227.7
Entered active military service as:					
4. Voluntary enlistment	416.7	136.5	230.8	44.1	5.3
5. Induction	55.3	19.5	21.9	10.5	3.4
6. Officers	35.7	--------	.2	1.2	34.3
7. Total accessions to active duty	507.7	156.0	252.9	55.8	43.0
Accessions to active duty as:					
8. Percent of total population	27.0	21.3	40.8	22.8	15.2
9. Percent of qualified population	38.5	36.4	54.2	28.6	18.9

TABLE 5.—*Distribution of Armed Forces by age and education*

[For force strength of 2,650. Figures in thousands]

Age	Years of school completed					
	0 to 8	9 to 11	12	13 to 15	16+	Total
TOTAL DOD						
17 or less	11.3	55.2	6.7	0.4	--------	73.7
18 to 19	21.7	141.3	218.6	14.3	0.2	396.2
20 to 21	18.4	111.3	235.1	48.3	2.7	415.8
22 to 24	30.8	97.9	238.3	81.1	79.6	527.7
25 to 29	34.7	89.3	181.0	47.4	63.1	415.5
30 to 34	38.2	67.8	124.3	34.7	28.5	293.5
35 to 44	44.2	67.2	178.2	81.2	59.9	430.8
45 to 54	12.3	12.0	21.2	14.9	21.3	81.8
55 and over	2.8	3.2	4.3	1.6	3.2	15.1
Total	214.5	645.2	1,207.8	323.9	258.5	2,650.0

Source: Derived from U.S. Census of Population, 1960; Subject Report: "Educational Attainment," Code No. DC(2) 5B, table 4, p. 54.

TABLE 6.—*Estimated retention profiles of enlisted men by service*

[Proportion on active duty after *n* years] [1]

Years of service, *n*	Total, DOD	Navy, Marines, and Air Force	Regular Army	Army draftees
0	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
1	.9149	.9289	.9001	.9001
2	.6494	.8354	.8291	.0540
3	.4710	.8315	.1743	------------
4	.1631	.2373	.1645	------------
5	.1563	.2281	.1564	------------
6	.1456	.2202	.1295	------------
7	.1407	.2133	.1243	------------
8	.1365	.2073	.1196	------------
9	.1281	.2021	.0968	------------
10	.1125	.1734	.0936	------------
11	.1098	.1696	.0907	------------
12	.1068	.1660	.0860	------------
13	.1045	.1626	.0835	------------
14	.1023	.1595	.0812	------------
15	.1002	.1565	.0790	------------
16	.0982	.1537	.0768	------------
17	.0964	.1511	.0748	------------
18	.0945	.1484	.0728	------------
19	.0927	.1459	.0709	------------
20	.0818	.1255	.0690	------------
21	.0527	.0797	.0469	------------
22	.0439	.0654	.0411	------------
23	.0372	.0546	.0366	------------
24	.0321	.0464	.0330	------------
25	.0283	.0406	.0297	------------
26	.0249	.0355	.0267	------------
27	.0220	.0312	.0238	------------
28	.0195	.0276	.0211	------------
29	.0172	.0244	.0186	------------
30	.0150	.0213	.0163	------------
Sum	5.2981	7.0430	4.8667	1.9541

[1] The estimated survival rates are based on the retention experience in the late 1950's.

TABLE 7.—*Estimated retention profiles of regular and nonregular officers*

[Proportion on active duty after *n* years]

Years of service	All officers	Regular officers	Non-regular officers	Years of regular officers	All service	Regular officers	Non-regular officers
0	1.000	1.000	1.000	16	0.242	0.548	0.111
1	.973	.977	.971	17	.240	.540	.111
2	.931	.950	.923	18	.238	.535	.111
3	.533	.920	.367	19	.234	.531	.106
4	.428	.826	.257	20	.206	.460	.097
5	.384	.786	.212	21	.171	.407	.074
6	.366	.761	.196	22	.159	.395	.058
7	.350	.731	.186	23	.144	.378	.040
8	.336	.708	.176	24	.135	.360	.038
9	.329	.696	.172	25	.121	.339	.022
10	.310	.658	.161	26	.096	.265	.025
11	.303	.646	.156	27	.086	.243	.014
12	.269	.593	.130	28	.057	.178	.005
13	.263	.580	.127	29	.056	.175	.000
14	.251	.560	.118	30	.012	.041	.008
15	.247	.554	.115	(1)	9.477	17.341	6.097

[1] Sum.

TABLE 8.—*Active duty force strength by years of service*

[As of June 30, 1965. In thousands]

Years of service	Total	Officers	Enlisted
0	427.7	28.4	399.3
1	488.4	34.1	454.3
2	301.6	25.0	276.5
3	226.3	20.1	206.2
4	99.8	12.9	86.8
5 to 9	321.6	54.0	267.7
10 to 14	338.6	51.1	287.4
15 to 19	291.0	58.4	232.6
20 to 24	131.4	45.4	86.0
25 and over	17.7	9.4	8.1
Total	2,643.8	338.8	2,304.9

TABLE 9.—*Effect of the draft on voluntary enlistments—Survey responses*

[Classified by age and education]

Age at entry and education	Percent of true volunteers [1]	Number in DOD sample [2]		Voluntary enlistments in fiscal years 1970–75		
					No draft	
		Number	Percent	With draft [3]	Number [4]	Percent
17 to 19 years of age:						
Less than high school	79.3	167.8	27.7	122.2	96.2	36.6
High school graduate	63.7	247.1	40.8	188.0	119.7	45.5
Some college	55.9	44.0	7.3	18.3	10.2	3.9
Total	68.7	458.9	75.8	328.5	226.1	86.0
20 and over:						
Less than high school	60.2	20.2	3.3	14.3	8.6	3.3
High school graduate	42.3	61.7	10.2	42.8	18.1	6.9
Some college	32.7	64.4	10.6	31.1	10.2	3.9
Total	40.5	146.4	24.2	88.2	36.9	14.0
All ages:						
Less than high school	77.4	31.1	31.1	136.5	104.8	39.8
High school graduate	59.5	51.0	51.0	230.8	137.8	52.4
Some college	42.1	17.9	17.9	49.4	20.4	7.8
Total	61.9	100.0	100.0	416.7	263.0	100.0

[1] Based on responses of regular enlisted men in their 1st term of service to the question, "If there had been no draft and if you had no military obligation, do you think you would have volunteered for active military service?" Entries denote the percentage who responded, "Yes, definitely," or, "Yes, probably."

[2] Figures may differ from force strength statistics due to elimination of nonrespondents and sampling variability.

[3] Estimates of voluntary enlistments in fiscal years 1970-75 if the draft is continued.

[4] Obtained by multiplying cols. 1 and 4. Assumes that the draft is eliminated, but pay and recruitment incentives are unchanged.

TABLE 10.—*Effect of the draft on officer accessions—Survey responses* [1]

[Classified by source of commission]

Source of commission	Percentage of true volunteers	Number in DOD sample		Actual average 1960–64	Accessions with no draft 1970–75	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Academy	89.1	583	7.6	2,776	3,000	10.5
OCS	48.6	2,133	27.8	7,779	5,300	18.5
ROTC	54.6	2,764	36.1	13,769	10,500	36.6
Direct appointment	42.2	862	11.3	6,359	3,800	13.2
Other [2]	80.3	1,320	17.2	6,068	6,100	21.3
Total DOD	58.7	7,662	100.0	36,751	28,700	100.0

[1] Confer notes to table 9.

[2] Includes officer accessions from enlisted ranks and from noncollege programs for aviation cadet training.

TABLE 11.—*1st-term reenlistment rates for mixed and voluntary forces by service*

	Percentage of true volunteers	Actual reenlistment rate average fiscal year 1957–64 R [1]	Voluntary reenlistment rate R_d [2]
Regular enlisted men:			
Army	56.8	22.06	33.0
Navy	67.4	22.14	29.1
Marine Corps	69.6	18.28	22.9
Air Force	57.1	34.64	54.9
DOD	62.0	25.58	36.6
Army inductees	0	7.67	
Total DOD		20.26	

[1] Figures are weighted averages of adjusted 1st term reenlistment rates weighted by the number eligible for reenlistment. The adjusted reenlistment rate applies to a cohort and takes account of early discharges for reenlistment.

[2] The voluntary enlistment rate is defined as,

$$R=kR_v+(1-k)R_d$$

where R_d=7.67 percent, the reenlistment rate of draftees.

TABLE 12.—*Annual incomes of enlisted men*

[For pay scales of fiscal year 1963]

Years of service	Total income, DOD	Army			Base pay as percent of total income
		Total income	Taxable income	Base pay	
1	$1,830	$1,900	$1,058	$1,055	55.5
2	2,143	2,304	1,359	1,382	60.0
3	2,991	3,247	2,199	2,002	61.7
4	3,344	3,711	2,392	2,433	65.6
5	4,130	4,248	2,691	2,575	60.6
6	4,462	4,465	2,792	2,725	61.0
7	4,649	4,596	2,937	2,858	62.2
8	4,741	4,797	3,037	3,003	62.6
9 to 12	5,235	5,377	3,409	3,280	61.0
13 to 16	5,926	6,043	3,918	3,885	64.3
17 to 20	6,387	6,414	4,245	(1)	

[1] Not available.

TABLE 13.—*Estimated military service participation in an all-volunteer force*

[Hypothetical for an age class born in 1946–48]

	Years of school completed				
	Total	0 to 11	12	13 to 15	16 plus
1. Total, male population	1,880.0	733.2	620.4	224.4	282.0
2. Less rejections	562.1	305.2	153.4	49.2	54.3
3. Qualified male population	1,317.9	428.0	467.0	195.2	227.7
Volunteered for active military service as:					
4. Enlisted man	333.5	139.5	169.4	23.4	1.2
5. Officer	28.7			8.7	20.0
6. Total	362.2	139.5	169.4	32.1	21.2
Accessions with no draft as:					
7. Percent of total population	19.3	19.0	27.3	13.1	7.5
8. Percent of qualified population	27.5	32.6	36.3	16.4	9.3
Accessions under continued draft as:					
9. Percent of total population	27.0	21.3	40.8	22.8	15.2
10. Percent of qualified population	38.5	36.4	54.2	28.6	18.9
11. Ratio 8 to 10	0.71	0.89	0.67	0.58	0.49

TABLE 14.—*Active duty force strength by years of service*

[Hypothetical voluntary force. In thousands]

Years of service	Total	Officers	Enlisted
0	355.3	34.5	320.8
1	327.5	33.6	293.9
2	299.2	32.1	267.1
3	204.4	20.2	184.2
4	108.0	16.0	92.0
5 to 9	455.6	65.4	390.2
10 to 14	343.3	51.5	291.8
15 to 19	304.6	44.1	260.5
20 to 24	165.2	28.1	137.1
25 and over	86.9	14.5	72.4
Total	2,650.0	340.0	2,310.0

TABLE 15.—*Active duty force strength by age and education*

[Hypothetical all-volunteer force]

Age	Years of school completed					
	0 to 8	9 to 11	12	13 to 15	16 and over	Total
Total DOD:						
17 to 19	25.7	145.1	212.1	18.0	--------	400.9
20 to 21	30.3	170.8	248.6	26.5	4.8	481.0
22 to 24	28.8	133.9	194.0	31.8	41.1	424.6
25 to 29	22.6	127.3	188.7	41.0	84.6	464.2
30 to 34	17.1	100.5	147.5	29.7	52.5	347.3
35 to 44	20.7	124.1	182.7	39.6	74.5	386.9
45 to 54	3.1	19.1	28.8	8.6	30.2	89.7
55 and over	--------	--------	0	--------	.7	.7
All ages	143.3	820.8	1,202.4	195.2	288.3	2,650.0

TABLE 16.—*Median incomes of civilian male labor force, 1964*

Age	Years of education completed				
	0 to 8	9 to 11	12	13 to 15	16 plus
17 to 19	2,010	2,926	3,196	3,147	--------
20 to 21 [1]	2,391	3,314	3,924	4,668	--------
22 to 24 [2]	3,160	4,026	4,789	5,168	5,280
25 to 29 [3]	3,673	4,500	5,366	5,502	6,213
30 to 34	4,296	5,339	6,167	6,910	8,353
35 to 44	4,710	5,860	6,528	7,389	9,853
45 to 54	4,717	5,636	6,549	7,855	10,846
55 and over	4,229	4,944	6,135	6,642	9,883

[1] Incomes for males 21 years of age and under estimated from DOD survey of civilian nonveterans, 16 to 21 years of age. Adjusted for unemployment.

[2] Incomes interpolated from data for ages "20 to 21" and "25 to 29."

[3] Median total incomes taken from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1966, table 157, p. 115. Figures were adjusted for unemployment rates of 2.8 percent for males 25 and older and with more than 8 years of education, and 4.7 percent unemployment for males with less than 8 years of education.

TABLE 17.—*Projected accessions to enlisted ranks under a continued draft, fiscal year 1970–75*

[By age at entry, education, and draft motivation]

	Years of school completed					
	Total	0 to 8	9 to 11	12	13 to 15	16 and over
Voluntary enlistments under a continued draft:						
17 to 19 years	328.5	15.0	107.2	188.0	18.3	0
20 years and older	88.2	1.4	12.9	42.8	25.8	5.3
All ages	416.7	16.4	120.1	230.8	44.1	5.3
Reluctant volunteers:						
17 to 19 years	102.4	3.0	23.0	68.3	8.1	0
20 years and older	51.3	.4	5.3	24.7	17.8	3.1
All ages	153.7	3.4	28.3	93.0	25.9	3.1
Inductions	55.3	4.3	15.2	21.9	10.5	3.4
Reluctant military service participants:						
17 to 19 years	102.4	3.0	23.0	68.3	8.1	0
20 years and older	106.6	4.7	20.5	46.6	28.3	6.5
All ages	209.0	7.7	43.5	114.9	36.4	6.5

Source: Derived from table 9.

WHY NOT A VOLUNTARY ARMY?

(By Milton Friedman, University of Chicago)

Manning our military forces currently requires the services of only a minority of young men. At most, something like one-third will have seen military service by the time they reach age 26. This percentage is scheduled to decline still further as the youngsters born in the postwar baby boom come of age. Hence, some method of "selective service"—of deciding which young man should serve and which two or three should not—is inevitable. However, the present method is inequitable, wasteful, and inconsistent with a free society.

On this point there is wide agreement. Even most supporters of a draft like the present one regard it as at best a necessary evil. And representatives of all parts of the political spectrum have urged that conscription be abolished—including John K. Galbraith and Barry Goldwater; the New Left and the Republican Ripon Society.

The disadvantages of our present system of compulsion and the advantages of a voluntary army are so widely recognized that we can deal with them very briefly (section 1). The more puzzling question is why we have continued to use compulsion. The answer is partly inertia—a carryover from a total war situation when the case for a voluntary army is far weaker (section 2). But even more, the answer is the tyranny of the status quo. The natural tendency of an administrator of a large, complex, and ongoing activity is to regard the present method of administering it as the only feasible way to do so and to object strenuously that any proposed alternative is visionary and unfeasible—even though the same man, once the change is made and it becomes the existing method, will argue just as strenuously that *it* is the only feasible method.

This bureaucratic stand-pattism has been reinforced by a confusion between the apparent and the real cost of manning the armed forces by compulsion. The confusion has made it appear that a voluntary army would be much more expensive to the country and hence might not be feasible for fiscal reasons. In fact, the cost of a voluntary army, properly calculated, would almost surely be less than of a conscripted army (section 3a). It is entirely feasible to maintain present levels of military power on a strictly voluntary basis.

The other disadvantages that have been attributed to a voluntary army are that it might be racially unbalanced (section 3b), would not provide sufficient flexibility in size of forces (section 3c), and would enhance the political danger of undue military influence (section 3d). While the problems referred to are real, the first and third are in no way connected with the use of voluntary or compulsory means to recruit enlisted men and do not constitute valid arguments against abolishing the draft. The second has more merit but devices exist to provide moderate flexibility under a voluntary as under a compulsory system.

There is no reason why we cannot move to volunteer forces gradually—by making conditions of service more and more attractive until the whip of compulsion fades away (section 4). This, in my opinion, is the direction in which we should move, and the sooner the better.

1. THE DISADVANTAGES OF COMPULSION AND ADVANTAGES OF A VOLUNTARY ARMY

(a) *Military effectiveness.*—A volunteer army would be manned by people who had chosen a military career rather than at least partly by reluctant conscripts anxious only to serve out their term. Aside from the effect on fighting spirit, this would produce a lower turnover in the armed services, saving precious man-hours that are now wasted in training or being trained. It would permit also intensive training and a higher average level of skill of the men in the service. And it would encourage the use of more and better equipment. A smaller, but more highly skilled, technically competent, and better armed force could provide the same or greater military strength.

(b) *Individual freedom.*—A voluntary army would preserve the freedom of individuals to serve or not to serve. Or, put the other way, it would avoid the arbitrary power that now resides in draft boards to decide how a young man shall spend several of the most important years of his life—let alone whether his life shall be risked in warfare. An incidental advantage would be to raise the level and tone of political discussion.

A voluntary army would enhance also the freedom of those who now do not serve. Being conscripted has been used as a weapon—or thought by young men to be so used—to discourage freedom of speech, assembly, and protest. The freedom of young men to emigrate or to travel abroad has been limited by the need to get the permission of a draft board if the young man is not to put himself in the position of inadvertently being a lawbreaker.

A conspicuous example of the effect on freedom of a voluntary army is that it would completely eliminate the tormenting and insoluble problem now posed by the conscientious objector—real or pretended.

(c) *Arbitrary discrimination.*—A by-product of freedom to serve would be avoidance of the present arbitrary discrimination among different groups. A large fraction of the poor are rejected on physical or mental grounds. The relatively well-to-do are in an especially good position to take advantage of the possibilities of deferment offered by continuing their schooling. Hence the draft bears disproportionately on the upper lower classes and the lower middle classes. The fraction of high-school graduates who serve is vastly higher than of either those who have gone to college or those who dropped out before finishing high school.

(d) *Removal of uncertainty for individuals subject to draft.*—A voluntary army would permit young men, both those who serve and those who do not, to plan their schooling, their careers, their marriages, and their families in accordance with their own long run interests. As it is, the uncertainty about the draft affects every decision they make and often leads them to behave differently than they otherwise would in the correct or mistaken belief that they will thereby reduce the chance of being drafted. This disadvantage could be avoided under a compulsory system by, for example, a universal lottery that at age 16, say, assigned youngsters categories such as: certain to be called, likely to be called, possibly will be called, unlikely to be called, certain not be called. The size of each category would be determined by estimates of future military needs.

(e) *Effect on rest of community.*—Substitution of a voluntary army (or of a lottery) for the present draft would permit colleges and universities to pursue their proper educational function, freed alike from the incubus of young men—probably numbering in the hundreds of thousands—who would prefer to be at work rather than in school but who now continue their schooling in the hope of avoiding the draft and from controversy about issues strictly irrelevant to their educational function. We certainly need controversy in the universities—but about intellectual and educational issues, not whether to rank or not to rank.

Similarly, the community at large would benefit from the reduction of unwise earlier marriages contracted at least partly under the whip of the draft and from the probable associated reduction in the birth rate. Industry and government would benefit from being able to hire young men on their merits, not their deferments.

(f) *Defects unavoidable under compulsion.*—So long as compulsion is retained, inequity, waste, and interference with freedom are inevitable. A lottery would only make the arbitrary element in the present system overt. Universal national service would only compound the evil—regimenting all young men, and perhaps women, to camouflage the regimentation of some.

2. THE SITUATION IN TIME OF MAJOR WAR

If a very large fraction of the young men of the relevant age groups are required—or will be used whether required or not—in the military services, the advantages of a voluntary army become very small. It would still be technically possible to have a voluntary army, and there would still be some advantages, since it is doubtful that literally 100 percent of the potential candidates will in fact be drawn into the army. But if nearly everyone who is physically capable will serve anyway, there is little room for free choice, the avoidance of uncertainty, and so on. And to rely on volunteers under such conditions would then require very high pay in the armed services, and very high burdens on those who do not serve, in order to attract a sufficient number into the armed forces. This would involve serious political and administrative problems. To put it differently, and in terms that will become fully clear to non-economists only later, it might turn out that the implicit tax of forced service is less bad than the alternative taxes that would have to be used to finance a voluntary army.

Hence for a major war, a strong case can be made for compulsory service. And indeed, compulsory service has been introduced in the United States only under such conditions—in the Civil War, World War I, and World War II. It is hardly conceivable that it would have been introduced afresh in, say, 1950, if a system of compulsory service had not so recently been in full swing. As it was, the easiest thing to do when military needs for manpower rose was to reactivate the recent wartime technique.

3. POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES OF A VOLUNTARY ARMY

(a) *Is a voluntary army feasible?*—Under present conditions, the number of persons who volunteer for armed service is inadequate to man the armed forces, and even so, many who volunteer do so only because they anticipate being drafted. The number of "true" volunteers is clearly much too small to man armed forces of our present size. This undoubted fact is repeatedly cited as evidence that a voluntary army is unfeasible.

It is evidence of no such thing. It is evidence rather that we are now grossly underpaying our armed forces. The starting pay for young men who enter the armed forces is now about $45 a week—including not only cash pay and allotments but also the value of clothing, food, housing, and other items furnished in kind. When the bulk of young men can command at least twice this sum in civilian jobs, it is little wonder that volunteers are so few. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that there are as many as there are—testimony to the drives other than pecuniary reward that lead some young men to choose military service either as a career or for a few years.

To man our armed forces with volunteers would require making conditions of service more attractive—not only higher pay but also better housing facilities and improved amenities in other respects. It will be replied that money is not the only factor young men consider in choosing their careers. That is certainly true—and equally certainly irrelevant. Adequate pay alone may not attract, but inadequate pay can certainly deter. Military service has many non-monetary attractions to young men—the chance to serve one's country, adventure, travel opportunities for training, and so on. Not the least of the advantages of a voluntary army is that the military would have to improve their personnel policies and pay more attention to meeting the needs of the enlisted men. They now need pay little attention to them, since they can fill their ranks with conscripts serving under compulsion. Indeed, it is a tribute to their humanitarianism—and the effectiveness of indirect pressures via the political process—that service in the armed forces is not made even less attractive than it now is.

The personnel policies of the armed forces have been repeatedly criticized—and, with no spur, repeatedly left unreformed. Imaginative policies designed to make the armed forces attractive to the kind of men the armed services would like to have—plus the elimination of compulsion which now makes military service synonomous with enforced incarceration—could change drastically the whole image that the armed services present to young men. The air force, because it has relied so heavily on "real" volunteers, perhaps comes closest to demonstrating what could be done.

The question how much more we would have to pay to attract sufficient volunteers has been studied intensively in the Department of Defense study of military recruitment. Based on a variety of evidence collected in that study, Walter Oi estimates in his paper that a starting pay (again including pay in kind as well as in cash) of something like $4,000 to $5,500 a year—about $80 to $100 a week—would suffice. This is surely not an unreasonable sum. Oi estimates that the total extra payroll costs (after allowing for the savings in turnover and men employed in training) would be around $3 billion to $4 billion a year for armed forces equivalent to 2.7 million men under present methods of recruitment and not more than $8 billion a year for armed forces equivalent to the present higher number of men (around 3.1 or 3.2 million men). Based on the same evidence, the Defense Department has come up with estimates as high as $17.5 billion. Even the highest of these estimates is not in any way unfeasible in the context of total federal government expenditures of more than $175 billion a year.

Whatever may be the exact figure, it is a highly misleading indication of the cost incurred in shifting from compulsion to a voluntary army. There are net advantages, not disadvantages, in offering volunteers conditions sufficiently attractive to recruit the number of young men required.

This is clearly true on the level of individual equity: the soldier no less than the rest of us is worth his hire. How can we justify paying him less than the amount for which he is willing to serve? How can we justify, that is, involuntary servitude except in times of the greatest national emergency? One of the great gains in the progress of civilization was the elimination of the power of the noble or the sovereign to exact compulsory servitude.

On a more mundane budgetary level, the argument that a voluntary army would cost more simply involves a confusion of apparent with real cost. By this argument, the construction of the Great Pyramid with slave labor was a cheap project. The real cost of conscripting a soldier who would not voluntarily serve on present terms is not his pay and the cost of his keep. It is the amount for which he would be willing to serve. He is paying the difference. This is the extra cost to him that must be added to the cost borne by the rest of us. Compare, for example, the cost to a star professional football player and to an unemployed worker. Both might have the same attitudes toward the army and like—or dislike—a military career equally. But because the one has so much better alternatives than the other, it would take a much higher sum to attract him. When he is forced to serve, we are in effect imposing on him a tax in kind equal in value to the difference between what it would take to attract him and the military pay he actually receives. This implicit tax in kind should be added to the explicit taxes imposed on the rest of us to get the real cost of our armed forces.

If this is done, it will be seen at once that abandoning the draft would almost surely reduce the real cost—because the armed forces would then be manned by men for whom soldiering was the best available career, and hence who would require the lowest sums of money to induce them to serve. Abandoning the draft might raise the apparent money cost to the government but only because it would substitute taxes in money for taxes in kind.

Moreover, there are some important offsets even to the increase in apparent money cost. In addition to the lower turnover, already taken into account in the estimates cited, the higher average level of skill would permit further reductions in the size of the army, saving monetary cost to the government. Because manpower is cheap to the military, they now tend to waste it, using enlisted men for tasks that could be performed by civilians or machines, or eliminated entirely. Moreover, better pay at the time to volunteers might lessen the political appeal of veteran's benefits that we now grant after the event. These now cost us over $6 billion a year or one-third as much as current annual payroll costs for the active armed forces—and they will doubtless continue to rise under present conditions.

There are still other offsets. Colleges and universities would be saved the cost of housing, seating, and entertaining hundreds of thousands of young men. Total output of the community would be higher both because these men would be at work and because the young men who now go to work could be used more effectively. They could be offered and could accept jobs requiring considerable training instead of having to take stop-gap jobs while awaiting a possible call to service. Perhaps there are some effects in the opposite direction, but I have not been able to find any.

Whatever happens to the apparent monetary cost, the real cost of a voluntary army would almost surely be less than of the present system and it is not even clear that the apparent monetary cost would be higher—if it is correctly measured for the community as a whole. In any event, there can be little doubt that wholly voluntary armed forces of roughly the present size are entirely feasible on economic and fiscal grounds.

(b) *Would a voluntary army be racially unbalanced?*—It has been argued that a military career would be so much more attractive to the poor than to the well-to-do that volunteer armed services would be staffed disproportionately by the poor. Since Negroes constitute a high proportion of the poor, it is further argued that volunteer armed forces would be largely Negro.

There is first a question of fact. This tendency is present today in exaggerated form—the present levels of pay are *comparatively* more attractive to Negroes than the higher levels of pay in voluntary armed forces would be. Yet the fraction of persons in the armed forces who are Negro is roughly the same as in the population at large. It has been estimated that even if every qualified Negro who does not now serve were to serve, whites would still constitute a substantial majority of the armed forces. And this is a wholly unrealistic possibility. The military services require a wide variety of skills and offer varied opportunities. They have always appealed to people of varied classes and backgrounds and they will continue to do so. Particularly if pay and amenities were made more attractive, there is every reason to expect that they would draw from all segments of the community.

In part, this argument involves invalid extrapolation from the present conscripted army to a voluntary army. Because we conscript, we pay salaries that are attractive only to the disadvantaged among us.

Beyond this question of fact, there is the more basic question of principle. Clearly, it is a good thing not a bad thing to offer better alternatives to the currently disadvantaged. The argument to the contrary rests on a political judgment: that a high ratio of Negroes in the armed services would exacerbate racial tensions at home and provide in the form of ex-soldiers a militarily trained group to foment violence. Perhaps there is something to this. My own inclination is to regard it as the reddest of red herrings. Our government should discriminate neither in the civil nor in the military services. We must handle our domestic problems as best we can and not use them as an excuse for denying Negroes opportunities in the military service.

(c) *Would a voluntary army have sufficient flexibility?*—One of the advantages cited for conscription is that it permits great flexibility in the size of the armed services. Let military needs suddenly increase, and draft calls can be rapidly stepped up, and conversely.

This is a real advantage—but can easily be overvalued. Emergencies must be met with forces in being, however they are recruited. Many months now elapse between an increase in draft calls, and the availability of additional trained men.

The key question is how much flexibility is required. Recruitment by voluntary means could provide considerable flexibility—at a cost. The way to do so would be to make pay and conditions of service more attractive than is required to recruit the number of men that it is anticipated will be needed. There would then be an excess of volunteers—queues. If the number of men required increased, the queues could be shortened and conversely.

The change in scale involved in a shift from conditions like the present to a total war is a very different matter. If the military judgment is that, in such a contingency, there would be time and reason to expand the armed forces manyfold, either universal training, to provide a trained reserve force, or stand-by provisions for conscription could be justified. Both are very different from the use of conscription to man the standing army in time of peace or brush-fire wars or wars like that in Viet Nam which require recruiting only a minority of young men.

The flexibility provided by conscription has another side. It means that, at least for a time, the administration and the military services can proceed fairly arbitrarily in committing U.S. forces. The voluntary method provides a continuing referendum of the public at large. The popularity or unpopularity of the activities for which the armed forces are used will clearly affect the ease of recruiting men. This is a consideration that will be regarded by some as an advantage of conscription, by others, including myself, as a disadvantage.

(d) *Is a "professional army" a political danger?*—There is little question that large armed forces plus the industrial complex required to support them constitute an ever-present threat to political freedom. Our free institutions would certainly be safer if the conditions of the world permitted us to maintain far smaller armed forces.

This valid fear has been converted into an invalid argument against voluntary armed forces. They would constitute a professional army, it is said, that would lack contact with the populace and become an independent political force, whereas a conscripted army remains basically a citizen army. The fallacy in this argument is that the danger comes primarily from the officers, who are now and always have been a professional corps of volunteers. A few examples from history will show that the danger to political stability is largely unrelated to the method of recruiting enlisted men.

Napoleon and Franco both rose to power at the head of conscripts. The recent military takeover in Argentina was by armed forces recruiting enlisted men by conscription. Britain and the U.S. have maintained freedom while relying primarily on volunteers; Switzerland and Sweden, while using conscription. It is hard to find any relation historically between the method of recruiting enlisted men and the political threat from the armed forces.

However we recruit enlisted men, it is essential that we adopt practices that will guard against the political danger of creating a military corps with loyalties of its own and out of contact with the broader body politic. Fortunately, we have so far largely avoided this danger. The broad basis of recruitment to the military academies, by geography as well as social and economic factors, the ROTC programs in the colleges, the recruitment of officers from enlisted men, and similar measures, have all contributed to this result.

For the future, we need to follow policies that will foster lateral recruitment into the officer corps from civilian activities—rather than primarily promotion from within. The military services no less than the civil service need and will benefit from in-and-outers. For the political gain, we should be willing to bear the higher financial costs involved in fairly high turnover and rather short average terms of service for officers. We should follow personnel policies that will continue to make at least a period of military service as an officer attractive to young men from many walks of life.

There is no way of avoiding the political danger altogether. But it can be minimized as readily with a volunteer as with a conscripted army.

4. THE TRANSITION TO A VOLUNTEER ARMY

Given the will, there is no reason why the transition to volunteer armed forces cannot begin at once and proceed gradually by a process of trial and error. We do not need precise and accurate knowledge of the levels of pay and amenities that will be required. We need take no irreversible step.

Out of simple justice, we should in any event raise the pay and improve the living conditions of enlisted men. If it were proposed explicitly that a special income tax of 50 per cent be imposed on enlisted men in the armed services, there would be cries of outrage. Yet that is what our present pay scales plus conscription amount to. If we started rectifying this injustice, the number of "real" volunteers would increase, even while conscription continued. Experience would show how responsive the number of volunteers is to the terms offered and how much these terms would have to be improved to attract enough men. As the number of volunteers increased, the lash of compulsion could fade away.

This picture is overdrawn in one important respect. Unless it is clear that conscription is definitely to be abolished in a reasonably short time, the armed services will not have sufficient incentive to improve their recruitment and personel policies. They will be tempted to procrastinate, relying on the crutch of conscription. The real survival strength of conscription is that it eases the life of the top military command. Hence, it would be highly desirable to have a definite termination date set for conscription.

5. CONCLUSION

The case for abolishing conscription and recruiting our armed forces by voluntary methods seems to me overwhelming. One of the greatest advances in human freedom was the commutation of taxes in kind to taxes in money. We have reverted to a barbarous custom. It is past time that we regain our heritage.

POLITICS AND CONSCRIPTION: A PROPOSAL TO REPLACE THE DRAFT

(By Bruce K. Chapman, adapted from a paper of the Ripon Society)

Americans in the past decade have become increasingly aware of the injustices of life in the nation's poverty pockets; an awareness made possible, it should be noted, by the virtual disappearance of poverty as a threatening norm. The intelligent public, at least, also has become increasingly sensitive to the seriousness of secondary forms of racial discrimination which previously went largely unnoticed because of the prevalence of more gross forms of discrimination.

But if, in several areas, injustices once considered secondary and qualified have now in the national conscience assumed first prominence (and quite properly so), the fundamental injustice of military conscription, which any previous generation of Americans recognized instantly, has now become a moral issue compromised, sidetracked and interpreted—devastatingly—as subtle. After fifteen years the draft is at last again a public question, but the focus upon it is woefully fractured. Many supposed reformers of the draft seek merely to build a greater conscription on top of the one that serves the military, thereby exploiting the plight of the draftee rather than ameliorating it. Critics who would never have been so naive as to accept at face value government statistics on, say, the contribution of public housing to the elimination of poverty, or the apologetics of segregationist authorities on the happy state of Southern Negroes, quite readily accept the most shoddy, hollow and self-incriminating rationalizations for continuation of a draft propounded by interested departments of the Pentagon.

It is remarkable that the present conscription program has been so little scrutinized. Although the draft is the only institution in society other than prisons to appropriate in full the liberty, time, productivity and security of an individual, many persons have come to view it as a permanent feature of our life. Yet a draft, by definition, is antithetic to a free society. The "nation in arms" traditionally has been a Napoleonic and Prussian ideal, while in Britain and the United States impressment has always been seen as unjustifiable except when the security of the state requires it. That principle lay behind the drafts of the Civil War, World War I and World War II. It was understood in each case that when national security could be maintained without conscription the draft would be terminated.

Today we are arguing in America whether this deferment or that is more "fair"; whether the Selective Service System is consistent from board to board; whether this or that prominent individual deserves his deferment; whether draft-card burners and other protesters should be tried and punished by the courts or tried and drafted by the Selective Service, and so on. Indeed, what should be apparent by now in the debate over fairness in our present draft system, or under the alternative drafts being proposed, is that the only truly fair system of manpower recruitment in a nation that has reached the point of not needing a draft is no draft at all. Today, as the result of a burgeoning manpower supply, burgeoning federal revenues and the rising sophistication of military skill requirements, we have reached that point.

THE DRAFT AND POLITICS

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Where the Congressional leadership has tended towards indifference, the Administration has tended to sidetrack the issue into closed studies. The first time the call for draft reform was forcefully brought before the public was in a series of speeches on the subject presented on the House floor by a group of Republicans in early 1964. However, three days before their scheduled presentation, the White House announced a committee on the draft reform to be set up within the Pentagon and which was to report within a year, by spring of 1965. This move had the effect of thwarting the draft reform movement for nearly a year and a half, for it took that long for critics to realize that the Pentagon had no intention of releasing its study.

There are now indications that the Defense Department study as of May, 1965 had come to the tentative conclusion that the draft could be abolished and an all-volunteer modern military instituted. One can only speculate on the reasons for the suppression of that report at that time: the escalated Viet-Nam War, which didn't so much indicate the need for a draft as the need to appear before world opinion as "determined" and "willing to sacrifice".

In early 1966 criticism of the draft again became widespread, with charges that Negroes were bearing an unfair share of draft quotas (a charge later effectively rebutted) and with largely the same group of Republicans as had protested the draft's operations in 1964 now producing evidence of inconsistent applications of policy from board to board and state to state and demanding that the Pentagon report be released and a full Congressional study undertaken.

The Administration responded not by releasing the Pentagon report, but by issuing what Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R.-Mo.) appropriately called "a report on a report". The 22½ page, double-spaced, wide-margined release barely got into the draft problem and raised far more questions than it answered. Rejecting a volunteer military, the Pentagon estimated its cost at from $6 billion to $17 billion with no breakdown of those figures to explain why such large sums would be needed. (Secretary McNamara in 1965 estimated the cost of a volunteer military at $4 billion on one occasion and at $20 billion on another.)[1] Just how such conclusions were reached was left a mystery. For example, to justify its apparent decision that higher pay would not have much effect on enlistments the Pentagon paper described part (and just a part) of a survey of boys 16–19 which asked whether "pay alone" would induce them to join the military if there were no draft. The "surprising" findings were that "equal pay with civilian life was considered the most important inducement by less than 4 percent."[2] But, of course, "pay alone" is not the "most important inducement" to persons planning almost any career, and especially to 16–19 year olds, who not only are idealistic but have no idea how really low military wages are now. Good wages unquestionably are an important inducement to any career, and previous surveys of public opinion made by the military cited low pay as a major reason for the relative unattractiveness of the military life in the eyes of civilians. (It would have been interesting to see the question of influences turned around. A 1962 survey of first term enlistees in the Army revealed that 63.3 percent counted the draft "very little or no" influence on their decision to enlist, while 17.4 percent said it was only of "some influence". Only 19.3 percent said they were "very much influenced" by the draft.)[3]

Later attempts by Congressmen and other critics to pry loose the Pentagon calculations were unsuccessful. But before critics could launch a full attack on the Pentagon's "report on a report", the White House once again stymied reformers by announcing a blue-ribbon Presidential "National Advisory Commission on Selective Service."

The Presidential Commission is less vulnerable to attack than was the Pentagon study, but considering its origins and the fact that several of the same people who worked on the Pentagon study staff are working as staff on the Commission study, there is reason to believe that at least part of its motivation is similarly political. Undoubtedly the distinguished Commission members are sincere in their desire to find ways to improve the draft system. However, a Commission source indicated in mid-October—just two and a half months before the Commission's report was scheduled to be on the President's desk—that only two "official" meetings had been held. Perhaps the very skilled staff men have gleaned information and opinions from knowledgeable people on all sides of the draft question. However, there has been no opportunity for knowledgeable draft critics—particularly proponents of a volunteer military—to examine, challenge or debate the premises, facts and theories with which the Commission is working. It is hard to imagine the suppression of this latest study (due in January but should be released next Wednesday, March 1), but its value certainly will be lessened by the fact its operations were clothed in mystery.

Meanwhile, in the course of these developments, the unexplained conclusions of the Pentagon's "report on its report" have detoured many critics from the question of whether in fact America could dispense with the draft. Fifteen years ago—indeed at any previous time in American history—the necessity of any draft would have been the first point of contention.

Now, however, the draft critics have scattered their attacks and proposals in so many directions that it will be difficult for any reform to overcome resistance of the still very strong lobby for the present system. Indeed, most of the proposed reforms would not really provide a system more effective militarily or more equitable than the one we have today.

THE DEFICIENT ALTERNATIVES

The most common alternatives proposed are a lottery and a national service. The lottery, as General Hershey has observed, would merely substitute impersonal injustices for human injustices. Some people find such a system neater, more abstractly pure, more principled. But to the young married father taken instead of a school dropout, or the future but-as-yet-untrained doctor taken instead of the unemployed worker the system's orderliness would seem small solace. Nor would the country's interest in obtaining skilled technicians and other specialists for the military while leaving the civilian sector with its critical personnel be served by a lottery.

Some lottery proponents protest that certain deferments would be allowed after all under a lottery, but since the nation has millions more young men of draft age than it needs in the service, those deferments would have to be broad indeed to maintain a semblance of universality, and the only difference between that kind of system and selective service would be in the "Russian roulette" irrationality of the lottery.

The lottery still would not solve the problem of resentment caused by some young men being drafted and others missing service. By what might be called its method of planned capriciousness, the lottery would merely build one more anxiety into lives already troubled by the absurdities and dehumanizing impersonality of modern society.

"National Service" is even more problematical than a lottery. Like a lottery, it would not even pretend to deal with the backward manpower policies that underpin the draft. Indeed, institution of national service would make replacement of those policies even more difficult by building upon them. The example problem always foremost in the minds of national service proponents as they imagine the benefits of their system is the young college graduate who would like to go into the Peace Corps but cannot do so without also (possibly) serving two years in the draft. However, no national service proponent has yet worried about the men of many skills and patriotic perspectives—including ones with ability and desire who would like to join the Peace Corps, to use the national service prototype—who still would be drafted under national service to fill up the Armed Forces. While options for service would increase for some, their good fortune would simply mock those unwillingly channeled through an unreformed military draft.

National service springs less from a desire to reform the draft than to reform society. Men and women who have experienced the fulfillment of volunteer service to mankind understandably would like everyone to have such an experience, even though the voluntary element might have to be removed to accomplish it. Moreover, national service proponents are concerned that many young men who might otherwise enjoy such an experience on their own (the Peace Corps prototype) are discouraged by the draft today and should be given another option.

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[1] "In answer to a question at a Congressional hearing on the defense budget on February 26, 1965, McNamara estimated $4 billion. . . . In an interview with *This Week*, December 5, 1965, he said at least $20 billion." Cited by George F. Gilder and Bruce K. Chapman, page 314, *The Party that Lost its Head*, Knopf, N.Y., 1966.

[2] Statement of Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), June 30, 1966.

[3] A five-percent Army-wide sample as of November 2, 1962.

It has been charged against national service that to achieve its objectives would require wholly unparalleled state control of human endeavor, far beyond the constitutional provision for conscription to provide for the common defense. Originally, proponents argued in reply that "assignments" to various social projects bearing the government stamp of approval would take into account individual interests and abilities. But the same might be said of the Communist system, the only difference being that national service proposed to conscript persons for only two or three years (though longer periods have also been suggested). Lately, however, some key advocates apparently have decided that the non-military alternative service would be "voluntary." Essentially, in terms of human freedom, that is scant improvement, for while the practical choice would no longer be merely the indication of a desire for work in a social project of one kind or another, it would still be to join national service or be drafted by the military. So instead of a system of total compulsion, we would have one that is compulsion for some and mere coercion for others, but which still is an infringement on human liberty if, in fact, no draft is really necessary.

The administrative problems of national service are no less staggering than the philosophical problems. Since many of the projects proposed would be of a social service nature, there would be little fairness in coercing young men into them while letting young women go free. With two million men turning draft age each year (by the mid-'70's), 1.2 million of them unneeded by the military, and with two million women a year, and assuming a three-year term for men and two years for women, a pool of 7.6 million, largely drained from an already tight labor market, would be potentially available for national service. Obviously, there are not nearly enough jobs to be done through VISTA, the Peace Corps, etc. to occupy any appreciable percentage of such a number, nor money enough to pay them. (Training costs for one Peace Corps volunteer: $7800.)

National service advocates calculate manpower supply differently, of course, and usually, when pressed, some decide (though not Dr. Margaret Mead) to exempt women after all. They also point out that perhaps 15 percent of young people are neither fit for any service. But then the advocates also use present manpower figures (1,800,000 men a year) even while admitting national service could not be instituted until the early '70's, by which time the yearly 18 year old pool will be up to two million.

Also, the figures of men to be allocated to various approved national service projects are computed on a yearly basis, as if one year's supply of manpower were all national service was asking, instead of two, three or more. The favorite Peace Corps program is always increased in national service projections to four or five times its present size, failing even then to note that less than a third of the Peace Corpsmen now serving are draft-age and that Peace Corps selectivity in choosing volunteers is far too tight, even now, to permit wholesale expansion, especially through a system of coercion.

Many new thousands of men also are seen "serving" in the Job Corps, although how the Job Corps can be considered the moral equivalent of either the Peace Corps or the military itself remains a mystery.

It is indicated by national service advocates that many projects would be privately operated by such organizations as churches and civil rights groups, but publicly subsidized. No indication, however, is given as to how such projects will be selected. If an NAACP project is all right, why shouldn't be a SNCC project? If the Friends or the Catholics are acceptable, why aren't the Black Muslims?

Finally, national service offers no fair outlet for the man whose service to his country simply does not fit into some bureaucratic scheme. It is said that the future doctor would be helped in understanding his career if before medical school he worked as a hospital menial through national service. That is certainly questionable, both from the standpoint of the individual and the country's need for practicing physicians. But in any case, what similarly valuable training does the national service offer the future but-as-yet-untrained painter (highway beautification?) or poet (editing the Job Corps yearbook?) or musician? Such people in our society of diversity would be just as misused by national service as by the draft, and maybe more so.

National service would not end the draft's injustices but compound them. There would still be deferments, not only for the physically or mentally unfit, but for young fathers, men with occupations critical to the national security and probably farmers. Some men would serve and some would not.

One would not want to deprecate the social goals cited by national service or the contributions, present and potential, of the Peace Corps, VISTA, the Job Corps, the proposed Teachers Corps or Health Corps. But meeting social needs and opportunities by grafting a national service onto the draft would be like taking cough medicine to cure an earache. It would be an inappropriate way of dealing with social needs as well as a counterproductive way of treating draft inequities. Its very proposal is a case of displaced social concern.

Voluntarism is a much more powerful instrument for social advance. It is as hard to imagine Peace Corpsmen who joined only to avoid the draft as it is to imagine "assigning" men to the clergy. If certain social objectives are worthwhile, they are worth pursuing by means of a joint government-private effort. What is needed is a semi-public foundation that would finance on a subsistence basis volunteer work of social worth. Such opportunity for service would be available not only on a yearly basis, but for college and high school students during the summertime.

However, a gargantuan Brook Farm, spurred by compulsion, as Harvard President Nathan Pusey has said, would be "a collosal waste of time".

Unhappily, the waste of time occurs in even considering national service, or a lottery, as alternatives to today's draft. Congress for good reason is unlikely to adopt either, beyond perhaps a marginal change or two in the present system. But such changes, whether giving an outright exemption to Peace Corpsmen or drafting from the lower age groups first, would not constitute truly relevant reform.

What the national service and lottery schemes do accomplish is to confuse the issue.

WHY VOLUNTARISM

The practical case for a volunteer military rests in largest part on the new manpower and financial possibilities for the complete replacement of conscription. Not since the early part of the 19th Century has America had such a high percentage of its population in the draft-age category. As the post-World War II baby-boom comes of age the number of young men is doubling. The American generational revolution reordering political life thus has tremendous relevance to the military institution as well. Where some 1,100,000 men turned draft-age each year in the early '50's, some 1,800,000 are turning draft-age this year, and in 1975 the figure will be up to 2,100,000. That means an immensely expanded pool of potential volunteers.[4]

Secondly, the increasing sophistication of military technology has restructured the nature of manpower needs. A radar technician is several times more expensive to train and several times more expensive to lose. The draft does not attract such people and draftees do not ordinarily become highly skilled technicians. (The benefits of the military's famed training schools usually are not lavished on men who will serve only a year and a half after processing through them.) It is said that the draft does tend, through its threat, to get men suitable for technical training to enlist on their own. But these men too are largely a manpower waste for the military. While the turnover rate of draftees fluctuates from 90 to 97 percent, the turnover rate for first term enlistees (and officers) is also very high, ordinarily over 75 percent.

Indeed, in a normal year, over 500,000 men—out of a total force of between 2,700,000 to 3,200,000 men—leave the military. That is one out of every six men; it is hard to imagine a business operating with such a high annual loss. According to Brigadier General Lynn D. Smith (Army), even before the Viet-Nam buildup, some 43 percent of Army men at any given time had less than a year's experience.[5]

According to General Smith, "the basic problem of the Army (is) too much personnel turnover." Commanders complain, says Smith, that "As soon as we are able to operate as a unit, the trained men leave and we have to start all over again."

The equivalent of ten divisions of men are in training at any given time. They tie up energies not only of themselves, but also of thousands of career men who must do the training. A military efficiency report by Ralph J. Cordiner, former Chairman of General Electric, to President Eisenhower in 1957 described the situation at many training camps: "I found antagonism and bitterness over the draft. They were checking off the days until they get out. We must devote 25 percent of our military effort to training men who don't stay. The trainers are discouraged. They resemble the poor teacher whose every class flunks."[6]

Interviews with servicemen, trainers and draftees alike, indicate that the situation has not much improved in the last few years. Cordiner's conclusions of 1957 seem even more valid now, with our increased pool of potential volunteers: "Reduced to its simplest terms, the personnel problem appears to be a matter of quality as opposed to quantity. It is not a matter of the total number of people on hand, but it is a matter of the level of retention of those possessing a high degree of leadership quality and those with the technical training and experience the services so urgently need. It is a matter of not being able . . . to keep and challenge and develop the kinds of people for the periods of time necessary for them to make an effective contribution to the operation of the force. . . . It is foolish for the armed forces to obtain highly advanced weapons systems and not have men of sufficient competence to understand, operate and maintain such equipment."

The cost of the draft in money and manpower is enormous, and in the last analysis, perhaps incalculable. But it is worth noting that the turnover rate for career men is only 15 percent per year. If that sort of rate, common in Canada's volunteer system, could be maintained throughout our military, we could effect an annual savings numbering in the hundreds of thousands of personnel and all the time and money required to train them.

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[4] U.S. Census, interview, June 8, 1966.

[5] Brigadier General Lynn D. Smith, "The Unsolved Problem," *Military Review*, June, 1964.

[6] Report of the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation, "A Modern Concept of Compensation for Personnel of the Uniformed Services," March, 1957.

The draft is the biggest obstacle to lowering the turnover rate and, hence, an obstacle to increased military efficiency. Low wages are behind much of the problem. Because of the costly draft and the relative sure supply of manpower competition it provides (in terms of quantity, not quality), Congress has long held down the wages of the military and particularly of the first-termers. Today an entering private in our military makes slightly more than a Rumanian peasant on a collective farm: $90.60 per month.[7] That amount is only 20 percent more than he would have earned per month just after World War II, twenty years ago, despite the fact of 60 percent inflation of the dollar in that period.

The American private also makes substantially less than his counterparts in Canada or Britain—where volunteer systems operate—or his counterpart in Germany, with its selective service system. The difference in pay is magnified in each of these cases by the gap in standards and costs of living between these other nations and ours. Nor, it must be added, has any of them the great productive margin of the United States to financially support its military.

Draft defenders protest that the American private's pay does go up after only four months, which is true, but it only goes up four dollars and thirty cents a month and stays at that level for the rest of his two year term. Then and only then do the Armed Services' hold out the promise of a bonus, and of course by that time a soldier who barely has had pocket money for two years has already decided to leave the services for good.

The sad fact is that our military, wittingly or not, often discourages perfectly worthy people from making a military career. They are propagandized against marrying early and if they do marry while still in the lower four grades and with under four years of service they are unlikely to get dependency allowances. The average man who wants to start a family cannot afford to remain in the military.

If a man does make a career of the service he and his wife find themselves living in often unattractive quarters in often poorly-planned military communities. Whether from ignorance of modern planning techniques or from some misguided worship of the spartan mystique, the military has constructed some of the most sterile and unesthetic communal agglomerations in the country. Psychologically, such an environment cannot help but have an influence on a potential careerist's attitude toward the services.

Another negative psychological influence is the draft's own aura of compulsion which carries over to the military as a whole, making it seem less desirable a career to many people than it need be. It is not affirming to a mechanic, for example, to know that the job he enjoys and to which he has committed himself by choice is done by his fellow worker, a disgruntled draftee, under compulsion. A volunteer system would improve military morale and the popular attitude towards the military career enormously; more volunteers would be the result.

Yet another manpower policy change that would abet a volunteer system would be a substantial lowering of our unrealistic induction standards, particularly in regard to physical requirements. Rejection rates among our NATO allies are 18 percent in Italy, 18 percent in France, 25 percent in Norway, as examples, compared to the 47–52 percent which is the fluctuating average in the United States. A year or two ago many well-meaning observers saw in the then rising draft rejection rates a sign of increasingly poor physical condition of our nation's young people, but the truth was that, faced with an over-abundance of available manpower and already having loosened requirements for other deferments, the Pentagon and the Selective Service simply were increasing their "selectivity", both in terms of objective criteria and of interpretation of data. Some months rejections ran as high as 57 percent. However, with the advent of the Viet-Nam buildup in the middle of 1965 the rejection rate began to drop, until by the summer of 1966, it was down to 39 percent, the Korean War level.

Such manipulation of standards, of course, is one of the inequities of the present draft. Not only do deferment and induction physical test standards vary from board to board, but they vary from time to time. Under a volunteer system the standards would be much lower than the norm of the past few years. Positions and work would be found for men now being judged unfit because they are unusually tall or short, thin or fat, or have some chronic physical problem that would make them unsuitable for combat. Since only one in five military jobs is of a combat nature, there is no good reason to apply standards of combat fitness to every man who volunteers for service. Indeed, there obviously are many career men in the military right now who could not meet those entering standards, though, of course, they once did. But fat or thin they still make quite good supply officers, clerks and—presumably—Pentagon generals.

Similarly, the sophistication of new skills required by the military also makes possible and desirable the greater use of civilians in technical, non-combat positions and, at the other end of the skill spectrum, for maintenance work. There is nothing radical or untried about such a proposal; the Seebees of World War II are merely one classic example of trained men recruited from civilian life. The principle of hiring people who already are trained is well-established, but it could be much more widely applied.

All of these proposals however would cost money; funds for better recruitment programs, better college scholarship programs for potential officers, more attention to side-benefits and, particularly, higher salaries.

However, the upper estimate of $17 billion dollars given by the Pentagon as the cost of a volunteer military can be dismissed as a scare figure: it would mean an *average* increase of $6,000 dollars a year for everyone in the services. A much more reasonable estimate figure is suggested by Dr. Walter Oi, Professor of Economics at the University of Washington and a participant in the original Defense Department study of 1964–65. With a decreased need for approximately 200,000 personnel as the result of an all-professional system, and a turnover of no more than 650,000 per year (which seems very high indeed), Oi believes the volunteer service could be ushered in for considerably less than the six million dollar figure cited as a minimum by the Pentagon.

Other draft experts, such as Rep. Thomas B. Curtis, believe that increased efficiency and higher morale would in the long run actually mean a savings rather than a loss, and that regaining hundreds of thousands of men for civilian productivity who otherwise would have passed through the draft would mean a considerable help to the general national economy.

A full-scale Congressional probe, made up of members of the Labor and Education, Joint Economics and Appropriations Committees as well as the Armed Services Committees is required to fully explore the economics of a volunteer system. It should be undertaken in January by the new Congress. But even the result of such a probe would be more to set boundaries of cost than to establish a hard figure, for too many intangibles of attitude obtain and cannot be programmed in anyone's computer.

However, at this point it does seem appropriate to note that America's national government treasury is growing by more than six billion dollars *per year*. The United States can well afford an improved military system and the abolition of the draft.

Obviously, many other practical questions and accusations about a volunteer military still remain to be answered. The principle of freedom against conscription is no longer sufficient in many minds to justify alone the draft's abolition.

General Hershey, for instance, has charged that a volunteer, all-professional military would be made up of "mercenaries" and should therefore be prevented. But "mercenary" also, then, could be applied to those men who are "careerists" today. It could be applied to the men who have served in the Armed Forces during the overwhelming proportion of our history when we had no draft. And it could be applied to General Hershey.

If a "mercenary" is someone who is paid for his living, then we are all mercenaries. If a "mercenary" is someone who is paid an inordinately large sum for his work, then the word still does not apply to the men who would make up a volunteer service; no one has proposed paying military men more than a competitive wage.

Another charge leveled against the volunteer service is that it would soon become predominantly Negro, just for the very reason that it would be relatively attractive financially. However, already there are proportionately more Negroes than whites who re-enlist in the services. That is because of the military's lack of racial discrimination, but also because the present low wages are more attractive to Negroes than to whites. The raising of wages would tend to attract whites as well as Negroes.

But even if the undue concern that Negroes would be more attracted than whites were based on a correct appraisal of the employment market forces at work, there would be no threat of an all-Negro military: There wouldn't be enough Negroes to fill it. Negroes tend to have a higher unfitness rejection rate than whites, but even if *every single Negro male,* fit or not, interested or not, upon turning 18—approximately 250,000 next year—were to join the Armed Forces each year, there would not be enough to meet the annual personnel turnover, even under the volunteer system. Significant Negro over-representation in a volunteer service, then, is more than an exaggerated problem; it is a nonexistent one.

Another dubious assertion is that a volunteer military would be unfair because poor people would be attracted to it and would, as Congressman Charles S. Joelson (D-N.J.) puts it, "be sent off to be killed". This argument ignores the fact that wages would be raised for officers (mostly college educated) and other highly trained men along with everyone else and, therefore, that the services would be as socially representative under a professional system as they are now. It also ignores the fact, previously stated, that four-fifths of the military's jobs are non-combat, and also, that the actual statistical chance of a man dying while in the service is exactly the same, based on 1965 figures, as in civilian life: 2.5 in 1000. A policeman's job is probably more hazardou than most soldiers', but no one proposes (yet) that we conscript for the police force, or for that matter, the fire department. Indeed, if a man wants a military career and finds he can enter one with hope of reasonable financial compensation, who can be so condescending as to suggest he is being exploited?

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[7] Pentagon figures, August, 1966. A pay raise of 3½ percent this past summer will be eaten up in one year's inflation alone.

A more reasonable argument than any of these against a voluntary service is that such a system would be a less flexible tool for manpower recruitment than would the draft. In answer, it must be said that to some extent such inflexibility of numbers would be compensated by the greater flexibility and reliability of trained, seasoned personnel. However, any further problem could be corrected by maintaining a slight margin of surplus manpower above that required under normal circumstances. This surplus might be made up from the saved manpower in training units under a volunteer system; it might be made up through over-recruitment, even though that would mean a higher overhead in wages; or, it might be made up of a truly ready Reserve system, consisting of well-paid veterans whose call-up would be considered routine in times of manpower expansion and not as signifying a "national emergency" as does the call-up of our very un-ready Ready Reserves today. In any case, the surplus would cushion any minor military manpower reorganization or any major transition to a massive land-war strategy (e.g., World War II) and the temporary restoration of the draft.

REACHING THE VOLUNTEER GOAL

Implementation of a volunteer manpower recruitment system would require a transitional period during which a draft would operate. However, the transitional draft should be quite different from the present system, with methods and planning that would encourage the development of the new system rather than retard it. The present draft, attempting to perpetuate the myth of "universality" in its application, uses deferments and rejection standards to regulate the pool of available manpower to the immediate need for new bodies. The transitional draft would seek through incentives and lower rejection standards to widen the flow of volunteers as much as possible. The rehabilitation program for men who have failed the military entrance examination for education, instituted under the pressure of the rapid Viet-Nam manpower buildup, would become (for volunteers only, however) a permanent manifestation of that policy. So too would a completely new project designed to utilize those men who fail the physical tests through special non-combat oriented training programs.

Simultaneously, military pay would be increased, with volunteers paid more than draftees. Congress understandably has opposed such discrimination in the past, but the procedure seems more justifiable when used over a brief period of a year or two as a help in priming the increased flow of volunteers. The present "bonus" program for re-enlistment would be somewhat curtailed as a less effective means of gaining a man's commitment to a military career. A systematic improvement of living conditions for volunteers would be undertaken, as would a special recruitment program for utilizing more civilians in non-combat positions.

Meanwhile, the draft system itself would reverse its priorities, drafting younger men first, as, in fact, the Pentagon now recommends. The same deferments as are now available would obtain, though of course fewer men at that age would be physically unfit, fathers, employed in jobs critical to the national security, etc. Students, however, would be deferred only after they had been notified of their induction; at that time they would be allowed to sign a commitment to serve in a branch of their choice after completion of their college careers and given a deferment on that basis. Of course, they also could opt to serve at once.

Under the transitional draft the Selective Service System would publish and distribute to all registrants a booklet fully explaining all the options before them and broadly describing the career opportunities in the various services. (Today, except for a skimpy fold-over flyer whose information is couched in a kind of scolding bureaucratese and merely made available to registrants who request it, the Selective Service System makes virtually no attempt to educate young men in their obligations and choices. For example, one is told he has the "right" to appeal, but he is not given a clue as to how to handle that appeal.) Even when the volunteer system was completely implemented the Selective Service would continue to register young men and to classify them, against the day when massive conscription might have to be reinstituted. The physical examination given all young men would be designed—as they are only theoretically designed today—as much to provide all young men, including those from disadvantaged backgrounds, with advice on their state of health and to direct the sick ones to help, as to provide the military with an account of their fitness for potential induction.

Finally, during the transitional draft, the registration and classification of men would remain the responsibility of local boards, though under tighter national guidelines. But actual selection of men would be conducted through a national pool, to end the inequities that result when categories of registrants are inducted in some areas but not in others. Data-processing computers would be initiated into the national procedure.

The transitional draft described here really would be an improved *permanent draft* over what we have today, or, for that matter, over national service or a lottery. But some men would still serve under compulsion while others served by personal choice and still others served not at all. Such inequity, inevitable under any system of compulsion, and the new reality of manpower surfeit make the real virtue of the transitional draft just that—it is transitional, planned to smooth the way to an all-volunteer, all-professional military.

TOWARD A VOLUNTARY CAREER ARMY

(Submitted by Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS to the National Conference on the Draft, University of Chicago, Dec. 4 to 7, 1966)

It is within our means to eliminate compulsory military service and procure the needed manpower through a program calling for greater pay and other benefits to servicemen, reduction of the numbers needed through greater coordination of skills between the military and civilian sector of our society, and improved capabilities of reserve units. A voluntary career army would have greater and continually available technical skills, higher morale, and be more able to meet the immediate military threats to our security. Furthermore, a voluntary system has as one of its purposes the reduction of military authority over the lives of our citizens and hence is vastly superior to alternative systems of military manpower procurement such as Universal Military Training which was properly rejected in 1951, or its "liberal substitute"—Universal National Service.

The fact that we have not given the proper study to the possibilities of a voluntary career army is an indication that we have failed to adapt to the changing conditions of modern society and have failed to put the issue of military manpower procurement in the proper light. Manpower procurement is a national problem of allocating and coordinating the limited supply of skilled labor between the military and the booming civilian economy. The prevailing view that the problem is limited to obtaining a specified number of bodies regardless of skills has resulted in needlessly upsetting the civilian economy and wasting of the manpower resources by the military.

The present debate on the draft has been kindled to a large extent by the alleged inequities within the present system of selection itself. The cases cited are legion and generally include charges of inequities resulting from student deferments, occupational deferments, medical deferments, hardship deferments, or allegations of racial or economic discrimination, or disparities caused by slow processing procedures, and many others. Many of these charges are meritorious and some consideration should be given toward corrections. However, I would warn that if we let ourselves become preoccupied with these charges we will lose sight of the larger issue. We would be contenting ourselves with "tinkering" with the old machinery rather than undertaking the comprehensive overhaul needed. The draft must be examined from the fundamental perspective of whether it is an efficient method of procuring manpower for today's modern army in consideration of the needs of today's modern economy. My conclusion is that it is not.

The costs of our present system of procuring military manpower is enormous. At first glance it may seem otherwise to some because the draft is a means of acquiring very cheap labor. As Professor John Kenneth Galbraith has stated "the draft survives principally as a device by which we use compulsion to get young men to serve at less than the market rate of pay. We shift the cost of military service from the well-to-do taxpayer, who benefits by lower taxes, to the impecunious young draftee. This is a highly regressive arrangement which we would not tolerate in any other area." However, in addition to the social costs implicitly underlying Professor Galbraith's criticism, there are also grave economic costs. The draft has served as a crutch for the military services and allowed them to avoid the development of sound personnel policies. Our modern army requires specialists and technicians much more than automatons with rifles. The present procurement policies require the army to waste millions in training these draftees in skills which the military will lose in a few years and which the trainee will generally never have a use for in later life. The present personnel policies encourage further waste by deterring re-enlistments.

Military pay in the lower grades is lower in the United States than in any of the other NATO powers, including those like France and West Germany which have compulsory service. According to Bruce Chapman, whose forthcoming book "The Wrong Man in Uniform" documents the case against the draft, an Army private's pay is "less than that of a peasant on a collective farm in Communist Roumania." A private E-1 in the United States makes approximately $89 a month, hardly enough to support himself, much less a wife and family. With an increasingly lower average age for marriage in this country, it is not surprising that many married draftees in the military services are forced to depend on relief payments to support themselves. For example, in 1964, the Air Force alone identified over 5,000 cases of men who were receiving relief support. Such economic facts hardly encourage volunteering and certainly discourage re-enlistments.

Department of Defense figures reveal that only about 8% of draftees stay in the service and only 25% of first-term volunteers reenlist. In 1964, the re-enlistment rate for inductees was down to 2.8% and the percentage has never been greater than 20% Thus approximately 90–95% of all the manpower which is obtained by the draft is "temporary" and the skills of these men which took about $6,000 per draftee to train, are wasted in the process. The cost, in wasted training and lost skills alone, is approximately $2.4 billion dollars a year for an army that depends on compulsion to secure its manpower. This cost must be borne by Professor Galbraith's "well-to-do taxpayers" and is the penalty we pay for our inefficient manpower procurement system.

In addition, the draft ignores the basic changes which have occurred in the technology of war during the past two decades. Back in 1957, a report prepared by a "blue-ribbon" commission headed by Ralph Cordiner observed that "It is foolish for the Armed Services to obtain highly advanced weapons systems and not have men of sufficient competence to understand, operate, and maintain such equipment. . . . The solution here, of course, is not to draft more men to stand and look helplessly at the machinery. The solution is to give the men already in the armed forces the incentives required to make them want to stay in the service long enough and try hard enough to take these higher responsibilities, gain the skill and experience levels we need and then remain to give the services the full benefit of their skills."

Our modern army requires more highly skilled technicians and less manual laborers in order to operate and maintain its sophisticated weapons systems. But it is precisely these skilled personnel who leave the military services for higher paying more satisfying jobs in civilian life. The draft, to be sure, provides ample quantity, but what is needed increasingly today is men of special skills or quality. The latter are uninterested in remaining in the services, and because they are also the most expensive to train the army is faced with a discouraging inverse relationship between degree of costs of skills obtained and re-enlistment.

The army, with its alleged traditional talent for putting "square pegs into round holes," has aggravated the situation with the misuse of the skills and talents it has at its disposal. A General Accounting Office study, noted by Senator Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.) in 1964, revealed that at least 35,000 soldiers were employed in the wrong jobs wasting some $48 million. The GAO described the Army's handling of men as a personnel system that generates mismanagement. Examples cited were helicopter pilots serving as dog handlers and airplane mechanics as military policemen.

Unfortunately the military has also been shown to be unable to make effective use of scientific talent available to them. On August 30, 1962, Senator Proxmire read into the Congressional Record a study prepared by a former Army engineer which showed that "the effective utilized time of the enlisted scientist or engineer spent on work commensurate with his qualifications is 10%." This astounding figure was confirmed by the Army's Adjutant General's Office.

For comparison, it is interesting to examine the personnel policies of the Navy Seabees during World War II. The Seabees practice of placing already trained bulldozer operators, engineers, and other skilled personnel immediatley in jobs commensurate with their ability and skills resulted in large savings in time and costs. In addition it encouraged enlistment as the enlistee was assured of an opportunity to make use of his skills and talents. Regrettably even the Seabees have dropped this policy today.

Equally important with the distorting effects on the military are the effects of the draft's inefficiency on the civilian sector of our society. The current military buildup in Vietnam has intensified pressures on business firms faced with severe shortages of skilled labor due to the draft. In June 1966, a trade journal published by Prentice Hall entitled "Personnel Management—Policies and Pressures" contained a survey of 192 American business firms showing that 35% faced severe shortages of skilled labor. Furthermore, these firms cannot find their way out of their dilemma by instituting job training programs as there is great difficulty in finding young workers to train. The very fact of the draft liability of those presently available makes a company balk at providing expensive training. The Department of Defense reported during the hearings on the draft this June that 39% of the draftees between the ages of 22–25 were refused jobs because of their liability.

A "de jure" attempt is made to provide some measure of insulation from the draft to key employees of essential industries in the name of the "national interest". The little known "Department of Commerce list of Currently Essential Activities" and the "Department of Labor's list of Critical Occupations" sets down recommendations for jobs which should enjoy draft exemption. Unfortunately this list has not been revised since 1963 despite the new demands for manpower and the current shortage. The lists also use job-descriptions which are now out of date according to the 1965 revised edition of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* published by the Department of Labor. Furthermore, the committee responsible for compiling these lists, and thus coordinating military and civilian manpower needs, has concentrated solely on "defense" jobs. Critical occupations in the civilian sector have gone unconsidered. For example, as I reported on the floor of the House on July 28, a manufacturer of electrical fuses, with a large share of the civilian market but only a small number of defense contracts could not qualify for the Commerce list and thus has experienced great difficulties in keeping its trained employees. This failure of the Selective Service to coordinate its selection process with the needs of the civilian society is damaging to our defense efforts because the health of the civilian economy is an important aspect of our military strength.

A further ramification of the total lack of coordination between the civilian sector of our economy and the military is the sorry state of the Reserve and National Guard. Originally established in 1955 to serve as an available source of trained manpower in the event of a build-up, the reserves have become a repository for overaged former servicemen and young men seeking a way to avoid the draft. For the most part, Reserve units are untrained. A study prepared by the Governor's Advisory Committee on the National Guard indicated that 90,000, or 30% of the total strength of the Guard, had never received training. General Hershey stated at the Armed Services Committee hearings in June that 50,000 Reservists were in control units and had never received training. This lack of preparedness was illustrated when the Army recently completed a program whereby selected reserve units were given up-to-date training in order to bring them to combat readiness. Unfortunately to achieve this a redistribution of the personnel and material resources of the remaining 70% of the Reserve was necessary. Thus, to get a few Reserve units ready for call up the Army was forced to let the remainder deteriorate.

The lack of coordination of skills between the reserves and the civilian sector makes any large scale call-up dangerous if not impossible. In 1961 the Reserves were called to meet the Berlin crisis resulting in chaos in many communities. The same effect would result if the Reserves were called up today. As an illustration, Lambert Airport in St. Louis where many key employees are also reservists, would be shut down.

My proposal focuses on the major elements necessary to achieve a modern career military force. I argue that such a force—sustained by volunteers through increased pay and other benefits—would have a higher morale, be better trained, and more able to meet the immediate military threats to our country. The essential elements of a career force would include:

1. HIGHER PAY, BETTER HOUSING, AND OTHER BENEFITS WHICH WOULD MAKE MILITARY LIFE MORE COMPARABLE TO CIVILIANS IN SIMILAR JOBS UTILIZING SIMILAR SKILLS

This is basic to attracting and keeping a career army. Unfortunately the possibilities have never been given the detailed study necessary. The Defense Department sweepingly argues that it would cost too much to rely on volunteers. In the last days of the hearings held by the House Armed Services Committee this June the Defense Department finally came forward with the year late report. This report, or more correctly, a "report of their report" contained cost estimates ranging from $4 to $17 billion. These figures unfortunately were based on the Department's estimates on what it would cost to "hire" 500,000 new men annually without any other changes in personnel policies. I requested supplemental data from the author of the report, Assistant Secretary of Defense Thomas D. Morris, and was advised in a letter that "no estimates were made for the draft study of the combined effects of improvements in fringe benefits upon the rate of volunteering . . . since these benefits—with the exception of training and educational opportunities—were not found to be effective inducements for *initial* enlistment." (Emphasis added.) Thus the military establishment responded with figures so vague as to be almost meaningless and based them upon inadequate considerations. They have in effect created an artificial monetary barrier to an all volunteer army at the outset. Fortunately I have been advised in a succeeding letter from Assistant Secretary Morris that further study will be done on the effect of higher pay and benefits on reenlistments and the concommitant savings which would be realized by the military.

Others have offered some estimates in this area. Bruce Chapman, using 1965 figures leaked from the Pentagon study has estimated that a pay increase totaling $3 billion would reduce—through higher reenlistments—from 500,000 to 150,000 the number of new army presonnel needed each year. One can safely assume that higher fringe benefits and other improvements in military life could bring down the number even further. In this regard I would like to add that greater consideration must be given to making the military life more commensurate to civilian in many respects. To attract career men certain improvements must be made which need not entail a corresponding decrease in discipline. Such things as better family housing and schools for children of servicemen are imperatives.

II. MUCH GREATER COORDINATION OF THE UTILIZATION OF SKILLS BETWEEN THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY SECTORS OF OUR SOCIETY

Almost 90% of the technical skills which are used by the military are also employed by the civilian economy. Civilian personnel can then be substituted for the military in many cases. Under a program begun in 1965 by Secretary of Defense McNamara, 74,300 military jobs were replaced by 60,500 civilian positions. This program of "civilianization" resulted in a net decrease of 13,800 jobs since trainers and manpower support requirements could be eliminated entirely for the civilian positions. Assistant Secretary Morris also promised me that further study would be done in this area and information may be available in the Department of Defense Military Manpower Plans and Budget for FY 1968. He did, however, point out that the military is limited in replacement programs of this type by the requirement that many positions be retained in the military in order to rotate combat troops into stateside jobs. Nevertheless significant reductions can still be carried out.

Furthermore, savings may be realized by utilizing existing civilian training establishments, including college campuses, vocational schools, high schools and on-the-job vocational training programs, to train personnel for the skills the military needs. At the present time the military establishment persists in maintaining costly duplicate and I would say highly inefficient training facilities. This is true even though 80% to 90% of the military jobs are congruent with jobs in the civilian economy, according to the Department of Labor Statistics. Thus military programs could conceivably be reduced to train only the 10% to 20% of combat or direct combat support positions which need military as opposed to vocational training. The resulting savings would be extensive and have the possible additional effect of encouraging business investment in our manpower resources and could produce a greater amount of skilled labor for the civilian economy.

III. LOWERING PHYSICAL STANDARDS WHERE POSSIBLE TO USE LESS THAN I-A SPECIMENS IN NON-COMBAT JOBS

Many non-combat positions could easily be filled by men now exempted from the draft under present selective service regulations. Utilization of all our manpower resources is essential to an efficient procurement system. The Department of Defense's physical and mental standards for induction are unduly high as the old saw that "every man must be able to carry a rifle" has rarely been borne out in wartime experience and is certainly wasteful.

IV. IMPROVING THE CAPABILITIES OF RESERVE UNITS SO THAT THEY MAY SERVE AS A MEANS OF RETAINING AND MAINTAINING NEEDED SKILLS FOR POTENTIAL MILITARY USAGE, AND COORDINATE RESERVE ORGANIZATIONS WITH THE CIVILIAN SOCIETY.

American military theory has always centered around a relatively small standing army with a strong Reserve. Therefore improving the present Reserve system should be one of our first priorities. A vital Reserve could and should be a repository for maintaining crucial skills for possible military use, and be coordinated with the civilian economy so that any call up would not endanger the strength of the economy. An effective program would call for a voluntary army of the peacetime size of 2,700,000 men, plus a well trained reserve of 1,000,000 men.

V. REVISING THE UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE TO INCLUDE ONLY THOSE PERSONNEL ENGAGED IN COMBAT OR TRAINING FOR COMBAT UNDER THE AEGIS OF DIRECT MILITARY AUTHORITY, AND LIMITING SEVERELY ITS APPLICATION TO NONCOMBAT STATE-SIDE OCCUPATIONS

In making military life more comparable to civilian life consideration should be given to the necessity of maintaining a strict uniform code of military justice across the board to non-combat troops. Military law maintaining discipline and control over combatants and support troops' activites outside battle areas is essential. However, we should revise the present Code to cover only those activities which need to be under direct military control.

The peacetime draft has only been justifiable as a measure of necessity; if it is not necessary, it is not justifiable. Alternatives should be studied in their broadest aspects. The problem of manpower utilization is more than a military one. The arguments I have advanced for a volunteer army affect the civilian sector, our American value system, and the whole universe of military and civilian life.

ANNUAL DAY OF REMEMBRANCE OF ASTRONAUTS GRISSOM, WHITE, AND CHAFFEE

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a legislation authorizing the President of the United States to designate a day in January of each year as a day of remembrance for the Astronauts, Lt. Col. Virgil I. Grissom, Lt. Col. Edward H. White II, and Lt. Roger G. Chaffee.

These valiant and dedicated military men gave their lives in a great and monumental struggle to shape the history of the world and universe. In honoring them and their memory to honor all men of science to work to broaden the horizons of humanity.

Mr. Speaker, I am prompted to take this action today because of a communication I received from a sixth grade class in Hammondsport, N.Y., located in my congressional district. I believe their suggestion has great merit.

Much of the early experimentation in naval aviation was done by Glenn Curtiss in Hammondsport, and the young people there are maintaining a lively interest in the progress of our space program.

At this point in the RECORD, I am pleased to insert a copy of the letter I received:

> HAMMONDSPORT, N.Y.,
> *February 3, 1967.*
>
> DEAR MR. GOODELL: Most of the children in the sixth grade of the Glenn Curtiss Memorial School in Hammondsport, N.Y., are interested and have followed our country's space program. One reason for our interest is because our town is the "Cradle of Naval Aviation."
>
> We are all sorry Grissom, White, and Chaffee's fate had to be in such a tragic fire. In gratitude, I think we should set aside a day in January in memory of these astronauts who died for science and their country.
>
> I wish you would see about having this holiday put to a vote in the House.
>
> Yours very truly,
>
> CARL GOODRICH.

TIBET UPRISING DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN], is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, March 10 marks the eighth anniversary of the revolt in 1959 of the captive people of Tibet against their Red Chinese oppressors, and it is for this reason that this day has been selected as the focal point for a reminder of the plight of the people of Tibet.

Under the guise of bringing Tibet back to its "motherland" the Chinese dispatched their so-called peoples liberation army to Tibet on October 7, 1950, and within a fortnight had conquered the country.

It goes without saying that China was never the "motherland" of the Tibetans.

My interest in Tibet stems from the time that I distributed a motion picture produced by Lowell Thomas and Lowell Thomas, Jr., entitled "Out of this World to Forbidden Tibet."

In that motion picture, in magnificent color, was told the history of Tibet, an independent nation, its religion, its Dalai Lama, its Panchen Lama, and its customs.

The Potala Palace, a shrine, and the tomb of successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lama, so well shown in all its glory in the motion picture, has since been desecrated.

When on March 10, 1959, captive Tibetans rebelled against the Red Chinese agressors, thousands of Tibetans were massacred or imprisoned. This rebellion culminated in His Holiness, the Dalai Lama's flight to India with over 80,000 other Tibetan refugees. The people of Tibet have been deprived of their right to self-determination, which they enjoyed prior to China's invasion of Tibet in 1950.

When the history of imperialism is considered, this subjugation by the Red Chinese of the free, defenseless, religious, and nonwarlike Tibetan people will lead in the role of infamy.

In my district, at 333 Avenue of the Americas, is located the Friends of Tibet Society. Its cochairman, Cynthia Huyler, is my constituent. They are participating in this commemoration, which will be lead on the morrow in New York City by Phintso Thonden, who is Ambassador of the Office of Tibet in New York City.

His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, continues in exile, and has a bureau in New Delhi, India.

On October 26, 1965, in New Delhi, the Dalai Lama stated:

> STATEMENT OF HIS HOLINESS, THE DALAI LAMA, NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 26, 1965
>
> "Tibet had always enjoyed a free and independent existence, living in friendship with her neighbors, until the Chinese, in the name of liberation, invaded our peaceful and beloved country and enslaved us. The Chinese announced that Tibet was to be freed from imperialists, but imperialists had never existed in Tibet. Now, however, Tibet for the first time in its history is under the yoke of the most ruthless imperialists, who strive to own a man, body and soul, and then destroy them both.
>
> "Before China's invasion, Tibet knew no famine. Every Tibetan had enough food and the kind of clothing and shelter required by the climate. Today, Tibetans live near starvation. Their only dwelling place is work camps where they die like flies from exhaustion and cold. Even the grace of Lord Buddha is no longer permitted to them because, the Chinese say, to believe in religion is equivalent to being a traitor.
>
> "Our only wish is to live our own lives in peace and freedom with all our neighbors, including the Chinese. For that we appeal to all men and women all over the world who value tolerance and gentleness."

The most recent communication from His Holiness, from Dharmsala, India, as reported in the New York Times of March 2, 1967, follows:

> DALAI LAMA REPORTS TERRORISM IN TIBET
>
> DHARMSALA, INDIA.—The Dalai Lama says the Chinese Communists have brought ter-

ror to Tibet, but he has not given up hope that his country one day will be free of them.

"The Kyi River, the holy river which flows through [the capital of] Lhasa, has become a river of death," he said. "Countless people have committed suicide by jumping into it and the Chinese have had to build barricades and erect barbed wire fences to prevent access to the water.

"The Communist Chinese cultural revolution [Mao Tse-tung's purge] was felt even in Tibet. Like evil spirits, excited hordes swept through Tibet and destroyed cultural monuments in our cities.

"Old Tibet is dying slowly. Our girls are forced to marry Chinese, our children are being deported to China and our young men are being killed or tortured in prisons."

The Dalai Lama was interviewed in the mountains of northern India, where he has presided over a Tibetan government-in-exile since he fled his country ahead of the Chinese in 1959. About 8,000 Tibetans live with him. The Indian Government has ringed the area with troops and few visitors are admitted.

I know that my colleagues join with me in sadness at the subjugation, and in hope for the eventual liberation of the free people of Tibet.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, again we rise to remind ourselves of another instance where a once highly religious and free people rebelled against the brutal tyranny of oppression. Eight years ago, on March 10, 1959, captive Tibetans revolted when their Communist Chinese oppressors attempted to arrest their spiritual and political leader, the Dalai Lama.

The revolt came after 8 years of Red Chinese effort to change the centuries-old, quasi-religious administration of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Unable to give more than token resistance when the Communists first took over in 1950, Tibetans were enraged at this supreme indignity to their leader.

The result of this occurrence was the complete subjection of these proud and simple people to a sad and horrible fate. The Dalai Lama, with thousands of his loyal countrymen, was forced to flee to India to save their lives. Thousands of others were massacred or imprisoned, and Tibet was declared an autonomous region by the Chinese, with its people no longer able to determine their own destiny.

But the last chapter of this sad story has not yet been written. Reports still reach the free world that anti-Chinese guerrilla activity continues. The battle for the right of self-determination—the battle for freedom—still is being waged in Tibet.

Our hearts and minds go out to the Tibetans, to all oppressed people, and we look for the day when all people will be free to decide for themselves how they wish to live.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on March 10, 1959, the Dalai Lama fled his land and his people, and took asylum in India. He was driven from his nation by Chinese Communist invaders because his presence was a unifying force to his people. His people were crushed and subjugated. Since that time they have been held completely servile to Red China. Tibet has been forced to surrender its autonomy, and Red China has taken steps to destroy Tibetan national identity. Their traditions, their culture, and their religion are disappearing.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in commemorating the uprising of 1959; and I join with them in hoping that Tibetans will eventually be free.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of Tibet Uprising Day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

LIMITING TEXTILE IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the RECORD concerning foreign textile imports and this threat to the security and the economic well-being of our country, and to include therewith extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday between 80 and 100 Members of the House on both sides of the aisle, or their representatives met in the Armed Forces Committee room, chaired by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS]. He had very graciously permitted us to meet in his committee room. Our distinguished and beloved colleague, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], made the first talk, outlining the danger to the national defense and to the economic well-being of our country if textile imports are permitted to continue at the present level.

Following the address of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] to the group, the informal Textile Committee of this House was reactivated. They elected my distinguished colleague from Georgia, the former chairman of this group, Mr. PHIL LANDRUM, to act as the chairman of our textile group for the next 2 years, for the 90th Congress. I might say this committee was first activated in 1961.

Shortly thereafter President Kennedy outlined his famous seven-point program for the textile industry. Every Member of this House is aware of the result of that seven-point program: A 19-nation agreement at Geneva to limit textile imports into the United States, depreciation acceleration, and small business loans. Finally, the effort culminated in one-price cotton. I might say to my good friend from California, who is a member of the Rules Committee [Mr. SISK], this program did much for the economy—and I believe I can speak for the entire textile area of the United States, as well as my area, where the textile industry employs 70 percent of all industrial workers.

I know that the action of this House and of the administration, of men on both sides of the aisle, helped to save the economy of my area and prevented ghost towns, as once we found in some other sections of our country.

I need not dwell here on the importance of textiles to defense. I might say, by way of summarization, that in the past 15 months 600 million yards of textile products went to the military establishment of this country, located on the ramparts of freedom throughout the world and including, of course, South Vietnam.

This is an important industry, important to the defense of this country along with food and steel. It is an important industry to the economy of this country, employing directly or indirectly more than 2 million people. This is what we are concerned about today.

Mr. Speaker, I might say that one of our principal competitors, Japan, is involved. We need not go into the fact that their wages are 36 cents an hour in the textile industry, but they have no unemployment whatsoever. They recruit textile workers from other sections of the world, yet these countries are demanding that their goods be poured into the United States with virtually no restriction, at an ever-increasing volume. This is a threat to the economy of New England, of the Middle Atlantic States, and to the garment industry, to wool, to man-made fibers right on down through the South and across the United States.

The time has come when we must do something. This is why we reactivated our informal textile committee yesterday. We are going to continue to meet. We will meet with the administration, with the Cabinet Interagency Textile Committee. We will meet with people downtown at any time, at any place, to preserve and to save the jobs—the fringe benefits, time and a half and so on—of our people.

We do not want to see the textile industry again slip into a 3-day week.

There is no depression worse than a depression during a time of inflation and high prices, when a person or a community is unemployed. This is what we are faced with today.

Mr. Speaker, events during the past 10 years in my congressional district of South Carolina, illustrate also the importance of the man-made fiber industry and the production of man-made fiber textile mill products, apparel, and other finished textiles to the economy of our Nation.

As background we must recognize the fact that textile manufacturing should be defined to include not only cotton and wool but the production of man-made fibers, filaments, yarn, fabric, apparel, and other finished textile articles. One out of every eight jobs in manufacturing employment in the United States in 1966 was accounted for in these industries.

In South Carolina, two out of every three persons with manufacturing jobs are employed in the man-made fiber-textile mill products-apparel industry group and one out of every four manufacturing jobs in the State of South Carolina is located in my district although manufacturing employment in South Carolina increased by 20 percent between 1956 and 1965, there was no increase in employment in the textile industry. Within textile mill products, mills engaged in the weaving of manmade fiber broad woven fabrics increased their employment by 17 percent while the rest of that industry suffered an absolute loss of employment in the State.

MANMADE FIBERS

One of the brightest spots in employment in the industry occurred in manmade fiber producing plants. During that 10-year period, 13 manmade fiber plants were constructed, and two technical or research and development centers were built in our State. South Carolina became an important center for both the production of manmade fibers and in research and development to keep our Nation at the forefront of this important sector of technology.

In my own district, four of the 10 counties which comprise my district suffered absolute losses of employment in textile mills during this period. Textile mill employment continued to be the major source of jobs in six of the 10 counties.

In my district and State, therefore, we are faced with this situation: Textile manufacturing is of major importance. The economic well-being of the majority of the people employed in manufacturing jobs in the State is clearly based upon the health of the textile industry in areas other than manmade fibers. Long continued excessive imports have robbed the industry of its growth potential to the point where employment is virtually static. Only in manmade fibers has there been a bright promise for the future for our people.

Now the explosion of imports which has rocked the domestic industry during the past few years, and especially in 1966, is threatening this single salutary area of economic growth for my district and my State. In just 4 years, imports of manmade staple fibers, filaments, and yarn have leaped ahead by 144 percent. Exports rose only 16 percent on a quantity basis, and by only 3 percent on a dollar basis, during this same period.

These statistics also give eloquent testimony of the very determined efforts made by our producers to be successful in exporting on the basis of price reductions, but to no significant effect. Nor have the price reductions which they made in an effort to hold their domestic market been successful, as the massive inflow of imports has softened the market to such an extent that major fiber producers such as Du Pont, Monsanto, and Beaunit Mills experienced sharp losses of earnings as indicated in their published reports.

The picture is even more extreme in madmade fiber textile mill products and apparel. Imports of these products affect not only the textile mills and apparel plants, but every pound of manmade fiber present in these goods represents a loss of sales of that much fiber for our domestic manmade fiber plants. Two years ago imports of all manmade fibers and products on a pound basis were equivalent to 6.9 percent of the domestic mill consumption of manmade fibers. By 1966, this had shot up to 8.8 percent—very close to the 10-percent market penetration which exists in the area of cotton textiles.

Great efforts have been made to establish a system for the orderly growth of foreign trade in cotton textiles because of the realization that a level of market penetration in excess of 5 percent causes market disruption and acute financial distress for American producers and their employees.

Strangely, however, no action has been taken in the manmade fiber area. Imports of the manmade fiber textile and apparel products have increased by 274 percent during the past 4 years, while exports virtually stood still. From a favorable trade balance of $139 million 4 years ago, we experienced an absolute trade deficit of $44 million in these products in 1966.

I join with the others here today in asking the President to consider anew our plea that there be no reduction in duty on cotton, wool, and manmade fibers, filaments, yarn, fabric, apparel, or other finished textiles during the Kennedy round, and that he instruct his Cabinet Officers to take a fresh initiative in seeking the agreement of other nations on an arrangement for the orderly growth of foreign trade in these manmade fiber textiles similar to the arrangements which were so notably effected in the cotton agreement.

APPAREL IMPORT PROBLEM

I am concerned also, Mr. Speaker, about the apparel import situation in this country. There are about 40 apparel plants in my district, employing almost 8,000 workers. This represents about 20 percent of the apparel industry in the State of South Carolina.

The major products of the apparel plants in my district are men's and boys' dress and sport shirts and women's blouses.

These products, particularly men's shirts, are among the fastest rising imported apparel items. Our apparel markets have experienced an increase of 26 million imported men's shirts and 5 million women's blouses in just the last 3 years, 1964–66. In 1966, we imported 69 million men's dress and sport shirts of cotton and synthetic fabric and 53 million women's blouses of cotton and synthetic fabric.

These astonishing quantities are destined to grow at even faster rates unless we do not do something now to prevent it. Our Kennedy round negotiators have proposed that U.S. apparel tariffs be cut by as much as 50 percent.

I believe the primary solution to this problem is the institution of an international trade arrangement to cover apparel and textile products of all fibers, like that which now governs the flow of cotton apparel and textile products among the 29 signatory countries, one of which is the United States. This type of arrangement allows the domestic industry of an importing nation to share the growth of its markets with imported goods without giving all the growth to imports. At the same time, such an arrangement would give the industry the time it needs to change and improve production methods so that it can become more competitive with imports. This will have the effect in the United States of permitting the apparel industry to continue its important role of employer of hundreds of thousands of workers, many of whom are women in small towns where alternative employment is nonexistent if the apparel firm is forced out of business.

WOOLEN IMPORTS

Mr. Speaker, the time has come, indeed it is past due, when the United States should emulate other countries as far as policy on imports is concerned. Nowhere is this pointed up more clearly than in the case of wool textiles.

Other nations, including those exporting wool textiles to our markets, generally refuse to take imports in any quantity either from Japan and other oriental countries or from the developing countries. Quite understandably, they feel that it is important to protect their own industries.

The refusal of most European nations to accept Japanese goods, for example, means that the U.S. markets are deluged. In the case of woven wool cloth, mainly worsted, the United States took 61 percent of Japan's export total in 1966.

We know what President Johnson's policy is. He declared in 1964 that imports of wool textiles and apparel must be held at reasonable levels and that the wool textile industry must be restored to good health. He has not repudiated these words and the unpleasant fact is that imports of wool textile products have continued to rise. According to Government figures, the wool product imports, as measured at the fiber level, account for more than one-fourth of our production.

As serious as this is, there are even more critical specific areas. In the case of worsted cloth, knit apparel and men's wool shirts the imports amount to upwards of 50 percent of domestic production. It startled me to learn that about half of the men's and boys' suits cut in this country are made of imported cloth. In other words, every other male we meet has a suit of imported fabric.

My State, Mr. Speaker, is directly affected by these rapidly rising imports. Yet our mills, like the mills in the rest of the American industry, are more efficient and better managed than those anywhere in the world. Their efficiency, however, cannot overcome the low-wage advantage of foreign mills—wages that do not even come within striking distance of $1.40 an hour, the present minimum under our Fair Labor Standards Act.

In these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, it does not require an expert to forecast that unless our Government acts there will be further decimation of an important and essential industry.

If exporting nations, which have flatly refused to enter into a wool-textile trade arrangement, continue to hold that negative position there is an alternative and this country should take it immediately. The alternative is this: unilateral action to impose quantitative limitations on wool textile imports, by category of product and by country of origin. Indeed, this should be the policy on all textiles, regardless of fiber.

This step, Mr. Speaker, would implement the President's stated policy. It should be taken forthwith if exporting nations continue to refuse an agreement.

TEXTILES ARE SOUTH CAROLINA'S ECONOMIC BASE

No other State in the Union has a higher degree of textile industry concentration than South Carolina. Any danger which threatens the textile industry threatens the economic security of a large number of people in my State.

In fact, the nearly 140,000 men and women who work for hourly wages in the textile plants of my State comprise 53 percent of South Carolina's industrial labor force. Their wages in 1966 amounted to $612,186,133, some 58 percent of all the industrial wages paid.

In addition, substantial numbers of people are employed in textile-related industries in South Carolina—the apparel industry employs some 40,000 men and women; the textile machinery industry; the mill suppliers; textile chemical companies; fiber producers; cotton farmers—this whole so-called "textile complex" in my State is estimated to represent perhaps three-fourths of South Carolina's economic base.

A favorite saying, and a highly accurate one, goes like this: "When the textile industry sneezes, South Carolina gets pneumonia." It is obvious that floods of Government-approved low-wage imports of textiles into the United States has brought on the beginnings of at least a very nasty cold.

Many plants in South Carolina have been forced to cut back production from 6 days to 5 and 4 days a week. Recently a South Carolina firm beset with unfair competition from cheap foreign synthetic-blend fabrics had to lay off huge numbers of salaried research and accounting personnel as well as production workers. The Joanna plant of Greenwood Mills, in Joanna, S.C., which produces most of the typewriter ribbon cloth made in this country, has been forced to appeal under the law to the Tariff Commission for relief because its market has been threatened by uncontrolled Japanese cloth produced at an average wage of 36 cents an hour. And countries with even lower wage scales are knocking on the door.

These developments begin to sound ominously like those of the 1950's when high-volume imports resulted in plant closings, high unemployment, reduction in capital spending, and generally tragic effects on the textile industry of South Carolina.

Some measure of relief came from the 1961 seven-point program for textiles, and the industry responded with vigor. Capital investment for modernization and expansion rose from $218 million in 1958 to $1.2 billion last year. Wages were raised four times in a little less than 4 years, and the average textile wage in South Carolina now stands at $2.04 an hour, 3 cents more than the average for all manufacturing. Hourly employment has risen by 16,000 persons since 1961.

Now this favorable trend is being reversed by foreign imports. In the 2 years since 1964, textile imports to the United States have risen 83 percent in spite of the existence of a long-term arrangement designed to maintain an orderly flow of textile products between importing and exporting nations. Since 1962, the share of our cotton textile market held by imports has doubled, from 5 to 10 percent, in spite of that portion of the arrangement which allows the United States to check imports if they prove harmful to domestic industry.

Leaders in my State are alarmed, and rightly so, that some people believe the textile industry to be expendable, and its employees mere pawns in some hideous economics game that disguises itself as "social progress." Both labor and management, suppliers and customers, farmers and manufacturers, have expressed shock that the Government would so threaten the very lifeblood of their State even after the lessons harshly learned in the 1930's and 1950's.

I do not intend to stand aside and watch half the jobs and half the industrial investment of South Carolina be sacrificed to the dubious development of textile industries in other nations.

Whatever involves the Nation's textile industry deeply involves South Carolina. In my State is located 35 percent of the Nation's cotton spinning equipment, and South Carolina plants produce fully 42 percent of the Nation's cotton cloth. The textile industry in my State annually produces more than 4 billion yards of fabric, 25 percent of all the cotton, synthetic and silk fabric in the Nation.

In the past 8 years, during the peak years of industrial development in South Carolina, nearly $2.5 billion has been spent by new and expanding industry. Of this, nearly $1.5 billion has been spent by textile and textile-related companies—some 60 percent of the total. This expansion has been most important to my State: it has meant more and better paying jobs, more tax revenue to finance improvements in education and other State programs, more cash flow in the State's commercial economy, in general more opportunity for our citizens. In a recent year, for example, industry expansion amounted to $600 million in my State, and some $400 million of it could be credited to the "textile complex." And as for revenues, in 1965 textile companies in South Carolina paid 27 percent of all the corporation income tax paid in the State, and accounted for 64 percent of all the assessed valuation for local property taxes of industry in South Carolina.

This is the kind of importance the South Carolina textile complex has to the well-being of my State and to the nationwide textile industry. This is the kind of security that is being imperiled by inaction on the issue of imports. The jobs of nearly 1 million people in this major, essential industry are at stake. If the executive refuses to consider these people's welfare, then the Congress must. It is vital, and already much too late.

May I say to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS], who represents the great Charlotte area of North Carolina, at this moment, before we continue further, I want to introduce, and to yield to, the man who yesterday was elected—reelected, I might say—chairman of our informal group.

I know of nothing that our beloved friend, Carl Vinson, did throughout his lifetime more important to this country, or even to defense, than when he led our informal textile committee to victory, in limiting imports, providing one-price cotton, and those other measures which saved our industry.

Mr. Vinson was followed, as the chairman of our committee, by no less distinguished and no less able a colleague of ours, the gentleman from Georgia, PHIL LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia, PHIL LANDRUM, has been diligent, persistent, and brilliant in his successful efforts to preserve our American textile industry and the jobs of its employees.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I yield to my great colleague, the chairman of our group, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM].

Mr. LANDRUM. I thank the gentleman. I thank the gentlemen of the textile industry who have placed this responsibility upon me. I hope that we can be as successful in our efforts in this Congress as we have been in our efforts in the past.

Mr. Speaker, the urgency of a situation which threatens the economic and military security of our Nation prompts me to address this body today.

It is essential that the facts and circumstances surrounding this matter be known and understood, for when they are, the course to follow is clear.

We are aware of the fact through the public press, as well as from official sources, that the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, Ambassador William M. Roth, has set March 26 as a target date for reaching agreement in the Kennedy round tariff-cutting negotiations under the authority granted the President in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which authority expires June 30 this year. It is reported that the United States is offering to cut tariffs on most textile products. As you know the act would permit cuts up to 50 percent. Under all of the circumstances which I shall highlight for you this would be a tragic mistake. We must so inform the President and urge him to direct Ambassador Roth not to do so.

In addition, the 5-year, long-term cotton textile arrangement—LTA—which expires September 30 of this year, is under negotiation for renewal. It has been reported from Geneva, Switzerland, where these negotiations are taking place, that consideration is being given to renewing the arrangement for 3 years—not 5—and that other undesirable concessions are being discussed.

It is essential that the President direct his Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, Ambassador W. Michael Blumenthal, who has been assigned responsibility for this matter, to renegotiate this arrangement without change and for 5 years. The renewal of the so-called LTA is intimately related to the Kennedy round tariff-cutting negotiations.

The third reason I address you today is because a failure of the executive branch to negotiate an arrangement covering international commerce in wool and manmade fiber textile products is continuing a dangerous condition here at home. This matter is directly related to the previous two subjects of contemplated tariff cuts in textiles and the renegotiation of the LTA.

The time factors involved in these three interlocking matters create a sense of urgency which requires our immediate consideration and suggests the appropriate action which may be taken.

Legislation is not required as an answer to this immediate crisis. What we hope to achieve today is to inform this body and in so doing hope to apprise the Chief Executive of the need for immediate clearcut, forthright Executive action in order to avoid consequences which would seriously impair our economic stability and jeopardize our military security.

There is no need to belabor this body with detailed historical background and I shall not do so. To bring us all up to the present, however, a recitation of the highlights will suffice.

It will be recalled that after the United States rebuilt the Japanese textile industry following World War II exports of textiles from that country to the United States reached such alarming proportions by 1956 that President Eisenhower directed the negotiation of a 5-year cotton-textile arrangement to control this flow. Upon its expiration a 1-year additional arrangement was entered into.

By this time other textile exporting countries eagerly plunged into the American market and because of substantial cost differentials in their favor were underselling our domestic mills to a point of driving many of them out of business.

President Kennedy inaugurated a seven-point textile program and established a Cabinet Textile Committee composed of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

Under this program a 1-year short-term cotton textile arrangement was negotiated between the United States and 19 other textile-producing countries, which arrangement was designed to bring some orderliness out of an otherwise chaotic situation in world trade in cotton textiles.

This in turn was followed by the present 5-year long-term cotton textile arrangement—LTA—involving some 30 signatory nations, which expires September 30 of this year.

Congress enacted and President Johnson signed into law the so-called one-price cotton legislation thereby removing a government-created inequity which was so heavily burdening our domestic industry.

These significant steps clearly demonstrate that three administrations, one Republican and two Democratic have recognized the economic importance of the domestic textile industry and its 4 million employees. We are fully aware also of the role played by the allied and supporting suppliers and users of the textile industry, ranging from the raisers of raw cotton and wool and the manufacture of manmade fibers to the fabrication of apparel and other finished textile products.

These and other significant actions by the Congress and the Executive have created a program designed to preserve this industry. This program is now an established part of this Nation's domestic economic policy as well as its foreign trade policy. These established policies and programs are now threatened. Authority to act and to prevent this impending injury has been conferred by the Congress upon the Chief Executive. When it is indicated that instrumentalities of the executive branch are endangering these policies and programs, it is to be hoped that the President will take the appropriate steps to prevent such a result.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LANDRUM. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WYMAN. I would like to ask the gentleman whether or not in his opinion relief of the type to which he has addressed his remarks is obtainable from the executive branch under existing law without the need for additional legislation if they were so inclined.

Mr. LANDRUM. It is my opinion—and I so stated a moment ago in my earlier remarks—that no legislation is required for the relief we now seek. It can be done under existing legislation.

Mr. WYMAN. Is there a tendency or an inclination to accord this relief at the present time?

Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Georgia yield for one question?

Mr. LANDRUM. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. WYMAN. Is the gentleman from Georgia inferring that the problem lies within the Department of State or that the Department of State has been a stumbling block?

Mr. LANDRUM. That is my opinion, but that would be a matter of opinion. I have expressed myself many times to the effect that the Department of State has been a stumbling block, and that this does in truth represent a block, although it may not be the only stumbling block.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANDRUM. Of course, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS].

Mr. JONAS. Would it be fair to say, in response to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. WYMAN] that one reason for this late afternoon session is an effort to lay our views before the people?

Mr. LANDRUM. I feel that the gentleman from North Carolina has made a very able observation, and I appreciate it.

The U.S. textile industry has responded in a classical display of industrial statesmanship to the cooperative actions taken on its behalf by the Congress and the executive branch of our Government. Progress has been made in the 1960's. It has shared in the Nation's high level of economic activity.

Against this background should be reviewed what has taken place and I am certain you will conclude with me that no governmental action should even be contemplated much less carried out which would impair the progress that is being made in maintaining the historical role of the textile industry in the economic life of our Nation.

From 1950 to 1960 textile employment fell by 334,000 jobs; 676 mills closed.

From 1960 to 1966 textile employment rose by 116,000 jobs.

Mill consumption of cotton is up 1 million bales from the level of the marketing season preceding one-price cotton.

Spindle hours operated in 1966 were 12 percent greater than in 1963.

Textile industry earnings, measured by profits on sales, have risen. They stood at 2.3 percent, net, after taxes, in 1963, compared with the all-manufacturing industry rate of 4.7 percent. In 1966, the textile earnings rate was up to 3.7 percent, though still below the all-industry manufacturing level of 5.6 percent.

Investments in new plants and equipment climed to a record level of almost $1.2 billion in 1966, more than double the rate in 1960.

There have been four wage increases since 1962: 1962–63, 3 cents per hour; 1963–64, 8 cents per hour; 1964–65, 8 cents per hour; and 1965–66, 9 cents per hour, and average hourly earnings in 1966 reached $2. On the other hand, hourly wages in Japan and Hong Kong, which together shipped 48 percent of total U.S. imports in 1966, are 35 cents and 25 cents respectively. This great disparity in wages is one of the root causes of the textile import problem.

While these progressive steps were being taken this is what has been happening with respect to imports of textiles into the United States.

From 1956, the year in which the first Japanese arrangement was entered into, to 1960, cotton textile imports increased from approximately 450 million equivalent square yards to 1.1 billion equivalent square yards.

During this same period 1956–60 manmade fiber textile imports rose from 34 to 132 million equivalent square yards and wool textile imports rose from 60 to 111 million equivalent square yards.

Since 1960 cotton textile imports have climbed to 1,800 million; manmade fiber textiles have climbed to about 800 million and wool to 200 million equivalent square yards.

This means that the rate of growth of imports is much faster than the rate of growth of our domestic textile and apparel market. Textile imports have tripled since 1961 to almost 3 billion equivalent square yards in 1966. Over the same period U.S. textile and apparel production has grown by about one-third.

Textile imports are now multifiber—cotton, man made, wool, and blends. They are no longer concentrated chiefly in cotton products or a particular product line. Since 1962, manmade fiber textile imports have more than doubled. Wool textile imports now account for one-fourth of domestic consumption. Imports cut across virtually all products.

The long-term cotton textile trade arrangement—LTA—is not effectively restraining cotton textile imports. Last year, the cotton bale equivalent of such imports passed the 1 million mark, a rise of some 300,000 bales from 1965. To protect the Government's cotton farm program, an absolute quota of about 30,000 bales is imposed on upland type raw cotton imports. The United States is importing almost 35 times this amount in the form of manufactured cotton textiles. Much of the most recent increase in cotton textile imports has been in the form of cotton yarn which is just a few steps removed from the raw cotton stage.

The imbalance of textile trade is contributing significantly to the Nation's balance-of-payments deficit. The dollar value of U.S. textile imports in 1966 exceeded the dollar value of exports by $800 million. The total U.S. balance-of-payments deficit was $1.4 billion.

Until the past few months, the impact of rising imports has been somewhat alleviated by the high level of market activity and the strong military demand for textile products. In many product lines, however, pipelines have filled, and prices are starting to weaken.

This industry, so essential to the military security of this Nation, supplied over 10,000 separate items to our defense effort in World War II. It was declared to be second only to steel in importance in our military arsenal. The continuing importance of a strong domestic textile industry has been underscored by military demands of the Vietnam conflict. The American textile industry was called upon to modify its production to meet large military requirements not only for uniforms and industrial products but for unusually large quantities of fabric for tentage, warehousing, and civilian housing. These demands were met by the domestic industry without the necessity for directives.

The current military buildup reached its peak in the period from January to March of 1966. Orders have started to fall at a steady rate. It is estimated by the Defense Supply Agency that military purchases during the current quarter will be less than half of what they were a year ago.

In cotton textiles the situation is much the same. Here are some basic indexes: New weekly orders declined through 1966 from 247 million yards in February to 99 million yards in November. Unfilled orders for cotton goods which peaked in May 1966 have dropped steadily and are more than 28 percent lower. Also, mill inventories are now 18 percent higher. Customer-owned inventories have risen 25 percent.

The hiring rate in cotton mills declined from a peak in August 1966 of 49 per thousand employees to 24 per thousand in December.

Wool consumption in woolen and worsted mills during the last quarter of 1966 was off by 19 percent from the last quarter of 1965.

Estimates of capital spending in the industry for 1967 are put at 9 percent less than 1966.

Textile prices are at a 5-year low. The Government's wholesale price index for textile products stood at only 99 in August 1966—1957-59 equals 100; it fell to 98 by November; and was 97.5 in January 1967. The all-manufacturing industry January wholesale price average is up to 105.8.

Along with the decline in prices, textile profits also have turned down. They declined from 3.9 cents per dollar of sales, net after taxes, in the second quarter of 1966, to 3.7 cents in the third quarter. Government data is not yet available for the fourth quarter, but trade estimates strongly indicate a further decline.

A survey by McGraw-Hill indicates that pretax textile profits in 1966 will fall 6 percent below 1965, while such profits for all corporations will average 4 percent higher. The Wall Street Journal of February 20, 1967, published earnings for 25 major industries plus railroads and utilities. While fourth quarter 1966 profits for these industries average 4.2 percent higher than the like quarter of 1965, textile earnings were shown to be down 19.4 percent.

The latest industrywide figures available covering the first three quarters of 1966 show that profits after taxes in textile mill products rank it 17th out of 20 major U.S. industries. Based on a percentage of stockholders' equity, textiles are at the bottom—number 20. The apparel industry ranks 20th when measured by profits as a percent of sales and 11th on the basis of stockholders' equity.

A new and significant facet to this problem may be illustrated by reference to that area of our Nation known as Appalachia. Here is a map of the eastern half of the United States in which the counties of Appalachia are shown in various colors.

The area covered by the four colors on the map constitutes the entire Appalachia region. The colors show the relative concentration of textile employment in each county as a percentage of the total manufacturing jobs. Textile employment means jobs in textile, apparel and manmade fiber-producing plants. In the counties colored in red, 75 percent or more of all the manufacturing jobs are in textiles. As you can see, they are significant in number and account for at least three out of four jobs in these counties in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.

In the counties colored blue, which number about the same as those in red, textile employment accounts for between 50 and 75 percent of manufacturing jobs. Those colored in green have 12 to 50 percent in textiles and the yellow or tan colored area shows counties where there is some textile employment but not in excess of 12 percent.

In total there are 453,000 textile-apparel jobs in Appalachia and account for 26 percent of its manufacturing employment. If the counties in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are excluded, we find that 41 percent of all manufacturing jobs are directly in textiles. Not included are those related employment opportunities in service industries and other activities which depend upon the existence of the textile apparel and manmade fiber-producing industries. For every textile job there is usually another job supplementary to it.

The importance of the textile import problem can be seen dramatically in this area of our country where we seek to encourage industrial development. This vast area of Appalachia stretching from New York to Alabama covers 180,000 square miles where over 18 million people live. The land mass of Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong could be put into Appalachia with room to spare.

The problems of Appalachia are known to you. They include poverty, illiteracy, underdeveloped economic opportunities and chronic and persistent unemployment. The United States is determined to find a solution to these problems, not only in Appalachia, but wherever they exist. The President's advisers have estimated the budget for poverty for the next fiscal year at $25.6 billion, up 16 percent from the current fiscal year. The budget for total assistance for major education programs for the next year is $4.5 billion, for manpower training $1.1 billion, and for area and regional economic development $324 million.

Returning to the Appalachia story, we find that in the counties contiguous to and bordering on Appalachia, which number 118, there are 89 counties with 236,000 textile and apparel jobs or 31 percent of the manufacturing employment. It requires no stretch of the imagination to realize that employment across the county line for the people of Appalachia is equally important.

But if we take a line 50 miles outside the perimeter of Appalachia, we find there are an additional 377,000 textile-apparel jobs. In short, there are 1,063,180 textile jobs in Appalachia and within 50 miles of it.

This accounts for nearly one-half textile, apparel, and manmade fiber employment in the country. It is 25 percent of total manufacturing employment in the area.

One-half of all the jobs in the manmade fiber producing industry are in Appalachia. This is the sector of the textile industry which has made such progress in developing and promoting new fibers. It is also that sector of the industry that is currently feeling the impact of imports of fibers and of textiles and apparel made of synthetic fibers, which have increased so sharply in the last 2 years. This is the sector of the textile industry which has led the world in fiber and textile development.

I hardly need draw the obvious conclusion that textiles are vital to Appalachia with a million jobs in the region and nearby counties. On the basis of a conservative labor turnover of 4.5 percent, there are 45,000 job opportunities every year.

In light of established Government policies and programs which are intended to insure the preservation of a healthy and growing textile industry complex in the United States and what has taken place under these activities, it certainly cannot be the desire nor the intention of the Chief Executive to permit his representatives to do violence to them or endanger them.

If Ambassador Roth cuts tariffs on textiles that is precisely what he will be doing.

If Ambassador Blumenthal renegotiates a weaker or something less than a 5-year renewal of the long-term cotton textile arrangement, that is what he will be doing.

Unless the Department of State and the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations accomplish a control mechanism covering international trade in wool and manmade fiber textile products this is what they will be doing.

I urge the President to take cognizance of these matters and to act without delay.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the gentleman from South Carolina and the gentleman from Georgia for bringing this very vital question to the attention of the House and, I hope, to the attention of the executive branch.

This very serious problem that is confronting our great textile industry is not peculiar to that industry alone. Unfortunately, it is confronting the shoe industry, the steel industry, and even our agricultural industry.

These manufacturers and these farmers and producers in this country, as the gentleman from Georgia pointed out, cannot possibly compete against the wage scales of these foreign countries, nor can we compete against the tax incentives that these foreign countries give their industries, nor can we compete against the subsidies they give their industries for overproduction which is shipped and dumped into this country under the guise of imports under the so-called tariff regulations.

Unless something is done by the administration and done promptly with respect to this matter, I am afraid that we are going to have a great deal more unemployment.

This Congress authorized—and the gentleman from South Carolina knows because he helped to draft the bill—to spend almost a billion dollars of the American taxpayers' money to aid the Appalachian counties in this country because of unemployment and other problems.

Also the administration is sending up this year a bill to revise and expand the Appalachian Act to spend more money to try to improve the employment and economic situation in those counties.

It makes little sense to spend these billions of dollars on the one hand to try to alleviate the unemployment and improve the economic situation in these counties and then to undermine this very economy by unfavorable tariff reductions and open up the floodgates to imports of foreign-made goods into this country.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Ohio. I know of his untiring efforts both in committee and on the floor of the House to alleviate the suffering in the Appalachian region in his great State and mine and throughout the entire Appalachian region.

We are deeply grateful to him.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for taking this time.

I intend to speak later on but I could not let this opportunity go by because the gentleman serves with me in the Committee on Public Works and he knows my feelings about Appalachia.

Mr. Speaker, as I see that map of Appalachia before me, I feel constrained to remind the gentleman from Georgia as well as the gentleman from South Carolina that there has been left out of that map in the designation of Appalachia, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, which everybody agrees are the crowning glory of the Appalachian range.

As I will show later in my remarks, we have a problem with imports in the Granite State of New Hampshire and in New England. However, we are not receiving any of this special balm that is being so grandiosely spread through the Appalachian area by the Federal Government.

I want to make this point particularly in this connection. We do have the same problems you have, but we do not have the compensation such as it is of that Appalachian program to sprinkle projects through our beautiful hills in New England.

Mr. DORN. I assure the gentleman that at the first opportunity to do so, I will vote to help his district too.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues who have preceded me and as well as those who will follow me.

As I stated yesterday, the textile industry was born in Pawtucket, R.I. We want to see it flourish and to continue to flourish here in this country.

I will agree with what the gentleman from Georgia and other Members have said that the time for action is now. We cannot afford further delay.

Mr. Speaker, the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island has passed a resolution memorializing the Congress to pass legislation to strengthen the long-term control program on textile imports which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues and insert in the RECORD.

The great concern for the textile industry as expressed by the people of Rhode Island is well justified for the welfare of a great number of citizens in my State is intimately linked with the disposition of this industry.

We have already felt the agony that lingers so long after permanently reduced production or the closing of a plant. Consequently, we are fully aware of what lies ahead if further reductions or closings should occur as a result of rising foreign imports.

The history of the textile industry is deeply embedded in Rhode Island for it is here in 1793 that cotton manufacturing was inaugurated in the United States and the textile industry began to assume its important role in the economy of our Nation.

It is from New England that the textile industry rose to become the United States second largest industrial complex providing more than 4 million jobs for our citizens. In the New England area alone, 200,000 jobs are provided by this industry, making it the area's second largest source of manufacturing employment. Looking around New England we note that in Fall River, Mass., 70 percent are employed in the textile industry while in New Bedford, Mass., and Lewiston, Maine, 40 percent and 30 percent are so employed respectively.

Textiles have always been closely associated with the lives of Rhode Islanders either directly or indirectly. Presently, approximately 26,000 people depend upon this industry for their livelihood. Therefore, you can well understand our concern over the flood of foreign imports that threaten the existence of this industry in Rhode Island as well as across the Nation.

These people need consideration, Mr. Speaker. If imports continue to flow into our country at their current rate we can only look to further dominance of our domestic market and subsequent greater unemployment resulting from reduced domestic production and mill shutdowns.

For many of the people in Rhode Island and New England, textiles have been their sole means of employment for their entire adult life. This is the work for which they have trained and have been engaged in for many years. Most of these people are in their forties and fifties and some in their sixties. Where will they turn if their jobs are undermined by the flood of foreign imports? All that I can see is a greater extension of Appalachia where over 1 million people formerly engaged in the textile industry reside in distress after having known the dignity of meaningful, steady, and familiar work.

Life in the city of Woonsocket, R.I., where I grew up, practically revolved around the textile industry as was, and is, the case in many other New England cities and towns. The work is familiar to these people and their lives are affected by it in many ways. When such work is taken from them, they are left with a void that may or may not ever be filled. I can intimately relate this close association between the textile industry and the lives of New Englanders to my own family for this very day my father still is employed in this industry.

Why should we allow reckless trade

policies and unbeneficial tariff laws to bring about such disastrous effects upon our own people? Why should we place their jobs in jeopardy and then spend millions on Federal programs to create jobs for the unemployed? It is both senseless and deplorable that we should do such a thing. Yet, we are well on our way to creating such a situation if the Congress fails to enact effectual legislation to curb and reasonably control foreign textile imports.

In just the last 5 years, textile imports have risen from 1 to 3 billion square yards. Yet, little or nothing has been done to curb this fantastic flow of imports that washes away so many of our domestic jobs. While imports grow, employment in textiles diminishes. During the 10-year period between 1950 and 1960, 332,000 jobs were lost in this industry while 676 textile plants went out of business.

In 1958, a Special Subcommittee on Textiles of the Senate Committee on Commerce, established to study the textile problem stated:

> We urge that government agencies administering this policy (foreign trade policy) recognize that the problem of declining employment in the domestic textile industry has been aggravated by rising imports and the loss of export markets . . . We point out that an industry faced with declining job opportunities feels the impact of rising imports more than an industry which is expanding its output and employment.

The subcommittee then recommended:

> That quotas be established which will permit foreign producers of textile products to sell in our markets within limits which will not further endanger existing textile capacity.

Mr. Speaker, 7 years have passed but no effectual action has been taken.

The full title of the resolution passed by the General Assembly of Rhode Island concerning the textile industry was "A resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to pass legislation strengthening the long-term control program on textile imports since a stricter quota system is necessary to the well-being of the New England textile industry." "Since a stricter quota system is necessary," indeed it is, just as it was needed way back in 1959.

Steps must be taken to accomplish this now. We can no longer afford to wait. The evidence has been before us much too long, now we must act, not deliberate. We must reduce the amount of wool, cotton, and synthetic textile imports and avoid any further tariff reductions through negotiation.

We have a highly efficient and important industry that has been badly bruised and needs our help to get well again. We cannot expect an industry with a $2-an-hour average wage to compete against foreign manufacturers who pay an average of 25 cents. This industry's health must be restored through a more effective quota system that will also enable it to grow and expand as it should. Our trade policies and tariff laws should allow foreign manufacturers to share in the growth of our domestic market but never to dominate it.

The textile industry is a basic industry essential to our national security and to the livelihood of millions of Americans. It warrants our vigorous attention and protection.

I ask that my colleagues read the following resolution enacted by the Rhode Island General Assembly and do all in their power to help relieve the problem which afflicts the textile industry in Rhode Island and across the Nation:

SENATE RESOLUTION 172

> Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to pass legislation strengthening the long-term control program on textile imports since a stricter quota system is necessary to the well-being of the New England textile industry
>
> Whereas, Any disruption in the New England textile industry would cause vast unemployment, tremendous expense for the United States government, and a dangerous increase in the United States balance of payments deficit; and
>
> Whereas, The textile industry is still New England's second largest source of manufacturing employment providing for approximately 200,000 jobs; and
>
> Whereas, The President of the United States has assured the New England region of his support for extending such specialized agreements as we now have to cover wool imports as well as cotton imports; and
>
> Whereas, Imports under the present agreements have more than doubled when such imports were expected to increase only 25 per cent; and
>
> Whereas, It has been established that the textile industry, the second largest industrial complex in the United States providing four million jobs, deserves being treated as an "exception" in our trade policy; and
>
> Whereas, The loss of the textile industry to New England would deal a severe blow to the economic resurgence of the entire area; now therefore be it
>
> *Resolved,* That the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island does hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to pass legislation strengthening the long-term control program on textile imports since a stricter quota system is necessary to the well-being of the New England textile industry; and be it further
>
> *Resolved,* That the secretary of state be and he hereby is authorized and directed to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the senators and representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States in the hope that they will pursue every means to enact legislation which will benefit the textile industry of the New England region and, thus, brighten the economic outlook of their own state.
>
> AUGUST P. LA FRANCE,
> *Secretary of State.*

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include a resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. I want to thank my colleague from Rhode Island.

I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the distinguished Member at the microphone, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN], and also the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM]. We have been living with these problems for many, many years. I certainly hope that the State Department will take cognizance of the fact that we are concerned about it. There are over 200 Members of this House in whose districts there are textile industries. We intend to fight this all the way. The tariffs are low enough now. We have a competing wage of 25 cents an hour in Hong Kong and 53 cents an hour in Italy. How can we stand it?

I wish to compliment the gentlemen for the great job they are doing and assure them that as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means with Mr. LANDRUM we will watch the problem very closely.

Mr. Speaker, this discussion today, indeed, serves a useful purpose. It has shown that tariffs alone cannot solve the textile import problem as long as our mills and our textile workers compete with 25-cent-an-hour labor in Hong Kong, 36-cent-an-hour labor in Japan, and 53-cent-an-hour labor in Italy. Yet tariffs are still vitally important, as the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM] has pointed out, in urging the administration to refrain from textile tariff cutting in the current GATT negotiations.

This has come to my attention five different times in the last 6 years when New England mills and their employees faced shutdowns or short time because of unfair competition from loophole imports of low-cost woolen fabrics. These came mainly from Italy where five times the foreign exporters have found ways to avoid paying the normal duty on their exports to this country by ingeniously seeking out loopholes in our complex tariff structure. These loophole imports have totaled 77 million square yards in 5 years.

First, Mr. Speaker, they sewed a strip of braid down the edge of the cloth and shipped it in as ornamented—even though they cut off the braid before the cloth was tailored. This loophole finally was cut off in 1963 by the Congress—Public Law 87–456, effective August 31, 1963.

Then they shipped cloth to the Virgin Islands where it was showerproofed and then sent into the mainland where, at least part of the time, the showerproofing was washed out before it went to the clothing manufacturer. These shipments have been curtailed, though not halted, by quotas fixed by the Virgin Islands Government—Act No. 971 (bill No. 1869) chapter 9, title 33 of the Virgin Islands Code.

Next, they added flax or ramie to their wool in quantities not large enough to change the general character of the cloth, but sufficiently large to get a lower duty because the cloth was "of chief value" of the flax or ramie. The Congress closed that loophole by law in 1965—Public Law 89–241, effective December 7, 1965.

Then they substituted rabbit fur for flax, having uncovered another loophole.

That too was closed by law in 1966—Public Law 89–405, effective June 19, 1966.

Next came silk as the additive. Another loophole had been uncovered, and this product is still coming in. Imports in 1966 totaled 4 million square yards.

I ask unanimous consent to have included in the RECORD a table covering the years 1961 through 1966 showing the imports of these various loophole fabrics. An examination of the table will show that each time the Congress acts or prepares to act to close a loophole, exporters open up another loophole to plague our domestic industry with this unfair competition.

Since it was too late to get legislation in the closing days of the last Congress, the Ways and Means Committee asked the Tariff Commission to make a study of textile loopholes and to report early this year. The committee had in mind removing the necessity for annual legislation in this area, and asked the Commission to make suggestions as to how, by a single law, all present and prospective loopholes could be removed.

On the basis of the Commission's report, I am now preparing legislation with this purpose in view.

Although, as I said at the beginning of my remarks, Mr. Speaker, closing the loopholes will not solve the textile import problem, I have been indeed happy to make this concrete contribution toward its solution. And I pledge my continued support of the administration's textile program, originated by President Kennedy and endorsed by President Johnson, as the best means of solving the problems of our textile mills and their 2 million workers.

U.S. general imports of woolen fabrics through various loopholes

[In millions of square yards]

	1961, braided	1962		1963		1964		1965				1966			
		Braided	V.I.	Braided	V.I.	V.I.	Ramie	V.I.	Ramie	Fur	Silk	V.I.	Ramie	Fur	Silk
January	---	0.5	(1)	(1)	1.3	0.1	---	---	0.4	---	---	(1)	0.9	0.1	(1)
February	---	.5	0.3	0.8	.1	---	---	---	.4	---	---	0.1	.2	.9	0.1
March	---	1.2	.4	3.3	.6	---	---	0.1	2.1	---	---	.5	---	1.4	.3
April	---	.4	.7	.9	1.9	---	0.2	.3	1.1	---	---	.4	---	1.2	.4
May	---	1.4	.8	.5	1.3	.3	.3	.3	1.1	---	---	.7	---	1.6	.3
June	---	.2	2.2	1.6	.3	.1	.3	.2	.8	---	---	.4	---	2.5	.4
July	---	.1	1.7	1.0	1.1	.4	.5	.3	.6	0.1	0.1	.2	---	---	.6
August	---	.1	1.1	.7	.5	---	1.0	.1	.5	.7	.1	.4	---	---	.9
September	---	.1	.7	---	.2	.1	1.0	.2	.9	.7	(1)	.2	---	---	.3
October	---	.1	1.0	---	(1)	---	.7	---	2.7	.5	(1)	.1	---	---	.2
November	0.4	(1)	.7	---	.3	(1)	.3	---	3.8	.1	(1)	(1)	---	---	.2
December	.5	(1)	1.0	---	1.0	---	.8	---	3.1	.1	(1)	(1)	---	---	.3
Total	.9	4.6	10.6	8.8	8.6	1.0	5.1	1.5	17.5	2.2	.2	3.2	1.1	7.7	4.0

[1] Negligible.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Mr. DORN. I thank my distinguished friend from Massachusetts, and point out to him that the wage in Portugal and other places in the world is about 18 cents an hour. They are expanding largely at our expense. I refer to Pakistan and other nations.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to my friend from Massachusetts.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the gentleman in the well in his very eloquent appeal for more drastic action on the part of the administration to stem the relentless tides of textiles that are flowing into this country. I want to compliment him for the very magnificent job he has done over the years in this particular area. He has chaired this committee for some time. He was succeeded by the eloquent distinguished gentleman from Georgia, who is now chairing the informal congressional committee.

This committee, I believe, has served a very fine purpose in bringing to the attention of the people downtown that there is concern on the part of the Members who serve here in this great body to protect this very vital industry.

I am delighted that my friend from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS], pointed out the very purpose of this exercise is to let them know downtown how we are concerned and want something done about it. I think many times special orders are often ways of getting things done when there was reluctance on the part of some of the people who serve in the executive branch departments to do what should be done.

CURB TEXTILE IMPORTS

Mr. Speaker, I join my many colleagues in this House today in support of the request for positive action to stem the relentless tide of textile imports currently flooding our country. I trust that the administration will move to curb the flow of textile imports. We in New England can see the handwriting on the wall because all segments of our textile industry are reporting reduced sales, dwindling profits, increasing retrenchments in employment and a sizable cutback in production. We feel it is time that measures be instituted to stem this ever increasing tide of foreign textiles that is engulfing our markets.

Either the administration or this Congress will have to do something drastic, to stop the unbridled growth of imports, that is endangering the livelihood and economic well-being of the millions of Americans depending directly or indirectly on our domestic textile industry.

In Massachusetts there are 97,900 people employed in the textile and apparel manufacturing industries, producing goods annually valued at $638 million and earning wages of $373 million per year. Textile machinery employment accounts for another 10,600 persons in 86 firms.

Mr. Speaker, in my own Second Congressional District of Massachusetts there are an estimated 7,208 persons employed by 71 textile and apparel firms, as follows:

Textile and apparel employment in the 2d Massachusetts Congressional District

City or town	Number of mills	Estimated number of employees
Chicopee	12	1,169
Ludlow	4	635
Palmer	8	882
Springfield	31	2,789
Ware	9	856
Warren	4	787
West Springfield	3	90
7 cities and towns	71	7,208

Mr. Speaker, in New England the alarm was sounded when our Northern Textile Association at its 112th annual meeting on Cape Cod called on the President and Congress to cut the flow of textile imports threatening the future of New England and other American mills. Attention was drawn to the vivid fact that, in 1961, before the renewal of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, textile imports amounted to 964 million square yards, but by 1966 such imports had tripled to 2,690 million square yards.

Consider these other facts:

In 1961 wool imports comprised 14 percent of our domestic consumption; in 1966 they amounted to 25 percent.

In 1961 cotton textiles and clothing imports comprised 5 percent of domestic consumption; in 1966 they were in excess of 10 percent.

In 1961 imports of clothing and fabrics of synthetic fibers were practically nonexistent; in 1966 imports comprised 10 percent.

At various meetings among textile men in the South, the call has gone out to make known the inequities of the textile import situation, where we have granted important trading concessions, to overseas producers and exporters, without gaining reciprocal advantages for our own exports.

In the Midwest, an urgent request has also been sounded for international treaty or trade agreement provisions, whereby our domestic textile producers will be assured of an orderly market, and that imports not be allowed to exceed a specific percentage of domestic consumption.

Mr. Speaker, the tremendous influx of foreign textiles, from low-wage off-shore producers, is not only hurting our textile industry, but causing a sizable and far-reaching slump in the industry which is not likely to be reversed soon. This slump began in early 1966 and has not been reversed by any general revival in market activity. Last year, our reduced total of textile manufacturers' sales totaled just over $20 billion. Indications are that 1967 will not even be close to that figure.

The textile industry is the bellwether of all American industries. It is the most sensitive to all market fluctuations. It is the first to hit the skids even while others are prosperous.

It is the first to reflect sharply supply and demand in the lower paychecks for the mill textile worker. Its companies are the first to show smaller earnings. A very recent—March 3, 1967—Wall Street Journal survey of the 10 major textile companies showed that profits over the last 3 months of 1966 have dropped an average of 19.4 percent from the like period of 1965. Also the total industry is currently running at only 93 percent of capacity—the lowest in 3 years. This cutback in such a low-profit industry is serious indeed.

Mr. Speaker, all of us from textile producing States can cite examples of retrenchments and half-time work, of furloughed workers, of plants being closed, of sales falling and profits plummeting. For over a year the executive agencies have seen how increasing textile imports have had deleterious effects on domestic production, employment, wages, and profits, but nothing has been done. I think it is time that Congress step in and afford the relief which our producers rightfully demand. Such relief should initially be a stiff curtailment of all textile imports to no more than 5 percent of our domestic consumption. In the long range we should also make no more tariff concessions on wool, cotton textiles, and synthetics. I feel our first duty is to our own taxpayers. And if we are concerned enough we can protect our domestic industry and still allow a fair share to producers overseas.

The time for taking drastic action is not when we have been hurt irreparably; other action is needed now.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Massachusetts.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS].

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues who have spoken on this subject this afternoon and those who are to follow, pointing out to the people of the United States, and particularly to officials of the Government in the executive branch, how deeply concerned we all are over the deteriorating condition in the domestic textile industry as a result of a literal flood of imports which threatens to inundate the entire domestic industry.

Mr. Speaker, during all of my adult life it has been part of my political and economic philosophy to believe that we cannot maintain the highest standard of living in the world and compete in our own market on even terms with low-cost products manufactured abroad. Some reasonable protection against unlimited imports is necessary if we are to prevent the domestic market from being captured by foreign producers.

I am not as concerned over this problem for the owners and investors as I am for those who labor in the plants and who must rely upon a prospering industry for a living for themselves and their families. The investors of capital have opportunities to diversify and many investors in textile manufacturing could actually earn more from their investments today by putting their money in savings and loan institutions because the rate of return on invested capital in textiles is quite low. But many employees in textile plants are too old to go out and seek jobs elsewhere; many of them have spent the majority of their working years in the textile industry and it would be difficult for many of them to retrain to qualify for jobs in new activities. Moreover, the workers in the textile industry generally do not have anyone to speak for them so I have volunteered to do so today.

While I have been interested in the import problem for many years, it was not until I came to Congress in 1953 that I had an opportunity to participate actively in the fight to preserve the jobs of the men and women who work in the textile mills of the country.

We did not have any textile import problem during the years of World War II and the period preceding and following that war. There are a number of reasons for this but not the least was the fact that many of the textile producing areas abroad were devastated during the war years and could not offer any competitive threat to the domestic industry. But as the countries of the world that had been involved in World War II began to emerge from that devastation, they began to step up their textile production and we experienced a rapidly rising level of imports in the post World War II period. Indeed, the United States contributed to this development by providing the funds, extracted from those engaged in textile production in the United States as well as from all of the other taxpayers of the country. The textile producing countries of the world were anxious to accumulate dollars so they concentrated on shipping their manufactured products into the United States in an ever increasing volume. They were able to pay the modest tariff duties and still undersell American producers in our own market.

During the years preceding 1956, it was my privilege to escort textile industry spokesmen on several occasions to the White House where we engaged in discussions of this problem with President Eisenhower and his economic advisers.

We were able to make a good case for the proposal to undertake a program of reasonable limitation of cotton textile imports from Japan, which at that time was the principal exporter to the United States. A voluntary bilateral agreement between the United States and Japan was worked out in 1956 by which quotas on the export of cotton textile products from Japan to the United States was negotiated to cover the years 1957 to 1961. Since I had been quite active in the discussions leading up to the negotiation of this bilateral agreement, it was my privilege to be permitted to announce the consummation of that agreement following a conference at the White House.

It is my understanding that Japan faithfully lived up to this bilateral agreement, but into the vacuum created by the limitation of textile imports from Japan moved textile producing countries elsewhere, so while imports from Japan were being restricted imports from other places in the world began to increase.

In 1958 a special subcommittee from the other body was created to make a thorough investigation of the situation and to make recommendations for corrective action. That subcommittee held extensive hearings throughout the country, and one of those hearings was conducted in Charlotte, N.C., at which I appeared as a witness and testified in favor of immediate and effective action. The subcommittee filed a report which included specific recommendations, and President Kennedy in 1961 announced a program which was designed to alleviate the deteriorating situation and his recommendations were implemented. They included the now famous seven points President Kennedy initiated in May 1961.

Later Congress itself took effective action by enacting legislation designed to eliminate the unfair and unconscionable two-price cotton system. This was in 1964.

I think it proper to point out in this connection that many who opposed eliminating the two-price cotton system charged that the textile industry was seeking a subsidy. Nothing could be further from the truth. The textile industry sought no subsidy and suggested that whatever subsidy was involved should be paid to the producers of the cotton. All the textile industry wanted was to have the opportunity of purchasthe American-grown cotton at the same price its competitors abroad were able to buy the same kind of American-grown cotton.

Another action taken in 1961 to attack this import problem was the implementation of a global arrangement on the importation of cotton textiles. Nineteen nations participated in that agreement, which was followed by what has now come to be known as the LTA—5-year long term arrangement—which gave to the United States and other importing nations an opportunity to control the imports of cotton textiles by category and country. This long term agreement will expire on September 30 of this year. The short term arrangement was designed to restrict imports to the then current levels, but the long term arrangement permitted a 5 percent per year growth in imports.

These arrangements appeared to be working very well and caused the textile workers and their employers to heave sighs of relief and they all looked forward to a growing and expanding industry which would provide fair employment to a host of American citizens who work in textiles.

But unfortunately the long term agreement was not adequately policed and the record will show that instead of holding imports to levels then existing plus the 5 percent growth permitted per year, imports of cotton textiles into the United States increased 24 percent in 1965 and 39 percent additional in 1966—an increase of 63 percent in imports in just 2 years. Translating these percentages into actual square yard equivalents, the record shows that from 1961 through 1966, U.S. imports of cotton textile manufactured products increased from 720 million to 1.8 billion square yards equivalent. If you include man-made fibers and wool, imports increased from 964 million to 2,811 million square yards equivalent during that period of 5 years.

In all candor I submit to you that no domestic industry can prosper when subjected to such massive imports and unless steps are taken promptly by this Administration to reduce this flood tide of textile imports which threatens to inundate the country, the textile industry in the United States faces the most difficult situation with which it has been confronted in my memory.

By any yardstick you wish to use, the textile industry is one of the most important ones in this country. More than one million people are directly employed in spinning and weaving, including 279,197 in North Carolina. To this number must be added members of the immediate families of these employees and additional millions of people who indirectly rely upon this industry for a livelihood. If you add employees in apparel and allied industries, the number of jobs directly related to textile and allied industries exceeds 4 million.

And it would be a mistake for anyone to assume that this great textile industry has a direct impact only on the producers and manufacturers of cotton. While thousands of cotton farms and ranches, from California through the southern part of the United States to the east coast, depend upon this industry as their major customer, it should be remembered that wood pulp from American forests is manufactured into rayon and other synthetics and into containers in which much of the textile manufactured products are shipped, and chemicals from New York, wool from Wyoming, cotton from California, wood pulp from the northwest and from the southeast—all go into the gigantic maw of the textile industry.

All of these products, plus many others, are dependent upon a growing and prosperous textile industry for their very existence. I do not see how anyone can deny that a thriving textile industry is important to the economic health of the Nation, or doubt that it is vital to our national security.

I am directly involved in this problem, not from a financial standpoint because I have no financial interest in any textile plant. But I do represent the fine people of North Carolina's Eighth District, and it is a fact that this district has a great stake in the textile industry. Not only is the industry heavily represented in the Eighth District, but it has become a great distribution point for literally thousands of items, manufactured and produced in almost every section of the United States, that are sold to textile mills.

Mills in the Eighth District manufacture almost every type of textiles known to man and from almost all of the fibers being spun in the world today. Mills in my home town of Lincolnton make both combed and carded yarns, some of which goes to the weaving industry and some to the knitting industry. Garment plants in my home town also produce children's underwear and sleep wear, all types of hosiery, jersey outerwear, and many other items. Other mills in the district produce cotton gingham and print cloths, rayon dress fabrics, venetian blind tapes, automobile brake linings, cashmere yarns, asbestos textiles and dacron suitings.

We have all been concerned over the lack of economic growth in Appalachia, and the Government has a program in effect now which is designed to help that great area of our country pull itself up the economic ladder. But while the Government is doing this with one hand, with the other it is contributing to the retention of poverty in Appalachia. My information is that there are well over 1 million jobs in the Appalachian area which are directly dependent upon the textile industry. It is my understanding that this area employs approximately one-half of all of the people in the United States who work in the synthetic fiber industry and this segment of the textile industry has seen an increase in imports of 428 percent in the last 5 years.

These people want to work and earn their own way. They consider it demeaning to receive charity or Government welfare. The best hope for these people to improve their economic life is through the textile industry. The Government's policy should be aimed at creating jobs instead of destroying them. We should be seeking means to diminish the number of people who require public welfare instead of increasing that number by unsound policies. It does not help the people of Appalachia for the Government to follow policies which amount to the exportation of their jobs.

And we have all been hearing a great deal in recent years about balance-of-payment deficits and the outflow of gold. This has reached such alarming proportions that it should be the concern of every citizen, as well as the concern of every Congressman. This is only one of the many deficits we have run up in recent years. In 1966 that deficit was $1.4 billion. While the United States traditionally has been an exporter of textiles, last year the United States imported $800 million more textiles than we exported, and this amounts to approximately 64 percent of our entire trade deficit. A continuation of this trend will inevitably extend and increase that deficit.

Because I realize the importance of a strong textile industry in this country, I have watched with growing concern as textile imports steadily climb higher. Ten years ago the people associated with this industry felt that textile imports constituted a threat to their future potential, but imports were then a mere trickle compared to the flood with which we are now faced. In 1957 U.S. imports of textile manufactured products came to 491 million equivalent square yards. Despite all of the efforts of many people associated with this industry, and of many Congressmen who are aware of what is going on and the implications that flow from it, and despite actions taken by the last three national administrations, imports of textile manufactured products in 1966 came to nearly three billion equivalent square yards—an increase of 600 percent in just one decade.

I had hoped that the long term textile arrangement to which I have alluded before and which I strongly favored and supported, would bring some measure of discipline to world trade in cotton textiles; but unfortunately the loose administration of this agreement has now placed this country at the mercy of low-cost foreign textile producers. About all that can be said for the LTA is that it has been better than nothing.

In the light of all that is being said today on the House floor, it is discouraging that representatives of this Government are right now busy in Switzerland considering additional reductions in textile tariff schedules, which I hasten to point out are already so low that just about every nation in the world which produces textiles is having no difficulty shipping their products into the United States, paying the relatively low tariff duties, and still underselling domestic producers. This Government's representatives who are busy negotiating at Geneva must be made to understand these facts. They need to be made to understand that any further reduction in textile tariffs will be disastrous to one of the most important and necessary industries in the United States.

All of us in this Chamber today are concerned with the need to build bridges between the nations of the world. I fully understand that a nation which can produce more of any product than it consumes must export its surplus. The concept of reciprocal trade was a good one. I certainly subscribe to the original concept. But reciprocal trade should be a two-way street; it should involve an exchange of surpluses in which we would export surplus products and import products which are in short supply in the United States. That, of course, would be the ideal way for a reciprocal trade agreement to work, but I recognize that we cannot always have the ideal, so I am perfectly willing to admit that in order to export our surpluses we may have to import some goods that are not in short supply here; but I strongly believe that such imports should be limited to quantities that will not permit the low-cost producers from abroad to capture our market.

I know of no one in the textile industry who favors erecting a high tariff wall to shut out all textile imports. These people are realists and recognize that a reasonable inflow of imports in textiles is necessary. They were satisfied with the LTA which permitted even an increase in imports at the rate of 5 percent a year. They felt that they could live with that and they are willing to live and let live. But I do not see how anyone can expect them to sit idly by and see these imports increase—not by 5 percent a year but by 63 percent over a 2-year period.

While we are all concerned with the economic well-being of people everywhere, and we want to live in a world in which other people can improve their standards of living, we must not forget that our primary responsibility is to do everything we can to preserve the standard of living of our own people. If the future of the free world, as is often proclaimed, depends upon the strength of the United States—and I believe that it does—it does not seem reasonable to believe we can measure up to our responsibility if we contribute to the weakening of the economic base in our own country.

The issue before us is a grave one. The future growth and continued strength of our own country is at stake. We will not contribute to the strength of the free world if we stand idly by and witness the deterioration of a great industry in our country upon which so many people depend. We cannot stand idly by and watch American jobs go down the drain. There is no more time to analyze this subject; there is no more time to appoint committees and make studies; the time has come for action.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe that this administration or this Congress will stand idly by and see this industry destroyed and the jobs in it exported.

I believe the President of the United States has in his hands the necessary tools to correct what has become an intolerable situation. I most respectfully and urgently request that he take action now.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. DORN. I thank my distinguished colleague from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS], who was with us at the very beginning, and even before, when our group was formed, and who has diligently supported the program of this group and has been instrumental in preserving and saving the great industry in our area.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to our distinguished Member from the State of California [Mr. SISK], a member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. SISK. I appreciate very much the fact that my distinguished friend from South Carolina and my able and distinguished friend from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM], have made this opportunity available to us to express our deep concern about a very serious problem.

I want to assure all Members that the State of California has a very deep and abiding interest in this subject. Although we are not pictured on the map which has been discussed here, since we are on the west coast, we are vitally concerned.

I am happy to have this opportunity to join with my colleagues from the area of Appalachia, from the southeastern area, and from the delta area, to indicate our strong concern about the damage which continued increasing imports could cause to our overall cotton industry.

I speak primarily, of course, for the producers, since I happen to represent a county which is one of the largest producers of cotton in America today. I certainly am concerned.

I shall not take further time, due to the lateness of the hour and the many Members who are waiting, but I shall extend my remarks, in which I shall indicate my strong support for this organization and my support for the gentleman from Georgia, the distinguished chairman of the group, and pledge my full cooperation in an effort to see if it is not possible that we can do some things to improve this situation and to cut down on the damage to the total industry.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. DORN. I should like publicly to thank, in the well of the House, my distinguished colleague from California for his invaluable assistance in passing one-price cotton, which has meant so much to the textile industry and its employees in this Nation and to the cotton growers.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FLYNT].

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleague from Georgia for drawing our attention to the textile import problem. As he has demonstrated so ably, the alarming increase in textile product and apparel imports adversely affects the entire nation.

As it has been for some time, this is a matter of deep concern to me, not only because of the nationwide implications, but because of the direct impact of unchecked imports on the textile industry in Georgia.

There are more than 100 individual textile and apparel plants in the Sixth District of Georgia. These include some of the most modern and efficient industrial plants that will be found anywhere. And they provide employment for thousands of Georgians.

In Georgia as a whole, textile plants provide employment for over 100,000 people and a payroll of more than $400 million. The apparel industry adds another 65,000 jobs to the state's economy.

These jobs and this industry are facing the most serious threat with which they have been confronted. This threat is the relentless upward sweep of textile and apparel imports.

In 1966 these imports reached the equivalent of almost 3 billion square yards, three times the level of 1961. No longer are imports concentrated in cotton products. The import problem is a multifiber one. Since 1962 imports of manmade fiber products have tripled. Wool textile imports now account for about one-fourth of U.S. consumption. And though there is supposed to be some sort of restraint on cotton textile imports, they have doubled since 1961.

Mr. Speaker, I have studied this problem in depth, and there is only one conclusion that can be drawn as to the reason for this huge volume of imports. They are entering this country at such a fantastic rate because they are cheaper.

Of all textile and apparel imports shipped into this country in 1966, Japan and Hong Kong accounted for 48 percent. In Japan the average hourly wage is 36 cents; in Hong Kong, it is 25 cents. Portugal, which is a leading exporter of cotton yarn, pays its textile workers 18 cents an hour.

Is there any wonder that textile imports have risen so sharply? They are produced under wages and working conditions that would be intolerable in this country.

Should American labor and American textile employers be faced with this kind of competition?

Bear in mind that many techniques are employed by other countries to bar textile imports, including American textile products. Remember that many of the nations exporting textile products, subsidize these exports solely for the purpose of penetrating the U.S. market.

In all fairness the answer to these questions must be "No."

We are not suggesting the abandonment of a liberal program of international trade. We are not suggesting a strict program of protectionism. What we are calling for is a sound program for orderly trade in textile and apparel products. What we are recommending is the kind of program that prohibits the concentration of low-wage, and often subsidized, products on a basic American industry. We expect to receive a substantial volume of textile imports, even though our domestic capacity is sufficient to satisfy our needs. We do not, however, expect the volume of imports to completely outstrip the growth of our own industry.

These elements of an orderly, reasonable trade policy in textiles can be achieved.

Our government must not permit reductions in tariffs on any textile product during the Kennedy round of GATT negotiations.

The present arrangement for trade in cotton textiles must be extended for 5 additional years. And its administration must be strengthened.

Finally, reasonable restraints must be placed on manmade fibers, manmade fiber products, and wool textile products.

To do less, Mr. Speaker, is to do an intolerable injustice to the vast economic complex centered on our U.S. textile industry.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my distinguished colleagues who have previously spoken. The textile industry is one of the most important in our Nation. Four million people in the United States are engaged in producing fibers, textiles, apparel, and other textile products. In my State of Alabama, 29 percent of the total manufacturing employment is engaged in the textile, apparel, and manmade fiber industry.

As my colleagues have indicated, we are facing a serious problem in the textile industry. In 5 years there has been a tremendous increase in the importation of textile products, which is a threat to our domestic manufacturers and to our citizens who are employed in textile production.

As an example, in 1961 the United States imported 93 million square yards of wool textiles. In 1966 that figure had more than doubled to 190 million square yards.

In 1961 the United States imported 720 million square yards of cotton textiles. In 1966 the figure had soared to 1,823 million square yards.

In addition to the import of the equivalent of about 1 million bales of cotton in manufactured form in 1966, some 300,000 cotton bales equivalent were imported in the form of manmade fiber textiles and blends.

In the past 5 years, U.S. textile imports increased 200 percent while U.S. textile production grew by less than 35 percent.

As William J. Erwin, president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, recently commented:

> We can no longer afford to sit back and watch the continual rise in imports without realizing with every increased yard of textile imports there is subtracted an equal amount of the industry's potential—its stake in the future of America.

Following World War II, the textile industry was faced with the impact of increased imports as textile industries were rebuilt throughout the world. By 1956 resurgence in the cotton textile sector of Japan had reached such proportions that President Eisenhower had to take some action, and a comprehensive voluntary bilateral agreement establishing quotas on all exports of cotton textile products from Japan to the United States was made covering the years 1957 to 1961.

This was followed late in 1956 by a tariff quota on wool fabrics on imports in excess of 5 percent of the domestic production.

However, exports of textiles from many other sources developed as textile capacity and production increased, and imports continued to increase from all parts of the world.

In the same period between 1950 and 1960, employment in the U.S. textile industry declined by 332,000 jobs and 676 American mills closed.

The American textile industry has made a tremendous recovery since 1960. But today the pressure of ever-increasing imports is again threatening its future, and the jobs of those employed within the industry.

While the textile industry has demonstrated its efficiency and is an essential part of our national economy, it is faced with competition from foreign countries where wage rates are so low that American manufacturers cannot hope to compete with imported goods on the American market. As an example, the American textile worker earns an average of about $2 an hour as compared to 25 cents an hour in Hong Kong, 36 cents an hour in Japan, 18 cents in Portugal, and 14 cents in India.

In a one month period, almost 63 percent of the cotton textiles imported into the United States came from Japan, Hong Kong, Mexico, India, and Brazil; with much of the remainder from Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Taiwan, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.

In 1966 Mexico exported to the United States 18.5 million pounds of cotton yarn with Brazil shipping 17.2 million pounds.

The resultant competition in our domestic market cannot fail to affect our textile industry seriously.

To keep pace with technological developments, and the need for modernization and improvement of plant equipment, an estimated $1.180 million was spent by the industry for new plant and equipment in 1966, a figure which was almost double the industry's net earnings. These expenditures are necessary if the industry is to meet competition of foreign imports in the domestic market. And required levels of such spending may continue to rise.

At the same time, a recent economic survey—on corporate pretax profits—shows that whereas such profits for all corporations will increase by 4 percent in 1967 over 1966, the textile industry will show a decline of 6 percent in profits. Next to the iron and steel industry, this is the largest profit decline forecast for any American industry. Of American industry, textiles, iron and steel, and automobiles are the only industries which are expected to show a decline in profits in 1967 from the 1966 levels.

The wholesale price of basic textiles has actually gone down since 1957–59. At the end of September, industrial commodities stood at 105.2 percent of the base while textiles at 98.5 percent were below the base.

The textile industry is important to Alabama. In the Alabama counties of the Appalachian region there are 45,651 employed in textile and manmade fiber producing plants. This compares with a total manufacturing employment of 173,412. Over 1,060,000 persons in Appalachia or within a 50-mile radius, are engaged in the textile or apparel industry.

In the State of Alabama, according to the Census of Manufacturers, 1963, there were 129 textile mills and plants in the State.

These included: 30 cotton weaving mills, four synthetic mills, two wool and finishing mills, 10 narrow fabric mills, four woman's hosiery—except socks—mills, 20 hosiery plants and mills, three knit underwear mills, three knit fabric mills, one knitting mill—not elsewhere classified—three cotton finishing plants, two finishing plants—not elsewhere classified—two tufted carpets and rugs plants, 28 yarn mills—except wool—two wool yarn mills, one padding and upholstery plant, two processed textile waste plants, one coated fabric mat rubberized plant, one tire cord and fiber mill, five cordage and twine plants, and three miscellaneous textile mills.

Total employment in the textile mill product industry in Alabama for 1961 was 37,700 and in 1966, 40,000. Of all manufacturing employment in 1966 in the State of Alabama, there were 292,500 which means that the total employment of mill manufacturers is 37 percent overall.

The average growth in hourly earnings in 1961 was $1.52, in 1966, $1.90. The estimated payroll in 1961 was $117,408,356; in 1966, $168,750,400—up 43.7 percent; and out of the payroll of all manufacturing employment in 1966 at $1,465,179,300 in Alabama, the textile payroll is 15 percent.

Alabama has a vital interest in the textile industry of the State and of the Nation. Yet, two major fiber producers with plants located in Alabama, Monsanto Co., which has its fiber-producing headquarters at Decatur, and the Beaunit Corp., which has a new rayon staple fiber plant at Childersburg, Ala., in their 1966 annual reports stressed the effect of textile imports "which have increased more rapidly than U.S. demand for these products thus undermining the sales volumes, prices, and profits of domestic producers."

Also to be considered is the critical matter of balance of trade and balance of payments. The ability of the U.S. textile industry to supply the domestic market is recognized. Yet in 1966, it is estimated our total textile and textile product imports exceeded our exports of such products by $902 million. This is an amount equal to two-thirds of the total U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

As one more example, from the Wall Street Journal, imports of cotton, wool, and manmade textiles such as Dacron and rayon totaled 2,690 million square yards in 1966, up a staggering 171 percent in only 5 years. This far outstrips the growth of U.S. textile output, and imports equal about 15 percent of all textile production in this country. Much of the increase has come in imports of manmade fibers, which surged 500 percent to 700 million square yards since 1961.

To quote again from William J. Erwin of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute:

> This unbridled growth of imports is endangering the security of millions of Americans who depend either directly or indirectly on the textile industry for their livelihood.

American companies and American workers in the textile industry, as in the steel industry, have paid high taxes, portions of which have been used through foreign aid to build up the very foreign industry that is cutting into the markets of such companies and in some instances threatening the employment of such workers.

Certainly at the very least on the American domestic market, these firms and the people that work for them are entitled to some protection from the consequences of our Government's use of their own tax dollars.

Also, if the American textile industry

is to remain efficient and modern it must have protection. It is imperative that it develop and improve textile products for the military, the space program as well as the civilian population.

Continued unrestricted imports would do serious damage to the entire economy. Millions of workers in hundreds of other industries who supply the textile industry would be affected. The machinery manufacturers, the chemical companies, the starch industry and the American cotton farmer are but a few examples.

From the facts, it is obvious that effective action must be taken to regulate the importation of textile products into the United States for the protection of the textile industry and its employees.

Currently, tariff reductions under authority of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 are being negotiated in Geneva, Switzerland, with Ambassador William M. Roth representing our country. It has been reported by the press that all textile products are being considered for cuts in tariff up to 50 percent by the United States. Such a reduction in tariff would be disastrous, and it is hoped that appropriate action will be taken to assure that Ambassador Roth will not negotiate any tariff cuts on any textile products.

Renewal negotiations of the 30-nation long-term cotton textile arrangement—LTA—are also pending in Geneva. The United States should seek a 5-year extension of this arrangement without change or modification.

As a further provision for the protection of the textile industry, the President should take appropriate steps to arrange trade negotiations for an appropriate arrangement covering woolen and manmade fiber textile products similar to the LTA, which now covers only cotton textiles.

The textile and apparel industry, like other major American industries is suffering real injury from the ever-increasing flow of imports produced with cheap labor into the American market.

The threat to American industry and to the jobs of American workers is serious. Adequate protection for the textile and apparel industry, as well as other domestic industries threatened by the impact of foreign imports, must be provided to safeguard the economy and security of our Nation.

Mr. DORN. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Alabama for his great contribution.

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker and other gentlemen present who are so vitally interested in this great problem we have confronting us, I want to join in what the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM], and our other colleagues have said regarding this problem.

I have a prepared statement. I will say just a few words, because we have many other Members waiting at this late hour to get their remarks in the RECORD.

I do want to say that yesterday afternoon, when this group met in the Rayburn Building, in the committee room of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], I walked in a few moments late. I was delayed a little bit.

When I came into the room, frankly, I was not sure whether I was at the right meeting or not. The reason why I say that is because of the fact that there were so many Congressmen there and so many Members of the House and so many representatives of various industries in this country and of various organizations who look to the textile industry for their economy. I saw people there representing labor organizations and I saw my friend from California, Mr. SISK, representing the cotton-growing industry in the great valleys out in that area. I saw Mr. ABERNETHY and others from the State of Mississippi representing the cotton-producing areas in the Mississippi valley. I saw New England friends and Members of the House from Western States representing the wool-growing industry. Of course, I also saw many Representatives from the States of Georgia and the Carolinas and the southeastern area of the United States where we have so many textile plants.

Mr. Speaker, I mention these things because it should be noted this year and on this occassion, when we are trying to organize here and show some force and strength to help the textile industry, that we can say we are united more than we have ever been at any time in the past in my 13 years here in our effort to support the great textile industry. It was quite refreshing to have so many people there representing the various industries in the various sections of the country. I hope, as others have said before, that the administration, and particularly the Department of State, will take note of this fact when they begin considering these things in the next round. We do not need any more reduction in tariffs. I will go into that more in detail in my prepared statement, which I will file at this time.

I need not repeat the statistics. They have been put on the record by others. I do not want to affirm the necessity of action to overcome the distress that these statistics reflect so clearly.

The cotton textile industry for the first time in years enjoyed a measure of prosperity, thanks to the long-term textile agreement; but this is now threatened by the sharp rise in imports in the past year or two. This surge has broken out of bounds and threatens the well-being of the industry.

The reason for this sharp climb in imports is found in the low labor costs in most of the countries from which our imports come. They have a great productive capacity and their mills are equipped with modern machinery. Beyond, that, the extremely loose administration of the agreement has permitted an inflow that exceeds the supposed quota limits set in the agreement. This defect could be overcome by enforcement of the quota limitations; and I join with those who call for an end to the evasion. The agreement will be worthless unless it is administered as it should be. There is no excuse for the lax attitude of those whose responsibility it is to see to it that the agreement is carried out.

At the present time the agreement does not apply to woolen goods and manmade fibers, despite repeated promises that these products would be included. The woolen industry has been in distress for several years and declining relentlessly in the face of imports. While much irreparable damage has already been done, we should save what is left of the industry. The imports of manmade fibers have also registered very sharp advances and now pose a grave threat to the industry. Therefore, along with woolen goods, manmade fibers and textiles should be brought under the umbrella with cotton textiles. Unless this is done the textile industry of this country, which is one of the largest employers of workers in the country, will suffer disaster. In the Southern States this industry is the largest single employer by far. Economically, as the textile industry goes, so goes the South, as matters stand today.

Mr. Speaker, it would seem completely unthinkable under these circumstances that what remains of the import duties should face further reduction under the Kennedy round. I cannot believe that we owe such self-immolation to the other countries of the world under any concept or philosophy of international relations. We are entitled to look to the economic well-being of our industries as the foundation of our national economic health. We will be of little help to other countries that look to us for aid if we undermine our own economic foundations. Any policy that would operate to that effect is naturally repugnant, and should be given the treatment it deserves. There is no reasonable or sane support for further tariff reductions on items when imports have shown an unmistakable ability to move over the existing barriers at will.

There are those who are moved to say that this country should assure a market for textiles produced in the developing countries, as if we owe them a living without the least regard for our own economy. It is a strange philosophy indeed that would have us strip our defenses to the point of annihilation of an industry for the sake of building up the same industry elsewhere. We are providing a large market now to these countries, possibly the best foreign market any of them enjoy. Is it not a morbid suggestion that we allow ourselves to be strangled? What great crime are we guilty of, that such suggestions should be entertained and uttered seriously as a line of policy?

In the past it was often said that the difficulty of our textile industry in competing with imports was attributable to the inefficiency of the domestic industry. In recent years, while the long-term agreement was reasonably effective in limiting imports, hundreds of millions of dollars in new plant and equipment have been invested in this industry. In 1966 some $1.3 billion was invested in new plant and equipment. Therefore the industry has made rapid strides in modernization and replacing obsolete machinery with the most up to date. Nevertheless, this modernization does not create competitiveness with foreign plants that also have modern equipment but pay wages from a third to a tenth of those paid in this country.

If the present onrushing tides of imports is not halted—I do not say imports should be stopped—but if they are not restrained soon, the modern equipment will soon fall into obsolescence since the outlook for continual investment will be unfavorable; and we will fall back into the deplorable state of a decade ago. I know of no one who could advocate going back to those conditions. Yet if the long-term agreement is not extended for a number of years, say, a minimum of five, and if it is not enforced, and if finally the tariff is further reduced, we will soon be back to where we were when the need for restrictions on foreign exports to this country was recognized, and the short-term agreement was negotiated, followed by the first long-term agreement. The latter is running out later this year and must be followed by another one that will be enforced, if the textile industry of this country is to make its proper contribution to our national economy. This it is well able to do, despite a reasonable level of imports if it is given a fair chance; and I say a fair chance. That is all it needs and that is all it asks. It asks no special favor, merely a chance to compete on a basis of fair competition.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my distinguished colleague from South Carolina for his fine statement and splendid work over the years on behalf of this great industry.

Now, my colleagues, for fear of jeopardizing our entire program and ambition regarding textiles, I must, with great pleasure, yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. HECKLER], a member of my committee.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for giving me this opportunity, also, to associate myself with the concern of thinking Members of this House over such a problem of national significance.

Mr. Speaker, in 1924, when my distinguished predecessor, the beloved and much respected former Speaker of the House, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., sought the office of Congressman, he commented in his campaign speeches, on the "sickness of the textile industry" in our congressional district.

The sickness to which he referred was the exodus of the industry to the South.

It is quite ironic that one of my first concerns as a Member of this Congress should also be the sickness of the textile industry.

Today I am not concerned because of a regional interest but because of the national scope of the problem.

The future of the American textile industry is being dramatically challenged today by the rising tide of imports. The current market trends throughout the industry forecast a serious storm in our American economy. The storm forecast goes beyond the textile industry, but it is extremely clear in that particular regard. The industry imported over 3 billion square yards of textiles last year from all parts of the world. Most of this did not come from undeveloped countries.

In the case of wool and textiles, 90 percent of it came from industrialized or well-developed countries.

I am told that the United States imports more textiles today than most countries produce. The long-term cotton arrangement provides in its terms for an annual growth in the amount of permissible textiles. It is not my understanding that either the textile industry or the textile unions are trying to cut off world trade. This is not their objective. What they do object to is that this country is taking an unfair share of imports from low-wage countries where hundreds of thousands of men and women work for as little as 20 or 30 cents an hour.

We expect world trade in textiles and apparel to continue and imports to share to some extent in the growth of our domestic market. This does not mean, however, that we can or should destroy the jobs that mean so much to the families of the two million American workers who make their living in textile and apparel plants.

President Eisenhower in 1956—recognized the importance of this—when the first international quota agreement on cotton goods was negotiated with Japan. President Kennedy carried this forward.

It does not make sense to me, Mr. Speaker—or the people of my district—to create unemployment and to destroy the skills that people have acquired over a lifetime—so that foreign textiles from industralized countries can replace our own.

Within my own district—21 percent of all Massachusetts textile, apparel, and textile machinery workers are employed. Nineteen communities in my district have 246 textile establishments which employ 23,000 and have an estimated annual payroll of $90 million.

I agree with my colleagues that the rights of the United States under the LTA should be exercised fully and firmly and that action should be taken promptly to bring trade in wool and synthetic textiles under some orderly arrangement.

If foreign governments are unwilling to discuss a solution with our Government—then we must act alone.

In the meantime—it would be a great mistake and a severe blow to the security and incomes—not only of the men and women of my district—but of the millions of others in the United States—if tariffs on textile products were reduced below the already inadequate levels.

We cannot have an expanding economy in America today if we have a sick textile industry.

I certainly believe in promoting job opportunities for the underprivileged—but, Mr. Speaker, I also believe, that we owe an equal responsibility to those willing to work, those whose jobs are threatened by this decrease in textile industry business. These problems have to be considered—and our decision must come now.

Mr. Speaker, again, I thank the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] for giving me this opportunity to urge, along with the others of similar interest in the House of Representatives, that the appropriate authorities will undertake to develop and promote a healthy economy at home in this respect.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. HECKLER] for her fine statement and for joining our group upon yesterday, as well as for her most helpful contribution today.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. KEITH].

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues this afternoon in drawing attention to the crisis which is now threatening the American textile industry and the 8 million jobs across the Nation which depend directly or indirectly on the prosperity of that industry. We have learned that the net deficit in our international textile trade last year was $902 million. This is equal to almost two-thirds of our Nation's entire payments deficit of $1.4 billion—a very impressive figure indeed.

But I would like to point out, Mr. Speaker, that this is a problem which not only affects the U.S. balance of payments and the health of the economy on the national level. This is a problem which strikes into the homes of thousands of employees in the textile-dependent communities of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which we both have the privilege to represent.

Across our State, 140 cities and towns rely on textiles for their livelihood; $373 million in wages are earned every year. The 98,000 workers in the industry represent a full 14 percent of all manufacturing employment in Massachusetts. It is easy to see, Mr. Speaker, that what is involved here is not the privileged position of a minor industry, but a major segment of our total manufacturing production and employment.

In my own 12th Congressional District, a dozen towns are vitally dependent on textiles and the allied apparel trades are threatened with serious economic loss from the imports of countries which are paying their workers 25 and 30 cents an hour. Nearly half of the manufacturing jobs in the city of New Bedford, for example, are in the textile and apparel industries. About 11,000 employees work in 123 such plants in that city, and every one of these jobs is in jeopardy.

Because of the growing tide of imports, the Berkshire-Hathaway mill, the largest in New Bedford, has had to close down 20 percent of its capacity and is able to retain a large percent of its workers only on a half-time basis. The extent of the crisis at Berkshire-Hathaway has been pointed out by the leaders of commerce and industry in the city of New Bedford. Both Ken Chaer, president of Berkshire-Hathaway, and George Carignan, director of the New Bedford Textile Workers Union, have personally come to Washington to discuses this serious situation. They do this on behalf of the city and the 200 employees who are now out of work and the many more who could be in the future if we are not successful.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the statements made here this afternoon and the statements made by our Senate colleagues last week have proven beyond a doubt that we face a most serious crisis. Imports of woolen and cotton textiles have doubled and imports of manmade fibers have more than quadrupled since 1961 when President Kennedy declared that we must have a national textile program to control imports and preserve the health of our industry. In a very real sense, what we have been importing are deficits and unemployment for our people.

It is obvious that the foreign countries who are flooding our markets will not voluntarily control their imports. The United States must vigorously administer the Long-Term Cotton Agreement to control cotton imports, and must establish quotas to cover wools and synthetics.

Above all, Mr. Speaker, it is essential that there be no reduction of tariffs on textiles and textile products. We are bargaining defensively on this point at Geneva, and we must hold the line firmly. Action is clearly required now to curb imports before an entire industry is severely crippled and before millions of our people are faced with hardship.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend from Massachusetts, and say to my colleagues that in every conference I can recall at the White House or downtown he was with us. His help has been invaluable in protecting this great industry.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I am happy, Mr. Speaker, to yield to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS].

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring out that what we do to the textile industry can have a great impact on our future military procurement. It is ironic that today we who predicted such great success for the textile industry when we enacted the one-price cotton are told here that our Government has taken this advantage away from them by cutting them in their competitive ability.

Mr. Speaker, this strikes at the heartstrings of our competitive system. My great concern is not only for the future of our textile industry and the future of labor connected with it, but also the future of our capacity to keep our commitments for the military requirements of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, all of us know that textiles are second only to steel in essentiality to the military. Today we are calling upon textile manufacturers to supply our troops all over the world. I compliment the leaders of the textile industry for the manner in which they have met military requirements. Not once in the past year was it necessary to issue a rated or priority order to any American textile company. This is something for the textile industry to be proud of because it demonstrates the fine working relationship that the industry has with military procurement.

But I am concerned about the effect of textile imports on the industry's capacity to meet military, medical, and substantial civilian requirements in an all-out emergency. For example, since wool textile imports now account for about one-fourth of our domestic consumption and are even higher in certain product lines, would the industry have the capacity to meet demands for woolen and worsted products if a war on the magnitude of Vietnam were fought in a colder climate such as Korea?

Textiles are in trouble. We are flooded with imports of all types. In 1961 when our Government determined that imports must be controlled, cotton product imports were 720 million square yards. Today they are 1.8 billion square yards—an increase of more than 2½ times. Imports of wool and worsted were 93 million square yards and today they have reached 187 million square yards—more than twice as much.

Look at synthetics. In 1962 we imported 213 million square yards of products made from synthetic fiber. Today the figure stands at 809 million—up 3½ times and still going up.

Colleagues, this is serious business for our fighting men all over the world. Imports must be controlled. We must protect textiles not for ourselves but for those boys overseas fighting our battles, protecting our Nation, and depending upon the textile industry for clothing. We must not let them down and I for one am going to support in every way possible the efforts of textile management.

My concern is, of course, the military, but back home in South Carolina textiles alone account for 75 percent of the manufacturing payroll. I am told that in Appalachia one of every four manufacturing jobs is in textiles and related industries. Our government has spent vast sums of money in this area to raise living standards. How can we protect jobs for Appalachia when we permit textile product imports. It just doesn't make sense and the people back home who depend on textiles for their living count on us to straighten his whole thing out.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ANDREWS], and congratulate Mr. DORN and our chairman, Mr. LANDRUM, for the magnificient job they are doing. I appreciate this, and extend to them every ounce of my capacity in support of this magnificent program.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I wish to say, Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the great service the gentleman from South Carolina has rendered to the textile industry of America, and the same is true of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM], and many of the other Members of this House.

Mr. Speaker, the textile industry in my State is the biggest employer of workers, but they are a sick industry today, due not to what the Congress has done, but what the executive department has done. Their primary problem today, Mr. Speaker, is with reference to and is caused by foreign imports.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion our textile people cannot compete with foreign imports. It has been pointed out here that wages of foreign employées in textile plants run from 15 cents to 35 cents an hour. Our textile people are averaging $1.80 an hour. Our taxes are higher in this country.

Mr. Speaker, the textile industry—one of the greatest industries of our Nation—is in trouble—serious trouble. Yesterday, members of leading textile firms and associations presented some sobering facts—which outlined their problem—to the textile delegation of the House of Representatives. I sincerely wish that every Member of Congress could have attended that meeting, but, since that was not possible, I want my distinguished colleagues to know the nature and extent of the ever-increasing threat to our textile industry.

Mr. Speaker, this problem affecting the textile industry also affects the Nation. Some 200 congressional districts are "textile" areas. Over 4 million people depend upon the textile industry for their livelihood. The textile industry—using cotton, wool, and manmade fiber staple, filaments and filament yarn—is the Nation's leading customer of the chemical industry. The steel industry depends heavily upon its textile manufacturers' market. Right down the line—the paper industry, the trucking companies, mining complexes—the textile industry affects our Nation. The effects reach from each individual pocket to our very national security.

Textile imports have already caused many mills not only to go to a 4-day week, but to cut their third shift. New hirings at mills are lower by one-half their usual hiring rate. Prices are being forced down on domestic textile products. New domestic textile orders are declining and inventories are rising. All of these problems are results of an import growth that has gotten "too big for its pants." In one area alone, the import growth rate has tripled its recommended percentage. Cotton apparel imports have increased 35 percent from 1962 to 1966; wool increased 43 percent; and manmade fiber increased 374 percent. One look at these figures—not even mentioning "other than apparel import" increases—gives great insight into the ills of our domestic market.

There is a point at which we must stop textile imports—not only for national economy, but for national security. My distinguished colleague, Hon. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, stated yesterday that he was concerned about the present level of textile imports. In a national emergency, should our foreign sources of textile products be withdrawn, the leadtime in our domestic market might not allow us to support our own troops.

The stopping point has been established at 6 percent of our total market. Right now, Mr. Speaker, foreign imports have about 12 percent of our market.

Presently, the deficit in the U.S. textile trade is about $800 million. Imports reached a little over $1,500 million in 1966, while exports peaked at slightly over $700 million. The question "Why not export more to make up the deficit?" is easily answered. Fifty-nine countries refuse to let American-produced textile goods enter at all. Additionally, tariff protection in those countries accepting our textiles is sky high. A worker in one of our foreign market countries often pays more—much more—for a pair of our exported workpants than he would for a pair of domestically produced pants of comparable quality.

Mr. Speaker, the gentlemen of our textile industry are fair minded. They are not saying that textile imports should be done away with. They encourage competition in the market in areas they can compete with—for example, quality or styling. However, these are not the areas they have been forced into competition with the foreign manufacturers. Our manufacturers are fighting a "wage war."

Some 18 countries are responsible for about 91 percent of the 1,724.4-million-square-yard equivalents in cotton products imported in 1966. Japan and Hong Kong, alone, produced 44 percent of that total. In Japan a textile worker gets 36 cents an hour; in Hong Kong he gets 25 cents an hour; in the United States he gets $1.80 or over an hour. How can we compete with wages like that?

Mr. Speaker, the textile industry needs to have tariffs held fast at their present level. It needs to have the long-term arrangement—an international control agreement—extended for its 5th year. Most certainly, it needs to have a procedure established for the orderly trade of wool and manmade fiber products.

Mr. Speaker, this country has literally been giving the "shirt off its back" to about 18 foreign countries, and our generosity in that respect has been to our detriment. Our "textile backs" are cold and will soon be blue unless we cover them—now—with the proper protection.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM].

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me. I do so only because I am sure he would wish me to make this correction, and that is that our people, instead of averaging about $1.80 an hour, are averaging $2 an hour.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his correction.

Mr. Speaker, in many instances the machinery of our foreign competitors is better than ours, and it is bought, incidentally, with our foreign aid money.

Mr. Speaker, how on earth can we compete with competitors who pay from 15 to 35 cents an hour when our people pay $1.80 to $2 an hour? The answer is you cannot compete. Until recently our domestic textile people had a further handicap when they had to pay approximately 8.5 cents a pound for cotton more than our foreign competitors did.

I have been thinking about the textile problem for many years. I want to say that the most knowledgeable man I ever contacted with reference to textiles was a former distinguished citizen of my State, the late Mr. Donald Comer. He was one of the pioneers in the textile field in the South. He did more to establish better relations between management and labor than any other man that I know of. He was the first man who instituted a profit-sharing plan for textile workers. He talked to me many times about the problem. He said, and I agree with what he said, that the only answer to our domestic textile problem is to have quotas fixed as to the amount of textile products that can come into this country.

For instance, he said the price of textiles is determined in a relatively small area of New York City and that the basic of textile products is your gray goods. When a buyer goes to the market and sees just one bolt of gray goods on the counter for sale with a question mark in back of it—namely, how much more can come in—it depresses the price.

The only solution is to have that bolt of gray goods on the table with a tag on it as to the amount certain as to how much can come in.

He said that our textile people could take a look at this situation and if they could live with it to stay in there and if they could not, they had better get out.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to compliment my distinguished colleagues who have described so ably the nature of the current crisis in the domestic market; a crisis caused by rising imports of textile and apparel products. I add my own expression of concern and specifically to call attention to a most critical area of the problem; the large and swiftly rising volume of imports of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products.

The world's largest nylon plant and a very large acrylic fiber plant are located in my district at Pensacola. Florida also has manmade fiber plants which manufacture olefin and saran manmade fibers. About 10,000 residents of the State of Florida are employed in these plants, and a majority of them are my constituents in the 1st Congressional District. The job security of these Floridians and their families is threatened by the lack of any effective system of regulation over the rate of increase in manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products.

The size of this threat can be appreciated by a brief examination of the import data. On a dollar value basis, imports of manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel products increased by 210 percent during the past 4 years. Exports during the same period rose by only 12 percent.

Our favorable balance of trade in manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products dropped sharply from $224 million at the beginning of the period to $43 million in 1966. This loss of $181 million in our trade balance is a serious blow to the Nation's total balance-of-payments picture.

These sharply rising imports of manmade fibers and the textile products made from them have also had an adverse effect on employment in these industries. By the middle of 1966, the market was no longer able to absorb domestic output and the ever-increasing volume of imports, and widespread market disruption and depressed prices occurred.

Textile mills and fiber producing plants cut back on their output and laid off personnel. Altogether in the Nation some 39,000 workers lost their jobs in the manmade fiber and textile and apparel industry complex.

Florida also has a sizable apparel industry with nearly 14,000 persons employed in more than 400 apparel manufacturing establishments. Some of these are located in my district. These are typically small business size establishments. With large firms in the fiber and textile-apparel industry group suffering loss of employment and a sharp reduction of earnings, we can well appreciate that the smaller apparel plants would be even more acutely affected by an excessive volume of imports.

Between 1962 and 1966, total apparel imports nearly doubled, rising from 477-million-square-yard equivalents to 811 million. Imports of manmade fiber apparel rose at an astonishing rate, increasing by 371 percent in this period.

In terms of dollar value, total apparel imports rose from $301 million to $534 million during the past 4 years—a 77 percent increase. But manmade fiber apparel imports rose even more steeply, increasing by 270 percent during the period.

Mr. Speaker, these import trends and the accompanying lackluster performance of our textile and apparel exports during this 4-year period are a plain warning of trouble, even acute distress, for our constituents who have gainful employment in this sector of American industry. These problems have been under intensive study since at least as early as 1961 yet at this late date we find no effective means for achieving some reasonable regulation of the rate at which these manmade fiber, textile, and apparel imports are entering the country.

President Johnson is a reasonable man and has the best interests of America's people at heart. It is my hope that when these facts are called to his attention, he will renew his interest in the problem and direct the executive departments concerned to find a prompt solution. Particularly should the State Department exert its efforts for American industry and American workmen. There should be no reduction in the rate of duty applicable to manmade fibers or to textile manufactures and apparel of cotton, wool, or manmade fiber in the Kennedy round trade agreement negotiations.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to a statement which I prepared for a meeting on yesterday of industry officials and Congressmen from textile producing districts, I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD at this point:

DEFINITION OF THE MANMADE FIBER TEXTILE IMPORT PROBLEM

(Remarks on Hon. ROBERT L. F. SIKES, Member of Congress, prepared for delivery to the Textile Committee of the House of Representatives, March 8, 1967)

Mr. Chairman, it is well that we reorganize the Textile Committee of the House of Representatives, particularly so far as it concerns our ability to get something done on man-made fiber textile imports.

If we are going to work together on this problem, it is important that we understand exactly what the problem is and how it should correctly be described.

"Textiles" literally include any products in the form in which they are used by the textile industry. This certainly covers yarn, fabric, and made-up articles such as apparel. It also includes, and this is the point I wish to stress, the man-made staple fibers, filaments, and filament yarn which are used in textile mills to produce fabric which then goes into made-up goods such as apparel.

Because we have done most of our work thus far on the cotton and wool textile problem, it has not been necessary for us to be exact in the manner in which we refer to the problem. It has been enough to refer to the "textile and apparel import problem." Now that we are about to work together to get something done also on the man-made fiber textile import problem, we must get accustomed to being more specific.

The imports that we are talking about are those which were correctly described in the report of the Subcommittee on Textiles of the Committee on Commerce of the Senate (the so-called Pastore Subcommittee) in its report in March 1961 on the textile import problem. The Subcommittee recommended that, and I am quoting, "quotas on textile mill products and on garments and apparel, and on manmade fiber staple, filaments, and filament yarn, be established by country and by category of product."

Now that may sound like a lot of words to use in describing a problem. We can shorten it somewhat, but we must be certain in talking about man-made fibers to refer to each of the types of products, as follows: "man-made fibers, and man-made fiber textile and apparel products."

This with reasonable brevity defines the product categories which we should have in mind when we speak about the "man-made" fiber textile import problem."

Let me point out very briefly how serious this problem is. In 1966, the total quantity of man-made fiber imported into the United States in all forms—as fiber, as filaments, as filament yarn, as spun yarn, as knitted and woven fabric, as household furnishings, and as apparel—was 310.7 million pounds.

Now, the total quantity of man-made fiber consumed in the manufacture of textile and apparel products in the United States in 1966 was 3,527.6 million pounds. In other words, imports of man-made fibers in all textile and apparel forms in 1966 were equivalent to 8.8% of domestic consumption.

Rounded off at 9%, this expressed the degree of market penetration by foreign-produced man-made fibers, whether in primary, secondary, or final form, on the U.S. market. This is the share of the U.S. market which domestic man-made fiber plants lost to foreign producers. Two years ago the market penetration was 6.9%.

The effect on the fiber producer is the same whether the foreign-produced man-made fiber is exported to the United States in the form of fiber or yarn, or in the form of fabric or apparel. In any case the domestic producers lose the sale of man-made fibers in the United States.

When the imports of cotton textile and apparel products on a square yard equivalent basis reached 5.2% of domestic production of fabric, the Government—at our urging—set up the Short-Term and Long-Term Cotton Textile Arrangement to provide a way of putting the brakes on rising cotton textile imports.

Now the situation in man-made fibers is nearly twice as bad as that and no action has as yet been taken. So there is plenty of need for us to reconstitute the House Textile Delegation to work effectively on these problems. I repeat, however, that it is equally necessary for us to be precise and specific when we refer to the problem so that some of these products are not left out of the remedy which we hopefully can bring about due to the inexactness of our terminology.

Statistical highlights of the man-made fiber and man-made fiber textile and apparel import problem are given on the attached sheet.

U.S. balance of trade in manmade fibers and textile and apparel products of cotton, wool, and manmade fibers, 1962–66

[Quantities and values in millions]

	Quantity (square yard equivalents)				
	Manmade fibers (pounds)	Textile and apparel products			
		Manmade fiber	Cotton	Wool	Total
Imports:					
1962	88.8	213.4	1,164.7	141.0	1,519.1
1965	160.4	565.7	1,312.8	180.3	2,058.8
1966	216.5	797.5	1,822.8	175.3	2,795.6
Percent change, 1962–66	+143.8	+273.7	+56.5	+24.3	+84.0
Exports:					
1962	177.4	417.4			
1965	173.6	419.2			
1966	[1] 205.3	(2)			
Percent change, 1962–66	+15.7				
Balance of trade:					
1962	+88.6	+204.0			
1965	+13.2	−146.5			
1966	−11.2	(2)			

	Value					
	Manmade fibers	Manmade fiber textiles	Total manmade fibers and textiles	Cotton textiles	Wool textiles	Total
Imports:						
1962	$35.1	$70.0	$105.1	$306.8	$226.7	$638.6
1965	$69.3	$182.5	$251.8	$369.2	$330.3	$951.3
1966	$81.9	$243.4	$325.3	$463.1	$328.0	$1,116.4
Percent change, 1962–66	+133.3	+247.7	+209.5	+50.9	+44.7	+74.8
Exports:						
1962	$164.2	$165.1	$329.3	$217.3	$7.9	$554.5
1965	$162.1	$194.7	$356.8	$222.8	$9.3	$588.9
1966	[1] $168.7	$199.8	$368.5	$234.1	$18.1	$620.7
Percent change, 1962–66	+2.7	+21.0	+11.9	+7.7	+129.1	+11.9
Balance of trade:						
1962	+$129.1	+$95.1	+$224.2	−$89.5	−$218.8	−$84.1
1965	+$92.8	+$12.2	+$105.0	−$146.4	−$321.0	−$362.4
1966	+$86.8	−$43.6	+$43.2	−$229.0	−$309.9	−$495.7

[1] Estimated at twice the export volume of the 1st 6 months.

[2] Not available

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census and Office of Textiles; Textile Economics Bureau.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the American textile industry faces a crisis today because of the alarming increase in textile imports.

In 1961, for instance, 964 million square yards of textile and apparel were imported. Five years later, imports leaped to 2,811 million square yards—an increase of almost threefold.

All branches of the textile industry are being severly injured by this tremendous rise in imports—cotton, wool, and manmade fibers.

The following figures show the dramatic and appalling decline suffered by the textile industry because of mounting imports:

U.S. imports of textile manufactures

[Millions of square yards equivalent]

	Cotton	Manmade fiber	Wool	Total
1961	720	151	93	964
1962	1,165	213	165	1,543
1963	1,101	221	172	1,494
1964	1,057	328	138	1,523
1965	1,312	566	205	2,083
1966	1,823	798	190	2,811

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Textiles.

And from 1963 to 1966, the dollar value of these imports amounted to $902 million, representing nearly two-thirds of America's payments deficit in 1966.

The figures listed below cite the plight of our textile industry, which is in urgent need of help:

U.S. imports of textile manufactures

[In millions of dollars]

	Cotton	Manmade fiber	Wool	Total
1963	299	82	265	646
1964	308	120	260	687
1965	369	183	330	880
1966	463	243	328	1,034

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Textiles.

What makes this astounding decline so tragic is that the Federal textile program, created in 1961 to provide controls on all textile imports, has not been properly implemented. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the program has been virtually ignored, even though Senate and House leaders recommended it and President Kennedy announced it in May 1961.

Since then, the textile program of 1961 was advocated and approved by President Johnson in 1964. Some action has been taken to effectively control the imports of cotton, but recently, there has been little control of this product. Regarding the control of wool and synthetic textile imports, there just is not any.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned and distressed over the adverse effect these imports are having on the American textile industry.

There is a serious decline in new orders.

There is a serious increase in inventories.

There is a serious drop in employment.

There is a serious cut in prices.

This covers the national picture and in the congressional district I represent, there are an estimated 7,500 textile workers suffering the heavy burden of imports—and hundreds of them have either spoken or written to me:

"We need help now before it's too late" is what they are saying or writing. They are angry and frightened, and I do not blame them—and frankly, I share their anger and fear.

The textile workers are not the only ones being crushed by imports. The average hourly wage paid to an American textile worker is $1.96. The average Japanese worker receives $0.36 an hour and Portugal, a deadly competitor of the United States in yarn, pays its textile workers an average of $0.18 an hour.

The dye industry, which employs thousands of workers in Middlesex County and neighboring Somerset County, is being hurt badly, for it supplies the dyes used in making textiles and apparels.

Although heavy damage is being inflicted by those astronomical imports, the problem of textile imports can be resolved. This action should have been taken years ago, but there is still time to put into practice the following policy:

No reduction in tariffs on textile products.

Extend the international cotton textile arrangement for 5 years.

Establish a procedure for orderly trade in wool and manmade fiber products.

Mr. Speaker, if these steps are taken, there will be recovery and progress in the once prosperous textile industry—instead of decline and disaster.

I am not against foreign trade, but when imports have such a devastating effect on employment security and industrial production in the area I represent in Congress—and the rest of the Nation—strong, courageous, and remedial action must be taken.

It should be taken now, and I urge my colleagues to join me in this important battle.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, as Representative of the largest wool-producing district in the Nation, I rise not only to commend Mr. LANDRUM and Mr. DORN for their outstanding expositions on the need for immediate action to control textile product imports, but to say that I shall work closely with them to obtain limitations.

American mills are the sole customers of the 300,000 American wool growers. If mills are injured, so are the growers. The injurious ramifications of unlimited imports are almost limitless, and they all are to the detriment of this country.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that any unbiased person who studies the importance, in fact, the essentiality of the tremendous American fiber-textile-apparel complex, can only conclude that it is one of our most important industries, that it must be safeguarded in the national interest and it needs safeguarding now.

In the case of wool, we have the National Wool Act, first passed in 1954 with the aim of stimulating its production because it is a strategic essential. Running directly counter to the aims of the act is the steady increase in imports of wool textiles, none of which are made with American wool. Today we find that the weight of wool textile imports is about the same as the weight of the entire United States annual production of shorn wool—clean basis—100 million pounds.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, limitations on imported wool textiles by category of product and by country of origin, with no change in existing duties, are urgently necessary. If exporting countries continue their stubborn refusal to accept an agreement on wool textiles, then the United States must act unilaterally to give force to President Johnson's statement that imports of wool textiles and apparel must be held at reasonable levels.

Mr. Speaker, I turn now to a specific aspect of this overall problem in which I have been especially interested.

On October 28, 1963, I brought to the attention of this House that mislabeling was widespread in imported products of wool. At that time I had been disturbed to learn that imported sweaters selected at random from retail counters in various cities of this country were found in every instance tested to be mislabeled. And these garments were bought not from little, shady fly-by-night shops but from the best and most reputable retail stores. I named names. For I was deeply concerned. Such imports were underselling our American-made products by reason of low wages abroad, and they were not only thus undermining our American wage standards but by their false and unlawful labels they were misleading the American consumer.

I brought this abuse not only to the attention of this House but to the Federal Trade Commission, which administers the Wool Products Labeling Act, and the Commissioner of Customs, urging them "to initiate prompt action to remedy this problem and see to it that it is not permitted to recur."

That was three and a half years ago. Finally, last October the Federal Trade Commission proposed a regulation, rule 36, providing that the FTC might require of importers that they submit test reports from accredited laboratories in this country verifying the accuracy of the labels on wool products they bring into this country. The rule would go a long way to correct a weakness in administration. It would entail no serious burden for importers when one considers the compliance requirements which domestic producers have been bearing for years.

I had been hopeful that after this long delay the remedial action proposed would be put into effect. But now again I am disturbed to note in the press that foreign countries whose producers have been enjoying free access to our market, have been exerting pressure on the FTC to prevent this reasonable rule 36 from being put into effect as proposed. They seek to substitute their own certificates of approval for the requirements the rule would otherwise impose on their producers who export to the United States.

But I hope that the FTC will in no way yield. I trust that the Commission will not surrender any of its direct surveillance and control contemplated under the proposed procedure. There has been ample time before this for importers to take formal action to assure compliance by their producers abroad. Some importers, indeed, have been careful enough to test their products here. There is no valid reason why all should not be induced to do it here in laboratories subject to our own scrutiny and in accordance with our own U.S. standards. I hope the FTC will promptly promulgate this proposed rule substantially as proposed by the Commission itself after long and careful study.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House a serious situation affecting the textile industry in the United States. Apparently textile imports have reached alarming proportions to seriously jeopardize the textile industry in our country. I cite the following figures for your edification: During the years 1954 through 1964, national figures show that in all women's and children's apparel, the dollar volume on imports went up 519 percent; woolen garments went up 724 percent; cotton garments, 381 percent; manmade fabrics and synthetics, 320 percent.

This has a serious effect upon the city of New York since more people could be employed in skilled and unskilled fields if this trend were reversed.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, we are approaching the time when trade agreements legislation must be renewed. I would like to support reasonable foreign trade legislation, but it seems to me we have reached the point that we are going to have to give greater attention to the welfare of our own domestic industries or such legislation will face serious opposition. This is the case in a number of vital industries as a part of our economy, but here today we are particularly talking of textile imports.

We take great pride in this country in having decent wages and decent working conditions. We can be justifiably proud of the high standard of living. We take pride in having more of everything than any place in the world. Incidentally, sometimes we forget the system that made all this possible and only look at the end result in benefits.

This brings us to the point to wonder how long we can continue to have all these things under present conditions.

Our textile industry simply cannot compete with textiles made in Japan by labor paid 36 cents per hour. We cannot even compete with England, paying $1.33 an hour, or Belgium, paying 80 cents. Hong Kong's textiles, made with 25 cents an hour labor, can and will push out of the market goods made in our own country by an average wage of almost $2 per hour.

I have in my district a glove manufacturing concern, located at Cisco, Tex. I use this particular manufacturing concern as an example. I also have other manufacturing concerns, but I have heard from Mr. Anton White, of the Boss Manufacturing Co., who on February 15 has this to say:

> We are very much interested in the effect of the number of gloves imported into the United States from Japan and other Far Eastern countries. According to information from the United States Department of Commerce, it appears that imports of gloves have increased considerably in 1965 as compared to the year of 1964.
>
> This is getting to be a problem for the entire glove industry in the United States, and the seriousness of same has been increased by the recent enacted laws which increased the minimum wage to $1.40 effective February 1, 1967, and will be increased to $1.60 effective February 1, 1968.
>
> Our industry is such that our production requires a large amount of direct labor involving women operating sewing machines. However, our industry is making efforts to automate all or part of our production, where possible, in order to improve our productivity to compensate for regularly increasing labor costs. These trends are placing extreme hardships on our industry and the cotton producing areas of West Texas.
>
> We respectfully request that you use your influence for corrective action by the possibility of considering increasing the tariff on work gloves and the possibility of setting quotas on the importing of work gloves. Anything that you can do during this session of Congress will be appreciated, which will permit the work glove industry in the United States to remain competitive, and to survive.

Following Mr. White's letter is a letter from Mr. J. W. Sitton, publisher of three newspapers in Eastland County, Tex., who, in part, has this to say:

> There is some real concern among our folks regarding the threat that cheap cotton work gloves from Japan are offering our local factories, including the Boss Company that has a big plant in Cisco.
>
> The Cisco plant has some 200 workers. Many are women whose jobs are vital to their families. This plant has been in operation here since the early 1940s and is regarded by the Boss Company as one of their very best, due entirely to the fine quality of workers.
>
> In my opinion, Japan gloves should be charged a tariff or limited in a manner that would permit our local factories to stay in business. They must pay minimum wages that the Congress voted and continues to raise plus high income and property taxes.
>
> It seems pretty important that the Congress would want to do everything possible to keep people like Boss in business—not ignore their problems for the sake of Japanese prosperity.

This is a true description of the situation, which is serious and cannot be ignored. I think we must limit imports to protect these vital industries and, of course, also protect the producers of cotton and wool.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, the reasons why action is promptly required to limit imports of textile products, including those of wool have been cogently stated today by Mr. LANDRUM and Mr. DORN, and I fully associate myself with them, Mr. Speaker.

As Representative of the second largest wool-producing State in the Nation, my interest in the wool textile import problem is very direct. What happens to the domestic wool textile industry, the only customer for the American woolgrowers, directly affects the grower for good or for ill. Neither wool nor wool textiles can be successfully exported by American producers because the higher production costs here make them uncompetitive. This also is the core of the problem for American mills striving to meet import competition in the American market. In short, if they could export, there would be no import problem.

Wool product imports have soared to 26 percent of domestic production. If they are not halted the future of the American wool manufacturer and the American woolgrower is bleak indeed.

The urgent need for limitations on wool product imports is nowhere better stated than in the resolution unanimously adopted by the National Wool Growers Association at its annual convention held last January which stated:

> We are seriously alarmed by the rapid growth in imports of wool textiles and apparel, and cannot hide our disappointment at the failure of the Government thus far to take action to achieve reasonable limitations on these imports. The wool manufacturers of the United States are our only customers. If the steady rise in the proportion of imports to domestically produced wool textiles and apparel is not reversed, it will inevitably mean the extinction of the U.S. manufacturing industry and, therefore, of our own industry. We urge that President Johnson's policy, as expressed in his stated conviction that wool product imports must be kept at reasonable levels, be promptly implemented, unilaterally if necessary.
>
> We also urge early enactment of legislation to close the unconscionable tariff loophole on wool and silk blend fabrics, and other potential loopholes.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, the textile industry in my State of West Virginia is a relatively new industry. We have been making strenuous efforts to develop and expand it, so that we may take care of some of our workmen displaced from the coal industry. It is one of the industries that can be developed in the State. Initial capital investments need not be large. We have the resources of power and land. Much of the labor is easily trained. We are struggling to get the industry on its feet. Various small and large plants are scattered among one-third of the counties of the State. Workmen from many of the other counties find employment in textile plants of one kind or another just across State lines, in Maryland, Ohio, and Virginia. The textile business is therefore very important to us.

In this situation, we are faced with competition in the textile field from abroad. Manmade textile fibres, woven fabrics, and manufactured textile articles of all kinds are brought into the United States under reduced tariff charges. We cannot compete with foreign labor, especially in the textile field. This has been shown by official per man and per time rate wage scales.

For some years the Appalachian area has been a matter of concern to the rest of the Nation. It has been stigmatized as a poverty problem. Coal has been its major source of wealth. But the coal industry has not been growing at a rate comparable to the growth of industry of other kinds. In fact, it has declined. The argument has been that Appalachia should diversify and expand its industrial operations. The Federal Government has offered to assist in the diversification and expansion.

It seems somewhat short-sighted for the Federal Government to give with one hand and take away with the other. This is what it does when it sets tariff rates at a level which will encourage imports of materials which this Nation could produce equally well after its home industries had been developed. The original purpose of tariffs was to promote domestic industrial growth. That purpose remains. We can never expect Appalachia—and all of West Virginia is in Appalachia—to grow industrially as long as it is stifled by a flood of imports produced from raw material to finished product by cheap labor.

It is high time, Mr. Speaker, to examine once more, very carefully, to see if it is more important for us to promote the welfare of foreign industry of every kind, particularly the entire textile industry, or to look after our own welfare and provide employment for our own workers.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, my congressional district extends from the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains all the way to the Black Belt, and from the Georgia line to within a few miles of the Mississippi line. Nearly every one of my 11 counties has one or more textile mills, and every county has residents who are employed in textiles, and every county raises cotton. More than 10,000 of my constituents are employed by the textile industry in my Fourth Alabama District.

We are beginning to feel the pinch being caused by these increased imports, and curtailment of operations has set in. When mill inventories are rising and the ratio of unfilled orders is declining, our mills have no choice but to slow down output. Many mills are making every effort to keep full employment under such unfavorable conditions, but even now the average workweek is slowly beginning to decrease. As of this morning some seven mills in my district are operating on a 4-day basis representing about one-half of the overall textile employees.

Mr. Speaker, the millworkers in my district pay taxes, and then their taxes are sent overseas in the form of foreign aid to finance construction of new textile mills. Our cotton farmers pay taxes, and these taxes are sent overseas to purchase equipment to grow more cotton. Now, Mr. Speaker, how do I go back home and tell my textile workers that the reason they are working only part time, and my cotton farmers that the reason their cotton is sitting in the warehouse rotting is because we have got to buy textiles from our friends overseas? You can quote every agreement in the book, Mr. Speaker, but that will not satisfy me or my friends back home. Our only concern is that taxpaying American citizens and taxpaying American companies should not be penalized because our Government wants to make friends with foreign countries.

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I also wish to raise my voice in protest against the unprecedented inflow of wool, cotton, and synthetic textiles from low-cost foreign producing countries. Those of us who live in cotton-producing as well as textile manufacturing States have been made acutely aware of the steadily deteriorating situation of our textile industries, as evidenced by decreasing production, increasing unemployment, falling wages, and plummeting profits.

Injury to our domestic textile industry is mainly due to our excessive tariff reductions without reciprocal concessions, as well as the long-term textile agreement with foreign producing countries without a strict limitation as to the percentage of our domestic consumption they can export to us.

The present administration will have to institute severe restrictions on imports very soon to forestall a serious recession in the textile industry. With all major textile companies complaining of falling sales, lessened profits, and decreasing capacity I feel that Congress should step in now with positive directions to the administration to curtail imports and also not to allow any further tariff cuts. Let us protect our own taxpaying wage earners and textile companies first and then let outsiders be entitled to a reasonable but limited percentage of our domestic market; say 5 percent.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the contributions made by the textile industry to the enhancement and betterment of the people of Virginia and especially of the Fifth Congressional District of my State, which I have the honor to represent.

The textile mills in the Fifth District include the Dan River Mills, Burlington Mills, J. P. Stevens & Co., the Washington Mills, Du Pont, and others.

These industries are of incalculable value to the areas in which they are located. Approximately one-fourth of the people residing in the district which I represent derive a principal part of their income directly from textiles, but of course the mills contribute to the economy of everybody.

Not alone does the industry help communities financially. The people it brings in and adds to its payrolls are good, hard-working people who believe in a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Some of them become local bulwarks, active in civic matters and working generously for the improvement of the localities in which they live.

More importantly, these mills keep the native people at home. They provide young as well as the more advanced in age with employment that enables them to remain gainfully employed on their native heath, thus relieving them of the necessity of moving elsewhere in search of jobs and thus diminishing their interest in the areas in which they were born.

I speak from personal observation. Two of the mills I have named—Stevens and Burlington—are near my home, and I have watched them operate and have seen with my own eyes what they mean to both the rural and urban populations.

The Fifth District is largely agricultural. The farm season is full in summer and slack in winter, but there is no slack in employment so long as these textile mills are in operation. I grew up on a farm in the area and can recall so well the long, lean months of cold weather when farm activity and even jobs in more populous communities were at a minimum. That is never the case now, thanks to job opportunities offered by these mills.

These mills are typical of this great industry on which much of American history has been built. They do not confine their interests to local matters alone, but are an important segment of the national picture. Take the Stevens Co., for instance. It is one of the oldest textile companies in America and has made almost unbounded contributions to the growth of this country. It has participated in every war in which this country has engaged since declaring its independence. Its president, the Honorable Robert T. Stevens, was for some years Secretary of the Army in the Cabinet of President Eisenhower.

From the standpoint of National, State, and local interest and their contributions to the welfare of the people, I know I can say the same thing about all the mills of my area. They breathe a business atmosphere and give us confidence. I am sure many thousands of people rest better at night and are happier in their daily lives because these plants are located in their midst.

Another fine example of the contributions of the industry is the Dan River Mills at Danville, the largest textile manufacturer in Virginia and the second largest industrial employer. In a city of 50,000 population, it provides work and paychecks for some 10,000 persons. Its annual payroll is $45 million, and it pays more than $5 million a year for power, transportation, services, and supplies.

This company does not operate in Danville alone. It has 29 plants in 17 communities in five Southern States. In some of these places, it is the principal manufacturer and the only industrial employer.

You will be interested to know that this is not a transplanted business, but one that was born in Danville at a time of grave adversity. Virginia was still feeling the effects of a dark period in her past, a time when there was devastation on all sides and a mere depression or recession would have looked like a high form of relief. The State was rebuilding solely through the character of her people, people of courage who did not subscribe to the something-for-nothing doctrine so familiar to us today. There was no Marshall plan, no Office of Economic Opportunity, no free handouts, no Federal lending agencies or Government relief programs, and no veterans' benefits.

It was in such a setting, not many years after the dreadful War Between the States, that a group of far-sighted citizens of Danville who, although impoverished themselves, were willing to stake their all to give employment to the poverty-stricken people of the neighborhood. This they did by establishing the Dan River Mills, a concern that has continued to burgeon over the years since then.

Many of the problems with which we in this Nation now are confronted could easily be solved, I dare say, if only the country had leadership of the type provided by such men as associated themselves in this venture into the textile field. These men would have looked with disdain upon the wastrels and the squanderers who are as careless with our rights as with our money, and who swarm like locusts around our Nation's Capital, consistently advocating spending more each year until the country is hanging on the cliff of financial irresponsibility.

The greatest threat to the textile industry today is obviously the competition from the low-wage foreign nations where the hourly wage is from 20 to 30 cents an hour. Year after year, our mills invest in new machinery, experiment with new equipment, and work with textile machinery manufacturers to develop new concepts in textile production. New fabric styles and constructions are worked out, tested, and finished. This is sound management, but it costs money.

The regrettable factor concerning this striving for improvement is that it avails little when low-wage foreign textile producers copy the fruits of this effort and make virtually identical fabrics to ship to the United States. This is the threat that hangs constantly over the industry, and it should be a cause of worry to everyone in this Nation, for it could seriously handicap our economy.

I commend the textile mills of this Nation for the great progress they have made and for the many opportunities they have offered to the people of America. These mills and their wonderful management, as well as the extraordinarily fine people who work in them, deserve, as they no doubt have, the unstinted appreciation of the people in the States wherein these operations are conducted.

The industry of which they are a part is one of the bulwarks of our free enterprise system. It is a large employer of production workers, a major contributor to our national income, a great spender for new equipment and other items, and an important source of the taxation which is necessary and indispensable for the operation of our Government at all levels.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned over the rising trend of textile imports into this country from abroad.

Let me outline the problem briefly:

In 1966, imports of manmade fibers in all textile and apparel forms were equivalent to 8.8 percent of domestic consumption. This is the share of the U.S. market which American industry lost to foreign producers.

In some areas of the industry as a whole—the problem of rising imports is causing greater problems than in others. For example, while cotton and wool imported apparel products increased between 60 percent and 75 percent in 1964–66, those of synthetic fiber more than tripled. In several of the knitted apparel areas, such as knit shirts and sweaters, imported products have taken as much as one-fourth to one-third of the total American market.

This import problem is beginning to effect the entire textile industry. This is an industry that is closely interrelated. When one part of the industry is in trouble, it effects the other part, because the many segments of the industry act as suppliers and customers to each other.

It is apparent that imports will take up all of the future growth possibilities of the marketplace. This will leave the American industry with little or no opportunity to grow in the future. An industry facing this situation cannot be expected or able to supply additional jobs in the future as our population grows. If the problem gets much worse, we could face reduction in employment. I, for one, do not like to see American workers' jobs exported to provide a market for foreign economies.

Consider this record of problems being caused by these vastly increasing textile imports:

First, decline in new orders held by American industry; second, unfilled orders down; third, inventories rising; fourth, shorter workweek; fifth, new employment lower; sixth, lower prices; seventh, reduced profits from which future expansion and wage increases can be financed; and, eighth, increase in deficit in U.S.-foreign textile trade to $800 million annually.

We in the Congress have a responsibility to call these facts to the attention of those administering our laws covering foreign trade and imports. I am glad to join a number of my colleagues in calling for action to alleviate this situation. Minimum action should include:

First. No reduction in tariffs on textile products.

Second. Extend the international cotton textile arrangement for 5 years.

Third. Establish a procedure for orderly trade in wool and manmade fiber products.

Adoption of these minimal suggestions would provide for orderly growth in the import market, but not threaten domestic industry. Also their adoption would give time for American industry to improve efficiency and cut costs in order to become more competitive with foreign-made products.

There are proposals before our tariff negotiators, to cut tariffs on certain textile items by as much as 50 percent during the Kennedy round of negotiations in Geneva. I urge the Members of the House to consider the implications and seriousness of such a move. We would have an even greater rush into this country of textile products, particularly those made of manmade fibers.

Present tariffs provide a very small barrier, but even lower tariffs, combined with no other trade regulations, would simply cause chaos in the industry.

We cannot permit this to happen. Those Members of Congress who are knowledgeable in this field must begin concerted action now to argue the facts before the tariff negotiations. These facts must be presented to those members of the President's Cabinet who work with tariff and import problems. We must also ask for the support of the President and his entire administration to see that this industry is given fair treatment. And if necessary, legislation should be considered which would reverse the situation in which we find ourselves today.

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, the people in my district are vitally concerned with the manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel import problem. In my district there are four major manmade fiber production facilities and a new research and development center for manmade fibers. Celanese, du Pont, Monsanto, and Uniroyal are the owners of these facilities. Together they employ several thousand of my constituents.

These plants require local materials and services from outside organizations, and the communities in which they are located supply many important services to their workers. The effect on the economy of my district of these four plants and the research installation is quite formidable. The construction of these facilities and the research center comprises the most important manufacturing development in my district in recent years.

An especially valuable aspect of the manmade fiber industry is the exceptionally high level of its wages. In 1965, the average weekly earnings of workers in manufacturing establishments in South Carolina were $78.77 and the average hourly wage was $1.88. In the chemical and allied products industry group, in which the manmade fiber producing plants are included for statistical purposes, the average weekly earnings of establishments in South Carolina in 1965 were $108.24 and the average hourly wage was $2.64.

The range of jobs and job opportunities in the manmade fiber plants is truly exceptional. These manufacturing plants are the epitome of technologically advanced industries, and the work force includes many scientists and technicians in addition to the highly skilled electronics and automated equipment maintenance workers who are essential to the functioning of these continuous process, continuous operation plants.

During the past 10 years, thanks to the aggressive efforts of South Carolina to attract new industries, manufacturing employment has increased by 20 percent. In my district, manufacturing employment rose less rapidly, but the recent establishment of manmade fiber producing facilities in the district promises to pep up the employment growth rate to match that of the State as a whole.

My district continues to be overwhelmingly dependent on the textile mill products industry for employment. In 1965, 63 percent of all manufacturing jobs in the district were provided by that industry. The effect of the long-continued and excessive level of imports of cotton and wool textiles on my particular district is shown by the fact that textile mill products employment in the district increased by only 2 percent during the 10-year period 1956–65. Only in manmade fiber production and in manmade fiber broad woven fabrics was there significant growth.

For these reasons, on behalf of my constituents and the welfare of the communities in my district, I must be greatly concerned about the disturbing implications of the very high and continued rate of growth in textile and apparel imports, and particularly the rise in manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel product imports which in recent years has far exceeded that of other textile products.

Unless action is taken soon to bring these imports under regulation, the employment outlook in this one healthy sector of the industry in my district will be reversed and stagnation will characterize this important growth industry just as it has become characteristic of textile mill product employment in the district.

Mr. Speaker, there is another aspect of this matter which troubles me deeply. As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, I am, of course, deeply sensitive to national developments which affect our gold reserve and the value of the dollar. Here in the area of manmade fibers and textile and apparel products of all fibers we seem to have our trade policy operating in the opposite direction from that which we probably intend. Here the combination of past tariff concessions and the agility of foreign nations to restrict our exports is producing an ever-larger trade deficit at at galloping pace.

Today this deficit is equal to one-third of our total balance-of-payments deficit. Tomorrow it doubtless will account for an even larger proportion. Are we as the legislators responsible under the Constitution for the regulation of foreign commerce destined to stand by helplessly while these foreign trade problems get even larger?

The problem of the manmade fiber and the textile and apparel industries may be symptomatic of economic ills affecting many domestic industries in one degree or another. As the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee of the other body stated in his recent address to the Economic Club of New York, we can correct the problems which unfavorably affect our balance of payments "by providing more rather than less protection for any American industry that is threatened."

I note that exports of manmade fibers, textiles, and apparel have been comparatively static in contrast with the sharply rising volume of imports. Doubtless as in the case of some other industries, these sharply divergent trends are probably due to the low-wage cost basis of the foreign industries which direct their output to the U.S. market and the fact, as noted in the Finance Committee chairman's Economic Club address, that—

> The tendency in recent years has been to reduce American tariff protection while foreign countries have given little if anything in return, other than to agree to continue their existing practices, without making trade more onerous for us than it had been in the past.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that no industry should be condemned to extinction by a refusal on the part of the State Department and its counterparts in the various other executive agencies to initiate actions such as duty raises, withdrawal or modification of tariff concessions, or the imposition of flexible quota systems to limit imports to no more than a generous, fair share of the American market.

I say to my distinguished colleagues who have expressed their concern here today about the manmade fiber and textile-apparel import problem that, as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, I shall watch with interest the executive response to their pleas. That response clearly has implications for our monetary policy in view of the drag of these imports on our balance-of-payments problem.

I certainly agree that prompt action is required to achieve a measure of control over this problem and that until such action is consummated, it would be unwise for our trade agreement negotiators to make further reductions in U.S. import duties on these products.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I share the concern of my colleagues over the problems imposed upon our home apparel industry by the increasing volume of imports from abroad. This rising tide of imports shows that existing tariff rates and the import agreement between the United States and 28 other countries is not providing adequate controls of these foreign goods.

It is my belief, Mr. Speaker, that if imports of all types of apparel products are not brought under a more reasonable and equitable control, the economic erosion of the home apparel industry will be sharply accelerated.

This is of great importance to the Nation, to the State of Tennessee, and to the Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee, which I am honored to represent in the Congress. In my district there are almost 50 apparel manufacturing plants employing approximately 16,000 people.

The apparel industry has provided 10,000 new jobs in the Fourth District within the past 4 years. And so this matter is of great concern to me and to our people.

We are talking about jobs, about employment, about bringing home the bread of life to families.

If foreign competition in this area is permitted to drive these plants out of business, our tariff and trade policies will become self-defeating. We can promote essential foreign trade while providing safeguards for our home industry.

The time for action has arrived. I strongly urge, Mr. Speaker, that steps be taken to assure the continued growth and progress of this vital, indispensable home apparel industry.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, during the next few weeks, the U.S. Government will be involved in negotiations with the governments of other nations, the outcome of which could have a far-reaching effect on U.S. cotton farmers and the U.S. cotton industry.

I refer first to the negotiations at Geneva, commonly referred to as the Kennedy round.

It is my understanding that cotton textiles are on the list of items for negotiation involving a reduction in the U.S. tariff by as much as 50 percent. Second, the negotiations involving the extension of an arrangement under which restrictions have been imposed on the importation of cotton textiles. The original so-called long-term arrangement entered into several years ago expires on September 30. I would certainly hope that this arrangement would be extended for another 5-year period.

There is a very urgent need, at this time, for the United States to impose reasonable restrictions on the importation of cotton textiles. On August 1, 1966, the carryover of U.S. cotton reached an alltime high of 16,900,000 bales. This exceeds by approximately two-and a half million bales, the previous record reached on August 1, 1956.

In order to eliminate this burdensome surplus, U.S. cotton farmers are being called upon to reduce their acreage by as much as 35 percent. As a result, the 1966 U.S. cotton crop was less than 10 million bales as compared with about 15 million bales the preceding year. The harvested acreage was the lowest in almost 100 years.

In contrast to this record of reduced U.S. cotton production, let us examine the record of cotton textile imports.

Just 5 years ago, in 1961, we imported the equivalent of 393,000 bales of cotton in the form of cotton products. Last year a record quantity of cotton textiles came into the United States, the amount being equal to 1,033,000 bales of raw cotton. During the last 2 years the increase amounted to more than 50 percent even though the so called long-term textile arrangement was in effect.

It makes absolutely no sense to me for the U.S. Government to permit such a flood of textiles made from cotton to come into the country, at a time when cotton farmers are being forced to make drastic reductions in their acreage. These acreage reductions have a very serious impact on those who supply cotton farmers with materials needed to make a cotton crop as well as those who handle and process the cotton. As a matter of fact, the entire cotton growing community is suffering a very serious economic hardship because of the reduced acreage and production of cotton. Why then should we impose this additional burden on cotton in the form of imported textiles on the U.S. economy? I know of no good reason.

I have heard it argued that if we will import more cotton textiles, we can export more raw cotton. But this argument is not founded on fact. On the contrary, there is no correlation between the importation of cotton textiles and the exportation of raw cotton bales.

Let me just cite a few figures to prove this statement. If we go back to the midtwenties, we find that importation of cotton textiles was trending downward from the equivalent of 100,000 bales to about 50,000 bales during the depression of the early thirties. During that same period, we were exporting from 6 million to 8,500,000 bales of cotton per year. Following World War II, imports of cotton textiles did not get back up to 100,000 bales until 1954. But during this period we were exporting only 3 million to 4 million bales of cotton—less than a half of the amount exported during the middle of the late twenties, when textile imports were at the same level.

Beginning in 1954, cotton textiles imports began a relentless upsweep from 100,000 bales a year to over a million bales just this past year. During the earlier fifties, cotton exports varied from 3 million to 5 million bales. During the past few years they have been at the same 3 to 5 million bale level. In other words, we are exporting about the same number of bales of cotton that we did 12 years ago, but we are importing 10 times the quantity of cotton in the form of textiles than we were 12 years ago.

Just one other comparison. In the cotton marketing year of 1964–65, we imported 688,000 bales of cotton in the form of textiles. The next year, ending August 1, 1966, the quantity of textiles imports in terms of raw cotton had increased by 30 percent up to about 900,000 bales. The quantity of exported raw cotton was just the reverse, down by 28 percent from 1964–65, to 1965–66.

This is all the proof that anybody needs that we do not increase cotton exports by importing more cotton textiles.

To me it is abundantly clear that cotton textile imports have gotten completely out of hand during the past 2 years. What needs to be done about it?

This brings me back to the point where I started. I am simply asking that we do not encourage additional imports of cotton textiles by lowering U.S. tariffs. I further ask that we extend for at least a 5-year period the so-called long-term arrangement, which is the mechanism for imposing reasonable restraints on cotton textile imports. Further, we must have a more reasonable administration of that arrangement.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join with my colleagues here this afternoon in expressing deep concern over the magnitude of the problems facing our American textile industry. We in New England are well aware of the vast impact of this industry on our local and regional economies. New England textile mills and plants alone employ over 186,000 people and in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the textile-apparel industry includes 1,557 mills and plants, 96,500 jobs and nearly 14 percent of the total manufacturing in the State. Finally, and just as striking is the fact that in my own home city of Lowell, Mass., nearly 30 percent of the total city employment is related to this industry.

Viewing the industry across the country, it is quite evident that while some progress has been made in the past 5 years, the outlook is far from stable. Prices have been falling while those in most other industries have been rising. At the same time, the number of new orders has decreased and the inventories continue to back up. Due to a number of factors, none the least of which is the wage scale, the overall industry is finding it increasingly difficult to compete with foreign imports. This is true with respect to cotton, wool, and manmade textiles.

The situation is serious and the time to act is now. I want to commend the House textile delegation and the representatives of the industry who have so ably presented the case to the Congress. It is my hope that the House will study the situation in great detail and will not hesitate to respond to the problems in a positive, forceful manner.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, U.S. trade policies affecting the textile and garment industries in this country are in need of immediate reexamination. It occurs to me that when one of America's major industries is suffering dangerous declines in business because of growing imports and foreign business America's trade policies are then violating the need of her own people.

This is precisely the situation in New York City. As my colleagues know, the textile industry is a vital element in the economy of that area. But because of the radical increase of textile imports over the last few years, the New York garment and textile industries are currently undergoing disturbing reversals. Market trends for that industry show: First, new orders are rapidly declining; second, inventories are rising steadily; third, the number of new jobs is decreasing and workweeks have been shortened; and, fourth, the industry is getting lower prices for its products.

While American industry has suffered, foreign textiles have enjoyed unprecedented sales in this country and, in fact, are soliciting an unreasonable amount of our business. Our imports in synthetics have grown by 300 percent in the last 12 years, cottons by 400 percent, ladies' and children's knitwear by 519 percent, and woolens by over 700 percent. It is no wonder, therefore, that American production has slackened.

Mr. Speaker, I am not a trade protectionist. I think it is important that this country not return to restrictive trade policies which existed before the New Deal to protect special American business interests. I believe that freer trade among countries may serve to relieve many of the tensions in today's troubled world. But I believe that reasonable priorities must be set so that the American people are not left holding the bag. Obvious inequities, such as in the garment and textile industries, must be remedied immediately.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I share the concern of so many of my colleagues over the difficult situation faced by our apparel manufacturing industry. Although a substantial part of the textiles used in clothing manufacture are produced in the South, New York City is the largest center of clothing manufacture and anything which affects this industry can have a profound impact on thousands and thousands of New Yorkers.

The jobs in this industry are not the sophisticated high-skilled positions that employ highly paid workers. On the contrary, a large portion of the workforce in the apparel industry are the semiskilled and the unskilled who make modest wages. Many of them are from minority groups and reduction in these jobs would have serious repercussions among the groups least able to readjust when regular employment opportunities diminish.

The statistics vividly indicate the increasing competition which is facing our domestic apparel manufacturers. Imports of all textile and apparel products have increased in the 1962–66 period by 84 percent, whereas exports have risen, in the same period, by only 15.7 percent. When we look at individual fibers, the picture becomes even more disturbing. For example, from October 1965 through September 1966 imports of cotton apparel increased by 16 percent over the preceding year. The value of these cotton apparel imports accounted for half of the dollar value of all imported cotton products. Wool and manmade fiber imports are increasing at an even more rapid pace than cotton apparel, whereas cotton apparel imports from 1962 to 1966 have increased by 35 percent, wool increased 43 percent, and manmade fiber increased an incredible 374 percent. I think that these few statistics lend support to the complaints now being voiced by those who earn their livelihoods in the domestic apparel industry.

I am a firm supporter of liberal trade policies and know how important it is to foreign nations to be able to trade with the United States. There need be no inconsistency between support for more liberal trade policies and a desire to protect the jobs of tens of thousands of our fellow citizens who can least afford their loss. I would merely like to emphasize the need, at this time, for a realistic and sympathetic study of this situation. I think it would be wise for the White House, in particular those charged with responsibility for the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations, to study how our textile quota policy can be formulated so as to lessen any unfavorable impact on this important domestic industry.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to join my distinguished colleagues in calling attention to the serious problem of growing foreign imports of manmade fibers to this country. Congress must be constantly aware of the dangers posed to the U.S. balance of trade when foreign imports constitute a heavy penetration of the U.S. market.

When we stop to realize that the average hourly textile wage in this country is almost 5½ times that of Japan and almost eight times that of Hong Kong, the two major suppliers of wool and manmade fiber imports, it should come as no surprise that the American textile industry and its employees are the real losers when the American market is flooded with imports. No American industry could stand up against foreign competition that uses such a low wage scale.

When foreign imports of cotton textile and apparel products reached a critical high, the short-term and long-term cotton textile arrangement was entered into at the urging of interested members of Congress. But, now we have a situation that has reached critical proportions in the area of manmade fibers and nothing is being done.

We simply cannot bury our head in the sand on this issue. There is not a State in the Union which does not have an interest in the apparel industry. Statistics point out that it is the Nation's fourth largest employer of manufacturing personnel. This industry has resulted in alleviating unemployment problems in many areas that traditionally have had chronic unemployment. It is of paramount importance that Congress rescue this vital industry by placing strict controls on the import of apparel products.

There have been several concrete suggestions for saving this industry, such as an extension of the international cotton textile arrangement for 5 years and maintaining at present level our import duties on manmade fibers. But, action must be forthcoming or we will run the risk of destroying an industry which is not only vital to the American working man and the domestic market, but—especially at this time—the national defense.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, the State of North Carolina is a major center for the research and development facilities of the manmade fiber producing industry. The decisions which have been made by such companies as du Pont, Monsanto, Beaunit, Hercules, Celanese, Fiber Industries, American Enka, and Uniroyal to locate their production and research and development activities in North Carolina, have been of enormous benefit to our State.

These facilities have attracted scientific personnel who devote their intellectual energies to the maintenance of U.S. supremacy in this important area of our technology. Their production plants have created large-scale employment at high rates of pay, which has added a very strong push to the increase in the standard of living of the people of North Carolina. I am proud to say that the Monsanto Co. has a major research center and production facility in my district.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Education and Labor Committee of this body, I am particularly interested in the employment-generating potential of the manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel industries. The rate of growth in manmade fiber production and textile manufacturing has been well above the average of all manufacturing industries. In a moment I will develop the magnitude of this growth.

Now, however, as a result of the unprecedented volume and rate of growth of imports of manmade fibers and textile and apparel products of manmade fibers, this valuable employment potential for all classes of high-wage manufacturing jobs—scientific as well as production—is being eroded by the destructive effects of unregulated imports on the domestic market.

Today manmade fibers are used in every sector of the textile and apparel industry complex. Manmade fibers are spun into yarn on the cotton as well as the woolen and worsted systems of spinning. In 100-percent manmade fiber yarn constructions and in blends with cotton and wool, these manufactured fibers have contributed exceptional growth in the production and sale of textile products in the United States.

It is difficult to get an accurate count of the total employment in the U.S. textile and apparel industry significantly concerned with the utilization of manmade fibers. It is possible, however, to isolate the employment in those few sectors of the textile industry that are exclusively concerned with manmade fiber textiles. At the yearend 1966, there were nearly 200,000 workers employed in the U.S. plants producing manmade fibers, filaments, and yarns and the broad woven weaving mills exclusively concerned with the production of manmade fiber fabrics. This is an increase of more than 50,000 workers from the level of employment in these industries in 1958—a 37-percent increase.

The 54,000 new jobs created by the manmade fiber sector of the textile industry between 1958 and the yearend 1966 was far above the 31,400 jobs added during the same period in the textile mill products industry as a whole. While the manmade fiber sector of the textile industry is only about one-fifth as large as the textile mill products industry, it created 70 percent more jobs than the entire textile mill products industry during the period mentioned.

Mr. Speaker, this commendable creation of new jobs by the manmade fiber sector of the textile industry is now in grave danger of being robbed of its vitality by the rapidly increasing imports of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile products.

The Special Subcommittee To Study the Textile Industry in its third supplementary report to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate in September 1963 warned that—

> The future of both the manmade fiber producing industry and the textile mills producing manmade fiber fabrics is overshadowed by the strongly rising trend in imports.

The record of imports shows that that warning was, unfortunately, only too prophetic. In 1962, the last full year preceding the special subcommittee's report, U.S. general imports of manmade fiber textile manufactures expressed in square-yard equivalents amounted to 213.4 million square yards. In the calendar year 1966, this import tide had swelled to the astonishing level of 797.5 million square yards. This is an increase of 274 percent in comparison with a 32-percent increase in wool and a 61-percent increase in cotton textile imports over the same period.

The import trend for the primary products, the manmade fibers, filaments, and yarns produced by the manmade fiber industry, is almost as dramatic as than for the manmade fiber textile products. In 1962, U.S. imports of manmade fibers amounted to 88.8 million pounds. In calendar year 1966, these imports had increased to 216.5 million pounds, a 143-percent increase over the period.

Mr. Speaker, in 1965 there were 13.4 billion linear yards of textile fabric produced in the United States. It would appear from the Federal Reserve Index of Industrial Production for textile yarns and fabrics that there was relatively little increase in production in 1966 compared with 1965. It is reasonable to compare total imports of manmade fiber, cotton, and wool textiles in 1966 with estimated domestic production of broad woven fabrics of about 14 billion linear yards, slightly above the output recorded in 1965. Total imports of all textiles in 1966 were equivalent to 2.9 billion square yards. The linear yards in which domestic production is recorded are not exactly comparable to the square yard equivalent for imports. If we convert the linear yards to square yards by a factor of 1.5 square yards for each linear yard, we find that imports in 1966 were equivalent to 14 percent of domestic production.

Mr. Speaker, when the ratio of cotton textiles to domestic production exceeded 5 percent, the Nation learned that market disruption, loss of earnings, and ultimate loss of employment took place. Now the import penetration ratio in each of the principal fiber sectors of the textile market is considerably in excess of this 5-percent figure.

For manmade fiber and cotton, the import penetration ratio is in the approximate range of 10 percent, while for woolen and worsted textiles it exceeds 25 percent.

The Nation's largest manmade fiber producers have reported a sharp loss of earnings due to the distressed market conditions that existed in 1966 due partly to imports. Textile mills have reported reductions in hours of work and the furloughing or layoff of employees as a result of the softening of the manmade fiber textile market.

Mr. Speaker, these facts confirm the findings and forecast of the Special Subcommittee on Textiles in 1963 and the recommendations of that subcommittee that quantitative limitations of imports of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile products were required in addition to the limitation of imports of cotton and woolen and worsted textiles if the Nation's textile industry is to be maintained in a state of sound economic health. The employment stakes are too great and the economic strength of the Nation as a whole too directly related to the health of the textile industry to countenance any further delay in the achievement of control on an all-fiber basis over the mounting imports of textiles and textile products.

MANY INDUSTRIES THREATENED BY MOUNTING IMPORTS

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to join in focusing attention on the frightening outlook posed by ever-increasing imports from low-cost labor countries. Not only is our domestic textile industry threatened by the alarming import problem, but so are our shoe and hat industries, about which I am also especially concerned, and many others. In fact, it seems to me that we are now confronted by what someone has termed a veritable battle for survival of American industry and jobs in general.

With the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, the Honorable PHIL M. LANDRUM, presiding, an impressive meeting was held here on the Hill on Wednesday to discuss the import problem as it applies to the textile industry. I was pleased by the unification evidenced there by the various segments of that industry—the manufacturers of cloth and apparel, and the producers of cotton, wool and manmade fibers, all recognizing what foreign imports already are doing and what further uncontrolled imports can do to their very existence.

For many years I have worked to combat unfair import competition with the American shoe and hat industries. In that connection, both labor and management have joined in the fight, as is also the case concerning textile imports. Because of the related problems of all of these industries, I shall address my remarks to some facts about each.

First of all, I wish to point out that there are over 2,700 textile and apparel mills and plants in New England, providing jobs for more than 186,400 people. In my State of Massachusetts alone are 1,560 of those plants and mills, employing 97,900 persons with an annual payroll of $373 million. In addition, New England is a primary producer of textile machinery, providing an additional 17,000 jobs in 145 plants.

So we in the northeastern part of the country are deeply concerned about those important contributors to our economy. As more and more imports flood our home market, the more perishable becomes the future of our industrial plants and the jobs they provide.

In 1961 it appeared as though a realistic check had been placed on excessive foreign textile imports. President Kennedy announced a Federal textile program, which was recommended by congressional leaders, whereby the second largest employer in the United States would be protected against a greater than 5-percent growth in imports annually. Unfortunately, that program has not been implemented, with the result that textile imports have risen at a far greater percentage.

Consider, for example, just the last 2 years of the long-term arrangement under the textile program. Cotton imports rose by 24 percent in 1965—between October 1964 and September 1965—by an additional 39 percent in 1966 and still another 30 percent during the first 3 months of the current LTA year.

Wool textiles imports have been on the increase for 10 years and now take 24 percent of the total domestic market. Manmade fiber textile imports have risen from modest amounts in 1961 to 798 million square yards last year.

That the intended control program has not worked, and emphasizing the urgent need for some new remedial action, is the fact that imports of cotton, wool, and synthetic textiles rose threefold from less than 1 billion square yards in 1961 to almost 3 billion in 1966. Their value was over the billion-dollar mark last year.

It is important to note that American clothing manufacturers as well as producers of fabrics are feeling the impact of this import problem, because each passing year reveals greater quantities of foreign-made garments coming into our domestic market. One of the larger makers of sports and everyday outerwear is located in my congressional district, and studies just brought to my attention concerning that part of the apparel industry reveal some other amazing statistics.

As an example, Japan finds it more beneficial to send finished corduroys to the United States rather than accept orders for corduroy piece goods. Our import duty on piece goods, it so happens, is 45 to 50 percent, but on fabricated cotton garments costing over $4 each, we assess only a 10-percent duty. A long-lined coat comparable to one from Japan selling for $10 in our retail stores would cost U.S. manufacturers $10 to make, and therefore be sold for about $17.50. Whereas in 1964 a total of 15,053 dozens of this type of garment were imported, the number had climbed to 36,964 dozens in the first 11 months of 1966.

Proponents of ever greater importation of foreign-made products argue that U.S. manufacturers can offset their consequent losses by exporting more to other nations—yet 59 countries today would not allow American products to come into their markets. We are also now in disadvantageous competition with Mexico and Russia for foreign outlets of cotton. For instance, Japan imported 3 percent more raw cotton last year than the year before, but it bought 101,067 fewer bales from the United States compared to 164,682 more bales from Mexico and 100 percent more than the previous year from Russia. Thus, it is easy to see what is happening to such balance-of-payments benefits as we might get through exportation.

Now let us consider shoe imports for another comparison. In 1965, 120,995,000 pairs valued at $136,092,000 were imported from the low-wage countries; in 1966 the totals grew to 132,188,000 pairs of shoes, including rubber footwear, with a value of $172,596,000. That is an increase from 15.2 percent of domestic production in 1965 to 16.3 percent in 1966, whereas imports in 1955 represented 1.2 percent of domestic production. At this rate, if the importation continues unchecked, it is predicted that shoes will account for 30 percent of the home market in 1969.

Mr. Speaker, as you know, for years now I have been privileged to be cochairman of a congressional Shoe Committee with my esteemed colleague from Massachusetts, the Honorable JAMES A. BURKE. We have constantly sought to assist the American shoe industry, particularly insofar as meeting the problem of imports is concerend. But it is as dismaying for us as it is for Congressman LANDRUM and his similar textile committee that, year after year, the imports multiply with consequent further damaging effects on the jobs and businesses of Americans.

The distinguished gentleman from Connecticut, the Honorable JOHN S. MONAGAN, heads a special committee designated by Speaker MCCORMACK seeking to have the American selling price guidelines restored for determining duties on imported rubber-soled shoes. As members of that committee, Mr. BURKE and I have joined Mr. MONAGAN in cosponsoring legislation to offset the unilateral 35-percent cut in import duties made a year ago by the Bureau of Customs on rubber footwear imports. We are also striving to prevent a proposed further 50-percent reduction in those duties, which could virtually destroy the American rubber-soled shoe industry.

Mr. BURKE and I are also sponsoring identical bills to establish an orderly marketing act, which would do much to adjust many of the existing import inequities which affect the shoe, textile, and other domestic industries. I hope that my colleagues in the House of Representatives and all industry and labor organizations concerned about imports will study this orderly marketing approach and help bring about enactment of this legislation.

Before closing, Mr. Speaker, I wish to report on the plight of one of the small but equally important members of the American clothing industry. This is the hat industry. Imports of hat bodies, over the years, have been largely responsible for reducing the size of this industry. I have just received some very disheartening news indicating further grief for our hat workers. Despite the fact that the Tariff Commission in 1950 found that $10.70 per dozen for imported Czechoslovakian hat bodies was a dumping price, the Bureau of Customs has now been sustained by the Treasury Department in its conclusion that Czechoslovakian hat bodies costing $8.81 per dozen are not being imported at a dumping price in 1967. Although a high quality product competing with equally fine but necessarily more expensive American-made hats, the duty on these Czech hat bodies is only 55 percent, whereas it is 65 percent on hat bodies priced at above $9 per dozen. Even though American labor and management spokesmen argued that these hats must have, in fact, cost the Czechs more than $9 per dozen to make, the decision of the Customs Bureau was upheld.

Thus you can see that the gamut of problems created by the rising tide of imports is very wide. I am, therefore, pleased to record myself here today as anxious to do everything possible to alleviate the import threat not only to our textile industry, but to all others struggling under it.

Mr. PHILBIN. First, Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the able and distinguished gentlemen from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM] and from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] for arranging this most important discussion in the House today to focus attention on the very serious situation confronting our textile industry.

I know that this discussion will be most fruitful and helpful to all of us who are concerned in one way or another with this great industry, an industry which, with allied trades, employs nearly 4 million people and which touches in varying degree on the lives of the people in nearly 200 congressional districts spread across the land.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken many times on this issue, but as long as the American textile industry is beset by increasing imports from abroad, I shall continue to urge and seek remedial action on the part of this Government to protect American jobs.

The situation grows worse all the time, and this downward trend cannot be reversed as long as the Government persists in following trade policies which, incredible as it may seem, actually undermine the basic structures of many industries in this country, of which the textile industry is a major one.

Remedies have been prescribed, tried, and found wanting. The program conceived by our late beloved President Kennedy in 1961 brought some hope to textile manufacturers and workers. Its provisions for regulating foreign imports and for offering Federal aid to domestic manufacturers might well have produced some beneficial effects, but despite the control program, Mr. Speaker, imports have increased threefold since 1961—from 964 million square yards to 2,811 million square yards in 1966. At the same time, our exports have shrunk so that last year there was a net deficit of $902 million in our textile trade. Controls were actually effected only for cottons—other fibers were completely neglected—and even here imports have risen 24 percent in 1965, 40 percent in 1966, and another 30 percent in just the first 3 months of 1967. Another reason for the sad export situation is the fact that nearly 60 countries have restrictions of various kinds against textile imports from the United States.

There is no question that immediate relief has to be provided before ruinous foreign competition finishes off the entire textile industry. In my State alone this great industry employs nearly 98,000 people, with an annual payroll of $373 million. It is obvious to any thinking citizen that our Nation with its high wage scales and standards cannot approach, even with our high productivity and efficiency, the cutthroat competition resulting from the extremely low wage scales, low material and overhead costs, and low standards that prevail in many parts of the world.

While it is our strong desire to promote sound trade and business relations with other nations, it is imperative we recognize that such relations must be predicated on respective national interests and mutual benefits and not upon benefits on one side and detriments on the other, as has been so much the case in some trade agreements.

Discussions are going on now at Geneva which have a crucial bearing on the textile industry and several other vital areas of U.S. manufacture. This is perhaps our last chance to save an industry that has contributed so much to the prosperity of our Nation. If this chance is allowed to slip by without any action on our part, we will, in effect, be inviting foreign industries to take over our domestic market. If we do not act now, we will be contributing to the widening dollar gap and wreaking havoc upon an industry which is urgently in need of relief from cutthroat competition from abroad.

I realize there are obstacles to changing the present trade laws, but I again warn those who are responsible for the inconsistent, ill-advised administration of these discriminatory laws and for the overgenerous concessions being given to foreign nations, that unless this unjust competition with American industry is stopped now, many segments of the American economy, of which the textile industry is only one, will be injured and jeopardized.

Let us act now before further irreparable damage is done to our great American textile industry.

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I join my esteemed colleagues today in speaking out on the need to curb the growing imports of wool products. This steady increasing of imported wool textiles is most assuredly having an adverse effect on our domestic mills and the market for our woolgrowers. Nevada woolgrowers, like those of other States, are extremely concerned and rightfully so as American mills are the sole customers of the woolgrowers. If we allow the imports of wool textiles to increase, this could well force our domestic textile industry to close its doors. What, then, is to become of the woolgrowers?

The United States needs a sound and healthy woolgrowing industry as well as a healthy domestic textile manufacturing industry, and the first step toward bringing this about is to see to it that no further tariff reductions on any textile products be negotiated.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, one of the great industries of this great industrial Nation, is the textile industry. No industry has a more creditable record in producing a high grade commodity at consistently reasonable prices. The fact is the textile industry's contribution to a stable economy has been as good as any and much better than most other industries. The low commodity price coupled with increased cost of production is bringing the whole textile industry, perilously close to serious economic difficulties.

The imports of foreign textiles, natural and manmade, is now the major contributor to the crisis prevalent throughout the textile industry generally. The textile industry is in keen need and by its record deserves the careful attention of all in Government in alleviating its imports-induced economic pains.

Other great American industries are, likewise, suffering from the squeeze of imports and can and should be helped at the same time.

American industry can be relieved from the import squeeze with little or no injury to the importing nations. No responsible voice in American industry advocates the absolute exclusion of foreign goods from American markets. The textile industry, and all American manufacturers, for that matter, simply want imports to be adjusted in accordance with conditions in the American domestic market and the particular industry affected. That is, when the market is good and the industry wholesome—let more foreign goods come in. When the market is bad and the industry sick—cut down on foreign imports. This would help our domestic industries tremendously and would give it much more confidence in the Government and in the future of the industry. Likewise, it would make foreign importing nations more cognizant and appreciative of the advantages they have in the American domestic market. As the imports of foreign goods into our markets have been handled for the past few years, the foreign government has come to take our markets for granted—neither appreciating their advantage nor respecting the grantor of these advantages.

This refinement in the handling of foreign imports has been needed for some time and should be commenced at once. A good place to start would be with textile imports.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding at this point.

I join in this presentation and ask unanmious consent to revise and extend my own remarks.

The case for textile has all the necessary historical and statistical data to make it imperative for this Congress to act for textile industries welfare.

Over many years of hit-and-miss international arguments and negotiations the textile picture, so far as U.S. jobs and management is concerned, has worsened.

The industry is not without blame nor can it dodge the charge of being shortsighted and self-centered in its approach to the total trade policy of our Nation.

The so-called free traders have too often been able to separate and divide the U.S. industrial complex by handing out concessions and high-sounding promises.

The textile industry endorsed the 5-year trade pact known as the Kennedy round because of a pie-in-the-sky promise, in the belief that they would get one or two concessions; namely, an import levy on cotton content in imported cotton textiles and a one-price cotton policy plus a new worldwide cotton agreement properly policed.

The cotton content import levy was never imposed, the agreement is honored in its trade and the use-pure-cotton program has served to impose an additional $250 to $300 million burden upon the Public Treasury.

This Member has held and voiced the view that the industry—nor any other competitive U.S. industry—can survive in the free trade jungle without subsidy, trade cartels or in the last gasp for survival, purchase of foreign products from competitors in low-cost areas for the U.S. marketplace.

There are today many industries with overseas production facilities owned outright or by working agreements and franchises further completing the trade picture.

I wish to warn the industry, and, if it finds in Congress, that if the industry again attempts to make it own deal, or accept some short-term advantage without giving concern to other import-impacted industries it will be driving another nail in its own coffin.

Truly textiles must hang together with other U.S. industries or hang separately, for hang it will.

My own study group, the General Labor Subcommittee, will start hearings in April which will deal with this subject because of the proof obtained in our worldwide study that certain U.S. industries are going abroad for their product to circumvent and dodge their obligations under the Fair Trade Standards Act.

We hope to show that the U.S. economy is on the verge of becoming a second-rate industrial complex and the danger signs are increasing by leaps and bounds.

Mr. Speaker, for many years now I have taken the floor of this chamber and warned that our international trade policy was leading us down the path of economic disaster. I held hearings on the impact of imports on American employment and industry in 1961 and 1962, and most recently, my Labor Subcommittee has been undertaking an extensive investigation of the subject. Next month, we hope to resume hearings on two bills which would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, and essentially, grant the President authority to impose import restrictions upon finding such imports injurious to a domestic industry, area, or segment of employees.

I had the pleasure yesterday, however, of attending a meeting of textile industry representatives and many Members whose districts contain textile-producing facilities. The industry outlined the damage foreign competition has done and asked for congressional assistance. A similar gathering of the steel industry earlier this year yielded the same general conclusion. I am delighted that these two major industries have decided to step out and join other disadvantaged industries in the struggle to curb unfair competition from abroad.

Mr. Speaker, the textile story is an interesting one. The industry employs about 1 million workers, but that total plus those employed in dependent and related industries, approaches 4 million. We are obviously not talking about a small segment of our industrial complex.

The average hourly earnings for domestic textile workers was $1.96 in 1966. Average hourly earnings in competitive countries during 1966 were: United Kingdom, $1.33; Belgium, 80 cents; Italy, 56 cents; Japan, 36 cents; Hong Kong, 25 cents; and Portugal, 18 cents. It should be noted here that 48 percent of U.S. textile imports come from Japan and Hong Kong. The average hourly earnings in both countries, totaled, does not even approach one-third of the U.S. rate.

As for world textile prices, recent months have seen a constant decline. All industrial commodities have increased nearly 6 percent in the world price market, while textile products have declined from a 1957–59 index base of 100, to 97.5 in January of this year.

Imports, on the other hand, are increasing at a fantastic rate. In 1956, cotton textile imports were slightly over 400 million square yards. In 1966, that figure was over 1,800 million square yards.

All of this has resulted in a U.S. textile trade deficit. In 1966, textile imports were valued at about $1.5 billion, and U.S. textile exports at less than $700 million. This created a dollar deficit of some $800 million. In 1958, the first serious trade deficit in textiles could be seen, and that deficit has grown enormously since then.

Mr. Speaker, the textile industry has asked for our help and I support that plea. Their problem is one which should concern every one of us, regardless of the industrial complexion of our various districts, for it affects not only an industry and related industries, but over 4 million American workers. This is the ultimate yardstick of the toll taken by our trade policies.

I hope the textile industry will stand with similarly affected industries in solid opposition to our present practices. Together, these industries comprise a mammoth segment of our economy, and their best effort can only come in unanimity.

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, although there once was a day when industrial New England and the textile industry were one and the same, that day has gone by. Witness the number of my esteemed southern colleagues who today are participating in this discussion.

Some economists, looking at the "big picture," fail to note, however, the continued importance of the textile and apparel industries to the New England regional economy. These industries give work to 186,000 men and women—12.1 percent of all manufacturing employment—with an annual payroll of approximately $721 million. In my own State of Massachusetts, they employ 96,000 with an annual payroll of $373 million.

When 186,000 working men and women see their jobs taken away or threatened by the growing tide of textile imports so thoroughly discussed here this afternoon, it is little wonder that these men and women, and their union representatives, flood our desks with mail asking us to do something about this situation.

Why should they want to turn over their jobs to Hong Kong where the average textile wage is 25 cents an hour? Or to even lower paid workers in Taiwan, or Pakistan. Surely there must be a better way of assisting these developing nations than by encouraging them to engage one of our most important industries in a competitive battle on our own soil.

If it were only these developing countries involved, however we might survive this overgenerous helping hand. But the big push into our textile markets comes from Japan. From what I read of the booming economy of that country, we can scarcely call it an underdeveloped nation.

So many of my colleagues this afternoon are urging the Government fully to implement the administration's textile program, promulgated by President Kennedy and endorsed by President Johnson, that I will not dwell on the program's content. However, Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with this position.

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, the economic balance and well-being of the textile industry which employs more than 2,000,000 persons in this country is seriously threatened by an alarming increase in imports over the last 5 years. This is a direct threat to the 9,000 persons employed by 65 mills located in 29 cities and towns within my own First Congressional District of Maine. Imports of cotton, wool and synthetics have risen from less than 1 billion square yards in 1961 to 3 billion square yards in 1966. This represents the introduction of goods valued at $1 billion on the American market.

The relatively uncontrolled growth of wool and synthetic products is understandable, since little effort has been exerted to curb such imports. However, it also should be noted that the growth of cotton textile imports has continued to soar over the last 5 years, despite a long-term agreement which was designed to limit the increase in cotton imports to 5 percent annually.

Imports of cotton textiles alone in 1966 amounted to an estimated 1.8 billion square yards or more than twice the level of fiscal year 1961, when the long-term agreement which expires this year was put into effect. Imports of cotton textiles have risen by 24 percent and 40 percent respectively, in the last 2 years.

The failure in the past 2 years to administer the long-term agreement as promised, the failure to take any effective action to limit wool imports, and an apparent unwillingness to do anything about synthetic textiles has created a dangerous situation which jeopardizes the future of one of our major domestic industries.

There is a need for immediate action to eliminate the inequities of the present import program and restore confidence within the textile industry that it will be protected against further encroachment by foreign firms and diminution of its domestic market.

Wool textile imports have been on the rise for 10 years and now amount to 24 percent of the total U.S. market. Imports in 1966 of wool textiles leveled off only because exporters overshipped to the U.S. market in 1965, depressing our market in 1966.

Manmade fiber textile imports have risen from modest amounts in 1961 to 789 million square yards last year. The most rapid increases have been in the last 2 years and almost 10 percent of the U.S. market has been taken over by foreign mills.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that inaction must be replaced by firm implementation and expansion of the textile program to provide adequate control of wool and synthetic textile imports. We also must take action to insure that the long-term cotton agreement will be administered according to its original intent and that this agreement will be renewed for another 5 years.

Textile and apparel imports of all fibers must be controlled by quotas to protect our domestic industry. This can be accomplished either by unilateral action, if necessary, or by new international agreements carefully administered by the United States.

In the meantime, it is essential that there be no reduction of tariffs on these textile and textile products.

Mr. Speaker, imports of textiles and apparel are the No. 1 problem facing the textile-apparel industry in this country. We must act now to curb imports which otherwise will continue to take an ever-increasing share of the U.S. domestic market.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the textile industry is one of America's basic and oldest industries. It has played an especially significant and important economic role in the development of Maine and New England. Many of our communities owe their very existence to this industry, and many generations of our people have earned their livelihoods at the looms and spindles that have created much of the wealth, and many of the institutions, which give New England its character.

Today, this industry faces a grave crisis. This crisis poses a serious national problem, one which calls urgently for immediate action. The problem is a familiar one, one which has been dealt with before, and the means for solving it are as simple as the necessity to take action is urgent. The problem is caused by excessive importation of textile products. Its solution is to be found in the reasonable limitation of such imports.

In 1958, after thousands of jobs had been lost and chaos had been created in many communities where textile plants formed the economic base, a thorough study of the problems affecting the industry was undertaken. As a direct result of this study, the 1961 Federal textile program based on recommendations of Senate and House leaders was announced by President Kennedy. This program was designed to hold the level of textile imports in control.

The long term arrangement worked out under the Federal textile program dealt with problems of cotton textiles only. However, it was sufficient to restore the confidence of the industry. Textile mill owners increased their investments for modern plants and machinery and the industry moved into a period of reasonable security and stability. Profits increased, and much of this profit was passed along to employees as wage increases, and the loss of jobs was brought to a halt.

The long-term agreement for control of cotton textile imports was a reasonable one. Recognizing the importance of trading freely with other nations of the world, it called for an increase of 5 percent annually in the volume of imports to be permitted to enter the country.

Officially, this important trade agreement will expire later this year. For all practical purposes, it can be said that the agreement ceased to function in accordance with its original intent in 1965. Cotton textile imports were held close to the 5 percent annual increase ceiling level from 1962 to 1964. In 1965, however, they jumped by 24 percent. This was followed by another 40 percent increase in 1966 and yet another 30 percent increase in the first 3 months of the current long-term agreement year.

Imports of woolen and synthetic fiber textiles have increased at an even more rapid rate. Wool textile imports have been increasing steadily for 10 years and now take 24 percent of the total domestic market. Manmade fiber textile imports have risen from modest amounts in 1961 to nearly 800 million square yards last year.

The impact of imports in violation of the intent of the long-term agreement resulted in a downturn in the domestic textile industry which began last summer. This downturn, and the unfavorable outlook for the future of the industry if effective controls of imports are not forthcoming has caused grave concern.

The current situation would not have developed if the long-term agreement had been enforced. The textile industry has been victimized by inaction. Firm implementation of the agreement would have prevented the present crisis in our textile industry.

Mr. Speaker, more than 2 million American men and women earn their livelihood in the textile and apparel industries. Another 2 million are employed by the firms which produce the fibers used in the textile industry.

In New England, more than 186,000 people are employed in the textile and apparel industries, and such employment is heavily concentrated in many communities. For example, the textile industry accounts for 70 percent of the jobs in Fall River, 40 percent in New Bedford, 30 percent in Lewiston-Auburn, Maine, 29 percent in Lowell, 28 percent in Manchester, and 25 percent in Boston. In addition, New England produces much of the machinery used in textile production. This accounts for another 17,000 jobs.

The problems of the textile industry, therefore, affect the lives of many American workers. It is imperative that we in the Congress, as well as those in the executive branch of our Government, act firmly, responsibly, and swiftly to overcome these problems. Our course of action is clear, we must extend the long-term agreement on cotton imports and zealously enforce its provisions. In addition, we must afford some measure of protection to our woolen and synthetic fiber textile industries.

In the year prior to the signing of the long-term agreement of 1961, we witnessed an alarming recession and disintegration of our domestic cotton textile industry. We must act before the present industry crisis again reaches calamitous proportions.

In requesting reasonable import regulations, we must not be deterred from our purpose by unrealistic concern for foreign producers. American industry and American workers must not needlessly be required to sacrifice their profits and their jobs to foreign competition. Our foreign policy and our relations with other nations will not be impaired if we take reasonable steps to insure our own economic well-being.

The long-term agreement executed in 1961 and disregarded since 1965 is itself an example of a fair and acceptable program of control. Let us insist that the agreement be extended for another 5 years and that its provisions be firmly enforced.

Let us insist that reasonable import quotas be established for wool and synthetic fiber textiles. And let us oppose any reduction of tariffs on textiles and textile profits.

By failing to enforce the provisions of the existing agreement under the Federal textile program, our Government has failed in its responsibility to this important industry. Now, seeing the survival of their plants and jobs seriously threatened, the people who earn their livelihoods in the textile industry again turn to us for assistance. Let us not fail them again.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, cotton producers are vitally concerned about the steady increase in cotton textile imports. They are concerned because they are losing markets for their own cotton to these low-wage imports.

Over 1 million bales of cotton came into the United States last year in the form of cotton textiles. And they came at time when our Government was spending millions of dollars to reduce cotton production in this country.

Of course the sole reason for the vast upsurge in imports is that they are produced under wages and working conditions with which our domestic textile industry cannot and would not compete.

Mississippians are understandingly concerned about this matter, not only do we produce over a million bales of cotton annually, we have both a textile and an apparel industry.

So I join my colleagues in urging that our Government take immediate, remedial action to stop the flood of textile imports now pouring into this country.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the textile and apparel import problem which is being discussed here today is of concern to my district and to the State of Virginia. To Virginians the manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel products part of the problem are of exceptional importance.

During the first quarter of 1965, the latest period for which this kind of detailed information is available, there were a total of 23,700 workers employed in manmade fiber producing plants and in manmade fiber broad woven weaving mills and manmade fiber textile finishing plants in the State of Virginia. The payroll payments to these workers during that quarter when converted to an annual rate were approximately $138.5 million.

In addition in the remainder of the textile mill products industry there were 31,700 workers employed in Virginia during the first quarter of 1965, and the annual rate of payroll payments made to them was approximately $121 million. In the apparel and related products industry there were 27,842 Virginians gainfully employed in the first quarter of 1965. The payroll payments to them in that quarter when converted to an annual rate were equivalent to $82.4 million.

All of these jobs were important to Virginia. The point that I am making is that the high wages paid to employees in manmade fiber producing plants and in manmade fiber broad woven weaving mills are of exceptional importance to the economy of Virginia and to the standard of living of the Virginians employed in those establishments.

In the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia, which I am privileged to represent, there are three manmade fiber producing installations and a manmade fiber research center. These three establishments account for 10 percent of the total manufacturing jobs in my district. There are also 19 textile mills and 23 apparel and related products plants in my district. Together these establishments supply about a third of the manufacturing jobs in my district.

From these data it should be clear that foreign trade developments which have an adverse effect upon the manmade fiber producing industry, upon the manmade fiber textile and apparel products industries, and upon the other sectors of the textile and apparel industries are of real concern both to me and my constituents, and to all Virginians.

For these reasons I am disturbed about the very sharp rise in imports of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel product. in the past few years. Between 1962 and 1966, imports of the manmade fibers, filaments, filament yarn, and related primary products increased by 144 percent in quantity. The manmade fiber textile and apparel products were imported at an even more rapid rate, with the total quantity brought into this country increasing by 274 percent during the period 1962–66.

As a result of the excessive increase in imports of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products, there was a serious and sudden weakening of the textile market in the latter portion of 1966 which is continuing this year. Prices have been depressed throughout the textile industry, especially in the manmade fiber products sector, and some of the major manmade fiber producers have reported publicly sharp reductions in their earnings as a result of these developments.

Mr. Speaker, if these excessive imports of manmade fibers and products are not brought under control, the fiber producers will be unable to continue to devote the large proportion of their earnings which has characterized their activities in the past to research, development, and promotion of manmade fiber textiles. The entire textile industry will be the loser if this is the result.

Furthermore, it is the capability of the manmade fiber industry to devote large sums to research which has kept the United States in the forefront of this sector of technology. The retention of technological leadership for our industries is of major importance to the economic strength of the United States and our worldwide position of leadership.

For these reasons I concur in the views that have been expressed by so many Members of this body today that there should be no further reduction in the import duties on manmade fibers or manmade fiber textile and apparel products, nor, indeed, on the cotton and wool textiles where imports are also continuing to threaten the stability of domestic manufacture and employment.

Furthermore, the United States should aggressively seek an international accord on the limitation of the rate of increase of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products so that the U.S. market can continue to grow and to accommodate on a fair and equitable basis both foreign and domestic fiber, textile, and apparel products. Without such ground rules the growth in the domestic market will unfairly accrue to the foreign producers.

We cannot sustain increased employment for our growing population nor maintain a high standard of living of our people if we do not assure that American industry can enjoy a reasonable share of the growth of our markets for textile and apparel products, whether of cotton, wool, or manmade fiber.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues today in pointing out to our fellow Members of the House of Representatives our deep concern over the increase of manmade fiber textile imports.

There are three basic necessities of life—food, shelter, and clothing. The textile industry in America has done an outstanding job in providing low-cost clothing for the people of this country. We should all be very proud of the excellent quality of manmade fibers produced by American employees. The clothing industry, in one form or another, provides for 4 million jobs in America. The future of these jobs is seriously affected by the rapid rise in imports.

I was shocked to learn that manmade fiber imports have increased from less than 100 million square yards to over 800 million square yards in the last 10 years. During this same period wholesale textile prices in this country have declined. Our American employees are competing with such wage scales as those of Japan and Hong Kong where the average wage per hour is 36 cents and 25 cents, respectively.

Another very serious effect of this tremendous increase in imports is the deficit that it contributes to our balance-of-payments problem. Total U.S. textile trade imports caused an $800 million deficit last year. This seriously affects our balance of payments and any action that we take to remedy this helps the entire U.S. economy.

I sincerely urge all Members to consider the action that is needed immediately, which is:

First. No reduction in tariffs on textile products.

Second. Extend international cotton textile arrangement for 5 years.

Third. Establish a procedure for orderly trade in wool and manmade fiber products.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud that the Industrial Rayon Division of Midland-Ross Corp., has its largest plant in my congressional district. I am especially proud to say that it is located in my hometown of Painesville, Ohio. I know many of the employees in this plant on a personal basis. Their future job security is directly involved with the decisions that this House will make.

For this reason, I personally ask that the House of Representatives consider the above suggestions and those that my colleagues have made this afternoon.

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to join with so many of my colleagues today in an effort to help save the textile industry of our country, which is presently undergoing severe hardship due to increased imports from abroad and our trade policies which make such imports possible.

New England was at one time proud of its textile industry, which was the mainstay of our economy. Today it is almost a shell of its old self, but it is still fighting to retain a toehold, it is struggling desperately for its survival. It is faced with very serious problems, the greatest of these being the tremendous and very discouraging competition caused by rising imports. Textile imports in 1966 were about three times the level of imports in 1961 when President Kennedy announced his program to control such imports. If the threat to our textile industry was serious in 1961, it is most pressing today.

I am pleased that there is unanimity in our ranks, including business, labor, and the Congress, on the need for action to take the necessary steps to help this industry. We cannot afford to lose these business enterprises. We cannot afford to have our plants shut down or even curtail their production. We cannot afford to sit by idly and watch American workers lose their jobs and their livelihood. But unless we take prompt action, we stand in danger of continuous losses which may prove very harmful if not fatal to the entire textile industry.

I want to commend our colleagues, the Honorable PHIL M. LANDRUM and the Honorable W. J. B. DORN and others who have taken the initiative in organizing this fight on the part of House Members to help the textile industry resolve some of these problems. At the meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Mr. LANDRUM we learned that some 4 million people are directly employed in the textile and related industries. I shudder to think what would happen to these 4 million American families if this industry is destroyed because of our shortsightedness, and how this would affect our economy.

Various proposals to help the industry have been indicated and discussed in some detail. I associate myself with these proposals and urge early action.

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my two colleagues, the gentlemen from South Carolina and Georgia, who have arranged this special time today when we can discuss a very imposing problem, the importation of apparel items.

I am pleased to join with the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM] and other colleagues in drawing attention to the rapidly growing threat posed by imports of apparel.

There are many reasons for my interest in the status of our domestic apparel industry. My first reason is that I want to see the United States maintain a healthy economy. We cannot if we allow imports to push aside our domestic products. The apparel industry is the Nation's fourth largest employer of manufacturing personnel. Thus, too many imports can directly add to the number of unemployed in this country, and no one wants more unemployment.

I want to see my home district, the Second District of Tennessee, prosper. As their elected Representative, it is my duty to look after their needs and interests. One of the greatest needs of this eight-county district is industry—industry to provide jobs so that our young people will not have to migrate elsewhere to find employment and to support their families.

Textile—namely, apparel—manufacturing is at the top of the list of industries in my district. It is the No. 1 industrial employer in Knoxville, our largest city, and it employs thousands of persons from the smaller towns of Morgan, Scott, Campbell, Anderson, Union, Claiborne, and Blount Counties. So you see, foreign imports can affect the economy of every county in my district.

Foreign imports, too, affect the economy of the entire State of Tennessee, for in Tennessee, as well as in New York and Mississippi, the domestic apparel industry is the biggest employer in nondurable manufacturing, and, indeed, in all manufacturing. And, on the national level the domestic apparel industry has more plants in more places than any other industry, save one.

To realize the influx of foreign imports, we have only to go to any local department store to see the situation in children's, women's, and men's apparel. And, if you have been a frequent shopper over the past few years, you will have noticed the rapid increase of labels from Kong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Italy, India, Mexico, West Germany, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Israel, Jamaica, Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Portugal, Singapore, and Spain.

It sounds almost incredible to hear someone say that in just a matter of a very few years apparel exports to the United States have increased by as much as 1,000 percent from some countries.

Cotton apparel imports from 1962 to 1966 have increased 35 percent, wool increased 43 percent, and manmade fiber increased 374 percent as measured in square yards. Since 1962 cotton manufactured products on the world market have been under the administration of the Geneva long-term cotton textile arrangement, and this explains the reason for the lower rate of increase in cotton apparel imports. However, now that many industrialized nations have the knack of producing high quality manmade fibers for apparel, the threat to our domestic producers has multiplied many times. Our domestic manufacturers are simply unable to meet the highly competitive pace of their foreign counterparts.

I am convinced that the imports of apparel items will continue to go upward and that our own manufacturers will take a smaller portion of the apparel market. That is, this will surely happen unless we take heed now and provide proper regulations over imports.

I am not saying that all apparel imports are bad for our economy, but I am saying that flooding our market with foreign labels is bad. Our domestic apparel manufacturers are having a difficult time competing because the quality of the imports is good today, in fact, better than ever before. The price of imports is lower than that of equivalent domestic items. All this spells more trouble for our local manufacturers—unless we act with haste to regulate international trade of all apparel products.

Before I yield the floor, I would like to mention the fact that Tennessee has many experts in the field of textile manufacturing. Distinguishing themselves on the national and international scenes are W. Frank Evans, Nashville, president of the American Apparel Manufacturers Association, and AAMA directors T. W. Comer, Nashville; G. Freeman Fly, Shelbyville; Thomas P. Kennedy, Jr., Nashville; and many other capable industry leaders.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues have pointed out, North Carolina is one of the Nation's leading States in the manufacture of apparel.

In my own congressional district, the manufacturing of apparel and the related processing of yarns and fabrics has a very significant impact on the economy.

I do not pretend to be an expert on international commerce, but it is obvious to me that in many nations where labor and other overhead is cheap, manufacturers and processors have a tremendous advantage over manufacturers and processors in the United States where labor and other overhead is expensive.

Under these circumstances, it is not even reasonable for us to expect that we can compete on the world market with these foreign manufacturers and processors and export our products. Consequently there is nothing left for our domestic manufacturers and processors to seek except our domestic market.

And even the domestic market is being increasingly taken over by importers. The percentage of our domestic market taken over by imports has accelerated unbelievably during the past 10 years.

In our action during the 88th Congress to abolish "two price" cotton, we improved the situation somewhat, but the problems of wool and manmade fibers have increased rather than decreased.

Just this week, the Goldsboro, N.C., News-Argus reported a cutback in production at Borden Manufacturing Co. in that city. It quoted E. B. Borden, Jr., executive vice president of that firm as giving cheap foreign imports of foreign yarns from Mexico, Brazil, and Portugal as the root of the problem. He pointed out that in 1966 a total of 89 million pounds of cotton yarn was imported as compared to only 21 million pounds in 1965.

When the people who live and work in Goldsboro, N.C., and elsewhere in the Third Congressional District which I represent have their jobs and livelihood threatened by imports of products from cheap labor countries abroad, it is time to act. I want to associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues, to express my concern about this matter, to urge appropriate action by the administration and to pledge my support for appropriate congressional action to curb foreign imports in the textile field.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous increase in cotton textile imports is causing grave concern and consequences to the cotton farmer. It has been pointed out that those directly engaged in the production of textiles and the manufacture of garments are suffering unwarrantedly from inroads of imports.

The cotton farmers of this Nation have made sharp reductions in planted acreage in an effort to balance supply and demand and reduce the carryover of surplus cotton. The acreage planted to cotton in Tennessee in 1965 was 507,000 acres. This dropped to 395,000 acres in 1966, and the early indications are that this will be reduced even further in 1967. Production in Tennessee fell from 626,000 bales in 1965 to 361,000 bales in 1966.

Of course this caused producers to alter their farming operations to a considerable degree. In addition, it caused severe economic consequences to the firms that supply the cotton farmers and who process his product—those who sell the chemicals, insecticides, and farm machinery; and, those who gin, merchandise, and warehouse the cotton. I would say that there is not any business in the small towns of my district that is not affected in some way by this reduction in cotton acreage.

Mr. Speaker, the American cotton farmers have taken on the burdensome and uneconomic task of reducing production in an effort to bring supply and demand conditions back to a point of equilibrium. But they did not expect a substantial part of this curtailment in cotton production to be taken up by an increase in textile imports. They did not limit their production with the idea of increasing that of the foreign producers. They know full well that a bale of production lost is lost forever.

The bale equivalent of cotton textile imports amounted to less than 400,000 bales in 1961. By 1966, this has increased to more than 1 million bales. During this same period, foreign world production increased from 29 million bales to 36 million bales, while we have suffered a reversal from 14 million to 9 million bales—a decline of 5 million bales—a 35-percent loss. We are being rapidly and effectively phased out of this base of our economic heritage and well being.

Foreign producers are prohibited by law from exporting to the United States more than a total of 30,000 bales of upland raw cotton per annum—less than 1 day's supply for the domestic mills. But they are exporting vast amounts of cotton to this country in the form of textile manufactures. This is clearly a circumvention of the law. And I might add that a very small portion of the textile imports are made from cotton grown in Tennessee or in the United States.

The "dumping" of textile imports now practiced by our foreign competitors is as vicious a device as ever employed by the old cartels. The present slump in textile markets will be accelerated if these activities are allowed to continue. The result will be absolute chaos for the American textile industry. It is imperative that remedial action be taken, and in the immediate future.

For the past 2 years the cotton farmers have made changes in their operating procedures because they were necessary for the long-range interest of the cotton industry. However, they had looked forward to 1968 when they could reasonably expect a return to more normal operating levels. A continuing rise in imports would make that impossible.

I would like to bring one more point to your attention. There are 125,000 persons employed in the textile, apparel, and fiber industries in Tennessee. This comprises approximately 30 percent of all employees engaged in manufacturing in the State. If these imports continue to rise as they have the past 2 years, a vast number of these employees will be displaced creating pockets of poverty across the entire State.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge a 5-year extension of the long-term arrangement for cotton textiles and the effective enforcement of this arrangement. A 3-year extension is totally unacceptable.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, three Presidents of the United States—President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson—have all recognized that the textile and apparel industries of the United States face particular problems in relation to foreign trade. The governments of every major textile producing country in the world have also recognized that trade in these products requires special handling and each of these countries has taken and continues to take measures to protect their industries and their workers against dislocations and unemployment.

When the situation became critical in 1956, President Eisenhower imposed tariff quotas on wool fabrics and negotiated a bilateral quota agreement on cotton textiles with Japan. Later the situation became worse as a host of other countries poured their textiles and apparel products into the U.S. market.

Long ago we learned that there must be standards of fair labor in competition. If not, low wage sweatshop conditions will be exploited and will destroy the jobs and the plants of those who maintain decent wages and conditions of employment.

In 1961 President Kennedy and his administration, recognizing this and the peculiar problems of our textile and apparel industries, announced a comprehensive textile program to prevent disruption and unemployment. The key element of this program was to control imports of textiles and apparel whether made of cotton, wool, or synthetic fibers. The program was put into operation for cotton textiles on a global basis and the President was still working on a plan to control wool and synthetic imports at the time of his death.

President Johnson in 1964 in speeches in Providence, R. I., Portland, Maine, and Macon, Ga., pledged to carry out this program and specifically to "restore the wool textile industry to good health."

Unfortunately, this has not been done. The ratio of wool textile imports to the domestic consumption of these products in the United States has doubled since 1961 and in the case of manmade fiber textiles has increased fourfold. Even in cotton textiles where under and international arrangement, the United States had the right to control imports by country and category, the ratio of imports to our consumption has also doubled.

Most of this growth in imports since 1961 has taken place in the last 2 years. In 1966 over a billion dollars worth of textiles and apparel were imported into the United States. In volume it reached almost 3 billion square yards equivalent. We imported $902 million more in textiles than we exported.

We recognized in 1961 that the situation was critical and that action must be taken. Again in 1964 when our imports had risen to about 1.5 billion square yards, President Johnson affirmed the need for action.

Can there be any question now that we must not delay longer? Foreign governments have refused even to discuss with our Government a solution to the disruptive trade in wool and synthetic textiles. They are making money on our distress. They have no responsibility to the American workers in apparel plants and textile mills. That is the responsibility of the American Government. We cannot stand idly by and see people who have spent their lives and acquired skills in these industries displaced. It is all very well and good to talk about retraining workers, but this is easier said than done. We have hundreds of thousands of our citizens who are 40, 50, or more years old with jobs in textiles. Will we have jobs for all of them making missiles or running computers?

To fight poverty we must create jobs—not destroy them. We must eliminate poverty, not import it. Even in my own State of Massachusetts 13 percent of the households earn less than $2,500 a year. In other New England States this is even higher and in several States in this country, 60 percent of the households have less than $2,500 a year income.

This is a critical matter for a great many States. In Massachusetts we have over 96,000 textile-apparel jobs. This constitutes 14 percent of our total manufacturing employment.

In the city of Boston, 25 percent of our manufacturing jobs are in textiles and apparel. The concentration is even higher in other Massachusetts metropolitan areas.

Massachusetts is one of the primary producers of wool fabrics. We also have over 10,000 jobs producing textile machinery. As Senator PASTORE of Rhode Island and Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts pointed out last week in the Senate, our workers are already suffering from short time, extended layoffs, and unemployment.

We have a textile program based on a generation of concern, a decade of study and 5 years of experience. It has been permitted to lapse and weaken in the hands of the State Department and other international agencies. The time has come to undertake a fresh and effective implementation of this program.

First and foremost we must be certain that matters are not made worse by any thought of cutting textile or apparel tariffs in the Kennedy round of negotiations now going on in Geneva.

This is a minimum prerequisite to moving ahead with multilateral agreements or unilateral action, if necessary, to control imports of wool textiles and manmade fiber textiles and extension of the international cotton arrangement.

The LTA must henceforth be administered so that imports do not increase.

The textile program preceded the Trade Expansion Act by more than a year. The authority granted by that act must not be used to undermine this industry and the jobs of its 2 million workers.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to appeal for assistance to the American woolgrower, that sturdy, self-reliant businessman of the West, who depends almost entirely upon the people of the United States for his market. Most of his product is manufactured into goods by the American textile industry and used by the American consumer. Regardless of the consumer demand for his product, however, the woolgrower's market will go out the window if the textile industry is not kept healthy.

It may seem foolish or, at the least, premature to express concern over an industry so large and which makes up such an important part of our economy—particularly at a time when that economy itself appears so healthy. Yet there are signs of sickness, and the early stages are generally conceded to be the best time for preventive treatment of any disease.

Imports of wool textiles are on the increase—and they already account for one-fourth of domestic consumption. The consumption of wool in woolen and worsted mills in the last quarter of 1966 was appreciably below the same period in 1965—down 19 percent. Whether or not he is well grounded in economics, anyone who considers these facts should be able to foresee trouble just around the corner.

This is not the time for reduced tariffs on textile products, nor is it the time for expansion of import agreements. It is time, I think, for us to establish some sort of limitation on trade in wool and manmade fiber products. I appeal to this body for serious consideration of the needs of the textile industry for protection and support.

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, the figures show quite clearly that the textile import situation represents a major problem of the day. The fact that total textile imports have increased from $964 million to some $2.8 billion in a 5-year period is testimony to the need for a better program of control.

In my own State of Virginia, some 85,000 persons, or 28 percent of the total manufacturing employment of the State, are engaged in the manufacture of textile products. Several thousand of these are employed in my district. It is a matter of concern to me as well as to the families of these thousands of people.

Much of the Nation's textile industry is located in sections which have been recognized as in need of additional industrialization and help. In this sense, textile imports constitute a threat to existing efforts to bring a decent living to all Americans. We are, in effect, importing poverty.

I realize that the history of this issue indicates an honest concern on the part of many honorable men. However, the time has come to recognize that our best efforts have not been good enough. Our obligation at home outweighs our responsibilities abroad.

The facts of the matter speak for themselves. A threat exists and it is growing worse. It is time we set about the business of offering better protection to the industry and its employees.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I have a definite interest in the textile and apparel import problem now facing this industry.

While exact employment figures are not given in the Bureau of the Census publications for the counties in my district because of the problem of disclosure, I estimate that total employment in the 20 textile mills and 13 apparel plants in the district is around 5,000 workers. These jobs are extremely important to my district.

This textile mill employment is provided at the Borden plant of J. P. Stevens & Co., manufacturing cotton print cloths, in Kingsport; the Volunteer Textiles plant of Burlington Industries, producing manmade fiber broad woven fabrics, in Bristol; the Gloria plant of Klopman Mills, a division of Burlington, producing manmade fiber broad woven fabrics, in Johnson City; the textured yarn plant of Leon Ferenbach at Johnson City; the Cherokee Textile Mills, producing yarn-dyed combed shirtings and dress goods, in Sevierville; as well as yarn, hosiery, and other fine textile and apparel mills which time will not permit listing by name.

The manmade fiber part of the textile industry is also an important part of this problem and a very important employer of manufacturing workers in my district. There are three major manmade fiber producing plants located in the First District. Together they employ more than 8,000 people, and these jobs are also extremely important to my constituents.

Furthermore, the State of Tennessee is a leading center for the production of manmade fibers. Five-sixths of all major manmade-fiber-producing plants are located in the major textile States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, and Florida. Tennessee leads all States with 10 fiber-producing locations, most of which are in eastern Tennessee in or surrounding my district.

In 1966, the State of Tennessee had 22 percent of the total production capacity for manmade fibers located in these six States. This was the highest concentration, with Virginia, the two Carolinas, Alabama, and Florida next in order of importance.

In my district, the headquarters, research center, and principal production facilities of Eastman Chemical Products, Inc., are located in Sullivan County. In these plants Tennessee Eastman produces acetate, modacrylic, olefin, and polyester fibers. In Carter County, Beaunit Fibers has its most important manmade-fiber-production facilities. In the Beaunit plants, rayon, cuprammonium, nylon, and polyester fiber are produced.

The American Enka Corp. has constructed plants in my district, Hamblen County, in 1948, 1956, and 1964, and is now in the finishing stages of completing a new plant which will begin operating in June. More than 3,000 of my constituents are employed in these American Enka plants producing rayon, nylon, and polyester fiber.

The remarkable increase in imports in these manmade fibers and the fabrics and apparel articles made from these fibers, or blends of them with other fibers, has had an especially severe impact on the domestic market prices and on the earnings of some of these plants in my district. As other Members have stated here today, the imports of manmade fibers themselves have increased 144 percent from 1962 to 1966, while the imports of manmade fiber fabrics and apparel have increased by 274 percent during that period.

As a result, in 1966 the total pound equivalent of manmade fibers imported into the country in all forms of 311 million pounds was equivalent to 9 percent of domestic consumption of manmade fibers. This high concentration of manmade fibers and products on the domestic market caused acute and prolonged market disruption. The effect on the fiber producers is illustrated by the following statement appearing in the annual report of the Beaunit Corp. for the 1965–66 fiscal year:

> One problem for the industry is the increasing competition of imports which, in many cases, come from subsidized or state regulated shippers and currently are unfairly concentrated on the United States market because it is the only unrestricted one in the world. We urge the Government to deal with this problem for all textiles in some effective manner as has been done for cotton textiles.

Beaunit's statement for the quarter ended September 30, 1966, indicates that this unsettled state has continued without relief. Referring to its unsatisfactory financial results for the third quarter of the year, Beaunit stated:

> The most serious [cause] was the weakness in the man-made fibers and fabrics markets, * * * and an extraordinary amount of imports unsettled the markets.

Mr. Speaker, these facts should indicate quite clearly why I am so much concerned about the manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel product import problem. I wholeheartedly join with the other Members of this body who have spoken here today in urging the administration to refrain from making any further reductions in import duties on these products and to initiate at the earliest possible moment serious and aggressive efforts to establish a positive system for the regulation of imports of these products, to prevent market disruption and to permit the American industry to share on an equitable basis with foreign products in the future growth of the American market.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, my constituents in the Eighth Congressional District of Alabama have a definite interest in the problem being discussed here today. One of our Nation's major manmade fiber plants, which produces both acrylic and polyester fiber, 13 textile mills, and nine apparel plants are located in my district.

Between 1956 and 1965, manufacturing jobs for my constituents in establishments located within the district increased from 21,000 to 38,700, an 84-percent increase in total employment. About one-third of this increase in employment was accounted for by the location of the Monsanto Co.'s acrylic and polyester fiber plant in Morgan County.

One indication of the economic importance of this manmade fiber activity in my district is shown by the fact that the dollar value of this plant's output of manmade fibers in a single year is greater than the cash value of the entire cotton crop of the State of Alabama.

The effect of the location of this manmade fiber plant in my district is not limited to the very large work force which it employs, but extends in about equal measure to the service industries which spring up in the district to serve the needs of the plant for materials, fuels, and housekeeping services, and the services which are needed by the workers and their families such as retail stores, gasoline stations, garages, barbershops, and the like.

The foreign trade trends in manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products are of concern to me because of their actual and potential impact on employment in these industries in my district and in the State of Alabama. Imports of these products have risen so rapidly in the past few years that a sharp adverse effect has been experienced by the Monsanto Co. and other manmade fiber producers, as well as by textile mills and apparel plants specializing in manmade fiber products.

Between 1962 and 1966, the dollar value of manmade fiber imports increased 133 percent while our exports of these products virtually stood still with a mere 3-percent increase. The comparison is even more dramatic in the case of textile products made from manmade fibers. Imports of these manmade fiber textile manufacturers increased 248 percent between 1962 and 1966 while exports rose by only 21 percent.

When the import flow of these products reached their highest level in 1966, the total supply of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products was far greater than the market could absorb. The result was that the domestic market became very soft, prices dropped sharply, and company earnings were acutely affected.

The Monsanto Co. was among those in the textile industry that experienced actual harm from these excessive imports. In common with other producers of manmade fibers in the United States, the Monsanto Co. had the misfortune of facing this unprecedented volume of imports at a time when new plant construction for manmade fibers was being completed in the United States and in other nations of the world. The result was a supply of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textiles and apparel products far in excess of the capacity of the American market to absorb it and expanded productive capacity which could not efficiently be put into operation because of the resulting market conditions. As stated in the 1966 annual report of the Monsanto Co.:

> The adverse effect of current U.S. overcapacities in chemical fibers is intensified by sharply rising imports of the fibers and of fabrics and finished goods made from them. Such imports have increased more rapidly than U.S. demand for these products, thus undermining the sales volumes, prices and profits of domestic producers.

Mr. Speaker, I have attempted in the past to maintain a liberal position in regard to foreign trade policy, believing that the Nation as a whole benefits from a liberalization of trade barriers. This position, however, is not inconsistent with the realization that it is not in the best interests of the foreign producers, U.S. importers, or the domestic industry for prolonged and acute market disruption to be caused by increases in imports so large in volume and so rapid in rate that the domestic market is unable to absorb them.

The experience of the past year has demonstrated that some ground rules are needed in order to permit an orderly expansion of trade in which both foreign products and domestic products can participate without creating destructive and chaotic conditions in the trade.

From the point of view of fairness to our domestic producers and their employees, I cannot overlook the fact that our exports have been declining rather dramatically while the imports are increasing at an alarming rate. We seem to be in a period in which our manmade fiber and textile and apparel products are not sufficiently competitive in world trade to provide an outlet for our production through exports. At the same time, our producers are being forced to relinquish an ever-increasing share of the domestic market at a rate in excess of their capabilities for orderly adjustment to the situation.

Accordingly, I join with other Members of the House who are concerned with this problem in asking the President to reconsider the position of the United States in regard to reductions in manmade fiber and textile and apparel duties in the Kennedy round. Until the President is able to secure the agreement of other nations to an arrangement providing for the orderly growth of world trade in manmade fibers and textile and apparel products, there should be no further reduction in duties as this would simply compound and complicate the difficult situation that now exists as a result of excessive imports.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, the American apparel industry is facing a serious problem. The future of the industry is being dramatically challenged by the rising tide of imports. Almost every important segment of apparel production is being affected by these increasing imports.

The apparel industry employs more than 35,000 workers in the State of Mississippi. There are over 150 plants in the State. The majority of these plants produce men's and boys' shirts and men's and boys' trousers. Imports are seriously threatening not only the growth and development of these plants, they are challenging their very existence.

Imports in both of these product areas have been increasing at a much faster rate than domestic production, and have, therefore, taken over an increased portion of the domestic market in the last 5 years. It should be obvious that no industry can continuously encounter more and more import competition without experiencing major dislocation. It is quite possible that imports could grow fast enough to absorb all the growth in domestic demand. This would leave the domestic industry stagnant. If the apparel industry is to continue to provide employment opportunities for thousands of people in my State, it cannot be allowed to be undermined by a deluge of apparel imports.

Apparel imports have increased rapidly in the past, and there is every indication that these imports will grow even faster in the future. This is particularly true of those products made of synthetic fabrics. In the last 3 years, imports of men's and boy's shirts made of woven synthetic fabrics increased eightfold. Imports of trousers made of synthetic fibers have not shown the dramatic increases that men's shirts have, particularly because durable press facilities are just now being put into use for production of trousers by foreign apparel manufacturers. The development of durable press apparel has vastly increased the use of synthetic fabrics in apparel production.

As things are going now, imports of apparel of all types, particularly those of synthetic fabrics, will increase at faster and faster rates. The costs of foreign producers are significantly lower than costs for domestic apparel manufacturers, and price competition between the domestic and foreign product is almost impossible. Foreign costs are lower than domestic for two principal reasons: wages of foreign workers are, in general, much lower than wages here, and foreign producers have new plants and machinery which have been installed since the Second World War. Our apparel industry is one of the oldest industries in this country, and some of its plants and equipment are not as new and efficient as those of its foreign competitors.

The present tariff rates are obviously having little effect on apparel imports. Cotton apparel is imported into the United States under the regulation of an international agreement which the United States has signed along with 28 other countries. However, apparel and textile products made of fabrics other than cotton are not controlled by anything except fairly ineffective tariffs. These tariffs are now scheduled to be decreased by as much as 50 percent during the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations. This authority to cut tariffs is expected to be given before the Trade Expansion Act expires this June. It would be a mistake to reduce these tariffs on apparel and make them less effective than they are already. The American apparel industry needs time to adjust its production facilities and methods in order to become competitive with imports. It cannot do this if its markets are being taken away during the adjustment period.

An international arrangement covering imports of all types of apparel and textile products, similar to the one for cotton products, would be the best solution to an extremely complicated problem. However, we should not reduce tariffs first and then hope that this type of solution can be worked out later. Once we have cut tariffs, the imports will come rolling in faster than ever, and any solution instituted afterward may be too late to be of any help in the situation.

The American apparel industry does not want the competition of imports stopped completely. Rather, it wants to be able to share in the inevitable growth in demand which its products will experience in American markets. By 1985, our population is estimated to be some 50 to 75 million greater than it is today, and apparel demands will obviously grow to meet the needs of this larger population. The domestic industry wants to share in this growth. It does not want to give all new apparel business to imports. The industry can meet the challenge of imports only if it is given an opportunity to become competitive in terms of price. This can be done only if plant and equipment become more efficient, a process which is possible if imports do not dry up the market for domestic apparel.

Therefore, I submit that the apparel plants in my district and State, as well as in almost every district represented in this Congress, can continue to provide employment and output only as long as tariffs on apparel are not lowered any further and a more positive solution to the problem is worked out soon.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, the cotton industry of this country is faced with a very serious problem. At present, it is suffering from increasing competition from abroad as a result of unwise U.S. Government policies which have encouraged steady expansion in facilities for foreign production and processing of cotton. Eventually, it will be completely destroyed unless steps are taken immediately by the Congress and the executive branch to prevent further increases in imports and to maintain a proper balance between exports of U.S. raw cotton and imports of foreign-made cotton products.

Through the years, our Government has failed to keep U.S. cotton in world markets on a continuous basis at competitive prices. Even though authorized by law to do so, and despite legislation adopted in 1956 which requires the sale of U.S. cotton on a competitive basis to retain our fair share of world markets, our Government policies have maintained an umbrella over world prices and have kept this country in the position of a "residual" supplier.

As a result, foreign production of cotton has expanded steadily through the years, whereas U.S. production has remained at a fairly constant level. Also, foreign production of cotton textiles and cotton goods has increased as the supply of foreign cotton has gone up and as the investment in overseas production capacity has increased.

Since 1956, consumption of cotton—including textile production—in the foreign free world has increased about 25 percent. Also, foreign production of manmade fibers has increased tenfold in the past 20 years. This has resulted in a steady growth in the supply of foreign textiles and cotton goods available in world markets. With lower production costs, foreign producers have been able to invade U.S. markets on an ever-increasing scale. The increase in U.S. imports of cotton textiles from 720 million yards in 1961 to over 1,800 million yards in 1966 clearly and forcefuly demonstrates this development.

The United States is a good dollar market for imports, particularly from the lesser developed countries—LDC's—which have a significant competitive cost advantage over our domestic industry. Our international programs have tended to favor policies which give these countries greater access to our markets as a means of supporting the economies of these countries.

Under existing policies the domestic cotton industry is at the mercy of these foreign suppliers, since the United States has no effective control over imports of cotton products. The long-term cotton textile arrangement—LTA—was established in 1962 after the U.S. Tariff Commission turned down a major industry-wide effort to impose quotas under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act or establish increased export duties. The steady increase of imports of cotton goods indicates the ineffectiveness of this arrangement—although it should be continued until a more effective means of meeting this problem can be developed.

Several weeks ago, I requested officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture to prepare a special analysis of the growth in U.S. imports of cotton textiles. A copy of this analysis, which indicates some of the problems involved in attempting to control cotton textile imports under existing arrangements, is included at the end of these remarks.

I realize that this matter must be approached very carefully so as to protect the interests of all segments of our cotton industry, including producers as well as processors, since some of the countries from which we import cotton goods are our principal markets for U.S. raw cotton. For example, Japan takes about one-fourth of our total cotton exports and supplies about one-fourth of our cotton textile imports. On the other hand, some of our major suppliers buy practically no U.S. cotton and, therefore, should have no reciprocal right to our domestic textile market. In other words, it seems to me to be in the national interest to give preference to textiles made of U.S. cotton, whether domestically produced or imported. In my opinion, the only satisfactory solution to this problem is to impose effective import controls to prevent further damage from increased imports and to establish a quota system which will relate the quantity of imports from foreign suppliers to the purchases of U.S. raw cotton by foreign producers. If this can not be fully accomplished under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, additional legislation should be enacted by Congress to meet this situation in a way which will keep our textile industry and our cotton producers in business.

The material referred to follows:

U.S. IMPORTS OF COTTON TEXTILES

(Prepared by Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture)

VOLUME

U.S. imports of cotton textiles have risen from 720.2 million in 1961 to 1,822.8 million in 1966. Cotton textile imports in 1966 are estimated to be equivalent to over 1.0 million bales of cotton. In addition, imports of manmade fiber textiles, which are not subject to control, have also expanded sharply; in 1966, imports are estimated to be equivalent to 0.3 million bales of cotton.

SOURCES

Our traditional supplier of cotton textiles, Japan, which provided 63 percent of the total in 1958, supplied only 23 percent in 1966. Hong Kong rose as an important supplier after exports from Japan were subject to "voluntary" control in 1956 and Hong Kong now supplies about 19 percent of total U.S. imports. U.S. imports from less developed countries (LDC's) (not including Hong Kong), which were about 9 percent in 1958, totaled about about 50 percent in 1966. (See attached table.)

Just as the importance of Hong Kong rose after Japan's exports were controlled, as Hong Kong's exports were restrained under the LTA, U.S. importers developed alternative sources of supply in one country after another as each sharply expanded supplier became subject to U.S. restraint action. Most of the newly important sources are LDC's which are cotton growing countries; by means of bilateral arrangements with the United States, they have been given protected and preferential market opportunities in this country. Moreover, the existence of controls on cotton textile exports to the United States has caused a number of countries, particularly Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea, to expand greatly their exports of manmade fiber textile products, which remain free of control although they are directly competitive with cotton textiles and are generally manufactured by the same industry. For example, Japan now exports more manmade fiber than cotton textiles to the United States.

THE LONG-TERM ARRANGEMENT ON TRADE IN COTTON TEXTILES (LTA)

The LTA, which became effective October 1, 1962, following a temporary Short-Term Agreement of a year's duration, runs to September 30, 1967. It is a GATT arrangement to which 30 countries have subscribed, not all of which are GATT members. Its objectives are: (1) to provide growing opportunities for exports of LDC's, including the lessening of restrictive measures that exist in some Western European countries, provided that this trade proceeds in a reasonable and orderly manner; (2) to permit restraints against imports that are causing market disruption; and (3) to permit mutually acceptable bilateral agreements. The LTA also provides for a 5 percent increase annually on quotas that extend beyond one year.

U.S. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LTA

The President's Cabinet Textile Advisory Committee provides policy guidance to the Interagency Textile Administrative Committee (ITAC). In the beginning, ITAC made substantial use of unilateral Article 3 restraints when imports of specific commodities from particular countries became severely out-of-line with historical trade patterns. Since mid-1963, control by the United States has shifted to the use of bilateral agreements with exporting countries. We now have 19 bilateral agreements; several others are in the process of negotiation.

MAJOR FACTORS AFFECTING IMPORTS

Many factors have contributed to the rapidly expanding volume of cotton textile imports. There has been a period of unprecedented civilian demand which, through the function of rising prices, has attracted imports of a full range of textile items owing to their increased profitability in this market. When the major supplier, Japan, "voluntarily" limited its exports to the United States, U.S. buyers turned to other suppliers who found the export opportunities in this market attractive, especially since export opportunities elsewhere were generally restricted. As U.S. imports from one new or expanded source after another became subject to restrictions, still other suppliers came into this market. More recently, military demand caused tight supplies of some items, and prices again rose to make imports from higher cost sources profitable.

TABLE 1.—*Cotton textiles—U.S. imports as specified by country and calendar years, 1961 to date*

Area	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	
						Actual	Increase over 1961
	Million square yards	*Million square yards*	*Million square yards*	*Million square yards*	*Million square yards*	*Million square yards*	*Percent*
World	720.2	1,164.7	1,101.2	1,057.5	1,312.1	1,822.8	153
Developed countries	94.8	109.9	85.2	87.0	110.4	152.9	61
Hong Kong	183.0	269.4	257.8	264.1	293.5	353.4	93
Japan	243.0	351.2	304.7	324.2	404.2	412.0	70
Less developed countries	199.4	434.2	453.5	382.2	504.0	904.5	354
Selected LDC's:							
Brazil	.4	.1	3.1	5.8	57.7	95.6	
Colombia	2.8	14.5	8.7	16.1	26.0	34.2	
Egypt	9.9	31.6	41.7	26.5	17.8	10.7	
Greece	(1)	4.1	7.4	2.7	2.4	18.9	
India	11.5	35.5	67.4	46.0	81.7	81.4	
Israel	5.1	12.3	11.7	7.7	6.9	24.8	
Jamaica	8.8	13.5	16.1	15.7	15.3	16.4	
Korea, Republic of	5.0	10.8	34.9	33.5	25.5	24.0	
Malaysia [2]	0	.2	(1)	1.7	22.7	24.0	
Mexico	3.8	9.2	5.9	6.7	14.0	152.7	
Okinawa	4.4	8.7	14.2	8.7	11.0	9.8	
Pakistan	8.0	15.3	36.1	24.3	40.6	58.7	
Philippines	40.8	44.3	41.0	38.1	36.8	41.4	
Portugal	51.5	101.5	62.7	48.2	45.0	112.8	
Singapore	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	39.7	
Spain	14.0	18.7	34.1	19.4	24.0	44.2	
Taiwan	22.9	84.8	35.7	46.6	52.3	61.6	
Yugoslavia	.6	14.6	16.5	15.3	8.9	13.4	

[1] Less than 500,000 square yards.
[2] Includes Singapore, 1961–65.
[3] Included with Malaysia, 1961–65.

Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Commerce reports.

TABLE 2.—*Manmade fiber textiles—U.S. imports as specified by country and calendar years*

Area	1964	1965	12-months ending November 1966	
			Actual	Increase over 1964
	Million square yards	*Million square yards*	*Million square yards*	*Percent*
World	328.4	565.9	799.2	143
Developed countries	93.3	150.7	108.8	113
Hong Kong	10.9	19.2	38.9	257
Japan	163.8	301.0	445.0	172
Less-developed countries	60.4	95.0	116.5	93
Selected LDC's:				
Colombia	1.1	1.2	.4	
India	.3	.1	.1	
Israel	1.8	2.2	4.6	
Jamaica	.4	.7	.7	
Korea, Republic of	2.5	17.6	28.3	
Mexico	.3	.1	.7	
Philippines	6.0	6.3	8.3	
Portugal	.2	.6	1.8	
Spain	3.0	5.6	3.0	
Taiwan	14.3	24.9	33.1	
Yugoslavia	(1)	2.8	2.5	

[1] Less than 500,000 square yards.

Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Commerce reports.

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the efforts of my colleagues to bring about an end to the unfair competition of foreign textile imports. In the Third District of Georgia, the textile industry is a major muscle of the economy, and as the Representative from this district I am very cognizant of the worsening climate for domestic textiles.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we must act, and act now, in order to keep the textile industry as a strong and vital part of our Nation's economy and as a vital part of the national defense. With over 2 million people employed directly and indirectly in the textile industry, its importance is obvious.

I congratulate my colleagues on their

statements concerning this problem, and I join with them in urging early action.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join with my many colleagues in speaking out on the need for immediate action to deal with the economic crisis presently facing the textile industry. This crisis is the direct result of the tremendous growth in textile imports which we have experienced in this country, and it threatens to inflict permanent disorder upon the industry unless corrective steps are taken.

The textile industry today employs, directly or indirectly, over 4 million people. It has played an important part in helping to maintain a stable economy by continually producing quality products at reasonable prices. It has done so in the face of increased costs to the extent that it has not been able to realize a growth in earnings commensurate with the general growth of the economy which has taken place over the last few years.

The New England area has over 186,000 people engaged in the textile business and approximately 50 percent of them are from my home State of Massachusetts. These employees constitute approximately 14 percent of the total manufacturing employment in Massachusetts. Furthermore, some 10,000 people are employed in my State in the production of textile machinery.

The industry which is so important to our national defense and to the economic strength of this country is today an unhealthy industry. The adverse impact of the extraordinary growth of textile imports on the textile industry has been felt all across the Nation. In my own district within the last 6 months, a long-established woolen manufacturer has been forced to terminate its operations.

The size of the growth in imports is amply demonstrated by the statistics. From 1961 through 1966 imports of cotton, synthetic, and wool textiles have risen from 1 billion square yards to almost 3 billion square yards with a value of over $1 billion. During that same period of time domestic production of textiles has increased by only one-third of that growth rate. Cotton imports rose by 24 percent in 1965 and by 40 percent in 1966 to the point where they now represent approximately 10 percent of the total consumption in this country. Wool textile imports now represent 24 percent of our wool consumption while manmade textile imports have grown from a relatively insignificant amount in 1961 to between 8 and 10 percent of present national consumption.

In our textile industry, meanwhile, average wages have gone up during the period from 1962 to 1966 by some 28 cents per hour and now are at the level of $2 per hour. Yet the textile industry must compete with Japan and Hong Kong where the average hourly wage is 36 cents and 25 cents, respectively. These two places alone accounted for 48 percent of the imports into the United States in 1966.

This tremendous discrepancy in the price of manufacturing labor cannot be allowed to impair the well-being of our textile industry. We cannot force our industry into a position whereby every time it raises the salaries of its employees, it moves these workers one step closer to the loss of their job because of foreign competition.

The scope of this problem of excessive imports is further demonstrated by the effect that it has had on our balance of trade and balance-of-payments position. Everyone is well aware of the critical problems that we have been faced with in the last few years as the result of our continuing balance-of-payments deficits.

Many people, however, may not be aware of the highly significant role that foreign imports of textiles have played in this problem. During 1966 our imports of textiles exceeded our exports of textiles by over $800 million. When this is compared with our total balance-of-payments deficit for 1966, which was $1,400 million, the extent of the adverse effect on our balance of trade which these imports have had becomes obviously apparent.

Our textile industry is fully capable of meeting our domestic needs. Foreign imports are in no way a necessity for this country as they may be for others. To the extent, however, that we sanction these imports and to the extent that they continue to impair our domestic capabilities, they create increasing difficulty for us in attempting to balance our trade position.

The facts as I have described them, give, I think, some indication of the seriousness and immediacy of the problems with which we are faced. The Government has in the past by its actions expressed its desire to assist the textile industry in successfully meeting the difficult problems that it has encountered. For example, the 1961 Federal textile program represented the establishment of a governmental position to exercise control on the amount of textile imports entering into this country. However, this program was only carried forward in the area of cotton textiles and was not even successful there as evidenced by the tremendous growth of cotton textiles which we have experienced during the last 2 years.

We need to establish a successful program for the control of textile imports into this country and we need to do it immediately.

Our country is presently engaged in negotiations in Geneva concerning tariff reductions under the Tariff Expansion Act of 1962. Reports of those negotiations indicate that we are considering cutting the tariffs on textile imports by up to 50 percent. I join with my colleagues in calling upon the administration to direct our representative, Ambassador William Roth, to oppose any reduction of our present tariffs on textile imports. Furthermore, the 5-year international cotton textile arrangement, which expires on September 30, and which is being renegotiated, should be extended without any change for an additional 5 years. Finally, an arrangement covering international trade wool and in manmade or synthetic fibers must be negotiated. Our present arrangements, which only cover cotton textiles, leave a vacuum which must be filled without delay.

These steps can all be taken without the need for legislation and will constitute a positive program to deal with the present crisis in the textile industry. We cannot sit idly by and watch a vital segment of our national economy suffer irreparable harm at the hands of foreign competition which it cannot compete with and at the same time adequately fulfill its important role in our economy.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, there are about 3,000 people in my district, metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, Tenn., employed in some 12 apparel plants. A major product of these plants is men's and boys' trousers made of woven cotton or synthetic fabric. The jobs held by these people are now being threatened by the substantial rise in imports of all apparel products which has taken place during the past several years. Imports of trousers also have been increasing over the years and have taken an increasing portion of the domestic market as they did so.

Today, imported men's and boys' trousers made of all fibers equal approximately 12 percent of domestic trouser production. In 1958, these trouser imports were less than 5 percent of domestic production. The apparel industry, together with the sector producing trousers, is not sharing with foreign competitors the domestic market growth because these foreign competitors are taking a substantial portion of the growth in our market. The day is not far off when foreign competition will take all of the growth and leave our domestic industry with an unchanging demand. The important fact here is that the domestic industry will not only be unable to supply a source of new employment opportunities, but it may well have to reduce its demands if its market continues unchanged.

In the past 2 years, total apparel imports of cotton, wool, and manmade fibers increased 39 percent, while domestic production, according to the Industrial Production Index, increased only 13 percent, or just one-third as fast. Most of the increase in apparel imports has taken place in apparel made of synthetic fibers. While cotton and wool apparel imports each increased 17 percent in the past 2 years, synthetic apparel imports rose 150 percent.

The import picture for trousers is somewhat different for special reasons. Because of the rising civilian and military demand for trousers and the inability of foreign producers to supply durable press trousers, imports of men's and boys' trousers increased 13 percent in the past 2 years, and domestic production rose almost 10 percent. Due to this unique situation, the people in my district were not affected by imports as much as some others have been during the past 2 years. Today, however, conditions have changed, both in the industry as a whole and specifically in trouser production. Competition from imports is going to be much keener in the future than it has been in the past for one important reason: tariff rates on apparel products are due to be cut by as much as 50 percent when the Kennedy round negotiations reach their conclusion. I understand this will be done before the authority to cut tariffs under the Trade Expansion Act runs out in June.

Tariff reduction of the magnitude of 50 percent will significantly lessen the ability of the domestic industry to compete in the market on the basis of price. Therefore, it seems feasible at the present time that tariff reductions should not be allowed on apparel products. Even the present tariff system has not been a significant barrier for the import of apparel products of wool and synthetic fibers. Further tariff cuts could only aggravate this situation by allowing imported apparel to have a lower domestic selling price than it does now. A positive solution to this problem would be an extension of the international cotton textile agreement to cover imports of apparel and textile products of all fibers. The international cotton textile agreement has allowed for substantial increases in cotton product imports, while not having disastrous effects on the entire market, nor any specific market sector.

The apparel industry welcomes competition, and an international agreement for all fibers such as the one now in existence for all cotton product imports could provide a healthy competitive atmosphere. This type of arrangement would help eliminate the anxieties now existing in the market because of the unlimited access of imported wool and manmade fiber apparel products. The entire industry and, therefore, the plants in my district and the people who work in them are at the mercy of these rapidly increasing apparel imports. It is quite possible that if nothing is done for them soon, there could be substantial employment dislocations and capital losses. Tariffs should not be cut now with only the hope of finding a solution to the problem later. Arrangements can be made by our Government through multilateral agreements or unilateral controls which will provide for a solution which will help the industry grow, compete with foreign imports, and provide jobs for our citizens.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ECKHARDT). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. LANDRUM] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, since I was recognized during the time of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] I yield back my time and ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] be recognized at this time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

THE PLIGHT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER]. I know of no man who has made a greater fight for the protection of our domestic textile industry people, both employers and employees, than the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina who is now in the well of the House.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank my colleague.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from North Carolina for yielding to me. He and others who are participating in this discussion are performing a great public service.

I represent a district which is a big producer of cotton and I am much concerned about the textile situation and the cotton industry.

Less than 2 years ago this body passed the Agricultural Act of 1965. One of the stated objectives of this legislation was to make U.S. cotton competitive in order that our growers might regain their fair share of world markets. Although this act has been in effect for only one season, we have already seen promising signs of its hoped-for success in this area. As has been pointed out, exports for the 1966 season are expected to total 5 million bales as compared to less than 3 million in 1965. In addition there are indications of decreased cotton acreages among some of our leading competitors for world cotton markets. U.S. growers who have taken a cut in price and who have cooperated with the Department by reducing planted acres more than 30 percent are encouraged by these developments. If we can continue in this direction, the surplus can be further reduced and the cotton industry revitalized to the benefit of all concerned.

However, it now appears that the astounding increase in imports of cotton textiles and yarn may well offset the gains we are making through the act of 1965 and the voluntary efforts of growers to bring supplies in line with demand. I am especially disturbed over the tremendous increase in cotton yarn imports. These imports in 1966 were equal to 212,300 bales of cotton—an increase of 417 percent over 1965. It is alarming to note that 88 percent of the yarn imported into the United States came from seven leading suppliers, all of whom are cotton-producing countries with the exception of Portugal, which has its own colonial supply. Should this be allowed to continue, producers in these countries may well expand their cotton production at the expense of our own growers and to the detriment of the entire industry. We must not allow a situation to continue which would defeat the purpose of our farm program and the efforts of our own farmers.

The surplus of cotton is being reduced. But it is being reduced at great cost and under tremendous hardship to the raw cotton industry as well as service businesses. It would make no sense for the various segments of the raw cotton industry to undergo such hardship at such cost to them and the Government and have the benefits nullified by imports.

As a minimum the long-term arrangement which expires on September 30 should be renewed for 5 years and then administered in such a way that imports be held to reasonable levels.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, not only for his comments today but for his continuing interest in the whole area of cotton agriculture, and manufacturing, as well as the textile and apparel industry generally.

We value his assistance and his interest, and look forward to working closely with him.

I am happy again to yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ANDREWS].

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made earlier.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to our distinguished friend, the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. WYMAN].

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to make only two observations, and I shall be very brief in doing so because of the lateness of the hour.

Twenty years ago about the first job I had was for a joint committee of the House and Senate on foreign aid procurement. In regard to what the gentleman from Alabama said earlier this afternoon about goods that are coming into this country under the reciprocal trade program, the handwriting was on the wall then just as well as it is now as to what was going to happen to labor, as to what was going to happen to jobs, and as to what was going to happen to our standard of living unless we guaranteed some portion of the American market to American jobs and American production.

I do not see how you can have your cake and eat it, too. I do not see how you can say you are going to open the American market to foreign-made goods that have been made with equipment we have given to them and on assembly lines which we have taught them how to run, making the cost of labor one-fifth to one-quarter of our own cost of labor, when the cost of labor is a very substantial part of the price of the product. What we are seeing today is a situation which impels me to ask, if I could, where the roadblocks are? I think this is the problem we need to know the answer to.

Where are the roadblocks in Government that are denying to our people who need these jobs and our economy that needs a vital textile economy and efficiency in production? Why are they not acting? Why do we have to have special orders to implore someone in the administrative branch of the Government to act for the protection of the market that Americans need and deserve?

Perhaps I do not understand the situation, and you can enlighten me on it.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman. He asked that I undertake to enlighten him. I suppose I have spent more time in the well of this House than I should have in 11 years talking about textile problems. I am sure that the gentleman will be much easier to enlighten than some of the folks that we have to deal with on other fronts, and we are looking forward to his assistance in helping us to bring some enlightenment where darkness seems to prevail so heavily when textile America is involved.

Mr. WYMAN. You will have that assistance in every respect that I can extend it.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to compliment the gentleman from Georgia and the gentleman from South Carolina for arranging this opportunity to discuss the serious crisis now facing the textile and apparel industries, not only in Georgia, but throughout the country and in my own State of New Hampshire.

In my State there are 10,000 textile-apparel jobs constituting an important segment—13.5 percent—of our total manufacturing employment. In the city of Manchester, which is in my district, 28 percent of the manufacturing jobs are in these industries.

The textile industry in New Hampshire includes cotton, wool, and synthetic textile mills, and our apparel plants work with every type of textiles. It is, therefore, an overall problem for us.

Others have already pointed out that in spite of what is purported to be a Federal program to control imports initiated in 1961, imports have, in fact, tripled since that time.

We had a crisis worthy of action in 1961. Matters are three times worse now. Yet nothing is done about wool or synthetic textile imports and very little is done about cotton.

Furthermore, the country suffered a deficit in textile trade of $902 million last year. This is a net loss in dollars and in jobs. At the rate imports are increasing, this deficit will be even greater in 1967. It is foolhardy to continue a policy which sacrifices productive facilities, investments, jobs and payroll.

At a time when we are trying to fight poverty and are spending large amounts of money to do it, it is wrong to be creating poverty in vast areas of the country by the destruction of productive jobs in textile and apparel plants.

There are those who think we should be taking care of every undeveloped country in the world. They would have us increase our textile imports, displace our own workers, increase our poverty, make our deficit in textile trade worse—all this so that underdeveloped countries can go into the textile business and export to us.

Even these citizens of international emphasis are being misled. The fact of the matter is that in 1966 most of our imports of textiles came from industrialized countries, including Japan and Hong Kong. Ninety percent of both our wool and synthetic textile imports came from industrialized countries. In cotton goods, Hong Kong and Japan alone accounted for 42 percent and other industrialized countries bring the total to over 50 percent of our imports. I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at this point a table showing the source of our imports of textiles in 1966.

It is time to impose quantitative limitations on imports of all textiles and apparel. It is time for the administration to live up to its promises to control these imports effectively. It is essential that the already inadequate tariffs on textiles and textile products are not reduced in the Kennedy round negotiations now going on in Geneva. Until import controls can be put into effect, the administration must not make matters worse by inviting more imports of textiles and apparel.

U.S. imports of cotton, manmade fiber and wool textiles, by selected countries, calendar year 1966

[In millions of square yards]

	Cotton	Manmade fiber	Wool	Total	Percent of total
Japan	412.0	445.0	58.3	915.3	33
Hong Kong	353.4	39.3	20.1	412.8	15
Mexico	152.7	.8	N	153.5	5
Portugal	112.8	1.8	N	114.6	4
Taiwan	61.6	32.9	2.0	96.5	3
Brazil	95.6	N	.5	96.1	3
Italy	19.0	30.0	38.9	87.9	3
Other EEC	94.9	81.5	13.3	189.7	7
Canada	16.7	63.4	2.3	82.4	3
India	81.4	.2	.1	81.7	3
Pakistan	58.7	N	N	58.7	2
United Kingdom	14.5	17.8	21.4	53.7	2
All other	349.5	84.8	34.3	468.6	17
Total	1,822.8	797.5	191.2	2,811.5	100

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Textiles.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, the united front which we now witness from all sections of the textile and apparel industry, both management and labor, is one of the most encouraging signs that I have seen during my 11 years in the Congress. This unity of purpose and action is strong evidence that leaders in all facets of the textile and apparel trade now see a common threat to the jobs of millions of people employed in these industries.

In order to win the battle against excessive imports we must continue to have this unity between management and labor and between the several facets of the general textile and apparel industry, and we must also have the support of all Americans who believe in a sound economy,

The textile industry is the second largest employer in America. When employment in textiles is curtailed it unfavorably affects employment in many other industires. Therefore, many other American industries affected by excessive imports are now joining in the battle for American economic survival. Some of these industries are steel, automobiles, chemicals, shoes, glassware, wood products, and precision instruments. It is important that all of us, whatever our economic interests may be, to join together in a spirit of mutual helpfulness in meeting the problems of these beleaguered industries that have the common enemy—excessive imports.

As has been well stated by the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], the national security and the defense of our country are inextricably involved in this battle against excessive imports of textile products. Without a strong American textile industry we cannot meet the needs of our men in uniform in time of crisis.

The congressional district which I am privileged to represent, as well as both Carolinas, has a peculiar stake in this fight, since approximately half of the textile employment in the Nation is found in those two States. Unless textile jobs are preserved, the economic outlook for our area is freightening and bleak, to say the least.

Mr. Speaker, in recent days I have had literally hundreds of communications from persons employed in the textile industry in my county. I have picked a sampling of those letters, which I will not undertake to read in detail at this time.

I will read one or two letters which appeal to me a great deal. One is from a lady in Gastonia, N.C. This letter represents a serious problem concerning our textile mills and our jobs here in the South. She says:

> I do not have any idea that you will get this letter. I am hoping you will. I am a textile worker, or I was until last week and was laid off of my job because of cutting off a shift, and now only a few are on the others. I think that something should be done about the imports from other nations that make our own jobs shut down. We have families to support and we cannot do it if our Government looks out after other nations that should be helping themselves. I like to help other people, but not to where our own family suffers. I have three children, two in high school, and one in elementary, and an older son who would like to start to college next year. He would like to be a teacher, but he only has part-time work and that is not steady.

So there is a portion of a letter which indicates the real personal problem that is confronted by many of our people, whose jobs are already being taken away from them by these imports.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I ask unanimous consent to insert these letters in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The letters referred to follow:

FEBRUARY 19, 1967.

DEAR SIR: *For several weeks I have only gotten to work three or four days. The mill is on a curtailed schedule because of lack of markets for the yarn which we make.* The market for the yarn has been flooded with yarn from foreign countries. This yarn can be sold at a cheaper price because of the low wages paid in the foreign countries.

I would appreciate your doing everything you can to stop the large amount of textile goods which is coming into this country. I cannot understand why the Federal Government would let this happen when it causes the American workers to get only part time work. It so happens that the Federal Government gets their money, which they use plenty of, from the salaries and wages of the American people and *not* the people from foreign countries.

Since they are spending at such an enormous rate I would think that they would need all the money they could get from the American people and with the cost of living what it is, the American people *certainly* need all the money they can get from the jobs they do.

——— ———.

DALLAS, N.C.,
February 17, 1967.

DEAR SIR: For several weeks I have only gotten to work three or four days. The mill is on a curtailed schedule because of lack of markets for the yarn which we make. This yarn can be sold at a cheaper price because of the low wages paid in the foreign countries.

I would appreciate your doing everything you can to stop the large amount of textile goods which is coming into this country.

I cannot understand why the Federal Government would let this happen when it causes the American workers to get only part time work.

——— ———.

DALLAS, N.C.,
February 17, 1967.

DEAR HON. WHITENER: Even though the textile business in this country is important to the soldiers and to the every day lives of all of us, it is being seriously hurt today by yarns and goods from foreign countries. As a worker in a yarn mill I am only getting to work three and four days per week because of textile imports.

Please do everything you can to get regulations put on the importing of textiles from the low wage countries This is necessary to get the American textile industry into full operation again. This is the only way we can get regular work.

Please help us.

——— ———.

HIGH SHOALS, N.C.,
February 20, 1967.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am writing you as our Congressman to ask you to do everything you can to help keep the foreign countries from shipping so many textiles into our country. I am a worker in a mill and we have been curtailing for several months. Now I am only getting three to four days a week. This makes a real hardship on me and my fellow workers.

It seems that it would be better for the American workers to have regular work than to have to curtail because of foreign textile. The foreign countries pay low wages and can sell their yarn cheaper for this reason. We will appreciate your help in getting these imports stopped.

——— ———.

HIGH SHOALS, N.C.,
February 20, 1967.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: May I ask your help in stopping the importing of so many textiles from foreign countries? My company has spent a lot of money to improve working conditions and help make better yarn. Now they can't sell the yarn we are making because of yarn from foreign countries. We are only getting to work three and four days a week.

At the price of food and clothes today this makes it hard for a man with a family to get along. Please do everything you can to help get the textile business back into full operation.

——— ———.

MARCH 1, 1967.

DEAR MR. WHITENER: It appears the textile industry is headed for economic difficulty. With the ever increasing imports we are faced with shorter work weeks, lower margin of profits, and a lower standard of living. If something is not done immediately total destruction of the textile industry is inevitable.

Not so much for myself am I concerned but for the thousands of others who depend on their livelihood from income derived through textiles. It makes one wonder what type of governing leaders would throw his own to the wolves to aid a foreign power. I do not believe any member of our governing body receive a vote from Japan, Hong Kong, Mexico, etc. It appears that we are becoming less domestic in order to create "a great public image" for those who stand ready to stick us in the back for their own power.

It sure is pleasing to know Mexico pays to exporters a 30c dividend for each dollar of "good ole" U.S. currency brought into Mexico. This is a fine program on imports where bordering countries do not have a quota. Our program is effective when Mexico imports 3 times the amount of cotton yarn they can produce. The re-labeling of yarn from Hong Kong, and Japan is booming in Mexico. When are our leaders going to give their constituents credit and not consider them fools.

My concern is not what has happened but what can be done. Where do you stand?

Thank you for your time and service to our country.

Sincerely,

——— ———.

GASTONIA, N.C.,
February 23, 1967.

DEAR MR. WHITENER: This letter represents a serious problem concerning our textiles mills and our jobs here in the south. I don't have any idea that you will get this letter but I'm hoping you will. I am a textile worker or I was until last week I was laid off of my job because of cutting off a shift and now only a few on the others.

I think that something should be done about the imports from the other nations that make our own jobs shut down. We have families to support and we can't do it if our Government looks out after other nations that should be helping themselves.

I like to help other people but not to where our own families suffer. I have 3 children 2 in high school and one in elementary, and an oldest son who would like to start to college next year he would like to be a teacher but he only has part time work and that is not steady.

——— ———.

SHELBY, N.C.,
February 23, 1967.

DEAR SIR: The textile industry in our area is in grave need of legislation to counteract the harmful effect of imports. Some plants in our area have been forced to curtail operations for a period of a week and others are operating on a 3–4 day basis instead of the 6 day basis we realized 6 months ago. I hope that you realize, as I do, that the textile industry contributes greatly to the economy of North Carolina as well as the entire Nation.

I realize that you have been a long time friend of the textile industry and I hope that you will give your firm support to any legislation concerning the import problems facing the textile manufacturers.

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

FEBRUARY 14, 1967.

DEAR SIR: I am a textile worker in North Carolina and until recently I have been very happy in my work. But for several weeks our company has been on a curtail schedule. The reason for this is we can not get any orders for our product because the market is flooded with foreign imports of textile goods. Why can't something be done to stop this unfair, and unreasonable situation?

I am sure you are concerned with the welfare of the people in your district, but the situation is getting worse each day and if the government doesn't do something the textile industry is doomed.

I don't see how our company or any other company can compete with countries like Hong Kong whose average wages is 25 cents per hour or India at 14 cents an hour.

——— ———.

FEBRUARY 14, 1967.

DEAR SIR: As my Congressman I am asking you for your immediate help for me and my friends who work in textiles. We are getting to work only three to four days due to the amount of textiles which is coming into the country from foreign countries.

It is hard for us to understand why the Federal Government would let textile products come into this country to such an extent that it would work a real hardship on American workers. And surely the textile industry is a vital part of the U.S. business economy, as well as playing a big part in supplying the Armed Forces with necessary supplies.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

DALLAS, N.C.,
February 17, 1967.

DEAR SIR: For several weeks I have only gotten to work three or four days. The mill is on a curtailed schedule because of lack of markets for the yarn which we make. This yarn which can be sold at a cheaper price because of the low wages paid in the foreign countries.

I would appreciate your doing everything you can to stop the large amount of textile goods which is coming into this country. I cannot understand why this Federal Government would let this happen when it causes the American workers to get only part time work.

——— ———.

DALLAS, N.C.,
February 18, 1967.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE WHITENER: This is the first time I have ever written you a letter. I am very worried about people in Washington who want to let other countries sell yarn to the companies that buy the yarn I help make. I work in a mill in North Carolina that makes yarn and sells it to companies that make cloth. We make good quality yarn at our mill and I make a good wage when the mill can run all week long.

I learned that the companies that use our yarn are buying yarn from foreign countries instead, because they don't have to pay as much for it. This is unfair to me because these countries don't pay decent wages. My company can't give all of us a full week's work all the time until you help stop this unfair practice.

I am writing you because I believe you are supposed to help on this type thing. If you would make them pay as much for foreign yarn, we would get the business because we can make it better. This is important to all working people here at home and we hope you will help us.

——— ———.

FEBRUARY 15, 1967.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Even though the textile business in the country is important to the soldiers and to the every day lives of all of us, it is being seriously hurt today by yarns and goods from foreign countries.

As a worker in a yarn mill I am only getting to work three and four days per week because of textile imports.

Please do everything you can to get regulations put on the importing of textiles from the low wage countries, this is necessary to get the American textile industry into full operation again, this is the only way we can get regular work.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

GASTONIA, N.C.,
February 14, 1967.

HONORABLE REPRESENTATIVE: I work for a company in North Carolina which takes a bale of cotton and makes it into yarn. Our company has to sell this yarn to other companies, which knit the yarn into fabric.

I have been working in the mill for quite a good while now and I like my work. It has taken me a long time to learn my job right so that now I am good at it and can earn a good living by getting good production.

Lately our company has gone on short time and some of us can't earn a full week's work. We need these earnings for our families. I don't want to change jobs because I like to work where I am, and the other mills are having trouble too.

———, ———.

DEAR SIR: The importing of foreign textiles is hurting the textile business in the U.S.A., at the present time I am only getting to work three to four days a week. My company is curtailing because their customers are buying imported yarns.

Please give your full support to getting these imports stopped or reduced so that we American workers can get regular work again.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

KINGS MOUNTAIN, N.C.,
February 10, 1967.

Hon. BASIL WHITENER,
U.S. House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you about a matter which is of great concern to me and my community. I feel that the Cotton Yarn Import Situation is gravely affecting the lives of myself and my fellow employ's in such a manner that will affect the economy of the entire state and nation if allowed to continue.

Surely the gentlemen in Washington are intelligent enough as to find a solution into the foreign imports taking over the accounts of our firms. My job as well as the jobs of my friends and neighbors are threatened by this situation. I would appreciate some action on this matter as soon as possible.

I feel that my country's first obligation is to me and my family and friends—and not to the foreign countries who are ruining the business of so many companies. Thank you for your time.

Cordially,

——— ———.

STANLEY, N.C.

MR. BASIL WHITENER: May I ask your advice and help to stop the importing of textile from foreign countries. My company has spent a lot of money to improve working conditions and to make better yarn. Now they can't sell the yarn we are making because of yarn from foreign countries, we are getting to work only three and four days a week.

At the cost of clothes and food today this makes it very hard to get along.

Please do everything you can to get the textile business back in full operation.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

GASTONIA, N.C.,
February 14, 1967.

DEAR MR. WHITENER: I takes this time writing you in regard to the hurt foreign imports mainly in textiles has and is continuing to be a serious threat to our way of life as our living is by the textiles made at home. These imports have caused our plant (Hardin Mfg. Co.) as well as many other textile plants in this State and in South Carolina to cut back to 3 and 4 days per week. As high cost of living we are faced with, it is impossible for a man with 8 people in his family to maintain the things in life they need. Please do all that is within your power to curb this matter. I thank you very much for your effort.

Respectfully yours,

——— ———.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I had a letter from one of the most outstanding textile men in America, a management man. He said this among other things:

> The idea of having an embargo on foreign cotton and then turning around and allowing yarn, which is the first step away from cotton, made with cheap labor, to flood the market taking the American cotton and the American working man's job away from him just does not make sense.

Then another letter that I had from the manager of a textile concern said this, among other things:

> It is to be announced next week that we are going on a 2-shift basis at Flint, cutting out the entire third shift. The cotton yarn situation is even more critical than the synthetics or worsted in spite of the controls that are supposed to have been applied. To have gone from 21 million pounds in calendar year 1965 to 90 million total of carded and combed yarn imports in 1966 is one reason that we are in very serious trouble.

Then I have a letter from C. S. Tatum of Pilot Mills in Raleigh, N.C., who said this, among other things:

> I have been in the textile industry since 1905, but I have never seen a time, even in the 1930's, when the industry was any sicker and hurt as much by imports as it is at this time. As recently as 1965 we had one of the very best years we have ever had. For the year 1966 we lost money for the first time. Instead of improving in 1967, it is steadily getting worse. In fact, it is so serious that we are strongly considering liquidating our plant if something is not done in the near future. It is difficult to understand how representatives of our National Government can care so little about the jobs of the textile workers of this nation in their anxiety to assist those of foreign nations.

In another letter from another outstanding textile man in my hometown I was told this:

> We are firmly convinced that foreign imports are a major factor in our curtailment at the present time, and it looks as if our only relief is going to be through Congress and not through one of the Departments such as State or Commerce.

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. STEPHENS. I thank the gentleman. I appreciate his yielding to me.

I am happy to have the opportunity to join with the gentleman and others in the effort to try to correct what has been a difficult problem for the people in our various States, not just in our section but all over the country.

I should like to point out in my remarks that I have a little bit of almost every example of the kind of industry being affected by the failure of the executive branch of the Government to come across with something that will be of real and effective value for the employer and the employee in the textile field.

I want to join all Members in urging the executive branch to take the necessary steps to give us some serious and effective relief.

I have prepared a statement which deals with the domestic apparel industry, which is a very, very vital industry in my district.

I have the cotton mills themselves. I have a woolen mill. There has just come into the 10th District of Georgia a new citizen, the Hercules Co., which is putting up there a mill which will use the manmade fibers. They are all hurting because of these imports that are coming in.

Mr. Speaker, the impact of textile imports has been severe in Georgia. In 1956 before this problem began to develop, the textile mills in the State of Georgia employed 105,300 workers. By 1965, this employment had declined to 99,000 workers. My district was affected along with the rest of the State.

Imports are entering the United States in ever-increasing amounts. One threat of importance to my district is the threat to the domestic apparel industry. This is an industry which is, of course, accustomed to competition, since there is much competition among the almost 25,000 firms within the industry. But the added competition from low-price imported apparel made by very low wage labor is causing dislocations in the industry which will undoubtedly bring on permanent hardships for many people and many firms.

I speak as a person interested not only in the general problems facing our apparel industry, but as a representative of about 9,000 apparel workers who reside in my district. These people make up about one-seventh of all apparel workers in Georgia, and they work in over 40 plants, 10 percent of the total apparel plants in the State. The major apparel products produced in my district are men's and boys' shirts and trousers. These particular products are among the hardest hit with import competition. Let me give you a few figures to back up this claim.

From 1964 to 1966, men's and boys' cotton, trouser imports grew by 9 percent, and these trousers now equal 10.4 percent of our domestic production. Men's and boys' trousers of cotton and synthetic fabrics combined, which were imported in 1965, amounted to 12.6 percent of domestic production. Imports of men's and boys' trousers made of synthetic fabrics are due to enter this country at greatly increased rates in the very near future unless we act soon. This will happen because apparel of these fabrics is becoming more and more popular, as it can be treated to eliminate the need for ironing or pressing. Foreign apparelmakers are now readying their plants to produce these durable press trousers and other apparel items which they will subsequently send to the United States.

Dress and sport shirt imports have grown at an alarming rate during the last 3 years, 1964 to 1966. During this period, there was an increase in imported shirts of 26 million—43 million shirts imported in 1964 and 69 million shirts imported in 1966. The greatest amount of the increase can be attributed to the import of synthetic fabric shirts. There has been an eightfold increase in the imports of synthetic fabric shirts during the last 3 years.

Cotton apparel imports have not grown as fast as those of synthetic fabrics because action has been taken. The United States is one of the 29 signatory nations of the International Long-Term Cotton Arrangement. This arrangement regulates the international trade of cotton apparel and textile products, giving an opportunity for the exporting nations to share in the market growth of the importing countries. The arrangement has provision for growth in this international trade, and it has the effect of keeping the markets for these products orderly and preventing gross dislocations.

There is no similar arrangement governing the trade of synthetic and wool fiber apparel and textiles. The only barrier we place in the way of imported apparel products made of these fibers are quite low tariffs. As evidenced by the tremendous increases in these imports, it is clear that these tariffs are not very effective. However, they are all that we have right now. I think, therefore, that it would be very unwise for us to permit cuts in these tariffs, as has been proposed by our negotiators at the Kennedy round in Geneva. It is possible that apparel tariffs could be cut by as such as 50 percent before the expiration of the Trade Expansion Act this June. The result of tariff cuts in this area could only be even greater imports of wool and synthetic fiber apparel.

This invasion of the apparel markets of our country can have nothing but adverse effects on our employment situation. The apparel industry is characterized by its labor-intensive methods of production, and any loss of demand by the industry means it must lay off a substantial number of workers in areas classified as "distressed" areas of chronic unemployment above the nation average.

In my district, as in other areas where apparel is an important industry, many women work in apparel plants, and when they lose their jobs because imports take over a market, these women have no alternative employment opportunities. We want them to stay in their small towns with their families. The individuals, the families, the apparel firms, and the towns all suffer when these workers are unemployed. The impact of apparel imports on employment generally is adverse. In the past the apparel industry has been an important employer of large numbers in our labor force, but it can be counted on to continue this practice only as long as it can compete with imports and can gain at least some of the growing demand in our apparel markets.

The American apparel industry sees the solution to its problem as an expanded international trade arrangement covering trade of all types of apparel and textiles, similar to the one now in existence which covers only cotton products. The industry hopes to see this type of arrangement negotiated in the very near future, but until that time, it would be foolish for us to cut tariffs on apparel and permit even greater amounts to enter this country. We should not let our markets be invaded any more than they are now, and we must, therefore, stop apparel tariffs from being lowered.

The aim of the apparel industry in negotiating a more inclusive international arrangement is to permit the industry the time necessary to become more competitive with imported apparel products. The apparel industries of some of our largest foreign suppliers are more modern than ours because they have been built since the Second World War. On the other hand, the American apparel industry has been in existence for well over 100 years. We have an industry which is devoted primarily to supplying our own population with clothing, whereas many foreign apparel industries have been built with great amounts of excess capacity which could not be used by the population of the country. This excess capacity is devoted to manufacturing apparel for export, a great amount of which generally comes to the United States.

The American apparel industry has stated that it is willing to share the growth in its markets with these foreign producers, but it is not willing to give all the market growth to them.

Until we can work out an equitable solution to the problem of apparel imports, it is imperative for the sake of domestic employment and market stability that we do not lower apparel tariffs.

In addition to the textile mills and apparel plants in the State of Georgia which accounted for more than 40 percent of manufacturing employment in the State in 1965, we have had the manufacture of manmade fibers, though not as yet on as large a scale as some other States. Nevertheless, the production of rayon filament yarn and rayon staple fiber has been carried out on a major scale in Georgia for many years. In 1966, the production of both the fiber and the yarn was discontinued at one of our Georgia plants with a loss of more than a thousand jobs.

Recently, the fibers and film department of Hercules Inc., announced plans to construct a new facility in my district near Covington in Newton County for the production of polypropylene staple and textured filament yarn. This is to be a major installation and it is expected to create more than a thousand jobs. It is the most important textile industry development in my district in recent years.

With this plant there will be some 10,000 workers employed in Georgia plants producing manmade fibers, filaments, and yarns and in the broad woven weaving mills exclusively concerned with the production of manmade fiber fabrics.

But the concentration of rapidly rising imports in manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products is a threat to these installations in my district and in the State and to the promise of increased employment through manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel production in Georgia in the immediate future. Since midyear 1966, job losses have occurred in the manmade fiber producing industry at a higher rate than in other sectors of the textile-apparel industry complex and at a higher rate than has been occurring in manfacturing industries generally in the country.

I am afraid that these very recent developments, caused by the 274-percent increase in imports of manmade fiber textile and apparel products between 1962 and 1966 and the 144-percent increase in manmade fibers during the same period, will deprive my State and district of the benefits of the increased employment which we would otherwise anticipate in the manmade fiber area.

The deluge of imports threatens to break the strength of the domestic textile market. Tremendous supplies of foreign textiles, including, notably, fabrics of polyester-cotton blends, are overhanging the domestic market. Throughout the South, U.S. mills have reduced production, shortened the workweek, and laid off workers.

Our Nation's experience in the area of cotton and woolen and worsted textiles and apparel has demonstrated that we cannot afford for imports to be free of any restraint once the degree of market penetration by imports exceeds 5 percent. This ratio of foreign to domestic supply in the U.S. market is sufficient to have a decided effect on prices and market conditions to the disadvantage of both foreign and domestic textiles.

Now manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel imports are equivalent to nearly 10 percent of domestic consumption. We must as a nation provide for a system of regulation of these imported products before it is too late.

Accordingly, I join with other Members in urging the President to carefully review this matter and instruct his negotiators to refrain from making reductions in duty on manmade fibers and textile and apparel products of manmade fibers, as well as those of cotton and wool, in the Kennedy round.

Secondly, I join with the others in urging the President to direct the appropriate personnel of the executive department to begin anew on efforts to secure an international accord on procedures for the orderly growth of foreign trade in all of these textile products.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman for his remarks. I say to him that in the district I represent in Congress we have the apparel industry. We have the greatest concentration of textiles in any congressional district in America, in yarn and in fabric, though more heavily in yarn. We also have there a manmade fiber producing plant, Fiber Industries, Inc.

We also have a Pittsburgh Plate Glass Plant, which makes the glass fiber or filament.

This problem we are talking about is not related only to the glass filament branch of the industry, or the fiber industry, to polyester fiber or the cotton yarn manufacturers. This is an industrywide problem affecting all the fibers.

I hope to give some examples of just what the situation is in some representative industries, which deal in all types of fibers, before we close today.

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to my friend from Georgia [Mr. O'NEAL].

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. I thank my colleague for yielding to me and permitting me to join in this discussion.

I wish to express my concern on this subject, and especially I should like to echo the remarks of the great and distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], who spoke of the producer.

We all know that if the apparel industry does not prosper, neither will those who weave nor those who spin nor those who grow the fiber.

My district includes all these portions of the entire subject, and I am greatly concerned about it.

Mr. Speaker, Georgia is the third largest textile producing State in the Nation. It is also a major cotton producing State. So the impact of textile imports has a double-barrelled effect on Georgia and on my district.

The record flood of 2.8 billion square yards of textile goods, yarns, and apparel which came into this country last year is far more serious than it appears because it is focused. It goes after entire markets until sometimes 40 to 60 percent of the market is captured.

I have been told that cotton grey goods are jeopardized because foreign goods are 3 to 5 cents per yard below first quarter delivery prices of 34 cents per yard. How far below is impossible to say because, truly, no one knows exactly where the bottom is.

This is a serious problem for Georgia. It portends serious harm to the immediate future of an industry which is the State's largest and which employs about 25 percent of the industrial labor force—108,600 employees.

The increase in the cotton textile imports is a matter of major concern for cotton producers. Such imports displace raw cotton that would otherwise be consumed in this country.

It makes little sense for our cotton farmers to undergo the adjustments which they are now making in order to reduce surplus stocks of cotton when more than 1 million bales of cotton in manufactured form are allowed to enter the country. Under an absolute import quota, no more than 30,000 bales of raw cotton are allowed to be imported into the United States annually. Yet more than 1 million bales are coming in as cotton products.

Cotton farmers now have a real opportunity for expanding their markets. But what good will it do them to expand their domestic market through an intensified research and promotion effort, if imports consisting almost entirely of foreign cotton take away the increase?

As the third largest textile producing State, Georgia enjoyed one of its greatest years of expansion in 1966, but industry leaders have long predicted that this year would see an easing on profits because of the increase of imports.

Last year's record annual textile payroll of $475 million is sure to suffer this year as many of the State's 175 producing plants cut back production in the face of foreign competition.

A survey of 47 percent of the State's textile industry showed that capital expansion this year would be at least 14 percent lower than in 1966.

Congressional action revitalized my State's and the Nation's textile industry in 1964 through passage of the so-called one-price cotton law, an act which ended two-price cotton.

Since 1964 and this congressional action, Georgia and the industry nationally have enjoyed a resurgence—in my State, the first real expansion and building of new textile plants since World War II.

The industry has passed on its prosperity, providing some 8,000 new jobs in this time and passing on four general wage increases, each one amounting to about 5 percent.

It is a proud industry—proud of its historical significance in the State and in the Nation.

Eli Whitney invented the Cotton Gin near Augusta, Ga., in 1793.

It was a Georgia company's duck fabric which covered the prairie schooners of many of our first westward traveling pioneers. Georgia duck housed the steel driving builders of five transcontinental railroads. The company which manufactured some of the first duck material now makes the delicate fabric housing for the tracking stations of our Telstar satellite.

The textile industries and cotton farmers face a crisis. The answer is simple and equitable. There must be no reduction in tariff rates on any textile product. There must be reasonable restrictions on the importation of all textiles. The long-term arrangement on cotton textiles must be extended for 5 years and administered more fairly for our domestic industries.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks that have heretofore been made by Members on both sides of the aisle with respect to this problem that faces our domestic textile industry, both cotton fiber and manmade fiber and also all of the related industries that are involved.

Mr. Speaker, recently past Congresses have dealt quite generously with that part of the country we call Appalachia. Billions of dollars have been poured into that region in order to bring up the living standards of the people there; 13 of the 14 counties that I represent lie within the Appalachian region.

Today in Appalachia, as in other parts of the country, we face a crisis. Our largest industrial complex, that of the textile industry, is being jeopardized by imports.

Now, one out of every four jobs within the Appalachian region is in the textile industry. In my district, the job concentration is much heavier. In 12 of the counties in Georgia's Seventh District, the textile industry and its related industries provide 50 percent or more of all the manufacturing jobs.

There is no question that the current flood of textile imports into this country is posing a threat to these jobs. It is certainly hampering the potential growth of this industry in a section where unemployment has been a persistent problem for many, many years.

It is estimated that textile imports are now taking away job opportunities for some 50,000 people who could be employed in the Appalachian region at a payroll of a quarter of a billion dollars.

Now I say that if we want to do something about poverty, we could restore these job opportunities. It is unjust to the U.S. taxpayers to ask for funds to alleviate the poverty in Appalachia, if by allowing foreign textile imports to go unchecked, we allow it to grow worse.

What can we do? Shall we close our doors to textile imports as 59 other nations have done to us? That is not what the textile industry is asking us to do. It realizes the necessity of trade with other nations. But it does ask that these imports be kept at a reasonable rate. And I think that is a reasonable request.

Mr. Speaker, the textile industry is, as you know, one of this country's original industries. Next to the steel industry, it is most vital to the defense of this country. And it is vital to the domestic welfare of all our people, because of the basic necessity of clothing.

Competition within the industry is tough, as it should be. But no industry should have to tolerate a steady and increasing flow of lower quality, lower priced, and less original goods, produced under absurd labor standards.

I strongly urge the President and his trade negotiators at Geneva to extend the long-term arrangement on cotton textiles for another 5 years. After this is done, we must see to it that the agreement is administered in the way it was intended, so that our domestic market is not completely disrupted.

A similar agreement must be negotiated for all fibers so that we will have a balanced trade program which will result in an orderly flow of imports and exports.

The impact of these measures will be felt in every part of the country, and the people of my district will thank you.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman for his comments. I am delighted he has given us the benefit of his comments with reference to Appalachia and and the other phases of the situation he has mentioned.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER], the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina for yielding to me on this occasion.

Mr. Speaker, I happen to be one of those Members of this House of Representatives who is charged with the responsibility of looking after the welfare of our people and the perpetuation of this Republic, with some degree of responsibility, for protecting the industry of this Republic, and the other matters which have made it the great institution which it is today.

Mr. Speaker, my record here in the Congress, throughout the years, has been one dedicated and devoted to the interest of attempting to protect our home industries against excessive foreign imports.

Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that my record will show that upon many occasions I have attempted to do just this.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, this country cannot, as wealthy as it is, take care of and feed, clothe, and defend the world, without somewhere down the line protecting the "goose that lays the golden egg."

So, Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my colleagues here on the floor of the House this evening for their interest in this matter, for their efforts to call to the attention of the respective governmental agencies and executives, the responsibility that they too have to see that local industries are protected against these foreign, excessive imports.

I thank the gentleman from North Carolina for yielding to me at this point.

Mr. WHITENER. I certainly thank the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] for his comments.

Mr. Speaker, I am so delighted to see here this evening the manifestation of interest in this subject by various leaders of this Congress. Already, Mr. Speaker, we have had the chairmen of three of the very top committees of the Congress, if not the top committees of the Congress, speak in behalf of our position. These include the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, and the chairman of the Committee on Rules, who have spoken out for America and for the working people of America, the people whose jobs are not only in jeopardy, but who this very day are being taken from them, because of faulty and defective attitudes on the part of people in our Government whose pride, loyalty, and devotion should be dedicated to the welfare of America.

Mr. Speaker, just today—and in order that I might transmit to the Members of this august body the latest possible feel of the situation—I talked to several personal friends of mine engaged in the textile industry—in a representative-type operation—in order to see just what the picture is today, March 9, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not identify the companies by name, but I would say to the Members of the House that as you listen to this brief report from these mills, you will find that it clearly shows that the synthetics or manmade fiber segment of the industry is involved as well as the cotton fiber side of the industry.

Mr. Speaker, if I may, I shall run through this report very hurriedly.

Company No. 1 operates eight plants, with 1,250 employees involved in all-cotton-yarn operation. One plant is operated on a two-shift basis, but with the two shifts only working 2 days per week. They have eliminated the third shift, or one complete shift of its operations and have come down to a two-shift operation. Those two shifts only work 2 days per week.

Mr. Speaker, in one of this company's eight plants, by reason of the 2-day work all of its employees are recipients today of unemployment compensation. One hundred employees, in the overall operation of the eight plants, have lost their jobs completely.

Three of this company's other plants are operating on a 5-day week, and four of them are operating on a 4-day week. The managment of the company feels that a 2-day workweek would be feasible from a financial standpoint, but that they will continue on 4 days as long as possible out of consideration for their employees.

In this company the weekly payroll is off $25,000 below its normal $75,000 per week payroll when operations are normal. This company has an inventory of cotton yarn today which represents from 3 to 4 weeks' production, a total of approximately 900,000 pounds of cotton yarn. The president of this company tells me that he would estimate that in the warehouses of the cotton textile industry in our country today there is a minimum of 6 million pounds of cotton yarn in inventory.

Now, Mr. Speaker, company No. 2. This company operates seven plants with 2,500 employees. This plant's production is primarily in synthetic yarns and fabrics with very little cotton used except in blends. Until December 1966, all of this company's plants were on a 6-day workweek. In January the company commenced a 5-day workweek, and now contemplates reducing its operations to a 4-day week. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, when I talked to the vice president of this company today, he said that they had just concluded a meeting a few minutes before in which they had made the decision to go to 4 days a week commencing next week.

It is estimated by this gentleman that the payroll for a 4-day workweek in his company is $103,000 less than the payroll for a 6-day workweek. He told me that his company had in its warehouses—and these are synthetic, or manmade fibers—5 weeks of production in yarn, or approximately 800,000 pounds, and 5 to 6 weeks' production in synthetic fabrics.

They tell me they would have been on a 4-day week several weeks ago if it had not been for their concern for their valued and valuable employees.

So, Mr. Speaker, you see, we go from an all-cotton to a practically all-synthetic operation, with the cotton manufacturing company having eight plants, and the synthetic manufacturing company having seven plants, and yet we find about the same picture in each.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM].

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Let me say, as I stated to the informal gathering of this group yesterday, when we met to organize and try to marshal our resources, intellectually, technically, and otherwise, in pursuit of this problem, that there is no Member in the House of Representatives who has been more diligent, who is more knowledgeable, and is more articulate and forceful in pursuing this problem with the textile industry, than has the gentleman from North Carolina, BASIL WHITENER.

Mr. Speaker, I am so glad to have the gentleman joining me, and making such a complete statement in regard to this problem. Mr. Speaker, I say to the gentleman, and to the other Members of the House, that the gentleman always presents the picture as it is with great force.

Mr. Speaker, if we will take care to study what he is presenting carefully, we will then have our mission clear, and that is to move with all the forces we can to have this trade negotiation in Geneva completed, and to have this problem of imports settled, so that we can save the great American textile industry.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's comments. I will merely say this to the gentleman, that with over 70,000 of the finest Americans that one will find residing in my district, and looking to the textile and apparel industry for their bread and meat, and for the ability to educate their children—as the good lady mentioned to me in the letter I have already read, we would be poor citizens, not alone Congressmen, if we did not have concern about it.

I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Mr. LANDRUM. If the gentleman will yield one step further, I can say I fully appreciate the home conditions that motivate the distinguished gentleman. But knowing him as I do, he would be as equally and strongly motivated in this respect because it is an interest that concerns the whole American economy and I commend him for that too.

Mr. WHITENER. I appreciate the gentleman saying that because truly this is not a problem that we can bring to our own congressional district and leave it there. We know that the textile industry is the biggest customer of the chemical industry in America. So wherever there is chemistry in America, the people should be concerned about the textile industry. We know that textiles is one of the biggest petroleum customers among the industries in America. So wherever there is petroleum, they too should be concerned.

You can say the same thing about rubber and steel and many other commodities. So this is truly a national picture.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I concur with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM]. I personally know of the great work you have done in connection with the textile import problem.

During the 88th Congress I participated with you in several special orders. But most of the information I have heard during this special order, however, seem to be addressed to the fact that there is a problem. I think we are all aware of that. Too little attention, it seems to me, is being addressed to the question of what do we do about it.

As my colleague, the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. WYMAN], asked several of the gentlemen who have spoken here this afternoon, Do we need legislation or is this something that the executive can or should do?

Is there a course of action that is plotted besides the one that we are taking now, which of course is to point up the problem and call it to the attention of the executive?

Mr. WHITENER. I might say, if the gentleman is asking me that question, I know there are many who do not agree with me that it is as simple as I would say the answer is. But the Constitution of the United States is somewhat like the Holy Bible. If you read it long enough, you will find the answers to a lot of problems that look very complex.

The Constitution of the United States says very clearly that it is the responsibility of the Congress to regulate foreign commerce. I think once the Congress recaptures the authority which it has delegated to others, we can find solutions. Those solutions may be in the area of tariffs, quotas, and other regulations. Even though some do not agree, probably quotas is the best answer. But, whatever the answer might be, I think if we apply our wisdom to the task and carry out the mandate of the Constitution, we can find the answers here in this Congress.

I know the gentleman can offer much guidance on this and we encourage him to do so. I would not care what his remedy was. If it is effective, I would almost go along with him because I know the gentleman would not recommend something that was not in the best interest of the country.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Then, in your opinion, perhaps one avenue of approach to this problem is to pass legislation in this general area?

Mr. WHITENER. Well, we have the Trade Expansion Act expiring this year and we will have a crack at it then if we just get in there and battle a bit. There are many other things that we can do.

If enough of us will put our shoulders to the wheel as the industry people have finally come around to doing and get everybody engaged in it, I think then we can really accomplish something.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LANDRUM. With regard to the point that the gentleman from New Hampshire is endeavoring to make about the remedy of legislation, perhaps it is true that legislation may be needed in the future. But we are talking about an immediate need, one that needs to be accomplished now. We do not need to do it with legislation. We do not have to have legislation to accomplish it. The authority is in law to do it. The responsibility is upon members of the executive department to act, and what we are trying to do is to acquaint them with the situation that requires them to act and to act expeditiously.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. Very briefly. My time is about up.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I simply want to point out that the problem about which we are talking is one that was discussed in the Senate on March 1. I am sure you are familiar with that discussion. The New Hampshire Senators were active in it.

Mr. WHITENER. The gentleman refers to Senator PASTORE's seminar, so to speak?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes. Senator COTTON and Senator McINTYRE participated in that. I only wish to add that I concur generally in the points that they made at that time. I also wish to point out that there is one aspect of this problem that has been overlooked so far today. I know the gentleman from North Carolina is familiar with it. That is the matter of wool imports.

Mr. WHITENER. May I say to the gentleman, if I may interrupt him, that I had not overlooked it; I just had not gotten to it yet.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Pardon me. I wish to point out that what we are asking for is first, no reduction of tariffs on textile products; second, we are also suggesting that they extend the international cotton textile arrangement for 5 years; third, we also ask to establish a procedure for orderly trade in wool and manmade fiber products. The wool industry has never had the long-promised quantitative quota arrangements that cotton did get. While we are talking here this afternoon and marshaling strength across the country to cope with the general problem, I believe it is well to remind ourselves that the wool manufacturing industry never was given the treatment the cotton industry was given, although it had been faithfully promised. I hope the wool industry will not again be forgotten. It is tremendously important to my district.

I will not belabor you with the statistics, but I do feel it is important that we remember this segment of the textile industry that so far has not even had the benefit of the international arrangements that the cotton textiles have had. Although I confess that the arrangement does not seem to have done too much good.

On numerous occasions in the 88th Congress, I spoke about the problems of wool imports. During the 89th Congress, a wartime boom softened the impact. On October 3, 1964, I addressed myself to the problem in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

Foreign Trade—Good or Bad?

Closely related to our conduct of foreign affairs is the matter of foreign trade. Generally speaking, I am in favor of a national policy which will foster and increase healthy and fairly competitive foreign trade. If this is properly done, it will strengthen our economy, strengthen our foreign policy, and further reduce world tension. This laudable objective, however, cannot be accomplished at breakneck speed or by sacrificing entire domestic industries on such an altar.

As I have stated many times on the floor of this House, our tariff structure should be reformed to reflect wage differentials between the various foreign nations with whom we compete and trade. If this is not done, it will serve only to place our own industry at an unfair disadvantage and it will retard the advance of wages in countries with whom we trade. Also, our tariff structure should be reformed to reflect and take into account, subsidies—direct or indirect—given by foreign governments to their industries who export to the United States.

My experience with the problem of foreign imports has also led me to believe that the Department of State is not adequately situated or equipped to deal with this problem, and that primary responsibility for it might well be placed in the Department of Commerce or another Government agency.

IMPACT OF IMPORTS ON NEW HAMPSHIRE SOBERING

The impact of foreign imports on my own congressional district is sobering. The shoe industry, the electronics industry, and the ball-bearing industry are among examples of those businesses which are faced with an accelerating flood of foreign imports that has far exceeded expectations or the reasonable requirements of expanding foreign trade.

Even worse is the plight of the wool manufacturer. More than 30 plants in the United States have been closed in the last 2 years, with 6,000 jobs down the drain in spite of the almost unbelievable fact that this administration solemnly promised quantitative restrictions on wool imports more than 3 years ago. This same promise was made to the powerful cotton interests and was kept, with the passage of the wheat-cotton bill, giving the cotton textile industry a subsidy in excess of $200 million a year. The fact that the promise to the wool manufacturers has not been kept—presumably because of their political impotence—has been a distressing revelation to me and raises the fundamental question as to whether or not people can believe in and trust their own Government. Just a few weeks ago the closing of a J. P. Stevens mill in Lisbon Falls, Maine, the second wool mill closing in that town this year, etched with tragic and shattering impact the enormity of this bad faith. I am encouraged, though hesitantly so, by the fact that this administration just recently repeated its promise to the wool industry, and I can only hope that this time the promise will be kept before more factories close.

Mr. Speaker, my remarks then seem pertinent now. What we are asking for seems to be reasonable and fair.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman for his comments. I know that he would not want anyone to interpret his statement as bringing a little disunity in this discussion. I am sure the gentleman must not have been in the meeting yesterday over in the Armed Services Committee when we had the representatives of the wool manufacturers present, and where——

Mr. CLEVELAND. I was not at that

meeting, but I was represented at the meeting, I am well aware of the fact that the wool industry manufacturers are working closely with the cotton textile people.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Gorman, I believe his name is, spoke eloquently in behalf of the wool industry. The entire industry is together, and I would be very much disappointed if anything was said today which would indicate that there is any division among the textile industry, because there is no evidence to support it. The evidence is that they are all together. They are riding in the same boat, and if someone does not pump the bilge pretty quick, the whole boat is going under.

So we are not overlooking the wool section at all.

If my colleagues will let me finish here, I think I will wrap up the discussion so far as wool is concerned.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I shall be brief since the gentleman has little time remaining.

I join my colleagues in complimenting the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER], in the well, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN], and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM], on the fine leadership which they have furnished Congress down through the years in facing the problems of the textile industry and in bringing this legislation to our attention today.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to associate myself with the fine statements that have been made concerning today's textile import problem. I represent a section of the Appalachian area. There are 56 counties in Appalachia in which three-fourths of the manufacturing jobs are textile jobs. My district shares with the State of North Carolina a major interest in textile, manmade fiber, and apparel industries. We are acutely concerned with the entire textile and apparel import problem.

More than half of the manufacturing jobs in the State of North Carolina are in the textile mill products, manmade fiber and apparel industries. In the first quarter of 1965, 295,400 jobs were provided by the combined manmade fiber-textile mill products-apparel industry out of a total manufacturing employment in the State of 561,900 jobs

In the 11th Congressional District of North Carolina, which it is my privilege to represent, there were during the first quarter of 1965, the latest period for which county-by-county employment data are available, a total of 51,000 jobs in manufacturing industries in the 16 counties which compromise my district. Well over 5,000 of these jobs were in the American Enka plant in Buncombe County which produces rayon, nylon, and polyester fibers.

There are an additional 5,200 workers employed in the manufacture of apparel in my district, and 17,000 of my constituents are employed by textile mills.

This means that 52 percent of the manufacturing employees of the congressional district which I represent in Congress is composed of workers engaged in the textile, apparel, or manmade fiber industries.

Mr. Speaker, to show the effect of excessive imports of textile and apparel products on the economy of North Carolina, let me point out that between the first quarter of 1956 and the first quarter of 1965—a 10-year period—employment in the textile mill products industry in the State increased by only 1,800 jobs, or from 228.6 thousand jobs in 1956 to 230.4 thousand jobs in 1965—less than a 1-percent increase. Employment in manmade fiber plants in the State increased by 47 percent, a total of 3,000 new jobs being added during the period.

Today there are more than 36,000 workers in the State engaged in textile mills exclusively devoted to the weaving of manmade fiber fabrics, and there are nearly 3,000 additional workers employed in manmade fiber finishing plants. In all, there are about 50,000 workers in North Carolina who are directly or exclusively concerned with manmade fibers at one level or another of the textile production cycle.

For this reason, the members of the North Carolina congressional delegation are quite alarmed about the astonishing rate of increase in imports of manmade fibers and manmade fiber textile and apparel products. On a volume basis, the imports of fibers themselves increased 144 percent during the past 5 years, while the imports of the manmade fiber fabric and apparel increased 274 percent during the period. By comparison, cotton textile imports increased 61 percent and wool textile imports by 32 percent during this same period.

The market penetration by manmade fiber and manmade fiber textile and apparel imports reached the level of 9 percent in 1966. We have already learned from our cotton experience that when the import penetration of the domestic market passes the 5-percent level, market disruption occurs. As the market penetration moves higher and higher, the disruption of the market, depression of prices, and impact on employment become more prolonged and acute. When one segment of the textile industry is in trouble, the effect is telescopic on the rest of the industry.

Mr. Speaker, the dollar value of imports of all textiles, including manmade fibers and textile and apparel products of manmade fiber, cotton, and wool, in 1966 had a foreign invoice value of $1.1 billion. In terms of the displacement effect of these imports on the domestic market, this figure could be doubled and probably still understate the market impact of these imported textile products.

The American textile market cannot absorb $2 billion worth, U.S. value, of foreign-produced textiles. The shortened workweek, furloughs, and layoffs of personnel of fiber plants and textile mills which occurred in the latter part of 1966 and early 1967 are the direct evidence of the oversaturation of the market with imported goods.

I am deeply concerned about the unbridled import competition for the products of the American textile industry. At a time when the United States is enjoying unparalleled prosperity, we find that imports of yarns and fibers, fabrics and textile products are displacing the handy work of American manufacturers and American employees. The textile industry has not contributed to today's problem of inflation. While the cost of industrial commodities has increased by nearly 6 percent since the base period of 1957–59, the price of textile products has decreased by 2½ percent.

Mr. Speaker, cotton textile imports are subject to some extent to restraint under the long-term cotton textile arrangement. This arrangement, unsatisfactory though it may be, should be extended for a 5-year period and our Government's administration of the arrangement should be improved so as to avoid the 61-percent increase in imports which has been recorded during the past 5 years.

Woolen and worsted textile imports should be quickly brought under restraint. The 25-percent market penetration ratio which exists in these products is demonstrably unjust to the domestic industry and especially to its long-suffering employees.

In manmade fibers and manmade fiber textiles and apparel products, particularly, the Government should be vigilant to fashion a remedy which will preserve for that section of the textile industry a fair opportunity to participate in that section of the textile market which promises the greatest growth in the coming years.

If we can reserve for domestic products a fair share of this growing market, we can have some assurance that the major investments which have been made in our districts and States, and the new jobs which have been created by that investment in the manmade fiber textile industry will continue to benefit our local economies and the economy of the Nation.

By all means, our Government should refrain from making any further reduction in the U.S. import duties applicable to these products until we achieve effective control over the total textile import problem on an all-fiber basis.

It is important at the present level of importation that manmade fibers and textiles be included in an effective long-term textile arrangement such as that which has been used for cotton textile products to moderate the flow of imports and thereby regulate and protect the jobs of our American workers.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to follow the comments of my colleague from North Carolina [Mr. TAYLOR] who made reference to the effect of these imports in the Appalachian area. The problems of the textile, apparel and manmade fiber industries which we have discussed today are problems which are related directly to employment in my district.

There are more than 5,000 people employed in the textile and related industries in seven of the 13 counties in my district. In two counties, Lincoln and Ritchie, these industries account for better than 50 percent of the manufacturing employment. These counties, as in every West Virginia county, are located in the Appalachian development region.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we are spending a great deal of money to help develop the Appalachia region. We are spending mililons of dollars to build highways to open the cities and towns of Appalachia to tourism and trade. We have enacted economic opportunity programs to help the unemployed get back to work and earn a decent living for their families.

The people of Appalachia want to work, and they can make a major contribution to the economic welfare of the entire country if they are given the opportunity.

Yet there is a rising volume of foreign imports which is replacing fibers, materials and clothing which could be produced just as well by the very people we are trying to help.

It has been estimated that textile imports during the past year were the equivalent of 50,000 jobs. Can you imagine what these 50,000 jobs with their $250 million payroll could do for an area such as the Fourth District of West Virginia?

When all is said and done, the rise in imports of textiles and manmade fibers can be attributed to the low wages paid in these exporting countries. How can American textile and apparel workers who today make an average wage of $2 an hour be expected to compete with places like Japan where the average wage is 36 cents an hour?

We all appreciate the fact that the United States must permit a reasonable level of imports to enter this country if we are to help our allies around the world build stable economies. We also must import if we are to have export markets for our goods. But our textile and apparel imports do not fit into this situation. We are hardly contributing to the development of underdeveloped countries when highly industrialized and prosperous countries such as Japan account for so much of the textile imports. We are, instead, helping the countries at the expense of the most underdeveloped area of our own country.

We are, very simply, importing cheap labor to compete with our own people who need these jobs worse than the Japanese do.

The fact that much of the textile, apparel and manmade fiber industry has located in Appalachia proves that our people have the training and skills which this industry needs. There are today, 451,000 textile workers in the Appalachian region. They constitute a little over 20 percent of the manufacturing jobs in the region.

It seems to me that the textile and apparel industries offer the people of Appalachia an unusual self-help opportunity. We should not, and cannot, permit imports to stand in the way of this opportunity.

I congratulate the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] for his fight on this issue.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman from West Virginia for his remarks.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the gentleman from North Carolina and all those who have participated today in this special order.

I had written to the Secretary of Agriculture on the 28th of February 1967, and I have written to him subsequently. Here is what I said to him:

> DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This is to urge that you bring up before the President's Cabinet Textile Advisory Committee and the Interagency Textile Administrative Committee the serious impact of increasing imports on the domestic cotton farmer.
>
> U.S. imports of textiles made of cotton and man-made fibers have reached the staggering equivalent of more than 1,400,000 bales of cotton. These are textiles not made with American-grown cotton and not processed and made by American workers.
>
> 1966 textile imports amount to a 37.4 percent increase over 1965. Some 162,000 bales, or 57 percent of this one-year increase, was in the form of yarn and came almost entirely from countries that produced the yarn from their own cotton.
>
> It is urgent that appropriate action is taken to provide reasonable protections for the American cotton grower and the domestic mills and their workers against such excessive imports of textile products, including apparel.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> E. C. GATHINGS.

I just got an answer today from Acting Secretary John A. Schnittker. Among other things he said:

> Also, our representative on the Interagency Textile Administrative Committee has made sure in recent meetings that the group fully understands the problems that increase textile imports create for farmers, manufacturers, and others. At the moment, we are studying various aspects of these imports to determine what steps could be taken by this Department that would lead to the development and institution of plans for curbing or cutting back future shipments to the United States.
>
> We are thoroughly aware of the adverse effects that imports of textiles at current rates are having on U.S. cotton farmers and other segments of the cotton industry. Let me assure you that we will take all appropriate means to have this matter considered and favorably acted upon by the Executive Branch.

I fully hope they do just that.

I would like to assure the gentleman and all of the Members who have spoken with regard to these serious problems that I will join with them to do everything I possibly can to be of assistance.

Mr. WHITENER. I certainly thank the gentleman from Arkansas, who is also chairman of the Cotton Subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture. He has already been of great assistance to the American textile industry, as well as the agricultural cotton economy. We know he is always on the right side of these issues.

When I commenced yielding to my colleagues, I was giving a rundown of the companies and their present-day situation. I had completed one, which is exclusively a cotton yarn operation and another which is primarily synthetic yarn and fabrics with a little cotton used in blends.

Company No. 3 operates nine plants with 1,500 employees. Approximately 50 percent of this production is in manmade fiber with the other 50 percent in cotton yarn.

Two of its plants are now operating on a 4-day workweek, and the others have curtailed from a 6-day workweek to a 5-day workweek.

The company has one weaving plant which is operating 5 days per week but only one-half of its looms are in production.

It has 3 to 4 weeks of inventory—approximately 3 million pounds—of yarn in inventory.

Its current payroll is approximately 25 percent less per week, or approximately $30,000, than was true when it operated on a normal 6-day basis.

Company 4 operates 225.000 spindles, the equivalent of 11 plants with 4,000 employees. Its production is 66⅔ percent cotton and 33⅓ percent manmade fiber yarns.

Approximately 3,000 of its employees are operating on a curtailed basis with two of its plants on a 3-day workweek. In one of those plants 350 employees now have a gross payroll of $14,500 per week as compared to $27,500 in a normal workweek. In the other plant operating on a 3-day basis 290 employees now share in a $12,500 weekly payroll as compared to a normal $24,000 payroll for a 6-day workweek.

This company has approximately 1 week's production or 800,000 pounds of yarn in inventory. It is significant that 400,000 pounds of the yarn inventory was added in the last 2 weeks as the company sought to provide employment for its employees.

Based on its normal annual payroll of $13 million, this company estimates that its current depressed level of operation would result in a $3 million reduction in annual payroll when compared to its normal 6-day-per-week payroll.

I am sure all of us know that the Federal Reserve System says that when one puts one payroll dollar loose in a community it generates $5 in business in that community. If we take this one company in one city, and $3 million out of its payroll in a 12-month period, we see the impact it will have all the way from Gastonia, N.C., or Shelby, N.C., all over this country, because of reduced buying power of local wage earners.

Company No. 5 operates 15 plants with 2,000 employees. Its production is 60 percent cotton and 40 percent manmade fiber.

Fifty percent of its plants are now curtailing with three or four plants only operating 4 days per week. One of its plants has been closed completely for 2 weeks.

Its total weekly payroll is down from 20 to 25 percent below its normal 6-day operation.

The company has approximately 4 weeks' inventory on hand.

Company No. 6 operates three plants with 550 employees. Its production is 20 percent manmade and 80 percent cotton sales yarn.

It is currently operating on a 4-day week rather than its normal 6-day week. It has approximately 4 weeks' production in inventory—a total of approximately 1 million pounds.

The average weekly payroll for a 6-day work week is $45,000 and on a 4-day week its payroll is only $30,000.

It produces approximately 350,000 pounds of cotton and manmade fiber in a week on a normal 6-day work week basis.

We can see from these facts which exist today in representative plants, in representative companies—one on cotton completely; one on synthetics completely; one 50 percent synthetics and 50 percent cotton; one 66⅔ percent cotton, 33⅓ percent manmade fibers; one 60 percent cotton and 40 percent manmade fibers; and the last one 20 percent manmade fiber and 80 percent cotton—wherever we look, the same situation.

Mr. Speaker, as we close I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues a news story which appeared in the Textile Challenger, a publication of the United Textile Workers of America, February 1967.

This quotes the president of the United Textile Workers of America, the international president thereof, setting forth a part of the statement he made with reference to this terrible situation.

As I said at the outset, I think it is commendable that working together are our men and women of labor, our men and women of management, our people from every segment of the textile industry and the apparel industry, whether manmade fibers, cotton blends, glass, or whatever it is. Not only they but the American Textile Machinery Manufacturers Association. All of them are expressing a like concern. I know from talking today as I did with six of the most enlightened employers in my district who operate these textile plants that they, without exception, are expressing concern about the same thing that bothers us and that should bother every American, that is, the jobs and the wages of our people. They are concerned and properly so, and I commend them for their concern.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at this point in the RECORD I may insert the article from the Textile Challenger that I have just referred to, and if I may briefly refer to it in the light of what the gentleman from New Hampshire said earlier.

Mr. Baldanzi, the international president of the United Textile Workers of America, said:

> The same threatening situation holds true in the woolen industry, where for years we have been trying to get an international agreement, but Japan, the United Kingdom and Italy, the chief exporters of wool products to this country, have thus far successfully resisted such efforts.
>
> Workers and management are the first and immediate victims when an industry shrinks or is destroyed, but the effect on the community follows close behind and is equally devastating. There must be a three-pronged attack on this problem—by labor, management and the community—with strong representations to our Government, so that we may not be further victimized by the kind of reciprocity that exchanges American industry and the jobs of its workers for cheap, foreign-made goods produced under substandard conditions and at substandard wages.
>
> We must also insist that no segment of American society be sacrificed in the naive, unproven belief that such sacrifice furthers the nation's foreign policy. It does nothing of the kind, but causes only irreparable harm to its victims.

If I were at this late hour in my remarks to be taking a text, I would take as my text the words of this gentleman which I have just read. I think it should be the text of everyone who believes that American people are worthy of consideration by their Government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the gentleman from North Carolina is granted.

There was no objection.

UTW URGES JOINT EFFORT TO CURB TEXTILE IMPORTS—TO ASK MANAGEMENT AND COMMUNITY AID IN FIGHT FOR U.S. INDUSTRY, JOBS

NEW YORK.—The United Textile Workers of America will shortly ask employers, public officials and leaders in communities where textiles are a leading industry, to join with it in a campaign to protect the American textile industry and its workers against the threat posed by the rising flood of cheap, foreign-made textile products.

In a statement outlining the Union's position, International President George Baldanzi said, "Five years ago, when the Long-Term Cotton Textile Advisory Arrangement (LTA) was under consideration, we said that although we believed in reciprocal trade, we wanted to be sure that American workers were not going to be asked to underwrite the exploitation of workers in other parts of the world."

"We were concerned then," he said, "that American trade policy would not be such that the poorest among us would be made to carry the heaviest burden, a burden already too great.

We are just as concerned today."

GENERAL STANDARDS ASKED

"In 1962," Baldanzi said, "the United Textile Workers of America said that it would agree to the abolition of all restrictive tariffs if a worldwide system of equitable standards were established, but that under conditions then prevailing, the only way to protect the jobs of American textile workers against unfair foreign competition was through the establishment of quotas, by category, for every branch of the textile industry—cotton, synthetics, wool, etc."

"Five years ago," Baldanzi noted, "we said that the Chinese refugees who fled to freedom found only the worst kind of sweatshop exploitation in Hong Kong, while profits rolled in for entrepreneurs of all nationalities who lived in luxury in the colony.

"We also suggested, in order to protect the American textile industry and the American textile worker, the need for international agreements that establish fair wage relationships.

"It is sad to re-read this five-year old statement and find that it is just as true today as it was then."

SITUATION UNCHANGED

"Hong Kong is the leading supplier of cotton textile products to the United States and the average hourly wage in Hong Kong today, in equivalent American dollars, is 25 cents.

"Of the 18 countries that supply more than nine-tenths of all U.S. cotton textile imports, in 12 of them textile workers earned less than one-fifth the wages earned by American textile workers. These 12 countries accounted for more than three-fourths of the dollar value of cotton textile imports from these 18 countries. In the remaining six countries, which accounted for 13 per cent of imports into this country, wages were from less than a fourth to about two-thirds of American wages."

"Theoretically," Baldanzi said, "cotton textile imports are controlled under the LTA, but it has been so poorly administered that every year it has been in effect there has been an increase in imports over the preceding year. The very nature of the Arrangement means that automatic growth is built right into its structure. In addition, the Government has negotiated new and more liberal bilateral agreements, so that cotton textile imports next year will keep on rising."

SYNTHETICS IMPORTS RISING

Baldanzi said that although the situation with respect to cotton textile imports is extremely serious, the potential danger in the field of synthetics is perhaps even greater. He noted that while cloth and apparel containing more than 50 per cent are to some extent covered by an international arrangement, other textile and apparel products, including those containing 50 per cent, or less, of cotton, are not covered by any arrangement.

"Since 1962," he said, "synthetic textiles imported into the United States have increased 400 per cent, and when you consider that a country like Japan is turning increasingly to the production of synthetics, it is not hard to imagine that unless the importation of manmade textiles is controlled, we can expect a flood that could engulf this segment of the American textile industry."

"As a matter of fact, employment in the synthetics industry has already begun to feel the effect of uncontrolled imports."

WOOL SITUATION BAD

"The same threatening situation holds true in the woolen industry, where for years we have been trying to get an international agreement," Baldanzi said, "but Japan, the United Kingdom and Italy, the chief exporters of wool products to this country, have thus far successfully resisted such efforts."

"Workers and management," he said, "are the first and immediate victims when an industry shrinks or is destroyed, but the effect on the community follows close behind and is equally devastating. There must be a three-pronged attack on this problem—by labor, management and the community—with strong representations to our Government, so that we may not be further victimized by the kind of reciprocity that exchanges American industry and the jobs of its workers for cheap, foreign-made goods produced under substandard conditions and at substandard wages

"We must also insist that no segment of American society be sacrificed in the naive, unproven belief that such sacrifice furthers the nation's foreign policy. It does nothing of the kind, but causes only irreparable harm to its victims."

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I now yield to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN].

Mr. DORN. May I say to my distinguished friend from North Carolina that the entire textile industry and its employees are grateful for the great leadership and the outstanding contribution that my colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER], has made on our informal textile committee, here on the floor, and in his endeavors to waken the American people throughout this country.

We are all grateful to the gentleman from North Carolina for that. I might add this thought: I am grateful to him for participating in this debate today.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to add this further little thought. The schools that are housing our elementary and high school children in the great Appalachian region and the textile areas are largely made possible by the taxes paid by our textile industry. In one community in my county the first air-conditioned high school in South Carolina 2 years ago was made possible by the taxes from one of these great plants, and we want to keep them going.

Mr. WHITENER. I certainly thank the gentleman. I am delighted to join with him in this continuing effort which he and I have been mutually engaged in now since I came to the Congress 11 years ago and he prior to that time.

And, Mr. Speaker, may I say as we conclude that there are so many facets of this problem that one cannot begin to touch upon them in this very short period of time, a problem, particularly, when so many other wonderful gentlemen of this body wish to express their concern about this problem as we have seen expressed here today.

However, Mr. Speaker, the last comment which I would like to make to those who have expressed their concern about the balance-of-payments deficits. The deficit which we have experienced over the past 10 years has averaged out at about $2.8 billion. For the last year upon which we have a report—1965 I believe it is—indicates that the difference between exports and imports of textile products constitute about one-half of that balance-of-payments deficit; while at this time we are expressing such concern about tourists spending more abroad than the $50 limitation, and all these other little nitpicking ideas which are brought up from time to time with reference to improving our balance-of-payments situation.

Mr. Speaker, it appears to me as though someone is chasing the kitten and letting the tiger run loose.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina yield to me at this point?

Mr. WHITENER. Yes, I am delighted to yield to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN].

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleague, the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER], in making note of the fact that the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations; the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services; the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. BURLESON], chairman of the Committee on House Administration; and the distinguished gentleman of the Committee on Agriculture [Mr. MCMILLAN], have all joined with us in this effort.

Mr. WHITENER. I certainly thank the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] for his contribution.

I apologize for keeping so many of our good friends here so late. However, we got started rather late. I apologize to my distinguished colleagues, but I do feel that this is a problem of such gravity that none of us could fail to be willing to give a little of our time and energy in meeting the problem we have discussed here today.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, one serious aspect of the problem of imports, which often is overlooked, is the critical matter of balance of trade and balance of payments.

The ability of the U.S. textile industry to supply the domestic market is unchallenged. Yet in 1966, it is estimated that our total textile and textile product imports exceeded our export of such products by $902 million. This huge deficit in our textile trade should be reviewed in the light of our Nation's entire payments deficit of $1.4 billion last year.

There may be products which we need in this country and which we cannot produce ourselves and, therefore, we must import them. Cotton and manmade fibers, all textile products and apparel made of textiles are certainly not in this category.

The more textiles we import, the more serious the situation becomes. The more of our textile industry that is phased out, the more permanent an already intolerable situation this becomes. Our net outflow of dollars has averaged close to $2.5 billion annually for many years and our gold stocks have dropped.

We try to increase our exports, yet our imports have been rising faster than our exports. Between 1964 and 1966, the annual overall U.S. trade surplus has dropped from nearly $6.7 billion to about $3.7 billion this year.

Textiles is a dramatic example of the challenge in trade. In 1947, we enjoyed a textile trade surplus of over $1 billion. In just over 10 years, by 1958, it had turned to a deficit of $165 million. In 1966, our total textile imports reached $1,453 million while our exports dropped to $551 million—a deficit of $902 million.

The textile trade deficit is of such magnitude—equal to 63 percent of our total payments deficit—that it can no longer be disregarded.

There are those who say that other countries have a natural advantage in the production of textiles and apparel because they can make them cheaper. This means that they have a large number of people who must work at wages which would be considered intolerable in this country. Are we then to import these low standards? Are we to tell the millions of workers in this country that they must accept either these low standards or unemployment?

OUR NATIONAL CEMETERY CRISIS

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ECKHARDT). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the crisis in our national cemeteries, which has resulted in the recent order limiting burials at Arlington Cemetery, comes as no surprise to those of us who have kept abreast of veterans' needs in the United States.

We have heard many warnings during the past several years about the need for a workable, long-term plan to establish adequate gravesites for veterans. Legislation to that end has been introduced, from time to time. Each time, it has been buried in committee.

Unless the Congress takes some action promptly, the crisis which has all but closed down Arlington will spread to other national cemeteries. For example, the veterans of New York are deeply concerned about the future of Pinelawn National Cemetery on Long Island. Pinelawn was established in 1937, and the forecast for its future indicated that Pinelawn would provide veterans' gravesites until 1975.

In recent years, these forecasts have been sharply amended. It would now seem that the close-out date is almost upon us. Without expansion, Pinelawn is not likely to serve beyond 1970. Thousands of acres of Government-owned land is available for the expansion of Pinelawn on the site of former Camp Upton at Yaphank, L.I. The time to plan such expansion is now, not on the eve of another crisis.

There are many other national cemeteries throughout the Nation whose future should be outlined in a well-defined plan. Such a plan does not exist, and will not exist if the legislation aimed at creating it is repeatedly swept under the rug.

Under present rules of this House, legislation of this kind is referred to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. It would certainly be more reasonable for matters of such importance to the veterans of our Nation to be in the purview of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs is familiar with the needs of veterans, and deals with these needs daily. Certainly, provisions for gravesites for those who have helped to defend our Nation is no less an important veterans' affair than any other.

For that reason, I have introduced a resolution today to amend the rules of the House to achieve that end. Clause 10, rule XI, would be amended to remove national cemeteries from the responsibilities of the Interior Committee, and clause 19 of the same rule would be amended to make national cemeteries a concern of the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

A similar resolution has been introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR], who has also introduced a bill to make operation and maintenance of a national veterans' cemetery system a responsibility of the Veterans' Administration. This is one of the bills which has so far been ignored.

We owe it to those who have fought for us to provide them with adequate gravesites. I am convinced that a first step in this direction will be to transfer responsibility for such legislation to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. I urge action to change the rules to make this possible.

CONTROL OF THE CIA

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the dust stirred up by the revelations that the CIA has been secretly financing domestic organizations is beginning to settle, without any safeguards established to end this nefarious practice. We now know that the CIA has given substantial amounts of money to student organizations, labor organizations, publishing companies, and others. We also know that it has channeled funds through the use of tax-exempt foundations. At first there was deep concern about this activity. But already a sense of complacency is developing. Moreover, the CIA's infiltration of domestic organizations has been defended on the grounds that it is justified to combat the threat of communism.

Mr. Speaker, the issue is fundamental. Should a free society resort to secret and undemocratic methods in combating a political movement which denies freedom? Does the end justify the means? The means used by the CIA resulted in corruption of ourselves. For example, the students who were knowingly involved with the CIA were placed in the position of lying to their colleagues and tailoring their positions to suit the CIA. The very process, which was supposed to protect them, was a corrupting one.

The article published in the March issue of Ramparts magazine, which lifted the lid off the CIA's operations, clearly shows the effect of the CIA's seduction of students. No one who cares about maintaining the independence and freedom of our young people will fail to be repelled by the CIA's efforts. I will include the Ramparts article in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

If we are to compete with Communist ideology, we must do so by example, by showing that our open democratic system leads to the greater fulfillment of man. We cannot compete by emulation. For to do so leaves no choice. If it is in our national interest for the Government to support organizations which cannot receive sufficient support through private means, we should bear that responsibility openly. The decision to support an organization must be arrived at through the democratic process—not behind closed doors.

It is time we, as a nation, faced up to our responsibilities as a democratic society.

I fear the Central Intelligence Agency will, through one means or another, continue to funnel funds to seemingly free institutions unless Congress enacts an explicit prohibition.

Since the Bay of Pigs fiasco I have sponsored legislation to establish a Joint Committee on Foreign Information and Intelligence to oversee the CIA. In this Congress it is House Joint Resolution 305. But that may not be enough. There are already two subcommittees of the Congress which supposedly oversee the CIA. Did these subcommittees know about the CIA's involvement with the National Student Association and other domestic organizations? The Joint Committee on Foreign Information and Intelligence should be established as soon as possible.

However, the issue of channeling CIA funds to domestic organizations must be met head on. Congress must act to make it clear to the CIA, to our citizens, and to the world that the era of CIA interference with our free institutions is at an end for all time.

Today I have introduced two bills which should prevent it in the future.

The first bill amends the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949 to prohibit the Agency from granting, contributing, lending, or otherwise paying, directly or indirectly, any of its funds "to any foundation or philanthropic organization, labor organization, publishing organization, labor organization, radio or broadcasting organization, or educational institution—including organizations composed of students or faculty members—incorporated or otherwise organized under the laws of any State, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or any territory or possession of the United States, or under the laws of the United States."

The second bill amends the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to require each tax-exempt organization to file a public annual report which lists the sources, including Government sources, of all its income and other receipts. The bill provides for a penalty in addition to those already in the tax code, for a willful failure to file or fraudulent statements made in connection with the report. A willful failure to file or the making of fraudulent statements will result in the loss of tax exemption.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that legislation is the only way to insure that the CIA does not engage in the secret subsidizing of domestic organizations. The enactment of these two bills will prevent the CIA from engaging in secret activities which do much more damage to us than they do to others.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the Ramparts article published in March 1967:

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT POLITICS AND THE COLD WAR WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE NSA, CIA, ETC.

(By Sol Stern, with the special assistance of Lee Webb, Michael Ansara, and Michael Wood)

I. SOME NECESSARY BACKGROUND

The chill of the cold war was already in the air in August of 1946, when some 300 students from 38 countries assembled in the flag-bedecked Artists' Hall in Prague for the first World Student Congress. Among the delegates were 24 American students, many of them World War II veterans, representing various youth and student organizations and ten prominent universities. The communists were in the majority at the Congress, and disputes arose as to the proper role of international student organizations. Still, the Congress ended on an amicable note, with a call for further cooperation and the building of a truly representative international student organization—which came into existence shortly afterwards, and was named the International Union of Students (IUS). The American delegates, who came to be known as the Prague 25, returned home, fully convinced that a new, truly representative *national* organization had to be created which could fittingly represent the U.S. student community in the international student world.

Establishing themselves as an organizing committee, the Prague 25 issued a call for a national conference of student leaders to organize a new national union of students. They were remarkably successful. In the summer of 1947, a new body known as the United States National Student Association (NSA) held its Constitutional Convention in Madison, Wisconsin. By the time of this convention, the atmosphere of the IUS had become even more openly procommunist than it had been in Prague. However, it was not until the communist coup had taken place in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and the IUS had failed to condemn the communists' mishandling of Czech students that the break between NSA and IUS became official.

Finally, in 1950, NSA met in Stockholm with 18 other national student groups to form a new international student body which was ultimately called the International Student Conference (ISC). During the first meetings, the overwhelming majority of the delegates were opposed to the conception of the ISC as a "rival," set up to fight the IUS and international communism. The delegates to the first ISC wanted to avoid controversial political questions and any further schism of the international student world.

The new international organization grew quickly and impressively. By the middle '50s, over 55 national student unions were participating, more than half of which were from the underdeveloped "Third World," and the ISC had a huge budget providing for many programs of technical assistance, education and student exchanges. The ISC became the pacesetter for international student politics and NSA was on its way to becoming the most powerful force within the new international organization.

As the ISC grew, the students of the underdeveloped world pressed the hardest for it to take political stands on controversial issues such as colonialism and racism. And as the "Third World" student unions started to press political issues in the ISC, it was usually the NSA delegation that played the moderating role, trying to keep the ISC focused on the problems of "students as students."

In a sense, the very growth of the ISC engendered its problems. Most student unions, originally attracted to the organization out of resentment against the strictures imposed by the IUS, became alienated from it when, partly under NSA's prodding, the ISC began to set forth its own tight Cold War positions. By the 1960's, the situation had begun to reverse itself: the IUS was making gestures for consultations that might lead to a reunification of the world student movement, while the ISC—with NSA in the lead—kept to a rigid Cold War line and put off most of these overtures.

At its peak in 1960, over 400 schools were affiliated with NSA. Its staff operations and budget grew every year. Though there was little income from the dues of its constituent members, NSA picked up financial support for its operations from a number of foundations. Most of this went entirely to NSA's international operations. NSA was able to sponsor yearly international relations seminars, foreign student leadership training projects, scholarships for foreign students, and still maintain a large travel budget for its international commission staff and its overseas representatives.

Despite the formal democracy in NSA, there was little relationship between its overseas operations and its on-campus base. NSA Congresses were massive affairs attended mostly by students sent as delegates from the student governments of NSA's member schools. They had little knowledge of NSA's year-round staff operations. International affairs and the operations of NSA's international staff were debated by a select few who could usually move the rest of the Congress on the basis of their esoteric expertise. Overseas representatives of NSA and delegates to the ISC were never elected by the NSA Congress.

NSA has always shown two faces. Its domestic programs, its Congresses and its regional meetings have always been open and spontaneous. If NSA national leaders were occasionally over-cautious, they still moved with the liberal currents of opinion among American students. In the '50s, NSA took even more liberal stands than the prevailing apathy among students might have suggested. And in the '60s, NSA responded to the new militant protest mood on the campuses. It supported students against the draft, opposed the war in Vietnam, and participated in civil rights struggles. It played a crucial role in the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was one of its staunchest supporters, a position which cost it the affiliation of many schools in 1961.

Yet NSA's overseas image has been very different. Despite its liberal rhetoric, NSAers abroad seemed more like professional diplomats than students; there was something tough and secretive about them that was out of keeping with their openness and spontaneity back home.

In the light of all of this, it is not surprising that a number of NSA's critics have pointed a suspicious finger at its international operations. Nor is it a shock to discover that some people in the left wing of NSA, like Paul Potter, who was elected national affairs vice president in 1961 and went on to become president of Students for a Democratic Society, revealed that they had always suspected NSA's international operations of being tightly tied in with the State Department. Very few ever seriously raised the more sinister specter of CIA involvement.

II. SOME FANCY FINANCING

It is widely known that the CIA has a number of foundations which serve as direct fronts or as secret "conduits" that channel money from the CIA to preferred organizations. An intimation of the scope of this financial web was afforded the public on August 31, 1964, when Texas Congressman Wright Patman, in the course of an investigation into the use of foundations for tax dodges, announced that the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York was serving as a secret conduit for CIA funds. As soon as Patman made his announcement, representatives of the CIA and Internal Revenue came scurrying to his office for a hasty conference. Patman apparently was satisfied with the results. Without retracting his allegations about the Kaplan Fund he announced: ". . . The CIA does not belong in this foundation investigation."

Before bringing down the curtain of secrecy, he did, at least, reveal one fact of substance. It turned out that a number of other foundations had contributed to the Kaplan Fund during the crucial years of 1961–63 when the Fund had been serving the CIA. Five of these foundations were not even on the Internal Revenue Service's list of tax-exempt foundations. They were the Bordon Trust, the Price Fund, the Edsel Fund, the Beacon Fund and the Kentfield Fund. The implication was clear that some or all of these were the channel through which the CIA money passed into the Kapland foundation coffers.

Ramparts was provided with an unusual insight into the manner in which the CIA uses legitimate foundations wth liberal interests, such as the Kaplan Fund, in a recent conversation with the president of a prominent New England foundation who asked to remain anonymous: "I didn't want my foundation dragged through the CIA mud." In 1965 he was approached by what he described as "two nice middle-aged Irish cop types who flashed CIA cards at me." The men asked the foundation president if they could look over the list of organizations that his foundation supports. He volunteered the list to them and after looking it over, the agents said that there were organizations on the list that they would also be willing to support. The CIA men explained, "We are trying to pose an alternative to communism and want to back third-force programs, which we could not do if it was known that this support comes from a government source."

The agents then proposed to support some of the organizations already on the foundation's list as well as suggesting new prospective recipients. The agents promised that if this arrangement was accepted, they would be able to channel CIA money into the foundation without it ever being traced back to the CIA. They said that they were very skilled at these manipulations.

The president, however, took the proposal directly to the board which rejected it by a vote of four to one, out of what the foundation president called "a 19th century sense of morality. We just did not like the secrecy of it."

The CIA-suspect Funds mentioned in the Patman investigations are a key to understanding part of NSA's finances. Conveniently, they are spread all over the country (Borden in Philadelphia, Price in New York, Beacon in Boston, Kentfield in Dallas and Edsel, whose last known address was in San Francisco). When a Ramparts reporter checked out the addresses officially listed by the foundations, he usually found himself in a law office where no one was willing to talk about the Funds.

Two foundations that have supported the international programs of NSA—the J. Frederick Brown Foundation and the Independence Foundation—have received regular contributions from four of these CIA-linked Funds: Price, Borden, Kentfield, and Edsel. Both the J. Frederick Brown and the Independence Foundations list the same address, 60 State Street, Boston, which is also the address of the prestigious law firm of Hale and Dorr. Paul F. Hellmuth, a well-known Boston attorney and a member of Hale and Dorr, and David B. Stone, a Boston businessman and philanthropist, are the trustees of the Independence Foundation. Hellmuth alone is the trustee of the J. Frederick Brown Foundation.

Of the two, J. Frederick Brown is less important as a source of NSA funds. It made only $3300 in contributions to NSA, in 1963. It also made contributions to the American Friends of the Middle East, among other organizations with overseas interests. In an article in the May 9, 1966 issues of The Nation, Robert G. Sherrill implied that the American Friends had CIA ties. No official of the organization denied the allegations.

As far as NSA is concerned, the Independence Foundation is the more important of Mr. Hellmuth's two interests. Independence got its tax-exempt status in 1960. Since then, most of its funds have come from other trusts and foundations. In 1962, for example, the Independence Foundation received a total of $247,000, of which only $18,500 came from individuals or corporations; all the rest came from other foundations. Of the total, the four Funds cited in the Patman investigations gave $100,000.

Between 1962 and 1965, NSA received $256,483.33 in grants for its international programs from Independence. Much of that sum went to pay for NSA's International Student Relations Seminars, yearly extravaganzas which served as effective training grounds for future NSA international leaders.

NSA is still coasting on Independence's largesse. The building which houses NSA's present headquarters is occupied under a 15-year rent-free agreement with the Independence Foundation. Originally, NSA purchased the building with a down payment and a yearly mortgage payment to be secured from Independence. But Independence suddenly changed its mind and bought the property back from NSA. Deeds on file with the clerk of the District of Columbia reveal that NSA sold the property on October 20th, 1965, to the First National Bank, but that the bank was acting as a "trustee under an undisclosed trust." The undisclosed party is Paul Hellmuth, who secured the property, and leased it to the Independence Foundation which turned it over to NSA for the 15-year free rent agreement.

Shortly after NSA moved into its new, plush Washington offices in the fall of 1965, a reporter from the Washington Post, who was doing a feature article on NSA, asked NSA President Phil Sherburne who was paying the rent on the building. Sherburne refused to divulge this information. This secrecy in protecting the names of NSA's benefactors was not unusual. In fact, NSA has never made a full financial accounting to its own Congresses.

The Independence Foundation has served NSA's overseas operations in other indirect ways. It has provided a number of scholarships for former NSA officers, usually in the neighborhood of $3000 per year. The purpose of these scholarships was to enable former NSA officers to function as overseas representatives where they were free to make contacts with foreign student unions and roam as free operatives for NSA, sending back periodic reports. Ostensibly, the overseas representatives were supposed to be in overseas universities, but this was entirely pro forma.

Independence has not restricted its largesse exclusively to NSA. In the period between 1961 and 1965 it spent $180,000 in financing an interesting operation known as the Independent Research Service (IRS). This was the organization that made life so miserable for the organizers of the communist-leaning world youth festivals in Vienna in 1959, and in Helsinki in 1962. The Independent Research Service actively recruited a delegation of hundreds of young Americans to attend the festivals in order to actively oppose the communists. The travel expenses of all the delegates were fully paid for and the bill was footed as well for a jazz group, an exhibition of famous American painters and a daily newspaper printed in five languages, all of which accompanied the delegates.

Although the official position of the NSA Congress was not to participate in the youth festivals, important NSA officers and ex-officers were very active in the Independent Research Service activities in Vienna and Helsinki. The director of the IRS during the Helsinki Youth Festival was Dennis Shaul, who was elected NSA president shortly thereafter. Shaul has also been the recipient of one of the Independence Foundation's "scholarships" in 1964.

When questioned by a Ramparts reporter about some of the activities and sources of funds for his Independence Foundation, Mr. Hellmuth, a normally outgoing man, became guarded and curt. He refused to divulge the addresses or any other information about the money which had been donated to both of his foundations. However, he was quite voluble about his close friendship with the officers of NSA.

Still another foundation which has given to NSA is the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation of Boston. The similarities betwene the Rabb Foundation and the J. M. Kaplan Fund are striking. Rabb, like Kaplan, is a Jewish businessman, prominent in liberal democratic circles. The records show that up until 1963 the Rabb Foundation's only source of income was from Rabb himself. And up to that year, the Rabb Foundation's contributions were minimal and only to local charities.

Then, in 1963, two contributions to the Rabb Foundation flowed in from the Price Fund of New York—one of the Funds named in the Patman investigation, and a contributor to the J. Frederick Brown and Independence Foundations. The contributions were for $25,000 and $15,000 respectively. Strikingly, in the same year, the Rabb Foundation itself made two unusual and large contributions in precisely the same amounts—one for $25,000 to Operations and Policy Research Incorporated, a Cold War-oriented strategy organization; and $15,000 to the Fairfield Foundation. Fairfield, in its turn, has been a frequent contributor to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, previously identified in The New York Times as having received CIA funds.

During 1964, the Rabb Foundation again received unusual contributions, from three Funds, and also made three matching disbursements. It received $25,000 from the Tower Fund, and turned over the exact sum of $25,000 as a grant to the International Development Foundation which has been engaged in organizing anti-communist peasant unions in Latin America. It was particularly active in the Dominican Republic during that country's period of revolution and American intervention. The Rabb Foundation also received a $20,000 contribution from the Appalachian Fund, and during that year made a disbursement of $20,000 to the American Society of African Culture. Finally, the Rabb Foundation received $6,000 from the ubiquitous Price Fund, and during the same year it turned over—would you believe—$6,000 to the United States National Student Association to help retire an NSA deficit. Rabb made at least one other contribution to NSA in 1965 in the amount of $5,000.

It is not always easy to obtain information on the foundations which have sustained NSA's international operations. Take the San Jacinto Foundation, for example. In the past, San Jacinto has not only funded important portions of NSA's international program, but it has also given huge sums of money to the program budget of the ISC. In particular, it has been overly generous in supporting The Student, an ISC publication printed in five languages and distributed all over the world as an anti-communist weapon.

One other interesting fact about the San Jacinto Foundation is that, like the J. Frederick Brown Foundation, it has contributed to the CIA-suspect American Friends of the Middle East. No one at NSA, or ISC for that matter, appears to have the vaguest notion of what the San Jacinto Foundation is, who is on its board of directors or where its money comes from. San Jacinto has also apparently managed to avoid the reporting procedures required by law of all tax-exempt foundations. No records for it have been entered at the district office of the Internal Revenue Service in Austin, or with the secretary of the State of Texas, or with the county clerk.

San Jacinto's mailing address is the offices of F. G. O'Conner in the San Jacinto Building in downtown Houston. Mr. O'Connor is the secretary of the foundation. When asked by Ramparts' peripatetic reporter for some information about the foundation, Mr. O'Conner, a graying, distinguished-looking man in his sixties replied, "It is a private, closed foundation, never had any publicity and doesn't want any."

As far back as anyone can remember, the mainstay of NSA's overseas operations has been the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs of New York City, founded in 1952. In contrast to the likes of Independence and San Jacinto, FYSA has a for-real office, a full-time staff and an eminently respectable board of directors.

In recent years, FYSA annually pumped hundreds of thousands of dollars per year into NSA's treasury. The figure for October 1965 to October 1966 was $292,753.60. It provided a general administrative grant of up to $120,000 per year and funded projects such as NSA's magazine, The American Student, foreign student participation at NSA Congresses, technical assistance projects; and its funds paid NSA's dues to the ISC. In addition, FYSA could be relied upon to pick up any operating deficit that NSA incurred during the year, and FYSA gives "scholarships" to ex-NSA officers for overseas study.

FYSA has also been the chief U.S. source for channeling money overseas to national unions of students favored by the NSA leadership. And FYSA has been practically the only external source of support, except for the mysterious San Jacinto Foundation, of the programs of the ISC. Between 1962–1964, ISC records show that these two foundations provided over 90 per cent of ISC's program budget (most of it from FYSA)—a gargantuan total of $1,826,000 in grants completed or in progress. The ISC would be literally impotent as an international organization without the support of FYSA, having been unable to establish any sizable alternative sources of funding.

The executive secretary of FYSA is Harry Lunn, a tall, ruddy-faced, balding man in his middle thirties, himself a past president of NSA, who used to make applications for grants to the foundation which he now directs. Lunn vehemently denied the suggestion that his foundation might be channeling CIA money for NSA, although he would not release a financial statement to this magazine.

After his presidency of NSA (1954–55) had terminated, Lunn became a member of an ISC delegation to Southeast Asia. Then, following a short stint in the Army, he went to the Department of Defense as a research analyst. From there he went on up the ladder to the political desk of the American embassy in Paris and then on up to the Agency for International Development, where he worked on the Alliance for Progress. It was from this last position that Lunn came to FYSA in 1965. Lunn also took part in the activities of the militantly anti-communist Independent Research Service at the Vienna Youth Festival in 1959, while he was attached to the Department of Defense.

Lunn's career is a case study in the intimate relationship between NSA, international student politics and the Cold War. It is living documentation of a slogan that used to hang in NSA's old Philadelphia headquarters: "The student leader of today is the student leader of tomorrow."

III. AN EXTRAORDINARY CONVERSATION

The scene was the Sirloin and Saddle, a plush, dimly-lit, continental style restaurant on Washington, D.C.'s Connecticut Avenue. It was lunchtime, the third week of March 1966, and over a table an earnest conversation was taking place that eventually resulted in the exposure of the CIA's 15-year infiltration of the National Student Association.

There were two people there that day. One of them was Phil Sherburne, NSA president for 1965–66. Athletic-looking, blonde, self-possessed, his NSA post was his latest stop in a meteoric career in student politics.

Sherburne's luncheon companion that eventful day was 23-year-old Michael Wood, NSA's director of development, or fund raising chief. Wood, too, had risen rapidly in student politics. He left Pomona College during his senior year to become a civil rights worker in Watts, where one of his projects had caught the eye of an NSA officer. He became an NSA consultant in the spring of 1965, and was soon promoted to the post of director of development. Besides raising money for NSA, he helped Sherburne work out new programs, and had even been consulted by the White House staff on possible Presidential proposals about the draft and the lowering of the voting age. He had received a letter from Douglass Cater, special assistant to the President, commending him for his excellent reports.

Wood was talking to Sherburne because he was troubled. He had been running into irritating roadblocks in trying to raise money for NSA. He had encountered a curious lack of concern among other members of the Association's international staff about the rigorous preparation usually required for foundation fund raising. The amount of money needed often ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars, yet the proposals being submitted to the foundations funding the international program were ill-prepared, perfunctory and brief. Furthermore, President Sherburne was negotiating with the foundations without Wood's participation.

After six months of this confusion, Wood told Sherburne, with whom he had grown quite close, that he either had to be given full responsibility for the fund raising program or he would have to resign. It was at this time that Sherburne invited him to a heart-to-heart lunch conference. The following is Wood's account of what transpired during this and subsequent conversations:

Sherburne began by telling Wood that NSA had "certain relationships with certain government agencies engaged in international relations" which Wood didn't know about. This, explained Sherburne, was why Wood couldn't have full responsibility for NSA's fund raising. Wood was astonished. "You mean the CIA?" he asked. Sherburne nodded yes. Sherburne then told Wood that he was supposed to have been informed of the CIA relationship after he was appointed director of development, but that other NSA staff members and CIA contacts had decided he was politically unreliable. As well as having been a civil rights worker, Wood had gained a reputation as something of a radical. Because he couldn't be told of the CIA relationship, it was necessary to keep him in the dark about certain aspects of NSA funding.

Sherburne told Wood he hoped that everything said over lunch that day would be kept secret. He was divulging the information only because he did not want Wood to leave NSA. Later he explained that he wanted a friend he could trust with whom to discuss the CIA relationship, other than staffers who were already involved.

The CIA, said Sherburne, had managed to inject itself into the Association's international operations in the early 1950's. Since that time, virtually every president and international affairs vice president of the organization had been aware of the CIA relationship and had cooperated.

Sherburne went on to say that most of the foundations that had funded NSA's international operations were merely passing along CIA money. Moreover, some of them had made up NSA's yearly deficits, and had financed the purchase and renovation of NSA's new offices in Washington. This explained the mystery surrounding the acquisition and the rent for NSA's new national offices.

Among the CIA-front foundations specifically mentioned, according to Wood, were the Independence Foundation, the San Jacinto Foundation, the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, the Sidney and Esther Rabb Foundation, and the J. Frederick Brown Foundation. To the best of Sherburne's knowledge, CIA money did not pass through the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Asia Foundation, and other groups which had also funded NSA international programs in the past.

Sherburne presented the Agency's involvement in international student politics as a *fait accompli*; he argued that the CIA's vast supply of money was absolutely essential. Although he had serious doubts about the desirability of the relationship, he felt that NSA could not get as much money from any other source; moreover, the Agency had supported many worthwhile and liberal overseas programs. In any event, Sherburne felt that a sudden termination of the relationship would leave NSA in disastrous financial straits.

The CIA was interested almost exclusively in NSA's international programs. Over the years no staff member who worked exclusively on NSA's national program was involved in a CIA relationship, and few, if any, even knew about it. Keeping the CIA connection secret was made easier by the fact that NSA's national and international departments were in different cities from 1947–1960.

During their frequent conversations, Sherburne gave Wood a partial glossary of "black" language that was used by NSA's CIA operatives whenever they discussed the relationship in a semi-public place. They referred to the CIA as the "firm" and not the Agency; people were not described as operatives or agents but as being "witty"; those who worked inside the Agency bureaucracy were referred to as the "fellas" or the "boys." Frequently, important NSA-ers were given code names for their contacts with the Agency. Sherburne's code name was "Mr. Grants" (based on his facility for fund raising).

Sherburne told Wood that normal procedure involved a careful evaluation by former NCA international officers of international staff members for their reliability—as well as a full national security check by the CIA. If a member passed the test, he was made "witty."

The prospective "witty" staff member would usually be taken out to lunch by another already "witty" staff member, and a representative of the CIA. NSA's dealings were with Covert Action Division No. Five of the CIA's Plans Division, and the personnel they dealt with there were themselves former NSA officers. Thus, when the new officer was takn to lunch, he at first assumed that he was merely going out with another staff member and an NSA alumnus. The prospective "witty staff member was told at lunch that there was information relating to work on the international staff which affected national security and which he should know about, but which required him to sign a national security oath. If he signed the oath, which pledged him to keep secret any information that was then divulged, he was then told about the CIA relationship and asked to cooperate.

The implication was clear that if the international staff member ever divulged any of the information about the relationship, there could be severe legal penalties. Thus the international officers were placed in a position in which they could not acknowledge the existence of the relationship, even to other "non-witty" NSA-ers. Sherburne made the first breach in a 15-year wall of secrecy.

The typical "witty" international staff member would first consult with an Agency representative about his overseas programs. Grants for international programs, travel allowances and expense accounts for NSA members going to overseas student conferences, would then all be supplied by CIA-front foundations.

So intimately was the CIA involved in NSA's international program, that it treated NSA as an arm of U.S. foreign policy. The point is illustrated by a story that Sherburne told Wood. At one point during his tenure in office, Sherburne was to attend the International Student Travel Conference in Istanbul. There had already been much talk in NSA circles of opening up some bilateral contact with student unions in Soviet-bloc countries. Sherburne felt his trip to Turkey would provide a good opportunity to meet with Soviet students and discuss possible student exchanges. Sherburne sent off a cable to the Soviet National Union of Students saying that he would be in Istanbul and requesting permission to travel on to Moscow for a meeting with the Soviet student organization. But the CIA got wind of Sherburne's cable and admonished him for doing such things without first consulting the Agency. A CIA agent explained to Sherburne that since KGB (the Soviet "CIA") assumed that NSA took its cues from the U.S. government, Sherburne's gesture might be interpreted as an official change in CIA policy on bilateral student contacts. Sherburne, even though he was president of the United States National Student Association, was enjoined against making such diplomatic overtures without first requesting permission from the Agency.

The Soviet Union has always spent a good deal of money working with student and youth groups, especially in underdeveloped countries. The CIA's instrument for countering Soviet efforts was NSA, working through the International Student Conference. Former "witty" NSA staffers were always in the Secretariat of the ISC.

And NSA, with the CIA's aid, was able to play a major role in cooperating with favored national unions of students all over the world. No other union of students in the Western world has the kind of financial backing as NSA. The Canadian Union of Students, for example, operates on a budget of about $14,000 a year for its international programs, all of which comes from the dues of member schools. NSA, with its almost unlimited funds, was able to conduct a full program of foreign diplomacy.

Of course, the CIA was also interested in intelligence. "Witty" NSA international staff members would pass along reports on foreign student leaders directly to the Agency. This information helped the CIA in evaluating the political tendencies of prospective political leaders in critical areas of the world.

One of the lures the CIA dangled before NSA was the assurance that this intelligence gathering role did not seem to require NSA to violate its foreign policy principles. The CIA is interested in alternatives to communism in the underdeveloped world, even if the only alternative is a moderate left. "Witty" staff members were told that, in working with the CIA, they would be providing the information that would help get a more enlightened foreign policy presented in high Washington circles.

Thus an NSA international staffer, while on an overseas assignment cleared with the CIA, visited student groups in Spain that were militantly protesting against the Franco dictatorship's suppression of free student unions. This NSA-er, a genuine supporter of the Spanish students, joined a protest meeting and was roughed up by the Spanish police, jailed, and held incommunicado for three days. The same staff member had previously gone to the Dominican Republic shortly after the American intervention there. He brought back a report on his contacts with university students who had participated in the civil war on the side of the constitutionalists.

To NSA the CIA relationship was a comfortable one. It meant lots of money, a sense of doing important work, overseas travel, and, perhaps most important of all, very little feeling of having sold out one's political convictions. The CIA relationship meant something more personal, too. For years elected (and appointed) officials and staffers of NSA have been getting draft deferments. The deferment given for having an "occupation vital to the national interest" would last as long as the member worked for NSA; it was then possible for him to go on to graduate school and receive a student deferment again.

The standard practice was for the president of NSA to send a letter to the local draft board stating that the staff member's services were required in an area that affected the national interest. Always included was a Cold War paragraph about how NSA was combatting communism. In what had become almost a form letter, the NSA president, asking for an occupational deferment for his staff member, wrote: "NSA is largely responsible for the creation and maintenance of the International Student Conference, which was established in 1950 to combat the communist-controlled International Union of Students. More than 50 countries—almost every state with a national union this side of the Iron Curtain—now participate in the International Student Conference."

During 1965–66 the war in Vietnam escalated, and a panic developed in the NSA office when staff members suddenly found themselves re-classified 1-A under the impact of the increased draft quotas. Sherburne took the matter of the office staff's status to the Selective Service Presidential Review Board, and also went directly to General Hershey. No NSA staff members, "witty" or "non-witty," were drafted. The Agency looks after its own.

IV. THE PRESIDENT REBELS

When the CIA made Phil Sherburne "witty" it got more than it bargained for. Sherburne has a tough-minded, gritty independence that soon led him into conflict with those who were paying NSA's bills. Not only did Sherburne break the CIA cult of secrecy, but he also began fighting for NSA autonomy in international programming.

Sherburne's initial attitude to the Agency was friendly but reserved. He was willing to take CIA money for NSA projects and to consult with the Agency on matters of common interest, but he was the first NSA president who demanded full control of international programs. Previously, international programs—scholarships, student exchanges, conferences and the like—had all been worked out by NSA staff members and their CIA contacts.

But the Agency resisted Sherburne's reforms and applied pressure through their foundations. For the first time in years there were delays in the granting of funds from foundations such as FYSA and San Jacinto. But Sherburne fought back. He refused to release the funds (paid for by FYSA) that would have paid the dues of NSA to the International Student Conference. Finally, most of the money was released to NSA and a *modus vivendi* of sorts was reached. Eventually, Sherburne told Wood, Covert Action Division No. Five became so upset at its errant child, it considered severing ties with the NSA altogether.

Sherburne's effort at establishing some independence left its financial marks. Previously, any year-end operating deficits were quickly picked up by FYSA or some other foundation. In 1962–63 NSA had blundered into a disastrous financial venture with a book cooperative and wound up with approximately a $70,000 deficit. After NSA made a pro forma appeal to alumni that brought in practically nil, several key CIA foundations and individuals came through with the cash and the debt was miraculously retired in two years. The cost of NSA's move from Philadelphia and at least $35,000 worth of furniture and renovations for the new Washington offices were just as easily absorbed. Among others, FYSA put up $15,000 and two men, Thomas Millbank and George Baker, put up $10,000 and $5000 respectively. Millbank and Baker are both well-established New York corporate executives and fellow members of the Racquet and Tennis Club. These two men once joined with FYSA in making an $18,000 grant to the ISC for a Latin American student conference. When asked about his interest in NSA and international student politics by this magazine, Mr. Millbank, once an assistant naval attache in Cairo, said: "It is none of your business," and promptly hung up the phone.

At the end of a year of relative independence, Sherburne was faced with approximately a $35,000 deficit that no one picked up. The deficit has remained, despite staff cutbacks. The "firm" doesn't like rebellious children.

By the end of a year of wrangling with the CIA, Sherburne was convinced that it was impossible to maintain an independent but friendly relationship. In an attempt to find new funds that would free NSA of its financial dependence on the CIA, Sherburne went to see Vice President Humphrey in July of 1966. Humphrey had been friendly to NSA, had addressed its National Congress in 1965, and had met Sherburne once previously.

Sherburne told the Vice President about the CIA ties and NSA's financial predicament. Humphrey promised to help NSA get other independent sources of financing.

Humphrey kept his word and wrote to Roger Blough, Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel, David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Henry Ford, among others. In a typical letter (the one to Roger Blough), Humphrey said:

> I have been very much impressed by the work done over the past few years by the National Student Association. I know the officers of the Association well.
>
> As with other such groups the NSA has had a continuing financial difficulty.
>
> I believe that this organization should be able to find support in the private sector, which will enable it to continue its work independently and in the best spirit of private initiative.

Despite Humphrey's entreaties, only a few hundred dollars rolled in from "the private sector." Thus NSA went to its 1966 Congress, the deficit still on its back, and its relationship with the CIA badly damaged. Sherburne continued to resist Wood's suggestions that he make a thoughtful public statement about the relationship and have it openly discussed as a public issue.

Yet what Sherburne had accomplished was considerable. For the first time in years, new national officers were elected without apparent commitments to the CIA relationship. The only problems bothering the new officers were their knowledge of the past, and the large financial deficit—for it appeared that Humphrey's friends in the "private sector" were not as interested in supporting NSA as a rather un-public part of the "public sector" had been.

V. EPITAPH TO A CAPER

Phil Sherburne finally went to Harvard Law School after his year of escapades with the CIA. He was in Cambridge when Ramparts called him early last month to get his reaction to Mike Wood's revelations. In a subdued voice he said: "I think I would prefer not to say anything until I have had a chance to look at the article pretty carefully. . . . I think the article should be discussed by the current administration of NSA, and that anything that I would say would be resolved in discussions with them."

Then he was asked, "Did you sign a national security oath?" Sherburne paused a few moments and said, "At this point I don't want to make any comment."

Sherburne was under enormous pressure, not only out of a remaining loyalty to NSA, but also from the CIA. That "enlightened" organization had viciously turned on him for talking to Wood, and was trying hard to intimidate him into publicly denying Wood's story.

Sometime in the middle of January, the NSA officers and Sherburne heard that Michael Wood had passed his information along to Ramparts. Sherburne called Wood and asked him to fly to Boston, where Sherburne pleaded with him for an entire day to retract his story. Then they both flew to Washington for four more days of intense and harrowing discussion with two of the current NSA national officers, an NSA staff member, and a former national affairs vice president.

In the Washington conversations with Wood, the officers of NSA desperately tried to dissuade him from giving the information to this magazine. Wood refused and instead urged the officers to affirm the story publicly, which would be the only way of salvaging NSA's dignity. The officers would not commit themselves.

There followed two weeks of hectic caucusing and emergency meetings at NSA headquarters. NSA officers visited a number of well-known NSA alumni, including Douglass Cater of the White House staff, to ask their advice. At least one of the officers also went straight to the Agency. The current CIA operative whom he contacted is a former NSA president. He is officially employed by the Agency for International Development in Washington.

At one point the officers assembled the staff, told them of the impending story and flatly denied that it was true. They suggested that Wood was making up the story to revenge NSA for having lost his job as director of development. Finally, another staff meeting was called and it was admitted that the story was true.

Meanwhile, on the west coast, two Ramparts editors were talking to Ed Schwartz, NSA's current national affairs vice president. Schwartz, talkative and quick-witted, had been the leader of the liberal caucus in NSA. He was in Berkeley, working as a behind-the-scenes student political advisor-negotiator during the University of California campus crisis precipitated by the firing of Clark Kerr.

It seems a direct, ironic result of Cold War politics that Schwartz had to drop his liberal Berkeley activities and cross the Bay to discuss his organization's cooperation with the CIA. Through a long and tiring discussion that lasted most of one night, Schwartz did not deny NSA's relationship to the CIA. Instead, he pleaded that great damage would be done to the good works of NSA by the revelation of this relationship. As the discussion ended, he muttered something about losing his draft deferment.

A few days later, in Washington, D.C., a Ramparts editor had an almost identical conversation with two other NSA officers. The talk began in NSA's national headquarters, a four-story colonial-style brick building in a quiet residential section. On the desk in President Gene Groves' office there was an autographed picture of Hubert Humphrey. With Groves was Rick Stearns, the international affairs vice president.

During the conversation neither Stearns nor Groves denied NSA's CIA connections in the past but stated that "all of our current financing comes from legitimate sources which observe the normal legitimate reporting procedures." And yet NSA's current budget records grants totaling $56,673.30 from FYSA. Stearns was asked, "Will you flatly say you have had no contact with the CIA during your time in office?" He shook his head.

Stearns and Groves pleaded that disclosure of the CIA relationship would be disastrous for NSA. It would put them in an awful political predicament. If they publicly admitted past CIA connections, it would tarnish NSA's image badly at home and abroad, and hurt its chances of receiving grants from other government agencies. NSA staff members also feared CIA retaliation, especially the loss of their draft deferments.

Having kept quiet about the CIA since their election, the officers now went into action to minimize the effects of the forthcoming disclosures. NSA President Gene Groves flew off to Leiden, Holland for an emergency Summit meeting with the leaders of the ISC. Groves came back convinced that NSA must make some acknowledgment of the CIA relationship—but at the urging of his colleagues in Leiden there would be as few details as possible admitted.

If older Americans have been a little put off by the style of the draft card burners or the Mario Savios, there has always been somewhat of a consensus about the good works of the young men and women of the United States National Student Association. The NSA seemed to mix the idealism of the community organizers, the FSM activists and the Peace Corps with the buttoned-down practicality of young junior executives.

The quality which rank and file NSA-ers have cherished most about themselves is independence, especially independence from government controls. It was this quality that was supposed to distinguish their organization from national unions of students in the communist world. The quality for the most part was genuine, for the rank and file never knew of the CIA connection.

There were many arguments put forward by NSA's current officers as to why the CIA-NSA relationship should be kept secret, and many similar arguments desperately made to Mike Wood as to why he should not have given the information to anyone. Of all the reasons given—by Stearns and Groves to Ramparts' editor in Washington, and by others who pleaded with Wood—the most pathetic, which appeared again and again, was this: exposing the story would not only hurt NSA, it would hurt the CIA. Covert Action Division No. Five, after all, was not in the buisness of assassinating Latin American leftists, it was supporting liberal groups like NSA, groups with international programs in the best tradition of cultural exchanges between countries. NSA might be anti-communist, but certainly no one could ever argue that its anti-communism was more militant or more narrow-minded than that of the average American. Rather, it was less so. Thus the exposure of the NSA–CIA tie would deeply hurt the enlightened, liberal, internationalist wing of the CIA. Conservative congressmen, such as L. Mendel Rivers of the House Armed Services Committee, would cut off Agency funds for these purposes, and the head-liners in CIA's "core" would be proven right in their contentions that the Agency shouldn't give large sums of money to support liberal students, no matter what intelligence it was getting in return.

The twisted sickness of this Orwellian argument should speak for itself. Yet it is extraordinary, and frightening, that it could be so easily made by the talented young liberals at the head of NSA. One would think the idea of "an enlightened wing of the CIA" would be an obvious contradiction in terms. But the idea's acceptance and support by a generation of student leaders indicates how deeply the corruption of means for ends has become ingrained in our society, and how much dishonesty is tolerated in the name of the Cold War.

AN EPILOGUE

(By Michael Wood, San Francisco, February 1967)

The decision to tell this story was the most agonizing of my life. Phil Sherburne, whose personal trust I have betrayed, was a close friend. Though we disagreed on many subjects (especially on how to handle the CIA), in seeking to terminate NSA's relationship he acted with a dignity rare among those who knew the facts.

Moreover, I still believe in NSA, and deeply respect the progressive stance it has taken among American students for 20 years. Yet the issues involved are larger, and my public trust as a citizen of the United States must transcend my private trust.

For years the United States National Student Association has stood for "a free university in a free society." Its resolutions on academic, political and social freedoms are clear. Its constitutional commitment to free and open democracy is of long standing. Its defense of civil liberties has been staunch and consistent. Yet because of NSA's relationship to the CIA, its leaders have for 15 years undermined those principles.

This story is only a case study in CIA corruption. When I was told of Covert Action No. Five's infiltration of NSA, I was also told of numerous other organizations similarly infiltrated. A few have been named in this article; many others have had to be omitted. In an age when the average man's only access to the centers of decision is through private institutions, the responsiveness of those institutions to his wishes is critical to the healthy workings of a democracy. The spectre of CIA infiltration of domestic institutions—and the covert creation of coordinated leadership among them—must horrify those who regard unfettered debate as vital to representative democracy.

Those of us who worked for NSA during 1965–66, experienced an unusual sense of personal liberation. While actively involved in many of the insurgent campus and political movements of the day, we were also able to move freely through the highest echelons of established power. If those who occupied the command posts didn't always sympathize with our goals, they listened nonetheless and were sometimes affected. We felt like full citizens, able to move freely without compromising our principles. It gave us a heady feeling and a sense of power beyond our years.

The mobility and influence was as it should be for a national union of students; to learn that it had been bought with so terrible a compromise made me realize how impotent we really were.

Because of the pain involved in public discussion of so sensitive an issue, I have often wished that I had never learned the truth. Yet to avoid the truth, however painful, would be irresponsible.

There have always been staff members of the international commission who were entirely unaware of the relationship. It is unfortunate that all of them could not be protected, and that many of them may suffer the onus of NSA's guilt. I should like to note, however, that Gregory Delin, Gilbert Kulick, and Marcia Casey were in no way aware of the relationship. I am similarly sure that Mrs. Isabel Marcus Welsh, international affairs vice president in 1959–60 had no knowledge of the CIA's presence in NSA.

For those individuals in NSA who—like myself for a time—knowingly allowed themselves to be part of the relationship with the CIA, the worst consequences are internal. Very few staff members so involved were callous Cold Warriors who cynically appreciated their work with the CIA. Most of them, rather, were deeply committed liberals, whose consciences had no rest while they served two masters. All of them, I am sure, have at times felt horribly trapped in the conflict between their actions and their liberal principles.

Perhaps worst of all is the everyday dishonesty, the need to clam up when in the presence of "non-witty" staff members, to fudge, to make excuses and deflect embarrassing questions. Perhaps a professional intelligence operative, who sincerely believes in anti-communism at any price, can learn to suppress with not too much damage that most basic instinct of youth—to be open, frank, questioning of all things, in communion with his friends. But for the typical NSA staff member, part of a generation whose instinct is to unmask hypocrisy, the compromise comes very hard indeed. Many of them have suffered as a consequence the most agonizing sort of emotional schizophrenia—part of the human toll in an otherwise impersonal and cynical international intelligence operation.

And a Judgment

(By Marcus Raskin, co-director, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.)

In Simone de Beauvoir's roman à clef, *The Mandarins*, there is a passage where the State Department tries to "help" Henri Perron (supposedly Camus) by offering him newsprint if his journal holds to an independent, neutralist line. Perron construes the offer to mean that the magazine should not criticize the fundamental methods of American foreign policy, and turns down the "aid." To protect the magazine's independence he also turns down aid from communist sources. But the gods play with men and their ideals. For a period of time the magazine receives its funds from a man who took gold from dentists who collaborated with the Nazis. Living in the world makes it hard to avoid dirty hands, perhaps because we are egocentric and overvalue the work we do. When we try to bring our projects into being they become more important to us than the reason we initiated them.

For example, it is not written in the Torah or the Constitution that educational institutions had to become fronts for the government, places where the rhetoric for the Cold War is supplied and the equations and technology for hydrogen bombs are manufactured. Nobody forced them into this position. Nor did the small, cliquish groups who ran the National Student Association have to take money from the CIA. Perhaps 15 years ago it was easier that way. For the young college graduate who was a "student leader" there was nothing quite as flattering as being approached by the CIA to help in the National Effort. Furthermore, it was the way up the status ladder, to success, travel, excitement, money, and government or foundation jobs. By following that road the student leaders of my generation—a decade ago—played it safe. As a result, they became instruments of the Cold War.

I have tried to figure out why the CIA would bother attempting to get to American students. After all, it takes a good deal of trouble and expense to set up front organizations and all the other tools that used to be the monopoly of the communists. The best way to understand the CIA's motives is to see it as primarily a commercial institution which deals in buying, renting and selling people.

Yet after we examine the CIA's motives and purposes, we are left with Cold War wreckage as serious and immoral as the Bay of Pigs operation, the U–2 overflights, or the Guatemalan caper. We are left with the fact that one generation attempted to corrupt the young by paying them off, buying and renting them on the installment plan. (Now that there is a crack in the door isn't it about time that we have a public accounting of CIA funds? How much of that loot sticks in the pockets of the CIA operatives themselves?) We are left with the fact that the CIA made patsies out of thousands of young Americans who went abroad to conferences or who studied under NSA auspices, but who unknowingly were being paid for, and were used by the CIA as contacts, covers and mail drops. Furthermore, how do we now face other nations who took us at our word that our students were "free" and therefore different from the communist-run youth groups? The CIA owes an apology to the innocent college students of this last generation.

MORE TAXES IF INCOME TAX SHARED BY STATES, BLESSED BE TAXPAYER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FUQUA] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I am beginning to wonder if there are not many people over 25 who believe in Santa Claus.

Now I am not belittling St. Nick, and I do not want to destroy one of the great traditions of Christmas for our children.

However, I cannot help but feel that those advocating the so-called sharing of Federal taxes with the States to be "pie in the sky" and/or a belief in a Santa Claus, who is somehow going to drop a "sack full of money" to make up a huge and uncontrollable additional Federal deficit.

I have literally been amazed at some of the people who have espoused such a cause.

I have listened closely to them, but I failed to hear them mention basic points that I want answered. I think the American people want them answered.

First. If a percentage of the Federal income tax is returned to the States, will we not need new taxes to make up the deficit?

I would point out that during the fiscal year just ended June 30, 1966, a deficit of $2.3 billion was incurred. The picture appears more pessimistic in the immediate future for bigger deficits.

It has been estimated by many sources that the deficit for the current fiscal year of 1967 is for $9.7 billion, and an $8.1 billion deficit the following year. This, I would remind you, assumes that Congress will enact the President's latest tax recommendations.

A second question? If we are not going to have a tax increase, then do we expect to cut Federal expenditures by a like amount?

Third. Should we not attempt to simply bring Federal expenditures in line with income, before enacting new programs to spend money?

Now it might be assumed that we are going to cut Federal programs in existence today in order to equal the tax returned to the State.

I think a question should be asked.

Which programs?

The President, in his state of the Union message, presented to the Congress on January 10, 1967, stated:

> During the past three years we have returned to the state and local governments about $40 billion in grants-in-aid. This year alone, 70 percent of our Federal expenditures for domestic programs will be distributed through the State and local governments.

There are several serious objections to this tax-sharing proposal.

It does not take into account the needs of a particular State. They will be receiving funds on some sort of basis regardless of whether there is a need or not. I imagine we would wind up with some sort of formula, however, that would find some States severely penalized and others rewarded.

Many of these bills provide for allocation of these funds for certain purposes, such as health, education, and welfare. Particularly would I deem education to be a worthy goal, but I am concerned about the mounting Federal debt, and feel this would only add to the burden.

Let us talk a little commonsense.

The surest and quickest way to insure a huge increase in Federal taxes is to pass this Federal tax-sharing proposal.

There would be no decrease in present Federal programs, and the deficit would be added on to the present huge deficit. It would be the taxpayer that would be called on to foot the bill.

During the past few years, we have seen galloping inflation eat into the income fabric of this Nation. Those hurt the most are: the poor whose money does not go as far, the retired elderly living on fixed incomes that would have been sufficient had it not been for the increase in the cost of living, and those in poverty.

Under such a program, there would not be freedom from Federal control. There would be such rigid requirements attached that we would have a bureaucrat in Washington virtually making that part of a State's budget.

There would be a feeling on the part of State officials to spend the money, whether it is needed or not, with the same old tired verbage, others are doing it and so should I.

Those endorsing this plan have not honestly pointed to those programs they want eliminated in the Federal budget. They have not been fair with the American people.

Let us be honest with the American people.

Most of those advocating this plan scream the loudest about balancing the budget. I could not be more in favor of balancing the budget.

Such a program as this would increase the Federal debt and the consequent rise in the cost of living through inflation. The same people who advocate this scheme are among the most vocal in stating that they want to see the Federal debt decreased, and the cost of living stabilized.

I would be more than pleased to seriously consider this proposal if these questions could be answered.

I predict that these same people advocating this scheme would also not stand the heat to decrease the present grant-in-aid programs. As a matter of fact, I doubt that there would be any reduction.

If we were to cut Federal expenditures, and the Federal tax load, there would be areas for the State governments to receive revenue which is today denied them by the high rate of Federal taxation.

I can only say, "No, Virginia, there is no Santa Claus to make up the Federal debt. There is only the taxpayer."

If it is more blessed to give than to receive, then the taxpayer will truly be blessed if this proposal is enacted, because there is going to be a huge increase in Federal taxes.

When the truth is known, the American people will reject this scheme overwhelmingly.

THE ANADROMOUS FISH, THE ALEWIFE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RUPPE] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, the anadromous fish, the alewife, constitutes a major problem in some areas of the Great Lakes. The population explosion of this species is so great that it staggers the imagination. It is estimated that Lake Michigan contains 15 billion or more of these herring-like fish. The alewife is a major source of pollution in Lake Michigan, for perhaps as many as 8 billion die each year. They clog water intakes during the spring spawning season, and may be responsible for preventing the swift renegeration of the lake trout.

While these fish are pests in some areas, they also represent a fine potential source of livelihood for commercial fishermen. Future developments may prove the alewife usable in the production of fish protein concentrate, thereby increasing its commercial value. It also can be seen as a potential source of food for more desirable game fish.

On October 30, 1965, there was enacted Public Law 89–304, which served to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate, with the several States, a cooperative program for the conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish. Senate report No. 860 specifically cites the alewife as one variety of anadromous fish coming within the purview of this public law in the following manner:

THE GREAT LAKES FISHERY

Means for improving production of Great Lakes fish that migrate into streams for spawning:

Species of fish in the Great Lakes which ascend streams to spawn, plus anadromous species which have adopted themselves to a complete freshwater existence, make a substantial contribution to the commercial and sport fisheries. The commercial catch of *Alewives*, smelt, and suckers in the U.S. waters alone amounted to almost 10 million pounds in 1963. In addition, the sport fishery for rainbow, brown, and brook trout provide recreation for thousands of sportsmen.

Accordingly, it seems prudent to move within the framework of the existing law where there is already an established program and available funds. I am, today, proposing an amendment to that law to meet what presently appears to be a regional problem. I am introducing legislation to grant the Secretary of Interior discretionary authority to initiate cooperative programs for the control of such species of fish in the Great Lakes area. My bill does not subvert the basic intent of the law it seeks to amend—which is conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish.

At one time, commercial fishing was a major industry in the Great Lakes, and sport fishing was reknown. The sea lamprey nearly ended all that, but a cooperative and constructive program has diminished this menace. Now we have a new problem, which like the lamprey, must be tackled if we are to conserve and develop the Great Lakes as a major fishing ground in the United States. My bill would put us in a position both to control the alewife when necessary, and at the same time utilize techniques to develop the alewife as a major new economic resource. Properly controlled, the alewife could help spur the economy of northern Michigan and the entire Great Lakes region.

I wish to extend my compliments to my distinguished colleague from Wisconsin, the Honorable CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI. Congressman ZABLOCKI was among the first of our membership to recognize the staggering problems created by the alewife, and has exerted initiative and leadership in pointing out the problem and seeking means to resolve it. I deeply appreciate the research material and advice given me by the Congressman and his staff, and look forward to working with him as we seek solutions to the alewife problem in this Congress.

At this point, I include the text of my bill to authorize the Secretary of Interior to undertake, where necessary, cooperative programs with respect to the control of fish in the Great Lakes which ascend streams to spawn:

H.R. 6997

A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake, where necessary, cooperative programs with respect to the control of fish in the Great Lakes which ascend streams to spawn

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the first sentence of the first section of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate with the several States a cooperative program for the conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish, and for other purposes", approved October 30, 1965 (16 U.S.C. 757a), is amended by inserting after "enhancing" at the second place where it appears the following: ", or (where necessary) controlling,".

(b) Such sentence is further amended by striking out "and enhancement" and inserting in lieu thereof "enhancement, or control".

SEC. 2. Section 2(5) of such Act is amended by striking out "and" where it appears after "anadromous fishery resources" and inserting in lieu thereof ", or conservation and enhancement, or (where necessary) control, of".

FOURTEEN POINTS ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, during the 89th Congress, I inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a few articles written by the Reverend Daniel Lyons, S.J., who is director of forensics and professor of social economics at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Wash.

Father Lyons is a recognized authority in Asian affairs and is known nationally as a lecturer. He has written extensively about Vietnam and his articles appear regularly in the Sunday Visitor, the National Catholic Ecumenical Weekly, published in Huntington, Ind.

In the March 12 issue of this publication, which has just been released, Father Lyons once again lists 14 points which are of timely importance in our continuing struggle against communism. I urge my colleagues in the House to read carefully these 14 constructive points, as they will be not only of tremendous help to us as Members of the Congress, but will help every American to understand the real issues at stake in southeast Asia.

Despite disputes between Moscow and Peking, the Communist world is allied ideologically and is not slackening its efforts to take over the free nations of the world. It is inconsequential whether we deal with Communist Russia or Communist China for they are both the acknowledged enemies of all free institutions and free peoples.

Father Lyons' article follows:

Fourteen Points on the War

(By Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J.)

1. The dispute between Moscow and Peking has not prevented the international Communist movement from pursuing its aim of world conquest. Their nationalistic differences are of lesser importance to them than the vital economic and ideological interests which Communists mutually possess all over the world. The majority of Americans still seem unable to analyze Communism realistically.

2. The war in Vietnam is the number one objective of all the Communists in the world. It serves the interest of international Communism, and it does so at very little cost.

3. The war is ideal for world Communism. It is being waged from bases that are secure. If the offensive fails, Communism will not lose a foot of the ground it already holds. None of the Communist world is threatened, not even North Vietnam. While there is no risk to the aggressor, the war weakens the United States, demoralizes the free world, and gives Russia time to build up its strength for an ultimate showdown. America's strategic superiority is getting less every year. We are already far behind in a missile defense program. The idea that we do not need such a defense unless Russia has one is very simplistic. Besides, she already has one.

4. Our success in Vietnam has been very limited. We have prevented North Vietnam from conquering the South for the time being, but the North is certain to succeed in the end if we continue on without winning. We may end up compromising, e.g. by recognizing the Viet Cong; or we may be out-maneuvered at the conference table, or seduced by false promises.

5. It is a part of Communist strategy to stir up new Vietnams in Asia, Africa, Latin America, or the Middle East, particularly if we remain bogged down through irresolution in Southeast Asia. If this happens, we may have more trouble on our hands than we can handle.

The strategy of the Communists is to wage war at low cost and without risk. Our strategy costs enormously, is very risky, and is the least likely to bring results. Guerrilla forces always enjoy enormous advantages in war, as long as they do not have to win normal military victories.

6. The ideas of cost accounting emanating from the Pentagon do not apply to Vietnam. We are spending $140,000 every year for every single Viet Cong and North Vietnamese soldier in the South.

7. The greatest mistake in all of our strategy is to think that we can win the war in South Vietnam alone, or by hitting North Vietnam ineffectively instead of decisely. The harbor at Haiphong should have been shut down two years ago. It will have to be closed soon.

8. There is no way to "gracefully withdraw" from Vietnam, despite the statements of U Thant. We will either win or lose. To win we are going to have to drop our self-imposed restrictions. Hanoi must be threatened and Communist aggression must become hazardous. As it is now, carrying on the war serves the interests of Peking and Moscow, but works against the free world. This must be reversed.

9. We have to put more and more pressure on North Vietnam. Otherwise there is no reason for Hanoi or Moscow to negotiate or to quit. We need to figure out, not what we should not do, but what we should do to win. We must reverse the trend. We have to threaten their supplies, we have to threaten their independence, we may have to threaten their very livelihood before they give up. They are testing our determination.

10. The science of winning on the battlefield is much too serious to be left to civilians to figure out at the free world's expense. The noted military strategist, Dr. Stefan Possony, has pointed out that our present policy of taboos is overcommitting our military forces. If we cannot fight in an effective way, then we must fight in a costly way: costly in men, costly in time, and costly in materials. But if we change just one of our paralyzing, self-imposed restrictions, the situation will improve immediately and immensely.

11. Every year we show increased concern about winning over the people. This year we call it "pacification." Last year we dubbed it "rural reconstruction." We become sidetracked on the subject. What the South Vietnamese need most of all is security. They need protection from aggression. Ninety-nine percent of them will be on our side when they can afford to be.

The Viet Cong has terrorized the South Vietnamese beyond description for the sheer purpose of terrorism. If we make the North leave the South alone, the South Vietnamese will be among the most anti-Communist people in the world. In the meanwhile, "pacification" or any other form of public relations is no substitute for security.

12. What about our world popularity? If we win with reasonable dispatch, a hundred nations around the world will rejoice at our success in the defense of freedom. If we lose, most of the nations of the world will lose their respect for us and their confidence in us.

13. General von Clausewitz once observed that the art of war is simple, but not easy. It is simple to know what to do but difficult to do it, because it requires uncommon courage. It is this wishful thinking, this stubborn reluctance to make hard decisions, both about negotiations and about Russia's position as the main supplier to Hanoi, that pose the greatest threat to our security.

14. Our most difficult problem is winning the cold war. To do so we will have to view Communism realistically. If we win the cold war, the hot war will take care of itself.

COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S DRAFT PROPOSALS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rostenkowski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was highly pleased to learn that on March 7 four newspapers, representing prominent American educational institutions, endorsed President Johnson's recent proposals to replace the present system of draft selection with a fair and impartial random method, starting with men 19 years of age.

This support is particularly heartening coming as it does from a young segment of our society which has the greatest stake in the future direction of the Selective Service System.

A joint statement of the Dartmouth, the Brown Daily Herald, the Cornell Daily Sun and the Daily Pennsylvanian called the President's fair and impartial random selection proposal "superior because it guarantees equal risk of selection for men of comparable age and physical ability and because it guarantees less disruption of an established life."

The Congress should carefully evaluate this statement. For there is good justification for reversing the order of draft call from the oldest to the youngest. It does cause less disruption of established social and economic life. There are fewer family and career commitments at age 19. And experts have contended that a younger military force is a better and more flexible military force.

I would also add that the President's proposals do not in any way decrease the responsibility of local draft boards to judge who is physically, mentally, and morally fit to serve in the Armed Forces. It does not lessen a local draft board's ability to consider the full range of deferment categories for any young man. The local draft board, under the President's proposals, are still essential elements of any draft system, although a study will be made of the way in which the system is now performing.

I believe that the fair and impartial random selection of 19-year-olds to fulfill our military needs—apart from those filled by volunteers—is consistent with democratic methods and values. These are the same values we are fighting to sustain all over the globe today.

I urge the members to support the President's draft proposals. They were made after a long and intensive evaluation of many recommendations presented by distinguished Americans in and out of government. I am heartened to see that four respected college newspapers have given the President the backing that he and the Nation deserve in these times of challenge and crisis.

GOVERNOR ROMNEY AND THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAMS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues one of those rare and memorable instances when man bites dog. It happened this week in Evansville, Ind., where the Republican Governor of Michigan accused President Johnson and the Democratic Party of "being 30 years behind the time, lacking new faces and new ideas."

Now, this is certainly a new twist. I have heard Republicans charge us with everything, from being wild-eyed radicals to fuzzy-thinking socialists—but this is the first time in memory that we Democrats have been accused of being behind the times—and 30 years behind, no less.

I wish that the Governor of Michigan had been present in Congress over the past 30 years to see his Republican friends oppose every piece of significant social welfare legislation enacted.

In fact, I wish he had been here during the past few years when his Republican friends reacted in their now familiar style to the great issues of our time.

He would have seen 90 percent of the

House Republicans vote to kill the antipoverty bill.

He would have seen 96 percent of House Republicans vote against the creation of a Department of Housing.

He would have seen 63 percent of the House Republicans vote against the Civil Rights Act of 1966.

He would have seen 96 percent of House Republicans vote against the creation of a Department of Transportation.

He would have seen 73 percent of House Republicans vote against the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 93 percent vote against medicare, 97 percent against omnibus housing, and 85 percent against voting rights.

If the Governor of Michigan is right—if President Johnson and the Democratic Party are really 30 years behind the times—that would take us back to 1937 and the heart of the New Deal.

We all know where Franklin Roosevelt stood.

Where do the Republicans stand? As our distinguished Postmaster General recently observed:

> The Republicans haven't had a progressive idea since Calvin Coolidge decided against seeking reelection in 1928.

Does the Governor think that all these new programs which Congress has been enacting are really old ideas, 30 years behind the times?

Or maybe he thinks that President Johnson is old fashioned because he is concerned about those Americans who are poor, illerate, sick, or hungry?

President Johnson served in Congress more than 30 years. He knows what the record is. And so do the American people.

RECREATION: A CHALLENGE FOR THE CITIES

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in yesterday's mail I received from the National League of Cities a copy of its national municipal policy containing policy statements on the many issues confronting urban and suburban areas of America.

I should like to call two of the resolutions in particular to the attention of our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, because they provide further documentation—if indeed further documentation were needed—that the metropolitan areas need help if they are to begin to cope with the tremendous recreation demands which have accompanied rapid population growth.

The two resolutions, which appear on page 10 of the NLC national municipal policy, have to do with preservation of open space and development of recreational facilities. I insert them to be printed as part of my remarks at this point in the Record:

Preservation of Open Space

The explosive population growth in our metropolitan areas, particularly in the suburban sections, in devouring land at a tremendous rate. The resulting physical expansion has been so rapid as to make the preservation of some remaining land for parks, playgrounds, recreation areas—buffers against the unrelieved monotony of urban development—increasingly difficult. If we are to retain the amenities of civilized living in densely populated areas, it is imperative that all levels of government undertake immediate programs for the preservation of open space in urban areas.

The program of federal grants which is authorized in the Housing Act will assist local public bodies materially in the acquisition of land to be used as permanent open space, but the present program is only a modest start to preserve one of our most vital national resources—open land. The Administration and the Congress should develop long-range, comprehensive programs to assist our local governments in bringing about an orderly, healthy development of remaining open land in densely populated urban areas. The grant assistance available under the federal open space land acquisition program should be increased to a share comparable to urban renewal grants. Grants should be allowed for development of recreational facilities.

1.45 DEVELOPMENT OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

The Land and Water Conservation Act established a fund to assist the states and local governments to meet their present and future recreation demands and needs. Under the provisions of the program the several states determine what portion of the federal monies the local subdivisions will share. The states should recognize the imperative needs of the nation's urban governmental units, the municipalities, when developing comprehensive state-wide outdoor recreation plans. The states should enable the municipalities to fully participate in the Land and Water Conservation program by allowing urban areas a significant share of the monies funded under this outdoor recreation program. The nation's cities reaffirm their endorsement of the basic findings of the Outdoor Recreation Resource Review Commission.

A couple of weeks ago, I introduced a bill—H.R. 5865—which is designed to alleviate—to some extent—the very serious problem represented by the woeful lack of recreation facilities for people who live in the cities and suburbs. My bill certainly is not the answer, but it is a start toward meeting a challenge which will not go away just because it is ignored. It can only get worse.

Mr. Speaker, for those who want to study the provisions of my bill, the text was printed along with my remarks in the Record of February 21, the day I introduced the bill.

THE NEED FOR HEADSTART

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the need for Headstart as a vital component in this Nation's antipoverty effort has never been in better focus than it was in a March 6 editorial in the New Orleans States-Item. Headstart is designed to stop, before its starts, a vicious circle that inevitably leads to poverty.

Caught in that circle are children who start school without the preschool advantages of their classmates. They fall behind in school, fail to develop interest, and eventually drop out at an early age. Because of their lack of education they are never able to qualify for the employment that would enable them to pull above the poverty level.

Headstart, as the States-Item editorial points out, is designed to prevent those circumstances. While young people repeatedly drop out of school because of a lack of interest, the editorial points out that many of them have never had their interest developed. This is one of the roles Headstart fills and for that reason I am pleased to enclose the editorial at this point in the Record:

[From the New Orleans States-Item, Mar. 6, 1967]

Better Start in School

Boys and girls drop out of school, we are prone to say, because they lose interest. But how can many of them lose something they have never had?

This week the city's public schools will launch an escalated attack on the problem in a prekindergarten program financed with $556,655 of federal antipoverty funds and $120,346 from the Orleans Parish School Board.

The goal is the same as that of the already successful Head Start project: prepare preschool-age tots to put their best foot forward in education through introduction to achievement, books, music, participation and communication.

Whereas Head Start operates through the summer, the new prekindergarten program will be confined to the regular school year when it gets into full swing. The new effort starting this week, however, will this time continue through August.

By the September term, the program, plus the summertime Head Start, will funnel into kindergarten about 3,500 children who have had the benefit of induction into educational ranks.

A solid part of a creaky antipoverty concept, this plan continues to offer great hope in bolstering the desire and ability to learn. As it continues, methods to increase its effectiveness can be expected.

OVERHEAD POWER LINES

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Long] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, last year Congress adjourned before the House could consider legislation designed to attack the problem of overhead transmission lines and towers, which threaten the natural beauty of the Nation. I am pleased to join my colleagues from New York [Mr. Ottinger], in reintroducing legislation to resolve the conflict of needs between increased power and best use of our dwindling land.

Authority for study of the destructive effects of overhead transmission lines on property values, scenic beauty, and community planning would be given the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Since the powerlines problem is most critical for urban areas, responsibility for the problem should be shifted to HUD from the Department of Interior. Comprehensive research and development, to encourage underground transmission of power and to evaluate and demonstrate the feasibility of such transmission, would also be under the direction of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

In order to encourage development and construction of underground transmission lines by private industry, there are provisions for amending the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow amortization and tax credit for certain underground lines.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to take forceful action on this problem of concern to all of us who want to keep America beautiful.

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW—XXX

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, an alternative often proposed to the present draft law is that of a true universal military service, wherein every young man, upon reaching age 18, except for those who may be permanently disabled or mentally deficient, would have to spend some time in the Armed Forces.

Universal military training has usually been viewed by its supporters as a means of strengthening the Nation, not just in a military, but also in a patriotic sense. Its proponents maintain that the discipline, the sense of civic consciousness and the patriotism instilled in each new generation of young men would benefit the country. Furthermore, a vast trained manpower pool would be created for tapping in a military emergency.

General Hershey and former President Eisenhower are leading spokesmen for a universal military training program. When he served as Chief of Staff of the Army, General Eisenhower tried hard but unsuccessfully to persuade Congress to establish a system of universal military training. He feels that UMT is desirable not only from the standpoint of military preparedness, but, also, for reasons of fitness and discipline among the youth of the Nation. General Hershey predicts that—

> One of these days we are going to be forced to use the Armed Forces as the only agency available to raise the quality of our citizenship.

The National Director of the Selective Service believes that we have to be more basic in teaching people good citizenship, patriotism, and "that sort of thing."

General Eisenhower has envisioned a program, whereby every young American male, age 18, would spend 49 weeks in military training, regardless of what his status in life may be or what his plans are for the future. The Government would provide sustenance, clothing, and other necessary essentials. The trainees would be paid a small stipend of about $5 or $10 a month. Besides the vigorous physical training and learning the wisdom of discipline, cleanliness, and good personal habits, the young men could be used in times of emergency, such as during floods, storms, and fires. This would be helpful in maintaining order and assisting the victims of such misfortunes.

Each UMT trainee, according to General Eisenhower, would be offered the option of enlisting immediately in the Regular Forces for a 2-year term, entitling him to all the pay and other benefits deriving from military service. If such inducements did not produce the volunteers sufficient to maintain the Regular Forces, it would then be necessary to draft the needed numbers of men, through the use of a lottery. At first these draftees would come from those men who were past the UMT age, but still liable for military service. Eventually, the lottery would apply only to the UMT men.

President Eisenhower sees three benefits coming from his program. First, there would be a huge reserve of young men with sound basic military training. Second, UMT would stem the growing tide of what the former President calls "irresponsible behavior," and crime in the country, and straighten out a lot of potential troublemakers. General Eisenhower said that—

> If UMT accomplished nothing more than to produce cleanliness and decent grooming, it might be worth the price tag—and I am not altogether jesting when I say this.

Third, if a UMT system were to become a permanent institution, General Eisenhower thinks that resentment against military obligation would die away and that virtually every young man would take pride and satisfaction in giving a year of his life to the United States, which would produce a strong sense of patriotism.

For reasons that I shall present in future remarks, a UMT program is not only impractical but also undesirable.

INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS TO ADVANCE SCIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the fact that the President's budget for the fiscal year beginning this July estimates $16,292,200,000 will be expended for Federal research and development is a striking indication of the importance that our Government and our country attach to science and technology. When we expect new obligations of $6,445,000,000 for research during fiscal year 1968, with $2,421,900,000 of this for basic research, we have good cause to ask ourselves where the people are coming from who will carry out all this work, and who will bring about the productive application of its results for the benefit of our people and their economy. More than that, will we have a sufficient leavening amongst our citizens of men and women who have studied the physical, life and social sciences, mathematics and engineering?

We urgently need more people who have studied these subjects at the undergraduate and graduate levels both to maintain our progress as we navigate through the uncertainties of this scientific age, and to diffuse through our electorate a better knowledge of the promises, possibilities and limitations of science and technology.

Five years from now I can forsee intense debates in this body as the menace of pollution of our air, water, and soil bears more heavily upon us. And at that time, and in later years, the quality of our understanding and our judgment as a nation will demand leadership by men and women working professionally in these fields and also by other men and women so educated who later turn their talents to other occupations.

What should be done to encourage more young men and women to seek their education in the sciences and engineering? What should be done to strengthen our institutions for academic research? Part of the answer lies in inspiring those universities already heavily committed to education and research in sciences and engineering to make a still greater effort. Another part lies in cultivating the present capabilities of many other institutions that are struggling to build up or further to improve their faculties and facilities for education and research in the sciences and engineering. Obviously private interests, State and local governments have their responsibilities to foster these intellectual resources. And so does the Federal Government.

For these reasons, I am introducing a bill to promote the advancement of science and education of scientists through a national program of institutional grants to colleges and universities of the United States. In so doing, I am joining the company of the distinguished Representative from California [Mr. GEORGE MILLER] who introduced H.R. 875 on January 10 of this year. My bill is identical to his. It is entirely fitting that Representatives of these two States on the opposite shores of our great country sponsor this legislation. California and New Jersey are States whose constituents well know the importance of strong institutions of higher learning that are strong leaders in academic research and in education for the sciences.

Rutgers University is our State university in New Jersey. As reported in the 47th annual school and society enrollment study for academic year 1966–67, Rutgers has a total enrollment of 26,113 students, of whom 15,503 are full time. Its total teaching staff numbers 2,843, of whom 1,410 are full time. During 1965 Rutgers University carried on research for the Federal Government at a level of $13 million and received slightly less than $6 million more in Federal funds for other educational activities. It placed 29th among the 100 universities and colleges receiving the largest amount of Federal support in 1965.

Within my own constituency are many industrial laboratories that will need new scientists and engineers. Hoffman LaRoche, Inc., in Nutley, has one of the leading laboratories for research and development in pharmaceuticals and fine chemicals. Nearby the Federal laboratories of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. are known for their research and development in avionics, navigation, communications, data systems, satellites, and space probes.

The Schering Corp. has its corporate research center in Bloomfield, with facilities and staff for biological, chemical, and pharmaceutical research and development.

I am sure many of my colleagues can readily produce such a list of industrial laboratories for their own constituencies. My point is that the scientists and engineers who enter these laboratories in the years ahead will be the future product of our colleges and universities. And our country will be ill served if this product is deficient in number or quality. Which brings us back to the bill I have introduced.

The purpose of this bill is to advance science and the education of scientists through a national program of institutional grants to colleges and universities of the United States. The bill makes five findings that merit attention. Summarized briefly, the bill would have Congress find, and I think quite properly so, that:

First. Support of and investment in scientific research and the education of scientists are essential to the security and welfare of the United States;

Second. Revolutionary advances in science have contributed fundamentally to our economic and material prosperity, to our health, to the quality of our democracy and to our world leadership;

Third. These advances are substantially attributable to Federal support for science and research, especially in our institutions of higher learning;

Fourth. Continued advance in science requires vigorous research and instructional programs in sciences at our institutions of higher education throughout the Nation;

Fifth. But our experience shows that the mission oriented project grant and contract system has proven inadequate for this purpose.

The conclusion flowing from these five findings is plain. We need stable, long-range funding for research and instructional programs in the sciences for institutions of higher education. Such assistance should preserve the historic independence, integrity, and freedom of these intellectual resources.

The legislation I have introduced will help to meet this need by establishing national institutional grants for the support of and investment in education and research in the physical, biological, and social sciences, engineering and mathematics. Unlike other forms of Federal support which may find it difficult to resist the great attraction of the massive, well established centers of academic excellence in the sciences, this bill establishes a formula for distribution of Federal support.

The $150 million to be authorized for fiscal year 1968, and each of the succeeding 4 fiscal years, will be divided in three ways.

One-third will be allocated directly to institutions of higher education based on the project funds awarded to them during the immediately preceding year by the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health and the Office of Education. A graduated formula will be used so that all institutions will receive 100 percent of the first $30,000 of such project grants, but no institution will receive more than $300,000 in any one year.

One-third will be divided among the States based upon the number of high school graduates in that State in relation to the total number for the country for the year immediately preceding. The funds so allocated to any one State will then be divided among the institutions of higher education in proportion that the ratio of the total undergraduate semester credit-hours taught by the institution in accredited programs of instruction in the physical, biological, and social sciences, engineering and mathematics bears to the total number of such credit-hours taught in all the institutions of higher education within the State.

One-third will be allocated to institutions of higher education in proportion to the ratio that the total number of advanced degrees awarded by the institution during the 3 preceding years in these subjects bears to the total number of such degrees awarded by all institutions of higher education within the United States during this time.

The program will be assigned to the National Science Foundation for administration.

To advise the Director of the Foundation in preparing the regulation and administration of this program and also other programs providing institutional grants-in-aid, the bill creates a National Institutional Science Council. This Council will be broadly representative of all parts of American higher education. It will be composed of 21 members, including the Director of the National Science Foundation, the Director of the National Institutes of Health, the Commissioner of Education, and 18 other members. Of these, three each will be appointed by the American Council on Education, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, the Association of American Universities, the Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Colleges and the American Association of Junior Colleges.

No strings are tied to institutional use of these funds for support of and investment in education and research in the physical, biological, and social sciences, engineering and mathematics. The institutions will use their own judgment. They will be required, of course, to report how they used the funds, and will be encouraged to anticipate future funding in order to make long-range plans to develop their competences.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that this bill will receive prompt attention. Because science and engineering are so important in our individual lives, and in the life of our country, I believe that this Federal seed money is necessary so that our colleges and universities can further develop their competence to do research and to educate our young men and women in these occupations. This legislation provides a constructive approach that places a premium upon the judgment, imagination, and initiative of the recipient institutions. The benefits will be great.

TO AMEND THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill—H.R. 6984—to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore the provisions permitting the deduction, without regard to the 3- and 1-percent floors, of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over, which had been taken away by recent social security amendments.

My bill would recognize the additional needs of taxpayers over the age of 65, who, for the most part, incur greater medical expenses than younger individuals and at the same time are less able to afford the cost of such expenses.

Let no one be mistaken by thinking that medicare covers all of these expenses.

Medicare only covers such items as hospital room and board, physical, occupational, or speech therapy, general—not private—duty nursing care, medical social services and certain drugs and supplies and appliances. However, medicare does not cover physicians' services, private duty nurses, drugs needed in an illness which does not require hospitalization and costs of treatment of a mental illness.

In order to prevent any undue advantage to a taxpayer, my bill H.R. 6984 provides that no deduction may be taken for any medical or drug expense which is at the same time being compensated for by other insurance. Thus, this bill would permit the deduction of only those additional medical expenses which are not now covered.

I firmly believe that in this era of high living costs we must give every possible tax benefit to our senior citizens, so many of whom are living on limited fixed incomes.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I respectfully include the text of my bill H.R. 6984 in the RECORD:

H.R. 6984

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That (a) subsection (a) of section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to allowance of medical expense deduction) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION.—There shall be allowed as a deducation—

"(1) the following amounts (reduced by any amount deductible under paragraph (2)) of the expenses paid during the taxable year, and not compensated for by insurance or otherwise, for medical care of the taxpayer, his spouse, or a dependent (as defined in section 152):

"(A) If neither the taxpayer nor his spouse has attained the age of 65 before the close of the taxable year—

"(i) the amount of such expenses for the care of any dependent who—

"(I) is the mother or father of the taxpayer or of his spouse, and

"(II) has attained the age of 65 before the close of the taxable year, and

"(ii) the amount by which such expenses for the care of the taxpayer, his spouse, and such dependents (other than any dependent described in clause (i)) exceed 3 per centum of the adjusted gross income; or

"(B) If either the taxpayer or his spouse has attained the age of 65 before the close of the taxable year—

"(i) the amount of such expenses for the care of the taxpayer and his spouse,

"(ii) the amount of such expenses for the care of any dependent described in subparagraph (A) (i), and

"(iii) the amount by which such expenses for the care of such dependents (other than any dependent described in subparagraph (A) (i)) exceed 3 per centum of the adjusted gross income; and

"(2) an amount (not in excess of $150) equal to one-half of the expenses paid during the taxable year for insurance which constitutes medical care for the taxpayer, his spouse, and dependents."

(b) Subsection (b) of section 213 of such Code (relating to limitation with respect to medicine and drugs) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The preceding sentence shall not apply to amounts paid for the care of—

"(1) the taxpayer and his spouse, if either of them has attained the age of 65 before the close of the taxable year, or

"(2) any dependent described in subsection (a) (1) (A) (i)."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1966.

OVERDUE MODERNIZATION OF OUR PATENT SYSTEM

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. EDWARDS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, since 1790 when George Washington signed the bill which laid the foundations of the American patent system, almost 3½ million patents have been granted to inventors. Except for the initial 10,000, all of these patents were granted under procedures set forth in a law enacted in 1836.

These patents, today as in the past, are one of the foundation stones of American industry. They create new products, new jobs, even new industries—and contribute to the well-being of all Americans.

The patent statute of 1836 has been amended and rewritten, but basically it is unchanged from the days when we were largely an agricultural society. It has served our Nation well, and under it we have become the foremost industrial nation of the world.

In the year of its enactment, however, only 109 patents were issued. This year more than 60,000 patents will be issued.

In his economic message, President Johnson said:

> To aid the advance of technology on which economic progress depends, I now urge Congressional support for a long overdue modernization of our Patent System.

The President has sent to Congress draft legislation to modernize the patent system. The bill is based on the recommendations of a distinguished Presidential Commission, composed of public officials and private citizens. They were asked to determine how well the patent system meets our needs and goals, to devise possible improvements, and to recommend changes to strengthen and improve the system. I have introduced a bill to modernize the patent system along the lines recommended by the Presidental Commission.

The recommendations of the Commission are directed toward: First, raising the quality and reliability of U.S. patents; second, reducing the time and expense of obtaining and litigating patents; third, expediting the disclosure of new technology; and fourth, harmonizing our system with practices of other nations, with the long-range goal of an international patent system.

I am sure that inventors and businessmen alike will welcome these changes, for they have as their purpose simplifying patent procedures, and stimulating innovative business enterprises to even greater heights of achievement.

I urge all Members to thoughtfully consider the proposed legislation and to support its enactment.

CONTINUING EDUCATION

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. EDWARDS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my friend and colleague Representative PATSY MINK, of Hawaii, in introducing two bills to improve the quality of teaching in our Nation's schools—one, to allow income tax deductions for certain educational expenses incurred by teachers and other employed or self-employed individuals; and two, to establish a Federal sabbatical program.

The assumption underlying both these proposals is that education is a dynamic and ever-changing field. New discoveries in both methodology and knowledge make a continuing education for our teachers requisite to quality education for our youth. Our society is constantly in flux. To keep abreast of new requirements and to guarantee that our children will not receive an outdated and obsolete education, our teachers must have the time and financial incentive to pursue further learning.

The first bill, to amend the Internal Revenue Code, will clarify the uncertainties regarding deductions for education expenses and we will avoid controversies and problems such as arose last year under the proposed regulations of the IRS. The second bill authorizes a program of sabbatical leave grants for teachers in elementary and secondary schools with a yearly appropriation of up to $50 million. With the enactment of these bills, encouragement of continuing education will be a matter of public policy and the efforts of our teachers to improve their training will be considerably eased.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John W. Unger, Sr., national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, recently appeared before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and presented his organization's 1967 legislative program. As Commander Unger's statement contains many worthwhile proposals on behalf of this Nation's disabled veterans, I wish to commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

STATEMENT OF JOHN W. UNGER, SR., NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 1, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am pleased and deeply honored to have this opportunity to appear before you to present the 1967 Legislative Program of the Disabled American Veterans.

It is particularly gratifying for me to share this special occasion with a truly dedicated group of DAV State and National Officers who have journeyed here from all sections of the country to participate in the activities of our Annual Mid-Winter Conference.

On behalf of them, Mr. Chairman, I wish to express my sincere congratulations to the members of your Committee who have previously served and who have returned to serve again on this distinguished panel.

I want also to extend an expression of welcome to the new members of the Committee and to wish them the fullest measure of success in their assignment.

Before discussing the significant features of our Legislative Program, Mr. Chairman, perhaps I should take a moment to recall to the new members the principal function for which the DAV was created.

The DAV, founded in 1920, is a single purpose organization chartered to advance the interest and to work for the betterment of all wounded, injured, and disabled veterans, their widows and orphans; to cooperate with the United States Veterans Administration and all other Federal Agencies devoted to the cause of advancing and improving the condition, health, and interest of all disabled veterans.

To fulfill its function the DAV, with the cooperation of this Committee, strives to bring about the enactment of legislation to meet the National obligation for improving the physical, social, and economic well-being of men and women who sacrificed themselves for America. Our attention is primarily focused upon legislative objectives which seek to enhance opportunities for employment and proper job placement so that the remaining ability of the disabled veteran is used in the most productive way; provide expert hospital and medical care to return disabled veterans to a state of good health; and adequate and just compensation for service-incurred disabilities.

Our principal goal, then, is to restore the handicapped veteran to as good a position in civil life as he would have enjoyed had he not been disabled in the service of his country.

The DAV has 125 National Service Officers serving in Veterans Administration Regional Offices and Centers in our 50 States. These Officers are paid by the DAV National Organization. They, themselves, are disabled veterans, trained under the DAV's guidance to be a Specialist with first-hand knowledge of veterans' legislation and its administrative regulations and procedures by which a disabled veteran may obtain his rightful benefits under law.

The dedication of these men to their job is deep and strong. The hours are long, the travel varied, and the difficulties of the human situations they must solve are many. Patience and understanding are their stock in trade. To insure perpetuance of this high level service, the DAV is presently sponsoring a special National Service Officer Training Program for 25 seriously disabled veterans. The students, many of whom served with our Armed Forces in Vietnam, are receiving a period of academic training at Catholic University, Washington, D.C., after which the trainees will be given twelve (12) months on-the-job training with the DAV in various VA Regional Offices.

During 1966 DAV National Service Officers handled 247,748 cases which provided more than $130 million in benefits to disabled veterans and their dependents. Our budget for our National Service Program in 1967 is in excess of $1,900,000, of which not one penny will be paid from Federal tax money.

The DAV does not limit its services to the quarter of a million members of the Organization. Membership in the DAV is not a prerequisite for the services it renders. In this regard, we will continue these services to those who are suffering from wounds, injuries, and disabling sickness in the war now underway in Vietnam.

The DAV faces new challenges—to assist newly disabled veterans in their adjustment to a productive civilian life which will in turn aid the communities and the Nation in fitting these returned veterans into the normal pursuits of the life they seek.

During my recent trip to Vietnam I was pleasantly surprised to learn that our military airlift capabilities have advanced to a stage where we are able to evacuate 90 percent of all our casualties by air. As a result of the increased speed of evacuation, the mortality rate of our wounded who reach a hospital is down to an all-time low of slightly greater than one percent. This is the lowest mortality rate in the history of American military forces.

With the use of helicopters and field hospitals, our wounded receive quick, efficient treatment. Those who require major medical attention are airlifted to a U.S. Military Hospital in a matter of hours.

However, as long as America stands for freedom at home or abroad—which indeed we must—some brave men will die, some will return unscathed, while others will return as disabled veterans.

So it is today that the DAV extends its helping hand to disabled veterans of yet another war to preserve our freedoms.

On the basis of my first-hand observations, I am firmly convinced that the conditions under which our troops are serving fully justify the extension of wartime benefits as comprehensive as those accorded veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, in his unprecedented message to the Congress on January 31st, President Johnson recommended a Legislative Program to remove many of the inequities that exist in the benefit program for the Vietnam conflict veterans. These recommendations include: (1) disability compensation and dependency allowance for service connected disabled veterans at wartime rates; (2) disability pensions for veterans and death pension for widows and children; (3) extension of special medical care, including medicines and drugs for severely disabled veterans on the pension rolls; (4) $1600 toward the purchase of an automobile for veterans with special disabilities; (5) increasing the minimum and maximum group life insurance coverage; and (6) increasing the educational assistance allowance from $100 to $130 per month.

In addition to the President's proposals, the DAV would recommend for your consideration the provision for eligibility to payment of the $250 burial allowance; the extension of presumption of service connection for psychoses developing within two years following discharge from service; enlarge educational benefits to include apprenticeship training, on-the-job training, and on the farm training.

The inclusion of these additional benefits—together with the "Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966"—would provide the full range of benefits accorded veterans of World II and the Korean conflict.

The President's message—which, as you know, was received with expressions of praise by leaders of Congress and Veterans Organizations—also recommended a modest cost of living increase of 5.4 percent in the pension payments of 1.4 million veterans, widows, and dependents. I believe approval of these recommendations is a matter of urgent necessity if we are to remove inequities presently existing in the Veterans Benefit Program.

I might add Mr. Chairman, that your statement, issued in connection with the President's message, voiced our sentiments when you said, "the veterans of this country have a friend, a friend who understands their problems and needs in President Johnson."

Like you, the DAV feels that the President richly deserves the high plaudits and sincere thanks of all America's veterans. We also feel, in this respect, that you and your Committee members deserve a warm word of thanks for the speed at which you reported both the Pension and "Vietnam Era" measures to the House last Session.

Mr. Chairman, before leaving the subject of the "Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967", I must, in all candor, say that we do not agree with the August 5, 1964 beginning date proposed for these benefits. Apparently, this date was selected on the basis that it marked a change in military operations in Vietnam following The Bay of Tonkin incident.

The United States was committed in Vietnam long before August 5, 1964. The Bay of Tonkin engagement was an isolated incident involving naval forces. There was considerable previous air and ground combat action with lots of casualties. Official records indicate that from January 1, 1961 to August 3, 1964, 179 members of the Armed Forces serving in Vietnam died as a result of hostile action; 84 died as a result of nonhostile action; and 1,071 were wounded in action.

Troops who served before August 5, 1964 were ordered and were willing to go to Vietnam, were fighting for the cause of freedom, gave of themselves in the same extraordinary military effort and sacrifice, and showed the same skill, firmness and courage as that displayed by the troops who served after that date.

We think anyone would have a hard time explaining to a Vietnam combat veteran, who lost a leg or was blinded in battle August 3, 1964, that he does not have entitlement to the $1600 automobile allowance, while his comrade who sustained the same loss, under the same conditions two days later, has unquestionable entitlement. Similarly, which of us would explain to a Vietnam combat veteran that he does not qualify for a pension because he had the misfortune to be honorably discharged from service before August 5, 1964.

Mr. Chairman, we know that your Committee—which has always given the full measure of its efforts to improve the well-being of our deserving veterans—will, in the interest of equity, give early approval to legislation extending wartime benefits not only to those veterans who served after August 5, 1964, but also to those who served during the critical period before that date.

In addition to the proposals outlined by the President he mentioned issuing a directive to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs calling for a comprehensive study of the pension, compensation and benefits system for veterans, their families and their survivors. It is expected that the study—which is to be conducted in consultation with leading veterans groups—will be completed by January 1968.

It is our hope that the study is set in motion without delay, is accomplished at the earliest possible date, that it will serve a useful and productive purpose, and that out of it will come, among other things, recommendations for realistic adjustments in the rates of service connected disability compensation.

The matter of compensation increases is a most urgent one for the Disabled American Veterans.

Many disabled veterans must depend solely upon their compensation to provide the necessities of life. They are caught in a seemingly hopeless struggle to stretch their fixed income of disability compensation to meet the ever-increasing cost of living. A realistic increase in the basic rates of disability compensation, therefore, commands a very high priority in our list of legislative objectives.

Much has been said concerning the adverse effect of the continued increase in the cost of living upon those who are compelled by circumstances to subsist on fixed incomes. The Administration has sponsored and urged the Congress to adopt measures which would ease the economic burden of Military personnel, Federal employees, social security beneficiaries, welfare recipients, and non-service connected pensioners. Sponsors of legislation have documented and justified the necessity of increasing these benefits to bring them more closely in balance with the rise in the cost of living.

Mr. Chairman, the DAV does not oppose legislation authorizing increases in Military pay, Federal wages, or the benefits provided under the Social Security, Welfare, or Pension Programs. We recognize the need for these increases to offset the shrinking power of yesterday's dollar on today's prices. I would only remind you that disability compensation is also fixed income established by law. The service connected disabled veteran has been caught in the same economic squeeze that has so seriously affected other Federal beneficiaries.

The most recent compensation adjustments granted in December 1965 did not close the gap between the purchasing power of the compensation dollar and the changes in price levels. Moreover, it may safely be assumed that prices will continue to rise through 1967.

As National Commander of the Disabled American Veterans, and as its spokesman, I ask as a matter of simple justice, that the same consideration be given to the service connected disabled as that given to other segments of our population. We are confident that your Committee will lend its complete and staunch support to this truly essential legislation.

Mr. Chairman, your Committee has approved and the House of Representatives has, for the past ten (10) years, passed and sent to the Senate DAV sponsored legislation authorizing payment of the $47 statutory award for each anatomical loss or loss of use specified in the law.

In all these years, no action has been taken by the other body on the pretext that the Veterans Administration was conducting a "current" study to determine if these benefits were necessary. We hope that your Committee will, this year, find a proper vehicle to which this most reasonable measure may be attached in order to assure its passage by the Senate before the 500 disabled veterans who are involved have all expired while awaiting completion of the "current" study.

One of our long standing National Convention mandates in the field of compensation and pension commands the reintroduction of legislation to provide for concurrent payment of compensation and pension under a specified formula.

For as many years as the DAV has sponsored this legislation, the VA for an equal number of years has opposed it on the principal grounds that it would constitute a duplication of benefits; that is, veterans would be paid twice for the same disability. To overcome this objection, we have drafted a bill to specifically eliminate the so-called dual payments concept as it applies to compensation and pension based on the same disability. We are not asking that the veteran be paid twice for the same disability. Nor do we ask that he receive concurrently the full amount of compensation and pension. We are only asking, and we think with complete justification, that the service connected disabled veteran who is drawing compensation be permitted to participate in the Non-Service Connected Pension Program.

Also among our top priority objectives is legislation to provide Dependency Allowances for service connected veterans who are rated 40 percent or more disabled.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, under present law veterans whose disabilities are rated 50 percent or more may be entitled to receive additional amounts of compensation for their dependents. No such provisions exist for the service connected disabled who are evaluated at 40 percent or less. This seems highly unreasonable in view of the fact that disabilities rateable at 40 percent reflect a high degree of economic impairment and place the individual in the class of seriously disabled. We earnestly request this Committee to act favorably on this meaningful measure.

Also of particular interest to the DAV is a pending legislative proposal for the furnishing of prescription drugs (for any condition) by the VA Administrator to veterans receiving additional compensation by reason of being in need of regular aid and attendance.

Under present law, drugs and medicines are furnished for veterans receiving non-service connected aid and attendance pension benefits. Ironically, veterans with seriously crippling service incurred disabilities are not entitled to the same consideration.

Your Committee approved this measure last Session, but it failed of consideration in the Senate. The legislation has a high degree of merit and we hope the Committee members will renew their support and give it attention and approval early this Session.

The DAV strongly recommends approval of pending legislation to provide increases in the current rates of Dependency and Indemnity Compensation payable to widows of veterans who died from service connected causes. Our reasons for urging adoption of such increases are essentially the same as those expressed earlier with respect to the need for increases in disability compensation rates.

On this same subject, there is before your Committee a major DAV objective which would extend Dependency and Indemnity Compensation to widows of veterans who were entitled to receive compensation at the time of death for a service connected disability rated 100 percent disabling for 20 years or more. This provision would not apply in any case where the cause of death is the result of an accident, totally unrelated to the veteran's service connected disability.

We think it fair to say that any veteran who suffered the agony of total physical incapacity for 20 years should, for as long as he lives thereafter, have assurance that upon his death his wife will be provided for through payments of Dependency and Indemnity Compensation.

It may also be said in fairness that it should not really matter how he died, but how he lived, and if he was a 100 percent service connected disabled war veteran for 20 years, then his wife played a very great part in his living which ought to be more fully recognized.

We urge that the Committee give serious consideration to legislation providing "War Orphans' Educational Benefits" on a proportionate basis to children of veterans rated not less than 50 percent disabled. The service connected disabilities which fall within the 50 percent and above category unquestionably create a major industrial impairment.

The disability compensation—which is designed to make up for loss of impaired earning capacity—falls far short of being sufficient to provide higher education for the children of these veterans. While on the same subject, Mr. Chairman, we would respectfully recommend for the Committee's consideration that provision be made to raise the present maximum age limit for completing educational benefits from age 23 to 26.

One of the most crucial and urgent DAV legislative objectives pertains to a proposal well known to this Committee—one which our Organization has included in its Legislative Program for the last decade. I refer, of course, to legislation proposing establishment of a Court of Veterans' Appeals. The need for enactment of this legislation—which will give to the Nation's veterans their just day in Court—is as acute as ever.

Another issue which deeply concerns the DAV, involves the growing lack of burial space in the existing National Cemetery System. We are heartened by your Chairman's recent decision to introduce a measure proposing that jurisdiction of National Cemetery matters be transferred from the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. If this measure is approved, we are sure that it will serve to bring about solutions to the many long standing problems associated with the National Cemetery System, including the recent arbitrary rulings governing the uses of Arlington.

The DAV has a vital interest in the Veterans Employment Service in the Department of Labor. We are concerned about the proper staffing of this service so that disabled veterans will be assured of adequate and effective job counseling, employment placement, and referral to occupational training opportunities as contemplated by the G.I. Bill of Rights and re-affirmed by the Congress last year in its passage of the "Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966."

Our Organization has a continuing and fundamental concern with keeping intact the benefits accorded veterans under the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, as amended. Despite repeated efforts by groups and individuals to weaken or eliminate this protective legislation, the DAV in cooperation with other Veterans Organizations has thus far successfully opposed and defeated these efforts.

The Veterans Administration's Hospital and Medical Care Program is a subject in which the DAV has a direct and compelling interest. Of particular interest is the budget request presented to the Congress each year by the Veterans Administration for medical and prosthetic research, for hospital and nursing home care, and for domiciliary centers.

I want to acknowledge with appreciation the Committee's vigorous and ceaseless efforts to improve the standard of care and treatment in the Veterans Administration Hospital System.

It is hardly necessary to say that the DAV is determined to preserve the VA Hospital System and to resist, full force, any attempts to erode the present structure of veterans' programs. The DAV has, and always will, subscribe to the concept that veterans' benefits be administered by one agency and one agency only with Cabinet status for the Administrator.

Mr. Chairman, my statement has covered some of the major objectives contained in our 1967 Legislative Program. There are others of equal importance which will receive our attention during the course of the current Session of the 90th Congress.

We sincerely believe that the proposals we have offered for consideration are eminently fair and reasonable, that their enactment would require no extravagant outlays, and that they are squarely in the public interest. We earnestly urge the Committee's full and active support.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to again thank you and the distinguished members of the Committee for your patience and understanding. I pledge to you the complete cooperation of the DAV National Officers. I assure you that their assistance and services are always available should you call upon them; and I want to publicly commend to you our National Director of Legislation, Charles L. "Chet" Huber and his fine staff.

Lastly, and enthusiastically, I want to pay tribute to the staff members of this Committee. In my opinion there is no group more competent, more dedicated than the staff of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. I am pleased to have this opportunity to commend and to thank them for their splendid cooperation.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I'd like at this point to submit for inclusion in the Record a list of legislative resolutions adopted at the 1966 DAV National Convention.

Thank you!

MOSES HERNANDEZ WINS VOICE OF AMERICA CONTEST

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker,

the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies' auxiliary conducts each year a Voice of Democracy contest among high school students throughout this Nation with the winners of each State being brought to Washington as the guest of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for the final judging. This is a most commendable program as it not only enables students to win scholarships but affords them an opportunity to express their opinion on patriotism.

The winner from my home State of Texas is Moses Hernandez who is also from my hometown of Bryan where he is a senior at Stephen F. Austin High School. Moses is the eighth of nine children in a family that has known the life of the migrant worker. He is a youngster from humble surroundings who has not had the opportunity of most teenagers. He comes from a family that is poor if you measure such in money only. But his is a family rich in other, more important assets. His parents have instilled in their children a desire for education, a love of country, and the knowledge that you can change your environment, and improve yourself. Moses is a fine student who has overcome the disadvantage of missing part of his regular schooling while he worked in the fields and to me exemplifies the type of person that has made this country the great Nation that it is.

I was most impressed by Moses' essay on democracy and no one could more eloquently express his love for country, his feelings of patriotism, and his attitude on opportunity than he has expressed in his essay. To me it is the best. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I place his essay in the Record as I believe that this young student's words will inspire my colleagues as well as it has me. I also wish to include a letter I received from Mr. Cooper T. Holt, executive director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars along with a letter from Mr. Clyde Blum, commander, VFW Post No. 4692 of Bryan, Tex.

Democracy: What It Means to Me

(By Moses Hernandez)

I can worship God in my country. "Why?" Democracy. There have been times when I've disagreed with some decision in government and just boiled over, often getting into arguments with my classmates about it. Yesterday I was reading that if a person were to speak out like this in some places in the world, he would more than likely be shot; and I ponder within myself, "What gives me and not them this privilege of freedom of expression?" Democracy.

When I read or hear of the sufferings and hardships of people in foreign countries, I wonder to myself, "Why was I born an American in a democratic country and not as one of these unfortunate ones?" But, oh, how I thank God that I was born in this land where a person can speak, write, live, and worship freely as one pleases without fear of the government.

I believe that I was set on earth in a democratic country for a certain purpose; and in order to fulfill this purpose, I need to play a personal role in everything that affects me. And democracy has affected me as a child; it now affects me as a high school student in America; and democracy will continue to affect me in the future as a man. I believe my personal role in preserving this democratic way of life as a high school student in the United States of America is to take advantage of the great opportunity that is offered to me to get the best education that I possibly can and to make the best use of it for the betterment of my country and of my fellow men, because we the youth of today are the governing body of tomorrow. As a student I need to take great interest and pride in my school that, in so doing, I may also create a greater interest and pride in my country and also prove to myself and to others that I am worthy to be called an American and to live in this great land where democracy prevails. I believe that by putting forth the best I've got into everything I do, and what I do being according to the democratic way of life, I can proudly say, "I am an American." When I see a person in need, I try to help fulfill that need; when I see a gap in the friendship of two people, I try to help close that gap; and as for myself I try to have a smile and a place in my heart for all people not regarding their color, race, or creed. I believe democracy requires this of me and of each one of us.

I believe students all over the United States and myself need to stop and realize how fortunate we really are so we can have the desire to keep our Nation strong and free; and we need to ask ourselves as the late President Kennedy stated, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but rather ask what you can do for your country." I state these words because I sincerely believe and honor them in my heart; and I honor President Kennedy for saying them, because they have so much truth in them. We have received so much from our country, and now we have an opportunity to serve our country by having tolerance with our fellow man and being loyal to America at all times.

I believe this would be a stronger Nation if we seek more to give rather than to be given; to help rather than to be helped; to love rather than to be loved.

I don't know about my classmates; but as for me, I believe in a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and for that reason I pledge my allegience, my loyalty, and my life to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

This is what democracy means to me.

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the
United States, Brazos County
Post Number 4692,
Bryan, Tex., February 20, 1967.

Hon. Olin Teague,
Congressman, 6th U.S. Congressional District,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Teague: Mr. Moses Hernandez, a senior at Stephen F. Austin High School, Bryan, Texas, won the state-wide contest in the V.F.W. sponsored "Voice of Democracy Contest" for the State of Texas.

Moses is a Latin-American from a large family. His family are true Americans and his father is a Methodist minister.

Moses is leaving College Station on March 3, 1967, for Washington, D.C., on the all-expense-paid tour and stay in Washington where he will compete against the entrants from the other states, possessions, etc. The national V.F.W. is paying all expenses. Our post voted $50 for his spending money while in Washington.

Moses has two brothers who graduated from Texas A&M, two more who are now attending our university and Moses has stated that he will definitely go to A&M upon his graduation from high school. He is competing for scholarships for either $5,000, $4000, $3000, $2000 or $1000.

I will send you a telegram when I know the time of departure from College Station and the expected time of arrival in Washington. Please let me know if you will be on hand to greet him. Also, if any congressional members (including our two senators) will also be present.

Our post and auxiliary sponsored Moses and we are very proud of him. Last Friday we had a Mexican-style dinner in our post home in his honor. It is truly the American democratic way of life when a boy from one of the "under-privileged" groups can prove himself as well as the boy from a family of great material wealth.

We have received a large amount of newspaper, radio and television publicity concerning our winner. I know that you will appreciate being informed of this event. I would like to relay your answer to our local news media.

Also, I am enclosing a list of our post members for your information.

Very truly yours,

Clyde Blum,
Post Commander.

Veterans of Foreign Wars
of the United States,
February 20, 1967.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Teague: Each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest. This year over 350,000 school students participated in the contest competing for the five scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. First prize is a $5,000 scholarship, second prize is $3,500, third prize is $2,500, fourth prize is $1,500 and the fifth prize is $1,000. The contest theme was "Democracy—What It Means to Me."

The winning contestant from each State is brought to Washington, D.C., for the final judging as guest of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Enclosed is a copy of the winning speech from your State as delivered by Moses Ramirez Hernandez of Bryan, Texas, a resident of your District. It shall be deeply appreciated if you would insert the enclosed speech in the Congressional Record.

I also wish to remind you that the winning contestant from your State will be available in Washington the evening of March 7, 1967, 6:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M., at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Annual Congressional Dinner at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Cooper T. Holt,
Executive Director.

CONSUMER REPRESENTATION—PART 2

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rosenthal] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, this is the second of a two-part series on consumer representation in Europe. Yesterday, I reported on the consumer programs of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Great Britain. Today, I will describe the programs of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and West Germany. The extent of consumer representation in these five countries is further evidence of the progress which has been made in Europe and which, as yet, eludes us in the United States

FRANCE

Consumer interests in France are represented at the cabinet level in the National Committee on Consumer Problems—Comité Nationale de la Consommation. Of greatest significance to the protection of consumer interests in France, however, is the government's aggressive promotion and subsidy of private consumer organizations. The principal task of the National Committee—an integral part of the Ministry of Finance and Economics—is to bring representatives of all segments of the economy together to work out consumer problems. Most recently, the committee recommended the establishment of a government consumer institute to do research and test consumer products.

Nonetheless, there is already a great deal of private and semigovernmental activity in France in the field of consumer research and education. The oldest and probably the most prestigious of the organizations involved is the Association National pour la Défense de la Qualité Francaise or Qualité-France as it is better known. Qualité-France is governed by a 25-man board of representatives from consumer groups, trade associations, producers, distributors, and the government. It is financed through government subsidies and by user fees and testing charges levied on participating producers. The association itself employs seven full-time technicians and has access to 40 professional laboratories.

Qualité-France issues quality markings and descriptive labels for a wide variety of manufactured products ranging from food and textiles to domestic appliances and furniture. Manufacturers wishing to use the labels must submit their products for testing, and these products, in turn, must meet certain minimum specifications. In cases where the product is of a higher quality than the minimum specified, the manufacturer can indicate this on the label, subject to verification by the association. By the end of 1964, Qualité-France had issued quality markings to 600 firms manufacturing some 3,000 products.

Qualité-France insures adherence to its quality standards by operating a consumer complaint service. Each year, it receives about 2,000 complaints, of which one-half are justified. In cases where a firm is at fault, it is obliged under its agreement with the Qualité-France to repair or replace the product. If a deterioration in quality or changes in the technical specifications of products are noted, authority to use the Qualité-France label is revoked.

In addition to Qualité-France, there are four comparative testing organizations in France: Union Fédérale de la Consommation — UFC — Organisation Générale des Consommateurs—ORGECO—Association Pour la Diffusion des Techniques Ménagéres, and Laboratoire Cooperatif d'Analyses et de Recherches.

Union Fédérale de la Consommation—UFC—is comprised of 36 member organizations, its officers including a representative from the Ministry of Finance and Economics, the President of Qualité-France, and a number of consumers and economists. The UFC publishes its test results in a bimonthly periodical Que Choisir?, the French equivalent of Consumer Reports, and in a quarterly bulletin. About 60 percent of UFC's budget comes from the government.

Of more recent establishment, ORGECO will participate in Eurotests—International product testing—to be conducted by the international Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs. At the moment, ORGECO publishes the bi-monthly Information Consommation and meets about one-third of its budgetary requirements with government funds.

The Association Pour la Diffusion des Techniques Ménagères is a nonprofit association of 1,000 home economics schools and 9 other organizations of broad appeal. It maintains its own testing laboratories where it also permits producers to have their products tested. Assessing the quality, function, and price of products, the association publishes a quarterly bulletin and brochures on a wide variety of products. The government contributes about one-fifth of its annual budget.

The Laboratoire Cooperatif d'Analyses et de Recherches is affiliated with the French cooperative movement, and its facilities are at the disposal of consumer testing groups. With part of its budget funded by the government, the Laboratory puts out several publications, the most important of which are Je voudrais savoir and Bulletin d'Information.

BELGIUM

As is the case in most West European countries, consumer interests in Belgium are represented on an independent, Government-financed consumers council. The council has responsibility for documenting and analyzing all problems of interest to Belgian consumers, and is in charge of coordinating informational programs and promoting research work on consumer products and services. The council can, at its own discretion or at the request of the Government, report to the Ministry of Economics on subjects it considers important. Nominated by the Ministry of Economics for 4-year terms, the council is composed of nine members from consumer organizations, three members representing manufacturers and distributors, and four experts on distribution, product testing, and standardization. Government financing also extends to comparative product testing and consumer lobbying. It heavily subsidizes the Union Feminine pour l'Information de la Défense Consommateur—UFIDEC—an association of women from the Socialist Party and the cooperative movement. UFIDEC does product testing on its own and for the Common Market, and publishes its findings from time to time. Significantly, in subsidizing UFIDEC, the Belgian Government supports the country's best known consumer lobbying group.

In the nongovernmental sphere, Qualité-Belgique and L'Association des Consommateurs are two of the better known consumer organizations in Belgium. Fashioned after Qualité-France-Qualité-Belgique grants quality labels to interested manufacturers. A 21-man committee selected from diverse sectors of the economy establishes criteria for approval, selects laboratories, organizes use tests with local consumer clubs, and analyzes the data collected. Refusals to grant labels are always accompanied by detailed reports to the applicants. By the end of 1964, Qualité-Belgique had issued outstanding quality marks to 135 firms manufacturing textiles, metals, clothing, furniture, cleaning materials, and household equipment. Financed by fees to producers for the cost of tests and controls and from sale of shares to consumer clubs, Qualité-Belgique remains financially independent of the Government.

L'Association des Consommateurs, also financially independent of the Belgian Government, conducts product testing and publishes its results in French and Flemish in Test Achats, printed 11 times a year. L'Association des Consommateurs is a member of the International Organization of Consumer Unions and the Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs which sponsors Eurotests.

In Belgium, as in France, "family organizations," usually church-sponsored, provide social services and consumer information at the local level. Encouraged by the government, these organizations engage directly in consumer education. The largest of the Belgian family organizations sponsors a "seal of approval" akin to this country's Good Housekeeping and Parents magazine seals. La Ligue des Familles Nombreuses de Belgigue, which sponsors the Consumers Clubs throughout the country, publishes consumer information in its weekly publication, which currently has a circulation over 450,000.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Dutch Government has recently established a Board for Consumer Affairs. This board will make its recommendations for consumer programs to the Social-Economische Raad, a tripartite body of employers, trade union members, and government officials charged with advising the government on social and economic problems. The board's members are drawn from consumer organizations, unions, women's groups, cooperatives, family organizations, manufacturers, retailers, and wholesalers. As yet, it is too early to tell how influential it will become.

In the field of consumer research and education, several organizations are active in Holland, one of which receives government funds. This is the Consumenten Contact Orgaan—CCO—which meets nearly 70 percent of its expenses with government grants. Established in 1957 by the Nederlandse Consumenten Bond, a number of cooperatives, and three labor organizations, the CCO has grown rapidly. It now tests a wide variety of consumer products and publishes an information bulletin 10 times a year. Although the CCO is completely independent of producers, it generally tries to work with them both before and after publishing test results.

In the exclusively private sphere, the Nederlandse Consumenten Bond is the largest and most influential of the Dutch consumer organizations. Its total membership, including 63,000 individual members and 18 organizational members, numbers more than 200,000. Its principal function is comparative product testing, the results of which it publishes in its periodical Consumentengids which appears 11 times a year.

Also privately funded is the Instituut Tot Voorlichting Bij Huishoudelijke Arbeid—IVHA—which conducts tests and issues quality markings for all products except foods, textiles, and furniture. Products approved by the institute must be retested every 2 years to insure continued high standards. In its monthly magazine, Denken en Doen, the institute provides descriptions of approved goods. By the end of 1964, IVHA had issued 517 quality marks.

SWITZERLAND

At this time, the Swiss Institute for Household Economics—SIH—is the major consumer organization for which the government provides funds. Founded in 1948, SIH united 43 member organizations devoted to household economics. The institute runs product tests, does research, and conducts studies in many areas of household management. SIH's findings are published in its quarterly journal, SIH für Sie, and its monthly publication,

ELEKTRISCHE HAUSHALGERÄTE

The Swiss Government established the Federal Commission on Consumer Affairs just over a year ago. Thus, it is still too early to evaluate its work. However, it is expected that the commission, which is currently developing a consumer program for Switzerland, will present a set of recommendations as to how government funds can best be spent to help consumers. What institutional forms these recommendations will take is yet to be seen.

Three recently established consumer organizations are currently engaged in consumer goods testing. These are: La Fondation pour la Protection des Consommateurs, established in 1964, the Fédération Romande des Consommatrices, founded in 1959, and Konsumentinnenforum der Deutsche Schweiz und des Kantons Tessin, organized in 1963.

WEST GERMANY

The Federal Government of Germany has just launched a large consumer goods testing program and provided extensive funds for its operation. The Foundation for Goods Testing—Stiftung Warentest—is governed by a board consisting of a housewife, a commercial scientist versed in business management, a commercial lawyer, an experienced administrator, and a political economist. An advisory committee comprised of seven consumer members and seven industry members recommends to the board what products should be tested. Consulting committees are established for each product tested, and the testing itself is commissioned to existing scientific and technical institutions. The institute conducts about 70 product tests a year. The Ministry of Economics, which runs a consumer-liaison office, currently provides $1 million a year for the operation of Stiftung Warentest.

Since 1951, the Federal Government has sponsored and financed the Institute of Home Economics, which develops test methods and tests food products and home appliances. The institute runs its own demonstration center in Stuttgart.

States and cities in Germany are also deeply involved in consumer affairs. They finance local consumer-education centers in 11 major cities. These bureaus maintain demonstration centers, handle consumer complaints, and produce radio and TV shows.

The largest private consumer organization in Germany is the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Verbraucherverbände—AGV—a nonprofit federation of 20 member organizations comprising a total of 7 million individual members.

The AGV conducts product tests on its own and at the request of producers, publishing its results in studies and purchase guides. It also develops test methods and elaborates test conditions for other organizations. The AGV publishes 36 issues a year of its Verbraucher Politische Korrespondenz, dealing with broad policy interests of consumers, and its monthly Verbraucher Rundschau, which focuses on testing. The AGV was instrumental in rallying political support for the establishment of the government-run Stiftung Warentest.

Unique to Germany is the monthly magazine D.M.—Deutsche Mark. Believing that there is money to be made on consumer affairs, D.M. is a strictly commercial venture, sometimes accepting advertising from firms whose products it reviews. D.M. is sold at news stands, not by subscription, and tries to catch the interest of housewives and general readers by its sensational headlines and down-to-earth language.

D.M. maintains its own laboratory near Stuttgart where it employs 22 engineers and technicians. Its circulation is somewhere between 400,000 and 500,000, which is considerable although it has apparently not grown in the last 2 years. There is some feeling that the public has lost interest in D.M. Yet, it still remains one of the most popular consumer magazines in Europe.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be clear from my descriptions of the consumer programs in these nine European countries that their governments take an active role in promoting the consumer interest. European governments have recognized that, given the increasingly complex nature of modern economies and the ever-increasing array of products from which the consumer must choose, consumer interests can no longer be left at the mercy of the marketplace, but must be actively protected and represented.

I am eager to see the U.S. Government assume a similarly active role in protecting and representing the consumer interest. In particular, I think the United States should draw from the European experience with consumer goods testing, informative, labeling, household research, and consumer education. Some European countries, notably Sweden, have developed consumer information programs which are remarkably effective in reaching the buying public. They make full use of traveling exhibits, radio, television, and all the other mass media. In general, the United States remains far behind Europe in seeking new ways to assist consumers. Yet, we in this country are no less committed to the welfare of the consumer than are Europeans. It follows, then, that it is time for the Federal Government to equip itself to better serve the interests of the American consumer.

TEACHER CORPS REAPS PRAISE FROM EDUCATION LEADERS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues some statements made by a number of respected education leaders, both in Government and our Nation's school systems, regarding the value of the contribution of the Teacher Corps in meeting the pressing problem of finding and training teachers for our Nation's educationally disadvantaged, both urban and rural.

Mr. Speaker, the support for the Teacher Corps during this past week is most impressive because it comes from the men on the firing line—the educators who face the day-to-day problems of recruiting and retaining teachers for the educationally disadvantaged.

Mr. Speaker, these statements have been made over the past few days during the hearings of the Committee on Education and Labor on the proposed amendments to the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Teacher Corps, under the proposed amendments, will become a special part of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the portion of the act most directly concerned with education of the disadvantaged.

The Teacher Corps, even with its present modest resources, is already making a significant contribution to education in the slums of our inner cities and in pockets of rural poverty.

Mr. Speaker, school superintendents and other educators, from both large and smaller cities, have endorsed the Teacher Corps and their experience with it. The testimony has been most impressive and I urge my colleagues to read with care what some of our Nation's foremost educators are saying about this imaginative program.

I would like to present the remarks of the following:

The Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., superintendent, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Joseph Manch, superintendent, Buffalo, N.Y.

Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, superintendent, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Paul W. Briggs, superintendent, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. Norman Drachler, superintendent, Detroit, Mich.

Dr. William Kottmeyer, superintendent, St. Louis, Mo.

Dr. Harold S. Vincent, superintendent, Milwaukee, Wis.

Dr. Charles Holt, superintendent, South Bend, Ind.

Their remarks follow:

Statement of the Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Before the House Education and Labor Committee, March 7, 1967

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

For Members of this distinguished Committee there is no need to elaborate upon the increasing significance of education for our time. By your actions in the past decade you have amply demonstrated your commitment to American education. Suffice it to say that the fulfillment of each citizen's hopes and the solution of our society's most crucial problems demand that we continue to improve our Nation's educational opportunities.

Improvement, however, can only come through careful assessment of what has proven successful in the past and careful planning for what appears to be needed in the future. I feel strongly that these hearings, early in the first session of a new Congress, provide a useful opportunity to carry out this assessment and planning. Thus, I am pleased to appear before you today to discuss certain key measures of our 1967 legislative proposals for education.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967, contained in H.R. 6230, built upon a number of our most successful existing programs and, also, call for the establishment of several vitally needed new programs. All of these amendments are worthy of your support. At this time, however, I would like to restrict my remarks to two proposals which I feel are especially deserving of comment—the Teacher Corps and Comprehensive Educational Planning.

I do not wish to discuss the Teacher Corps in detail. I understand that my colleagues, Commissioner Howe and Director Graham, fulfilled that task most admirably in their testimony last week. I do wish to make clear, however, what I consider to be the most outstanding features of the Teacher Corps.

First, the Teacher Corps is designed to help in alleviating one of the most crucial problems of our time—the education of disadvantaged youth. All too often, children raised in city ghettos, in underdeveloped rural areas, on Indian reservations, or in migrant labor camps are faced with a life almost devoid of the opportunity to gain individual and material success. Teacher Corps volunteers carry with them or develop skills specifically geared to the problems of underprivileged youth. Perhaps, more important, however, they carry with them an intense personal concern for the children they teach. If a child is deprived and alienated, neither money, buildings, nor books can in themselves make him interested in learning. Most often, the crucial ingredient is an inspired, considerate, and concerned teacher who is able to respond to the needs of each child. We have many such teachers regularly employed in our schools today—but we need many more, especially in economically disadvantaged areas. The Teacher Corps is helping to provide such dedicated teachers with the opportunity to serve where they are needed most. We must continue this effort.

A second feature of the Teacher Corps is the positive influence it is having upon educational practices. Many Teacher Corps volunteers, both interns and master teachers, bring a refreshing vigor to their work. Often their breadth of outlook and innovative spirit serve as a breath of fresh air to both the pupils they instruct and the teachers with whom they work. Moreover, Corpsmen act as a direct link between the colleges and universities in which many of our new educational ideas are created and the practical world of the school where those ideas are needed. This is a kind of link which has too often been lacking or has been too fragile in the past. It is a link which deserves to be strengthened and continued in the future.

The positive influence of Corpsmen is not limited to their pupils and schools. There is increasing evidence that the freshness of outlook and the practical teaching experiences of Corps members are also bringing about changes in teacher training practices. Schools of education are coming to see the advantages in providing trainees with more extensive field experiences. And the Teacher Corps is making a marked contribution to this movement.

A third significant feature of the Teacher Corps is that it, at least partially, offsets our crucial shortage of educators. Our many new educational programs have brought great benefits, but our supply of capable educators has not kept pace with the increased demands. In time, training programs will help to redress the balance, but, for the interim, programs such as the Teacher Corps are of value in meeting the personnel needs of our schools. The Teacher Corps is particularly helpful in this regard because it places teachers where they are in greatest demand, in our urban ghettos and rural areas.

Fourth, the Corps embodies one of our culture's most strongly held values—a desire to help other people. Genuine service to the disadvantaged is demanding work and often takes place in unpleasant surroundings. It calls for a form of selflessness and individual sacrifice which our society has always valued and must continue to foster and reward. The Teacher Corps provides an outlet for the expression of personal idealism and concern for one's fellow man.

The young people of our society have given ample evidence of their desire to create a better world. The highly successful programs of the Peace Corps and VISTA have proved that idealism can be a powerful force for individual and societal improvement. In the short time it has existed, the Teacher Corps has proven that it too can serve as a positive instrument for channeling idealism into programs of practical benefit to our society.

Many of our best young people today wonder whether they have any place in this vast and complicated society of ours. They feel anonymous and ruthless and alienated. They are oppressed by the impersonality of our institutions. In my judgment there isn't any quicker cure for that ailment than evidence that their society needs them. I don't think there could be anything better for a great many of our young people than a period of hard voluntary service in a venture surrounded by a spirit of dedication. The idea of a Corps, as in the Peace Corps, considerably enhances the atmosphere of service. We are proposing several amendments to the original Teacher Corps legislation which stem from our experiences to date, We will, perhaps, need to make other adjustments in the future. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the Teacher Corps is deserving of extension and expansion.

Testimony of Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Superintendent, Pittsburgh, Pa., Before the Committee on Education and Labor, March 3, 1967

Dr. Marland. I will try to respond as to the validity of the concept of the Teacher Corps.

I cannot applaud it enthusiastically enough. As I say, we made some faltering starts on that in Pittsburgh, with our voluntary relationships with other institutions, before the Teacher Corps came into being, but only very modestly, six or eight teachers here and there. I think the present level of support provides around 1,500 teachers this year, advancing presumably 5,000 in the proposed legislation for a year.

Again I say this is very, very few, but it is terribly important. I refer again to my written testimony, page 2, where I say the number of generalizations emerge. There must be innovative and fresh approaches to teacher techniques and curriculum for the deprived.

That is what we are talking about—attitudes, skills, sensitivities, and the heart and the stomach for working in the deprived areas. This is what the Teacher Corps says to me, and it is terribly important.

Mr. Hawkins. From that point, let's get to the next phase of it. How is it that the Teacher Corps is able to attract and recruit individuals to go into the teaching profession and to accept these assignments when conventional institutions apparently cannot do this?

Dr. Marland. I will try to answer that one very clearly. I have tried that twice before today but I don't think I have made it as I should.

Our young people coming up through college all over this country by and large are enrolled in liberal arts situations. A great majority of them have not yet decided when they go to college what they are going to do afterward, or at least they are openminded on it. Very often the young person, as a freshman or a sophomore in college, has no interest whatsoever in being a teacher. He does not want to take the conventional teacher-training courses or those offered in a teacher college, the education courses that are often considered dull. They disdain teaching.

Then all of a sudden something happens as a product of their maturity, as a product of their increasing sense of values, their increasing development of a personal philosophy. They suddenly say, "Why didn't I qualify for teaching back there 2 or 3 years ago when I had a chance to choose those courses?"

I say this with the utmost feeling of absoluteness because I have experienced this myself hundreds and hundreds of times with young people I have worked with, who have been through the schools with which I am associated, both in the favored suburbs and in Pittsburgh.

They suddenly become aroused to the fact that they want to be a teacher. They also become aroused to the fact that they want to do something to change the world, and this is good. For this reason, the National Teacher Corps has a unique and specific response to the desires of those young people.

It provides them a clear track at very little cost to themselves to acquire a profession after they have already thought it was too late. They had already spent 3 or 4 years in college and they couldn't go back and start over again. It gives them immediate income, adequate for subsistence, as they continue to learn. Many of these people could not immediately go to graduate school in the conventional master of arts in teaching programs, for example, at $2,000 or $3,000 a year. They spent their money on their first 4 years of college.

There is a substantial proportion of the young people in our colleges who are ripe and ready to turn their wisdom and talents to the teaching of children, particularly because of the motivations implied in the whole spirit of social justice. They see there is something that they can do. They see there is something to which they can turn their hands to make it a better world.

Believe me, there are surprisingly large numbers of our young people who believe this way. We have opened the door a little way in the Teacher Corps in providing a road for them to follow. It brings in somebody who never otherwise would have been a teacher. He might have been an accountant, a perfectly fine architect, or something else, but not a teacher.

Statement of Dr. Joseph Manch, Superintendent, Buffalo Public Schools, Buffalo, N.Y., Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 8, 1967

(1) The first category of the Amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act concerns the National Teacher Corps. Buffalo, in cooperation with the State University of New York College at Buffalo, has had an N.T.C. program operating since the summer of 1966. At present there are five teams of interns each headed by a master teacher, twenty-five Corps members in all, working in the core area schools of Buffalo. We have been pleased with the efforts of each of these teams and we are in favor of those amendments which would allow us to improve the use of Corps personnel in our schools. We feel that our control over the placement of personnel, although not at present a problem, would be better served by the proposed amendment stipulating local control over the placement of N.T.C. members. We are also in agreement with the proposed amendments concerning changes in compensation, State educational agency approval, and the use of N.T.C. members in migrant schools and schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

(2) The amendments which promote planning and evaluation at the state level appear to be in the interests of our local efforts. Therefore we wish to be noted as being in favor of these amendments.

(3) Buffalo Public Schools have long been leaders in vocational education. The institution of innovative vocational programs would be in accord with our long established program of providing new vocational opportunities as the economic and technological features of our society change. We applaud any efforts made to assist the states in establishing at a local level innovative vocational programs designed to bring vocational education into accord with the rapidly changing modern industrial world. I have attached to this statement a recent interview I have given for Urban School Notes published by Western Reserve University. This presents a summary of my present thinking on the subject of innovation in vocational education.

Statement of Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, Superintendent of Schools, New York City, Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 8, 1967

The sixteen Great Cities we represent contain within them a total population of 25,000,000 people. They have within them a public school enrollment of approximately 4,500,000 children, exclusive of higher education. It is apparent from these figures that the Superintendents here today speak for a large segment of the school population of America. This segment has attempted to support its schools to the best of its ability on a local and state basis.

As Chairman of the Committee to Coordinate Federal Legislative Activities of the Research Council of the Great Cities Improvement Program, I have been designated to present to the Committee the consensus of the thinking of the Great Cities of the country on certain important matters of federal legislation. Because of our common problems we have found through our research that we do have common interests in some of the problems of federal legislation and it is these common concerns which I will present to you this morning.

CITIES A MELTING POT

The cities of this nation have been and are now the melting pots of America. They have drawn to them those who seek social improvement, economic opportunity, political change, equality of opportunity, cultural uplift and social acceptance. In the cauldron of the Great Cities, the poor, the handicapped, the illiterate, the foreign born, the political exile, rub elbows and share experiences with longer established residents whose forebears went through the same procedures. This constant shift of population and the attendant delicate complicated problems which it brings to the city reflect directly on the educational program of these school districts. The development of productive, educated citizens through these melting pots is welcomed by the cities as their contribution to national progress. It does place upon each city, however, a tremendous financial burden for the conduct of a public school system which must face these unique problems.

The Large Cities have been faced, within the last several years, with this same melting pot problem but now with an added ingredient. The cities find themselves having shifted from a multi-national origin problem to a multi-racial problem. This has caused the Large Cities to adjust their educational programs to a considerable degree to meet the new problems. Language and social custom barriers have given way to considerations of human relations and equality of opportunity. In many of our large cities a sizable segment of the former population has moved to the suburbs. This has increased our difficulty in maintaining racial balance in our schools and in handling our educational problems.

VARIED EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

The vocational education needs of the Great Cities need no description. Changing job opportunities, the influx of thousands upon thousands of students from rural areas of the country, the inability of large cities to keep up with changing techniques and equipment in vocational education has posed a tremendous problem in the effective vocation training of youth so that when they do graduate they are acceptable in industry.

The cities have also become the mecca for children with handicaps. Because the cities have traditionally attempted to provide services for all types of handicapped children, there has been a concerted movement by people with handicapped children to move to the city so as to avail themselves of these services. We now find ourselves unable to support all of the programs for the handicapped which we would like to support. These programs are extremely expensive but they are necessary. We have a responsibility to every child and a particular one to the visually, mentally, physically, socially or emotionally handicapped child.

THE TAX PROBLEM

In addition to these great needs facing the cities of the country, we are also bound by antiquated tax structures. In most cases the city's tax structure is based upon real property which at this moment is taxed to the point where it is hardly likely to be able to absorb any further tax increases. We must compete within the city for the tax dollar with every other metropolitan service that must be provided. The municipal overburden which is unique to cities prevents the city from putting all the tax money it would like to into its educational program.

State aid to the city varies throughout the nation. In most cases it is a minor part of the financial structure of the local school system. In my own state of New York the City of New York carries approximately two thirds of the cost of its local school system.

The declining ability of the city and the state to finance the educational program reflects itself in a considerable construction backlog in our cities. The shifting of our populations and the increase in our size has made it most important for us to put money into the building of new buildings to accommodate our new population. This has left us with a very large backlog of antiquated buildings which need either replacement or complete rehabilitation.

TEACHER SHORTAGES

We are also faced with a teacher shortage in the Great Cities at a time when it is so essential that we expand our services to children. Salaries are only one part of the recruitment of teachers. The adequacy of educational facilities and the adequacy of materials of instruction are also important in the recruiting of teachers. The financing of our schools today on city and state levels with the very minimal help we are getting from the federal government does not permit us to attack this total problem on the vast scale that is demanded.

TEACHER CORPS

With these general needs of the cities in mind, I would respectfully draw to your attention those aspects of continued or amended federal legislation concerning education which are of particular importance to our school systems.

The cities are greatly concerned with several aspects of the funding of the federal programs as follows:

There is great need for federal appropriations to match federal authorizations. School systems build their planning and their hopes on authorizations adopted by Congress. They then find in the course of appropriations that the money forthcoming for these authorizations does not contemplate meeting the full program either in scope or in length of time. Just last Friday I was informed that the money for the National Teacher Corps had run out and that something special had to be done for the nineteen experienced teachers and seventy-four Teacher Corps trainees that we had in the City of New York or they would lose their jobs. We have made the necessary arrangements not to lose these valuable professional people but it is an example of what happens when funding is not complete. Authorization indicated $151,000,000 under Title I for New York State. Appropriations provided $111,000,000 which required a major readjustment of contemplated programs.

While not all of the Great Cities of the country have engaged in the National Teacher Corps program, those of us who have are in favor of full funding for this program. It is unfortunate that a program with such great promise for the inner core cities does not succeed because it is not completely funded and therefore does not get the whole-hearted support of the agencies and institutions which should be working with it.

We feel that the members of Congress are sincerely concerned with the welfare of the children of this nation. So are we. Therefore, we are willing to lend our every assistance to the development of the proper legislation and the most effective procedures for providing a quality integrated education for every child in this nation, particularly for the children under our supervision in the large cities.

Statement of Dr. Paul W. Briggs, Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland, Ohio, Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 8, 1967

REACTION TO THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967

We endorse these amendments and urge their favorable consideration by the Congress.

National Teacher Corps

In Cleveland this year we have had several Teacher Corps teams functioning in some of our schools in the most disadvantaged sections of the city. This program has been very satisfactory.

Comprehensive educational planning

The need for comprehensive educational planning is great, if we are to carry out more effectively the necessary coordinated, systematic attack on the pressing problems of education in the urban centers.

Innovation in vocational education

In the area of vocational education, the great urban centers, stricken as they are by massive youth unemployment and despair, feel keenly the urgency of developing new dimensions in vocational education opportunities. We must prepare youth not only for the jobs presently available, but for the rapidly changing labor demands resulting from technological advances.

Expanded educational opportunities for handicapped children

Handicapped children in a city such as Cleveland often have their difficulties from physical, mental or emotional handicaps compounded by intense poverty and other social and economic deprivations.

While we have today in Cleveland an outstanding program for handicapped children, its expansion to meet the needs of this city is hampered.

Statement of Dr. Norman Drachler, Superintendent of Detroit Public Schools Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 8, 1967

Mr. Chairman, I have presented to you and to Members of the Committee our testimony and some materials expanding upon the issues before us today.

I appreciate the opportunity to express some facts concerning the status of our schools and their needs as these relate to the issues under discussion today.

1. NATIONAL TEACHER CORPS

Detroit has a school enrollment of approximately 300,000 children with about 11,000 teachers. Our basic premise is that all children are educable. Lack of motivation, poverty, physical handicaps, and even lack of funds—must serve not as explanations for our shortcomings, but as guidelines for developing skills, attitudes and programs necessary for the success of each student. I constantly remind myself and our staff that we can do better with what we have.

Nevertheless, I have to be fair with the community and the staff when I face the realities of our present situation:

a) Over 800 of our 11,000 teachers are emergency substitutes on regular positions simply because we have been unable to hire qualified certificated teachers.

b) Despite our inservice training program, many of our teachers are teaching subject matters such as Math, Science and foreign languages—for which they are not adequately prepared.

c) If we in Detroit were to have the same ratio of teachers to pupils as exists in the rest of the state—we would need an additional 1,650 teachers in our schools tomorrow morning. At an average salary of $8,000 per year, this amounts to about $13 million.

d) If we could hire these 1,650 teachers we would need at least an additional 1,000 classrooms in order to house them.

e) We have in Detroit over 4,000 elementary classrooms. Of these, 51%—more than half—have between 35 and 49 youngsters per classroom. In junior high schools, 20% of our classrooms run between 35 and 49, and in our senior high schools, over 32% have between 35 and 39 in a room.

f) Each of our grades in the elementary schools, particularly grades 3 through 6, operate on one basic textbook to two children. One class uses these in the morning, while others are in special rooms, and then in the afternoon the classes switch and the second group in the homeroom uses the same textbook. Simply to make it possible for each child to be able to take home to study his basic textbook, a reader, a speller or an arithmetic book, we need an additional $3 million next year in Detroit.

g) Detroit is spending about $516 per child per school year. The suburban areas are spending six to eight hundred dollars per year. It is our task to produce quality education for city youngsters, most of whom come from disadvantaged homes with less, than neighboring schools have, in services for their children who come from middle-class environments. It is quite obvious that a child from a lower socio-economic home, be he white or Negro, is much more dependent upon his school success, upon the quality of teacher services, facilities and educational program than is a youngster from a lower socio-economic situation.

The proposed legislation to continue and expand the National Teacher Corps is highly desirable, since it affords a new training program that should provide additional manpower for the education of disadvantaged children. The involvement of veteran teachers and college-graduate interns in professional training programs for the teaching of disadvantaged children could open the door to a rewarding professional career. It could also do much to fill the teaching void that exists in the schools of the core city. The program, since its inception, has been broaching a difficult new area with limited resources . . .

The Teacher Corps program is a direct, desirable service for the disadvantaged children of this nation. We would hope that our program of sixteen teachers could be expanded to many times that number. *While the amendments propose to eliminate any question of federal control, I would assure the Committee that this has not been a problem in our program.*

Statement of Dr. William Kottmeyer, Superintendent of Instruction, St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis, Mo., Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 8, 1967

There is little question that education in St. Louis has been considerably strengthened by the help we have received from Congress. We are particularly grateful to this Committee and to its counterpart in the Senate. Without your dedication and hard work the educational legislation would have been far less workable than it proved to be. Our schools are truly in your debt.

The children in St. Louis have begun to realize great benefits from this legislation and we expect even greater benefits to spring from it in the future as we in the schools and Congress work to accomplish its laudable purposes.

In the St. Louis Public Schools we enroll about 118,000 students from Kindergarten through the fourth year of our Harris Teachers College. There are in addition another 40,300 private and parochial students attending school in the City of St. Louis. In company with the other great cities of the Nation, St. Louis is gaining large numbers of poor, unskilled, and undereducated persons and losing middle-class taxpayers to the surrounding suburbs. The effects of these conditions have already been well documented and so I will not repeat them today. The need, however, not only continues but grows more acute each day it is not met.

Let me discuss the items included in the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967.

National Teacher Corp. The St. Louis Public Schools are not now participating in this program. We are, however, very favorable toward it and might have been able to persuade a local university to cooperate with us in establishing a National Teacher Corps in our city if there had been more time last year. At the present time we are working closely with the University of Missouri in St. Louis for this purpose.

Certainly any program which can develop dedicated, perceptive, trained teachers to work in the inner city will be completely welcome.

Statement of Dr. Harold S. Vincent, Superintendent of Schools, Milwaukee, Wis., Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 8, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

Milwaukee is experiencing many of the changes evident in the large cities of this country. The central city has a disproportionate share of families who suffer disadvantage and deprivation of many kinds. This, of course, has implications for the schools as efforts have been made to provide compensatory educational services in areas of great population density and mobility. More recently, these efforts have been vastly expanded through legislation providing federal funds for such purposes.

In cooperation with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, we are completing our first year's program with the National Teacher Corps. This program offers excellent possibilities for the selection and training of an increased number of teachers for work with children in disadvantaged areas of the city. It is our hope that this program may be doubled in our city next year.

Statement of Dr. Charles Holt, Superintendent of Schools, South Bend, Ind., Before the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 9, 1967

First of all, we are committed in South Bend at this point with the National Teacher Corps. One of the most difficult things in these 13 schools of which I spoke is the recruitment of staff, as you have doubtless heard many times.

The experienced, competent teacher with seniority has said by and large, "I don't want to go to these schools," which means there is a disproportionate number of inexperienced teachers. Even these teachers often leave after a year. I think this is changing now.

But I see the Teacher Corps as an opportunity to bring in people specifically trained to deal with these youngsters. Without this program, it means this to us: that we will have to bring in in the summer, prior to the opening of school, a workshop program of one to two weeks at most to try our best to equip these teachers to know the problems of disadvantaged children.

With the internes, the use of experienced teachers in this program, it will assist us materially and will bring about perhaps more commitment on the part of the other teachers, as they see the young teachers, the internes, the experienced teachers work with these children.

What I am saying is, I think this is the way to provide the experienced teacher for disadvantaged children.

The problem of recruiting is a very discouraging thing. I notice that the Teacher Corps in the first year, their success, at the national level has been most encouraging. . . . I think this comes about perhaps because of a national commitment, a desire for public service that these people exhibit.

So we would be wholeheartedly in favor of the Teacher Corps. We would hope fervently that members of this corps would come to South Bend to assist us with our programs.

THE NEED FOR BETTER RAILWAY PASSENGER SERVICE

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the need for a decent system of passenger railway service in the United States is coming to be recognized as one of the most essential and crucial needs of the Nation. What the American public does not yet understand, unfortunately, is that many of the major railroads have been in the process of dismantling what was once the greatest railway passenger service systems in the world. Today, the deed is almost done.

I have been speaking out on the subject in Congress for several years, and so far it has been a very lonely fight. But there is some evidence that experts and nonexperts are beginning to be stirred up about what is rapidly becoming a critical situation. As railroad after railroad abandon their passenger services, pointing to the availability of airplane and automobile transportation, little thought is given to the problem that might arise were weather conditions to make it impossible for those facilities to function for a city or metropolitan area. What would happen if highways and airports were closed down for a prolonged period and the transportation of large numbers of people in and out of the area became necessary? It is not widely known that there are so few passenger railway trains in existence that the smallest emergency, civilian or military, would exhaust our supply.

With unanimous consent, I am inserting in the RECORD two excellent articles on the problem of passenger service on the railroads. The first is a study done by Lewis A. Frank, an economic consultant to the Railway Passenger Committee, entitled "Railway Passenger Service, the Alternatives Ahead." The second, by William R. Wright, entitled the "Nuisance of Passengers," appeared in the Nation magazine, February 27, 1967.

The articles follow:

Railway Passenger Service: the Alternatives Ahead

In order to formulate a sound rail passenger transport policy within the guidelines establishing the Department of Transportation it is necessary to structurally analyze the present state of rail passenger transportation in this country. During the 1939–1965 period, Federal and State outlays for highway systems including the Federal Interstate Highway program enacted in 1956 totalled between $30 and $35 billion dollars resulting in more than a four-fold expansion of Federal highway mileage during this period. At the same time, total rail mileage, unassisted by government grants (except in the case of the Federally-owned and operated Alaska Railroad) contracted by 10 percent. The percentage of total railway mileage utilized for passenger service also gradually declined, leaving the country worse off now than in the depression pre-World War II era in terms of quantity and quality. In 1939, 73.6 percent of all railroad mileage was utilized to provide passenger service. This percentage, except for brief periods during World War II and Korea steadily declined until by 1965, only 31.4% of the some 218,000 miles of track in the U.S. was utilized for passenger service. During this period, however, the U.S. population increased by nearly 50 percent and intercity travel increased nearly 400 percent over 1939.

Coincident with this decline in quantity is a decline in quality of rail service. In 1939, total passenger service miles in the US amounted to 391,000 with an average daily passenger carrying capacity of Class I railroads (those lines with an annual operating revenue of $3 million or more) amounting to 1.7 million seat spaces in coaches, Pullmans, and parlor cars, totalling 45,479 units. By 1965, total service had declined sharply to 77,000 train-miles with an average daily seating capacity of 668,000 seat spaces in a drastically reduced passenger car population of 21,327 (all types). The average age of passenger cars today is 19–20 years and which are relatively more obsolete compared to their predecessors of a quarter-century ago. Especially decimated in numbers due to scrap, retirement, or foreign sale, are the Pullman sleepers, parlor cars, and railway-operated dining cars, which had been most closely associated with the luxury service provided by the railroads.

There are three main factors which adequately explain but do not necessarily justify the decline, relatively and absolutely compared to other forms of transportation, of rail passenger traffic in the 1939–1965 period:

(a) *Economic Factors:* Loss of passengers to private autos, buses, and scheduled airlines and railway costs and fares mounted without corresponding increases in productivity or significant changes in technology which would offset higher costs.

(b) *Legislative Factors:* Railway passenger service has had to bear disproportionate costs of freight operations and less-favored government tax treatment has been reflected in the 16.9% of passenger revenues in 1965 being absorbed in the payment of total costs and taxes for right-of-way, whereas bus user charges were 5.9% of revenue and airline user charges were only 4.0% of revenue. This tax burden continues to make it more difficult for railroads to maintain passenger service out of current revenue while at the same time providing adequate funds for maintenance and replacement of old equipment.

(c) *Regulatory Factors:* Present procedures, especially since the revision of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1958 has resulted in over 300 train discontinuances and 150 pending discontinuances which has seriously affected medium-to-long-haul passenger service (over 50 miles in length) while not providing adequate time for investigation or review of the cost figures used to justify discontinuances. Lack of uniform passenger cost accounting also has hampered public agencies and the public at large from understanding and acting upon this decline. (See, U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, "Passenger Train Discontinuances", *Hearing before Surface Transportation Subcommittee on S.R. 284*, 89th Congress, 2nd Session. GPO, Washington: August 1966.)

The net effect of this decline is to reduce competitiveness in transportation, especially in the 50–300 mile trip range where the economies of rail passenger service are most realizable and as a consequence serves to raise the costs to citizens of travel. To the country, it means the dwindling away of a great national asset which is needed in peace and war to maintain effective communication and transport of the kind which only railroads can provide.

In this vacuum of effective public or self-regulation of railroad passenger carriers, it is not easy to ascertain exactly what the future demand for rail passenger service is. A recent study done for the Southern Pacific Railroad by Stanford Research Institute takes a very pessimistic viewpoint as far as Western railroads are concerned. However there is nothing in the arguments of that report or of similar reports which suggest that the problem is unassailable. The ongoing Federal-Private Northeast Corridor High Speed Ground Transportation Project reflects a positive approach to creating a more effective short and medium haul rail service for densely populated and concentrated areas. What all studies reviewed indicate is that the failure or success of railway passenger operations is in the hands of the carriers themselves, and what they intend to do about it will determine how this function shall be carried out in the future.

One recently decided discontinuance case points out that rail service is in danger of being curtailed even when there is sufficient demand and need for the service. The order of the ICC, dated February 13, 1967, refused to permit the Western Pacific Railroad from discontinuing its portion of the transcontinental streamliner California Zephyr on the basis of the facts presented to the Commission. In fact, the Commission report (Finance Docket No. 24277) indicated that year-round in 1965, not a good year generally for rail passenger revenue, the Chicago-San Francisco train ran at 78 percent of capacity and at "virtually full capacity during the summer vacation season." The Commission report went on to state that, if expenditures for additional equipment were economically justifiable, patronage could be increased. The Commission contended the accuracy of the cost figures presented by the Railroad in its application for discontinuance, particularly where freight costs were unfairly apportioned to passenger costs. Despite the high patronage, Western Pacific contended that it was losing over half a million dollars in 1965 from the operation of the train.

In the above case as in the some 880 cases which have come before the Commission examiners since 1958, the operating deficit can be reduced by the adoption to two alternative policies by the carriers: attract more rail passenger business, or get rid of the trains. Unfortunately, the history of medium-to-long haul passenger service in this country since 1958 has been mostly of the second variety, and 325 trains have been removed between 1958 and June 30, 1966, with over 150 applications for discontinuance now before the ICC.

For the entire US, passenger operating deficits of the 28 Class I railroads in 1965 totalled $420.9 million. Of these 28 railroads, ranked from number 1 in passenger mileage (the Pennsylvania which carried over 11% of all US rail passengers in 1965) to the Denver and Rio Grande Western, number 28 in passenger mileage carrying 6/10 of 1 percent of US rail passengers in 1965), 11 structured their service mainly in the provision of commutation or short-haul passenger service (average trip 50 miles or less one-way), while the remaining 17 served primarily the medium-to-long-haul rail passenger market (average trip exceeding 50 miles one-way, averaging 100 miles in coaches and 380 miles in sleeping cars). It may be noted that some railroads which were long-haul in character, such as the Southern Pacific, were actually becoming short-haul passenger carriers due to their policy of discontinuing medium-to-long haul passenger runs. On the other hand, the Reading, consisting of many short lines, did most of its passenger business from medium-to-long haul activity in 1965. In most cases, the division of revenue between short and medium/long haul is due to the geographical and demographic aspects of a carrier's operations. The Chicago and Northwestern services primarily the densely populated and concentrated Chicago-Northern Illinois suburban commuter market since it no longer handles through transcontinental traffic and 96.1 percent of all of its passengers are of the commuter-50-mile-or-less variety. The Northern Pacific, on the other hand, serves the sparsely populated and dispersed north-central region and 100 percent of its passenger traffic is of the medium-to-long haul nature.

It is evident from the above examples that the same rail transport policy cannot suit the requirements of all existing carriers, although mergers may, but do not necessarily tend to create a uniform traffic pattern. At the outset, then, rail passenger policy and legislation must be flexible to realize the needs and differences in the market situation faced by the short-haul and the medium/long haul passenger carriers. With the exception of a few railroads, most of the carriers are not satisfied with the extent of their operations and neither are their passengers, but for differing and opposing reasons.

To carriers and passengers alike, the rail passenger transport problem centers around the fact that today, rail passenger operations are losing money, nearly a half-billion dollars annually. This figure is neither so big to serve as an obstacle to constructive ways of reducing deficits nor so small that it can be dismissed as another accounting legerdemain of the railroads. One aircraft carrier's cost entails this passenger deficit, and if only half a billion dollars could get this country's rail passenger system "back on the tracks", the problem would be relatively simple, but the situation is more complex than that.

On further looking at the attempts of most class I carriers to reduce deficits, a study of the figures indicates that different railroads have met with differing levels of success with this policy. The 11 short-haul Class I carriers generated 48.3 percent of the nation's passenger traffic in 1965. Of the 11, 10 had realized deficits from their passenger operation (only the Long Island made a profit after taxes). Of the 10, 5 had their deficit increased from 1964 and 5 had their deficit decreased from 1964. Despite taking off 5 trains between March 19, 1964 and August 17, 1965, the New York Central increased its passenger operating deficit, something not to be expected if the reduced service-reduced deficit argument is to be accepted. Similarly, the Milwaukee Road took off 4 trains by October 1965, and although the time period may have been too short to adequately assess the cost impact of the discontinuances, its deficit increased also. The Rock Island took off two trains between Memphis, Tenn. and Amarillo, Texas on June 27, 1964, only to find its deficit increased the following year. Of the 5 Short-haul Class I railroads which had deficits reduced in 1965, the receivership-run New Haven had no discontinuances, so the savings must be accredited to operating economies, rather than schedule cut-backs. Between May 14, 1964 and March 26, 1965, the Southern Pacific removed 4 trains between Portland, Oregon and Oakland, California, and this removal was reflected in a reduced operating deficit. The Chicago and Northwestern removed 5 trains serving Wisconsin from Chicago in June, 1964 and realized the savings therefrom, although much of this was put back into improved short-haul commuter service. The Erie-Lackawanna also reduced its deficit by removing 6 trains serving Hoboken, New Jersey, Scranton, Pennsylvania, and Chicago, Illinois.

The 17 Medium/Long-Haul Class I carriers generated 47.2 percent of the nations passenger traffic in 1965. All 17 had operating deficits accruing from passenger service, 12 had their deficit increased from 1964, and 5 had their deficit reduced from 1964. Of the 12 with increased deficits, the Missouri Pacific, Atlantic Coast Line, and the Baltimore and Ohio showed increased deficits despite discontinuances. The Missouri Pacific removed 6 trains between January 6, 1964 and August 26, 1965. The Baltimore and Ohio removed two trains between Cincinnati, Ohio and Cumberland, Maryland on June 26, 1964, and the Atlantic Coast Line removed two trains between Savannah, Georgia and Florence, South Carolina on May 19, 1964. The need for further inquiry as to why the deficits on these lines increased despite the "proved" need to reduce service in order to reduce those deficits is in order. Basic operating inefficiencies can make any passenger operation unprofitable, but unless overhead and maintenance costs are so high relative to operations, savings due to discontinuances should have been quickly forthcoming, but in the case of 6 major Class One Carriers, this argument was not borne out by history.

To profit-minded carriers, rail passenger deficits constitute a drag on their highly profitable freight operations and passenger operations fail to "pay their way" in terms of the carriers objectives. Few carriers today realize an obligation to the passenger. (From personal experience, I would commend the Santa Fe railroad as a fortunate exception to this statement.) For the passenger, this indifference means reduced service, fewer schedules, deterioration in equipment and stations, and in the final analysis, an unpleasant and unrewarding travel experience which the passenger may (and has vowed) never to repeat. By nature, rail travel is not this way. It is not for the exclusive use of the lame, the halt, the indigent, or those too afraid to fly. It has been in the past a medium for leisurely and luxurious travel, and the safest and most comfortable form of transportation known to man. It can carry more people further, in more comfort, and more reliably than other forms of land transportation. To restore rail passenger service to its proper place in the transportation scheme of our country, a successful policy must be two-pronged. It must be aimed at reducing operating deficits to the carriers, and it must provide at the same time incentives to the carrier and public alike to produce and consume rail passenger service of high quality.

Under present conditions, the carriers have passed the point of no return, and the public has very little say through its regulatory agencies as to what shall be done in the future. As of today, it is legally possible for every carrier to completely shut down, 30 days from now, all passenger service in this, the world's most advanced country, and keep it closed for a maximum of 4 months pending ICC investigation. Such a situation would perhaps not be allowed to happen by Congress, but it is possible, nevertheless. When one considers the massive tie-ups in wintry weather on the ice and snow-driven "superhighways" of the East or the shuttering of giant O'Hare Airport in the Chicago Blizzard of January, 1967 or the massive dislocation resulting from the 1966 airline strike or what might happen in a national emergency, it becomes more obvious that something must be done to keep this form of transportation healthy and alive.

If the carriers cannot or will not provide this kind of service, then the Government, through the Federal Railway Administration must do all it can to reflect the public interest in the operation of these trains and either aid willing carriers in a cooperative venture to restore profitability and reduce deficits or allow competition to be reintroduced into the rail passenegr market through competition in the selection of new carriers to provide this service, such as REA was chartered for Express promotion or COMSAT for spatial communication.

Thus there is potentially a broad mix or policies, private and public, that should be tried to maintain, support, and improve rail service. Many carriers are doing the best job they can under the circumstances. The Atlantic Coast Line is doing an admirable job of promoting its seasonal "Florida Special" service and the Baltimore and Ohio is trying on-train entertainment and off-peak rates to lure customers to its Washington-Chicago and Washington-St. Louis service. However new equipment is expensive to obtain and operate and tax or other incentives should make it feasible for carriers to carry out a product improvement policy in their passenger operations. It makes no sense whatever to allow passenger service to deteriorate for the sake of continuing service, for in time, the system will break down and the safety of passengers will be at stake.

Important changes must also be made to allow the public agencies, such as the ICC, to hear and investigate legitimate appeals from the carriers for discontinuance of service using valid and uniformly generated operating cost data. The National Bureau of Standards might be enlisted in a program to define the critical cost parameters and establish methods of their allocation, perhaps on the cost/effectiveness principles and program budgeting methods used in Defense Department and other government agencies.

Similarly, the Federal Railway Administration, should be given the authority to study and recommend restoration of service previously discontinued where needed. The FY 1968 budget of DOT shows new obligational authority of the FRA to be $18.3 million, most of which is allocated to High Speed Ground Transportation Research and Development. This figure is a reduction of some $2.8 million from Fiscal 1967 due to Viet-Nam war costs. The overall government-funded rail effort is quite small relative to the passenger need of today and tomorrow. By comparison, the Federal Highway Administration is spending over 10 times that amount obligated to the FRA for Fiscal '68 and the FAA is allocated over 40 times that amount in the same fiscal year.

Surely, a balanced and effective transportation system, and its rail, air, highway, and waterway components is vital to a growing America. It is out-of-balance today and lacks effective elements of competition which can reduce costs and improve the quality of common-carrier transportation. In many cases, management techniques have not kept pace with technology or changing conditions. Where rail passenger service is abandoned, the public is abandoned.

Railroad Hypocrisy—The Nuisance of Passengers

(By William R. Wright)

The traveling public is fed a diet of woeful tales about the railroad's "passenger problem." The overt manifestations of this "problem" are late, slow and dirty trains, and constantly shrinking service. But is the problem real, or has it been fabricated?

Take the case of the "Phoebe Snow," recently approved for discontinuance. That "problem" was "solved" only after the Erie-Lackawanna had taken four steps to lose passengers and increase costs. First, the E.-L. added two hours to the running time between the New York area and Buffalo, a key point. This reduced the diesel-powered streamliner to a 1920's steam-train schedule, and delayed the Buffalo arrival from suppertime to 8 P.M. This latter detail would not have been so bad if the management, in its infinitesimal wisdom, had not decreed that the Buffalo section should separate from the main train and the diner in mid-afternoon, making for hungry passengers.

For step two, the line abandoned its convenient station at the foot of Main Street in Buffalo, and replaced it with a tin shanty in the East Buffalo freight yards. Step three was the game called "lying with statistics." Instead of cutting off the Buffalo section at Hornell, N.Y., where the Buffalo branch began, the train was split at Elmira, N.Y. This meant that the two sections chased each other for 58.5 miles each way, adding approx-

imately $351 per day, or $128,115 per year, of unnecessary expense.

When all else failed, the Erie-Lackawanna went to the New York Public Utilities Commission and got permission to remove the Buffalo branch connection altogether. (Technically, these trains were an intrastate operation and the E.-L. could by-pass the Interstate Commerce Commission.) Deprived by this final step of her prime Buffalo-to-New York revenue, "Phoebe Snow" bled to death, a victim of her owner's murderous tactics.

Recently the New York Central, in a double-barreled announcement, unveiled a train capable of a 183-mile-per-hour operation, and at the same time announced the termination of all their through trains, including the famed "Twentieth Century Limited." As exciting as 183-mph trains may be, the clinkers in the plan are all too evident.

The high-speed trains are to operate over 200-mile segments of the line, which means that a passenger from New York to Cleveland will have to change three times. It was hinted that trains would operate only every three hours. The segments would be too long to compete with the airplane and too short to compete with the private car, and a nagging question lingered as to whether these segments would even connect. The New York Central management has yet to extend itself to build passenger business, and the high-speed train appears to many in the passenger end of railroading as a smoke screen to cover the removal of all the Central's through trains.

Elsewhere in the New York City area, the Pennsylvania wonders where the passengers went on their New York-to-Washington run. Of course the fact that the once hourly service and the Philadelphia "Clockers" have disappeared, plus the fact that the fare is more than $2 higher than the bus fare seems not to impress the Pennsy's management. Railroads are the only means of transportation whose costs do not rise in direct proportion to their volume, a factor which could make them very competitive on a high-density run like New York to Washington. Perhaps the Northeast Corridor high-speed service, a Department of Commerce experiment, will bring back some patrons, but if the price is not right. the results will not be astonishing.

In other parts of the U.S., the Southern and the Southern Pacific have embarked on campaigns to drop trains and frustrate passengers. For instance, at Chattanooga, the Southern's Memphis connection leaves ten minutes *before* the train from New York arrives. The other train to Memphis arrives from the North at 2 A.M., hardly conducive to passenger travel. The remnant of the "Kansas City-Florida Special" now ends at Valdosta, Ga., in the middle of the night.

The Southern Pacific has taken even stronger steps. The line, which derives much of its revenue from tourism, took itself out of the Rail Travel Promotion Agency, the organization which pays commissions to travel agents on rail tickets. An effective way to kill business is to alienate the travel agents. This past summer, Southern Pacific also failed to announce until June that it would run the daily tour train "Shasta Daylight," a move which undoubtedly cut the train loadings.

Perhaps the most "public be damned" move of all is the case of the hidden train. Southern Pacific operates trains 39 and 40 between Los Angeles and Tucumcari, N.M., where they connect with the Rock Island Line. But for several years Southern Pacific has refused to show these trains on their timetables. In spite of this, a good many people have taken the trouble to consult the Rock Island schedule so that they can ride a Southern Pacific train, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered the Southern Pacific to continue the service (which is still not shown in the schedule).

It is rare, though, that the commission is willing or able to see through this type of subterfuge. The ICC maintains an "Alice in Wonderland" accounting system under which it is impossible to show a profit on passenger trains. Everything, including many expenses which would continue if no passenger trains ran, is charged in part to the passenger operation under this "system."

Many railroads use the far more realistic "above the rail" cost (where the expense of running trains and selling tickets is deducted from the revenue) and show a profit on their trains. Ironically, the roads that use the ICC formula for passenger trains insist that "above the rail" costs be the sole guide when they set freight rates. They want the freight business and so are realistic about these figures.

If the railroads made the same honest effort to increase their passenger business that they make to build freight traffic, the so-called "passenger problem" would disappear. The answer needn't be new equipment—just competitive pricing, publicly acceptable schedules, good connections and a managerial policy that produces good employee morale and salesmanship. Passenger train service in America is being destroyed by antagonistic management policy.

THE HARASSMENT OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, no one has better documented the plight of the Federal employee, the invasions of his privacy, the prying into his financial affairs, the ridiculous questionnaires he is forced to fill out, and the coercion and humiliation he is sometimes subjected to, better than does Robert G. Sherrill in his article that appeared in the Nation magazine February 20 and February 27. For the benefit of my colleagues in the House, I am inserting both articles in the Record:

U.S. Civil Service—Washington's Bland Bondage

(by Robert G. Sherrill)

Washington, D.C.—The United States Civil Service, like the old French Foreign Legion, is an excellent place to lose one's identity, but its other virtues are less easy to discover. In the vast Sahara of government service the worker is beset by deadly conformity, conflicting loyalties and sniping from unseen enemies. And just as the old recruiting posters of Paris used to tell baroque falsehoods about the romance and glamour of *La Légion étrangère,* so Civil Service recruits with myths.

The federal government describes itself as offering dignity, job security and appreciation for talent. It is instead a place where:

Spy holes are condoned in men's restrooms at the Pentagon. (Excuse: to combat homosexuality.)

Internal Revenue Service phones are tapped. (Excuse offered by IRS Commissioner Sheldon Cohen: "We supervise these phone calls for several reasons—to check the accuracy of tax information furnished by these employees, and to insure absolute and unfailing courtesy on their part." He said the eavesdropping is of course, "completely impersonal.")

In some post offices, two-way mirrors (you can see through from the back) are used for spying on employees.

Dissident workers can be branded as mentally ill and dismissed from government service without the opportunity to protest or present contradicting evidence. Sometimes they are classified as mentally disturbed without being given a medical examination.

Both incoming and established employees are badgered with loyalty investigations to equal anything in the McCarthy era. Prying into the "loyalty" of workers in nonsensitive positions was supposedly ruled illegal by the Supreme Court in 1956, but it still goes on under a different guise—to determine "fitness" or "suitability." The USCS Bureau of Personnel Investigation employs 1,200 clerks and 800 agents as snoopers, and these are joined by the full force of the FBI. In fiscal 1966 the FBI handled 423,000 security forms submitted by federal workers, and the BPI dug around for subversive clues in the backgrounds of half a million new employees. Each routine inquiry costs the taxpayer $5; a complex job of sniffing about is much more expensive. (Excuse offered by Civil Service Commission Chairman John Macy: "The thoughtful applicant will recognize that the investigation process is a safeguard—to himself, for he can be confident that the work force he seeks to join is a select group. . . .")

An unnatural interest is shown by the USCS in the sexual activities of its employees—not only via peepholes but through an unending flow of questionnaires. The experience of a job applicant at the National Security Agency, Fort George Meade, Md., was not unusual. Strapped to a polygraph—"lie detector"—he was asked: "When was the first time you had sexual relations with a woman? How many times have you had sexual intercourse? Have you ever engaged in homosexual activities? Have you ever engaged in sexual activities with an animal? When was the first time you had intercourse with your wife? Did you have intercourse with her before you were married? How many times?"

Employees are coerced to buy government bonds and to support charitable drives. Sometimes workers are *ordered* to give to charity a certain percentage of their salary; and those who balk at joining the bond drive may find their names posted on the bulletin board. Secretary of the Army David E. McGiffert has publicly admitted that "coercion and public humiliation" was used on civilian workers in at least one instance by a base commandant who warned that "anyone working under the supervision and does not wish to comply with my desire to participate in such a worth-while program is not a member of my 'team.' "

With the logic typical of the Pentagon, Assistant Defense Secretary Thomas D. Morris has asserted that coercion is impossible because page 17 of the Civil Service Commission chairman's 1961 "Manual on Fund Raising Within Federal Service" clearly forbids it. He conceded that there might have been some "excessive zeal."

Postmaster Lawrence O'Brien, who has no time to work on improving a shoddy postal service because of all the other chores assigned him, strong-armed the last U.S. Savings Bond drive and told department secretaries that President Johnson would settle for nothing short of 100 per cent participation. The way to get it was demonstrated at the White House by Marvin Watson, special assistant to the President, who gave White House employees two chances to buy voluntarily—and then deducted the money from their pay checks.

Government workers are still required to state their race on questionnaires, the excuse being that the Civil Service Commission wants to keep track of its minority-race employment progress. Any supervisor who isn't blind should be able to tell, with only a few bad guesses, who of his workers are Negro, who are Latin American, who are Oriental, who are American Indian. But instead of going about it quietly through the supervisors, the USCS has forced the workers to put it down in writing. (Tempers flared at this one: 5,000 employees of the U.S. State Department solemnly recorded their American Indian ancestry.)

Intimate prying into workers' financial affairs is commonplace. A twenty-year employee at Kelly Air Force Base was fired for nonpayment of an $83 debt. An employee at a federal hospital in California was suspended for six months for falling briefly behind in his payments to the employees' credit union. A new series of questionnaires relating to stocks, bonds and other property, owned not only by employees but by their relatives, has recently circulated. Another form required workers to list all gifts received during the previous year. A woman in the Patent Office refused to fill it out because she couldn't remember all the little gifts, like perfume, she had received from friends. She got a letter from W. E. Ingram, personnel officer of the Commerce Department, saying: "Your evasiveness indicates that you may have some conflict of interest which you are anxious to avoid disclosing. This is a very serious matter." Another Commerce employee was threatened with disciplinary action for not listing bottle stoppers received from a welcome wagon.

Employees are discouraged from airing their gripes. And when they are punished or fired it is increasingly difficult for them to get a satisfactory hearing from the Civil Service Commission. Decisions that the commission should be able to render within thirty to sixty days are delayed from six months to a year; often the employee despairs of ever getting justice and turns elsewhere for work.

Lower-level review boards set up under Civil Service appeals procedure are generally described as "kangaroo courts" by workers who have had any dealings with them. They are usually made up of management-level employees who got to their relatively lofty perches by demonstrating utter loyalty to the Establishment's wishes. And when the Establishment wishes to fire or punish a worker . . .

All in all, the nation's biggest employer, the federal government, subjects its 2,500,000 workers to conditions that are rampant with backbiting, rumor mongering, character assassination and promotion by favoritism. This may have been what Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz had in mind when he told a trade union convention recently that "employment relationships in the government in this country are exactly thirty years behind employment relationships in private industry." He was including state and local government employees; had he been speaking only for federal employees he could have said seventy years behind private industry, for what exists today under the USCS is all too often—not always, but very often—like something cooked up by Carnegie and Frick.

As might be expected, morale among government workers is not high. A recent poll taken by *The Federal Times* a government employee-oriented newspaper, found that 69 per cent would not go to work for the government if they had it to do again (72 per cent of the top-level employees) and 70 per cent would advise their children to steer clear of such employment.

Although government workers as a group are still very much the underdog, in recent years their troubles have attracted some able allies who are beginning to work occasional reforms. These are the American Civil Liberties Union and its chief Washington war hawk, Lawrence Speiser: two journalists, John Cramer of the Washington *Daily News* and Joseph Young of the Washington *Star*; and a couple of unions, especially John Griner's American Federation of Government Employees (200,000 members). And perhaps the most important ally at the moment is Sen. Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, whose still plastic legislation to create a "Bill of Rights" for government workers has already won nearly half the Senate as cosponsors. For months, drawing on information in the files of the ACLU and the unions, and on the excellent investigations conducted by his own staff, Ervin has been lifting Civil Service lids.

Most government workers do not publicly protest the intrusion of the FBI and the BPI into their political beliefs for the rather pathetic reason that most people who go into government work have already come to terms with their pride. Thus, a surprisingly small number of federal employees turn to the American Civil Liberties Union to fight the harassments and indignities they suffer. But those who do bring evidence of what must be happening on a rather large scale.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has a record for pestering its employees about their loyalty. A research chemist in the HEW's Food and Drug Administration was asked to explain his presence, eight years previously, at a couple of meetings held by the Labor Youth League and by the Student Socialist Society in Philadelphia. Was he a Communist? He filled three single-spaced typewritten pages answering all the loaded questions passed down to him by the Civil Service Commission; after which, though he was cleared, he packed up his Ph.D. and quit in a rage. It's the mood in which a lot of bright men and women leave Washington.

A young woman working as a program analyst in HEW's Water Pollution Control division was accused of being *invited* to attend (she wasn't accused of attending) a forum sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party of Philadelphia. She was also accused of being on the mailing list of the Socialist Party.

These heinous things had occurred four or five years before she went to work for the government. The specific questions asked of this employee—who was not, remember, in any way involved in work with classified information—were as follows:

(1) The extent of your knowledge of the Communist Party membership and activity of your father, your father's views concerning communism and the aims and purposes of the Communist Party to the best of your knowledge, and the extent to which your father has influenced you, or attempted to influence you, concerning communism and the aims and purposes of the Communist Party.

(2) The names of the associates of your father known or believed by you to be members of the Communist Party or sympathetic to communism and the aims and purposes of the Communist Party and the nature and extent of your association with these individuals.

Similar questions were asked about her aunt, her uncle and her sister. The price of holding her job was an exposé of her whole family.

When employees come to him with this kind of case, Speiser has a rather easy time making USCS Commissioner Macy back down. Speiser indicates that the ACLU will insist on an open hearing at which the source of the rumors and the names of the accusers will be demanded, and that if necessary he will go to court to establish a ruling against such covert prying. Speiser *wants* to get into court with such a case, but Macy gives way every time, to block the making of a precedent.

In this way, Macy wins by losing: except in the handful of cases that Speiser has championed, the Civil Service bloodhounds go right on demanding, and getting, information that is none of their business.

Testifying before a Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Speiser gave these examples of questions which had been asked of job applicants:

"Are all of your friends in favor of the democratic form of government?"

"Are you associated with people you can classify as leftists?"

"Why did you protest against racial discrimination in the Washington, D.C., area?"

"Do you have any friends you think might be to the right of Center?"

"Do you have any friends that are in the middle?"

"Where does your father fit in on this scale from right to left?"

"Is he a member of the Socialist Party?"

"Are his views further to the left than yours?"

"How about your mother?"

The long, patriotic arm of the USCS reaches even into the affairs of the United Nations. American citizens who work there must satisfy the Civil Service Commission of their loyalty by answering questions not only about their attitude toward the Communist Party but also about the opinions and activities of their parents, spouse, divorced spouse, children, brothers and sisters; countries visited since 1930, purpose of the visit, etc.

Sometimes the super-patriotism of the Civil Service Commission drives it into comically embarrassing corners. In October, 1966, the USCS accused a William X of having falsified his application for federal employment, and ruled that he would have to stand aside for a year before reapplying. According to the investigators, X had lied in saying that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. The USCS accused him of having belonged for three months in 1943 and of attending Communist social functions in Pennsylvania.

This was a bizarre accusation considering X's background. For seven years (from 1958 to 1965) he had been an investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, working intimately with ex-FBI agents and FBI informants. If X now made a public stink over the way the USCS was treating him, it would be embarrassing—especially to HUAC.

So, although his answers to the charges were not the kind that normally get people off the "loyalty" hook (he admitted that he "might have" attended one social affair, and he stated definitely that he had played in the orchestra at a social given by Mother Bloor; but he "didn't recall" other activities attributed to him, and he pleaded that "to the best of my knowledge" he had never been a member of the Communist Party), a great shuddering sigh of relief could be heard throughout the upper regions of the USCS when the ACLU took X's case. The USCS, in line with policy, could now back down, and did so by ruling that, *"in view of the length of time that has elapsed since the incident is alleged to have occurred,"* there was no reason to give him a hearing. He was cleared without a fight. This was the first time that the Civil Service Commission has ever accepted the antiquity of Communist activities as an excuse.

The Civil Service Commission has so keen an interest in the amours of its employees that it will, if necessary, act as matchmaker to deliver its wards from a sinful life. Consider, for example, the case of a young woman, a research associate in the Office of Economic Opportunity. She had been going with a well-known liberal journalist and in April of last year received a letter from H. C. Bolton, chief of the division of adjudication of the BPI, warning that she would be fired if she didn't come up with a very good explanation for having spent a weekend in a Virginia motel with her boy friend.

The ACLU jumped eagerly into that one, making some sarcastic remarks about the improbability of the USCS being "filled only with investigators who have never engaged in sexual intercourse outside of marital relationship," and promising a court fight. Fortunately for Macy, the couple had meanwhile married; he therefore decreed, in a great show of charity, that since the employee was no longer sinning, he was able in good conscience to forget the motel.

Although the BPI detectives can be ruthlessly puritanical in judging the conduct of the fiancée of a journalist who is writing critically about the present Administration, they can also be wonderfully tolerant of the same kind of conduct in others. For example, a former Presbyterian minister joined the U.S. Office of Education not long after he was named in a well-publicized divorce trial as the marriage counselor whose instruction of the wife had been more intimate than professional. He subsequently left the ministry, but went into government work with no trouble from the BPI.

In a letter to the Mattachine Society of Washington, Macy wrote: "We reject categorically the assertion that the commission pries into the private sex lives of those seeking federal employment. . . . We know of no means consistent with American notions of privacy and fairness and limitations on governmental authority which could ascertain the nature of individual private sexual behavior between consenting adults as long as it remains private: *that is, if it remains undisclosed to all but the participants, it is not the subject of an inquiry.*"

This is not even good sophistry. What Macy means—as proved by the conduct of his investigators—is that when questions of the most intimate kind are put to the subject's neighbors, friends and fellow workers without uncovering even one smutty rumor, then the undisclosed sex life "is not the subject of inquiry."

Evidence that Macy is not easing up on homosexuals may be found in an important case now bouncing around in the courts. A man who had worked in various administrative positions in the Department of Labor for seventeen years, including time out for eighteen months in military service during World War II, left for private employment in 1956, but in 1962 decided to return to government. He is well qualified, passed a competitive examination and was notified that he was eligible for "personnel positions" at top grades (GS 9, 11 and 12).

Then he ran into trouble. Appearing before a civil service investigator in April, 1962, he was ordered to explain a 1947 arrest for "loitering" around the men's room in Lafayette Square. He had been run in by the police after entering the men's room twice within ten minutes. He was also ordered to explain a 1951 arrest "for investigation." And, finally, he was ordered to give a rebuttal to "information indicating that you are a homosexual."

The applicant refused to comment, on the ground that his sex life had nothing to do with his performance on the job. So he was disqualified for employment.

At that point, showing considerable courage, he began to lay the basis for his present court fight, in which he is being aided by the ACLU. He asked that the Civil Service Commission supply him with "specifications of how, when and where he had allegedly conducted himself immorally," so that he could answer the "broad, indefinite allegation of 'immoral conduct'." The commission refused. Its Board of Appeals and Review replied only that "the record disclosed convincing evidence that you have engaged in homosexual conduct, which is considered contrary to generally recognized and accepted standards of morality."

What record? What evidence? What conduct? In the 1920s, Justice Holmes ruled that no one has a constitutional right to a particular government job. But thinking has begun to change. Many jurists now hold that one *does* have a constitutional right to it, if one proves his qualification for the opening and the bureaucrats cannot offer good, specific reasons for refusal. Just because one is a Negro, or just because one is a Jew is no longer considered a good reason for accepting refusal. Should an otherwise qualified homosexual accept rejection on the ground of homosexuality alone? This man said no; he and the ACLU went to court.

At the district court level they ran into the usual Comstockery, but in May, 1965, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that employment had been unfairly refused. In what may turn out to be a landmark declaration, Chief Judge David L. Bazelon ruled that the Civil Service Commission was wrong in not *specifying* the misconduct and in not permitting the applicant to defend himself against the accusations. Said Bazelon: "An applicant has a right to be free from governmental defamation . . . the government is required to justify imposing the stigma of disqualification for immoral conduct. With this stigma the commission also jeopardized his ability to find employment elsewhere." (Certainly true. While he awaited the outcome of the trial, he got a job with the county of Fairfax, Va., but the Civil Service Commission released its secret files to county officials and he was fired.)

Bazelon ordered the government to give the complainant a hearing at which he could confront his accusers and attack each item of defamation. So far the government has refused, and the case is still working itself out in the courts. But there seems to be a good chance that this man will eventually win, and if he does, it will set a historic precedent—and not just for milder treatment for homosexuals. The principal point in this case is that it may establish a procedure of hearings whereby all job applicants can force the government to lay open their files and show exactly who has charged what. And if this is accomplished for new job applicants, it will of course easily be conveyed to probationary workers, who now have next to no rights and who frequently are kicked out of government carrying a smear that they know nothing about except that thereafter they have trouble getting work in private industry.

U.S. Civil Service—Rebels on the Potomac

(By Robert G. Sherrill)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Of the many things precious to the United States Civil Service Commission (orthodox patriotism, orthodox sex and absolute obedience are all near the top of its list), nothing is held quite so dear as the concept of bossism, in the abstract and on the hoof. As a result, labor-management relations in the federal service is of a quality that (to use Washington *Star* reporter Joseph Young's description of a particular agency) "would have brought tears of envy to the industrial barons of old."

To the USCS, nothing is as sanctified as authority. The chain of command is and must remain inviolable. Not even national security is considered of greater importance. Kicking around on appeal now is a State Department case in which an employee in West Germany turned in his superior for slipping into East Germany to telephone someone in Poland. The subordinate paid for his zeal by being fired. Much earlier, in a case coming out of the Federal Housing Authority, an employee who accused three of his superiors of misconduct was dismissed. True, the three bosses were also fired for fraud, misuse of public funds and other improper conduct; the subordinate was discharged simply for reporting them.

Don't complain; don't criticize the boss; don't start trouble. These are the cardinal principles of the Civil Service Commission. Government employees understand this without being told, but sometimes they get it in writing. A memorandum in a Montana office of the Federal Aviation Agency reads like this:

Subject: Grievances.

To: All Employees.

"It is an employee's right to file a grievance as outlined in the directives or to write a letter to his Congressman.

"The consequences of doing either of these should be considered by the employee. It appears to me that unless a clean-cut and remedial situation exists, the chances are that your letter will do you more harm than good.

"In the case of a letter of grievance, your superior will be called upon to justify his decision. He is not likely to do that by emphasizing your virtues. *In other words, you are laying your career on the line for this grievance.*" . . . (Emphasis added.)

That's clear enough. William F. McKee, FAA administrator, claims that the memorandum was "completely contrary to agency policy and procedure," but it was in effect three years and not until last January 25, when Sen. Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., protested did he get around to canceling it.

A man who joined the federal service as a laborer kept pressing for promotion to the grade of machinist. He had come into government work with twenty years' experience as a machinist and he wanted to make use of it. But his bosses—this was at the Barstow, Calif., Marine Corps Supply Center—didn't like the way he tried to sell them on his abilities, and he shortly received a letter from the industrial relations officer warning that "should you continue to be dissatisfied with the management of this center, the future of your employment at this installation will be in doubt."

There are numerous ways of getting rid of a "troublemaker" who does his job very well and cannot be discharged for cause. One of the most common is to "reorganize" the office in such a way that his position is eliminated. This is done not only to get rid of troublemakers but also to make an opening for one of the boss's pals. For example, an office of the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center was jockeyed around until one of the compliance and security officers was squeezed out. He was ranked as a GS–12. At the same time, the same job was reinstated at a higher rank (GS–13), and a man with less experience, less government service and less education was transferred into it from New York. Only a hard fight by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) won a reversal on that one, but the bosses in the USCS get away with similar maneuvers all the time.

Another ingenious way to get rid of an employee who rubs his superior the wrong way is to have him discharged, or retired, as a mental case. This is far more common than one might suppose. A study of 100,000 persons pensioned by the government between 1955 and 1962 showed that the third-ranking reason for leaving government work (behind heart trouble, 43,000, and ailments of the bones and joints, 21,000) was "nervous system disease," 13,300. Leading the list of these was "psychoneuroses," 6,271. In other words, 13 per cent of the pensions were given for mental or nervous disorders, and half of these were for the nebulous "psychoneuroses"—whatever that covers. The second-ranking nervous disorder was "schizophrenia," 2,293. And what is that? Dr. Karl Menninger told the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee that if someone told him a man had "schizoid trends," that "would mean to me that he is like 50 million other Americans." Of course, some of these "nervous" people voluntarily left government service but a Civil Service Commission survey covering the years 1954 to 1964 showed that half of the mental-nervous pensioners departed under protest.

If the Civil Service brass decides to hang a "psychoneurosis" label on an employee, there's not much he can do to get rid of it unless he is lucky enough to have the AFGE or one of the other unions fighting for him, demanding that a private rather than a government psychiatrist be consulted. If the worker is on his own, he's as good as out. There is no due process, no hearing either before or after the examination. The worker is told he needs "attention" and is ordered to undergo examination by a Civil Service psychiatrist. If he refuses, he can of course be discharged for disobeying an order. If he agrees to the examination, he thereby becomes a party to his own destruction. USCS psychiatrists, knowing that the "patient" wouldn't have been sent to them if somebody up the line were not unhappy with his work, are inclined to find that he is too nervous or too nuts to hold down his job.

The worker never gets to see the psychiatrist's report. He doesn't know if he has been marked down as a mild nervous case or a raving maniac. All he knows is that he will carry a semi-nut reputation for the rest of his professional career, with no way to disprove it at once or modify it later. With that on his record, it is not easy to move back into private industry.

A brilliant but quarrelsome doctor was recently dismissed from the National Institutes of Health as a "psycho." He was not even put through the routine mental examination, but was instead arbitrarily shoved out the door with a pension for life—a $470 a month pension which, at the age of 42, he did not want. When I talked to him, he sounded and acted sane enough; a conversation may not be the best proof of sanity, but on the other hand the Civil Service Commission had come up with not one scrap of evidence to indicate that he is mad. The only thing that has been proved against him is that some of his superiors disliked him.

A woman employed in the Defense Department has four times been ordered to be examined by a government psychiatrist and four times has refused, going instead to her own physician, who each time pronounced her calm and normal. Surprisingly, she has not yet been fired, although she faces charges of insubordination.

The most common method for getting rid of an employee who has ruffled the chain of command is to keep book on him, to watch his every activity, to scrape and rescrape through his original job application in search of technical defects, and then accuse him of "falsification." Charles Scanlan, one of the top attorneys for the AFGE, has noted: "If they want to find something to fire you for, it is a rare worker who can escape their searchings."

One of the most spectacular examples of this kind of harassment came out of Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. Billy J. White, Jr., an equipment specialist, made an error in filing a travel voucher. He had worked for the government twelve years and served in the armed forces five years without a blemish on his record. He overcharged the government 2c a mile, by mistake. When it was called to his attention, he filed a corrected voucher, but his superior refused to accept it and filed a charge of attempted fraud. An appeals examiner looked into the case and judged White to be innocent and advised the government to drop the charges. It might have done so, but White belonged to the AFGE and unions are hated by the brass at Redstone. The commanding officer, Maj. Gen. John G. Zierdt, refused to withdraw the charges. But union lawyers got White reinstated on a technicality; the next day, knowing that the military was out to get him, White resigned with the understanding that his separation form would not contain derogatory information.

Instead, Redstone authorities refiled the charges and had him arrested by the FBI. He posted bond and looked for work elsewhere, but couldn't find it because civil service officials—going back on their word—had inserted in his record that he quit while facing criminal charges. With the AFGE's help, he cleared his name, but only after a three-year fight and after the union had spent thousands of dollars to destroy the charges. This particular piece of governmental anti-unionism cost the U.S. taxpayers $30,000.

The commanding officer of the Panama Canal Zone got rid of two complaining government workers (one of whom was president of his union local) for committing the grievous crimes of writing a letter to the editor of the local newspaper and circulating a round-robin letter protesting police conditions. The U.S. Civil Service Commission upheld the firings, so the workers have had to take their case to the U.S. Supreme Court as a free-speech issue.

Most government workers belong to no union and most have no money to fight in the courts, so if the Civil Service Commission chooses to abuse them, there is little they can do about it. Typical of their ranks is Bruce Argon, an electronics specialist who was hired by NASA a couple of years ago after an exemplary dozen years in private industry. He did all right with NASA until one day he suggested to his boss that it might be just as well if he, the boss, came in a little more sober. After that, everything turned sour.

A couple of months later he was fired for having "falsified" his original job application. Going over his record with a curry-comb, civil service investigators had found an omission covering four months in his work career. He had spent the time with a company that later went bankrupt.

That was not the end of his former boss's revenge. Argon, a year after being discharged by NASA, is still unemployed. All doors are closed to him in private electronics industry, which wants nothing to do with an employee who offended the contract givers at NASA. What is the *full* report in his files which seemingly has destroyed his career? NASA will not tell him; his files are closed to him; he is not permitted to face his shadowy accusers and rebut their accusations.

The U.S. Civil Service can survive a reputation for bullying and abusive insistence upon conformity. But it is doubtful that it could survive the demolition of its basic myth, which is that one rises through the ranks solely by competition and demonstrated merit. Pamphlet No. 5, issued by the USCS to prospective college applicants, makes the typical claim: "Most federal jobs are under civil service, and that means that they are filled through competitive examination and that employment and advancement are on the basis of merit. Appointments are made from among the people who receive the highest passing marks. This is the democratic way of choosing employees."

This may or may not be the democratic way, but it is not the way of the USCS. For the most part, only clerical, secretarial and manual workers are hired through competitive examinations. The blue-collar jobs, the routine office jobs—these are filled competitively. It is true that numerically they make up the bulk of government employment, but they are not the jobs that shape the character of government service.

Anything resembling a "professional" job is *not* filled via a competitive examination. Any *good* job in government can be had by manipulating the right credentials and the boss's whim. The USCS admits that 14 per cent of the jobs are filled on a noncompetitive basis, and while the percentage is probably much higher, even that comes to 340,000 jobs—the cream positions.

The Civil Service Commission claims that patronage scarcely touches its hem, but it is an empty boast. President Johnson or his chief patronage muscle man, Marvin Watson, personally interview candidates for the highest civil service jobs (about 1,000 positions in grades GS–17 and GS–18) and they are slowly beginning to work down into the GS–16s and GS–15s (another 16,000 positions).

Merit promotions are part of the legend that is slow to die. Most professionals under USCS will tell you that positions in the top eight ranks are customarily filled on the basis of personal friendship or patronage. There is a promotional board in each agency or division, and when it is confronted with three or four applicants qualified for a promotion, the board can be expected to pick one who will most closely collaborate with the Establishment; the one who will "fit in." not the fellow who has different ideas and may be a bit argumentative about them.

The system does not work well. It leaves a deep residue of bitterness. While the quit rate for government work is 8.5 per cent, the retirement rate is 22 per cent; for many talented professionals—stuck for years at the same rating while they watch the boss's favorites climb the ladder—take a pension at the first opportunity.

This is especially true of civilians who work with the Pentagon agencies where the top positions are, through the "buddy" system, often held open for retiring officers who shuck their uniforms, wait the required six months, and then come in the back door wearing civilian clothes to sit again at their old desk—but at a 50 to 100 per cent pay raise (combining their civilian pay with their military pension). One labor union's estimate is that 200,000 retired officers are now in government work, drawing two checks and crowding out the promotional chances of the career civilians.

Here and there the curtain of bureaucracy is pushed back to permit the entry of more individual freedom. AFGE attorney Elmer Neumann has forced one agency actually to write into its regulations that an employee on trial is innocent until proved guilty—a belief not yet widespread in the USCS. A U.S. appeals court ruled recently that an Oregon postal worker was not violating the Hatch Act when he spoke to a meeting of a county Democratic Central Committee. Previously, although Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien could serve as the Democrat's No. 1 ward heeler on behalf of the President, the lowly letter carriers had to act politically deaf and dumb.

And Civil Service Commissioner Macy has promised—after reams of unfavorable publicity—to cut down on the number of questionnaires in which workers are repeatedly asked whether or not they are content with their sex life. One of the more civilized improvements was Macy's recent order that applicants are no longer required to list arrests for minor crimes committed before their 21st birthday (it used to be that all arrests after 16th birthday, whether charges were dismissed or not, had to be listed on the job application). At the same time he announced a policy of hiring "goodrisk" former offenders. No, the U.S. Civil Service is not without hope; it is only thickly crusted with the inhumanity of big bureaucracy.

And to cope with that, outside scrubbing will be necessary. This may come with Senator Ervin's "Bill of Rights" legislation, which will, among other things:

Forbid asking any employee or applicant his race or religion.

Forbid the "indoctrination" of employees about any matter not related to their jobs.

Forbid any agency from requiring workers to take a psychological or polygraph test to get information about their private lives or sexual habits.

Forbid grilling a worker about suspected misconduct unless he has a lawyer at hand.

Forbid pressuring workers to buy U.S. Bonds or make charitable contributions.

Changes such as these would go a long way toward making a government job what it is—a job, and not a commitment. But these are not bread-and-butter reforms. Union men believe that while the USCS is being shaken up, it should also be forced to establish safeguards against what one AFGE lawyer called the "present murky labyrinth of administrative laissez faire." At present the agency that wants to fire an employee holds all the aces: it has the records, the witnesses, the lawyers, the exhibits. The agency makes the charges, prosecutes them, hears them, judges them.

The unions—and a great many nonunion workers as well—want a "public defender" for such affairs, a lawyer not beholden to the agency or to the USCS. They want a panel on the order of those appointed by the National Labor Relations Board to hear and judge the case. They want faster and surer appeals; more open files and more chance to face their accusers.

In short, a great many government workers are beginning—in the very decorous way that one must expect from government workers—to rebel. And if they continue to do so, the result is likely to be the greatest cleansing agent introduced into Washington since the British torch.

THE CRIMINAL OR THE HUNTER, WHICH DO YOU WANT TO PUNISH?

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CASEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, nearly 20 million Americans paid special fees and taxes to State and National Governments totaling more than $75 million during fiscal year 1965.

In addition, these men and women spent millions more for food, lodging, transportation, special equipment, and provided employment for tens of thousands who cater to their needs.

These law-abiding Americans have one thing in common. They carry guns.

All are members of the much-maligned hunting fraternity, who annually head for the fields and the mountains and the marshlands to gain pleasure from the lawful use and possession of firearms.

And while these 20 million Americans were observing all laws and the rules of good sportsmanship in handling firearms—a small group of 108,700 were using firearms to rob, assault, and murder.

Which group deserves restriction? Which would you punish?

I say to my colleagues, look closely at the analysis I have attached to this report on a breakdown for your State. See what a great number of hunters you represent, and what they have contributed to our economy and the Nation's tax yield.

And yet, this Congress is being asked to enact far-reaching proposals that restrict the rights of these 20 million certified hunters, and millions more who own, collect, legitimately deal in, or service guns in a purported attempt to solve a problem caused by 108,700 incorrigibles.

Does it make sense? I say it is ridiculous.

Strike at the criminal, not the law-abiding citizen, whose only blame in this disgraceful national problem is his failure to insist that courts mete out swift, sure, and severe penalties for illegal gun use.

If these law-abiding citizens are guilty of anything it is their laxity in not seeing that prosecutors with courage and determination, and judges who exhibit more concern for the victim than the criminal are elected or appointed to protect the very fabric of our society.

But such dereliction does not justify this Congress piling additional restrictions on their right to peacefully own and use firearms, or to order or to have their firearms serviced by mail, or to participate in interstate commerce through the sale or trade of guns.

Surely, there is a much better way to strike at the 108,700 hoodlums the Federal Bureau of Investigation states used firearms during 1965 to prey on society.

If the mail that I am receiving is any indication, millions of Americans believe that two bills I have authorized in this Congress are the right approach.

Strike at the criminal, not the law-abiding citizen, and that is exactly what my bills would do. H.R. 360, before the Ways and Means Committee, and H.R. 6137, an identical bill before the House Judiciary Committee, would set a mandatory 10-year Federal sentence for use or possession of a firearm during the commission of major crimes of violence, such as robbery, rape, assault, kidnaping, murder, or homicide—other than involuntary manslaughter. Second or subsequent offense would bring a mandatory 25-year sentence.

Here is the source of the Nation's greatest domestic problem—the criminal. Each year, he siphons off millions the economy can ill afford to lose. He forces small businessmen into bankruptcy, closing off outlets of interstate commerce. He viciously murders a family breadwinner, often leaving survivors destitute with little but the welfare rolls the Federal Government supports for their existence. He disrupts the general welfare, and deprives our citizens of life and property.

And this Congress is asked to enact restrictions on nearly 20 million law-abiding citizens as the Justice Department's answer to controlling the criminal.

I ask again, Mr. Speaker, how ridiculous can you get?

I have served as a practicing attorney, a former assistant district attorney, a State legislator, a county judge, as presiding judge of our lunacy court, and as chairman of the juvenile board composed of civil and criminal district judges. I feel that I have gained some knowledge of adult and juvenile offenders and mental incompetents.

And all that I have learned in my career, and from those law enforcement officers whose judgment I value highly, leads me to say again: Strike at the criminal, not the law-abiding citizen.

The firearms industry and the hunting fraternity contribute heavily to this country's growth and prosperity, and its conservation of natural resources. This fact was brought out 2 years ago by Alan S. Krug, School of Forest Resources, Pennsylvania State University, in discussing firearms legislation pending at that time.

He pointed out in 1964, purchases of American-made firearms and ammunition totaled $282.5 million, and generated 20,000 jobs and a $100 million payroll in the firearms industry alone. More than 1,000 firms manufacture hunting and shooting accessories to serve this great and growing market.

The sport of hunting, when taken alone, has a significant impact on the general economy. In 1963, hunters drove their automobiles 4.8 billion miles just to go hunting. According to calculations made by economist Richard E. Snyder of the National Sporting Goods Association, this means that hunters wore out in 1 year, 47,880 new automobiles at a cost of $143 million; wore out 215,000 new tires at a cost of $5.5 million; burned up 300 million gallons of gasoline costing $101 million; used 4 million quarts of oil costing $2 million; and accounted for $9.4 million in vehicle repairs and automobile insurance, prorated for hunting use of the vehicle only. This represents a total expenditure for transportation of $261 million.

In 1963, hunters also spent a total of $675 million on food, lodging, camping equipment, duck boats, hunting apparel, and other miscellaneous gear.

Additional expenditures by hunters that have been reported are: $50 million to develop private land for wildlife; $10 million for bus, rail, and air travel; $7.1 million for insurance; $10 million for privilege fees for hunting and shooting; $35 million for guide fees and other trip expenses; and $158 million for hunting dogs.

Thus, in 1963, hunters poured $1.2 billion into the Nation's economy, not counting expenditures on firearms and ammunition, which would raise the total to $1.5 billion.

And this Congress is being asked to cripple this multi-billion-dollar industry, pile restrictions and redtape in the path of 20 million law-abiding hunters and millions more who own and service guns in a vain effort to strike at 108,700 criminals.

Mr. Speaker, I can only say again, it is ridiculous.

I urge my colleagues to give careful thought to this legislation now pending, and to join with me in an effort supported by millions to strike at the very source of our problem.

I urge my colleagues to look closely at the following statistical analysis. It shows how many people in your State enjoyed the lawful use of guns and bought hunting licenses, and spent millions more in the peaceful pursuit of a hobby.

And we are being asked to enact rigid restrictions upon them because of the vicious misuse of guns by 108,700 criminals.

I ask you—which group do you want to see penalized?

THE HUNTER'S CONTRIBUTION

The following table, prepared by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, shows the total hunting licenses issued, both resident and nonresident, for each State during 1965, and the gross cost of the hunter in license fees:

State and number of hunting licenses issued:	*Cost to hunters*
Alabama (340,608)	$842, 187
Alaska (50,085)	577, 718
Arizona (282,402)	1, 000, 222
Arkansas (273,585)	924, 055
California (1,352,844)	3, 951, 870
Colorado (481,788)	5, 038, 234
Connecticut (62,127)	326, 004
Delaware (26,523)	89, 884
Florida (206,876)	1, 037, 472
Georgia (308,743)	739, 656
Hawaii (7,613)	38, 710
Idaho (380,328)	1, 419, 352
Illinois (481,770)	1, 641, 954
Indiana (629,649)	998, 470
Iowa (337,194)	1, 071, 230
Kansas (190,756)	849, 156
Kentucky (236,631)	782, 633
Louisiana (366,976)	753, 753
Maine (188,415)	1, 210, 661
Maryland (254,484)	903, 349
Massachusetts (117,744)	471, 238
Michigan (1,248,151)	5, 437, 886
Minnesota (612,181)	2, 474, 337
Mississippi (352,556)	691, 542
Missouri (531,955)	2, 030, 089
Montana (346,679)	1, 439, 817
Nebraska (383,392)	1, 698, 006
Nevada (123,035)	797, 460
New Hampshire (91,651)	637, 039
New Jersey (188,724)	979, 788
New Mexico (95,790)	848, 855
New York (1,055,358)	3, 734, 016
North Carolina (465,410)	1, 508, 067
North Dakota (122,117)	491, 195
Ohio (609,267)	1, 508, 193
Oklahoma (274,195)	623, 863
Oregon (673,704)	2, 067, 522
Pennsylvania (1,264,075)	5, 994, 450
Rhode Island (14,549)	46, 475
South Carolina (192,072)	626, 001
South Dakota (321,364)	1, 135, 537
Tennessee (546,583)	1, 521, 640
Texas (590,922)	1, 872, 781
Utah (234,209)	1, 702, 993
Vermont (124,295)	704, 815
Virginia (731,061)	1, 578, 343
Washington (633,726)	2, 421, 431
West Virginia (218,536)	765, 865
Wisconsin (581,285)	2, 995, 459
Wyoming (164,836)	2, 117, 495
Total (19,371,579 hunting licenses issued)	75, 172, 809

H.R. 5741—WELFARE AND PENSION PLAN

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ANDERSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was heartened that President Johnson, in his message on consumer problems, has called for improved safeguards against possible abuses in the administration of pension and welfare funds.

Such action is obviously imperative for the more than 50 million American workers who are participating in welfare and pension plans.

Public policy has figured prominently in the growth of private welfare and pension plans. Today it is estimated that the accumulated reserves in pension funds are approximately $90 billion.

By 1980, it is estimated that welfare and pension funds will soar to a staggering sum of more than $200 billion.

Clearly, the vast sums of money being tied up in these plans are crucially important to our economy—nationally and locally—as well as to the individuals who rely so heavily on them.

It is therefore incumbent upon this Congress to make certain that these ever-growing funds of working Americans are protected against possible abuses by an unscrupulous few.

There is no doubt in my mind that the overwhelming majority of these funds are managed honestly and soundly.

But serious cases of fraud have been uncovered.

Information is available indicating that some corporate officers, in operating employer-administered plans, have used their trusteeship positions for personal profit. In some cases, the interests of plan participants have been subordinated to the interests of corporations or the fund trustees in the management of large sums of tax-favored capital. In other examples, trustees of jointly administered funds—by representatives of unions and employers—have used plan funds for their own purposes.

Federal law already provides some safeguards against abusive practices. But, as the President has noted, serious gaps still remain.

In view of the ever-mounting sums that are being poured into these funds, we are obligated to guarantee every worker that his plan steward adheres to the highest standards of integrity and responsibility. That is the least we can do in this vitally important matter.

I urge wholehearted support of the President's recommendations. Our challenge, our responsibility, is to act swiftly on his proposal.

RESOLUTION OF THE HAWAII COMMISSION ON THE AGING

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues Resolution No. 35 passed by the Hawaii Commission on Aging in support of the President's January 23, 1967, message to Congress on older Americans. The resolution was transmitted to me by Mr. Charles W. Amor, director of my State's commission on aging, who asked on behalf of the commission my support of the President's fine program of legislation for the elderly.

Members of the commission are: Mrs. Harlan F. Benner, Alfred Aki, Mrs. Frances Alexander, the Reverend Joseph Bevilacqua, Harry Boranian, James Cavaco, John DeMello, the Reverend Seido Ogawa, Dr. David Lee Pang, L. Rockwell Smith, Dr. George Suzuki, Miss Mabelle Sarr, Dr. Robert Mytinger, Dr. Shoyei Yamauchi, Walter Deweese, Dr. James Kanashiro, Benjamin Lizama, Mrs. Shiro Mukai, Sister Grace Mary Naab, James Levine, Dr. Ralph Berry, James Fushikoshi, Kim Pet Lee, and Harold Burr.

I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution printed in full in the RECORD.

RESOLUTION NO. 35 SUPPORTING PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CONGRESSIONAL MESSAGE ON OLDER AMERICANS

Whereas, the President of the United States felt that the problems, issues and future of Older Americans deserved more than a few parenthetical remarks within the State of the Union Address and, therefore, presented a special message on Older Americans to the 90th Congress on January 23, 1967; and

Whereas, this message outlines the most sweeping program for Older Americans ever recommended by a United States President, including increased Social Security cash benefits as previously recommended by the Hawaii Commission on Aging and important improvements in public assistance programs for older people; and

Whereas, President Johnson called for significant additions to health programs for the elderly, proposed critically important tax changes affecting older people, and asked for major steps toward improved employment possibilities for older workers; and

Whereas, the message urges expansion of a wide variety of social services and facilities serving Older Americans, particularly asking that funding levels of the Older Americans Act be increased, from which Act the Commission on Aging utilizes Title III funds for direct community services; and

Whereas, the Hawaii Commission on Aging is engaged in building aging programs through all means, including enlightened legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Hawaii Commission on Aging acclaim and support the Presidential Message on Older Americans delivered to the 90th Congress on January 23, 1967; and be it further

Resolved, That the Hawaii Commission on Aging convey this support by sending copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Hawaii Congressional Delegation, the Governor of Hawaii, and other responsible persons.

HOTEL FIRE SAFETY PRACTICES

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, no adult citizen of Georgia today will ever forget a tragic event that occurred a little over 20 years ago. On the night of December 7, 1946, a fire swept the Winecoff Hotel in Atlanta, rearing up a central stairway like a furnace draft, leaving in its wake 119 lives snuffed out. This was one of the worst hotel fires in history, and there are people living today who still bear the physical and emotional scars of that disaster.

In the weeks and months that followed, a number of States tightened up their laws concerning hotel fire safety practices. But as happened all too often in our history, the enthusiasm for action soon subsided, and things returned to normal. But the problem has not been solved. Just recently, a fire in a penthouse restaurant in our neighboring State of Alabama attracted national attention when a number of people were trapped and killed.

What will it take to force us into effective and adequate action? More disasters? More frightful headlines? More peering down the sad list of victims by anxious friends and relatives? I hope not. I hope we are enlightened enough to act now in the calm of reason and not in the heat of passion. I hope we can plan a reasonable approach to this national problem, an approach which contains the promise of alleviating this dreadful threat. The threat may always be with us, but it need not be a threat beyond our ability to cope with.

In President Johnson's consumer message, he pointed the way to action. He cited the fact that our per capita death rate is higher than the rate in other industrialized countries, and he said "We can do better, and we must."

For these reasons, I have introduced the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967. This bill is based on the premise that the most reasonable and effective approach is to build upon existing programs wherever possible. We want to strengthen the valiant efforts of the many groups that have been active in fire research and fire safety programs for years.

The proposed program would provide for factfinding and data gathering concerning the fire problem, research on the causes of fires, education of the general public, training of firemen, information services to make new knowledge widely available, pilot projects to evaluate experimental approaches to fire safety and control, and grants to State and local governments, as well as other public and nonprofit institutions.

No one can guarantee that this program, if enacted into law, will eliminate forever the hazards of fires in this country. But at the same time, who among us would ignore an opportunity to create a program of action that well-intentioned men have devised? Our goal is to move as far as possible toward the ideal of ridding people of fears for their lives and their property because of the threat of fire. I ask the Members to consider this bill in a thoughtful manner. I believe it deserves the support of all.

THE NATION'S PUBLIC WELFARE SYSTEM

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Providence Journal applauds the attention which the President gave in his economic report to the shortcomings in the Nation's public welfare system.

The article says that Mr. Johnson is correct in stating that "we should encourage self-help and not penalize it," and that "the standards of need set by many States are unrealistically low." It praises Mr. Johnson's desire to explore the possibilities of a guaranteed income, while putting an end to those deficiences in the present system which perpetuate dependence instead of encouraging self-sufficiency. It calls on the Congress and the Federal and State governments to face up to the obligation to correct the inadequacies plaguing our public assistance program.

I believe that its insights will be of interest to my colleagues and I ask its inclusion in the Record.

[From the Providence Journal, Jan. 31, 1967]

A Way To Shorten Welfare Rolls

President Johnson in his Economic Report has taken official notice of shortcomings in the nation's public welfare systems that have been evident for some time.

In a report on a two-year study concluded last June by the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, it was held that "a major updating of our public welfare systems is essential if it is to achieve the goal of assuring a basic floor of economic and social security for all Americans."

The President has cited some of the same deficiencies found by the council and said he will ask Congress to take corrective action. *He has called for an end to the requirement that for every dollar a welfare recipient earns, a dollar must be deducted from his assistance allotment.* "It is time to put an end to this 100 per cent tax on the earnings of those on public assistance," he said.

Mr. Johnson is correct in stating that *"we should encourage self-help, not penalize it."* Some financial incentive must be provided for the welfare recipient to join the working community. For many undereducated, unskilled persons, this is a gradual process that needs encouragement and economic assistance along the way.

Mr. Johnson is correct in stating that "the standards of need set by many states are unrealistically low; benefits are further restricted by excessively stringent eligibility conditions. In some respects, the system perpetuates dependency."

In addition, the President has said he intends to establish a commission of leading Americans to study proposals for a guaranteed annual income.

For many, particularly those who lead fairly comfortable lives, a time of high welfare costs and labor shortages is an anachronism. The fact is that most welfare recipients are, for a variety of reasons, unemployable: too young or too old, disabled, mothers of young children who must be cared for and persons whose lack of education and training make them unsuitable for the skilled and semi-skilled jobs that are available.

There is little doubt that Congress will approve an increase in Social Security payments this year. The federal government and the states have a like obligation to correct the serious inadequacies plaguing our system of public assistance.

PITTSBURGH NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Holland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, later in this session, it is my hope that the Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am chairman, can conduct an in-depth study of the Nation's manpower development and training programs, with a special look at how well the various programs in this area are coordinated. Our subcommittee has no preformed judgments on this matter, and we hope to look at the situation in a number of communities, with the help of disinterested experts, with a view to seeing that the Nation gets the most for its money.

Directly related to such a study are the operations of such agencies as the Neighborhood Youth Corps. I have recently received a copy of the annual report of the city of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Youth Corps operation, which I insert to be printed at the conclusion of these remarks. On the basis of this report, I must say that I am quite proud of what has been accomplished in my home city, both in terms of accomplishing the basic objectives of the NYC program itself, and in terms of the way this program has been dovetailed with other community agencies and programs.

City of Pittsburgh, Pa.,
February 20, 1967.

Congressman Elmer Holland,
Federal Building,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Congressman Holland: Attached is the annual report of the City of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Youth Corps.

We want to thank you for your help and cooperation over the past year.

Very sincerely yours,
Marion K. Finkelhor,
Coordinator, Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Annual Report of Neighborhood Youth Corps, City of Pittsburgh, 1966–67

The City of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Youth Corps was originally funded July 28, 1965 as an out-of-school program and as of January 1, 1957 has serviced approximately 1,500 young persons including the 400 enrollees in the current program. The present contract expires August 15, 1967.

The total community impact of the Neighborhood Youth Corps can only be partially explored at this early date. Almost 50% of the terminated enrollees have graduated from the program to some form of employment. Approximately 10% have returned to full time day school, including college. Over 200 high school drop-outs have applied for the high school equivalency examinations. Almost all enrollees entering the program since June 1966 have had at least six hours of remedial or vocational training a week.

These are tangible observable achievements. However, it is impossible to estimate the ultimate value of the program to those young people who for the first time in their lives have managed to actually complete a program—or the extent to which a clerical or planning assignment has changed the self-image of a girl or boy. And it is difficult to estimate the change in attitude toward society engendered by money in one's pocket.

Nor can the benefit to the community be measured by enrollee statistics alone. Close to 2,000 vacant lots and hill-sides have been cleaned, cleared and in some instances improved by Youth Corps enrollees.

Two Planning and Research projects on

City lots and streets have been partially manned with Youth Corps staff. A technical library in Traffic Planning has been assembled entirely with Youth Corps personnel.

And most importantly, as enrollees working for the City of Pittsburgh, these young people, frequently stranded on the periphery of community life, have achieved a sense of participation in the government and activities of their City.

Therefore, the following summaries of the tangible statistics of the program can only be part of the story of the joint Department of Labor-City of Pittsburgh Youth Training Program.

1. THE FEDERAL CONTRACT

The first contract with the United States Department of Labor was approved July 28, 1965 for a six month period in the amount of approximately one million dollars to cover the enrollment of 950 young persons.

The City's contribution was set at 10% of the total grant.

Because of the brief period of the initial contract, and uncertainties of whether additional monies would be available for the continuation of the program, enrollment reached its peak in November 1965 with 624 enrollees.

From February 1966 to August 15, 1966, the original contract was extended for short additional periods of time with small supplementary grants of federal funds to employ 500 enrollees.

In order to keep the program intact, the City contributed funds and "services in kind" in addition to the original quota of 10% for both equipment and supervisory costs.

In June 1966, the City of Pittsburgh received an additional allowance under the first contract for a separate summer component for 150 out-of-school enrollees.

Including all extensions, supplements, and the summer program, the federal grant under the first Neighborhood Youth Corps contract totaled 1,269,718 dollars.

The City's contribution, including "services in kind", for the first contract totaled 305,226 dollars.

On August 15, 1966 the City of Pittsburgh received a second federal contract for 939,970 dollars to continue the program for 400 enrollees to August 15, 1967. The summer program for 150 enrollees funded under the first contract continued simultaneously until December 2, 1966.

The actual monies contributed by the City of Pittsburgh and the United States Department of Labor are as follows:

Summary of contracts

1ST CONTRACT—COMPLETED DEC. 2, 1966

City		Federal	
Contract figure	Expended, Dec. 31, 1966	Contract figure	Expended, Dec. 31, 1966
$194, 734	$305, 226	$1, 269, 719	$1, 267, 717

2D CONTRACT—TO EXPIRE AUG. 15, 1967

$184, 160	$47, 255	$939, 970	$197, 985

The City's contribution has been both "services in kind," and cash outlays. The following cash amounts have been specifically appropriated to the program in the 1965, 1966, and 1967 Appropriation Ordinances:

Appropriation 1965	$75, 000
Appropriation 1966	130, 000
Appropriation 1967	130, 000

City funds have been used for the rental and purchase of equipment and to provide materials for the building of parklets and tot lots. Approximately 50% of the work supervisors in the program are regular employees paid from the normal City budget.

As of December 31, 1966 more than one million dollars have been paid directly to approximately 1,500 past and present enrollees in the City of Pittsburgh Youth Corps.

In addition to the City of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Health and Welfare Association has a program for approximately 100 out-of-school young persons and the Board of Education and the Catholic Diocese operate In-School programs.

2. FEDERAL GUIDELINES

While the Neighborhood Youth Corps is under the primary jurisdiction of the United States Department of Labor, it is a part of the total Economic Opportunity Program and is specifically designed to provide employment and training for disadvantaged, unemployed Youth between the ages of 16 and 21.

As with all federal economic opportunity programs, basic policy such as the financial eligibility of each enrollee, is established in the Federal Contract, and the Rules and Regulations of the funding agency. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Eligibility for an enrollee from a family of four has been established at $3,000 per year, and since January 1, 1966 emphasis has been placed on the recruitment of School Dropouts, and seriously disadvantaged young people.

The enrollees are paid $1.25 per hour, work a 32 hour work week, and are enrolled for a base period of six months. Under the terms of the contract each enrollee is entitled to six hours a week of supportive services, and may be re-enrolled in the program for additional six month periods up to two years to pursue specific educational goals.

The objective of the program is to provide through both the work assignment and supplemental training sufficient experience to enable the young person to either secure private employment at the end of enrollment, or to return to vocational or academic studies.

3. RECRUITMENT

In order to reach the young persons most in need of the program, recruitment has been channeled through the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security, the Youth Opportunity Centers, and the Neighborhood Employment Offices of the Mayor's Commission on Human Resources.

At the beginning of the program Neighborhood employment offices consulted the backlog of files and selected young people most in need of the program. Some enrollees have been recruited by block workers and other Social Service Agencies. A few are referred from Juvenile Court.

In addition, when the Action Housing Neighborhood Youth Corps of 50 enrollees was disbanded, these young people were accepted en masse into the City of Pittsburgh program.

Despite the low rate of unemployment in the Pittsburgh Labor Market Area and the stepped-up draft calls, due to the war in Vietnam, there appears to remain a group of young people unable to secure employment. Beginning August 1965 1,700 referrals have been made to the program.

With only 400 job slots it is impossible to serve all of the girls who apply for the program.

In addition to regular sources of recruitment, a small group of approximately thirty slow learners, retarded and handicapped young people, meeting the financial eligibility guidelines, have been employed on an experimental basis.

As of January 1, 1967 the breakdown of all enrollees recruited from the various Neighborhood Centers was as follows:

Northside-Manchester	351
Hill District	335
Homewood-Brushton	242
Southwest Pittsburgh	184
East Liberty-Garfield	170
South Oakland	84
Hazelwood-Glenwood	74
Lawrenceville	46

4. WORK ASSIGNMENTS

The 426 enrollees, currently enrolled in the program, perform a variety of jobs, ranging from housekeeping and maintenance on City buildings to assisting in the Computer Section of the Department of City Planning.

5. WORK SITES

Departmental Assignments for payroll purposes are as follows:

Mayor's office	106
Public works	119
Parks and recreation	85
Lands and Buildings	59
Public Safety	44
Carnegie Library	12
Civil Service	1
Total (224 boys, 182 girls)	426

These figures are fluid and vary from month to month.

In an effort to simplify payroll procedures the Mayor's Office carries enrollees for Departments and Agencies using enrollees on a temporary or limited basis or where the number of enrollees is not sufficiently large to warrant a separate payroll.

Twenty six enrollees are assigned to six different federal offices in downtown Pittsburgh.

Thirty enrollees perform a variety of functions at the Veteran's Hospital in Oakland ranging from pharmaceutical and laboratory assistants to kitchen aides. All of these hospital positions represent "on-the-job-training".

Twenty five enrollees are assigned positions in the Economic Opportunity Offices and Neighborhood Centers. These positions range from Nursery Aide for pre-school youngsters to the Homewood Urban Renewal Housing Re-location program.

Enrollees are also assigned to the Departments of City Planning and Water, Carnegie Museum, the Commission on Human Relations, and the Bureau of Police.

6. WORK ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In emphasizing the variety and diversity of Neighborhood Youth Corps work assignments, the benefits to the City and the Cooperating Agencies require equal consideration.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is a two way program. While the young person is receiving training, the City and its citizens are the beneficiaries of extra services.

For example, under the normal City budget, the Department of Lands and Buildings did not have staff to process neighborhood complaints on the dumping of trash, refuse, etc. on the lots and hillsides owned by the City or the three taxing bodies. In August 1965 thirty boys, two foremen, and two trucks were assigned to respond to citizen complaints, particularly in the congested neighborhoods.

This special maintenance group expanded to over one-hundred enrollees and seven foremen, under the special summer program, cleaned or improved more than 2,000 City-managed lots and hillsides. In certain areas citizen groups and block clubs cooperated with the Neighborhood Youth Corps teams to remove community eyesores. Retaining walls were installed or repaired, brush, debris, and similar unsightly rubble was removed.

Eight vacant areas were converted into small informal block parklets or tot lots with playground equipment or park benches for the older citizens.

The eight lots include three in the Hill District, three in the Northside, and one each in East Liberty and Hazelwood. Parks and Recreation supplied the playground equipment and trees and shrubbery were planted with Urban Beautification funds. With the use of Youth Corps labor, the borrowing of City equipment and the cooperation of all affected departments, the cost of these improvements averaged between $1,500 and $2,500 per parklet.

Eight additional lots will be selected for conversion into parklets for the spring and summer of 1967.

In the Department of Parks and Recreation enrollees have been assigned to the Zoo, Aviary and Conservatory in the Bureau of Administration, 20 Recreation Centers in the Bureau of Recreation, and to the majority of City parks in the Bureau of Grounds and Buildings.

Enrollees have helped to prepare Spring and Fall flower shows, have planted and maintained floral exhibits in parks, and have cleaned, maintained, and improved the trails in the larger City parks. Basic maintenance of swimming pools and park buildings has been included in this program.

In addition, a special group of enrollees received on-the-job training in tree pruning, and three of the boys involved in the tree pruning program have passed the Civil Service examination for tree pruners, and are on the regular City payroll.

Similar backlogs of work have been accomplished in the Department of Public Works. The boys have helped in the maintenance of streets, and in the clearing of weeds and rubble along City highways and hillsides. As one small example, the hillsides along Bigelow Boulevard, a major City artery were cleaned and improved.

Youth assigned to the Asphalt plant expedited resurfacing projects throughout the community. Another group has been assisting in the maintenance of bridges.

In addition, twelve boys assigned to the Public Works Department have worked in the Bureau of Engineering on a City-wide Street Survey and Planning project. This Neighborhood Youth Corps group, assigned in midsummer of 1966, replaced a group of college interns.

Similar accomplishments can be listed for every City Department. In City Planning the lot-block file of all City property was updated and prepared for computer storage by a special Neighborhood Youth Corps team of fifteen enrollees. Four girls received on-the-job training as keypunch operators, and a program estimated for a two year span was completed in six months.

All City buildings, including the Northside Library, the police stations, and fire houses have been housecleaned with Neighborhood Youth Corps personnel.

A group of boys working in the Water Department have helped to clean and maintain the Northside reservoirs.

Male enrollees in the Department of Public Safety, assigned to the Traffic Planning Sign Shop, have assisted in the maintenance and installation of traffic signs and equipment, and serve as aides to regular City work crews. Female enrollees have performed clerical duties with the Bureaus of Police, Traffic Planning, Fire and Building Inspection.

Twelve to fifteen young people have been assigned to the Carnegie Library since the inception of the program. In the spring of 1966, work programs were also established at the Museum with emphasis on training for scarce museum skills.

Youth Corps enrollees also service the Neighborhood and Central Offices of the Mayor's Commission on Human Resources.

Enrollees assigned to the Economic Opportunity Office in Homewood, Hazelwood, Perryhill Top, and Oakland are directly engaged in neighborhood activities such as housing re-location services, pre-school, and nursery programs etc.

Perhaps the greatest testament to the important supplementary role of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in performing essential services is the reluctance of supervisors and Bureau Chiefs to relinquish the services of Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees at the termination of the six month period of enrollment.

While City employment was not the objective of the program, 45 young people have performed with such excellence in City departments and cooperating agencies that they have been terminated from the Youth Corps to assume the job of regular City employees.

7. EDUCATION

From the inception of the program efforts have been made to develop a meaningful education program for each enrollee to both increase job skills, and to provide for upward mobility. While some of the enrollees require basic remedial education, others have the capacity for both post high school, and even college level training.

During the first year of operation, enrollees were attending either the regular adult evening vocational classes, or the Adult Remedial courses conducted at night by the School Board for the City of Pittsburgh.

A few enrollees registered for classes at private educational institutions.

Beginning in June 1966, the Extension Division of the Pittsburgh Board of Education organized special Neighborhood Youth Corps training classes to provide Remedial Education in the basic skills supplemented by training in office procedures.

During the summer of 1966 a six week session was held at Fifth Avenue High School for both the City of Pittsburgh and the Health and Welfare enrollees. Each group attended classes one full day a week.

At the conclusion of the summer session 110 enrollees applied to the Board of Education to take the high school equivalency test.

Beginning in October 1966, the School Board established a similar Neighborhood Youth Corps training school at Connelley High School with three full time teachers and one full time school counselor.

While basically a remedial education program, typing and other office skills are integrated into the basic academic subjects.

Every enrollee is assigned six hours of school at the time of the initial interview.

8. SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

The Neighborhood Youth Corps grant does not include funds for supportive services other than the employment of three counselors and one Assistant Coordinator.

The City has had to rely on a wide variety of public and private agencies to service these young people as follows:

1) Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security—specifically the Youth Opportunity Center.
2) Pennsylvania Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation.
3) Allegheny County Health Department.
4) Family Service agencies situated in the various neighborhood Centers.
5) Clinics in various hospitals.
6) Board of Education.
7) Recreation Centers of the Catholic Diocese.
8) Neighborhood Employment Office.
9) Neighborhood Legal Services.
10) Office of the Public Defender.

During the six month period of enrollment each enrollee receives an extensive physical examination by the Allegheny County Health Department, and is referred to the various hospitals and clinics in the area for supportive treatment. Approximately 50% of our young people require some additional medical or dental treatment.

All enrollees in the program are referred to the Youth Opportunity Center for aptitude testing, and for job placement services.

Enrollees with physical or mental handicaps are referred to the Pennsylvania Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation to determine eligibility under the various training programs.

As has been described, all enrollees are referred at the time of enrollment to one of the schools operated by the Pittsburgh Board of Education.

In addition, where serious maladjustment exists referral is made to the Family Service agency operating in the enrollee's neighborhood. Upon termination of each enrollee a detailed summary is sent to the neighborhood for follow-up services.

However, supportive services take many forms, other than direct referral. Sometimes it is support at a court hearing and referral to the Public Defender, or Neighborhood Legal Services; in a few instances it may be visits to the Allegheny County Jail, in other cases contact with the enrollee may alert the worker to other family problems.

Even with a limited staff the Youth Corps Office has tried to reach the "whole person". Unemployability is frequently only a symptom of other problems of social maladjustment.

Two VISTA Volunteers have been assigned to the program since October of 1966 to supplement staff services.

9. JOB PLACEMENT

The goal of the Neighborhood Youth Corps is to give to the young person sufficient training to either enter the permanent job market or to provide sufficient motivation for the enrollee to return to school to continue on a long range educational goal.

While our enrollees range from the retarded to young people capable of college training, it should be emphasized that none of them were employable at the time of entering the program.

The Youth Opportunity Center of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security and the Neighborhood Centers of the Mayors' Commission on Human Resources have provided employment services.

In addition the Youth Corps office has made specific contacts with both large and small private employers in the Community to develop job opportunities.

As of January 1, 1967 approximately 50% of the enrollees terminated from the City of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Youth Corps program were terminated into jobs with private industry or a governmental agency.

In round numbers, including the armed services, more than 500 young people have left the program for employment. In addition, 31 ex-enrollees entered the Job Corps, and approximately 50 enrollees are either in Manpower Training Programs operated by the Labor Department, or are attending formal educational institutions.

Approximately 30 young people have left the program to enter college or junior college programs of study. Pre-enrollment visits have been scheduled for groups of enrollees to the Community College.

In an effort to correlate and fully assess the progress of the City of Pittsburgh Youth Corps, Pittsburgh is one of the four cities selected by the Department of Labor for an intensive research study on the benefits of Youth Corps enrollment.

One hundred and twenty five young people have been selected for intensive follow up by the research staff of George Washington University, and it is to be hoped that within the next 2 or 3 months there will be a clearer picture of the benefits of the Youth Corps program.

Apart from employment statistics approximately 65% of the enrollees complete the six month period of enrollment.

For some of these young people this in itself represents an achievement. Six months of steady work will help to mitigate a police record, serve as a transitional period until marriage, establish more acceptable work habits, and perhaps restore confidence and self esteem.

Conversely excluding enrollees who leave the City, resign for reasons of illness, or care of a child or parent, approximately 25% of terminated enrollees leave the program because of inability to adjust to the work situation or for other reasons with a poor prognosis.

10. EVALUATION

In evaluating almost eighteen months of the Youth Corps program, immediate benefits can be assessed.

1) Fifteen Hundred unemployed young people have received wages totaling more than one million dollars.

2) Fifty per cent of the enrollees at the time of termination were in a position to seek and accept employment.

3) All citizens have profited from the expanded services of the Youth Corps program.

However, the seriously maladjusted young person, whether the maladjustment is social or psychological, requires more intensive services than is presently available under the Youth Corps program.

The referral process to established agencies is slow and there are still insufficient social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, or even social agencies available to serve this kind of problem youngster.

In addition many training programs are still pegged at too high a level to admit the high school drop-out or the young person with a poor record.

Federal financial guidelines have frequently excluded young people in need of the work experience. Accounting, reporting, and contract procedures have consumed an inordinate amount of staff time.

Perhaps the Neighborhood Youth Corps can be best summed up by the letter of a former enrollee.

"The Neighborhood Youth Corps has done a number of positive things for me."

"First it has helped me gain more confidence in myself, and the things I do."

"Second, it has taught me how to work well with people."

"Third, it has given me a better outlook on life."

"Fourth, it has helped me gain more insight into what I want to be in the future."

"Last but not least it has given me a job and money in my pocket, and for this I will always be grateful."

Perhaps this is all that needs to be said.

City of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees by centers

	Dec. 1, 1966		September 1966 (male and female)	December 1966 (male and female)
	Male	Female		
Lawrenceville Center	30	15	33	45
Manchester Center	42	15	310	57
Northside Center	195	90		285
South Oakland	61	21	58	82
Southwest Pittsburgh	124	59	112	183
East Liberty-Garfield	118	52	162	170
Hill District	236	95	317	331
Hazelwood-Glenwood	43	29	44	72
Homewood-Brushton	175	60	218	235
Total	1,024	436	1,254	1,460

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mrs. Sullivan (at the request of Mr. Albert), for today, on account of illness.

Mr. Carey (at the request of Mr. Albert), for today, on account of illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts (at the request of Mr. Smith of Oklahoma), for 30 minutes, on Monday, March 13, to revise and extend her remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts (at the request of Mr. Smith of Oklahoma), for 30 minutes, on Tuesday, March 14; to revise and extend her remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Kupferman (at the request of Mr. Smith of Oklahoma), for 30 minutes, on Thursday, March 16; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Ruppe (at the request of Mr. Smith of Oklahoma), for 10 minutes, on today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Addabbo (at the request of Mr. Dorn), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Tenzer.

Mr. Collier.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Dorn) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Eilberg.

Mr. Roybal.

Mr. Tunney in seven instances.

Mr. Stuckey.

Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. Daddario.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 355. An act to improve the operation of the legislative branch of the Federal Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 665. An act to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, evaluation, and military construction for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, March 13, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

499. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an amendment to the request for appropriations transmitted in the budget for the fiscal year 1968 involving a decrease in the amount requested for the Atomic Energy Commission (H. Doc. No. 80); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

500. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

501. A letter from the Director, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report of the Statistical Supplement, Stockpile Report to the Congress, for the period ending December 31, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 79–520; to the Committee on Armed Services.

502. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to require that contracts for construction, alteration, or repair of any building or public work of the District of Columbia be accompanied by a performance bond for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

503. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia to close all or part of a street, road, highway, or alley in accordance with the requirements of an approved redevelopment or urban renewal plan, without regard to the notice provisions of such act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

504. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of potential savings obtainable through increased use of the Government's interagency motor pool system, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

505. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the acquisition, transfer, conveyance, lease, and improvement of, and construction on, certain property in the District of Columbia for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States, as sites for governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. BOGGS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 286. A bill to permit duty-free treatment of dicyandiamide pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (Rept. No. 110). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 653. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings; with amendment (Rept. No. 111). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 1141. A bill to permit duty-free treatment of limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (Rept. No. 112). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 1326. A bill to amend section 4181 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the excise tax on shells and cartridges (Rept. No. 113). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ULLMAN: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 2155. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the classification of Chinese gooseberries (Rept. No. 114). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 1566. A bill to provide for the free entry of a four-octave carillon for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Mass.; with amendment (Rept. No. 106). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 1886. A bill to provide for the free entry of certain articles for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.; with amendment (Rept. No. 107). Referred to the Committee on the Whole House.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 4934. A bill to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Indiana University (Rept. No. 108). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 4977. A bill to provide for the free entry of a triaxial apparatus and rheogoniometer for the use of Northwestern University (Rept. No. 109). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee:

H.R. 6898. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 6899. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BETTS:

H.R. 6900. A bill to restrict imports of dairy products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOW:

H.R. 6901. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 6902. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. CLANCY:

H.R. 6903. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for optometrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 6904. A bill for the establishment of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 6905. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide benefits for certain disabled widows without regard to their age, to increase the outside earnings permitted without loss of benefits, to provide for cost-of-living increases in benefits, and to pay benefits despite marriage or remarriage if it occurs after attainment of age 55; and to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore the provisions permitting the deduction, without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors, of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6906. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide for cost-of-living increases in the benefits payable thereunder; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6907. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6908. A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act so as to prohibit discrimination in employment because of age; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 6909. A bill to amend item 709.10 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that the rate of duty on parts of stethoscopes shall be the same as the rate on stethoscopes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6910. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to reduce the rate of duty of spirometers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 6911. A bill creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6912. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6913. A bill to promote public confidence in the integrity of Congress and the executive branch; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 6914. A bill to establish a Federal sabbatical program to improve the quality of teaching in the Nation's elementary or secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6915. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for the deduction of certain education expenses incurred by teachers and other employed or self-employed individuals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 6916. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to prevent increases in monthly social security insurance benefits from affecting eligibility for veterans' pensions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. EILBERG (by request):

H.R. 6917. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to increase the educational assistance allowances under the veterans' educational assistance program and to provide special educational assistance under that program to educationally disadvantaged veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6918. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to extend to persons who served in the Armed Forces of the United States on or after August 5, 1964, the date of the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the same range of veterans' benefits heretofore provided veterans of other wars; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6919. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to provide for increases in maximum coverage under, and otherwise liberalize the provisions of, the servicemen's group life insurance program; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 6920. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to provide pension increases for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, for widows of such veterans, and for the children of such veterans who are deceased; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 6921. A bill to establish a Department of Consumer Affairs in order to secure within the Federal Government effective representation of the economic interests of consumers; to coordinate the administration of consumer services by transferring to such Department certain functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Labor, and other agencies; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 6922. A bill to amend the Clayton Act, as amended, by requiring prior notification of corporate mergers and acquisitions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6923. A bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6924. A bill to reclassify certain key postions and increase salaries in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6925. A bill to provide coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system (subject to an election in the case of those currently serving) for all officers and employees of the United States and its instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FISHER:

H.R. 6926. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the rank of brigadier general for an officer of the Air Force while serving as Assistant Surgeon General for Veterinary Services; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 6927. A bill to equalize civil service retirement annuities and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6928. A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to make its provisions applicable to agriculture; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 6929. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to authorize the transfer of tobacco acreage allotments and acreage-poundage quotas; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 6930. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to authorize the transfer of peanut acreage allotments; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 6931. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HERLONG:

H.R. 6932. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to require certain new packages of imported articles to be marked to indicate the country of origin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 6933. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 6934. A bill to amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HUNGATE:

H.R. 6935. A bill to amend the Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act in order to permit the construction of classrooms under that act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 6936. A bill to authorize a program of research to determine the effect of overhead electric transmission lines upon the health and welfare of citizens, community planning and zoning, real estate values and tax revenues, and the natural beauty of our country; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6937. A bill to authorize a program of research and development to encourage the use of underground transmission of electrical power and to undertake projects to evaluate and demonstrate the economical and technical feasibility of such transmission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6938. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for an amortization deduction and an increased tax credit for certain underground electrical transmission lines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.R. 6939. A bill to authorize the release of certain quantities of nickel from the national stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts:

H.R. 6940. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 6941. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide that accumulated sick leave be credited to the retirement fund or that the individual be reimbursed; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6942. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act so as to extend and improve the Federal-State program of child welfare services; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H.R. 6943. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide disability insurance benefits thereunder for any individual who is blind and has at least six quarters of coverage, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 6944. A bill to define the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the inferior courts ordained and established by the Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States in criminal prosecutions involving admissions or confessions of the accused; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6945. A bill to establish a Small Tax Division within the Tax Court of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 6946. A bill to establish a system for the sharing of certain Federal revenues with the States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6947. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6948. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to permit payment thereunder, in the case of an individual otherwise eligible for home health services of the type which may be provided away from his home, for the costs of transportation to and from the place where such services are provided; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6949. A bill to amend the Social Security Act so as to enable States to establish more adequate general assistance programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 6950. A bill to restore the investment credit and the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 6951. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that an individual may qualify for disability insurance benefits and the disability freeze with only four quarters of coverage; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6952. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that dependent parents of individuals entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits, as well as surviving parents of deceased insured individuals, shall be eligible for parent's insurance benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PRICE of Texas:

H.R. 6953. A bill to prohibit political influence with respect to appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations in the postal field service, to revise the laws governing the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 6954. A bill to amend section 242 of title 18, United States Code, to prohibit deprivation of rights under color of any statute, treaty, order, rule, or regulation implementing decisions of the United Nations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 6955. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6956. A bill to promote the advancement of science and the education of scientists through a national program of institutional grants to the colleges and universities of the United States; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 6957. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6958. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6959. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the tariff classification of braided rugs composed of tubular braids with a core; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 6960. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H.R. 6961. A bill to increase from $600 to $1,000 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemption for old age or blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 6962. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide a grant-in-aid program to assist the States in furnishing aid and services with respect to children under foster care; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 6963. A bill to provide for uniform annual observances of certain national holidays on Mondays; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 6964. A bill to amend chapter 34 of title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase the rate of educational assistance allowances payable thereunder, to include on-the-job and flight training among the programs available to veterans, and to provide for the paying of reporting fees to educational institutions; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6965. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to provide additional readjustment assistance to veterans who serve in the Armed Forces during the Vietnam era; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 6966. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to increase rates of pension payable to certain veterans and their widows, and to liberalize and make more equitable the provisions of that title relating to the payment of pensions; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H.R. 6967. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to maintain at $500,000 the annual dollar volume test for coverage by that act of the employees of certain enterprises engaged in commerce; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 6968. A bill to amend section 212(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H.R. 6969. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase from $1,500 to $3,000 the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BETTS:

H.R. 6970. A bill relating to the deduction for income tax purposes of contributions to certain organizations for judiciary reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DAVIS of Georgia:

H.R. 6971. A bill to amend the organic act of the National Bureau of Standards to authorize a fire research and safety program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 6972. A bill to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 6973. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965, the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, and the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6974. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 6975. A bill for the general revision of the patent laws, title 35 of the United States Code, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ERLENBORN:

H.R. 6976. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the Illinois sesquicentennial;

to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 6977. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to deny food manufacturers a trade or business expense deduction for excessive advertising and merchandising expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GALIFIANAKIS:

H.R. 6978. A bill to protect the civilian employees of the executive branch of the U.S. Government in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights and to prevent unwarranted governmental invasions of their privacy; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 6979. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, in order to authorize the chartering for certain passenger cruise service of vessels operating under subsidy; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 6980. A bill to provide for the establishment of a council to be known as the National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GUDE:

H.R. 6981. A bill to provide for the prevention, abatement, and control of air pollution in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 6982. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide for standard-of-living increases in the annuities and pensions (and lump-sum payments) which are payable thereunder; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6983. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide a 10-percent across-the-board benefit increase and subsequent increases based in rises in the standards of living, to increase widow's benefits, to provide a substantial liberalization in the retirement test, and to reduce the rates of tax on self-employment income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 6984. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore the provisions permitting the deduction, without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors, of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 6985. A bill to amend the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951 to prevent loss to annual leave by employees in certain cases, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H.R. 6986. A bill to amend title VII of the Housing Act of 1961 to provide that the requirement of compliance with comprehensive planning (as a condition of a community's eligibility for open-space grants) shall be inapplicable where the open-space land involved is being acquired for local purposes and is not relevant to such planning; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 6987. A bill to authorize a program of research, development, and demonstration projects for electrically powered vehicles; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6988. A bill concerning reduction of automotive air pollution; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6989. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MONAGAN:

H.R. 6990. A bill to promote, encourage, and expand international understanding of and appreciation and respect for American social, cultural, educational and intellectual achievements and thereby aid in the support of American foreign policy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 6991. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 6992. A bill to reclassify certain key positions and increase salaries in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6993. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide an additional monthly allowance for disabled beneficiaries who are in need of regular aid and attendance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6994. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide that a chiropractor, naturopath, podiatrist, or other licensed practitioner of the healing arts shall be considered a physician for purposes of health insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. QUIE:

H.R. 6995. A bill to increase the efficiency of, and to eliminate political activity in, the Post Office Department by revising the terms of office of the Postmaster General and other top officers thereof, and to prohibit political influence with respect to appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations in the postal field service, and to revise the laws governing the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 6996. A bill to amend section 203 of the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 6997. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake, where necessary, cooperative programs with respect to the control of fish in the Great Lakes which ascend streams to spawn; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 6998. A bill to amend the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949 to prohibit the Agency from contributing funds to domestic organizations; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 6999. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to require each tax-exempt organization to report annually each source (including governmental sources) of its income and other receipts, and to provide for a loss of tax exemption in the case of willful failure to file, or fraudulent statements made in connection with, such report; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 7000. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7001. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that an employer's returns of social security taxes and income tax withholding shall be made on an annual basis, and to require that all such taxes deducted or paid (without regard to their amount) be deposited in a Government depositary at least once each month; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H.R. 7002. A bill to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 7003. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 7004. A bill to amend section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAFT:

H.R. 7005. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit certain exclusions from gross income for full-time law enforcement officers employed by State and local governmental instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia:

H.R. 7006. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the number of years which may be dropped out in computing the benefit of an individual who is forced by a Federal agency (or under Federal, State, or local law) to retire at age 60 or earlier; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 7007. A bill to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extension of credit; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7008. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. VIGORITO:

H.R. 7009. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WAMPLER:

H.R. 7010. A bill to protect the domestic economy, to promote the general welfare, and to assist in the national defense by providing for an adequate supply of lead and zinc for consumption in the United States from domestic and foreign sources, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 7011. A bill to amend the Federal Reserve Act in order to enable the Federal Reserve banks to extend credit to member banks and others in accordance with current economic conditions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7012. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 7013. A bill to prohibit nepotism in employment under the Congress of the United States; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 7014. A bill to amend section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, as amended; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 7015. A bill to grant certain Government officers and employees the opportunity to examine and reply to certain evaluations of their promotion qualifications, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 7016. A bill to provide for a study by the Secretary of Agriculture of a Federal food grade labeling program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 7017. A bill to amend the act of June 6, 1933, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Labor to develop and maintain improved, voluntary methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 7018. A bill to provide for the erection of a monument on Alcatraz Island to serve as a western counterpart to the Statue of Liberty and commemorate the achievement of American independence; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HANLEY:

H.R. 7019. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide certain employees in the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration with the right of appeal to the United States Civil Service Commission from certain disciplinary actions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT:

H.R. 7020. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Buffalo National River in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. LAIRD:

H.R. 7021. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 7022. A bill to permit for a 3-year period the use of two foreign-built vessels between points in the State of Hawaii; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 7023. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake, where necessary, cooperative programs with respect to the control of fish in the Great Lakes which ascend streams to spawn; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SCHWEIKER:

H.R. 7024. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to provide that no person inducted into an armed force may be assigned to active duty on land outside the United States, its territories and possessions, until he has attained the age of 19 years; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.R. 7025. A bill to amend the Internal Security Act of 1950, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

By Mr. FLYNT:

H.R. 7026. A bill to amend section 1346, title 28 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 7027. A bill providing that certain privately owned irrigable lands in the Milk River project in Montana shall be deemed to be excess lands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 7028. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase from $1,500 to $3,000 the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H.J. Res. 413. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to designate a day in January of each year as a day of remembrance for the astronauts, Lt. Col. Virgil I. Grissom, Lt. Col. Edward H. White II, and Lt. Roger B. Chaffee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HERLONG:

H.J. Res. 414. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution preserving the rights of the States with respect to public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.J. Res. 415. Joint resolution to provide for a study of the impact of overhead electric transmission lines and towers upon scenic assets, zoning and community planning, property values, and real estate revenues; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.J. Res. 416. Joint resolution to provide for the consideration of certain recommendations for decoration by the United States for services rendered during World War I; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.J. Res. 417. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim April 9, 1967, as Bataan-Corregidor Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 418. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to authorize Congress, by two-thirds vote of both Houses, to override decisions of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.J. Res. 419. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.J. Res. 420. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to authorize Congress, by two-thirds vote of both Houses, to override decisions of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARRISON:

H. Con. Res. 272. Concurrent resolution relative to the cutback order of the highway fund; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H. Con. Res. 273. Concurrent resolution expressing the support of the Congress, and urging the support of persons and organizations both public and private, for the international biological program; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H. Con. Res. 274. Concurrent resolution reaffirming the support of the Congress for United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H. Res. 377. Resolution to amend rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. Res. 378. Resolution authorizing the expenditure of moneys to cover expenses of the Committee on Banking and Currency incurred pursuant to House Resolution 356; to the Committee on House Administration.

H. Res. 379. Resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the studies, investigations, and inquiries authorized by House Resolution 356; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H. Res. 380. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

56. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, relative to the designation of the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 7029. A bill for the relief of Angela Giannelli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 7030. A bill for the relief of Neville Barrington Timol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7031. A bill for the relief of Clyde O. Timol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CRAMER (by request):

H.R. 7032. A bill for the relief of Francesco Giuliani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EVERETT:

H.R. 7033. A bill for the relief of Wilkinson & Jenkins Construction Co., Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 7034. A bill for the relief of Nurettin Caglar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.R. 7035. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Anselm C. Griffith and children; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7036. A bill for the relief of Bernard J. Sweens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 7037. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ricio P. Galvez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7038. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rosario F. Ona; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7039. A bill for the relief of Belen N. Vales; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 7040. A bill for the relief of Yehuda Habshush; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7041. A bill for the relief of Antonino Ferrante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 7042. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jose Del Rio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORTON:

H.R. 7043. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Department under which the U.S. Coast Guard is operating to cause the vessel *Northwind*, owned by Wallace P. Smith, Jr., of Centreville, Md., to be documented as a vessel of the United States with coastwise privileges; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 7044. A bill for the relief of Rosaria Cuscina and Mario Cuscina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7045. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Calacoci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7046. A bill for the relief of Francesco Cavallo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POLANCO-ABREU:

H.R. 7047. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ramon Aixala; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 7048. A bill for the relief of Wanda Piszczkiewicz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7049. A bill for the relief of Georgios Liberis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 7050. A bill for the relief of Fortunato Varisco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7051. A bill for the relief of Zia Ul Husain; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 7052. A bill for the relief of Fawzi Girgis Dimian and his wife, Yvonne Fahmi Roufail Dimian, and their children, Amal Fawzi Dimian and Adel Fawzi Dimian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 7053. A bill for the relief of Antonietta Liccari (nee) Nardulli, Nadia Liccari, and Guiseppina Liccari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Supplemental Defense Authorization Conference Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was most encouraged by the action of the House-Senate conference committee on the 1967 supplemental defense authorization bill in agreeing to include a "Statement of Congressional Policy" originally proposed by Senator MANSFIELD and adopted by the Senate last week.

The inclusion of the "Statement of Congressional Policy" fully commits the Congress to a program which many of us have long advocated. While it became necessary to include the statement in an authorization bill, it is still a big step forward in establishing a policy on which peace can be secured.

The final version of this statement asserts:

> The Congress hereby declares—
>
> (1) its firm intentions to provide all necessary support for members of the Armed Forces of the United States fighting in Vietnam;
>
> (2) its support of efforts being made by the President of the United States and other men of good will throughout the world to prevent an expansion of the war in Vietnam and to bring that conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement which will preserve the honor of the United States, protect the vital interests of this country, and allow the people of South Vietnam to determine the affairs of that nation in their own way; and
>
> (3) its support for the convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva Conferences or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested as soon as possible for the purpose of pursuing the general principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion.

As I indicated in my comments on initial House passage of this defense authorization, I am strongly of the opinion that Congress should be more active in exercising its constitutional duty of participating in the development and implementation of American foreign policy.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I am acutely conscious of this responsibility, and believe that individual Members of the House and Senate have not been afforded adequate opportunity to discuss and debate foreign policy matters—and to state their own positions on the vital matters that affect the course of our relations with the other countries of the world.

This "Statement of Congressional Policy," however, gives us a chance to go on record, not only in support of our American troops in Vietnam, but also in favor of an aggressive and imaginative search for ways to find a common ground for negotiating that tragic conflict so as to preserve the honor of the United States, protect our vital interests, and at the same time, allow the people of South Vietnam to work out their own destiny in their own way.

In addition, by expressing support for "men of good will throughout the world" who are working to "prevent an expansion of the war," we are able to associate ourselves with the efforts of our own leaders as well as such internationally renowned men of peace as Pope Paul VI and United Nations Secretary General U Thant in attempting to restrain the escalation of the Vietnam war and in exploring every possible avenue of peaceful settlement.

I was particularly happy about the "Congressional Policy Statement's" declaration in favor of enlisting the help of all interested nations in convening a conference as soon as possible to utilize the principles of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962 in arriving at an honorable conclusion to this most unfortunate conflict.

This kind of forward-looking statement of policy by an alert and responsible Congress, in my opinion, can make a substantial and constructive contribution to the national dialog so necessary for a successful foreign policy in any free society.

And I sincerely hope that it will mark an important turning point for peace. So that our own young men now serving in Vietnam may soon return to their loved ones at home. And we may be able to join with other like-minded nations in working with the people of a southeast Asia no longer ravaged by the terrible scourge of war in building a secure foundation for a better way of life in the future.

The 25th Anniversary of the Jewish News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I wish to invite attention to the accomplishments and dedicated service of an excellent newspaper in my State of Michigan which observes its 25th anniversary today. I speak of the Jewish News, a newspaper that commands wide respect not only in the Detroit community, where it is published, but all across the country.

In large part, the success of the Jewish News can be attributed to the untiring efforts of one man, Philip Slomovitz, who founded the newspaper in 1942. As the result of his efforts and leadership, the Jewish News has become an example and standard of excellence in the newspaper field.

In its quarter century of publication, the Jewish News has carved for itself a permanent niche in the rollcall of the fourth estate. I believe there is good reason to forecast that the next 25 years in the life of the Jewish News will be even more impressive and gratifying than the past.

It is with considerable pleasure that I point to the Jewish News as an outstanding symbol of American freedom of expression and extend sincere congratulations on the beginning of its 26th year.

Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most critical problems facing our Nation today is air pollution. We must move ahead quickly in this area or we will eventually find our own atmosphere uninhabitable.

Yesterday I introduced three bills which will be an important step toward eventually alleviating our serious air pollution problems.

The first bill, H.R. 6831, would allow a credit against income tax equal to 20 percent of expenditures for water or air pollution control facilities. In order to receive credit, a statement must be obtained from the appropriate State or Federal agency that such facility is in conformity with State and Federal air and water pollution requirements. The facility constructed must be for the sole purpose of controlling pollution and not for private profit.

The second bill, H.R. 6829, establishes within 2 years after its enactment a system of air regions with air quality emission standards for each region.

The Secretary would then issue a notice of investigation to parties not considered to be conforming to the established emission standards. If the party involved has not responded to the Secretary's request within 30 days, a public notice may then be made identifying the person and providing estimates of the severity of pollutants.

The bill also allows a State Governor to file notice of intent to establish State emission standards within 2 years. These standards and accompanying enforcement procedures must then be approved by the Federal Government. If a State does not act, the Federal Government may establish standards for that State.

My third bill, H.R. 6830, would amend the Clean Air Act to repeal the existing limit on grant funds which may be expended by any one State. At the present time it is 12½ percent. I believe that priority should instead be given to areas with an urgent and pressing need for funds to control air pollution.

I hope that the Congress will enact air pollution legislation this year. We cannot afford to leave our children a legacy of poisonous gases and noxious chemicals in the atmosphere.

The Wetlands Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has concluded its third day of public hearings on H.R. 25—DINGELL of Michigan, H.R. 1397—TENZER of New York, H.R. 4505—MORTON of Maryland, H.R. 4709—KEITH of Massachusetts, and related bills.

The hearings revealed that the Dingell-Tenzer bills are receiving widespread support from conservation and citizens groups from all over the Nation.

The proposed legislation seeks to authorize the Secretary of the Interior in cooperation with the States and local subdivisions to preserve, protect, develop, restore, and make accessible estuarine areas of the Nation which are valuable for sport and commercial fishing, wildlife conservation, recreation and scenic beauty, and for other purposes.

On Tuesday, March 7, I called to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the New York Times of Monday, March 6, 1967—see page 5752, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 7.

Today, I am pleased to add endorsements of the legislation and an editorial which appeared in the Newsday issue of Wednesday, March 8, 1967:

THE WETLANDS BILL

A subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has been holding hearings on a proposed bill to manage and preserve estuaries and coastal wetlands. This bill is jointly sponsored by the subcommittee chairman, Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), and Rep. Herbert Tenzer (D-Lawrence). It would authorize a $4,500,000 study by the Department of the Interior to designate national estuary areas and to enter into agreements with state and local officials to protect them. An Interior Department veto power over dredging permits would also be included.

The need for protection is manifest. In 1954 Long Island had 34,720 acres of wetlands, not counting parcels under 40 acres. The count in 1966 was 26,503 acres. Much of the missing land was filled in for housing or industry. The loss was incalculable. For the wetlands represent some of the finest scenery on Long Island, as well as breeding grounds for waterfowl and shell fish.

We must protect the wetlands. The bill should be approved by Congress and signed into law.

On March 9, 1967, my colleague, the Honorable JOHN WYDLER, of New York, testified before the subcommittee and gave his endorsement to the legislation.

Among the organizations which appeared and testified in favor of the Dingell-Tenzer and related bills were some of the Nation's leading conservation organizations and other citizens' groups.

A partial list of witnesses and organizations who endorsed the legislation at the hearings follows:

County Executive of Nassau County, N.Y.; Presiding Supervisor, Town of Hempstead, N.Y.; National Audubon Society; Committee of 100 on the Federal City; Hempstead Town Lands Resources Council; Izaak Walton League of America, Inc.; League of Women Voters of the United States; Sierra Club; Wildlife Management Institute; and the Wilderness Society.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues in the House to support this important legislation to protect our valuable wetlands and estuarine areas.

Early Appropriations for Federal Educational Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 271 to provide for early appropriations for Federal educational programs. The text of the resolution is as follows:

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress recognizes that late appropriations of funds for Federal educational programs create a severe and growing burden upon State and local school systems and institutions of higher learning and inhibit adequate planning for the wise and effective use of such funds; that in order to overcome these difficulties educational officials must have notice of the availability of Federal funds well in advance of the beginning of a new school or college year; and that the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate are hereby instructed to report to their respective bodies a bill or bills, appropriating funds for educational assistance programs, not later than May 1 of the year preceding the beginning of the fiscal year for which such funds are authorized to be appropriated.

I know from the school administrators in my district and the State of California that there has been a great deal of confusion and frustration over the Federal educational aid program. School districts depending on a certain amount of Federal funds must arrest their budget and planning process in order to wait and see how much money the Congress appropriates for education. I believe that we in the Congress could eliminate a great deal of uncertainty by making an early appropriation of funds for educational programs. This will give local and State educational administrators the opportunity to effectively plan a budget for a coming school year.

Service Time of Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place at this point in the RECORD a compilation of Representatives and Senators who have served longest in Congress throughout the entire history of our Nation.

Included in this list of exactly 100 individuals are such distinguished current Members of the House of Representatives as the Speaker; the chairmen of the Committee on Agriculture, Appropriations, Banking and Currency, Judiciary, and Rules; the former minority floor leader, the present minority whip, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KIRWAN].

These data, which should be of great interest to students of history and political science, were compiled by a member of my congressional staff, Svend Petersen.

The compilation follows:

Member	State	Branch	Years	Length of service
Carl Trumbull Hayden	Arizona	House Senate	1912-27 1927-	55 years ½ month.
Carl Vinson	Georgia	House	1914-65	50 years 2 months.
Sam Taliaferro Rayburn	Texas	do	1913-61	48 years 8 months.
Joseph Gurney Cannon	Illinois	do	1873-91, 1893-1913, 1915-23	46 years.
Adolph Joseph Sabath	do	do	1907-52	45 years 8 months.
Emanuel Celler	New York	do	1923-	44 years.
Justin Smith Morrill	Vermont	do Senate	1855-67 1867-98	43 years 10 months.
Lister Hill	Alabama	House Senate	1923-38 1938-	43 years 6¼ months.
William Boyd Allison	Iowa	House Senate	1863-71 1873-1908	43 years 5 months.
Carter Glass	Virginia	House Senate	1902-18 1920-46	42 years 5 months.

Member	State	Branch	Years	Length of service
Robert Lee Daughton	North Carolina	House	1911-53	41 years 10 months, 11 leap years.
Joseph William Martin	Massachusetts	do	1925-67	41 years 10 months, 10 leap years.
Clarence Cannon	Missouri	do	1923-64	41 years 2 months 8 days.
Kenneth Douglas McKellar	Tennessee	do	1911-17	41 years 1 month 25 days.
		Senate	1917-53	
William Pierce Frye	Maine	House	1871-81	40 years 5 months.
		Senate	1881-1911	
Eugene Hale	do	House	1869-79	40 years.
		Senate	1881-1911	
Daniel Alden Reed	New York	House	1919-59	39 years 11½ months.
George William Norris	Nebraska	do	1903-13	39 years 10 months, 10 leap years.
		Senate	1913-43	
John Taber	New York	House	1923-63	Do.
Samuel Smith	Maryland	do	1793-1803	39 years 1 month.
		Senate	1803-15	
		House	1816-22	
		Senate	1822-33	
Morris Sheppard	Texas	House	1902-13	38 years 5 months.
		Senate	1913-41	
John William McCormack	Massachusetts	House	1928-	38 years 4 months.
John Sherman	Ohio	do	1855-61	38 years 4 days.
		Senate	1861-77, 1881-97	
Wright Patman	Texas	House	1929-	38 years exactly, 9 leap years.
Frederick Huntington Gillett	Massachusetts	do	1893-1925	38 years exactly, 8 leap years.
		Senate	1925-31	
Robert Crosser	Ohio	House	1913-19, 1923-55	37 years 10 months.
Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	do	1791-1815	37 years 8 months 10 days.
		Senate	1815-28	
Henry Cabot Lodge	Massachusetts	House	1887-93	37 years 8 months 5 days.
		Senate	1893-1924	
Alben William Barkley	Kentucky	House	1913-27	37 years 2½ months.
		Senate	1927-49, 1955-56	
Francis Emroy Warren	Wyoming	do	1890-93, 1895-1929	37 years.
Henry Laurens Dawes	Massachusetts	House	1857-75	36 years exactly, continuous, 9 leap years.
		Senate	1875-93	
Shelby Moore Cullom	Illinois	House	1865-71	36 years exactly, broken, 8 leap years.
		Senate	1883-1913	
Henry Allen Cooper	Wisconsin	House	1893-1919, 1921-31	35 years 11 months 25 days.
Thomas Terry Connally	Texas	do	1917-29	35 years 10 months, 9 leap years.
		Senate	1929-53	
Howard Worth Smith	Virginia	House	1931-67	35 years 10 months, 9 leap years.
Ellison DuRant Smith	South Carolina	Senate	1909-44	35 years 8 months.
George Frisbie Hoar	Massachusetts	House	1869-77	35 years 7 months.
		Senate	1877-1904	
Claude Augustus Swanson	Virginia	House	1893-1906	35 years 6 months.
		Senate	1910-33	
Edith Nourse Rogers	Massachusetts	House	1925-60	35 years 2½ months.
William Rufus de Vane King	North Carolina	do	1811-16	34 years 6 months.
	Alabama	Senate	1819-44, 1848-52	
Matthew Mansfield Neely	West Virginia	House	1913-21	34 years 3½ months.
		Senate	1923-29, 1931-41	
		House	1945-47	
		Senate	1949-58	
Joseph Taylor Robinson	Arkansas	House	1903-13	34 years 3 months.
		Senate	1913-37	
Knute Nelson	Minnesota	House	1883-89	34 years 1 month 24 days.
		Senate	1895-1923	
Richard Brevard Russell	Georgia	do	1933-	34 years 1 month 20 days.
Walter Franklin George	do	do	1922-57	34 years 1 month.
Brazilla Carroll Reece	Tennessee	House	1921-31, 1933-47, 1951-61	34 years ½ month.
William Meyers Colmer	Mississippi	do	1933-	34 years exactly, continuous, 8 leap years.
Gilbert Nelson Haugen	Iowa	do	1899-1933	Do.
Charles Curtis	Kansas	do	1893-1907	34 years exactly, broken, 8 leap years.
		Senate	1907-13, 1915-29	
Thomas Albert Jenkins	Ohio	House	1925-59	33 years 10 months, exactly, continuous.
Hatton William Sumners	Texas	do	1913-47	Do.
Roy Orchard Woodruff	Michigan	do	1913-15, 1921-53	33 years 10 months, exactly, broken.
A. Willis Robertson	Virginia	do	1933-46	33 years 9 months 26 days.
		Senate	1946-66	
Wesley Livsey Jones	Washington	House	1899-1909	33 years 8½ months.
		Senate	1909-32	
John Henry Ketcham	New York	House	1865-73, 1877-93, 1897-1906	33 years 8 months.
Edward William Pou	North Carolina	do	1901-34	33 years 1 month.
Henry Harrison Bingham	Pennsylvania	do	1879-1912	33 years ½ month.
William Edgar Borah	Idaho	Senate	1907-40	32 years 10½ months.
John Hollis Bankhead	Alabama	House	1887-1907	32 years 8⅓ months.
		Senate	1907-20	
Harry Flood Byrd	Virginia	do	1933-65	32 years 8 months.
Edward Thomas Taylor	Colorado	House	1909-41	32 years 6 months.
Harold Dunbar Cooley	North Carolina	do	1934-67	32 years 5 months 27 days.
Leslie Cornelius Arends	Illinois	do	1935-	32 years 2 months exactly.
George Herman Mahon	Texas	do	1935-	Do.
Charles Abraham Halleck	Indiana	do	1935-	32 years 1 month.
Everett McKinley Dirksen	Illinois	do	1933-49	32 years exactly, broken, 8 leap years.
		Senate	1951-	
Furnifold McLendell Simmons	North Carolina	House	1887-89	Do.
		Senate	1901-31	
Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich	Rhode Island	House	1879-81	32 years exactly, continuous, 7 leap years.
		Senate	1881-1911	
Julius Caesar Burrows	Michigan	House	1873-75, 1879-83, 1885-95	32 years exactly, broken, 6 leap years.
		Senate	1895-1911	
Harold Knutson	Minnesota	House	1917-49	31 years 10 months, exactly, continuous, 8 leap years.
Clarence Frederick Lea	California	do	1917-49	Do.
John Elliott Rankin	Mississippi	do	1921-53	Do.
Allen Towner Treadway	Massachusetts	do	1913-45	Do.
Wallace Humphrey White	Maine	do	1917-31	Do.
		Senate	1931-49	
Schuyler Otis Bland	Virginia	House	1918-50	31 years 7 months.
Thomas Hart Benton	Missouri	Senate	1821-51	31 years 6½ months.
		House	1853-55	
Joseph Eugene Ransdell	Louisiana	do	1899-1913	31 years 6 months.
		Senate	1913-31	
Jacob Harold Gallinger	New Hampshire	House	1885-89	31 years 5 months.
		Senate	1891-1918	
Oscar Wilder Underwood	Alabama	House	1895-96, 1897-1915	31 years 3 months 5 days.
		Senate	1915-27	

Member	State	Branch	Years	Length of service
Thomas Stalker Butler	Pennsylvania	House	1897-1928	31 years 2 months 22 days.
August Herman Andresen	Minnesota	do	1925-33, 1935-58	31 years ½ month.
Thomas Newton	Virginia	do	1801-30, 1831-33	31 years.
Theodore Elijah Burton	Ohio	do	1889-91, 1895-1909	30 years 8 months.
		Senate	1909-15	
		House	1921-28	
		Senate	1928-29	
Joseph Jefferson Mansfield	Texas	House	1917-47	30 years 4 months.
Byron Patton Harrison	Mississippi	do	1911-19	30 years 3 months 18 days.
		Senate	1919-41	
John Tyler Morgan	Alabama	do	1877-1907	30 years 3 months.
Francis Eugene Walter	Pennsylvania	House	1933-1963	30 years 2 months 27 days.
Allen Joseph Ellender	Louisiana	Senate	1937-	30 years 2 months exactly.
Michael Joseph Kirwan	Ohio	House	1937-	Do.
Warren Grant Magnuson	Washington	do	1937-44	Do.
		Senate	1944-	
William Robert Poage	Texas	House	1937-	Do.
John Jackson Sparkman	Alabama	do	1937-46	Do.
		Senate	1946-	
William Steele Holman	Indiana	House	1859-65, 1867-77, 1881-95, 1897.	30 years 1½ months.
Charles Anthony Buckley	New York	do	1935-65	30 years exactly, continuous, 8 leap years.
John Nance Garner	Texas	do	1903-33	Do.
Reed Smoot	Utah	Senate	1903-33	Do.
Earl Cory Michener	Michigan	House	1919-33, 1935-51	30 years exactly, broken, 8 leap years.
Francis Marion Cockrell	Missouri	Senate	1875-1905	30 years exactly, continuous, 7 leap years.
Eugene James Keogh	New York	House	1937-67	Do.
John Percival Jones	Nevada	Senate	1873-1903	30 years exactly, continuous, 6 leap years.

Carl T. Hayden, who is still serving, holds the records for both continuous and total service in Congress, as well as for both continuous and total service in the Senate.

Carl Vinson holds the records for both continuous and total service in the House.

William P. Frye and Eugene Hale, both of whom were from Maine, were Senate colleagues for all but the first 2 weeks of a period of 30 years, after having been House colleagues for exactly 8 years.

Data have been broken down into half months and days only sufficiently to avoid ties. The same applies to consideration of leap years.

Data for 16 contemporary Members are as of March 4, 1967.

Veterans Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, over the last several weeks we have been privileged to have with us national and local leaders of some of the very fine organizations devoted to veterans affairs.

Because Philadelphia continues to be a center for people devoted to this cause and because I myself am a member of several of these organizations, I have been privileged to discuss with leaders of veterans organizations a number of their problems and their hopes.

A few weeks ago President Johnson delivered a message to the Congress in which he stated in effect that this administration has found many areas of agreement with the legislative program of the veterans themselves. All of us agree, I think, that the time has come to recognize the contributions made to our Nation by our men fighting in Vietnam as by our veterans of other wars. Certain steps should be taken now.

I, therefore, am honored to offer five bills which would—

Enlarge opportunities for educationally disadvantaged veterans and expand allowances under the GI bill;

Increase the maximum amount of servicemen's group life insurance;

Increase pensions to disabled veterans and dependents; and

Assure that no reduction in pension benefits is made because of technicalities that might arise should we increase social security allowances as has been proposed.

I am sure many other Members of this House will also want to sponsor such legislation and lend their support to these worthwhile measures.

Truth in Lending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extension of credit.

This bill will require lenders to provide consumers with three basic facts:

First. An itemized statement of all finance charges.

Second. The total finance charge in dollars and cents.

Third. The total finance charge expressed as an annual percentage rate.

The bill would not regulate credit or set maximum interest ceilings. It would instead, provide for full disclosure of the cost of credit in order to give the consumer an intelligent choice and to prevent the uninformed use of credit from acting as a detriment to the economic stabilization of our national economy.

Our free enterprise system would be strengthened by allowing the consumer to make an intelligent choice between competitive lending rates. Competition in free marketplace would determine the rates of interest; the consumer and not the Government would be able to judge if the rate or terms of interest are reasonable or unreasonable. The object of this legislation is to avoid any unnecessary governmental interference in the free marketplace and therefore hope that the Congress takes favorable action soon.

Additional Accumulation of Leave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleague, Olin Teague, in introducing a bill to authorize additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas.

The purpose of this legislation, which I introduced yesterday, H.R. 6827, is to allow a member of the Armed Forces to accumulate more than 60 days of leave when he has served 120 or more days in a foreign area where there is hostile activity. The serviceman would be able to accumulate up to 90 days of leave. The legislation would be retroactive to June 30, 1965.

Under existing policy, military personnel may apply for two 7-day leaves while serving a 12-month tour of duty in Vietnam. Because of the existing leave policy applicable to Vietnam and the uncertainties involved, I believe that a serviceman should be allowed to accumulate additional leave of up to 30 days. Existing regulations limiting the accumulation of leave to 60 days is changed only for those serving at least 120 days in a foreign area where there is hostile activity and increases their leave to a maximum of 90 days for the fiscal year after their return from the foreign area.

The Armed Services Committee favorably reported this legislation last year and it was passed by the House. However, no Senate action was taken. I hope that the Senate and the House will take early action on the bill this year.

Legislation To Establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct and To Provide for the Disclosure of Outside Sources of Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce legislation today to establish a Select Committee of the House of Representatives on Standards and Conduct. The select committee will consist of 12 members to be appointed by the Speaker. Six members of the committee would be from the majority party and six from the minority party.

This committee would be authorized to recommend to the House additional rules or regulations deemed necessary to insure proper standards of conduct by House Members and House employees, in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities.

The select committee would also be authorized to report any violations of the rules or the law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

The select committee would also have the power to conduct an investigation of any violation by a Member, officer, or employee of the House, of standards of conduct established by the House.

After the investigation the select committee may recommend to the House appropriate resolutions of censure or other action.

The select committee would have subpena power and may sit and act at any place or at any time and not simply when the House is in session.

The bill also calls upon Members, officers, and employees of the House with an annual salary of $15,000 or more to make a full disclosure of all sources of income held by them or their wives. It would also require a full disclosure of any assets and liabilities of $5,000 or more and any financial or other interest in any firm dealing with a Federal agency. It requires a Member of Congress or House employee to make a full disclosure of any interest in any business whose right to operate is regulated by the Federal Government. Finally, this legislation would require Members of the House to file with the Clerk a written report identifying relatives who are employed by the House, the Federal Government, or who are engaged or employed for the purpose of attempting to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the time for the establishment of a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is long overdue. It is important for the House to establish general principles of conduct by which a Member's constituents and colleagues may measure his actions. I hope that the House will enact legislation such as this as soon as possible.

The 100th Anniversary of Office of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the U.S. Office of Education. At the time the Office was established—84 years after the signing of the Constitution and following the Civil War—the Nation was well committed to the principle that universal education was inseparable from universal freedom. Under the leadership of such educators as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, the friends of education all over the country were encouraged to urge the Congress for recognition and leadership at a Federal level.

On March 2, 1867, the act to establish a National Bureau of Education, was signed into law by President Andrew Johnson, and Henry Barnard was appointed to serve as the first Commissioner of Education. As prescribed by the bill, the first Commissioner assumed office at an annual salary of $4,000 with a staff of three clerks under the aegis of the Department of the Interior. Barnard's administration, which lasted only 3 years, nevertheless set a high level of purpose and performance for the new Office of Education for the 100 years that have followed.

While the word "education" itself is not to be found anywhere in the Constitution, there is no doubt that education was very much in the minds and hearts of the Founding Fathers and others who followed. Statesmen and educators agreed with Montesquieu that—

> It is in a republican government that the whole power of education is required.

But merely to agree was not enough. Representative James A. Garfield, later President of the United States, sponsor of the education bill, acknowledged the well-understood idea that—

> Our system of government is based upon the intelligence of the people.

He pointed to the high rate of illiteracy as shown in the 1860 census, including the American-born, and to the "one-third of a million immigrants who enter our country annually," most of whom were uneducated. The illiteracy problem "has been swelled by the 4 million slaves admitted to citizenship by the event of the Civil War," he said.

"We must pour upon them all the light of our public schools" or the alternative would be disastrous for the Nation. He urged the Congress, by passage of the bill, "to foster and strengthen those educational agencies which alone can shield the coming generations from ignorance and vice, and make it the impregnable bulwark of liberty and law."

Commissioner Barnard's first report to Congress the following year bore out many of these fears and misgivings. He found that the elementary schools in the North had suffered during the Civil War, while those in the South were demoralized. Many institutions of higher education had closed their doors or operated intermittently during the war. The new West needed help in shaping its school system.

As to his task of gathering information and statistics on education, he reported:

> No two states or cities . . . include the same particulars . . . or are so incomplete . . . or omit so many vital points in the conditions of the schools . . . as to render the report almost meaningless.

He added:

> Nearly one-half of the States have no efficient system of public schools in operation.

And—

> No sufficient number of good private or denominational schools exist.

Obviously there was much to be done.

While the new Office of Education had no power other than the authority to gather and disseminate information on education, the impetus of Federal interest and presence gave encouragement to those who sought better schools. This was especially true as it concerned use of the vast public lands that had been granted to the local authorities for the purpose of establishing and supporting education prior to the Civil War. These lands, which eventually comprised a total of some 175 million acres, were earmarked almost exclusively for education purposes, including the land-grant colleges established under the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. The Office of Education served as a reporting agency to the Congress on the development and usage of these lands to see that the aim of the donations was being carried out.

Another important step toward popular education was the Smith-Hughes Vocational Act of 1917 which brought vocational education into the secondary schools. The Office of Education was later to be given responsibility for administering the funds of this program.

Up until 1917, the Office of Education remained a small agency operating on a slender budget and continued to devote its energies and talents to its prescribed responsibilities. The entrance of the United States into World War I brought about irrevocable changes throughout all the Federal Government, and the Office for the first time became involved in matters concerning the whole national emergency. Most of its wartime activities concerned its role as the official contact between the Federal Government and the education community, representing the needs and requirements of one to the other. In the First World War, as in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, the giant problems of training and manpower for mobilization needs required the closest cooperation between the schools and the Federal Government.

In the great depression of the thirties, the Office became an integral part of a number of emergency measures of national urgency. It was called upon to participate in the educational program of the Civilian Conservation Corps—

CCC's, a college student aid section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration—FERA, the Works Progress Administration—WPA, and the National Youth Administration—NYA.

In 1939, the Office acquired a new parent agency, the Federal Security Agency—FSA—and was removed from the Department of Interior.

For all the farflung educational activities of the Federal Government, the major role of the Office continued to be one of planning, advising, and coordination of programs which involved the education community. At one point it was estimated that the Office controlled only about 1 percent of all Federal education activities. In 1953, the Federal Security Agency became the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

A second major milestone of change for the Office came about with the Federal decision in the 1950's to enter the so-called space race. Federal involvement led to the passage of the first billion-dollar education program, the National Defense Education Act—NDEA—of 1958. Although primarily under the guidance of the National Science Foundation, NDEA presaged the vast legislative programs of the 1960's that were to follow.

The measures of the 1960's, too current and well known to need elaboration here, include the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Higher Education Act of 1965. Last year, additional legislation included the International Education Act of 1966 and amendments to the 1965 programs. Since passage of the giant 1965 legislation, the Federal Government has underwritten the State programs in the amount of some $7.3 billion.

How can one sum up all that has happened in the 100 years since the Office of Education was established? That the goal of universal education has been brought close to achievement—from elementary school through college—would have delighted our early statesmen and educators. They would find education involvement, and sometimes leadership, crosses all levels of State, Federal, and local government. They would know that we, too, find common cause with Montesquieu that—

> It is in a republican government that the whole power of education is required.

Bilingual American Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I introduced legislation yesterday—H.R. 6828—to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual American education programs, and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs.

There are over 1,500,000 Mexican-Americans in California. Their medium income averages just below $4,000 per year. Mexican-Americans lag seriously behind the majority of Americans in education, jobs, and income. They have been displaced from their farming and laboring occupations of the past and are among the hardcore unemployed in many areas. They are not adequately prepared, through no fault of their own, to move into new employment occupations. Automation and technological change is having a particularly severe effect on our Mexican-Americans. Statistics show that over half of our Mexican-Americans have not gone beyond the eighth grade.

The most promising method of insuring the economic and social progress of the Mexican-American is adequate education. With education comes the hope of new and better opportunities for self-improvement. I offer this legislation in the hope that it will hasten the day when all Americans have an equal opportunity to help themselves.

The declaration of policy of this bill is as follows:

> In recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of students in the United States whose mother tongue is Spanish and to whom English is a foreign tongue, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet those educational needs.

I hope that the Congress enacts this important piece of legislation as soon as possible.

Georgia Jaycees—Outstanding Federal Affairs Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAMSON S. STUCKEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate the Jaycees of my State of Georgia on the Federal Affairs Seminar which they held in our Nation's Capital during the weekend of February 25, 1967.

A program such as the one in which our Jaycees participated is one of the best methods of familiarizing our local leaders in business and government with the workings of our National Government.

I have noted with pride that it was the Jaycees of my great State of Georgia who were the first to recognize the importance of the Federal Affairs Seminar in Washington, and now, more and more Jaycee organizations in other States have begun having the same type program in Washington on an annual basis.

I am a Jaycee myself, and I believe that we are an active group. The Jaycees are becoming recognized as the leaders of our communities.

The Jaycees' approach to community problems is action oriented and that is why they have been labeled Young Men of Action.

More and more young men are taking over leadership positions in our States and our communities. And, more and more young men are coming to Congress. It is becoming increasingly important that the people back home are fully aware of the activities which are conducted in Congress. It is becoming increasingly obvious that leadership in the community and the State must be revitalized.

It is the Jaycees who are best prepared to be these leaders, and I congratulate them on the method by which they are seeking to better understand and become familiar with the goings on in Washington.

I would also like to take this opportunity to give recognition to my distinguished colleague, the Honorable JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., whose coordination of the activities for the Federal seminar was outstanding and a major contributor to the success of the program.

The 150th Anniversary of the Hartford Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the House to the occasion marked with distinction last weekend by one of the most dynamic and progressive newspapers in New England, the Hartford Times.

The Times published, to celebrate its 150th birthday, an edition of 172 pages, with more than 360 pictures and 160 stories. Its theme was "A Region on the Move," and it is characteristic of the Times that it devoted six special supplements to the strength, economy, resources, heritage, culture, and future of the region it serves.

This is the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the Times, first published in 1817. It has been an active, bustling newspaper, exerting leadership, bringing the people of Connecticut the facts they have needed to make informed decisions. In the anniversary edition, the current publisher, Kenneth Burke, noted that the newspaper has served this community as a constructive force. Mr. Burke declared:

> It is our continuing commitment to apply a progressive point of view to the future.

Mr. Burke said:

> In knitting together our geographic area with the common interests of each day's news, and in the development of the region's commerce and prosperity, we take great satisfaction.
>
> We thank readers and advertisers who have had confidence in our pages. Anniversary recollections emphasize this newspaper's initiative in the realization of civic ideals

and goals remarkable in their number and importance.

From Washington, President Johnson noted this significant anniversary, and told the community:

Since 1817, the Hartford Times has chronicled the progress of a hard-working and successful people. It has perpetuated the ideals that inspired their greatness, and recorded the achievements that promise future progress equal to the past.

Eloquent in the pursuit of responsible reform, and unswerving in the search for truth, the Times has been a credit to its readers, its staff and our nation.

As I salute its fine record, I am confident that it will sustain its policy of prompt and reliable news coverage.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

I believe all Members of the House should have an opportunity to read and consider the credo which the Times itself published as its anniversary editorial, under the motto: "To Agitate Affairs," and I offer it with this statement:

TO AGITATE AFFAIRS: 150TH ANNIVERSARY

"It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed . . . that they meet . . . to elect and choose certain deputies . . . to agitate the affairs of the Commonwealth"—Connecticut Fundamental Orders, 1638.

For 150 years The Hartford Times has endured the sun and weathered the storms of publication.

It has been an exciting voyage and we look ahead to round the buoy of the next century and a half as trim as now we sail.

Today, in this Anniversary Edition, The Times takes pride in the account of its span of public service, not only that it has hewed to the grain and character of precedent but that it is kindling lively new traditions in which it will continue. Here is a link between the fading shout and tumult of the past and the distant trumpet of all that is to come.

Our pages rustle with each day's responsibilities: To inform, to clarify; to advertise; to search for truth and exalt kindness, to champion justice and liberty and in so doing to speak for America; to raise questions and discuss issues lucidly, reasonably and thoughtfully; to criticize the wayward idea, to expose corruption, to encourage civic betterment and to inspire progress.

The Hartford Times has a special sense of mission and advocacy in our state.

This newspaper was born in shattering controversy that reformed the Standing Order of a privileged society; that disestablished a state church; that extended voting rights; that established in Connecticut a viable constitution to replace the tutelage adopted from the old royal charter by which this state had been governed even through the Revolution.

We were radical, one of the first publications in the nation to call for a political and social reorganization.

Ever since, The Hartford Times has agreed with Lowell:

"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth."

Over the years our readers have looked to us for initiative.

On this newspaper's 100th anniversary it was stated, "The Times should not emphasize the number of its years but for the conviction, shared we hope by our readers, that the years have been fruitful of achievement in the interest of the community it serves.

"To survive and prosper, a newspaper must identify itself with movements and with men commanding the confidence of the community. There must be policies and purposes appealing to the highest class of citizenship."

We have never confused confidence with conventionalism, the highest class of citizenship with the interests of the few, or the democratic process with the mere tyranny of the herd.

Now we stand at today, looking ahead.

We see a state of greater population with changing community proportions.

In contrast to the past, the thrust of our immediate problems seems likely to be more practical than philosophical.

Despite lingering lacks, faults and prejudices we have agreed, as the accomplishment of our own era, to live together considerately.

The barrage has lifted. We are slowly moving on and leaving the age of contest for the recognition of rights in which the locks and fetters on human dignity and opportunity are struck off.

We face now a new task—to organize and apply the widening blessings of liberty, civic maturity and social justice that have been granted us through a new birth of enlightenment.

The nature of our commitment to action changes, but as at the time of our founding the demand for leadership is insistent.

There will be a resettling of ideas and outlook in the years to come and The Hartford Times expects to stand and be counted in the midst of it—wisely, we hope, and forcefully always.

Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior To Reinstate Certain Oil and Gas Leases.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I introduced legislation yesterday which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reinstate certain oil and gas leases. The text of the bill, H.R. 6893, is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to receive, consider, and act upon any petition of the assignee of the terminated United States oil and gas leases (BLMA–046840 and BLMA–046842, West Virginia) for reinstatement of said leases if filed within one hundred and eighty days after the effective date of this Act, together with any rental accruing, if not theretofore already paid, from the date of termination of such leases. The Secretary may reinstate such leases under the provisions of section 31(c) of the Mineral Leasing act of 1920, as amended (30 U.S.C. 188).

The bill, if enacted, would permit the Secretary to reinstate two oil and gas leases. These leases, formerly held by Holly Corp., terminated automatically for nonpayment of the correct rental. This fact was not discovered until after Holly had assigned the leases to Columbian Fuel Corp.

The passage of this bill would clear the uncertainty of the legal status of the lease and allow the Columbian Fuel Corp. to conduct exploratory work on the land.

SENATE

FRIDAY, MARCH 10, 1967

The Senate met in executive session at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Heavenly Father, breathe into our souls the love of whatsoever is true, and beautiful, and good.

Help us to remember that we are Thy children and belong to Thee, who hast set a restlessness in our hearts, and made us all seekers after that which we can never fully find; forbid us to be satisfied with what we make of life.

Draw us from base content, and set our eyes on far-off goals. Keep us at tasks too hard for us, that we may be driven to Thee for strength.

Deliver us from fretfulness and self-pity; make us sure of the goal we cannot see, and of the hidden good in the world.

Open our eyes to simple beauty all around us, and our hearts to the loveliness men hide from us because we do not try enough to understand them.

Save us from ourselves, and show us a vision of a world made new. Set our feet on lofty places, gird our lives that they may be armored with all Christlike graces in the fight to set men free; grant us wisdom, grant us courage that we fail not man nor Thee. We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BREWSTER, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 9, 1967, was dispensed with.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AS IN LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, as in legislative session, and that each Senator's statement therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States, submitting a nomination, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the

President of the United States submitting the nomination of George M. Stafford, of Kansas, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report of National Aeronautics and Space Administration

A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., reporting, according to law, for the calendar year 1966; to the Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences.

Establishment of Minimum Price-Support Level for Peanuts

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, establishing the minimum price-support level for peanuts (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Report on Final Settlement of Claims of Certain Indians

A letter from the Chief Commissioner, Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, that proceedings have been finally concluded with respect to the claims of the Spokane Tribe of Indians, suing on its own behalf and on behalf of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Bands of the Spokane Indians or the Upper Spokane, Middle Spokane, or Lower Spokane Band of Indians, against the United States of America, docket No. 331 and docket No. 331–A (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

Authorization of Certain Construction at Military Installations

A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report on Actual Procurement Receipts for Medical Stockpile of Civil Defense Emergency Supplies and Equipment Purposes

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, reporting, pursuant to law, on the actual procurement receipts for medical stockpile of civil defense emergency supplies and equipment purposes, for the quarterly period ended December 31, 1966; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report on Project Proposed for Naval and Marine Corps Reserves

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law, on the proposed construction of the Naval Reserve Training Center Mooring Platforms, South Portland, Maine; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Statistical Supplement, Stockpile Report

A letter from the Director, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, a statistical supplement, Stockpile Report, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Proposed Legislation Relating to District of Columbia

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia so as to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to close all or part of a street, road, highway, or alley in accordance with the requirements of an approved redevelopment or urban renewal plan, without regard to the notice provisions of such act, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to require that contracts for construction, alteration, or repair of any public building or public work of the District of Columbia be accompanied by a performance bond protecting the District of Columbia and by an additional bond for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The District of Columbia Delegate Act

A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish, in the Houes of Representatives, the office of Delegate from the District of Columbia, to amend the District of Columbia Election Act, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Acquisition of Certain Property in the District of Columbia as a Headquarters Site for the Organization of American States

A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the acquisition, transfer, conveyance, lease, and improvement of, and construction on, certain property in the District of Columbia for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States, as sites for governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Reports of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on potential savings obtainable through increased use of the Government's interagency motor pool system, Department of Defense, dated March, 1967 (with an accompanying report; to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on survey of extent of audits of food donation programs administered by nonprofit voluntary relief agencies, Agency for International Development, Department of Agriculture, Department of State, dated March, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Amendment of Bankruptcy Act and Civil Service Retirement Law Relating to Tenure and Retirement Benefits of Referees in Bankruptcy

A letter from the Deputy Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankrupcty (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

A letter from the Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Proposed Amendment to Senate Bill 611

A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of a proposed amendment to Senate bill 611, to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Finance:

"Resolutions Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Take Such Action as May Be Necessary To Limit the Quantity of Cotton-Rayon Textile Imports and To Increase the Tariffs Thereon

"*Whereas*, In recent years there has been a tremendous increase in the quantity of cotton-rayon textile imports, which, if allowed to continue, will result in the unemployment of thousands of skilled workers; and

"*Whereas*, This resulting unemployment will seriously affect the economy of the commonwealth; and

"*Whereas*, The continued existence of the textile industry, with its thousands of skilled workers, will be of vital importance in maintaining the position of the United States in the world market during the years ahead; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to take such action as may be necessary to limit the quantity of cotton-rayon textile imports and to increase the tariffs thereon; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Commerce, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

"House of Representatives, adopted, February 27, 1967.

"[SEAL] William C. Maiers,
"Clerk."

A resolution of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"Resolutions Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Enact Legislation Striking Section 14(b) From the Taft-Hartley Law

"*Whereas,* In order to end the competitive disadvantages of Massachusetts industry with right to work status; therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That the Massachusetts Senate hereby urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation striking section 14(b) from the Taft-Hartley law; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, and to each member thereof from this Commonwealth.

"Senate, adopted, February 20, 1967.

"[Seal] Norman L. Pidgeon,
"Clerk."

A resolution of the Senate of the State of Montana; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"A Resolution of the Senate of the State of Montana

"Urging amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89–10) to reduce the administrative compliance costs involved in administering the act at State and local levels

"Whereas, the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 (PL 89–10) has as its purpose the improvement of education in elementary and secondary schools; and

"Whereas, it was designed primarily for schools in urban areas; and

"Whereas, in the course of administering the provisions of this Act in Montana, local school districts incur large and needless administrative compliance expenses which partially defeat the purpose of the Act; and

"Whereas, the administration of the Act requires a great deal of time and effort on the state level by the Department of Public Instruction; and

"Whereas, the net effect of the Act is to create confusion and needless red tape: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate of the State of Montana,* That the above named individuals reconsider the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 with a view toward finding ways to reduce the administrative compliance costs while preserving the objectives of the Act; be it further

"*Resolved,* That the secretary of the senate is directed to send copies of this resolution to the individuals to whom the resolution is addressed."

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 15

"A concurrent resolution, memorializing the Congress of the United States to pass H.R. 2901, designating the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe

"*Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein:*

"Whereas, the history of the area around the Oahe Reservoir is replete with the culture of the Indian tribes once living in that vicinity; and

"Whereas, the Sioux Indian word Oahe means "a foundation" and depicts the present and potential source of the lake for irrigation systems, navigation routes, municipal water supplies, power development, fish and wildlife development and recreation; and

"Whereas, the designation of the Oahe Reservoir as Lake Oahe would serve as a fitting honor to the Indian people who once inhabited the great Missouri River Basin and contributed such an important part to its early history:

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the Senate of the Forty-Second Legislature of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that the Congress of the United States be respectfully urged and requested to adopt H.R. 2901, designating the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe;

"Be it further resolved that the Secretary of the Senate of the State of South Dakota transmit copies of this resolution to the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress, to United States Senators Karl Mundt and George McGovern and to United States Congressmen E. Y. Berry and Ben Reifel.

"Adopted by the Senate March 1, 1967.

"Concurred in by the House of Representatives March 2, 1967."

The petition of C. A. Ramming, of Lahoma, Okla., relating to communism; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. METCALF, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

S. 1177. A bill to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation in Montana (Rept. No. 66).

By Mr. ALLOTT, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1191. A bill to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation in Colorado (Rept. No. 65).

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DODD (for himself, Mr. Clark, Mr. Fong, Mr. Hart, Mr. Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Mr. Tydings):

S. 1248. A bill to provide Federal assistance to courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to increase their capability to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to assist research efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Dodd when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McCLELLAN (for himself and Mr. Ervin):

S. 1249. A bill to amend the National Housing Act to further protect the interests of the United States in the insurance of certain mortgages; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. McClellan when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McCLELLAN (for himself, Mr. Ervin, Mr. Muskie, Mr. Mundt, and Mr. Curtis):

S. 1250. A bill to amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 so as to strengthen the reporting and disclosure provisions thereof relating to labor relations consultants and certain other intermediaries between management and labor; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. McClellan when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JORDAN of Idaho (for himself and Mr. Church):

S. 1251. A bill to make certain reclamation project expenses nonreimbursable; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Jordan of Idaho when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JORDAN of Idaho:

S. 1252. A bill to suspend for 1 year an amendment to Public Law 874, 81st Congress, relating to the deduction of Federal contributions; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Jordan of Idaho when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CURTIS (for himself, Mr. Hruska, and Mr. Thurmond):

S. J. Res. 51. Joint resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution of the United States relative to the balancing of the budget; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Curtis when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1967

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, and Senators Clark, Fong, Hart, Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Tydings, I am privileged to introduce today the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967, a bill recommended to us by the President.

This is a measure urgently requested by President Johnson in his message to Congress on children and youth.

It is a measure highly recommended by the leading experts on crime throughout the country.

But more compellingly, it is a measure desperately needed by 4 million children in this Nation whose young lives are on the brink of disaster because of the crime, violence, and corruption that surround and engulf their everyday lives.

A quote from Elizabeth Barrett Browning appropriately describes the appalling situation in our country:

> But the young, young children, O my brothers,
> They are weeping bitterly!
> They are weeping in the playtime of others,
> In the country of the free.

Thousands of these 4 million are children who will be lost before the help we propose can reach them.

Thousands more will add to this Nation's growing army of criminals.

Many thousands more will sink deeper and deeper into the vicious cycle of disorganization, disorder, and degradation that is the breeding ground for even more criminals and delinquents in future generations.

And many of those who do somehow survive this degradation and avoid the law, will survive only to fill our mental institutions and our drug addict and alcoholic wards in the 1970's and 1980's.

Among this number are children who literally run amuck in the slums and back alleys of our large cities for lack of human companionship and compassion.

Among this number are children whose vicious crimes represent desperate calls for help to a society which until recently has been too deaf or too unconcerned to hear them.

Among this number are children who have gone to correctional institutions to be rehabilitated, but who have come out more learned only in the more sophisticated techniques of crime and violence.

And, among this number are disturbed children still in our high schools who will soon "drop out" to a life ripe for the criminal underworld because they have been neglected and disregarded and misunderstood.

Many, many of these 4 million children will be lost because our society, which has used its massive resources to build a technological complex unsurpassed the world over, has too often neglected their young lives and left them to a hopeless, dark age struggle for survival.

These children need help.

They cannot wait much longer.

The measure I have introduced today will give overdue, agonizingly overdue, Federal support to help improve State and local juvenile courts, juvenile treatment institutions and other juvenile correctional services throughout the Nation.

This measure will help local communities undertake diagnostic and treatment programs for delinquents and for those in danger of becoming delinquent.

Perhaps more importantly this measure will help our social scientists find new answers to the causes of juvenile delinquency and to find new, as yet undeveloped methods for the control and prevention of youth crime.

Mr. President, we are just now beginning to recognize the defects and gaping holes in our crime and delinquency control systems throughout this country.

We know that we will not budge the crime problem an inch without making gigantic new efforts as compared to our halting attempts of the past.

And, we know that the Federal Government will have to assist the States and local communities if we are to upgrade the backward anticrime procedures with which we presently handle our delinquents and potential delinquents.

We must soon face the cold fact, reflected in every crime report turned out by national commissions of great stature, that our administration of justice, our prevention of delinquency and our correctional work with criminals have been little more than a charade.

The procedures we use have been games of chance and circumstance.

The justice we seek for criminals and delinquents has been a matter of luck rather than certainty.

The alleged treatment measures we have applied to rehabilitate them have been, in the main, a mish mash with highly unpredictable results.

Finally, and tragically, the "correction" we purport to give in too many of our institutions continues to be a euphemism for the caging of human beings under lock and key like so many animals in a zoo.

Mr. President, we have been victims of our own ignorance and self-deception in our crime control efforts.

We have packed disturbed children into reformatories like sardines in a can and hoped and believed that a band of angels and saints will emerge a year or two later.

And, in fact, angels and saints have emerged.

But they are the "Hell's Angels" on motorcycles and "Saints" in leather jackets that terrorize motorists on our highways and citizens in our asphalt jungles, with switchblade knives, with guns and with brass knuckles.

I think it is time to stop all this.

The bill I introduced today and the other anticrime legislation proposed by the administration will help us do it.

This bill calls for only a modest expenditure of money, $25 million the first year.

But it will save many young lives from disorganization and disruption.

This bill is not just another measure that will increase Federal expenditures.

It is a well designed outgrowth and refinement of the first Delinquency Act I introduced in 1961, a program which has already shown great promise that this approach can relieve the serious gaps and defects in our Nation's fight against juvenile delinquency.

Senator CLARK guided that first proposal and several extensions through the Senate and his subcommittee has had extensive testimony that proves the effectiveness of the new concepts in delinquency control which it established.

I state without reservation that these expenditures will be a wise and a profitable investment in the emotional health of our youth and in the continuing growth and stability of our Nation.

I am pleased to have Senator CLARK as a cosponsor. I know he will do his usual fine and thorough job when his subcommittee considers this bill.

I ask unanimous consent that for the information of my colleagues a brief summary of its provisions and the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, this bill is a necessary part of President Johnson's comprehensive war against crime and social disorganization in the Nation.

We can win this war, but we must have cannons instead of slingshots to be successful.

The proposed Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967 can help us achieve this victory.

I hope it will receive prompt and favorable consideration by both Houses of Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HART in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and summary will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1248) to provide Federal assistance to courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to increase their capability to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to assist research efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DODD (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welware, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1248

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as "The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967."

FINDINGS AND OBJECTIVES

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress is concerned with the alarming number of delinquent acts youths perform, with the failure of institutions and agencies we have developed to help youths after they perform delinquent acts, and with the fractional and uncoordinated nature of preventive, correctional, and rehabilitative programs now available.

(b) The Congress finds that many youths, regardless of economic or social background, have special needs which may lead to delinquency unless an attempt is made to reach them; that the best point at which to prevent delinquency is often before a youth is found to be delinquent; that many of the needs are best met as part of the normal environment of growing children and youths, or are only met if the normal institutions and agencies are properly related to one another; and that, to meet these needs, law enforcement agencies, the courts, and correctional institutions must join with other agencies and institutions in our society.

(c) The Congress believes that the Nation's youths should be given meaningful opportunities to be involved in the efforts designed to assist them.

(d) It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to promote the provision of services and develop the knowledge that will prevent and treat delinquency among young people; and it is the purpose of this Act to stimulate youth-serving agencies and institutions in our society to coordinate their existing efforts in this respect and to support the search for knowledge about delinquency in order to develop methods for and the capability of dealing with and preventing it.

TITLE I—PLANNING AND PREVENTIVE AND REHABILITATIVE SERVICES

PART A—STATE AND LOCAL PLANNING AND STATE ASSISTANCE TO LOCALITIES

STATE AND LOCAL PLANNING

SEC. 101. (a) In order to encourage States and localities to prepare and adopt comprehensive plans covering their respective jurisdictions, based on a thorough evaluation of problems of juvenile delinquency and youth in danger of becoming delinquent in the State, the Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State or local public agency to assist in preparing or revising such a plan. No such grant may exceed 90 per centum of the cost of the planning with respect to which such grant is made.

(b) The Secretary may impose as a condition to any grants under this title within any State or locality that such planning be undertaken and that, where he deems it appropriate, a comprehensive plan or plans be prepared within a reasonable period.

STATE ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL UNITS

SEC. 102. The Secretary is also authorized to make grants to any State agency which is able and willing to provide technical assistance to local agencies engaged in or preparing to engage in activities for which aid may be provided under this Act or agencies, institutions, or organizations providing services necessary for diagnostic, treatment, or rehabilitation services for delinquent youth, or youth in danger of becoming delinquent. No such grant may exceed 90 per centum of the cost of the activities (of the State agency) with respect to which such grant is made.

GRANTS FOR PLANNING PROJECTS OR PROGRAMS

SEC. 103. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, county, municipal, or other local public or nonprofit private agency or organization to assist it in meeting the cost of planning any project or program for which a grant may be made under the other provisions of this Act. No such grant may exceed 90 per centum of the cost of the planning with respect to which such grant is made.

CONSULTATION WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL

Sec. 104. The Secretary shall consult with the Attorney General on matters of policy and general administration arising in the carrying out of this part.

PART B—REHABILITATIVE SERVICES STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Sec. 120. The purpose of this part is to assist law enforcement agencies, courts, and other correctional institutions to make full use, for the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent youths committed to their control or supervision, of community resources and services generally available; and to encourage new designs and new methods of operating full or part-time community based residential facilities for youths requiring residential care, diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation.

AUTHORIZATION OF GRANTS

Sec. 121. The Secretary is authorized, with the concurrence of the Attorney General, to make grants to any public agency for projects or programs for diagnosing, treating, and rehabilitating youths who have been determined to be delinquent by courts, police departments, or other correctional, law-enforcement, or welfare agencies.

APPLICATIONS

Sec. 122. Grants under this part may be made only upon application by a State, county, municipal, or other public agency which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that—

(1) (A) such agency will provide to the extent feasible for coordinating, on a continuing basis, of its operations with the operations of agencies or organizations furnishing welfare, education, health, mental health, recreation, job training, job placement, correction, and other basic services in the community for youth;

(B) such agency will make reasonable efforts to secure or provide any of such services which are necessary for such youth and which are not otherwise being provided in the community; and

(C) maximum use will be made under the program or project of other Federal, State, or local resources available for provision of such services;

(D) public and private agencies and organizations providing the services referred to in paragraph (1) (A) (including police, courts, and other agencies involved in the youth correction process) will be consulted in the formulation by the applicant of the project or program for carrying out the purposes of this part, with a view not only to formulation of a project or program which takes account of the services and expertise of such agencies and organizations, but also to adapting such services to the better fulfillment of the purposes of this Act with respect to youths in the community described in section 121.

Such application shall contain such other information as the Secretary finds necessary to determine whether or not to approve the application, including—

(3) a description of the services for youths described in section 121 which are available in the community:

(4) a statement of the method or methods of linking the agencies and organizations, public and private, providing these and other services; and

(5) a showing that the project or program is consistent with any comprehensive plans applicable to the community under the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR APPROVAL OF APPLICATIONS

Sec. 123. In determining whether or not to approve applications for grants under section 121, the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors in the community of the applicant—

(1) the relative costs and effectiveness of the project or program in effectuating the purposes of this part;

(2) the incidence of crime, particularly youth offenses and juvenile delinquency;

(3) school drop-out rates;

(4) the adequacy of facilities and services for carrying out the purposes of this part; and

(5) the extent of comprehensive planning in the community for carrying out the purposes of this part.

USE OF FUNDS

Sec. 124. Funds paid to an applicant agency under this part may be used for—

(1) meeting the cost of securing or providing services, for diagnosis, treatment, or rehabilitation of youths referred to in section 121, which the Secretary prescribes as essential for the purposes of this part, but only to the extent and for the period reasonably necessary for the community to secure or provide these services from other sources, and

(2) meeting the cost of construction of unusual, and special purpose or innovative, types of facilities which, in the judgment of the Secretary, are necessary to the program for carrying out the purposes of this part, such as (A) combination detention and diagnostic facilities for delinquent youth, (B) half-way houses for youths who because of special behavioral problems have a *high risk of becoming delinquent* or who have been determined to be delinquent and are not yet ready for full return to society, and (C) small, special-purpose, residential, community-based facilities for diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of youths who are in or under the control or supervision of *correctional institutions.*

It shall be a condition of any grant under this part which is wholly or partially for construction that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on such construction shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the David-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a–276a–5). The Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to these labor standards the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 P.R. 36, 64 Stat. 1267) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

FEDERAL FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION

Sec. 125. A grant under this part may not exceed 60 per centum of the cost of the project or program with respect to which it is made, except that the percentage with respect to so much of such cost as is for construction may not exceed 50 per centum.

PART C—PREVENTIVE SERVICES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Sec. 140. The purpose of this part is to promote the use of community-based services for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the rehabilitation of delinquent youths; and to assist communities to operate special diagnostic, treatment, and rehabilitative programs for juvenile delinquents and youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

AUTHORIZATION OF GRANTS

Sec. 141. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any community, municipal, or other local public or nonprofit private agency or organization to meet not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of a project or program for securing or provision of special diagnostic, treatment, or rehabilitative services for youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent but only if there are assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that steps have been or will be taken toward provision, within a reasonable period of time, of a program of services in the community which are necessary for diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of such youths.

APPLICATIONS

Sec. 142. Grants under section 141 may be made only upon application by a local community public or nonprofit private agency or organization which contains or is accompanied by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that such agency or organization (1) will assume responsibility for assuring that there will be provided in the community for youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent at least those services referred to in paragraph (1) (A) of section 122 which the Secretary specifies as being necessary for carrying out the purposes of this part; (2) will provide for the coordination referred to in such paragraph (1) (A), will make the efforts referred to in paragraph (1) (B) of such section, and will provide for the utilization referred to in paragraph (1) (C) thereof; (3) will provide for the consultation referred to in paragraph (2) thereof; (4) will make special efforts to assure that the services referred to in such paragraph (1) (A) will be available for youths with serious behavioral problems; (5) will provide for appropriate participation by youths in the formulation and operation of the project or program; and (6) will provide the information referred to in paragraph (3) and (4) of such section.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR APPROVAL OF APPLICATIONS

Sec. 143. In determining whether or not to approve applications for grants under this part, the factors referred to in section 123 shall, among other relevant factors, be considered.

USE OF FUNDS

Sec. 144. Funds paid to an agency or organization under section 141 may be used for meeting the cost of securing or providing the services needed for diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent and which cannot otherwise be made available, but only to the extent and for the period reasonably necessary for the community to provide these services from other sources.

CONSULTATION WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL

Sec. 145. The Secretary shall consult with the Attorney General on matters of policy and general administration arising in the carrying out of this part.

TITLE II—RESEARCH AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Sec. 201. (a) The Secretary is authorized to conduct, or make grants for, research into and development of improved techniques and practices, and for demonstration of such techniques and practices, which research in the Secretary's judgment holds promise of making a substantial contribution toward prevention of delinquency and treatment of youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent or toward improvement in the rehabilitative services for delinquent youths, including techniques and practices for the training of personnel.

(b) Such grants may be made to any State, local, or other public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution; and, to the extent he deems it appropriate, the Secretary shall require the recipient of any such grant to contribute money, facilities, or services for carrying out the project for which such grant was made.

(c) The Secretary is further authorized to enter into contracts for any such projects with public or private agencies, organizations, or institutions, and with individuals.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SERVICES

Sec. 202. The Secretary is authorized to cooperate with and render technical assistance to State, local, or other public or private agencies, organizations, and institutions in matters relating to prevention of delinquency or treatment of delinquent youths or to rehabilitative services for such youths, and to provide short-term training and instruction of a technical nature with respect to such matters.

INFORMATION SERVICES

SEC. 203. The Secretary is authorized to collect, evaluate, publish, and disseminate information and materials relating or research conducted under this Act, and other matters relating to prevention or treatment of delinquency or provision of rehabilitative services for delinquent youth, such information and materials to be for the general public or for agencies, organizations, and personnel engaged in programs concerning youths who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent.

TITLE III—GENERAL

PAYMENT PROCEDURE

SEC. 301. Payments of any grant or under any contract under this Act may be made (after necessary adjustment on account of previously made overpayments or under payments) in installaments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be determined by the Secretary, and shall be made on such conditions as he finds necessary to carry out the purposes for which the grant or contract is made.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

SEC. 302. (a) The Secretary is authorized to appoint an advisory committee to advise him with respect to matters of general policy involved in the administration of this Act, and particularly with respect to the coordination of activities under this Act and related activities under other Federal, State, or local laws and on such other matters relating to this Act as the Secretary may request.

(b)(1) The Secretary is also authorized to appoint such other technical or advisory committees to advise him in connection with activities under this Act as he deems necessary.

(2) Members of any committee appointed under this section who are not otherwise in the regular full-time employ of the United States, while attending meetings of their respective committees, shall be entitled to receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per diem (or, if higher, the rate specified at the time of such service for grade GS-18 in 5 U.S.C. Sec. 5332), including travel time, and while away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. Sec. 5703) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 303. There are authorized to be appropriated for grants under title I and grants or contracts under title II, to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and such sums as may be necessary for the next 4 fiscal years.

EVALUATION

SEC. 304. Such portion of any appropriation under section 303 as the Secretary may determine, but not exceeding one percent thereof, shall be available for evaluation by the Secretary (directly or by grants or contracts) of the programs for which such appropriation is made.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 305. For purposes of this Act—

(1) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and

(2) The term "construction" means construction of new buildings and acquisition, expansion, remodeling, or alteration of existing buildings, including the cost of acquisition of land or off-site improvements.

The summary presented by Mr. DODD is as follows:

THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1967

TITLE I

1. Gives up to 90% of matching federal funds to states, local subdivisions or non-profit organizations for planning a comprehensive delinquency prevention and control program.

2. Gives up to 60% (for programs) or up to 50% (for construction of facilities), of matching federal funds to law enforcement agencies, courts and other correctional institutions for improving the treatment of delinquents under their care. This would be both to improve the use of existing community resources and services, and to develop new methods or new institutions for rehabilitating delinquents.

3. Gives up to 75% of matching federal funds to local governmental or non-profit agencies for improving community based preventive services and for operating special diagnostic treatment or rehabilitative programs for delinquents and potential delinquents.

TITLE II

1. Makes federal funds available for research and development pertaining to improving techniques and methods of delinquency prevention, and pertaining to treatment and rehabilitation of delinquents. This would include techniques and practices for training of personnel.

2. This title also allows the Secretary (of HEW) to give technical assistance to states, subdivisions and other crime fighting agencies relating to delinquency prevention or control and to collect and publish information pertaining to the control of delinquency.

TITLE III

1. Allows the Secretary to appoint a committee to advise him regarding the administration of this law.

2. Sets up the amount of federal expenditures under this law. This is $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968 and "such sums as may be necessary for the next four fiscal years."

SUMMARY

The provisions for granting funds under this act would require a comprehensive cooperative effort by the recipients of the grants with all other delinquency control agencies in their respective jurisdictions.

The act also stipulates that grant recipients show the potential ability to carry on the new programs when federal funds are no longer available.

BILL TO AMEND THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, for myself, and on behalf of the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to amend the National Housing Act for the purpose of protecting further the interests of the United States in the insurance of certain mortgages.

The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations conducted hearings during 1966 relating to the program of the Federal Housing Administration which provides insurance for multiple dwelling projects, with particular emphasis upon so-called section 220 housing projects.

This type of FHA insurance is applied to mortgages for either new or restored buildings which are intended to eliminate slums and blighted areas in the program generally designated as urban renewal or urban redevelopment.

The subcommittee's principal objectives were to determine whether inefficiency and unsound business practices existed in FHA's administration of the program, whether losses of Federal funds were annually increasing at an alarming rate, and whether unscrupulous persons had acted fraudulently in connection with FHA-insured mortgages. The subcommittee also sought to determine whether new or amended legislation is needed to eliminate the abuses in the program and in individual projects.

During preliminary inquiry, a number of section 220 projects were examined thoroughly. In one instance, information disclosed by the subcommittee's staff enabled the FHA to recover $246,900 in Federal funds which might otherwise have been irretrievably lost. In hearings, however, the subcommittee concentrated on only one section 220 housing project—a luxurious, high-rise dwelling in the Los Angeles area, known as Barrington Plaza.

Officials of the Federal Housing Administration and the General Accounting Office testified about the accuracy of the information disclosed during the preliminary inquiry. For example, it was shown that the section 220 program is in a deficit position. As of December 31, 1965, all income for the program totaled $26.3 million, while expenses amounted to $40.6 million, leaving a deficit of $14.3 million.

The deficit figure, however, does not take into account all losses likely to be sustained by the Federal Government. The General Accounting Office stated that the trend toward annual increases in reserve requirements will not be reversed in the near future. Of the 240 projects insured by FHA in the section 220 program, 71 were in financial difficulty at the time of the hearings. Even more indicative of growing problems within the program are the statistics on foreclosures. On April 1, 1965, there were no foreclosures pending for section 220 mortgages. One year later, on April 1, 1966, there were eight foreclosures pending which involved $40,637,400 in mortgage amounts. In the Barrington Plaza project alone, the FHA may eventually sustain a loss estimated as high as $6 million.

A number of policies and practices of FHA's national office were shown to have contributed to the difficulties which beset the section 220 program. Officials in the national headquarters, according to the evidence, engaged in reckless and imprudent practices which resulted in insurance on loans that were economically unsound, clearly noncompetitive in the local market, and likely to result in substantial losses of Federal funds. Further, it was shown, particularly in the Barrington Plaza case, that both FHA officials and mortgagee personnel had failed to insist upon appropriate and adequate auditing procedures in management and operations, and that the interests of the U.S. Government were not protected from fraud and other abuses.

Examination of the Barrington Plaza

project showed that extremely poor judgment initially was used by national headquarters of FHA in authorizing insurance of $12.5 million against the advice of on-the-scene officials of FHA. The national office not only overruled the recommendations of local area experts, but eventually approved a number of extensions of time and modifications of mortgage conditions which resulted in a total insurance volume of $18.6 million at the time of the subcommittee's hearings. Additionally, the interest on the mortgage, as of June 1, 1966, was almost $2.7 million in arrears. A realistic appraisal of the Barrington Plaza financial condition convinced the subcommittee that the Federal Government would lose as much as $6 million in this particular instance.

The subcommittee recognizes that the Federal Housing Administration has legal authority to strengthen its administration and supervision sufficiently to prevent and to eliminate most of the abuses which contributed to the Barrington Plaza disaster and similar situations. In our view, Mr. President, the agency must take corrective steps to provide better safeguards for the Federal funds which it has committed. The abuses disclosed in our hearings cannot be allowed to recur while agency officials act imprudently or do nothing.

There are, however, certain obvious inadequacies of the law which can be corrected by the principal provisions of the legislative proposal which I am introducing today.

The first of these provisions, incorporated in section 1 of the bill, would require the FHA to refuse to grant extensions of time or modifications in terms for insured mortgages which are in default unless all income from the insured project, beyond necessary expenses, be held in trust by the mortgagor and distributed only with the consent of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. In the Barrington Plaza case, when it became evident that foreclosure was inevitable, the operators of the project depleted the income accrued from the project by a number of highly questionable withdrawals of funds which may ultimately cost the FHA, now the owner of the property, at least $137,000. This probable loss is in addition to the loss on the mortgage insurance which is likely to be sustained by FHA. This section of the bill also provides that exemptions to the provision may be made only by the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Appropriate criminal penalties for violations are provided.

Section 2 of the measure would require that, prior to the issuance of mortgage insurance by FHA, all contractors or subcontractors of multifamily dwelling projects execute a binding agreement to certify the costs of services and materials whenever such costs total $100,000 or more. The section further provides that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development may require such certification agreements for amounts less than $100,000 whenever he determines such action necessary and desirable. The General Accounting Office reported certain instances in which the construction costs for such projects were appreciably increased by the inclusion of substantial profits for subcontractors who were under the control of the sponsors of the projects. When a sponsor uses a controlled subcontractor, he is in effect dealing with himself, with the result that prices are not subject to the controls afforded by the competitive bidding or arm's-length transactions. Present FHA regulations require such certification to be made only when there is an identity of interest between contractors and mortgagor. The provision of this bill, making such certification mandatory for all contractors and subcontractors, would tend frequently to reduce mortgage amounts, prevent "windfall" profits, and thereby reduce the Government's risk.

Section 3 of the bill prohibits the issuance of FHA insurance on multifamily projects unless a prior binding agreement exists to permit the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the Comptroller General of the United States to have full access, for audit and examination purposes, to all books and records of management, contractors and subcontractors of multifamily dwelling projects. Existing law does not require such access. Its inclusion in this bill is necessary to allow verification of actions required by the preceding sections of the bill and to strengthen appreciably the protection of the interests of the United States in the insurance of multifamily dwelling mortgages.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks, together with a summary of its provisions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and the summary will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1249) to amend the National Housing Act to further protect the interests of the United States in the insurance of certain mortgages, introduced by Mr. McClellan (for himself and Mr. Ervin), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1249

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title II of the National Housing Act is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"MODIFICATIONS IN TERMS OF INSURED MORTGAGES COVERING MULTIFAMILY PROJECTS

"Sec. 235. (a) The Secretary shall not consent to any request for an extension of the time for curing a default under any mortgage covering new or rehabilitated multifamily housing, as defined in section 227 (a), or for a modification of the terms of such mortgage, except in conformity with regulations prescribed by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions of this section. Except as otherwise hereinafter provided, such regulations shall require, as a condition to the granting of any such request, that any part of the rents or other income derived by the mortgagor from the housing covered by the mortgage which is not required to meet actual and necessary expenses arising in connection with the operation of such housing, including amortization charges under the mortgage, be held in trust by the mortgagor and distributed only with the consent of the Secretary. In prescribing regulations under this section the Secretary shall provide for the granting of consent to any request for an extension of the time for curing a default under any mortgage covering new or rehabilitated multifamily housing, or for a modification of the terms of such mortgage, without regard to the foregoing requirement, in any case or class of cases in which an exemption from such requirement does not (as determined by the Secretary) jeopardize the interests of the United States.

"(b) Whoever, being an officer, director, employee, or agent of any firm, company, corporation, or association which is the mortgagor under a mortgage described in subsection (a), (1) uses or authorizes the use of any part of the rents or other income derived from housing covered by such mortgage in violation of any regulation prescribed by the Secretary under subsection (a), or (2), if such mortgage is exempt from the requirements of any such regulation or is not otherwise covered by such regulation, uses or authorizes the use, while such mortgage is in default, of any part of the rents or other income derived from the housing covered by such mortgage for any purpose other than to meet actual and necessary expenses arising in connection with such housing (including amortization charges under the mortgage), shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both."

CONTRACTOR'S COST CERTIFICATION

Sec. 2. Title II of the National Housing Act is amended by inserting after section 227 a new section as follows:

"CONTRACTOR'S COST CERTIFICATION

"Sec. 228. No mortgage covering new or rehabilitated multifamily housing, as defined in section 227(a), shall be insured under this Act, except pursuant to a commitment entered into prior to the effective date of this section, unless a binding agreement has been executed (as determined by the Secretary) requiring any contractor or subcontractor furnishing services or materials costing $100,000 or more in connection with the construction or rehabilitation of such housing to certify to the Secretary the actual cost (as defined by the Secretary) of such services or materials: *Provided*, That the Secretary may, in his discretion, require such certification in the case of any contractor or subcontractor furnishing services or materials costing less than $100,000 whenever he determines such action to be necessary or appropriate."

AUDIT AND EXAMINATION OF BOOKS AND RECORDS

Sec. 3. Title V of the National Housing Act is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"AUDIT AND EXAMINATION OF BOOKS AND RECORDS

"Sec. 523. No mortgage covering new or rehabilitated multifamily housing, as defined in section 227(a), shall be insured under this Act, except pursuant to a commitment entered into prior to the effective date of this section, unless there has been executed a binding agreement (as determined by the Secretary) permitting the Secretary and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives, for the purpose of audit and examination, to have access to any books, documents, papers, and records that (1) are pertinent to the construction, rehabilitation, or operation of such housing, and (2) belong to the sponsor of the project involved, the mortgagor under such mortgage, or any contractor or subcontractor furnishing services or materials in connection with the construction or rehabilitation of such housing."

The summary presented by Mr. McClellan is as follows:

SUMMARY OF A BILL TO AMEND THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT TO FURTHER PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INSURANCE OF CERTAIN MORTGAGES

SECTION 1

The bill amends the National Housing Act by adding a new section at the end of Title II of the existing act, with the following effects:

Section 235: (a) Mortgages for new or renovated multifamily housing projects, insured by FHA, will not be extended or modified when in default unless all rents or other income beyond necessary expenses are held in trust by the mortgagor subject to disbursement only with the consent of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Exemption to this provision may be made only if the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development determines that the interests of the United States will not be jeopardized.

(b) No person may use for any purpose such rents or other income in violation of (a) above. If an exemption is granted to (a) above, no person may use for any purpose other than necessary expenses such rents or other income while the mortgage is in default. Violators are liable to $5,000 fine, 3 years imprisonment, or both.

SECTION 2

The bill amends Title II of the existing act by adding another new section which provides:

Section 228: Before insurance is issued by FHA, contractors and subcontractors of multifamily housing projects who furnish services or materials in amounts of $100,000 or more must execute a binding agreement that they will certify the costs of such services and materials. The Secretary of HUD, who will determine and define requirements under this section, may require such certification for contractors or subcontractors furnishing services or materials costing less than $100,000.

SECTION 3

The bill amends Title V of the existing act by:

Section 523: Prohibits FHA insurance on multifamily projects unless there is a binding agreement that the Secretary of HUD and the Comptroller General of the United States may have access, for audit and examination purposes, to the books and records of any sponsor, mortgagor, contractor or subcontractor connected with such project.

BILL TO AMEND THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, for myself and on behalf of the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], and the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 for the purpose of strengthening the provisions of the statute which relate to labor relations consultants and certain other intermediaries between management and labor.

The subcommittee in 1966 held hearings on labor racketeering activities in the New York area, particularly concerning the affairs of a labor relations consultant named Jack McCarthy, his associates in the firm of National Consultants Associated, Ltd., and a number of other persons who were involved with him in labor-management matters, including labor union officials who were dominated or strongly influenced by McCarthy.

The testimony and evidence at the hearings disclosed a number of improprieties, abuses, and highly questionable practices engaged in by McCarthy and his associates in the course of their activities in the important field of collective bargaining between management and labor.

The subcommittee's investigation showed clearly that McCarthy and his cohorts operated a series of well-planned schemes which, while assuring substantial personal profits for McCarthy and the group of persons close to him, had the deplorable effect of subverting and destroying the proper purposes and legitimate objectives of trade unionism and of depriving union members of certain rights, privileges, and benefits that should have been safeguarded for them by the existing laws. Our hearings disclosed, among other matters, several disturbing improprieties and abuses attributed to Jack McCarthy and his associates, which are summarized as follows:

1. The negotiation of "sweetheart" contracts between employers represented by McCarthy and his consulting firm and seven local labor unions which McCarthy dominated or controlled;
2. The purchase of "labor peace" by employers who were clients of McCarthy's firm through the procurement of various services operated by relatives and associates of McCarthy;
3. Questionable loans to various union officials which were arranged by McCarthy and Daniel Kapilow, a labor union official who was a business partner of McCarthy in Linsan Trading Company;
4. The violation by McCarthy and Kapilow of their duties and responsibilities as fiduciaries by lending to their own firm the assets of union welfare funds for which they were trustees;
5. The purchase by McCarthy and Kapilow of a house in the name of McCarthy's mother, which was subsequently used for union and welfare fund headquarters, a transaction carried out while McCarthy and Kapilow were trustees of the welfare fund, and which ultimately will bring McCarthy's mother a windfall profit of about $45,000; and
6. The organization and operation of dental and optical benefit plans for union members, which brought high profits to McCarthy, but few if any benefits to the union members whose funds were used to pay for the plans.

Mr. President, it is clearly apparent from study of the record that unscrupulous individuals can manage to circumvent and defeat the intent of the Congress in enacting laws for the proper supervision, administration, and regulation of labor-management affairs, and that existing statutes cannot adequately or effectively protect the interests and rights of both management and union members in the vital area of collective bargaining and other labor-management relations. The Congress is once again charged with the duty of revising the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act in order to close the gaps in the statute and to correct certain of its inadequacies in this field. When this bill is considered by the appropriate legislative committee, further amendments may be added to it, or some of its provisions may be changed to strengthen the law. However, its principal provisions should serve as a good basis for action by the Congress in deterring and eliminating the kinds of abuses disclosed in our hearings.

The measure proposes to amend the existing law by first, requiring union officials to report to the Department of Labor annually all income from and business transactions with labor relations consultants; second, requiring all labor relations consultants to file annually with the Department of Labor reports of all receipts identifying their sources, and information about all disbursements, to whom paid, and the purposes thereof; and third, providing criminal penalties for violations of conflict-of-interest situations that have been shown to exist between labor relations consultants and labor union officials.

Mr. President, the corrective and preventive provisions of this bill are needed to put an end to the kinds of corruption and dishonesty which have been demonstrated in the so-called middle ground of labor-management negotiations where dishonest and corrupt persons presently are able to violate, damage, and destroy the rights and interests of both labor and management.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill and a summary thereof be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and the summary will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1250) to amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 so as to strengthen the reporting and disclosure provisions thereof relating to labor relations consultants and certain other intermediaries between management and labor, introduced by Mr. McCLELLAN (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1250

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 202 (a) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 is amended (1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (5) thereof, (2) by redesignating paragraph (6) thereof as paragraph (8), and (3) by inserting after paragraph (5) thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(6) any stock, bond, security, or other interest, legal or equitable, which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly held in, and any income or any other benefit with monetary value (including reimbursed expenses) which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly derived from, a labor relations consultant;

"(7) any direct or indirect business transaction or arrangement between him or his spouse or minor child and any labor relations consultant; and".

(b)(1) Section 203 (b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Every labor relations consultant shall file annually with the Secretary a report, in a form prescribed by him, signed by its president and treasurer, or corresponding principal officers, disclosing for its preceding fiscal year—

"(A) receipts of any kind on account of

labor relations services or activities identifying the sources thereof;

"(B) disbursements of any kind in connection with labor relations services or activities, identifying the persons to whom payments were made, the amount paid to each such person and the purposes thereof; and such other financial information as the Secretary shall by regulation determine to be necessary and appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection; except that an attorney who is a member in good standing of the bar of any state shall not be required by this subsection to report if his activities are exclusively those of providing legal advice and services."

(2) Subsections (c), (d), and (e) of section 203 of such Act are hereby repealed and subsections (f) and (g) of such section are redesignated as subsections (c) and (d).

(c) Section 204 of such Act is amended by inserting "privileged" immediately before "information."

(d) Section 207(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Each person required to file a report under sections 201(b), 202, 203(a), 203(b), or section 211 shall file such report within ninety days after the end of each of its fiscal years; except that where such person is subject to sections 201(b), 202, 203(a), 203(b), or section 211, as the case may be, for only a portion of such a fiscal year (because the date of enactment of this Act occurs during such person's fiscal year or such person becomes subject to this Act during its fiscal year) such person may consider that portion as the entire fiscal year in making such report."

(e) Section 3(m) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(m) 'Labor relations consultant' means any person other than a regular officer, supervisor or employee of the employer, who, for compensation, advises, represents or renders investigation services to an employer or employer organization concerning employee organizing, concerted activities, or collective bargaining activities."

(f) Such Act is further amended by redesignating section 611 thereof as section 612 and by adding after section 610 thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 611. (a)(1) It shall be unlawful for any labor relations consultant to advise or represent any employer or employer organization with respect to any labor dispute between such employer or employer organization and a labor organization, if there exists a conflict of interest relationship between such labor relations consultant and any officer of such labor organization who is in a position to influence the settlement of such labor dispute; and it shall be unlawful for any officer of a labor organization who is in a position to influence the settlement of a labor dispute between such labor organization and any employer to advise or represent such labor organization with respect to such labor dispute if there exists a conflict of interest relationship between such officer and any labor relations consultant representing or advising such employer.

"(2) Any person who knowingly violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both.

"(b) For purposes of subsection (a), a conflict of interest relationship shall be deemed to exist between a labor relations consultant and an officer of a labor organization if—

"(1) such officer and such consultant are each members of, or each have a financial interest in, the same labor consulting firm;

"(2) such officer and such consultant each have a financial interest in any business less than 90 per centum of which is owned by persons other than such officer and such consultant; or

"(3) such officer is a debtor of such consultant or of any firm or business in which such consultant holds an office or has a proprietary interest of more than 10 per centum; or such consultant is a debtor of such officer or of any firm or business in which such officer holds an office or has a proprietary interest of more than 10 per centum."

The summary presented by Mr. McCLELLAN is as follows:

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED BILL

A bill to amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 so as to strengthen the reporting and disclosure provisions thereof relating to labor relations consultants and certain other intermediaries between management and labor

The bill would amend the act by adding new provisions relating to the activities and operations of labor relations consultants, and by repealing certain provisions rendered inappropriate by the new provisions.

SECTION 202. REPORTING OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

The bill would amend Section 202 of the act by requiring union officials to report annually to the Department of Labor any income or any thing of value received by such officials or their immediate families from labor relations consultants; and

The bill would require such union officials to report annually any business transactions between them or their immediate families with any labor relations consultant.

SECTION 203. RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF LABOR RELATIONS CONSULTANTS

The bill would amend Section 203 of the act to require every labor relations consultant to file annually with the Department of Labor a report disclosing all receipts and the sources thereof obtained for labor relations services, and all disbursements of any kind related to labor relations services and the persons to whom they were paid and the purposes thereof. Attorneys performing only legal services would be excluded from the reporting requirement.

The bill would repeal subsections (c), (d), and (3) of Section 203.

SECTIONS 204 AND 207. ADMINISTRATIVE AMENDMENTS

Administrative amendments in the language of Sections 204 and 207 would clarify and implement the amendments to Sections 202 and 203.

SECTION 3(M). DEFINITION OF LABOR RELATIONS CONSULTANT

This amendment to Section 3(m) would define the term "labor relations consultant" for the purposes of the act.

SECTION 611. CRIMINAL VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES THEREFOR

The bill redesignates the existing Section 611 as Section 612, and adds a new Section 611, to provide that:

1. It shall be unlawful for labor relations consultants to act in conflict of interest situations with labor union officials, and it shall be likewise unlawful for labor union officials to act in conflict of interest situations with labor relations consultants;

2. Any person who knowingly violates this provision will be liable to a $1,000 fine, 1 year imprisonment, or both;

3. Conflict of interest relationships between labor relations consultants and labor union officials are considered to exist if:

(a) both parties have interests in the same consulting firm;

(b) both parties have financial interests in any business in which less than 90 percent is owned by other persons;

(c) either party is in debt to the other party, or if either party is in debt to a firm in which the other party has more than 10 percent interest.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO CORRECT INEQUITIES IN A RECLAMATION PROJECT

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, a cooperative group of progressive farmers who are acquiring land in the A and B irrigation district on the north side of the Snake River near Rupert, Idaho, assumed operation and maintenance responsibility of the northside pumping division of the Minidoka project in March 1966. This is a benefit to both local water users and the Federal Government and the members of the district are to be congratulated on their willingness to assume these responsibilities.

Some of the reclamation employees of this division wish to remain in Idaho and continue their work for the project and they were transferred to the district immediately upon separation from Federal service. Under provisions of Public Law 89–301, known as the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1965, these employees as well as other employees separated from the Federal service as a result of the transfer of work and who meet the requirements of the act are entitled to severance pay. The irrigation system has been operated by the Bureau with appropriated funds. However, in compliance with Federal reclamation laws in the district's repayment contract, the costs of operation and maintenance is reimbursable by the water users. The Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior agrees that there are inequities in requiring the district to pay both accumulated leave payments and severance pay, estimated at $20,000 and $40,000 respectively for individuals who accumulated at least a part of these benefits while employed on other projects. I have been advised by the Bureau of Reclamation that it will require legislation to make it possible for them to take care of this severance and accumulated leave pay which has been accumulated while these employees were actually in Federal service.

I introduce a bill for myself and my colleague [Mr. CHURCH], to make these particular reclamation project expenses nonreimbursable. This bill is not controversial in any way and I urge my colleagues to give it their favorable and prompt consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1251) to make certain reclamation project expenses nonreimbursable, introduced by Mr. JORDAN of Idaho (for himself and Mr. CHURCH), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

LOSS OF FUNDS UNDERMINES SCHOOL BUDGETS

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, a change in Public Law 874 signed into law late last fall has imposed serious financial difficulties on many school districts in areas where a large percentage of the land is under Federal ownership.

The change requires deduction from Public Law 874 entitlements of other

Federal payments regardless of the purpose for which school districts may be using such payments. These payments represent funds which school districts derive from U.S. forestry reserve funds, Taylor Grazing Act funds, U.S. mineral lease royalty funds, Migratory Bird Conservation Act funds and similar revenue sharing programs.

Formerly deduction of such payments was required only to the extent that these payments were actually available for current expenditures. Public Law 874 funds are intended to replace tax revenues denied school districts because of Federal ownership and Federal employment and are specifically earmarked to meet maintenance and operation costs. Thus, since Public Law 874 is a funding assistance program for current expenses, the former system of deductions appeared fair in that it prevented a double payment from Federal sources of moneys used for identical purposes.

However, last year in consideration of the double payment question it was determined that the language in Public Law 874 relative to the actual availability for current expenditures of other Federal payments should be deleted.

In Idaho, aside from Public Law 874 entitlements, funds from forestry reserve funds, representing revenues from the sale of timber in the national forests, constitute the largest source of income to school districts from payments which are connected with the principle of remunerating the States for the effect of the Federal presence. Under Idaho State law these funds must be expended for capital outlay items and they are, therefore, not normally available for current operating expenses. Thus, to deduct these funds from Public Law 874 entitlements means a substantial reduction in maintenance and operation moneys available to school districts this year. No source for replacing these funds is available.

Funds from the Elementary and Secondary Act cannot fill the need. ESEA funds are categorical funds. Certainly the extensive debate on Public Law 874 last year demonstrated that moneys from ESEA will not replace impacted area funds and that it was never the intent of Congress that they should do so.

I have received considerable correspondence from Idaho superintendents and leaders in education pointing out the damaging effects of the change which expanded deductions from Public Law 874 of payments from other Federal sources. Budget planning for Idaho schools was completed for the 1966–67 school year last spring. Public Law 89–750 which contained the change in deduction practices was passed by Congress in late October. The school districts had no chance to anticipate the revenue losses resulting.

I ask that a table prepared by the Idaho Department of Education indicating the extent of the Public Law 874 losses under the law as amended last year be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Estimated Public Law 874 fund loss due to forest fund receipts for fiscal year 1967

No.	School district	Forest area	Students claimed		Average daily attendance		Total average daily attendance	Allowance	Receipts from Public Law 874	Receipts from forest	Public Law 874 fund loss
			A's	B's	A's	B's					
1	Boise	Boise	0	135.5	0	64.36	64.36	$230.72	$14,849.14	$80.71	
		Payette	0	1.0	0	.47	.47	230.72	108.44		
		Nezperce	0	4.0	0	1.90	1.90	230.72	438.37		
11	Meadows Valley	Payette	0	98.5	0	47.59	47.59	535.37	25,430.07	1,454.67	$1,454.67
12	Bear	do	5.0	50.0	4.75	23.75	28.5	385.98	11,000.43	415.15	
13	Council	do	0	104.0	0	49.4	49.4	363.28	17,946.03	2,965.56	2,965.56
		Boise	0	2.0	0	.95	.95	363.28	345.11		
25	Pocatello	Caribou	0	17.0	0	8.07	8.07	230.72	1,861.91	675.40	
41	St. Maries	St. Joe	0	99.0	0	47.02	47.02	230.72	10,848.45	2,128.68	2,128.68
		Coeur d'Alene	0	4.5	0	2.14	2.14	230.72	493.74		
42	Plummer	St. Joe	0	0	0	0	0	312.63		631.18	
60	Shelley	Caribou	0	0	0	0	0	230.72		23.44	
		Targhee	0	0	0	0	0	230.72		10.53	
61	Hailey	Sawtooth	2.0	19.0	1.208	9.025	10.23	269.90	2,761.08	2,615.10	2,615.10
		Challis	0	0	0	0	0	269.90		5.24	
71	Garden Valley	Boise	10.0	55.5	9.5	26.36	35.86	428.17	15,354.18	6,288.49	6,288.49
72	Idaho City	Boise	5.0	30.5	4.75	14.48	19.23	472.51	9,086.37	3,411.38	3,411.38
		Payette	0	3.0	0	1.42	1.42	472.51	709.64		
		Sawtooth	0	2.0	0	.95	.95	472.51	448.88		
73	Horseshoe Bend	Boise	0	21.5	0	10.21	10.21	218.00	2,225.78	6,248.61	2,225.78
82	Sandpoint	Kaniksu	0	281.5	0	133.71	133.71	230.72	30,849.57	23,453.97	23,453.97
		Coeur d'Alene	0	9.0	0	4.27	4.27	230.72	985.17	791.47	791.47
		St. Joe	0	1.0	0	.47	.47	230.72	108.43		
		Kootenai	0	0	0	0	0	230.72		2,136.98	
91	Idaho Falls	Caribou	0	3.0	0	1.42	1.42	230.72	327.62	1,343.98	327.62
		Grand Teton	0	1.5	0	.71	.71	230.72	163.81		
		Targhee	0	3.0	0	1.42	1.42	230.72	327.62	603.82	327.62
92	Swan Valley	do	5.0	3.5	4.75	1.66	6.41	334.96	2,147.09	8.30	
		Caribou	1.5	3.0	1.42	1.42	2.84	334.96	951.28	18.49	
93	East Bonneville	Targhee	0	3.5	0	1.66	1.66	230.72	382.90	222.85	
		Caribou	0	0	0	0	0	230.72		496.01	
101	Bonners Ferry	Kaniksu	21.0	90.0	13.01	43.23	56.24	302.51	17,013.16	24,984.42	17,013.16
		Kootenai	0	53.0	0	25.46	25.46	302.51	7,701.90	719.72	719.72
		Coeur d'Alene	0	1.0	0	.5	.5	302.51	151.25		
111	Arco	Challis	0	4.5	0	2.13	2.13	257.20	547.83	368.81	
		Sawtooth	0	0	0	0	0	257.20		25.95	
		Targhee	0	0	0	0	0	257.20		252.20	
161	Dubois	do	0	6.0	0	2.85	2.85	572.80	1,632.48	1,770.20	1,632.48
		Challis	0	0	0	0	0	572.80		17.88	
171	Orofino	Clearwater	0	134.0	0	63.65	63.65	271.00	17,249.15	32,741.38	17,249.15
		St. Joe	0	0	0	0	0	271.00		2,276.14	
172	Elk River	Clearwater	0	0	0	0	0	544.98		1,516.06	
		St. Joe	0	51.0	0	24.22	24.22	544.98	13,199.41	105.40	105.40
181	Challis	Challis	7.0	65.5	6.65	31.11	37.76	337.68	12,750.79	1,675.32	1,675.32
		Sawtooth	.5	.5	.47	.23	.70	337.68	236.37	711.91	236.37
		Salmon	0	0	0	0	0	337.68		135.83	
		Targhee	0	0	0	0	0	337.68		7.90	
182	Mackay	Challis	2.0	21.5	1.90	10.21	12.11	251.52	3,045.91	1,305.00	1,305.00
		Sawtooth	0	0	0	0	0	251.52		556.83	
		Targhee	0	0	0	0	0	251.52		4.68	
192	Glenns Ferry	Boise	0	0	0	0	0			1,868.55	
		Sawtooth	0	0	0	0	0			119.27	
193	Mountain Home	Boise	7.0	8.0	6.65	3.8	10.45	339.14	3,544.01	9,456.67	3,544.01
		Sawtooth	0	0	0	0	0	339.14		603.62	
202	Westside	Caribou	0	7.0	0	3.32	3.32	208.09	69.85	9.71	
		Cache	0	0	0	0	0	208.09		152.19	
215	St. Anthony	Targhee	0	125.0	0	59.37	59.37	230.72	13,607.85	2,422.77	2,422.77
		Gallatin	0	3.5	0	1.66	1.66	230.72	382.99		
241	Grangeville	Clearwater	2.0	122.5	1.9	58.19	60.09	261.76	15,729.16	32,498.58	15,729.17
		Nezperce	19.5	305.0	18.52	144.87	163.39	261.76	42,768.97	26,452.33	26,452.33
		Bitterroot	0	0	0	0	0	261.76		9,069.37	
		Salmon	0	0	0	0	0	261.76		755.78	
		Payette	0	0	0	0	0	261.76		6,926.36	

***Estimated Public Law 874 fund loss due to forest fund receipts for fiscal year 1967*—Continued**

No.	School district	Forest area	Students claimed		Average daily attendance		Total average daily attendance	Allowance	Receipts from Public Law 874	Receipts from forest	Public Law 874 fund loss
			A's	B's	A's	B's					
242	Cottonwood	Clearwater	0	2.0	0	.95	.95	578.25	549.34	4,184.17	549.34
		Nezperce	0	9.5	0	4.61	4.61	578.25	2,665.73	3,405.72	2,665.73
		St. Joe	0	3.0	0	1.42	1.42	578.25	821.11		
		Bitterroot	0	0	0	0	0	578.25		1,167.68	
		Payette	0	0	0	0	0	578.25		875.76	
		Salmon	0	0	0	0	0	578.25		97.30	
271	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene	0	130.0	0	61.75	61.75	230.72	14,246.96	9,063.84	9,063.84
		Clearwater	0	1.0	0	.5	.5	230.72	115.36		
		Kaniksu	0	2.0	0	.95	.95	230.72	219.18	91.55	91.55
		Kootenai	0	4.0	0	1.90	1.90	230.72	438.36		
		St. Joe	0	13.0	0	6.17	6.17	230.72	1,423.54		
272	Rathdrum	Coeur d'Alene	1.5	17.5	1.42	8.31	9.73	260.57	2,535.35	1,730.35	1,730.35
		Kaniksu	0	3.5	0	1.66	1.66	260.57	432.55	17.48	17.48
274	Harrison	Coeur d'Alene	0	38.0	0	18.05	18.05	463.01	8,357.33	607.59	
		Clearwater	0	6.0	0	2.85	2.85	463.01	1,319.58		
		Kaniksu	0	0	0	0	0	463.01		67.51	
285	Potlatch	St. Joe	0	43.0	0	20.5	20.5	304.07	6,233.44	1,003.70	1,003.70
		Clearwater	0	0	0	3.0	3.0	304.07	912.21		
291	Salmon	Salmon	14.5	136.5	14.0	65.08	79.08	247.54	19,575.46	4,985.62	4,985.62
		Bitterroot	0	2.0	0	1.0	1.0	247.54	247.54		
		Targhee	0	1.0	0	.5	.5	247.54	123.77	289.86	123.77
		Challis	0	0	0	0	0	247.54		521.75	
304	Kamiah	Clearwater	0	83.5	0	39.66	39.66	288.38	11,437.15	4,415.48	4,415.48
		Nezperce	0	39.5	0	19.0	19.0	288.38	5,479.22	3,593.99	3,593.99
		Kaniksu	0	4.0	0	1.9	1.9	288.38	547.92		
		Bitterroot	0	0	0	0	0	288.38		1,232.23	
		Payette	0	0	0	0	0	288.38		924.17	
		Salmon	0	0	0	0	0	288.38		102.69	
351	Malad	Caribou	0	5.0	0	2.37	2.37	231.88	549.55	477.96	
		Sawtooth	0	0	0	0	0	231.88		77.81	
394	Avery	St. Joe	0	24.0	0	11.5	11.5	608.06	6,992.69	587.55	587.55
		Coeur d'Alene	0	0	0	0	0	608.06		447.68	
		Clearwater	0	0	0	0	0			32.05	
421	McCall	Payette	0	198.0	0	94.0	94.0	296.55	27,871.00	6,633.34	6,633.34
		Boise	0	19.0	0	9.0	9.0	296.55	2,668.95	13,888.55	2,668.95
		Sawtooth	0	2.0	0	1.0	1.0	296.55	296.55		
		Nezperce	0	1.5	0	1.0	1.0	296.55	296.55		
		Salmon	0	0	0	0	0	296.55		207.09	
422	Cascade	Boise	3.5	100.0	3.0	45.5	48.5	345.84	16,773.24	5,895.71	5,895.71
		Payette	0	1.5	0	1.0	1.0	345.84	345.84	2,815.86	345.84
		Salmon	0	0	0	0	0	345.84		87.99	
432	Cambridge	Payette	0	33.0	0	15.67	15.67	530.85	8,318.42	638.88	
	Total loss										178,447.46

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, the total estimated loss to Idaho schools for maintenance and operation in this school year is $178,447.46. To this Congress which is used to dealing in millions and even billions of dollars, this amount may not appear particularly large. But for small school districts in my State, I can assure you, it represents a great deal of money—money they can ill afford to lose.

To face the issue squarely, for Idaho the Federal Government is not adequately meeting its responsibility to provide adequate recompense for the effect of its immense ownership. Even adding together Idaho Public Law 874 entitlements, shared revenues derived from income on public lands and contributions in kind for services which local government would be expected to assume if nontaxable public lands were on the tax rolls, the total does not nearly equal the revenues which would be derived if the Federal lands were in private ownership and subject to property taxes. Clearly then, if there were no Federal lands in Idaho, more money would be available for education in the State.

Idaho school districts are severely limited in the money they can raise locally for education because of the narrow tax base. Federal ownership in the State represents almost two-thirds of the total land area. Over 20 million acres of Idaho lands are in national forests alone. Federal forests comprise as much as 80 percent of the land area of some counties. School districts affected by Federal ownership are trying to raise as much as they can from such lands as they have on the tax rolls. Some areas are levying fully 30 mills for education, the maximum allowable under State law. I do not believe the people in such areas can be faulted for failing to put forth their best efforts to obtain revenue from local sources for education.

Small rural school districts, like all school districts, are striving mightily to improve the education they offer both quantitatively and qualitatively. But because of Federal ownership these districts are faced with immense difficulties in trying to move ahead. They are fighting just for economic survival. Any reduction in the funds they receive is critical.

The school districts in Idaho have been using forest reserve funds allocated to education for purposes similar to the use of funds from Public Law 815. Considering the heavy tax burdens imposed by local government, it is a monumental task to gain approval for bond issues. Local resources simply cannot do the whole job. And Public Law 815 assistance lacks the continuity necessary to meet long-term capital expenditure needs. Funds under this law are primarily for helping to meet the impact of a marked increase in Federal employment or ownership. The Federal proprietorship of national forest lands does not involve a sudden increase in the impact of Federal influence over the ability of local taxing resources to meet a one-time or short-range problem. The Federal proprietorship is continuing, its impact is continuing, and school districts affected are hard pressed to keep up with continuing capital expenditure needs.

Forest reserve funds have been used, quite properly to my mind, to help meet these needs, a large portion of which are attributable to a federally imposed burden.

Therefore, to me the double payment argument does not make any real sense. Even given a double payment, Idaho schools would still be at a disadvantage in their struggle to make ends meet. And we must also bear in mind that inflation in costs of education is outpacing the general inflation in our economy. Indeed, according to the January issue of School Management, there has been an inflationary increase in these costs of 28.1 percent since 1957–59.

My distinguished colleague, Senator CHURCH, has addressed himself to this matter and offered a bill (S. 382) as an attempt to improve Public Law 874 as it applies to deductions from other Federal payments.

The first part of S. 382 would suspend any deductions under last year's amendment until fiscal 1968. The second part requires school districts to apportion future Federal payments, apart from Public Law 874 funds, in the same ratio between operating expenses and capital outlay as the districts apportion their revenue from State and local agencies. This second part would mean some future revenue losses to school districts but their losses would be in lesser amounts than those resulting from the language in the law as now written.

I think this bill is a laudable and constructive attempt to come to grips with present inequities. I hope the Congress will give this proposal thorough consideration.

I do, however, feel that it would be useful for us to consider as many constructive avenues of approach to this general problem as possible. The deduction question gets us into the broad area of the need to review the total picture of Federal payments which are made in recognition of the obligations imposed by Federal ownership and employment.

I have limited my remarks to Idaho schools. However, I assume that the difficulties facing Idaho are shared by other public land States. I believe that the changes regarding deductions of other Federal payments from Public Law 874 funds have created more problems than they have solved.

In this session, I hope to offer legislative proposals designed as approaches to the solution of these problems.

However, for the present, the most urgent need is to provide relief to the school districts who find themselves in financial difficulties because of the alteration in the law passed after their budgets were already fixed.

Therefore, today, I offer a bill which would take care of only this immediate need. My bill is limited to providing for a suspension for the 1967 fiscal year of the deductions from Public Law 874 entitlements required by last year's legislation. This is the very least that needs to be done and it needs to be done at once.

I offer this bill because I feel there may be an advantage to dealing with this immediate need separately. Approaching the matter in this way will permit us to solve the deduction problem as it applies to the present school year without tying this limited aim to long-range solutions to which there may be objections.

The difficulties imposed on school districts this year are the direct result of the unfortunate timing of our education authorizations and appropriations. A better schedule for congressional action is badly needed. House Concurrent Resolution 89, introduced by Congressman ERLENBORN, is directed toward securing early appropriation of Federal money spent for education. The President in his message on education and health on February 28 emphasized the same need. The problems I have outlined today are a clear case in point.

The House of Representatives of the State of Idaho has memorialized the Congress requesting a delay in the effective year of the deduction amendment until the 1967–68 school year. This is what the bill I have introduced would do. I ask unanimous consent that Idaho House Joint Memorial No. 3 be included in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the House Joint Memorial No. 3 will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1252) to suspend for 1 year an amendment to Public Law 874, 81st Congress, relating to the deduction of Federal contributions, introduced by Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The joint memorial submitted by Mr. JORDAN of Idaho is as follows:

H. J. M. No. 3

A joint memorial to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled

We, your Memorialists, the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, assembled in the Thirty-ninth Session thereof, do respectfully represent that:

Whereas, Public Law 874, as amended, has provided Federal funds to school districts for Federal impact students whose parents live and/or work on Federal property within a state's boundaries; and

Whereas, for sixteen years the Federal government has considered payments of funds to school districts on the basis of school district's current expenditures as a basis for fund payments; and

Whereas, the Eighty-Ninth Congress amended Public Law 874 in November, 1966, after school districts' budgets had been committed for major expenditures for the school year and districts would have no opportunity to replace funds which are reduced due to the amendment requiring that all funds received from property claimed be subtracted from available funds if one thousand or more dollars are received from property of Federal ownership; and

Whereas, Idaho State Law requires that funds received by school districts from Federal Forest cuttings be expended for capital outlay items and this type expenditure is usually committed for school construction and equipment early in a school year: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Thirty-ninth Session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, now in session, the Senate and House of Representatives concurring, That the Congress and the President of the United States are respectfully requested to delay the effective year of the amendment until the 1967–68 school year, which will give school districts an opportunity to make budget income adjustments: be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, be authorized and he is hereby directed to immediately forward certified copies of this Memorial to the President of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this state.

This joint memorial passed the House on the 6th day of February, 1967.

PETE T. CENARRUSA,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

This joint memorial passed the Senate on the 8th day of February, 1967.

JACK M. MURPHY,
President of the Senate.

I hereby certify that the within House Joint Memorial No. 3 originated in the House of Representatives during the 39th session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho.

DRYDEN M. HILER,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO END DEFICIT FINANCING

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I am today introducing on behalf of myself, my colleague from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] a proposal for a constitutional amendment. The objective of this proposal is to end deficit financing and the increasing of the debt and to force the Federal Government to go on a pay-as-you-go basis in the absence of war or grave national emergency.

I believe this proposal is workable. It is very similar to a proposal with which I have been associated in previous Congresses. It has always been a problem as to how to make a constitutional requirement that the Federal Government must pay as it goes enforceable. Years ago the late Senator Harry Byrd came up with the idea that if the Congress authorized expenditures in excess of estimated receipts the Congress could not adjourn for more than 3 days at a time until it had taken steps to balance the budget. A budget, of course, can be balanced either by reducing expenditures or increasing taxes. In recent years the Congress has stayed in session most of the year. Thus, enforcing provisions of the previous proposal would not be very effective and would have been completely nullified in calendar year 1963.

To strengthen the proposal, a change in the enforcing provisions has been made. This proposal continues to provide that if the authorized expenditures are going to exceed estimated receipts, the Congress cannot adjourn for more than 3 days at a time until steps have been taken to balance the budget, but it also provides that subsequent to October 15 neither the House nor the Senate shall enact any bill or joint resolution until action has been taken to balance the budget. In other words, it would stop all other actions of the Congress until steps are taken to bring outgo in line with income. This proposed constitutional amendment calls not only for a balanced budget but some payment, even though small, on the national debt each year.

Mr. President, this proposal is not long. I ask unanimous consent that the significant parts of it be incorporated in my remarks at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION 1. On or before the fifteenth day after the beginning of each regular session of the Congress, the President shall transmit to the Congress a budget which shall set forth his estimate of the receipts of the Government, other than trust funds, during the ensuing fiscal year under the laws then existing and his recommendations with respect to expenditures to be made from funds other than trust funds during such ensuing fiscal year, which shall include an amount for a reduction of the public debt and which shall not exceed such estimate of the receipts. The President in transmitting such budget may recommend measures for raising additional revenue and his recommendations for the expenditure of such additional revenue. If the Congress shall authorize expenditures to be made during such ensuing fiscal year in excess of such estimate of the receipts, or if it fails to provide for a reduction of the public debt during such fiscal year, neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate shall—

(1) adjourn for more than three days at a time;

or

(2) subsequent to October 15, enact any bill or joint resolution other than a bill or joint resolution the purpose or effect of which is to increase revenues, reduce expenditures, or reduce the public debt;

until such action has been taken as may be necessary to balance the budget for such ensuing fiscal year and to provide for a reduction of the public debt during such fiscal year. In case of war or other grave national emergency, if the President shall so recommend, the Congress by a vote of three-fourths of all the Members of each House may suspend the foregoing provisions for balancing the budget and for reduction of the public debt for periods, either successive or otherwise, not exceeding one year each.

SEC. 2. This article shall take effect on the first day of the calendar year next following the ratification of this article.

SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the need for a balanced budget is imperative. Uncle Sam ought to pay his bills. It is that simple. The stature of the United States will increase both at home and abroad if our Government lives within its means. The soundness of all the property of our citizens, including their money, their homes, their savings, and their life insurance, would be made more secure if the U.S. Government would bring an end to deficit financing and end the continuous increasing of the national debt.

In the recent past, there have been those who have argued that deficit financing, which means an increasing of the national debt, was necessary and good. We should not accept their theorizing. We are faced with facts, not a theory. The facts are that this year the Congress will have to appropriate for interest on the national debt the sum of $14.2 billion because our national debt has been going up and up. This is $14.2 billion spent for interest which could have been spent on worthwhile needs of the Government or returned to the people.

The $14.2 billion which must be appropriated to pay the interest on the national debt for the fiscal year which will begin July 1, exceeds the grand total of the estimated expenditures for the year for veterans benefits and services, highways, including the Interstate System, Hill-Burton hospital construction, the civil works program of the Army Engineers, the entire cost of the Bureau of Reclamation, and the entire cost of the legislative and judicial functions of the Government.

There are many individuals in this body, and there are some individuals back home, who believe in far more spending and far more government than I have voted for. I do not challenge their dedication and sincerity. I want to ask one question, however: If the Government programs that they advocate, many of which have been enacted, are as good as they contend, why do we not pay for them? How can any person or group contend that a Government expenditure is a good thing and then lack the courage and honesty to impose and collect the revenue to finance such an expenditure? Are those who advocate increased expenditures so lacking in confidence in the programs they champion that they refuse to pay for them, but put off the payment for future generations?

Mr. President, the issue of paying as you go or increasing the debt boils down to a question of whether the citizens of one generation are willing to pay for their own government or whether they want to charge it to future generations and invite all sorts of trouble and possible chaos that must surely follow.

The U.S. Government operates at a deficit because a majority of individuals in charge of Government want to provide more Government benefits and programs but have a future generation pay for it.

I believe that a constitutional amendment should be submitted to the States that would bring an end to unbalanced budgets. I believe that the people of the United States, through their duly elected State legislatures, should have a right to pass on the question as to whether or not they want the U.S. Government to live within its means or mortgage the future. I hope the proposal I am introducing today will receive favorable committee action and speedy consideration by this body.

Mr. President, the proposal I am offering has the necessary flexibility that would enable the United States to defend itself in time of war or to meet a grave national emergency because it provides that in case of war or other grave national emergency, if the President shall so recommend, the Congress may by a vote of three-fourths of all Members of each House suspend the provisions of this proposal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 51) proposing an amendment of the Constitution of the United States relative to the balancing of the budget, introduced by Mr. CURTIS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILLS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 675, the Federal Wire Interception Act, the name of the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1205) to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make payments in advance of determination of performance to producers participating in the wheat program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS FOR *TECHNICAL SERVICES*

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the Committee on Government Operations will begin public hearings to review Government policy and practices with respect to contracts for technical services on March 22, at 10 a.m. in room 3302 in the New Senate Office Building.

The Committee on Government Operations has been concerned with the nature and extent of Government competition with private enterprise over a period of many years and contracts for technical services represent one aspect of that general subject.

The Department of Defense currently spends about $3.5 billion annually for such contracts. Recent policy changes indicate a reduction in the use of contract employees with a corollary increase in the need for additional Federal employees.

The business community, of course, is concerned over the potential loss of revenue such a change portends. The Committee on Government Operations is concerned with the relative efficiency and economy of support services generally, whether performed in-house or by private enterprise. It will, therefore, be our purpose to explore current practices to determine if the vast sums of money spent in this area are being used prudently and with due regard for the various interests involved.

The initial hearing on this matter will deal with the abrupt termination by the Department of the Army of a contract for technical services at the White Sands Missile Range, in New Mexico. At my request, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA] has agreed to serve as cochairman for the purpose of these hearings, since I will not be able to attend.

Persons interested in testifying should contact the clerk of the committee, room 3304, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS SCHEDULES HEARINGS ON BILL TO BROADEN EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR VETERANS OF THE COLD WAR

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on Monday, March 20 and Tuesday, March 21, the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs will conduct hearings on S. 9, a bill which would broaden the scope of educational and training benefits available to cold war veterans. Since the measure was introduced by my able colleague from Texas, Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, a total of 51 additional Senators have indicated a desire to be listed as cosponsors.

Among the provisions which will be considered by the subcommittee are: increases in educational allowances for veterans; authorization for veterans to make use of educational allowances for certain types of on-the-job, on-the-farm and flight training; expansion of the period of eligibility for training for veterans; payments to educational institutions to defray administrative costs; and other matters as may be appropriate.

Invited to appear as witnesses will be spokesmen of veterans' organizations, education and labor groups, business interests, the administration, and others. Members of the Senate are, of course, welcome to testify or submit written statements for inclusion in the printed record of hearings.

Additional information can be obtained

by contacting the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, room 252, Senate Office Building, telephone: 225-4538.

L.B.J. EXACTLY RIGHT TO CALL FOR END OF INVESTMENT CREDIT SUSPENSION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, President Johnson's decision to end the suspension of the investment credit as of yesterday is excellent news. The President deserves warm congratulations on this wise move.

Yesterday I put into the RECORD the report of the Commerce Department and the SEC showing that business investment in plant and equipment will rise by a far lesser margin this year than in 1964, 1965, and 1966.

And by "far lesser" I mean by only about 4 percent compared to the 14 to 17 percent during those earlier years.

Business investment in plant and equipment has been the accelerator force that has driven this economy ahead. The very sharp drop in its rate of expansion means that the driving force has gone out of the economy.

Of course, the falloff in retail sales, the leveling of industrial production, and the dangerous rise in inventories show that the immense productivity of our fabulous economy is able to provide more in goods than the economy can use, even with an expensive war going on.

The President's action of yesterday is a splendid first step in the right direction.

But it is a first step and only that. The economic situation clearly does not call for the 6-percent surtax increase the President called for in January. It would be absurdly inconsistent for Congress to reduce taxes by restoring the investment credit and then to increase taxes by hiking the corporation income tax and personal income tax.

I hope the President will announce soon that he will not press the tax increase. Its threat remains as a depressing factor for business and for consumers.

I also hope the Federal Reserve Board continues its commendable recent action in easing credit that has begun to lower interest rates.

This Government is on the verge of a serious test.

All the indications are that the 6-year period of economic growth may be nearing an end. If a flexible response to this threat such as the President exhibited yesterday—and the Federal Reserve Board has been demonstrating—can keep the economy growing and moving ahead and can prevent unemployment from growing, we will have made a very great achievement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from today's New York Times that also calls on the President to continue this kind of flexible fiscal policy be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLEXIBLE TAX RESPONSE

President Johnson moved both correctly and decisively requesting an immediate restoration of the 7 per cent tax credit for corporate investment in new plant and equipment.

The latest Government survey of corporate investment plans has left no room for doubt that the lengthy expansion in business activity is in trouble. Capital spending was a key element in the boom over the last few years; now this powerful stimulant with its great multiplier effects is clearly fading. Just a few months ago, the expectation was that outlays would rise by 6 per cent; instead, the new survey indicated that current outlays are unchanged from the fourth quarter of 1966 and that only a moderate advance was likely later in the year.

There were many reasons for this slowdown. The main one is that spending had been climbing at an unsustainable pace, far faster than either demand or profits or the stability of the economy warranted. The Administration could have moderated the increase last year if it had moved promptly to eliminate the tax credit that was spurring outlays. When it finally did apply the brakes last September, the damage had already been done.

Now, momentum has been lost and there is real danger that the current leveling off will turn into a decline. By acting at once, the President will help to maintain spending, which is essential to sustaining the expansion. But restoration of the tax credit cannot assure a boost in outlays any more than its elimination was responsible for the current sag. Once momentum has been lost, it is not always easy to get it going again.

What is needed is a thorough revision of the Administration's economic forecast and the fiscal policies that are based on it. The President can no longer go on the assumption that business activity will turn up in the second half of the year and that tax increases will be needed to keep things from getting out of hand. The economic situation has changed and policy should change with it.

We frequently have called for adoption of a more flexible fiscal policy, including changes in the investment credit and in income tax rates, as a means of regulating the economy. Such a policy, however, depends on good timing. It cannot be successful if Washington waits too long to act, as it did last year, or if it proposes action too far in advance of actual developments, as it did in January.

The President has demonstrated that he learned from last year's mistake. But flexibility must not stop at restoration of the tax credit. If the tax credit is needed to spur activity, then there is no need for putting into effect in July general tax increases that will certainly depress demand, create unemployment and dampen activity.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes, on another matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HART in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATE HAS OPPORTUNITY TO FREE UNITED STATES FROM U.N.'S "LEAST EXCLUSIVE CLUB"—XXVI

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the standing of the United States in the United Nations is partly dependent upon Senate ratification of the Human Rights Convention on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

True the United States has a distinguished record of support—in both the General Assembly and the Security Council—for the worldwide protection and strengthening of human rights.

Certainly, most of the member states of the United Nations are perceptive enough to recognize the total effort the people of the United States are, even today, pursuing to eradicate discrimination from our national life.

Nevertheless, as of November 1, 1966, the date of the most recent report on human rights conventions' ratification, only 8 of the 118 United Nations members had failed to ratify a single treaty. The eight nations which comprise the U.N.'s "least exclusive club" are Bolivia, the Maldive Islands, Spain, Togo, the Union of South Africa, Yemen, and the United States.

With all due respect to the other seven members in this "least exclusive club"—and two of them, Togo and the Maldive Islands, did not even exist when these conventions were adopted—none of them has the comparable advantage of either our abundant national experience or our profound national tradition in human rights.

Our failure to ratify a single one of the human rights conventions is embarrassing for us, puzzling for our allies, and beneficial only to our detractors.

The critics of the United States have made profitable propaganda from our refusal to ratify. "What is the United States trying to hide? Does the United States really care about anyone other than themselves? Why should we listen to the pious sermonizing of a nation which hasn't even cared enough to ratify a single human rights convention?"

These are the arguments which our critics cynically use. Who can assure us that these hypocritical charges will not persuade some of the uninformed or some of the impressionable?

Mr. President, the Senate—and the Senate alone—has the means of repudiating this deceitful slander. The Senate can reassure our allies and rout our opponents and "expel" the United States from the U.N.'s "least exclusive club." The Senate can do all these things by ratifying the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

I am delighted to see on the floor the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], whose ad hoc subcommittee on human rights conventions is holding hearings on these problems at the present time.

Mr. DODD. I thank the Senator. He has made a great contribution to the work of that ad hoc subcommittee.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have as much time as I may require to make my remarks, as in legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Connecticut? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE DODD CASE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I have thus far kept silent about the allegations that have been made against me in the press out of deference to the Senate Ethics Committee.

But I am weary of press abuse, and I

have now come to the conclusion that I must break my self-imposed silence and speak out because the endless repetition of the false allegations against me by certain columnists and certain influential newspapers has created a climate in which some people may be inclined to presume me guilty, even in advance of hearing what I have to say in my own defense and in advance of any finding by the Senate Ethics Committee.

The New York Times has referred editorially to "the astonishing affairs of Senator DODD."

The Hartford Courant had an editorial charging me with triple billings.

The New York Times Columnist James Reston in an article on February 26 went even further. He said the following:

> Bobby Baker, Adam Clayton Powell, Senator Dodd, all had their day but they were caught. The legal system trapped Baker, and the Congress has brought both Powell and Dodd to the bar of the Congress.

A feature article by Stewart Alsop in a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post spoke in its opening sentence of "the likes of Senator TOM DODD, Representative Adam Clayton Powell and the ambitious Bobby Baker."

Over the past few weeks I have counted at least a score of references in different newspapers to Bobby Baker, Adam Clayton Powell, and Senator DODD. I can think of no more certain way of implying a man's guilt than by thus linking his name gratuitously with the names of two other men who have recently been judged guilty of grave misconduct.

In a number of their columns, Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson have stated or insinuated that I have misappropriated funds, and these allegations have been repeated in many papers.

Right at the very beginning, therefore, I think it is important to establish that I have not enriched myself from public office. Indeed, the contrary is the fact.

Here are the facts about my financial condition:

First. I own no stocks, bonds, or other securities of any kind, nor have I owned any since I came to the Senate.

Second. I have no hidden assets, such as cash, savings accounts, or other business interests of any kind in this country, or any other country.

Third. By senatorial standards I have lived modestly. The facts about our home and about our manner of living can be attested to by all those, inside the Senate and outside, who have had occasion to visit Mrs. Dodd and myself at home.

Fourth. My net worth is approximately $54,000.

I herewith submit my financial statement as of February 15, 1967. This statement is complete to the best of my knowledge except for my personal belongings such as furniture, clothing, and so forth, which are of little value.

Mr. President, the financial statement is a part of my text. In case there is any doubt about it, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Statement of assets, liabilities and net worth as of February 15, 1967 of Thomas J. and Grace M. Dodd

ASSETS	
Cash in banks	$7,771
Real estate (at estimated market value):	
Residence, Washington, D.C	75,000
Residence, North Stonington, Conn.	60,000
Total	135,000
Investments:	
Cash surrender value of life insurance (Face value of policies $80,000)	29,378
Contributions for Civil Service retirement annuity	14,612
Total	43,990
Other assets (at estimated market value) automobile (1965 Mercury)	$1,855
Total assets	188,616
LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH	
Notes payable	21,500
Mortgages payable:	
Residence, Washington, D.C	22,095
Residence, North Stonington, Conn.	43,875
Total	87,470
Net worth (before expenses payable in connection with the Senate Ethics Committee investigations and pending litigation)	101,146
Expense payable in connection with the Senate Ethics Committee investigation and pending litigation:	
Legal out-of-pocket expenses	26,089
Accounting fees and other expenses	21,078
Total	47,167
Net worth	53,979

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a number of my colleagues have over the past several years made voluntary statements disclosing their net worth. I have followed their statements with some interest. Indeed, I consider it a good thing that a substantial number of Senators have achieved a degree of financial independence which makes it possible for them to devote themselves to their legislative duties without having to trouble about making ends meet.

I am glad for them.

I regret that I cannot personally lay claim to the prestige which attaches to financial well-being. I regret it for my family and I regret it for myself.

I have consistently supported legislation requiring the disclosure of net worth by all Members of Congress. I have done so with a sense of some embarrassment because I have always known that my own net worth would reveal me as one of the poorest Members of Congress.

Sometimes I have wondered whether I was not a fool to immerse myself in politics and to refuse the many lucrative alternatives that have over the years been open to me. But on the whole, I do not complain. I have made my choice of a political life, knowing the consequences, and I am fully prepared to live with them.

This coming week I shall be appearing before the Senate Ethics Committee to answer the remaining allegations that have been made against me.

I am confident, as I always have been, that I will be vindicated when the facts are all in.

I do not propose in speaking today to anticipate the questions which the Ethics Committee may ask me next week. But in advance of next week's hearing I think it will help clear the air if I respond to certain of the major allegations that have been made against me in the course of the "trial by press" to which I have been subjected for almost a year now.

Over the past 2 years the Supreme Court has handed down a series of decisions which protect those accused of criminal offenses from trial by press.

These decisions were based on the recognition that even the most honest men are influenced by what they read and hear, and that a fair trial becomes impossible if, in advance of the trial or during it, the defense of the accused person has been prejudiced by articles or commentaries finding the accused guilty or implying his guilt.

The legal profession was generally agreed that this decision of the Supreme Court was long overdue. There have been far too many convictions that have been influenced by prejudicial press coverage before the trial and during the trial.

Thanks to the Supreme Court's decisions there is protection today for murderers and other common criminals against trial by press.

For a U.S. Senator, however, there is no such protection.

I say this from bitter personal experience, because I believe that I have over the past year been the victim of perhaps the most vicious instance of trial by press in many years.

A U.S. Senator defending his reputation before a committee of his peers should be entitled to at least as much protection as an accused criminal.

This is all the more so because a Senate committee sitting in judgment on a fellow Senator functions as a court of first and last resort, whereas a convicted criminal can take his case through two or more appeals, with some hope that a verdict of guilty may be reversed by a higher court.

As matters stand today, I do not believe it is any exaggeration to say that, compared to an accused criminal, this U.S. Senator is definitely a second-class citizen.

THE QUESTION OF DOUBLE BILLINGS

One of the more glaring examples of trial by press was a series of articles in the New York Times during 1966 dealing with alleged instances of deliberate double billing.

Some time before he embarked on this series of pretended exposés, E. W. Kenworthy, the New York Times correspondent, in Washington, had a confidential conversation with one of my assistants. He told my assistant that the Times head office had been after the Washington of-

fice to get in on the Pearson-Anderson attacks on DODD, but that the Washington office had been resisting this pressure, first because they had no use for Pearson and Anderson and second because the New York Times did not believe in using stolen documents.

Apparently the pressure of the head office ultimately prevailed. Before it was all over, the New York Times had stooped to the use of stolen documents in the hands of known liars and admitted thieves.

What the New York Times charges boiled down to was that I had in a number of instances billed the same trip to Senate committees and to organizations under whose auspices I was speaking.

This information with the alleged supporting documents was given to the New York Times by a former employee by the name of O'Hare.

This is the O'Hare whom I hired while he was an impoverished student at the Catholic University and whom I entrusted to take care of my financial records, which, of course, included vouchers of all kinds including travel.

This is the O'Hare who participated in the theft of documents while he was pretending every day to be a trusted and faithful member of my staff. I remember that Christmas how he accepted a Christmas gift from Mrs. Dodd at the time he was stealing my property.

This is the O'Hare who testified that he had stolen my property at the urging of Boyd and Jack Anderson after the dismissal from my office of his girl friend, Terry Golden, whom I fired.

When the New York Times charges were made, I instructed my staff to check every single trip I had taken since I entered the Senate, and every item of correspondence, and every financial record relating to these trips. It was a very time-consuming task. But when the results were all in, here is what we found.

Since I came to the Senate I have made in excess of 200 trips, official and unofficial.

I have made about 80 trips where expenses were paid by either the U.S. Government or by private organizations.

Out of these 80 trips seven involved so-called double billing over a period of 6 years.

It is easy to understand how such an error could be made because it is an automatic practice to submit vouchers when trips are taken on committee business, while it is also an automatic practice to bill for transportation on speaking engagements.

The records also revealed when the books were examined that O'Hare was probably one of the most inefficient and sloppy bookkeepers who ever lived. I shall have more to say about the affairs of O'Hare and about his theft of documents from my office before I am through. But at this point let me confine myself to a single fact.

From January 1, 1961, until December 31, 1966, I was entitled to bill the Senate for 21 trips to Connecticut. But, in fact, primarily because of O'Hare, my office did not bill the Senate for any of these trips. Thus, I paid for 21 trips for which I never should have paid at all, and for which I was entitled to be paid by the Senate.

O'Hare did, however, collect on four occasions for trips for himself and Boyd and one or two others. He was, therefore, well aware that a Senator is entitled to reimbursement for a determined number of round trips to his State. But he was so sloppy that he never collected for a single trip I made to Connecticut, although there was not a year when I did not make at least a score of trips at my own expense.

O'Hare's sloppy errors almost balanced each other out. Deducting the value of the trips to Connecticut to which I was entitled but for which I did not collect, from the cost of the so-called double billing trips, I would owe the Government a balance of $384.24. This is over a period of 6 years, involving some 200 trips.

Yet this is the Senator whom a press wolfpack, led by Pearson, Anderson, and the New York Times, has pilloried as a scheming trimmer on travel accounts.

TESTIMONIALS AND THE COST OF OFFICE

Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson have made a big issue of the testimonials that have been run in my behalf since 1961. I know that my colleagues understand that income from testimonials has the legal status of a gift and therefore is not taxable. Unfortunately, the facts about testimonials are not understood by many members of the public and, as I have learned, by quite a few of the working press.

I have no doubt that the testimonial institution has on occasion been abused. On the other hand, a very strong argument can be made for the institution of the testimonial as a means for enabling those who hold office to liquidate political debts and to cover the sometimes very high cost of office.

In this connection, I want to quote from an article which my good friend, Paul Douglas, wrote for Parade magazine last July 10:

> What is the solution to these problems of requiring personal financial disclosure? The best solution would be for all citizens to take their civic duty seriously and contribute a few dollars to their party and its candidates. This would adequately finance campaigns and leave no candidate indebted to anyone. But this obviously does not happen and will not happen.
>
> The system that has grown up recently of having dinners where a guest gets a $5 dinner for $50 or $100 is a great improvement as a campaign fundraising device. No officeholder can feel that anyone can influence him for amounts as relatively small as this. Even the larger sums from the trade unions represent the dimes and dollars of ordinary working men and women. It is much healthier to have a large number of people giving $50 and $100 than a handful giving $5,000, $10,000 or $15,000 apiece. People who give large amounts expect, and generally get, favors in return. And in the end, the public pays for these contributions because the cost is absorbed in the defense contract or deposit insurance or the sugar quota received in return.

Under the law, the income from testimonials, like all gifts, can be used as the recipient sees fit. However, the public expects—and they are right in expecting this—that politicians will use testimonials not to enrich themselves, but rather to cover certain essential political costs.

Whatever fault may be found with my bookkeeping, I can truthfully say that I have not enriched myself from public office or from the testimonials of which I have been the beneficiary.

When I ran for the Senate in 1956, I was unable to overcome the Eisenhower tidal wave, despite the fact that I ran at the head of the Democratic ticket in Connecticut. From this campaign I inherited a sizable deficit. My political debt continued to grow from 1956 to 1958 because of my fight for nomination.

In the 1958 campaign I was able to win by a very heavy plurality. But again I was left with a deficit.

As a result of my political activities from 1956 through 1958, my total indebtedness when I entered the Senate in 1959 was $150,000.

I had to do all my own financing because the Democratic organization in Connecticut was at that time opposed to me.

My friends were aware of the burden I was carrying and they got together without any encouragement from me, and decided that they would like to do something to help me extricate myself from my political indebtedness. I was approached by my friends and was informed of their plan.

Because I was uncertain of the tax consequences and other implications, I consulted an attorney, Judge Joseph Blumenfeld, my former law partner. He advised me that the proceeds from this fundraising event, which was being organized as a testimonial to me, constituted a tax-free gift and should not be included in my income.

Having thus assured myself of the legal facts I excluded the proceeds from my gross income.

From this testimonial dinner, which was held in November 1961, I received approximately $56,000.

During the year 1961 I repaid approximately $48,000 in debts. However, I still owed approximately $100,000.

Again my friends came to my aid in 1963. They organized several testimonials to me. However, knowing from past experience of the cost of campaigning and the possibility of a deficit, I did not take any of the proceeds. I let the funds remain in the bank account as a backstop for a possible campaign deficit.

I was right because it turned out that I had to use approximately $32,000 of these funds to get my campaign started. $24,000 was repaid to my testimonial bank account when the campaign was over. Thus, I had a deficit of approximately $8,000.

In 1965 my friends again sponsored a testimonial to me. And it was not until 1965, when all my campaign bills were paid that any distribution was made to me from my combined testimonial fund which then included the income of both my 1963 and my 1965 testimonials. From this combined fund I received at that time approximately $94,000 of which I used $81,000 to repay debts. In addition, I received approximately $12,000 from a District of Columbia testimonial reception, of which I used approximately $6,000 directly for my campaign. Finally, I received $8,000 in cash contributions, of which I used approximately $6,000 to repay debts.

Thus, of approximately $170,000 I received from testimonial functions organized in my behalf, I asked approximately $140,000 to repay political debts. The balance remaining was offset many times over the costs of political office over an 8-year period.

It was at this point that I had my head above water for the first time since I entered the Senate.

As the facts reveal, I have not enriched myself from political office.

The costs of achieving office run extremely high; and unless you are a rich man it is frequently necessary to borrow money to win election.

I have no regrets.

I would do what I have done all over again.

I know in my heart I have raised money in an honorable fashion and in good faith.

So far as I know, no donor has challenged the fact that the 1961, 1963, and 1965 fundraising events were testimonials, that is noncampaign fundraising events.

However, the charge has been made by people who have not attended these events that the donors were led to believe that they were contributing to my campaign fund.

To this very moment, not one single donor who has contributed to any of these functions has ever contended that they thought they were contributing to my campaign.

I would like any person who came under the mistaken impression that it was for my campaign fund, to communicate with me. I will return their money immediately if they were thus misled. And if my personal means should not prove adequate, I will borrow the money, if necessary, to pay the claims which may be made in response to this statement.

On Monday, I again appear before the Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct to answer the allegations that have been made against me.

Which brings me back to the question of trial by press.

Those papers that have generally or frequently supported my views on foreign policy or which have been open-minded about them, have refrained from passing judgment and have treated me fairly.

On the other hand, I have noticed that certain papers that have frequently disagreed with my foreign policy views and which have considered me too rigid in my opposition to communism have been quick to find me guilty in advance of any hearings or any finding by the Senate Ethics Committee.

I do not appeal for fair treatment to Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson—men who are completely without honor in their own profession and who are organically incapable of honesty or decency. I expect them to do their utmost during the course of the hearing, as they have over the past year, to subject me to trial and conviction in the press of this country through the several hundred newspapers to which their column is syndicated.

Only last week, Pearson and Anderson wrote a column the purpose of which was to convey the impression that I had used my position in the Senate to engage in profitable business operations. This is a lie. And they did not produce a scintilla of evidence to prove that I had actually engaged in such operations.

Apart from Pearson and Anderson, however, I do ask for fair treatment from the press in the coming hearing.

And now I want to deal with another aspect of the case:

CRIME AND NONPUNISHMENT

Burglary is defined as "a crime of stealth" consisting of "an entry—forcible or otherwise—to commit a felony or larceny."

"Crime Reports for 1965," issued by the FBI, states that "burglary was the crime with the greatest number of offenses." In the District of Columbia alone there were 9,886 burglaries that year. In only a small minority of cases were the criminals apprehended and punished.

Because of the difficulty of apprehending those responsible for burglaries, one would imagine that the law enforcement authorities would move expeditiously to bring to justice every person credibly accused of such crime, particularly where their guilt is clear. Unfortunately, this is not always so.

In June of 1965 there was a burglary in the Senate Office Building.

The identity of the burglars has been known since late January of 1966.

The FBI has conducted a thorough investigation of the burglary and submitted a report on it to the Department of Justice.

The burglars themselves have confessed their deed in sworn testimony before a Senate committee, and they have further confirmed that over the weekend of June 12–13, 1965, and over the following weekend, they surreptitiously entered a Senator's office seven times for the purpose of removing documents from his files.

But although the facts about the burglary have been established beyond dispute, and although legal experts have offered the opinion that the burglars in question were guilty of violating Federal and District statutes, to date nothing has been done to bring the burglars to justice.

This should be a matter of concern to every Member of the Senate. Because, while the office in question was my office, it might have been the office of any other Senator.

I propose to tell the full story of this burglary today for the information of my colleagues and the information of the American people.

Some of my friends have counseled me not to make this speech, because, they say, my critics will shout that I am seeking to distract attention from the charges that have been made against me.

What my critics will say I cannot control.

But the record will show that it was I who requested the Senate Ethics Committee to investigate the allegations that have been made against me and that I have already appeared in public session to answer certain of these allegations.

But I consider it essential to set forth the facts about the burglary of my office by certain ex-employees and about the conspiracy to steal and copy documents from a Senator's files, because this burglary was the genesis of the false and malicious campaign against me, and because the burglars themselves have been the chief witnesses against me.

For more than a year, I have maintained silence in the face of a malicious, sustained, and groundless attack that surely must be without precedent in the history of the U.S. Senate.

I have maintained silence—at great cost to myself and my family—out of respect for the Senate and in particular out of respect for the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, in order that it might be free to conduct its inquiry, which I requested, without anything that might be regarded as pressure from me.

I am convinced that I have kept silent long enough, perhaps, too long.

THE THEFT OF DOCUMENTS, AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ME

The origin of the present campaign against me—which included the planning and execution of the burglary—go back to my dismissal in December 1964, of two employees who had been guilty of serious misconduct.

One of these was James Boyd, who had served as my administrative assistant; the other, Mrs. Marjorie Carpenter, my personal secretary. At a later date, and apparently after a good deal of persuading, Boyd was able to enlist the assistance of my office manager, Michael V. O'Hare, and his girl friend, Terry Golden, who worked as a stenographer in my office until her dismissal in early October 1965.

I do not wish on the floor of the Senate to go into all the details of my dismissal of Boyd and Mrs. Carpenter in December of 1964. The story is a sordid one, and a sad one. But certainly any Senator, confronted with similar information about two trusted employees, would have taken the same action I took.

I have myself to blame, for a profound misreading of character. And I reproach myself all the more because in Boyd's case there had been certain storm signals at a much earlier date. Out of consideration for his wife and his children, I offered him another chance. I now realize that I erred in doing so.

The entire documentation relating to this incident has been given to the Senate Ethics Committee.

Neither, Mrs. Carpenter nor Boyd entered my office again after their dismissal until that afternoon in June 1965, when they illegally entered it for the purpose of burglarizing my files, and removed thousands of documents which they photocopied and turned over to Jack Anderson.

Over the weekends of June 12–13 and June 19–20, Boyd and Mrs. Carpenter broke into and entered my office a total of seven times for the purpose of removing documents and copying them for Jack Anderson and Drew Pearson. In doing so, they have claimed that they were acting out of the highest ethical motives. Boyd even likened his action to a "citizen's arrest."

How ethical were the motives of this self-appointed vigilante who substituted himself for the law and for due process, I shall set forth in detail in my further remarks.

The document thieves ransacked the files in every part of my office.

They stole from my office and copied thousands of letters exchanged with constituents.

They stole and copied exchanges of correspondence with the President and the State Department.

They made photocopies of letters to and from other Senators, which happened to be in my files.

They stole my income tax returns.

They stole classified documents.

They even stole my correspondence with my wife and my children.

And when their criminal conduct was exposed, they stated that all of this was done in the name of ethics and integrity in Government.

The conspirators took the stolen documents to Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, who are generally recognized as the most unscrupulous—to put it mildly—and inaccurate members of the journalistic profession.

Based on this material, Pearson and Anderson since January 24, 1966, have written some 90 columns accusing me of improper dealings with Gen. Julius Klein; of improper relations with Michel Struelens, former representative of the Katanga Government; of the misuse of campaign funds; of double billings on some of the trips I have made; and of other alleged improprieties.

Early in 1966, I requested the Senate Ethics Committee to look into the allegations that had been made against me.

I have responded to the charges involving my relationship with Gen. Julius Klein in my testimony before the Ethics Committee.

The allegations with regard to receipts from testimonial dinners and other sources has, for a number of months now, been the subject of a comprehensive investigation by the Internal Revenue Service, in which the Service has had my full cooperation.

I am confident that when all the other facts and the supporting documents are presented to the Ethics Committee, they will vindicate me in the eyes of my colleagues and in the eyes of the public.

But I want to point out to my colleagues that there is far more at stake in this case than the vindication of one lone Senator.

What is at stake is the right of every Senator and other public official to the privacy guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution.

What is at stake is the privacy of every citizen—because the files of every Member of Congress contain literally thousands of letters, of a personal or confident nature, written by constituents.

What is at stake is the right of every Senator and other public official to be safeguarded against trial and conviction in the public press on the basis of documents stolen from their files, distorted out of all context, and presented to the jury of public opinion by unscrupulous, lying journalists.

What is at stake is the right of Members of Congress to be protected against conspiracies to burglarize their files, masterminded by columnists who specialize in muckraking and character assassination, and who will stop at nothing in the pursuit of their evil specialty.

What is at stake in a still larger sense is the national security, because there is no Senator whose files do not contain confidential and secret documents—relating to his various committee activities.

Even if secret documents are not removed, and I am sure they were, the mere act of illegally entering a Senator's office and burglarizing his files still has the gravest implications from a national security standpoint.

THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE CONSPIRATORS

The high ethical motivations which Pearson and Anderson have attributed to Boyd and Mrs. Carpenter hardly squares with the record of their actions.

First of all, there is the fact of the suspiciously long time it took for their consciences to become active. Everything that Boyd and O'Hare knew about the alleged abuse of testimonial dinner funds and alleged conflicts of interest and the allegations involving my relationship with General Klein, they had known for a long time prior to their dismissal and in certain cases for several years prior to their dismissal. The question may fairly be asked, therefore, why their so-called ethical motivations became operative only after their dismissal.

Second, there is the strange chronology of Boyd's relationship with Jack Anderson and of the theft of documents.

Boyd and Mrs. Carpenter were dismissed in December 1964. In part because of Boyd's many years of service with relatively little vacation, in part because of his family, in part because it was still my hope that he could somehow be salvaged, he was continued on the salary roll for a time.

I was finally satisfied that he could never be brought back into my office again. But I did suggest to him the possibility of a job on some committee staff at a salary some $6,000 or $7,000 less than the top Senate salary of $23,300, which he was then receiving.

In his letter declining this offer, Boyd made it clear that he wanted his job at the same salary, but not at a reduced salary.

The first massive theft of documents from my office, as I have pointed out, took place almost exactly 1 month after Boyd's salary had been terminated.

I am certain that the documents would never have been stolen from my office and there would have been no Dodd case if Boyd were still drawing his salary of $23,300.

Third, I think it is of cardinal importance, in judging their motives, that they took these documents not to the FBI or to the Department of Justice or to any proper authority, but to two columnists who, more than any other newspaper columnists of our time, have made a specialty of character assassination and have earned for themselves the dubious distinction of being called liars by three Presidents and more than 30 Members of the Senate.

They did not take the documents to the FBI when they removed them from my office, because, as Boyd stated in his testimony, he did not trust the FBI.

They did not take the documents to the Department of Justice because these self-appointed vigilantes apparently had no more confidence in its integrity than they did in the integrity of the FBI.

Nor did they bring the documents to the Ethics Committee or to any member of the Ethics Committee, because the committee and its members also failed to qualify for their confidence.

Instead, they took the documents to Jack Anderson and Drew Pearson because, as a press item recently suggested, they regarded them as the "relevant law enforcement agency."

They took the documents to Pearson and Anderson not merely because of their record as character assassins, but also because Pearson and Anderson had displayed a consistent animus against me since I was first elected to the Senate. Boyd himself has written more than one reply to the many lies that Pearson and Anderson have told about me. Indeed, before the 1964 election campaign Boyd drafted a master memorandum setting forth eight separate lies about me which had appeared in the Pearson-Anderson column.

Boyd took the documents, in short, not to some respected member of the press whose attitude toward me was impartial but to the most virulently anti-Dodd members of the American journalistic community.

I note in this connection that when Warren Woods, counsel for Jack Anderson, defended Boyd's actions on grounds of "ethical duty" before Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff, Judge Holtzoff replied that if Boyd felt I had committed a felony, then he was obligated to tell the district attorney, or the FBI or other authorities. But, said Judge Holtzoff, Boyd was under no ethical obligation to inform the press, and I quote:

> He had no ethical duty to extract documents from the files.

As for O'Hare, the claim to ethical motivation is equally ludicrous.

I first employed O'Hare on a part-time basis in 1961 when he was still a student at Catholic University and desperately in need of income to enable him to complete his studies. O'Hare went on full-time salary on August 1, 1962. Over a few years' time he worked up to a salary of $10,000 per annum as office manager. This should have been an adequate salary for a single man, but for some reason O'Hare was always broke and always borrowing money from other members of the staff.

When my executive assistant, Gerry Zeiller, resigned to move to New Hampshire in June 1965—7 months after Boyd and Mrs. Carpenter had been dismissed—O'Hare put in a strong bid for Zeiller's job, which would have meant a substantial salary increase. O'Hare did not get the job for the simple reason that I did not feel he was up to it. How right I was.

If O'Hare had been really disturbed by what he now alleges was my "unethical conduct" is it not a trifle strange that, in mid-1965, when O'Hare knew everything he knows today, he nevertheless tried so hard to obtain a more responsible position on my staff at a higher salary?

And is it not equally strange that O'Hare did not engage in the massive theft of documents from my office until after the dismissal of his girl friend, Terry Golden, on October 6, 1965?

The chronology of events and the facts I have here listed should be sufficient to demonstrate that Boyd, Carpenter, and O'Hare acted out of motives of malice and revenge and that their conduct had absolutely nothing to do with a concern over ethics in Government.

THE CONSPIRACY

I have submitted evidence to the FBI which clearly points to a conspiracy between Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson and the former employees I have named, to invade my privacy, to steal documents from my office in the Senate Office Building, and to employ these documents in a maliciously distorted manner in a campaign designed to destroy my public reputation.

That Pearson-Anderson and these former employees acted together in a conspiratorial manner has been confirmed beyond the possibility of challenge by the testimony given in public session before the Senate Ethics Committee and by Boyd in his pretrial deposition.

From his sworn testimony it is clear that after his dismissal Boyd saw Anderson, who instructed him to steal documents from my office.

Said Boyd:

> I believe that Mr. Anderson told me—that it was a hazardous thing, it was a risk, it might result in trouble, that he did not think that it would because when the full story was told and the motives were told, he could not imagine any legislative or executive body taking action.

There is conclusive proof that the details of the theft of documents and of the copying operation were worked out in detail, in advance and in a conspiratorial manner, by Jack Anderson, Boyd, and Mrs. Carpenter.

When they removed the documents from my office over the weekend of June 12–13, Boyd and Mrs. Carpenter took them, obviously by prearrangement, to the office of Jack Anderson; and Anderson's secretary, Miss Opal Ginn, teamed up with Boyd that first weekend in copying an estimated 1,000 documents on a Xerox machine in a public relations office located in the same building and to which Anderson had access. The copying operation also was clearly prearranged, because Miss Ginn had to give up her weekend for the purpose.

That Anderson also encouraged and directed O'Hare to steal documents was confirmed to the Senate committee by O'Hare himself.

In mid-October, Terry Golden was dismissed from her position. O'Hare told the Senate committee that Miss Golden had been his girl friend and that he had been upset over her dismissal. It was at this moment that Boyd brought him together with Jack Anderson, who persuaded him to join the conspiracy. O'Hare's testimony on this point is worth quoting:

> As I say, after meeting him . . ., referring to Anderson, I was convinced, or at least within a few days, a short period of time after meeting him—I became convinced in my own mind that possibly some good could come out of the exposé that he planned, and it was with this in mind that I finally agreed to join up and participate in it. From then on I was an active member of the group as far as working, doing research for them, gathering actually any material. The documents which were taken, as far as my own participation in it went, I do not believe that I took any great amount of documents probably until the middle of October 1965. I may have taken a few copies here and there, but it was not until October, the middle of October, that I actually took any great amount.

In the Wall Street Journal of May 25, 1966, Jack Anderson told a story about the growth of the conspiracy and about the formal meetings of the conspirators. If words have any meaning, Anderson's account clearly indicates that decisions were made at these conspiratorial meetings as to which documents my ex-employees should attempt to steal—whereupon they went and stole them. I quote Mr. Anderson's own words on this point:

> It started slowly, first one assistant and then another . . . eight in all. Finally, I got most of them together. We talked and one would spark another's memory. We made up a list of over 50 items on things that were questionable. They made copies of documents from his files to support the points and passed them to me. From there we did a lot of checking with all sorts of people who had had dealings with Dodd.

In a recent appearance on the Mark Evans show on February 18, Jack Anderson went even further. Indeed, he virtually asserted that it was he who instructed my ex-employees to burglarize my office. When Mark Evans asked him whether it made no difference how you go about getting information, Jack Anderson replied:

> Yes. When Senator Dodd, for example—his activities—came under scrutiny, we got documents that came out of his files. His own employees who took these documents discussed it with me before they did. I put it this way to them. I said, you don't work for Senator Dodd. I said, you work for the taxpayers. Now let's say that you were working for a great corporation and your immediate superior was cheating the stockholders. Would your obligation be to that superior or would it be to the corporation? And they all agreed that it would be to the corporation.

Anderson went on to suggest that if Presidential employees felt that the President was guilty of wrongdoing, it would also be their duty to burglarize documents. I quote verbatim from the transcript of the program:

> Mark Evans: I am not a lawyer and I don't pretend to be, but I am wondering if letters written to me aren't my personal possession no matter who pays me.
>
> Anderson: Not if you are a government official and are concerned . . ."
>
> Evans: You mean to say that any letter written to President Johnson is the possession of all the people of the United States?
>
> Anderson: If in these letters President Johnson is in a conspiracy to defraud or to deceive the public, then those letters should be made public.

Jack Anderson's formula is an open invitation to every disgruntled Government employee who wants to get back at his superior to enter into a conspiracy with Anderson for the purpose of stealing documents from his superior's office.

THE THEFT OF THE VALACHI FILES AND OTHER PEARSON-ANDERSON THEFTS

This, of course, was not the first time that Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson have stolen documents or conspired to steal documents or suborned the theft of documents from Government offices. The fact is that no Government office has been immune from their file pilfering, and no document has been too secret to violate.

Pearson and Anderson have frequently flaunted their access to top secret documents.

For example, just a few months ago the Pearson-Anderson column printed several paragraphs of direct quotation from what they described as a top secret memorandum submitted to the FBI by double agent John Humenek.

The violations of security and of the law by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson are legion. The facts in many cases have been established beyond any reasonable doubt. But for some strange reason, Pearson and Anderson have thus far been able to escape prosecution.

During the civil war in Greece, Drew Pearson one day published the details of the British order of battle in Greece. This came from a top secret document, a copy of which had been given to the Pentagon by the British. The publication of this information created a crisis of confidence between our British allies and ourselves. An investigation by Pentagon and State Department security officers established that Alger Hiss' office had borrowed a copy from the Pentagon and that it was Alger Hiss' office which released the information to Drew Pearson.

During the Korean war, Pearson-Anderson were guilty of numerous violations of secrecy including the publication of the contents of a number of top secret documents.

In 1957, when Lloyd Wright, Chairman of the Commission on Government Security, cited seven Pearson columns which made use of classified information during the Korean war, Pearson sued for $176,000. The suit was thrown out.

At one point during the Korean war the Pentagon was so outraged by Pearson-Anderson's publication of top secret information that an official memorandum urging an indictment was drawn up. The Pentagon had all the facts to obtain an indictment. Why no action was taken I do not know.

In the Department of State at this hour there is a whole file full of reports dealing with violations of secrecy by Pearson and Anderson. In a number of instances State Department security officers recommended that action be taken. But orders invariably came down not to pursue the matter.

In one of the most recent instances of which I have knowledge, Jack Anderson arranged to have the top secret Valachi file stolen from the Department of Justice. It was taken to his house in a shopping bag; and he copied the contents of this file on the same Xerox machine he used to copy my stolen documents.

Jack Anderson will have a lot of explaining to do on this one.

The documents were top secret for a very good reason. The underworld wanted to know desperately exactly what Valachi had said and whom he had named—and they were unquestionably prepared to pay a very high price for this information.

The removal of these documents from the Justice Department and the act of copying them constituted a grave violation of law enforcement security, because it opened up the possibility that the contents might in some way fall into the hands of the underworld.

I believe the Justice Department and the FBI have the facts about the theft of the Valachi file and about how Jack Anderson copied its contents. If they do not, then I shall be happy to provide the proof to them.

I shall, moreover, be happy to provide a grand jury or the appropriate committee of Congress with proof of all the statements I have made and with the names of eyewitnesses.

What is involved in the so-called Dodd case, therefore, goes beyond the right of a U.S. Senator to the same privacy that is guaranteed to every citizen. It involves, in a very basic sense, the question of Government security and the entire relationship between the press and Government.

The suggestion has been made in several quarters that it makes no difference how Pearson and Anderson obtained the documents from my office.

But I want to say for the record that the kind of conspiracy I have described and the suborning of this type of criminality by disgruntled or emotionally disturbed employees, is a procedure that cannot be condoned by the most ardent champions of the freedom of the press. Nor can it be tolerated by Congress or the American people. For if it were condoned or tolerated, no Government files could be considered immune to this kind of conspiratorial burglary.

WHY HAS THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FAILED TO ACT?

These, then, are the facts about the conspiracy to burgarize my Senate office, and to mount a campaign of distortions against me designed to destroy my public reputation. These are the facts, too, about those responsible for the burglary.

I do not seek, in making these facts public, to distract attention from the allegations that have been made against me. On the contrary, I welcome the opportunity to answer them. But I feel the charges made against me by my detractors cannot be properly weighed—by my colleagues or by the press or by the public—without full knowledge of the facts I have here set forth, or without the realization that the chief witnesses against me are the burglars themselves.

I find certain aspects of this situation mystifying.

A multiple burglary has been committed in the office of a U.S. Senator.

The identity of the burglars is known; the facts of the burglary have been established beyond reasonable doubt.

Why then have the conspirators not yet been brought to justice?

I had an opportunity some months ago to discuss the delay with a top official of the Department of Justice. He told me that there was absolutely no doubt in his mind that a crime had been committed. But he said the Justice Department was deferring action because the principals involved were current witnesses before a congressional inquiry.

I asked the Justice Department official whether the Department would defer prosecution in the case of murder, if the murderer happened to be a current witness before a congressional committee. He replied that this would clearly be a different matter.

I then asked him what the Department's reaction would be in the case of a bank robbery. If the bank robbers happened to be testifying before a congressional committee, would the Department defer prosecution until their testimony was completed? And if so, was there any time limit on the deferment? Would the Justice Department suspend action for 6 months? For 1 year? Indefinitely?

The Justice Department official replied that a bank robbery, too, would be an altogether different matter, and he had no doubt that in such a case the Department would move immediately to indict.

I then asked him if the Justice Department would defer prosecution in a case of assault and battery if the guilty person happened to be testifying before a congressional committee. Again he told me that he could not conceive of any delay in prosecuting such a case.

I then asked him where and how the Justice Department drew the line in the catalog of crimes. How did it decide when it should defer prosecution and when it should not defer prosecution where the principals are witnesses before congressional committees?

The Justice Department official had no answer. Nor have I been able to obtain a satisfactory answer from any one of the several other official sources with whom I have discussed the matter.

The failure of the Justice Department to take any action in this case raises a number of urgent questions:

Does not the failure to enforce the law encourage other unscrupulous members of the press and other disgruntled employees to embark on similar conspiracies directed against other targets, both official and public?

Does it not aggravate the trend toward the increasing violation of personal privacy guaranteed by the Constitution?

Does it not serve as an encouragement to every citizen to set himself up as a substitute for the law and to engage in vigilante actions against his employers and against his neighbors?

These are questions that affect every Member of Congress and every citizen of our country.

The instigators of this crime, as I have pointed out, are guilty of many similar crimes against various Government offices and against the national security, and it is high time something was done about it.

Pearson is the Rasputin of American society and Jack Anderson is his jackal.

It is high time that they were brought to book. I will do everything in my power to see that they are.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the text of a remarkable editorial from the Hartford Times, dealing with the implications for every citizen of the theft of documents from my office.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DODD'S MAIL AND YOURS

Charges and counter-charges in the Dodd case notwithstanding, it is disturbing that the theft of documents, records, and correspondence from the office of a United States senator is looked upon by official Washington with benign unconcern.

Senator Dodd volunteered his files to the Senate committee studying charges of misconduct against him. If Senator Dodd had refused to submit his files, the committee (or the Internal Revenue Service or Justice Department for that matter) could have subpoenaed them.

Examination of their contents would then be accorded due process of law. But in the illegal removal and photostating of thousands of Senator Dodd's records by disgruntled former employees, neither public authority nor legal precautions were guaranteed.

What everyone has overlooked is that correspondence involves other parties; that since he became a senator in 1959 thousands upon thousands of his Connecticut constituents have written to Mr. Dodd, using the privacy of the mails to relate, request, report business or personal matters, some of which are undoubtedly confidential, confessional, or confused.

A public servant's files on public matters should be available for justifiable, properly handled scrutiny. However, are we to understand that a personal letter to a United States senator or a representative or any government official automatically becomes public property?

The Senate Ethics Committee will not disclose the contents of personal mail from Connecticut letter-writers. But if individuals can unlawfully remove, read, and copy (perhaps even sell) anything in a public official's office—and do so with apparent impunity—then the Congress, the courts, or the Justice Department should consider whether the rights of any of Senator Dodd's constituents have been violated or may be violated hereafter.

Julius Klein's "chutzpah" in instructing Senator Dodd to run errands for him may appear damning or amusing. But what about a letter from an over-wrought mother pleading with her U.S. Senator to try to keep her boy from being shipped to Viet Nam?

Or the letter from a small store owner who exaggerated his income tax deductions, wants to make amends but is afraid of being arrested, and asks his congressman for advice?

By profession lawyers constitute the majority in both Senate and House (Connecticut's six representatives and two senators are lawyers) and it is not unusual for correspondence on legal affairs—whether a corporation charter or a friend's divorce suit—to be mailed to Washington.

What protection exists for the privacy of the authors?

To debate the question now would confuse it with the pros and cons of the Dodd case and evoke the prejudices of the senator's allies and enemies alike.

After the legal and political dust has set-tied on the Dodd controversy, however, civil libertarians should think it through.

Mr. DODD. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a New York Times editorial of July 16, 1963, and the complete text of a letter which I wrote on July 18, 1963, to the editor of the New York Times, which sets forth in a summary manner the history of the Times' continuing vendetta against my foreign policy views.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 16, 1963]

TEXT OF NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL ON GHANA AND REPLY OF SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD

The statement by Senator Dodd, of Connecticut, that Ghana is probably "the first Soviet satellite in Africa" is almost as harmful to the position of the United States in Africa as it is unjust to Ghana. The irresponsibility of the statement is obvious from the fact that even Senator Dodd only claims to have talked to one man, who is a respected Ghanaian opposition leader in exile, Dr. Kofi Busia.

Conclusive "evidence" of President Kwame Nkrumah's Communism, according to Senator Dodd's way of thinking, seems to be that Mr. Nkrumah made a trip behind the Iron Curtain. Even Dr. Busia, for all his hostility, did not testify that Ghana in his opinion is a "Soviet satellite." He argued that it is "Communist oriented."

The evidence is mixed, even contradictory. The aid being given by the United States and British Governments and the World Bank was arranged after careful inquiries.

A new Ghanaian investment law to encourage foreign private investments has just been adopted. The American Peace Corps has had a successful program.

Ghana's foreign policies do often coincide with the Soviet position; but that is a very long way from saying that Ghana—or any other African state—is a satellite. Guinea was stereotyped in the same way by many Americans until a year or two ago, when the essential African determination to be nobody's satellite became clear there—and Guinea was much nearer to being a Soviet satellite than Ghana has ever been.

None of this means that the Nkrumah Government is pro-Western or democratic. Nothing could be less democratic than the autocratic, authoritarian, one-party system of Ghana, with Kwame Nkrumah as the tribal chieftain of his nation. Moreover, no one can question the fact that Mr. Nkrumah is a fanatical anticolonialist, "anti-imperialist" African leader with, doubtless, imperial ambitions of his own in West Africa. Besides which, he is a variation of a Marxist since he has introduced what he himself calls a policy of African Socialism.

Senator Dodd seems to believe all this makes Ghana a "Soviet satellite." Such wild statements are, in fact, calculated to drive any African leader toward Moscow. It is hard for foreigners to realize that people like Senator Dodd, fortunately, do not speak for the United States, or the United States Government or, in his case, even for the United States Senate.

UNABRIDGED TEXT OF REPLY OF SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD TO THE N.Y. TIMES

JULY 18, 1963.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In the interest of fairness, I wish to ask permission to reply to your editorial of July 16 in which you took me to task for the statement I made in connection with the testimony of the Ghanaian opposition leader, Dr. Kofi Busia.

In my statement, I said that the evidence and documentation presented to the Subcommittee "strongly suggest that Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana has become the first Soviet satellite in Africa." This statement, in the opinion of your editorial, was "unjust to Ghana" and "harmful to the position of the United States in Africa."

"The irresponsibility of the statement," said your editorial, "is obvious from the fact that even Senator Dodd claims to have talked to only one man, a respected Ghanaian opposition leader in exile, Dr. Kofi Busia." My first comment is that I did not "talk" to Dr. Busia; I took his sworn testimony. (Dr. Busia, incidentally, is a man of unchallengeable integrity who belongs in the very front ranks of the academic world. He is a graduate of Oxford University, a recipient of Fulbright and Carnegie awards, and has been a visiting professor at universities in Holland, Mexico, and the United States.) But what your editorial failed to mention altogether is that this testimony was supported by 108 documents which convey the views and opinions of many other prominent Ghanaians, as well as numerous independent observers.

In combination, these documents and the testimony taken set forth the views of (1) Ghana's opposition leader in exile, Dr. Kofi Busia, (2) Joe Appiah and R. R. Ampousah, erstwhile members of Ghana's parliament who were jailed for their opposition to Nkrumah, (3) the Ghana Student's Association of the Americas, (4) K. A. Gbedeman, Nkrumah's former finance minister, (5) Alex Hammah, a Ghanaian who "by virtue of his profession became intimate with the concealed communist machinery which is being forcefully used to impose on Ghana a communist regime", (6) eleven British newspapers, (7) the International Commission of Jurists, and (8) the International Press Institute of Zurich. But most compelling of all are the documents written by Nkrumah himself or by propagandists serving under his command.

How your editorialist could have failed to mention the existence of this documentation to your readers, I fail to understand. The only assumption that makes sense is that he did not examine the evidence before writing his editorial.

I share the belief of the New York Times that grave harm can be done by reckless or exaggerated charges against foreign governments or their leaders. There are, I am afraid, irresponsible conservatives who gratuitously denounce as "communist" the Betancourt Government in Venezuela and any other mildly socialist or reform government. Conversely, there are irresponsible liberals who are prepared to condemn as "fascist" any anti-communist government which is not a lily-white democracy. "Fascist" and "communist" have very precise meanings, and they should not be employed loosely or carelessly.

I believe that my own record will show that I have not made any indiscriminate charges of "communism" against heads of foreign governments. Kassem, Nasser, Sukarno, Ben Bella and other modern statesmen have sometimes carried their collaboration with the communists to the danger point—but they are not communists, and I have never so described them. I have made this charge heretofore against two heads of government whose political identity at the time seemed to mystify many people, as Nkrumah's does today. These two men were Fidel Castro and Cheddi Jagan. In both cases, my evaluations, while they did not enjoy the immediate acceptance of the State Department or the New York Times, were borne out by events.

On July 14, 1959, Major Pedro Diaz Lanz, former chief of Castro's Air Force, told the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security that Castro was trying to convert Cuba into a "tool of Russia." (The Subcommittee at that time already had substantial evidence on hand from other sources that Castro was himself a communist and that his movement was communist-dominated.) Twenty-four hours later, Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times filed a dispatch from Havana from which I quote:

"This is not a communist revolution in any sense of the word and there are no communists in positions of control. . . . The accusations of Major Pedro Diaz Lanz before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee yesterday are rejected by virtually all Cubans. . . . The only power worth considering in Cuba today is in the hands of Premier Castro, who is not only not communist but decidedly anti-communist."

Regrettably, there were many people, both in government and out, who continued to "give Castro the benefit of the doubt," some for another year, some for almost two years.

On July 17, 1961, in a speech on the floor of the Senate, I warned that the election of Dr. Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana might give us another communist-dominated government in the Americas. There was no doubt in my mind, as there was no doubt in the mind of the British Royal Commission which had investigated Jagan's activities, that Jagan was a communist. But the official position at the time was that we should give Jagan a chance. On August 23, the New York Times commented editorially:

"Dr. Jagan has been labeled by some high American officials and some Senators as a Communist, or the equivalent of one. If this were to prove the official U.S. Government attitude, Dr. Jagan and his government would certainly be in the communistic camp alongside of Cuba very soon. If British Guiana is handled by the United States with some understanding, sophistication, and sympathy, there is every reason to hope it will become a desirable member of the Inter-American system."

I rest my case with the statement that I do not think there is anyone in the United States Government or anyone in the New York Times who today has any doubts that both Fidel Castro and Cheddi Jagan are confirmed communists. About Castro, nothing more need be said. In the case of Jagan, it is sufficient to note that, in greeting the arrival of a Cuban oil tanker at the height of the recent general strike, Prime Minister Jagan pledged to emulate the example of Castro and to convert British Guiana into the first "socialist" country on the South American continent.

While we must be fastidious in gathering our evidence and in making our determinations, I believe that it is important to know who is a communist and who is not a communist—because if we are not able to make this central distinction, we can have no foreign policy worthy of the name. It is also important to face up to the fact that communists frequently do not announce themselves as communists and that party membership cards are more often than not impossible to produce as evidence.

In attempting to decide who is a communist and who is not a communist, I believe we must be guided by certain elementary rules of common sense. Basically, it is a matter of examining the entire pattern of a man's actions and activities. If this pattern conforms to the known communist pattern at every point—if a man consistently supports the communist line on every issue of foreign policy; if he welcomes known communist and Soviet agents into his entourage; if he apes Radio Moscow in assailing Western imperialism but has no criticism for Soviet imperialism; if he espouses the philosophy of "Marxism-Leninism" while denying that he is a communist party member; if his actions, once in power, follow the familiar communist pattern of establishing totalitarian controls by means of the notorious "salami" technique—if, in all these respects, a man adheres to the master pattern of communist behavior, then we have no alternative but to draw the conclusion that he is, in fact, a communist.

Your editorial misleadingly stated that the only evidence I adduced to prove my case against Nkrumah was that he had made a trip behind the Iron Curtain. Let me present a few of the facts that led me to my evaluation of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

Prime Minister Nkrumah has himself written that he long ago decided that the philosophy of Marx and Lenin was capable of solving his problems.

Nkrumah since he came to power has replaced the moderates in his entourage with known pro-communists and extremists. (Among the American and British communists invited to serve under him were the British traitor, Alan Nunn May, and Cedric Belfrage, a former member of Elizabeth Bentley's espionage underground.) He has consistently supported the Soviet Union and Cuba in the U.N.

In 1962, the Kremlin awarded Nkrumah the Lenin "peace" prize, which caused his own newspaper to acclaim him as the "Lenin of Africa."

Ghana under Nkrumah is the focal point for the subversion of Africa as Cuba is the focal point for the subversion of the Americas. It is widely believed in Africa, for example, that the assassination of Prime Minister Olympo of Togo was master-minded from Ghana.

Like Castro's Cuba, it carries on a propaganda campaign that would tax the resources of a major country. It trains natives of other countries in the arts of infiltration, sabotage, terror, and guerrilla warfare. It exports arms by clandestine means to the opposition terrorist groups in other countries which it has fostered and today supports.

I note at this point that the *Times* did not dispute my statement of facts; indeed, your editorial bore out my statements in many respects. The issue, essentially, is what interpretation to place on these unchallenged facts.

I believe that, to those who have made a careful study of communist history, the pattern of Kwame Nkrumah is as clear as the patterns established by Fidel Castro and Cheddi Jagan in their early days.

If we conceal the facts about Nkrumah and his regime, or fail to face up to the meaning of these facts, we are, in effect, helping him to maintain his dictatorship and acting against the best interests of the Ghanaian people. There is reason for believing that the Nkrumah regime is detested by the great majority of its people, by its immediate neighbors, and by many of the other African states. The publication of the facts, I am convinced, will be welcomed by all Ghanaians who are fighting for their freedom and by the many African states that are endeavoring to resist the inroads of Nkrumah's subversion.

THOMAS J. DODD.

AMERICAN CASUALTIES RISE IN VIETNAM

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the U.S. military command in Saigon reported yesterday the highest American losses of the Vietnam war.

The total casualties last week were 1,617 killed, wounded and missing.

On an annual basis, this would mean that during 1967 American casualties would total nearly twice the 35,000 casualties suffered during 1966.

It was announced, too, that in one action in the mountains of South Vietnam a 45-man platoon of U.S. infantry suffered 43 casualties—dead, wounded, or missing.

The United States is in a full-scale war, Mr. President.

We have in Vietnam today more American troops than we had at the height of the Korean war.

Yet, American military commanders in Vietnam still are prohibited from attacking many important military targets in North Vietnam.

What has happened to the people of the United States?

What has happened to the Congress of the United States?

How long will it be before the Congress and the people—whose sons are being killed and wounded at the rate of 1,600 per week—demand that the military commanders in Vietnam be given the authority to conduct the war in such a way as to bring it to the earliest conclusion with the least American casualties.

Under present operating procedures much of the enemy territory is a sanctuary where the enemy is immune to attack.

Within an 8-day period, two U.S. airfields were attacked by the North Vietnamese using Russian-made artillery rockets and with heavy American and South Vietnamese casualties.

Yet, the enemy airfields in North Vietnam cannot be attacked under orders given by civilian officials in Washington.

How can this Nation justify having 417,000 ground troops in Vietnam, plus 35,000 military personnel in Thailand, plus more than 50,000 naval personnel in waters around Vietnam for a total of more than 500,000, yet our military officials there are under severe restrictions as to what they can do to protect themselves from the enemy in North Vietnam?

One hopeful sign results from today's announcement that at long last the military commanders have been permitted to attack, which they did yesterday, a North Vietnamese steel plant. Why have we delayed so long in permitting attacks on the war-producing plants of North Vietnam?

It was not until strong protests were made by various Members of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives that the American fleet was permitted last week to bombard military targets in North Vietnam, but only to a limited degree.

I say it is tragic and it is wrong to send to southeast Asia 500,000 Americans—many of them fighting in the swamps and the jungles and the caves—and simultaneously prevent their commanders from attacking the enemy in such a way as to bring the war to an early end.

DRAFTEES SHOULD NOT BE SENT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, President Johnson's request of March 6, 1967, that the selective service law due to expire on June 30, 1967, be extended for 4 years, should give the Congress an opportunity, among other things, to examine the moral and legal bases for sending draftees to fight, against their will, in Vietnam—in an undeclared, illegal, and immoral war 10,000 miles from our shores.

As in the last Congress, it is my intention at the appropriate time to introduce an amendment to any draft extension proposal, providing that no draftee can be sent to southeast Asia without his consent.

I have repeatedly stated the bases for my total opposition to the U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. The United States is acting in Vietnam in total disregard of the express provisions of the United Nations Charter. The United States is acting in Vietnam against the clearly stated provisions of its own Constitution.

It is acting in violation of the SEATO Treaty.

It is acting in violation of its own commitments made in 1954 by Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith when, in referring to the Geneva accords establishing the independence of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, he pledged that the United States would refrain "from the threat or use of force to disturb them" and that the United States would support the elections for the officials who would govern reunified Vietnam, whose separation into North and South Vietnam was admittedly temporary and only for purposes of demilitarization. This was all part of the Geneva accords and was supported by the above-cited unilateral commitment of the United States. That was the commitment which the United States later violated, when it supported Diem's refusal to hold the promised election.

Moreover, the United States is acting in violation of President Johnson's own promises to the American people.

On August 29, 1964, he said:

> I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war and result in committing a good many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land. And for that reason I haven't chosen to enlarge the war.

Again on September 25, 1964, he said:

> There are those that say you ought to go north and drop bombs, to try to wipe out the supply lines, and they think that would escalate the war. We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get involved in a nation with 700 million people and get tied down in a land war in Asia.

Again on October 21, 1964, President Johnson said:

> We are not going to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves.

The President has not asked the Congress for a declaration of war and yet he seeks authority to draft American boys and send them to southeast Asia to fight in bloody, savage military battles unsanctioned by law, whose death toll is steadily rising. Last week establishes a new peak of American casualties. Is it any wonder that many thousands of American boys are morally tormented about fighting in Vietnam?

The administration is telling the American people repeatedly that the dangers from the Soviet Union are less and less, day by day, and that the passage of the proposed consular treaty with Russia will prove that to the world. And yet, the same administration tells the American people that the dangers of Soviet aggression in Europe are so great and continuing that it cannot risk reducing its troop commitments in Europe—over 300,000 men—but must instead draft American boys to serve without their consent in southeast Asia. If more men are needed to replace our mounting casualties, let the draftees be sent to Europe, and let experienced American military personnel trained in Europe replace them in southeast Asia.

There is a vast difference between sending enlisted men of the Armed Forces to Vietnam and sending draftees there. When a man voluntarily enlists in one of the branches of the armed services, he does so with his eyes open—he knows that he must obey the orders of the Commander in Chief and go where he is sent—even if it is to fight and perhaps die in Vietnam. His is not "to reason why." He undertook to obey orders when he voluntarily entered military service. No one forced him to enlist.

The draftee—after he is inducted—also agrees to obey orders but his agreeing to do so is not on a voluntary basis. He has no choice. But he does know that he is being sent to fight in a war which the Congress did not declare. And he does know that under the Constitution—which he must swear to uphold and defend when he is inducted—only the Congress can declare war. This is a part of the crux of the reluctance of so many of our young men to serve in Vietnam, in addition to the fact that the United States is there illegally, and having invited itself in—contrary to the official allegation that it was invited in and thereafter started bombing—north and south—became the aggressor.

In 1965, there were 96,000 desertions from the South Vietnamese Army. In 1966, that figure had climbed to 110,000 men deserting the South Vietnamese Army. No one knows how much higher it will go in 1967.

The President, in his recent draft message, proposes:

> Almost 2 million young men—and soon many more—reach age 19 each year. The foreseeable requirement is to draft only 100,000 to 300,000 of them annually.

What are we doing? Are we drafting American youths to go to Vietnam to replace the South Vietnamese draft dodgers and to fight and perhaps die there for a people who do not care enough about the conflict to stand and fight for what is presumably their own cause? That makes utterly no sense. It is entirely unfair to American draftees. This is directly contrary to President Johnson's own statement of September 28, 1964, in which he said:

> We are not going north and we are not going south; we are going to continue to try to get them to save their own freedom with their own men, with our leadership and our officer direction, and such equipment as we can furnish them.

Three years ago exactly—on March 10, 1964—when, in my speech on the floor of the Senate, entitled "The United States Should Get Out of Vietnam," I analyzed the situation in Vietnam and the United States involvement there, urging the United States to disengage itself from its military involvement there, I said:

> I consider the life of one American worth more than this putrid mess. I consider that every additional life that is sacrificed in this forlorn venture is a tragedy. Someday—if this sacrificing continues—it will be denounced as a crime.

On May 14, 1966, a distinguished former Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, Gen. David M. Shoup, who had seen service in Asia, confirmed my earlier remarks before the 10th Annual College World Affairs Day in Los Angeles, when he stated:

> I don't think the whole of southeast Asia, as related to the present and future safety and freedom of the people of this country, is worth the life or limb of a single American.

I agree with General Shoup and can only wish that his sound view had been and would henceforth be heeded. Both my words and the words of General Shoup are particularly pertinent to the situation of draftees who are being sent involuntarily to fight in Vietnam in an undeclared, illegal, immoral, indefensible, monstrous, and ever more costly war.

There has been much criticism of the way the draft has been applied, and various proposals including some made by the President to improve its procedures. It is my view that this involuntary servitude is itself totally unjustified at least as far as our war in southeast Asia is concerned, and should be abolished. That is the purpose of my amendment.

It is my hope that when my amendment is brought up on the floor of the Senate, there will be a full and free debate on this entire matter.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I made on this subject on January 26, 1966, be printed in full at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Draftees Should Not Be Sent to Southeast Asia Involuntarily Without Congressional Approval—Amendments to Senate Bills 2791, 2792, and 2793

AMENDMENTS NOS. 481, 482, AND 483

Mr. Gruening. Madam President, on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], I send to the desk three proposed amendments to bills—S. 2791, S. 2792, and S. 2793—now under consideration by the Senate Committees on the Armed Services and Foreign Relations. Those bills authorize additional military and AID programs for Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent that these amendments be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. I also ask that these amendments lie on the table for 3 days, to give others an opportunity to cosponsor them, and that they then be printed and be appropriately referred.

The Presiding Officer. The amendments will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendments will be printed in the Record, and lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from Alaska.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. Gruening. Madam President, I am offering these amendments to all three bills because there is no way of ascertaining at this time which of these bills will first come before the Senate for action and also because I believe that they should be considered by both committees.

These three amendments are identical and provide simply that persons drafted into the armed services should not be sent to southeast Asia involuntarily without congressional approval.

On August 20, 1965, I had intended to offer a similar amendment to the defense appropriation bill then pending in the Senate. That morning the President asked to see me at the White House. The purpose of our meeting was to enable me to explain to the President in detail my opposition to our military involvement in Vietnam, which I had been voicing on the floor of the Senate for a year and a half. I told the President that I disagreed completely with his administration's position, that three Presidents had pledged support to this policy—that there was in fact no national pledge or an unavoidable commitment—that we had in fact asked ourselves into Vietnam. I also elaborated on my other reasons for believing that our involvement was folly—that it was a war we could not win—that continuation there would lead to greater and greater disaster.

While there, after I expressed my views, I told him I intended to introduce an amendment that very afternoon forbidding draftees to be sent to southeast Asia involuntarily without the consent of the Congress. The President earnestly urged me not to introduce the amendment. He said that in any event no draftees would be sent to Vietnam before January. After repeating his request that I take no such action, he said that if we were not out of Vietnam by January, I would be free to do anything I pleased.

In view of the President's request and his statement to me: "If we are not out of there by January you can do anything you please," I agreed to and did withhold my amendment.

Immediately upon returning to my office, I sent the President by special messenger a copy of my proposed amendment and the remarks I had prepared to make in support of my amendment on that afternoon. These I transmitted to the President with an accompanying letter. I ask unanimous consent that that proposed amendment, my proposed remarks, and my letter to the President of August 20, 1965, be printed in the Record at the end of my remarks.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. Gruening. Madam President, more than 5 months have now elapsed. We are still bogged down in an undeclared war in Vietnam which threatens to escalate into a third world war and the price of which in any event in lives and other costs could be staggering.

While I disapprove entirely of our involvement in Vietnam, it becomes clear that those who have enlisted in any of the Armed Forces have an obligation to go where their Commander in Chief sends them. "Theirs is not to reason why."

But an entirely different situation prevails when we reach into millions of American families and conscript these youths to fight involuntarily in this hopeless mess.

Since there apparently is no intention to ask for a declaration of war, this amendment will serve as a vehicle for Members of Congress to express themselves on an issue which strikes home in a literal sense.

The President has sought no declaration of war from that branch of the Government which alone is authorized under the Constitution to declare war—the Congress.

Of course, I can understand the difficulty the President would face in seeking a declaration of war. Against whom would he ask Congress to declare war?

Declare war against the Vietcong—or the National Liberation Front—which is one of the two parties involved in the civil war in Vietnam?

Declare war against North Vietnam only, which is now supplying the Vietcong—but where would that leave the Vietcong?

Declare war against Red China—which to date has not committed a man for combat, and is giving little material aid to Vietcong—although shouting much encouragement?

Declare war against Russia—which also is sending materiel to fan the flames of the discord in Vietnam?

It is important, therefore, before further draftees are sent to southeast Asia to fight a ground war in the steaming jungles of Vietnam that each Member of the Senate have an opportunity to express whether—absent such a declaration of war—draftees should involuntarily be sent to southeast Asia.

My amendments will afford an opportunity for each Senator to stand up and be counted.

When I call up my amendment—and I shall do so at the appropriate time—each Senator will have to ask himself these questions:

Is it fair, without an express authorization to that effect by the Congress, for draftees to be sent involuntarily to Vietnam to fight and perhaps die there while well-trained men of the Regular Armed Forces are not fully utilized in the fighting in Vietnam?

Is it fair, without an express authorization to the effect by the Congress, for draftees to be sent involuntarily to Vietnam to fight and perhaps die there while well-trained men in the Armed Forces Reserves—on whose training we have been spending annually well over one and three-quarter billion dollars—are not fully utilized in Vietnam?

Is it fair, without an express authorization to that effect by the Congress, for draftees to be sent involuntarily to Vietnam to fight and perhaps die there while over 300,000 well-trained, experienced troops are stationed in Europe?

I appreciate the fact that, when I call up my amendment, there is a risk that a motion will be made to table it or to amend it in such a way as to nullify its clear purpose. I hope if such a motion is made, it will not be made until there has been open and prolonged debate on the floor of the Senate on every single aspect of the crisis in Vietnam, including how we became involved there and whether we have exhausted every single legal avenue in our search for peace.

But if there is a motion to table my amendment, or to nullify it by amendment, let no one here remain unaware of how a vote to table will be interpreted by millions of mothers, fathers, wives, and children throughout the United States. A vote to table will be interpreted as a vote to send draftees to fight in Vietnam while hundreds of thousands of our regular Armed Forces are undergoing the "rigors" of being stationed in the United States or in Europe—while hundreds of thousands of Reserves are going about their daily civilian jobs, sacrificing only one evening a week or one day a month for which they receive pay.

It is high time this issue was debated. It is high time every Member of the Senate stood up and was counted on our involvement in the undeclared war in Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that a table prepared for me by the Department of Defense showing the costs of Reserve and Guard Forces for the past 3 years be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 3.)

"EXHIBIT 1

"To the Committee on Armed Services:

" 'S. 2791

" 'Amendment No. 421, intended to be proposed by Mr. GRUENING (for himself and Mr. MORSE) to S. 2791, a bill to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1966 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles and research, development, text, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes:

" 'On page 3 after line 8 add the following new section:

" ' "SEC. 302. During any period that any Armed Force of the United States is engaged in armed conflict or hostilities in southeast Asia, no person who is a member of that Armed Force serving on active duty by virtue of involuntary induction under the Universal Military Training and Service Act shall be assigned to perform duty in such area, unless (1) such person volunteers for service in such area, or (2) the Congress hereafter authorizes by law the assignment to duty in southeast Asia of persons involuntarily inducted into such Armed Forces".'

"To the Committee on Armed Services:

" 'S. 2792

" 'Amendment No. 482, intended to be proposed by Mr. GRUENING (for himself and Mr. MORSE) to S. 2792, a bill to authorize certain construction in support of military activities in southeast Asia, and for other purposes:

" 'On page 3 after section 6 add the following new section:

" ' "SEC. 7. During any period that any Armed Force of the United States is engaged in armed conflict or hostilities in southeast Asia, no person who is a member of that Armed Force serving on active duty by virtue of involuntary induction under the Universal Military Training and Service Act shall be assigned to perform duty in such area, unless (1) such person volunteers for service in such area, or (2) the Congress hereafter authorizes by law the assignment to duty in southeast Asia of persons involuntarily inducted into such Armed Force." '

"To the Committee on Foreign Relations:

" 'S. 2793

" 'Amendment No. 483, intended to be proposed by Mr. GRUENING (for himself and Mr. MORSE) to S. 2793, a bill to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes:

" 'On page 2 after section 3 add the following new section:

" ' "SEC. 4. During any period that any Armed Force of the United States is engaged in armed conflict or hostilities in southeast Asia, no person who is a member of that Armed Force serving on active duty by virtue of involuntary induction under the Universal Military Training and Service Act shall be assigned to perform duty in such area, unless (1) such person volunteers for service in such area, or (2) the Congress hereafter authorizes by law the assignment to duty in southeast Asia or persons involuntarily inducted into such Armed Force." '

"EXHIBIT 2

"H.R. 9221

"Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. GRUENING to H.R. 9221, an Act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes:

"On page 26 change the period to a comma and add the following: '*Provided*, That, none of the funds provided in this Act shall, except with the prior assent of Congress, be used to pay any of the costs of stationing or assigning, without his consent, any person serving in the Armed Forces of the United States by virtue of involuntary induction under the Universal Military Training and Service Act to duty in southeast Asia.'

"DRAFTEES SHOULD NOT BE SENT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA INVOLUNTARILY WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL

Mr. President, I send to the desk a proposed amendment to H.R. 9221, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 1966. I ask that the amendment be printed, lie at the desk, and be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

"My amendment is simple.

"It provides that no draftee can be sent to southeast Asia involuntarily without the consent of Congress.

"The President has now stated publicly—what I have been saying openly time and again for a year and a half now—that the conflict in Vietnam is a war.

"He has said:

" 'It is this lesson that has brought us to Vietnam. This is a different kind of war. There are no marching armies or solemn declarations. Some citizens of South Vietnam, at times with understandable grievances, have joined in the attack on their own government. But we must not let this mask the central fact that this is really war. It is guided by North Vietnam and spurred by Communist China. Its goal is to conquer the south, to defeat American power, and to extend the Asiatic dominion of communism.' However, he has sought no declaration of war from the only part of the Federal Government authorized by the Constitution to declare war—the Congress.

"It is important, therefore, before further draftees are sent to southeast Asia to fight in the steaming jungles of Vietnam that each Member of the Senate have an opportunity to express whether—absent such a declaration of war—draftees should involuntarily be sent to southeast Asia.

"My amendment offers an opportunity for each Senator to stand up and be counted.

"H.R. 9221 is the appropriate vehicle for such an expression of opinion by the Senate since it contains a separate section appropriating in title V, at the request of the President, the sum of $1.7 billion for the southeast Asia emergency fund for use by the Department of Defense.

"Theoretically the United States is at peace.

"Theoretically those called up for the draft of our armed services are being called up to serve in peacetime. If the ground rules are to be changed, it is up to the Congress—which authorized the peacetime draft of men for the Armed Forces—to change these rules.

"Let no one doubt the interpretation of the vote which I shall seek on this amendment. A vote against the amendment or a vote to table this amendment will be a vote to use the peacetime conscription laws to send draftees to fight and perchance to die in what President Johnson has called the war in Vietnam.

"This will be an extremely important vote to the thousands upon thousands of mothers and fathers of draftees throughout the country.

"If this war in Vietnam is to be fought without the expressed sanction of the Congress then let it be fought by volunteers. With a clear expression of the will of the Congress that it be otherwise, let no draftee involuntarily be sent to Vietnam.

"AUGUST 20, 1965.

"Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
"The White House,
"Washington, D.C.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It was very good of you to see me yesterday and to give me the opportunity to present to you my views on the present situation in Vietnam.

"Enclosed is a copy of the speech I had on my desk when I spoke to you yesterday. This was prepared for delivery yesterday and in it I offered an amendment to the defense appropriation bill prohibiting the sending of draftees, without their consent, to southeast Asia. You will recall I spoke to you twice about this, and that at your earnest request I agreed not to introduce this amendment.

"In compliance with your wish, I shall not introduce this amendment at this time, although I feel deeply that at the very least the Congress should pass on the sending of our draftees into the war in southeast Asia.

"However, as I suggested to you at our meeting, I strongly urge you to announce publicly that—at least until there has been a review of the entire situation after the Congress returns in January or unless a grave national emergency develops—draftees will not be sent to southeast Asia unless they volunteer for such duty. Such a public announcement from you would do much to reassure the people of the United States.

"I was pleased to hear from both you and Ambassador Goldberg of the strenuous efforts to secure peace in southeast Asia. As I told you, I was particularly gratified to notice your clarification of your position since your Johns Hopkins speech. Your announcement at your press conference on July 28, 1965, that there would be no particular problem in bringing the Vietcong and the National Liberation Front to the conference table, as I had been urging for some time, was most reassuring.

"I was also pleased to hear your changed stand on the reunification of Vietnam through internationally supervised elections as provided for in the Geneva Conventions of 1954. Of course, as I said, it is difficult to convince those with whom we are seeking to arrange a cessation of hostilities of our bona fides while we continue the bombing of North Vietnam.

"With best wishes, I am
"Cordially yours,
"ERNEST GRUENING,
"U.S. Senator.

"EXHIBIT 3

"Department of Defense—Cost of Reserve and Guard Forces

"[In millions]

	"Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964	Fiscal year 1965 [1]
Army Reserve	$372.9	$379.1	$358.9
Army National Guard	550.0	624.4	649.4
Naval Reserve	250.1	273.1	293.2
Marine Corps Reserve	82.2	83.1	84.2
Air Force Reserve	164.1	172.0	177.7
Air National Guard	303.5	351.9	369.2
Total	1,722.8	1,883.6	1,932.6

"[1] Current estimate; subject to adjustment based on final reports.

"NOTE.—The above costs represent obligations in each fiscal year for military personnel and operation and maintenance appropriations, and new obligational authority in the case of continuing appropriations, such as procurement and military construction."

THE HONORABLE ALLEN J. ELLENDER, CHEF SUPERIOR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, there is an old admonition for young maidens in search of a husband—the way to a man's heart is through his stomach—which I am taking the poetic license of updating by saying that it simply can be translated to mean that any smart young lady ought to memorize and practice to perfection some of Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER's gold ribbon recipes for superbly good food.

The able and amiable Senator from Louisiana has long been noted for his excellent cuisine. While he certainly does a great many things exceedingly well, as a chef he occupies a truly unique spot on the Senate roster. Anyone who has been fortunate enough to be his guest for a meal which included gumbo or shrimp creole or jambalaya or chicken sauce piquante or creole pralines, or any of the other samples of his superb culinary artistry, will gladly offer a testimonial to the delightful gastronomical experience.

But Senator ELLENDER is a gentleman in the best southern tradition, and in truly gallant fashion he has made available some of his prized recipes so that those who cannot personally enjoy his creations can still benefit by using his inimitable recipes. I have here a listing of some of his superior dishes and the recipes for their preparation.

I ask unanimous consent that these recipes be reprinted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the booklet, with recipes and instructions, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR ALLEN J. ELLENDER'S LOUISIANA CREOLE DISHES

(NOTE.—Recipes may be cut down by halving ingredients, if desired. All of the Recipes except the roast duck, oyster stew, and the pralines, will serve from 12 to 16 people. A greater amount may be cooked than is needed and can be frozen for later use. To make the sauce of the proper consistency to suit the taste, add water as needed during last stages of cooking. The gumbo should be of the consistency of a thick soup, and the remainder of the dishes should be of the consistency of stew.)

BASIC SAUCE

3 slices bacon.

Small piece smoked ham (about three ounces, diced).

1 rounded tablespoon flour.

2 pounds onions, chopped fine.

3 pieces celery, chopped fine.

1 medium bell pepper, chopped fine.

1 lemon (Use grated rind, then remove white pulpy membrane, and chop rest of lemon).

3 pods garlic.

A few dashes each of worcestershire sauce, tabasco, thyme.

2 bay leaves.

Salt to taste.

Fry the fat out of the bacon, remove bacon. Then fry the ham in bacon fat, remove ham scraps. To the fat now add flour and brown, stirring constantly, to make scorchy-tasting "roux." Add the onions, fry slowly until well-browned and reduced to pulp. Add the rest of the ingredients at one time and continue to cook slowly for at least 30 to 45 minutes. If desired, add bacon and ham scraps.

GUMBO

Basic sauce.

2 pounds okra.

4 pounds peeled shrimp.

1 pound crab meat.

Parsley and onion tops.

Smother the okra, after cutting in small pieces (i.e., cook slowly in fat—about 2 tablespoons—stirring often to prevent scorching or browning) in a small pot until no longer ropy. Add to basic sauce and continue to cook for not less than 20 minutes. Add shrimp and crab meat, as well as enough water to make the sauce of a soupy consistency. Cook for about 20 minutes after the mixture has started boiling. About 10 minutes before serving, add a handful of chopped onion tops and parsley. Serve over rice in soup plates.

SHRIMP CREOLE

Basic sauce (if a thicker sauce is preferred, make "roux" with 2 tablespoons flour instead of one).

4 pounds peeled shrimp.

1 can tomato sauce.

2 cans tomato paste.

Cook tomatoes with sauce thoroughly, add shrimp and continue cooking until done, stirring as necessary. (Serve with rice.)

JAMBALAYA

Basic sauce.

½ can tomato sauce (not paste or whole tomatoes).

3 pints oysters.

3 cups rice.

Onion tops and parsley, chopped fine (about a handful, mixed together).

Add tomato sauce and oysters to basic sauce and cook thoroughly. Now add rice, chopped onion tops and parsley. Add enough water to make sure you have two cups liquid in the pot for each cup of rice. Stir and mix thoroughly until mixture comes to a boil. Now cover tightly and lower flame to simmer. Cook for about 25 minutes. Do not remove the lid. Test rice to be sure it is done thoroughly at the end of the 25-minute cooking period.

CHICKEN SAUCE PIQUANTE

Basic sauce (if a thicker sauce is preferred, make roux with 2 tablespoons flour instead of one).

2 2½- to 3-pound chickens, cut in pieces.

1 can tomato sauce.

2 cans tomato paste.

Cook tomatoes with sauce very thoroughly. Then add chicken and cook until tender. (serve with rice or spaghetti.)

COURTBOUILLON

Basic sauce (as above, if thicker sauce is desired, make roux with 2 tablespoons flour instead of one).

6 pounds fish, preferably channel bass, cut in pieces.

1 can tomato sauce.

2 cans tomato paste.

Cook tomatoes with sauce thoroughly, then add fish and cook slowly until done, stirring very gently in order not to break up fish. (Serve with rice.)

CREOLE PRALINES

2 cups granulated sugar.

1 cup dark or light brown sugar.

1 stick (¼ pound) butter.

1 cup milk.

2 tablespoons Karo syrup.

4 cups pecan halves.

Put all the ingredients except the pecans in a three-quart saucepan and cook for about twenty minutes, after boiling starts, stirring occasionally. Add the pecans and cook the mixture until the liquid forms a soft ball when a little is dropped into cold water. Stir well and then drop by spoonfuls on waxed paper. Place a few sheets of newspaper beneath the waxed paper. I find it convenient to place a small table near the stove, over which I put a few sheets of newspaper, and then put the waxed paper over that.

OYSTER STEW

2½ tablespoons fresh bacon fat.

1 pound onions.

2 pints fresh oysters.

3 cups milk.

Parsley and onion tops.

Put fat in a three-quart saucepan and when hot, add chopped onions. Cook onions until clear but not brown on slow flame. Add oysters with the liquid and cook until oysters curl. In meantime, add a handful of chopped onion tops and parsley. Add hot milk. Serve.

ROAST DUCK

Salt and pepper inside duck to taste, then stuff with a few pieces of celery, apple, and onion. Stab breast portion in several places and insert small slivers of garlic. Salt and pepper outside to taste then smear liberally with peanut, vegetable, or coconut oil, or bacon fat.

In an iron dutch oven with a tight-fitting lid, place 1 medium or small onion, chopped, 1 pod garlic, 1 branch celery, about ¼ bell pepper, all chopped fine. Add 1 bay leaf, a few dashes of ground thyme, tabasco sauce, Worcestershire sauce, a little salt. Add a little water, just enough to keep it from burning; add water from time to time as needed.

Place duck on rack in dutch oven and cook with above mixture so that flavors will steam through duck on rack. Keep cover on tightly and cook until duck is tender.

Remove pulp from bottom of pot, remove rack and brown duck in gravy, either by continuing to cook on top of stove or putting it in oven. Cooked pulp may be returned to gravy, along with mushrooms, and served over rice along with duck.

GUNSMOKE TARRIES AWHILE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I recently received good news from television land. I am pleased that the Columbia Broadcasting System has judiciously reviewed all the facts and has decided to retain the television program "Gunsmoke" on its 1967–68 schedule.

Previously I had noted, unhappily, that certain highly touted ratings apparently were to be the basis for discontinuing the program, and I called attention to my own liking for the weekly drama, as well as to corroborating editorial comments in a leading West Virginia newspaper.

I am pleased to provide a copy of a further editorial on the subject entitled "Who Pays the Bill," from the March 8 issue of the Fairmont, W. Va., Times, and also a copy of the CBS letter telling me of its fortuitous decision to retain "Gunsmoke."

I ask unanimous consent that these items be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Byrd: I read with interest your recent article in the Congressional Record about Gunsmoke. I am glad to tell you that in response to the widespread reaction of our viewers and our affiliated stations, the CBS Television Network has decided to retain this program on the 1967–68 schedule.

In the fall Gunsmoke will be carried Mondays at 7:30 p.m., Eastern time.

With all good wishes,

Theodore F. Koop.

[From the Fairmont (W. Va.) Times, Mar. 8, 1967]

Who Pays the Bills?

The Times is pleased and flattered that an editorial which appeared here several days ago with reference to the impending termination of "Gunsmoke" on television has been reprinted in the Congressional Record. It is more likely to come to the attention of the Columbia Broadcasting System, to which it was directed, through that publication than almost any other media in the country.

Sen. Robert C. Byrd, declaring that he always watched "Gunsmoke" when his schedule permitted, said he regretted that it was slated to be cancelled, "supposedly through lack of viewer interest." Then he raised what seems to be a highly valid point:

"I am wondering if the so-called rating poll which reported information that the general public no longer watched 'Gunsmoke' was really accurate. I note that there is strong sentiment elsewhere on the desirability of retaining that program in preference to a number of others of lesser caliber. . . . I, too, regard its loss as a major downgrading of television entertainment, and I am hoping enough followers of the adventures of Marshal Dillon and his law enforcement activities will protest loudly enough to drown out the reports of spot ratings."

A television column in a metropolitan newspaper recently asserted the reason for the cancellation of "Gunsmoke" and "I've Got a Secret" at the end of their current contracts is that a poll disclosed a majority of their viewers to be past 50 years of age. Both shows were doing well, but the network (and presumably, the sponsors) felt that it was more important to attract the younger age group with "more need to spend money on the sponsor's products."

Whoever thought that one up has to have rocks in his head. Where does this mastermind think that the cash being spent by the younger age groups is coming from? From guys who will never see 50 again but who are working their heads off to keep their kids in walking-around money, that's who.

Madison Avenue pollsters would doubtless find, if they were inclined to take a sample on the subject, that mighty few television sets have been bought and paid for by the teenagers to whom the programming is becoming increasingly beamed. Radio for the most part, long since committed itself to the blue jeans and bobby-sox generation, and the visual medium is rapidly approaching that point.

It seems like a crying shame that at least one night a week can't be preserved for the entertainment of "senior citizens" over 50. Saturday, while the teeners are running at large, would be the best evening for sensible viewing and a program anchored to "Gunsmoke" would suit most viewers very well.

FARM MINIMUM WAGES

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to express the feelings of West Virginia applegrowers on the increases in minimum wages to $1.35 an hour for foreign farm laborers.

Mr. R. A. Hockensmith of Shenandoah Junction, W. Va., who is president of the Tri-County Labor Camp, Inc., near Martinsburg, is in agreement with the U.S. Department of Labor that average wages in West Virginia during the apple-harvesting season last year amounted to about $1.75—which is in excess of the minimum wage of $1.35 an hour.

Mr. Hockensmith believes that the new minimum will increase costs by about 1 cent per bushel of apples. Although this will amount to only about $1,500, Mr. Hockensmith does not feel that the increases will seriously endanger the continued harvesting of apples.

However, the growers are concerned that the piece rate may also be increased. They believe that the notification of the new minimum wages from the U.S. Department of Labor indicated that some increases would be expected in this category also.

West Virginia growers now pay 15 cents per bushel to harvesters, with a 2-cent-per-bushel bonus if they remain until the end of the season. Last year the growers had to agree to pay a crew rate of $1.50 per hour to each man working at an orchard. This served as the minimum hourly rate and was exceeded by those men who harvested more than 10 bushels per hour. However, the $1.50 minimum had to be paid, also, to those men who did not pick 10 bushels.

If this 15-cent-per-bushel piece rate is increased, it could boost the crew rate to $1.68 an hour, thus increasing overall costs of harvesting.

I believe this situation requires additional study; and I urge that the U.S. Department of Labor confer with growers, including West Virginia fruitgrowers, before insisting upon an increase in "crew rates."

THE BLACK ISLAND

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial published in the Wall Street Journal for February 21, 1967, entitled "The Black Island."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Black Island

"Within the next two decades—probably by 1980—the core area of almost every major metropolitan city of the United States will be a racial—predominantly black—island."

So writes Victor Palmieri, president of the Janss Corp., in a paper put out by the liberal-oriented Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, of which he is a founding member. He continues:

"This is not speculation. It is already very largely a fact in Washington, Chicago, and New York City. It is rapidly becoming a fact in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles.

"Three established factors—the rate of population growth among minority groups (almost three times that of the white population in the City of Los Angeles); the increasing income level and mobility of middle-class white families; and the resulting domino effect on racially impacted school districts—will maintain the velocity of the trend and virtually guarantee its ultimate outcome. . . .

"This, then, is the city of the future—the very near future. A black island spreading like a giant ink blot over the heart of a metropolis which is bankrupt financially and paralyzed politically."

Even if a miracle softens the prophecy somewhat, it makes a bleak picture; bleak enough as it is right now. What is to be said of it?

First, we agree with Mr. Palmieri that the hard reality underscores the irrelevancy of many of the current attacks on urban problems. What good is a super-rapid transit system if the slums are getting bigger and worse? Or Federal urban projects which, a national civil rights group has just charged, help build and perpetuate the Negro "ghettos"?

Second, we emphatically disagree with Mr. Palmieri and the many others of like opinion who call for colossal new Government efforts running, in his estimate, 10% to 20% of the national budget.

Among other things, he would shatter the racial structure of the slums by marshaling all available forces of public investment, all the planning apparatus of Government, to establish in the slums new centers of human activity and major concentrations of public employment. Thus would an ethnic mix be achieved.

We disagree not because we favor slums but because the Government record in this area is one of almost disastrous incompetence. The Federal authorities have poured something like $100 billion into the cities in recent years, and all they have to show for it is continuing deterioration.

The obvious first order of business, if anyone were thinking sensibly about it, is a thorough reassessment and overhaul of all the programs, Federal and other, supposedly intended to aid the cities.

New York, for a notable non-Federal example, has no residency requirement for welfare, which is an open invitation to the vast and growing army of welfare-seekers. The setup is deemed smart politically, but why should a community deny itself the right to slow the process of degeneration? Being firmer on the undeserving, it could also provide decently for the honestly deserving.

Those observations suggest that any general re-evaluation, to be useful in practice, must proceed from a much more common-sense kind of thinking on the subject. The truth is that a major part of the troubles of the cities stems from a philosophical deficiency: A negation of the principle of individual self-reliance.

For 30 or more years politicians and spokesmen for the liberal fraternity have been dinning into the nation's ears the idea that society, not the individual, is responsible for any personal failing, from refusal to support oneself to outright crime. In that atmosphere how can all members of a long-poor minority group be expected to acquire the requisite incentives? The marvel is that so many Negroes have in fact come up from poverty and become outstanding citizens.

We offer no panaceas. We merely say that if ever there could be a clear-headed approach, and if ever the civil rights leaders would vigorously start to work for the betterment of their own people, solutions would emerge that do not now seem possible.

Most of all the nation needs, as a beginning of wisdom, a moratorium on what has become an excess of crass politicking, sentimentalism and hypocrisy.

A DUBIOUS REMEDY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Dubious Remedy," published in the Washington Post for Monday, February 20, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DUBIOUS REMEDY

Public schools in this country are, unfortunately, more heavily segregated now than in 1954. Segregation by residential pattern is proceeding faster than desegregation by law. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission's latest report, "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," explains the difficulty clearly enough. But it offers only a very dubious remedy.

Lower class life has traditionally been largely organized by ethnic groups in American cities. Some of the earlier ethnic groups in the slums have positively insisted upon their own schools and segregated institutions even though, in the opinion of some scholars, they have retarded their own economic and social progress by it. The past decade is the first time in the cities' experience that the idea of ethnic concentrations has been subjected to a sustained political challenge. There is not much in the cities' laws or past experience to guide them toward a solution.

The Civil Rights Commission begins with the familiar point that most children in segregated Negro schools do not do as well as most children, white or Negro, in preponderantly white schools. The Commission then reviews several attempts to compensate for segregation by giving Negro schools somewhat more money and attention. The Commission concludes that all of these experiments have failed. The only answer, it argues, is Federal legislation to reduce the proportion of Negroes in any school to a fixed standard, perhaps 50 per cent.

To achieve this ideal, the Commission suggests school pairing, educational parks, and a variety of other familiar expedients. But these devices seem to work best in small cities. They offer little hope to New York, where the slums are great cities in themselves, or to Washington, where more than 90 per cent of the schoolchildren are Negroes and state lines surround them on all sides. The basic concept of a racial balance is not useful in a city like Detroit where many of the white children are from Appalachia and are, as a group, more deprived than the Negroes; or in cities where many of the children, both white and Negro, speak Spanish. To pin all of our national policy to a rule of racial balance alone would be a dangerous oversimplification of the actual needs of minorities.

When exchanges can reasonably be accomplished, they ought to be encouraged. But in many schools, for the present, there is no alternative to large Negro majorities. The Commission has been far too quick to conclude that compensatory programs do not work. On present experience, it can only be said that small, inexpensive programs have little visible effect. The best hope for inner city education now is a sweeping reorganization of the schools to bring in the parents, both as advisers and as students, and to bring in the children at much earlier ages. We must begin with three-year-olds. We must run schools through the summers. We must keep them open until 11 p.m. every night for recreation, adult education and community activities. Until we do these things we cannot say that the inner city school is doomed to failure. The Commission makes the mistake of assuming that there is magic in white faces that makes the indispensable to other children's education. This whole concept is profoundly wrong. It merely offers an easy evasion to the hard truth that the big-city school systems are highly ineffective and require reform on a scale not yet attempted.

ENFORCED OPEN HOUSING ABUSE OF THE POLICE POWER

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Enforced Open Housing Abuse of the Police Power," written by Tom Flynn, and published in the Wheeling, W. Va., Intelligencer of Saturday, February 25, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ENFORCED OPEN HOUSING ABUSE OF THE POLICE POWER

(By Tom Flynn)

Almost suddenly open housing has become an issue in State and Nation.

In Washington President Johnson is asking Congress for an even more sweeping ban on discrimination than proposed in the measure it refused to pass last year.

This time the purpose is to open up every form of housing, the goal to be reached in three steps.

During 1967 the effort would be confined to the promotion of voluntary steps by real estate agents, the home-building industry and state and local officials to end discrimination in the sale and rental of housing. To further this campaign the Department of Housing and Urban Development would offer educational and conciliatory service.

The next year discrimination involving large housing developments and apartment projects would become illegal.

In 1969 every form of housing, including duplexes and single rooms rented out in private homes, would be covered.

In Charleston a Human Rights bill covering employment and public accommodations as well as housing is before the Legislature.

What we are concerned with here is the open housing provision which, as introduced, made it an unlawful practice punishable by fine or imprisonment or both to reject a prospective buyer or tenant because of race, religion, color, national origin, ancestry, sex or age.

If the principle upon which open housing legislation rests is sound, if it is a proper use of the police power of the State to make available the acquisition or occupancy of property desired by anybody in the protected categories, then the federal bill, in the scope of its ultimate coverage, is superior to what is proposed for West Virginia. If it is wrong to discriminate in the case of a five or ten-apartment building it is wrong to discriminate in the case of a duplex. Similarly, if you can't pick your tenants for five or six or more rooms, you shouldn't expect to be selective in the rental of two or three rooms, or even one room.

If the prohibition rests on a good principle it is good all the way; if on a bad principle it is bad all the way.

My own feeling is that it is all bad.

While the central purpose of this type of legislation is, of course, to make more housing available to Negroes—a worthy objective in itself but not, I submit, a proper matter of legal compulsion—the effect is far broader. Color is by no means the only test. And while it may be that race, religion, national origin, ancestry, sex and age were added largely as window dressing, their inclusion vastly increases the scope of the prohibition and adds enormously to the difficulties of the property owner.

Take a specific example.

Say I am the owner of a building containing five or six furnished apartments one of which I happen to occupy. The tenants are all congenial neighbors and good economic risks.

A vacancy occurs and a prospect calls in response to my advertisement in the newspapers. I am not favorably impressed. I may have many good reasons for rejecting him which have nothing to do with prejudice. Or suppose the applicant is a woman. Experience has taught me that renting to a certain type of unattached woman is to invite trouble. This one may ring a warning bell.

As the law stands now all I have to do in either case is to say: "I'm sorry, but I don't believe the apartment would suit you." That's all there would be to it and that's all there should be. I'm the one who must pay the taxes and insurance and gas and electricity bills. I'm the one who must keep the property in repair and absorb the loss if I happen to rent to a vandal. I'm the loser if the other tenants move out, rent money stops coming in and the bank forecloses.

But consider my problem if and when this legislation becomes law. I might get away with turning down an applicant covered by the protective blanket—and who is not?—and I might not. My objections might or might not hold up if somebody elected to challenge me. But I shouldn't be put to the trouble and expense of defending myself or exposed to the danger of taking a chance on the deterioration of my property in order to escape the ordeal.

At this writing the fate of both bills, federal and State, is uncertain. Most observers of the legislative scene incline to the belief that if any open housing legislation at all is enacted this year—and none is expected—it will be more selective than contemplated in the pending bills. But that will not dispose of the matter. Those who believe in the principle on which compulsory open housing rests will be back again next year if they fail this year. Sooner or later a clear decision must be reached as to where in this area right stops and privilege begins.

Few rights, if any, are absolute. One man's liberty stops where another's starts. With respect to property, I cannot legitimately maintain a nuisance or violate the provisions of a zoning ordinance established for the public good. If my house stands in the route of a projected highway the State, quite properly, may take it against my wishes and pay whatever compensation is fixed in condemnation proceedings if a buyer-seller agreement cannot be reached. On the same principle certain public utilities enjoy the right of eminent domain.

But it is stretching the doctrine of public welfare beyond the breaking point, it seems to me, to confer on an individual the right to take what he wants and in the doing deprive another of the right to protect what is his. It is my right to live where I will if I can make a deal. That is, society cannot stake out an area and make if off limits to me and others like me. But neither can it, without abusing the police power, confer on anybody the privilege of marking this house or this apartment as his own and making it stick.

No individual, I insist, has the right to take or occupy my property over my objection, or your property over your objection.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO RESPECT FOR LAW?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article entitled "What's Happened to Respect for Law?" written by Stanley Jacobs, and published in the Eagle for January–February 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

What's Happened to Respect for Law?

(By Stanley Jacobs)

Even the interns at San Francisco General Hospital flinched when they saw the injuries of the young policeman who was carried in on a stretcher. His cheek geysered blood from an ugly wound; he was in agony from a savage kick in the groin and his nose was broken after being stomped on by a teenager's foot.

Forty minutes earlier, he had tried to arrest two drunken rowdies on Market Street in the heart of downtown. A crowd had gathered almost at once.

"All of those people just stood there gawking and laughing at me," the officer said. "When other hoodlums tried to take away my prisoners, members of the crowd held my arms, one took my gun, and they let the thugs beat me. Some even joined in the assault. Nobody tried to help."

More mystified than critical, the officer stared up at the hospital ceiling and asked wonderingly, "What's happening to people these days? Many of them act as if the police are their enemies."

This injured officer was the victim of a social malady which is threatening the peace in large and small cities: contempt for authority. The previous evening, firemen answering an alarm at a San Francisco restaurant which was ablaze, had been pelted with rocks by teenagers perched on a hill across from the fire. Both firemen and police had been injured in the senseless attack.

In Los Angeles, two officers arrested two boys who were creating a disturbance in an amusement park. Quickly the police were surrounded by a cursing, jeering mob of 200 people. Bricks were hurled, bats and jack handles were wielded, and a police car was overturned. Reinforcements were summoned from the police station. But five officers were injured before the melee subsided.

The attitude toward officers is so menacing in New York City that the police commissioner has ordered a special "tactical patrol force" to disperse the taunting, dangerous mobs which try to interfere.

The hazards of police work are increasing, thanks chiefly to the antagonism and assaults by individuals who are not even involved in the trouble which makes it necessary to summon officers. The statistics are chilling: in New York City alone, 1,399 policemen were attacked by bystanders, youths, passersby in one eight-month period. Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy says grimly: "The police cannot fight crime and the public at the same time!"

This alarming wave of violence directed toward the police provoked this stern statement by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI:

"A mounting wave of civilian attacks on officers necessitates continuing training of the kind made available by the FBI, so that police everywhere will be better equipped to cope with the rampaging forces of lawlessness."

Clearly, there are many causes for the rise in crime and the worsening attitude of the public toward officers who seek to preserve law and order. Here are some comments by experts:

—From a Detroit Police Lieutenant: "Lack of discipline begins as a home problem. In many households, parents seem afraid of their own children. How can we expect these youngsters to show respect to the police if they flout the prime authorities in their lives—their mothers and fathers?"

—A Manhattan District Attorney: "Excessive zeal in protecting the rights of criminals can result in contempt for the police. Hoodlums know full well that if the police took action in self-defense and retaliated against attackers, there would be a hue and cry from social workers, crackpots, and pressure groups that support the hoodlums and refer to our officers as 'Cossacks'."

Significantly, two other police officials point to lack of religious guidance as a prime factor in the growing public hostility to officers. Says Police Commissioner Albert N. Brown of Philadelphia:

"To keep the peace these days, you need some other force besides policemen. Something awesome, such as reverence."

And the late Police Chief William H. Parker of Los Angeles has said: "If we had greater religious direction of the young people, there would be fewer riots and a greater respect for law and officers."

Lieutenant Dante Andreotti, head of the San Francisco Police Department's Community Relations Unit, said:

"Much of today's disrespect for authority stems from disorganized or indifferent family life. Parents need to spend more time with their children, to take part in the things kids do, and to be *interested* in them. Youngsters reflect parental attitudes. If a father is bitter toward an officer because he receives a ticket for speeding, some of that contempt for the law will rub off on the children."

State and local governments are doing more than just wringing their hands about the situation. The California legislature, for one, has amended the law to provide more severe penalties for assaults on the police.

Fortunately, many enlightened police departments are assessing their own public relations problems, so their men may be regarded as friends, not adversaries.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police is taking a long, hard look at ways in which officers can improve their overall "image." The Association says in its handbook:

"In a larger sense, the police officer is many things to the community. He is a friend, to be called in any emergency. He deals with *people*, and his constant contact with humanity often casts him in the role of psychologist, clergyman, parent and brother. His role is not only to apprehend the lawbreaker but to protect the law-abiding citizen."

New York officials are using many techniques of publicity and public relations to arouse the civic conscience about the wave of civilian assaults on officers. Precinct youth councils have been formed, to bring teenagers in close and friendly contact with police.

In Oakland, California, Police Chief Edward Toothman believes that disrespect for the law—and attacks on officers—can be averted in many instances by putting a different type on the force. He recruits highly-qualified men from all over the United States, especially from college campuses. Oakland's old ruling that police officers had to be local residents was scrapped. Today, the city pays its police well and helps ambitious young officers with loans if they wish to take additional college courses.

Oakland's citizens have developed respect and appreciation for their educated, well-trained "college cops." Instead of attacking officers, the people have taken the lead in urging the city council to give periodic pay raises to officers.

St. Louis authorities have enrolled 10,000 citizen volunteers to work with the police, in a campaign of public education to improve attitudes toward law enforcement.

The San Francisco Police Officers Association has established the "Public Recognitions Award" for outstanding acts by citizens who try to aid officers.

Fortunately, there are many in America who understand the need for law and order, and who are willing to risk even their lives to enable officers to fulfill their duties. The "good guys," to use television parlance, still outnumber the bad guys. But the gap is closing; it is later than we think.

Unless more people are inspired to view the police as friends, not foes, no street will be safe and anarchy will lurk just around the corner.

SELF-PRESERVATION REQUIRES US TO BLOCK COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "Self-Preservation Requires Us To Block Communist Aggression," published in the Herald-Adviser, Huntington, W. Va., of March 5, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Self-Preservation Requires Us To Block Communist Aggression

As the war in Vietnam appeared to be moving into a new and more intense phase last week—despite administration assurances that it hadn't escalated at all—many thoughtful Americans began having fresh misgivings about the role of the U.S. in Southeast Asia and in other parts of the world where our interests are, at best, in controversy.

The occasion for these misgivings, in addition to the stepping-up of the war itself, was supplied by anti-war statements before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Henry Steele Commager, the historian, Stringfellow Barr, the political scientist and former president of the Foundation of World Government, and of course by Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the prestigious Senate committee.

Of these comments, those by Mr. Commager were the most arresting and worrisome. He told the committee the United States had overextended itself as a world power because of a "moralistic obsession" with Communism.

He claimed the U.S. does not have the material, intellectual or moral resources to be at once an American, European and Asian power.

He said the U.S. must learn that there are limitations and restraints on the application of its "immense power," and suggested that there was nothing craven about the acknowledgment of such limitations because they are in keeping with the American tradition of limitations on the power of the government.

Commager's was, in our view, the most effective and persuasive argument against our present involvement in Vietnam that has been made in a public forum. But it was philosophically akin to the report of Stringfellow Barr on a study made for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Barr said that "Rome was arrogant and self-righteous—it relied on tenacious force in all its enterprises—it was the heaviest armed and richest society on earth." And in his opinion, the United States and its people are marching in the same direction and by the same means to dominate the world.

But it simply isn't true that we are trying to "extend an empire" or "dominate the world." The record speaks for itself.

We fought a war over Cuba, but never attempted overtly to circumscribe her freedom of choice. As a result, Cuba today is a member of the Communist bloc.

We took the Philippines, also from the Spanish, and made them a free nation. Was that bad? We've protected West Germany's right to survival as a Democratic nation.

We conquered Japan in World War II and today Japan is a vigorous, independent nation—far better off, indeed, than before the war.

We have intervened on occasion in the affairs of Mexico, but not since it became a viable nation. With the countries of Central and South America, we have had various types of relationships, but our present attitude toward Panama is a good example of our willingness to recognize the national rights of people directly within our sphere of influence.

In opposing Communism throughout the world—in Greece, in Lebanon, in Korea, in Laos and in Vietnam,—we have consistently pledged ourselves to abide by the will of the people in free elections.

Mr. Commager's arguments, while they are all valid and persuasive, sidestep the paramount problem of what the world would be like (and whether our national security would be really secure) if we had not made any effort to confront the Communists—even when they installed a complete missile system on the Island of Cuba.

Mr. Commager is right: We are overextended; we cannot keep peace throughout the world and put down aggression wherever it starts up. We may not always be able to stop the advance of Communism, or any other isms of which we disapprove. If we have, as Commager charges, a "messianic feeling" that the United States has a "deep obligation" to extend democracy throughout the world, there has been no evidence of it lately. That theory was pretty well exploded back in 1918.

The motivation for U.S. actions against Communism since the end of World War II has been nothing as complicated as moralistic evangelism or empire-building, but self-preservation pure and simple.

We would all—hawks, doves and sparrows—like to be out of this cruel and agonizing war in Vietnam. But where would Historian Commager have us begin the defense of freedom? In Formosa? In Denmark? On Long Island Sound?

Mr. Commager would hardly be willing to say that there was no place, short of Kansas City, where we would have to draw the line and put up a fight. On the other hand, neither President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy or President Johnson ever said or intimated that there was no limit to the line and no set of circumstances which would warn us against intervention.

The Commager argument states that Communism is not a monolithic system, and we have lately had evidence to inspire hope that this is true. But isn't it reasonable to suppose that some of the cracks in the Communist facade have been put there by freedom's defenders?

The average citizen can find fault with much that has happened in Vietnam—the strategy, the escalation, the occasional hesitancy, the occasional impulsiveness—but as a practical man obliged to guess right the first time (historians, of course, are by profession second-guessers), the citizen believes American troops fighting in Southeast Asia are somehow defending the United States. He finds more satisfaction in believing in something than in nothing.

BETTER HOUSING NO GUARANTEE OF CRIME REDUCTION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "Oversold—Better Housing No Guarantee of Crime Reduction," published in the Wheeling, W. Va., Intelligencer of Tuesday, February 14, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Oversold: Better Housing No Guarantee of Crime Reduction

One of the most vigorously advanced arguments in favor of slum clearance is that by improving the living conditions of those in the congested areas, particularly in the ghettos of our large Cities, we would automatically reduce the crime rate.

That there is a relationship between crime and housing is amply demonstrated by the relative lawlessness of the average slum area. But what, precisely, is that relationship? Does the condition of the housing itself foster the crime, or is it that those with criminal tendencies gather in the slum areas in disproportionately large numbers because they cannot cope elsewhere?

Improvement of the level of behavior is, of course, one of the laudable objectives of slum clearance and other facets of the war on poverty.

Another, of course, is to raise the dignity of the individual and improve his creature comfort to the degree that appropriate social action can accomplish that purpose.

But it would be a serious mistake, this newspaper believes, to advance improved housing and economic betterment as virtual cure-alls for crime. Convert every dwelling unit in every ghetto into a modern apartment with all the decencies of urban dwelling, leave the same people in residence there, make work available for all the idle capable of it and provide assistance for those incapable, do nothing to change their mode of life and all of these areas would degenerate into slums again in a few years with little improvement in the moral climate.

That is not an argument against better housing or the alleviation of poverty. It is an argument against too great reliance on good housing and economic aid as socially reforming influences. For the shocking fact is that while crime still is more prevalent in the slum areas, the rate of crime increase, as disclosed in official reports, is twice as great in the suburbs as in the Cities.

Let's do what we reasonably can to make it possible for everybody to live in a decent house. But let's not lull ourselves into a false sense of security by placing too much reliance in a good home as a guarantee of good behavior.

THE COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES ADVISORY COUNCIL

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I rise to make note of the fact that the Senate today is playing host to a most significant and most interesting group of men and women from every region of the country. They are here as guests of the Vice President.

I am referring to the members of the Community Representatives Advisory Council. This council was appointed over a year ago by Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. They are serving in their respective communities as representatives of the poor. They have the responsibility of articulating and representing the needs and the interests of the poor.

In the Economic Opportunity Act, which this Congress first enacted in 1964 and renewed each of the subsequent 2 years, there is a requirement for "maximum feasible participation" by the people in the community for whom the program was enacted. Tens of thousands of poor people are now giving very special and useful service on behalf of their fellow citizens. They have been given, for many of them the first time, a voice and a role in the development and execution of community programs.

The Office of Economic Opportunity determined that participation by the poor should not be limited to the local community. Mr. Shriver created this unique council, the Community Representatives Advisory Council and has met with them every few months to get their own evaluation of how the program is going, how better to reach the poorest of the poor, and how to improve the program. They provide an independent, detached, and objective voice in the councils of OEO. They are meeting today and tomorrow—and have taken a short recess to be here as guests of the Vice President, with whom they met for a half day at their last meeting.

I submit for the Record the names of these dedicated and patriotic men and women and ask that the list be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Members of the Community Representatives Advisory Council

Mr. Armando Atencio, 2670 Lynwood Lane, Pueblo, Colorado 81004.

Mrs. Ruth Atkins, 1345 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10026.

Mrs. Annie Mae Bankhead, Route 2, Box 626, Little Rock, Arkansas 72203.

Rev. Scott Bread, Route 2, Stilwell, Oklahoma 74960.

Mrs. Doris Brooks, 1434 South 22nd Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19121.

Mrs. Bertie Domineack, 3010 Mathers Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45206.

Mrs. Dorothy Echols, 3336 32nd Street, Birmingham, Alabama 35207.

Mr. Pedro Gallegos, General Delivery, Villa Nueva, New Mexico 77206.

Mrs. Mary Henry, 13412 Mettler Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90061.

Mr. Carl Johnson, Box 32, Verda, Kentucky 40872.

Mr. Peter Kaaialii, 89 116 Kawao Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii 96792.

Mr. Roland Krouse, Rural Route 1, Marion, Iowa 52302.

Mrs. Gladys Kyles, 6213 South Greenwood Avenue, 3rd Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Mr. James Landers, 714 Bayard Park Drive, Evansville, Indiana 47713.

Mrs. Viola McFerren, Route 4, Box 133A, Somerville, Tennessee 38068.

Mr. Lawrence McVoy, P.O. Box 2026, Station A, Omaha, Nebraska 68120.

Mr. Felix Monteiro, 526 Purchase Street, New Bedford, Massachusetts 02740.

Mr. Thomas Payne, 516 Newton Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010.

Mrs. Estelle Pierce, 203 Renner Avenue, Newark, New Jersey 07112.

Mrs. Pauline Rolland, 2584 Wisteria Street, Jacksonville, Florida 32209.

Mrs. Paula Spellman, 811 South Washington, Apt. No. 379, Seattle, Washington 98104.

Mr. Toby Solorzano, Route 1, Box 105B, Gilroy, California 95020.

Mrs. Helen Starkweather, 630 Elwood Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55411.

Reverend Henry Tevlin, C.O., 911 Crawford Road, P.O. Box 982, Rock Hill, South Carolina 29730.

Mrs. Laura Valle, 5538 Herbert Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63120.

Mrs. Claretta Wordlaw, 609 Darst Avenue, New Bern, North Carolina 28560.

THE PROBLEM OF AUTO THEFT IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, in the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, automobile theft is considered to be one of the major problems of crime in the Nation. Of particular significance is the fact that more than 60 percent of those arrested for this crime in 1965 were under 18 years of age, and 88 percent were under 25. The crime of stealing automobiles is one which primarily involves our young people.

This fact was forcefully underscored in the recent hearings held by the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am privileged to be a member. Testimony presented at the hearings corroborated the findings of the President's Crime Commission. However, the testimony noted that the total number of young people involved in this crime cannot be concluded on the basis of the total number of youths arrested for this offense.

Compounding the problem is the fact that where the automobile thief is under 18 years old, in most cases the crime involves other youths. For some reason, these others are not arrested, and are thus not made a part of the 60- to 64-percent figure believed to be directly involved with the commission of the crime. Nevertheless, these youths are a part of the total picture of the problem of automobile theft.

Alarmingly, the incidence of this crime is increasing on a national scale. According to the National Automobile Theft Bureau, the number of automobile thefts in the United States in 1965 increased by 12 percent over those in 1964. The bureau estimates that at the present rate of increase, more than 1 million cars will be stolen in 1973 alone.

It is commendable that nearly 9 out of 10 stolen cars are subsequently recovered. However, considering that automobile thefts are on a definite increase and that an increasing number of the recovered stolen cars are found stripped, the impact of this crime on the public is still tremendous. The monetary value of the loss of property in 1965 was $60 million. The loss to the public as a result of anxiety and inconvenience to the car owner, and cost of investigation by the police and insurance companies is inestimable. Most important is the loss to the public of the young people apprehended for stealing cars.

The problem of automobile theft is traditionally considered a "big city" crime. The testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency revealed that there is a rising rate of incidence in suburban communities and rural areas, but the big city remains the primary field of activity for car thieves.

An excellent series of articles dealing with automobile theft in a big city; namely, Washington, D.C., was published recently in the Washington Post. This four-part series noted that auto theft has grown faster in Washington than in any other big city in the country. Furthermore, it related this crime to the young people of our community and suggested ways in which auto thefts could be prevented. This series helps to remind us again of a problem of crime which the Congress must try to resolve.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post articles on automobile theft be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRIME ON WHEELS—I: AUTO THEFT HERE TRIPLE 1960—20 CARS DISAPPEAR ON AN AVERAGE DAY

(By Leonard Downie, Jr.)

Washington is suffering its worst wave of automobile thievery in history.

Twenty cars are expected to disappear from the city's streets and parking lots today. At that rate, 7000 cars—worth more than five million dollars—will be stolen in Washington this year.

The number stolen here has tripled since 1960, despite an increase of only 15 per cent in the number of cars registered. Auto theft has grown faster in Washington than in any other big city.

For the 12 month period ending Jan. 31, 1967, there were 6789 auto thefts in Washington. That figure represented 22.5 per cent of all serious crimes in the District.

Nationwide, with more than half a million cars stolen last year, auto theft is the third most frequently committed crime—following burglary and larceny. In Washington, only burglars strike more often than car thieves.

NOT PROFESSIONALS

The blame cannot be put on a band of slick professionals who spirit the cars off, repaint them or change their identification and then sell them out of town somewhere.

About 300 such rings do operate in some parts of the country: New York and Massachusetts in the Northeast, Georgia and Florida in the Southeast, Illinois and Indiana in the Midwest, California in the Far West.

But local police and Federal officials agree that they seldom strike in the Washington area. One reason is the strong title and registration laws here that make disposing of a stolen car difficult.

In Washington, 96 per cent of the stolen cars are recovered by the police. Three of every four are found within 72 hours of their disappearance. Half turn up in the same precinct where they were stolen.

The thieves turn out to be teen-aged boys and young men. Seven of every ten people arrested for stealing cars here are under 21.

STEAL FOR PLEASURE

They take the cars in neighborhoods near where they live. Half of the cars are stolen in the densely populated 11th, 14th, 9th and 13th precincts. Very few are taken from the higher income 6th, 7th and 8th Precincts in the Northwest. Two of every three car theft victims are Negroes.

Thieves take the cars for the sheer pleasure of driving them or merely to get from one place to another. Few of those arrested for auto theft have cars of their own. Eight of every ten do not even have drivers' licenses.

For decades this kind of car stealing has been known as "joyriding." But Lt. Bernie Panetta, commander of the Metropolitan Police Auto Squad, does not like that term.

"Too many people, including some prosecutors and judges, think it is not a serious crime when a kid takes a car and just rides around in it," Panetta complains.

This reasoning, he and other law enforcement people say, ignores first of all the danger that these drivers pose. Almost every night, car thieves streak down busy city streets at high speeds.

"Most of the time, we go after them just so we can have a siren and flashing light going to warn the people in their way," Panetta says.

EASILY STRIPPED

Sometimes, like late last Jan. 20, a stolen car hits a tree. Two young men died that night. Another is still in the hospital. Two more will stand trial for auto theft.

About one of every ten stolen cars is involved in some kind of accident. Many others are stripped of easily detachable parts. Police find that the cars they recover suffer an average of $200 damage each.

"Joyriding" also has proven to be an important step for many youngsters on the ladder to a career of habitual crime. Nationally, two of every five juveniles arrested for stealing have no previous police record.

Washington's Juvenile Bureau policemen say a higher percentage of the young car thieves here have been in trouble with the police before. But often, it was for truancy, trouble in their homes of other relatively minor things. Auto theft is often their first serious crime. And, for many, not their last.

There is also little doubt that older thieves often use stolen cars as transportation for committing other crimes, including robbery and burglary.

The police have no way of knowing exactly how many, but Panetta says "just about every day we hear the description of a getaway car on the radio and, sure enough, that car is on our 'hot sheet'."

Auto theft eats up a lot of police time and expense. Using a yardstick developed in studies elsewhere it can be estimated roughly that Washington police spend probably 10,000 man-hours and $50,000 each year tracking down stolen cars.

This does not count the police, court and prison expense involved in dealing with the 900 people who were arrested for stealing cars here last year.

And a great deal more money is being invested in an areawide police information system that will soon be used to help locate stolen cars. Police in cruisers will be able to call in the license number of a car they spot on the street and find out in seconds whether or not it is stolen.

But what is most perplexing for police here and law enforcement officials everywhere is their firm belief that auto theft is the most easily prevented of all major crimes.

Two of every five cars stolen are made available by drivers who leave their keys in the ignition or the ignition unlocked.

Two more of those five are driven away by thieves using keys from similar cars or "master" keys available for a few dollars from mail order firms that advertise in magazines and circulars through the mails.

Most of the remaining thefts involve a simple short-circuit of ignition wires, jamming the ignition or even use of a substitute ignition available, complete with its own key, at auto parts stores.

Justice Department officials, who are coordinating a national campaign to stop auto theft, believe it can be cut in half if drivers would simply lock their cars, if master key sales were limited by law and if auto makers would do more to make it much more difficult for thieves who easily get into and drive off even locked cars.

Crime on Wheels—II: Young Car Thieves Often Steal on Impulse

(By Leonard Downie, Jr.)

"There was this night that I saw a car parked in front of a lumber store in the neighborhood. The keys were right there in the ignition," the 16-year-old remembered.

"I say to myself: 'You should leave it alone. You gonna get into trouble if you take it.'

"Then you start thinking. You walk around the block or something. You think and think. And finally you just have to come back and take that car if it's still there.

"It was still there that night. I got in behind the wheel and I was on my way."

The boy, who is now at the District's Cedar Knoll training school for delinquents in Laurel, began stealing cars when he was 13. He can't remember how many he has stolen since.

"I always liked to ride," he explained. "It makes you feel real good to get behind that wheel. To show off, even just for yourself."

When he told about some of the times he took cars and about how he ran from the police, he remembered the exact description of each car—all the fancy things about it that the commercials on television emphasize.

Like the night he was trapped by the police with a hot car in an alley. He managed to jump out, run between some building and get into a friend's house nearby, where he wasn't found.

"It was a '64 Impala that time," he volunteered, "a black convertible, Super Sport, with black interior, too, and buckets . . . oh yeah, and four on the floor. A good car, but it got stuck in neutral and that's how they caught up with me."

Another young car thief at Cedar Knoll, who is 17, told the same kind of stories. He swelled with pride when he said that there is no car that he cannot steal. He explained in detail about duplicate keys, coat hangers, tinfoil gum wrappers and things under the hood of a car.

"Some of these kids simply cannot resist cars," an official at Cedar Knoll said. "Some of them have never committed any other offense. They're often mild kids, no behavior problems, no violent tendencies. They just steal cars again and again."

Seven of every 10 car thieves arrested in Washington are under 21. Three of each of those seven are 15 years old or younger.

"Automobiles hold a strong fascination for kids today," Capt. William Farran, commander of the Metropolitan Police Juvenile Bureau, explained. "A key in the ignition of an unlocked car can be quite a stimulus for them.

"A boy or group of boys who are not afraid of getting into trouble can be walking down the street not even thinking about stealing a car," Farran said. "Then they see one with the keys inside or the motor on. And they're off just like that.

NEIGHBOR'S CAR

They take cars not only to "joyride," Farran said, but also simply to get from one place to another.

One boy in Southeast Washington noticed that his neighbor left his car in the driveway overnight with the key in the ignition. So the boy took the car every morning to deliver newspapers. It went on for weeks before the car's owner got up early one morning and found the car gone.

There have been cases involving boys who went down to the Juvenile Court to report to probation officers and then stole cars to get back home.

Almost none of the juveniles arrested for car theft in Washington have driver's licenses or cars of their own. "We almost never get a boy from west of Rock Creek taking a car," Farran said, "because they almost all have cars or access to them. Our problems with them center on traffic violations and accidents."

He said juvenile thieves seldom sell cars to fences or strip them down. The youths interviewed at Cedar Knoll agreed. "Sometimes though," one said, "a guy will take a newer car to Baltimore or southern Maryland somewhere and get $300 or $400 for it."

And he added that he and other boys often took the most easily detachable parts off fancy cars—the most expensive hubcaps off a Thunderbird, for instance—and sell them to friends who had cars.

Most juvenile auto thieves do not have records of serious crimes before they start taking cars. Farran says that many "are already well known to police," but that the previous contacts usually were no more serious than truancy or disorderly conduct.

About half of the youths arrested for auto theft get picked up for it again. Some finally wind up in the Lorton, Va., Youth Center Prison. One inmate in four is there because he stole a car.

Some turn to other serious crimes, often using stolen cars for transportation. "I knew one older guy," a boy at Cedar Knoll said, "who would steal a car here, drive to Baltimore to rob someone and then come back here and ditch the car."

READY TO QUIT

Some others actually outgrow car stealing, although the felony record they acquire for it remains and often hurts their future chances to get jobs.

One 17-year-old at Cedar Knoll insists he is ready to quit. "As you get older, it's not the same," he said. "You find out that stealing cars ain't nothing now. It doesn't make you big anymore."

"Besides, it's too easy to get killed," he said, remembering the nights he was running from police and "going through so many lights at 80 or 90 miles an hour that it wasn't even funny."

And there was the night last October when he turned down a ride in a car stolen by a friend. Later that night, the other boy had to run from the police. He couldn't make a turn at 28th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue se. going about 70 miles an hour, the police said, and died instantly when the car smashed into a tree.

Crime on Wheels—III: Drivers Invite Thefts

(By Leonard Downie Jr.)

Where is your car now?

Chances are that, wherever it is, it could be stolen with ease by a teenager.

"I could always take a car anytime I wanted one," boasted a 17-year-old boy now at the District's Cedar Knoll training school for delinquents in Laurel. His police record more than supports his boast.

It is easiest to take a car, he said, when the keys are left in the ignition. Or when the ignition on a General Motors car made before 1965 is left in the unlocked position. Then it can be started without a key.

Two of every five cars stolen in Washington have keys in them or the ignition unlocked. "The drivers who leave them that way are causing crimes," one Washington police official said. "And most of them are juvenile crimes that start many boys down the road to prison."

More and more, the police report, commercial parking lots and used car lots—where keys are often left in every car—are becoming favorite targets for young auto thieves.

PARKING LOTS

Some parking lots lose several cars every month. The youths themselves boast that they can take cars from the used car lots at night, drive them around and return them before the next morning without anyone discovering the theft.

Not too long ago, the police themselves were the victims when a thief drove off in a paddy wagon that had been parked in front of a downtown hotel. The lone policeman driving it had left the keys in the wagon while he went inside the hotel to investigate a complaint.

If the key is not in the car, it is often easy for the thief to get one. Every teenaged car thief interviewed at Cedar Knoll said that a key from one General Motors car will start another "if you just fool around with it enough."

"The same thing is true for all kinds of cars," a General Motors spokesman said. But the boys at Cedar Knoll say that it is much more difficult to start a Ford or Chrysler car with a key from another one of the same make.

MORE OF THEM

And the D.C. Crime Commission found that eight of every ten cars stolen in Washington are General Motors cars. Part of the bulge might be attributable to a higher proportion of GM cars registered here and to the ignition on pre-1965 models that could be left unlocked without a key in it.

Then there are "master keys." The mail order houses in Florida and California that sell them advertise in magazines and circulars sent through the mails.

"Double money-back guarantee on our master keys," says the big type on a circular recently sent by a Florida mail order firm to car dealers, service stations, garages and others in this area.

For $3, the circular pointed out, you could buy three keys "to open all Ford products," three "to open all Rambler products," or three "To open all Chrysler Motor products."

For $4, you could buy six keys "to open all General Motors products." And, in a "special 10-day offer," the firm was selling all four sets of keys together for just $8.

"Actually these keys are what we call 'jigglers'," a Metropolitan Police Auto Squad detective explained. "You have to jiggle one awhile in the door lock to open it and jiggle it in the ignition before the car starts."

The car owner makes the job easier for the thief using a master key if he leaves his doors unlocked. "Then the thief can get inside right away and take his time working on the ignition without attracting so much attention," the detective added.

Most stolen cars were left unlocked by their owners. Two of every three are taken from a residential street right in front of or near the owner's home.

A walk down any residential street in the central, northeast or southeast sections of the city, where most of the cars are stolen, shows why.

About one car in every four parked along the cub is unlocked. Or the front window is down, the vent window open or a door ajar. And this is winter.

In the business districts, you find cars parked in store lots or in front of stores with the keys in them. Or the motor running.

But even with the car turned off and locked up tight, it is not safe. Even if the thief has no key from another similar model or a master key, he isn't licked.

A 16-year-old at Cedar Knoll told how easy it is to open a door with a coat hanger slipped down through a locked vent window. And he knew a dozen ways to start the car, from using gum wrapper tinfoil to short-circuit the ignition wire to jamming the voltage regulator somehow.

A 17-year-old told how the 14th Precinct police would put a recovered stolen car in the parking lot behind the stationhouse, "and we'd steal it again."

"Of course, there was a lock on the gate," the youth said. "But we could usually find a kid who could pick it, even though that was more trouble than taking the car."

Crime on Wheels—IV: Antitheft Devices and Careful Drivers Could Cut Rising Wave of Car Losses

(By Leonard Downie, Jr.)

Every driver remembering every time he parks his car to take the key out of the ignition and lock the doors.

A car ignition switch that throws out the key when the motor is turned off, or sounds a loud alarm if the key is left in.

A steering column or transmission lock that stops a thief from driving off in a car even if he succeeds in starting its motor.

A law clamping down on the mail order sales of "master" keys that can be used to start any car.

These are among the suggestions strongly supported by the Justice Department for putting the brakes on Washington's fastest rising crime: auto theft:

"Everyone has an obligation . . . not to invite crime," the National Crime Commission stressed in the crime prevention part of its report to President Johnson last month.

It singled out auto theft as the one crime that could be most dramatically reduced—if drivers, legislators and car manufacturers all met their obligations to stop making the parked car one of the most tempting invitations to crime.

The Justice Department is working to carry out the Crime Commission's recommendations by consulting with auto makers, writing master key control legislation for Congress and coordinating a national campaign to remind drivers to lock their cars and take their keys with them.

Nineteen national law enforcement, trade and civic organizations are sponsoring the "lock your car" campaign which will feature posters, speeches and parking meter and bumper stickers. In a few weeks, the National Advertising Council will dispense the message in newspaper, magazine, radio and television advertising.

Crime Commission consultants say it is important that drivers lock their cars, but they add that campaigns to remind them usually are successful for only a short time.

In Washington, stickers were put on parking meters and posters were fastened onto utility poles last summer. The auto theft rate leveled off for a few months. But then it shot back up in December and January, when twice as many cars were stolen than during the same months a year before.

Washington has a regulation making it illegal for the driver to leave his keys in a parked car. But, as has been the case in most cities, enforcement has fallen off.

Washington police keep no statistics on how they ticket drivers for the offense. An official in the District's Department of Motor Vehicles said that "not too much emphasis is put on it anymore."

Leaving the key in a parked car was made equal to a moving violation at first, meaning that a guilty motorist wound up with one point toward revocation of his license. That practice has been discontinued.

"Let's face it, the police have better things to do," one National Crime Commission consultant on auto theft said. "Up to now, too much emphasis has been placed on the police role in controlling car theft anyway. It has come to dominate their time. Bank robbers are profiting from this."

The Crime Commission's consultants decided that the emphasis should be put not only on the police and drivers, but on the car manufacturers. It is still much too easy for any teen-ager to steal a car that is locked up tight, they reasoned.

The change made in the ignition switch of General Motors cars was cited as an example of how design change can influence auto theft. Until 1965, the ignitions in GM cars could be left in an unlocked position (and started by anyone) without keys in them.

A study made in St. Louis in 1965 showed that 50 per cent fewer new Chevrolets were stolen that year than in 1964, even though the number registered was about the same.

Most of the auto makers are also increasing the number of tumbler combinations to discourage the use of master keys and keys from similar models by auto thieves. GM once had 64 key-lock combinations; in 1967 models it has 729. And auto makers are trying to make it more difficult to reach the ignition wires.

But Crime Commission consultants want Detroit to do much more. They recommend exploring ways to build an ignition system that would force the driver to take his key out when he shut off the motor. One suggestion is for a spring mechanism that would toss the key back out of the ignition.

They also want auto makers to consider installing a transmission or steering column lock that would make it impossible for a thief to shift into forward gear or to steer a car even after he had started its motor.

Since 1960, all cars driven in West Germany have been required by law to have steering column locks. They were used years ago on some American cars, but then were banned in some states as unsafe. Engineers consulted by the Crime Commission believe that old technological problems could be overcome if the auto makers worked enough on the problem.

Some foreign cars sold here—including Peugeots and Renaults from France—have steering column locks. Others—like Volkswagen—do not put the locks on cars exported to the United States because laws in some states ban them.

The Crime Commission also recommended to President Johnson that "some Federal agency work with (the car manufacturers) to establish minimum requirements" for auto theft-proof devices on cars.

"This responsibility," the Commisssion added, "could well be assigned to the National Highway Safety Agency as part of its program to establish safety standards for automobiles."

Justice Department officials report now that they are waiting to "see what Detroit does" before writing legislation to put the fight against auto theft under Federal agency control.

Legislation to ban or at least closely limit the mail order sales of master keys is already being written and will soon go to top Justice Department officials for their approval.

ACQUISITION OF PROPERTIES OF CIVILIAN AND MILITARY DEFENSE PERSONNEL

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am very much pleased to have been appointed by Chairman Russell to serve on a special subcommittee to consider the homeowners' relief bill, proposed legislation by the Department of Defense to authorize appropriations during the current fiscal year for use by the Secretary of Defense in acquiring properties necessarily vacated by civilian and military defense personnel because of the closing of their bases. Other members of the subcommittee include Chairman Jackson and Senators Cannon, Inouye, Byrd of Virginia, and Dominick.

I am deeply gratified to have a chance to serve on this subcommittee as we near fruition of this campaign for homeowner relief; a campaign I have been helping wage for more than 3 years.

In my joint capacity as an Armed Services Committee member and as ranking minority member of the Senate's Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee, I have been insisting on and working for many months to achieve financial relief for homeowners forced by arbitrary base closing to move and often to suffer losses on their property.

In 1964, when the Defense Secretary disclosed his major reduction plan, affecting among many others in the Nation, my State's Amarillo Air Force Base and James Connally Air Force Base at Waco, I urged the Defense Department to recognize immediately the financial hardships sure to develop from the forced sale of homes in what was certain to be a suddenly depressed market. Despite the logic and equity of such consideration the Defense Secretary chose to ignore the problem.

In 1965, the Housing Act written in my Housing Subcommittee contained a provision for financial relief to these homeowners. Again this year, the Defense Secretary refused to request the funds authorized and passed up a chance to alleviate the problem early in the game. We had made available to him a chance to grant mortgage moratoriums and to directly purchase some properties.

By 1966, when it became evident that the Defense Secretary did not intend to implement the wise, bipartisan provisions of the Congress, a further, more determined campaign was mounted. I introduced separate legislation to accomplish the homeowner relief, and I submitted a resolution enabling the Armed Services Committee to conduct a complete inquiry into the increasingly pressing problem. The 1966 housing bill presented to the Senate by my subcommittee flatly mandated the Defense Secretary to implement the relief program.

At this juncture the Defense Department saw the handwriting on the wall and finally proposed legislation of its own. The Department's proposals did not provide all the relief many of us felt desirable; however, in an effort to get something accomplished finally, we agreed on the Senate floor to ameliorate the committee's "mandate" language and accept the Department's suggestions and assurances that action would be forthcoming.

We now appear to have arrived at the point of action. I anticipate prompt committee and congressional approval of the new draft legislation and speedy Department implementation. This will allow us to provide $11 million in funds for fiscal year 1967 and $27 million for fiscal 1968. It would enable us to make immediate relief payments for both current and past hardships to more than 28,000 homeowners damaged through no fault of their own.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks a detailed explanation of the current homeowner's relief situation as ably prepared by Mr. Gordon Nease of the Armed Services Committee professional staff. I commend this explanation to the attention of all Senators who are faced with the base-closing problem in their States.

There being no objection, the explanation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Assistance to Homeowners in Base Closure Areas

BASIC LEGISLATION

Section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, authorizes the Secretary of Defense to provide assistance to military or civilian employee homeowners by reducing their losses incident to the disposal of their homes when the military installations at which they were serving or employed are ordered to be closed in whole or in part. To provide such assistance, the Secretary is authorized "to acquire title to, hold, manage, and dispose of, or, in lieu thereof, to reimburse for certain losses upon private sale of, or foreclosure against, any property improved with a one- or two-family dwelling. . . ."

The Act establishes in the Treasury a fund to be available to the Secretary for extending such financial assistance to qualified homeowners but subsection 1013(i) requires that appropriations for the acquisition of properties must be authorized by a military construction authorization act and that no monies in the fund may be expended except as may be provided in appropriation acts.

The Act authorizes assistance for the owner of a qualified dwelling if he was a serviceman or a civilian occupying the dwelling and serving or employed at the installation at the time of, or under specified conditions within stipulated periods prior to, the public announcement of the closure action. Any individual who is eligible under the criteria of the Act may elect to receive (1) a cash payment as partial compensation for losses sustained in a private sale or (2) as purchase price for his property, an amount equal to 90 percent of the fair market value prior to the base closure announcement, or the amount of the outstanding mortgages. Also, the Secretary of Defense may reimburse or pay on account of eligible persons such sums as may be paid or be otherwise due and owing by such persons as the result of foreclosure commenced by mortgagees after the base closure announcement and prior to March 3, 1967.

SCOPE OF THE PROGRAM

Studies at installations announced for closure between November 1, 1964 and December 31, 1966, indicate that about 124,600 military personnel and 81,200 civilian employees will be affected and that 12,980 and 32,370, respectively, will be eligible homeowners. It is estimated that some 28,500 homeowners—8,500 military and 20,000 civilians—will establish eligibility for assistance by June 30, 1967, but it is estimated that about 10,600 will elect not to apply for assistance because (being in areas where the impact of base closure on the housing market is negligible), they can sell at a price in excess of the prices available under the alternatives provided by the statute.

Accordingly, it appears that about 17,900 individuals will apply for assistance under the Act during Fiscal Year 1967. Even though a major portion of FY 1967 is already passed and some time is required to develop maximum administrative efficiency, it is estimated that about 45 percent—8,100 of the applications can be processed by June 30, 1967; the remainder will be handled as expeditiously as possible in FY 1968.

Base closure actions announced on January 19, 1967 are not expected to have a perceptible impact on the homeowners assistance program during FY 1967.

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

Section 1013 of Public Law 89–754 spells out in detail just who will be eligible for assistance. The Secretary of Defense may provide assistance with respect to "any property improved with a one- or two-family dwelling which is situated at or near a military base or installation which the Department of Defense has, subsequent to November 1, 1964, ordered to be closed in whole or in part, if he determines—

"(1) that the owner of such property is, or has been, a Federal employee employed at or in connection with such base or installation (other than a temporary employee serving under a time limitation) or a serviceman assigned thereto;

"(2) that the closing of such base or installation, in whole or in part, has required or will require the termination of such owner's employment or service at or in connection with such base or installation; and

"(3) that as the result of the actual or pending closing of such base or installation, in whole or in part, there is no present market for the sale of such property upon reasonable terms and conditions."

Further, the section provides:

"(b) In order to be eligible for the benefits of this section such employees or military personnel must be or have been—

"(1) assigned to or employed at or in connection with the installation or activity at the time of public announcement of the closure action,

"(2) transferred from such installation or activity, or terminated as employees as a result of reduction-in-force, within six months prior to public announcement of the closure action, or

"(3) transferred from the installation or activity on an overseas tour unaccompanied by dependents within fifteen months prior to public announcement of the closure action;

"*Provided*, That, at the time of public announcement of the closure action, or at the time of transfer or termination as set forth above, such personnel or employees must—

"(i) have been the owner-occupant of the dwelling, or

"(ii) have vacated the owned dwelling as a result of being ordered into on-post housing during a six-month period prior to the closure announcement:

"*Provided further*, That as a consequence of such closure such employees or personnel must—

"(i) be required to relocate because of military transfer or acceptance of employment beyond a normal commuting distance from the dwelling for which compensation is sought, or

"(ii) be unemployed, not as a matter of personal choice, and able to demonstrate such financial hardship that they are unable to meet their mortgage payments and related expenses."

These eligibility criteria are intended to insure that assistance is extended only to DoD-connected homeowners who have been *proximately* affected by a base closure action. It is contemplated that other persons, such as local businessmen, will be assisted through the Defense Department's vigorous economic adjustment program, which is designed to assist communities in minimizing the economic impact of military base closures. The program is limited to career or career-conditional Federal employees, on the basis that there should be an eligibility threshold for homeowners assistance, just as there is for other employee benefits.

PROCEDURES

The types of assistance available and the mechanics of the program can best be illustrated by examining in sequence the procedures planned by the Defense Department. To begin with, it is contemplated that an applicant for assistance will obtain an information brochure on the program from his military or civilian Personnel Officer, or, if he is no longer associated with the Federal Government, from the Personnel Officer of the nearest military installation or activity.

The brochure will describe the eligibility requirements and rights of applicants under section 1013 of Public Law 89–754, as well as the procedures to be followed in seeking the alternative forms of assistance which are available.

The applicant will also obtain and submit to the Personnel Officer an *Application for Homeowners Assistance.* This form will contain:

1. Information as to his service or employment at an installation or activity announced for closure,
2. Reasons for desiring assistance (Relocation outside commuting area or financial hardship, with related detailed information), and
3. Information on property for which assistance is sought.

The Personnel Officer will review the Application and verify the facts relating to eligibility, and certify that the applicant has been determined to be eligible, or that he has been determined to be ineligible (with reasons therefore).

If the Personnel Officer determines the applicant to be *ineligible,* he will return the Application with a Determination to that effect. Applicant will have a right of appeal to the Central Claims Office, and to higher authority.

CENTRAL CLAIMS OFFICE

If the Personnel Officer determines the applicant to be *eligible,* he will so certify at the bottom of the Application form, and forward the form to the Central Claims Office for further action.

The Central Claims Office will take the following actions with respect to Applications from eligible homeowners:

1. *Applicants whose homes have been foreclosed.* The Claims Office will confer with the Veterans' Administration, Federal Housing Administration, and mortgagees (as appropriate) and pay deficiency judgments, debts owing to VA or FHA, and other foreclosure costs directly on behalf of the applicant. To the extent that the applicant may have already paid all or part of his valid foreclosure costs, the Claims Office will reimburse him.

2. *Applicants whose homes have already been sold.* The Claims Office will obtain fair market value appraisals, both current and prior to the base closure announcement, for the property for which assistance is sought. It will remit to the applicant a check in the amount (if any) by which 95 percent of the prior FMV exceeds the current FMV *or* the actual sales price (whichever is higher). If no payment is due, the applicant will be so advised. In all cases applicants will be informed of the basis for the decision in his case (essentially the amounts of the two appraisals).

3. *Applicants still in possession of their homes.* The Claims Office will obtain current and prior FMV appraisals, and inform applicants of the amounts of such appraisals so that they may elect to:

a. Sell privately and claim less compensation, or

b. Assign their properties to the Government for the amount of the outstanding mortgage(s), or

c. Assign their properties to the Government for 90 percent of the prior FMV.

Upon receipt of the appraisal information, homeowners electing alternate 3a will sell privately and thereafter send the Claims Office a *Claim for Loss Compensation* with evidence of the gross sales price received. The Claims Office will thereupon remit to the homeowners a check in the amount (if any) by which 95 percent of the prior FMV exceeds either the current FMV or the actual sales price (whichever is higher).

Homeowners electing to assign their properties to the Government under alternates 3b or 3c will send the Claims Office an *Application for Government Purchase.* The Claims Office will approve such Applications by endorsement and transmit them to the appropriate office for action with respect to property acquisitions, mortgage assumptions, and cash equity payments (alternate 3c).

INTERAGENCY ACTIONS

Pursuant to the provisions of section 1013(g) of Public Law 89-754, the Department of Defense is currently engaged in discussions with the Department of Housing and Urban Development in order to determine which functions the latter Department might most effectively perform in connection with this program, especially with respect to acquisition, management, and disposal of properties.

COST ESTIMATES

Total costs of homeowners assistance in connection with base closure actions between November 1, 1964 and December 31, 1966 are estimated to be $49.8 million, including $11 million in FY 1967 and $27 million in FY 1968. These are net costs, after deducting estimated receipts from disposition of acquired properties.

The table appearing below contains an approximate distribution of the FY 1967 authorization into principal categories. It is based on Department of Defense estimates which involve a number of complex factors such as the number of military and civilian personnel displaced, time phasing of displacements, percentages of homeowners among displaced personnel, average values of homes, percentages of market declines in impacted areas, and probable elections by homeowners as to types of assistance.

Summary of authorization request, fiscal year 1967

Activity	Number of cases	Amount
Payments to homeowners (reimbursement for losses in private sales)	4,970	$1,593,000
Operating costs (operating and maintenance costs for acquired properties, appraisal fees, and administrative costs for all types of assistance)		1,617,000
Capital outlay (equity payments to homeowners, payments in foreclosure cases, and payments on assumed mortgages)	3,130	7,790,000
Total authorization	8,100	11,000,000

SHARING FEDERAL REVENUE WITH STATES

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, there seems to be considerable support for sharing Federal revenues with the States. In fact, several bills have been introduced providing the return of from 1 to 5 percent of the Federal taxes. Appealing as this idea appears to be, a warning flag has been raised by the Forum, published in Fargo, N. Dak. The comments contained in the editorial entitled "North Dakota Should Take Good Look at Idea Federal Handout Would Ease State Budget," are well worth reading, and I recommend them to Senators.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Fargo Forum, Mar. 3, 1967]

NORTH DAKOTA SHOULD TAKE GOOD LOOK AT IDEA FEDERAL HANDOUT WOULD EASE STATE BUDGET

Just about everybody is getting into the act in trying to sell the idea that it would be good government for the federal government to share some of its tax revenues with the states.

The proposals getting the most attention generally suggest that the states should get 5 to 10 per cent of the federal individual income tax. Most often it is proposed that the states get 10 per cent of the U.S. income tax paid by its own residents; another version is that the 10 per cent should be divided up on a per capita basis, rich states would get richer if the money went directly back to the states in which it was collected.

Inasmuch as the federal government is consistently running into the red, it doesn't make much sense to obligate the federal treasury for several extra billions of dollars. This kind of a financial load would only force a sharp federal tax hike, and thereby reduce the states' ability to raise their own revenues still further.

If the federal government did share some of its revenue with the state, you could well expect that it would also share some of its obligations. It might decide that it is paying too much of the welfare bill, or too much of the highway construction costs.

Federal money simply doesn't come back to the states without strings attached, as we can see by the U.S. aid to education program. North Dakota, for instance, is slated to receive $3.8 million in federal assistance for school districts; yet, in all the debate in the N.D. Legislature, not one word has been said that these grants make possible a reduction in state and local school spending. It has been pointed out, on the other hand, that the federal programs seem to require more state and local spending because they require matching funds for new undertakings.

North Dakota should take a good look at the idea that the state budget would be eased if the federal government gave the state a handout. Too many people make money in North Dakota, but file their U.S. income tax returns in Minneapolis, in Phoenix or any other distant city. It is not likely that the state would ever get its hands on that kind of tax money.

RADIATION HAZARDS MADE GRAPHIC

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, many times during the past several years I have expressed my great concern that efforts to develop new uses for radioactive material was not being matched by efforts to develop adequate safeguards against the potential hazards of radiation.

No one denies that radiation is dangerous and that inherent in some of its uses is the horrible potentiality of the total destruction of life on this planet. No one denies that, on a lesser scale, any use of radioactive substances may involve some danger for persons exposed to it.

While no one denies these facts, our Government has not responded with the effort needed to solve the problem. And still the use of radioactive material proliferates.

Nuclear powerplants are being built on rivers close to our most populous cities. These plants may release radioactive contaminants into the water, the air and the soil.

More than half of our population is exposed each year to X-ray devices which have not been adequately inspected, which are often defective, which too often release needlessly great quantities of radiation and which frequently are operated by untrained persons.

Uranium processing mills generate mountains of radioactive "sand" which erodes into rivers.

An article entitled "Hidden Casualties of Atom Age," printed in the March 9 edition of the Washington Post, reports one tragic consequence of the absence of adequate knowledge in the area of establishing antiradiation safeguards. The article tells of a miner who is dying of lung cancer because of exposure to radiation while working in an underground uranium mine. He will not be the first uranium miner to die because of overexposure, nor will he be the last.

An unknown number of miners will die because when these men were mining in the late 1950's and early 1960's, there were inadequate controls limiting the amount of exposure uranium miners should get, according to the article. Apparently, even today the necessary regulations have not been drawn up. I draw this conclusion because in an article in the same edition of the Washington Post it was reported that an official of the Federal Radiation Council would "recommend stiff Federal limits to the amount of radiation permitted in underground uranium mines."

I ask unanimous consent that the two articles be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in today's edition of the Washington Post, an editorial takes the Atomic Energy Commission to task because "it largely ignored the then-unknown radiation hazards to the miners." The editorial concludes:

> What an appalling performance all around. Every day the federal government now delays in solving this problem, another miner may get lung cancer.

Mr. President, while I applaud the newspaper's call for action to help protect miners, I deeply regret that it did not issue a call for action on the entire problem of establishing adequate safeguards against radiation.

All of us are susceptible to the danger which accompanies increased exposure to radiation. In ways perhaps not fully known we may also be afflicting future generations. The time to act is now. President Johnson has introduced legislation which would govern the use and inspection of X-ray equipment. Dr. Russell H. Morgan, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Radiation, recently underlined the need for more judicious use of such equipment when he urged physicians to use greater care in exposing patients to X-ray diagnosis.

Mr. President, I urge that Congress move ahead swiftly on the President's proposal dealing with X-ray machines. I also urge that Congress take a deep look at what programs are needed to insure that efforts to develop new uses for radioactive material are matched by efforts to develop adequate safeguards against potential hazards of radiation.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 9, 1967]

CANCER: URANIUM MINE OCCUPATIONAL HAZARD—HIDDEN CASUALTIES OF ATOM AGE EMERGE

(By J. V. Reistrup)

NUCLA, COLO., March 8.—This is probably the last spring John Morrill will ever see, because he is dying of lung cancer.

He is dying of lung cancer because he was a uranium miner.

The 56-year-old Morrill, who lives in this small community on the Western Slope of the Rockies with his wife Irene, is one of the hidden casualties of the atomic age, one of the dozens who have died or will die because they worked in underground uranium mines.

The Atomic Energy Commission has maintained controls over the later steps of producing fuel for nuclear bombs and power plants, but the Commission decided years ago that it did not have jurisdiction over the places where uranium is taken out of the ground.

Until the last few years, the states did not exercise much control either. A U.S. Public Health Service study indicates that more than half the men among 3000 studied have been overexposed to radiation in underground uranium mines.

The study group is a "pretty fair cross section" of the 10,000 men who have probably put in time in such mines, according to Duncan Holaday, chief of the Public Health Service occupational health field station at Salt Lake City.

"The only thing that has saved us from a real calamity is that many of these people work only two, three, four years" in underground uranium mines, Holaday said.

John Morrill may be the 50th or 51st miner to be recorded as dying of cancer because of exposure in the underground mines, depending on whose figures you take.

"There'll be more," said Holaday. "We haven't seen them all."

Dr. Victor E. Archer, physician at the Salt Lake field station who has headed the medical study of lung cancer among uranium miners, points out that it most often takes between 17 and 20 years between the start of mining and the start of lung cancer.

The peak of uranium production and the employment of miners in this country came in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

When lung cancer does appear, it is usually fatal.

Holaday, Dr. Archer and their colleagues say the cause is radon daughters in mines.

Radon gas is one of the links in the chain of radioactive decay as uranium turns bit by bit into lead. This gas breaks down into the forms called radon daughters, which are short-lived but deadly with alpha radiation.

If a man breathes moisture particles or dust bearing even tiny amounts of radon daughters, he is likely to keep a substantial portion in his system.

The effects are cumulative. The longer a man works in a mine with a high level of radon daughters, the more chance he will have of developing respiratory cancer.

The deadly effects of radon daughters have been know for decades in scientific literature.

Two mines in Central Europe have been worked since 1500—one at Joachimstahl, now in Czechoslovakia, and the other at Schneeberg, now in East Germany. They were mined first for silver, later for other minerals.

The mines had long been studied because of the high death rate of the men who worked them.

By the 1930s, it was estimated that as many as 70 per cent of the miners at Joachimstahl and Schneeberg had died of lung cancer. Further, it was established fairly clearly that radon daughters were to blame. But authorities were slow in making the link for uranium mines.

In 1949, Holaday went to the wooden, two-story World War II barracks near Salt Lake that still serve as the occupational health field station for 13 Western states. He became chief in 1955.

The field station began studies on the problem, sometimes dipping into funds meant to go to other purposes in order to do it.

The staff there developed detection equipment that could measure the amount of radon daughters in mines and gradually won acceptance, in principle if not in practice, of a maximum working level of radiation inside the mines that should not be exceeded.

The way to keep radiation down is though ventilation, the same means that other mine operators can use to keep silicia dust down and thus save their miners from silicosis. Fans and ducts can keep radon daughters from congregating.

Since 1960, the five states that mine 90 per cent of the Nation's uranium—New Mexico, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Arizona—have been more active in keeping down the radiation levels within the mines, by monitoring them and closing down the worst offenders until better ventilation is provided.

Records show 39 per cent of the mines below the maximum working level for 1965, for example, and by 1966 the percentage rose to 44.

The majority are operating at above the working level, however, and in each year a couple of mines turned up with more than ten times the recommended maximum.

Theoretically, this means that a man working in one of these mines could receive more radiation in a single year than a man in a mine with adequate ventilation would receive in ten years.

Last year, Congress expressed its concern in the Federal Mine and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Act. This requires the Secretary of the Interior to develop and enforce health and safety standards and to approve or disapprove state plans to set standards.

In effect, this means that the states get a chance to set up adequate controls; if they are judged to have fallen short, the Federal Government can step in.

To help in drawing up the standards, the Interagency Federal Radiation Council has scheduled a staff meeting Thursday in Washington with representatives of the states, organized labor, industry and the Public Health Service.

"We do have people who are making an earnest effort to solve their problems, get control," Holaday said, but "I think that eventually you run out of these people and you get down to people who are willing to compete on the basis of [reducing] health and safety."

The standards will come too late "for a lot of people," Holaday said. But there are predictions that by 1980 the growing popularity of nuclear power plants will call for twice as much yearly production as the previous record, he said, and the controls would protect miners during the next boom.

The small mines, or "dogholes," are the hardest to control. They may be operated by as few as two men, who lease the land from a big company and then sell their output to it. Often the men involved are not aware of the radon daughter hazard, and it may not be a big source of worry anyway.

"Somebody like that you are not going to find very interested in something that's going to happen 30 years from today if he isn't worried about a rock falling on his head today," Holaday said.

John Morrill used to be like that. He started uranium mining in about 1941 or 1942 and he mined most of the time until 1965, about ten years of that time in leased dogholes.

John Morrill tends to be fatalistic.

"If I hadn't been working in the mines, I might have been here a lot longer—maybe; I don't know." But then, he adds, he might have been killed in a car accident.

If he had it to do over again, would he go back in the mines?

"I probably would. I probably wouldn't have no better sense. That's the way I look at it.

"But I don't know if I'd go in the uranium mines or not. But if I was going in again, I'd have a lot more insurance."

Fatalism or not, there are some things John Morrill cannot understand about his case. He cannot see why the State is holding off on paying his claim for compensation insurance for a work-related illness. Colorado may be the only state that has paid such claims for uranium miners' lung cancer, but the money, generally about $12,000, usually goes to widows after the miner has died.

He does not understand his company, the Union Carbide Corp.

"Even the company fights it. I can't figure it out. Work for them all those years and they don't want to pay it."

John Morrill quit school at 15 back in Amesbury, Mass., and he does not understand the American system of adversary justice, which holds that truth can be served only by lawyers' firing barrages of briefs and affidavits and expert witnesses at each other.

He may not even know that Union Carbide has a good record in making sure its mines are ventilated now.

John Morrill also does not understand why cancer did not show up in physical examinations until it was too late.

But very few people know about John Morrill, or care what he thinks. It was hard to get directions to the house he rents in little Nucla even though he has lived here five years.

The problem of the uranium miners just has not caught on, "something like the Turks massacring the Armenians," health aide Holaday said. But let a little radioactive waste get into drinking water, Holaday added, and the public says: "That's me."

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 9, 1967]

BUREAUCRATIC CANCER

The Atomic Energy Commission in the 1950s was in such haste to buy uranium for bombs that it largely ignored the then-unknown radiation hazards to the miners. Some 50 miners have now died of radiation-induced lung cancer and perhaps 5000 more have suffered an over-exposure, according to Public Health Service estimates reported by J. V. Reistrup of this newspaper. Since it takes 10 years or so after over-exposure for lung cancer to mature, the final death toll cannot yet be known.

Meanwhile, despite some progress in ventilating the mines and taking other precautions, some 56 per cent of the mines operating in 1966 in the five chief uranium-producing states recorded radiation over the PHS's recommended "working level." And the United States Government is now only at the point of planning to "initiate" effective Federal controls.

The AEC says miners' health was not in its jurisdiction but in that of the states; yet the AEC could have chosen to buy uranium only or first from safe mines, and it could have brought the matter urgently to the attention of Congress. The PHS had and has no important initiative or muscle; a dedicated local officer in Utah, Duncan Holaday, was forced to snitch funds for radiation studies from other projects. The states were too responsive to the mining companies. The companies and individual miners were out to dig uranium and sell it at a profit.

What an appalling performance all around.

Every day the Federal Government now delays in solving this problem, another miner may get lung cancer.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 3, 1967]

U.S. Limits Sought on Mine Radiation

(By J. V. Reistrup)

The executive director of the Federal Radiation Council indicated yesterday that he would recommend stiff Federal limits to the amount of radiation permitted in underground uranium mines.

The comments by Paul C. Tompkins came at a session of the Council staff with representatives of industry, organized labor, the Western states where uranium is mined and the Public Health Service.

The meeting was closed to the press, but participants said Tompkins indicated the recommendations of the Council would follow the relatively strict standard for permissible radiation resulting from Public Health Service studies.

HAS BEEN UP TO STATES

In the past, safety standards for underground uranium mines have been left to the states, since the Atomic Energy Commission decided it did not have the power to regulate them.

The Walsh-Healey Act gives the Secretary of Labor the power to set standards for the way material procured by the Government is produced, but the Labor Department has been waiting for the results of the Radiation Council's study, begun two years ago.

Some miners already have died of lung cancer associated with radiation from the mines, and the Public Health Service experts who have studied the problem expect more. The lung cancers take anywhere from 10 to 30 years to develop, but are quickly fatal.

Legislation passed by Congress last year empowers the Secretary of the Interior to pass on state mining safety standards, in effect authorizing him to set the rules himself if the state rules are too weak.

BASED ON "WORKING LEVEL"

The Radiation Council staff report discussed yesterday has not been made public, but it is known to be based on the unit known as the "working level" that was recommended by the Public Health Service in 1957 as a desirable limit for radiation.

The Council is known to be considering recommendations to:

Set an annual radiation dose equivalent to breathing one working level for 2000 working hours as the occupational exposure guide.

Require records from which average exposures can be estimated and recorded for individual miners if they are exposed to more than three-tenths of a working level averaged over 13 weeks.

Identify mine areas showing more than one working level as requiring special precautions such as respirators to prevent an undue radiation hazard.

Setting higher maximums than one working level would simply mean more claims for compensation by miners who contact lung cancer, Tompkins is reported to have said.

The Federal Radiation Council is an interdepartmental advisory body that will report to the President, who will presumably pass the recommendations on to the Department of the Interior.

POST OFFICE COURTESY CAMPAIGN

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I am pleased to note that Postmaster General O'Brien has begun to make a determined effort to give our citizens improved postal service not only in the dispatch and delivery of their mail, but also in their transactions at post office windows. The Postmaster General has recently asked each window employee to consider it a privilege to serve the public and to make an all-out effort to help the customer in any way possible.

At his direction, the Post Office Department has prepared a brochure which has been given to each employee serving the public. The brochure contains a personal message from the Postmaster General and instructions on how he feels every postal customer should be treated by window employees while transacting postal business.

The Department has also developed an attractive poster, entitled "Postal Customer's Bill of Rights," which informs the customer that he has a right to expect a well-groomed, well-informed, friendly, and courteous window clerk at his local post office.

These posters are being placed on lobby desks or service counters in all postal installations where window service exists. It will be the responsibility of the local postmaster to make certain that all window employees are following the precepts specified by the Postmaster General.

Mr. President, Postmaster General O'Brien should be commended for taking these progressive steps to insure that all of our citizens receive prompt, polite, and efficient window service. Congress will soon be asked to increase the price of a first-class postage stamp from 5 to 6 cents. I personally do not believe the American public should be asked to bear this 20-percent increase unless there is first a corresponding increase in the quality of postal service.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of the "Postal Customer's Bill of Rights."

There being no objection, the bill of rights was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Postal Customer's Bill of Rights

You—our customer—when entering this post office, have the right to expect and can depend upon—

A neat, clean counter on which to transact your business.

A well-groomed, neat window employee to serve you.

A friendly greeting that expresses our desire to assist you.

Knowledgeable, well-informed, interested window personnel to help you with your postal needs.

Prompt, alert and efficient service when you come to the service counter.

Competent and correct information on all your inquiries.

An attitude that reflects helpfulness, patience and congeniality.

The courtesy and tact you would expect to receive from a friend.

Polite referral to another window, or individual, when necessary to give you the appropriate service.

A feeling, upon leaving, that we were glad to serve you and help you at all times.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, last week the President sent to the Congress a detailed message on Education and Health in America. Included in this message was an exciting proposal for "Building for Tomorrow" through the stimulation and support of educational or "public" television.

On Thursday evening of last week, the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, the senior Senator from Washington, introduced S. 1160, a bill designed to implement the recommendations of the President.

On Sunday afternoon, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters convened here in Washington its second conference on the Long Range Financing of Educational Television Stations for the purposes of considering the recently issued Carnegie Commission report on educational television which prompted the pending legislation.

All these developments in the area of educational television are of particular interest to me since Maryland is now deeply involved in developing a statewide educational-television network.

Reports reaching me indicate that the NAEB sessions at the Statler this week were of great significance to the future of educational television. It is my understanding that the discussions and opinions developed there were highly constructive and will be most helpful to us here in the Congress when we commence the consideration of the President's proposal and the Magnuson bill. I hope to be able to make a fuller report on the activities of this conference at a later date. In the meantime, I want to bring to the attention of the Senate the positions taken by two noted Americans in speeches delivered to the plenary sessions of the NAEB Conference.

Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., was the conference speaker at the Monday morning session. Dr. Killian is well known and highly respected. He is a former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and now chairman of the MIT Corp. He served as science adviser to Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy and has recently been chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television.

The conference speaker at the breakfast session on Wednesday morning was McGeorge Bundy, a man equally well known and respected by the Members of the Congress. Mr. Bundy served as dean of the faculty of arts and sciences at Harvard and as Special Assistant to the President for International Security Affairs in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Mr. Bundy is now the President of the Ford Foundation and many of us on the Commerce Committee remember his appearance and eloquent appeal on behalf of educational television made before our committee last summer.

Mr. President, I believe that the statements delivered by these two distinguished men at the NAEB Conference just closed will be of great interest to all of us who are concerned with providing for the healthy growth to full potential of educational television in the United States. I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Killian's and Mr. Bundy's speeches be printed in the Record at the close of my remarks.

In addition, Mr. President, I want to make known my intention to ask the distinguished sponsor of S. 1160, the senior Senator from Washington, to add my name to his bill as cosponsor.

There being no objection, the speeches

were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"IN DREAMS BEGIN RESPONSIBILITIES"—NEXT STEPS FOR PUBLIC TELEVISION

(By J. R. Killian, Jr., chairman of the corporation, MIT)

I

My title is a line from an old play once quoted by Yeats, and it admirably summarizes the thought with which I wish both to begin and end my remarks today. The hopes, the necessities, and the dreams which have marked the discussion of educational television during the past year have set the stage for great decisions and established the requirement for new responsibilities. For all who seek the advancement of educational television, the time has come to anticipate realistically the responsibilities which these decisions will entail. I will come back to this requirement, but before doing so, there are other things which I wish to say in order to fulfill my role in this Conference.

First of all, I welcome the opportunity to express in person the thanks of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television for the generous help that so many of you provided during the course of this study. As its report makes clear, the Commission became imbued with your enthusiasm as it pondered your problems, your achievements, and your opportunities. In the beginning there were skeptics among us about the potential of educational television; but as we proceeded, we acquired mounting zeal for advancing that part of ETV which we were asked to study and which we chose to call Public Television.

I feel indebted to so many of you individually that I would like to say a word to each of you, but that would take too long. I do want, however, to salute Scott Fletcher who, in your behalf, has done so much. He was indefatigable and understanding in his support of the Commission, and at every stage has been an enthusiasm amplifier. I count it a privilege to have had the benefit of his support, and I cherish him as counselor and friend.

Because of the recommendations submitted to the Congress last week by President Johnson, this Conference is particularly timely and important. The President's recommendations are another giant step as the nation climbs the stairs toward a new level for educational television, and we hail and thank him for his leadership.

We of the Carnegie Commission express our deep appreciation and satisfaction that the President has adopted our basic proposal for the establishment of a Corporation for Public Television and the major roles we suggested for it. We are immensely pleased, too, to have other parts of our report reflected in his message, including our recommendation for a study in depth of instructional television, and for his use of the term "Public Television", which we coined to describe and to conceptualize that part of television which commanded our attention. I welcome, too, the President's decision to recommend experiments and procedures for studying the use of communications satellites, and the manner in which he set the stage for an orderly consideration of all the major proposals which have been made in the past seven months.

And here let me be loud and clear about these other important proposals, including those of the Ford Foundation. The really striking thing about them is that in their very essence, they are in accord. In the face of this underlying agreement, there has been unwarranted emphasis on the differences in the proposals.

Let their common purposes now command our attention as well as their divergencies. Let us recognize the common objectives and not be bemused by manufactured or imaginary controversies and the silly speculations about conflicts between foundations. Each proponent can and does vigorously support the specifics of his special proposal with commitment and conviction and can still welcome and honor other proposals which seek, through different specifics, the same objective of improving educational television and securing for it adequate funds.

In its own way, the Carnegie Commission sought the same objective as the Ford Foundation; and it meant what it said in its report that it saw no conflict between the Ford satellite proposal and the organization and plan presented in the Carnegie report.

In support of its recommendations, the Ford Foundation put forward a bold and imaginative concept for ETV that altered its entire image and gave dynamic expression to a latent public desire for better television. We salute the Ford Foundation for this accomplishment. The Carnegie Commission's task would have been far more difficult to discharge, and its report would have had much less impact had not Ford created an enlarged vision of what ETV could be.

In the six weeks since our report was issued, it has been reviewed in the press, debated in the trade, and discussed beyond our fondest expectations wherever there are people interested in television. It has created a bigger splash than we dreamed it might. We are still trying to answer all the letters, even from the numerous writers who were so confident about our proposals that they have applied for jobs! But this is the first time I have had the opportunity to express my own reactions to the comments that have accumulated since we cast the report abroad.

Before I get down to specifics, there are two general remarks I would like to make about the report that will clarify the Carnegie Commission's own attitudes. The report was issued on January 25, and with its issuance, the Commission went out of existence. I stand before you here as the former chairman of a former Commission, and in these matters that is all the title I now have. The report may not have any of the force of the laws of the Medes and the Persians, but it has all their finality so far as the full Commission is concerned. Only the published report can speak for the Commission. I would not wish it otherwise, for now that the report is out and reactions are in, I take pride in reaffirming the substance of the report.

Second, the Commission was fully aware that it had no authorized omniscience or any corner on the final answers for ETV. However deeply we believed and continue to believe in our conclusions, we did not expect them to command unanimous and instant acceptance. And they haven't! On matters of such moment there must be thoughtful debate, and we welcome it. Our hope was to provide the stimulus for a serious debate which could yield decisive action.

I have spoken of the nation-wide comment which followed the publication of our report, and what I have seen has been overwhelmingly favorable. The relative amount of favorable or unfavorable comment on the details of our report, however, was of less moment than the impressive evidence running through all the national discussion that American citizens are aroused by the discussion and want more from television than they are now getting. They are beginning to sense the great potential of ETV.

I would not hide the pleasure I derived from some of the favorable reactions to our report, especially those coming from quite different sectors of our national community. I recall, for example, CBS's unsolicited pledge of $1 million to the endowment fund of the proposed Corporation for Public Television, payable the day it is chartered. In his letter confirming this pledge, Mr. Frank Stanton said these important things:

"We at CBS have felt that the approach to a more adequate non-commercial television service should be balanced, realistic, and practical. The report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television provides just that. Of equal importance, it does so in the context of reasoned safeguards to assure that educational television be pluralistic in the sources of its support and of its programming and in its administrative controls . . .

"The Carnegie proposal seeks to weld disparate constituencies into a complementary whole. This is a difficult task. The components are fragile and their joining takes great skill. But the game is worth the candle."

The second reaction was expressed in the unanimous resolution passed by the Executive Board of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, urging Federal-state-local adoption of the recommendations of the report. The UAW's statement in which, of course, our fellow Commissioner, Leonard Woodcock, surely had a hand, endorsed the excise tax and proclaimed that: "The Carnegie Commission's program presents to each home a unique opportunity to be a center for learning, where knowledge and scholarship are informally and expertly available. . . Early Congressional action on the Carnegie Commission's proposal will bring educational television past the threshold of its great promise to Americans to know themselves, their communities and their world in richer, more meaningful ways."

II

I am sure that the Commission would wish me to emphasize that in formulating our conclusions and recommendations, we attached greater importance to underlying principles and policies than we did to the details in the report presented to implement these principles and policies.

Let me be concrete about this. The Commission categorically affirmed that the Corporation for Public Television must be private and non-governmental, that it must be insulated to the greatest possible degree from the threat of political control, and that it must be directed by men and women of eminence, talent and responsibility. We believe that so strongly that we went out of our way to state, in one of our formal recommendations, that we would be most reluctant to recommend the other parts of our plan unless the Corporation is brought into being with the primary mission to extend and improve Television programming.

The Commission also proposed that the Board of the Corporation for Public Television be made up of 12 appointees, six of whom would be appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation, and six to be selected by those appointed by the President. The Board, I should add, would be part-time only as is customary in private corporations. After examining more complicated methods of appointing the Board, we came to the conclusion that this rather simple procedure was, in our judgment, the best. The President's proposal for 15 members all appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate is somewhat different, but not different enough to raise any fundamental issue in my mind.

We were influenced by the feeling that many other boards and bodies, important in our Federal structure and fundamental to our liberties, are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. We also felt that it was most unlikely that any President would try to pack or control the Board of the Public Television Corporation in the face of the watchfulness of our free press and of our educational and commercial television systems. We, moreover, placed reliance on the independence of local stations in the system we proposed. In addition, a presidential invitation is a proven way of attracting citizens of high ability for public service.

The goal to be kept in mind here is that the Corporation for Public Television must be led by men and women of eminence, achievement, and strength. They should be the kind of people who will zealously protect the independence of the Corporation and who will insure the qualities of leadership and standards of excellence which will be of such importance to Public Television. If there are better ways of achieving these goals by alternate means of appointing the directors of the Corporation, then by all means let them be considered.

Similarly, we adopted the notion of an excise tax to raise the Federal funds necessary for the support of public programming because it seemed to us that there was no other means that was clearer, more easily administered, more consonent with previous practices, and less likely to create injustices. We felt that something of the sort was necessary to meet the essential requirement that the Corporation be spared the political pressures of annual budgeting and appropriations procedures. If the Executive Branch and Congress in their wisdom should prefer another manner of providing support which would also relieve the Corporation of those annual procedures, we would feel that our proposals had been completely sustained. If Congress should approve the excise tax, but require those annual procedures we wished to avoid, then we will have failed, excise tax or no excise tax, and I believe that the whole structure we erected will have been jeopardized. It is the *principle* that I happily waive in favor of a more suitable solution, if there is one. But, the principle is fundamentally important, and any alternative that would compromise the independence of the Corporation should, in my view, be rejected.

The Commission, I hasten to add, felt that Federal funds are absolutely necessary and in amounts similar to the totals suggested in its report, if the Corporation is to be effective. The schedule for building up to these totals we preferred to leave to the President and to Congress. I see one possible problem involved in the proposal that the Corporation rather than HEW distribute funds for station operation. This puts the Corporation in the business of handling funds for instructional television. The Commission felt that the Corporation should not help finance instructional television but felt, rather, that this was the responsibility of the local, state, and Federal educational agencies.

I want next to try to state the fundamental policies and principles of the Commission's report, rather than its details.

First, we tried to devise a system for insuring adequate funds. We tried to create a system that would make it possible to operate an educational television system for all our people that possessed modern, well-maintained facilities, paid respectable salaries to a full staff, and possessed the means to create its own programs and to benefit in the most efficient manner possible from programs created by others.

Next, we designed a system that will not work unless you people of ETV make it work. The ultimate responsibility for the success of Public Television, as the Commission saw it, lies squarely and unmistakably on the shoulders of those who run the local stations. If it succeeds, it is your success. If it fails, it is your failure.

We have tried to provide the tools. The Corporation is designed to serve the local station and to provide strong national leadership. The national production centers serve the local station. The interconnection is a tool of the local station. You will choose what goes on the air. In the long run, you will choose what is produced for national use by deciding what you will schedule and what you will not. As for local programs, you will produce them yourself, with adequate funds, and if they are bad programs, you will have no one but yourself to blame. There is no way, under this system, in which you can escape the responsibility for its working. It is your system.

Each one of you will contribute to the total system according to your abilities, which means that there is no place to hide. I know as well as you that not every station is going to be a WGBH or a WNDT. But at the same time, nobody sitting at a desk in New York or Washington is going to have the power to decide which stations will be large and which will be small. We have tried to assure that wherever there is the ability to create, there will be the means to create. The large cities and the large universities will have an advantage—the advantage of being large. Well, so they may. But on the Commission itself Rudolf Serkin provided, by his presence, evidence that one of the major summer centers for music in the United States is in Marlboro, Vermont—and people from New York and Boston and all over the country make their way to Marlboro to benefit from it.

I must earnestly express the hope to you today that we keep foremost in our minds these principles, policies, and objectives of the Carnegie Commission report. The Commission recognized the great importance of the detailed arrangements it proposed, but it felt much more certain about the rightness of the principles, policies, and objectives it expressed than it did about the detailed arrangements for putting them into effect.

III

Let me turn now to an examination of some of these details because it is in many respects the details which are provoking the most discussion. I have already mentioned the appointment of the Board of the Corporation for Public Television and the excise tax.

Let me turn next to those questions which have arisen with respect to the way that the Corporation for Public Television might deal with problems of coordination, particularly as they might arise in the handling of political campaigns. How, for example, would the Commission's system of public television handle a Presidential or other political campaign?

There are a number of ways in which this question might be answered but let me venture one suggestion:

Certainly a national political campaign should be handled on a live-network basis by Public Television, and it must be planned in advance. Live networking is particularly required for handling a Presidential campaign to avoid any allegations of discrimination. Under Section 315 of the Communications Act, if the stations provide free time to one candidate, they must provide equal time to all other candidates for the office. Measured both in length of time, and in the utility of the time period, if one candidate is put on at prime time, the other candidates must be treated similarly.

I would assume that the Corporation would turn to NET as a logical organization to handle such a program series. I would further assume that in discussion with NET, a plan for equality of treatment would be discussed. As one possibility, the Corporation might suggest to NET the desirability of establishing an Advisory Committee composed of representatives from the major and minority political parties as well as journalists, political scientists, and other experts in the field.

In the event that Congress should amend Section 315, or if it were waived, Public Television would have more latitude legally in the treatment of candidates of minority parties. As a practical matter, however, I would assume that it would lean over backwards to provide completely adequate, if not completely equal time, for minority candidates. The issue of how much time should be given to the candidates is an editorial judgment which NET would make, probably on the advice of the expert panel or panels of the kind that I have described.

Insofar as the individual educational stations are concerned, they are directly responsible to the FCC for the manner in which they handle the political broadcast. An individual station may choose to carry the program or not. However, if the station carries one of the candidates, it must, under the present statutory requirements, carry all other candidates for the same length of time and during substantially the same segment of time. Thus, there is a very firm and well-understood body of law to insure nondiscrimination in political broadcasting, and Public Television would be fully covered by this law.

The question has repeatedly arisen as to how the Corporation for Public Television would avoid directly involving itself in difficult editorial decisions with respect to what news to carry or what controversial programs to report and distribute. There is no single answer to this problem of policy. I would hasten to emphasize that if I were an officer of the Corporation for Public Television, I would want to have the benefit of a series of panels or committees to advise on matters of this kind. Ample precedence for this is found in the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, which is using this means to get objective advice and guidance. The mode of operation of the National Science Foundation also provides relevant precedents. Like the National Science Foundation, the Corporation would be engaged primarily in the business of identifying and supporting worthwhile activities by people, and at institutions which have gained its confidence. NSF does not undertake research and the Corporation will not undertake program production. Just as NSF is careful not to exercise detailed supervision over the research for which it makes grants, so the Corporation is expected to permit maximum freedom of action to program producers. Just as NSF turns to committees of experts to advise it on selection of programs and projects to be supported, so, too, would the Corporation. I think that the success of the National Science Foundation is a powerful argument for the workability of the scheme that has been devised for the Corporation for Public Television.

The Commission was of the firm conclusion that the Corporation should have the authority and responsibility for providing interconnection for Public Television. By interconnection I do not mean the physical equipment which links television stations. It is not expected that the Corporation would manage or operate the physical facilities. It would, however, be responsible for leasing those facilities; to make available the films and tapes to be transmitted; to schedule those transmissions; inform the stations in the system what is to be transmitted and when; and make the decision, when appropriate, to pre-empt the interconnection for simultaneous, live broadcasting. The Commission did not specifically stipulate how the Corporation would handle this responsibility for interconnection, but it felt strongly that the authority and responsibility for interconnection should reside in the Corporation.

One can also perceive the possibility that the Corporation would contract out to NET the direction of a national news program. Of course, production facilities for news would be maintained by the major local stations, but there would be a major task of coordination. Somewhere the responsibility must reside for determining what news is indeed of national importance, how significant any item of news is in relation to other items, and hence, how large a part it will play in any national offering, where and when news of national significance may be expected, and what plans are to be made for covering it. And then, of course, to convert news into programs, it must be skillfully and knowledgeably assembled and a synthesis produced. Without attempting to second-guess the Corporation, it would seem reasonable and indeed likely that the Corporation might wish to contract these obligations out to NET. The right to recommend to the

Corporation the pre-emption of the interconnection would be an essential part of the arrangement contracted out to NET.

The Corporation would also, through experience, come to policy decisions about how much time and emphasis would be given to public affairs and live broadcasting. The Commission held strong views about the dangers of letting the system be dominated by a networking operation involving centralized and extensive live broadcasting, but it did not rule out a reasonable amount of this. The appropriate amount of live broadcasting can probably be best arrived at by experience in operating the system.

The Commission also held the firm conviction that the Corporation should establish more than one national production center. It felt strongly the need for the maximum practicable degree of diversity in program production, and it saw no reason why the Corporation in its role of leadership could not coordinate diversity. In all likelihood, the two, three, or more national production centers, in the end, would become complementary to each other, each doing what it does best.

There will, however, be a special relationship, in my judgment, between the Corporation and the present NET that arises simply out of the fact that, to a large extent, the Corporation is an outgrowth of NET. In its report, the Commission looks to NET as the Corporation's first, and in all likelihood, its most important program producer. I feel that there are compelling reasons why NET should have a major role in the Public Television system, and that its skill and experience will be invaluable assets.

I come next to deal with the frequently asked question of how Public Television's programming would differ from that of the commercial stations, and particularly how the national programming for which the Corporation would provide funds would differ from that of commercial television. The most obvious answer to this question is that Public Television would seek to provide those kinds of programs which the public wants and needs, but which are not now available.

Let me use an analogy here with the book publishing business. Commercial television, by its very nature, must concern itself with the achievement of best sellers. Best sellers are important, indeed vital, and their achievement requires exceptional skills; but if our publishing industry addressed itself wholly to the production of best sellers, the public would be denied a great array of books, which it needs and wants, that fall outside the category of best sellers. Similarly, Public Television will produce those kinds of programs which are not specifically aimed at the largest possible audience. Public Television will have, if you will, its university presses, its little magazines, its how-to-do-it programs, its scholarly programs, and myriad programs designed to entertain, to inform, and to delight. Occasionally, Public Television will indeed produce a best seller, but its programming would not be exclusively shaped toward that purpose. In consequence, the whole attitude of its producers, its writers, and all involved in program-making, would be different from that of commercial television. It would be different in motivation and would have a different style. There would be a new freedom to experiment, to innovate, to work without the pressures that arise whenever a program seeks to be a best seller.

In our report we repeatedly said that Public Television was for all the people, young and old. The system we proposed is not a system just for the so-called cultural elite. PTV must avoid like the plague elitism and wretched pedantry.

These, then, are some of my annotations to the Commission's report. The interpretations which I have presented, or the alternatives to certain details specified in the Commission's report which I have suggested, might not find unanimous support among other members of the Commission. They represent my personal interpretations of the report.

I come back to my earlier observation that the principles and goals, which the Commission sought to describe in its report, are of much greater moment than the details; and I would hope that the debate that takes place in this conference and elsewhere in regard to the Commission's recommendations, will keep this firmly in view. If we are to gain acceptance for a really bold program to make Public Television adequate to the needs of our society, there will have to be some changes in the present practices, customs, and operations of educational television. We must also recognize that the Corporation for Public Television must have freedom to evolve sound policies and principles of operation. We cannot formulate in advance all of its ultimate procedures.

Let me next make some observations about the future role of technology in Public Television. I fully agree with the point our technical consultants repeatedly made that our attention should be directed toward what we wanted from technology rather than toward the limitations of technology. We should not let technology control our plans but think of it as a means for achieving objectives. Public Television should seek to shape television technology to its own great purposes.

In accepting this view, it is clear that the technological potential is immense. It is miraculous enough that a box in the corner of the living room should be able to bring us sight and sound from all the world, and even from outer space, but we have only begun to learn the extent of the miracle. We are primitives still in the technology of television, and the possibilities are awesome.

The technical advance of which we are most aware today is the communications satellite, which promises to bring the entire planet to every man's doorstep. But the satellite is merely an item in the conquest that is being made, and we should not let satellites fix the boundary of our future. We are learning today how to accumulate information in its most useful forms, how to move it instantaneously from place to place, how to store it, how to gain immediate controlled access to it, how to process it at great speed and with great skill, and finally, how to display it most usefully to the perceiving mind.

When these unfolding achievements are combined in new ways, staggering possibilities arise. Combine them in one way, and every man at home suddenly gains access to the great libraries across the land. Combine them another way, and every home becomes a university, with the TV student able to communicate with his teacher, and education enabled to reach nearly every educable member of society. Combine them still another way, and the housewife can do her shopping by television. Another way, and there are created community information centers. Another way, and the computer becomes available to the citizen to aid his education and his work. Let no one minimize the immense educational and instruction gains to be found in this new technology if only we master its integration with sound education.

Can we afford to let this new instrument—this super-television—also be constrained to sing a single tune? Shall it be used to diminish man rather than to extend the range of human vision? We have today a small miracle that we do not profit from as we might; can we ignore the greater miracle that we can dimly perceive before us? As we contemplate the potential of Public Television, let us make no little plans in the face of these immense possibilities, and let us build the institutional structures now that will be adequate to these future needs. To fail to do so would be a monstrous blunder.

I return finally to the responsibilities which arise from our dreams. These responsibilities, I repeat, largely vest in you who constitute the educational television community. The almost explosive opening up of new opportunities and prospects for ETV during the past few months impose upon all of us the requirement to be judicial, to weigh alternatives, to take the long view, and to recognize the national goals as we contemplate our local responsibilities.

Of the many things to be done in the months ahead, let me note two. First, there must be follow-through by those who see the promise of Public Television. The reports and proposals are in, but the sustained slugging effort to appraise and apply the recommendations must come from others than the groups which have conducted the studies. You have a great responsibility for this follow-through.

Second, there should be early action to secure from private sources an endowment of at least $25 million for the Corporation for Public Television. This will require an organized, determined effort, and you share the responsibility to get the funds.

But the obligations go beyond the ETV community. The proposals which have been set forth, given the power and promise of television, can have fateful consequences for our society. Let us seek the courage and vision to support those actions which, in the language of James Reston, may, in the perspective of a generation or more, "be recognized as one of the transforming occasions in American life."

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

(Address by McGeorge Bundy, Congressional Room, Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., Mar. 7, 1967)

Mr. BUNDY. Mr. Henry, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—the inaccuracies in Mr. Henry's introduction were not greater than is normal in such cases. The fact of the matter is that my role in that famous luncheon was simply to keep out of the way while Friendly and Henry interrupted each other. [Laughter.]

I am so far from being the author of this proposal that the fact of the matter is that I am competing with Fred today. He is at a Book and Author Luncheon in New York.

I thought I would save your time and perhaps try to hold your attention by sticking to the position of the Ford Foundation on these matters and going live this morning, so I have no tape. And I will try to speak briefly so that we can have an immediate exchange on some of the issues involved.

The most striking thing about the position of educational television at this moment is the difference which we have here in the beginnings of March 1967 from the situation that it was the last time this group came together less than a year-and-a-half ago. That difference reflects a national awakening. We have had a part in it. Mr. Henry is too generous in his description of my part in it. The Carnegie Commission, which was in the field before we began to work on the particular proposals which have been involved in discussion in this last year has had a major part in it.

And now, of course, following upon the promise in a short phrase in the State of the Union Message, the President himself has taken the lead.

And the atmosphere has changed.

That message is not merely a landmark in the history of educational television—it is a remarkable act of political leadership, because what the President has done is to have his staff look at all the things that all of us have said in the last year, talk to all the people involved, and then in consultation with them to frame a program which can practically move this cause ahead without delay while at the same time it leaves the way open, not only for further discussion and examination of some extremely interesting, important and difficult points, but for the learning which will come to us as we begin to act in public television, with the public television corporation, with public funds, and with independence of position and power to steer the course.

This change in what is now clearly national policy at the executive level and what now clearly has strong influential and knowledgeable support on the Hill is a change which is, I believe, long overdue and which should mean to you all what it means, I think, to all of us at the Ford Foundation who have been so deeply concerned with educational television for so many years; that there is at last a serious prospect of escape from the constraints of terrifying poverty.

I know it sounds foolish to talk in extravagant language of that sort, being in a comfortable hotel room, and you have all had a large breakfast.

But the truth of the matter is that what has held back non-commercial television in this country is the constraint, the overpowering constraint of funds which simply do not enable it to do what it ought to be doing for the public as a major, independent, self-managing part of the total television system in the United States.

I had an amicable discussion this morning with our colleague who comes from the National Association of Broadcasters, and I find that there is on their part a desire for amicable co-existence and a flattering concern about what may happen. I think that is reasonable, because I think there is bound to be competition for attention. There ought to be competition for attention. There will not be competition for the advertising dollar and in my judgment there should not be.

But we must all hope that the time will come when the system of public television, together with a cognate system of instructional television—when services of this sort, of a level of interconnection and variety that we none of us can now readily conceive—will be available as a part of the general national television service.

There is room here for all kinds, and there is surely no room now for unreasonable nervousness about what you all may do with this new freedom and with this new independence in the service of non-commercial television, because it is really rather like an elephant being frightened of a mouse.

The current total income of non-commercial television is what—on the order, I think, the Carnegie Foundation found, of $60 million. The revenues of commercial broadcasting are on the order of $3 billion.

There is room for growth.

Now, I am not going to take time to do what I gather every other speaker has done, which is to deliver a funeral eulogy over the proposals of others in this field and say how imaginative and forward-looking we are.

The truth is that what unites us is much greater than what divides us. And this is clearly the case in the relation between the thinking and the proposals of the Ford Foundation and the thinking and the proposals of the Carnegie Commission.

We would much rather, I think—it would probably be healthier for us to be accused of having differences in context than if we were accused to ganging up. Foundations alternate in the public eye in Washington between being much too powerful and much too confused and divided to be able to get their business done. I think it is probably better for us to be seen in the latter guise most of the time.

But fooling aside, we are in the hardest kind of agreement with the Carnegie Commission on its basic proposals.

The basic proposals are really, as I read them, three in character.

That there be a public television corporation so set up as to be independent of the normal processes of repeated review, authorization, appropriation and other supervision by the Congress; that there be adequate funding from federal sources for that corporation; and that the mission of the corporation be to give effective support, both to the diversity and to the national strength of non-commercial television rechristened—and here we strongly agree that the choice of the Carnegie Commission is inspired—rechristened "Public Television".

There is difference of emphasis, certainly, much of it arising from accent.

Our proposals, related as they are to the potential of the satellite, emphasize the power of national interconnection; but the Carnegie Commission provides for ten full hours of national broadcasting funded at a level far higher than the five hours now funded through NET.

Their proposals speak warmly and with continuing emphasis upon the importance of diversity. The Ford Foundation, through the years, has had perhaps more than any other private organization to do with the existence and support of a variety of separate kinds of non-commercial television stations, a variety of experiments and what-not commerical television won't do, and diversity indeed is at the heart of the power of satellite communication.

The viewpoint of the satellite is that with its multiplicity of free or inexpensive channels, we think they should be free, and we think they should be productive—with its multiplicity of channels it can provide more than one occasional interconnection—it can provide a variety of continuing interconnections and provide on a national level, by horizontal slice through national audiences, if you will, the kind of diversity which the Carnegie Commission so graphically emphasizes by a geographical slice among the national audience.

So I submit that the agreements are indeed much more powerful and much more significant and much more serious than divergences. And I strongly agree with what the Carnegie Commission report itself says, and what I think Mr. Killian represented yesterday; that where there are differences in emphasis as to the relative value of strong national programming and strong local programming as to the ways in which different kinds of programs take their place in the schedule, it is experience that will be our best teacher. Because it is well to remember, as my friend Friendly keeps reminding me, that the real point about all this is that this kind of television in the widest sense has not yet been invented. We have glimmerings of it, there have been moments of grandeur. But what will really happen when there is a national service of the kind described in the Carnegie Commission report we none of us yet know. And we will have to learn by doing.

Now, just as Mr. Killian, in my view quite properly, and his commission, have not tried to take formal positions with respect to proposals which fall on the edge of their center of concern, like ours, with respect to the management of satellite communication, so we do not take a strong position on the question of what specific tacks will be most in the public interest. We share the view that the manner of dedication is more important than the specific source of revenue. It is fundamental that there not be a constant scramble over every line item in an enormous appropriation bill. It is fundamental in a sense that the Congress itself should be protected from an appearance of immediate responsibility for the specific decisions of a corporation whose independence is critical to the whole enterprise. But whether the best way to do this is by an excise tax or by some other form of dedication of revenue is a matter which it seems to us can properly be left to the careful and searching inquiries the question is sure to get in congressional hearings in the coming months.

If we have any difference—and it would be a difference of emphasis and expectation—on this question of resources with our friends in the Carnegie Commission, it is that we would be inclined to believe—and I am not now speaking for a formal position of the Ford Foundation trustees, but rather of the way the matter has come to seem to us who have been working on it over the year, we would be inclined to believe that if anything this most statesman-like, most eloquent report, understates the promise of the future, and understates the eventual needs which the public itself will assert for this means of communication. And I think we may well find, if we come together in meetings like this ten years from now, that what strikes us most about the proposals of 1966 and 1967 is how cautious they were.

Now, the next and immediate step, however, on which we can focus our attention is that there should be quick, effective, well considered action in response to the President's message. And here we are very fortunate, in my judgment, in the quality, in the depth, and in the perception of the bill which I believe was prepared within the administration and which has been submitted by Senator Magnuson. That bill has profited from a number of different commentators and critics. I am sure it is Jack Gould's doing that it gives a full role to non-commercial radio as well as to non-commercial television. It leaves the road open for any kind of new arrangement for satellite communication, and that is important to us, and we think important in the public interest. It makes it clear that there will be no legal obstacle. We never thought there was for ourselves. But now it is made clear in the bill that there should be no legal obstacle to free or reduce rates. And more than that, the bill is open to the future; it speaks in a very interesting passage of non-commercial system or systems. And clearly it looks to the day when the number and variety of activities in public and instructional television will be entirely different from what it is now.

Well, gentlemen, as I say, I don't wish to weary you. I would emphasize only what I believe other speakers have emphasized—that the distance between a bill and a signature, from the President's pen on the message to the President's thousand pens to his thousand friends, is long. And I very much hope that as many of us as possible will earn one of those signature pens.

Now, one last word.

These things will not end with this bill. The bill itself is an interim measure, designed to give time for further study of urgent questions which still have to be resolved. It is important, therefore, not only that we stay in business in support of these proposals, but that we stay in business to prove the meaning and the value of the whole enterprise. We in the Ford Foundation except to be in this business, except to be concerned with the future of non-commercial television, expect to move towards a greater emphasis upon the needs and upon the understanding of instructional television.

We also hope to play our part in the coming year by giving support to a series of experiments which can show the power of immediate and live interconnections. The most interesting and perhaps in one sense the largest that we so far have on the drawing board is the proposal for a Sunday night experiment which is under discussion now with Columbia University—and if any of you have questions on that, I will be glad to take them. The object is the same as the object of all our efforts. It is to move understanding forward by seeing what can be done. We have great hopes for it. We think it has great excitement in it. We think that it is eloquently described in a number of the passages in the later parts of the Carnegie Commission report which talk about what public television ought to be doing.

We will be in this business, as I say, this year, next year, and until there is no further need for our support.

We believe ourselves that that day will come, that this enterprise, like other great national enterprises, will make its way with public support, and that that public support will show itself through educational systems, through funding from all levels of government, and from private support where private support is needed, and that foundations whose duty it is to be where the new troubles are will be able to move on with pride in their part in the beginnings of a great adventure.

But that time is not yet. And I expect we shall see each other again before it comes.

It is lucky for you, I think, that you have chosen this trade. You have every reason to have great pride in it. And it is on that note of pride and of independence and of freedom that I would conclude—and in order to demonstrate again the underlying harmony between our views, I think, and your views, and those of Dr. Killian's commission, I would like to read you the last two paragraphs of the Carnegie Commission report.

"If we were to sum up our proposal, with all the brevity at our command, we would say that what we recommend is freedom. We seek freedom from the constraints, however necessary in their context, of commercial television. We seek for educational television freedom from the pressures of inadequate funds. We seek for the artist, technician, the journalist, the scholar, and the public servant, freedom to create, freedom to innovate, freedom to be heard in this most far-reaching medium.

"We seek for the citizen freedom to view, to see programs that the present system by its incompleteness denies him. Because this freedom is its principal burden, we submit our report with confidence. To rally the American people in the name of freedom is to ask no more of them than they have always been willing to provide."

Thank you.

SOVIET CONSULAR TREATY

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, the proposed United States-Soviet Consular Treaty has caused a great deal of controversy in the United States. Much of the controversy is a result of misunderstanding about what the treaty will actually do. The present process of negotiation began in 1959 under President Eisenhower and was completed on June 1, 1964, when the two nations signed the treaty. That same month President Johnson submitted it to the Senate for its approval. It was delayed, but it is now apparent that the Senate will be called to vote on it soon.

This matter has created so much discussion and generated so much mail that I have devoted considerable time and attention to a study of the treaty. Although it may appear that Senate approval and ratification by the President will be helping the Russians, my study has convinced me that the treaty will actually benefit the United States and its citizens more than the Soviet Union.

The reason is quite simple. Ours is an open society. We welcome tourists and travelers from every country and they are free to move everywhere and anywhere in the United States. Among these, of course, can be Communists, who need not be Russian citizens. There are large Communist groups in Cuba—as well as France, Italy, and most other free world countries—who can serve as spies.

On the other hand, Russia is a closed society where last year more than 18,000 Americans traveled as tourists or on business. This compares with some 500-900 Russians who travel each year in the United States. As you may remember from the Gilmour-Wortham case, it is very difficult, under present circumstances, for a representative of the American Government to locate and help American citizens in trouble. A basic feature of the treaty, if it is ratified, will require both parties to notify the other within 3 days if a national of the other party is arrested or detained. Within 4 days U.S. officials would be granted access to the American citizen. Without such an agreement, Americans have frequently been isolated in Soviet prisons for long periods of time. Unless we are prepared to tell all Americans that they may not travel in Russia, I think it would be wise for us to supply this added protection.

The treaty does not provide for the wholesale opening of consulates. Approval of the treaty has no bearing on *this issue since under the Constitution* the President could have agreed to reciprocal opening of consulates in the United States and the U.S.S.R. at any time. What it does is lay down some ground rules for the operation of consulates if and when they are opened.

Should the President choose to exercise this power in the future, the Consular Treaty would cover consular employees. It would for the first time give immunity from criminal jurisdiction to consular officers, and employees of both countries. When the treaty issue first came up I was very concerned about this. But the United States should not, and will not send American consular officials or clerical employees to serve in the Soviet Union without this protection. Since 1946, 31 Americans have been expelled from the Soviet Union on espionage charges and without consular immunity all American employees could be jailed or suffer harsh punishment on trumped-up charges. Immunity is, of course, a matter of reciprocity. To receive it, it must also be granted.

There has been a great deal of controversy over additional Soviet consular employees in the United States. The number of Soviet citizens now enjoying diplomatic immunity through the Soviet Embassy and such international organizations as the United Nations is about 452. The opening of a single Soviet consulate would increase this number by 10 to 15 persons. A similar increase of U.S. consular personnel in Russia would also occur. Under the Consular Treaty, the United States would have the right to screen Soviet consular personnel before agreeing to their assignment. We also would be authorized to prevent them from traveling to sensitive areas within the United States, and they could be expelled if they became persona non grata. The American Government could also close a Soviet consulate in the United States whenever it wished and could even terminate the Consular Treaty on 6 months' notice.

A final matter of importance is the fact that the opening of consulates would be on a strict reciprocal basis. For each consulate opened by the Soviet Union in the United States, the United States could open one in Russia. In other words, it is strictly a one-for-one matter. President Johnson has indicated that he is interested in only one consulate in Russia.

My study has convinced me that this problem has nothing to do with communism against anticommunism. It is a practical problem of protection for our citizens, and on that basis I will vote for the Consular Treaty.

NO EXCUSE FOR STARVATION

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, on February 1, the Food and Drug Administration approved fish protein concentrate—FPC—made from hake or hake-like fish as a food additive.

The FDA's approval cleared the way for action in three areas vital to development of this much-needed product.

First, it allowed the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries to launch the next step in its research and development program, which is construction of a pilot *plant. The act prohibited construction* of the plant until the FDA had approved the Bureau's FPC production process.

Second, the FDA action removed a policy restriction which prohibited export of FPC by the Agency for International Development until the product had been approved for domestic use.

And third, now that FPC can be sold domestically and shipped abroad, private industry has indicated a growing interest in producing the concentrate.

Mr. President, I wish to make several recommendations designed to speed development of FPC. To put these recommendations in correct perspective, let me review briefly the need for this product.

In July 1965, David Bell, then Administrator for the Agency for International Development, stated:

> AID health personnel are now of the view that correcting serious protein deficiences of preschool children would make a greater contribution to development than any other health measure. . . .

It has been documented many times, on the floors of the Senate and the House and before congressional committees, that there is a great worldwide need for a cheap source of protein and that fish protein concentrate has great potential as a very cheap source of protein.

It also has been well documented that time is running out in the war against world hunger and malnutrition. While the statistics of the war are most discouraging, there are experts who believe that given farsighted action by governments and private industry, this most devastating, most wasteful of all wars can still be won. J. George Harran, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, was quoted as saying:

> We know enough today to transform the food production of the world. There is no longer any excuse for human starvation.

Mr. President, there is no excuse for less than full speed ahead on full development of FPC as a world source of inexpensive protein.

With that thought in mind, let us consider what should be done so this Nation will not have to make lame excuses for having failed to act wisely in meeting a most serious challenge.

The pilot plants authorized by my bill are designed to serve a specific research purpose. The type of FPC approved by the FDA was produced by a Bureau of Commercial Fisheries laboratory plant with a production capacity of less than 100 pounds a day. The pilot plants will have a capacity of 7.5 tons a day. These plants will not be large enough to be operated commercially for profit but will be large enough to answer design and operational problems which must be solved if FPC production is to be commercially feasible.

Mr. President, it is not surprising that many coastal communities want a pilot plant constructed in their towns or cities. A number of Alaska towns are included in that number. The Alaska State Chamber of Commerce is supporting a resolution in the State legislature indicating an interest in having the pilot plant constructed in Alaska. This interest is quite understandable, for a most important spinoff of a full-blown FPC industry will be a greatly increased market for fish which, for the most part, are now unharvested by U.S. fishermen. Development of an FPC industry will mean further development of the U.S. fishing industry.

However, I hasten to point out once again the purpose and size of the proposed pilot plant. The purpose is research; the size, not large enough to support any meaningful increase in the fishing industry.

I urge those communities which have been seeking the pilot plant, as I have urged the Alaska State Chamber of Commerce, to concentrate on interesting private industry in locating a fish protein concentrate plant in their cities. The interest is there. At a recent hearing before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the Department of the Interior, Harold Crowther, Acting Director of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, stated that five companies had expressed an interest in producing FPC.

One of the drawbacks to industry entering the FPC picture in a big way in the immediate future is the lack of a market. I think it is clear that the greatest potential market is overseas where the need for a cheap source of protein is greatest.

Here again, in market development as in product development, the Federal Government can perform a most useful and humanitarian service. In many nations, age-old food habits inhibit the use of new foods. Research on how best to incorporate such food supplements of FPC into the diets of these countries is needed. The proper Federal agency should begin such a study immediately, for the longer we wait to make full use of this weapon in the war against malnutrition, the harder it will be to win the war.

I believe the Agency for International Development is the proper agency to oversee, if not carry out, this study. I understand that AID is most interested in making use of FPC in a grain-based blend to be shipped abroad under food programs. In this connection I urge that AID give full consideration to a program to foster domestic production of FPC, both to be used in a blend and for export as a food supplement. In addition, I strongly recommend that AID consider a program under which FPC plants can be built abroad, plants that would provide employment as well as protein in underdeveloped nations.

Mr. President, the need for cheap protein is so great that development of a foreign FPC industry would in no way inhibit development of a domestic industry. Given that there are 1 billion persons who suffer from malnutrition—some observers would hold that figure to be a conservative estimate—there is an annual world need of 8 billion pounds of FPC. That amount of FPC would require a yearly harvest of 50 billion pounds of raw fish.

Donald L. McKernan, former Director of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, testified that the coastal waters of this Nation, if harvested fully but in a conservative manner, could yield 25 to 30 billion pounds of raw fish a year, all of which, obviously would not and could not be made into FPC. Obviously, worldwide need for FPC will not be met in the near future. It seems incumbent upon this Nation to encourage speedy safe development of an FPC industry at home and abroad. The stakes are too high for narrow, self-serving policies, particularly when development of a fishing industry will not inhibit growth of domestic production.

It must also be pointed out that the United States has an interest in seeing that wholesome FPC is produced abroad. Whether or not we help build the plants, such plants will be built in foreign lands. If, for some reason, unwholesome FPC is produced abroad, a serious reaction to the use of all FPC could set in, thus seriously delaying use of this much-needed food supplement. The best way to insure that wholesome FPC is produced abroad is to help build plants using processes we know are safe.

Mr. President, to summarize my position, I recommend:

That the site for the pilot FPC plant authorized by my bill be selected so that research can be carried out efficiently and effectively.

That a study be launched to see how best to incorporate FPC in the interest of foreign lands.

That the Agency for International Development take steps to foster domestic production of FPC for shipment abroad.

That AID consider steps to help establish FPC plants abroad.

Mr. President, I believe people suffer from malnutrition. The figures are staggering, but we can do something about it. We have no excuse if we do not. I was pleased to see that President Johnson, in his report on marine science activities of the Federal Government to Congress yesterday, made many of the same recommendations.

NO MORE TIME, ALTERNATIVES, OR EXCUSES

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I have just seen the current issue of Grange magazine, the official publication of the National Grange, which discusses solutions to what it calls "America's rural dilemma."

This issue of the magazine develops some of the implications of a statement of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman:

> Now only unified national effort, mobilizing local initiative with combined resources of government and industry, can revitalize rural America. The Grange can and should, in its own interest, accept a leadership role in this national challenge.

The magazine urges Grange members to take up the challenge. It points out that even maximum local effort is often not enough, and that Federal help becomes necessary. It contains articles on various Federal aids available to rural areas, including aids to recreation development, and stresses the need for joint efforts begun at the local level.

The March issue of Grange magazine also contains a message to members from Herschel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange. This article, "No More Time, Alternatives, or Excuses," is a perceptive insight into rural problems and is well worth the attention of an audience larger than that formed by Grange members. Mr. President, I ask that this article be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO MORE TIME, ALTERNATIVES OR EXCUSES

(By Hershel D. Newsom, Master, The National Grange)

Our long-term national welfare demands new, productive and immediate action to develop equal opportunity throughout all America.

The crises in our cities require immediate and total commitment to an action program that will stem the stifling influx of jobless Americans from depressed areas.

Clearly, we have no more time, no more alternatives and no more excuses. We must move now to meet the challenge!

"Only a unified, national effort, mobilizing local initiative with the combined resources of government and industry, can revitalize rural America," says Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman. "The Grange can and should, in its own interest, accept a leadership role in this national challenge."

How do we mobilize local initiative with the combined resources of government and industry into a united effort?

First, drawing from past experience, we must recognize and understand the capability and limitations of each of the three sectors involved, and agree that only an all-out coordinated approach can restore economic opportunity and revitalize rural America.

Second, we should understand and agree that only job-creating opportunities will provide lasting economic growth. Community betterment projects, while requisite to long-range development, provide only temporary input of money and employment.

WHAT THE COMMUNITIES CAN DO

Every responsible person in every village, town and city in America must be made aware of the national crises. Every leadership potential must be developed and mobilized into the greatest concerted community rehabilitation program conceived or devised. The responsibility for creating the welcome climate for industry, commerce and business opportunities rests squarely with the local community. Only a rededication to the American concept of volunteer assistance and community commitment can accomplish these prerequisites to economic opportunity. Private organizations can assist by utilizing their resources in providing information, technical know-how, programming and planning their communities' future. Community *action* must be the keynote at the local level.

WHAT INDUSTRY CAN DO

The increased productivity required to meet our doubling population will necessitate unparalleled expansion in the decades ahead. Overcrowded conditions in our urban-industrial complexes, with accompanying higher taxes, traffic congestion, skyrocketing property values, diminishing space will force most industry and commerce to look with new favor on wide open spaces, unspoiled labor and welcoming communities, for expansion and relocation. Most knowledgeable leaders must begin now to seek their new locations and develop new potentials in rural America.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN DO

The massive proportions of a national effort required to revitalize rural America is so herculean that only the federal establishment is equipped to set an overall policy and to initiate immediate and long term action. To our administrative heads and legislative leaders, the course should be clear.

Immediate suspension of all further expansion of government facilities in overcrowded, congested cities is the first step. Consensus of agreement must be reached to carry out a long-range policy of taking government out to the country and its people instead of bringing people into cities to administer government.

Experience through five presidential administrations has proved that billion-dollar federal aid programs administered from Washington have been inadequate for the task of equitably distributing tax dollars, incapable of creating adequate employment opportunities everywhere. The decentralization of the fast-multiplying federal agencies must be effected. Instead of constructing federal agencies in cities such as Washington, New York and Chicago, federal officials must give serious consideration to directing all new agencies and all expansion into rural areas for the generation of new, needed economic units, relief of unemployment and of rural poverty.

WHAT GRANGE CAN DO

It has been a hundred years since Oliver Hudson Kelley conceived the Grange to meet a similar challenge in the aftermath of the Civil War. Nearly 40,000 Granges have been created during the past century to lead, encourage and help local, rural families in community development and progress.

Grange grass-roots resolutions have resulted in most of the major legislative achievements for agriculture and rural America in the past century.

Granges have built community halls by the thousands. They have organized fire departments, insurance companies, credit unions and farmer co-ops in thousands more rural towns and villages, *but these have not been enough!*

Grange Community Progress Programs, involving hundreds of thousands of rural citizens and millions of dollars, have initiated community self-help projects in more than 5,000 communities annually. *But, these have not been enough!*

For the past one hundred years, the Grange has sponsored continuous social and cultural programs which have strengthened family and community ties. *But, this has not been enough!*

In short, local initiative, alone, has not been enough!

Today, more than 250 government technical, financial assistance programs are available to local communities for development or redevelopment. Each new session of Congress seems to create new federal programs to aid rural America. Billions of dollars have been appropriated for this purpose. Agricultural price support payments, while but a fraction of total monies spent in development programs, have accounted for billions more.

Obviously, government assistance programs alone have not been enough. *Nor, has government assistance, coupled with local initiative, been enough!*

In the past 35 years since the Depression 30s, a succession of government, business and community programs have been tried and failed to energize rural America.

At the same time, mechanization of farm and industry has displaced job opportunities in rural America, notably in mining, steel, etc. The visible deterioration of rural communities was generally in areas where coal, gold, silver, timber and oil resources have been depleted and/or industrial progress had outmoded river-port, railroad towns and marginal farming areas.

Agriculture, by far is, and has been America's largest industry. The reduction of farms in the past decades, due to mechanization and the disappearance of marginal farms, has now brought the loss of economic opportunity in rural America to *crisis proportions.*

More than three million farm job-opportunities have disappeared. *These must be replaced!*

Fortunately, Mr. Freeman's national challenge comes at a crucial moment when America is on the threshold of a population explosion which is predicted to double the number of Americans by the turn of the century.

The United States can look forward to an unprecedented era of expansion, productivity, opportunities and prosperity if we prepare now to meet it.

Clearly, we have no more time, no more alternatives and no more excuses. We must move now to meet the challenge!

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business, which the clerk will state.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D., 88th Cong., second sess.)

The Senate resumed the consideration of the convention.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I very much doubt that there is anything new or different to be said either for or against the consular accord. The subject has been exhausted in congressional hearings, in statements made on the floor, in the editorial columns of the Nation's press and wherever concerned men gather. But like other Members of the Senate who must weigh and then vote on this important question, I want to make my position unmistakably clear.

I join with the President and all other men of good will in the hope that international tensions can be minimized. But, unlike the President, I do not consider the consular accord a step in that direction, and I will therefore oppose it.

The administration and several of my colleagues have undertaken to convince the American people that the accord is weighted heavily in favor of the United States, primarily because Americans traveling in the Soviet Union will be afforded greater protection. But I reject this argument. The consular accord, even if it were to safeguard the rights of Americans, must be viewed not in isolation, but as the first in a series of steps toward a detente with the Soviet Union, the total thrust of which is not at this time in our national interest. By the President's own admission, his bridge-building efforts soon will be extended to East-West trade, to the United Nations agreement on the peaceful use of outer space, and to mutual destruction of nuclear weapons.

At this time I shall read, from an article by the noted columnist, James J. Kilpatrick, his conclusions in regard to this consular pact.

He says it is more a moral than a political issue, and concludes his editorial as follows:

> Thus the merits of the case. The towering questions rise above the merits. Do we want to build bridges at all just now? At a time when Soviet weapons are killing American troops, does the Congress wish to embark upon any new gestures of friendliness toward the Communist East? This is more a moral than a political issue. It strikes at the inherent hypocrisy involved in simultaneously sipping tea in Leningrad and spilling blood in Vietnam. Some of us on the anti-Communist Right may be "primitive" in the Fulbright-Kennan-Schlesinger view, but we would urge that the teadrinking be postponed to another and better day.

No one can argue with the point 18,000 Americans who each year travel to the Soviet Union need greater protection. But the protection they require—notification of arrest within a reasonable period of time and the right to visitation with American officials—should not have to be negotiated. It should be extended to all men as members of civilized society. But the Soviets, even until today, have demonstrated no sincere inclination to extend these ordinary laws of decency and good will. In fact, since the Consular Treaty was first signed in 1964, more than 20 arrests or detentions of American citizens have taken place, and not once did the Soviet Union notify U.S. diplomats within the agreed upon 3 days.

Therefore, how sincere can the Soviets be? Even though Congress had not approved the accord, as it has not done even to this day, the President of the United States entered into the agreement in good faith, a term apparently unfamiliar to Soviet officials. If they were truly interested in establishing friendly relations with the West, it seems to me that they might have started by abiding with the terms of the agreement which was in force in spirit if not in law.

. Without question, the consular accord promises greater protection for Americans traveling in the Soviet Union. In fact, it promises rights greater than those granted to Soviet citizens in Russia. But rights and protection are one thing, and the promise of them quite another. Given the Soviet Union's record of violating the terms of one treaty after another—including the 1933 Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement, which guaranteed American officials the right of access to American citizens imprisoned in the Soviet Union—there is no assurance that the promised protection will be transferred from paper into practice. No, none whatever.

Even our ally Great Britain—a nation which time and again has been in the forefront of efforts to reduce East-West tensions—has not ratified the accord, and primarily because Members of Parliament, like many Senators, are unconvinced of the sincerity of the Soviet promises. And how could they be otherwise. Even though Britain signed a consular agreement with Russia in 1965, the Soviets have refused to allow British officials to visit regularly with Gerald Brooke, a British lecturer recently sentenced to 5 years in prison for allegedly smuggling anti-Soviet literature into Moscow. Once again the Soviet Union has demonstrated its contempt for the spirit, though not necessarily the letter, of such an agreement.

But even if we concede for the purpose of argument that the Soviet will honor their promise to give Americans greater protection than they give their own citizens—even if we concede that point, the agreement will not change the Russian system of justice, where, unlike in the United States, all men are not equal before the bar, nor are they necessarily innocent until proven otherwise. All too often the Soviet Union has regarded Americans on trial as little more than pawns in the cold war. No, the consular accord, whatever its merits, will not alter, cannot alter, Russian justice.

Surely it is unnecessary to remind my distinguished colleagues and the American people that any meaningful change in policies and practices must follow a change in heart. And I personally know of no evidence to indicate that the Soviets have had a change in heart in their attitude toward the rights and aspirations of man. And until such time as that change occurs, until such time as the rights of man are given a higher priority than the rights of states, the United States cannot hope to alter substantially the protection of its citizens in the hands of Communist justice.

In my opinion, therefore, the administration and other supporters of the accord have completely overstated its importance, its protection.

Another consideration is whether the agreement will lead to reciprocal consulates being opened in the Soviet Union and in the United States, as of course it will. The administration has exhausted considerable time and energy seeking to convince the American public that it already has the authority to enter into such agreements, a point I find little disputed. The President does possess such authority. Therefore, if additional consulates are required to protect Soviet and American citizens traveling in the other's country, why does the administration push for the new accord—particularly when, as I previously indicated, diplomatic immunity for representatives of both countries was established in the 1933 agreement.

Of course, the immunity provisions in the consular accord are far more absolute than those provided for in the Litvinov Agreement and in the Vienna Convention, which the United States and 31 other nations signed in 1963. In fact, by exempting from arrest or detention all consular officers or their employees, the new accord will extend protection to the Soviets heretofore not provided even to our closest allies.

The effects such a provision could have on our internal security at such time as the Soviets open a consulate in this country, already have been thoroughly explored, and I therefore will not comment at length on the point. But I want to state my belief that many of the Americans who join with me in opposing this accord are misdirecting their fire at the espionage issue—which, while important, seems to me to be not the most important reason for opposition. J. Edgar Hoover, a man whom I greatly admire, has stated that Russian consulates in this country would make the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation more difficult. And it doubtless would. But I personally have great faith in the ability of the FBI, given additional funds and more manpower, to deal effectively with the threat of expanded espionage activities.

Of greater importance to me, in addition to the fact that the consular accord is not a quid pro quo agreement, is the effect our ratification of the treaty will have on other nations of the world, especially those which have alined themselves with the United States in the protracted struggle against communism. There are two possible reactions. Either they will interpret our action as a sign of weakness, in which case they will move from under America's protective wing, or they will themselves rush into a similar agreement with the Soviets, the end result of which would be disastrous. Most countries, lacking an internal security organization anywhere near as effective as our own, simply could not counteract Soviet espionage programs operating out of its embassies and consulates. Consequently, the very instrument by which nations seek to reduce tensions will be the catalyst for more subversion and revolution, and nowhere more so than in Latin America. I truly am concerned that our ratification of the treaty could affect the balance of power in the world greatly in favor of the Soviets.

Another question for which a satisfactory answer has not been provided is the possible effect the consular accord will have on U.S. policy regarding the status of the Baltic States. Many informed Americans, including the respected and knowledgeable Georgetown University professor, Lev Dobriansky, believe the move would be tantamount to recognizing the Soviet's illegal and immoral seizure of those countries. And I am inclined to accept their viewpoint.

Each of the aforementioned reasons is, to my way of thinking, justifiable grounds for not entering into the consular accord with the Soviet Union at this time. However, my primary reason for opposition is that the détente—of which, as I previously indicated, the treaty is only one part—comes at a time when the United States is engaged in a costly war in Vietnam which Soviet aid alone makes possible. Only this week, the administration requested and received from the Congress an additional $4.5 billion appropriation to "block Communist aggression in Asia." Now, Congress is being asked to enter into an agreement with the Soviet Union which could lead to better relations and to a relaxation of world tensions. This cold war rhetoric is difficult to understand, much less to justify. There is no factual difference between the Soviet Union desiring peace on the one hand and the Communist aggression killing American boys on the other. They are one and the same.

If the U.S.S.R. truly is interested in better relations with the West, let it begin by demonstrating that interest on other than the rhetorical front. Let it begin by withholding support from the war which is costing thousands of lives, Americans and Vietnamese, and consuming our resources.

Personally, I know of no responsible American who does not fervently pray for better relations among all nations, in the hope that men everywhere someday can live in a peaceful world. But a meaningful peace requires more than words, more than diplomatic agreements; it requires application of the principle of "live and let live," and that principle the Soviet Union has neither applied nor practiced, nor is there reason to suspect it will.

Congress must make certain that any bridges built to the east carry two-way traffic. That is, that they will serve the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union to the same approximate degree. It does not appear to me, for the reasons I have mentioned, that the consular accord meets this basic requirement, and I will therefore oppose it when it comes to a vote.

Further, in support of my position, I would like to refer to the testimony given by Warren McDonald in behalf of the American Legion. Concerning the treaty, Mr. McDonald had this to say:

> What is the purpose of this Consular Convention from the viewpoint of the Kremlin?
>
> It seems obvious to us that the purpose of this treaty from the Soviet side is exactly the opposite from that expressed by its U.S. proponents. To the Soviets, we think the main purpose of this treaty definitely is to reestablish their consulates in this country, *with a new and unusual rule to apply to all of its agents posted to those consulates;* that is, absolute protection against prosecution by the United States for any crimes committed by them, including the crime of espionage against the United States! This is the intent of Article 19, section 2, to the Soviets.
>
> The treaty's provisions regarding "notification and access" in arrest cases (i.e., Article 12) is hardly the "purpose" of the treaty from the Soviet viewpoint. Those are simply what they gave up—on paper, at least—to gain new islands of diplomatic immunity in America's industrial and transportation heartland.
>
> If this were not true, the Soviet negotiators would have had no interest in the treaty. They definitely would not have troubled themselves if the document were to have been restricted to the provisions of its Article 12 and the protocol related thereto. They had nothing to gain in that regard; we have always given them prompt notification about and unrestricted access to any of their nationals whom we might arrest here. To them, the extension of full and absolute diplomatic immunity to their consular officers is the *quid pro quo* which outweighs the concession they made, on notification and access, as to our nationals arrested in their

country. Communists have never been known to enter into an agreement with non-Communists which they did not expect to be of greater advantage to them.

We infer from the available public record that it was the Soviet negotiators who initially raised the matter of full diplomatic immunity for purposes of this Consular Convention. (See Committee's print of Hearing July 30, 1965, pg. 30). The provisions of full diplomatic immunity for all consular officers has not been a part of our general practice. It was not a feature of our Consular Convention with Japan, which entered into force on August 1, 1964, and which, we assume, was negotiated at about the same time as the pending Convention with the Soviet Union. More significantly, it was not made a feature of the *multilateral* Vienna Convention on Consular Relations which was signed by a U.S. representative, and by the representatives of 31 other nations, on April 24, 1963. Representatives of 20 additional nations have since added their signatures, making a total of 52 signatories.

I will refer further to the Vienna multilateral convention on consular relations in another connection. At this point, I only wish to stress the point that its immunity provisions, set forth in Article 41 thereof, follow the usual and traditional rule; that is, consular officers shall not be liable to arrest or detention (in the receiving State) "except in the case of a grave crime and pursuant to a decision by the competent judicial authority." Consulates have long demonstrated that they can perform their proper functions without the cloak of full diplomatic immunity for their employees.

Article 19(2) of the pending treaty with the Soviet Union provides, on the other hand, as follows:

"Consular officers and employees of the consular establishment who are nationals of the sending state shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state."

Thus, under this rule, if a Soviet consular officer, posted in Chicago for instance, commits or attempts to commit a serious crime, our only recourse is to demand his expulsion. This is true no matter how monstrous the offense, and no matter how vital its bearing on our national security. And, however often we declare a Soviet official persona non grata, we may be sure the Soviet government will soon thereafter demand the recall from that country of a comparable U.S. official. Under this treaty, reasons for such action need not be given; but, in previous cases of this nature, it has been Soviet practice to make, and to publicize widely, false spy charges against the U.S. official concerned. (This game of diplomatic tit-for-tat can have, temporarily at least, a disruptive influence on a mission's efficiency. We should not unnecessarily take steps that would surely serve to increase its incidence).

With regard to the immunity provisions of the treaty, Senator Cotton of New Hampshire has observed that the Soviets negotiated this Consular Convention, "not as a bilateral pact for improving Soviet-American relations, but as a cold war maneuver to enhance and expand the intelligence gathering network of the U.S.S.R." We, too, are satisfied that the Soviets have every intention of utilizing any consulates they establish here as centers for espionage and subversion.

The Soviet intelligence services have regularly used that government's diplomatic and other establishments in this country as bases from which to carry on their espionage activities. These activities are known to increase in proportion to the number of Soviet representatives here.

Those who recall the previous abuse by the Soviets of their consular privileges in this country fear that this treaty will provide Soviet agents with increased opportunities for the intimidation, extortion, bribery, blackmail, or even the kidnapping or murder, of persons living here but who have relatives or property in the Soviet Union.

At a minimum, new Soviet consulates in any of our major cities will facilitate the securing, by Communist "consular officers," of all manner of technological data which could serve to promote the Soviet Union's war-making potential. Also, these consulates would doubtless be used as centers for the distribution of Communist propaganda, aimed primarily we feel sure at the more receptive elements on our college campuses.

The counter-argument to much of the foregoing is that we would be enabled, through our new consulates outside of Moscow, to gain equivalent benefits in terms of information about their society. This is unconvincing. The Soviets are still operating a closed society in which it remains extremely difficult for an American official to make any contacts or secure any information not previously sanctioned by Soviet officials. Furthermore, we could be sure that whatever "premises" the Soviets helped us acquire for our consulates, in accordance with Article 5, these would be thoroughly "bugged" with the latest in electronic listening devices, just as has been the case in all offices we occupy in Communist countries.

We stated earlier that we believe the diplomatic immunity provisions of this treaty establish, for the U.S. at least, an unwise precedent. We may soon find that other countries, with which we have a consular treaty that contains the so-called "most-favored-nation" clause, will request extension of the greater immunity protection to their consular employees in this country. While this would be reciprocal in its application, the spread of this new rule on a haphazard, bilateral basis could well work to our detriment.

It is our understanding that as many as 33 existing consular treaties between the U.S. and other countries include "most-favored-nation" provisions. The State Department has estimated that if all of these countries exercised their option, we would be extending criminal immunity in this country to an additional 400 or more foreign nationals!

The countries involved include Communist Rumania and Yugoslavia. While Rumania now has no consulates in this country (other than its consular section in its Washington embassy), it might—following the lead of the Soviet Union—seek to establish one or more, *with full diplomatic immunity* as would be Rumania's privilege under the "most-favored-nation" rule. Also, Yugoslavia now operates a number of consulates in this country, as was dramatically brought to our attention last Sunday morning. These are in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, in addition to their combined consular staff in Washington. We may soon find that we will have a great deal more than only "10 or 15" new Communist agents in this country with full diplomatic immunity!

Poland already has a consulate in Chicago. Following the model of our treaty with the Soviet Union, that country could be expected to seek to complete negotiations on a similar consular convention with us. And, considering our "bridge-building" advances to the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe, all of them may shortly be seeking consulates here, with the same immunity provisions.

But where the "most-favored-nation" clause is applied, we will not necessarily gain back the *quid pro quo* we received in our negotiations with the Soviet Union! Whereas, we there exchanged the "diplomatic immunity" provisions for the "notification and access" provisions, the same exchange would not be applicable in the case of a third country asking for the "diplomatic immunity" privileges for its consular officials. All we would get back then is reciprocity on that score alone. This is an important consideration in the case of the Communist countries of Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The same disadvantageous development might occur in the case of several non-Communist countries which do not provide our consular officers with ready access to our nationals when they have been arrested. Italy and a number of other countries, the laws of which have been derived from the Roman Code, hold their prisoners incommunicado until completion of investigation. In Mexico this can go on for as long as 18 months. Our consular officials are barred from seeing imprisoned Americans under such circumstances, just as they have been in the Soviet Union and most other Communist countries.

The U.S. has been unable to secure "notification and access" rights from Italy and several others with similar laws. Yet, we have a consular treaty with Italy that includes a "most-favored-nation" clause. Thus, if this Consular Convention with the Soviet Union is ratified, we may be asked by Italy to extend to its consular officers here the diplomatic immunity provisions of Article 19, but we will not get the "notification and access" provisions of Article 12 in return.

Should these new immunity provisions spread generally, due to the precedent of this Consular Convention, they will eventually facilitate the spread of the Soviet Union's subversive influence almost everywhere. Others have pointed out with logic that our friends in Latin America would have difficulty in resisting the establishment of Soviet Consulates in their cities, once the barrier to their re-establishment in this Hemisphere is broken, through ratification of this treaty.

It is not difficult to imagine how the Communists would turn this to their advantage, especially when armed with full diplomatic protection for all their agents in Latin America. Surely the establishment of Soviet consulates there would result in intensified political warfare throughout that continent. Castro would get a large boost in his plans to export his (and the Soviets') brand of revolution.

While our government may well be enabled to cope with a small to moderate increase in Communist agents here, are we certain that the intelligence services of the developing countries can do so? It is questions such as this that have caused so many opponents of the Consular Convention, and its special immunity provisions, to wonder if we are not about to open a door which we will not be able to close.

For the reasons I have enumerated, I will oppose the Consular Convention.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I look upon this Consular Convention between the United States and Russia as a way of bringing about closer contacts between the Russian and American peoples. Those familiar with my record should know that this is a view that I have long entertained. While I abhor the evils of communism as much as anyone in this body, or in the Nation for that matter, I have long felt that our country should be doing everything possible to stimulate a closer relationship between us and the Russian people.

For those not familiar with my record, I might say here that this belief is based on four extensive tours that I had the privilege of making through the U.S.S.R. These tours were made in 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1961. The first of these took place only 2 years after Stalin's death and I daresay that I have seen as much or more of the vast Russian territory as any American citizen. My travels and observations inside Russia, as well as other parts of the world, have made it obvious to me that our then current foreign policy—the so-called policy of containment—has not worked as well as its proponents hoped that it would.

Since the end of World War II, we have spent in excess of $120 billion in foreign economic and military assistance, justified primarily as a means of containing the threat of spreading communism. Today, Russia is internally stronger than ever before and external communism has also gained in strength in several important areas. I will not dwell on this point at length here, except to say that in the recent national elections in France, the Communist Party did far better than expected and seems to be on the rise. In Italy, a country where we have poured in billions of dollars of economic and military assistance, we find the largest single Communist Party outside the Soviet Union.

Under the policy of containment, we have worked for 20 years to construct a ring of steel around Russia. This has provided meager results, at a considerable cost to our Treasury. The ring of steel, however, has resulted in fomenting hatred, fear, and suspicion among the Russian people toward the United States. Our policy may be said to be similar to that of the British attempt to encircle and contain Germany, by treaty, prior to World War I. The Russian attitude, at least in 1961, was marked by the suspicions and resentments displayed by Germany against the British.

For the last 12 years, I have advocated changes that would, in my opinion, put our policy toward the U.S.S.R. on a more realistic basis. All of these changes were aimed first at bringing the Russian and American people closer together. Secondly, they were aimed at dispelling the suspicion and fear that exists between our countries, at least where those fears are groundless. For instance, I have long advocated a realistic exchange-of-persons program between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

It has always seemed very strange to me that we are willing to spend millions of dollars to bring citizens from our so-called Western allies to our shores but are unwilling to make the same effort to bring citizens from Russia or the Eastern bloc over here. This is strange to me because France, Britain, Italy, and other Western European countries are supposedly our friends and do not need to be persuaded to follow our way of life. On the other hand, citizens of Russia and the Eastern bloc nations know little of our way of life and cannot honestly say whether they should feel friendly or unfriendly toward our Government. All they know and all they have heard is that our system of government should be as abhorrent to them as theirs is to us.

There is presently great intellectual and economic change taking place in the Soviet Union, and if a policy of enlightenment had been started and enthusiastically carried out years ago, we could be reaping great rewards.

Tied in with a realistic exchange of persons program would be a realistic information program carried out by our Government and aimed at presenting the accomplishments of Americans to the Iron Curtain peoples. It would do no good for this program to place emphasis on any negative aspects of the Communist way of life. The Russian people are much better off today than they ever have been before and they attribute this to their own hard work. To a certain degree, they also attribute it to the socialistic form of government under which they live. If we do not realize this and attempt to criticize their accomplishments, we might as well spend our time shouting into the wind.

The policies which I have advocated are based on bringing better understanding between the two great powers of the world, while at the same time protecting our own interest and maintaining a strong system of defense. I am convinced that if ways and means can be found to bring more and more Russians in contact with the American way of life, we will not come out the losers in any comparisons which may be made. In other words, I would not be frightened to open our society to Russian visitors. I am confident we will come out ahead and that the Russian yearning for a better way of life would be fed and nourished.

I spoke a moment ago of great changes which have taken place in the Russian way of life since the death of Stalin. These have been documented by me in each of my reports submitted to the Senate in past years. Briefly put, the changes can be broken down into two categories—intellectual and economic. Since the death of Stalin on March 5, 1953, the entire Russian society has been bubbling and simmering. In 1956, based on a visit made to Russia, 2 years after Stalin's death, I reported as follows:

> I found that, as a whole, the educated Russians I spoke with were extremely curious about our mode of life in the United States, and, even more important, demonstrated a desire if not a compelling urge to go behind catchy Red slogans, and to do their own thinking. I have no doubt that the Russians of today are better off than they have ever been. Most of them seem satisfied, for the reason that they know no better way of life than that which they are now enjoying.
>
> As more Russians become educated, they will become less and less prone to accept at face value the propaganda-loaded description of life in the United States which the Red propaganda system dins insistently into their ears. The Russian people are curious by nature; they are becoming increasingly more curious about Americans, about life in America, and about the freedoms we enjoy.

In 1957, I reported that the process of intellectual ferment was picking up steam. My report of 1957 states:

> The Soviet Union is undergoing a process of evolution—not revolution but evolution * * * The people are demanding more and more autonomy in the hope of gaining more voice in their local affairs * * * Having placed their people in a position where they are more and more able to think for themselves, the Soviet leadership is gambling with its own future. The time is now ripe for free world action designed to properly capitalize upon this new advent within the Soviet's borders * * * They will doubtless become dissatisfied when they learn there is a better way of life than that which they are now enjoying, and, as a result, will develop an urge to imitate ours.

I felt then and I feel now that our primary objective should be to assist that development.

The second great change that has occurred in Soviet society has been economic. It is universally recognized that tremendous economic progress has been made in the U.S.S.R., but it takes a series of visits spanning 5 or 6 years to appreciate the magnitude of this progress. The extent of the economic changes made between the mid-1950's and 1961 is documented extensively throughout my 1961 report. Huge hydroelectric dams, surpassing those in our own country, have been constructed. Entire new cities have grown up in areas once barren wasteland. Industry has marched forward and a reasonable amount of progress has been made in agricultural production.

This progress has been brought about primarily because of a decentralization which came into existence after the death of Stalin. The Russian leaders with whom I spoke on my various tours admitted this fact. My 1961 report points out that the Russian people themselves felt "that this tremendous surge in industry has come about because they have been able to force the central Government to give them more autonomy in determining their own needs and in carrying out the plans for increasing production."

Mr. President, I interpolate here to state that when I first went to Russia in 1955, all production and all distribution was centralized in Moscow. In the meantime, between the visit I made in 1955 and the one I made in 1961, there was a great decentralization of that authority to the peoples in the various so-called subdivisions or states of Russia. This change did not come about because the leaders desired it, but because the people demanded it. That is the reason, as I pointed out in my report in 1961, this great progress has occurred.

With the progress made through decentralization, we now see the profit motive becoming more and more accepted as a principle of industrial production. A story in the March 8, 1967, issue of the Washington Post is headlined as follows: "All Soviet Industry To Use Profit System." The story carries a Moscow dateline and indicates that the Soviet Union intends to bring all of the country's industry under the profit system by the end of 1968. Twenty-five percent of the nation's industry was already operating on a profit motive in 1966. Under this system, if a factory is profitmaking, the manager on the local level may reward employees with raises and bonuses. If that is not a form of capitalism, I do not know what it is. We should encourage such a trend.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, the article to which I have just referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> MOSCOW, March 7.—The Soviet Union intends to bring all of the country's industry under the profit system by the end of 1968, a leading economist said today.
>
> Alexei Rumyantsev, editor of the weekly newspaper Economic Gazette, said that industries already under the system showed

a 25 per cent profit in 1966. By contrast, Soviet industry as a whole produced only a 10 per cent profit.

Under the Soviet profit system, introduced last year by Premier Kosygin, managers make day-to-day decisions on ordering materials, assigning workers and other matters which formerly needed Communist Party approval.

If a factory makes a profit, the manager may reward employes with raises and bonuses.

Rumyantsev said 10 percent of the labor force operated under the profit system at the end of 1966, and that 50 per cent will work under the new system by the end of this year.

In a related development, a government labor planning official said about 20 per cent of the products turned out by Soviet heavy industry were sold at a loss at present wholesale prices.

Boris Sukharevsky, deputy chairman of the State Committee on Labor and Wages, told reporters the extension of new wholesale prices to all Soviet industry, planned for later this year, would help to wipe out the loss.

The average increase on existing wholesale prices when the new ones come in will be around 12 per cent, Sukharevsky said.

Mr. ELLENDER. Now, Mr. President, any consideration of the Consular Convention now before the Senate for approval must make mention of the fact that a consulate is fundamentally a business office. A consulate is designed to assist foreign nationals in solving day-to-day problems which they may run into while on foreign soil. In recent years, the number of Americans visiting the U.S.S.R. has increased to about 18,000 per year, as against 1,000 Russians who annually visit our shores. It is clear to me that if advantages are to be gained from the Senate approval of this treaty, most of the advantages will be on the side of our people.

Foreign visitors not uncommonly get into trouble of one kind or another, both in the United States and Russia. This convention sets forth avenues whereby State Department officials will be able to have access to American nationals arrested on Soviet soil. This is a commitment not presently in force today, as too many Americans can testify. The argument can be made, of course, that the Russian Government will not honor this commitment, and will not allow our officials to visit and provide assistance to any Americans arrested on their soil. That, of course, is always a possibility, but the answer to the problem is simple. If the commitment were not honored, our President could take the steps necessary to shut down any Russian consulates which might be doing business over here. This is of course, no guarantee that the access will be provided, but it does provide a powerful lever that can be used to retaliate against any breach of the treaty.

Concerning the question of diplomatic immunity which the Convention provides for consulate officials and employees, here again we have a decided advantage. Such immunity represents no great danger to this Nation, for any Russian thought to be committing crimes against our people or subversion against our Nation can be packed up and sent home without further ado. On the other hand, we in this country are not prone to arresting people and holding them incommunicado for weeks or months on end. We have always maintained the policy, when any abuse of diplomatic immunity was discovered, of naming the official as persona non grata and sending him home. This procedure is not necessarily followed by the Soviet Union and the immunity granted to our people serving in the U.S.S.R. is an important and necessary protection.

This whole question must be considered in light of the fact that we have an open society, whereas the Russian society still remains closed. In other words, we have very little to hide. If secrets are to be discovered, I would think it obvious that we could learn much more about current developments in Russia by opening consulates than they could learn about us. I daresay that Russian agents can learn as much by reading our daily newspapers as they could gain by opening a consulate in any of our cities.

In conclusion, it seems to me that here we have a chance to take steps which might ease somewhat the cold war tension now affecting the world. Even if this convention does not prove to be a step in that direction, its ratification would at least prove to be advantageous to our own national interest. I personally would have advocated such an agreement years ago, and I support Senate approval of the convention now. In these short remarks, I have listed several of my reasons for supporting this action. Many of these are already contained in my 1956, 1957, and 1961 reports to the Senate. To set forth the record more fully, I ask that a few short passages from these reports, pertinent to this issue, be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, these passages were taken from my reports of 1956, 1957, and 1961.

In my report of 1961, in the fourth paragraph of the part I am asking to be put in the RECORD at this time, I set out that:

> I have summed up my observations of these three earlier visits, and they can be found in the appendix marked Exhibit 14, p. 333.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in full at this point in the RECORD, together with the passages from the reports.

There being no objection, the extracts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPT FROM ELLENDER REPORT OF 1956

* * * I was not in Russia during the school months. However, I did have occasion to talk to Russians in almost all walks of life. The Soviets are placing great emphasis upon educational training. A modified form of merit system is in effect, with students selected for certain training on the basis of ability and aptitude; they attend college at Government expense; subsidies are paid to scholars, particularly in the technological fields and in both theoretical and applied sciences, I was informed.

Too, Russian children are being exposed to a universal educational system. In cities of 10,000 and more, from the 1st to the 10th grades is a must and in all other areas, from the 1st to the 7th is compulsory. While the Russian school curriculum is spiced heavily with Communist doctrine, the Soviet leadership has not yet found a way to communize such basic principles as the chemical composition of water, or the Pythagorean theorem in geometry. I am firmly convinced that it is the Russian educational system that offers the greatest hope for ultimate Russian freedom. The people are beginning to think for themselves and as time goes on, it will be more and more difficult for the leaders to keep them in line.

I found that, as a whole, the educated Russians I spoke with were extremely curious about our mode of life in the United States, and, even more important, demonstrated a desire if not a compelling urge to go behind catchy Red slogans, and to do their own thinking. I have no doubt that the Russians of today are better off than they have ever been. Most of them seem satisfied for the reason that they know no better way of life than that which they are now enjoying.

Joseph Stalin grew to power in the midst of ignorance and poverty. I am convinced that because of the changed conditions in Russia the people will not permit another despot to assume such powers as those exercised by Stalin.

As more Russians become educated, they will become less and less prone to accept at face value the propaganda-loaded description of life in the United States which the Red propaganda system dins insistently into their ears. The Russian people are curious by nature; they are becoming increasingly more curious about Americans, about life in America, and about the freedoms we enjoy.

During my stay in Russia, I visited the Crimea, where former royal palaces have been turned into worker hotels and resorts. People gathered around me in the street, at the hotels, and on the boardwalks, eager to feel the quality of my clothing, to see the kind of leather from which my shoes were made, and to hear me speak (through our interpreter) of life in America. They were astounded to learn that American workers are not starving in the streets of New York, and that Negroes are not lynched by the hundreds in the Deep South. They thought it unbelievable that almost every American family has its own automobile, and that the people of the United States do not want war with the people of Russia.

They were extremely curious about the prices of food and goods in the United States. They displayed doubt when I told them my shoes cost $17.50, compared with $65 to $75 in the Soviet Union. The cheapness in price and abundant availability of goods in America created amazement and disbelief among these people, who are charged $220 for an 8-inch television set and $500 for a small electric refrigerator, and to whom owning an automobile is an almost unheard of luxury for the average worker.

This curiosity, it strikes me, offers the free world a fertile area in which can be planted the seeds of freedom for Russia. I therefore recommend that, subject to reasonable security regulations, we broaden our exchange-of-persons program with the Soviet Union, and that we bring more of the Russian people into the United States, to see at first hand how our people live. I recommend, too, that our Information Service increase its efforts to reach behind the Iron Curtain with the message of freedom. In this connection, it is of vital importance that our magazine, our broadcasts, and so forth, to the people of Russia contain no criticism of their way of life. Although we abhor communism, instead of disparaging it we must stress the positive aspects of our own system. We should say, in effect: "We give you credit for believing in communism as an economic system; that is your right. But, here is what a free people, living under a democratic system of government, have both in physical and spiritual things." A better plan would be to extoll the virtues of democracy and completely ignore their system.

I do not pretend to be a psychologist, but I do know that the surest way to shut the ears of the Russian people to the story of our way of life is to criticize their existing form of government. As the old saying goes, "You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar."

I am sincere in my belief that by bringing more Russian farmers, more Russian industrial workers, doctors, teachers, more Russian housewives and children and others, to our country, permitting them to see at first hand how we live and the benefits available to us under a free system, we can demonstrate that communism cannot hold a candle of democracy in furthering the cause of individual freedom or bringing a better way of life. This exchange of persons, coupled with objective reporting of our American way of life, will—I believe—create a mighty force for peace with its genesis among the Russian people, a force which the leaders of Russia could ignore only at their personal peril.

As a matter of fact, the Russian leadership has done much to make any effort on its part to generate a warlike spirit extremely difficult. Throughout the countryside were posters bearing the legend: "Peace." The Russian radio repeated the message that Russia desires only peace. The Russian people have been conditioned to expect peace, and I feel it will be extremely difficult for Soviet leaders to plunge them into a major conflict without creating fearsome conditions within the U.S.S.R., conditions which could perhaps result in a violent reaction among the Russian people.

The Russian people with whom I spoke believe that the United States fears Russia, and that present American policy is designed with one ultimate objective—the forcible destruction of the Soviet Union. Therefore, they fear us. As patriots (and the Russian people love their land if not their present government), the people of Russia would be willing to fight for their existence. Soviet leadership has capitalized upon this fear; through this medium, they have been able to keep living standards low in order to forge a military machine. If it were possible (and I think it is) to dispel this fear, to eliminate the distrust of American motives *among the Russian people*, then relations between our two countries would improve overnight. We must make every effort to convince them that our preparations are not for war or aggression, but for defense.

To illustrate what I am driving at, while visiting the great dam at Stalingrad, I asked the engineer in charge, if it were not true that the dam was started in 1950 or 1951 and that suddenly orders came from Russian leaders to stop building the dam. I asked why that was done. He said because the money was needed for other purposes. "And what were those purposes?" I asked. He said it was political and he did not care to answer. I chided him and said "I suppose you spent the money to make weapons of war to fight us." He smiled, but insisted that the question was political and he would not discuss it further. I then asked "When did you resume work?" He said, "After the Geneva Conference, when your President indicated to the world that America wanted peace and not war."

The older Russian citizens with whom I spoke, people who had lived under and could recall the rule of the Czars, were unanimous in their belief that "things are better now than then." They have more food, more clothing, and a greater sense of their individual worth, as I indicated earlier in my remarks. However, there is much discontent within Russia—discontent that, nourished by exposure to America and Americans, could blossom into such a powerful force that communism could receive a telling blow.

These factors—increased education, natural curiosity, and a desire for self-improvement—are available to the United States for intelligent use as the foundation for an ultimate rejection *by the Russian people of* communism as both a way of life and an economic system.

I therefore regard as most unwise our Government's recent shutdown of exchange of persons between Russia and the United States. I think it was stupid. The reaction of the Russian people, fostered by the Communist propaganda machine, will be: "America fears us—she fears that we will see her poverty and her ignorance—she does not want us to see how weak she is and how her people are oppressed." In addition, this action will lend credence to the repetitive pronouncements of Moscow propaganda mediums that the United States wants war, while Russia wants peace. This, of course, will create an atmosphere which could ignite like tinder should even a tiny spark fall.

Since my return to the United States, I have been referred to by some mediums as having been "brainwashed" by Khrushchev. This I most vehemently deny. I believe I have noted basic factors which, if only capitalized upon by our country, can result in the destruction of dictatorial rule in Russia. The people of Russia bear within their great masses the seed of American victory in the cold war—a victory which can result not only in benefiting the free world, but in rekindling the light of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. It is now time for us to begin nourishing this seed, to the end that fear will be replaced with trust, ignorance with knowledge, and, ultimately, cold war with warm friendship between the people of Russia and the people of the United States.

EXCERPT FROM ELLENDER REPORT OF 1957

CONCLUSION

The Soviet Union today is undergoing a process of evolution—not revolution, but evolution. There is a great surge of decentralization taking place. The people are demanding more and more autonomy in the hope of attaining more voice in their local affairs. Sparked by increased emphasis upon universal education—an emphasis which carries with it a growing desire for individual leadership, an eagerness for information, and an abundant curiosity regarding events, developments, and peoples outside the Soviet borders—the present Russian leadership is taking a calculated, but evidently necessary, risk.

Having placed their people in a position where they are more and more able to think for themselves, the Soviet leadership is gambling with its own future. The time is now ripe for free world action, designed to properly capitalize upon this new advent within the Soviet's borders.

If, by increased exchanges of delegations in every walk of life—such as engineers, farmers, legislators, scientists, students, teachers, to name but a few—of motion pictures, of television programs, of radio broadcasts; if, by increasing the points of contact between East and West, particularly, the United States and Russia, we can lay the full picture of western culture, development, and individual freedoms before the masses of Russia, as well as other peoples of the world closely associated with Russia, there is no doubt in my mind that they will become envious of our way of life. They will doubtless become dissatisfied when they learn there is a better way of life than that which they are now enjoying and as a result, will develop an urge to imitate ours.

This should be our primary objective.

The free world, particularly the United States, secure in the absolute belief that our economic and political systems have nothing to fear from a fair comparison with Soviet-style communism, must leave no stone unturned in placing before the people of Russia and the world an unbiased picture of the way we live. We should—yes, we must—open the way for peaceful competition between the United States and the U.S.S.R., with the understanding that all peoples will be free to choose the form of government under which they prefer to live.

This is a competition which the free world would most certainly win. It would bring a tremendous victory to us, for either the Soviet leadership would be compelled to give its people a more abundant way of life, or the Soviet people would compel a change in their leadership.

Either of these alternatives would represent a basic step forward in the winning of the cold war.

In the past, the tendency in the United States has been to be somewhat apologetic about the abundance we enjoy—to regard our blessings as the result of more good fortune than anything else. The Soviet Union on the other hand, has consistently credited the progress it has made since 1917 as the result of two things: First, the alleged superiority of the Socialist system, and, second, the constant hard work of the Soviet people.

Concerning the latter, no effort is spared in Russia to acquaint the people with the progress being made, and to heap praise and credit upon the workers. Propaganda within Russia is one of the chief weapons of the Communist leaders in maintaining the Communist way of life. Radios are installed in all public places, including factories and farms, and they constantly blare out the accomplishments of Russia's economy and its people.

Awards are made for workers excellence.

Competition between areas producing the same commodities, or manufacturing the same goods, is fostered. Region vies against region in an endless productivity contest.

Specific projects—such as the construction of a power dam, for example—are recorded step by step on motion-picture film. First the ground breaking, where thousands assemble, then the river closure, then the installation of the first generator and so on. Awards are made to the best workers at each function.

These films are then exhibited across the length and breadth of the Soviet Union, with abundant praise heaped upon the "workers" who made such projects possible and with added emphasis that they are the beneficiaries.

In the so-called neutralist or other nations experiencing a Soviet economic and political offensive, the progress achieved within the Soviet Union since the advent of communism is constantly cited as an example of what can be accomplished in an underdeveloped area under the socialist system.

Instead of, in effect, apologizing for our abundance, instead of fostering and following a philosophy dedicated to the proposition that because America has so much it must be shared with those who have so little, the United States should point out that our present national wealth was created and obtained through the hard work and ingenuity of Americans, laboring under a free-enterprise system, to tame a wilderness and devote its resources to the betterment of all our people.

Indeed, it must be remembered that the United States as we know it today is only 5 years older than the Soviet Union as it now exists.

Only with the admission of Arizona as the 48th State in 1912 did the United States really begin its great rise and progressively forge to the forefront of the world's nations. Russia began its climb with the deposing of the czars in 1917.

Yet in this relatively short space of time, the United States has achieved a much greater advance than the U.S.S.R. in all fields—without subjecting our people or our economy to the iron rule and inflexible discipline that communism imposes.

In other words, if it were possible—as I believe it is—for the United States to place its record of achievement beside that of the Soviet Union for the people of Russia to observe, there can be no doubt which would prove the more attractive.

It is necessary for us as leader of the free nations to realize and understand that the Russians have progressed under their present form of government, and that we must recognize that progress—not disparage it—in our dealings with the Russian people.

It has become increasingly obvious during recent years that a new approach to the problems plaguing East-West relationships is not only desirable, but urgently necessary—particularly to the United States, upon whom rests the greatest burdens of present policies.

Since 1948, the year the Marshall plan began, our Nation has spent over $50 billion ostensibly to roll back the Red tide of communism. Initially, these expenditures were designed to restore the war-ravaged nations of Western Europe, in order to place them in a position to be of aid to the free world should the Soviet Union attempt an armed aggression. Later, when proposed goals were reached and even surpassed, the program was transformed from one of rehabilitation into one of development and mutual defense. Huge amounts were supplied to a host of countries to help build armies, for capital development, for technical aid.

* * * * *

Viewed in the light of these vast expenditures, the record of achievement thus far is a dismal one.

Europe, fully restored to economic health, and enjoying unprecedented prosperity, still leans on the United States for participation in her home defenses—still refuses to bear her fair share of the free world's burdens, particularly in the Middle East, southeast Asia, Formosa, and South Korea.

Many other nations which we have assisted lavishly in the past are either actively practicing or moving in the direction of neutralism if not outright alignment with the Soviet Union.

A few make no bones of the fact that they pursue a policy of pitting the United States against the Soviet Union in order to obtain the maximum aid from both countries.

Russia, and her satellites—who are avowed opponents in the global cold war—are not weakening, nor do their policies seem to suffer defeat or even frustration as a result of the heavy-spending approach we have used in the past. On the contrary, some of our advisers contend that the Russians are making gains in the Middle East, in southeast Asia, in Africa, and even Latin America.

They are increasing their domestic agricultural and industrial bases, as my report amply demonstrates.

Their technology is constantly improving. Sputniks I and II offer abundant proof of this.

In almost every imaginable way, by almost any comparison that might be made, the United States today is in a much less favorable position in its international relationships—and particularly in its competitive position with the Soviet Union—than it was in 1948, despite the expenditure of over $50 billion of our dwindling national wealth.

As I have often stated, our country cannot continue on its present course without inviting not only ultimate international defeat, but national disaster.

Our present policy involves the continued expenditure of gigantic sums for foreign aid purposes (over and above funds appropriated for the maintenance and modernization of our own Armed Forces); large appropriations for an Information Service; continuation of an almost unbearable and destructive tax rate that threatens to destroy initiative; the constant threat of near stagnation in the proper protection and preservation of our precious natural resources; and the promise of continued neglect of other vital areas of our national economic progress, particularly public power, housing, commerce and others.

The recommendation I have advancd for the past 3 years is reemphasized at this time; that is, the time has come—in fact, it may even have already passed—for us to take stock and to take a new look at our foreign policy.

Given a continued or heightened cold war of indefinite duration, the pursuance of our present policies must eventually result in the strangulation of our free-enterprise system, either by a continued decline of individual initiative and increasing reliance upon Government control and regulation of the economy, or eventual collapse of our total economy under the pressures of constantly-growing Government spending and a swelling debt load.

Either of these alternatives would be disastrous.

The first would represent an easy default victory by state socialism over the forces of free enterprise, the second would carry with it the full realization of a basic tenet of Marxist communism; namely, that given a long-term crisis to face, the free enterprise (capitalistic) nations must fall of their weight.

The three visits I have made to the Soviet Union, the impressions I have gained during them, and the information I have gathered, have resulted in the following suggestions, which I offer for the consideration of the committee—indeed, for the consideration of all our people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I recommend that the United States reexamine its approach to the waging of cold war. Recognizing that our actual adversary in this conflict is the Soviet Union, I recommend that this reexamination be undertaken in the light of the following, the implementation of which will help to dispel the fear of each other prevailing among the peoples of the East and the West, and restore mutual confidence, which is necessary if we are to achieve a lasting world peace.

1. Our information program directed to the Iron Curtain and particularly to the Soviet peoples should be expanded. In this expansion, all propaganda in its traditional forms should be abandoned. Instead, a positive approach should be applied uniformly. No reference to communism per se should be permitted. Accurate, factual, reporting of the news and conditions in the free world must be stressed. Every effort should be made to objectively depict the enormous advantages of our way of life, without disparaging the system presently in effect in the Soviet Union or behind the Iron Curtain.

2. An expanded and realistic exchange of persons program between the Soviet Union and the United States should be inaugurated at once. This expansion can be achieved with no additional cost, by simply discontinuing many so-called information programs operated elsewhere that are unnecessary. As detailed in the body of my report, I am convinced that most of the peoples of the Soviet Union are sincere in their belief that the form of government and the economic system under which they live are second to none. This conviction flows from their inability to compare their present-day living standards, industrial and agricultural techniques, cultural progress and technological development with anything other than those existing within the Soviet Union's borders in prior times. By exchanging delegations, from every walk of life—scientists, technicians, workers, farmers, students, legislators—the people of Russia would have the opportunity to see at firsthand the boundless advantages which a free-enterprise system, founded on the bedrock of representative government, has to offer. In this program, however, extreme care must be exercised. Under no circumstances should a bona fide exchange program be permitted to become a means for infiltration of our borders by Soviet agents.

3. With the change of emphasis in our cold war policy toward the Soviet Union outlined in recommendations 1 and 2, designed to dispel the fear which exists between the peoples of the United States and the U.S.S.R., and to create a climate of confidence, should also come increased willingness upon our part to meet as often as possible with leaders of Iron Curtain countries, or the Soviet Union. Despite the record of broken promises which prior Soviet leaders have left in the wake of prior talks, our failure to join and participate in top-level conferences—even summit conferences—provides powerful ammunition for the Soviet propaganda machine. It eases the task of Red information agencies to picture the United States to the people of the Soviet Union—along with other lands throughout the world—as unwilling to discuss peaceful solutions of world problems.

The committee is well acquainted with the desire of all Americans to attain and maintaining a lasting world peace, a peace secured in dignity and made lasting through mutual trust. However, our Government's failure to show a willingness to confer with Soviet leaders on the peaceful solution of world tensions is being broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the world as indicative of our aggressive intentions. With a weapon such as this at the command of expert Communist propagandists, we are constantly losing ground in our effort to maintain sympathy for and understanding of our international objectives.

4. I recommend that our policy of attempting to create full-fledged modern armies in small underdeveloped countries be terminated, and that our assistance be confined to a realistic technical-aid effort. This move would be designed to create a broad base of trained native peoples, a base which would attract private investment capital, or which—at the very least—could properly utilize any government-to-government capital which might later be made available for development purposes. An approach of this type would strengthen the economic stability of the country, while at the same time allowing the country to maintain its prestige and self-respect by standing on its own feet.

By encouraging underdeveloped countries to main military forces far beyond their capabilities to support, we are actually creating conditions tailor made for the advance of communism.

As the Comptroller General noted in his report to Congress on an examination of the military assistance program on March 31, 1957, the extension of arms aid to a number of nations has not always been motivated by purely military considerations, nor has the impact of this aid been properly evaluated in advance, or in conjunction with, its availability:

"The military force objectives presently approved for United States support in certain allied countries are not always realistic in terms of recipient country manpower and financial capabilities, are not always mutually acceptable to the countries concerned, and are not always motivated by military considerations (Report, supra, p. 2)."

* * * * *

"In a number of countries the United States has programed and is delivering military equipment in excess of that which can be effectively absorbed and utilized by the recipients at their existing stage of development. The recipients either have not been able to use the aid furnished because of their financial and economic incapacity and their manpower limitations or they have not desired to use the assistance for the purposes intended by the United States (Report, supra, p. 3)."

As it now stands the hasty application of great amounts of economic and military aid to newly independent, underdeveloped nations is often working to our extreme disadvantage.

First, in those nations whose economies are not sufficiently developed to maintain a military force of the capabilities desired by United States advisers, the gap in national income created by heavy military expenditures is sought to be filled by America extending so-called defense-support assistance.

As administered in the past, this type of economic aid has frequently failed to trickle down to the masses. In a number of countries, particularly in the Middle East, and southeast Asia, living standards remain visably unchanged for the great majority of people despite large United States expenditures there. There are, in these countries, two economic strata—the very rich, and the miserably poor.

The latter are, without exception, the object of constant Soviet propagandizing. United States policies, requiring the maintenance of large standing military forces, are blamed for low living standards. "Capitalistic" America is also blamed for lining the pockets of the rich while caring little for the poor.

In these same countries, as the body of my report demonstrates, the wealthy pay little or nothing in the way of income taxes, or, for that matter, all taxes as compared to us. Thus, as the whole burden of defense and economic growth in a given nation may be ours, so is the blame for that nation's poverty heaped upon our shoulders.

5. I again recommend, as I have for the past 3 successive years, that immediate steps be taken to solve the Arab-Israeli dispute. Unless and until this is done, the Middle East will remain an open, festering wound—one which poses a constant threat of infection to the entire world.

Our attempts in the past through military and economic assistance, to appease both sides in the hope that the problems will solve themselves have not worked and will never work. That part of the world offers the U.S.S.R. a great opportunity to keep its propaganda machine almost certainly at work in its efforts to keep the world in turmoil.

While I am convinced that the implementation of these recommendations would result in a much higher degree of success than a continuation of our present policies, it is not my view that they will work miracles overnight. On the contrary, the "new look" I have advocated should take place concurrently with the maintenance of a strong defense by the United States. We must not lower our guard. A modern, efficient Defense Establishment is the best guaranty we have against any attempt on the part of would-be world conquerors to follow the path of aggression instead of peaceful international competition.

In essence, the burden of my recommendations involves the maximum use of the single greatest resource our Nation possesses—not dollars, but the tremendous abundance of both material and spiritual advantages which freedom has to offer.

America is the world's greatest showplace for the accomplishments of a free economy dedicated to providing a free people with the highest standard of living in the world.

With such an exhibit of the fruits of our labors, it should be readily apparent that, in comparison with our growth over the relatively same period of time, Russia's advance has been accomplished despite, rather than because of, the dictates of socialist theories, and perhaps owes its success more to the hard work of her people than to any tenet or theory set forth by Lenin, Marx, or Stalin.

Let us open wide the doors to our showplace; let us welcome all who would come to see—to compare—to imitate.

Let us lay the foundation for trade and a restoration of commercial contacts between the East and the West.

Let us not apologize for our abundance, but, rather, let us display it to the peoples of the world as an example of what hard work can achieve for all who are willing to work.

Let us be honest enough to caution those who are to choose between socialism and freedom that such miracles are not wrought overnight, but must come gradually and through self-help.

Above all other things, let us not fear an honest competition with Soviet communism.

The approach I have outlined involves only the realization that it is time for our country to choose a more advantageous ground upon which to wage this most crucial battle of the cold war.

We have been confronted in recent years by what amounts to nothing more than an all-out effort on the part of the Soviets to defeat the democratic nations by peaceful means. Rather than see victory go to them by default, I urge our Government to pour its full effort into a massive fight for the minds of men—all men, everywhere.

EXCERPT FROM ELLENDER REPORT OF 1961

This was my fourth trip to the Soviet Union since 1955. I visited this vast country on three sucessive years—1955, 1956, and 1957. Thus, my most recent trip came after a lapse of 4 years.

Following my return to Washington, I reviewed the reports I had made to the Senate following my three previous visits to the U.S.S.R. I found that the observations and recommendations I had made following these trips are still applicable. What I recommended at that time bears repetition and reemphasis today.

The conclusions I reached in 1955, 1956, and 1957 were criticized quite freely by some. In fact, there were some who accused me of being brainwashed, yet I find that today, more and more people are in agreement with my thinking. I have summed up my observations of these three earlier visits, and they can be found in the appendix marked "Exhibit 14," p. 333.

I was very much impressed with the industrial expansion which has obviously taken place in 4 years in the areas I had visited before. As to those areas I had not seen before, I was surprised at what I found in the way of old cities being modernized, new cities springing up, housing being constructed at phenomenal speed, and all sorts of industries being fostered where formerly there had been little if any industrial development. Particularly is this true in what I would classify as the most backward areas of this vast country known as the U.S.S.R.—I have reference to places like Turkmenstan, Uzbekstan, Tadzhikstan, and Armenia, to name only a few. As a matter of fact, the industrial expansion throughout the Soviet Union, as evidenced by what I saw with my own eyes at all the places I have visited, is nothing short of amazing. True, there is still a long way to go before Soviet industry can approach our own industrial facilities and capabilities, but when one considers that only a few years ago the new areas I visited were of the most backward in Russia, it is a revelation to find there thriving industries which are for the most part being operated and managed by local people.

In some areas of southern European and Asiatic Russia, I found that the people seem to consider that their provinces or republics are peculiarly their own, even though a part of the U.S.S.R., and they show what I would term strongly nationalistic tendencies in the pride they exhibit in the accomplishments of their regions since the revolution. They appear satisfied with their progress thus far, but they seem to look forward to still greater accomplishments through their own efforts rather than those of the Central Government. They give the impression that this tremendous surge in industry has come about because they have been able to force the Central Government to give them more autonomy in determining their own needs and in carrying out the plans for industrial production.

EXHIBIT 14

PREVIOUS RECOMMENDATIONS

This might be a good time to review some of the comments I made following my previous visits to the Soviet Union. Following my 1955 trip I submitted a report to the Senate Appropriations Committee, which included a résumé of my meeting with Anastas Mikoyan. The report read as follows:

"* * * I stated that I believed a more cordial relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the United States was desirable and that this goal was obtainable through the medium of increased exchanges of visit involving industrial, agricultural, and similar delegations. I pointed out that I had been in the U.S. Legislature for nearly 19 years, during which time I had voted billions of dollars to help defeat Hitler in the common cause with U.S. wartime allies.

"I told Mr. Mikoyan that the American people find the mutual suspicions which characterize U.S.-Soviet relations strange and not in keeping with wartime relations. I said that I felt that these suspicions and strained relations were due in large measure to misunderstanding. I expressed the belief that frequent exchanges of visits would do much to eliminate these misunderstandings and that while the United States would not expect the Soviet Government to open its arsenals to American inspection, nevertheless I felt that if there was an increase in the movement of Soviet citizens visiting the United States the Soviet people would be able to clear away their suspicions about U.S. intentions. I stated that I came as a humble American citizen to express my thoughts to Mr. Mikoyan in the hope that something good would come of my visit. I added that if Mr. Mikoyan cared to make any comments on my statements I would be glad to hear them.

"Mr. Mikoyan replied that he fully concurred in my statements and that he felt that the American and Soviet peoples had no differences on points of view expressed by me. He stated that the type of system pertaining in individual countries was a matter of choice of the people involved.

"I replied that so far as I knew, the American people as a whole don't care about the system prevailing in the Soviet Union and regarded that as the business of the Soviet people. I did state, however, that somehow the American people have the idea and are concerned that the U.S.S.R. is spreading a doctrine which is harmful to American interests, and that I felt that relations between the two countries would be much more cordial if this fear could be dispelled. I stated that the American people may be wrong in this assumption but that there was, nevertheless, much evidence that the assumption was correct."

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"* * * Mr. Mikoyan asserted the belief that if 100 Americans came to study in the U.S.S.R. and returned to the United States that this would not result in the establishment of a Communist regime in the United States. He said that the question of communism versus capitalism is a matter for peoples and not for governments. He said that governments cannot impose doctrines and asked what the Soviet Union can do if people read Communist literature. He said that he thought the differences of opinion and strained relations were the fault of the United States and asserted that the more you attempt to prevent the spreading of a doctrine the more you actually contribute to the propagation of it.

"I explained that in America the rank and file of Communists are not molested, but that the Government is protected by law against those who attempt the violent overthrow of our governmental system. I told him that the views expressed by the imprisoned American Communist leaders to which our Government objected had been obtained from the U.S.S.R.; that these Communists had certainly had a fair trial which lasted 8 months, but that the evidence was clearly against them.

"Mr. Mikoyan rejoined that he did not wish to approve or disapprove of the actions of the U.S. Government versus the American Communists. He stated this was not his concern but that of the United States. He added that it was extremely possible that there was a connection between the ideas expressed by the American Communists and the Soviet Union, but that he could not control this. He said there can be no frontiers to ideas. I stated that the American people and our Government do not object to the idea of communism in a country, but do object to any attempt by a country to impose these ideas on others by force. Mr. Mikoyan repeated that this entire affair did not concern the U.S.S.R. I remarked that many Americans had been informed, through various sources, that the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Hungary frequently referred to as satellite states, were not free and that communism had been imposed on them by the U.S.S.R. I stated that if this were true, that if the U.S.S.R. had anything to do with the establishment of the governments in Eastern Europe, that this was the type of thing which caused concern and fear in the minds of American people, and that anything that could be done to dispel this fear would lead to improved relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

"Mr. Mikoyan said that if the U.S. people have this fear they need to be educated properly. He said the Soviet troops completely withdrew from Czechoslovakia at the end of the war. He said that United States has many bases abroad, whereas the Soviet Union has not and that he believed there were more U.S. troops stationed abroad than Soviet."

In 1956 I traveled extensively through the agricultural areas of the Soviet Union. I also visited many industrial centers. I made numerous comments then which I still believe hold true. I criticized at that time certain agricultural practices being undertaken by the U.S.S.R. as being impractical. I also pointed out industrial shortcomings. The gist of my comments on the Soviet Union are as follows:

"Russian agriculture suffers tremendously from the concentration of production in either collective or state farms. Many of the Russian farmers have no desire to increase production or become more efficient, since they have lost their identity as individual entrepreneurs. The old saying 'What's everybody's business is nobody's business' can be successfully applied to the collective farms.

"As to Russian industry, I saw some modern processes (such as a most unique shoe production line), along with great evidence of expansion, but for the most part, Russian industry seems to be crude and backward when compared with our own. I saw only five different models of passenger cars, two models of passenger buses, one for short and the other long haul, two models of refrigerators, one standard model of trucks. I do not desire to leave the impression that this status may long remain, for great efforts are being made to modernize Russian industry, and to expand production—particularly in the area of heavy industry. Dams, both for navigation and power generation, are being constructed. More factories are rising. The industrial base is being widened, and within the next 5 to 10 years, Russia will undoubtedly become a mighty industrial power. That will come about by the increasing demand for more and more consumer goods.

"* * * I am firmly convinced that it is the Russian educational system that offers the greatest hope for ultimate Russian freedom. The people are beginning to think for themselves and as time goes on, it will be more and more difficult for the leaders to keep them in line.

"Joseph Stalin grew to power in the midst of ignorance and poverty. I am convinced that because of the changed conditions in Russia the people will not permit another despot to assume such powers as those exercised by Stalin.

"As more Russians become educated, they will become less and less prone to accept at face value the propaganda-loaded description of life in the United States which the Red propaganda system dins insistently into their ears. The Russian people are curious by nature; they are becoming increasingly more curious about Americans, about life in America, and about the freedoms we enjoy.

"I therefore recommend that, subject to reasonable security regulations, we broaden our exchange-of-persons program with the Soviet Union, and that we bring more of the Russian people into the United States, to see at first hand how our people live. I recommend, too, that our Information Service increase its efforts to reach behind the Iron Curtain with the message of freedom. In this connection, it is of vital importance that our magazine, our broadcasts, and so forth, to the people of Russia contain no criticism of their way of life. Although we abhor communism, instead of disparaging it we must stress the positive aspects of our own system. We should say, in effect: 'We give you credit for believing in communism as an economic system; that is your right. But, here is what a free people, living under a democratic system of government, have both in physical and spiritual things.' A better plan would be to extoll the virtues of democracy and completely ignore their system.

"I do not pretend to be a psychologist, but I do know that the surest way to shut the ears of the Russian people to the story of our way of life is to criticize their existing form of government. As the old saying goes, 'You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.'

"I am sincere in my belief that by bringing more Russian farmers, more Russian industrial workers, doctors, teachers, more Russian housewives and children and others, to our country, permitting them to see at first hand how we live and the benefits available to us under a free system, we can demonstrate that communism cannot hold a candle to democracy in furthering the cause of individual freedom or bringing a better way of life. This exchange of persons, coupled with objective reporting of our American way of life, will—I believe—create a mighty force for peace with its genesis among the Russian people, a force which the leaders of Russia could ignore only at their personal peril.

"As a matter of fact, the Russian leadership has done much to make any effort on its part to generate a warlike spirit extremely difficult. Throughout the countryside were posters bearing the legend: 'Peace.' The Russian radio repeated the message that Russia desires only peace. The Russian people have been conditioned to expect peace, and I feel it will be extremely difficult for Soviet leaders to plunge them into a major conflict without creating fearsome conditions within the U.S.S.R., conditions which could perhaps result in a violent reaction among the Russian people.

"The Russian people with whom I spoke believe that the United States fears Russia, and that present American policy is designed with one ultimate objective—the forcible destruction of the Soviet Union. Therefore, they fear us. As patriots (and the Russian people love their land if not their present government), the people of Russia would be willing to fight for their existence. Soviet leadership has capitalized upon this fear; through this medium, they have been able to keep living standards low in order to forge a military machine. If it were possible (and I think it is) to dispel this fear, to eliminate the distrust of American motives among the Russian people, then relations between our two countries would improve overnight. We must make every effort to convince them that our preparations are not for war or aggression, but for defense.

"To illustrate what I am driving at, while visiting the great dam at Stalingrad, I asked the engineer in charge, if it were not true that the dam was started in 1950 or 1951 and that suddenly orders came from Russian leaders to stop building the dam. I asked why that was done. He said because the money was needed for other purposes. 'And what were those purposes?' I asked. He said it was political and he did not care to answer. I chided him and said 'I suppose you spent the money to make weapons of war to fight us.' He smiled, but insisted that the question was political and he would not discuss it further. I then asked 'When did you resume work?' He said, 'After the Geneva Conference, when your President indicated to the world that America wanted peace and not war.'

"The older Russian citizens with whom I spoke, people who had lived under and could recall the rule of the czars, were unanimous in their belief that 'things are better now than then.' They have more food, more clothing, and a greater sense of their individual worth, as I indicated earlier in my remarks. However, there is much discontent within Russia—discontent that, nourished by exposure to America and Americans, could blossom into such a powerful force that communism could receive a telling blow.

"These factors—increased education, natural curiosity, and a desire for self-improvement—are available to the United States for intelligent use as the foundation for an ultimate rejection by the Russian people of communism as both a way or life and an economic system.

"I therefore regard as most unwise our Government's recent shutdown of exchange of persons between Russia and the United States. I think it was stupid. The reaction of the Russian people, fostered by the Communist propaganda machine, will be: 'America fears us—she fears that we will see her poverty and her ignorance—she does not want us to see how weak she is and how her people are oppressed.' In addition, this action will lend credence to the repetitive pronouncements of Moscow propaganda mediums that the United States wants war, while Russia wants peace. This of course, will create an atmosphere which could ignite like tinder should even a tiny spark fall.

"Since my return to the United States, I have been referred to by some mediums as having been 'brainwashed' by Khrushchev. This I most vehemently deny. I believe I have noted basic factors which, if only capitalized upon by our country, can result in the destruction of dictatorial rule in Russia. The people of Russia bear within their great masses the seed of American victory in the cold war—a victory which can result not only in benefiting the free world, but in rekindling the light of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. It is now time for us to begin nourishing this seed, to the end that fear will be replaced with trust, ignorance with knowledge, and, ultimately, cold war with warm friendship between the people of Russia and the people of the United States."

Following my 1957 trip I filed another report with the Senate Appropriations Committee. My general impressions of the Soviet Union were as follows:

"Perhaps the most significant aspect of my findings on this visit was change, and, with respect to the various goods and services available to the Russian consumer, the change was invariably for the better. Also, people are more talkative—they were more prone to assert themselves. Generally speaking, I found a much higher degree of contentment among the peoples of Russia than on my previous visits. In addition, I found considerable national pride—a pride which was visibly increased when the people learned of the successful firing of the first space satellite. I was in Russia when the event occurred and the news was made public, and there was much jubilation among the Russian masses.

"Thus, in prefacing any account of my journeys through the Soviet Union, I feel it important to impress upon the committee my three major impressions of postsatellite Russia.

First, there is an atmosphere of confidence.

"Second, there is apparent domestic contentment, but a rising curiosity about America and an urge to forge ahead of us.

"Third, there is a growing belief among the Russian people that their system is superior in all respects to ours in the West.

"These three factors must certainly receive primary consideration in any policy our Government undertakes vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. But, in considering these factors, they must be read against a background of Russia as it stands today compared with the pre-Bolshevik Russia of the czars.

"Only by measuring present-day conditions in Russia by the comparative yardstick of conditions as they existed a quarter century ago can any proper perspective concerning this vast nation be attained. In addition, the conditions existing in the Soviet Union under communism and the Government's abolition of private property are important circumstances to be weighed before reaching any conclusion concerning future policies toward that country.

"In Russia, the Government is supreme. Nothing else matters—only the Government. Every square inch of land belongs to the Government. All commerce and industry are Government controlled. Under no circumstances is an individual able to go into business for himself, not even as a barbershop owner or a taxi operator.

"Instead, all crafts, in fact, all businesses, are incorporated into state-managed entities where everyone works together for what Soviet leaders declare to be the common good of the state. Revenue-producing investments by the individual of any of his surplus funds are limited primarily to state institutions that lend money. The money deposited by the individual bears a small rate of interest, depending on the length of time it is left on deposit. This type of social and economic organization exists through all strata of Russia.

"Under such a controlled system, in which the welfare of the individual is evidently sacrificed to the good of the state, Russia has been able, within a short span of years, to pull itself up from a weary, downtrodden nation, wracked by internal strife and bearing the heavy burden of a hungry, desperate class of peasant serfs under the old czarist system, to its present leadership of obviously high technological development.

"Many Russian people today may have only black bread, cabbages, beets, potatoes, and a pot of tea—but today it is enough to fill their stomachs. To a hungry population, the mere advance of a crust of bread is an accomplishment—and one, which whether or not we agree with the manner in which it is done, must be recognized as a form of progress.

"From the days of 1916, when almost all of Russia hovered together in abject poverty, in hunger, in a state of serfdom, and serving a fantastically rich nobility, the older people of Russia today can see visible signs of their march forward—toward national pride, better living standards, and industrial develoment—a march which today places them among the vanguard of the world's nations.

"The younger people, who have known nothing but communism in their lifetime, and who have had no opportunity to observe any other form of government, glory in their country's progress—and in the corresponding rise in the welfare of their fellow countrymen.

"This, above all, we must recognize. And in that recognition we must, I believe, abandon the approach of some who, because they dislike or perhaps fear communism—indeed, I am sure they abhor this system of government as I do—will not hear or even listen to the spoken words of its accomplishments.

"The mark of an intelligent soldier is to recognize the capabilities of his opponent. To mock a foe is to mock yourself.

"Communism will not vanish because we ignore it. Neither will it disappear because we vilify it. It exists. It is functioning.

"It has brought a new way of life to a people once left far beyond progress in the wallow of inner conflict. It has provided a better standard of living—no matter if we care to dismiss it as still far below our own—for an entire nation of people.

"Of course, in the U.S.S.R. there is nothing remotely resembling the freedom of individual choice, action, and enterprise which we in the United States enjoy today. However, it must be recognized that in the Soviet Union, such freedom has never existed. Russian history bears ample witness to the lack of what we regard as basic principles of freedom. Under the czars, which is the period with which the typical elder or middle-aged Russian compares his life today, there was no freedom of the press, no freedom of expression, no freedom of economic choice for the average Russian. Opposition to the then-existing Government was ruthlessly ferreted out by a secret police whose methods were not basically different from those used by the Communists.

"Perhaps the most astonishing accomplishment of the Russia of today is its rapid transformation into an industrial empire. That the tremendous growth of Russia's industrial economy has been reached in the short span of one generation testifies to the hard work done by the Russian people. To those who would dismiss, or soften the impact of this achievement by merely pointing out that it was accomplished by a ruthless leadership holding the combined noses of an entire people to the Marxist grindstone, it again must be remembered that compulsion is nothing new to the average Russian. Under the Communists, he exchanged the compulsion of the czarist aristocracy for the compulsion of a totalitarian state. The only change in the picture, insofar as Ivan is concerned, is that at least part of the nation's increased wealth has trickled down to him instead of all of it remaining in the pockets of a very few persons of supreme social status.

"In other words, in assessing the present temper of the Russian people, not their present leadership, but their people, we must always bear in mind that there are no shades of gray in the picture of Russian development since 1917. Instead, there is only absolute contrast between the days prior to the October Revolution and those now upon the colossus of Europe and Asia. The term 'capitalism,' as applied by the Communist leadership in describing the United States, does not reflect the system which our country actually enjoys today, but instead is used as a synonym for the system prevalent in Russia during czarist times. By insisting that all economic systems are either capitalistic (i.e., czarist) or socialist (i.e., that now in effect in the Soviet Union) the Soviet leaders have been able to keep their people convinced that the Russian system today is the ultimate of perfection.

"The Western World is now at a great disadvantage in waging a positive campaign to change this unbalanced and untrue picture laid before the Russian people, because there are not words available to convince them of the progress we have made, of the abundance we enjoy. To the average Russian, a system which would prove more beneficial than the one under which he now lives is inconceivable, simply, because he has no knowledge of anything other than absolute exploitation under the czars compared with a much better way of life under communism.

"As it stands, then, we must realize that the Russian people—as of this day, at least—are apparently well content with their way of life. The individual may not have progressed much, by our standards, but he has progressed—he is much better off than he has ever been."

In my 1957 report I also included a formalized presentation of conclusions and recommendations. I think that these, too, are worth repeating in the light of today's events.

They are as follows:

"CONCLUSION

"The Soviet Union today is undergoing a process of evolution—not revolution, but evolution. There is a great surge of decentralization taking place. The people are demanding more and more autonomy in the hope of attaining more voice in their local affairs. Sparked by increased emphasis upon universal education—an emphasis which carries with it a growing desire for individual leadership, an eagerness for information, and an abundant curiosity regarding events, developments, and peoples outside the Soviet borders—the present Russian leadership is taking a calculated, but evidently necessary, risk.

"Having placed their people in a position where they are more and more able to think for themselves, the Soviet leadership is gambling with its own future. The time is now ripe for free world action, designed to properly capitalize upon this new advent within the Soviet's borders.

"If, by increased exchanges of delegations in every walk of life—such as engineers, farmers, legislators, scientists, students, teachers, to name but a few—of motion pictures, of television programs, of radio broadcasts; if, by increasing the points of contact between East and West, particularly, the United States and Russia, we can lay the full picture of western culture, development, and individual freedoms before the masses of Russia, as well as other peoples of the world closely associated with Russia, there is no doubt in my mind that they will become envious of our way of life. They will doubtless become dissatisfied when they learn there is a better way of life than that which they now are enjoying, and, as a result, will develop an urge to imitate ours.

"This should be our primary objective.

"The free world, particularly the United States, secure in the absolute belief that our economic and political systems have nothing to fear from a fair comparison with Soviet-style communism, must leave no stone unturned in placing before the people of Russia and the world an unbiased picture of the way we live. We should—yes, we must—open the way for peaceful competition between the United States and the U.S.S.R., with the understanding that all peoples will be free to choose the form of government under which they prefer to live.

"This is a competition which the free world would most certainly win. It would bring a tremendous victory to us, for either the Soviet leadership would be compelled to give its people a more abundant way of life, or the Soviet people would compel a change in their leadership.

"Either of these alternatives would represent a basic step forward in the winning of the cold war.

"In the past, the tendency in the United States has been to be somewhat apologetic about the abundance we enjoy—to regard our blessings as the result of more good fortune than anything else. The Soviet Union on the other hand, has consistently credited the progress it has made since 1917 as the result of two things: First, the alleged superiority of the Socialist system, and, second, the constant hard work of the Soviet people.

"Concerning the latter, no effort is spared in Russia to acquaint the people with the progress being made, and to heap praise and credit upon the workers. Propaganda within Russia is one of the chief weapons of the Communist leaders in maintaining the Communist way of life. Radios are installed in all public places, including factories and farms, and they constantly blare out the accomplishments of Russia's economy and its people.

"Awards are made for worker excellence.

"Competition between areas producing the same commodities or manufacturing the same goods, is fostered. Region vies against region in an endless productivity contest.

"Specific projects—such as the construction of a power dam, for example—are recorded step by step on motion-picture film. First the ground breaking, where thousands assemble, then the river closure, then the installation of the first generator and so on. Awards are made to the best workers at each function.

"These films are then exhibited across the length and breadth of the Soviet Union, with abundant praise heaped upon the "workers" who made such projects possible and with added emphasis that they are the beneficiaries.

"In the so-called neutralist or other nations experiencing a Soviet economic and political offensive, the progress achieved within the Soviet Union since the advent of communism is constantly cited as an example of what can be accomplished in an underdeveloped area under the socialist system.

"Instead of, in effect, apologizing for our abundance, instead of fostering and following a philosophy dedicated to the proportion that because America has so much it must be shared with those who have so little, the United States should point out that our present national wealth was created and obtained through the hard work and ingenuity of Americans, laboring under a free-enterprise system, to tame a wilderness and devote its resources to the betterment of all our people.

"Indeed, it must be remembered that the United States as we know it today is only 5 years older than the Soviet Union as it now exists.

"Only with the admission of Arizona as the 48th State in 1912 did the United States really begin its great rise and progressively forge to the forefront of the world's nations. Russia began its climb with the deposing of the czars in 1917.

"Yet in this relatively short space of time, the United States has achieved a much greater advance than the U.S.S.R. in all fields—without subjecting our people or our economy to the iron rule and inflexible discipline that communism imposes.

"In other words, if it were possible—as I believe it is—for the United States to place its record of achievement beside that of the Soviet Union for the people of Russia to observe, there can be no doubt which would prove the more attractive.

"It is necessary for us as leader of the free nations to realize and understand that the Russians have progressed under their present form of government, and that we must recognize that progress—not disparage it—in our dealings with the Russian people.

"It has become increasingly obvious during recent years that a new approach to the problems plaguing East-West relationships is not only desirable, but urgently necessary—particularly to the United States, upon whom rests the greatest burdens of present policies.

"Since 1948, the year the Marshall plan began, our Nation has spent over $50 billion ostensibly to roll back the Red tide of communism. Initially, these expenditures were designed to restore the war-ravaged nations of Western Europe, in order to place them in a position to be of aid to the free world should the Soviet Union attempt an armed aggression. Later, when proposed goals were reached and even surpassed, the program was transformed from one of rehabilitation into one of development and mutual defense. Huge amounts were supplied to a host of countries to help build armies, for capital development, for technical aid.

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"Viewed in the light of these vast expenditures, the record of achievement thus far is a dismal one.

"Europe, fully restored to economic health, and enjoying unprecedented prosperity, still leans on the United States for participation in her home defenses—still refuses to bear her fair share of the free world's burdens, particularly in the Middle East, southeast Asia, Formosa, and South Korea.

"Many other nations which we have assisted lavishly in the past are either actively practicing or moving in the direction of neutralism if not outright alinement with the Soviet Union.

"A few make no bones of the fact that they pursue a policy of pitting the United States against the Soviet Union in order to obtain the maximum aid from both countries.

"Russia, and her satellites—who are our avowed opponents in the global cold war—are not weakening, nor do their policies seem to suffer defeat or even frustration as a result of the heavy-spending approach we have used in the past. On the contrary, some of our advisers contend that the Russians are making gains in the Middle East, in southeast Asia, in Africa, and even Latin America.

"They are increasing their domestic agricultural and industrial bases, as my report amply demonstrates.

"Their technology is constantly improving. Sputniks I and II offer abundant proof of this.

"In almost every imaginable way, by almost any comparison that might be made, the United States today is in a much less favorable position in its international relationships—and particularly in its competitive position with the Soviet Union—than it was in 1948, despite the expenditure of over $50 billion of our dwindling national wealth.

"As I have often stated, our country cannot continue on its present course without inviting not only ultimate international defeat, but national disaster.

"Our present policy involves the continued expenditure of gigantic sums for foreign aid purposes (over and above funds appropriated for the maintenance and modernization of our own Armed Forces); large appropriations for an Information Service; continuation of an almost unbearable and destructive tax rate that threatens to destroy initiative; the constant threat of near stagnation in the proper protection and preservation of our precious natural resources; and the promise of continued neglect of other vital areas of our national economic progress, particularly public power, housing, commerce and others.

"The recommendation I have advanced for the past 3 years is reemphasized at this time; that is, the time has come—in fact, it may even have already passed—for us to take stock and to take a new look at our foreign policy.

"Given a continued or heightened cold war of indefinite duration, the pursuance of our present policies must eventually result in the strangulation of our free-enterprise system, either by a continued decline of individual initiative and increasing reliance upon Government control and regulation of the economy, or eventual collapse of our total economy under the pressures of constantly-growing Government spending and a swelling debt load.

"Either of these alternatives would be disastrous.

"The first would represent an easy default victory by state socialism over the forces of free enterprise, the second would carry with it the full realization of a basic tenet of Marxist communism; namely, that given a long-term crisis to face, the free enterprise (capitalistic) nations must fall of their weight.

"The three visits I have made to the Soviet Union, the impressions I have gained during them, and the information I have gathered, have resulted in the following suggestions, which I offer for the consideration of the committee—indeed, for the consideration of all our people.

"RECOMMENDATIONS

"I recommend that the United States reexamine its approach to the waging of cold war. Recognizing that our actual adversary in this conflict is the Soviet Union, I recommend that this reexamination be undertaken in the light of the following, the implementation of which will help to dispel the fear of each other prevailing among the peoples of the East and the West, and restore mutual confidence, which is necessary if we are to achieve a lasting world peace.

"1. Our information program directed to the Iron Curtain and particularly to the Soviet peoples should be expanded. In this expansion, all propaganda in its traditional forms should be abandoned. Instead, a positive approach should be applied uniformly. No reference to communism per se should be permitted. Accurate, factual reporting of the news and conditions in the free world must be stressed. Every effort should be made to objectively depict the enormous advantages of our way of life, without disparaging the system presently in effect in the Soviet Union or behind the Iron Curtain.

"2. An expanded and realistic exchange of persons program between the Soviet Union and the United States should be inaugurated at once. This expansion can be achieved with no additional cost, by simply discontinuing many so-called information programs operated elsewhere that are unnecessary. As detailed in the body of my report, I am convinced that most of the peoples of the Soviet Union are sincere in their belief that the form of government and the economic system under which they live are second to none. This conviction flows from their inability to compare their present-day living standards, industrial and agricultural techniques, cultural progress and technological development with anything other than those existing within the Soviet Union's borders in prior times. By exchanging delegations, from every walk of life—scientists, technicians, workers, farmers, students, legislators—the people of Russia would have the opportunity to see at firsthand the boundless advantages which a free-enterprise system, founded on the bedrock of representative government, has to offer. In this program, however, extreme care must be exercised. Under no circumstances should a bona fide exchange program be permitted to become a means for infiltration of our borders by Soviet agents.

"3. With the change of our emphasis in cold war policy toward the Soviet Union outlined in recommendations 1 and 2, designed to dispel the fear which exists between the peoples of the United States and the U.S.S.R., and to create a climate of confidence, should also come increased willingness upon our part to meet as often as possible with leaders of Iron Curtain countries, or the Soviet Union. Despite the record of broken promises which prior Soviet leaders have left in the wake of prior talks, our failure to join and participate in top-level conferences—even summit conferences—provides powerful ammunition for the Soviet propaganda machine. It eases the task of Red information agencies to picture the United States to the people of the Soviet Union—along with other lands throughout the world—as unwilling to discuss peaceful solutions of world problems.

"The committee is well acquainted with the desire of all Americans to attain and maintain a lasting world peace, a peace secured in dignity and made lasting through mutual trust. However, our Government's failure to show a willingness to confer with Soviet leaders on the peaceful solution of world tensions is being broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the world as indicative of our aggressive intentions. With a weapon such as this at the command of expert Communist propagandists, we are constantly losing ground in our effort to maintain sympathy for and understanding of our international objectives.

"4. I recommend that our policy of attempting to create full-fledged modern armies in small underdeveloped countries be terminated, and that our assistance be confined to a realistic technical-aid effort. This move would be designed to create a broad base of trained native peoples, a base which would attract private investment capital, or which—at the very least—could properly utilize any government-to-government capital which might later be made available for development purposes. An approach of this type would strengthen the economic stability of the country, while at the same time allowing the country to maintain its prestige and self-respect by standing on its own feet.

"By encouraging underdeveloped countries to maintain military forces far beyond their capabilities to support, we are actually creating conditions tailor made for the advance of communism.

"As the Comptroller General noted in his report to Congress on an examination of the military assistance program on March 31, 1957, the extensions of arms aid to a number of nations has not always been motivated by purely military considerations, nor has the impact of this aid been properly evaluated in advance, or in conjunction with, its availability.

"'The military force objectives presently approved for United States support in certain allied countries are not always realistic in terms of recipient country manpower and financial capabilities, are not always mutually acceptable to the countries concerned, and are not always motivated by military considerations (report, supra, p. 2).'

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"'In a number of countries the United States has programed and is delivering military equipment in excess of that which can be effectively absorbed and utilized by the recipients, at their existing stage of development. The recipients either have not been able to use the aid furnished because of their financial and economic incapacity and their manpower limitations or they have not desired to use the assistance for the purposes intended by the United States (report, supra, p. 3).'

"As it now stands the hasty application of great amounts of economic and military aid to newly independent, underdeveloped nations is often working to our extreme disadvantage.

"First, in those nations whose economies are not sufficiently developed to maintain a military force of the capabilities desired by United States advisers, the gap in national income created by heavy military expenditures is sought to be filled by America extending so-called defense-support assistance.

"As administered in the past, this type of economic aid has frequently failed to trickle down to the masses. In a number of countries, particularly in the Middle East, and southeast Asia, living standards remain visibly unchanged for the great majority of people despite large United States expenditures there. There are in these countries, two economic strata—the very rich, and the miserably poor.

"The latter are, without exception, the object of constant Soviet propagandizing. United States policies, requiring the maintenance of large standing military forces, are blamed for low living standards. 'Capitalistic' America is also blamed for lining the pockets of the rich while caring little for the poor.

"In these same countries, as the body of my report demonstrates, the wealthy pay little or nothing in the way of income taxes, or, for that matter, all taxes as compared to us. Thus, as the whole burden of defense and economic growth in a given nation may be ours, so is the blame for that nation's poverty heaped upon our shoulders."

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"While I am convinced that the implementation of these recommendations would result in a much higher degree of success than a continuation of our present policies, it is not my view that they will work miracles overnight. On the contrary, the 'new look' I have advocated should take place concurrently with the maintenance of a strong defense by the United States. We must not lower our guard. A modern, efficient Defense Establishment is the best guarantee we have against any attempt on the part of would-be world conquerors to follow the path of aggression instead of peaceful international competition.

"In essence, the burden of my recommendations involves the maximum use of the single greatest resource our Nation possesses—not dollars, but the tremendous abundance of both material and spiritual advantages which freedom has to offer.

"America is the world's greatest showplace for the accomplishments of a free economy dedicated to providing a free people with the highest standard of living in the world.

"With such an exhibit of the fruits of our labors, it should be readily apparent that, in comparison with our growth over the relatively same period of time, Russia's advance has been accomplished despite, rather than because of, the dictates of socialist theories, and perhaps owes its success more to the hard work of her people than to any tenet or theory set forth by Lenin, Marx, or Stalin.

"Let us open wide the doors to our showplace; let us welcome all who would come to see—to compare—to imitate.

"Let us lay the foundation for trade and a restoration of commercial contacts between the East and the West.

"Let us not apologize for our abundance, but, rather, let us display it to the peoples of the world as an example of what hard work can achieve for all who are willing to work.

"Let us be honest enough to caution those who are to choose between socialism and freedom that such miracles are not wrought overnight, but must come gradually and through self-help.

"Above all other things, let us not fear an honest competition with Soviet communism.

"The approach I have outlined involves only the realization that it is time for our country to choose a more advantageous ground upon which to wage this most critical battle of the cold war.

"We have been confronted in recent years by what amounts to nothing more than an all-out effort on the part of the Soviets to defeat the democratic nations by peaceful means. Rather than see victory go to them by default, I urge our Government to pour its full effort into a massive fight for the minds of men—all men, everywhere."

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, for the past few weeks I have carefully studied all aspects of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating to that convention.

I have read with great care the extensive testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Committee's reports both in 1965 and 1967. I have studied the President's messages and have followed the speeches Senators have made, together with the floor debate, on this extremely important matter.

I have withheld final judgment until I have had the opportunity to study thoroughly all the evidence and all the views of our Nation's most knowledgeable persons.

In arriving at my decision, I have been impelled by one paramount consideration, and one consideration only: Is this convention in the best interests of America?

Many factors—diplomatic, military, political, historic, judicial, and others—enter into the decision as to what constitutes the best interests of America. After evaluating all these factors, and after weighing their relative importance, I have concluded that, in balance, ratification of this Consular Convention and its protocol is in the best interests of our country. For this reason, and for reasons which I will subsequently outline, I have decided to vote for ratification.

HISTORY OF THE CONVENTION

Mr. President, when the United States first established relations with the U.S.S.R. in 1933, an exchange of letters between President Roosevelt and Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov stated that it had been agreed that a consular convention would be negotiated "immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries."

Soviet consulates were then opened in New York and San Francisco in 1934 and in Los Angeles in 1937. In 1941 we opened a consulate in Vladivostok. But in 1948, the Soviet Government closed its consulates in the United States and shortly after that we closed our consulate in Vladivostok. Before these consulates were closed, we had requested and received permission to open a consulate in Leningrad, but we have never done so.

Although there have been these consulates in the Soviet Union and the United States, there has never been negotiated a consular convention between the two countries. It was only many years later that negotiations were started.

At the 1955 Geneva Summit Conference, President Eisenhower's proposal for "concrete steps" to lower "the barriers which now impede the opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world" led to a relaxation by the Bulganin-Khrushchev regime of tight Stalinist controls. This in turn led to greatly increased American travel to the U.S.S.R.

As more and more American travelers went to the Soviet Union, we began to realize that we needed to protect American citizens by negotiating an explicit consular convention with the U.S.S.R. At the Camp David talks in 1959, Secretary of State Christian Herter proposed such a treaty to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Drafts were exchanged in early 1960, but there was little further activity, because of subsequent strains in United States-Soviet relations, until September 1963, when formal negotiations began in Moscow.

After 8 months of hard negotiations, the convention and the protocol were signed on June 1, 1964, and submitted to the Senate by the President on June 12, 1964.

PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION AND PROTOCOL

The convention regulates the consular affairs of each country in the territory of the other and the treatment to be accorded to consular officials and employees. The convention covers such matters as the status of a consular establishment, the duties and functions of consular officers, and the rights, privileges, and immunities of the consular personnel of each country stationed in the territory of the other country.

As such, the convention in effect establishes the ground rules for the two countries—ground rules on setting up a kind of business office in each other's country.

However, the convention does not itself authorize the opening of consulates or specify the number which may be opened. It merely provides the legal framework for the activity of the accredited consular officers, whether attached to an Embassy or to consulates which might be opened as a result of separate negotiations.

The convention follows the pattern of other bilateral consular conventions to which the United States is a party, formalizing what is normally a routine bilateral exchange of officials. But this particular convention and protocol is distinctive in several ways.

It contains two provisions relating to the protection of American citizens, which would be operative immediately, as follows:

First. It requires the receiving state to notify consular officers of the sending state of the arrest or detention of a national of the sending state within 1 to 3 days from the time of arrest or detention depending on conditions of communication.

Second. It provides that consular officers of the sending state may visit and communicate with a national of the sending state who is under arrest or detained in custody by the receiving state within 2 to 4 days of the arrest or detention, depending on his location, and on a continuing basis thereafter.

The convention also states, for the first time in any consular agreement to which the United States is a party, that consular officers and employees of the sending state will be immune from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state. This provision extends to consular officers and personnel the same unrestricted immunity from criminal prosecution that embassy officers and employees now enjoy. In other consular conventions to which the United States is a party, the immunity granted consular officers and employees has generally been limited to misdemeanors. The proposed convention extends the immunity to felonies.

These immunity provisions do not go into effect automatically. They only become effective when consulates are agreed upon as a result of separate negotiations and are subsequently established.

The proposed convention contains provisions designed to guard against possible abuse of this criminal immunity. The receiving state has the explicit right to declare consular officers persona non grata and consular employees unacceptable. Moreover, all persons enjoying immunity from criminal jurisdiction are obliged to respect the laws and regulations of the receiving states, including traffic regulations.

The convention also contains a number of measures to safeguard against the danger of subversion. If, after ratification of the convention, the United States agrees to the opening of a Soviet consulate here, the officers and employees of the consulate will be subject to the same screening and entry controls as officers and employees of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. They will also be subject to the same travel restrictions as those which apply to diplomatic personnel.

Finally, the convention may be terminated on 6 months' notice by either party.

From this brief sketch of the provisions of the convention and protocol, it is evident that this is an unusual treaty, rather than a routine agreement relating to consulates.

This treaty represents the first bilateral agreement we have ever negotiated with the Soviet Union. It is the first between the world's two superpowers.

The proposed Consular Convention is the first between our country and a country which has been our adversary in the tense, trying, and costly cold war of some 20 long years—a country which has been supplying arms, aircraft, missiles, oil, and other weapons and material to the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong—the same weapons and material used against American troops in our effort to stem Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

It is no wonder, then, that so much concern and objections have been expressed over the question of the treaty's ratification.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Many Americans are opposed to the timing of this treaty. They feel it should be deferred until settlement of the Vietnam war. They point out that the United States is now engaged in a bloody conflict in Vietnam with an enemy which is being substantially equipped and aided by the Soviet Union.

They question the wisdom of our making any kind of conciliatory gesture—or any gesture that may be so interpreted—toward the Soviet Union, as long as American blood continues to be shed in that conflict. Why should we render any degree of respectability to a regime which continues to mobilize world opinion against us, to send massive infusions of military aid to our enemies, and which has called us "worldwide public enemy No. 1?" they ask.

These points are indeed well worth considering. For while it may be pointed out that the monolithic international Communist partnership is a thing of the past as a result of the Sino-Soviet split, they are nevertheless firmly united against all Western forms of democracy and are actively abetting Hanoi's aggression.

Moreover, there are absolutely no indications that ratification of this treaty will halt the flow of Soviet war material to Hanoi; nor is there any evidence that ratification will bring an end to the cold war.

As valid as these points may be, the real question is: Should Soviet aid to North Vietnam and her various differences with us blind us and prevent our two nations from arriving at agreements on any and all matters, especially those more beneficial to us—and at the same time affording a relaxation of tensions between our two nations, no matter how slight? Are the best interests of our country served by adamant and stubborn refusal to meet on common grounds whenever such is possible?

We have learned, and learned well, since World War II, that grave crises between the U.S.S.R. and the nations of the West occur with grievous and calculated regularity. At the same time, we have also learned that the road to the mitigation of these tensions and, eventually, world peace, cannot be built by prolonging and deepening the cold war, but rather by painstakingly and patiently searching for areas on which we might find mutual agreement.

The pending convention and protocol is, to me, a symbol—admittedly a small one—of the willingness of the two countries to separate emotion and ideological differences from interests which are basic and compatible to both. The treaty is not so much a gesture of conciliation, as it is an agreement that the mutual interests of both countries will be advanced, however slightly, by the establishment of missions designed to serve nondiplomatic interests.

Like the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Civil Air Agreement, and the Treaty on Outer Space, the convention represents another small, tentative step to reduction of world tensions, an experiment in cooperation between our two countries.

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF TREATY TO OTHER PROPOSALS

Arguments have been advanced that ratification of the Consular Convention would be used as an opening wedge and prelude to proposals relaxing East-West trade relations.

Mr. President, I fully appreciate this argument. But I am not convinced that ratification of this pending treaty will create an irresistible momentum leading to the hasty consideration and adoption of the East-West trade bill. It is tantamount to saying that because we did ratify the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Civil Air Agreement, we will be forced to pass the East-West trade bill. This is absurd.

Proposals such as the East-West trade bill, while affecting our overall relations with the Communist bloc, deal with a completely different subject.

I am fully aware of the fact that passage of the East-West trade bill might result in the transshipment of strategic war supplies to North Vietnam via Soviet Russia—material that would be used directly against American troops. It might also result in the shipment of so-called nonstrategic goods to the Soviet Union, thus enabling her to free her manufacturing potential to produce war supplies for use in the Vietnam war. I am confident that this East-West trade proposal will be carefully and thoroughly considered on its individual merits.

I am equally confident that each new

measure proposing some degree of relaxation of East-West tensions will be done with a long memory and a healthy skepticism about Communist intentions, and a determined vigilance to maintain all safeguards essential to America's long-term security interests.

SOVIET TRUSTWORTHINESS

Mr. President, I am well aware of the long record of treaty violations by the Soviet Union. The catalog of such violations is far too long to repeat here. They may be found in a study prepared by the Department of State in 1961, entitled "Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations."

Because of this background of untrustworthiness, many Americans rightfully raise the question, Can the Soviets be relied upon to observe the terms of the proposed Consular Convention and protocol?

A careful analysis of the history of United States-Soviet relations shows that Soviet violations of international agreements and treaties took place largely during the Stalin period. Despite its earlier record of repeated violations of international obligations, the Soviet Government—particularly in recent years—has increasingly found it to be in its interest to live up to its commitments.

It has been found that the Soviet Union is a party to a number of multilateral and bilateral agreements which it has not violated. Among the most important of these agreements are the Austrian State Treaty, 1955; the Antarctic Treaty, 1959; and the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 1963.

Treaties between sovereign governments are negotiated on the basis of mutual self-interest, not as rewards for good conduct or as evidence of good faith. According to the most knowledgeable persons in this field, there are a number of areas in which the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union coincide; the problem is to carefully delineate and thoroughly explore them before even embarking on exploratory talks.

Examples of such areas of mutual self-interest are those embodied in the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Treaty on Outer Space, and the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons—which is still under discussion. Each of these agreements either has built-in safeguards or is self-enforcing.

Similarly, the proposed Consular Convention was carefully drafted to provide protections against abuse. As I pointed out earlier, if the Soviet Union should violate its terms, the United States could suspend it or, with 6 months' notice, terminate it. If a Soviet consulate should be opened later on in this country and its personnel violate our laws or the standards of behavior we would expect, we could expel them or close the consulate.

THE THREAT OF ESPIONAGE

Mr. President, every American is rightly concerned about the increased opportunity for espionage on the part of Soviet agents if a Soviet consulate is eventually opened here. Consequently, the convention could present a threat to the security of America.

Without a doubt, the Communists are most adept and vigorous at using their diplomatic posts as centers of espionage activities. I am equally certain that they would not hesitate to use their American consular offices in the same way.

However, as I mentioned earlier, the treaty neither authorizes the opening of consulates nor specifies their number, so that Senate ratification will not automatically result in the establishment of even one Soviet consulate. The proposed convention merely provides the legal framework for their operation if and when they are established as a result of new negotiations after ratification.

It is my understanding that there are presently no formal proposals or plans pending for the opening of consular offices in either country. If, at a later date, such negotiations were initiated, we have the assurance of the Department of State that members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other concerned Senators would be fully consulted, along with the municipal authorities of any American city under consideration as a consular site.

We are also assured that, in the event a Soviet consulate were established in this country, the United States would insist that the number of Soviet consular personnel enjoying immunities under the convention be strictly limited, and in no case would it exceed the number of Americans to receive identical immunities in the consulate we would open in the U.S.S.R.

According to the Department of State, the total number of Soviet citizens now enjoying full diplomatic immunity in the United States is 452. If a consular office were opened, this would add another 10 or 15. Thus, the small scale of the threat is readily apparent. Indeed, as Mr. Hoover himself has said on this point a few weeks ago:

> The F.B.I. can definitely handle any additional responsibilities brought about by the approval of the treaty. . . . The (extra) expenditure in funds . . . could be absorbed within our current appropriation.

In addition the United States would also be authorized by the treaty to screen the personnel of a Soviet consulate before agreeing to their assignment here. The screening process makes it much easier to scrutinize the activities of political agents who enter the country as registered representatives of a foreign government than when they enter clandestinely.

We are also authorized by the treaty to prevent them from travelling to sensitive areas in the country and to expel them if they prove to be undesirable. We could close a Soviet consulate in the United States whenever we wished, and we could cancel the Consular Convention—as I said earlier—on 6 months' notice.

All of the treaty's provisions, of course, cut both ways. If Soviet consular personnel are eventually allowed into the United States, we would, reciprocally, send to the Soviet Union an equal number of such personnel.

Given the closed character of Soviet society, however, it seems evident that the United States stands to gain far more information from consular surveillance than does the Soviet Union. As conditions stand today, our sources of information within the U.S.S.R. are very limited. I believe that the more openings we have into the Soviet Union to shed light on the operations and dealings of the Soviet Government, the better.

DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY FOR CONSULAR PERSONNEL

Mr. President, besides the fear of the increased threat to our internal security, many of our citizens have expressed a deep concern about the treaty provisions granting full diplomatic immunity from criminal prosecution to the consular staffs of both countries. They consider this a dangerous carte blanche for Soviet espionage and other forms of subversion.

The United States has consular conventions with many other countries, they point out. None of them includes a provision granting full diplomatic immunity from criminal prosecution to consular staffs. Why, then, should such a provision be included in this proposed convention with the Soviet Union?

As I have already noted, in terms of the number of additional personnel involved, the screening of Soviet personnel, and travel restrictions we could impose on them, the risks involved in this grant of diplomatic immunity appear to be few.

Equally important, we favor the diplomatic immunity clause because we feel that it is important to have the same protection for American consular officers and employees in the Soviet Union.

Since 1946, 31 Americans at our Embassy in Moscow have been expelled by the Soviets, most often on allegations of espionage. Without diplomatic immunity from criminal prosecution, our consular employees could be jailed or suffer even harsher punishment on similar trumped-up charges.

Furthermore, whenever a Soviet citizen is arrested in this country for espionage, Soviet authorities might be tempted to take retaliatory action against an American consular employee who is not accorded full diplomatic immunity.

Other governments similarly protect their consular officials and employees serving in the U.S.S.R.: for example, the British and the Japanese recently negotiated consular conventions with the Soviet Union containing immunity provisions modeled after those in the U.S.S.R. agreement.

While this immunity provision would prevent our taking punitive action against a Soviet official caught spying, we can expel him from the country, suspend or close the consulate altogether as countermeasures.

EXTENSION OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY TO CONSULAR PERSONNEL OF OTHER COUNTRIES

Mr. President, even those who concur with the diplomatic immunity provisions of the pending convention are concerned about its portent for the future.

The United States now has 35 agreements in force with other countries which require us to extend most-favored-

nation treatment to consular officers, and in some cases to consular employees. Twenty-seven of these countries—including Yugoslavia and Rumania—now have consular offices here, with a total of about 577 personnel.

Under the most-favored-nation clauses of the treaties we have with these countries, if those nations agree to grant immunity from criminal jurisdiction to the 424 American consular personnel stationed there, the United States would have to extend the same treatment to their people here.

The Department of State recently asked our embassies in these 27 countries to estimate whether their host nation would ask for most-favored-nation treatment. The replies indicated that, at most, 11 might make such requests; 290 people would be involved and, of this number, only a few are from Communist nations. The 290 figure also represents a very small proportion of the estimated total of 9,400 foreign diplomatic officers, members of their families, and employees, who now enjoy full diplomatic immunity in the United States.

PROTECTION OF AMERICANS TRAVELING IN THE U.S.S.R.

Among the most important and significant provisos in the Soviet Consular Convention are those which permit the United States promptly to protect and assist its citizens when they are arrested and detained in the Soviet Union. These provisions, which I cited earlier, require that American consular officials be given immediate notification and access to Americans who are accused of wrongdoing and arrested by Soviet officials.

These requirements would go into effect immediately upon ratification, even if no consulates were ever to be opened by the two countries.

Under the proposed treaty, the Russians would have to notify us within 48 hours of an arrest, and we would have continuing access after a period not to exceed 2 to 4 days. We now have no such rights.

The significance of these provisions is underscored by the fact that under Soviet law a person can be held, incommunicado, for months—without the right to notify his Embassy, without charges being lodged against him, and without the right to counsel.

Thus, under the terms of the treaty, the Soviet Union would be giving to American citizens rights far in excess of those provided under their own law to their own citizens. Moreover, the Soviet Union acquires no rights under these provisions in the United States which they do not already enjoy—rights which we could not, even if we wanted to do so, withdraw, because our Constitution requires the extension of these rights to noncitizens as well as citizens.

It is true that these rights of access, continuous communication, notification of the charge, and of counsel do not bulk large when compared to the extremely high standards of individual liberty guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. But in the context of the totalitarian Soviet legal system, under which even Soviet citizens are not granted such elementary procedural due process rights, they are, indeed, of great importance.

These rights assume even greater significance when one considers the fact that American visitors to the Soviet Union outnumber Soviet visitors to the United States by a ratio of about 18 to 1. It has been estimated that some 18,000 Americans visit the U.S.S.R. annually, and this number is expected to grow. Soviet visitors to this country, on the other hand, have remained at the 900-per-annum level in the past 5 years.

To most Americans who are accustomed to the vigilance of our courts in protecting the rights of arrested persons, it is rather difficult to accept the fact that under Soviet law access to an arrested person can be refused while the case is under investigation—for a period of weeks, months, even years.

To recall some of the more recent cases, in 1961 American student Martin Makinen was held from July 21 to September 4 before the U.S. Embassy was even notified of his detention. A more famous case involved the U-2 pilot Gary Powers, who was held incommunicado by Soviet authorities for 21 months.

Another case was that of Yale Professor Barghoorn, whose arrest in 1963 the United States learned about only after 12 days, and whom Americans officials were never permitted to see in prison. Another was the tragic case of Newcomb Mott in 1965. Nine days elapsed before any American official was allowed access to him, and then for only 1 hour. Only three other consular meetings were allowed in the next 10 weeks prior to trial. Mott was sentenced to 18 months in prison; apparently, he was in a very despondent state because of the isolation in which he had been held. He died shortly afterward in circumstances that have not yet been fully explained.

Peace Corpsman Thomas Dawson was apprehended by Soviet border guards on September 11, 1966, while gathering seashells barefoot near the Soviet-Iranian border. Our Embassy was never notified of his arrest, and it was not until September 20 that consular access was accorded.

In just the 32 months since the pending convention was signed, we know of at least 20 cases where Americans have been arrested and detained by the Soviet police. In none of these cases have we been notified of the incident or allowed to visit the American within a reasonable period of time—and certainly not within the time limits specified by the terms of the treaty.

Probably, if the pending Consular Convention and protocol had been in force, the United States could not have prevented any of these Americans from being jailed in Soviet prisons. But the standards provided by the treaty would have greatly assisted American officials in their efforts to assure them significantly more protection.

It is also important that if the convention had been in effect, it would have rendered unnecessary the repeated representations by the United States at very high political levels, in order to secure even late and limited access to our citizens. The rights of international due process which the treaty would provide should be available without question, without delay, and without the need for continuous and insistent high-level diplomacy. They should be accorded as a matter of course.

It is this very minimal standard, but nonetheless a very important one, which is sought by the provisions of the treaty.

These protections are not the only ones which would be available to all American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union. Any American who has traveled abroad will realize that there are many occasions in which they might require the assistance of a consular office.

Under the terms of the convention, consular officials would be allowed to look after the nondiplomatic transactions of their citizens. This assistance, for example, would extend to such matters as notary rights, birth and marriage certificates, wills, and travel documents.

Consular service would also provide Americans with translation help, advice about domestic laws, and assistance in personal and professional dealings with the Soviet Government or Soviet citizens.

CONVENTION IS SMALL STEP TO PEACE

Mr. President, the sole, relevant question to be asked, after thoroughly and carefully studying all of the considerations I have outlined, is: Does the proposed Consular Convention and the protocol with the Soviet Union serve the best interests of the United States? After thoughtful study of the implica tions of the pending treaty, I have concluded that it does.

I am satisfied that America's defense posture, military strength, and firm vigilance will be maintained and our security safeguarded.

I support the treaty, because although the treaty alone will not eliminate all the differences which separate the Soviet Union and the United States, it will help bring more understanding to them.

Although it will not eliminate the political harassment of American citizens by the Soviet Union, it will help reduce its incidence.

Although its ratification represents a risk, I believe that the risk is manageable.

Although the treaty is not a panacea, it does provide for the faint beginnings of increased protection of American citizens abroad. Moreover, along with the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the convention, and protocol may represent another tentative step toward the easing of tensions, and perhaps even the improvement of relations between the world's two superpowers.

This treaty is in a sense an experiment in trust which might produce sufficient mutual confidence to lead eventually to other steps toward increasing the prospect of a lasting world peace.

I do hope that the Senate will ratify the treaty.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONDALE in the chair). **The clerk will call the roll.**

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask

unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I would like to address myself for a while today to the two "good faith" reservations which I introduced in the Senate yesterday. Both of these reservations call upon the parties to the Consular Convention between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to exhibit and exemplify good faith as a condition precedent to the treaty and as a continuing condition if the treaty is to be ratified and kept in operation.

The pending reservation which will be voted on Tuesday stipulates that there will be no exchange of instruments of ratification of the convention until the Soviet Union has agreed to two conditions. It is before us, identified as "Executive Reservation No. 1." We are, therefore, calling for good faith in this instance on the part of Russia. I shall also discuss today, later in my speech, some of the reasons why I believe my second good-faith resolution should be approved, calling upon the President to notify Congress that Russian supplies of weapons and petroleum are no longer prolonging the war in Vietnam as a condition precedent to the implementation of this Consular Treaty.

The two conditions are, first, that we be allowed to distribute to the Soviet press announcements of U.S. public policy, both foreign and domestic, and answers to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press; and, second, that the Soviet Union remove restrictions on the number of U.S. press representatives permitted in that country so long as that number does not exceed the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States, and provides that no restriction of expression or movement be imposed upon our American press corps representatives in Russia which do not prevail for Russian press representatives in the United States.

Mr. President, through an inadvertence, the resolution identified as Executive Reservation No. 1, as printed in the RECORD yesterday, and as lying on the desk of Senators, is incomplete because one clause was omitted in the printing through no fault of anybody except the present speaker.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the reservation, as it will be reprinted and appear on the desks of Senators on Monday, and as proposed by its coauthors, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the reservation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE RESERVATION 1

Reservation intended to be proposed by Mr. MUNDT, DOMINICK, and HRUSKA to the resolution of ratification of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964: Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of the convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States until the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have agreed (1) to permit the distribution to the Soviet press or any segment thereof by United States diplomatic and consular officers of announcements of United States public policy, both foreign and domestic, and answers to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press, and (2) not to impose or enforce any limitation on the number of United States citizens permitted to be in the Soviet Union at any time as representatives of the United States press which would effectively reduce them below the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States, or to impose upon them any conditions of travel or objective reporting which do not prevail for Soviet press representatives within the United States."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, before I go into the particulars of these two points, I would like to comment on the atmosphere in which they are offered. During the hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee in which this Consular Convention was considered and also in the hearings on China and southeast Asia, witness after witness testified to the theory that Russia had mellowed, that it was no longer the totalitarian police state it once was. What was true, they said, in Stalin's time is no longer true under the present regime. That is, indeed, encouraging news—if true. I know one way to find out. That is to allow representatives of our press, for whom I have the highest regard for factual reporting, to examine and report on the programs of freedom throughout the Soviet Union and to permit our diplomatic officials in Russia the same opportunities to be heard and read that are enjoyed and exercised by Russia's diplomatic officials here in the United States. If the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has mellowed, then it would seem to me that they would be willing, even desirous, to observe this reservation as a quid pro quo. For few would deny that a truthful press is the bulwark of freedom and that an unencumbered and uncensored press is the enemy of totalitarianism. Has communism in Moscow mellowed, then, or has it not? Is this a new Russia or the old one in new raiment? Are they willing to accept a free press and a free discussion of public affairs or are they not? Now is the time to answer all these questions and to utilize this Consular Treaty as a proving ground to measure theory against fact.

In this regard, as a start, I propose that our press corps, and more particularly our diplomatic officers, be allowed to function within their boundaries as their Russian representatives are allowed to operate within ours. Let both sides be allowed to tell their side of the story to the people of both sides without interference. What is the opportunity for one should be the opportunity for the other. Reciprocity—full reciprocity—should be the basic characteristic of any realistic treaty between the U.S.S.R. and the United States.

If a situation should arise in which one party believes it should speak out, they should say so—as the Soviet Union did here in the United States in August of 1965 when it characterized the situation in Watts as follows—and I read the statement made by the Soviet diplomatic mission in Washington:

> There are moments when one cannot keep silent. Shocked to the depth of the soul by the monstrous massacre of the population of the Negro ghetto in Los Angeles, we are addressing these words to express our indignation, sorrow, and pain. . . .
>
> We say this because we feel and see that the carnage in Los Angeles is no isolated event. The disgraceful trail of violence against the Negro population is growing longer from year to year. And the main thing is: There is no end in sight. How long will this go on? What "Great Society" is this where people are brought to despair and then in full daylight, before the eyes of the whole world, shot by automatic rifles and machine guns. . . .
>
> The events in Los Angeles cannot but be associated in the minds of the people with the barbarous actions of the American soldiers in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Mr. President, I think I should repeat that comment made by Russian diplomatic officials in the United States because I want everyone to know just what they are saying, as part of the evidence of this "detente" about which the State Department talks so much but which it is never able to define.

Here is what the Russian diplomatic officials put out:

> The events in Los Angeles cannot but be associated in the minds of the people with the barbarous actions of the American soldiers in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Mr. President, they describe our heroic American Armed Forces in Vietnam as barbarians. I think we should note that and remember it and recall the statement was made in the United States by diplomatic personnel attached to the Russian Embassy on 16th Street, Washington, D.C.

I read on now from their statement:

> In the rumble of the blocks tumbling down in Los Angeles we hear the echo of the walls of the ancient town of Santo Domingo crumbling under the pressure of tanks. The flames flaring up over the Negro ghetto reminded us of the burning towns and villages of Vietnam. . . .

That is the end of the quotation from the statement of the diplomatic mission in the United States from Moscow.

Should the United States be equally entitled to "report" the recent riots on Red Square between the Chinese and the Russians as a "slaughter," "bloodbath," and so forth, and relate it to the innocent murders of thousands of South Vietnamese by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese? No, not really, because we have been raised in the tradition of integrity of the press as much as freedom of the press. But it is not out of line to expect our press representatives and diplomatic officers to tell the true story of what happened at Watts or in Moscow or Peking and have it printed—that is, of course, if there really is to be reciprocity between our two countries, if there really is a detente, if there really is going to be a continuing condition of amity. In other words, what is sauce for the Russian goose must not become only slop for the American gander.

Mr. President, unless we correct this treaty and plug up this deficiency, we will bow low and appease the men in Moscow without getting a quid pro quo to which we are rightfully entitled in a treaty of this kind.

If this is actually a two-way street between openminded nations, surely the Russians should exercise no objections, as we did not, to the publication in their newspapers of our interpretations of what happens in this world, as we permitted them to publish in our newspapers their heavily slanted and almost obscene observations. Furthermore, the Russians should have no objections, as we do not, to clarifications in their newspapers of what we consider inaccuracies in the reported news.

That is, if the Government of the U.S.S.R. has mellowed—if communism has changed—if we are near a detente, or have one now—certainly, Russia should be willing to accept this condition precedent—this treaty reservation. If Russia should prove unwilling to do so, the one-sided nature of this treaty's benefits should be made evident to all. We should know it now, if we are to ratify the treaty, whether this is a one-way street or not. Is this another case of allowing the Communist side every advantage while we fail to press for what is rightfully ours? For the life of me, I cannot understand it. In this perilfilled world, I can understand, but cannot accept, "Nervous Nellies"; but I can neither understand nor accept "Halfway Hannahs," when they approve policies beneficial only to the Communist half of the ideological strugggle now prevailing in this world.

But there is another and more important reason for expecting and hoping for "good faith" on the part of the Soviet Union in allowing American representatives of the press freedom of access and movement in their country—and that is my undying faith in mankind to reach agreements once they know each other.

To achieve this end, I have probably been the leading exponent of people-to-people exchanges of ideas with the longest record of support for such programs, dating back more than two decades.

I believe that our Government should encourage such activity. I backed this belief with legislation; it is on the books, known as the Smith-Mundt Act of the 80th Congress, sometimes identified as Public Law 402 of the 80th Congress. It remains on the books today. I still think it is the most lasting foundation for peace. I think that men have an inclination not to like people they do not know. I am also the author of the legislation enacted by the 80th Congress which led to the formation of UNESCO—the United Nations Educational Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

I am likewise the author of legislation which gave a permanent status, adequate appropriations, and continuing power to the Voice of America, as well as other legislation which established libraries in foreign countries, mobile motion picture programs, and low-cost books, as well as the exchange-of-people programs. Under the terms of my legislation, a great many Russians have had the privilege of coming to the United States as visitors to look around, and to return to their homeland.

But, Mr. President, I am not an advocate, and never will be, of making treaties with the U.S.S.R. which work to their advantage without providing an equal advantage to my country and the citizens of America. When we talk about the press, when we talk about what a consular officer is going to be permitted to see and hear and do in Russia, and examine the fine print of the treaty, it will be seen that we are making a very poor horse trade by failing to crank into this treaty what should be put into it concerning freedom of action of press, of observation, and of speech.

This reservation will help us accomplish the needed and necessary goal. It will help us improve relations with the people; note that I say "the people," and not necessarily the government, because I still feel we should aim toward the people in totalitarian states since their rulers and commissars give them only one side of the story—the Communist slant. It will also enable our own citizens to better understand the complexities of today's world.

To improve relations between countries we must first increase the area of agreement. To accomplish this we must first dissipate any ill will and misconceptions that exist toward us today in the Soviet Union and then build up a realistic understanding of our country. Under the present circumstances this is impossible. The constant war by the Soviet press which daily poisons Russian minds against us is probably the biggest stumbling block we encounter in our effort to prove our peaceful intentions. Access to the Russian people through their press could counteract and hopefully someday overcome this.

I deplore the fact that this consular treaty remains so completely and eloquently silent on these important matters. The reservation introduced by Senators MUNDT, HRUSKA, and DOMINICK would correct this deficiency, plug that gap, and provide a test of the sincerity which must be present if any portion of the treaty is to work successfully and in the interests of the United States.

Conversely, the American people must have the truth as to what the Soviet Union is really like. Not propaganda furnished by their government or by acquiescent or unrealistic journalists. We need the good and the bad, just as they need the facts.

We need an opportunity for American representatives of the press to function over there as responsible members of the free press function anywhere in order that they may be enabled to get the facts on which to base their reports.

To do this it is necessary that we open up all lines of communication including all shades of political opinion. No more blackballing of certain publications in Russia which dare truthfully to report unpleasant or unpopular Russian facts. No more denial of the right for any interested and legitimate correspondent to have a "permanent office" in Russia. No more 30-day visas with quick cancellations to those who may be unflattering, even though journalistically truthful, in their analysis of the Soviet Government and its leaders, its policies, and programs. A free press and truthful representation on both sides of the Iron Curtain—that is all we ask for in the proposed reservation. This we already offer them here. This, I repeat again, must be the cornerstone of understanding and eventual brotherhood of man.

Under the proposed reservation, on which we shall vote next Tuesday, we would tell the Russians, our Government, and the world whether we really believe in opening up the bridges of understanding or whether we are simply interested in a Consular Treaty to build a materialistic bridge over which increase the exportation of profitable goods to Russia, so it can further expand its exportation of arms to increase the casualty lists in Vietnam. We will vote on that reservation Tuesday, and I think it is important that we consider these facts carefully before the vote.

Under the proposed reservation our consular officers, our diplomats, our American press, radio, and TV correspondents would no longer be subject to the curious Russian description of Pravda which says:

> There is no news in the truth and no truth in the news.

It would provide, for the first time in history, that those liberties, freedom of movement, and rights of expression enjoyed now by Russian officials in the United States would be enjoyed, after ratification, by Americans in Russia. What is wrong with such a procedure?

I wish the negotiators that we sent there to write these treaties would have brought back the intention to correct the prevailing evils while yielding to the Russian Communist demands that the treaty should provide for complete immunity which they demand for their consular officers in this country, when American history records that never before in the history of this Republic have we granted any such immunity to such personnel of any country in the world.

I regret that the Senate rejected the Talmadge amendment yesterday. It would have corrected this curious concession to the Communist demands.

Mr. President, are the Russians really willing now to grant us reciprocal treatment? We shall see. Are we willing to demand it? That is the question of the hour. That is the decision we shall make when we vote on this reservation next Tuesday afternoon.

Will Senators demand the reciprocity that our State Department negotiators failed to insist upon? Or, if they did insist upon it, they did so with such a lack of competent persuasion that they brought home an empty sack.

Incidentally, this is not merely the question for next Tuesday or the question for today. This is the question of the decades since the recognition of Red Russia by Franklin Roosevelt in 1933. We never seem to demand anything in exchange for our diplomatic concession. Clothed with the power to advise and consent, is it too much to ask that the U.S. Senate demand such a concession now? Or have we so far slipped in our independent functions as the Senate of the United States that when treaties come down the trail, all we do is to consent? As Senators, we take an oath to defend the Constitution and to protect the Republic; and in that connection, in treatymaking, we should understand our function is to advise and consent—not merely recklessly and regularly to give our automatic consent.

The very fact that the Senate is spending a week or 10 days to discuss this treaty is a shocking but gratifying departure from the usual procedure, because ordinarily we are so quick to consent that we never even seem to consider our function of advising. The Constitution provides that the Senate shall advise and consent on questions of foreign policy. So on Tuesday we shall write some advice in a yea-and-nay vote. Each Senator can offer his advice as his conscience dictates; but, at least, it will be a rare occasion because Senators will be advising the State Department and the world of what they want to have happen.

I submit that this is not too much to ask. If we are to accept the major premise of the Department of State that this is the time for building bridges because we are in a detente with the Soviet Union, here is an opportunity for Russia to give evidence of its acceptance of that concept.

If it be demanded that we tell the true story of our country to our people, it seems to me to be rather imperative that we have the right of expression in Russia, and I believe that now is the time to take our case and our cause to the people of Russia as well as to the world.

If we muff the ball now, if we muffle the American trumpet now, when we have a chance to express ourselves strictly within the terms, the philosophies, and the policies of the people who wrote the treaty and who now propagandize us to accept it, then we are to blame, because the restrictions will continue to be imposed, unless we exercise our responsibilities to advise by the adoption of this reservation.

Let me turn now to my second proposed good-faith resolution—the one we have agreed to vote on after 6 hours' debate on Wednesday next.

My second good-faith resolution is jointly introduced by Senators MUNDT, MILLER, MURPHY, TOWER, COTTON, HRUSKA, and CURTIS. It reads as follows:

> Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this Convention should be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force, until the President determines and reports to the Congress that (1) it is no longer necessary to assign members of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam or (2) the removal of members of the Armed Forces of the United States from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union."

Mr. President, in my opinion, this resolution, in the nature of a reservation establishing as a condition precedent to the activization and operation of this treaty the simple but important fact that the President of the United States must first notify Congress in writing that the sending of Soviet arms and military supplies to their Communist comrades in North Vietnam is not prolonging the war and delaying or preventing the return to the United States of the members of the American Armed Forces serving in Vietnam, is the most important and significant reservation upon which we shall vote, and I believe that students of history, looking backward from the vantage point of a distant tomorrow, will say that this resolution of reservation is the most significant and far-reaching one upon which the U.S. Senate has ever in American history been permitted to vote; and that in this rollcall, we will be writing history, and will be setting precedent; and when it is concluded, we shall have taken a big step toward shortening or lengthening the war in Vietnam by the manner in which we vote and by which we express or withhold our advice.

Our decision on that resolution, Mr. President, so directly tied as it is to the prospects for peace in Vietnam and the size of our American casualty lists of the future, will be voted upon in a Senate rollcall, as I say, late on Wednesday afternoon, following 6 hours of debate, so that Senators may have an opportunity to discuss it, to debate it, to speak on it, and to give their reasons for opposing or supporting the resolution.

I submit that this is in fact a good-faith resolution, because it gives us in the U.S. Senate a chance to demonstrate, by our votes and our voices, our desire to keep faith with 500,000 American boys now fighting freedom's war in far-off Vietnam.

Mr. President, taking every argument of this administration, and every plea by the State Department at face value, this Consular Treaty, if ratified, is presumed to give some extra degree of comfort and convenience or safety to those among the 18,000 Americans traveling for pleasure or for profit in Russia every year who get in difficulty with the law.

The hard, demonstrable fact—not contrived out of the imagination of the senior Senator from South Dakota, but as reported by the testimony of the State Department—is that an average of nine Americans out of the 18,000 each year get in trouble with the police in Russia.

I would like to help those nine Americans. I think that if they have the financial means to visit Russia, whether they go there to gain information or pleasure, or to seek profit—there is nothing wrong with those motives—if they get in trouble with the law, that it would be a good idea if we could do something to be helpful.

I must say I am disappointed at the kind of assistance the State Department would provide. All the proposed treaty says is, if one of those nine gets in trouble, he shall have a right to notify the consular office that he is in jail. The only other thing it says is that after the consular officer learns he is in jail, he shall have a right to visit with him in his Russian jail, a chance to talk. It may be through the screen of a prison cage, it may be under the hot light of one of those torturous inventions they have over there for blazing out the truth, that they may confer by themselves; but that is all. Nothing in the treaty says they are going to get him out of jail. Nothing in the treaty says he shall have a fair trial. Nothing in the treaty says he can present his case to the public and the press, to try to mobilize public opinion behind him. He can talk with his consular officer. Only that and nothing more.

Well, for what it is worth, there it is. The treaty sponsors do not claim anything more than that. That is all they have written into these so-called safety features.

It is on that flimsy evidence that they build their case to adopt this unprecedented treaty, with unlimited immunity extended to nationals of every country establishing a consular office in the United States.

I want to help these nine troubled and traveling American tourists, Mr. President, but I cannot escape the conviction that somebody around here ought to be paying a little more attention to the problems and perils of 500,000 Americans in uniform, risking their lives in Vietnam. I think that is important, too; and their problems are genuine. Their problems are real. Theirs are problems of survival.

Mr. President, the weapons supplied by the Soviet Union to North Vietnam are killing more than nine Americans every week—probably every day—as against the nine American tourists per year in Russia for whom we would like to do something. Because they have the wherewithal to travel overseas, we would fix it up so they can have a conversation with their consular officer.

I think we should get this thing into proportion. I think we ought to look behind the letters written to us by the Assistant Secretary of State—which some Senators are sending out to their constituents and saying, "This is Biblical truth."

I have read those letters, Mr. President. I would be ashamed to send them to my constituents, because I think my constituents are astute enough to see that that letter itself evades the basic issues and is an incomplete and inadequate report. The evidence pounded into this CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the last week and for the next week and perhaps longer will demonstrate the nature of the inadequacy and the deficiencies of these State Department letters they send out to defend the treaty.

Mr. President, the proposed consular treaty, we should all keep in mind—and an increasingly large number of private citizens in this country, I am happy to say, are learning to understand the issues and to discuss than with their Senators—is with the specific country, Communist Russia, that today is supplying every sophisticated weapon being used by our enemy in Vietnam to do three things.

First. To prolong the war. I have challenged the supporters of this treaty since the beginning of the hearing to point to any piece of evidence, however small, no matter how illusory, which would show that this treaty could shorten the war.

We can prove the opposite hypothesis on the record. It is going to increase the availability of Soviet arms to the North Vietnamese; and I have not been able to convince myself that, by increasing the capacity of the enemy to fight, we are ever going to be able to shorten the war.

Second. Communist Russia is supplying the North Vietnamese with every sophisticated weapon and virtually all of the petroleum used by our enemy in Vietnam—materiel without which they cannot fight a modern war. They are supplying them with all of those supplies needed to kill our brave American boys who are fighting your battle and mine over there, for whom I think we should pay more consideration in our zest to help nine traveling Americans in Russia every year.

We take chances with their likelihood of getting back alive and well and whole.

Third. It is expanding our rapidly increasing casualty lists which already have reached appalling or alarming figures of over 8,000 dead and total casualties of over 50,000 men and boys who were sent there by the very Government now pleading with the U.S. Senators to embrace the Russians with this treaty.

Mr. President, this kind of kill and kiss policy, it seems to me, is not compatible with the Christian concepts of this Republic.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Is the Senator aware of the new casualty figures which were published this morning?

Mr. MUNDT. I am sorry to say that I am not.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. During the past week the American casualties in Vietnam totaled 1,617.

That would mean on that basis if the war were to continue throughout this year that the American casualties in Vietnam would be double or more than double the 35,000 casualties which this Nation suffered last year.

Mr. MUNDT. I am certainly happy to have the Senator provide the up-to-date facts for the RECORD, because he serves on a committee which has access to those facts. It seems to me that it simply underscores the severity of the problems we confront.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Senator mentioned a moment ago that a multitude of sophisticated weapons which are being supplied by the Russians to the North Vietnamese is lengthening the war.

Mr. MUNDT. That is my sincere conviction.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Does the Senator concur with the view of the Senator from Virginia that a long war is to the distinct advantage of Russia?

Mr. MUNDT. Of course it is, because they recognize that they have us involved in a war which is not only expensive and costly but is also a war concerning which there is a growing division of American support. As they listen to divisive debates about our part in this war, as they watch the protests on the street, and as they read about the meetings on campuses, I am convinced that these Communist warlords can delude themselves into the belief that if they continue the war for a long time, enough American opinion in opposition to the war will develop to convince the President that he must quit the war effort, even by defeat.

I think this is their hope and their expectation.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Is it not correct to say that while the Americans are suffering casualties—as they did last week to the extent of 1,617 casualties—the Soviet Union is not suffering one single casualty in North Vietnam?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is precisely correct. They take the supplies which we send them so freely now and fabricate them into whatever their industrial economy requires. This releases their big industrial complex to manufacture the war goods which they send to Vietnam.

They do not lose men, and they certainly do not lose prestige.

The United States must be losing something prestigewise when, after 5 long years of war, we stand before the world unable to win a contest against half a country—not a whole country, but against divided Vietnam, against an agrarian country, not an industrial country.

We stand as presumably the strongest country in the world which, after 5 years, has not been able to move forward to victory in a country which lacks a single industrial complex. They cannot build a plane. They cannot build a tank. They cannot build a modern antiaircraft gun, and they cannot build a missile.

What must the rest of the world wonder about the military power of this great giant of freedom which, after 5 years, stands there frustrated in despair and unable to defeat such a country?

I think I can answer the question of the Senator, and give the reason why this startling new casualty statistic has been provided.

In the last 4 weeks, while the State Department and the administration have been trying to sell us the idea that we should sit down and make love to the Russians in this Consular Treaty, two things have happened in Vietnam which have increased these casualties.

First, the Communists have added to the supplies that they are already shipping to their Communist comrades in Vietnam their most modern, up-to-date, effective helicopters. They had not sent them there previously. They are sending them there now because the helicopter activity that we have waged against the North Vietnamese has been among the most spectacular and effective activities in our entire conduct of the war.

The Russians therefore are now helping them by providing helicopters, and our casualty lists are beginning to show the results.

Mr. President, another reason is that within the same period of time the Russians, for the first time, have shipped out from their industrial complex in Russia to their Communist comrades in North Vietnam their new 140-millimeter ground-to-ground missiles which, within the last 10 days or 2 weeks, were flung at us by surprise and killed so many of our boys in South Vietnam, and also killed our allies among the South Vietnamese civilians and soldiers. It is a devastating new weapon employed by the North Vietnamese for the first time. They get it exclusively from Russia.

So, we should have the facts in the record. We should not just be deluded by the sweetness and light comments of the State Department that tell us: "What is wrong with the Consular Treaty?"

Mr. President, we could debate that. It has its merits and its demerits in a period of peace. We could debate that dispassionately at a time when we are not losing American lives every day in a foreign country from weapons supplied by a country with which we are expected to make this consular concession. However, we must face up to the facts as they are and consider this treaty in the world in which we live and in relationship with the war in which we are engaged.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the Senator has been making a splendid statement. As I understand it, the idea and the tenor of the reservation which he is discussing now is that there should be some reciprocity in this business of ratifying, advising, and consenting to this treaty.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HRUSKA. It is thought by the Senator from South Dakota, and also by the Senator from Nebraska, who is a cosponsor of that reservation, that if we are doing something for the other side, the other side ought to be doing something for us.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HRUSKA. And it would not be at all dishonorable to see to it that there is some reciprocity.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HRUSKA. I have listened with interest to the latest statement of the Senator. It is one of my indications that it is not an open door, as was described by the speaker at the Fulton, Mo., College, Westminster College, on March 6, when it was said:

> It is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relations with the people of Europe, a period of new engagements, and I believe this period can see the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the open door.

But what the Senator from South Dakota has said does not describe a period of open door or any period of transition.

The state of the Union message has similar language relating to this mellow business.

> Our relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are also in transition. Our objective is not to continue the cold war but to end it.

Those are the words of the Chief Executive of this country. He also said:

> We are shaping a new future of enlarged partnership in nuclear affairs, in economic and technical cooperation and treaty negotiations and political consultations and in working together with the governments and peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

In still another speech not too long ago, before the Editorial Writers Association, the President said:

> We do not intend to let our differences on Vietnam or elsewhere prevent us from exploring all opportunities. We want the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe to know that we and our allies will

> go step by step with them as far as they are willing to advance.

Based on what the Senator from South Dakota has said, there is no indication that the Soviet Union wishes to advance, nor has it advanced except in a way to attempt to bring about our military and psychological defeat in Vietnam; and that certainly is true of their beefing up of the military supplies, the armament, and the materiel, and more recently the helicopters.

I call the attention of the Senator from South Dakota to language contained in the New York Times on October 16, 1966, referring to the President's speech, in New York, to the National Conference of Editorial Writers, on October 7, 1966. Nine days later, the New York Times reported, in a dispatch written by Raymond H. Anderson, from Moscow:

> Leonard S. Breshnev, the Soviet Communist Party leader, rebuffed today, as a strange and persistent delusion, the hope expressed by President Johnson that closer Soviet-United States cooperation was possible despite tensions over the war in Vietnam. The United States must stop bombing North Vietnam and end its aggression before relations can be improved, this Soviet leader declared.

Does language such as that, unqualified in nature, lead the Senator from South Dakota to waver in any way from his idea that there is no mellowing of the Soviet Union?

Mr. MUNDT. Of course not. It is difficult to make apparent to the American public the hard, blunt, bloody fact that the Soviets, by their very utterances, are telling us what they propose to do to our Christian civilization, to our freedoms, and to our soldiers in Vietnam with the same direct approach that Hitler wrote in his "Mein Kampf."

We now have a new generation of spokesmen on the other end of the Avenue who are making the same mistake that Chamberlain made with his umbrella. Having read the book, they said, "It sounds awful bad. He can't mean it."

But take the words of the Communists themselves. Just yesterday, Kosygin, in his latest attack on our country so far as I am aware—something else may have come over the wires today—pointed out that he believes that peace negotiations are not making progress in Vietnam because of the U.S. bombing. He also charged us with violating the truce period by moving our equipment into place.

Mr. HRUSKA. In his declaration last October, Breshnev was not bashful about saying what he would do by way of quid pro quo.

The Senator from South Dakota is far too modest in his original reservation, when all he asks for is reciprocity in the matter of representatives of the press. Yet, a leader of the other great power in the world says, "Let's not fool ourselves into thinking that our relationships can improve until you do as we say—to wit, get out of Vietnam, stop your bombing in North Vietnam."

Mr. MUNDT. Precisely.

Mr. HRUSKA. It seems to me that we should get it out of our heads. There are many other evidences that the Russians have not mellowed—and I shall go into that matter in detail on Monday or Tuesday next—that show they have, on the contrary, become more vicious, more demanding, and more unyielding, rather than having mellowed.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator for his contribution. As usual, he has utilized his precise capacity to point up the facts which bear so vitally on this tremendously important decision.

Mr. President, we must remember a few aspects of this matter as we proceed to the voting period, as we face up to the moment of truth, which in my opinion represents the most serious, far-reaching vote that Senators will cast in any Senate rollcall this year. I have been in the Congress 28 years, and I cannot think of very many more important matters that have been considered in that time compared with our votes on the proposed resolutions of reservation and on the treaty itself.

I wish to point out that this treaty condones the complete and totally unprecedented immunity provisions because the Communists insisted on putting them in. Without the inclusion of those immunity provisions, the Russians would not sign the treaty.

But even then—and even now—Russia has not ratified this treaty. The State Department came to our Committee on Foreign Relations and expressed the hope that they could get the treaty through the committee and through the Senate in a single week. The chairman stated, according to the newspapers, that he believed it would pass in a few days. This occurred last January. Those of us who raised some question, those of us who have some doubts, those of us who really believe that the advice function of our senatorial responsibilities in foreign relations is fully as significant as the consent function, refused to be stampeded. So, from January we are moving to this period in March, when the treaty is finally before the Senate. And the facts are getting out to the public, and that is what we wanted to have happen.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MUNDT. I am happy to yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. I have heard reference made on many occasions in the last few days to the immunity clause. Would the Senator spell out for me exactly what that means?

Mr. MUNDT. I shall be happy to do that, because it has been a source of great concern. It was the subject of a brief debate—altogether too brief debate—on the Senate floor yesterday, when four or five Senators were seeking to be heard on the subject, and we had run out of the generous allocation of 30 minutes of time for discussing whether or not, for the first time in American history, we were going to grant diplomatic immunity to consular officers.

It would be bad enough and I would find many things wrong with this immunity provision if we were talking about such a provision with respect to great friendly allies like England or Canada or West Germany. I cannot convince myself that consular officials from any country should have a right to come here and commit murder and rape and espionage and sabotage, and be immune. Why should they have so many more privileges and immunities and protections than American citizens?

But it is worse when you single out for this unprecedented gesture, this spectacular concession, the Communists in Russia, at the very time their efforts and their supplies and their military support in the direction of continuing the war in Vietnam are the only things that keep the war continuing there. It would also mean the establishment of a precedent to be followed by others under the most favored nations clause. How is the world going to interpret the granting of that concession to the Russian arsenal for equipping our fighting enemy?

I sometimes wake up in the night shuddering about what the ratification of this treaty, without a reservation, will do psychologically to our friends who are fighting with us in this war—and there are not very many of them. But we applaud every nation which has sent us a soldier or a nurse or a doctor.

I am thinking now, for example, about the little country of Thailand. We think we are making a sacrifice in this war—and we are. Thailand has, however, bet its all on an American victory in Vietnam.

Have you ever stopped to think what will happen to Thailand if we pull out? If the doves in this country have their way, and we come fluttering home and permit the situation in South Vietnam to develop in its own way, who will be the first total and complete casualty? Thailand. Surrounded by Communist enemies; weak but brave; but not big enough to protect itself. What must the people and the leaders of Thailand think when they read about our signing a treaty with a country, without any stipulations or reservations at all, saying even "Please, Russia, do not send so many guns; do not send your best missiles; do not send your best Mig's. Please, sir, if we concede to you, will not you cut down on the war supplies killing our American troops?"

What is their reaction in Thailand going to be, Mr. President, when they know if Russia succeeds and the Communists succeed Thailand is gone. I salute a country that bets its everything on our capacity to win, on our resolution of the fact that we mean business when we say, as the President has said perhaps a hundred times. "We are not going to permit armed aggressive communism to drive us into retreat in the world."

This means immunity for everything. There is no crime that could be committed by man or animal from the top consular official to the lowest which would be punishable once this treaty is enacted.

Mr. President, the Communists place our country now in a curious position because, as I have pointed out, the Russians have not ratified it. They have a Presidium that can sit at any time. When Moscow says to ratify they ratify. It is a body that does not consent and advise. It acquiesces. We are getting that way ourselves on this advising situation on foreign treaties, but I hope that we never reach it on consent.

Did anybody ever ask why the Soviets did not ratify? Why do they insist that we ratify first? One does not have to study communism very long or know much about communism in this world, as the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] so well knows, because he learned about communism the hard way, to understand why they take this approach.

They want to place the United States before the world as a supplicant on its knees seeking to appease the mighty Russian state by ratifying a treaty, with the immunity provision upon which they insist. Russia arrogantly insists that we meekly ratify the treaty first as a demonstration that once again their commissars can outmaneuver and outwit the leaders of the free world.

That is why they want it to be ratified by our country in the first instance.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Is it not true that the condition of the smaller countries in all of southeast Asia was worsening considerably because of fear of Russia and because of Russian propaganda that America was a paper tiger and would never come to their aid and would never save them if they got into trouble?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct, because the Russians are the most skillful and the best propagandists in the world. They invented the Pavlov dog experiment and have been using that conditioning process ever since. They use every little free debate that we have in the Senate between those who believe that we should support the policies of the administration of standing firm and those who are in favor of running out. They make of it that a great, divisive nation, America, is going to run out on its international commitments because of a divided nation and a breakdown of support for the President and his handling of the war.

Mr. MURPHY. Is it not true that from the day President Kennedy sent American troops into South Vietnam the entire character of all nations involved changed?

Mr. MUNDT. Of course; the Senator is correct.

Mr. MURPHY. In other words, the Pakistanians, who are our friends, who were afraid that we would not come to their assistance, suddenly said, "Maybe we do not have to make a deal with Russia; maybe America will protect us."

Is it not true that in Indonesia, this great chain of islands that stretches within 14 miles of the Philippines, they said, "We do not have to accept this great show of force, this imposition of will by an atheistic, communistic government, because our friends, the Americans, will protect us"?

Is it not true that the President of the Philippines came before a joint session of Congress and told us how pleased, how happy, how assured they were since they knew that America was going to stand firm on its stated policy to protect and guarantee self-determination to smaller nations?

Is it not true that he said that the nations of Asia and southeast Asia would be very, very happy if we would give that guarantee and they could work out their salvation and properly and prosperously, with our help, achieve the kind of world we want?

Is it not true that the one thing that made this possible was the guarantee by America that we would stand for no further aggression in southeast Asia?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. I have no question in the world in my mind that Sukarno would still be riding high in Indonesia, perhaps with Chinese Communist members in his ruling claque by now, except for the fact that we did indicate for a while to the world that we were serious about stopping aggression in Vietnam.

I have been one of those who has consistently supported the President's firm position in this war. I have been one of those who ran for reelection in the campaign last year as a Republican in South Dakota, supporting the President at a time when the Democratic candidate was attacking me on my support of the President as being a warmonger, while he joined the doves and wanted to flutter out.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for some of us who have supported the President through this entire disgusting debate between those who would stand firm and those who would run out on our war effort to rationalize in our conscience supporting a war effort which this country prolongs by its irrational and contradictory policy of insisting that we ship more and more supplies to the Russians so that they can ship more and more guns to the North Vietnamese to kill more and more American boys who are being drafted by a government that says it wants to win the war.

Somebody owes this country an explanation of that, Mr. President. They are going to get it soon or late. I will guarantee they will get an explanation during the course of the next political campaign when the President comes up for reelection, if he does not come back to his good judgment of an earlier time and provides a consistent and constructive program which gives some chance of victory to our American war effort and discontinues aiding those who combine to prolong the war.

America is getting tired of a war that is 5 years old, which we have the capacity to win, and we can win it without escalation, without bombing; we can win it by shutting off the supplies of the Russian arms that keep the Communist warship afloat in Hanoi.

I believe that this war would have long since been over if it had not been for our self-defeating diplomatic and trade policies. Later on I am going to document what I have said. I am going to place in the RECORD a hair-raising list of exports we are shipping to Russia now by Executive order issued by President Johnson last October 12 in open defiance of the recommendations of Congress.

Any President serving as a wartime Commander in Chief who says we ought to shorten the war and makes his countrymen content when he moves in the direction of sending supplies to the enemy who is providing guns to prolong the war, makes of himself a greater political Houdini than I ever believed him to be—and I respect him very much for his political dexterity.

Unhappily—and now we are getting close to the meat of the coconut—the illusory, euphoric atmosphere in which the State Department and a few Senators would like to discuss the merits and demerits of the consular treaty simply and demonstrably does not exist today.

Closing our eyes and our minds to the fact that we are today at war in Vietnam, a war in which our enemy is supported by the Russians, does not make the war go away. The casualty lists printed in the hometowns of the States of Senators serving here are getting a little too long to persuade people to believe that a happy detente has come about. This week's casualties in the war, as pointed out this afternoon by the distinguished senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], are the heaviest of any like period in the entire war—and the number will grow because we are giving to the Russians the capacity to develop their industrial complex and build their strength so as to provide additional arms to the North Vietnamese, to make certain that they too will grow in military strength.

I wonder how many Senators have asked themselves why it is, in the whole course of the wonderful history of this Republic, that no President has ever before authorized, to say nothing of encouraged, shipments of supplies to the enemy with which to provide guns to kill our boys?

Whatever other things historians write about concerning this administration and the era in which we live, they are going to write about that, because it is new, it is unprecedented. To me, it is as incomprehensive as it is inadvisable; but there are the blunt and awful facts.

I can remember as a young Member of the House of Representatives going up and down the highways and byways and on the platforms of the country, and even on the radio, because we did not have much television then, and in my humble manner joining those who were debating the issue whether President Roosevelt ought to stop American junk peddlers from selling scrap iron to Japan in 1939, 1940, and 1941. We had some interesting discussions then. We pointed out that some of us believed that perhaps the war lords of Japan would some day shoot that scrap iron back and kill American boys.

What were we told? We were told then what they say now—the editorial writers, the commentators, the columnists, and the State Department crowd: "Oh, those people who talk about the loss of American lives are using an emotional approach." Mr. President, I plead guilty to the charge. Death is an emotional institution. Patriotism is an emotional process. I think the time has come for someone to show a little more practical emotion for the boys who are being killed in Vietnam.

I plead guilty to the charge of being emotional, let me say to the liberal newspaper writers of this country. I wish some of them would show the same emotion. I see nothing wrong with it.

The mothers and fathers who write me about their boys who do not come home from the war feel some emotion, as well as those who write worrying about their youngsters now in college who, some day, will have to go out to this bloody foreign battlefield the year after next, the year after that, and no one knows how many more years after that, if we continue to feed and fight the enemy at the same time.

I was emotional in my desire to protect the lives of American fighting men against the trade practices of war profiteers in 1939, 1940, and 1941, and I am emotional in that desire today. I guess I am just an emotional country boy from South Dakota.

At any rate, at that time, we pleaded and we pleaded and we pleaded with President Roosevelt to place an embargo on scrap iron being sent to Japan, but he did not do it. It made a lot of millionaires out of scrap iron peddlers in this country exporting it to Japan. Some of them got filthy rich in their traffic in blood.

But on the morning of Pearl Harbor, they picked out of the bodies of 3,000 American boys—for whom someone should show some little emotion, if the people pounding their typewriters from the safety of their editorial sanctums do not have any—the scrap iron which our junk peddlers had sent to Japan.

While I never supported Franklin D. Roosevelt—and the more I read American history the happier I am to reiterate that fact—I do applaud him for one thing:

Pearl Harbor came on a Sunday. We declared war in Congress on Japan shortly after noon the next day, on Monday. I voted for the declaration. But President Roosevelt issued an Executive order, even earlier, prohibiting the further sale of scrap iron to Japan, saying the obvious thing, that since they were using it to kill American boys we did not think it was justified American business practice to continue to sell scrap iron to Japan.

That was great going F.D.R. on that particular statement. That one was right—but it was terribly late in coming.

I wish our present President, who admires F.D.R., and who supported him, and still supports his policies, had emulated the F.D.R. statement on embargoing scrap iron to include today's shipment of supplies to the enemy.

Because, on the record—and I am going to put it in the book today—on the record, I want Senators to read it, I want our constituents to read it, I want historians to read it, I want the whole world to know the facts on the record—3 bloody years—more than that—after the casualty lists started coming in and Americans boys were being killed in steadily expanding serious numbers, and the war was really tough, an Executive order was issued on October 12, 1966, by President Lyndon Johnson which opened up vast new floodgates of exports of supplies, including iron, to Russia—the sole supplier of the modern weapons being shipped to the Communists in Vietnam for use in prolonging the war and in expanding our casualties.

The President did that despite the fact that the Senate a number of years before had voted overwhelmingly against such a policy—and the House so expressed itself as recently as just last year.

The sophists in the State Department induced the members of the House conference committee to take all the teeth out of that Senate amendment which I sponsored then and weakened it to read, providing that if the President finds it in the national interest to ship them over, he can ship over these supplies to Russia in contradiction of the expressed policy of the Senate as stated in a rollcall vote.

Then, last year, the Findley resolution came up in the closing days of Congress, and that fine Representative came up with a resolution against stopping these kinds of sales to the Communist enemy. The House this time overwhelmingly approved it in a rollcall vote.

The same people now soliciting Senators in their offices, over the telephone, and by letter, to support this treaty, who broke down the support on the part of the House for my anti-Communist trade amendment a few years earlier, tried again last year to break down the support of Senators for this House measure—the Findley resolution—and they succeeded, to a large extent, in breaking down support of enough Senators so they again wrote in an escape hatch, and the President blew the top off that escape hatch by his Executive order of October 12, 1966. In effect that order said, "Let American exporters profit. Let international bankers have their pound of flesh. Let those who are making big profits from selling to Russia sell at war-inflated profits, even though the record shows the weapons being made by the Russians are being sent to Vietnam to kill our boys."

Mr. President, we are at war. It is as impossible to divorce this Consular Treaty from the facts of war as it is to try to prove that the Communist Bear in Russia has become a household pet. Facts have a rude habit of intruding themselves into the world of make-believe.

Since we are at war, we should ask ourselves occasionally, Who are we fighting against? Who is on the other side? Who is the enemy?

We are at war with communism. Does anyone doubt that?

Does anyone question that 500,000 American boys in uniform are facing death in the Vietnam war theater because we are at war with communism, and more men are being drafted every month for that same reason.

The bloody, ugly shooting aspects of this major war have now been continuing for at least 5 years. President Johnson told us yesterday in his televised press interview that the end is not in sight.

How could it be? Because the end of the stream of war materiel from Communist Russia to Communist North Vietnam being given our enemy is not in sight and the end of our export programs and the profiteering peddlers of war materiel to the enemy in Russia is not in sight? So, of course, the war drags on.

Mr. President, were this ugly war to end tomorrow, I firmly believe it has gone on many months—perhaps even extra years—longer than necessary and longer than it would had not Russia so generously supplied the North Vietnamese with every modern weapon and all of the petroleum they have needed to prolong the war. Surely at this date in the war we should discourage rather than encourage trade policies and practices which help the Russian war economy to continue and even to expand these shipments of war supplies to Hanoi.

There is nothing in sight to indicate that the Russians will discontinue sending North Vietnam, in increasing numbers, better and more modern war machines such as helicopters, as the days go on unless we change our policies here in the United States.

How many more years must this war continue? It seems to me that these are some of the demonstrable facts of life that we should consider as we confront our decision and our votes on this Consular Treaty, and on the reservation deferring its operative date, until either the war is over or until at least the immense war supplies and the modern and effective killer-weapons being given to our enemy each day by Communist Russia is discontinued.

Did not our negotiators know a war was going on? Did not they know that Russia was the principal source of supply of warmaking weapons of modern design being supplied to North Vietnam? Could not they count on their fingers the 3 long years this war had by then been underway?

I wonder, Mr. President, how many Senators share my curiosity as to why treaty negotiators these past 3 years failed so utterly in working into this proposed treaty some memorandum of understanding or some quid pro quo agreement directed at stopping the Russians from supplying this flood of modern weapons to Vietnam—a supply so large and so effective that without it, I for one am convinced, we would have had peace in Vietnam at least 6 months or perhaps more than a year ago.

Does anyone deny the modern war weapons being supplied to North Vietnam come from the Russians? Does anybody deny that 95.6 percent of the petroleum being supplied to North Vietnam for use in the war comes from Russia?

Want to stop the war, Mr. President? Turn off the gas. Shut down on the petroleum. When you are in a war, try to write a treaty or approve a treaty reservation to protect 500,000 Americans in uniform in Vietnam, rather than one trying to alleviate the troubles of nine out of 18,000 roving Americans visiting Russia in a year.

How many Senators, I wonder, agree with the senior Senator from South Dakota that the major business of this Government and this Senate should not be the torturous consideration of a treaty which will enhance the capacity of the mighty Russian industrial complex to supply arms, petroleum, Migs, ground-to-ground missiles, trucks, ships, antiaircraft weapons, SAM missiles, big artillery, and a host of other death-dealing devices to our enemy in North Vietnam, but rather to concentrate on steps to shorten the war and to bring it to a successful conclusion?

I wonder if we will have a giddy optimist among us who sometime will say on the Senate floor, "Do we want to end the war? Simple. Sign a consular treaty expanding trade to the country supplying arms to prolong to war in Vietnam." I am eager to join in that debate if, unexpectedly, one should ensue.

By what curious line of reasoning can any Senator or executive officer of this great land convince either himself or his constituents that any step making it easier, and more acceptable, for Russia to utilize our American exports to her industrial complex in the expansion of her flood of war supplies to Vietnam will either move in the direction of shortening or winning this tragic war? Can we feed and fight communism at the same time and look forward to anything resembling a successful end of the war?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, who has been around here a long time and who, I am sure, recalls the days when another Democratic administration permitted war supplies to go to Japan in order to make buckets of money for a few, which resulted in our boys being killed at Pearl Harbor later.

Mr. CURTIS. I commend the Senator from South Dakota for his excellent statement. He is a member of the committee that heard testimony which gives timeliness to his statement, which is of interest and concern to the entire Nation. I commend him for it.

Can the Senator conceive of any reason why this treaty, which has been languishing since the summer of 1964, should be rushed to ratification at this time? Is there any particular advantage to the United States at this time?

Mr. MUNDT. I cannot think of any, and I must say I have explored that question very diligently. I spent over two and a half hours one day last week at a briefing in the CIA headquarters in Virginia, trying to find out if, somewhere along the line, something was known that had not been brought to our attention. I attended diligently the meetings of the Foreign Relations Committee. I have had pleasant and persuasive State Department people come to my office talking to me about the treaty. I have asked many questions. I can honestly say at this late hour I know of no scintilla of defensible reason why there should be any cause for the rush. Oh, they have given so-called reasons. They have talked fast. But no one has given a reason that makes realistic sense in the war-torn world in which we live.

No wonder the treaty supporters have become so desperate and, I regret to say, devious in their efforts to divorce this treaty ratification debate and consideration—based upon letters that willing Members send to their constituents, that shoot all around the target and miss the bull's eye—from the cruel American policy advocated by the Johnson administration favorable to an even greater expansion of trade with Russia. But, Mr. President, here again the facts on the record demolish the rhetoric of those who would have Senators close their eyes to the basic issues involved in this Consular Treaty.

Mr. President, I shall have much more evidence to submit as the debate continues about the close tie-in, the demonstrable relationship, the consequences in terms of a longer and costlier war and greater casualties which are irrevocably related to this Consular Treaty, but let me today point out just two facts from the public record which completely prove the point.

Let me point briefly, because I have already taken far more time than I had intended, to two facts—I wonder sometimes if the President has had these facts called to his attention—that every Senator should want to reflect upon and ponder over before he casts his vote.

Happily, Senators who earlier had announced their support of the treaty as a result of the one-sided arguments presented by the State Department now have an opportunity, by voting for reservation 2, to vote for the treaty and still prevent the treaty from becoming operative until the President himself can make the statement that the Soviet Union is no longer prolonging the war in Vietnam and the treaty should not be effective until Russia does stop prolonging the war. That is fair enough. The President is the Commander in Chief. He can pick the time. He can consider the evidence. So Senators who want to vote for ratification of the treaty have a chance to vote for ratification of a treaty with a reservation which provides a tool, a bargaining device, a diplomatic weapon to employ in winning a concession from the Russians, rather than simply bowing before the walls of the Kremlin and saying, "So be it as you requested, Mr. Commissar. Your war supplies to North Vietnam continue."

The first fact is found in the President's state of the Union address at the opening of Congress this year. This is what the President himself said in simple, direct, and cogent terms:

> Tonight I now ask and urge this Congress to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill and by approving the consular convention with the Soviet Union.

Those are the exact words of President Johnson. You will find them in the text of his state of the Union address. They are there for all to read. He tied these objectives together with a Gordian knot that is so precise that not even a comma or a break in the sentence can be found to indicate that he did not mean what the words themselves so tragically express. Do you still need additional proof?

Are you still reluctant to accept the facts? The President was not trying to delude the country. He was not trying to deceive the country. He put those words together carefully to demonstrate the close connection and the interrelationship of this Consular Treaty and stepped up exports to Russia in this time of war.

I rather think the President would like to have the Senate ratify this treaty as another sort of Tonkin Gulf resolution. That resolution, you will recall, passed the Senate almost unanimously. We were all upset and excited, and understandably and properly so, about the serious incidents in the Tonkin Gulf, after which there was trumped up, hastily, a resolution. All but one or two Senators voted for it. Since then, we have heard five or six, eight or 12 Senators stand up and say, "I did not quite understand what was in it. I did not quite understand its implications." The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who himself presented it to us, said, "Looking back now, I think I made a mistake, because it has been changed, through its interpretation, from what I thought it said."

Mr. President, this convention, when we pass it, will be an economic Tonkin Gulf resolution, because the President is going to say when we have passed it, "I told you in my state of the Union message it was tied up with East-West trade. You approved it when you voted, for this economic Tonkin Gulf resolution, to approve the Consular Treaty, tied in as I tied it in, in my state of the Union address, with expanded East-West trade." This time we are forewarned and those seeking alibis for their actions will confront a much more difficult task.

That is point No. 1. The other point, Mr. President, is this: If further proof is needed by those who might be inclined to listen to the soothing words of the State Department rather than to consult the basic facts, Mr. President, I suggest that, as a novel experiment, they try reading the treaty itself, from beginning to end.

It is long, involved, sometimes ambiguous, and it includes 30 specific articles of agreement, concession, or stipulated purposes. Senators who are inclined to sign their names to the contract, by voting to advise and consent to its provisions, before doing so, should try reading article 7 for example. It is headed "Consular Functions." Let me quote from the treaty itself that, in this period of a tragic war, we are asked to ratify without amendment, and without needed reservations, and what in fact could be and will be another Tonkin Gulf type of wholesale approval of policies we vaguely understand, which will be, in the economic sense, what that one has proved to be, to the embarrassment of some of our fellow Senators, in the military sense.

I read you now a statement from article 7, quoting exactly. The treaty states, among other things:

> A consular officer shall be entitled within his consular district to perform the following functions: To further the development of commercial, economic, cultural and scientific relations between the sending State and the receiving State.

Mr. President, let each Senator answer this question for himself and for his own constituency. Does "To further the development of commercial and economic relations" mean expanded trade purpose or does it not?

Since by his Executive order of October 12, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson opened up for trade without license or restriction the exportation of 400 additional items, products, raw materials, machines, chemicals, iron and steel products, and like aids and items to assist the Russian industrial war machine, it stands as plain and clear as the path to the country schoolhouse that this treaty by its very language and as properly and purposefully defined by the President in his state of the Union address is part of the formula for expanding our exports to Russia at the very tragic hour when she has become the sole support of the enemy we are fighting in providing her the modern weapons and virtually all of the petroleum she requires to prolong the war and to increase our casualties.

Mr. President, I can only try to influence the decisions of other Senators. I can only try to induce them all to be sure that before they vote, they read the treaty, and that they understand the implications and the atmosphere in which it is presented to us, with the urgency to vote now and study what we have done a few weeks later.

For myself, I shall never vote to make less likely the return of the American boys who have been drafted to fight freedom's battles in Vietnam. Any act which strengthens the power of the enemy to continue the war and to expand the killing will not have my support. Basically, it is for this reason I oppose this Consular Treaty so vigorously.

Mr. President, for those still diligently trying to make up their minds how to vote on the treaty, and for those who intend to vote for the treaty—and I imagine there will be quite a number of them—but who still believe that we ought to put this reservation on the treaty, so that it does not become operative until they quit shooting at us, anyway, I wish to call attention to another important document, which is a little bit hard to come by, but the international bankers have it, the junk peddlers have it, the big corporation presidents have it, and those profiteering from traffic with Moscow have it, so why should we not have it in the Congressional Record? It is going to be put into public view right now, Mr. President.

It is Current Export Bulletin No. 941, dated October 12, 1966, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, John M. Connor, Secretary, by his Bureau of International Commerce, the Office of Export Control. Senators should send down and get a copy of this astonishing document, especially the original version of bulletin No. 941.

Mr. President, I have here two versions of this bulletin. I am tempted to put in the Record the one they first sent me, before it was censored, changed, and modified. But I wish to be fair. After they sent it to me, and I had made a few comments of shock and despair as to what I found in it, they said, "There are some little footnotes in here that indicate some of these proposals for exports to Communist countries have not yet been completely finalized."

"Well," I said, "I do not want anything that has not been finalized; just send me a new list, then." I said, "What you send me, I intend to use." If other Senators wish to see the original copy, they will have to send for it; I intend to keep mine for future reference.

Some day I shall find out for sure whether these things are finalized, but for the moment, I will take their explanations at face value. I give you now the expurgated version, which has been sanitized, corrected, and approved. It has three sets of exhibits. One is "Analysis of the Decontrol Action for Exports to Eastern European Communist Countries." For those who have not looked at a geography book lately, Mr. President, that includes Russia.

Second, "Commodities Decontrolled for Exports to Eastern European Communist Countries Including East Germany." And exhibit No. 3, "Commodities Decontrolled for Exports to Eastern European Countries Excluding East Germany."

The only Communist country in East Europe they exclude is East Germany. It took a mighty intelligent bureaucrat to figure that one out, Mr. President. It is certainly going to keep a lot of critical machines and tools out of East Germany if we ship them to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Russia. This administration surely has an airtight export control there, has it not? Conceivably it might take as long as an extra day to transport these critical supplies from any other Communist country directly into East Germany. We will not send certain critical supplies to East Germany, but we will ship and sell them all around East Germany. Except for East Germany we can sell these Communist governments anything any American profiteer desires, at any profitable price tag he can put on his export items.

One reason we have shortages in this country is because Americans like to sell to the highest bidder; and any country as desperate as Russia is today for materials of this kind will bid pretty high.

While reading on the subject, for Senators who might wish to go completely into this question of East-West trade, here is a document put out by the House of Representatives Committee on Banking and Currency, issued in 1967. Senators and others can get it from that House committee. It is entitled "The Fiat Soviet Automobile Plant and Communist Economic Reports," a report pursuant to House Resolution 1043, 89th Congress, second session, by the Subcommittee on International Trade, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, dated March 1, 1967—this month.

It is interesting, because it tells us exactly why the parents of the boys who are fighting in Vietnam are now subject to higher taxes and greater inflationary pressures, because we have guaranteed, by executive action, $50 million worth of credit to the Soviet Union to build in Russia itself, not a library, not a hospital, not a school, but an automobile plant, in conjunction with the Italians, the Fiat Co. of Italy, together with machine tools and all the other things they need to help bolster and salvage a fumbling economy in an area in which they are collapsing so completely because they concentrate so much on military hardware that in the entire city of Moscow there are only eight garages and eight filling stations to handle the few automobiles available in that vast city. We have that many on almost any street in Washington.

That desperately begging Soviet economy needs these supplies, and you and I and every other American stands a likelihood of paying higher taxes if the Russians do not repay the credit which we are guaranteeing them by our American Export-Import Bank to build an automobile factory which will be complete in 1969.

Are any of us so naive as to believe an automobile factory in Russia cannot be transformed into a weapons factory almost overnight? We know the answer. And—of course—any automobile company we help finance in Russia relieves its consumer industry proportionately so it can be utilized in building military hardware for Vietnam.

We are living in a strange world. We should debate an issue of this kind for 6 months, instead of 2 weeks, so that the facts get out to all our fellow citizens.

Mr. President, I commend this House report to your careful study. This may be expensive for the taxpayers, but I am trying to find a way—and I may possibly succeed—to give the Senate a chance to vote on this before it is over. On the Appropriations Committee we do have ways of trying to turn off the gas, even though this administration will not voluntarily reduce the exports to Russia.

At the moment, because there is an American guarantee of Russian credits by executive action, we have no opportunity at hand to stop it; but they will come to us in due course for money to help provide the credit.

I return to our sanitized report from the Department of Commerce. The current sanitized report—booklet No. 941—carried over the signature of Mrs. Geraldine S. DePuy, Director of the Division, who sent it to me.

If they thought the original 941 report ought to be censored, it is up to them. I am not giving up the original copy. I am keeping it for future reference. But I shall now make available for all to see, their new and sanitized version of it.

I ask unanimous consent to have the entire report printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Department of Commerce,
Bureau of International Commerce, Office of Export Control,
Washington, D.C., October 18, 1966.

To: All field offices; all customs offices.
From: Mrs. Geraldine S. DePuy, Director, Operations Division.
Subject: Current Export Bulletin No. 941, dated October 12, 1966.

Current Export Bulletin No. 941 revised the Commodity Control List in many different respects, including the decontrol action for exports to Eastern European communist countries (Country Group Y). However, the Eastern European communist countries decontrol created a great deal of public interest in view of its relationship to the President's speech of October 7.

Attached is the following information which should be helpful in answering questions regarding the Eastern European communist countries decontrol action:

Exhibit No. 1: Analysis of the Decontrol Action for Exports to Eastern European Communist Countries.

Exhibit No. 2: Commodities Decontrolled for Exports to Eastern European Communist Countries *Including* East Germany.

Exhibit No. 3: Commodities Decontrolled for Exports to Eastern European Communist Countries *Excluding* East Germany.

(Attachments.)

EXHIBIT 1

ANALYSIS OF THE DECONTROL ACTION FOR EXPORTS TO EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Current Export Bulletin No. 941, dated October 12, 1966, announced a decontrol action for United States exports to Eastern European Communist countries. This action was taken to implement the President's speech of October 7, in which he stated in part: "We will reduce export controls on East-West trade with respect to hundreds of non-strategic items."

A proper evaluation of the decontrol action requires an examination into two aspects:

(1) What countries were affected by the decontrol action

(2) What commodities were decontrolled for each of the affected countries?

COUNTRIES AFFECTED

The form of the decontrol action announced decontrols for two country groupings:

(1) Exports to *all* Eastern European Communist countries and

(2) Exports to all such countries *except* East Germany.

As used in the announcement, the term "Eastern European Communist countries" comprises: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany (Soviet Zone of Germany and the Soviet Sector of Berlin), Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Outer Mongolia, and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Export Regulations refer to these Eastern European Communist countries as "Country Group Y."

CLASSES OF COMMODITIES DECONTROLLED

As indicated below, only ten commodity items spread over six commodity classes were decontrolled for exports to East Germany. The bulk of the decontrol action centered on the decontrol of commodities for export to Eastern European Communist countries *other than* East Germany. The affected commodity classes and the extent of decontrol for each commodity class is shown below.

Number of commodity items decontrolled by commodity class and country grouping

Commodity class	All Eastern European Communist countries	Eastern European Communist countries except East Germany
Food:		
Cereals and cereal preparations	2	1
Fruits and vegetables	1	
Sugar and sugar preparations		2
Feeding stuff for animals	3	
Miscellaneous food preparations	2	1
Crude materials, inedible:		
Leather scrap		1
Crude rubber		2
Textile fibers		20
Metal scrap		4
Crude animal material		1
Mineral fuels, lubricants, and related materials:		
Petroleum and petroleum products		6
Gas, natural and manufactured		2
Chemicals:		
Chemical elements and compounds	1	23
Crude chemicals from coal and petroleum		2
Dyeing, tanning, and coloring material		7
Medicinal and pharmaceutical products		6
Polishing and cleansing preparations		3
Fertilizers		1
Nonmilitary pyrotechnical articles		1
Chemicals—Continued		
Cellulose and artificial resins		4
Chemical materials and products, n.e.c		15
Manufactured goods:		
Rubber manufactures		5
Wood and cork manufactures		6
Paper, paperboard, and manufactures thereof		5
Textile yarn fabrics		44
Nonmetallic mineral manufactures		14
Nonferrous metals manufactures		1
Manufactures of metals, n.e.c	1	27
Heating and lighting fixtures		3
Furniture		2
Travel goods and handbags		1
Clothing and accessories		23
Footwear		1
Professional, scientific, and controlling instruments; photographic and optical goods, and watches and clocks		13
Miscellaneous manufactured articles, n.e.c		18
Coin, other than gold coin, not being legal tender		1
Machinery and transport equipment:		
Machinery, other than electric		41
Electrical apparatus and appliances		14
Transport equipment		5

EXHIBIT 2

Commodities decontrolled for exports to Eastern European Communist countries, including East Germany

Export control commodity No.	Commodity description
04811	Breakfast cereals prepared for cooking.
04812	Breakfast cereals prepared for serving.
05420	Beans, peas and other leguminous vegetables, dried.
08110	Other vegetable products for animal feed, n.e.c.
08195	Other food wastes, n.e.c.
08199	Other prepared animal feed, including feather meal and alfalfa meal.
09100	Margarine; and shortening.
09910	Canned hominy; corn chips and similar chips and sticks; and other grain food preparations and dairy food preparations.
51206	Soil conditioners.
69524	Drill bits, core bits, and reamers, under 4 inches o.d., containing diamonds.

EXHIBIT 3

Commodities decontrolled for exports to Eastern European Communist countries, excluding East Germany

Export control commodity No.	Commodity description
04840	Other bakery products.
06130	Sugar, beet and cane, raw or refined.
06180	Sugar, invert, liquid, and powdered; lactose, crude and refined; malt sugar (maltose); maple sugar; refined milk sugar; and crude sugar of milk. (Report medicinal grades of malt sugar (maltose) in export control commodity No. 51203.)
06201	Sugar-coated cereal foods and candied or sweetened popped corn.
09904	Mayonnaise; and other salad dressings. Grain food preparations and dairy food preparations.
21180	Leather scrap and chrome shavings for fertilizer manufacture.
23110	Compounds of natural rubber, balata, gutta parcha and other allied gums.
23120	Neoprene (polymers of chloroprene).
26201	Recovered fibers, noils, and waste, n.e.c., wholly or in chief weight wool.
26230	Mohair and other wool-like specialty hair.
26240	Sheep's and lamb's wool, not carded or combed.
26270	Wool or other animal hair, carded or combed, excluding tops.
26280	Tops of wool and other animal hair, except horsehair.
264—	Jute, including jute cuttings and waste.
26500	Vegetable fibers and waste of sisal, henequen, manila or abaca.
26621	Other manmade staple fibers, noncellulosic, not carded or combed.
26622	Other continuous filament tow, noncellulosic.
26623	Manmade fibers or waste, noncellulosic, carded or combed or otherwise processed but not spun.
26631	Acetate or rayon (viscose and cuprammonium) staple, not carded or combed.
26632	Acetate or rayon (viscose and cuprammonium) continuous filament tow.
26633	Other manmade fibers or waste, cellulosic, carded or combed or otherwise processed but not spun.

EXHIBIT 3

Commodities decontrolled for exports to Eastern European Communist countries, excluding East Germany—Continued

Export control commodity No.	Commodity description
26640	Waste or other manmade fibers, not carded or combed.
26700	Other used civilian clothing, used textile articles, n.e.c., and new or used rags.
27420	Iron pyrites, unroasted.
27621	Mullite grains and pellets.
27640	Asbestos, unmanufactured.
27655	Natural cryolite; and natural chiolite.
27698	Arsenic bisulfide, natural; arsenic sulfide, natural; calcium silicate; kieserite, natural; magnesium chloride, natural, anhydrous; magnesium sulphate, natural sodium sulphate, natural; soil; strontianite; strontium carbonate; and trona.
28100	Iron ore mass.
28200	Terne plated scrap; and tin-plated scrap which has not been detinned.
28404	Other aluminum alloy waste and scrap.
28405	Other magnesium or magnesium alloy waste and scrap.
29100	Biological supplies, animal origin; glands, crude; hoof meal; horn meal; and pancreas.
33262	Paraffin wax, crystalline.
33291	Other nonlubricating and nonfuel petroleum oils (bbl. of 42 gal.).
33292	Pitch of tar coke.
33293	Pitch coke.
33295	Petroleum bitumen and other petroleum and shale oil residues.
33296	Bituminous mixtures, based on asphalt, petroleum, etc.
34110	Natural gas liquids, including liquefied petroleum gas (L.P.G.) (bbl. of 42 gals.).
34120	Gas, manufactured (artificial).
51202	Ortho-aminonitro-benzene; para-hydroxy-chlorobenzene; and paratoluenesulfonylchloride. (18) [3] [11]
51202	Paradow. (16) [2]
51203	Methionine hydroxy analogue.
51204	6, ethoxy-1,2 dihydro-2,2,4-trimethyl-quinoline.
51205	Methyl stearate; and triethyl phosphate.
51206	Sodium pentachlorophenol; 2,3-dichloroallyl diisopropylthiolcarbamate; and 2,3,3-trichloroallyl diisopropylthiolcarbamate.
51207	Nerol and phenyl nerol.
51207	Other chemicals for flavor and perfumery use, natural origin.
51207	Other enzymes.
51208	Cadmium salicylate.
51209	Organic chemicals, the following only: A, B-dibromopropionic acid; adenylic acid; camphoric acid; campho-sulfuric acid; corn protein denaturant; crotonaldehyde;t cyana-cetamide; diacetone alcohol; diethyl malonate; dimethyl glyoxime; dipenaerythritol acetate; dipentaerythritol hexaproprionate; dipentaerythritol hexylbutyrate; ethyl alcohol; ethy lbutyrate; ethyl chloride; ethyl chloroacetate: ethyl chloro-carbonate; ethyl formate; ethyl hydrogen sulfate; ethyl lactate; ethyl malonate; ethyl mercaptan; glutaronitrile; glyceryl monostearate; methyl glutamate; methyl hydroxy acetate (methyl glycolate); methylinoylacetaldehyde; monoisopropanolamine; monopentaerythritol diacetate dinutyrate; monopentaerythritol tetrabutyrate; pentanedione 2-4 (acetylacetone); and perpinylacetate.
51209	Miscellaneous organic chemicals, excluding cyclic, n.e.c., the following only: aluminum acetate; aluminum dihydroxyaminoacetate; aluminum formate solutions; aluminum isopropylate; aluminum lactate; aluminum octoate; aluminum oxiquinolate; ammonium acetate; ammonium bitartrate; ammonium ferric oxalate; ammonium oxalate; ammonium thioglycollate; antimony lactate; cadmium acetate; cadmium octoate; calcium acetate; calcium formate; calcium linoleate, except paint and varnish dryers; calcium tartrate; chlorophyll, dry; chlorophyll solution (in oil); iron protoxalate; iron sodium oxalate; magnesium oxypehnyl arsenate; manganese acetate; potassium acetate; potassium bitartrate; potassium oxalate; potassium oxichinolin sulfonate; potassium salicylate; sodium allyl arsenate; sodium bitartrate (acid sodium tartrate); sodium formate; sodium gluconate; sodium methylate; sodium oxalate; sodium potassium tartrate; sodium salicylate; sodium stearate; tartar emetic; zinc acetate; and zinc stearate.
51329	Arsenic powder; pyrographite (deposited carbon); and iodine U.S.P. (resublimed).
51333	Sulfuric acid; and oleum.
51338	Hydrochloric or muriatic acid.
51350	Iron hydroxide; zinc hydroxide; and zinc peroxide.
51361	Ammonia, anhydrous or in aqueous solution.
51362	Sodium hydroxide (caustic soda), solid and liquid.
51363	Potassium hydroxide; potassium peroxide; and sodium peroxide.
51368	Tin oxides.
51440	Other inorganic pigments, n.e.c.
51460	Sodium compounds and potassium compounds, the following only: potash-magnesia carbonate; potassium arsenite; potassium bicarbonate; potassium bisulfate; potassium meta-bisulfite; potassium phosphate, monobasic; potassium silicate; potassium sulfate; potassium sulfide; rochelle salts; sodium ammonium phosphate; sodium arsenate; sodium bisulfite; sodium chlorite; sodium orthosilicate; sodium sesquicarbonate; sodium silicate or water glass; sodium sulfate; and sodium thiosulfate.
51470	Industrial chemicals, as follows: cadmium sulfate; calcium carbide; calcium polysulfide; calcium silicate; carbic cake; carbic carbide; carbide powder, except abrasive powders; chalk, precipitated; dicalcium phosphate, epsom salts; ferrous carbonate; ferrous chloride; ferrous sulfate; iron chloride; iron phosphate; iron sulfate; iron sulfide, artificial; lead arsenite; lime bisulfate; lime phosphate; magnesium arsenide; magnesium phosphate; magnesium silicate; magnesium silicofluoride; magnesium sulfate; magnesium trisilicate; monocalcium phosphate; monocalcium sulphate; palladium chloride; palladium salts and compounds; pea carbide; silver chlorides; silver cyanide, industrial; silver nitrate; silver sulfate; silver sulfide; sodium chlorite; sodium silico aluminate; zinc carbonate; zinc cyanide; zinc hydrosulfite; zinc nitrate; zinc phosphate; and zinc sulfate.
52130	Ammoniacal gas liquors and spent oxide produced in coal gas purification.
52140	Creosote or dead oil; creosote oil distillates; and resinous oil X-1.
53101	Alizarin sulfonic; indigo, natural and synthetic; and phenosafronine.
53230	Chromium tanning mixtures.
53290	Tannins; and tanning and dyeing extracts of vegetable or animal origin. (Report natural indigo in export control Commodity No. 53101.)
53310	Luminescent zinc pigments, not radioactivated.
53320	Printing inks.
53331	Prepared ceramic colors, including liquid lusters.
53332	Lacquers, except aluminum, gold, pearl, and silver, and paperbacked gold stamping foil.
54162	Beef glands, and inedible dried pancreas, bulk.
54162	Animal products used for medicinal purposes, bulk, the following only: beef brain powder; beef heart extract; bone marrow; bone marrow concentrate; brain substance powder; fibrin muscle; glycerine extract of brain and muscle; and glycerin extract, red bone marrow.
54163	Ferments, other than yeast, except potato flour ferment.
54170	Pharmaceutical preparations for veterinary use, dosage or packed for retail sale, except antibiotics, sulfonamides, hormones, vitamins and minerals.
54191	Bandages and surgical dressings, not impregnated or coated with pharmaceutical products, put up for retail sale.
54199	Dental rubber.
55300	Deodorants, non-personal.
55420	Detergents, the following only: Ethomid HT 15; Intramin WK and Y; and Permalene A-100, A-120, and A-180.
55430	Rifle cleaning compounds; abrasive pastes, compounds, and cake, except chemical; and steel burnishing mixtures.
56100	Urea fertilizer.
57130	Nonmilitary pyrotechnical articles.
58132	Other regenerated cellulose and chemical derivates of cellulose.
58191	Hardened proteins.
58192	Modified natural resins (including ester gum), and chemical derivatives of natural rubber, all in unifinished or semi-finished form.
58199	Ammonium alginate.
59920	0,0-dimethyl 0-P-nitro phenyl phosphorothiate; 0,0-diethyl 0-P-nitro phenyl phosphorothiate; 3,4-dichloropropionanilide; 3-amino-2,5-dichlorobenzoic acid 2-chloro-4-ethylamino-6-isopropylamino-S-triazine; 3-(3,4-dichlorophenyl) -1-methoxy-1-methylurea; 2-chloro-N-isopropylacetanilide; alpha-chloro-N-,N-diallylacetamide; 2-chloro-4,6-bis(ethylamino)-S-triazine; a,a,a,-trifluoro-2,6-dinitro-N,N.-dipropyl-p-toluidine; 2-chloroallyl diethyldithiocarbamate; 2,3,5,6-tetrachloroterophthalic acid; 2,3-dichloroallyl diisopropylthiolcarbamate; 2,3,3-trichloroallyl diisopropylthiolcarbamate; and 4-chloro-2-butylnyl-N-chlorocarbanilate.
59951	Inulin.
59952	Gluten and gluten flour.
59958	Casein hydrolysate; casein lactalbumin; lactalbumin; lactalbumin hydrolysate; lactarene (casein); and inedible soybean protein.
59958	Dextrins (e.g., British gum).
59961	Other tall oil.
59963	Pine oil, except pine-needle oil; terpenic solvents, n.e.c. gum turpentine; and wood turpentine.
59965	Wood tar; wood tar oils; wood creosote; wood naphtha; and acetone oil.
59966	Wood pitch and products based thereon or on rosin.

EXHIBIT 3

Commodities decontrolled for exports to Eastern European Communist countries, excluding East Germany—Continued

Export control commodity No.	Commodity description
59973	Other animal black, except activated.
59977	Prepared culture media.
59978	Charges for fire extinguishers.
59994	Pickling preparations for metal surfaces; auxiliary preparations for soldering, brazing or welding (fluxes, powders, pastes), containing metal and other constituents.
59995	Composite solvents, paint removers, thinners, and other similar products.
59999	Water softeners, water purifiers, and boiler feed water compounds.
61230	Rubber heels, soles, soling, top lifts, and top lift sheets.
62102	Other rubber cements.
62103	Rubber thread and cord, covered or bare.
62930	Other hygenic and pharmaceutical articles of unhardened rubber.
62988	Other articles of unhardened vulcanized rubber, n.e.c.
63120	Other plywood and wood panels, including wood-veneer and cellular panels.
63141	Improved wood (densified and/or impregnated with resin of resinlike materials).
63142	Reconstituted wood (particle board).
63183	Hoopwood, chipwood, wood chips; and poles, piles, posts, pickets, stakes, and similar products which are split, pointed or both, but not sawn lengthwise.
63240	Windmill towers.
63289	Wood manufactures, the following only: bee hives; boat parts, small, machined to shape; bridges; Fibrisir laminates of melaminephenol formaldehyde resins, sawdust, or ground wood and paper; hog troughs; patterns; propeller blades; propellers; and trestles.
64122	Fine paper.
64130	Kraft paper, in rolls or sheets, uncoated, as follows: abrasive base stock; acid proof; ammunition; antiacid manila; base wad stock; buffing; cable base stock; cable filling, electrical; cartridge stock; coil winding; document manila, file folder; dynamite; electrical insulating; emery, base stock; expanding envelope stock; flat wallet stock; flint backing; frisket; garnet; gasket; graphite; guide stock; insulating, electrical patch base stock; pattern stock, polishing; red foiling (cartridge paper); red patch base stock; sandpaper backing; shell stock; silk wrap stock; tissue; tympan; voice coil stock; wallet stock; and washer stock.
64180	Machine-made paper and paperboard, simply finished, in rolls or sheets, n.e.c., and hand made paper, the following only: ammunition; guide stock; antiacid manila stock; armature; beaming; cable base stock; calendar roll stock; cartridge stock; coil winding; cone, yarn, designers pattern stock (except tissue); document manila file folder; dynamite; electrical; expanding envelope stock; flat wallet stock; flint backing stock; frisket; gasket; graphite base stock; gum wadding;i insulating electrical; interleaving for film; jute tag stock; patch base stock; polishing base stock; portmanteau; red foiling (cartridge paper); red patch basei stock; rope, for sand paper backing; sandpaper backing; shell stock; shot shell stock; silk wrap stock; slot insulation; steaming; stencil (18 lbs and over); stencili stock for oiling; tabulating-machine card stock; tape, rope stock for electrical insulating; time card stock; tympan; voice coil stock; wad base stock; wallet stock; washer stock; pattern stock; stencil blanks tabulating machine card stock; absorbent paper for matrix; interleaving; tissue paper under 18 pounds, except sanitary; ground-wood base stock for carbonizing; fine paper (uncoated for printing, writing); bible; check paper; mimeotype stencil; body stock for carbonizing, free from ground wood; box covering; carbonizing base stock; duplicating tissue; electrical insulating tissue; heat sealable tissue; imitation Japanese, India, lens, matrix tissue; pencil carbon stock; pottery tissue; press copy; rotograme tissue; stencil tissue; stereotype tissue; tea bags; fibrilise; tissue for duplex decalcomania; transfer stamping; and book lining.
64191	Kleerview (lacquer-coated glassine paper).
64199	Asphalt and tar saturated paper, heavy construction type.
65126	Yarn of wool or of fine animal hair.
65130	Cotton yarn, gray (unbleached); and unfinished cotton thread.
65140	Cotton yarn, carded, combed, finished; sewing, crochet, darning, and embroidery cotton thread.
65172	Rayon or acetate monofil.
65177	Rayon or acetate spun yarn, including singles and plied.
65190	Other yarns of textile fibers, n.e.c., including yarns of vegetable fibers, n.e.c.
65211	Gauze, tobacco cloth, and cheese cloth, unbleached, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65212	Terry woven fabrics, unbleached, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65213	Broadwoven fabrics, unbleached, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65221	Gauze, tobacco cloth, and cheese cloth, bleached, dyed, colored, or otherwise finished, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65222	Other terrywoven fabrics, bleached, dyed, colored, or otherwise finished, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65223	Pile and chenille broad woven fabrics and corduroy, bleached, dyed, colored, or otherwise finished, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65229	Other broad woven fabrics, bleached, dyed, colored, or otherwise finished, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65230	Other broad woven remnants less than 10 yards in length, and fabrics, n.e.c., wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65301	Broad woven fabrics wholly or in chief weight flax (linen) or jute.
65321	Other broad woven fabrics, wholly or in chief weight of wool and/or fine animal hair, excluding pile or chenille.
65322	Pile and chenille broad woven fabrics, wholly or in chief weight of wool and/or fine animal hair.
65370	Knit or crocheted fabrics, not elastic or rubberized, wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool.
65390	Other broad woven fabrics, wholly or in chief weight jute or wool.
65401	Narrow woven fabrics, nonelastic, wholly or in chief weight cotton, jute, flax, or wool.
65402	Woven labels, badges, emblems, and insignia, excluding embroidered, wholly or in chief weight cotton, jute, flax, or wools.
65403	Hat braid, all fibers, and other trimmings, nonelastic, wholly or in chief weight cotton, flax, wool, or metal.
65406	Embroideries, wholly or in chief weight cotton, flax, or wool.
65407	Lace machine fabrics, wholly or in chief weight cotton, flax, or wool.
65510	Other coated or impregnated felt fabrics; and felts and felt articles wholly or in chief weight cotton, jute, wool and/or wool-like specialty hairs.
65541	Bonded fabrics and articles wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool. (1) [2]
65542	Other textile fabrics coated with gum or amylaceous substances.
65543	Other textile fabrics, n.e.c., coated or impregnated with resin or other plastic materials.
65544	Other textile fabrics, n.e.c., coated or impregnated with oil.
65546	Other textile fabrics, n.e.c., coated or impregnated.
65550	Elastic fabrics and trimmings, woven or braided.
65560	Other cordage, cable, rope, and twine, and manufactures thereof, wholly or in chief weight other textile fibers, n.e.c.
65570	Other hat bodies.
65581	Wadding and articles of wadding (excluding cellulose wadding), n.e.c., textile flock, and dust and mill neps, wholly or chief weight of other textile fibers.
65610	Bags, wholly or in chief weight of cotton, jute, or wool.
65620	Sails of canvas; and tarpaulins, tents, awnings, and other made-up canvas goods, wholly or in chief weight cotton.
65662	Blankets, wholly or in chief weight cotton. (Report electric blankets in export control commodity No. 65663.)
65663	Blankets, wholly or in chief weight wool, except electric.
65691	Linens and other furnishing articles, wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool, excluding knit, bonded, felt, quilted or stuffed articles.
65692	Other made-up textile articles, n.e.c.
65730	Carpets and rugs, wholly or in chief weight cotton, wool, or jute.
65740	Vinyl asbestos tiles.
65770	Tapestries, hand woven or needle-worked, wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool.
65780	Mats, matting, screens, and other items, n.e.c., of cotton or jute plaiting materials.
66181	Asphalt and tar roofing and siding.
66246	Nonrefractory ceramic hollow tubes.
66312	Hand polishing stones and similar stones of natural abrasives.
66320	Other abrasive paper and cloth, coated with natural abrasives, except dental abrasives.
66381	Packing, gaskets, textiles, yarns, and other manufactures of asbestos, other than friction materials, n.e.c.
66391	Other laboratory and industrial ceramic wares, not refractory.
66420	Other optical glass and elements thereof, not optically worked.
66470	Other laminated glass or toughened safety glass.
66480	Mirrors for automotive vehicles.
66494	Other articles of glass fiber, n.e.c. (Report glass fiber yarn, roving, and strand in export control commodity No. 65180, and tape in No. 65380.)
66512	Glass inners for vacuum vessels.
66581	Laboratory, hygienic, or pharmaceutical glassware.
66585	Articles of glass, n.e.c., the following only: floaters, glass valves, and ballentini reflective material.
66700	Diamonds, rubies and sapphires, natural and synthetic, suitable for gem stones. (Report industrial diamonds, natural, in export control commodity No. 27515; and report stones, mounted or unmounted, worked so as to be recognizable as parts of meters, measuring instruments, clocks, watches, etc., in the appropriate classification provided for parts of the specific item.)
68111	Silver, leaf.
69110	Finished structural parts and structures, iron or steel, as follows: architectural and ornamental work; anchors and fittings for reinforcing refractory walls. bulkhead (water gates); gangways; sluice gates; guardrails; platforms; portholes not specially designed for military watercraft; prayer rails; loading ramps (nonmechanical); and turnstiles, not electric or coin operated.

EXHIBIT 3

Commodities decontrolled for exports to Eastern European Communist countries, excluding East Germany—Continued

Export control commodity No.	Commodity description
69120	Aluminum structural parts as follows: fencing and railing, ornamental; gangways; portholes; prayer rails; scaffolding equipment; tower sections; and turnstiles.
69211	Septic tanks, iron or steel.
69213	Septic tanks, aluminum.
69221	Other shipping containers, iron or steel.
69222	Other shipping containers, aluminum, including barrels, boxes, chests and collapsible tubes.
69510	Hand tools mainly used in agriculture or forestry, and parts, n.e.c., as follows: cant hooks; digging bars; digging spuds; gardeners' trowels; mattocks; picks; pike poles; wheel-type cultivators; and wheel-type seeders.
69521	Power saw blades, woodworking; and hand-operated saws, hand saw frames, and saw blades, except hacksaw blades; and parts, n.e.c.
69522	Metal-cutting shears and tinmen's snips, not power-operated; wrenches; pliers, pincers and other similar hand tools, and parts, n.e.c.; and files, rasps, and file accessories.
69523	Other hand tools, n.e.c., and parts.
69524	Other cutting tools, dies, and parts.
69525	Other machine knives and blades.
69609	Knife blanks.
69791	Steel wool, pot scourers, and other polishing pads, iron or steel.
69794	Figures, flower racks, mirrors, trays, and photograph or picture frames of base metals, n.e.c.
69811	Motor vehicle locks; ignition locks; and tire locks.
69811	Window locks and safety hasps, nonferrous metal; and key blanks, all metals.
69812	Hardware and parts of base metal, as follows: transportation hardware, all metals; furniture beading, nickel-plated steel; edgings, all metals; furniture hardware, stainless steel; builders' hardware, nonferrous metal; hand rails, all metals; and other hardware, stainless steel, except hinges and butts.
69830	Other chains and parts, iron and steel, n.e.c.
69840	Anchors, grapnels, and parts, iron or steel.
69854	Buckles with die-cut inserts, and belt hooks, all metals; belt fasteners (other than buckles), clasps, grommets, and similar articles of stainless steel.
69861	Other wire springs, iron or steel.
69885	Commercial closures of metal, n.e.c.
69891	Iron or steel cargo hooks; and malleable iron manhole covers.
69899	Other aluminum or aluminum allow castings and forgings.
69899	Articles of nonferrous metals, n.e.c., other than copper or copper alloy, the following only: boat spikes, wire nails, wire staples, and wire spikes; bolts, screws, rivets, washers and similar articles, except screw eyes and screw hooks; brackets for mounting outboard motors; bulletin boards; cans, n.e.c., made or cut from nonferrous base metals; caskets; clothes-line (dryer) reels; fog horns, nonelectric, for ships; hinge chaplets; lids for boxes; link chains; mooring swivels; car locks; pipe hangers; riget tile; tool boxes and tool chests, empty; and utility boxes.
71189	Windmills and parts, n.e.c.
71711	Cotton gins.
71712	Looms other than cotton looms.
71713	Parts, accessories, and attachments for: (a) cotton gins, and (b) looms other than cotton looms.
71713	Other parts, accessories and attachments for machines for extruding man-made fibers, and for other machines for preparing and processing natural or manmade fibers into yarns, and for winding.
71714	Millinery dies (hat blocks), nonferrous metal.
71715	Silk screen printing equipment; pleating (folding) machines; and parts and attachments, n.e.c.
71811	Laminators, electric, for restoring manuscripts and documents; and parts and attachments.
71811	Other machinery for making or finishing cellulosic pulp, paper or paperboard: and parts and attachments.
71812	Other papercutting machines and machines, n.e.c., for the manufacture of articles of paper pulp, paper or paperboard; and parts and attachments, n.e.c.
71821	Bookbinding machines, and parts.
71829	Price marking machines, and plane-o-plate rotary shavers, and parts.
71831	Grain cleaning machines, and corn husking machines, and parts.
71839	Chocolate homogenizers, and parts.
71842	Snow plows, farm-type; and parts, accessories, and attachments.
71915	Other airconditioning and refrigerating equipment; and parts, n.e.c., including parts for self-contained air conditioning machines. (Report compressors in export control commodity No. 71922.)
71919	Other machines and equipment, other than domestic, for treatment of material by a process involving a change in temperature; and parts, n.e.c.
71922	Compressors, refrigeration and airconditioning type, 1/5 horsepower and under; and parts, n.e.c.
71923	Laboratory centrifuges, n.e.c., and parts, n.e.c.
71931	Automobile lifts; jacks for automotive vehicles or aircraft; and parts, n.e.c.
71931	Other hand-operated, mechanical and hydraulic jacks; and parts, n.e.c.
71931	Farm elevators; and parts, n.e.c.
71931	Elevators and moving stairways; and parts, n.e.c.
71941	Butter churns, farm type; and parts.
71942	Condensers and evaporators for nonelectric domestic refrigerators; and parts.
71951	Cutting machines for ceramics and similar nonmetallic materials, except quartz, crystal, masonry, or stone.
71951	Other machines, n.e.c., for working asbestos-cement, ceramics, concrete, quartz crystals, masonry, stone (including artificial, precious and semiprecious stones), and similar mineral materials. (Report parts in export control commodity No. 71954.)
71952	Other machines, n.e.c., for working bone, ebonite, hard plastics, and other hard carving materials. (Report parts in export control commodity No. 71954.)
71954	Parts, accessories, and attachments for cutting machines for ceramics and similar nonmetallic materials, except glass, quartz crystal, masonry or stone.
71954	Parts, accessories, and attachments for other machines for working asbestos-cement, ceramics, concrete, quartz crystals, masonry, stone (including artificial precious, and semiprecious stones), and similar mineral materials.
71954	Parts, accessories, and attachments for other machines for working bone, ebonite, hard plastic, and other hard carving materials.
71961	Other calendering machines and similar rolling machines, n.e.c.; and parts.
71963	Lead scale weights for weighing machines.
71964	Hydra-blast parts cleaners, and parts therefor; and windshield washer sets.
71964	Sprayers and dusters, agricultural and pesticidal, except lawn sprinklers; and parts, n.e.c., except nozzles.
71964	Other spray nozzles of metal; and hand-operated spray guns; and parts, n.e.c.
71964	Other sprayers and spraying equipment, n.e.c.; and parts, n.e.c.
71980	Concrete and bituminous pavers, finishers, and spreaders; and parts and accessories, n.e.c.
71980	Windshield wipers, nonelectric, and parts, n.e.c.
71980	Shock absorbers, mechanical or hydraulic.
71992	Other taps, cocks, valves and similar appliances, n.e.c., and parts.
71994	Other gaskets (joints), laminated metal and nonmetal material, or set of gaskets of two or more materials.
72320	Other electrical insulators and fittings of insulating materials, n.e.c.
72410	Color television broadcast receivers, whether or not combined with radio or phonograph; and unassembled color television kits.
72499	Automobile radio receiver antennas; and parts and accessories, n.e.c., specially designed for home-type radio and television receivers and automobile receivers, except communications receivers.
72505	Galleys, buffet servers, ovens, and other equipment specially designed for aircraft; electric heaters for automotive vehicles; and parts.
72620	Other medical and dental X-ray and gamma ray equipment; and medical and dental apparatus based on the use of radiations from radio-active substances; and parts, n.e.c.
72912	Battery separators and blanks, wood; and battery parts made of rubber.
72941	Spark plugs, aircraft and automotive types, and parts. (Report insulators in export control commodity No. 72320.)
72941	Other electrical starting and ignition equipment for other internal combustion engines; and parts.
72942	Other motor vehicle lighting equipment, signaling equipment, horns, electrical windshield wipers, and defrosters; and parts therefor.
72951	Other electricity supply meters. (Report parts in export control commodity No. 86199.)
72952	Test benches, electrical, for automotive engines, brakes, pumps and speedometers.
72960	Electromechanical hand tools; and parts.
72996	Other lighting carbons, brush stock, and carbon brushes.
73280	Heaters for nonmilitary vehicles; and parts.
73291	Other motorcycles, motor bikes, and motor scooters.
73292	Parts and accessories for other motorcycles, motor bikes, and motor scooters.
73300	Logging wagons; and parts. (Report off-highway trucks and trailers in export control commodity No. 73203.)
73593	Buoys, all metals; pontoons for pipe lines, iron or steel; and fiberglass swimming pools, floating.
81210	Central heating apparatus, n.e.c., and parts, n.e.c.
81241	Vapor-proof electric light fixtures.
81242	Explosion-proof lighting fixtures; and vapor-proof lighting fixtures.
82103	Mattresses, mattress supports, and similar stuffed furnishings, n.e.c., cotton

EXHIBIT 3

Commodities decontrolled for exports to Eastern European Communist countries, excluding East Germany—Continued

Export control commodity No.	Commodity description
82108	Plastic furniture; and laboratory furniture, metal; and parts, n.e.c.
83100	Travel goods, handbags, and other personal goods of cotton.
84111	Men's and boys' outergarments (excludes shirts), not knit or crocheted: (a) wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool, or (b) safety apparel and raincoats, all materials.
84112	Women's, misses', girls', children's and infants' outergarments, including blouses, waists, and blouse shirts, not knit or crocheted: (a) wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool, or (b) safety apparel and raincoats, all materials.
84113	Men's and boys' undergarments, including outer shirts, not knit or crocheted, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84114	Women's, girls' and infants' undergarments (excludes blouse shirts), not knit or crocheted, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84121	Handkerchiefs, wholly or in chief weight of cotton.
84125	Corsets, brassieres, and girdles of cotton or other textile fibers, n.e.c., except rubberized.
84126	Gloves and mittens, not knit or crocheted, wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool.
84127	Cuffs and collars, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool; and neckties, cravats, mufflers, and scarves, not knit or crocheted, all materials.
84129	Clothing accessories, not knit or crocheted, wholly or chief weight of cotton or wool, n.e.c.
84130	Safety apparel and clothing accessories of leather.
84141	Gloves, knit or crocheted, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84142	Hosiery, not elastic or rubberized, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84143	Undergarments, including shirts, knit or crocheted, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84145	Knitted or crocheted elastic fabric and articles thereof, except ankle supports, knee-pads, and wristlets.
84146	Men's and boys' outergarments (excludes shirts), knit or crocheted, not elastic or rubberized: (a) waterproof, all fibers, (b) neckties, cravats, mufflers, and scarves, all fibers, and (c) other outergarments, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84147	Women's and misses' outergarments, knit or crocheted, not elastic or rubberized: (a) waterproof, all fibers, (b) mufflers and scarves, all fibers, and (c) other outergarments, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84148	Girls', children's, and infants' outergarments, knit or crocheted, not elastic or rubberized: (a) waterproof, all fibers, (b) mufflers and scarves, all fibers, and (c) other outergarments, wholly or in chief weight of cotton or wool.
84149	Other non-apparel articles, knit or crocheted, not elastic or rubberized.
84154	Hat and cap materials, except hat bodies, wholly or in chief weight cotton, jute, wool or textile manufactures, n.e.c. (Report hat bodies in export control commodity No. 65570.)
84155	Other millinery, hats, caps, and other headgear, n.e.c., including helmets.
84160	Other apparel and clothing accessories, including surgeons gloves, rubber or rubberized.
84202	Artificial fur and articles thereof, wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool.
85100	Nonmilitary spats, leggings, and gaiters, wholly or in chief weight cotton or wool.
86120	Protective spectacles and goggles (safety equipment).
86134	Other microscopes, excluding electron and proton; microprojectors; and photomicrographic equipment; and parts and accessories.
86135	Telescopes, including astronomical telescopes.
86171	Dental hand instruments and tools for use with hand pieces, n.e.c., and parts.
86172	Whirlpool baths.
86182	Other revolution counters, production counters, and similar counting devices, n.e.c.
86193	Optical measuring and checking instruments; and parts.
86193	Other measuring and checking instruments, appliances and machines; and parts.
86196	Laboratory type hydrometers and similar instruments; and thermometers, pyrometers, barometers, hygrometers, psychrometers, and any combination of these.
86243	Paper, paperboard and cloth, sensitized, not developed.
86248	Exposed sensitized plates, and exposed and developed plates, except lantern slides.
86401	Other clocks, electric and nonelectric; and time recording and time stamp machines.
86402	Other clock parts.
89111	Magnetic recording and/or reproducing equipment for voice and music only.
89112	Parts and accessories for magnetic recording and/or reproducing equipment for voice and music only.
89300	Other finished articles, n.e.c., of artificial plastic materials, except articles wholly or partially made of polyimides, polybenzimidazole, polyimidazo-pyrrolone, aromatic polyamide, polyparaxylylene, polytetrafluoroethylene, or polychlorotrifluoroethylene; or items wholly made of other fluorocarbon polymers of copolymers.
89425	Artificial Christmas trees, metal; and tinsel of metal.
89442	Base metal wire wickets; and safety apparel and equipment for recreational purposes.
89512	Stapling wire (all metals) on spools; and nonferrous metal staples for hand-stapling devices.
89711	Jewelry and related items of carat gold, platinum, and platinum group metals, except rosaries.
89714	Other articles of other than precious metals, incorporating pearls or precious or semi-precious stones.
89715	Hollow ware, solid or plated, of precious metals; and silver leaf.
89927	Hand sieves and hand riddles, laboratory types.
89927	Other wire cloth sieves.
89928	Hat braids of natural or man-made fibers.
89934	Cigarette and cigar lighters of precious metals.
89952	Leatherette buttons.
89955	Corset stays, and similar supports for apparel.
89994	Wool-like specialty hair prepared for making wigs and similar articles.
89995	Wigs, false beards, and other articles, n.e.c., of wool-like specialty hair.
89997	Vacuum bottles, jugs, and chests, complete (assembled or unassembled), usable only for hot or cold food or drinks.
96100	Coin, other than gold coin, not being legal tender. (Report numismatic and collectors coins in export control commodity No. 89600; coins mounted in objects of personal adornment in Nos. 89711–89720; coins for legal tender in Nos. 68070 and 68080.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I call attention to a few items. I want to intrigue the curiosity, if I can, of Senators and students, who will read it carefully in its entirety, because some of the things are extremely interesting.

One of the items we are exporting to Russia is crude rubber. We are exporting crude rubber to a country that desperately needs it, I presume, for the tanks and trucks they send to Vietnam. They are not using it to build automobiles. They are borrowing money with credits guaranteed by our American Government with which to build automobiles so that they can have them for somebody besides bureaucrats and politicians. Whatever they are using it for, the rubber is available.

Scrap metal is also available here.

If any junk dealer in the area wants to make a profit, Russia will buy that material from him. We will not restrict it. We hope that they will not use it to kill American boys, but I think it is a futile hope. Clearly we guessed wrong with the Japanese some 25 years ago.

Let us go to the next page. There we find listed machinery and transport equipment, machinery other than electric, electrical apparatus and appliances, and transport equipment. Interspersed here and there are some agricultural commodities, a great many other products and raw materials, and a few medicinal supplies.

I would not send them any of it, if I had a right to say anything about it, except the medicine and the things that deal with humanitarian purposes.

I would not send them anything that leads to inhumanity or anything which can be fabricated into something that will kill American boys now serving in Vietnam.

I refer now to the items listed on exhibit 3. They talked about iron back at the time of Pearl Harbor. However, this time we forget about that and open up the floodgates. We kept them closed for the first 3 years of this war until on October 12, 1966, the President said it is okay to sell it.

They list asbestos, aluminum, natural gas, and other kinds of gas available for exportation to Russia.

I suspect that they are running out of gas. They are selling so much of their petroleum to Vietnam to keep them fighting, they now have to buy some of it from us.

More than 100 different kinds of chemicals are listed here for unlimited, unlicensed export and sale to Russia.

I will let the list speak for itself, but I want to point out that when they talk about nonstrategic material, even in this sanitized listing, we have to be more gullible than I believe any Senator can ever become and stay in these halls to read that list of things we are exporting, and believe that stuff is not being used in the war and not being used to shore up the industrial complex of Russia so that she can step up the war supplies she ships to Vietnam.

Mr. President, if this were a cleaner list, if they censored it again and sanitized it with greater degrees of purity, I would still submit the argument then that sending to the Russian industrial complex and its economy today anything beyond the requirements of humanity for food, if starvation is involved, and for medicine for people who are ill in times of pestilence and serious disease, should be prevented so long as Russia is the factory fortress prolonging the capacity of the North Vienamese to continue this war.

One does not have to be a Harvard professor to figure that if we were just going to ship them bicycles and irons for pressing clothes and washing machines and the so-called consumer goods items it would not make any substantial difference. We step up their war productive capacity that much every time we relieve a Russian worker, machine, or stock of raw materials from the essentiality of manufacturing consumer goods that they have to have in order to keep the people from revolting and to meet the people's creature comforts. Any time we Americans take care of those consumer items, we release men, material, and machines for them to use in making weapons and missiles, and thereby make possible bigger shipments of better weapons to Hanoi to be used in building bigger American casualty lists in that far-off battle area.

And where are the Russians sending them, on the record from the State Department, the Department of Defense, the CIA, and the press? The military stuff they fabricate is going in big volume to Vietnam to kill American boys.

It is that atmosphere in which we should think about the responsibility of even those who intend to vote for the treaty to put in it a reservation which will prevent that kind of war shipment from continuing. If that kind of shipment does continue, we should defer the treaty until such time as we can bring about a cessation of this traffic in blood.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I hope that every Senator will take the occasion to read the magnificent address delivered today by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota. This address is illuminating and should be very convincing to any man who is openminded on this question of the Consular Treaty.

It seems to me, and I have been around Washington for 12 years, now going on the 13th year, that the moment the administration takes a position, approximately 40 to 50 percent of the Senate goes right along with the administration.

It seems that in the minority party there are a number of Senators who go along.

Mr. President, I feel that America is today really facing a crisis. I have felt for a number of years that we have helped to support communism by aid in trade, as the distinguished Senator from South Dakota has brought out today. We furnished them wheat a few years ago.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; and the Senator approved at that time my amendment to prevent that type of aid to Communist Russia.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct. We also guaranteed repayment of the money to the bankers who loaned the money to the Communists with which to buy the wheat.

What are we up to? What obligation have we to a conspiracy that says: "We are going to stab you in the back. We are going to take over the world. We are going to make slaves out of you and your children."

Why should we furnish money to support the Communist governments? Why do we now wish to enter into a treaty with a Communist government that has as its goal the domination and enslavement of the world?

Why do we wish to help support and to make friends with a government that is today furnishing practically all of its goods to be used in the war against South Vietnam to kill American men?

Every vital machine and every weapon in use in the war in Vietnam today is furnished by Russia with the exception of some rifles, ammunition, and a few trucks.

Mr. MUNDT. Which in turn come from Communist China.

Mr. THURMOND. That is correct, they come from Communist China.

I read an article today by Henry J. Taylor, in which he stated that we are furnishing equipment to Czechoslovakia which they use in turn to make war equipment to send to Vietnam to kill our men.

We sell material, as the distinguished Senator from South Dakota has said, to other countries. Rumania was mentioned, Poland was mentioned, and other countries were mentioned. We furnish the basic resource, the materials. We furnish machine parts, and we furnish chemicals, and we furnish the things they need. Because of that, they are able to support the war effort in Vietnam to a great extent.

The same situation prevailed when we sold wheat to the Russians. They were able to keep in their gun plants and their missile plants the men they would have had to take out of the plants and put on the farms to grow more food.

Mr. President, the Senator from South Dakota has rendered our country a great service by his address. I hope that not only Senators but also all the American people will read this address. When the American people get the truth, they will rise and demand that Congress take the right stand on this question.

We have gone along and played with communism. We have compromised with communism. We have accommodated communism. We have done everything to placate the Communists.

We did not win the war against the Communists in Korea when we could have and should have won it. General MacArthur said that we could have won the war at one point in 10 days, but we did not do so. We did not win the war in Korea, and as a consequence we are having trouble in Vietnam; and if we do not win the war in Vietnam, we will have to fight again—and possibly closer to home the next time.

I hope the people of this country will awake before it is too late. I hope they will rise up and demand that their representatives in Congress—who are their representatives and do represent them—will take the right stand on this vital issue before the American people. There is no question in my mind that this is the issue. It means the very survival of this country. This communistic issue is the important issue before America today. No other question is more important. Russia is part of an international conspiracy whose purpose is to take over the world.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. THURMOND. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from South Carolina is a longtime student of American history, especially in its military annals, because he was promoted to the rank of general in the Armed Forces of this country. He is one of the few members of the Armed Forces of such high rank in either body of Congress. Does he believe that we would be at war in Vietnam today, or would have become involved at any stage in the war in Vietnam, if it were not for the existence of aggressive international communism, if it were just a question of Ho Chi Minh possibly being an irritable fellow or having some malicious ideas? Does the Senator believe that we would have been dragged into the war or would have been kept in it except for the demonstrable fact that there we are at war with aggressive, militaristic communism?

Mr. THURMOND. In reply to the question of the Senator from South Dakota, I will state, as I have stated heretofore on numerous occasions, that the war in Vietnam today is not a war between the north and the south. It is not a civil war, as some liberal news media in this country would lead the people to believe. It does not involve a difference of opinion between the people of one part of the country and the people of another. This is a war on the part of the Communists to take over the world. They just happened to use Vietnam this time in which to fight the war. They chose to fight in Korea a few years ago. They will choose some other place in the future.

The war in Vietnam is simply another battle by the Communists in their overall goal and overall desire to take over the world. I hope the American people will realize that, and I hope they will realize that what we are fighting for in Vietnam is not simply to help the people of South Vietnam maintain their freedom, as the President has said, because we would have no justification for sending American soldiers there, much as we may sympathize with the people of South Vietnam, to maintain their freedom. The only justification we have for sending soldiers to South Vietnam is for the national interest of the United States. If it is to our national interest, then we have a right to send soldiers there, and should send them there, and we have sent them there for that purpose—although this Government has never admitted that in so many words, as I have just attempted to state it.

Our national interest is at stake in Vietnam today; and if we do not win this war, I repeat that we will have to fight again, and it appears that every generation will have to fight. Men who fought in Korea are now fighting in Vietnam, or their sons are fighting there. There will be no end to this problem unless we fight this war to win it.

This war would fold up tomorrow, so far as the real practical effect of it is concerned, if Soviet Russia withdrew the support she is giving there—the antiaircraft artillery, the surface-to-air missiles, the Mig planes, the furnishing of 25,000 metric tons of oil a month. The complex radar equipment that is being used in Vietnam and the trucks that are sent there are mostly Soviet. Any facet of the war one can think of is being provided by Soviet Russia. If Soviet Russia were taken out of this war, the war would fold up immediately.

Red China is furnishing some of the ammunition and small arms, but that is about all. Soviet Russia is furnishing 90 percent or more of the armaments and equipment and ammunition and the logistic support to fight this war.

Mr. MUNDT. I agree with the Senator from South Carolina. If we could get the administration to realize the nature of the enemy and the source of the problem, I believe we could begin making some headway in steps designed to shorten the war and to bring it to a successful end.

Certainly, if what the Senator has said is true—and I believe it is—that the thing that holds us in Vietnam and took us there is a consideration of our national interests, that it would be detrimental to our national interests to be defeated there and to be driven out, and that if we were thereby demonstrated to be a paper tiger, I believe it could lead to nuclear war and set back the possibilities of an enduring peace by many generations.

If our being in Vietnam is in our national interest, can the Senator conceivably find any reason why it is in our national interest at this time to ratify a consular treaty, tied in by its major exponents with expanded trade to Russia, to bolster a machine with which we are at war? Could that conceivably be in our national interest?

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator has explained this matter so simply today, that I do not see how any fifth grade child could fail to understand the true situation.

I should like to ask the Senator this question: Is it not true that if we ratify this Consular Treaty, the world will be led to believe that we are now very friendly with communism, and would it not cause people behind the Iron Curtain—the captive nations—to lose hope in America and to lose their hope of some day being liberated?

Mr. MUNDT. I can see no other possible reaction. And that is made increasingly true because of the deliberate and purposeful policy of the President in linking the Consular Treaty to East-West trade. The State Department witnesses did the same thing. Its major newspaper support, the New York Times, which either always echoes the ideas of the State Department or thinks them up for the State Department—I am never sure which; but they are always together. The New York Times advocates the two together.

The people around the world can read and hear. What will be the reaction to a country which in the fifth year of a war is taking steps to expand the capacity of the enemy to do us in? What can be their reaction? They think as human beings and react to the logic of events the same as we do.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not true that if we ratify the Consular Treaty, it will tend to raise the prestige of the Soviet Union, whose goal is to dominate the rest of the world, because the United States has recognized Russia in a treaty, indicating that it can trust the Russians and have faith in them and do business with them?

Mr. MUNDT. Unless we enact one or both of these reservations which we are going to vote on next week, the Senator's statement is demonstrably true. Add to that the fact that they have seduced us into acting on the treaty first. The Russians have not ratified it. They may never ratify it, but they can wave it around the capitals of the world, demonstrating how they made Uncle Sam creep and crawl, saying, "Please, Mother Russia, won't you please let us have a treaty with you? We will forget about your espionage, we will forget about your sabotage, we will forget about your propaganda, and we will forget about the fact that you are supplying Hanoi with the weapons which are killing our boys and prolonging the war. Won't you please ratify this treaty with us?"

What a propaganda tool to hand the Communists. Why do we not have at least the prudence to insist that if there is going to be a treaty let them ratify it first? Why hand them this great propaganda document? It is beyond me to comprehend.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

(At this point, Mr. KENNEDY of New York assumed the chair.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, when history records these years I have served in this body I assume it will report the period as that time in which our prime effort has been to seek equality of treatment for all our citizens.

At no other period of our history have we been so dedicated to the achievement of this equality. We are unstinting in this total effort to afford all Americans equality in education, in environment, in the marketplace.

At no other time in this world's history has a nation bestowed such a full measure of rights, of benefits, of full recognition of individual dignity upon the citizen as inheres in America today.

And we are generous in sharing our gifts, blessings, and good fortunes with those who come here from other nations to visit, to trade, to learn and to witness our artistic splendor or our scientific skills or to contest our athletes.

Those who come share equally with us this great life in America. They also stand equal to our own in the interpretation of laws by our tribunals.

We have acquitted ourselves by keeping faith with those noble documents written by our first citizens—we have interpreted those documents in the spirit and to the letter of their making.

But today the Senate is being asked to approve another document setting standards of human conduct. We are being asked to ratify an agreement with another large and powerful nation about the treatment of our citizens when within the jurisdiction of the other nation.

We are asked to ratify an agreement signed more than 2 years ago because a similar agreement, identical in purpose, made 34 years ago, has not been honored by our cosignatory. We are asked to reaffirm a 34-year course of our respectable conduct because that cosignatory has, for 34 years, disregarded its pledge of respectable conduct.

We must reaffirm our good treatment of Russian nationals because we seek, but have not yet achieved, good treatment for American nationals.

We are now being asked to ratify an agreement binding our citizens to inequality, to abuse, to degradation, and to a standard of conduct far below the norms of this Nation.

We are exhorted to give faith where experience and judgment fail to support that faith.

We are asked to abandon that high principle of equality of treatment for our citizens in order to propitiate those who recognize no such principle.

This I will not ask Americans to do. I will demand for them as good as they give. I will not accept less.

We have suffered this inequality for 34 years. We are told that "things have changed" in Russia. We are told that the Russian heart has warmed—that the Russian smile is sincere, not sinister.

But I can make my case for demanding equality of treatment on circumstances of recent date. I can make my case on the record which has been built since this Consular Convention was formally signed by representatives of the United States and the U.S.S.R. a little more than 2½ years ago.

It was more than 2½ years ago that representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Soviet-American Consular Treaty in Moscow. For reasons we need not go into now, the administration first submitted the treaty for ratification by the Senate but then withdrew it before it came to the floor.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield at that point?

Mr. CURTIS. I am happy to yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I think I heard the Senator say earlier in his remarks that we were now trying to revive or reconstitute an agreement or treaty which was signed 34 years ago; is that what I heard the Senator say?

Mr. CURTIS. I said that 34 years ago we entered into a treaty with the Soviet Union, wherein each country pledged equal and fair treatment of the other.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, a recognition treaty?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, a recognition treaty, one to the other. We have consistently lived up to it but the Soviet Union has not. Yet, we are being asked to sign the same kind of agreement again.

Mr. MUNDT. I am sure that the Senator is also aware that as a condition precedent, and as an attendant and associate circumstance of our signing that treaty of recognition, there was an exchange of letters between Litvinov and President Roosevelt in which, Litvinov, speaking for the head of state, stated that Russia would, from that point on, grant us virtually the same kind of consular concessions which we are now talking about in the pending treaty, absent only the complete immunity clause; is that not correct?

Mr. CURTIS. I think that is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. We have had some decisions recognized by both parties in that communication, earlier in the days of association between Russia and the United States, which were disposed of in conformity with that agreement. That agreement was precise and definite.

Well, earlier in the hearings, there was brought out, I believe by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], that this agreement did exist. As a distinguished lawyer, he said that it was still operative. At that time, the State Department said it had been abrogated, it no longer holds, it no longer is binding, it no longer prevails.

This question kept cropping up in meeting after meeting of the group considering it, so that finally, on February 25, Carl Marcy, the very able and dedicated chief of staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations, at my specific request, which was incorporated in the printed testimony, wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, stating:

> During the hearings of February 17 on the proposed consular convention with the Soviet Union, Senator Mundt stated that he would like to know on what date the Russians abrogated the Litvinov agreement, and for the text of the communication by which it was abrogated . . .

Because I doubt very much that it was done by long distance telephone.

> . . . Senator Sparkman, acting chairman of the committee, replied, "We will make that inquiry and get that information for the record."
>
> We would appreciate having the information Senator Mundt requests as soon as possible.
>
> Sincerely yours, Carl Marcy.

On February 25, 1967, there was transmitted to me, with a letter from Carl Marcy, the answer which was received to his letter to the Department of State, and the letter is on the same date as the one which he addressed to me, incorporating in that letter to Carl Marcy some rather interesting statements.

The Senator may recall that in defining the kind of consular considerations which would prevail as the result of the Litvinov-Roosevelt agreement, the condition precedent to the agreement on the recognition treaty, Litvinov stated that:

> We will provide for you the same kind of consular considerations which prevail in a consular treaty which we have already worked out with the German government.

That is on German-Russian relations. He added one sentence, which can be found in the documentary evidence from the big book which contains the exchange of papers—

> We think it would be well to try to negotiate a specific consular convention between the two countries, but once we are recognized, we will extend immediately all the considerations of the German-Soviet treaty to the Americans.

As everyone knows, Russia has violated that agreement time after time after time. We had to withdraw our consular offices in Vladivostok. We had trouble with their consular offices on the west coast. It got so bad that we took our consular officers out of Russia and they took theirs out of the United States in protest against our protest against them.

The question is: Was it abrogated?

This is a question which the Senator is raising in his remarks, as to the record of good faith of the Communists in making these treaties.

Is their record of adherence to these agreements good enough so that we want to sign another one with them?

Well, what is their performance record?

It is very bad.

Thus, we wanted to know from the State Department if the 1934 agreement had been abrogated, because it certainly took the action of someone to bring abrogation about, either by letter or communication of some kind, by some official of the Russian government.

The letter of February 25, to Mr. Marcy, is the result, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 25, 1967.

Hon. CARL MARCY,
Chief of Staff, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARCY: Thank you for your letter of February 23, 1967, in which you pass on the Foreign Relations Committee's inquiry as to when and by what communication the "Litvinoff agreement" of 1933 was abrogated by the Soviet Union. Your reference presumably is to Foreign Minister Litvinoff's letter to President Roosevelt of November 16, 1933, in which the Soviet Union promised unilaterally to extend to American nationals the provisions for consular notification and access contained in the Soviet-German Agreement Concerning Conditions of Residence and Business and Legal Protection of October 12, 1925. I am attaching a copy of Mr. Litvinoff's letter which included the pertinent extracts from the Soviet-German Agreement of 1925.

The Soviet-German Agreement was never, to our knowledge, formally abrogated. It ceased to have effect, however, upon the outbreak of armed hostilities between the two countries during World War II, when each country withdrew its diplomatic and consular personnel. After the war, and the occupation and division of Germany, the pre-war Soviet-German Agreement was not revived. Instead the Soviet Union negotiated new Consular Treaties with both the Federal Republic of Germany and the so-called "German Democratic Republic"—neither of which contain any guarantees of consular notification or access to arrested nationals. I am attaching a copy of Article 17 of the Soviet Agreement of 1958 with the Federal Republic of Germany.

The post-war legal situation with respect to consular protection of American citizens in the Soviet Union, prior to the 1964 signature of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Consular convention now pending before the Senate, may thus be summarized as one in which there were no Soviet treaties in force to which the Litivinoff most-favored-nation pledge could attach. This was one of the reasons that persuaded the Department to negotiate the 1964 Convention, containing as it does clear and explicit guarantees of consular notification and access.

The Litvinoff pledge itself, for what it was worth, has also never been formally withdrawn. However Mr. Litvinoff's letter linked the Soviet pledge to the stated expectation that the two countries would "immediately" negotiate at consular convention on the same subject. As you know, this expectation was not fulfiled since no convention was negotiated to agreement until more than thirty years later. The Soviets have long been in the position plausibly to maintain that the Litvinoff pledge was merely an interim undertaking which lapsed upon the failure of the parties "immediately" to negotiate a consular convention.

The legal deficiencies of the "Litvinoff agreement" were among the reasons persuading the Department that the time had come to conclude a treaty containing clear and unequivocal provisions giving us the rights of notification and access in cases of Americans arrested in the Soviet Union. These provisions are essential if American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union are to be afforded the consular protection they deserve. The 1964 Consular Convention and its Protocol achieve this purpose by making it unambiguously clear that notification and access must be granted within four days from the time of arrest or detention of an American national and on a continuing basis thereafter.

If I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it will be noted that this letter states categorically "this treaty has never, to our knowledge, been formally abrogated. The Litvinov pledge itself, for what it was worth, has also never been formally withdrawn." Thus, we now have it on the record, from the Department of State itself, that there has been no abrogation of the Litvinov agreement, that what we have had is a series of violations of the understanding and the treaty and, unhappily for the relationships between our two countries, there have been violations of like kind in so many treaties that the Department of State itself has published a report of treaty violations with the Soviet Union containing all the treaties and specific instances of Soviet violations.

This report is available. They do not like to circulate it very much these days, but they are obliged to make it available to anyone who asks for it from our State Department.

This is all rather basic as we start to think about other treaties with the Soviet Union. What I have stated, I believe, will affirm what the Senator from Nebraska has properly alluded to in the understanding reached 34 years ago, which has been violated and violated and violated time and time again.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the Senator from South Dakota.

I ask the Senate to delay action on it until President Johnson and his Secretary of State provide us with some solid assurances that the United States will, in fact, achieve equality in treatment for its citizens once the treaty goes into effect.

I will not now go into the long history of American disappointments with the Soviet Union in its manner of carrying out its treaty obligations.

It appears to be curious timing, however, for the United States to be ratifying this Consular Treaty, long coveted by the Soviet Union, at this particular time. Let us look back over the past 2½ years since Ambassador Kohler and Foreign Minister Gromyko signed the Consular Treaty in Moscow on June 1, 1964.

Since that time the Soviet Union has increased sharply its material support, in warplanes, antiaircraft missiles, and other arms, for the North Vietnamese nation which this Senate has frequently condemned for its aggression against South Vietnam.

Would we not be rewarding the Soviet Union for arming the aggressors in North Vietnam, the forces waging war against American boys in southeast Asia? How does the consular treaty fit into the broader context of overall Soviet-American relations?

The President, in his state of the Union message, tells us that—

> Our relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe are . . . in transition. We have avoided both the acts and the rhetoric of the cold war. When we have differed with the Soviet Union, or other nations for that matter, I tried to differ quietly with courtesy and without venom. Our objective is not to continue the cold war, but to end it.

Are we not entitled to learn from the President how he expects to continue this so-called transition out of the difficult period of the cold war when at the same time the United States is engaged in a hot war against a nation whose principal ally is the Soviet Union?

I am aware that I am raising broader questions than those that deal with the Consular Treaty alone. But this need not make them any less valid. The Consular Treaty does not come before us in a vacuum, but in the real world of today.

Let us also consider the Consular Treaty, however, in the narrower context of treatment of American nationals in the Soviet Union. The history of the last 2½ years, since Foreign Minister Gromyko signed his name to the Consular Treaty, is no less disconcerting.

We learned, only a few days ago, of the diligent and commendable pressures exerted by the administration to effect the release of Vladimir Kazan-Komarek, the American of Czech origin convicted of treason by a Communist court in Prague and sentenced to 8 years in jail. Have we already forgotten how he fell into the hands of the Czech authorities? The Soviet Union is widely believed to have taken the trouble to divert one of its Moscow-to-Paris international flights to set down in Prague, an unscheduled stop, so that Kazan-Komarek could be plucked out of the plane. Does this Soviet apparent breach of normal international conduct reassure the President, or any of us, enough to expect honest compliance with the provisions of the Consular Treaty? Will our nationals get the same treatment Soviet citizens get here?

Only a few months ago we learned of the conviction of young Buel Wortham, who was sentenced to 3 years at hard labor by a Leningrad court for having participated with an American companion in a small black marketing deal and for pilfering a statue of a bear. Knowing the severity of life in Soviet labor camps and aware of other nations' less severe attitude toward such minor offenses, does this episode bolster our confidence that the Soviet Union can be counted upon to observe faithfully the provisions of the Consular Treaty to give American citizens greater attention and protection? Equality of treatment?

In this Wortham case we have a comment from Secretary of State Rusk that is far from reassuring. In December he told newsmen at a press conference:

> We did feel that, although these two young men acknowledged the offenses . . . with which they were charged, the punishment was more harsh than the violations themselves would seem to warrant . . .
>
> I do not myself wish to condone these particular actions, but I think, as the Soviet Union moves into a period in which they are trying to encourage tourism and have maximum contacts with other countries, that they might recognize that on occasion minor incidents of this sort may occur and that it will be in their interests to resolve them in accordance with the general practice of most governments when temporary foreign guests pull pranks of this sort—or whatever you want to call it—that would be a violation of local law.
>
> I would hope that the Soviet authorities would take cognizance of this sort of thing and take action to mitigate the punishment that has been meted out to these two men.

Speaking, we must assume, for the executive branch, the Secretary of State thus takes a dim view of this Soviet action against an American citizen. How can he be encouraged to hope for better treatment of Americans once a Consular Treaty is ratified? Foreign Minister Gromyko's signature on the Consular Treaty was long dry when the Wortham sentence was pronounced.

And then there is the tragic, sordid case of Newcomb Mott, the 27-year-old textbook salesman convicted in November 1965, of illegally crossing the Norwegian border into the Soviet Union. He died on his way to a labor camp under extremely suspicious circumstances. The Soviet Union claimed he had committed suicide. When his body was returned to this country many competent authorities concluded he had been murdered.

American Embassy officials were permitted to see Mott while he was in custody, and before he was packed off on a train bound for the Soviet labor camp he did not reach alive. The effectiveness of American Embassy officials in protecting an American citizen in this case could hardly be described as impressive. Three months after his death on January 20, 1966, the U.S. Embassy registered complaints which must raise serious questions about the worth of the provisions in the Consular Treaty for access to Americans arrested in the Soviet Union. The American Embassy sent this message to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

> Certain physical evidence which would have permitted an objective evaluation on the Soviet report (of his alleged suicide) was not made available, such as the instrument with which Mr. Mott is said to have accomplished his alleged suicide and the clothing he wore when he died . . . the report was silent on the following key elements: It does not tell why Mr. Mott was being transported to the place where he was to serve his sentence when, so far as the United States Government is informed, his appeal for clemency had not been decided on . . . there is no description of his alleged act of inflicting wounds on his arms, body and neck prior to the discovery of the guards that Mr. Mott had blood on his body . . . the obscurities and omissions of the Soviet report were called to the attention of the Ministry with the request that the missing items of information be supplied, along with the photographs which were confiscated from Captain James W. Bizzel, the Embassy doctor at the time of the autopsy . . . the Soviet Government's refusal to provide those vital elements of information . . . is scarcely responsive to the Ambassador's request.

A former New York City police commissioner, who examined Mott's body when it was eventually returned, concluded "beyond question" that Mott had been murdered.

Certainly this dreary episode cannot inspire confidence that the Soviet Union intends to honor the commitment implied in its signature on the Consular Treaty to help American officials give protections to their nationals in the Soviet Union. Ought not the Soviet Union be on its good behavior during the period between signature and ratification of the treaty?

What assurances can the President and Secretary of State give the Senate that the Soviet Union will report arrests of American citizens at all, let alone promptly? On the basis of past experience, how do we dare hope they will?

As for the increased dangers of Soviet espionage in this country as a consequence of opening an additional consulate, it is perhaps supercautious to contemplate opposing ratification of the treaty on the grounds it will present the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other American authorities with extraordinary surveillance chores. It appears to be a little facile, on the other hand, to suggest that since the present 452 Soviet diplomats and consular officials will be augmented by only 15, the surveillance problem is insignificant. If President Johnson intends to pursue his "transition" toward an end of the cold war, is it not reasonable to expect that other consular offices will be quick to follow? Besides several more Soviet consulates, may we not expect to see many more East Communist consulates cropping up in other American cities? Will the surveillance problem not have a potential for rather spectacular growth?

If I read the various letters of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover correctly, however, I do not believe he has said his Bureau could not handle the added security problem.

He has merely said what is obvious, that the problem will be made more difficult.

There has been so much emphasis on the espionage potential of these proposed consulates that many of us have lost sight of the principal purpose of a consulate: To increase trade. Why is it that the administration proposes to set up these focal points for increasing Soviet-American trade before there is any evidence that a significant increase in trade is either possible or likely? Since the passing of Stalin, and before, the Soviet Union has sought to expand its trade with the United States, but always with the proviso that the United States advance the Soviet Union substantial loans with which to buy on the American market. It has been the American position, in return, that the Soviet Union must first settle its World War II lend-lease debt, which started at $11 billion and was cut subsequently by the United States first to some $2 billion and later to less than $1 billion.

Does the administration, perhaps, intend to relent on this longstanding policy and begin financing Soviet purchases in this country?

I have enumerated today only some of the fundamental questions to which I believe the Senate deserves clear answers before it is asked to consent to the Soviet consular treaty.

For the past 34 years, since we opened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1933, we have sought in vain to achieve equality of treatment in our dealings with the Soviet Union. Is it not time now that we insist on clearcut, positive assurances that the United States will get the same treatment which the United States provides for the Soviet Union?

Let me therefore propose that the Senate receive from the President a message acknowledging the long history of disparity of treatment and the methods which will be used to receive equality of treatment for American nationals prior to consideration of this treaty with the Soviet Union. We should not be satisfied with a simple generality from the President that the Soviet Union has promised to provide the United States equal treatment. The Senate deserves to know, before it gives its consent to the Consular Treaty, the specific earnests it has received from the Soviet Union which reasonable men can consider adequate from a nation which has failed in the past so frequently to measure up to the norms of civilized behavior.

I would invite my colleagues to ponder whether it befits the dignity of a great power like the United States to accept once again empty assurances of Soviet good intentions without first obtaining the most convincing evidence that the Soviet Union intends to honor fully its commitments. We have already waited 34 years for equality of treatment for American nationals. The initial assurances 34 years ago were just as clear as those in this treaty.

For the 2½ years since the signing of this treaty the same course of inequity and abuse has continued. Certainly we can delay enough longer to assure ourselves this consular treaty will achieve equality. We must look forward with confidence to an end of the Mott, Wortham and Kazan-Komarek types of episodes. We must not be beguiled by the repeated cliche that 18,000 Americans visited the Soviet Union last year. By comparison, one million Americans visited Western Europe last year.

Should one American, let alone 18,000, travel in the U.S.S.R. if we cannot assure him treatment by the Soviets equal to the treatment Soviet nationals receive in these United States?

Should American students in our educational exchange be asked to study under adverse limitations, under a denial of promised access to scholars and materials, whereas we give Russian students the fullest of opportunity, of freedom of access, of comfort and of dignity?

Should American diplomats in the U.S.S.R. continue to live in totally supplied quarters under the harassment of totally supplied custodial and service employees whereas Russians select freely their housing here and bring a total staff of Russian personnel to the United States?

I need not give answers. Rather, I suggest a firm and formal action which, in clear and unequivocal terms, will achieve equality of treatment for American nationals, or will state apt and ample remedies for incidents of inequality. I am sure this can be accomplished by a message from the President.

To do less than this, at this time, would subscribe this body, so diligent in its pursuit of equality of treatment for our citizens, to an agreement whereunder we give that equality of treatment to nationals of the U.S.S.R., and assign our citizens to an inequality which is so predictably one of harassment, of abuse, of degradation, even of risk of life itself.

The President desires ratification of this treaty immediately. Many Members on both sides of the aisle are in an unseemly hurry to confirm, by action here, an agreement which was vested 34 years ago, which was reaffirmed by signatories of the two nations almost 3 years ago, and which has been ignored all these years by the other contracting party.

Before we come to a vote cannot we ask from the President, from the Secretary of State, and from other officials upon whom the responsibility rests an absolute assurance in the form of a message to this body that we take notice of 34 years of inequality of treatment for American nationals, that we will employ apt measures to secure equality, and that the President in this message state the means whereby we will seek redress for acts of inequality of treatment of Americans within the actual or effective jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R.?

I yield the floor.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I was just called up to the press lobby, and in passing through the Senator's private lobby, looked at the teletype machines which type out the news for the immediate information of Senators each day.

I was pleased to note an Associated Press dispatch coming off the ticker, headed "Consular, Tops." I do not know exactly what that "Tops" means. It may be some Associated Press lingo indicating that it is important news; but at least it was gratifying news to me, and I think important, and I shall read a part of the statement, and ask unanimous consent that the rest of it be printed in the body of the RECORD. It says:

> WASHINGTON (AP).—Barry Goldwater, who previously said he supports the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty, came out today for an amendment which the pact's supporters say would kill it.
>
> Goldwater, in a statement issued through Karl Hess, speech writer in the former Senator's unsuccessful 1964 campaign for the Presidency, said he supports a proposed amendment by Senator Karl E. Mundt, R-SD.
>
> The Mundt proposal would postpone effectiveness of the treaty until the President is able to notify Congress that U.S. troops are no longer needed in Vietnam or until he certifies that Soviet aid to North Vietnam is not delaying the return of such troops.

I interpolate at that point that I do not know just where the Associated Press got its information that the pact's supporters say that the adoption of this amendment would kill the treaty, because it seems to me that would be a complete confession of the fact that the Soviets are prolonging the war in Vietnam, and delaying the return of American troops to the United States. If it is in fact a confession of that situation, which I believe to be a valid one, it would seem to me that supporters of the pact should welcome an opportunity to have it ratified in such a way that it could not be used for the purpose of prolonging the war, but that the ratification, with the resolution, could in fact be used as a diplomatic tool, to try to induce the Soviets to discontinue this act of infamy, which is so disastrous to our American troops.

I read on from the Associated Press news dispatch:

> Backers of the pact, now before the Senate, contend Russia would accept no such amendment and the agreement on guidelines for the opening of new consulates in each country would be torpedoed.

That distresses me, Mr. President, because the supporters of the pact are, in the main, the ardent supporters of administration policy. If—and I hope this is not the case—they are speaking for the administration, it seems to me that to confess failure before we even try is to indicate we are marking out the working formula for a war which may last, not only another 5 years, but longer than that; because there is no indication of any kind that important punishment is being inflicted upon Hanoi today which they cannot offset by the fact that they get free oil, free guns, free food, free clothing, and free supplies either from their Communist partners in China, if it is unsophisticated material, or, if it is important weaponry of the modern age, they get it free of charge from Russia.

Continuing Mr. Goldwater's statement, he says:

> To oppose the amendment would be the same as saying that Soviet support of the killing of our soldiers is of no consequence in the relations between America and the Soviet Union.

He said:

> I know that the American people feel that it is of great consequence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the news item be printed in full in the RECORD and that with it there be printed again—although it is in the RECORD previously, but it is brief and gives the meaning and purport of the Goldwater statement in the resolution to which it is directed—the very brief reservation I have proposed which is scheduled for a vote late in the afternoon of Wednesday next week, known as Executive Reservation No. 2. It is to that reservation that the Associated Press story just off the wire alludes.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON (AP).—Barry Goldwater, who previously said he supports the U.S.-Soviet Consular Treaty, came out today for an amendment which the pact's supporters say would kill it.

Goldwater, in a statement issued through Karl Hess, speechwriter in the former Senator's unsuccessful 1964 campaign for the presidency, said he supports a proposed amendment by Sen. Karl E. Mundt, R-S.D.

The Mundt proposal would postpone effectiveness of the treaty until the President is able to notify Congress that U.S. troops are no longer needed in Vietnam or until he certifies that Soviet aid to North Vietnam is not delaying the return of such troops.

Backers of the pact, now before the Senate, contend Russia would accept no such amendment and the agreement on guidelines for the opening of new consulates in each country would be torpedoed.

"To oppose the amendment would be the same as saying that Soviet support of the killing of our soldiers is of no consequence in the relations between America and the Soviet Union," Goldwater said. "I know that the American people feel that it is of great consequence. They would, given the opportunity to vote on it, support Sen. Mundt's amendment enthusiastically, as I do.

"Recently, I said that I would, if still in the Senate, support Sen. (Everett M.) Dirksen's position in over-all support of the consular treaty. As I publicly explained, my reasons for taking that position, after originally opposing the treaty, involve matters of highest national security which I am not free to disclose."

RESERVATION

Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "Subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this Convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force, until the President determines and reports to the Congress that (1) it is no longer necessary to assign members of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam or (2) the removal of members of the Armed Forces of the United States from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union."

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order of March 9, 1967, that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon Monday.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 51 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 13, 1967, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 10, 1967:

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

George M. Stafford, of Kansas, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner for the term of 7 years expiring December 31, 1973, vice Howard G. Freas, term expired.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.—Matthew 5: 10.

O God and Father of us all, who art in heaven and in earth, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and offer unto Thee the devotion of our hearts. We come because we need Thee, every hour we need Thee. Temptations lose their power when Thou art near, bitterness fades away in Thy presence, resentments lose their weight, and we are given courage to stand for what we believe to be right.

Grant unto us Thy spirit as we in quietness lift our hearts in prayer unto Thee. If we are criticized because of the stand we take, if we are misunderstood in our decisions, may we not let the disagreements of others make us disagreeable, nor may we allow a difference of opinion to make a difference in relationships, but through it all help us to keep our faith in Thee and in righteousness, justice, and good will. Thus may Thy kingdom come in us and through us begin to come in all men. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 9, 1967, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

PERMISSION TO COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON SUPPLEMENTAL DEFENSE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1967

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations have until midnight tonight to file a privileged report on the supplemental defense appropriation bill, 1967.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

(Mr. LIPSCOMB reserved all points of order on the bill.)

REQUEST FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS TO SIT TODAY WHILE THE HOUSE IS ENGAGED IN GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs be allowed to sit during the deliberations of the House on legislative business today during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has this been approved by the ranking minority member?

Mr. WHITE. I may say that the ranking minority member is sitting to the right of the committee chairman and they have been deliberating on the Colorado River Basin bill today. They have many witnesses from out of the district or the State. But I presume that it has been.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The usual procedure is for the majority leader to ask for such permission, and we have an arrangement that when he does not ask, to ascertain and to ask if it has been cleared with the minority member.

I am only inquiring for the purposes of the RECORD and am not doubting that he would agree to it. I am only inquiring if his permission has been obtained.

Mr. WHITE. I was asked to make the request. But I do not know. I presume that they did agree.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman to withdraw his request for the time being?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw the request.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

CITIZEN SPEAKS OUT

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Robert M. Harriss, a native of Texas now residing in New York, has sent me a statement of his views concerning the serious foreign and domestic problems that this Nation is experiencing today. I have long appreciated and valued Bob Harriss' judgments. In the spirit of Texas Independence Day, March 2, Bob Harriss has forwarded me his views on some of our current problems, and I would like to put some of them in the RECORD.

In the preface of his statement, Mr. Harriss comments:

I believe that the present most serious situation and the problems confronting our country are due to our foreign policy over the past fifty years. Without a sound for-

> eign policy, we cannot have a sound national or domestic policy. . . .
>
> We cannot put all the blame on the present administration for these most serious problems, as they have been accumulating over the past fifty years by mistakes of previous administrations.

Mr. Harriss further correctly outlines the facts concerning our huge Federal debt. The bulk of this $330 billion is remaining debt of the World Wars with its vast accumulation of interest that we today must bear. I am happy that Mr. Harriss brings out President Lincoln's policy in financing the Government's war effort.

> Lincoln faced a similar monetary situation and won the war and saved the Union by issuing about five hundred million dollars of "greenbacks," most of which ($350 million) are still in circulation and have saved the nation more than sixty billion dollars in interest compounded at five per cent and still rendering a most valuable service to the country.

Robert Harriss' views are explicit and forthright. I rise today to praise his independence and expression of his views.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE POSITION ON ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, yesterday our new Attorney General was interviewed on one of the national TV network programs. As a whole, I thought he did very well, but I was quite surprised and shocked by one statement he made.

He was asked by one of the interviewers what the Department of Justice proposed to do about Adam Clayton Powell. He replied to the effect, "Well, really, there is no real hurry about it, and we have got to wait and see what Congress does."

We all know that Congress is being represented by independent counsel on any constitutional issues involved.

For the life of me, I cannot see any possible connection between, on the one hand, decisions by the House to seat or exclude Adam Clayton Powell and, on the other, decisions by the Department of Justice as to whether he should be proceeded against for misusing public funds.

After all, my predecessor, a Republican Congressman, Ernest Bramblett of California, was proceeded against, prosecuted by a Republican Department of Justice, and was found guilty.

I believe there is no excuse why the Department of Justice should not investigate this matter thoroughly and proceed to do so promptly.

RECOVERING INVESTMENT IN NATO FACILITIES

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States have invested $1 billion in various facilities in France in order to help provide for the common defense of France and Western Europe. Because of the position taken by the De Gaulle government, we must abandon those facilities. Only 18 days remain wherein we may recover some of the residual value. I suggest the State Department should utilize these 18 days to work out further agreements to protect in some way the financial interest of America.

The outcome of yesterday of the French elections make it all the more imperative that we act now to protect our taxpayers from the loss of the residual value of $643 million worth of U.S.-funded installations and $300 million worth of NATO installations, built with our taxpayers' money.

The American people's right to recover the residual value of property constructed in France with American funds was clearly established in our early agreements with the French Government.

However, investigation of this situation by a subcommittee of the other body, as reported to the Congress on January 30, shows that the interest of American taxpayers have not been adequately protected in agreements relating to the construction of facilities in France.

Judging from past experience, I doubt if the American Government will be able to extract any worthwhile agreements in the time remaining, but certainly every effort should be made to reach some sort of understanding. Since it is De Gaulle's decision that America abandon these NATO bases, America should not leave these facilities behind with no effort whatsoever to make the French Government live up to its obligations.

I suggest also, Mr. Speaker, that the failure of the State Department and Defense Department to adequately protect taxpayers' interests relating to installations built in France raises some serious questions about whether our right to recover residual values in other countries, where we have bases, are being protected.

THE NO. 1 BASKETBALL TEAM IN THE SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE—THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, with pride I call to the attention of my colleagues the No. 1 basketball team in the Southeastern Conference—the University of Tennessee.

Playing against heavy odds, these young men once again showed cooperation and a spirit that long ago named Tennessee the Volunteer State. Wrote Marvin West in the Knoxville News-Sentinel:

> They laughed, they cried and they jumped for joy . . . and finally they paused and offered a prayer of thanksgiving. The happiest basketball players in the whole world last night were the Volunteers of Tennessee, undisputed champions of the Southeastern Conference.

We Tennesseans are very proud of the University of Tennessee and its students who have a challenging academic program and the encouragement to pursue physical fitness. We are fortunate to have on the staff of our university one of the country's finest basketball coaches, Ray Mears.

I congratulate Ray and his coworkers on a good season.

Setting a record all his own was the Vol captain, Ron Widby, of Knoxville. He has led his team through the best season in UT basketball history.

Perhaps the Knoxville Journal best captured the attitude of Vol fans in this editorial statement:

> Few experiences in life are as inspiring and rewarding as the winning of a goal, particularly when that goal, at the outset, appeared to be far beyond reach.
>
> The University of Tennessee basketball team has delighted our hearts by achieving such a goal. Given little chance at the start of the season, the Vols won the 1966–67 Southeastern Conference championship with a display of effort and dedication that has brought the team and the University countless new fans.
>
> To the team's excellent coach, Ray Mears, his colleagues and his players, we join all other Vol fans in saying, Well Done. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the next goal, the NCAA championship, may also prove to be within reach of these remarkable young men.

DREW PEARSON

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. President, there is an increasing tendency these days among an element of journalists who are not worthy of the honorable title, to assassinate by smear, innuendo, and with a distorted telling of a portion of a story. One of the most nefarious practitioners of this questionable art is Drew Pearson who is aided and abetted by his equally guilty partner, Jack Anderson.

Writers like Pearson and Anderson take advantage of the tendency of many people to regard what they read in print as the gospel truth, which, of course, it is not. I do not know the answer to how writers of this type can be controlled, but I do know that something has to be done to show the public what irresponsible people they are. One way I can help in this fight to preserve men's character is to call attention to a book called

"The Drew Pearson Story," written by Frank Kluckhohn and J. Franklin. It is published by Charles Hallberg & Co., of Chicago. I urge everyone to read this book so that they will have a better insight into the twisted minds of Pearson and Anderson and be on their guard whenever they read anything attributed to either of them.

Forewarned is forearmed and in dealing with character assassins like these two, the people need all the ammunition they can get. I commend this book to the attention of every Member.

If nothing else, this book proves what is always true, that there are two sides to every story. Too often, Pearson and Anderson give us only one and a distorted one at that.

THE PRESIDENT'S PATH TO PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, President Johnson again demonstrated to the Congress and the people of the world at his recent press conference that he does not intend to swerve from his intent of achieving a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. Yet he believes that a sign of firm intent to negotiate has not been received from our enemies in that war-torn country.

The President has sent Government emissaries around the world seeking every possiblity to negotiate. He sent messengers of peace to far points of the globe to stress that we are ready to talk. And he has used the great military and economic power of the United States with restraint and judgment in Vietnam. For he knows that the strong must be wise and prudent in a world filled with conflict.

President Johnson said recently that he goes to bed each night feeling he has failed because peace had not come to Vietnam. I say that if that is failure, it is a failure of the other side—not ours. It takes two to negotiate.

The President has said that he would go anywhere at any time on the shortest notice to talk peace—and without preconditions. This the enemy has refused to do. So the President must persist, and we must support him in his persistence. The President of the United States cannot run out on freedom. We should not run out on the President of the United States.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—PERMISSION TO SIT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs may sit today during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

"PANCHO" AND HEADSTART

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, too often we hear of "what's wrong" with our country, "what's wrong" with the Congress, "what's wrong" with our programs. We hear so much of "what's wrong" that I thought it would be a happy interlude to bring to your attention a "what's right" item.

This morning, our gracious First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, had a movie star at the White House for a celebration and a private showing of his first movie. His name is "Pancho"—more formally it is Frank Mansera, and he is 5 years old. He comes from San Luis Obispo, Calif., where he lives with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Simon Mansera.

Who is this famous movie star? He is just another American kid who was helped by our Headstart program. People thought Pancho was retarded. But he just needed a little bit of help. Now he is an alert normal youngster, and this movie tells his story, and the story of our Headstart program.

In this connection, also, I had in my office an old schoolmate, Prof. Gonzalo Garza and his wife, of Corpus Christi, Tex. He is in charge of Headstart for that city. Mr. Garza has done such a wonderful job that Mrs. Johnson invited him up for the ceremonies.

The story is the same everywhere you go—what a good program, what a wonderful program, what a successful program. Forgive me, Mr. Speaker, for breaking the trend but, by golly, I thought you would like to hear at least a little bit of "what's right."

THE LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 84)

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following message from the President of the United States.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present to hear this message from the President.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] makes the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 34]

Abbitt
Adair
Ashbrook
Ashley
Aspinall
Baring
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Cahill
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Conyers
Corman
Cramer
Daddario
Dellenback
Dent
Derwinski
Diggs
Dow
Downing
Eilberg
Fallon
Farbstein
Fino
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gubser
Haley
Hanna
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Herlong
Holifield
Howard
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Karth
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Long, La.
McEwen
Madden
May
Michel
Minshall
Moorhead
Morton
Mosher
Nix
O'Konski
Ottinger
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poage
Pool
Resnick
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Ronan
Rostenkowski
Roybal
St Germain
Shipley
Sisk
Smith, N.Y.
Steed
Stephens
Teague, Tex.
Watkins
Whalley
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Winn
Wright
Zablocki
Zion

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). On this rollcall 344 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

THE LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 84)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, without objection, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In less than a month, the leaders of the American states will meet in Punta del Este in Uruguay.

It will be the first such meeting in a decade, and the second ever held, of the heads of the free nations of our hemispheric system.

This meeting represents another link in the bond of partnership which joins us with more than 230 million neighbors to the south.

The gathering is far more than a symbol of flourishing friendship. Its purpose is a review of the progress we have made together in a great adventure which unites the destinies of all of us. Beyond that it will include a common commitment to the historic and humane next steps we plan to take together.

I look to this meeting with enthusiasm. The peaceful and progressive revolution which is transforming Latin America is one of the great inspirational movements of our time. Our participation in that revolution is a worthy enterprise blending our deepest national traditions with our most responsible concepts of hemispheric solidarity.

THE MEASURE OF PROGRESS

The cooperative spirit between the rest of the Americas and the United States has been building for decades.

The establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank in 1959, and the Act of Bogotá in 1960, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, helped turn that spirit to substance. In those historic compacts the American governments pledged their joint efforts to the development of programs to improve the lives of all the people of Latin America. They provided the impetus for an action taken in 1961 on which the history of the hemisphere has since turned. That action—the Alliance for Progress, which moved dramatically forward under President Kennedy—fused old dreams and fired new hopes. With its commitment of mutual assistance and self-help programs, it attacked evils as old as the condition of man—hunger, ignorance, and disease.

That Alliance is now 6 years old.

What can we say of it?

We can say that there is a clear record of progress. Per capita growth rates for Latin America show that more countries have broken the economic stagnation of earlier years. Reform and modernization are advancing as a new wave of managers and technicians apply their skills. There have been steady gains in private, national, and foreign investments. Inflation is easing. The struggle for social justice is proceeding.

These are all true. But the statements of progress are more meaningful, and they more realistically reflect the spirit of the Alliance, when they relate to the people for whose lives the Alliance itself was created. Since the Alliance began, and with the funds that we have contributed:

Men, women, and children are alive today who would otherwise have died.

One hundred million people are being protected from malaria. In 10 countries, deaths caused by malaria dropped from 10,810 to 2,280 in 3 years' time. Smallpox cases declined almost as sharply.

Twelve hundred health centers, including hospitals and mobile medical units, are in operation or soon will be.

For tens of thousands of families, the most fundamental conditions of life are improving.

Three hundred fifty thousand housing units have been, or are now being built.

Two thousand rural wells and 1,170 portable water supply systems have been built to benefit some 20 million persons.

Children are going to school now who would not have gone before.

Primary school enrollments have increased by 23 percent; secondary school enrollments by 50 percent; university enrollments by 39 percent.

Twenty-eight thousand classrooms have been built.

One hundred sixty thousand teachers have been trained or given additional training.

More than 14 million textbooks have been distributed.

Thirteen million schoolchildren and 3 million preschoolers participate in school lunch programs.

Men whose fathers for generations have worked land owned by others now work it as their own.

Sixteen countries have legislation dealing directly with land reform.

With U.S. assistance, 1.1 million acres have been irrigated and 106,000 acres reclaimed.

More than 700,000 agricultural loans have benefitted 3.5 million people.

Fifteen thousand miles of road have been built or improved, many of them farm-to-market access roads.

All of these are heartening facts. But they are only the beginning of the story, and only part of it. Statistics can only suggest the deep human meaning of hope alive now where once none lived. Statistics cannot report the wonder of a child born into a world which will give him a chance to break through the tyranny of indifference which doomed generations before him to lives of bleakness and want and misery.

Nor can they reveal the revolution which has come about in the minds of tens of millions of people when they saw that their own efforts, combined with those of their governments and their friends abroad, could change their lives for the better.

Perhaps most important of all, statistics cannot adequately reflect the emergence of a vigorous, compenent, and confident new generation of Latin American leaders. These men are determined to see realized in their own time a strong, modern Latin America, loyal to its own traditions and history. They are men who know that rhetoric and resolutions are no substitute for sustained hard work.

And statistics can never tell us what might have been. They cannot record the shots which might have rung out in the avenidas and plazas of a dozen Latin American cities, but did not—or the howls of angry crowds which might have formed, but did not. The full success of the Alliance for Progress must be sought not only in what has been accomplished but in what has been avoided as well.

Ferment gripped the hemisphere when the Alliance was born. In places throughout the world, terror with its bloodshed sought to redress ancient evils. And in some of these places—in Cuba and half a world away in southeast Asia—even greater evil followed the thrust of violence. Through their own efforts under the Alliance for Progress, the Latin Americans have transformed the hemisphere into a region of determination and hope.

The U.S. participation in the Alliance was a bold affirmation of its belief that the true revolution which betters men's lives can be effected peacefully. The Alliance's 6-year record of accomplishments is history's clear testament to the validity of that belief.

It is also a testament to the validity of the underlying principle of self-help. Our support has been vitally important to the successes so far achieved. But the commitments and dedication of the Latin American nations themselves to these tasks has been the keystone of that success.

THE TASK BEFORE US

The record of progress only illuminates the work which still must be done if life for the people of this hemisphere is truly to improve—not just for today, but for the changing years ahead.

Last August, in a statement on the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, I described the challenge in these terms:

> If present trends continue, the population of this hemisphere will be almost 1 billion by the year 2000. Two-thirds—some 625 million—will live in Latin America. Whatever may be done through programs to reduce the rate of population growth, Latin America faces a vast challenge.
>
> Farm production, for instance, should increase by 6 percent every year, and that will be double the present rate.
>
> At least 140 million new jobs will need to be created.
>
> Over a million new homes should be built each year.
>
> More than 175,000 new doctors need to be trained to meet the very minimum requirements.
>
> Hundreds of thousands of new classrooms should be constructed.
>
> And annual per capita growth rates should increase to the range of 4 to 6 percent.
>
> These requirements, added to the demands of the present, mean that new sights must be set, that new directions and renewed drive must be found if we are to meet the challenge, if we are to move forward.

It is with these sober problems confronting us that the leaders of the American states will meet at Punta del Este.

PILLARS OF PROGRESS

Our governments have been hard at work for months preparing for this meeting.

Our concern has centered on the question of how we can speed the development process in Latin America. We know that growth and trade are interacting forces. We know that they depend on the free movement of products, people, and capital. We know they depend on people who are healthy and educated. We know that these conditions contain the seeds of prosperity for all of us.

Further, based on our joint experience so far under the Alliance, we know that the future progress of the hemisphere must rest on four strong pillars:

1. ELIMINATION OF BARRIERS TO TRADE

Civilization in most of Latin America followed along the coastal rim of the continent. Today the centers of population are concentrated here. Vast inner frontiers lie remote and untouched, separated from each other by great rivers, mountains, forests, and deserts. Simon Bolivar saw these natural barriers as major obstacles to trade and communication and to his dream of a single great Latin American republic.

Because of them, Latin American countries for a century and a half tended to look outward for their markets to Europe and the United States.

Now they are looking inward as well. They see the same barriers, but they see them as less formidable. They are confident that with modern technology they can be overcome. Now with projects set in motion by the Alliance for Progress, men are beginning to carve roads along the slopes of the Andes, push bridges across the rushing rivers, connect power grids, extend pipelines, and link the overland national markets.

The barriers of nature symbolize

obstructions every bit as restrictive as the artificial trade barriers than men erect. The work to remove them both must proceed together.

Latin American leaders have seen the very real threat of industrial stagnation in the high tariff barriers they have erected against their commerce with each other. They see economic integration as indispensible to their future industrial growth.

The Central American countries, stimulated by Alliance programs, have already achieved spectacular increases in trade and investment. The larger grouping of South American states and Mexico, however, has approached economic unity at a slower pace.

Now both groups together must systematically move toward a Latin American Common Market. When this is carried into effect, it will bring the most profound change in hemispheric relations since independence. The countries of Latin America have given clear and sure indication that they intend to join together to advance toward this goal.

2. IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

The burden of illiteracy, which the masses of people in Latin America have borne for centuries, is beginning to lift. In other times, the pace might have been saitsfactory. It cannot be considered so today.

The countries of Latin America hope and aim to be economically strong. Such nations will require trained people in an abundance far greater than their classrooms and laboratories provide. The scientists, the teachers, the skilled laborers, the administrators, and the planners on whom tomorrow depends must be trained before tomorrow arrives. Children must go to school in ever-increasing numbers. Adults who have never written their names must be raised to the level of literacy. University facilities must be expanded and scientific, technical, and vocational training must be provided of different kinds and in different fields.

All of this means more schools and an expansion of educational opportunities to reach more and more people with every passing month.

3. AGRICULTURE

Half the people of Latin America live in rural areas.

Most of that rural life is still shackled by poverty and neglect. Agricultural productivity is still restricted by outdated methods and outmoded policies. Comprehensive programs and reforms must be accelerated to bring modern farming techniques to the campo.

We and our neighbors to the south envision a dynamic Latin American agriculture which will help raise the standards of rural life.

We envision a sufficient increase in the production of food to provide for their growing populations—and to help meet world needs as well.

We envision a modernization of farming policies and techniques which will lead to a healthy competitive climate for food production.

4. HEALTH

Finally, we will strive harder than ever before to improve the health of all the people.

The battle against diseases that kill and cripple will be intensified.

Programs to make safe water supply and essential sanitation services available to all will be accelerated.

Nutrition levels for poor children and their parents will be advanced.

These are the problems we face together, and the promises we envision together, as we prepare for Punta del Este.

The problems are real. But the promises are also real. They are not empty visions. They are all within our reach. They will not be accomplished quickly or easily. But they are objectives worthy of the support of all our people.

INCREASED ASSISTANCE

In keeping with the spirit of our commitment under the Alliance for Progress and after a careful review of the objectives which our Latin American neighbors have set for themselves, I believe that we should pledge increased financial assistance in the years ahead.

The fundamental principle which has guided us in the past—demonstrated need and self-help—will continue to shape our actions in the future.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to increase our aid by up to $1.5 billion or about $300 million per year over the next 5 years.

It must not be at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world.

This amount will be in addition to the $1 billion we have been annually investing in the future of Latin American democracy, since the Alliance for Progress began 6 years ago. The total value of our economic assistance, even after the proposed increases, will still be only a fraction of the resources the Latin American nations are themselves investing.

The $1.5 billion increase I propose must be considered an approximate figure. Its precise determination will depend on steps which the Latin American nations themselves must take. But even so, we can project in a general way what will be necessary:

1. AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH

Approximately $900 million of this increase should be used over the next 5 years to train teachers and build new laboratories and classrooms; to increase food production and combat the malnutrition which stunts the promise of young children; to fight disease and cure the ill.

One hundred million dollars of this amount has been included in the fiscal 1968 budget totals. I will request that it be added to the new obligational authority of $543 million already recommended for the Alliance for Progress.

For the next 4 fiscal years, the additional annual amount of some $200 million is within the $750 million authorization for the Alliance for Progress approved by Congress last year.

2. LATIN AMERICAN COMMON MARKET

Approximately one-quarter to one-half billion dollars over a 3- to 5-year period, beginning about 1970, may be required to assist Latin America to move toward a common market.

Progress in this direction will require a period of transition. To help with this adjustment, assistance can be used to retrain workers, ease balance-of-payments problems, and stimulate intra-Latin American trade.

The members of the Alliance for Progress, including the United States, should be prepared to finance this assistance on an equitable matching basis.

I will ask Congress to authorize these funds only when the first essential steps toward a common market are taken.

3. MULTINATIONAL PROJECTS—COMMUNICATIONS, ROADS AND SYSTEMS

Approximately $150 million over a 3-year period should provide additional funds to the Inter-American Bank's Fund for Special Operations. These increased contributions can help finance preinvestment studies and a portion of the cost of new multinational projects:

Roads to link the nations and people of Latin America.

Modern communication networks to speed communications.

Bridges to carry the fruits of commerce over river barriers; dams to stem the ravages of flood.

Hydroelectric plants to provide a plentiful source of power for growth and prosperity.

We will request congressional authorization to provide this amount together with our regular $250 million annual contribution for each of the next 3 years to the Inter-American Bank's Fund for Special Operations.

We expect our partners in the Bank to increase their contributions on a proportional basis.

CONCLUSION

For the nations participating, Punta del Este will be a returning. It was there, 6 years ago in that city by the sea, that the American nations framed the charter of the Alliance which unites the hopes of this hemisphere.

We will be bringing with us the accumulated wisdom shaped by the experience gained in the years that have intervened.

We have learned much. Our sister countries know, and know well, that the burden of the task is theirs, the decisions are theirs, the initiative to build these new societies must be theirs. They know that the only road to progress is the road of self-help.

They know that our role can only be that of support, with our investment only a small portion of what they themselves contribute to their future.

This knowledge strengthens their own resolve, and their own commitment.

The people of the United States have learned, over the 6 years since that first conference at Punta del Este, that the investment to which we pledged our support there is a good and honorable one.

It is an investment made in the spirit of our world view, so well described by a great American jurist, Learned Hand:

Right knows no boundaries, and justice no frontiers; the brotherhood of man is not a domestic institution.

That view of the world provides us with the knowledge that service is mutually rewarding. We have learned in the span of a generation that when we help others in a truly meaningful way, we serve our own vital interests as well.

I could go to the summit meeting with the President's Exchange authority and reach understandings with our Latin American neighbors on behalf of this country. I believe it is much more in our democratic tradition if the Executive and the Congress work together as partners in this matter.

I am, therefore, going to you in the Congress not after a commitment has been made, but before making any commitment. I seek your guidance and your counsel. I have already met with some 40 of your leaders.

I am asking the entire Congress and the American people to consider thoroughly my recommendations. I will look to their judgment and support as I prepare for our Nation's return to Punta del Este.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 13, 1967*.

ALL ASPECTS OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VALID

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, as President Johnson prepares to meet with his fellow Chief Executives of the Western Hemisphere next month, it is imperative that he take with him the knowledge that the Congress and the American people are conscious of the significance of this meeting at the summit. It is remarkable that Presidents and heads of government are gathering together to set the course for social and economic development in the Americas for the next 10 or 15 years. This in itself clearly demonstrates the importance we Americans—throughout the hemisphere—give to our peaceful revolution, the Alliance for Progress.

I think it is important to stress that all of the original goals of the Alliance for Progress are being actively pursued by the United States and its Latin American partners in this historic endeavor.

It is well to remember that the specific items of consideration on the agenda for this important meeting are all listed and described in the Charter of Punta del Este, the document that was signed by the Alliance nations back in August of 1961. Common Market arrangement for Latin America and development of rural life, for example, are stated clearly in the Alliance charter as major goals. And all the other goals, to be sure, are in various stages of achievement. In most countries, for example, major tax modernization steps have already been taken, and programs of agricultural reform are already in being. Efforts to meet the staggering demand for decent housing, and similar social goals of the Alliance, not only continue but continue in most countries at an increasingly faster pace.

In short, what the six-point agenda of the summit amounts to is really an emphasis of certain priorities. The members of the Alliance have recognized, in other words, that certain goals of the Alliance in this sixth year require special attention. At this point, we jointly have recognized the importance of emphasizing these six key areas in this broad development endeavor.

The goals described in 1961, in the Charter of Punta del Este, remain our goals today. And I believe that action to come from the summit meeting at Punta del Este, 1967, will carry us more quickly toward realization of those goals.

Let us make it clear, then, that we fully understand President Johnson's mission and that we support his efforts enthusiastically.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Florida, who I believe will be a member of the subcommittee that considers this important matter.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished majority leader for yielding, and I concur with his remarks.

It is clear from the President's message on the Latin American summit meeting, and from the evidence of prospering neighbors, that the Alliance for Progress has produced concrete results and not just rhetoric during the last 6 years of its existence.

Surely such results have been possible largely because of the commitment and dedication of the Latin American countries themselves to the principles of Punta del Este.

Self-help was a guiding concept of the Alliance. And the President's message illustrates how it has now become the keystone of its growing success.

The ideas which the heads of state of the hemisphere will discuss next month—particularly those of a Latin American Common Market and of multinational projects for transportation and communication—are proof of the encouraging initiative that has been generated by our Latin American neighbors themselves. The President's message makes clear the need for that initiative to survive and prosper. But it recognizes too the role that we must play to perpetuate both the Alliance and the bold hemispheric incentives that its programs have inspired.

I feel certain that my colleagues will agree that the forthcoming meeting at Punta del Este presents a unique opportunity to maximize the impact of U.S. cooperation on the promising progress of this hemisphere.

Mr. ALBERT. May I say to the gentleman, I appreciate his strong endorsement. It is most important that his subcommittee act expeditiously and that we pass this legislation before Easter.

Mr. FASCELL. I am sure the Committee on Foreign Affairs will act expeditiously.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the President's message on Latin America gives renewed hope for the success of the summit meeting in Punta del Este that will be held in a few weeks. I warmly endorse this message as a clear indication of our Nation's willingness to be full and active partners in the affairs of this hemisphere in the months and years ahead.

The problems of Latin America are centuries old. They demand a coordinated attack by daring and ingenious men, with a commitment of human and material resources adequate to meet the needs of 200 million people.

As our President meets with other heads of State in Uruguay, he can be assured of the enthusiastic support of the American people, who want to be both good neighbors and helping partners for hemispheric progress.

I think that President Johnson can also count on the support of the 90th Congress. I believe that the overwhelming majority of the Members will endorse his request to increase our Latin American aid by about $300 million per year over the next 5 years.

This increase reflects the hard realities and growing needs for achieving fundamental progress in health, nutrition, and education—basics for the kind of political and social stability so necessary to economic progress.

The Alliance for Progress is now 6 years old. The total value of our economic assistance, even after the proposed increases, will still be only a fraction of the resources the Latin American nations are themselves investing.

We in Congress can do nothing less than to fully support the President's request and reaffirm America's commitment to a strong and stable Latin America.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in support of our President's dynamic leadership in proposing for the seventies "a decade of singular Latin American achievement." This is truly, as he said, a "critically important new phase of the Alliance for Progress," and I would like to add the supposition that by the time the seventies have melded into the eighties, Americans both North and South will look back on these days—and especially on April 1967 and the President's meeting at Punta del Este—as the turning point in a bold new design for the future.

For free trade awaits us on the horizon. It is only for us to march off in search of it, and this we will be beginning to do today, behind the steps of our leader, President Johnson. The best hope for a major breakthrough in the economic development of our good neighbors to the south—and they need a major breakthrough, we all know that—is rapid progress toward economic integration. Up to now, some progress has been made toward that goal: the Latin American Free Trade Association and, even more, the Central American Common Market. Progress has not been fast enough, but still these organizations have helped to show us the way. In Central America, for example, exports between the five member countries grew from $33 million in 1960 to $140 million in 1965. In the larger LAFTA, which now includes Mexico and nine South American countries, progress toward cutting down restrictions to trade has been a bit slower though there have been signs of movement. Exports have risen from $775 million in 1962 to $1.4 billion in 1965, almost double.

This, however, is not enough. If the countries of Latin America are to progress ahead of their 2.9-percent annual growth rate in population, they must do better. Its population of 200 million today may very likely be 600 million by the turn of the century. Time is not on our side; we must act, and we must act together.

Like the doubling of exports in the LAFTA, the countries of Latin America also doubled their gross national income between 1950 and 1965, lifting it from $35.2 billion to $70.7 billion. This is good, but it is not enough. During the same period, the United States increased its GNP by 300 percent—from $284.6 billion to more than $700 billion. Clearly, we here in the United States are pulling away from our friends to the south, and this is not right. Here we enjoy a per capita GNP of $3,270. Compare that with the Latin American's $325.

Indeed, there must be a significant increase in the rate of economic growth. I would add that just an increase is not enough; it must be significant, and it must be impressive.

It can be achieved, but we must all work together. The decade ahead calls for ever closer cooperation between all of us in this hemisphere. I mean not merely at the government level, important as that is, but also through cultural, business, intellectual, educational, and recreational associations. We must see each other more, and we must meet with each other more.

Almost 6 years ago, the Charter of Punta del Este set in motion a vast new dream of building a stronger Latin America that will take its place in the great new future that lies before us. President Johnson is both recommitting this country to that pledge and laying out new and stronger guidelines. He and his fellow chief executives seek to harness the vast transformations that are taking place in this hemisphere, harness them for the good of all.

My colleagues recall the high tariffs and restrictive trade policies which characterized our country during the 1920's and the early 1930's. Then, under the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, amended and expanded on various occasions through 1962, we set the course of trade policy, harnessing the trends evident in other of world's great trading nations, toward liberalization and trade expansion. At first, American business was cautious and skeptical, but they need not have been. The benefits of this policy to American business are now part of history. Our exports have increased 13 times over. In the early 1930's, we sold about $2 billion of our commodities abroad; by 1948 the figure had jumped to $12.5 billion and last year was over $27 billion.

We shall all benefit, North and South, from a liberalized trade policy in the Americas. As the President said last summer:

> We are ready . . . to work in close cooperation toward an integrated Latin America. To my fellow Presidents I pledge: Move boldly along this path and the United States will be at your side.

Let us march forward boldly together.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, self-criticism has always been one of the strong points of the American culture. Whenever we do not have anything else to do, we always look around to see what we can complain about.

For years, our Latin American policies have been a prime target for such self-criticism. And we always seem to have plenty of experts who can tell us exactly what we are doing wrong, and why. We are constantly being reminded of one abysmal failure after another.

Now, it is not my purpose today to defend every action we have taken—or have failed to take—in Latin America. Surely we have made mistakes. Surely we could have done more. Surely we could have anticipated problems.

But let us not blind ourselves to what we have done right. Let us learn from our errors, to be sure. But let us also learn from our successes.

Today, President Johnson has sent us a major document on Latin America. And he has given us just such a reasoned and balanced progress report. I commend it to the attention of every American. If its urgency cries out for their concern, its list of accomplishments cries out for their applause.

The fact is, we have made progress in Latin America. And if it is difficult to perceive, it is only because so much more remains to be done.

Someone once noted that "history never records the alternatives." This is what President Johnson is telling us in his message today. He says:

> Statistics can never tell us what might have been. They cannot record the shots which might have rung out in the avenidas and plazas of a dozen Latin American cities, but did not—or the howls of angry crowds which might have formed, but did not. Yet the full success of the Alliance for Progress to this point must be sought not only in what has been accomplished but what has been avoided as well.

I hope we will all remember this as we consider the President's proposals to us today. Some will say we are piling failure on top of failure. But I say we are building on a record of compassion and accomplishment—and I hope we will continue to do so.

Let us support the President's program, so that we may never know what failure is really like.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the American people are well known for their dedication to the concept of the good neighbor. The President's timely message crystallizes the broader implications of that concept as we prepare to meet with our Nation's neighbors to the south.

Mr. Johnson's appeal is thorough in its evaluation of past accomplishment under the Alliance for Progress. It is farsighted in its examination and interpretation of the tasks we face. The progress of our hemisphere is indivisible. If it is strengthened in one of our sister republics it stands strengthened on our own soil.

The President is rightly heartened by the encouraging signs of sturdy leadership, initiative, and self-help among our Latin neighbors. His message is not a blind commitment to short-term objectives. It is, rather, an enlightened invitation to a unique opportunity which the United States will have in April at Punta del Este to fortify the growing incentive of our neighbors to help themselves.

He welcomes the moves that Latin America has made toward the integration of its economic resources. But he recognizes that economic development is impossible without concurrent improvement in the social conditions and in the existing institutions of Latin America. In this area, we can do much to help advance the progress that has already been made through existing multinational projects.

The President's proposals provide an intelligent and resourceful blueprint for action in the "period of transition" which such a revolutionary concept as economic integration entails. They reflect the highest traditions of the spirit of our commitment under the Alliance as well as a careful review of the objectives which our Latin neighbors have set for themselves.

The total value of the assistance recommended in the President's message is insignificant when compared with the dividends it now promises to yield. Furthermore, in the President's own words, it is but a fraction of what the Latin American nations are themselves investing.

I feel confident that my fellow colleagues will promptly enact Mr. Johnson's sound and salutary program.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the President's strong message on the Latin American summit meeting calls on our wisdom and vision as we look to our neighbors to the south. We might find this hemisphere in less promising political and economic circumstances today were it not for the early success of the Alliance for Progress. In the 6 years of its life, the Alliance has given us proof that the rising expectations of the peoples of the Americas can, in fact, be met through the peaceful revolution that was ignited at Punta del Este in 1961.

The President has listed the inspiring change which the Alliance has brought to the people for whose lives it is directed. The present picture of Communist Cuba where terror sought to redress ancient wrongs offers a naked contrast to the promising vistas of the true revolution of the Alliance to better men's lives in peace.

Given its performance to date, an acceleration of the Alliance now appears to be a realistic goal. An added U.S. investment in the future of our hemisphere now guarantees an abundant return.

The major share of the burden, as the President has stated, will be borne by our Latin American neighbors. But we can assist expediency in the areas of highest priority for economic and social development.

We can help streamline educational and agricultural programs directly related to the vital human resources of our sister republics. We can facilitate their realization of a Common Market and accelerate its promise for their industrial growth.

We can assist in the task of building the necessary substructure of highways and communications links so vital to the advancement of their goals.

Our technical assistance in many vital areas, including housing and banking, has been welcomed and utilized. The Inter-American Development Bank is filling a real need.

The President's message is a clear call to continue in a task that affects us all—as neighbors in a hemisphere and as partners in its peaceful development.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the message by President Johnson on the Latin American summit meeting will rank among the great and historic state papers on a hemispheric solidarity that long has been the dream of the wisest of the statesmen of this hemisphere and the goal of their united and dedicated efforts.

President Johnson tells us that he looks to this meeting with enthusiasm and describes the peaceful and progressive revolution which is transforming Latin America as one of the great inspirational movements of our times. Never has the President approached any problem or presented any program with more enthusiasm and with more persuasive power. This was true in the conference in the Cabinet room at the White House on Saturday, which I, as a ranking member of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, was privileged and honored to attend, and it is reflected in today's message to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I can vision the reading of President Johnson's dynamic message of today by the school boys and girls of all the nations of this hemisphere in generations still to be born. It voices the challenge of many years from the escape of an entire hemisphere from the bondage of poverty, disease, and ignorance and furnishes the guidelines by which dreams can be brought into realities. The President points with forceful argument to the prospect of a population of 1 billion in this hemisphere by the year 2000, some 625 living in Latin America, and what a hemisphere of abundance and of happy welfare it may be if in the intervening years there have been established a common market and the welding together of the economies and the interests of an entire hemisphere by joint effort of the American republics. President Johnson gives fitting recognition to what he terms the emergence of a vigorous, competent, and confident new generation of Latin American leaders. May we work with them together for the attainment of the heights ahead.

The program outlined by the President will cost money, which will be money well invested and will return many fold, but the President prudently does not wish to make commitments unless and until he has, as he expressed it, the guidance and counsel of the Congress.

I am happy to say that the 40 Members of the Congress who met with the President on Saturday, a bipartisan group from the House and the other body, expressed Hill approval of the President's dynamic program. Tomorrow the Committee on Foreign Affairs will begin its hearing on H.J. Res. 428, introduced by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, on which I have served for nearly 12 years. I anticipate early approval of the resolution by the committee and its adoption by the House.

Mr. Speaker, for many years, beginning long before World War II, when I was a nightly commentator over WCFL in Chicago, I have advocated a foreign and an economic policy that gives priority to Latin America and to Africa as the areas of the world closest to our national interest in trade, culture, and security. The shortest crossing of the Atlantic is from Africa to South America. In Latin America and in Africa are the great potential markets of our product. And if we keep the cold war and the hot war out of Africa and Latin America, which to a large extent we have succeeded in doing, we have made an abiding contribution to the cause of peace.

Mr. Speaker, I repeat the President's message of today will rank among the great and historic state papers in the story of a hemisphere that pulled itself from the imprisonment of poverty, disease, and ignorance by sheer will, by cooperatingly working together, by self-help and by abiding faith in one another.

Mr. President, you lead into the new day of hemispheric solidarity. With faith in you and in the goal we seek, we will follow.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the joint congressional resolution regarding the forthcoming Inter-American Chiefs of State meeting of Punta del Este, Uruguay. The agenda proposals for that meeting, which I have studied closely, promise a significant further acceleration of economic and social development in Latin America and a major new impulse in inter-American cooperation.

I am particularly gratified by the emphasis placed on economic integration. It is apparent to me that our good friends to the south are prepared to make a truly determined effort toward a common market over the next decade. While the complexity and difficulty of the integration task should not be underestimated, the potential benefits for the development of Latin America are profound—as the European experience testifies. Initiatives in this area require and deserve the understanding and support of this Congress.

It should be noted that the goal of economic integration in Latin America has already been commended by a number of private organizations and individuals. Of particular significance, and perhaps of interest to my colleagues, is a resolution on Latin American Regional Economic Integration adopted by the 53d National Foreign Trade Convention last November. As you may be aware, the convention has been sponsored and conducted since 1914 by the National Foreign Trade Council, a private, nonpolitical business organization devoted to the promotion and protection of United States foreign trade and investments. The convention brings together executives of U.S. business organizations for examination of important issues in our foreign economic policy.

In its resolution on economic integration the convention urges that:

> The U.S. business community and officials of the Government intensify our cooperation with the Latin American Free Trade Area and the Central American Common Market, and with their member countries, to encourage and foster accomplishment of their objectives. This cooperation should be directed especially toward the creation of an active common market, to the benefit of the ultimate consumer.

I wish to be identified with this attitude of firm support for Latin American integration. The full text of the resolution by the 53d Foreign Trade Convention is as follows:

RESOLUTION ON LATIN AMERICAN REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

> Both programs of regional economic integration in Latin America—the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and the Central American Common Market (CACM)—offer real promise for achieving the desired increase in the rate of economic growth and marked elevation of standards of living. Despite some accomplishments, there is much work yet to be done.
>
> The Convention commends the progress which has been made and the efforts of self-help being put forth by the countries of the hemisphere to move more rapidly toward these vital goals. The investment in development by Latin American countries is impressive and encouraging. The benefits to be derived from greater movements of goods, capital, ideas and people, will be fostered and accelerated to the extent that the governments increasingly encourage the full cooperation and participation of private enterprise.
>
> To promote regional communications which are essential to economic integration, continued emphasis should be given in allocating funds provided by the United States Government to fostering regional programs such as highways and telecommunications.
>
> The Convention urges that the United States business community and officials of the Government intensify our cooperation with LAFTA and CACM, and with their member countries, to encourage and foster accomplishment of their objectives. This cooperation should be directed especially toward the creation of an active common market, to the benefit of the ultimate consumer; the program of industrial complementarity; and the working out of a sound policy with respect to constructive participation of private enterprise of whatever source in the achievement of these goals.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join in support of the joint resolution on the forthcoming summit meeting as I consider congressional adoption of this resolution essential to the success of the meeting of the Chiefs of State of our hemisphere in charting the course of our Alliance for Progress throughout the decade of the seventies.

For our adoption of this resolution will demonstrate to our friends in Latin America that the people of the United States—through their representatives in the Congress—stand firmly and fully behind President Johnson's effort to move ahead with all possible speed toward the creation of a Latin American Common Market, and that we intend to contribute our full share toward insuring self-sustaining growth—in which private initiative and private enterprise shall play an increasing role—throughout the hemisphere.

One of the most important results of greater regional cooperation in Latin America would be the growing attraction it would exert upon hitherto untapped private capital for development purposes—and the encouragement it would give to the growth of local capital markets within Latin America.

Under the Alliance for Progress, the United States has done much to increase the role of private investment—both within and outside Latin America—in encouraging economic growth in Latin America.

As of June 30, 1966, AID and predecessor agencies had authorized dollar loans of roughly $422 million to 61 intermediate credit institutions and cooperatives in 19 Latin American countries. In addition to these dollar loans, the Agency has contributed well over $200 million—in equivalent value—of local currency to intermediate credit institutions in eight Latin American countries.

The impact of these loans to industrial development banks, housing institutions, agricultural credit banks, and to cooperatives has been considerable. In many instances the loans were instrumental in establishing the first such intermediate credit institution in the country involved. Practically all of these loans have been accompanied by additional private and public investment in the credit institutions and in this respect the impact of the AID loans in terms of new funds available to local borowers exceeds the roughly $622 million which has been committed to date. Furthermore, each subloan from a development bank or savings and loan association is further matched with a contribution by the local investors or homeowners.

AID has also furnished considerable technical assistance to the private sector in Latin America—assistance ranging from the provision of a part-time adviser to a particular local institution to more extensive, AID-sponsored assistance from U.S. consulting firms, universities, cooperative and private institutions. And other AID programs have helped stimulate the flow of U.S. private investment to Latin America.

The new course that President Johnson has proposed for the Alliance—and to which we would pledge our support by the passage of the resolution before us—would accelerate this trend already well underway toward greater private participation in furthering economic progress in Latin America. It would go a long way toward enabling the economies of Latin America to stand on their own feet—and toward financing their growth through the more normal channels of private trade and private investment, rather than from the continued infusion of outside public funds.

We can have no illusions that this transformation will occur overnight. But it is underway. And we can spur it on by adopting this resolution.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, next month, the President will attend a summit meeting with the chiefs of state of Latin America to assess the Alliance for Progress and to determine what steps are necessary to quicken the pace of progress.

I have noted with great interest the increasing tempo of the Alliance. What is especially gratifying is that more and more of the Latins are accepting their own heavy responsibilities in connection with the development of their nations.

This self-help is the key. We in the United States cannot cure the problems of Latin America. Only the Latins' own strenuous efforts can accomplish the necessary goals of economic, social, and political progress.

To these efforts, we contribute the vital catalysts of technical assistance and capital. I am proud of this contribution. It represents a realization of our responsibilities to our neighbors. It indicates that we have asked ourselves and answered correctly the following questions:

What right do we have to assert leadership in the world—unless we can prove our willingness and ability to help our neighbors in their struggle for economic, social, and political progress?

What right do we have to suggest to our African and Asian friends that representative democracy, responsive to the needs of its people, is the way of the future—if we fail to assist this hemisphere to achieve these goals?

We may be proud of our contribution to the Alliance for Progress. Castro is no longer a substantial figure of leadership in Latin America. The past 5 years have seen much progress. Juan Valdez, the John Smith of Latin America, may be living a better life. But what is more important is that his eyes have been opened to a realization of what great things can lie ahead for him and his children. These aroused expectations must be realized. Señor Valdez is not going to sink back into the morass of futility. Juan's leaders throughout Latin America are increasingly aware of this, and more and more are struggling to help Juan with his problems.

But these leaders and their governments need help, and we must provide that help if we make any claim to a sense of humanity and leadership.

It is in response to this expressed need that the President has agreed to join the chiefs of states of Latin America next month.

The agenda of the meeting speaks in terms of economic integration, multinational projects, and so forth. But as high-level deliberations take place on these themes, let us bear in mind that these are only the tools to accomplish the purpose—the purpose of helping our neighbor, Juan Valdez.

I say to our President that the John Smiths of this country wish him Godspeed.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, revolutionary changes are taking place today in our hemisphere. Once unlettered and deprived peoples are clamoring for and attaining their rightful place in the modern world of the 20th century.

To a great extent these new developments and the fresh hope of fulfillment which accompanies them have arisen as a direct result of U.S. financial and technical assistance under the Alliance for Progress.

On April 12, President Johnson will meet with his fellow American chief executives in a summit meeting at an already historic site—Punta del Este, Uruguay. There, where the Alliance was born in August 1961, our President will reiterate this country's support for the legitimate claims to the basic needs of millions, for homes, work and land, health and schools.

The vast hemispheric economic and social development program which began with such high hopes at the beginning of this decade will receive new impulse, and will shift from its initial organizational phase into a much broader program of economic integration and multilateral endeavor.

The Alliance for Progress has achieved major breakthrough in the social and economic fields. Millions of our fellow Americans in Latin America are now free of the scourge of malaria and similar endemic threats; thousands of new classrooms provide adequate space and equipment for eager students; countless farmers are reaping better crop yields through technical and financial assistance under supervised agricultural credit programs; small industries are being established through U.S.-provided seed capital to help diversify traditional one-crop economies; tens of thousands of people are dwelling in new homes—all these and many more achievements can be traced to programs under the Alliance for Progress.

Although the most difficult part of our task lies ahead, we can, nevertheless, be proud of these accomplishments. What would our hemisphere be like today if we never had an Alliance for Progress?

We can also be satisfied as a nation that we have not shirked our Alliance commitments. The 10-year, $100 billion program established in 1961 called for 80 percent of the financing to come from public and private sources in Latin America itself. Of the remaining 20 percent, 10 percent represented the U.S. commitment and the rest was to come from international lending bodies.

In the first 5 years of the program the United States more than met its pledge of $1 billion per year through contributions via AID, Export-Import Bank, Food for Peace, the Social Progress Trust Fund—administered by the Inter-American Development Bank—the Peace Corps and others.

Efforts and results have proved satisfying, but above all the one single, underlying achievement which dwarfs all others in significance is the new, pervading Alliance spirit which can be seen and felt throughout Latin America. As President Johnson said in his speech commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Alliance last August:

> The Republics of this hemisphere have shown that deep social change is compatible with peace, is consistent with democracy, and is consonant with individual liberty. We have sounded a sure and certain note; namely, that great change can be wrought

> by reason and not rifles, by builders and not bullets.

Above all, there is a new trend toward self-reliance of the type that generates self-pride and the strength to accomplish self-imposed change.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote:

> Welcome evermore to gods and men is the self-helping man.

If this famous essayist were alive today he would be overjoyed to witness the application of this principle of self-help throughout Latin America. This concept has from the very start been the key to the success of our hemispheric development programs, for without it no amount of foreign aid can help.

President Johnson has repeatedly indicated our country's willingness to help those nations who help themselves.

U.S. assistance has aided innumerable self-help projects in Latin America—whether in national programs such as tax and agrarian reform or on the grassroots level in community development projects.

I should like to mention just a few such programs today.

You may be interested to know that each AID mission director in Latin America now draws from a special fund of $50,000 to support small, high-impact activities. In these projects dividends have been far in excess of the amount of U.S. assistance invested. For example, in Costa Rica 195 hand pumps were made available to rural communities that lacked potable water. In Bolivia $250 worth of cement enabled a community to finish building a wing on a children's hospital.

Often entire villages derive their livelihood from the production of one or more handicraft items. AID and the Peace Corps are actively supporting programs to help such communities maintain their income through improved and expanded production.

In Ecuador AID and the Peace Corps are lending assistance to "town plans" aimed at comprehensive community improvement. In Cayambe, local citizens, under the town physician, have cooperated in the construction of a modern marketplace, a health clinic, a carpentry co-op, and in providing up-to-date equipment for their schools.

In one small town overlooking 2-mile-high Lake Titicaca in Bolivia, a young American Peace Corpsman is working side by side with his Bolivian partner, building and installing water pumps.

Food for peace provides part payment in foods to workers building small farm-to-market roads.

These and many more community development projects are giving new meaning to the lives of millions of inhabitants of small rural towns in Latin America.

As the American Presidents gather in Punta del Este, they will consider new, more effective means of achieving the goals of the Alliance. May our moral support and best wishes for a fruitful outcome accompany our Nation's leader and his assistants as they represent our country at this historic inter-American meeting.

Thank you.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend President Johnson on his special message to Congress regarding the Latin American summit meeting. It is reassuring and encouraging that despite the many demands on his time, the President is clearly not ignoring our responsibilities to our neighbors to the south. His vigorous support for the Alliance for Progress once again testifies to our recognition of the urgency involved in helping these neighbors to help themselves.

In the 5½ years since the first historic meeting at Punta del Este, the cooperative efforts of the American Governments and peoples have resulted in substantial progress. But even as we have progressed we have recognized that, in order to achieve the Alliance's goals of opportunity and stability, the pace of progress must be stepped up significantly. Otherwise, we shall repeat the mistakes of the past characterized so aptly by the phrase, "too little, too late."

In his quest for continued and accelerated progress, President Johnson is planning to journey in April to a second historic conference at Punta del Este. There, with the Presidents of the other American Republics, he will join in a rededication to the goals of the Alliance, and a new commitment to concrete measures for achieving those goals.

Not the least of the Alliance's goals is to alleviate the squalor, hunger and disease, the hopelessness of unemployment, and the lack of opportunity among the millions of urban poor in Latin America.

Unmanageable population increases are a fact of life throughout the underdeveloped world. Latin America is the fastest growing of all these regions. Recent estimates have placed the population of Latin America at 200 million, with projected totals of 300 million by 1975 and more than 600 million by the year 2000—tripling the present number in 35 years.

However, the most striking feature of Latin American population growth is the rapid movement to the cities. The rate of urbanization in Latin America is the highest of any underdeveloped region in the world. Growth rates of 4 to 5 percent have brought the total urban population to where it now exceeds the rural by several hundred thousand. With continuing high rates of natural increase and heavy farm-to-city migration, this slight margin is expected to grow to more than 15 million by the end of the decade.

Twenty-five percent of the population is concentrated in 10 metropolitan areas of over 1 million each. The stagnation of rural economies and the attraction of the urban areas send thousands more to the great Latin American cities every day. More than 60 percent of the people of Argentina, Chile, and Venezuela live in cities. The urban populations of Colombia, Mexico, and Uruguay are rapidly approaching the 50 percent mark.

This trend toward urbanization is a characteristic of all developing societies. It is generally recognized as a basic index of economic growth. But the accelerated rate prevailing in Latin America, under conditions of unplanned growth, confronts urban centers with a wide range of critical problems. Central to all is their lack of capacity to provide jobs, housing, water, sanitation, education, and medical care. If the social and economic problems of Latin America are to be dealt with realistically, the needs of the cities must receive urgent consideration.

When the summit conference at Punta del Este is called to order, the agenda before the American Presidents will not carry the topic "Urban Problems" as such. But every item on the agenda will have as its primary or secondary purpose alleviation of those critical problems associated with accelerated urbanization.

One major item addresses itself directly to educational development and intensification of health programs, as well as to technological and scientific development. In the item aimed at modernization of rural life and increase of agricultural productivity, principally of food, it is not difficult to foresee the benefit to the hungry urban poor.

Three major items are addressed directly to acceleration of economic activity throughout Latin America. They deal with the Latin American economic integration and industrial development, multinational action for infrastructure projects, and measures to improve international trade conditions. In the terms of reference of Latin America's urbanized millions, those items translate first into jobs, and then into better housing, better clothing and better food; into utilities and urban services; into schools and hospitals, teachers and doctors; into greater satisfaction of needs and wants; into respect and care for human dignity; into economic mobility, and broadened horizons and rising hopes.

Even the final item on the agenda, elimination of military expenditures excepting what is absolutely essential, aims at drawing the string from a curse which has haunted many nations: the priority of guns before butter, of shiny implements of war amid the shadows of poverty, sickness, and despair.

These are purposes to which all of us can dedicate ourselves. We have before us the means to express that dedication immediately, in the resolution of moral and financial support for the commitments the President will be called upon to make at the summit.

To speed the Western Hemisphere along the way it chose at Punta del Este more than 5 years ago, I urge that we give the President and this resolution our strongest endorsement.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this subject.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR—PERMISSION TO SIT DURING SESSION OF THE HOUSE TODAY

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Education and Labor be permitted to convene for the purpose of hearing witnesses this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SELDEN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). This is District of Columbia day.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. McMILLAN], chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to explain that each of these bills to be called up today was passed last year by the House, but the Senate did not have time to take action on them before adjournment.

INCORPORATION OF MERCHANT MARINE WAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the House District Committee, I call up H.R. 1944 for the incorporation of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1944

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following-named persons, to wit:

Raymond Jacobs, Chicago, Illinois;
Tom Truxtun McWade, Chicago, Illinois;
John Scotello, Chicago, Illinois;
E. A. Garrett, Chicago, Illinois;
F. L. Staszewski, Chicago, Illinois;
Frank L. Morgan, Bensenville, Illinois;
Ira E. Bishop, Homewood, Illinois;
Robert Kaforski, Chicago, Illinois;
Thomas V. Murphy, Chicago, Illinois;
James W. MacKenzie, Chicago, Illinois;
Stanley T. Deering, Chicago, Illinois;
Robert H. Salvesen, Franklin Park, Illinois;
Charles W. Wilson, Chicago, Illinois;
Chester L. Ratowski, Chicago, Illinois;
Obie A. Hawker, Senior, Washington, District of Columbia;
Art Payne, Chicago, Illinois;
William G. May, Chicago, Illinois;
Alfonso DeSoto, Chicago, Illinois;
Captain Daniel C. Green, Chicago, Illinois;
Robert J. Morgan, Skokie, Illinois;
Robert Broadhead, Elmhurst, Illinois;
Raymond E. Gongola, Elmwood Park, Illinois;
James Sheehan, Downers Grove, Illinois;
Willi Willis, Lake Forest, Illinois;
Terry Kenny, Chicago, Illinois;
Captain David A. Jones, Chicago, Illinois;
George Bean, Chicago, Illinois;
William Berkovitz, Chicago, Illinois;
John Dewar, Chicago, Illinois;
Frank Draper, Chicago, Illinois;
John S. Hambright, Chicago, Illinois;
Robert Kannberg, Chicago, Illinois;
George Laudermith, Chicago, Illinois;
John C. Mead, Chicago, Illinois;
Harry A. Skinner, Chicago, Illinois;
Captain Robert Ammon, Chicago, Illinois;
Jack Billow, Chicago, Illinois;
Captain Roy Christianson, Chicago, Illinois;
William J. Curton, Chicago, Illinois;
Harry L. Siegler, Chicago, Illinois;
Captain Don K. McRae, Chicago, Illinois;
Richard Nowak, Chicago, Illinois;
Stanley M. Repel, Chicago, Illinois;
Roscoe J. Williams, Chicago, Illinois;
William Fitch, Chicago, Illinois;
Richard Christ, Chicago, Illinois;
George S. Cronk, Chicago, Illinois;
Joe Rosengard, Chicago, Illinois;
Joseph W. Zinn, Chicago, Illinois;
Louis Roskopf, Cicero, Illinois;
R. Wojcukiewicz, Chicago, Illinois;
Walter J. Hetzel, Chicago, Illinois;
Bertram W. Brown, Oak Park, Illinois;
Captain John J. Klocko, Junior, Prospect Heights, Illinois;
Louis B. Lambert, Claremont, Illinois;
Nick J. DeBrown, Franklin Park, Illinois;
Thomas F. Skahill, Elmhurst, Illinois;
William Bradley, Deerfield, Illinois;
R. B. Foryst, Olney, Illinois;
J. J. Fahrenbach, Glenview, Illinois;
Michael S. Morgan, Skokie, Illinois;
Vern Colvin, Lombard, Illinois;
Phil Provenzano, Addison, Illinois;
Sid Luckman, Highland Park, Illinois;
Reverend Arnold J. Parker, Riverdale, Illinois;
Harold Kowalski, Ciecero, Illinois;
Bud Carlson, Lombard, Illinois;
Robert A. Carlsen, Berwyn, Illinois;
Steve Manookian, Melrose Park, Illinois;
Joseph M. Kerekes, Des Plaines, Illinois;
Robert E. Olson, Mount Vernon, Illinois;
E. E. Milde, Champaign, Illinois;
Ken Bruckelmeyer, Worth, Illinois;
K. J. Bailey, Gurnee, Illinois;
Charles W. Wright, Chillicothe, Illinois;
Thomas A. Ross, Chicago, Illinois;
John Miaso, Chicago, Illinois;
Paul Maresky, Chicago, Illinois;
Benjamin J. Linkus, Chicago, Illinois;
Anton A. Bernacki, Chicago, Illinois;
Vincent Flack, Chicago, Illinois.
Frank A. Mendyke, Chicago, Illinois;
August J. Goyke, Chicago, Illinois;
Ray Litterski, Chicago, Illinois;
Richard L. Anderson, Baltimore, Maryland;
Kenneth F. Clausen, Fond Du Lac, Wisconsin;
Ferdinand J. Simon, Lutcher, Louisiana;
Richard M. Stevenson, Groton, Connecticut;
Joe R. McAllister, Madison, South Dakota;
Paul H. Apmann, Saint Petersburg, Florida;
B. Alan Stone, Greeley, Colorado;
H. K. Martin, Muskegon, Michigan;
Richard A. Sells, Saint Louis, Missouri;
Charles J. Steichen, El Segundo, California;
Raymond L. Loftesness, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Martin Avignon, Junior, Laurel, Mississippi;
Clyde J. Beck, Minneapolis, Minnesota;
Arthur Chambless, Saralan, Alabama;
Laurence N. Holden, Lincoln, Rhode Island;
Glen M. Svaren, Ashland, Oregon;
Captain John L. Beebe, New Shrewsbury, New Jersey;
Frank Harveston, Augusta, Georgia;
Robert Hotchkiss, Sedley, Virginia;
Floyd W. Reed, Pickstown, South Dakota;
Richard M. Meurer, Billings, Montana;
Warren Peterson, Indianapolis, Indiana;
Eleuterio Rosa, Bronx, New York;
Vergil Patrick, Andrews, Texas;
Gordon Westford, Spokane, Washington;
Donald C. Ahern, Brookings, South Dakota;
Robert J. Garvey, Roswell, New Mexico;
Wellington Coolidge, Saratoga, Wyoming;
David E. Fisher, Allentown, Pennsylvania;
Sterling Hayden, Nantucket, Massachusetts;
Frank A. Joslyn, Rock Rapids, Iowa;
H. S. Feay, Junior, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Robert E. Armstrong, Junior, Portland, Maine;
Richard R. Powers, Clarksville, Tennessee;
Joseph D. Kelly, Mansfield, Ohio;
Frank H. Throop, Marshall, Minnesota;
E. K. Verley, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Charles W. Bartlett, Valley City, North Dakota;
Elwin B. Benson, O'Neill, Nebraska;
Robert R. Shebal, El Cajon, California;
Lester Sampson, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Charles Shaw, Detroit, Michigan;
John Roscoe, Pueblo, Colorado;
Vicente R. Santos, Lake Placid, Florida;
Domenico Gallo, Danbury, Connecticut;
James Chrystal, New Orleans, Louisiana;
Eugene A. Peterson, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
James P. Grant, Washington, District of Columbia;
Captain William W. Clendaniel, Baltimore, Maryland;
Leonard A. Cernik, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Ralph S. Floyd, Boston, Massachusetts;
Philip Klein, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania;
Dale Dean, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Roy Myers, El Paso, Texas;
Captain Clair F. Bee, Cornwall on the Hudson, New York;
Charles R. Kluge, Gary, Indiana;
Dale A. Meurer, East of Billings, Montana;
William A. McGregor, North Providence, Rhode Island;
William Meyer, Volga, South Dakota;
George Holland, New Providence, New Jersey;
Robert A. Graves, Minneapolis, Minnesota;
Elton E. Dalin, Ashtabula, Ohio;
John B. Orrand, Nashville, Tennessee;
Earl D. Muhs, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Thomas J. O'Connor, Los Angeles, California;
Richard Kujawa, Alpena, Michigan;
Francis J. Brady, Clearwater, Florida;
Warren A. Ferguson, Falls Village, Connecticut;
Luverne P. Jorgensen, Flandreau, South Dakota;
Clyde M. Case, Mukwonago, Wisconsin;
Captain B. Ralph Ludy, Braintree, Massachusetts;
R. J. Bish, York, Pennsylvania;
R. A. Chambers, Buffalo, New York;
Richard M. Bielski, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
Evan O. Davis, Merriville, Indiana;
Richard J. Augsbach, Westwood, New Jersey;
Carl A. Peters, Minneapolis, Minnesota;
James H. Kruser, Toledo, Ohio;
Leland S. Sorensen, Viborg, South Dakota;
Raymond F. Hiltgen, Torrance, California;
Robert Raehl, Muskegon, Michigan;
M. M. Boker, Fort Pierce, Florida;
Orville M. Heemstra, Milwaukee, Wisconsin;
Paul H. Parsley, Brookings, South Dakota;
Edward P. Lyons, Fall River, Massachusetts;
William Grabiak, Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania;
Kenneth U. Marshall, Central Nyack, New York;
Edward M. Meagher, Hammond, Indiana;
Carroll D. Moeller, Naples, South Dakota;
Adrianus Van Ryn, Hoboken, New Jersey;
Florian P. Ritschel, Saint Paul, Minnesota;
Paul A. Hoiriis, Parma, Ohio;
Paul Gehris, Wyomissing, Pennsylvania;
Clifford Gartmann, Wausau, Wisconsin;
Captain C. J. Van Dongen, Muskegon, Michigan;
E. V. Zafft, Sioux Falls, South Dakota;
John G. Hanks, Lakewood, California;
Paul Aaron, Arlington, South Dakota;
Everett E. Robertson, Junior, Oakland City, Indiana;
Wayne Culberston, Caledonia, New York;
Harold R. Fredrickson, Sunnyvale, California;
James Swinford, Louisville, Ohio;
D. E. Bigler, North Bergen, New Jersey;
Arvid Olson, El Cajon, California;
J. H. Muellers, Robbinsdale, Minnesota;
Robert Nelson, Fort Dix, New Jersey;
Anthony P. Velligan, Gary, Indiana;
Orval Herington, Onamia, Minnesota;
Van Heflin, Beverly Hills, California;
Worrell Klaenhammer, Saint Paul, Minnesota;

Delbert W. Houts, Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin;
Walter Skotynski, Toledo, Ohio;
H. A. Kuns, Osseo, Minnesota;
G. J. Burdick, Daly City, California;
George L. Smokovitch, Escanaba, Michigan;
Ray J. Arkell, Iona, Minnesota;
Robert W. Forsberg, Watertown, South Dakota;
Clarence Bowes, Nekoosa, Wisconsin; and
William N. Walker, Junior, Ashtabula, Ohio;

and their successors, are hereby created and declared to be a body corporate of the District of Columbia, where its legal domicile shall be, by the name of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association (hereinafter referred to as the corporation), and by such name shall be known and have perpetual succession and the powers, limitations, and restrictions herein contained.

It shall be the duty of the persons named in this section, jointly and severally, to file with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia or their designated agent a copy of this Act within fifteen days after the date of its approval.

COMPLETION OF ORGANIZATION

SEC. 2. A majority of the persons named in the first section of this Act, acting in person or by written proxy, are authorized to complete the organization of the corporation by the selection of officers and employees, the adoption of a constitution and bylaws not inconsistent with this Act, and the doing of such other acts as may be necessary for such purpose.

PURPOSES OF THE CORPORATION

SEC. 3. The purposes of the corporation shall be to foster appreciation for the wartime services of veterans of the American merchant marine and the United States Maritime Service, and the betterment of the plight of said veterans, through recognized methods of obtainment; the perpetuation of the Memorial Day shipboard ceremony to honor the war dead of these services, as inaugurated on Memorial Day, May 30, 1958; to encourage the retention and availability of a modernized and adequate American merchant marine held in readiness at all times; to encourage the governmental formation of a United States Maritime Service Reserve, the acknowledged training branch of the wartime American merchant marine.

CORPORATE POWERS

SEC. 4. The corporation shall have power—

(1) to have succession by its corporate name;

(2) to sue and be sued, complain and defend in any court of competent jurisdiction;

(3) to adopt, use, and alter a corporate seal;

(4) to choose such officers, managers, agents, and employees as the activities of the corporation may require;

(5) to adopt, amend, and alter a constitution and bylaws, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States, the District of Columbia or any State in which the corporation is to operate, for the management of its property and the regulation of its affairs;

(6) to contract and be contracted with;

(7) to take by lease, gift, purchase, grant, devise, or bequest from any public body or agency or any private corporation, association, partnership, firm, or individual, and to hold absolutely or in trust for any of the purposes of the corporation any property, real, personal, or mixed, necessary or convenient for attaining the objects and carrying into effect the purposes of the corporation, subject, however, to applicable provisions of the law of any State or the District of Columbia (A) governing the amount or kind of property which may be held by, or (B) otherwise limiting or controlling the *ownership of property by, a corporation operating in such State or the District of Columbia;*

(8) to transfer, convey, lease, sublease, encumber, and otherwise alienate real, personal, or mixed property;

(9) to borrow money for the purposes of the corporation, issue bonds therefor, and secure the same by mortgage, deed of trust, pledge, or otherwise, subject in every case to all applicable provisions of Federal, District of Columbia, and State laws; and

(10) to do any and all acts and things necessary and proper to carry out the objects and purposes of the corporation.

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 5. Eligibility for membership in the corporation and the rights, privileges, and designation of classes of members shall, except as provided in this Act, be determined as the constitution and bylaws of the corporation may provide. Eligibility for membership in the corporation shall be limited to male wartime veterans of the American merchant marine, and the United States Maritime Service, who are eligible for an honorable discharge from the United States Shipping Board recruiting service of World War I; a certificate of substantially continuous service from World War II; the equivalent discharge from the Korean conflict; and any similar type discharge from previous or subsequent conflicts.

GOVERNING AUTHORITY OF THE CORPORATION

SEC. 6. The supreme governing authority of the corporation shall be the national headquarters and national board of directors thereof, composed of such officers and elected representatives from the several States and other local subdivisions of the corporate organization as shall be provided by the constitution and bylaws: *Provided,* That the form of the government of the corporation shall always be representative of the membership at large and shall not permit the concentration of the control thereof in the hands of a limited number of members or in a self-perpetuating group not so representative. The meetings of the national headquarters may be held in any State or territory or in the District of Columbia.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: COMPOSITION, RESPONSIBILITIES

SEC. 7. (a) Upon the enactment of this Act the membership of the initial national headquarters and the national board of directors of the corporation shall consist of the present members of the national headquarters and the national board of directors of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association, the corporation described in section 18 of this Act, or such of them as may then be living and are qualified members of such national headquarters and national board of directors, to wit: Raymond Jacobs, Chicago, Illinois; Tom Truxtun McWade, Chicago, Illinois; John Scotello, Chicago, Illinois; E. A. Garrett, Chicago, Illinois; Frank Morgan, Bensenville, Illinois; Ira E. Bishop, Homewood, Illinois; Robert Kaforski, Chicago, Illinois; Thomas V. Murphy, Chicago, Illinois; James W. MacKenzie, Chicago, Illinois; Stanley T. Deering, Chicago, Illinois; and Francis L. Staszewski, Chicago, Illinois.

(b) Thereafter, the national headquarters and national board of directors of the corporation shall consist of such number as may be prescribed in the constitution of the corporation, and the members of such offices shall be selected in such manner (including the filling of vacancies), and shall serve for such terms, as may be prescribed in the constitution and bylaws of the corporation.

(c) The national headquarters and national board of directors shall be the managing body of the corporation and shall have such powers, duties, and responsibilities as may be prescribed in the constitution and bylaws of the corporation.

OFFICERS: SELECTION AND DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SEC. 8. The officers of the corporation shall be a national commander, national vice commander, national junior vice commander, national secretary, national treasurer, national master at arms, five members of the national board of directors, and such other officers as may be prescribed in the constitution and bylaws. The officers of the corporation shall be selected in such manner and for such terms and with such duties and titles as may be prescribed in the constitution and bylaws of the corporation.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AGENT

SEC. 9. (a) The principal office of the corporation shall be located in Chicago, Illinois, or in such other place as may be later determined by the national officers and national board of directors; but the activities of the corporation shall not be confined to that place, but may be conducted throughout the various States, the District of Columbia, and territories and possessions of the United States.

(b) The corporation shall have in the District of Columbia at all times a designated agent authorized to accept service of process, notice, or demand for the corporation, and service of such process, notice, or demand required or permitted by law to be served upon the corporation may be served upon such agent. The corporation shall file with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia or their designated agent a statement designating the initial and each successor registered agent of the corporation immediately following any such designation.

USE OF INCOME: LOANS TO OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, OR EMPLOYEES

SEC. 10. (a) No part of the income or assets of the corporation shall inure to any of its members, directors, or officers as such, or be distributable to any of them during the life of the corporation or upon its dissolution or final liquidation. Nothing in this subsection, however, shall be construed to prevent the payment of compensation to officers of the corporation or reimbursement for actual necessary expenses in amounts approved by the national officers and national board of directors of the corporation.

(b) The corporation shall not make loans to its officers, directors, or employees. Any member of the national headquarters and national board of directors who votes for or assents to the making of a loan or advance to an officer, director, or employee of the corporation, and any officer who participates in the making of such a loan or advance, shall be jointly and severally liable to the corporation for the amount of such loan until the payment thereof.

NONPOLITICAL NATURE OF CORPORATION

SEC. 11. The corporation and its officers and directors as such, shall not contribute to or otherwise support or assist any political party or candidate for public office.

LIABILITY FOR ACTS OF OFFICERS AND AGENTS

SEC. 12. The corporation shall be liable for the acts of its officers and agents when acting within the scope of their authority.

PROHIBITION AGAINST ISSUANCE OF STOCK OR PAYMENT OF DIVIDENDS

SEC. 13. The corporation shall have no power to issue any shares of stock or to declare or pay any dividends.

BOOKS AND RECORDS: INSPECTION

SEC. 14. The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of accounts and shall keep minutes of the proceedings of its national conventions, national headquarters, and national board of directors. All books and records of the corporation may be inspected by any member, or his agent or attorney, for any proper purpose, at any reasonable time.

AUDIT OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

Sec. 15. (a) The financial transactions of the corporation shall be audited annually by an independent certified public accountant in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to commercial corporate transactions. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the corporation and necessary to facilitate the audit shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audit; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

(b) A report of such audit shall be made by the corporation to the Congress not later than March 1 of each year. The report shall set forth for the scope of the audit and shall include a verification by the person or persons conducting the audit of statements of (1) assets and liabilities, (2) capital and surplus or deficit, (3) surplus or deficit analysis, (4) income and expense, and (5) sources and applications of funds. Such report shall not be printed as a public document.

REPORT TO THE CONGRESS

Sec. 16. On or before March 1 of each year the corporation shall report to the Congress on its activities during the preceding fiscal year. Such report may consist of a report on the proceedings of the national convention covering such fiscal year. Such report shall not be printed as a public document.

CERTAIN EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS OF CORPORATION

Sec. 17. The corporation and its subordinate divisions shall have the sole and exclusive right to use the name Merchant Marine War Veterans Association. The corporation shall have the exclusive and sole right to use, or allow or refuse the use of, such emblems, seals, and badges as have heretofore been used by the Illinois corporation described in section 18 and the right to which may be lawfully transferred to the corporation.

TRANSFER OF ASSETS

Sec. 18. The corporation may acquire the assets of the Merchant Marine and Maritime Service Veterans Association, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, upon discharging or satisfactorily providing for the payment and discharge of all the liability of such corporation and upon complying with all laws of the State of Illinois applicable thereto.

USE OF ASSETS ON DISSOLUTION OR LIQUIDATION

Sec. 19. Upon dissolution or final liquidation of the corporation, after discharge or satisfaction of all outstanding obligations and liabilities, the remaining assets, if any, of the corporation shall be distributed in accordance with the determination of the national headquarters and national board of directors and in compliance with the constitution and bylaws of the corporation and all Federal, District of Columbia, and State laws applicable thereto.

RESERVATION OF RIGHT TO AMEND OR REPEAL CHARTER

Sec. 20. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is expressly reserved.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill, H.R. 1944, is to provide for the incorporation of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association in the District of Columbia, where its legal domicile shall be.

The names of the incorporators, the corporate purposes, powers and procedures, membership requirements, and duties of the officers are set forth under various sections of the bill.

While the bill provides that the principal office of the corporation shall be located in Chicago, Ill., or such other place as may be determined, it is stipulated that the corporation shall have in the District of Columbia at all times a designated agent authorized to accept service of process.

The Merchant Marine & Maritime Service Veterans Association, numbering over 10,000 members in 50 States, was organized in 1957 in the State of Illinois and chartered under the "not for profit" corporation laws of that State.

Its purposes, as expressed in section 3 of the bill, are first, to foster appreciation for the wartime services of veterans of the American merchant marine and the U.S. maritime service, and the betterment of the plight of said veterans, through recognized methods of obtainment; second, the perpetuation of the Memorial Day shipboard ceremony to honor the war dead of these services, as inaugurated on Memorial Day, May 30, 1958; third, to encourage the retention and availability of a modernized and adequate American merchant marine held in readiness at all times; and (4) to encourage the governmental formation of a U.S. maritime service reserve, the acknowledged training branch of the wartime American merchant marine.

Eligibility for membership in the Merchant Marine & Maritime Service Veterans Association is limited to male wartime veterans of the American merchant marine and the U.S. maritime service who are eligible for an honorable discharge from the U.S. Shipping Board Recruiting Service of World War I, or who holds a certificate of substantially continuous service in World War II, or the equivalent discharge from the Korean conflict, or any similar type discharge from previous or subsequent conflicts.

This bill is identical to H.R. 3864 of the 89th Congress—House Report No. 731—as approved by the House on August 9, 1965.

COMMITTEE ACTION

At a public hearing August 2, 1965, on this legislation before Subcommittee No. 2 of your committee, testimony supporting the enactment of the bill was presented by Members of Congress, by the national commander of the association, and by a representative of the Corporation Counsel's office on behalf of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. No testimony was offered in opposition to the bill.

It was represented that more than 1.5 million men now living in the United States are eligible for membership in the Merchant Marine & Maritime Service Veterans Association; that the association, in line with its purposes, is dedicated to the betterment of the plight of the wartime veterans of the American merchant marine and the U.S. maritime service and to the retention and availability of a modernized and adequate American merchant marine held in readiness at all times; and that it is dedicated to the encouragement of the governmental formation of the U.S. maritime service reserve as a training branch of the wartime American merchant marine.

Enactment of this bill will not involve any additional expense to the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Commissioners advised the committee. The amendments offered were recommended by the Commissioners as the usual additions to measures of this kind.

CONCLUSION

Your committee agrees with the proponents of this legislation that the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association, as a public service organization, is deserving of charter by Congress and that the prestige of a Federal charter will assist it in informing the public of the highly important and necessary functions of the American merchant marine and U.S. maritime service.

This is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, and nonpolitical organization; it is self-supporting, its only income being membership dues; and it has been granted tax-exempt status by the Treasury Department.

The Congress on behalf of the American people owe the veterans of the maritime service a debt of gratitude which can be symbolized in the reported bill. They endured all the terrifying hazards of war at sea and helped save America from invasion. This legislation will also provide recognition of our debt to the many thousands who gave their lives in defense of this Nation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SALES TAX ACT

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 829) to amend the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act to provide exemptions for certain operations of the House of Representatives from taxes imposed by that act and the District of Columbia Use Tax Act, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 829

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 128 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2605) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(s) Sales of materials and services to the printing clerks of the majority and minority rooms of the House of Representatives for use in the operation of such rooms, and sales of materials and services made by such clerks in connection with the operation of such rooms.

"(t) Sales of food, beverages, and other goods made to any person for use in the operation of the majority and minority cloakrooms of the House of Representatives and sales of such food, beverages, and other goods made by such person in connection with the operation of such cloakrooms."

Sec. 2. (a) Paragraph (s) of section 128 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act, added by the first section of this Act, shall apply with respect to the sale of materials and services made on or after January 1, 1961.

(b) Paragraph (t) of section 128 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act, added by the first section of this Act, shall apply with respect to sales made on or after the first day of the first month which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 829 is to exempt from the application of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act—District of Columbia Code, title 47, section 2601 and the following—and the District of Columbia Use Tax Act the operations conducted by the printing clerks of the House of Representatives in the majority and minority rooms, which were established many years ago to perform printing services for Members of the House of Representatives, and also the operations of the majority and minority cloakrooms of the House of Representatives in the purchase and sale of food, beverages, and other goods.

The printing clerks of the House of Representatives are employees of the House and receive a nominal salary in the performance of their services. The House of Representatives provides to the majority and minority rooms heat, light, space, and some furniture, but the printing clerks must supply, on their own account and expense, the printing equipment necessary to produce printed materials. Accordingly, the printing clerks must charge for their services, whether or not paper and other materials are furnished for the production of the finished printed product.

For many years the operation of the majority and minority rooms of the House was exempt from any District of Columbia taxes. The exemption was predicated upon the provisions in the District of Columbia tax law which exempt Government functions from all taxes. About 18 months ago, the tax officials of the District of Columbia learned that the equipment used by the printing clerks of the House was privately owned. Based on that finding, the District of Columbia levied property taxes retroactively against the House printing clerks and those taxes have been paid. While taking this action, the District tax officials determined that printed materials produced for Members of the House of Representatives were subject to sales tax and that equipment being used might be subject to application of the District of Columbia use tax.

The printing clerks were notified of liability for back sales taxes and for sales taxes of future services performed by them for Members of the House of Representatives.

The effect of the ruling of District of Columbia tax officials regarding application of sales tax on materials produced by the House printing clerks is to impose a sales tax on any portion of the stationery account of each Member which is used to furnish paper or other materials to the printing clerks for the production of printed materials. Under the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act, the full value of paper, other materials, and the services performed in printing, is subject to sales tax whether or not a sales tax was paid for paper and materials prior to placing such materials in the hands of a printer. Thus, even though a Member of the House furnishes paper and materials, such Member would be required to pay sales tax on the total cost of the paper, materials, and printing services.

It is the intent of this bill, and the language so provides, that all operations of the printing clerks performed in the majority and minority rooms of the House of Representatives be exempt retroactively from all sales taxes on materials or services and exempt from use taxes on all equipment in use or which may be purchased by the printing clerks to perform printing services for Members of the House of Representatives.

The majority and minority cloakroom food and beverage stands in the Capitol are operated by employees of the Federal Government, solely for the convenience of the Members of the House of Representatives during the hours when the House is in session. The cloakrooms pay District of Columbia sales tax on all equipment purchased, and also collect such sales tax on the sale of all food and beverages to the Members. By contrast, the House dining rooms and cafeterias, which dispense food and beverages to both Members and employees of the House of Representatives, and also the general public to some extent, are exempt from the collection of any sales tax. It is the view of your Committee that this situation is inequitable, and hence it has provided in H.R. 829 for the exemption of the cloakroom service operations from the District of Columbia sales tax both in the purchase of goods and in the sale of food and beverages to the Members.

This bill is identical to H.R. 1065 of the 89th Congress, as amended and passed by the House on February 8, 1965—House Report No. 20. The provisions with respect to the printing operations of the majority and minority rooms were also incorporated in H.R. 12371 of the 88th Congress, which was approved by the House on September 4, 1964—House Report No. 1846.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dowdy], to call up bills from his subcommittee.

WATERFRONT PRIORITY HOLDERS

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 2529) to amend the act of September 8, 1960, relating to the Washington Channel waterfront.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—this bill is a further attempt to establish a priority of opportunity for businesses displaced from the District of Columbia waterfront to secure reestablishment in that same area.

Public Law 86–736, enacted in July of 1960, provided that these displaced businesses were to be entitled to facilities at least substantially equal to those from which they were displaced. The RLA was to notify each displacee of an opportunity to lease a suitable piece of land in the area, and the priority holder would then have 180 days within which to indicate its intent and demonstrate its capability to establish facilities within the redevelopment plan's provisions. However, not one of these businesses has been permanently relocated, and no economically feasible offer of relocation on any specific site on the waterfront has been tendered any of them under Public Law 86–736. In short, this law has not been effective.

H.R. 2529 directs the RLA to use specific procedures to establish land values in the waterfront area, and to make proper allowances for improvements and any public charges placed upon the land which must be assumed by the priority holder. Further, it is provided that any valuation placed upon the land shall not exceed the maximum fair use value which is economically feasible and which will permit the reestablishment of the type of business displaced. Also, in the event of any change in the waterfront plan or in the land price, each priority holder must be notified and given at least 60 days within which to exercise his priority rights. The lessee shall be charged an annual rent not less than 6 percent of the fair reuse value of the land. If the cost or interest which the RLA must pay in order to finance the land and improvements exceeds 6 percent, however, then the lease rental charged the priority holder will be adjusted in excess of the 6-percent figure accordingly. Finally, if the gross income of the business exceeds the estimated figure used as a basis for establishing the residual value of the land as the basis for the original lease, the priority holder and the RLA shall receive equal shares of any increased income resulting from the increased gross sales.

After 25 years of any such lease, the land may be reappraised and a new value determined as the basis for a new rental figure.

It is my opinion that these provisions will be fair to all parties, and that the details set forth will result in a practical and working basis for the exercise of these priority rights.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2529

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (1) the first sentence of section 4(b) of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia on behalf of the United States to transfer from the United States to the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency title to certain real property in said District", approved September 8, 1960 (74 Stat. 872), is amended by striking out "by reason of the enactment of the joint resolution approved August 28, 1958 (72 Stat. 983; Public Law 85–821),".

(2) The second sentence of section (b) of such Act is amended by striking out "by reason of the operation of such joint resolution approved August 28, 1958,".

(3) Section 4(b) of such Act is amended by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following: "The priority of opportunity created by this section is a personal right of the owners of businesses displaced. In the event of the death of any such owner of any such displaced business, the spouse of such owner, or, if there is no spouse, the children of such owner shall be entitled to exercise the priority of such owner in accordance with the provisions of this section, but in no event shall any such priority be otherwise transferable: *Provided, however,* That the spouse or the children, as the case may be, shall have no greater priority than the priority holder would have had if living. For purposes of exercising such priority, the spouse, or children, as the case may be, shall be deemed to be owner of such business concern so displaced."

(4) The last sentence in section 4(b) of such Act is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a comma and the following: "except that if after the end of such one-hundred-and-eighty-day period the Agency shall change the terms under which real property is to be leased, or the redevelopment plan for the area described in the first section of this Act is changed so as to affect the economic value of the leasehold, the Agency shall in writing notify each such owner of the change or changes so made or give to such owner so notified a period of sixty days within which to advise the Agency in writing of his intention and to demonstrate his ability to proceed as aforesaid."

(5) Section 4 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, whenever, pursuant to subsection (b), the Agency offers leaseholds to persons entitled to a priority of opportunity to lease under the provisions of this section, the annual rent prescribed in such lease shall not exceed an amount which is the greater of—

"(A) an amount equal to 6 per centum of the residual value of the land for the prescribed use to which any owner of a displaced business concern shall put such land under such lease;

"(B) the annual amount which the Agency shall be required to pay in principal and interest on a forty-year loan of an amount equal to the residual value of the land under such lease which value is the residual value of the land which was determined by the Agency, in accordance with this subsection, and on the basis of which such land was initially leased under this section; or

"(C) the sum of (i) the amount determined under subparagraph (A) or (B) of this paragraph, whichever is greater, and (ii) 50 per centum of the product of the occupancy cost factor for the class and character of the business of such lessee times the amount by which the lessee's actual annual gross sales income exceeds the estimated gross sales income (for the class and character of the displaced business) used by the Agency in determining the residual value of the land leased to such lessee.

In the case of any land which the Agency leases under this section, the annual rent prescribed by the Agency in the lease of such land shall not, during the forty-three-year period beginning on the date such land was first leased by the Agency under this section, be less than the amount determined under subparagraph (B) of this paragraph. In the case of any land which the Agency leases under this section to a displaced business, the residual value of such land—

"(I) may be redetermined by the Agency after the expiration of twenty-five years from the date such land was first leased by the Agency and at the end of each ten-year period thereafter, or

"(II) shall be redetermined by the Agency if at the end of the twenty-five-year period from the date such land was first leased by the Agency or at the end of each ten-year period thereafter, the lessee requests the Agency to redetermine such residual value.

The residual value of such land shall make due allowance for the cost to the owner of the displaced business of all improvements and public charges on such land, and shall not exceed the maximum fair use value economically feasible to permit the reestablishment of a business of the class and character of such displaced business.

"(2) Each business holding a lease under this Act shall furnish annually to the Agency (on such date as the Agency may by regulation prescribe) a copy of the sales tax return filed by such business under the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act, which copy was furnished to the business under section 138 (a) of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2615(a))."

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I note in the report on this bill that the Redevelopment Land Agency for the District of Columbia has not kept its commitments with respect to these waterfront properties. My question of some member of the committee is why the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency has not kept its commitments?

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I say to him that we have been insisting they do keep their commitments, but there is a great deal of resistance down there to keeping the commitments which the Congress makes relative to this particular 11 acres of land. That is the necessity for this bill. We want to require them to keep the commitments that Congress makes.

Mr. GROSS. I am in agreement with the bill, but I do not understand why this Agency has not kept the commitments that have been made. I wonder whether the Agency ought to be disbanded or whether someone ought to insist that the personnel be changed so that we can get some honest people operating this Agency.

Mr. DOWDY. Since this matter first originated, the head of the Agency has changed twice, but at least so far as this particular piece of land is concerned it does not seem to improve the situation any.

Mr. GROSS. I should like to ask the gentleman, or some other member of the committee why the bill, H.R. 6638, which we understood was to be on the calendar today, is not here. That is the bill which deals with foreign chanceries in the District of Columbia.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I state to the gentleman that one of the subcommittees of my committee held extensive hearings on that bill and reported it unanimously to the floor of the House. I was advised by the House leaders that the Speaker had had some requests to carry this bill over until next week. I was not advised to take it off, but I was advised it was going to be kept off.

Mr. GROSS. The chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia means to say that the bill was reported out, is ready to be considered, and was deliberately held up from consideration today?

Mr. McMILLAN. I understand the Speaker has had some requests from some Members to hold it up until they can study the bill. That is the information I received.

Of course, I do not place the bills on the calendar. The leadership places the bills on the calendar.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman from South Carolina, and I wonder if the ranking minority member of the committee and author of the legislation can shed any light on the reason why his bill is not here today, as we had every reason to anticipate it would be?

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I will be glad to respond to the question. I am as much in the dark as the chairman of the full committee. I had offered the bill because I felt that there should be bipartisan support for what seemed to be a very sensible approach to the chancery problem. I was quite surprised when the bill was not on the list, as we assumed it would be, but I am hopeful we will have another chance to consider it later.

Mr. GROSS. Could it be that someone else has some grandiose ideas as to the millions that would be spent? Do I understand that there is a drive on to saddle upon the taxpayers of the Nation the cost of purchasing 42 acres of expensive land in the District of Columbia for the benefit of foreign diplomats? Could this possibly be the reason?

Mr. NELSEN. I have no information as to what the reason was, I will say to my colleague. I would presume his guess would be as good as mine on this. But when I looked at the tax revenue that the Washington Circle property brought to the District of Columbia as compared to the tax revenues that the other property brought and the cost of it, it seemed to me from a sound point of view that the chancery area that was proposed was the logical thing to purchase for chancery purposes in the District of Columbia.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, we just heard a message read from the President which calls for the expenditure of an additional—I emphasize "an additional"—$1.5 billion to be spewed out over Latin America for the alleged good of mankind. I do not know all the alleged purposes. I will have to read the bill of particulars.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 additional minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know how we can enter into real estate deals in the District of Columbia costing more than $100 million, according to some estimates, and still have money to explode all over Latin America. Somewhere we are going to have to cut down. I think this would have been a good day to have brought in H.R. 6338 because of the limitations that it places on this nefarious deal being attempted in the District of Columbia. If there is going to be additional money spent on Latin America, we are going to have to deprive the people of this country to get it unless this Government is plunged deeper into debt.

THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL DRINKING CLUB

Mr. Speaker, the Evening Star reported on February 16 that under questioning of members of the House District of Columbia Committee the State Department spokesman, James W. Symington, Chief of Protocol, Department of State, conceded that foreign governments "could buy individual parcels of land in the north Foggy Bottom area without the approval of the enclave plan." The Star report went on to say:

> Symington was asked why the enclave had to be located in 'prime area' thus removing large amount of valuable land from District tax rolls.
>
> Symington suggested that the committee call officials of the National Capital Planning Commission to determine why the State Department had to locate its enclave plan in Foggy Bottom.

I have taken the trouble to look at the National Capital Planning Commission plan for the proposed International Center. It takes up several pages of the proposed $8 billion plan for the National Capital known as "The Proposed Comprehensive Plan for the National Capital." This International Center plan was worked on and developed as a cooperative effort, by the White House, the State Department, and the NCPC staff and has now been sent to the Congress in legislative form by the President. We are being asked to adopt it and to enact it into law.

I did not put the $8 billion price tag on this so-called comprehensive plan for 1985 which includes the International Center and an international drinking club, the newspapers did. But I would hazard a pretty safe guess that if this fantastic sum is ever paid it will be paid by the people of this Nation, and not by the people of the District of Columbia, since the District has contributed almost no cash at all to date to its $200 million urban renewal program. In fact, the last figure I saw of the amount of cash contributed locally to this program was about $5,000, which is peanuts.

Now I invite your attention specifically to pages 50 through 57 of the White House-State Department-NCPC International Center plan in the comprehensive plan for 1985, by which time it is supposed to be a reality; where we find this nugget of information on page 51:

> The International Center and its immediate surroundings should include not only official activities, such as chanceries and organizational headquarters, but supporting services, such as restaurants, shops, and hotels. The center would become the focal point of international activities in Washington.

Why should the American taxpayers contribute land at $4 million an acre to subsidize locations for new restaurants, shops, and hotels to compete with those now in Washington? The International Center plan, which the President has asked the Congress to enact into law, will also provide for an "international club," and this appears on page 52 in these words:

> The blocks between M and N Streets from New Hampshire Avenue to Rock Creek Park would form the heart of the center. Here there would be a central core development on a raised plaza. As the focus of the core, several office buildings would house special missions and international organizations and could serve for interim chancery use. In addition, an international club might be established as a center for diplomatic functions, with meeting and reception facilities.

Two things become clear. The Congress is being asked to subsidize locations for new office buildings. Further, the Congress is being asked to subsidize "an international club" as a center for diplomatic functions, with meetings and reception facilities.

Here, in a nutshell, is the plan the President is backing, the plan for which the District Committee bill was sidetracked. I have looked at the District Committee bill, H.R. 6638, and there are no subsidized locations for "restaurants, shops, and hotels, several office buildings or an international club," which is undoubtedly the real reason it was sidetracked. If the President took this international drinking club out of the plan he is asking the Congress to authorize, and if he dropped the subsidized locations for restaurants, shops, hotels, and several office buildings which his plan provides for, he would not need even as much acreage as the District Committee bill, H.R. 6638 now provides at low cost for chancery use and for a headquarters site for the Organization of American States.

If any of the Members of this House doubts that the President's plan for the International Center has an international drinking club in it, I invite you to take a hard look at the plan as it is set out in all of its "lush" details in this State Department-NCPC comprehensive plan.

I say "lush" details advisedly, because such a plush international club will undoubtedly attract most of the Great Society's national hard-drinking set as well as the State Department's international drinking crowd, and the international jet-set drinking crowd.

Since the American taxpayers are being called upon to pick up the tab for the proposed international club as well as the International Center, under the plan which the President sent up to the Congress last week, we can expect the taxpayers of our country, those who are still solvent in your districts and mine, to be called upon by the State Department to pick up the drinking tab at the newly proposed international club.

We can expect, in addition, that all of the exotic drinks of the 113 nations with embassies and chanceries in Washington will insist that their national drinks be served there, probably with their national flags flying.

We doubt that any of the national and international "go-go" types which frequent the night-life spots in Washington under the Great Society, and who will gravitate inevitably to the State Department's international club, will insist on dairy milk produced by the plain old American dairy cows being served there.

Recently I read a Rambler column in the Evening Star protesting the State Department plan. This was on February 7, and the column, written by John McKelway, was prophetic. The Rambler column concluded this way:

> "Why wipe out a whole area that seems to be getting better and better? Of course, it would make getting to cocktail parties much simpler. But there must be something else to foreign relations.

There is indeed, and this seems to be an excellent time to remind the White House and the State Department of this fact.

For years the State Department has been coming up to the Congress with its hands out asking for "representational" funds to provide free drinks for foreign nationals in our American embassies overseas.

Now this line of thinking has come full circle, and the President is now asking the Congress to provide an international club for the lonesome international drinking set, the international jet-set, and the "go-go", and body-stocking types, which hang out around town looking for free drinks.

A few years ago we had the swimming pool set here in Washington, and this tax-supported international club will spawn a whole new crowd which, if the Congress approves this White House-State Department International Center plan, will set international relations back a hundred years.

We can look forward to credit cards for the international club with a direct pipeline to the U.S. Treasury Department that will make drinking painless for everybody but the American taxpayers. In addition to the international club credit cards, we can expect international club bunnies and all of the other joyous things of the key club sets. The Congress is entitled to know more, a great deal more, about this international club and this international center before it takes up the White House-State Department Plan for the International Center, and the international club.

There is nothing in the legislation which the President sent to the Congress last week which gives the slightest indication that the State Department has discarded the idea of having new hotels and restaurants in the proposed International Center. In fact, the White House-State Department-NCPC plan for the

International Center specifically calls for "restaurants, shops, and hotels" on page 51 of the NCPC Comprehensive Report which I cited earlier.

It is high time the President leveled with the American people on this gaudy International Center plan, because it is clear that the Department of State is talking out of both sides of its mouth about this project, and the whole business should be quickly put on the junk heap.

There seems to be no limit to which the administration and the Great Society is prepared to go to refurbish its sagging image, but this plan will make it sag further. This proposed International Center stretches the bounds of credulity to unprecedented limits even for the Great Society, and the international club which the President has asked the Congress to underwrite along with the subsidized locations for new hotels and restaurants and office buildings has widened the credibility gap to a yawning chasm, and the plan is extravagantly wasteful and unnecessary.

In his February 27 message to the Congress on the International Center the President said he would recommend legislation "consistent with the legitimate interests of District citizens." Yet there is no provision in the State Department-White House plan to provide new jobs or otherwise compensate thousands of District citizens who will lose well-paid jobs if it is adopted. The District and Federal Governments will lose millions of dollars in taxes, and businesses will be displaced, or unfairly competed with.

This administration has botched the Federal urban renewal program, and vacant areas stand idle in scores of American cities. This plan will make a wasteland of one of the city's fastest developing commercial and residential areas which is attracting taxpayers back to the area, providing jobs, and paying taxes.

Why should the Federal Government donate land to the OAS and foreign governments costing $4 million or more an acre when it is entirely unconstitutional, as shown in the case of *Kohl* v. *United States*, 91 U.S. 367, which states that:

> The proper view of the right of eminent domain seems to be that it is the right belonging to a sovereignty to take property for its own use and not for those of another.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the gentleman, returning to H.R. 2529, if the amendments herein are the same as passed the House and the Senate in the 89th Congress on a similar bill.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DOWDY. That is correct. It is what was agreed to between the House and the Senate but which did not get to final enactment because the Congress adjourned. Yes. That is right.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill, H.R. 2529, is to amend the act of September 8, 1960—74 Stat. 871, District of Columbia Code, title 5, sections 720–726—relating to the Washington Channel waterfront, by providing supplementary directives to the Redevelopment Land Agency of the District of Columbia for the relocation of displaced businesses in conformity with the urban renewal development plans for the waterfront portion of area C, urban renewal project in Southwest Washington.

HISTORY OF THE LEGISLATION

The Washington Channel waterfront of the Potomac River, title to which area was in the United States, was included within the boundaries of the project area C of the urban renewal redevelopment plan for Southwest Washington. This area, owned by the Federal Government, had, for a long period of years, been under the jurisdiction and control of the government of the District of Columbia. In 1913, on part of the waterfront area, the District of Columbia erected a fish market building and leased the market stalls to the fish dealers and to restaurant operators.

As a part of the redevelopment program for Southwest Washington, the Southwest Freeway was to run through the project area, and one of the approaches to the freeway was to pass over Maine Avenue at 11th and 12th Streets and part of the supporting structures would have to be located on the land occupied by the market building.

ACTION IN 85TH CONGRESS

To facilitate this redevelopment, legislation was introduced and passed in the 85th Congress—House Joint Resolution 630, 72 Statutes 983—to authorize the use of the land and the removal of the market facilities. At your committee hearings on this legislation, the representatives of the government of the District of Columbia and of the Redevelopment Land Agency presented testimony as to the need for the legislation. At the same hearings, the owners of small businesses which had occupied the market building, in some instances for more than a generation, testified concerning the effect of the legislation upon their businesses. These lessees of the market building proposed amendments to the pending legislation which would have provided for their relocation and continuation in business on the Washington Channel waterfront. The suggested amendments would have required the government of the District of Columbia to build facilities for lease solely to those displaced by the freeway construction or the urban renewal plan. In view of the testimony and a commitment by representatives of the Redevelopment Land Agency to provide temporary and permanent locations for businesses which might be displaced, your committee did not approve the proposed amendments and observed, in its report accompanying House Joint Resolution 630—House Report No. 2525, 85th Congress, second session—as follows:

> The committee was convinced from testimony given to the subcommittee by representatives of the Redevelopment Land Agency for the District of Columbia that a sincere desire existed to take every possible step to provide temporary and permanent locations for businesses which might be displaced by this legislation.
>
> The committee feels that this objective can be best obtained if a spirit of cooperation is manifested between the Redevelopment Land Agency, Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the tenants who might be involved.
>
> The committee urges all concerned to deal in the spirit of cooperation. If the committee feels that this is not being done it will take the matter up subsequently for consideration and possible legislation.

Following the enactment of this legislation in 1958, the construction of the approaches to the Southwest Freeway began and the Redevelopment Land Agency thereafter undertook the demolition and removal of the facilities in the project area.

In order to exercise full authority over the Washington Channel waterfront and to redevelop it according to the urban renewal plan, it was necessary for the Redevelopment Land Agency to secure authority transferring title to the waterfront area from the Federal Government to the Agency before it could legally proceed with redevelopment.

ACTION IN 86TH CONGRESS

Accordingly, legislation was introduced in the second session of the 86th Congress authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, acting for the U.S. Government, to transfer and donate to the Redevelopment Land Agency all right, title, and interest to so much of the area as was necessary to carry out the urban renewal plan. Such legislation—S. 3648; 74 Stat. 871—was first passed by the other body and came on to your committee for further action.

During hearings on the above bill, testimony was again received from the District of Columbia officials, the Redevelopment Land Agency, and the owners of displaced businesses in the waterfront area. Witnesses testifying before your committee indicated clearly that essentially nothing has been accomplished since the enactment of House Joint Resolution 630 in 1958, for the permanent relocation of the businesses displaced from the waterfront area and only one had been provided with a temporary location. The Redevelopment Land Agency advised your committee that negotiations were in process with some businesses. These businesses were identified as the Flagship Restaurant and Hogate's Restaurant.

Since no relocation was in prospect for the waterfront displacees pursuant to the statements of the Redevelopment Land Agency, your committee amended the terms of S. 3648 to provide that displacees from the waterfront area would be given a priority of relocation with the understanding that the priority would likewise extend to the Flagship Restaurant and to Hogate's Restaurant.

That bill, S. 3648, as amended and enacted, provided that displaced businesses would receive priority of opportunity to lease land either individually or as a development company solely owned by the owner or owners of one or more of such business concerns. The displaced businesses were to be entitled to facilities at least substantially equal to the facilities from which they were displaced and to be in conformity with the urban renewal plan for the area. The Redevelopment Land Agency was to notify each of the displaced business concerns of an opportunity to lease a parcel of land within the waterfront area. Each business was to be allowed 180 days within which to indicate its intent to relocate in the area and to demonstrate its capability to establish facilities in accordance with the redevelopment plan.

The purpose of directing the Agency to provide such priorities was to make effective the previous pledges of the Redevelopment Land Agency, and the acceptance of those pledges by the Congress, that those businesses displaced from the area would have a reasonable and first opportunity to reestablish their businesses. The priority right was provided solely for the benefit of displacees who were ready, willing, and able to reestablish their business, and such right was not to be available for transfer, sale, or disposition otherwise in full or in part to other persons.

WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT PLANS

Development of urban renewal plans for the Washington Channel waterfront dates from the original commitment in 1954 of the waterfront area to the Webb & Knapp Co., which later completely defaulted in its performance. After several attempts, a plan for the waterfront was approved by the National Capital Planning Commission and the District of Columbia Commissioners. The execution of the plan then became the obligation of the Redevelopment Land Agency. Early in the 88th Congress your committee held hearings on the waterfront plan. Testimony taken by the committee at that time created substantial doubts as to the feasibility and desirability of the plan. Owners of displaced businesses presented specific criticisms although none of them, at that time, had been informed concerning the probable nature of any leases which might be offered to them.

About 1 year later, in February 1964, the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency issued notice to business displacees having priority for relocation. This notice advised the holders of priorities that they would have a period of 180 days within which to indicate their purpose to exercise their priority and to demonstrate their capacity to reestablish their businesses and construct facilities in accordance with the waterfront redevelopment plan. Priority holders were also notified concerning the terms of leases and other performances to be required of them by the Agency.

On examining the terms of the leases offered, the priority holders found themselves presented with an economic impossibility. The leaseholds offered to displacees were essentially "air rights." They were required to construct parking facilities underneath the business area, and such parking facilities were to be available to the public. Thus, individual businesses, while providing parking space, could not reserve such space, limited as it was, for its own customers. The building, which must conform to the waterfront plan, had to be financed and built by the owner and was to be occupied for a limited period of years, at the end of which time the property right in the building rested with the Redevelopment Land Agency. The nature of the use of any structure was strictly limited to the purposes of the displaced business. Substantial setbacks from the boundaries of each parcel were required. The height of the building was limited to two floors.

The land values established by the Agency, as a basis for determining the lease rental rates to priority holders, was set by the Agency at a level far exceeding that set for most other parcels in the Southwest urban renewal project area. When this land cost was added to other charges placed on a priority holder, it appeared conclusive that no displaced business, regardless of its financial strength, could hope to operate at a profit.

After a record on these matters had been established with the Agency, the Agency reduced the land costs to the displacees by approximately 10 percent. This action proved to be a gesture since most, if not all, the displacees found the Agency's proposal economically impossible, regardless of the financial abilities of the displaced businesses.

During the 180-day period beginning in February 1964, displacees who were interested in relocation on the waterfront so notified the Agency. Thereafter, conferences and discussions beween priority holders and the Agency were held. At the expiration of the 180-day period, no lease contracts had been executed, and, in fact, the priority holders had not been offered any specific parcels for relocation.

ACTION IN 89TH CONGRESS

Thereafter, your committee held additional hearings in connection with the waterfront relocation problem during the 89th Congress. At these hearings, further testimony was received from displaced businesses. Your committee also took the testimony of banking officials and private appraisers with relation to the valuations placed upon the waterfront land and the economic feasibility of financing a structure under the terms of leases proposed by the Agency.

The banking representatives advised the committee that such a lease as proposed by the Agency was wholly unsuitable as a basis on which to grant financing to displacees for the construction and equipment of the necessary buildings.

Testimony by expert appraisers indicated that the land prices established by RLA were probably at least double any reasonable appraisal under the limitations imposed as to land coverage, parking requirements, floor area, and usage.

The Redevelopment Land Agency, in the face of expert testimony showing that the terms of the lease were economically impossible, initiated a review of the land appraisals for possible further adjustment. Such appraisal was completed in May 1965, but the priority holders have received no further word from the Agency indicating the possibility of further negotiations.

Since the 180-day period provided by statute had run out and no contracts had been completed, some question appeared as to whether priority rights might be extinguished or otherwise lost in the event the Agency were to make a change in the waterfront plans or a change in the land price or conditions of lease. To avoid such possibility and to further supplement the already abundantly expressed intent of Congress as to the relocation of displaced waterfront businesses, your committee recommended legislation to preserve the priority rights of displaced businesses and provide a formula for the determination of the fair reuse value of such lands for the purposes specified in the plan.

That legislation—H.R. 11428, 89th Congress—was favorably reported and approved by the House of Representatives. Following hearings in the Senate, the bill was amended and reported favorably to the Senate. After approval by the Senate, the bill was returned to the House, was amended by the House, and returned again to the Senate. The bill as so amended was not reached for scheduling on the Senate Calendar in the last days of the 89th Congress.

Following the first approval of H.R. 11428 in the House of Representatives, amendments were proposed to the Senate to provide means by which the Redevelopment Land Agency might capture any profits in excess of those estimated as a basis for establishing the fair reuse value of the lease by the residual appraisal method. The bill was amended by the Senate so as to permit the Redevelopment Land Agency, at its option, to reappraise the value of the land and increase the lease rental rates to such levels as the Agency deemed appropriate.

Before further House action on the bill as amended by the Senate, your committee examined carefully into the effects of the Senate amendments. Banking and financial institutions in the District of Columbia were consulted to determine whether or not the terms of the amended bill were such as to expect that such institutions would finance the buildings and equipments which the waterfront priority holders would be required to construct under any lease. Without exception, your committee was advised that the amendments at least imposed serious obstacles to such financing if not making it entirely impossible. The effect of the amendments in question was to permit a third party acting unilaterally to place increased charges on the gross revenues of a business without any certainty that any remainder of the gross would be sufficient to successfully operate the business and meet the mortgage obligation.

The Redevelopment Land Agency was requested to develop a formula which would not interfere with normal financing of a displaced business but which would give the Agency a share in any increased income to the respective businesses and at the same time provide an incentive to the businesses to increase business volume. After many conferences with the Agency, such a formula was developed and suitable amendments were prepared to the bill and approved by the House. Representatives of the Redevelopment Land Agency advised of their approval of the amendments and made such representations when the amended bill was returned to the Senate. However, in the brief time remaining at the end of the 89th Congress, the other body did not conclude action on the bill.

NEED FOR THE LEGISLATION

Approximately 8 years have passed since the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency pledged to the Congress that the small businesses on the waterfront would be permanently relocated in the course of redevelopment of the Washington Channel waterfront. None of the businesses has been permanently relocated, and in fact no economically feasible offer of relocation of any specific site has been tendered to any of the displaced businesses under the specific priorities provided by act of Congress. The Agency has failed to meet its repeated commitments to your committee and to the Congress.

This legislation is necessary to assure the preservation of the priorities for the relocation of the small businesses displaced from the waterfront as provided by act of Congress. Without this legislation there is no assurance that any of the displaced businesses will be relocated on sites on the Washington Channel waterfront.

WHAT THE BILL PROVIDES

The pending bill, H.R. 2529, includes the formula approved by RLA and is identical to H.R. 11428, as amended and finally approved by the House in the last Congress.

Briefly, the bill provides for equal priority rights to all businesses displaced from the waterfront area, some of which were inadvertently not included in Public Law 86-736. Those previously not entitled to notice are to receive notice of an opportunity to exercise a priority right for the reestablishment of their businesses.

Your committee considers that no priority right of any displacee who has, pursuant to notice, indicated his desire to reestablish his business has been extinguished.

Further, in the event of any change in the waterfront plan or in the land price or other matters which affect the economic values of a lease, each priority holder must be notified and given at least 60 days within which to exercise his priority rights.

In view of the problems which have been described heretofore, your committee is impelled to deal, at least generally, with the matter of setting for displaced businesses some criteria to be followed by the RLA in the appraisal of parcels of land made available for relocation. Because of the numerous requirements and limitations placed upon the use of the land and upon the waterfront priority holder, this becomes essential.

Accordingly, in section 4 of the bill, the Agency is directed to use specific procedures for the establishment of land values in the waterfront area, and it must take into account the limitations and make proper allowances for improvements and any public charges placed upon the land which must be assumed by the priority holder. Further, it is provided that any valuation placed upon the land shall not exceed the maximum fair use value which is economically feasible and which will permit the reestablishment of the business. These elements are essentially those used by competent appraisers. The principles are found in standard appraisal reference publications under the heading of residual appraisals—"Real Estate Appraisal and Investment," Kahn, Case, and Schimmel, page 146; McMichaels Appraising Manual, fourth edition, 11th printing, pages 42-43.

Your committee also observes that residual appraisals have been used elsewhere by the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency in its disposition of urban renewal lands. It is felt that such appraisal methods, if not the only suitable methods, are certainly one of the best and fully justifiable in connection with relocation of small businesses on land on the Washington Channel waterfront.

The bill provides that the lessee shall be charged an annual rent not less than 6 percent of the fair reuse value of the land as established by the Agency. In the event the money cost or interest which the Agency must pay in order to finance the land and improvements exceeds 6 percent, the lease rental charged to the priority holder will be such amount above 6 percent as is necessary to finance the land and improvement costs incurred by the Agency. Further if the gross income derived by the business exceeds the estimated income used as a basis in establishing the residual value of the land as a basis for the original lease, the bill provides that the priority holder and the Agency shall receive equal shares of any increased income resulting from the increased gross sales.

In addition, the bill provides that at the end of the first 25 years of any lease, the land under lease may be reappraised and a new value set on the basis of which the lease rental may be redetermined. This appraisal may occur at the option of the Agency or must be made by the Agency if the lessee so requests. Either the Agency or the lessee may request a new appraisal at the end of each 10-year interval following the 25th year of lease.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks in connection with any of these bills.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

H.R. 3370 TO WAIVE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BOARD EXAMS FOR PODIATRISTS FOR HOLDERS OF NATIONAL BOARD CERTIFICATES PASSED OVER TO NEXT DISTRICT DAY

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that by request H.R. 3370, to waive District of Columbia Board exams for podiatrists for holders of national board certificates, is being withdrawn from the District of Columbia docket today and will be passed over to the next District day. I believe that is No. 9 on our list.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] for the purpose of calling up any bills which he desires to call at this time from the subcommittee which he chairs.

CLAIMS OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN ESCHEAT CASES

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 834) to amend section 5 of the Act of February 11, 1929, to remove the dollar limit on the authority of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims of the District of Columbia in escheat cases, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I certainly would like to inquire of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER], the gentleman who is bringing this bill up for the consideration of the House today, if the provisions of this bill would allow an open-ended, unlimited amount that can be settled by the Commissioners, with court approval; and, if so, does he feel that such compromises could run above $15,000 or to even $25,000?

Mr. Speaker, I have read the report and I have also read the bill as well as the prior bill, and in my opinion, this simply allows, in escheat cases, the Commissioners—and I am glad they have added the words "with court approval"—have unlimited settlement authority or compromise powers far above the $10,000 prior limitation.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, this legislation was requested by the District Commissioners.

As the gentleman from Missouri has well said, the committee added a proviso to the effect that no such settlement in escheat cases can be made without the approval of the U.S. distict court.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this, in my opinion, is a reasonable provision. We do not leave it to the Corporation Counsel or the District Commissioners to make this decision entirely. They have to go into the court and obtain court approval in order to do this. Also, as the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] will note, the legislation does not propose any radical change, except here in the District of Columbia. In the gentleman's great State of Missouri, and in my own home State, the great State of North Carolina, and insofar as I know, in every other jurisdiction, the individual State would have a right to settle any sort of lawsuit in which the State is a party that was pending in court, without such limiting conditions.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from North Carolina will yield further, I well understand what the gentleman is saying, and I understand the fact that without a limitation of $10,000 that the Commissioners could compromise in this fashion—

First. We are simply making this come into the courts;

Second. It might be more costly to the Commissioners in the case of long and drawn-out litigation in the courts, than the amount involved in the legacy, or estate; or

Third. It would conform to the other States and territories.

However, Mr. Speaker, my question still has not been answered: Does it make this an unlimited amount under which they could compromise?

Mr. WHITENER. This would not involve a legacy. This would involve escheat only. It does not in any way involve a legacy.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina please answer my question?

Does this or does it not involve in escheat cases an unlimited amount at which the Commissioners can compromise?

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, absolutely, but with the approval of the U.S. district court.

Mr. HALL. Then the gentleman from North Carolina feels that this is reasonable and responsible legislation?

Mr. WHITENER. Frankly, it is my opinion that it has not been reasonable and responsible that the District government could not have done this years before. We must trust the lawyers of the District of Columbia's government, the heads of the government plus the U.S. district court judge, who has the case before him, to look after the public interest.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's explanation and, as a nonlegally trained man, I am simply asking as one elected legislator for this explanation. I believe the gentleman has tried. I do not believe that we should necessarily accept this legislation without objection, especially when it is unlimited or open-ended without thoroughly understanding it, and I rose only in that purview.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's explanation, and I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 834

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first proviso of section 5 of the Act entitled "An Act authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims and suits against the District of Columbia", approved February 11, 1929 (D.C. Code, sec. 1-906), is amended by inserting ", except, with the approval of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, a claim or suit under section 19-701 of the District of Columbia Code," immediately after "no claim or suit so compromised".

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 834 is to amend the act of February 11, 1929 (65 Stat. 131), District of Columbia Code, title 1, section 906, to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, acting for the District, to settle a disputed claim regarding the surplus of a decedent's estate to which the District is a statutory escheatee, by accepting a percentage of the net assets of the estate where such compromise would result in a reduction of more than $10,000 in the amount of the claim against the estate.

EXISITING LAW

The type of claim which is the concern of this proposed legislation may arise under title 19, section 701 of the District of Columbia Code, which provides:

> *Where there is no surviving spouse or relations of the intestate within the fifth degree reckoned by counting down from the common ancester to the more remote, the surplus of real and personal property escheats to the District of Columbia to be used by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia for the benefit of the poor.*

Annually, there are between 5 and 15 cases where a person dies in the District of Columbia as to whom it is believed there are no heirs. Commonly, after publication of notice, people come forward as claimants under law against the estate. In such cases, as noted hereafter, the burden of proof which falls upon the District of Columbia may be very substantial. In such situations, it may be highly desirable and advantageous to the District of Columbia to be able to compromise such claims.

The authority of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to compromise any claim is strictly limited by the act of February 11, 1929, as amended—District of Columbia Code, title 1, section 906—which provides:

> SEC. 5. That upon a report by the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia showing in detail the just and true amount and condition of any claim or suit which the District of Columbia may now or hereafter have against any person, firm, association, or corporation, and the terms upon which the same may be compromised, and stating that in his opinion the compromise of such claim would be for the best interest of the District of Columbia, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia be, and they hereby are, authorized to compromise such claim or suit accordingly: *Provided, however,* That no claim or suit so compromised shall be reduced by an amount greater than $10,000: *And provided further,* That this section shall not apply to claims or suits for taxes or special assessments.

Thus, regardless of the desirability and benefit to the District of Columbia, no compromise may be made by the District in an escheat case if the compromise would result in a reduction of more than $10,000 in the amount of the claim.

NEED FOR THE LEGISLATION

As noted above, the surplus of an estate escheats to the District of Columbia on proof that there is no surviving spouse or relative of the deceased within the fifth degree counting down from the common ancestor to the more remote. The burden of proof of the District was established in the case of *Frazier* v. *Kutz*, decided by the United States Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia on December 13, 1943—139 Fed. 2d 380. In that case, the court said:

> In every case of this nature there is a presumption of law that the deceased left heirs, and this presumption obtains until the claimant by escheat overcomes the presumption by strong and convincing evidence.

To comply with the standards of proof required by the courts, the District of Columbia often finds it necessary to trace the ancestory of the deceased through a series of generations to determine whether or not there is an ancestor having progeny who may or may not inherit. This may involve extensive searches of records in foreign countries to examine the validity of claims and the authenticity of foreign documents. Where records have been destroyed by conflagrations, or due to wartime destruction, it may be extremely costly or even impossible to establish essential facts of relationship. Claimants may be scattered in different nations and they would have to come to this jurisdiction themselves or by designation of representatives to testify affirmatively because of the questioned validity of or the lack of documentary proof which might otherwise support a disposition of the estate.

Where such circumstances exist, it may require expenditures which would consume a substantial part of or all of the net estate and involve several years of time for the District to resolve a case.

During a public hearing before Subcommittee No. 5 on August 1, 1966, testimony was presented regarding the difficulties which may be involved under existing provisions of law, and the committee was advised of specific cases now pending which involve such elements of uncertainty as might be best resolved to the benefit of the District of Columbia through a compromise agreement which compromise would involve a reduction by an amount greater than $10,000. No objections were voiced to the purpose and language of the bill. Accordingly, your committee finds that the proposed legislation is reasonable and desirable.

In the course of committee deliberations on the proposed legislation, consideration was given to the desirability of some court supervision over compromises proposed in connection with escheat cases. Your committee concluded that such supervision would simplify the problem of securing bond for the administrator, protect the administrator if later issue was raised by some disgruntled party, and protect the District government as to any question which might be raised concerning the propriety of the compromise. Accordingly, the committee at that time amended the bill so as to require that any compromise in escheat cases should have the approval of the U.S. court for the District of Columbia.

This bill is identical to H.R. 15706 of the 89th Congress, which passed the House on August 5, 1966—House Report No. 1817.

The Commissioners of the District of Columbia on February 24, 1967, expressed their approval of this proposed legislation in a letter to the committee.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may revise and extend my remarks immediately before the passage of the last bill, and also the same request immediately before the passing of any other bills that I call up.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

TO AMEND THE PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL CEREMONIES ACT

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 827) to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 827

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3 of the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1203) is amended (a) by striking "travel expenses of enforcement personnel from other jurisdictions" and inserting in lieu thereof "travel expenses of enforcement personnel, including sanitarians, from other jurisdictions"; and (b) by striking "policemen and firemen" and inserting in lieu thereof "policemen, firemen, and other municipal employees".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Immediately after the enacting clause, insert the following:

"That section 2 of the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act approved August 6, 1956 (70 Stat. 1049; D.C. Code, sec. 1–1202) is amended by adding the following:

" 'The Commissioners are also authorized to issue, for both duly registered motor vehicles and unregistered motor vehicles made available for the use of the Inaugural Committee, special registration tags, valid for a period not exceeding 90 days, designed to celebrate the occasion of the Inauguration of the President and Vice President.' "

On line 3, strike out "That section 3" and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 2. Section 3".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I note on page 3 of the report that this bill will provide for the relocating of streetcar platforms. I wonder if there are any streetcars operating in the District of Columbia these days?

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I might say, as I understand it from the staff of our committee, that that refers to the streetcar or bus platforms. When we had streetcars they were referred to as "streetcar platforms," and the nomenclature seems to still exist, even though we now are operating only motor buses.

I do not believe it is a very difficult proposition, Mr. Speaker. They also have to move some lampposts when they have parades down the center of Pennsylvania Avenue, and some folks down my way call them "lightposts" instead of "lampposts."

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I believe it would be a little more appropriate to relocate some of the streetcar tracks that Mr. Chalk has not gotten rid of and which add a traffic hazard, especially in wet weather, as the gentleman well knows.

Mr. WHITENER. Yes; I imagine it would be a good idea to get rid of them.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill, H.R. 827, is to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act of 1956—70 Stat. 1049; District of Columbia Code, title 1, section 1201 and the following—in three particulars, as follows:

First. To provide for the payment of travel expenses of "sanitarians"—expert health advisers—whom the Commissioners of the District of Columbia are already authorized to employ, on a temporary basis, to promote adequate inspection and enforcement of health regulations during the inaugural period.

Second. To provide meals for employees of the Health Department and other municipal employees, who are required to remain on duty at their posts through meal times during such inaugural period, many of them being stationed along the line of march of the inaugural parade. The act now authorizes such meals for police and firemen.

Third. To authorize the District of Columbia Commissioners to issue special registration tags to both registered and unregistered motor vehicles available for use by the Inaugural Committee, designed to commemorate the occasion of the inauguration, and valid for a period not to exceed 90 days.

Section 2 of this bill is identical to H.R. 6143 of the 89th Congress, which passed the House on August 22, 1966—H. Rept. No. 1816.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Section 1 is an amendment to the original bill, and was adopted by your committee at the request of the D.C. Board of Commissioners. The Commissioners' letter dated March 7, 1967, requesting this amendment, is quoted in pertinent part as follows:

> The Commissioners desire to expand their report of February 24 so as to recommend a further amendment of the Act. They believe it desirable that the Act include authority for the issuance, both to duly registered motor vehicles and to unregistered motor vehicles made available for the use of the Inaugural Committee, of special registration tags, valid for a period not exceeding 90 days, designed to celebrate the occasion of the Inauguration of the President and Vice President.

BACKGROUND

Under the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act referred to, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia are authorized and directed to make all reasonable regulations necessary to secure the preservation of public order and protection of life, health, and property; to make special regulations respecting the standing, movement, and operation of vehicles of whatever character or kind during said period; and to grant, under such conditions as they may impose, special licenses to peddlers and vendors for the privilege of selling goods, wares, and merchandise in such places in the District of Columbia, and to charge such fees for such privilege, as they may deem proper; protect the public health, but they also study the District practices and make a report thereon to the local authorities.

The act referred to also authorizes the appropriation of—and in the past the Congress has appropriated—such sums as are necessary to enable the Commissioners to provide additional municipal services in said District during the inaugural period, including employment of personal services without regard to the civil service and classification laws; travel expenses of enforcement personnel from other jurisdictions; hire of means of transportation; meals for policemen and firemen, cost of removing and relocating streetcar platforms, construction, rent, maintenance, and expenses incident to the operation of temporary public comfort stations, first-aid stations, and information booths; and other incidental expenses in the discretion of the Commissioners.

However, as presently construed, this authority does not permit payment of travel expenses of sanitarians, nor meals for municipal employees referred to—other than police and firemen—who are required to remain on duty through mealtimes.

The reported bill corrects these omissions and provides authority for payment thereof.

PRECEDENTS FOR THE LEGISLATION

The Congress has already, in several acts passed since the Presidental Inaugural Ceremonies Act of 1956, enacted into law provisions identical to those in your reported bill to cover travel expenses of sanitarians, and meals for municipal employees, as for example:

House joint resolution 888—Public Law 88-1836, approved July 28, 1964—and House joint resolution 195—Public Law 1178, approved July 19, 1966—to authorize the District of Columbia Commissioners to promulgate special regulations for the July 1965 and July 1967 Washington conventions of the Imperial Council Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobels of the Mystic Shrine for North America.

House joint resolution 195—Public Law 89-25, approved May 22, 1965—giving the District of Columbia Commissioners similar authority with respect to the American Legion Convention held in Washington August 29–September 1, 1966.

HEARING

The enactment of this legislation was urged by representatives of the District of Columbia Commimssioners and the District of Columbia Department of Public Health at a public hearing before Subcommittee No. 5 on August 1, 1966. No opposition to the bill has been expressed to your committee.

The Board of Commissioners recommended this entire legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND THE ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR COMMITMENTS TO, MAINTENANCE IN, AND DISCHARGE FROM, THE DISTRICT TRAINING SCHOOL, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES," APPROVED MARCH 3, 1925, AS AMENDED

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia I call up the bill (H.R. 3371) to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharge from, the District Training School, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1925, as amended, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3371

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That an Act entitled "An Act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharge from, the District Training School, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1925 (43 Stat. 1135), as amended (sec. 32.601 et seq. D.C. Code, 1961 edition), is amended as follows:

Whenever the terms "the District Training School", "Board of Public Welfare", "said board", "feeble minded", "inmate", "inmates", and "an inmate" occur in such Act approved March 3, 1925, they shall be stricken, and the terms "Forest Haven", "Department of Public Welfare", "said Department", "mentally retarded", "patient", "patients", and "a patient", respectively, inserted in lieu thereof.

(2) Section 2 is amended to read as follows: "The words 'mentally retarded persons' in this Act shall be construed to mean any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from an early age, so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs, and who requires supervision, control, and care for his own welfare, or for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community, and is not insane nor of unsound mind to such an extent as to require his commitment to a hospital for the mentally ill."

(3) The first sentence of section 14 is amended by inserting after "If the order for admission is as a public patient" the words "or if the patient is admitted under the provisions of section 30 of this Act".

(4) The first sentence of section 15 is amended by inserting after the words "If the order for admission is as a public patient" the words "or if the patient is admitted under the provisions of section 30 of this Act".

(5) By adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Sec. 30. (a) Subject to the provisions of this Act and in addition to the preceding sections, the Director of Public Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the Director) may admit to Forest Haven as a patient any adult who has been a resident of the District of Columbia for one year next preceding the date of application of any child under the age of twenty-one (1) who is certified by the Director of Public Health to be mentally retarded and in need of care at Forest Haven, and at least one of whose parents or legal guardian has been a resident of the said District for one year next preceding the date of application; (2) who, either by himself, his parents, his spouse, or his legal guardian makes written application for admission to Forest Haven; and (3) who does not express, either to the Director of Public Health or Public Welfare, his objection to being so admitted.

"(b) Any person admitted to Forest Haven pursuant to subsection (a) of this section shall be released therefrom no more than five days after receipt by the Superintendent of Forest Haven of a written request for release: *Provided,* That if within such five-day period a petition concerning such person, as provided by section 7, shall be filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, such person shall be detained until a final judgment is entered by the court upon said petition.

"(c) The Director may discharge any patient of Forest Haven admitted pursuant to authority contained in this section if the Director is satisfied that such discharge will not adversely affect the welfare or interests of the mentally retarded person, the community, or others.

"(d)(1) If the Director finds that any person with respect to whom an application for admission to Forest Haven has been made, as provided in this section, or any parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian of such person, is able to pay all or any part of the cost of maintenance and care of such person, the Director shall not admit such person unless a contract for payment, satisfactory to the Director, be executed by such person, parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian.

"(2) The Director is authorized to enter into any agreement he deems necessary with any applicant to become a patient in Forest Haven, or with his parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian, for payment to the District of Columbia of all or part of the cost of such maintenance and care. Upon default of payment provided by any contract entered into under this section, the Director is authorized to discharge any patient of Forest Haven and, in addition, he may utilize the procedures provided for in sections 14 and 15 of this Act to secure payment.

"(e) The Director, with the approval of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, shall prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this section."

Sec. 2. Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to affect the authority vested in the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia by Reorganization Plan Numbered 5 of 1952 (66 Stat. 824). The performance of any function vested by this Act in the Board of Commissioners or in any office or agency under the jurisdiction and control of said Board of Commissioners may be performed by the Board of Commissioners or may be delegated by said Board in accordance with section 3 of such plan.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The Clerk will report the committee amendments.

The Clerk. On page 5, after line 15, add the following:

Section 1. The first four sections of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharges from the District Training School, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1925, is amended as follows:

(1) The first section of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 32–601) is amended—

(A) by striking out "feeble-minded" and inserting "mentally retarded",

(B) by striking out "Board" and inserting "Department", and

(C) by striking out "The District Training School" and inserting "Forest Haven".

(2) Section 2 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 32–603) is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. For purposes of this Act, the term 'mentally retarded persons' means persons afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from an early age, so pronounced that they are incapable of managing themselves and their affairs, and who require supervision, control, and care for their own welfare, for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community, and who are not insane nor of unsound mind to such an extent as to require their commitment to a hospital for the mentally ill."

(3) Section 3 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 32–604) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Board" and inserting "Department",

(B) by striking out "inmates" and inserting "patients", and

(C) by striking out "board" each place it appears and inserting "Department".

(4) Section 4 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 32–605) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Board" and inserting "Department",

(B) by striking out "feeble-minded" and inserting "mentally retarded", and

(C) by striking out "board" and inserting "Department".

Sec. 2. (a) Chapter 11 of the District of Columbia Code (relating to commitment and maintenance of feeble-minded persons) is amended as follows:

(1) Such chapter is amended by striking out "feeble-minded" each place it appears in sections 21–1102 through 21–1108, 21–1110, 21–1111, 21–1113 through 21–1115, 21–1118, and 21–1123 and inserting in each such place in those sections "mentally retarded".

(2) Such chapter is amended by striking out "the District Training School" each place it appears in sections 21–1102, 21–1108 through 21–1113, 21–1116, and 21–1118 through 21–1122 and inserting in each such place in those sections "Forest Haven".

(3)(A) Such chapter is amended by inserting after section 21–1108 the following new section:

"§ 21–1108A. Voluntary admission to Forest Haven

"(a) The Director of Public Welfare (hereinafter in this section referred to as the 'Director') may admit to Forest Haven as a patient any adult who has been a resident of the District of Columbia for one year next preceding the date of application or any child under the age of twenty-one whose parents or legal guardian has been a resident of the District of Columbia for one year next preceding the date of application. A person may be admitted to Forest Haven as a patient under this section only if—

"(1) such person is certified by the Director of Public Health to be mentally retarded and in need of care at Forest Haven;

"(2) such person either by himself, his parents, his spouse, or his legal guardian makes written application for admission to Forest Haven; and

"(3) any contract required by subsection (d) has been executed.

"(b) Any person admitted to Forest Haven pursuant to subsection (a) of this section shall be released therefrom no later than five days after receipt by the Superintendent of Forest Haven of a written request for release, except that if within such five-day period a petition concerning such person, as provided by section 21–1103, is filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, such person shall be detained until a final judgment is entered by the court upon such petition.

(c) The Director may discharge any patient of Forest Haven admitted under this section if the Director is satisfied that such discharge will not adversely affect the welfare or interests of the mentally retarded person, the community, or others.

"(d) (1) If the Director finds that any person with respect to whom an application for admission to Forest Haven has been made, as provided in this section, or any parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian of such person, is able to pay all or any part of the cost of maintenance and care of such person, the Director shall not admit such person unless a contract for payment, satisfactory to the Director is executed by such person, parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian.

"(2) The Director is authorized to enter into any agreement he deems necessary with any applicant to become a patient in Forest Haven, or with his parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian, for payment to the District of Columbia of all or part of the cost of such maintenance and care. Upon default of payment provided by any contract entered into under this section, the Director is authorized to discharge the patient of Forest Haven with respect to whose cost of maintenance and care the contract was entered into, and, in addition, he may utilize the procedures provided for in sections 21-1110 and 21-1111 to secure payment.

"(e) The Director, with the approval of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, shall prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this section."

(B) The table of sections for such chapter is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 21-1108 the following:

"21-1108A. Voluntary admission to Forest Haven."

(4) Section 21-1101 is amended to read as follows:

"§ 21-1101. Definitions

"For purposes of this chapter—

"'Forest Haven' means the institution established pursuant to section 32-601, and designated 'Forest Haven' by section 32-602, or any successor to that institution;

"'mentally retarded person' means any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from an early age, so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs, and who requires supervision, control, and care for his own welfare, for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community, and who is not insane nor of unsound mind to such an extent as to require his commitment to a hospital for the mentally ill."

(5) The first sentence of section 21-1110 is amended by inserting immediately after "as a public patient" the following: "or when a person is admitted to Forest Haven as a patient under section 21-1108A".

(6) The first sentence of section 21-1111 is amended by striking out "and finds" and inserting "or when a person is admitted to Forest Haven as a patient under section 21-1108A, and the court finds".

(7) Section 21-1117 is amended by striking out "in feeble-mindedness" and inserting "initiated by a petition filed under section 21-1103".

(8) Section 21-1121 is amended by striking out "an inmate" and inserting "a patient".

(9) The section heading for section 21-1102 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "District Training School" and inserting "Forest Haven".

(10) The section heading for section 21-1103 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "feeble-mindedness" and inserting "mental retardation".

(11) The section heading for section 21-1108 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "District Training School" and inserting "Forest Haven".

(12) The section heading for section 21-1114 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "feeble-minded" and inserting "mentally retarded".

(13) The section heading for section 21-1117 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "of feeble-minded cases" and inserting "of cases brought under section 21-1103".

(14) The section heading for section 21-1118 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "feeble-minded" and inserting "mentally retarded".

(15) The section heading for section 21-1121 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "inmates" and inserting "patients".

(16) The section heading for section 21-1122 and the item relating to such section in the table of sections for such chapter is amended by striking out "inmates'" and inserting "patients'".

(17) The chapter heading for such chapter is amended by striking out "FEEBLE-MINDED" and inserting "MENTALLY RETARDED".

(b) The table of chapters for title 21 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by striking out in the item relating to chapter 11 "FEEBLE-MINDED" and inserting "MENTALLY RETARDED".

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be considered as read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill, H.R. 3371, as amended, is to accomplish the following:

First. To authorize voluntary admission of mental patients to the District Training School, whose name is changed to Forest Haven.

Second. To require that a prerequisite to such voluntary admissions be a financial arrangement with the District of Columbia on behalf of such patients when they or their relatives are financially able to pay for all or a part of the expenses involved.

Third. Delete certain archaic terminology in the present law and substitute modern terminology in its place.

The technical amendments are necessary to conform to the law as codified and to clarify the same.

The District Training School—Forest Haven—is an institution at Laurel, Md., operated by the District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare for mentally retarded citizens of the District, where such persons are not only cared for but are given such education and training as their mental capacities will permit.

Under present law, admission to the District Training School—Forest Haven—can be accomplished only by court order, the issuance of which must be preceded by a petition to the court and a hearing. It is the opinion of this committee that families could well be spared the emotional ordeal involved in bringing their mentally retarded relatives before the court, and that the time of the court could more profitably be used for other purposes. In this connection, we are informed that these petitions are nearly always uncontested.

H.R. 3371 would provide, in addition to this present system of admission to the District Training School—Forest Haven—by court order, for voluntary admission in cases where the District of Columbia Director of Public Health determines that the applicant is eligible for admission, and where the patient expresses no objection to being admitted.

A patient voluntarily admitted would have the privilege of petitioning for his own release, and would be discharged 5 days after filing his petition with the Superintendent of the Training School, unless during this period the Director of Public Welfare petitions the district court to detain the patient for court hearing. In this event, the patient would be detained until the court has disposed of the case.

This bill provides further that where the term "District Training School" occurs in the present law, the more commonly used title "Forest Haven" shall be substituted. Similarly, the more humane term, "mentally retarded," would replace "feeble-minded," and the word "patient" would be inserted in lieu of "inmate." This committee feels that these changes in terminology would serve to a degree to spare the feelings of the families of these retarded persons and thus lighten the burden upon them.

At a public hearing conducted on July 26, 1963, the Administrator of the District of Columbia Children's Center, of which the District Training School—Forest Haven—is a part, testified that the Department uses a scale similar to the public assistance scale in determining what amount the families of patients admitted to the Training School should be required to pay. Such payment is then stipulated in the court order authorizing the admission. However, changes in the families' financial circumstances frequently occur during the patient's period of residence at the Training School, which may make them able to pay substantially more than was originally stipulated, or unable to pay as much. In either case, present law requires the Department of Public Welfare to go back into court for any change in the original agreement. The Department is very much in favor of the provision in H.R. 3371 which would authorize them to handle the financial arrangements with the families directly, as this would facilitate frequent review and adjustment of charges when altered circumstances indicate a need for such changes.

The District of Columbia Board of Commissioners requested this legislation, and approval has been expressed also by the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Public Health. No opposition to its enactment has been expressed.

The progenitor of this legislation is H.R. 7440 of the 88th Congress, which passed the House on August 26, 1963—House Report 704—and also H.R. 1700 of the 89th Congress, which was approved by the House on February 8, 1965—House Report 23. The following letter, which was written in 1963, expresses the District of Columbia Commissioners' approval of this proposed legislation:

April 11, 1963.

Hon. John W. McCormack,
The Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Speaker: The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have the honor to submit herewith a bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharges from, the District Training School, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1925, as amended.

The main purposes of the bill are threefold: (1) To amend present law to provide for the voluntary admission of patients at the District Training School; (2) to provide that such voluntary admissions be subject to financial arrangements made with the District of Columbia on behalf of such patients when such patients or their relatives are financially able to reimburse the District in whole or in part for the expenses of such patients; and (3) to amend present law by striking certain archaic terms therein and inserting in lieu thereof modern terminology.

Under present law admission of a mentally retarded person to the District Training School may be accomplished only by means of a petition presented to the court followed by a hearing and the entry of a court order. This necessitates bringing before the court the mentally retarded person. It is a time-consuming and emotional ordeal to the persons involved. Notwithstanding that in each case the testimony of physicians is required, the petitions are uncontested in the vast majority of cases.

In addition to admission by court commitment, the bill also permits voluntary admission to the District Training School if the Director of Public Welfare first determines that the mentally retarded person is eligible for admission. Any patient who is voluntarily admitted may petition the Superintendent of the District Training School for his release. He would be entitled to be discharged not more than 5 days after filing with the Superintendent a written request for release, unless during such 5-day period the Director of Public Welfare filed in the district court a petition to detain the patient in the institution pending final court hearing on his case.

In connection with the voluntary admission of mentally retarded persons to the District Training School, the bill provides for payment to the District of Columbia of the full or partial cost of the board, medical care, and treatment of the voluntary patient, if the patient or person legally responsible for him is able to make such payment. The bill authorizes the Director of Public Welfare to enter into any agreement he deems necessary with an applicant for admission to the District Training School, or with his parent, spouse, adult child, or legal guardian for payment to the District of Columbia of all or part of the cost of such maintenance or care. The Director, with the approval of the Commissioners, may prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of the section of the bill authorizing such voluntary admissions.

In recognition of modern terminology in this field the bill also provides that wherever the terms "District Training School," "Board of Public Welfare," "feebleminded" and "inmate" occur in such act that they are stricken, and the terms "Forest Haven," "Department of Public Welfare," "mentally-retarded," and "patient," respectively, are inserted in lieu thereof. The first two terms are obsolete in the sense that the District Training School has for sometime been referred to as Forest Haven and the Board of Public Welfare, pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1952, has become the Department of Public Welfare. The last two stricken terms are archaic in the present concept of public welfare work, and the terms substituted in lieu of them accord with modern public welfare practice.

The Commissioners of the District of Columbia earnestly recomend the enactment of the proposed bill for the following reasons:

1. It would avoid the emotional ordeal by parent and child now made necessary by court appearance.

2. It would save the time of the court, court personnel, medical witnesses, the Office of the Corporation Counsel, and the institution staff.

3. It would expedite admission of the applicant into the institution by providing for direct admission without court procedure.

4. It would facilitate discharge in appropriate cases by avoiding court procedures if and when the patient recovers sufficiently to be returned to the community.

5. It would result in substantial savings to the District of Columbia.

Very sincerely yours,
Walter N. Tobriner,
President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize voluntary admission of patients to the District of Columbia institution providing care, education, and treatment of mentally retarded persons."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT BAND

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 831) to amend the act of July 11, 1947, to authorize members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the U.S. Park Police force, and the White House Police force to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department band, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 831

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the establishment of a band in the Metropolitan Police force", approved July 11, 1947, is amended as follows:

(1) The second sentence of the first section of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 4–182) is amended to read as follows: "The Commissioners are authorized in their discretion to detail officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force and the District of Columbia Fire Department to participate in the activities of such band."

(2) Such Act is amended by inserting immediately after the first section the following new section:

"Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized in his discretion to detail officers and members of the United States Park Police force to participate in the activities of the band established by this Act, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized in his discretion to detail officers and members of the White House Police force to participate in the activities of such band."

(3) Section 5 of such Act is repealed and section 4 of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 4–184) (relating to an authorization of appropriations) is redesignated as section 5.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in May 1963, a Cumberland, Md., contractor by the name of William D. Goff became so incensed by press accounts of Adam Clayton Powell's frequent absences from House sessions that he brought suit against him in Federal district court in Washington.

Also named in the suit was the then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and House Sergeant at Arms Zeake Johnson.

The suit was based on title 2, United States Code, chapter 3, section 39, which provides that the Sergeant at Arms "shall deduct from the monthly payments of each Member or delegate the amount of his salary for each day that he has been absent, unless such Member or delegate assigns the reason for such absence the sickness of himself or of some member of his family."

Attorney General Kennedy was sued to make him enforce the law. The Sergeant at Arms was named in the suit in order to compel him to collect any salary due the Government, and Powell obviously was sued to make him refund the money he owed due to unauthorized absences.

Summonses were issued for each defendant in June 1963, and both Kennedy and Johnson were served immediately. Powell, curiously, or perhaps not so curiously, could not be found.

On June 18, 1963, the U.S. marshals reported Powell "out of the country." On July 31, the second time they tried to serve the summons, they reported he was "not available."

On September 4, after Goff complained to the court that the failure to locate Powell "is a patently ridiculous situation," the marshals reported that they had been "unable to contact personally."

On October 3, 1963, they reported they were "unable to contact after repeated attempts," and on October 24 they handed in an identical report.

Finally, some 6 weary months after the suit was filed, and only after Goff's lawyer threatened a contempt of court proceeding, did the marshalls find their man. And where did they find him on November 21, 1963? Right here in Washington, D.C., at 16 Gresham Court, Southeast.

It is most interesting to note that upon being served in the 1963 case, Powell went immediately to the Justice Department and got no less than Assistant Attorney General John W. Douglas and two assistants to prepare his defense.

And what was the defense? That the Federal district court had no jurisdiction over the House of Representatives, nor over the then Representative Powell, because it "would be an unauthorized interference with the legislative function, in violation of the constitutional separation of powers."

As every Member of the House well knows, it was only a few days ago that Powell went into this same Federal district court in Washington, D.C., with a pleading that the court has the jurisdiction and authority to decide whether the recent House action excluding him from membership was illegal.

In 1963, the Constitution of the United States meant one thing to Adam Clayton Powell. In 1967, and without benefit of amendment, the Constitution has for Powell a diametrically opposite meaning.

Right here it might be well to ask where the Justice Department stands now? It would indeed be interesting to know.

In the 1963 case, the citizen and plaintiff, William Goff, confronted with the power and unlimited funds arrayed against him by the Justice Department, and having exhausted his personal funds available for the suit, was forced to abandon it and the case was dropped.

But we are entitled to speculate as to what would have happened had Goff won his legal action. Having defended Powell, how could the Justice Department have instituted any action necessary to collect the moneys owed to the Federal Government by Powell?

And when does the Justice Department intend to move in behalf of the citizens of this country to recover the moneys which Adam Clayton Powell owes the Federal Government? As long ago as last December, the House Administration Committee produced the evidence that Powell had illegally spent or converted to his own use thousands of dollars in Federal funds. The select committee of the House, established on January 10, subsequently confirmed this evidence and added to it. For what reason is the Justice Department dragging its feet?

If, as the two House committees have charged, Adam Clayton Powell flaunted the laws and converted Government funds to his personal use, he ought to be promptly hauled into court, fined and jailed for his peculations as any other citizen would be.

Or is it planned, as the House minority leader, Mr. FORD, suggested over the weekend, that in the event of Powell's election on April 11 he be seated in the House and fined $40,000, the fine to be paid at the rate of $1,000 per month by deduction from his paycheck? In other words, make the taxpayers pay back the money which Powell gouged out of them in the first place.

The jails and prisons of this country are full of culprits who would like to exchange their cells for a Government job and a deduction from their paychecks that would never repay that which they stole in the first place.

It would be difficult to dream up a more ridiculous formula for the punishment of an absconder, either in or out of Congress.

In all charity I want to say to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD] and any others who may be interested, that the House spoke decisively on March 1 when it voted to exclude Powell from membership—not temporarily—but for the 90th Congress. That action has the approval of the vast majority of the citizens of this country and any attempt now to condition the public or Members of the House to the acceptance of crookedness and rascality is totally unacceptable.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 831 is to permit members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the White House Police force, and the U.S. Park Police force to be detailed by the District of Columbia Commissioners, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Interior, respectively, to participate in the activities of the Metropolitan Police Department band.

This bill is identical to H.R. 8205 of the 89th Congress, as passed by the House on August 22, 1966 (H. Rept. 1818).

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

Actually, some members of these other forces do participate as members of the Police Department band. However, since present law does not permit them to be officially detailed to this duty, they must do so without any coverage as to disability compensation which applies when such members are performing their official duties. In short, therefore, while members of all these forces may and do participate as members of the Police Department band, only members of the Metropolitan Police Department are presently protected against injury or disability incurred while engaged in the band's activities.

It is the opinion of your committee that all members of this band should be adequately protected against injury incurred while engaged in the band's activities. This bill will accomplish this by providing that members of all these forces, when assigned to the police band, will be engaged in official duty and hence will be eligible during such activity for the same disability benefits to which they are entitled when performing their regular duties.

Another present difficulty in connection with members of the Fire Department, White House Police, and the U.S. Park Police participating as members of the Police Department band is that they must do so on their own time, whereas the time spent by Police Department members of the band in rehearsals and performances counts as part of their regular workweek. Further, if such time is spent outside their regular duty hours, then the Police Department members are entitled to an equal amount of compensatory time off. The provisions of this bill will extend this arrangement also to members of these other forces who participate in the band's activities, so that the time so spent by all members of the band will be considered as part of their duty hours.

It is the view of your committee that these provisions will have the desirable effect of materially increasing the size of this fine Police Department band.

BACKGROUND

The Metropolitan Police Department band was first officially authorized by an act of Congress in 1947, as "a band to perform at such municipal or civic functions and events as may be authorized by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia."

The members participate in this band without extra compensation, though a director is authorized at a salary not to exceed that of a captain in the Metropolitan Police Department.

The Metropolitan Police Department band presently consists of 20 regularly participating members. By calling upon other musicians in the White House Police force, the U.S. Park Police force, and the Metropolitan Police force, it is possible to organize a unit of approximately 50 pieces.

ROLE OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT BAND

At a public hearing on this legislation conducted on August 1, 1966, your committee was informed that the mission of the Police Department band is far broader in scope than merely playing at parades, ceremonials, and dedications for whatever public relations value these may have. While the band does strive, of course, to make a good showing in such highly competitive performances as American Legion parades and Shriners parades, of far greater importance to the Police Department, and to the District, is the band's contribution in the fields of community relations, cadet recruiting, crime deterrence, and bringing the true image of the policeman before the District of Columbia citizen of tomorrow.

This portion of the Police Department band's mission is made possible by an arrangement with the District of Columbia Superintendent of Schools, by which this police band joins with the various high school bands in the city for special assembly programs. Each of these programs requires two 1-hour rehearsals. During these rehearsals and the assembly program itself, the seating arrangement is such that a police musician sits in a group of high school musicians, all playing the same type instrument. Through this experience of common interest and participation in music, the children and the policemen discover a mutual appreciation and understanding of each other, which the Police Department has found to be invaluable to all concerned. These children will be less hesitant and reluctant to call on their new friend, the police bandsman, and their parents will also be more apt to regard the policeman in the light of friendship.

The point is eloquently expressed in a letter addressed to D.C. Police Chief John B. Layton from the principal of one of the senior high schools in the District. This letter was submitted to your committee in testimony, and states in part as follows:

DEAR CHIEF LAYTON: On Thursday, February 11, it was our pleasure to have the Police Band perform for our student body at an assembly. The students and faculty were quite impressed. It is my belief that this was an excellent bit of public relations. You are to be commended for encouraging and maintaining this group. It is an image of the Police Department we need to encourage just as well as the law enforcement side of the Department. In closing, I would like to again commend you for maintaining and promoting this worthwhile group.

The Metropolitan Police Department band offers opportunities also to members of these forces with no previous musical training to come into its program. For example, the present director has organized a group of D.C. police cadets, most of whom had no previous knowledge of music whatever, into a group of drummers. Also, he offers private lessons free of charge to any member of the various forces who wishes to learn to play an instrument.

CONCLUSIONS

Your committee is of the opinion that this Police Department band represents a useful weapon in the war against crime in the District of Columbia. Further, we believe that its service in this respect has not been utilized to its fullest extent. Your committee suggests, for example, that this band, as it will expand under the provisions of this bill, might well be sent outside the District of Columbia to perform as an aid to the recruitment program. Such a demonstration to the public that the Metropolitan Police Department offers opportunities for outlets other than just police work could prove a valuable asset, indeed, to recruitment.

The committee recommends this proposed legislation, therefore, to augment the important contribution which this band is making toward alleviating crime in the District of Columbia, and urges that its use be expanded as far as is practicable.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMISSIONERS' LETTER

The following is the letter from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, recommending this legislation:

GOVERNMENT OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., February 24, 1967.

Hon. JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, House of Representatives, Washington D.C.

DEAR MR. MCMILLAN: The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have for report H.R. 831, 90th Congress, a bill "To amend the Act of July 11, 1947, to authorize members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the United States Park Police force, and the White House Police force to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department Band, and for other purposes."

The purpose of this bill is to allow members of the District of Columbia Fire Department and United States Park Police and White House Police to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department Band. While members of the District of Columbia Fire Department presently participate in the activities of the Metropolitan Police Department Band, they do so without coverage of the disability provisions of law which apply when performing official duties. Under the terms of the bill, firemen and United States Park Police and White House Police, when assigned to the Police Band, would be engaged in official duty and would continue to be eligible for disability benefits to which they are entitled when performing their regular duties.

The Commissioners of the District of Columbia recommend enactment of the bill.

The Commissioners have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,
WALTER N. TOBRINER,
President, Board of Commissioners, D.C.

An example of the benefits from this band is shown in a newspaper clipping over the past weekend:

POLICE WIELD BATON AT STUDENT CONCERT

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

The Metropolitan Police Department threw the sound of music yesterday into its effort to convince Washington high school students that policemen are on their side.

It was the inaugural program of what Police Chief John B. Layton and the D.C. Board of Education call the Side by Side phase of the Department's community relations drive.

For 1½ hours, some 450 Anacostia High School students and school, police and civic officials were treated to a musical program by the Metropolitan Police Band and the Anacostia High School Band.

There was also an operatic selection, sung by William Dupree, of the New York Civic Opera Co., and composer James L. Dixon sang his "The District of Columbia Is My Home Town."

The program also featured the world premiere of a police theme song, "Stand Tall," with lyrics by Army Lt. Col. Vernden McQueen, now serving in Vietnam, a snatch of which goes, "Stand tall for everyone you meet/Walk proud along your daily beat/Sing out and tell them all/That the men wearing blue stand tall."

Eleventh Precinct Capt. Owen Davis gave a student-civic achievement award to the school's Cadet Corps Capt. Wayne E. Wigham, an Anacostia track star and Student Council leader.

Assistant School Supt. John D. Koontz brought down the house with his introduction of Police Pvt. Pete Barrack, Anacostia's schoolboy patrol coordinator, and an Anacostia graduate himself.

"If the number of boys he has kept from going wrong," Koontz said, "were laid end to end, they'd stretch from here to Lorton."

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXEMPTIONS FROM ATTACHMENT AND CERTAIN OTHER PROCESS IN THE CASE OF PERSONS NOT RESIDING IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H.R. 836) to amend the act of March 3, 1901, with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 836

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 1107 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia", approved March 3, 1901, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 15–403), is amended by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d) and by inserting immediately after subsection (b) the following new subsection (c):

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the wages (as defined in section 1104 A(f) of this Act) of any person not residing in the District of Columbia who does not earn the major portion of such wages in the District of Columbia shall, in any case arising out of a contract or transaction entered into outside of the District of Columbia, be exempt from attachment, levy, or seizure, by any process or proceeding of any court, judge, or officer of the District of Columbia in the same amount and to the same extent as is provided by the law of the State in which such person resides for persons residing therein. Whenever any claim is made for an exemption from attachment pursuant to this subsection, the burden shall be upon the plaintiff to prove that the contract or transaction involved in the case was entered into within the District of Columbia."

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to amend section 15–503 of the District of Columbia Code with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia."

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, strike out lines 3 through 5 and insert the following: "That section 15–503 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by".

Page 1, line 10, strike out "section 1104A(f) of this Act" and insert "section 16–571 of the District of Columbia Code".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill (H.R. 836) is to stop a practice which has developed in relation to the use of garnishment laws in a way which enables a creditor to do indirectly what he is not permitted to do directly in his own jurisdiction.

This practice involves the filing in the District of Columbia of an action for garnishment against an employer who also has a business in Maryland, so as to secure payment by attachment of wages from an employee who is not a resident of the District. The object of such practice is to escape the limitations in States outside the District, regarding exemptions from garnishment in favor of employees. This bill is designed to assure that where an action in such a case is brought in the District of Columbia, the nonresident defendant involved will be entitled to the same exemptions as are provided by law in the State in which the said defendant may reside.

Maryland law, for example, provides for an exemption from attachment of wages and salaries in the amount of $100 for each pay period. In a month, or 4⅓ weeks, this exemption would aggregate $433. Your committee has been informed that some persons in the debt collection business have found that the District of Columbia garnishment law provides a lower exemption; namely, 90 percent of the first $200 per month of wages, 80 percent of the next $300 per month, and 50 percent of all above $500 per month. In the case of a worker earning a wage of $100 per week, or $433 per month, therefore, an employee's entire salary would be exempt from attachment in Maryland, but in the District of Columbia only $366.40 per month would be exempt, leaving $66.60 per month subject to garnishment.

Accordingly, your committee, in hearings, was advised that Baltimore creditors, with claims against employees living and working in Baltimore, have in several instances determined that the employers also have places of business in the District of Columbia and hence are subject to service of garnishment or attachment process in the District, and accordingly have brought their claims to Washington and filed suits here, laying an attachment against the wages of the employee debtor in the hands of the employer, thus escaping the exemption from attachment provided by Maryland laws.

This same procedure could conceivably be adopted by collection agencies from any State if the employer maintains a place of business in the District, so that he would be subject to the service of garnishment process here.

This committee is of the opinion that it was never intended that District of Columbia law should serve as a collection medium against employees who live elsewhere, work elsewhere, and may even never have been in the District of Columbia. This bill is intended to so amend the District of Columbia law as to terminate this practice by granting to nonresidents of the District the exemptions from garnishment and attachment of wages afforded by their local State laws.

With the exception of technical amendments, this bill is identical to H.R. 7882 of the 88th Congress, which was amended to meet suggestions made by the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia and which passed the House on October 14, 1963—House Report 836—and also to H.R. 1007 of the 89th Congress, which was approved by the House on February 8, 1965—House Report 25.

The reason for these several technical amendments is that the provisions of law amended by the bill have been codified into positive law, necessitating several changes in reference.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend section 15-503 of the District of Columbia Code with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REQUIRE REPORTS OF MOTOR VEHICLE COLLISIONS TO METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 1437) to amend section 10 of the District of Columbia Traffic Act, 1925, as amended, so as to require reports of collisions in which motor vehicles are involved, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1437

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (a) of section 10 of the District of Columbia Traffic Act, 1925, as amended (43 State. 1124; sec. 40-609(a), D.C. Code, 1951 ed.), is amended (a) by adding at the end of the first paragraph the following: "In addition to the preceding requirements with respect to the action to be taken immediately in cases involving personal injury or substantial damage to property, every person who, in the District of Columbia, operates a motor vehicle which is involved in a collision, which has resulted in damage to the property of any one person in excess of $100 or in bodily injury to or in the death of any person, shall immediately make a written report thereof to the Chief of Police, on a form prescribed by him. Such written report shall be made without regard to the degree of personal injury resulting from such collision. In the event the operator of a motor vehicle involved in a collision is injured or otherwise disabled to such an extent as to render him incapable, in the opinion of his attending physician, of making any report of the collision as required by this subsection, such operator shall make such report within forty-eight hours after the date on which, in the opinion of his attending physician, he can reasonably be expected to have recovered from his injury or other disability to the extent of being able to prepare and submit the required report."; and (b) by striking "substantial" in the third paragraph.

SEC. 2. Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to affect the authority vested in the Commissioners by Reorganization Plan Numbered 5 of 1952 (66 Stat. 824). The performance of any function vested by this Act in the Commissioners or in any office or agency under the jurisdiction and control of said Commissioners may be delegated by said Commissioners in accordance with section 3 of such plan.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill (H.R. 1437) is to require that all collisions involving motor vehicles in the District of Columbia which result in property damage in excess of $100, or in personal injury of any degree, be reported immediately to the District of Columbia Chief of Police.

Under present law, motor vehicle collisions as described above must be reported within 5 days to the safety responsibility officer of the District of Columbia, who functions as a part of the Department of Motor Vehicles and whose primary responsibility is to determine the financial responsibility of the various parties to such accidents. However, only those collisions which result in personal injury are required to be reported to the Chief of Police. Although the Police Department is required to forward copies of all their accident reports to the safety responsibility officer, the latter does not send his reports to the Police Department.

Your committee is informed that during fiscal year 1964, while 37,691 motor vehicle collisions were reported to the safety responsibility officer, only 29,345 were reported to the Chief of Police. Thus, during this year 8,346 motor vehicle accidents involving property damage in excess of $100 were never reported to the police.

A change in the recordkeeping policies of the Safety Responsibility Division of the Department of Motor Vehicles makes it impossible to obtain more recent statistics on this situation. Your committee is reliably informed, however, that the problem has not improved since 1964.

Two glaring weaknesses are inherent in this situation. First, whereas copies of all the Police Department's reports are sent to the Bureau of Traffic Engineering and Operations of the District of Columbia Highway Department, where they serve to reveal dangerous areas in the city's street system and thus guide the Highway Department in effecting corrective measures, the safety responsibility officer's reports are not adaptable for this purpose and hence are not sent to the Bureau of Traffic Engineering. Thus, the facts involved in 8,346 serious collisions were not made available to the Highway Department for this very valuable purpose during fiscal year 1964.

The second major point of weakness which H.R. 1437 seeks to correct is the matter of the chronic offenders among the drivers involved in the 9,000 collisions per year of which the police are not apprised. When any driver becomes involved in accidents with sufficient frequency to cause suspicion as to his fitness to operate a motor vehicle, the safety responsibility officer reports the case to the Director of the Department of Motor Vehicles, who orders a hearing to determine the person's fitness status, both physical and with respect to attitude. An adverse finding as a result of this hearing brings about a suspension or revocation of the offender's permit to drive. However, the safety responsibility officer and the Department of Motor Vehicles do not and cannot act in any way to initiate legal prosecution against any such offender, for this is a police function. Is it obvious that a chronically negligent driver, utterly lacking in a normal sense of responsibility, may become involved in frequent motor vehicle collisions and thus become a real hazard to the public; and while suspension or revocation of the operator's permit may be effective in some such cases, certainly in many others nothing short of legal prosecution can provide the protection to which the public is entitled.

H.R. 1437, therefore, is designed to bring about a degree of accident control and traffic safety which is not possible under existing law.

Bills identical to H.R. 1437 have been passed by the House in the past three Congresses. The latest was H.R. 947 of the 89th Congress, approved by the House on February 8, 1965—House Report 18.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. That concludes the call of the District of Columbia Calendar.

UNITED NATIONS CALLED UPON TO REPUDIATE THE POSITION OF DR. RALPH BUNCHE ON ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **CABELL**. Mr. Speaker, I returned to my district on March 2, on a committee trip not financed, by the way, at Government expense, I was appalled and infuriated to learn that an official of the U.N. had, on that day in Dallas, excoriated the Congress of the United States for its action in the matter of Adam Clayton Powell.

This man, Dr. Ralph Bunche, stated, and I quote, that he was "shocked by the extreme action taken," and called it "subverting the democratic process."

He further stated, and I quote:

> Emotion, prejudice and hypocrisy ran deeply in the action of the House on Wednesday, and that if Powell were white, he would have his seat today.

It is true that he said he was speaking in a personal capacity, but he should have had the intelligence to know that no one in such an official capacity could disassociate himself from his official position and speak as an individual citizen.

Whether he intended so or not, his remarks implied an official position of the United Nations.

In view of this, I call upon the Secretary General of the U.N. to publicly and officially repudiate the position taken by its Under Secretary and further charge the Secretary General that if he fails to take this action, he will be giving tacit approval to this unwarranted meddling in the internal affairs of a member nation by the U.N.

I am inserting, at this point in the RECORD, the full text of the interview of Dr. Bunche with Miss Carolyn Barta of the Dallas Morning News:

BUNCHE BLASTS CONGRESS OVER POWELL'S EXPULSION

(By Carolyn Barta)

International diplomat and Nobel Peace prizewinner Dr. Ralph Bunche rebuked the U.S. Congress Thursday for expelling New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

But the United Nations under-secretary specified in a Dallas press conference that he was speaking exclusively in his personal capacity as an American citizen and not as an official of the U.N. secretariat.

The Negro leader said he was "shocked by the extreme nature of the action taken" and called it "subverting the democratic process."

"The expulsion is punitive not only against Adam Powell but against the overwhelming majority of voters in his Harlem district who have elected him, since it deprives them of the voice and the vote in the House of Representatives to which, by the Constitution, they have the right," he said.

Bunche conceded that Powell's conduct "often has been reprehensible and deplorable," and that he would not vote for the Harlem representative if he lived in that district.

"But his constituents elect him time after time," the Negro leader said, predicting that they will now elect him again by a larger margin than ever before.

"This is their right and this, in fact, is Adam's strength. The House, therefore, finds itself in the anomalous position of defying the clearly expressed and free will of the voters of Harlem."

Bunche said he felt that "emotion, prejudice and hypocrisy ran deeply in the action of the House on Wednesday" and that if Powell were white, he would have his seat today.

The under-secretary also touched on issues of interest to the U.N. during the interview in the American Airlines Celebrity Room at Love Field.

On Viet Nam, Bunche said that "undoubtedly some impact is being made from pressure on both sides to end this conflict." But he added that there is no indication of a breakthrough.

Secretary-General U Thant is making proposals to both sides—some announced and some not, Bunche said, adding that U Thant's opinion is that the only way to get to the conference table is to stop the bombing in Vietnam.

The U.N. official, who works directly under the secretary-general as Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs, said that U Thant is strictly on vacation this week in Burma.

Bunche announced his retirement from the United Nations a month ago, but said here Thursday that he had changed his mind.

He was in Dallas to speak Thursday night at the spring program of a lecture series sponsored by the Brotherhood of Temple Emanu-El.

MAN OF LA MANCHA

Mr. **MONAGAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous material.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. **MONAGAN**. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend a performance of the play "Man of La Mancha" at the National Theater recently. I found the play engaging, and a delight to watch. "Man of La Mancha" presented an inspirational rather than a derogatory view of man's life on this earth. Unlike so many of the plays that are popular today, "Man of La Mancha" inspired in the audience a warm, lilting feeling, and left it with the thought that man's goals and aspirations are worthwhile and important.

Mr. Richard L. Coe, the distinguished drama critic of the Washington Post has written an excellent account of the "affirmative" nature of "Man of La Mancha." I place his article of March 5, 1967, in the RECORD at this point:

AFFIRMATION IS THE QUEST OF "MAN OF THE LA MANCHA"

(By Richard L. Coe)

While the intellectual critical cabala continues to moan about the outrageous indignities of being human, a very heartening thing has been happening.

This is the enormous public acceptance of "Man of La Mancha," which is at the National for another two weeks while the New York production continues to lure theatergoers to remote Washington Square.

"The Theater of the Absurd," "The Theater of Cruelty" and "The Theater of Insanity" are favored topics of the ivory tower set whose writings become primary sources for theatrical history and contemporary honors. These same voices lament the decline of the theater and the obtuseness of the public.

Thus, "Man of La Mancha" shouts yes to life, recognizing the harsh realties but reclining the fashionable negatives.

"Man of La Mancha," besides being creatively imaginative, is above all an affirmation.

Yes, the setting is a jail, the central character veers on madness, subsidiary figures include theives and rapists and the principal girl is a self loathing harlot.

But through this glowing work runs something diametrically opposed to prevailing conclusions about life as a slimy gutter. In Joe Darion's lyrics and to Mich Leigh's ascending melody, the title character sings:

"To dream the impossible dream,
  To fight the unbeatable foe,
To bear with unbearable sorrow,
  To run where the brave dare not go . . .
To reach the unreachable star,
  Though you know it's impossibly high,
To live with your heart striving upward
  To a far, unattainable sky!"

To me it is positively astounding that people can seriously discuss the plight of today's narrowed theater without taking into account the relation of philosophy and audience. Yet, you don't find any of the "serious" critics taking "Man of La Mancha" seriously.

Because it's "only a musical," Dale Wasserman's richly resourceful script is never mentioned in the same breath with Edward Albee, John Osborn, Peter Weiss, Beckett, Genet, Sartre or the one-shot shockers which dub their authors as "white hopes."

And "only a musical"! What nonsense is this? Tevye, of "Fiddler on the Roof," also has his impossible dream. What is more philosophical than "Mamie's" cry: "Life is a banquet and most poor sons-of-guns are starving to death!" Dolly Levi, musicalized from Thornton Wilder's "The Matchmaker," preaches that "money is like manure. For things to grow it has to be spread around."

Quite apart from the ingenuity with which these most popular works of our decade have been staged and the zest with which they are acted, these affirmative notions are just as philosophical as conclusions that life is a stacked deck.

This is where the masses are infinitely smarter than the deep thinkers. The mass of people have every reason to suspect that the cards are stacked, the dice loaded. From ivory tower comfort this is viewed as shuddery news.

What people wish to find in the plays and films they attend are reasons for living. Why should they spend time, money or enthusiasm to be told they are better off dead?

Of course, this does not mean that happy endings, pink miasmas, "sheer entertainment" or escapism are the only fields for drama or that tragedy is too stark for comfort.

"West Side Story" was certainly tragic. "It stemmed from "Romeo and Juliet" and Shakespeare took that from French and Italian sources. Oedipus murdered his father and married his mother but the drama's effectiveness lies in his growing awareness of forces outside himself, not in his introspection. The meaning of tragedy does not stick in a character's inward gropings but breathes in his relationship to life outside himself.

Thus, the triumph of Wasserman's gradually evolved musical play lies in the relationship of Cervantes to his ultimate brainchild, Don Quixote. What little is known of Cervantes' life (he died within ten days of Shakespeare's death) indicates failure, harassments and poverty. His final gesture was to characterize the illusion, the quest, the impossible dream, as Wasserman calls it, and it was this which brought immorality.

So, "Man of La Mancha" tells both stories. With imaginative power which took the patience of some years to achieve, Wasserman places Cervantes in one of the Inquisition jails he occupied so frequently. There he tells of Don Quixote, this imaginary character who sees beyond the obvious to discover reasons for zestful living.

The concept, which grew from a 90-minute TV special, embraces some of the most vital facets of contemporary theater. The thrust stage, which on tour can only be approximated, gathers audience into play. The shifting backwards and forwards in time (so eloquently vital to the works of Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams) are precise enough to avoid confusions. The break from realistic settings, the use of characters to embody other characters, even placing the orchestra on stage are as contemporary as the most ardent avantgardist could dream. The dancing is the finest Jack Cole has created for the musical stage and the whole has been realized with uncommon imagination by director Albert Marre.

Though he is the official star, Jose Ferrer takes the unstarlike view that this for him is never a vehicle. Because he recognized the work as a whole, he fought for the opportunity to play an extraordinarily demanding role. There are any number of good major roles and as Aldonza, Maura K. Wedge is magnificently stirring.

Yes, the details are as satisfying as Mitch Leigh's melodic, never-trite score but the root of this work's triumph lies in its philosophy, its belief in the glowing wonder of man, its defiant contempt for negation.

Those who bemoan the theater's dwindling audiences on a diet of nihilist philosophy may be too self-involved to grasp the obvious: that for affirmation there is widespread hunger.

SUBSTITUTE FOR CIA COVERT SUPPORT

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 9, 1967, I introduced in the House H.R. 6990 which seeks to provide an open and publicly financed substitute for CIA covert support of student, labor, and teacher activities abroad whose cover was recently rudely removed and whose operation was subjected to embarrassing international scrutiny.

Incidentally, the removal of this assignment is one which the CIA will welcome with relief, I am sure.

I was pleased to read in yesterday's New York Times an editorial which describes perfectly the bill which I introduced. In particular, does it delineate the error in the past practice which it describes as "tainting with the secret funds of an espionage agency a wide variety of legitimate activities that should have been financed openly through private and public grants?"

Both because of its general pertinence and its relation to the legislation which I have introduced, I reproduce this editorial herewith.

I do point out, however, that the British council which is referred to in the editorial is exclusively a cultural organization and has no connection whatsoever with intelligence or propaganda.

The editorial follows:

DISPLACING CIA SUBSIDIES

Students have been making more sense than many of their elders in the controversy over Central Intelligence Agency subsidies to private organizations. The latest case in point is the proposal of the Collegiate Council of the United Nations that Congress create an independent agency to continue—openly rather than covertly—financial aid to those of the C.I.A.-supported activities that remain needed despite the easing of the cold war.

Some of the C.I.A.-financed activities probably should never have been undertaken and others have been long outmoded. But the critical error in the C.I.A. program has been in tainting with the secret funds of an espionage agency a wide variety of legitimate activities that should have been financed openly through private and public grants.

Some useful activities—such as student and trade union participation in international forums—may be liquidated unless a way is now found to provide open financing. Other activities, still undisclosed, may continue to receive C.I.A. funds. Recent statements indicate that some C.I.A. officials and their Congressional apologists, like the Bourbon kings, have "learned nothing and forgotten nothing."

The worldwide ideological competition between Communism and democracy undoubtedly will continue for a long time, even if East-West political warfare gradually diminishes in volume and virulence. The role the United States needs to play in it—now that governments in Europe and others elsewhere are strong enough to defend their own societies against subversion—requires thorough reappraisal.

But two things are clear. The fact that Communist governments employ intelligence operatives for such purposes abroad does not mean that the United States must utilize the same device in getting a hearing for American views. Secondly, there is not now and never has been any justification for the C.I.A. to penetrate, influence and secretly subsidize American private organizations.

An essential step in unraveling the current mess is to transfer to a public agency the responsibility for helping private American organizations finance valuable international activities that cannot be financed privately.

An agency drawn up along the lines of the National Endowment of the Arts or the British Council—with distinguished private citizens as well as Government officials on the board—could both protect the national interest and avoid any suspicion that American private organizations are being subverted. The report of President Johnson's special study committee on the C.I.A. should contain a detailed project of this kind for submission to Congress.

FIRE RESEARCH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 6, I introduced H.R. 6637, the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967.

This proposed Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967 would amend the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards to authorize a comprehensive fire research and safety program to gather comprehensive fire data, conduct intensive fire research, educate and train in fire protection and safety and support demonstrations of improved and experimental fire protection and safety.

The best estimates available indicate that in 1965, fire in the United States caused 12,100 deaths and property damage amounting to $1,741,300,000—$8.98 for every man, woman, and child. Our per capita fire death rate is twice Canada's rate, four times the rate for the United Kingdom, and six and one-half times the rate for Japan. While our much higher per capita death rate may reflect the hazards that accompany our higher standard of living, this merely indicates that we must put forth greater fire safety efforts as our living standards rise, if we are to eliminate excessive loss of life to fire.

Over the past 5 years, the best privately estimated per capita fire death rate from all causes has remained relatively constant—although U.S. Public Health Service figures for nontransportation fires have increased 9 percent. Over the same period the estimated per capita number of fires in the United States has increased 9 percent and the estimated per capita property damage has increased 4 percent. Our 1965 estimated per capita property damage contrasts with $6.85 for Canada, the next highest per capita loss among major countries. Japan, with a population of about one-half that of the United States, has a per capita loss of only $1.32 and its total number of fires in 1965 is about one-fortieth of the number that occurred in the United States.

The ravages of uncontrolled fires have dotted the pages of history from its beginning. Great fires that are well known go back at least to Nero's Rome in the middle of the first century. King John promulgated building ordinances to prevent the spread of fire between buildings after the London fire of 1212—3 years before the Magna Carta. Research and testing of building constructions for fire resistance in this country started early in the last century but remained at a very low level until the great fires in Chicago, Baltimore, and San Francisco, the last two in the first decade of this century. The resulting impetus to fire studies has led to a more systematic approach and to the present collection of standard test methods.

At about the same time that fire testing and research was beginning to grow, the gathering of fire information and attempts at public education on fire safety took on a new stature. The National Fire Protection Association, founded in 1896, is the chief source for educational materials and consolidated fire information.

ROLE OF FIRE IN PUBLIC SAFETY

Fire strikes at man both physically and economically. There is no place or time when he may safely relax his guard. His homes, places of amusement, cities, transportation, and national resources are all vulnerable to fire. Fires start from natural causes such as lightning, but most causes are related to man's carelessness among the hazardous surroundings he has made for himself.

Fires in homes and apartments take many lives every year. Tragedies strike in places of public assembly despite laws and recommendations on construction, decoration, occupancy, and means of egress. Large losses of life have occurred in just the past few years as a result of fires in schools, hospitals, hotels, and restaurants. The recent tragedy in a penthouse restaurant in Montgomery, Alabama, took 25 lives.

Without the significant efforts of private and public organizations in the field of fire safety, the record would be much worse. However, this record can and should be improved. Greater support of fire safety programs will be needed, if such improvement is to be achieved. The Federal Government should provide needed support through a national fire safety program, including direct financial support of activities of private nonprofit and public organizations, and increased Federal activities to provide technical support for their programs. The national program should encourage local initiative by supporting improved methods and techniques for preventing and controlling fires, reducing personal injury and property damage, or improving the efficiency, operation, or organization of the fire services.

Comprehensive and detailed information on fire causes and effects is essential to the best use of available resources to minimize the harm from fires. These resources must be directed to the most significant areas of the overall problem, which are only partially identified at present. For example, present fire cause data are not detailed enough to permit analysis to determine where research and other activities will be most beneficial. Similarly, education in fire safety and protection is hindered by a lack of detailed information on the nature and scope of the problem.

INFORMATION

Our present national efforts to gather information on fire causes and effects are carried on by private organizations. These organizations depend on voluntary cooperation of their members and others who are interested enough to provide reports. The National Fire Protection Association is generally recognized as having the best compilation of data on fire causes and losses of life and property. Despite diligent effort on the association's part, however, it receives statewide loss data from only about half of the States, and data on causes from about one-third of the States. The present NFPA budget, derived from members' dues plus the sale of publications cannot support staff operations in the field to gather directly the data which is not supplied to the association. Nor can the association appeal to any incentive for cooperation in the data gathering other than a common interest in fire safety.

Another group gathering data is the insurance industry. However, their primary interest is in the area of establishing insurance rates, and their data, and analyses thereof, are of appropriately limited scope.

We need more fire information than voluntary efforts have been able to gather. The proposed legislation would authorize Federal support that could be used to increase that level of effort significantly. Voluntary and uniform reporting of fire information could be achieved by grants to local organizations. The information gathering program would utilize a standardized reporting system, and one or more teams of experts to investigate selected fires in depth and evaluate and improve the reporting system. There would also be a clearinghouse service for fire information, which would maintain a comprehensive library, provide materials and an abstract service, publish bibliographies and maintain rosters of those having highly specialized expertise.

The information gathered under this program would aid in planning, research, and in providing fire safety education. The clearinghouse service would furnish useful fire information to the fire service and others interested in fire safety throughout the country.

RESEARCH

The present research effort is carried on by fire equipment and building materials industries, trade associations, universities, nonprofit organizations, commercial laboratories, and Government agencies. The industry and trade association research, for the most part, is of an applied, product-oriented nature. Individual companies conduct little basic research. Industry has made use of trade associations as a mechanism for industrywide support of research on common problems. But this work also is predominantly applied research. Industry tends to look to those who are not profit motivated for the basic research information.

The Federal Government's funding for fire research program is about $6 million concentrated mainly in the Forest Service and Department of Defense, the latter including the Office of Civil Defense. Smaller amounts go to the National Bureau of Standards, National Science Foundation, Bureau of Mines, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The research of the Government agencies is largely mission oriented, and not applicable to many common fire safety problems.

The primary deficiency of these research programs is that inadequate attention is given to establishing an understanding of the basic nature and behavior of fire upon which could be based a theory and more efficient practice of fire prevention and control. Instead, great reliance is placed on the less efficient method of empirical fire testing, to determine the fire resistance of various materials. The number of samples of building materials and assemblies that can be fire tested is limited because of cost, thus restricting technological innovation in the building industry.

A major research gap is in the area of fire department operations. The need for research here is becoming critical. Increasing costs of operating community services, the trend to great agglomeration of communities into metropolitan regions, and the rapid social and technological change are imposing demands on fire services for greater efficiency. In rural areas, the longer distances and uncertain water supplies, plus the hazard of large quantities of stored combustible agricultural products on many farms, place great demands on local fire services.

The legislation will authorize additional research nearly equal to the present Federal level immediately, much of which will be used, through contracts, to support fundamental studies in the universities and other non-Federal facilities. There would also be development of improved methods and techniques for preventing and controlling fires, and for rehabilitating injured persons and damaged property.

EDUCATION

The National Fire Protection Association, the International Association of Fire Chiefs, and the National Safety Council each has a national program in fire prevention education. Of these, NFPA's is the largest and includes Spring Clean-Up Week and Fire Prevention Week in October. Government and local public education programs are generally related to the national programs and make use of their educational literature.

Despite these efforts at public education, many members of the public are complacent and do not take the precautions needed to reduce the occurrences of fires caused by carelessness. Inadequate financial resources now preclude existing programs from fully effective use of mass communication media and of other public educational activities. The legislation would authorize grants to State and local fire service groups and support to national fire education groups for public fire safety education. It will also authorize Federal technical support of such educational activities.

Insufficient attention is given to fire prevention education in our institutions of higher learning. Engineering, architecture, city planning, and comparable curriculums should include fire problems and design approaches that will minimize fire occurrence and spread. Such design should become an integral part of the overall practice of those professions. Specialized training in the scientific and engineering aspects of fire protection are also needed. Only two universities offer 4-year curriculums leading to degrees in fire protection engineering. The proposed legislation would authorize grants for the development of curriculums and course material to facilitate the establishment of fire protection curriculums in additional colleges or universities, and facilitate the introduction of fire protection courses in other curriculums.

Most professional fire personnel lack sufficient training in command and control of disaster operations and in the control of special hazards. Education and training is essential to attainment of the highest levels of competence for the fire services. Many States have fire service schools offering short courses. However, the content and amount of training varies from State to State, and even within States since individual participation in some cases is dependent on the availability of local funds. The proposed legislation would authorize grants and support of the development of and participation in professional extension courses for fire service personnel and officers. We believe the objective should be the establishment of a program of periodic professional training for all fire services personnel, and for the staff of State fire marshals offices or other offices whose responsibilities have significant relationship to fire. Such increased education should enhance professional stature and encourage career and executive development in the fire services, thereby attracting greater numbers of highly qualified individuals to this important area of public service.

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

Many interested firemen and other public spirited individuals have applied themselves to problems of public education, fire safety, and fire department operations. Frequently, these individuals have not been able to support, or find support for, practical demonstrations of the feasibility of improved training aids, operational procedures, public education programs, or other fire safety methods and techniques. Ideas for useful demonstration will also result from Federal fire safety activities. The proposed legislation would authorize Federal support of appropriate demonstrations, and thus would encourage local and individual initiative in the solution of fire safety problems.

NATIONAL FIRE RESEARCH AND SAFETY CENTER

This proposed legislation would state the sense of Congress that the Secretary should establish a fire research and safety center. While much of the research under this program will be performed outside the Federal Government or in other Federal facilities, neither private nor Government facilities in this country are equipped for certain kinds of research, such as growth and spread of fires within full-scale, multistory buildings or the interactions among structural elements under fire conditions. The results of these and similar studies could lead to advanced design practices reducing the likelihood and spread of fires. Consequently an advanced research center is needed for performance of such fundamental studies.

Additionally, the center would provide a central focus for management of the national fire safety program under this proposed legislation. By establishing close contact with research personnel, the center would facilitate development of necessary staff competence for both technical support of non-Federal activities and scientific management of contracts and grants.

Finally, the program also would utilize fully existing competence and facilities of other Federal agencies, and would be coordinated carefully with related existing Federal programs.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 20th anniversary of one of the most important and significant messages ever delivered to a joint session of Congress—the Truman doctrine.

When President Harry S. Truman spoke before Congress on March 12, 1947, two small but essential countries—Greece and Turkey—were endangered by communism.

With typical candor and courage, he warned that:

> Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey, the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East. We must take immediate and resolute action.

Congress did take such action and provided Greece and Turkey with $400 million in military and economic aid during the 1948 fiscal year. This vital assistance saved these valiant, but weakened nations from the tyranny of communism.

Harry S. Truman was responsible for more momentous decisions than perhaps any President and later that year—1947—urged the Marshall plan, which helped to rebuild Europe's war-torn economy.

But when he asked for aid to Greece and Turkey, he produced a notable and dramatic change in American foreign policy—from 150 years of peacetime isolation, to involvement in serious European problems that affected free countries. It was this bold, but effective change, that resulted in our policy of containment of communism.

President Truman's foresight, courage, and strong leadership, not only saved Greece and Turkey from communism, he also became the inspiring symbol of anticommunism throughout the world. A line in Milton's "Paradise Lost" reminds me of Harry S. Truman: "And courage never to submit or yield." It was this courage that helped to keep the world free when he was President.

Almost 5 years after he advocated the doctrine named after him, Truman was told by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, "You, more than any other man, have saved Western civilization." Truman's great record of achievement reveals that Churchill did not exaggerate in his praise.

I salute this great former President, gallant fighter for freedom, and active statesman, as the 20th anniversary of the historic Truman doctrine is observed.

He is 82 now, but no matter how long he lives, the free people and free countries of the world will always remember Harry S. Truman with respect and a gratitude so deep, it cannot be measured or expressed with words.

UNNECESSARY COMPETITION FOR OUR INDUSTRIES FROM FOREIGN TEXTILE PRODUCTS

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and the Representative from a district in Tennessee where the domestic apparel and related products industry is vital to our economy, I am most interested in seeing that our textile industries are not bled to death by unnecessary competition from foreign products.

The apparel products industry in my district has helped the area lift itself out of economic stagnation to growth in both agriculture and industry. The textile industry in western Tennessee has fortified an otherwise declining agriculture industry by giving cotton and other related products a ready outlet.

The same situation presents itself throughout Tennessee, where the textile industries employ more than 125,000 persons, many of whom are in areas once economically depressed. In my own district, more than 50 percent of those employed in manufacturing trades are employed in textile mills and related manufacturing.

Therefore, the dangerous rise in foreign imports of apparel products during the past few years directly affects my district and my State. The health of this industry is vital to the economy of my State, and the influx of imports which threatens the gainful employment of my constituents necessarily alarms them.

In the western portion of Tennessee, where my district is located, cotton is an important product which is grown in all 11 counties I represent. It is the largest money crop in my district. Last year, the cotton acreage planted dropped by 112,000 acres from the previous year, and it is expected to fall in large proportions this year. Production fell last year by 265,000 bales from the previous year.

These reductions are being made in most respects to the need by the cotton industry to meet the supply and demand ratio of the product.

I mentioned cotton as just one example of the domestic products which have been affected by the rising tide of importations from cheap-labor countries. Tennesseans in the western part of our State are more directly concerned with this product than others. but all of us are concerned with the entire scope of the effect the decline of the textile industry has on the cotton industry.

The enormous influx of foreign produced and manufactured products have become so competitive with domestic products that its repercussions have affected both the textile industry and the cotton industry in my State. The same trend is apparent throughout the United States.

We need to take action to remedy these trends, and the action should be in the form of strengthening our domestic textile industries, not undermining them by allowing continued rise in importation of competitive products.

The State Department and various Federal agencies have allowed our textile program to be eroded. The importation of wool textiles and manmade fiber textiles must be realistically viewed from the standpoint of domestic economic concern, and, therefore, reason compels us to insist that our domestic industries be protected rather than to allow the continued trend. The extension of the international cotton arrangement for another 5 years seems warranted, but we must also insist that adequate enforcement of its provisions are carried out.

PROPOSED LAKE ERIE-OHIO RIVER CANAL

Mr. **VIGORITO**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. **VIGORITO**. Mr. Speaker, an aroused public has again attacked the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which is trying to force down our throats the proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal.

I am pleased this week to report that one of Empire State's most respected public bodies—the Power Authority of the State of New York—has fearlessly exposed the fallacious reasoning of the Corps of Engineers. A letter, which attacks the canal project, has been sent by the Honorable James A. FitzPatrick, chairman of the power authority, to Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, Chief of the Army Corps of Engineers.

Although dated November 18, 1966, its contents were made public only last week. It confirms all the worst fears of those of us who have believed that certain aspects of this wasteful project are probably illegal and would seriously affect the entire Great Lakes and Niagara Falls.

Chairman FitzPatrick informed General Cassidy of the results of several engineering studies carried on by both expert power authority personnel and reputable independent consulting engineering firms. The power authority's letter touches upon three main points which I will discuss only briefly here today.

First of all, the entire canal may be illegal. The Corps of Engineers admits that it will have to divert water from Lake Erie to fill the locks of the canal. It states, wrongly I believe, that this pumping of water from the lake will not have any effect on the water level. Whether it does or not, there is no argument that the water will have to be removed, if only temporarily. Under the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, no diversion of water can be made from the Great Lakes without the permission of the International Joint Commission, made up of United States and Canadian representatives. Mr. FitzPatrick points out correctly that no such approval has been obtained, or even sought by the Engineers.

For several years, I have maintained that the canal, by adversely affecting the water level of Lake Erie, would seriously hinder, if not halt, dedicated efforts by the Federal Government, and State and local jurisdictions, to combat lake pollution. Lake Erie is the most seriously polluted of all the Great Lakes and interested parties on both sides of the border are trying to resolve this serious problem.

It is most unfortunate that the Corps of Engineers, by sponsoring this canal, will hamper attempts to clean up the lake, and even contribute to its further contamination. It is very gratifying to see that the independent studies of the New York Power Authority reach this same conclusion. I think these latest developments should awaken the Corps of Engineers to the fact that their "castle in the air" is tumbling down around them. The least they can do is reopen public hearings so that they can see for themselves how the tide of public sentiment has mounted against them.

The power authority has also mentioned to Cassidy that the canal would reduce the flow of water over Niagara Falls, seriously diminishing the amount of power generated by electric generating turbines at the Falls. The authority's engineers estimate at least $5 million worth of power to both the United States and Canadian users would be lost if the canal was built and the lake level reduced.

I have touched upon these points only briefly, Mr. Speaker. So that my colleagues in the House may become more fully aware of the details of these objections, I add to my remarks here the full text of Mr. FitzPatrick's excellently worded letter to the Corps of Engineers.

Further, with permission granted, I add the text of a short memorandum which reports on a conference held on February 1, 1967, between the Corps of Engineers and representatives of the New York State Power Authority. I believe this document will throw further light on the matter under discussion:

POWER AUTHORITY OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
New York, N.Y., November 18, 1966.

Re Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal.
Lt. Gen. WILLIAM F. CASSIDY, U.S.A.,
Chief of Engineers,
Building T–7, Room 1230,
Gravelly Point, Va.

DEAR GENERAL CASSIDY: We have examined the report of the Board of Engineers dated September 7, 1966 with respect to the proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal, particularly paragraph 17 which reads as follows:

"17. Concern has been expressed by certain interests that operation of the proposed project may adversely affect water surface levels in Lake Erie and reduce flows at Niagara Falls for hydroelectric power generation. The Board notes that any diversion would be governed by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, as amended."

As Chairman of the Power Authority, a non-profit self-supporting agency of the State of New York which constructed and operates hydroelectric plants on the Niagara and St. Lawrence Rivers, I submitted a recommendation in June 1965 that the Board disapprove the proposed canal on the grounds that it would require diversions of Great Lakes Basin waters which have not been approved by the International Joint Commission, and that it would cause very substantial injury to power users in the United States and Canada. Copies of that letter and supporting documents are enclosed.

We pointed out that if the project were constructed a minimum of over a million acre-feet of water would be permanently lost to Lake Erie and kept in dead storage in the Summit Reservoir and that if this water were allowed to follow its natural course from the Grand River to the Lakes it would produce $3,000,000 worth of power in the United States and Canada. I also called the Board's attention to the fact that a substantial part of the water needed to operate the project would have to be pumped from Lake Erie and that this diversion would undoubtedly increase with the passage of time so that ultimately substantial permanent diversions from Lake Erie would be inevitable.

The State of New York, subject only to the paramount power of the Federal Government over navigation, is the owner of the boundary waters within the State which it holds in trust for the people of the State and over which it exercises both sovereign and proprietary rights. In that respect its position is altogether different from that of states in the western part of the country where water rights are determined by appropriation or equitable apportionment. It has taken the leading role in the litigation against the State of Illinois which has gone on almost continuously during this century seeking to prevent or reduce the diversion of Great Lakes waters at Chicago.

The Provinces of Ontario and Quebec have a similar interest in preventing the diversion of the water from the Great Lakes. Like New York, they have large hydroelectric projects on the St. Lawrence and Niagara Rivers downstream from the proposed Ohio canal. Their rights are protected by international agreement.

When we discussed the Ohio canal with the District Engineer in 1965 we were assured that he considered any permanent diversion from the Lake to be contrary to the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty with Canada.

Since then, neither the Corps of Engineers nor any other party interested in the canal has offered any evidence that permanent diversions would not be needed and would not increase over the years, up to the point where they become a continuous drain on the limited resources of Lake Erie.

The Board's report fails to confirm the District Engineer's intention to avoid permanent diversion of Lake Erie water. In fact it appears to imply that such diversion is likely. It gives no indication that any adequate study has been made to show whether it would be possible to operate the project without using water from Lake Erie, particularly in dry-weather cycles when it is most urgently needed in the Great Lakes Basin.

Our opinion as to permanent diversions of water was based in part on the fact that the Mahoning River, a highly polluted stream, would be a southerly reach of the proposed canal system. Federal legislation to establish water quality standards, which was pending in 1965 and since has been enacted into law, confirms our belief that existence of this canal would lead to irresistible pressures to divert from Lake Erie all the water necessary to achieve standards of purity established for the Mahoning River, whatever those standards may be. This was precisely the situation at Chicago near the turn of the century which led to the diversion of enormous quantities of water from Lake Michigan into the Mississippi River.

We note that at the close of the last session the Congress appropriated an additional $500,000 for the purpose of further study of the canal project. We respectfully recommend that some of this money be spent to determine the actual amount of water to be diverted from Lake Erie to operate the canal and to maintain water purity standards in the Mahoning River. Since the answers to these questions depend on the standards of water quality finally approved by the Secretary of Interior, we believe such study should begin after the Secretary has had a chance to review the standards now in effect in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Even temporary diversions and diversions of tributary waters such as the Grand River are covered by the 1909 Treaty and cannot properly be undertaken without International Joint Commission approval if, as in the case of the Ohio canal, substantial injury to interests on the other side of the boundary would result. The Board's report acknowledges that diversion would be covered by the 1909 Treaty. It would appear logical that before large sums are expended to justify construction of a canal which would result in diversion of water from the Great Lakes basin the Canadian position should be ascertained through the Department of State. Certainly it would be necessary for the two governments to refer a matter of this type to the International Joint Commission before either takes unilateral action involving the expenditure of large sums of money.

Despite the fact that the Board's report acknowledged that diversion necessary for the proposed canal would be subject to the prohibitions of the 1909 Treaty, the report makes only the most casual reference to the damage the diversion would cause to downstream interests. This reference was limited to the effect the diversion would have on the level of Lake Erie and the flows at Niagara Falls. No mention was made of the effect the diversion would have on hydroelectric developments on the St. Lawrence River of New York State through its Power Authority, the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec. Neither was any mention made of the effect diversion would have upon navigation in Lake Erie and the St. Lawrence including Montreal Harbor and the lower reaches of the river where the depth of water is of constant and vital concern.

No mention was made in the report of the property rights of New York State and the two Canadian provinces in the unimpaired flow of the Niagara and St. Lawrence Rivers which are utilized for hydroelectric power purposes.

Downstream interests will undoubtedly be as zealous to protect their rights as they are with respect to diversion at Chicago which for the last nine years has been the subject of renewed litigation between the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota on one side and Illinois on the other and also the subject of considerable congressional activity.

We earnestly ask you to consider the propriety and wisdom of spending any substantial part of the money appropriated for the purpose of further engineering studies without first resolving the problems and issues pointed out herein.

We further earnestly request that in the report which the Corps of Engineers is currently preparing with respect to the proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal the international questions raised herein and the downstream property rights referred to, be treated fully.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. FITZPATRICK,
Chairman.

POWER AUTHORITY OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
New York, N.Y., February 3, 1967.

Memorandum to: W. S. Chapin.

From: Scott B. Lilly and Asa George.

Subject: Proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal Project—Report on Conference Held on February 1, 1967, With Division Engineer—Ohio River Division—Corps of Engineers, Cincinnati, Ohio.

We attended a conference in Cincinnati, Ohio on February 1 arranged by the Great Lakes Commission with the Division Engineer, Ohio River Division, Corps of Engineers, to discuss the proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal Project.

In attendance were the Division Engineer, Cincinnati; District Engineer, Pittsburgh; members of their staffs; District Engineer, Buffalo; Harley Lawhead of the Division Engineer's Office, Chicago and representatives of the Great Lakes Commission. The New York State delegation to the Great Lakes Commission was represented by Mr. Patrick J. Sullivan.

The overall presentation made by the Corps of Engineers at this meeting included a description of the activities of the Ohio River Division by Brig. Gen. Willard Roper, Division Engineer, followed by a general description of the Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal Project by Col. J. E. Hammer, District Engineer, Pittsburgh and the hydrology of the project by Mr. T. E. Reilly, District Staff Hydrologist. This presentation was followed by a question and answer period.

The highlights of this conference are summarized as follows:

The Pittsburgh District, Corps of Engineers, proposes substantial changes in its Ohio River-Lake Erie canal plan in order to meet objections raised by the Power Authority:

(1) The two million acre-foot Grand River (Summit) Reservoir would be filled entirely by retaining excess flows from the Mahoning River which is located in the Ohio River basin. The entire flow of the Grand River would be allowed to run into Lake Erie as it now does. Previously it had been proposed to fill the reservoir by retaining most of the flow of the Grand River as well as flows not needed in the Mahoning. The cost to power users in New York and Canada would have been about $3 million. There is no doubt that it is physically possible to fill the reservoir without retaining any Grand River flows but this would of course increase the filling time, perhaps to six to seven years or longer. It would not necessarily delay operation of the canal, since the reservoir would be built first and the whole project would take at least 7 years to build.

(2) The Pittsburgh District hydrologist proposes to discharge all flood flows which could not be usefully stored in the Mahoning Valley down the Grand River to Lake Erie. He calculates that such flows would more than offset any evaporation losses from the reservoir and provide a net benefit of about a quarter of a million dollars to Great Lakes power production over a 17 year period.

These proposals apparently have the approval of the Division Engineer. However, they have not been discussed with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration or with communities in the Mahoning-Beaver River Valleys or with Ohio-Pennsylvania State officials. A representative of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources present at the conference indicated possible objection on the ground that Mahoning water should be stored for future needs in that watershed. No representative from Pennsylvania was present.

The Corps still takes the position that any necessary improvement in water quality standards in the Mahoning River is entirely a matter of local responsibility to be accomplished by cooling towers, secondary or tertiary treatment of wastes, etc. and not to any degree by dilution. The Corps' calculation of necessary flows in the Mahoning is based on present conditions which will undoubtedly be found unsatisfactory by the Water Pollution Control Administration (e.g. present maximum water temperature 110° as against a proposed maximum of 96°).

The Division Engineer rejected the suggestion that responsibility for water quality improvement should be specifically included in the list of local obligations which are part of the Corps' report on the project and a condition of its approval. He said there is no need to include such a condition because it would be unlawful for local communities to use project waters to solve their water quality problems.

It was brought out that the amount of water needed to satisfy navigation requirements for the project has been substantially reduced as a result of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors determination that a depth of 12 feet instead of 18 feet in the navigation channels would be adequate and consistent with depths in connecting waterways. There has also been a marked reduction in the estimates of potential canal tonnage which will correspondly reduce water requirements for navigation.

There will be no change in the requirement that pumping facilities for navigation purposes be installed along the North Slope of the canal project. However, the capacity of these pumps is now estimated to be 1000 cfs instead of 1400 cfs as originally planned. Pumpage of water from Lake Erie to satisfy navigation requirements for operation of the three locks in the Lake Erie drainage basin will be a daily cycling operation requiring that water be pumped from Lake Erie to each of the three pools of the individual locks. The water would be returned daily to Lake Erie. As we have pointed out previously, and at this conference the mere existence of such facilities would be a continual temptation to divert water from Lake Erie.

The Corps has re-opened the question of the canal route from the Summit Reservoir to Lake Erie. In addition to the route along the Grand River to Painesville recommended in the District Engineers 1965 report and endorsed by the Board of Engineers, the Corps is now considering alternate routes by land cut directly to north of the Summit Reservoir and via the Ashtabula River to the northeast.

The District Engineer will issue a supplementary report indicating his final decision as to the route, outlining his new proposals for filling the Summit Reservoir and operating the project and defining the project boundaries in greater detail. He will also study the feasibility of constructing pump-storage facilities for power generation at the Lake Erie end of the project. He declines to make any statement as to when such a report may be available and indicates it will require at least the $500,000 now available and the $2 million which we understand is included in the President's proposed 1967–8 budget to pay for necessary studies.

The Division Engineer stated that when the supplemental report is completed the entire project will be submitted to the International Joint Commission for approval even though the present proposed plan of operation does not include any diversion from the Great Lakes. He does not plan to resubmit the matter to the Board of Engineers. The Division Engineer stated that copies of the supplementary report when completed will be made available to interested parties.

We will obtain written copies of statements made by the District Engineer and his hydrologist at the conference.

S. B. LILLY.
A. GEORGE.

PROPOSED OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL TO THE CONGRESS

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, there is scarcely a problem with which the present-day businessman must wrestle which does not relate to or involve some law, regulation, administrative ruling, constitutional provision, or court decision. As a result, even the smallest business has learned that legal counsel is not only desirable—it is a necessity. Therefore, it seems incredible that the Congress of the United States, with its responsibility for authorizing and appropriating billions of dollars annually to finance the largest business in the world, must perform this herculean task without such assistance.

Although the business of government

is the product of the sum total of actions of the legislative, executive and judicial branches, each branch, under the constitutional separation of powers, must ultimately discharge its responsibilities based on independent judgments. Under such a system, conflicting positions and divergent philosophies are inevitable, and when these occur, one branch cannot and should not be dependent on the other branches for guidance and direction.

While it is true that many among us are lawyers or have had years of experience in the field of law by virtue of our membership in this body, this does not lessen our need for legal counsel. It is also true that while our committees and subcommittees are staffed with competent attorneys, the authority of each committee is restricted—and properly so—to a relatively small and sharply defined area, there is no committee or office designed to be responsive to the broader needs of the Congress.

To meet this urgent requirement, I have today introduced a House concurrent resolution to establish an Office of General Counsel to the Congress. Much thought has gone into this resolution to insure that it does not impinge upon the executive branch. Its purpose is simply to provide the Congress with a general counsel to render advice and assistance as required in all matters of law, legislation, and the prerogatives of the Congress. Certainly there is no constitutional provision which prohibits the Congress from establishing such an office, and I hope this legislation may be scheduled for hearings promptly and enacted by both the House and the Senate.

THE GREAT DEBATE AND THIRD-CLASS MAIL

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the aroused conscience of the people is demanding that junk mail ought to pay its way. It is high time that the dimensions and proportions of this issue be clarified.

The chief spokesman for the third-class mail users is Harry J. Maginnis, with whom I have had two radio debates in 1962 and 1967 on the Steve Allison program. Mr. Maginnis has been working in this field for about 15 years and he represents his clients very well. Any lobbyist who concentrates on one area has somewhat of an advantage over a Member of Congress who must spread his interests and activities over many difference areas, and I must apologize in advance for the fact that I cannot spend as much time on this issue as the public interest warrants. Not being a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I do not have the expertise in treating this subject.

However, I feel very deeply that the public interest is at stake, and that more Members of Congress must take an active part in this battle if the public interest is to be adequately protected. The average individual who receives "junk mail" does not have powerful lobbyists to speak for him, and thus must rely on the Members of Congress to defend his interests. Of course, the third-class mailers invariably state that they have taken surveys which "prove" that only 15 percent of the people object to receiving so much junk mail, and that my bill to raise third-class postal rates would drive them out of business, plus the fact that they contribute billions of dollars to the economy. I take all of these statements with huge grains of salt, as I hope will my fellow Members when they attempt to represent the public interest. It is hard to figure out such profitable businesses at the same time being driven to the wall.

I am including the texts of these radio debates because I believe my colleagues should know the intensity of the campaign now going on to keep these rates on junk mail absurdly low.

I am proud that, even though I do not have the thorough background which Harry Maginnis possesses after 15 years in this field, the public supported my position by a sharp majority in the telephone poll which followed each of our debates. The proportion of support for my position rose sharply between the 1962 and the 1967 debate.

TEXT OF RADIO DEBATE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVE KEN HECHLER, DEMOCRAT, OF WEST VIRGINIA, AND HARRY J. MAGINNIS, EXECUTIVE MANAGER, ASSOCIATED THIRD-CLASS MAIL USERS

(Moderator: Steve Allison, WWDC Radio, Feb. 6, 1962)

Our guests at the WWDC microphones Representative Ken Hechler, Democrat of West Virginia, and Mr. Harry J. Maginnis, Executive Manager Associated Third Class Mail Users. Now everybody's talking about it these days and this is most timely. Mr. Hechler voted against the ideas of Mr. Maginnis on this particular type of mail. Let's start with you, Harry. What is third class mail?

MAGINNIS. Third class mail is advertising mail essentially and has become in the last ten years the second largest advertising medium in the world. It consists of catalogues used by catalogue houses. It consists of shopping news in suburban neighborhoods. It consists of offers to sell books and magazines and it is what's known in advertising as the rifle approach. And, it has a use in our free-enterprise system which produces many sales, employs many people, and I suppose is the most misunderstood type of advertising in the United States simply because of the many attacks made on it by its vigorous . . .

MODERATOR. Let's get to that later.

MAGINNIS. Alright, we've stirred up the difficulty. Alright, that's what it is.

MODERATOR. It's commonly known as junk mail. And, don't kill me, Harry. I know you don't like the expression. It is the kind of mail, I should have said it myself, it's the kind of mail that comes to your house unsolicited and it says occupant sometimes without even your name on it. Now Representative Hechler, will you please tell us about the bill that just passed that is supposed to hurt these people to the point where they might have to stop using it?

HECHLER. You said "supposed to hurt." I don't think it really will hurt them. But, essentially, what happened was on the 24th of January, Steve, the House of Representatives passed the Postal Rate Bill and I led a fight on the floor of the House to tack on an amendment which raised the rates on third-class mail. A 3½¢ minimum per piece was placed on rates for advertising circulars and other material put out by other than non-profit organizations.

MODERATOR. 3½¢, what was it before?

HECHLER. It had been 2½¢.

MODERATOR. Why did you do it?

HECHLER. I did it mainly, Steve, because of the tremendous support I had received from people all over the country. For example here is a lady from California who wrote me, "Dear Mr. Hechler, Thank you for your stand on junk mail. I don't mind paying taxes for useful purposes but I hate paying for the privilege of being irritated. Wastebasket emptying is not one of my favorite sports. Yours truly, Mrs. Norman Bonner, Rivermore, California." I got many, many letters like this, not only from housewives but from rural mail carriers, from postal clerks and carriers, from many many people all over the country and this caused me to take the stand which I did to raise the rates on third class mail. Not to make them prohibitive, I'm not interested in driving anybody out of business. I merely would like to see advertisers pay their own way.

MODERATOR. Harry, you told me once you were paying your own way. Now Ken tells us you are not.

MAGINNIS. Well, I can only say this, Steve, wherever we have appeared before an orderly body—a judicial body—they have ruled in our favor. Let me tell you what I mean. The House of Representatives had presented to it, within three months after Mr. Kennedy assumed office, a rate bill which had been tailored by Postmaster General Summerfield. Now the twenty five-man House Post Office Committee held hearings on this particular rate measure and I think they held something like 37 sessions, they heard 250 witnesses, they had 17 executive sessions, and after looking over the whole complex issue they ruled or they voted by a vote of 20 to 2 that the rate on third class mail had jumped 150% since 1952 vs. a 33⅓% increase on first class. And, the committee after listening to all of this information felt that that was all the market could bear and that moreover this category of mail was paying its way. Now I, when the issue got out on the House floor, a gag procedure was instituted . . .

MODERATOR. Hold it right there a minute, please Harry. Ken you heard Mr. Maginnis, what have you got to say. He said that the committee heard evidence saying they were paying their own way.

HECHLER. Well, when a committee of Congress reports, this is not conclusive and binding on Congress. Congress is a body which as a whole makes up its own mind. In this particular case, many of us in the House of Representatives felt that the action of the Committee did not raise the rates on third class mail enough. The Committee as I understand it raised the rates slightly but not nearly as much as many members of the House expressed to me they would like to have the rates raised. That's the reason that I introduced the amendment and I might say it got overwhelming support on the floor of the House. And, it went through by an overwhelming vote.

MODERATOR. Now Congressman Hechler, I know you. You are a professor, an educator, and an intellectual and I am sure that you wouldn't have presented this amendment unless you checked yourself. Now Mr. Maginnis makes a blanket statement, Congressman Hechler, that they are paying their way. Now are there statistics to prove that he is wrong?

HECHLER. The Postmaster General of the United States, J. Edward Day, in his testimony before the House of Representatives Post Office and Civil Service Committee stated and I am quoting him exactly on page

10 of the hearings, "We must recognize that third class is a commercial service with economic values not unlike thousands of other services furnished by industry. A piece of mail advertising copy is but one of many publicity alternatives." Now this is the important sentence which Postmaster General Day said in his testimony, "It's sponsors are no more privileged to receive government subsidy than those who use other advertising forms."

Moderator. The conclusion here is that they are not paying their way.

Hechler. Exactly.

Moderator. What statistics do you have to prove that you are, Harry?

Maginnis. Well, I listened to Mr. Day's statement. He said we are not entitled to a subsidy and I am one who believes with what Mr. Day said. Now, we can only point to the record and prove our point. I think it is important that the public understand about this category of mail because we have been subject to these unfair attacks. This category of mail was created in 1928 at the request of the Post Office Department and by Calvin Coolidge. There was no lobbyist around urging its creation. Now the Post Office Department wanted this vast volume of mail because they have these very valuable postal clerks and carriers who have many slack periods. The same as Western Union at night time has a special rate for a night letter which is much cheaper than a day letter. And, they provided in the law that the mailer had to perform eleven manual handlings of the third class mail before they could enjoy the lower rate. He had to tie it, face it, sort it, not use stamps on it and put it in sacks to cities and states. At that time they ruled that third class mail should enjoy a substantial discount below the fully allocated cost for the deferred service which it would receive. Now in all the years from 1928 up to the very present the recovery of cost has been 75%. Now suddenly somebody comes along and says this cost recovery should be 94 or 99% and we say that this is an unfair cost recovery.

Moderator. Hold it a minute, I want to ask you Harry. You say that the recovery is 75%. What is it on first class mail? Do we know?

Maginnis. Yes, we know that over the years the cost recovery on first class mail has averaged about 130%. Now it is important to understand why this is so and I will give you a simple illustration why it is so. Let's take the National Theatre. We are all familar with this legitimate theater. You have in that theatre, let's assume 1,000 seats. Now if you figure out the cost of maintaining each seat in the National Theatre you will find out that it is exactly the same. The mortgage, the cost of players on the stage, the musicians and so forth. However, the National says we will charge $2.25 for the balcony seat but we will charge $6.50 for the fifth row orchestra. So here you have what is known as differential pricing. It is used on airlines as you know. It is used on railroad trains. It is used in Western Union as I pointed out. And, it is used in the case of third class mail because we are a deferred category of mail and we provide a fill-in, profitable category of mail to the Post Office.

Moderator. Ken, your stand is that this particular type mail shouldn't get, should pay at least its own way. Harry himself, you just said it only pays 75%. Now Congressman Hechler's idea, should pay it all. Is that the idea, Ken?

Hechler. I would say that my amendment brings it up to about 92 or 93% and I think this is fair and legitimate. This is less than 100%. It is not hurting, it is less than cost and I think it is not going to drive anybody out of business. Now, Steve, when you give an ad over this program who pays for this ad?

Moderator. The sponsor.

Hechler. The sponsor pays. He doesn't get any government subsidy, does he?

Moderator. No.

Hechler. Therefore, why should an advertising firm get a government subsidy from the taxpayers for advertising through the mail? It just doesn't make sense to me.

Maginnis. Steve, I would like to put it a different way because this can get awfully complex.

Moderator. All right, if you can keep it simple.

Maginnis. Let's keep it very simple. Third class mail generates revenues annually of $500,000,000 into the Post Office Department. This is enough to pay the salaries of 100,000 carriers. Now let's assume that the category of mail be eliminated entirely and this has been proposed on the House floor and may very well be proposed in the Senate . If you eliminate the category you lose $500,000,000 bucks. I mean right off you just don't get the revenue but you don't reduce the cost of running the Post Office because the overhead is consistent and it goes on and on. You don't lay off carriers, clerks and so forth they just don't have anything to do during . . .

Moderator. Before I forget, I have a question I want to ask you. I know your point now and we will get back to it. But Ken says his amendment will bring your revenue to 92%. Is this so if some of the boys will be thrown out of business? Won't it even at 3½¢ go down to less than 70%?

Maginnis. Well——

Moderator. Get the idea?

Maginnis. I get the idea. You are talking about a diminishing volume based on rates and I can give you illustrations of what happens. At one time we had in the United States the poor man's letter, the penny postcard. Now when the postcard was a penny we had five billion, six hundred million such cards in the mail. As the rate went up to two cents and finally to three cents, the volume has reduced to two billion, four hundred postcards. Now, it is proposed to make the rate on postcards four cents. In fact, the House approved such a rate and I will venture or make a bet on it if somebody wants to take it that this four cent rate will force down further the postcards to a volume of about one billion, eight.

Moderator. Will it hurt percentage wise?

Maginnis. What do you mean will it hurt percentage wise?

Moderator. I mean will the Post Office Department, will it cost them more money to deliver the postcards at four cents.

Maginnis. No it will cost them the same but when you have in the postal establishment 600,000 employees, which is the biggest of all businesses in the world with all the automatic equipment they are putting in, you have to have a vast volume of mail to keep them occupied. Now if you eliminate these eighteen billion pieces of third class mail you are in real trouble, believe me.

Moderator. Well, Ken, here is my question. I didn't make it clear to Harry let me try it with you. Seventy five per, you are trying to bring this up to 92% at 3½¢, if half the boys who use this mail go out of business will it still be 92%?

Hechler. Well, all I can say is that in the raising of the rates over the past few years, the amount of third class mail has actually increased. I mean it hasn't had an effect of decreasing it and I would like to give you just one or two figures, to prove precisely the point I am making.

In the fiscal year 1958, 988,620 pounds of third class mail was sent out. In 1959, in thousands of pounds, 1,156,000. 1960, 1,276,000, so it has gone up each year despite the raise in rates of the past few years. Well, even if the volume goes down, gee this would be wonderful wouldn't it, because we wouldn't have so much junk mail.

Moderator. Yeah, we will get to that later. Cause I am against you with that. But . . .

Maginnis. I would like to answer that question, Steve, because he quotes fiscal year figures of 58 and 59.

Moderator. I will let you do that, Harry. I just want to clear it up in my own mind. If it goes down in volume, won't that 92% income of yours go down with it?

Hechler. Well it may go down, yes. That is a possibility, I will admit that. But it hasn't.

Moderator. If your boys go out of business, it won't be 92% Harry it might be down to 60.

Maginnis. I think you have made your point. I think you are quite correct, too.

Moderator. I'm not trying to make a point. I'm just asking questions.

Maginnis. I think it is quite true, yes.

Moderator. Alright, go ahead with your . . .

Maginnis. My point is about the diminishing volume of third class mail. I want to answer this because we have got to get it straight. When the 1958 rate act, we had a rate you know in 1958, they provided a two-step increase in third class mail on this minimum piece rate from 2 cents to 2 cents in January 1, of 1959 and in 1960 July 1 they raised it to 2½ cents. Now the figures that we developed before the Committee, Congressman Lesinski of Michigan, who is a fine member of the Committee asked the Department for figures and he found that there was a diminishing volume of mail. And, of course, questions arose that it might have been a further diminishing volume of the mail except as President Kennedy was running for office and he flooded the country with a vast amount of occupant mail. He blanketed Maryland, every house in Maryland with an occupant newspaper. And, other politicians were using mail in this political year so it throws off your figures as to the use by businessmen of this type of mail.

Hechler. I just wanted to say, incidentally, that as a politician that I have never used occupant mail or third class mail. Number two, I am opposed to the move which was made in Congress last year to allow members of Congress to send out occupant mail under their frank. I opposed it publicly, I stated publicly in the debates in the House that I opposed it but Mr. Maginnis has mentioned the fact that this is a great billion-dollar-a-year business. And, it would seem to me that if the business is so prosperous that it ought to be able to pay the advertising costs. You pay your telephone bills. You pay your freight. You don't ask the government to step in and subsidize your telephone bills or your freight. You don't go to your printer and say your rates are too high and unless you get the government to step in and subsidize your or my printing cost, I'll have to go out of business. That's free enterprise and incidentally, Harry, I have the greatest admiration for the man that you formerly worked for, Senator Robert A. Taft, who is honored in President Kennedy's book, "Profiles in Courage." Senator Taft was one of the really outstanding exponents of free enterprise in this nation. I should think he would turn over in his grave if he heard you advocating the government subsidy for third class mail. Why can't these businesses pay their advertising costs? If they go out of business under our free competitive enterprise system, then they don't deserve to stay in business. Why should the taxpayers pay to keep them in business?

Maginnis. I think you twist my words, doctor, because I haven't said that we enjoy a subsidy nor have I said that we want one. But I would like to say that I do base my whole philosophy in life on what Senator Taft had to say about fact. He gave a definition of fact and he said, "Fact has neither longitude nor latitude, nor expansion. You are either right or you're wrong and you can't be nearly either." And, I think I am right on this one.

Moderator. (Intermission for News).

Moderator. Our guests at the WWDC microphones, Representative Ken Hechler, Democrat of West Virginia, and Harry Maginnis, Executive Manager, Associated Third Class Mail Users. Now ladies and gentlemen my question is to Congressman Ken Hechler. He pointed out before that Congressmen had the right to use this third class mail and he said he himself wouldn't. Now is it because of the principle involved, or do you think people get angry with the politician who sends this mail to their mail boxes?

Hechler. I think both. I would say perhaps more the second part of your question, Steve. I think people do get angry. They are sick and tired of having their mail boxes overloaded with things that just go into the wastebasket, as my good friend Congressman Morris Udall of Arizona so well stated on the floor of the House, "Housewives are tired of being conveyor belts between the mail boxes and the wastebaskets."

Moderator. I would like to get into that a little later. But, right now I want to stay in politicians.

Hechler. Okay.

Moderator. I think that maybe one of the most astute politicians and you know the difference between a politician and a statesman. A statesman is a politician who thinks. An example here is about a great statesman, I know you will agree, President Kennedy.

Hechler. Yes, decidedly.

Moderator. Who decided that you were wrong when he did what Harry suggested a few minutes ago. He sent the whole state of Maryland this occupant mail. So obviously he doesn't go along with you when you say that housewives won't vote for the men who sends them this thing.

Hechler. Now I can see why President Kennedy only won by less than 1 per cent. He shouldn't have used so much "occupant" mail.

Moderator. Mr. Nixon didn't use it, Harry?

McGinnis. Didn't use it unfortunately. He would have won otherwise.

Moderator. Yeah. Would you like to say something in what Congressman Hechler said about Congressmen? We'll get to housewives in a minute.

Maginnis. Yeah, I'd like to talk about political mail by Congressmen and comment on it because I think the people will be interested in it. One of the greatest gimmicks that has developed in the House of Representatives certainly is the taking of questionnaires among their constituency. Now these are either done by the occupant method or by the addressing of the actual envelopes. One way to keep your name before the electoral is to send out about 140,000 questionnaires on a letterhead which is paid for by the government and which you send out free of charge under the frank. Now these questions generally are loaded and not designed to elicit information but rather to keep the name of the Congressman before the constituency. We have the case of Mr. Broyhill sending out such a questionnaire here some weeks ago and there has been a lot of criticism of the nature of the questions he asked. Now if one looks into the House document room and finds out how much of this mail is going out, you will find that Congressmen themselves believe in getting their message across to their constituency through the mails at election time. Our own people . . .

Moderator. Let Ken answer you.

Maginnis. Alright, fine.

Hechler. Well, I'm not going to speak for any other members of Congress and their motives. All I can say is, Harry, that several weeks ago when I had a questionnaire to send out I put advertisements in three newspapers in my district. I paid for those advertisements. I printed the questions in the advertisements. I asked the voters to clip and return the advertisements. The return was tremendous. I was very very agreeably surprised with the amount of interest displayed. I'm just speaking for myself and not impugning the motives of anyone else who sends out questionnaires. But, it seems to me that when you want to advertise your point of view that you ought to pay for it and you oughtn't to expect the government to subsidize it.

Maginnis. I'll say amen to that, doctor. And, I might say while I'm here that I defend all forms of advertising because I think it's good for our free enterprise system and keeps the economy rolling.

Moderator. That's right. Why didn't you buy my radio time. What's that newspaper ad you're talking about for your questionnaire?

Hechler. How's that again?

Moderator. Why didn't you buy radio time instead of a newspaper ad?

Hechler. Well, it's very difficult——

Moderator. To write on a radio.

Hechler. Thank you, Steve. You said it better than I could.

Moderator. All right, now your next point, Harry, on Congress or do you want to get off that and we'll go to housewives.

Maginnis. I don't want to get on that too much. The incumbent, I believe, has a tremendous advantage because of his use of the franking privilege. And, he does send out a lot of mail and I don't blame him for doing it, but the fellow who is trying to get his seat from the outside does have a difficult time.

Moderator. Alright, let's get on to the housewife. Mr., ah, doctor Hechler a few minutes ago read a very impassioned letter by an irate woman who goes to the wastebasket. Do you have letters Harry from poor, lonesome shutins who never get anybody writing to them, who love this kind of mail so they can read something?

Maginnis. No, but I have some statistics and I will give a few examples of how the housewife does read her mail. Let's get clear on one thing, about cluttering up and getting vast volumes of mail. Each housewife, I would say receives on the average about 1 and ¾ pieces of mail a day when you multiply the number of housewives by the volume of third class mail. Now I will give you an illustration of mail that is read and avidly looked for. We have out here in Silver Spring, you had your own advertiser here, Vincent and Vincent in the Wheaton Shopping News or the Wheaton Shopping Center, there is published in the Silver Spring area a shopping guide which is somewhat akin to a newspaper. And, it is sent out under occupant mail and I can tell you that the housewives wait avidly for the newspaper because they want to know what is for sale in their own community. Now if suddenly a new home is put up for instance and the occupant's name doesn't happen to be on a plate and that housewife doesn't get her newspaper, she is calling up the publisher immediately and saying put me on the list. Now I will give you another illustration of the returns on this type of mail. The mail we see most often in the occupant category are the soap coupons, which are put out by the great soap companies of America, Procter & Gamble and Lever Brothers. These are sent out to every household in America and they know down to the finest decimal point what the response is because the coupons are cashed in with the grocery store and at some point Procter & Gamble has to pay the grocery man. Now, I don't know the exact statistics on each mailing, but I will tell you that the response is fantastic, somewhere near 30, 33%.

Moderator. Ken, to get back to you a minute. A little bit ago, if I remember correctly, you said one of the main reasons you don't use this occupant mail is because housewives get angry and won't vote for you. But, from what Harry tells us, and what we can tell just by thinking, advertisers wouldn't use this if it didn't pay off. And, if housewives were angry at this they, you know sometimes people don't like a television show they say I ain't going to use that product, because they're loading me with commercials.

Hechler. All right, you say it pays off, Steve, but it only pays off because the government helps pay it off. I don't think that's free enterprise. I think if the advertiser thinks it's so important, and makes so much money from it, and provides so many jobs, then he ought to be willing to pay its cost.

Moderator. Well, we will come back to that, too. But right now we are talking about the moral idea. Oh, not the moral idea this woman who wrote to you, she's irate. This particular woman getting this occupant mail wouldn't use the fellow who advertises that way. But, from what Harry tells us and what we know all these fellows in business they must be doing great.

Hechler. Well, all I can say is that I've received hundreds of letters complaining about too much junk mail, and complaining about having to pay for it and I'm sure that I would receive more if I asked for them. Is it alright to ask for them on this program? I would like to ask anyone who is disgusted with the amount of junk mail that they are receiving to write to Congressman Ken Hechler, 137 House Office Building. Please don't write "occupant," 137 House Office Building, just write Congressman Ken Hechler.

Moderator. Ken, you know that Maginnis is right. You know that. But the fact still remains with your hundreds of letters, multiply that times 50,000, you still haven't got one infinitesimal amount of people who get these things and use them.

Hechler. Well, all I can say is, maybe they get them and use them, as I am sure they do, but the advertiser should be willing to pay the cost more fairly. But I think Harry is an honest and sincere person.

Moderator. Sometimes.

Hechler. He has presented his case very strongly, I might say. Harry, I think they ought to raise your salary. I think you do a terrific job.

Moderator. He's done such a great job that he lost the whole case. Didn't he? He wins the battle but he loses the war. And, I don't think it's his fault. Frankly, Ken, with due respect to you I admire and respect you for many many reasons. I love your record in Congress I think that this is in the same category as closing the loopholes. We had men here last night who showed us that the government will lose money if they close these so-called loopholes on expense accounts. But, politically it's a wonderful thing. Because politically a little fellow can't afford to go to these expensive restaurants. The same thing here if the people who write these letters who Congressmen pay attention to and, Harry, here's where you are falling down. You have got to get people to write to Ken and other Congressmen telling how they use them. The fact that you show statistics how they use these occupant mails, this isn't going to convince a Congressman who has to ask for votes.

Maginnis. This is the only forum opened to me, Steve. This is a very unusual radio station, as you know, and our competitors the CBS, NBC, ABC, and ten thousand newspapers in America are not about to publish any complimentary word about a competitive advertising medium. So this is the only place I have a right to say what I really feel on this issue, and that's why I'm here.

Hechler. But, Harry, you were just telling me before we went on this program about a wonderful newspaper in my district, The Ravenswood News which had published an editorial critical of me for what I said about junk mail. So I say a courageous independent newspaper like the Ravenswood News which has taken a forthright position indicates that we should not condemn the newspapers. They think independently for themselves.

Moderator. You had to open your mouth. I told you not to get friendly with him, didn't I? When you were sitting here.

Maginnis. Steve, let me make a point. I have this particular editorial before me and I'd like to read one sentence from it. This is the Ravenswood News and they say this, "We are sure that the weekly circulars mailed by Crows Market Service," I might say that the Crows Market Service is the finest company in the whole world bar none. It's in Congressman Hechler's district, "that these circulars mailed by Crows Market served to help housewives fulfill their task of keeping a better house or the mailers of Jackson County people received this week from the Ben Franklin Five and Ten, will hardly be considered junk mail by a majority who received them and reacted to the various bargains offered." Now this is the feeling of one newspaperman in Congressman Hechler's own district. I might say that this newspaper is a weekly. And, he uses the presses to create some of this direct mail on the other six days of the week. That's the way he makes his living. He has a payroll of $40,000 and he keeps people hired. So, I think this is a fine newspaper. I am not attacking the newspapers. I'm just saying they have a selfish interest in trying to knock down the second-largest advertising medium in the world.

Hechler. The Ravenswood News certainly itsn't trying to knock them down. And, I admire this stand that they have taken on this. I think this is good. It's good healthy criticism for a Congressman to get from a courageous, independent newspaper in his district. It's a Democratic newspaper, too. And, I admire them.

Maginnis. I do have one witness here, Steve, I think I can quote him. I think one of your best friends and my best friends is Paul Nagle, who is with the Postal Clerks of the United States. They just published an editorial in their monthly magazine entitled "It's not junk mail." Now answering the point you tried to emphasize, Steve. He says, "The businessmen . . .

Moderator. Who's he?

Maginnis. Paul Nagle and his group. "The businessmen who spend vast sums annually on third class mailings are not just speculating. They know from experience, and it can almost be measured scientifically, that their postage investments are going to return a certain percentage of profit." And, then he says further, "This term junk mail is strictly a propaganda phrase coined to dirty up an area of promotional enterprise in the endless competition for the advertising dollar." Now these are the clerks who have to handle the mail and they like it.

Moderator. Question.

Maginnis. Yes sir?

Moderator. I don't know if it's to you, Harry, maybe it's to you, Ken. I don't know. I sometimes get books through the mail and the book says if you don't want it send it back. I didn't order it! Does this come under that category?

Maginnis. No. Books are under the book rate, Steve. Anything over 16 ounces gets in the parcel post category.

Moderator. I think this is junk mail. If I don't order something and they just deliver it to me and ask me for a check, boy, there is something wrong with that. Could you do any thing about that one, Ken?

Hechler. Well, that's terrible. It's junk mail. I define junk mail as that portion of 3rd class mail that you don't ask for, you don't want when you receive it and it goes directly in the wastebasket when you get it.

Moderator. The problem there, if it goes in the wastebasket how come these guys keep on doing it. That's the whole problem, Ken.

Hechler. Evidently it must bring in some money. I'll agree with Harry that it brings in some money. But, if it brings in the money, then they ought to pay for it just like you pay when you advertise in the newspaper or like you advertise or your advertisers advertise over your program. Could I comment for a minute on the point which Harry made about how the postal people feel about this type of mail? Let me quote a letter I got from a rural carrier in Jasper, Florida named Leonard B. Register, dated January 24, 1962, Mr. Register says, "Thank God for Congressmen who have guts enough to stand up against the national lobby in Washington. I have been carrying the mail rural route here for 40 years and this class of mail has reached such proportions that the recipients keep asking that it not be placed in their boxes. I have seen the ground in and around mail boxes look as if a wastepaper basket had been emptied. For 20 years I was Scoutmaster here and was asked on many occasions to have the boys in my troop collect wastepaper which we very readily did. *And, yet our government at the very same* time permitted this third class mail waste with little or no effort to correct it." I have several other letters from rural carriers. Here is one from Connersville, Indiana that says "Every day I have complaints from patrons on receiving this worthless mail." I might say, too, I don't want to get Paul Nagle into trouble but he came up to me and congratulated me after my amendment went through.

Maginnis. Oh, my. Now, we are in real trouble. Paul did that? Oh, my. Oh, my. Oh, my. Oh, my. I don't want to get into that. Incidentally, in answer doctor, if I may, I think one of the great labor leaders of the United States is William C. Doherty of the *National Association of Letter Carriers.* He represents all of them except the rural boys and that's another story. The most avidly sought after jobs in the Federal Government are rural carriers and I don't want to go into a discussion of it. But here's what Bill Doherty had to say, in a speech to my organization. He says, "I want to put on record the National Association of Letter Carriers with this statement of policy: We believe that all mail is good and all classes of mail are good. We of the National Association of Letter Carriers have watched with some astonishment therefore recent planned assault on the part of some representatives of the Postmaster General, referring to Mr. Summerfield, on third-class mail."

Moderator. Well,

Maginnis. This is Bill Doherty talking.

Moderator. Well, of course, the answer to that is the more mail that is delivered the more fellows get jobs, Ken.

Hechler. I say all mail is good. I am not attacking third-class mail, nor asking that it be abolished.

Moderator. I love mail.

Hechler. Third-class mail is so good that it ought to pay its way.

Moderator. We will get into that. I've got some questions here. The whole thing boils down simply ladies and gentlemen after we talked about whether those people wanted it or not, "Does it pay its way?" And, I think what we're going to do is ask Harry Maginnis to show us how it does. He told us a little bit more about, a little bit ago, about the slack time in the Post Offices. How the boys have time, they cannot be fired, and it's in this time that they do these third-class mail things. But first I have some questions here. Will not a postal rate increase provide and increase business tax deduction, thus raising additional revenue for the Post Office Department but less for Internal Revenue?

Hechler. Do you want me to handle that?

Moderator. Yes, it's to you.

Hechler. Well, I'd be very pleased to handle that. The question of taxes was brought up because when a housewife mails a first-class letter she gets no tax deduction. But, when a business engages in third-class mail, of course, it can deduct the cost from its taxes.

Moderator. If it costs 3 cents for first-class mail in 39 and the value of a dollar is now about 50 cents, then why should first-class mail not be increased to 6 cents now?

Hechler. Do you want me to handle that?

Moderator. Yeah.

Hechler. I think the 5 cent rate is a good, acceptable rate. And, I would say that if the rate were raised to 6 cents and if we followed Harry Maginnis's suggestion to keep third class rates down. I think you'd have a wholesale revolution on your hands. I don't think that the American public would ever accept a first-class raise to 6 cents at a time when third-class rates were not raised.

Moderator. *Do you want to say something,* Harry.

Maginnis. Oh, I think there is the myth about the use of first-class mail in the United States and I would like to clarify it. The largest users of first class mail in the United States are businessmen themselves, that's *75% of all first class. Certainly the third-*class businessmen themselves use some of the largest volumes of this kind of mail. All of the utilities in the United States use first-class mail and eventually the cost of the extra postage is passed on in the way of increased light bills, gas bills, and so forth. The very largest user of first-class mail are the 7 levels of government: state, county, municipal and so forth. When the rate goes up on their first-class mail, eventually a tax increase is put into effect to pay the bill. Now getting down to facts of the matter. Seventy five per cent of all mail is used by business. Now Mr. Kennedy comes along and he says we are going to raise $600,000,000 to help balance the budget. *Now I can tell you* that the net the Federal Government is going to raise will be far less than that. I would say any tax bill such as is proposed by the House would raise closer to $400,000,000. Postage is proper cost of doing business and will be deducted. Now unfortunately one only pays taxes when he makes a profit and I will say to you here and now that if this unreasonable rate is put into effect, it will reduce sales through direct mail by from 5 to 6 billion dollars. And, in the end the Federal Government will be the loser.

Moderator. All right Congressman Hechler don't you approve of the Committee system?

Hechler. Yes, I approve of the Committee system. I think it's a fine thing but I would throw back this question: don't you approve of the House of Representatives? They, after all, are the decision-making body which passes on and approves or disapproves what the Committee recommends. In this case they disapproved. The entire House of Representatives is properly the final arbiter.

Moderator. This was a question from the floor. Did you want to say something Harry?

Maginnis. I'd like to answer the question because its puzzled me. I told you about my belief in fact and Taft's principles. In the eleven years I've been in this rate picture, neither the House nor the Senate has taken a record vote. I mean where you stand up and be counted. Now this bill was pushed through on the House floor in a period of five hours and when it came to voting even the final bill up or down, the leadership got together both Republicans and Democrats and said don't put us on record. We don't want to be for a postal rate increase. And on Mr. Hechler's amendment there was two minutes of debate. And, there was a voice vote on it and a big shout went up and I would say the vote, doctor, was about three to one against us. And, I think it was based on passion and on propaganda more than fact. It disturbed me very much just as a citizen that the Committee which had worked so hard had over, had overruled within two minutes, all of the good work it had put into effect. Because the Committee did report out a bill, raising third class rates, there were about eight rates on third class mail, just not on the minimum piece rate but on the odd size piece, the pound rate, the catalogue rate, the non-profit rate and the Committee had worked out a very delicate complex formula which would have raised $63,000,000. And, they thought that was all the market could bear. But in two minutes all this good work was overthrown on the floor without a record vote of any kind. And, as I say it disturbed me.

Hechler. Harry, could I answer that, Harry?

Maginnis. Sure, sure.

Hechler. You say there was only two minutes of debate. I have the Congressional Record before me and I spoke myself for five minutes. After that Congressman Corbett, your good friend from Pennsylvania spoke for five minutes in opposition. We then engaged in an exchange with Congressman Corbett. Then Congressman Bailey of West Virginia came in for three or four minutes more. Then Congressman Joelson of New Jersey came in and said, "This is a business whose only stock and trade is the use of postal facilities and that's what they're in business for." There was some more debate by Mr. Lesinski of Michigan. Then Congressman Herlong of Florida came along and spoke for approximately five minutes. The Record proves that the debate, when you add all those things up, certainly was not confined to two minutes.

Maginnis. Well, my recollection of the debate, and I sat in the gallery, doctor, was that you made your motion and that Mr. Corbett got up. Now I'm familiar with the House rule that anybody could have striken out the last word and gotten five minutes for himself. And, it was at this point that the administration was either going to stand behind its bill or not stand behind it and everybody remained mute on the thing with the exception of Congressman Corbett, who was the ranking Republican on the Committee. Now it so happens that one of our friends Congressman Johansen of Michigan, a good friend of Mr. Summerfield, happened to be in the hallway at the time the amendment was offered. By the time he got back the whole issue had been decided. We were deciding here the fate of many thousands of businessmen. And, my recollection is that it couldn't have been over ten minutes any how. The discussion on this vital section of the bill. But, no record vote was taken, I'm sure of that.

Hechler. Well, your supporters could have had a division, you could have had a vote by tellers, but as one of the leaders remarked to me afterward he said, "I was really surprised that the voice vote was so overwhelming that if we had asked for a teller vote or division vote we would have been beaten by your forces." And, gee that was the first time I realized I had forces. But, anyway, it seems to me that the proponents of your position could have very easily asked for a division vote or a teller vote. A division vote, of course, can be asked for by one individual member. And, a teller vote by one-fifth of the members present. That could have been done, it seems to me. And, I might add also that Congressman Lesinski, a friend and supporter of yours, spoke also on the resolution.

Maginnis. Well, I might say as one reads the Congressional Record on the following day and I'm sure, Steve, is familiar with this, everybody extends his remarks and as one reads the record one would think it was about a 14-hour debate on this whole issue.

Hechler. If the gentleman will yield, I remember this day very clearly because this, of course, was a red-letter day in my life and every single word was reported in the Record precisely as spoken.

Moderator. Hold your statement while we have an intermission.

Moderator. I tell you what, ladies and gentlemen, so far you have been needled Ken because Harry brought his boys in tonight and you ain't got a friend here. So I'll tell you what maybe we'll get on the phones. Maybe Ken Hechler has got some friends on the phone. So let's leave him alone with the floor for a while with your questions, fellows.

Hechler. Oh, I don't mind.

Moderator. You don't mind?

Hechler. No, I don't mind at all. It's a challenge.

Moderator. Well you do away with this mail what are you going to do with the door-to-door salesman who can be more of a pain in the neck can't they? Were you ever taking a bath with the phone ringing? Let's get into the . . . Let's get into the financial structure for a minute. Harry, you say that you don't want the government to subsidize you.

Maginnis. Right.

Moderator. Before you told me you were only paying 75% of your way. Isn't that 25% subsidy?

Maginnis. Well, it's based on cost ascertainment figures and every postal expert in the world has said this is just a starting point in rate making you see. And, somebody at some point has to say what are we going to charge for this premium category of first class cause it's . . . let me put it this way. There are thirty differences between a first class letter and a third class letter. Thirty differences. Now we've taken ads put in the newspapers to describe these differences but when the fellow who gets them looks at them, physically they look the same. But they are two different animals entirely. Now I happen to represent all the third class mailers in the United States and I have never in my life sent out a bulletin, and I send out one almost weekly, by third class mail. Now if I wanted to take seven weeks to get to the West Coast with my bulletin I would use third class mail but I put first class on because I want that premium service, I want to be able to drop it in the mail box in my building and thus I use it. So this is how people figure on differential pricing. In fact the question was sent up here, "Does WWDC use a differential pricing system for prime evening time and morning hours?" I don't know whether you do or you don't, certainly tv does. So here the costs are the same of running the station in the early morning hours or at eight o'clock or nine o'clock in the evening. So you have different pricing and it's the same thing in the Post Office.

Hechler. I think Harry is absolutely right that differential pricing is necessary whether it's at the National Theatre or WWDC or in the Post Office. And, we do have differential pricing because in the amendment that I proposed which carried there is a difference and differential pricing: 3½ cents for third class, 5 cents for first class. That is differential pricing. Yet it's more nearly paying the cost of third class than the rate which had been previously proposed and supported by third class mail users.

Moderator. Harry you didn't expect to get away with 2½ cents when they raised first class from 4 to 5. If they raised first class 4 to 5 you knew you were going to get a jump, too. Didn't you?

Maginnis. Well, from the practical, political standpoint, I expected it. But, all I can do is point to history in the Post Office Department. When our rate was a penny back in 1928, the first class rate was 2 cents so you had a ratio of 50% to it. So there came a time when the first class mail went up to 3 cents. We remained at a penny for a long time so the ratio was really only one third. Now this was straightened out when the four cent rate was put into effect in 1958. Our rate went up to 2 cents so you had this 50% ratio which has existed for countless years. Now the thing got out of balance when another increase was made in third class up to 2½ cents so you have a ratio of 2½ to 4. Now the House Committee felt that when the first class rate went to 5 the ratio ought to be 2½ cents to five because the mailers have to perform all these services and they have to be taken into account in figuring the cost of handling the mail. So a rational committee agreed with it.

Hechler. Once again I think Harry has made a very strong argument and I'd like to compliment him on it. When the rate was 1 cent, when was it first put into effect, third class mail paid 97% of its way. However, as the years went by the third class mail paid less and less of its way. In 1936 it paid only 73%, 1946 only 61%, 1955 down to 59%. The cost ascertainment figures of the Post Office Department reveal that a 2½ cent rate would only pay cost of mailing third-class mail, did you say 75%, Harry. I'll accept your figure at 75% of the cost of mailing third-class.

Maginnis. There's only one hole in the argument, doctor. And, it always comes up in the committees. The Post Office Department always points to the year 1926 to show that third class mail paid 97% of its way. I think that's the figure you're referring to.

Hechler. That's right.

Maginnis. However, bulk mail wasn't created until 1928 so you're comparing oranges you know with lemons or something. You've got to start with 1928. Now if you look at your first cost ascertainment figures, which came out in 1929, up to the present the average has been 75%.

Hechler. But, it went down though, didn't it so that in 1955 it was only 59%?

Maginnis. That's right it dropped down. It dropped down and there was a need to increase it and the Congress did increase it. Now in the last rate act they brought the ratio up to about 74% of the cost recovery But, they did an unusual thing in 1952, they created the non-profit category of mail which hadn't existed before that time so that now we have 4 billion pieces of non-profit third class mail that go at a cent and a quarter. Now your amendment didn't affect this non-profit mail so the business users are supposedly supposed to pick up the calculated subsidy on these four billion pieces of mail and I say that's unfair.

Hechler. Harry, isn't it true that the nature of this third class mail has changed considerably over the years? It has gotten a little bit heavier, it takes different, newer equipment and machines to handle it and this perhaps has contributed to the increase in the cost so far as the Post Office Department is concerned. I don't know the answer to that. I'd just be interested in your reaction to that.

Maginnis. I couldn't give you a figure on that, doctor. Whether the average weight per piece is heavier now than it was years ago, I just don't know. But, weight is not the prime factor in the setting of rates. It's the manual handling of pieces of mail. And, I'd like to point out a figure here to show how discriminated against third class mail is for the advertising dollar. The total volume of second class mail, now I'm taking about newspapers and magazines in the United States is 2 billion, 600 million pounds of mail. Our total poundage I think you quoted there is 900 and some million pounds of mail. Now the rate on newspaper advertising is something about 3½ cents a pound. But, third class mail as you know is charged about 16 cents a pound for the heavier pieces. And, this disparity between newspapers and direct mail advertising is getting completely out of line so that we're going to be priced out of the market.

Hechler. When you said newspaper advertising, you really meant newspaper delivery by the Post Office?

Maginnis. Yeah, the handling of newspapers. I'll give you an illustration of what I mean. The Wall Street Journal, now we're all familiar with that, is a five ounce newspaper. Now it gets red tag, first class handling. It's on my desk every morning. It weighs five ounces and it only pays 1 cent to be handled by the Post Office. Now our piece of mail, of course, takes 2½ cents to be handled at the moment. It's much lighter. It may weigh only an eighth of an ounce actually. And, of course, it may take a week to get there. So I say that newspapers get a tremendous break over direct mail advertising.

MODERATOR. Are they still going to get it?

HECHLER. Well, no not nearly as much. The bill raises, of course, the rates on newspapers. I might add that there have been a number of newspapers—for example the Charleston, West Virginia Gazette has come out very strongly not only against junk mail but in favor of raising postage rates for newspapers and magazines. Here also I have an editorial from the Denver Post that comes out very strongly on raising second class rates on newspapers. Steve, I wonder if I could comment for . . .

MODERATOR. Wait a minute, before you do. Remember what you wanted to say. I want to ask a question.

HECHLER. Alright.

MODERATOR. I've seen these page ads and these ads say that all these magazines are going to go out of business. Do you think they will, Ken?

HECHLER. Well, I don't know. It seems to me here again that under the free enterprise system that we are operating under that if a magazine, if a third class mail user or if a business can't make its cost it shouldn't be the responsibility of the government to step in and subsidize it. And, some of them may, like Flair Magazine may go out of business because they aren't worth staying in business. The Underwear Daily, I think that they went out of business, too.

MODERATOR. Well, they're throwing the first amendment at you. Something about freedom of speech and the people won't be informed if you throw this amendment through and all sorts of things.

HECHLER. Well, all I can say on that, Steve, is that the second class rates are about 50% of cost. Now they've been raised up to 50%. I'd like to make a point here on the cost differential. In the testimony that Postmaster General Day gave before the House Post Office Committee last year, speaking about this 3½ cent rate which I got through with my amendment, he said: "The proposed 3½ cent minimum rate for third class bulk mail represents a discount of at least 30% below the proposed first class rate. We believe the rates proposed adequately reflect the value of service differences for the two mail classes." So, I think that takes care of the argument, Harry, which you so ably presented about the differences in handling of premium first class mail and the handling of third class mail.

MAGINNIS. As you so well know, though doctor he abandoned this particular rate bill in favor of another one and reduced the rates all along the line because the question of public policy you know arose in the Committee and the Committee voted overwhelmingly to set aside about 250-million dollars not to be charged to the business users of the mail. Postmaster General Summerfield had felt that this amount shouldn't be any more than 52-million dollars but this issue once and for all has been resolved and the Democrats promised to resolve it and they have resolved it. So that Mr. Day when he presented his bill on the House floor on January 23, had a different bill than the one you're talking about. Even he was convinced by our arguments.

MODERATOR. Gentlemen. Let me do a commercial here, and then I would like to get a few phone calls and then I think it might be fun Ken to take a poll tonight to see if people are with you and your amendment. Not here no, not here. You want to watch something? How many Republicans are here tonight? Put up your hands. Alright what chance have you got, you're a Democrat.

HECHLER. Tell them how many Republicans.

MODERATOR. You tell them. You took a poll.

HECHLER. Oh, I didn't see. I'm very nearsighted. But tell the listeners.

MODERATOR. How many Democrats. About what? No they're not. They're more Republicans. Alright let's take a phone call or two. Make your questions brief and to the point please. Don't tell me stories. I don't want to hear how you use your wastebasket. I just want a question for either Mr. Hechler or Mr. Maginnis. Black Saddle. Hello. Are you against junk mail? Was that a question or . . . unsolicited books that they want you to pay for. Well, that's not what we're talking about. I don't know what to do. You don't have to . . . I say throw them in the wasketbasket and no body . . . what do they have to prove? I know the law. They have to prove that you opened and read it before you have to pay them. They won't come into your house and prove that. Right? Thank you. If they want the book back, you can charge them storage. I know that. Alright no body wants to ask questions? The phone number is STerling 3–0466, STerling 3–0467. We'll keep the phones open for a minute or so. Any question you might want to ask from Doctor Hechler who is a Congressman and Mr. Maginnis. Black Saddle. You're against Mr. Hechler. Well, yes. Alright well what we're trying to do is get questions. No, we'll take a poll later. Black Saddle. Are college catalogues and that kind of thing third class mail? Well, third class mail, I don't like to make Harry mad. He can kill me tonight for saying junk mail. I don't want to say it. Are college catalogues considered third class mail?

MAGINNIS. Yes they're third class mail.

HECHLER. Non-profit is not covered under my amendment.

MODERATOR. Alright they're not covered under the amendment because they're nonprofit but they are third class mail. Black Saddle. Right. Does the FTC have control over the type of advertising put through the mail on these things? Do you know, Ken?

HECHLER. I don't know the answer on that.

MAGINNIS. I'd like to give the answer on that, Steve, because I think I'm going to begin to make a point of it. The most honest type of advertising is in direct mail for one specific reason.

MODERATOR. Using the United States mail.

MAGINNIS. If you lie you are subject to the fraud statutes of the Post Office Department and you can go to jail. Now in no other form of advertising is this true. In radio and newspapers the FTC may give you a slap on the wrist and so forth but you better not lie in direct mail advertising or somebody is going to jail. And, they are going to jail at the moment in various sections of the country.

HECHLER. I think that's very healthy. I'm glad that Harry brought that point out. I'm not against this type of mail, all I'm asking is that it pay its way.

MODERATOR. Black Saddle. Yeah. You want me to ask Harry Maginnis what did he do? Oh, that's a stupid question. What does he do with the third class mail he gets at home? He reads it. Hello. Everybody will pull that on you. What do you do? Where do you live? Yes mam. Alright. How are housewives supposed to do their shopping when they don't get catalogues?

HECHLER. Well, I suppose that every newspaper has very good ads and there are good ads over the radio and I suppose that's one way you can do your shopping. Also, you can go around and look personally.

MODERATOR. She has children she has to take care of, she says. Hello. It's not your fault, Ken. Hello. You want to know something about Mr. Hechler? He's a nice fellow. Wait a minute you're getting all confused now. Either that or I don't understand you. Start again. Addressing firms who address these third class mails, yes, they put men on the street to hand deliver some of them. So the rate will be less. In other words, they don't use the Post Office. Well, then it has nothing to do with this discussion. People hand, it has nothing to do with the discussion, mam. Thank you.

MAGINNIS. I think it does, Steve. I'd like to . . .

MODERATOR. Alright.

MAGINNIS. Our main opponent in this city is the Scripps-Howard Newspaper, The Washington Daily News. They deliver circulars of Safeway and the other food chains door to door for $15 a thousand. Now naturally we have to pay $25 dollars a thousand in postage. They'd like to see the rate go up further so they'll have all the circular business.

MODERATOR. Pretty strong.

HECHLER. Well, I still don't think the government should subsidize it.

MODERATOR. Black Saddle. How about two or three standard sized envelopes? What do you mean? Christmas cards are all different sizes. Well what about it? Wouldn't it be better if there were only two or three standard sizes? I think they would be . . . Let's take a poll. You've heard Mr. Maginnis, you've heard Doctor Hechler. The question is, "Are you for raising the rate on third class mail from 2½ to 3½ cents?" You've heard the arguments for and against. You've heard the subsidy involved. You've heard the wastebasket involved. You've heard the advertising advantages involved. The lady who doesn't want to read to children, you heard three or four different strong arguments in each case. We'd like to have a poll. Are you for raising the rate of third class mail from 2½ cents to 3½ cents? It's passed the House of Representatives. It's going to the Senate and Harry's just begun to fight. Just say yes or no. Are you for raising the rates? Ready? Hello. Yes. Hello. No. Tell you what, folks, when we take these polls the phones are open. You may call STerling 3–0466, STerling 3–0467 as fast as you can dial, you dial. The phones are open. Just say yes or no and we take your answer and hang up immediately. Hello. Yes. Are you for raising the rates from 2½ cents of third class mail to 3½? Hello. No. Dial as fast as you can folks. The phones are open. Hello. No. Hello. No. What have you got your brother out there? Hello. Yes. Hello. Yes. Hello. Yes. Black Saddle. Yes. Mostly women were saying no but that was a man. Black Saddle. Yes. Another man, yes. STerling 3–0466. Hello. Here is a man who can't make up his mind he calls me up ahahahah. He likes to dial the phone. Hello. Yes. Are you for raising the rates? Hello. Yes. I hope somebody's out listening for your sake. Hello. Yes. Oh you were doing alright there for a while. Black Saddle. No. Black Saddle. Yes. Hello. No. How many you got, Stan? Seventeen. We need three more. STerling 3–0466. Hello. No She was pretty mad. That was Mrs. Maginnis. Hello. No. Hello. Yes. It was pretty close. Wasn't it? Twelve to eight.

You won it, Ken. Twelve to eight. Pretty close, though. You want to make a parting speech for thirty seconds, Harry?

MAGINNIS. Oh, I'd like to just say that we live in a free enterprise capitalistic system. Mr. Kennedy wants to increase the gross national product, my great industry generates 20 billion in sales annually. We'd like to continue that great job and keep people employed and selling the goods and products of American labor if we're permitted to do so.

MODERATOR. Ken?

HECHLER. We live in a free enterprise capitalistic system, therefore, I believe that third class mail users should pay their own way without U.S. government subsidy. And if they generate 20 billion in sales annually they can afford to pay higher rates.

Moderator. There you have it ladies and gentlemen. Two brilliant men. We are grateful to both of them for coming to our microphones tonight. Doctor Ken Hechler, Representative from West Virginia and Mr. Harry J. Maginnis, Executive Manager, Associated Third Class Mail Users. Big round of applause. I tell you. I just would like to say this before we leave. When Harry called and asked if we would invite Congressman Hechler, I knew he was a strong, powerful man but I didn't think he'd come. Because he's still a Congressman, Harry and you're still a lobbyist. And, I think Ken deserves a lot of credit. I'm very grateful Harry, and Ken and I think it's wonderful for you to be here. Thank you for listening, good night.

Text of Radio Debate Between Representative Ken Hechler, Democrat, West Virginia, and Harry J. Maginnis, President, Associated Third Class-Mail Users

Allison. Our guests at the WWDC microphones—two dear and old friends who've been at sort of different ends of the pole for a long time—Mr. Harry J. Maginnis, President of Associated Third Class Mail Users; and Representative Ken Hechler, Democrat of West Virginia.

Hey, the Senator from your state just got a big job, Ken, didn't he?

Hechler. Yes, Senator Robert C. Byrd is Number 3 man in the United States Senate now.

Allison. All right. Harry Maginnis, what is the Associated Third Class Mail Users?

Maginnis. We're a trade association, Steve, of direct mail users, essentially using bulk third class mail. We're 800 in number and we include such organizations as Time, Incorporated, Sears Roebuck, Spiegel, Incorporated, the 2700 retail merchants in America, Billy Graham's evangelistic association, 22 Catholic Charities . . . many, many organizations . . . all of whom use the printed word to sell and distribute the goods and products they produce . . . in accordance with the free-enterprise, capitalistic system.

Allison. I want to make a fast little speech and then we'll get going with our discussion.

Firstly, let me say, folks, I should be against third class mail because they are a form of advertising which cuts into my revenue. However, I'm against it. I'm against it for many, many reasons. You've read many newspaper articles, you've heard people on the air . . . television . . . going on and on and on about the so-called "junk" mail. "I don't like this in my box!" "Why are they insisting?" . . . and on and on . . . so I bumped into Bill Gold who is obviously not too friendly with your association.

Maginnis. He's one of our members, Steve . . . Newsweek magazine. (Laughter.) A great user of third class mail . . . create its great circulation . . . a fine magazine . . . so Gold is an employee of that . . .

Allison. That's all right. He's still got the right—

Maginnis. He's entitled—

Allison. Right. Like I can blast away at radio and television—

Maginnis. That's right.

Allison. I don't remember the last time I did, but anyway . . . I said to Bill: "Look—the crux of the whole matter, Bill, is . . . if the people didn't want it, the mailers wouldn't use it. Obviously it is paying off. What's all the beef?" That's all I want to say, Now, Congressman Hechler, you sit on a Committee whose job it is to check this—don't you?

Hechler. No, I do not. I just tried to represent the average housewives, the consumers, and people whose mailboxes are jammed with things that they don't read, don't want, and go into the wastebasket.

I want to say, though, I'm not against junk mail. I merely feel that junk mail should pay its way—as all other advertising. The advertisers who advertise on your program pay 100 percent of the cost of that advertising. But the third class mailers don't pay that cost and we taxpayers have to pay part of it—for things that we didn't ask for, for things that we don't want when we get them, and things that go into the wastebasket when we receive them.

Allison. Now, you made two or three statements, Ken, but one I want to pick up and then Harry, I'm sure, has an answer. . .

If they didn't want it, if they don't use it, if it goes in the mailbox economically . . . and by the way, folks, I don't know whether you know this but Mr. Hechler is (or was) a professor of economics and political science. Economically, Ken wouldn't this be silly for the people who pay for this—it costs them money—to send it?

Hechler. Well, obviously, they get some results and they should pay for the results. They get results and they have such a thriving industry which can afford to pay Mr. Maginnis very well. . . Harry, I think, is well paid and I think he deserves it, too.

The mere fact they can build up an industry that generates many jobs and billions of dollars of revenue, I think, indicates that they ought to be able to pay the cost of mailing also. There's a $1.2 billion-dollar deficit in the Post Office Department every year. We, the people who mail First Class and Air Mail letters, bear the cost of this advertising. So I think it's bad enough to be irritated but worse to have to pay for being irritated.

Allison. Go ahead, Harry.

Maginnis. Well, Steve, I'd like to discuss a little bit about third class mail. It was created at the request of the Post Office Department by the Congress of the United States in 1928. The Post Office Department consists of 700,000 employees, one of the largest businesses in the world. And like many other businesses, it must have a volume of mail to keep these very valuable employees properly occupied.

Bulk third class mail is a deferred category of mail which does not enjoy the preferment that first-class enjoys. It is only handled in slack periods when there's nothing else to do by the postal clerks; it is delivered only when all other categories of mail are out of the way; it must be pre-sorted by the mailer in advance in accordance with ZIP Code sequence, which has just been introduced on a mandatory basis.

The main expenses in the Post Office Department are the manual handling of the mail. Now, we're all familiar—you and your listeners—with what happens to a first-class letter. One puts a five-cent stamp on it and drops it in a suburban mailbox, a two-ton truck comes and picks it up, hauls it down to the Post Office Department where the stamp must be cancelled, it must be put in the pigeonhole, must be put on the fastest form of transportation . . . and when it gets to where it's going, it receives priority in treatment.

Third-class mail is not quite like that. It doesn't use stamps, no cancellation required—it's all presorted down in the carrier route . . .

Allison. You have broken down how much it actually costs the Post Office to send a third-class piece of mail, Harry?

Maginnis. Well, when one gets into statistics, Steve, I would prefer that Congressman Hechler amend his bill. He has a bill I might say in the Congress—introduced it earlier in the Session—H.R. 99—which would raise the individual piece rate on third-class mail.

Now, most of your listeners will recognize this as the Christmas card with the flap in.

He would make this particular piece of mail 5 cents, which is, of course, the same as first-class mail—so nobody would then go third-class mail. Naturally, they'd go to first-class.

He would make the bulk rate $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Now, if he makes it $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents—and you require the mailer to do all of the presorting cost which is very expensive—then he will go to first-class mail . . . he has an alternative.

Allison. Wait a minute—hold on a minute, Harry—you're talking too long . . . get this thing started . . . off the ground. You see, what you're doing, Harry Maginnis . . . you're so close to it, you're saying these things so fast I'm not following you.

Now, what is the cost of third-class mail? Half a cent? What is the cost?

Maginnis. Well, I'm trying to describe . . . nobody really knows the cost of the thing. (Both talk at once.) We pay $2\frac{7}{8}$ths cents minimum per piece vis-a-vis 5 cents for first-class mail.

Allison. My goodness! They're paying about 3 cents a letter . . . the post fella only handles it when he's got nothing else to do . . . see, I'm just bringing out what Harry said in my language—then we're going to ask you to answer point-by-point, if you don't mind. All right.

Number One, the guy handles it when he's got nothing else to do; Number Two, the sender has to package it—saving them a lot of work in the Post Office. So it seems to me we should let them send the third-class mail for a penny and a half—not $2\frac{7}{8}$ths . . . charging them too much!

Now! Do you have statistics to prove that what Harry says is wrong, or what I just outlined or paraphrased he said is wrong?

Hechler. I would like to comment on it in this way. In the first place, third-class mail pays about 60 percent of the cost. In the second place, I think Harry's argument about only being handled in the slack periods was true when third-class mail first went in in the 1928–1930 period, because at that time it only constituted about 1 out of 8 pieces. But since that time third-class mail has increased 250 percent in volume—while all the other mail has only increased 80 percent.

Also the number of employees—and the manhours worked in the Post Office—increased over this period.

If the postal work force had remained stable—the number of hours worked and the volume the same—why, I would say his argument is very good. But the number of employees has gone up actually in order to handle this third-class mail . . .

Allison. He says you're wrong, then, Harry . . . he says that they're not only doing it in slack periods . . . so much third-class mail they have to do . . . work on it when they could be working on first-class . . . true or false?

Maginnis. Well, the facts are that it does get severely-deferred handling . . . and the best way to illustrate that . . . I have 800 members and I send out a bulletin quite regularly to these members. I have the choice of sending it third-class or first-class mail . . . I can enjoy the lower rate. However, never have I used the third-class privilege except on one occasion when it took 28 days to get to Chicago, 14 days to New York, and the West Coast hasn't received some of them yet. (Laughter.)

So I go first-class mail because I'm willing to pay the premium for the preferred handling which it gets.

But the way best to describe whether it does or doesn't pay its way in the postal service is to ask this question: The revenue from third-class mail at the moment is $700 million annually. Now if it's no good—as the Congressman says—and nobody reads it and everybody throws it away, then let's eliminate it.

Allison. Now don't go to the extreme with my old buddy Ken Hechler of West Virginia . . . you went to the extreme—he didn't say that!

Maginnis. I think he said nobody read it, everybody was disturbed with it, everybody threw it away.

Hechler. I said that PORTION of third-class mail is junk mail which people don't read.

Allison. What people? Do you want to put a percentage on it, Ken?

Hechler. Well, all right. I don't think it's possible to put a percentage on it . . .

Allison. Well, guess——

Hechler. Except I can give an educated guess that perhaps 50 percent of the people don't want a lot of the mail that they receive.

Allison. You see, I called him on that, Harry. Now he's saying "50 percent," which means that your people decided that 50 percent of the people reading it was enough to pay them.

Maginnis. Well, let's assume this, Steve. Let's assume that you have 250,000 listeners on this station . . . you just had one of your famous ads on Willy Wilson (with whom I deal very effectively, incidentally).

Allison. You do——

Maginnis. I'm sure that if out of that 250,000 people—tomorrow—Willy Wilson sold 8 color TV sets, he would have paid his fee to you well. However, if you took the percentage response of 8 television sets in relation to 250,000 listeners, it would be an infinitesimal decimal.

Hechler. Steve, did you hear about the fellow who had been receiving mail marked "Occupant" for many years and he began to receive mail with "Occupant" as return address—it really stopped him! But seriously, when mail is received marked "Occupant"—why, my tendency is to say: There are people that live here—not "Occupant!"

Allison. Would you say, Ken, in all your experience as a Congressman that only the "agin its" write? Why won't you get a letter from nice little old people who have nothing to do all day and look forward to this third-class mail and read it?

Hechler. I have a whole batch of letters from nice people all over the country that say: I like your bill. I think it's great. Hurray! . . . at last we've got somebody who's standing up and fighting for the average person.

Allison. What's their beef? They're just mean people, Ken . . . I don't care, they're just mean people. I don't want to sound like I'm taking Harry's part here, but it seems to me they're mean people. You don't want to throw it in the basket—what difference does it make?

And some little old people, lonely people who want to read it, I like 'em, I read 'em all . . . colorful little things.

Maginnis. Do you mind, Steve, if I comment on that. I had a wonderful experience working for Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the big state of Ohio . . . and then for Senator Edward Martin of Pennsylvania . . . another quite populous state.

Allison. Didn't know he was such a . . . Ken, listen who he worked for.

Maginnis. Well, in any event, I suppose during that time, Steve, we received fully one million letters from the WCTU, from the drives of one sort or another, saying: Please eliminate booze around Army camps, let's truncate it here . . . let's do away with it all. In all the years I worked on Capitol Hill I can't recall one letter from a guy who said "Let's keep cocktails . . ." and so forth. Now if you legislated according to your mail we'd have prohibition in the United States today. And this is true of many issues.

We were discussing at dinner tonight—some of our people—the kinds of bills that we would put in a hopper if we only had two years to serve in Congress. If you want to stir up some difficulty—

Allison. What would you do with the third-class . . . would you do the thing I suggested before—a penny and a half a piece of mail?

Maginnis. Oh, I'd be for a reduction of it, but I do agree with the Congressman . . . the cost recovery traditionally since 1928 when the differential pricing theory was adopted by the Congress . . . it's been about 75 percent. It's now below that cost and should be raised, but his bill, of course, would raise it up to something like 95 percent.

Allison. Let me ask you a question, Ken. What do we recover from first-class mail?

Hechler. It's a little over 100 percent.

Allison. Wow! You mean we make money on first-class?

Hechler. Yes, we make money on first-class.

Allison. Well, then, you haven't got much of a leg to stand on, Harry.

Maginnis. Well, this is a statement which won't stand the light of investigation. Accountants cannot figure out what dollar value to put on the preferential handling which both airmail and first-class mail receive. And traditionally it's paid anywhere from 108 percent to 141 percent of its way in the postal service. It pays a premium for the premium handling. And of course the third-class gets a discount of 25 percent because of the slow handling . . . but the accountants can't put a value on this deferment of handling. But 75 percent—I would agree with the Congressman—there is a need for a rate increase and I would go along with it . . . but not to the extent he——

Hechler. I'd just like to answer that. Harry mentioned the accountants can't figure it out. I'm taking official Post Office Department figures that have indicated first-class pay more than 100 percent and third-class pays only about 60 percent of its way. I'm not arguing with any accountants or how they do their computing. I'm simply taking the official, objective figures of the Post Office Department itself.

Allison. Ken, now you're hitting me where my pocketbook is . . . I'm on your side. I'm not on your side when you tell me people are screaming they don't want it—they can go to blazes—they hate everybody, so I'm tired of people like that—they're "aginners"—they hate everybody, so I'm not with them. But I am with you when you say that first-class mail (and Harry agrees) at least it pays for itself and a little more, Harry. Why should third-class mail not pay for itself, Harry?

Maginnis. Well, let's take his own figure here. You will know from the Budget message that the total deficit in the coming fiscal year is $1.2 billion in the postal services . . . right, Congressman?

Hechler. That is correct, Harry.

Maginnis. Let's assume that you double the rate on third-class mail—that would raise $700 million more, which is about $500 million short of the Department balancing its budget. But it's obvious that the only place revenue can be gained is both from airmail and from first-class mail.

Hechler. I would also raise second-class rates. I think there are many newspapers and magazines that get away with murder—and I think that we ought to raise those rates, Harry, in order to—

Maginnis. Well, I'll be glad to draft a bill for you, sir, and have you put it in the hopper . . . (laughter)

Allison. For them——

Maginnis. Yes, for them! Very happy to do that! (laughter)

Hechler. Incidentally, I've gotten some very powerful support from many members of Congress, including committee chairmen in Congress, who won't let me use their names because they don't want the Post Office Committee to think their committee is interfering with their jurisdiction. . . . But I can assure you that the sentiment in Congress and in the nation is even stronger than within the Post Office Committee—in favor of a raise in third-class rates.

Allison. Gentlemen, we're going to have to ask you to wait here while we have news. You folks want to get in on the conversation—we'll take some phone calls later. You see how I fix it so everybody hates me! First I was on Harry's side—now I'm on Ken's side . . . I'm on everybody's side—I'm just mean! (We're pausing for news).

Allison. Our guests at WWDC microphones—Mr. Harry J. Maginnis, President, Associated Third Class Mail Users . . . and Representative Ken Hechler, Democrat of West Virginia. The gentlemen are discussing the need for a bill presented by Mr. Hechler which would raise the cost of third-class mail to the users.

What is that, Ken? (pointing to newspaper displayed by Congressman Hechler).

Hechler. This is a full-page ad which was run in the Parkersburg, West Virginia newspapers by an advertiser who uses third-class mail and objected to my bill. He ran this ad with the headline: "He Wants to Kill the Goose That Lays the Golden Egg?" And it attacks my stand on junk mail and my desire to raise rates on third-class mail.

Allison. In your state, Ken?

Heghler. It seems to me if he can pay the cost of a full-page ad like that, he ought to be able to afford a few cents more on his mailings.

Allison. Does he take that off his income tax?

Hechler. Now this is another interesting point. When you mail a first-class letter, you can't take that off your income tax, but when you do bulk-rate mailing by third-class, you not only get subsidized on the rate but you can also charge it off on your income tax as advertising.

Allison. Ken, are you saying to me that if a company decides to send out circulars in first-class envelopes they can't take it off their income tax?

Hechler. No. I'm saying that when you send personal letters first class, you can't charge them off your income tax.

Allison. Oh, that's different. But advertising was a difference.

Hechler. Right.

Allison. If you're going to advertise you can take it off your income tax . . . if you send it Airmail-Special Delivery, you can take it off your income tax if it's advertising—

Hechler. Oh, yes.

Allison. Oh, you're a cutie! (Laughter.) But you should know better than to pull that on me!

Hechler. Yes, but there's a double subsidy there . . .

Allison. No! (Laughter.) Come on, Ken . . . tried to pull one through the old . . . (Drowned out by laughter.) See what he did to his old friend, Harry? Watch him! All right, gentlemen . . . now . . . let me find out something. Where did this junk mail bit come from—who started that one? You'd like to find the guy, wouldn't you, Harry?

Maginnis. I have a quote here. Congressman Hechler wrote to his colleagues asking for support of his bill and he mentioned this statement in his letter to 434 other House members on January 13th: "Housewives, businessmen, mail carriers and street sweepers, not to mention the advocates of beautification . . . support my efforts to do something about junk mail or nuisance mail." He uses these phrases—"nuisance" mail and "junk" mail.

Allison. He didn't originate it——

Maginnis. He didn't originate it. But I'm going to quote from some experts. This is a reprint from the *Union Postal Clerk* . . . these are the clerks who handle the mail. Now if anybody is disturbed by it they would be. (I'll quote from the carriers a little later.) And they say this: "It's time somebody set things straight, for the fact is that bulk-rate mail is not junk mail. This is strictly a propaganda phrase coined to dirty-up an area of promotional enterprise in the endless competition for the advertising dollar. The press figures that if it can put the kibosh on direct-mail solicitation, then the millions of dollars now spent for postage and printing will have to be spent in their own advertising medium. This is a dollars-and-cents issue—not a fight over principles."

Now this is it. Now, what Congressman Hechler hasn't pointed out . . . the subsidy on second-class mail is the longest in duration, the greatest in dollars, and the second-class newspapers only recover 25 percent of their costs.

Now, the facts are that on direct-mail advertising, which is third-class mail and much first-class mail, there's $2.4 billion dollars spent on this type of advertising. It sells $40 billion dollars' worth of goods and services—much of it coming from West Virginia, I might point out.

Now the press would like to capture this $2.4 billion—same as you would like to capture some of the money for your own programs here possibly.

ALLISON. Not possibly—probably. (Laughter.) Positively!

MAGINNIS. But you had here . . . you just had an ad on the Grand Bahamas. Now you promised those people—you write into me and I'll send you a beautiful circular which would go third-class mail, full color, full pictures, all about prices and so forth . . . and all advertising ties in with the other. General Motors certainly uses radio, TV, magazines, newspapers . . . and a tremendous volume of third-class mail.

Now the point about the Post Office is that everybody's concerned about its deficit. However, for all the thousands spent on this agency of the government, millions are returned. It is estimated that trillions of dollars of commerce are transacted daily through——

ALLISON. Establishment, Harry. Now listen to this one. When I get one of these pieces of mail, the reply is usually Airmail.

MAGINNIS. That's right—and we pay that fee . . . we pay the first-class fee on the reply card.

ALLISON. You forgot that one. All right, Ken, what have you got to say about these things that Harry just said?

HECHLER. In answer to Number 1 . . . Harry was talking about the postal clerks and the carriers. I've received a lot of letters myself from rural carriers who have to carry this stuff around and who frequently have to clean up when much of it is dumped around the mail boxes by those who don't want it. They have indicated quite strongly that they are not in favor of bulk mail that doesn't pay its way, and it seems to me that a letter carrier also is not in the same category, Harry, as the clerk with free time. The carrier has a certain amount of miles to cover on his route anyway and the bigger the load he gets with bulk mail the tougher job it is. Many of these people have objected very strongly to the fact that this is subsidized mail.

MAGINNIS. I hesitate—in answer to that—Steve, to get in this particular argument because I know what I'm about to say is going to be very, very unpopular in certain areas. But we know as a fact, we who have been in politics for long, the biggest political plum in the world is the rural carrier. There are always 300 applicants for this particular job and he's the first guy off the tee at the Country Club at noontime.

Now when there is "occupant" mail and he has to stop at every box—because he has a piece for every box—he resents it very much. He's got to stop there . . . he gets paid 10 cents, 12 cents a mile—whatever it is . . .

Now the rural carriers have even resisted the Department buying a fleet of cars for them. They figure they can go to the big motor companies and buy them a right-hand drive where they can put it in the boxes . . . they own their own cars . . . and they want to keep it that way.

I'm all for the rural carriers, they're a fine group . . . I haven't heard them say officially they're against third-class mail. But if the Congressman says they are, I'd like to see something, because at one time they did say so and we jumped on them a little bit in the Congressional arena.

However, the city carriers consist of 168,000 . . . represented by Jerome Keating here in Washington . . . and Jimmy Rademacher the Vice President . . . and here's what they say: (In their January issue of the Postal Record) . . .

"If there were no third-class mail, the Post Office Department could eliminate about ¼th of its clerical employees and about ⅕th of its letter carriers. During the great Depression third-class mail dwindled away to a whisper of its former self because merchants didn't have the money to advertise and customers didn't have the money to respond to advertisements. The result was massive cuts in the employee force."

And then later on he says: "The ironical thing about third-class mail is that those who attack it the most are among those who use it the most. When the magazines and newspapers who most loudly declaim against junk mail embark on a circulation promotion program, they use third-class mail . . . the very same sort of mail their editorialists cry as being useless and an unnecessary burden on the postal service." That's the letter carrier speaking officially.

HECHLER. I'd just like to point out that among other newspapers the *Charleston West Virginia Gazette* has indicated that it is not only in favor of higher rates for third-class but for second-class also.

ALLISON. Let me say this . . . you nice ladies and gentlemen out there—you want to get in on this. Go ahead—but no speeches. If you want to ask a question these tremendous men we have here—don't want to waste time listening to your stories—just ask questions.

Now Ken Hechler of West Virginia—and Harry Maginnis. Our Phone number is District 7–6260.

HECHLER. I have a great little item from the *San Bernardino* newspaper. A columnist wrote a memo to the postman: "No one named 'occupant' resides at this address. Please stop leaving his mail. I live here. I with a name . . . here I eat, sleep, read, love and sometimes get tears in my throat when the TV writer pulls the right plug. So . . . 'occupant?' I would as soon answer to a number or admit that perforations on an IBM card can represent my name. Keep them, Mr. Postman, only people live here."

ALLISON. That's sad.

HECHLER. Doesn't that bring tears to your eyes, Steve?

ALLISON. Reminds me of a couple of poets they used to have on the front pages 30 and 40 years ago. Oh, I'm cryin' thinkin' of it!

MAGINNIS. Let me talk a little about "occupant" mail, Steve. The reason that they have occupant mail is selling products generally that appeal to everybody, whether it be soap or razor blades or some item that——

ALLISON. Discount coupons——

MAGINNIS. Discount coupons. Now if it's said that they don't reply to this . . . we know that the great soap companies, Procter & Gamble and Lever Brothers, have to redeem the coupons and they know exactly to the 10th decimal point how many are turned in by the grocers who redeem them. And I can assure you the percentage figure is very, very high.

ALLISON. Unless the grocer goes to the barrel and pulls them out and redeems them.

MAGINNIS. I should like to also point out the effectiveness of occupant mail . . . with John Kennedy when he was running for the Presidency of the United States . . . blanketed all of those states with occupant mail in which he had primary fights . . . and it proved to be a very effective weapon. He wanted to get one piece of mail in every household.

HECHLER. Maybe that's why he only won by one-half of 1 percent.

MAGINNIS. Except in West Virginia it was 60–40 against Hubert Humphrey. (All talk at once.) I know we had that argument the last time and Nixon was sorry he didn't use occupant mail.

ALLISON. If they're so mad at it, Ken, why do they vote for the guy who sent it?

HECHLER. Well, I'm just simply pointing out that he was using it in certain concentrated areas . . .

ALLISON. How about congressmen? Did they use it?

HECHLER. Well, I personally don't use it. I pointed out, I think, on our last program a few years ago that I put a 5 cent, first-class stamp on all political mailing that I send out.

ALLISON. Well, we won't keep you from your seat. But Harry, remember an argument you brought up on the program last time . . .

HECHLER. The program was on February 6, 1962 . . . I remember that date because that's my mother's birthday. But you brought up the argument that if you raised the cost too high it would cut down the volume and it would thereby hurt the business. I'm interested that you didn't bring that argument up again this time because as the rates have gone up the volume of third-class mail has gone up tremendously. In fact, the business has gotten bigger and bigger and bigger and richer and richer and richer . . . and more and more able to afford to pay its way.

MAGINNIS. All right, I should like to comment on that because we haven't sat together since February 6, 1962 . . . but at that time your amendment had been successful on the floor of the House of Representatives to raise the minimum-piece rate 3½ cents. We then went to the Senate of the United States . . . argued our case . . . and that body adopted a 3-step increase to 2⅝ths cents . . . to 2 6/8ths cents . . . to 2⅞ths cents. So your amendment did not prevail in the eventual end, the bill that the President signed.

Now we don't know what might have happened had the rate gone to 3½ cents, but my own judgment would have been we would have lost in sales about $10 billion and the mail would have been reduced. Certainly under your proposal to make the minimum piece rate 4½ cents . . . would, in effect, eliminate third-class mail as a sales tool, in my judgment.

ALLISON. Do you think you can get your amendment through, Ken?

HECHLER. I think I can, Steve. I think that the people of this country have not really had a lobbyist for them on this issue. The third-class mail users have had a very, very effective man in Harry Maginnis. I think he's demonstrated on the program tonight by his arguments that he is effective and he's a tremendous person. The people of the country up to this point haven't really had good effective lobbyists for the people, and this is why the members of Congress must be the lobbyists. I think, this year because of the limitation of money by reason of the war in Vietnam and other squeezes, Congress is going to look for the revenue that we can get out of third-class mail, and we are going to try to make third-class mail pay its way. And so I say I think we do have a very, very good chance of passing my bill.

ALLISON. Where is your bill now?

HECHLER. It's now in the Post Office Committee . . . the Chairman of the Post Office Committee has sent it to the Bureau of the Budget for comment. And the President, as you know, is going to send up a message in a few weeks with his proposals for rate increases.

ALLISON. Do you think this will be included?

HECHLER. I'm afraid his proposals are not going to be high enough to suit me and suit the Congress on third-class rates—from our indications. Wouldn't you say so, Harry?

Maginnis. Well, we're going to have hearings on a postal-rate readjustment bill of $800 million—including all categories of mail. But I should like to say this: Ken has made a categorical statement here that nobody has been lobbying against third-class mail and attempting to get its rates increased. Let me say this:

That there is no business in the United States that has been under attack so severely by 10,000 newspapers as this particular medium.

We have no way except Mr. Allison's program and a few other places to get our story told. Now, luckily, we believe in Congress and when we get before the postal committees we have an opportunity to present our side and usually reason out—and we do get fair treatment by the Congress.

Allison. You're a whipping-boy, Harry, do you know that? I'm always on the unpopular side.

Hechler. I wish we could show a Herblock cartoon on this show, Steve—do you remember that one that came out about a week ago Sunday, showing the postman bent by the burden of junk mail he was carrying?

Maginnis. I saw the cartoon and I wrote to Mr. Herblock and I wrote to Mr. Gold because on the same day this cartoon appeared—it showed two letter carriers with a heavy mail bag labeled "Junk Mail" and loaded down. On that same day I received from Newsweek Magazine their dues check for $300 asking me to fight the good fight. So I wrote Mr. Herblock and I said: "You can't have it both ways. I'm not a magician. You can't hire me as a lobbyist and protect the circulation of your Newsweek Magazine. But the truth of the matter is the press never points out that the weight of second-class mail (I'm talking about newspapers and magazines) is exactly twice the weight of all third-class mail and its only pays ⅕th of the revenue that we pay.

Now these facts are never accented by the newspapers.

Allison. Ken has just accented them.

Maginnis. Yes. He didn't accent the weight nor the cost of handling.

Allison. Let's get a phone call—somebody wants to talk to you. All right?

Question: I'd like to ask the Congressman if it is possible in his bill that the expense of mailing would be cut down—the duplication of mailing lists. I often get 3 or 4 of the same catalog.

Hechler. The bill would not provide for this but I think that what we ought to try to do is write into other legislation—it's not contained in my bill—an opportunity to return mail in such a way that the sender would have to pay the cost and that might discourage him from duplicating so many names on lists.

Question: And my husband has been dead four years and I've written people to take his name off their mailing lists—no results.

Allison. Well, because you're writing to a machine.

Question: I suppose.

Allison. Thank you. That reminds me, gentlemen, let me ask you—to go ahead with what the woman started. The mail is sent—and, like she said, her husband has been dead. She wants to send it back—she puts it in the mailbox and says: "Send to sender." Will it be sent back to him? Isn't third-class mail so that you don't get it back if somebody doesn't get it?

Maginnis. The rule on third-class mail is it does not enjoy the forwarding privileges of first-class nor may it be returned without payment of an 8-cent fee, that's what we pay to get the mail back.

Allison. Do you pay it, Harry?

Maginnis. We pay the 8-cent fee to get the piece of mail back and on it will be the notation that he's deceased or moved or . . .

Hechler. Suppose the recipient marks "Refused" on it . . . in that case the sender doesn't have to pay.

Maginnis. No, it is then burned or destroyed——

Hechler. I'd like to see in line with the lady who just called—I'd like to see written into law that if you write "REFUSED" on a piece of third-class mail—the sender ought to be made to pay the postage for its return.

Allison. This I didn't know!

Hechler. This might be a way to cut down on duplication.

Maginnis. There have been bills, I might say, which would provide that any postal patron can refuse to receive any third-class mail . . . and this kind of legislation has been seriously considered. However, when one does this, he does the following: License tags come from the state by third-class mail, so he refuses that. All his tax information from both the Federal government, the state government, all election material comes third-class mail . . . half of his Christmas cards come third-class mail . . . small packages under 16 ounces come third-class . . . so once he gives that signature "I don't want to receive any third-class mail," he's eliminating a good many things he would like to get.

Allison. Harry, now you're going to an extreme. He's not talking about ANY third-class . . . he takes a piece of stuff he doesn't want and he puts out a "REFUSE"—puts it in the mailbox . . . that doesn't eliminate the other third-class mail . . . it eliminates THAT piece of literature from that particular company.

Maginnis. I say that's a possibility, but it creates another bureau to handle this kind of thing . . . we pay for it and we're willing to pay the 8 cents to get the up-to-date address back. However, let's take the newspaper, let's take the Washington Post.

Allison. Hold on . . . (Time out for the commercial.) All right, before we get to the phones again . . . Congressman Hechler has a little statement he wants to make.

Hechler. Yes, the widow who called a little while back about duplication of lists . . . reminds me I got this letter from Alton, Illinois . . . Albert A. Fosher wrote me: "Enclosed are 7 copies of a nursery catalog I received in a period of 3 days last month. Last month I received 15 or 16 of these catalogs. I wrote to the nursery company complaining about the great number of catalogs. In their reply they stated it was cheaper to send out extra catalogs than to check their mailing lists."

So a lot of this really is unwanted and I think the poor lonely persons who can read this on rainy days and get cheered up by it—I sympathize with and I don't want to stop it but I certainly think it ought to pay its way.

Question: Since the 1st of January I have received 41 pieces of junk mail and I marked each one of them "RETURN TO SENDER" and dropped them back in the mailbox. Have I violated the law?

Allison. What's the answer?

Maginnis. The answer is that the Post Office Department will destroy the mail—they'll simply throw it away.

Allison. Even if he says "RETURN TO SENDER?"

Maginnis. That's right—unless the sender agrees to pay the 8-cent postage . . . he puts on a written statement saying return requested—upon which you pay an 8-cent fee.

Hechler. Should the taxpayers have to pay the expense of having postal employees destroy things?

Maginnis. Well, we get into a philosophical discussion of government. We heard the President today in his economic message . . . we're worried about General Motors laying off tens of thousands of peoples . . . we live in a free-enterprise society . . . and unless we sell the goods and products produced by American labor we're going to be in tough shape.

Now all third-class mail is a selling tool to move goods and services produced by American labor. I don't think "profit" is an ugly word. Now those of my members in the business are in it to make a profit. Now if we don't choose to live in this capitalistic society, we don't have to listen to TV and radio and read newspapers and all the forms of advertising . . . but that's what made this nation great, that's why we can support all these endeavors throughout the world and support freedom, because now we have a budget of $135 billion and the President says to labor and he says to industry: Let's hold the line—let's not have inflation. And he puts it on a voluntary basis. Yet on the other hand, he's introducing a rate bill that will increase postal costs from 20–25 percent.

Now this is the only product that government sells—postal service. In all other areas it's not called a deficit—it's called an appropriation. I don't think the President can ask industry to hold its prices down while raising its own.

Hechler. I'm in favor of free enterprise . . . I would think you as a former assistant of Senator Taft, a great exponent of free enterprise, would think that free competitive enterprise should be unsubsidized by the government.

I'd like to make one quick comment about the volume of third-class mail. If a steep increase in rates, Harry, does cut the volume a little, perhaps that won't be so bad. Then maybe the Post Office Department could deliver its first-class mail a little bit quicker.

Allison. Touché! Thank you, sir.

Question: I'd like to ask the Congressman a question. If he's so concerned about the mail paying its own way, what about all the political mail sent out by Congressmen under the frank privilege which pays nothing?

Hechler. Well, I have indicated before that I never send political mail except with a 5-cent, first-class stamp.

Question: What about the other Congressmen?

Hechler. I'm sure that no Congressman could legally send out strictly political mail under the frank. The frank is only for official government business.

Question: What about all these newsletters that they send out to their constituents?

Hechler. Well, I certainly think there that when you're sending a newsletter out—it is official business because it is a means of informing the people in your District of the issues involved. It's interpreted by the Post Office Department as being official business, although I personaly don't do it.

Allison. Tell you what let's do, gentlemen. Let me ask Mr. Maginnis and Congressman Hechler to make sort of a closing statement for a minute or a minute and a half—and then we'll take a poll. I think we took a poll last time—let's take another one for fun to see if they've changed. The poll will be . . . and you can ring the phone as fast as you can dial . . . because the phones are open . . . say "Yes" or "No" . . . are you for the Hechler Amendment which would raise the price of third-class mail? And I think Congressman Hechler would love to hear what our polls would show. All right, how about it, Ken? Do you want to make a little speech for a minute a half?

Hechler. I'm very much in favor of raising third-class postal rates to such an extent that this class of mail will pay its way. This will cut down the postal deficit, and enable more energy to be devoted toward speedier delivery of first-class mail. Under our free enterprise system an advertiser pays the full cost of an advertisement in the newspaper or radio or over television; therefore, why should he be subsidized when he makes his advertising through the mail? I'm in favor of advertising. I'm not against banning third-class mail, I merely feel it should pay its way.

Allison. All right, Harry—a minute and a half.

Maginnis. The practical effect of the Hechler Amendment would be to eliminate third-class mail by punitive rates. If the Congressman were sincere about eliminating the postal deficit he would attack the sacred cow of the Postal Service by urging an increase in second-class rates which are newspapers. This he has not done in his bill. He has not covered increases in other categories of mail such as educational material—consisting of books. He does—very fairly, I must admit—raise the non-profit rate to churches and charities and others by 100 percent. I think he'll get a lot of opposition to this.

I would like to repeat again that the newspapers would like to recapture for themselves the advertising dollars spent on direct-mail advertising. We, however, feel that since we sell over $40 billion in goods and services and have employment from 4 to 5 million people in America—that we are performing a service in this capitalistic society. We don't regard "profit" as an ugly word . . . we do regret that there are duplications, it's expensive . . . and we feel that our mail is honest.

I would make only one final point. Direct-mail advertising is the only type of advertising where if you lie or cheat you can actually go to jail—any other forms of advertising get a pat on the wrist. Whatever you read in the mail, you can trust—because the 1900 postal inspectors waiting to swoop down on you . . .

I agree with Congressman Hechler there's a need for a rate increase. It only remains to decide what a fair increase is. I think his increase is too much—we'll argue it out in the Congressional arena before the postal committees and I think Congress will be fair with us.

Allison. All right, that's good. I'll tell you . . . Oh, folks. The phone number: District 7–6260. Let's make the question clear and easier: Are you for third-class mail? (Discussion.) All right. Are you for raising the price of third-class mail? Are you for raising the price of third-class mail?

Maginnis. To what degree, though, Steve? We're arguing about the degree——

Allison. All right, let's make a degree. Go ahead—how much do you want to raise it?

Maginnis. Well, I would raise it so it will cover the cost of traditionally as recovered of 75 percent of its way . . . he wants to make it 95 percent of its way.

Allison. How are you going to take a poll? (Discussion.) Let's use this question for the poll: Are you in favor of a steep increase in rates for third-class mail? Okay? Answer "Yes" or "No" . . . as soon as you say "Yes" or "No" I'm going to hang up because we want the phones to be open. District 7–6260.

Hello.

Question. Steve Allison?

Allison. Just say "Yes" or "No" . . .

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. All right, keep dialing as fast as you can. While they're getting to the phone—because we're going to talk about home rule a little later . . . Ken, you're with us again, aren't you?

Hechler. Yes, sir, I always am, Steve.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes, Steve.

Allison. Hello.

Question: Yes.

Allison. You're in trouble, Harry! Hello.

Question. No.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. I vote "Yes."

Allison. Oh, my! Harry, why didn't you rig this thing! Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Well, you got another one there, Harry. Isn't that interesting—the male "No." Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Oh, my. And these good people would scream and yell if they stopped getting their mail. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes!

Allison. Hello.

Question. No.

Allison. Isn't that funny? The males vote "No."

Question. (Both a man and a woman say "Yes" at the same time.)

Allison. Well, she had him by the hand . . . (Laughter) She had an arm lock on that poor fella? Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Well, poll away—Help.

Question. No.

Allison. Keep dialing—

Question. Maybe! (laughter.)

Question. Yes.

Allison. Well, that guy had plenty of guts. He wanted to really let us know—Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello . . . our phone number is District 7–6260 . . .

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. District 7–6260 . . . how many do we have . . . twenty to four? All right, let's see if we can get 30 calls—Okay? Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. Yes.

Allison. Hello.

Question. No.

Allison. You're not doing too good, Harry——

Maginnis. Oh, it's always the man who has to meet the payroll . . . bring home the bacon . . . it's the women who are against it evidently——

Allison. Hello.

Question. No.

Allison. Hello

Question: Yes

Allison. Hello

Question: Yes

Allison. That's 30? You blew it, Harry. Twenty-four to 6 . . . No, 23 to 7 . . . 6 . . . isn't that sad. One "maybe" . . . I would have voted for you, Harry! Well, that's it . . .

Hechler. There was one fellow, though, I think the lady really twisted his arm——

Allison. Had him right by the arm! (Laughter.) Tell you what, folks. Let's watch Mr. Hechler's bill and let's watch the screaming and yelling of Mr. Maginnis and his association.

Thank you so much for coming—both of you . . . I think Mr. Hechler deserves so very much credit for feeling a public responsibility to the people of Washington who can't vote for him or anybody else . . . well, they know how he feels. Thank you, Ken.

Maginnis. Thank you, Steve.

Hechler. Thanks a lot, Steve.

Allison. Okay, now, if you'll get out of the chair . . . (laughter) Well, here's your hat—what's your hurry?

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT AT THE DEDICATION OF THE ATLANTIC UNDERSEA TEST AND EVALUATION CENTER

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an address by the Vice President.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, dedicated the Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center in West Palm Beach, Fla., on February 26, 1967, thus adding new muscle to the Navy's arm of defense.

The Navy has been charged with the defense of the Nation in the sea since our beginning days. It has also been responsible not only for the defense on the surface, but under the seas as well.

With the dedication of AUTEC, the United States, under the direction of the Navy, has the world's most advanced deep water testing range. The range is located off Andros Island in the Bahama Islands, and the command center is located in West Palm Beach.

Primarily, the center will be used for purposes of national security, as the Vice President pointed out in his address. At the same time, the Vice President made specific note that the Nation as a whole, will benefit in many other areas.

Industry and education will reap rewards from the research done at AUTEC. We will learn more about the problems of weather, erosion, and oceanology in general. In preparing our defense systems, the work done at AUTEC will affect almost every facet of our lives. And in the not too distant future, the hungry of the world may realize benefits of the research done here.

This effort was not a singular one. The Government of the Bahamas gave us her hand of friendship. His Excellency, Sir Ralph Grey, represented the Government of the Bahamas at the dedication, and reaffirmed the willingness of his country to work with the United States.

The three members of the Cabinet, the Honorable Clarence A. Bain, the Honorable Randol F. Fawkes, and the Honorable Curtis McMillan, each indicated their country's wish to continue to build the friendship between our two nations.

I would also like to commend the Navy for their cooperation, and for the part its officers played in making the project a successful one.

The people of Palm Beach County also played an important role in the commissioning of AUTEC, specifically, the Ocean Sciences and Engineering Council of Palm Beach County, and the Palm Beach County commissioners.

The following also participated in the program:

Hon. George A. Smathers, U.S. Senate.

Hon. Dr. Robert A. Frosch, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, R. & D.

Vice Adm. C. E. Weakley, USN, commander, ASW Forces, Atlantic.

Rear Adm. P. M. Compston, Royal Navy, United Kingdom naval attaché.

Rear Adm. Odale D. Waters, USN, oceonographer of the Navy.

Rear Adm. Thomas A. Christopher, USN, commander, Naval Base, Key West, Fla.

Rear Adm. E. J. Fahy, USN, commander, Naval Ship Systems Command.

Rear Adm. J. W. Kelly, CHC, USN, chief of chaplains, U.S. Navy.

Hon. Turner B. Shelton, U.S. consul general, Bahamas.

Mr. E. F. Van Kessel, chairman, Palm Beach County Commission.

Dr. Kenneth Williams, president, Florida Atlantic University.

Msgr. J. P. O'Mahoney, St. Edward's Church, Palm Beach, Fla.

Mr. John H. Perry, Jr., member, U.S. Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources.

Mr. Billy B. Burns, chairman, Ocean Sciences and Engineering Council of Palm Beach County.

Capt. L. L. Jackson, Jr., USN, commanding officer, AUTEC.

Capt. Frederic A. M. Hooper, USN, director of research, Naval Ship Systems Command.

Mr. Vincent J. Prestipino, director, AUTEC, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Donald J. O'Meara, technical director, AUTEC.

Comdr. G. Barney, USN, officer in charge, AUTEC, Andros Island, Bahamas.

At this time I would like to enter into the RECORD the address made by the Vice President at the dedication of the Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center:

(By Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, AUTEC, February 26, 1967)

It is a privilige to be here with the distinguished representatives of the Bahamas, of Florida, and of the United States. We look to the people of the Bahamas as good friends and neighbors. Your Excellency, Sir Ralph Grey, Lady Grey, and members of the Bahamas Cabinet—I extend, through you, the greetings of our people to your distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Pindling, to the members of his Government, and to every citizen of the Bahamas. And, through the distinguished representative of the British Embassy, I once again extend the thanks and appreciation of the people of the United States to our friends in the United Kingdom and our friends throughout the Commonwealth for their partnership, their friendship, and their helpfulness in the common cause of human freedom.

I am honored to participate in the ceremonies commissioning this Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center. When my friend Congressman Rogers asked me to come, I readily accepted. I did so because of the importance of this Center to our common *defense. I did so because Congress Rogers,* in cooperation with the other members of the Florida delegation, has done so much for the advancement of the marine sciences. I predict, Congressman Rogers, that your work on behalf of the marine sciences—generally known as oceanography—will give you a place of esteem and honor in the history of our country that will be to your everlasting credit.

This Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center includes shore laboratories, tracking stations, underwater instrumentation, and many other facilities, plus the *personnel to operate them. The investment* in facilities alone will run to over $100 million. When this Center is fully developed, it will be able substantially to advance the Navy's capabilities in undersea technology.

For 169 years the United States Navy has been charged with the responsibility for our nation's defenses on, over, and under water. That responsibility has been faithfully fulfilled. It has increasingly involved achieving great capabilities, both in offenses and in defense, under the sea. This Center will add to our capabilities in defense, and therefore to our security. It will also add to our power—a power jointly shared with our allies. I might add that this power is not for aggression or conquest, but for self-determination and peace.

The seas have been and still are a potential source of peril. But today they can be a far greater source of wealth and well-being for all men.

As you know, I am chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council as well as the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. We have with us here today a great astronaut, Commander Scott Carpenter, who represents a living bridge, so to speak, between the marine and the space sciences. As we move along in marine research and development, we may very well find that there is much in common between the environments of outer space and the ocean depths.

We have made astounding progress in outer space in the past several years. Today we are just beginning to open up what I might call "inner space"—the new world of the oceans, covering 71% of the earth's surface.

Somebody asked me the other day: "Mr. Vice President, why do you want to spend money on these programs? What do we care what's at the bottom of the ocean? What do we care what's out there in outer space?"

One answer, of course, is that—like Mt. Everest—it is there. Whatever there is, man wants to know about. But, more significantly we need to know more about the total environment in which we live. We need to know more about the solar system that is our home. We need to know what happens in the seas and at the bottom of the seas. We need to know more about the atmosphere, about the stratosphere, about space and about the other planets. Our home is the universe and this earth is the room in which we live. What happens outside it affects us, so that we need to know more about it. So we have been exploring space, and now we are beginning to explore the oceans.

Eight months ago, new legislation—legislation which owes much to the leadership of Congressmen Rogers and Fascell—declared it to be the policy of the United States "to develop, encourage, and maintain a coordinated, comprehensive, and long-range national program in marine science for the benefit of mankind . . . to assist in the protection of health and property, enhancement of commerce, transportation, and national security, rehabilitation of our commercial fisheries, and increased utilization of these and other resources."

That same legislation established the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, which I have the honor to chair. (Every time the Congress *gives the Vice President a statutory* responsibility, it seems to be either out of this world or down under the seas!)

This new Council includes five members of the President's Cabinet, as well as the Secretary of the Navy, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Director of the National Science Foundation. I think the membership of this Council gives a good measure of the importance that the Congress attaches to this new effort.

In these past eight months, we have identified a number of priority areas for our activities. The President will soon present *to the Congress his proposals for moving* ahead in the field of marine resources and engineering development during the coming fiscal year.

I wonder if the people of Florida are aware today of what this new adventure can mean for them tomorrow. Florida, relative to its area, has more seacoast than any other mainland state in America. You have two great bodies of water—the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, each with its special characteristics and potentialities—right out your doorstep. At Miami—with the University of Miami and the laboratories of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries—you already have one of the leading complexes devoted to oceanic knowledge and research in the world.

This Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center has been established, of course, primarily for purposes of national security—but the knowledge we gain here will help us in many other ways. The topography of the seabed in this area makes it an unmatched sea laboratory—and in years to come it can assume the same importance in oceanography as Cape Kennedy has in Space.

Florida has a virtual hammerlock upon the future—the future in space and oceanography. The people of Florida have already shown a great deal of initiative of their own. Industry has already gone ahead, without waiting upon the help of government funds. I want particularly today to congratulate Louis Reynolds on his Aluminaut project, Ed Link on the "Man-in-the-Sea" program, and John Perry on his Cubmarine, which was instrumental in retrieving the H-bomb that was lost off the coast of Spain last year.

It has been a creative partnership of government, industry, and universities—not to forget the support of the Palm Beach County Association—which has gotten these efforts under way. This is the same kind of partnership which has been so successful in our space program—not just government, not just industry, not just the universities, but all working together as a team. I hope that, with this kind of partnership, we can solve many of the other complex problems that face our nation today.

What are the challenges that lie ahead for the marine sciences? Let's look at a few.

There are marinas on the Florida coast which must be dredged every year at a cost sometimes equal to what it cost to build them in the first place. There are harbors whose breakwaters actually increase, rather than diminish, wave action within them. We have to learn more about tides, currents, and waves so that these things will no longer happen.

Through studies of marine organisms, we may gain basic knowledge about the metabolic processes which characterize all life. For instance, some marine organisms reach old age within a few hours; others, which are self-reproducing, are virtually immortal. Their study may give us invaluable insights into the whole process of aging.

There are untapped mineral resources at the bottom of the sea. One of these days we will be exploiting them—it's only a question of developing and applying the necessary technology.

We may learn how to divert hurricanes away from our shores—or even prevent them.

But perhaps the greatest promise of all is that of food from the sea.

One and a half billion of the world's people live tropical and sub-tropical areas, on a diet that is generally short of protein. This protein deficiency may account for as many as half the deaths of children under five—and those who survive often suffer permanent physical and possibly mental impairment. Yet a mere ten grams a day of processed fish protein concentrate—odorless and tasteless—can, if added to a child's regular diet, give him all the protein he needs for normal physical and mental development. And this *diet supplement can be provided for less* than a penny a day.

These are some of the things that lie ahead—and not too far ahead, at that. For a boy born and raised in South Dakota, where the land is flat and seemingly endless, this is a pretty exciting business.

I think the Congress found the right man to lead us out to sea!

I can't think of anything more exciting than finding out what's really in the sea—not merely skimming its surface, but probing its depths to find out what contribution it can make to our security and well-being.

I remember reading, as a schoolboy, the words of Joseph Conrad: "The sea . . . and its works, for all the talk of men, are wrapped in mystery."

Today we intend to unravel that mystery. We intend to use the oceans and their resources to generate new wealth, new industries, and new jobs. And with the secrets we find, with the new knowledge that surely lies ahead, we intend to build a safer, a kinder, and a more peaceful world.

Walt Whitman put it into words a century ago:

"Joyous we . . . launch out on trackless seas,
Fearless for unknown shores."

Joyously we are launching today a great international effort not only in the field of security and defense, but in science and research for the good of mankind. As we venture forth on this great voyage, let us go with every confidence of success.

I say to the people of Florida—you are lucky, because the ocean about you can be your greatest asset. The wealth of the sea will enrich you, just as it will help all of mankind.

TRIBUTE TO VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted with the praise that is being given from the White House, from the Democratic National Committee, and from the press of our Nation to the dedicated, eloquent and self-effacing, beloved, great American from Minnesota who is the Vice President of the United States.

I read with enthusiastic approval in the Washington Post of Saturday a splendid editorial which ends:

> He is, in truth, the very model of a model Vice President.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include the entire text of this editorial from the Washington Post of last Saturday.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The editorial is a follows:

A Model Vice President

It is good to know that President Johnson appreciates the qualities of Vice President Hubert Humphrey as a public servant. His kind remarks about the Vice President at the press conference on Thursday certainly are deserved. It would be dismaying indeed if the President did not hold these views.

The Vice President has brilliantly succeeded in an office that presents the greatest difficulty to a man of his temperament and genius. Congress has given him two special tasks to which he devotes great attention—outer space and undersea exploration. The President has showered him with special duties and missions. He has dealt with all of them competently and quietly. History will have to disclose how valuable he has been in the inside councils of the Administration but there is reason to believe he has been very useful there.

The most important legacy that he will leave the country will be a concept of the Vice Presidency that fits both its subordinate position in the Executive Branch and the necessities of modern administration. Not for an instant has he allowed himself a word or a deed that would indicate any confusion about the place where there resides the constitutional duty and power to speak for the Government of the United States. He has rightly said, and repeatedly said, that there can be only one authoritative voice—and that is the voice of the President. He has been the President's echo on every public policy discussion of the Administration. And whenever the Vice President, under our system, tries to be anything other than that, "the trumpet maketh an uncertain sound."

No wonder the President admires his public service. The thoughtful citizens of this country also admire it and understand it. He is, in truth, the very model of a model Vice President.

STALIN'S DAUGHTER SHOULD BE GIVEN ASYLUM

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the United States celebrated the 20th anniversary of the Truman doctrine—a policy to contain communism and give hope to enslaved people—in a disgraceful manner last weekend by refusing asylum to a woman who sought refuge from the heartland of the Communist empire.

It was disgraceful, because the refusal had nothing to do with actions or attitudes of the woman herself. She was neither a criminal nor a political troublemaker.

The refusal was political expediency, plain and simple. We must hang our heads in shame, because it broke the hallowed tradition which has made the name America a bright beacon of hope to all those who long for the day when they too can escape from tyranny, walk into a U.S. embassy and be assured asylum.

Until last weekend America was a star to which they could pin their hopes with confidence. But no more. Asylum now may be denied in order to protect that will o' the wisp of international politics called détente. As this grim news makes the rounds, hope will wink out in hundreds and thousands of desolate places.

What an ugly milestone in the long course of liberty's struggle against tyranny. After precisely 20 years of persistent work—so costly in blood and dollars—the world's mightiest military power serving the world's freest people fears to shelter a woman because to do so might irritate the world's most powerful dictatorship.

Has the struggle ground to nothing our sense of values? Those who struggled must shudder when they learn that the United States is so obsessed with placating dictatorship that it turns away a woman seeking safety.

The woman, of course, is the daughter of Russia's bloodiest tyrant. Joe Stalin must be grinning in his grave. In rejecting his daughter's plea, America passed up the greatest opportunity since the Bolshevik revolution 50 years ago to reveal the bankruptcy of Communist life and the promise of freedom.

I cannot believe this is what the American people really want. Better late than never, the United States must reverse its decision, open its doors to this woman, and put together as best it can the shattered fragments of a once great tradition.

If Soviet civility can be purchased only by sacrificing American compassion for people seeking freedom, the price is too high.

EQUITABLE TARIFF TREATMENT FOR THE PAPERMAKING MACHINERY INDUSTRY

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join today with other Members of this body in sponsoring legislation to raise the duty on paper industries machinery to 20 percent ad valorem, so as to correct a serious tariff inequity on U.S. imports of papermaking machinery and related items.

This is a matter of deep concern to me because of the number of affected plants manufacturing paper industries machinery in Ohio, some of which are in my own congressional district.

It is also a matter of concern because of the serious loss in a favorable balance of trade.

This inequity grows out of the fact that the executive branch of the U.S. Government in successive trade agreement negotiations has reduced the U.S. duty from the level of 35 percent ad valorem to the very low level of 7 percent for most items in the category, 10 percent for some others, and 13½ percent for certain parts used in the machinery.

On the other hand, we have allowed the foreign countries which are the principal suppliers of papermaking machinery in world trade to retain high tariffs and, in addition, to impose frontier taxes which greatly affect the effective level of monetary charges which must be paid to gain entry for U.S. machinery exports into these countries.

The principal producers of papermaking machinery are Canada, West Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The combined ad valorem equivalent of their import duties and frontier taxes on U.S. exports of papermaking machinery ranges from 20 percent in West Germany to 48 percent in France.

This inequity is dramatized by the current trends in our imports and exports. Under the stimulation of the excessively low rate of duty on U.S. imports, foreign-produced papermaking machinery has poured into the United States at a rapidly accelerating rate. From $7 million worth of machines in 1962, U.S. imports have swelled to more than $25 million worth in the first 11 months of 1966—more than triple the 1962 volume.

At the same time, our exports have been sharply damped down by the restrictive tariffs and frontier taxes imposed by the foreign producers with the result that the value of our exports dropped from $83 million in 1962 to $55 million during the first 11 months of 1966—a net loss of $46 million in a favorable balance of trade.

In the past, the papermaking machinery industry has been an important contributor of new employment in the United States. Compared with the average level of employment during the years 1958 to 1960, employment climbed in 1965 to the level of 20,041 jobs—an 18-percent increase. This is more than twice the rate of increase in new jobs in the average of all manufacturing industries in the United States during the same period.

This achievement in the creation of new jobs was the product of a very rapid rate of new capital expenditures by the industry. During the period mentioned annual capital expenditures for new plant and equipment increased by 104 percent in comparison with a much lower rate of increase, 74 percent for the average of all manufacturing industries.

Notwithstanding the U.S. industry's determination and courage in improving and expanding its plant capacity and adding new jobs, the pressure of the rising level of the imports and the loss of outlets for its production through the decling exports contributed to a sharp squeeze on the industry's profits. Between the average of 1958–60, on the one hand, and the year 1965, on the other, the ratio of the industry's gross earnings before taxes to the value of shipments dropped by more than 12 percent. This was in especially sharp contrast to the experience of all manufacturing industries as a whole in which the gross earnings ratio increased by 9 percent, 1961 to 1965.

Mr. Speaker, this matter is of deep concern to me because there are 13 plants manufacturing paper industries machinery located in the State of Ohio, and two of these are located in Clark County in my district.

Mr. Speaker, I was one of more than 20 Members of this body who in the last session introduced concurrent resolutions expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should exercise the unqualified right of the United States under article XXVIII of the GATT to modify our import duties by effecting a partial withdrawal of past concessions to restore the duty to the 20-percent level described above.

The firm life of tariff concessions under GATT is three years subject to automatic renewal for 3-year periods, unless a contracting party gives notice during the 6-months' period prior to the termination of the 3-year period of its intention to withdraw or modify particular tariffs. Mr. Speaker, other nations have frequently exercised their right under article XXVIII to correct problems which have arisen through the selective modification or withdrawal of tariffs during the "open season" provided by article XXVIII. Frequently the United States has acquiesced in such actions without demanding compensation.

In this instance, it was my judgment and that of more than 20 of my colleagues that any compensation which the affected countries might demand could readily be worked out in the tariff bargaining which is taking place in the Kennedy round of trade agreement negotiations. It is a well-publicized fact that other nations have not matched U.S. offers in the Kennedy round, and the modification of the paper industries machinery tariff is a tiny item that could have been thrown on the scales to help achieve a better balance in the negotiations.

Regretfully, Mr. Speaker, the executive branch declined to act on the domestic industry's petition for a partial withdrawal of the tariff concessions on papermaking machinery. No specific reason was given other than the expression that it was the judgment of the executive branch that no compelling reason had been shown for the action.

It strikes me, Mr. Speaker, that the sharply rising imports, the equally serious drop in exports, and the great disparity between our low level of 7 percent and the foreign countries' tariff-tax levels ranging from 20 to 48 percent more than satisfied the executive branch's need to feel that there was "compelling reason" for the action.

Nevertheless, since the executive branch allowed this opportunity to slip through its fingers, it is now necessary for the Congress to deal with the situation by positive legislation. Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I introduce my bill to raise the duty on paper industries machinery to 20 percent ad valorem and I strongly urge the Committee on Ways and Means to schedule early hearings on the bill.

REVITALIZATION OF THE HOUSING AND HOME BUILDING SEGMENT OF OUR NATION'S ECONOMY

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a telegram.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy today to read to my colleagues a telegram which has been received by the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, from Mr. E. Stanley Enlund, president of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago, which is located in the 7th Congressional District of Illinois which I have the honor to represent in this Congress. It reads as follows:

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Banking and Currency Committee, U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: Knowing of your concern for the revitalization of the housing and home building segment of our Nation's economy we are pleased to advise you of major action taken yesterday by us. Effective immediately we have lowered our conventional home mortgage rates one-half percent to a range of 5½ to 6 percent. In our news release we indicated that "this reduction was made with the specific purpose of stimulating Chicago's lagging mortgage market." Our decision "reflects President Johnson's concern over the state of the housing and home building segment of our economy and is consistent with the Federal home loan bank board's own efforts to stimulate this important market" as the largest savings and loan association in Chicago—also the city's leading mortgage lender—we felt it important that we take the lead to move decisively in the best interests of our customers and our community. It is our hope that this sharp reduction in mortgage rates will stimulate the housing market in the Chicagoland area and that other lenders throughout our country will follow our lead in an effort to reactivate this market across our Nation.

Respectfully,
E. STANLEY ENLUND,
President, First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the actions of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Chicago, and I am hoping that other financial institutions throughout America will follow in this direction.

NATIONAL SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL WEEK

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to announce that I have, today, placed in the hopper a House joint resolution calling for the designation of the second week of May each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

At the present time, over 900,000 schoolchildren serve in the safety patrol, serving 40,000 schools in 15,000 communities throughout the country. Since the patrol was established in 1922, some 16 million persons have participated.

The record of these young men and women is truly impressive. Since the patrols' founding, the traffic death rate of school-age children has dropped nearly one-half while the death rate of all other age groups has doubled.

In recognition of the fine work these youngsters do, each May representative groups are brought to Washington for an impressive parade down Constitution Avenue. The parade is sponsored by the schools and the police with the American Automobile Association acting as coordinator.

Last year some 537 youngsters from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts participated in the parade, and I am happy that this year there will be a contingent of 25 students sponsored by the Tri-County Motor Club in Holyoke coming to Washington along with a large contingent of students from Springfield.

The importance of the event can readily be ascertained by a look at the distinguished persons who have assisted in this program each year.

In conjunction with the parade, the American Automobile Association each year presents Gold Lifesaver Medals to those young patrol heroes who have actually saved the life of a schoolmate in traffic danger. Last year Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY presented the awards and served as grand marshal for the parade.

In past years, Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, and Truman; Vice President Nixon; and Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY have presented the awards.

In urging my colleague to join with me in introducing similar resolutions, so that the Nation may more properly pay tribute to these young men and women, I would like to point out that day after day, the patrol members serve their schoolmates, guiding them and protecting them against traffic accidents.

Supervision, to keep their work on an efficient basis, is provided through a designated teacher, the patrol supervisor, who is made responsible by the school principal for the patrols. A patrol captain and one or more lieutenants, selected from the patrol membership, carry out the daily inspection and operation of the group under the direction of the patrol supervisor.

So the patrol members not only learn at a young age to serve their fellow students, but they learn the responsibilities of leadership as well.

In the classroom, schoolchildren learn rules for safe walking. On the streets, the patrol members see to it that these rules are applied at patrol locations several times daily.

By constant repetition, good habits of street use are formed and become automatic. Once firmly established, these sound habits govern at all street crossings and hopefully stay with them in later life, although our soaring pedestrian fatality rate indicates that many "adults" could use some training in safe walking.

INCOME TAX EXEMPTIONS FOR FOSTER CHILD

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that it has been the purpose of the Congress to provide fair and equitable provisions in the Internal Revenue Code. It is understandable, however, that inequities do occur occasionally as the code is applied to individual circumstances. In the legislation I am proposing today, I am seeking to amend the code to deal with one unfair aspect of it and to assure that parents of foster children are accorded such income tax exemptions as are proper.

The status of dependents in our tax laws is particularly complex. To be claimed as a dependent, a person must meet five tests: support, gross income, member of household or relationship, citizenship, and joint return. The first test, support, means that in order to be claimed as a dependent, a person must receive over half of his total support from the taxpayer during the calendar year. The second test, gross income, means that a person cannot be claimed as a dependent if he received over $600 of gross income during the calendar year. The third test states that if the person being claimed is a member of the taxpayer's household and lives with the taxpayer during the entire year, it is not necessary that he be related to the taxpayer. Close relatives may still be claimed as dependents although they do not live with the taxpayer. The fourth test is citizenship; a dependent must be a citizen or resident of the United States, or a resident of Canada, Mexico, the Canal Zone, or the Republic of Panama, for the year he is claimed as a dependent. Fifth, an exemption for a dependent is not allowed if the dependent files a joint return. These tests are well known to anyone who has claimed tax exemptions for dependents. In addition, the provisions whereby the gross income test may be disregarded are also well understood. The law states that if a person earns $600 or over during the calendar year, he may not be claimed as a dependent. However, if the dependent is the taxpayer's child who is a full-time student and he earns over $600 in the calendar year, he may still be claimed as a dependent as long as he meets the other tests. This same provision applies to children under age 19; if a child under 19 earns over $600, he may still be claimed as a dependent as long as he meets the other tests.

I am not questioning these provisions, but in going deeper into this situation, it is proper to ask what is the definition of "child" in this situation. A child is defined as a natural son or daughter, stepson or daughter, or legally adopted son or daughter. In 1959, the code was amended to include in this definition a child who is a member of the taxpayer's household as a result of being placed there by an authorized placement agency for legal adoption. This definition, however, does not include foster children, and it is this omission which I feel is inequitable.

Certainly, we probably all know of instances where children are members of a household and in all respects are treated as if they were the children of the parents, but for various reasons they have not been legally adopted. I am thinking of situations where there is a desire not to change the family name of the child or where the child is actually a relative, perhaps the natural child of a close member of the family.

Consider the situation of a man and his wife who have as their foster son a boy of 17 years of age. We can all understand the decision of the parents not to legally adopt him and change his surname when he is already well into his teens. But the bearing of a different surname in no way affects the full nature of the parental relationship. At the appropriate time, such parents may pay the boy's college expenses and he may share in their estate. One summer, let us say, the young man happens to earn more than $600 to help meet his future educational expenses. If he were a natural son, or a stepson, or a legally adopted son, his parents could still claim him as a dependent. As a foster son, they cannot.

It is my feeling that it has not been the purpose of the law to exclude intentionally foster children from this particular definition. However, the exclusion of foster children from the present law is being interpreted by the Internal Revenue Service as prohibiting tax deductions for the parents of such children. I do not argue that the Internal Revenue Service has administrative authority to do otherwise. It is for that reason that I am offering a bill to make certain that justice is done and that the parents of foster children are treated equitably in our tax laws. My bill amends paragraph (2) of section 152(b), the definition of "child" in the cases for which the $600 may be disregarded, by including the phrase "foster child of an individual." This in no way affects the other four tests; they must still be met.

It is my sincere hope that this bill can receive favorable action by the Congress, thus correcting this inequitable situation.

THE TEXTILE IMPORT PROBLEM AND ITS BEARING ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I share the concern which has already been expressed in this House with regard to the serious threat imposed on the domestic industry as a result of the overwhelming increase of textile imports to the United States. Many of us in the Congress have been hopeful that a part of this import problem could be resolved through an international agreement. We are, however, greatly disturbed that textile imports have tripled since 1961 and if proper attention is not given to this problem, the basic structure of the textile industry will be severely damaged.

One of my major concerns is the devastating effect that these imports will have on our domestic labor force if they continue to come to the United States at the present abusive rate. We are fully aware of the fact that wage rates in foreign countries are far lower than in the United States. We also know that other costs of manufacturing in the United States are much higher than in foreign countries. Since these factors are so very important in the cost structure of production, they give an overwhelming advantage to foreign mills. Then too, foreign mills have demonstrated time and time again that they can shift their textile production to the most popular and profitable textile items in the United States. This gives them a double advantage of exploiting the U.S. textile market in such a way that it has a devastating effect in the marketplace here at home.

We should also fully evaluate textile imports as they relate to our national security and defense procurement program. Textile products are second only to steel from the standpoint of defense requirements and through the years, textile products have proven to be vital and essential to our combat readiness program. Some experts have suggested that modern warfare would be of short duration because of the possible use of the atomic bomb and therefore have concluded that textiles would not have the same important status which they held in the Korean war and World War II. This theory proved to be invalid in the conflict with Korea and the same is true in the case of Vietnam. In fact, the situation which now exists in Vietnam is proof that a vast amount of manpower and equipment is essential in conducting this operation. Instead of less emphasis on textiles, they have become more important to the Vietnam conflict than any time in history, as I observed when I visited Vietnam personally in 1966. The textile and apparel industries are providing clothes, underwear, jeep covers, parachutes, tents for housing troops, supplies and equipment, and in fact, a great variety of other essential textile items, such as durable but light tropical jungle uniforms.

I am proud of the fine record and contribution which Norwich Mills, Norwich, N.Y., is making to our national defense program. This mill located in my district produces sizable quantities of underwear for the Armed Forces. I have been advised that the total underwear industry estimates that at the end of this fiscal year, which ends June 30, 1967, they will have provided over 47 million garments to all branches of the military service. The same applies to other textile shops, small as well as large, in our district.

The textile industry should be commended for the outstanding service it is rendering in supplying essential items for defense needs. It should be pointed out that they have voluntarily dropped many of their civilian accounts in an effort to meet the heavy demands for textiles to supply military requirements. Many of these items are complicated from the standpoint of construction and are manufactured under the most rigid specifications. In an effort to meet the heavy demands of military requirements, costly adjustments were necessary within the industry, but they have come through in an exceptionally fine way and have demonstrated once again that they are a vital and essential part of our national defense operation. This record of achievement is certainly impressive evidence that we cannot, and should not, permit imports to continue their rapid rise in this country, and to such an extent that they threaten the basic foundation of this industry and weaken the ability of the textile industry to supply our military requirements.

Mr. Speaker, there is every indication that the present duty situation on textile items is not discouraging imports to the United States and it would certainly appear to be a serious mistake to reduce the duties under the GATT negotiations on any textile items. It seems to me that the basic part of this problem can be fully resolved by strict enforcement of the International Cotton Textile Agreement, and I concur that this arrangement should be continued for at least 5 or 6 years and that a similar arrangement should be worked out for wool and manmade textiles.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Star on March 10, Columnist David Lawrence discusses the far-reaching consequences of a decision by the Supreme Court to force this body to seat the ex-Congressman from Harlem, Adam Clayton Powell. Quite correctly he points out that any such ruling would be a complete reversal of the position the Court has taken for over 100 years.

Knowing the Supreme Court as I do, it is quite possible they will try to ride roughshod over the House in this matter and I think it would be well for every Member to be familiar with the ramification of such an action as delineated by Mr. Lawrence. His column follows:

POWELL CASE AND 14TH AMENDMENT

(By David Lawrence)

Adam Clayton Powell and the entire civil-rights movement have more to lose than gain if the Supreme Court should rule that the House of Representatives must grant a seat to the Harlem minister. For if the Supreme Court chooses to overrule the House of Representatives about who shall be admitted to a seat in Congress, it will be a reversal of the attitude taken nearly 100 years ago when the highest court in the land refused even to consider such questions.

To put it another way, if the judiciary should take jurisdiction and order that a seat in Congress be given Adam Clayton Powell, then the validity of the 14th Amendment, which was fraudulently adopted, could be challenged now because in 1865, when it was first voted on, certain members of both houses were denied seats in Congress. The Supreme Court has always claimed it has been without power to intervene.

Historians have never disagreed about the facts. When the War between the States ended with Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865, President Lincoln proclaimed amnesty. Yet in December 1865, when the 39th Congress convened, both houses decided to deny seats to the members from 10 Southern states, including those whose legislatures had ratified the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery. Thaddeus Stevens, the Northern leader in Congress, based his case on the constitutional provision which says that "each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members."

This is the same provision that was cited recently by the House of Representatives in connection with its resolution excluding Powell. Yet every person elected to Congress from the South in the December 1865 session was over 25 years of age, an inhabitant of his own state, a citizen of the United States, and was elected by the people—the sole qualifications for admission according to Powell's lawyers.

When the new session of Congress began in December 1865, it was apparent that the 14th Amendment could not get a two-thirds majority in both houses unless the South was excluded. This amendment was submitted to the states by Congress on June 16, 1866. In the Reconstruction Act, which was passed in March 1867 by the "rump" Congress, it was declared that the 10 Southern states whose legislatures had rejected the 14th Amendment would not be permitted representation until their legislatures ratified the amendment.

Again and again, efforts were made to challenge these acts of a "rump" Congress. It was pointed out that the Constitution itself said no state could be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate without its consent, that peace had come to the nation, and that there was no longer any insurrection. But the Supreme Court of the United States deliberately put the issue aside and refused to make any ruling.

The explanation given at the time—and ever since—was that these were "political" questions and that the Supreme Court felt it had no right to interfere with the way Congress operates—whom it should admit and whom it should reject.

What would happen now if the Supreme Court suddenly decides to overrule Congress and compel the admission of Adam Clayton Powell, especially if he is elected again next month? If the high court abandons its historic position that it has no authority over who shall sit in Congress, then certainly another test could immediately ensue on the validity of the 14th Amendment itself. For even the lapse of time does not alter the historic facts or the constitutional issues.

Civil-rights laws today have as their legal foundation the 14th Amendment. So a victory for Powell in recovering his seat could easily turn out to be a set-back for civil-rights movement.

The "ratification" of the 14th Amendment has, to be sure, been accepted thus far as a realistic fact by the Supreme Court, but it could be subjected to new challenges raising questions as to the propriety of the method of "ratification" actually used. If the amendment were declared null and void, a substitute would then have to be enacted and submitted to the States. Public opinion would doubtless favor adoption, but Congress would also have to re-examine and re-enact the previous legislation on civil rights.

PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, next month, President Johnson will attend a meeting of the American Presidents at Punta del Este in Uruguay, to give new impetus to the Alliance for Progress.

Among the multiple interests and programs of accomplishment achieved in the years of the Alliance there has developed a grassroots, extragovernmental movement which has caught the interest of the people of many of our States as well as many of our Latin American neighbors.

It is called, Partners of the Alliance. This concept, less than 3 years old, sprang from a desire to involve private citizens on an active program of mutual assistance. In 1966 the organization expanded its membership and scope of operations to include 31 U.S. States and the District of Columbia and 15 Latin American republics. Members include educators and students, business leaders and trade unionists, doctors and nurses, and representatives of many other professions and community organizations. At their local, regional, and international meetings they exchange ideas and collaborate on projects which will promote the aims and spread the benefits of their alliance within the Alliance for Progress.

Since its founding, the program has provided a flow of three to four million dollars worth of technical and material assistance within the partnership. This exchange takes in such diverse items as high school and university scholarships, agricultural, and electrical equipment and tools.

A major share of the U.S. Partners' attention has been focused on the shipment of hospital equipment to Latin American rural areas and the implementation of impact-type projects in community development.

Most important is the growing understanding of attitudes and problems which have developed into firm friendships on a working basis.

In late 1966, the U.S. Partners formed a national association and elected their first national president—Edward Marcus, of Texas, civic leader, and executive vice president of Neiman-Marcus.

In the pervasive hemispheric scope of the Alliance for Progress, this organization is indeed small in size, but nevertheless, significant. It manifests the deep feelings of mutual friendship between the peoples of Latin America and our own and, indeed, lends substance and validity to the great overall effort of the Alliance for Progress.

This spirit of brotherhood is strong, I believe, in the general feeling in this country about the Alliance for Progress. I am pleased to count myself among the enthusiastic supporters of President Johnson's programs in Latin America, and I wish him well as he and his fellow Presidents undertake discussions to give a new phase to the alliance.

TAX CREDIT PROVISIONS OF LAIRD REVENUE-SHARING BILL—H.R. 5450

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include charts and drafts of revenue proceedings.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, when I recently took the well of the House—February 15, 1967, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 3443 to 3463—to introduce my new revenue-sharing bill, H.R. 5450, I delivered extensive remarks on various aspects of revenue sharing. I also discussed the general failure of the current grant-in-aid approach to the problems of our States and localities. This subject is one which concerns us all, and will be the subject of further detailed discussion in the weeks and months ahead.

Today, however, my remarks will be confined to one particular aspect of the Laird revenue-sharing bill. That aspect is section 13 of the bill which provides a credit against Federal taxes on the income of individuals for State and local taxes paid.

The distinction between a tax credit and a tax deduction is a simple one. The tax deduction permits an individual to lower his net income for computing his Federal income tax liability. A tax credit, on the other hand, is applied to the total tax obligation of an individual and is treated in the same manner as if it were a cash payment on the Federal income tax which an individual must pay.

Section 13 of my bill provides an initial tax credit of 10 percent in the first year of its operation. Then, the amount of the tax credit is increased by 10 percent each year until the plan is fully operational in the fourth year and the tax credit has reached 40 percent.

Section 13 of my bill is primarily designed to return additional tax sources to the States by reducing the Federal tax burden on individual taxpayers. The tax credit section would affect the average married taxpayer with two children in the following way:

At 10 percent, no matter what the income level, every taxpayer would be better off taking the tax deduction provided for under present law. This was done in order to preclude any drain on the Federal Treasury in the first year both because of the Vietnam war and in order to give the States time to plan their own tax programs after the legislation is enacted.

Section 13 also provides that the taxpayer will always have the choice of a tax credit or a tax deduction. This is so structured that while it will benefit most taxpayers to take a tax credit, some income taxpayers would still find it to their best interests to take the present tax deduction.

I have had a table prepared which shows the effect of this new method of tax computation on a typical individual with a family of four.

At the 20-percent tax credit level in the second year of operation, the family of four with an income of $5,500 would save $15.95 by taking the credit rather than the deduction. For the same income level, with a 30-percent tax credit, the saving would amount to $47.85 for the average family of four. When fully operational in the fourth year of the program, the family would save a total of $79.75.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the table which shows the effect of the Laird revenue sharing bill's tax credit section be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

Before that, however, let me point out that under section 13, when an individual's net tax obligation is less than the amount of credit which he can claim, the individual's tax obligation will be zero. Under present law, of course, he would not receive a rebate for the full amount of the credit which he has computed. This would also be true under section 13 of H.R. 5450.

Another point to bear in mind when examining this table, is that the figures for deductions are averages based on the total returns filed in that income category with the Internal Revenue Service.

The most recent complete data which is available on this subject covers calendar year 1964. It is this data on which the enclosed table is based.

The table referred to follows:

Comparison of estimated tax benefits by various income level taxpayers from (1) deduction for State and local taxes under present law, and (2) tax credit in lieu of deduction, as proposed in the Laird revenue sharing bill, H.R. 5450 (90th Cong.)

[Computations based on a family of 4]

Income level [1]	Income tax liability [2]	Average deduction for State and local taxes	Tax benefit from deduction of State and local taxes	Estimated tax credit, and net tax benefit [3] therefrom, for State and local taxes							
				10-percent credit		20-percent credit		30-percent credit		40-percent credit	
				Amount of tax credit	Net tax benefit	Amount of tax credit	Net tax benefit	Amount of tax credit	Net tax benefit	Amount of tax credit	Net tax benefit
$3,500	$36	$217	$30.38	$21.70	−$8.68	$43.40	$13.02	$65.10	$34.72	[4] $86.80	[4] $56.42
$5,500	281	319	47.85	31.90	−15.95	63.80	15.95	95.70	47.85	127.60	79.75
$7,500	555	438	74.46	43.80	−30.66	87.60	13.14	131.40	56.94	175.20	100.74
$12,500	1,386	679	129.79	67.90	−61.89	135.80	6.01	203.70	73.91	271.60	141.81
$17,500	2,348	962	222.17	96.20	−125.97	192.40	−29.77	288.60	66.43	384.80	162.63
$35,000	7,228	1,541	564.63	154.10	−410.53	308.20	−256.43	462.30	−102.33	616.40	51.77
$75,000	24,783	3,394	1,798.82	339.40	−1,459.42	678.80	−1,120.02	1,018.20	−780.62	1,357.60	−441.22

[1] All income is assumed to be earned income.

[2] Tax computations made on the following assumptions (and rounded to the nearest dollar): (a) The taxpayers itemized their deductions. The amount of deductions used in the computations were the average deductions for the respective income classes. These were derived from basic data in "Preliminary Report, Statistics of Income—1964, Individual Income Tax Returns." (b) Taxpayers use the tax rate schedule.

[3] The net tax benefit is equal to the tax credit (allowed under H.R. 5450) less the deduction allowed under present law. A minus figure for the net tax benefit indicates that the deduction will provide a larger tax saving than the tax credit will.

[4] Since the credit is limited to the tax liability of the taxpayer, before applying the credit, the net tax benefit, in this example, would be limited to $36. (A tax credit of $66.38 (i.e., $30.38 + $36) would provide this maximum benefit.)

THE U.S. COMMERCIAL FISHING FLEET

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, there are encouraging signs for our fishing fleet these days. From the scallopers out of New Bedford, Mass., to the shrimpers out of the gulf ports and the long-liners that put out from the west coast for tuna.

It is one of our oldest and proudest industries.

It is an industry where once the United States led other nations of the world; an industry where she slipped, but it would appear that America is making a comeback, and with unity of effort and cooperation can make tremendous progress. The coming exposition will afford the means for such unity and cooperation. The U.S. commercial fishing industry annually produces about 5 billion pounds of fish and shellfish. Based on our present knowledge of resources off our coast, it is reasonable to expect the production to incease five times if resources not now used or only partially used are earnestly employed by our fishermen.

While the United States now ranks fifth in the community of fishing nations, there are several factors which lead us to believe that the industry could and will be more vital in the coming years.

There is the most encouraging factor, the rising demand for fish and shellfish. Total utilization per person runs from 55 pounds in 1965 to about 64 pounds in 1966. This can be increased. More new vessels entered the U.S. fishing fleet in 1966 than in any other year since the 1950's.

The Government's ship construction program, in which I was glad to play a leading part, passed by the Congress, has been a vital factor in this surge. This program should be increased. We are now seeing American capital building factory ships that we hope will restore the U.S. position in the international fishing scene.

Last February 2 the Food and Drug Administration approved fish flour for human consumption. Now President Johnson has signed a bill authorizing construction of one fish flour pilot plant and plans for a second to investigate how this flour can alleviate the food problems of the emerging nations.

Although the United States imports 60 percent of its fisheries products and although the industry does not play a major part in our total trade, commercial fishing jumped to $100 million in 1966. Our larger stake in this vital industry increased our international responsibilities.

This October, for the first time in its history, the American commercial fishing industry will have an exposition, to be held in Boston. This will be a trade show to foster cooperation and understanding between all segments of the industry, with a view to aiding its long-range growth. Participating in the exposition will be leaders from all segments of the industry with international representation as well as American, are invited.

Considering the position of the United States in the world community of nations, it seems appropriate that we provide leadership in commercial fishing. In order to do this, we must:

First. Put increased emphasis on the development of more efficient and lower cost methods of harvesting fish.

Second. Make greater use of underutilized and unutilized species.

Third. Place greater emphasis on applications of new technology and research findings.

Fourth. Increase public awareness of the health and nutritional advantage of fishery products as a regular item in our diets.

The American Commercial Fish Exposition with its seminars will be a place where these matters will be discussed and advanced. It is the first of its kind in the Nation and will be sponsored by one of the largest newspapers in the East, the Boston Globe.

The interest in the coming exposition should, as I hope, and urge, be active and widespread.

I include a press release containing information about the exposition made by the American Commercial Fish Exposition, Inc., on February 24, 1967.

> This October, for the first time in its history, the American commercial fishing industry will have an exposition, a trade show to foster cooperation and understanding between all segments of the industry, with a view to aiding its long range growth.
>
> Mr. Davis Taylor, Boston newspaper publisher and president of the organization sponsoring the show, announced that the first American Commercial Fish Exposition will be held in Boston this fall from Tuesday, October 10, through October 14.
>
> Participating in the Exposition will be leaders from all segments of the industry with international representation invited as well as American. The federal and state governments have promised complete cooperation, along with research and educational institutions, the commercial fishermen themselves, fleet owners, naval architects, manufacturers and suppliers of equipment, and the industry's trade publications.
>
> In addition to exhibits of all the latest methods, gear engines, hardware, nets and electronics equipment at the show itself, seminars will be held each day of the show. These seminars will cover all fields of the commercial fishing industry, including detection and catching, handling, fishing vessels and subsidies, as well as the processing and marketing phases of the business. The sponsoring firm is a corporation jointly owned by the Globe Newspaper Company and Attorney Richard A. Sullivan of Boston. Davis Taylor, publisher of The Boston Globe is president, and Attorney Sullivan is executive director.

EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, 8 years ago yesterday—March 12—the House of Representatives passed the bill which provided for admission of Hawaii as the 50th State of the Union. The House vote was overwhelming: 323 Members gave enthusiastic approval of the Hawaii statehood bill, while only 89 Members opposed it.

I rise to take the floor at this time, Mr. Speaker, to thank those whom I can now call my colleagues and who worked tirelessly and endlessly for a cause which to their own constituents meant little or nothing, but to over half a million Americans in the middle of the Pacific Ocean meant political justice and a full and final recognition of their proven loyalty to American ideals. I wish to thank those Members, too, who voted against Hawaii's admission but who have subsequently seen enlightenment and helped in different ways to make Hawaii the great State that it is today after only 8 short years.

I wish further to assure my colleagues that I speak for a truly grateful people who fully appreciate the wonderful privilege of being full-fledged citizens of this greatest Nation on earth.

The enthusiasm with which the House passed the bill for Hawaiian statehood was matched only by the enthusiasm of the people of Hawaii for statehood.

Hawaii first petitioned for statehood more than half a century before it was admitted to the Union. The first such petition was presented to Congress in 1903. In that year, the territorial legislature passed a joint resolution asking that Congress pass legislation which would enable Hawaii to become a State. The Island legislature presented at least 16 such petitions to Congress before statehood was finally granted.

The resolutions for statehood passed so many times by the territorial legislature represented the eagerness of the people of Hawaii to participate in the political life of the United States. But a more direct and dramatic expression of the popular wish for statehood was made by the people on the street when they signed the so-called statehood honor roll. This great roll of newsprint paper, 6 feet wide a mile long, which bears the signatures of the 116,000 Hawaiians who petitioned Congress for statehood, was presented to the President of the Senate on February 26, 1954. It rests now in the National Archives together with the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, and like these two great human documents represents an affirmation of man's right to self-government.

That one out of every five citizens in Hawaii stood in line, many for hours, to sign the honor roll attests to the same public spirit with which the people of Hawaii fulfilled their public obligations, even while being denied the exercise of the rights and privileges of first-class citizenship.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that as a State, Hawaii is giving a unique and indispensable kind of support to America's position of free world leadership, a kind of support which Hawaii alone can give.

Hawaii serves not merely as a military outpost of America in the Pacific. Face to face with communism in Asia, Hawaii serves to exemplify to the peoples of Asia the principle of liberty and the ideal of fraternity.

Communism holds out to the peoples of Asia the ideal of fraternity as a goal which can be achieved only through scientific and technological development. But the Communists undertake scientific and technical progress only by means of the total subordination of the individual to collective planning by the State and only by means of utter disregard to personal rights and liberties. The Communists seek to realize fraternity through enforced sacrifice of individual liberty.

Hawaii demonstrates to the peoples of Asia that both fraternity and technological progress can be achieved through free exercise of individual liberty.

In Hawaii, individual liberty and scientific progress go hand in hand. The peoples of Asia can see progress in experimental research in Hawaii as a representation of the human mind itself and as a reflection of the freedom of the mind which is indispensable for progress.

Hawaiian scientists are on the frontier of experimental research in several areas—in biomedicine and oceanography, in volcanology, which is the study of volcanoes and volcanic lava, in sugar and pineapple production, and hopefully, in the near future, in tropical and subtropical agriculture.

Biomedical research teams are exploiting the special possibilities which Hawaii offers for the study of medicinal plants. There are certain medicinal plants which will grow only in a tropical or subtropical climate, and these do well in Hawaii.

Researchers in Hawaii are pursuing medically valuable studies of fermentation processes. Sugar is Hawaii's biggest crop, and large amounts of sugar or molasses are needed to produce by means of fermentation such products as alcohols, organic acids, cortisone, and many antibiotics.

And scientists in biomedicine are making significant contributions to our knowledge of organ, tissue, and cell culture.

The people of Hawaii come from a variety of racial backgrounds. Few scientists have as much opportunity as do medical researchers in Hawaii to study correlations between ethnic background and human physiology. And researchers in the Pacific Biomedical Research Center are likely to make tremendous contributions to medical knowledge of diseases peculiar to Pacific and Asian areas. It should, with proper support and nurture develop into an internationally recognized center.

Another area in which Hawaii is providing national leadership is oceanography. Dr. George W. Woollard, director of the Geophysics Institute of the University of Hawaii, says that Hawaii offers better opportunities for oceanographic research than does any place on the mainland of the United States. Hawaiian waters are clear; around the islands are both shallow areas and water more than 18,000 feet deep; Hawaiian waters move in unusual currents formed by the configuration of the islands; and the climate is warm and steady so that research can go on without interruption all year round.

Research men are presently planning to construct manned underwater laboratories off the coast of the island of Oahu. The U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries undertakes programs of research in its laboratory in Honolulu. Other experimental studies are conducted by the University of Hawaii and the Environmental Science Services Administration. Private industry is also doing experimental, oceanographic research in Hawaii. Some of the corporations which have undertaken such studies are the Bissett-Berman Corp., Ocean Science & Engineering, Inc., Ling-Tempco-Vought, Inc., the Lockheed Corp., and Alpine Geophysical Associates.

In still another scientific area the department of soils and chemistry of the University of Hawaii has performed valuable, experimental research with volcanic lava. The research which university scientists have done has made it possible to reclaim land inundated by volcanic lava and to use this land to grow such valuable crops as papaya, guava, acerola cherries, and macadamia nuts. There are now hundreds of acres of macadamia nut orchards on lava land near Hilo on the island of Hawaii.

Scientists in Hawaii have also performed remarkably in sugar research at their experiment station in Honolulu. The experiment station is generously supported by the sugar growers of Hawaii. Researchers have, comparatively speaking, eliminated sugar losses caused by pests and diseases, and have developed new varieties of cane. As a result of experimental work with sugar, growers in Hawaii produce in excess of two times the normal yield of sugar per acre in any other area.

Researchers at the Pineapple Research Institute also have performed distinguished experimental work. Among other achievements, researchers at the Institute developed DDT as a soil fumigant.

Hawaii appears to be the most advantageous site for the establishment of the research center in tropical and subtropical agriculture which is provided for under the Food for Peace Act of 1966. It is prepared to assume this important role to aid the developing nations in the Pacific Basin and elsewhere.

Hawaii thus demonstrates to the peoples of Asia that liberty and scientific progress go hand in hand.

More than this, Hawaii demonstrates that liberty and fraternity also go hand in hand.

We in Hawaii come from many races and from different continents. Some of us are ethnically Hawaiian; some are of western origin; some are of Japanese descent; and others are of Filipino, Chinese, and Korean stock.

Racial discrimination is virtually unknown among us. The Hawaii Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported in 1961 that it had had "no requests of any kind for action or assistance in the field of civil rights" and that it "knows of no instance in Hawaii which calls for enforcement of any laws on civil rights." In Hawaii, we respect every person as a person regardless of race.

Mr. Speaker, the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, which Congress established in 1960, makes possible the introduction of graduate students and scholars from Asian and Pacific countries to Amercian values and ideas. The Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West likewise gives opportunity to American students and scholars to acquire new understanding of the cultures of Asian and Pacific peoples. The University of Hawaii is in a uniquely advantageous position to provide a meeting place for men and women who are likely to assume places of public leadership in their own countries in years to come. Of particular interest in the curriculum of the East-West Center is "the Asia-America program," which is described as follows in the University of Hawaii catalog for 1966 to 1967:

> The Asia-American Program presents lectures and seminars . . . on an intercultural and interdisciplinary basis which are required of all [East-West Center] students. It further organizes group field study for Asian students on the United States mainland, providing professional staff for orientation and interpretation of the United States to Asian participants.

And when Asian students who have seen America for themselves as members of field-study groups return to the center, they participate in an Asia-America seminar in order to discuss their experiences. The purpose of the seminar is described as follows:

> Evaluation by Asian students of their American experiences and by American students of their Asian experiences. This seminar offers a forum for a free exchange of ideas and impressions gained in the field study program.

I think it is true to say, Mr. Speaker, that Hawaii is making a unique contribution not only to America's social progress, but also to the defense of liberty everywhere.

This, in brief, is the record of the 50th State during the 8 short years since the date of passage by this august body of the Hawaii statehood bill. While Hawaii presents that record with justifiable pride, she also looks to the future with confidence and welcomes the challenge of proving herself ever worthy to take her place among the other 49 great States to make up the United States of America.

FREDERIC COHEN—EMINENT NEW YORK MUSICIAN

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Frederic

Cohen, beloved neighbor, constituent of mine, composer, and former director of the Juilliard Opera Theater, died Friday in New York. The loss of Mr. Cohen far transcends the particular compositions he has left for future generations to enjoy and to study. His humanity and his inspiring influences as an educator on succeeding generations of young musicians was indeed a major contribution in itself.

Mr. Speaker, Frederic Cohen was a man of parts. His career holds many inspiring moments. He grew up and studied music in Germany where he was born. Eventually he began conducting opera in municipal theaters and finally became director of the Essen Opera Theater. The Nazis dismissed him from this post in 1933.

After that Frederic Cohen fled Germany with his friend, Kurt Jooss, who was the director of a ballet company for which Mr. Cohen had written his masterful score "The Green Table." Together they went to England where Mr. Jooss started another ballet company of which Frederic Cohen was the musical director for the next 8 years.

In 1941 he came to the United States to continue his illustrious career in America. During World War II he taught music at Black Mountain and Kenyon Colleges. In 1945 he became secretary of the International Society for Contemporary Music, and in 1951 its president. His devotion to furthering contemporary music in America was deep and lasted for the rest of his life. He managed singlehandedly to bring the operas of many of his fellow composers to the public and to his students as well.

In 1946, Frederic Cohen became director of the Juilliard Opera Theater where he remained until 1963 when he retired because of illness. During his tenure there, he offered American premieres of operas by Britten, Dallapiccola, Strauss, Hindemith, Kodaly, as well as a lesser known work of Mozart. This alone was a major contribution to the American opera repertoire, but the training he gave to the students who have gone on to careers in vocal music was revered and valued by all—including those who have gone on to stardom.

During this time he was guest conductor and later acting director of the opera department at the Berkshire Music Center in Lenox, Mass., where he again brought new works to the public ear.

Frederic Cohen also, among his many activities, made a comprehensive survey during 1952 to 1954 of opera in the United States for the Juilliard Musical Foundation and the Metropolitan Opera Association. His conclusions were published in 1957 in the fall edition of the Juilliard Review. They included far-reaching recommendations that the Metropolitan Opera endorse a training system for lyric stage artists, a system of regional opera theaters in America, a university opera chain, an annual American festival of opera, etc.

Mr. Speaker, Frederic Cohen was known to me as a human being worthy of the highest tribute. Of those who knew him in his field, however, perhaps the most eloquent comment I have heard was quoted in the New York Times of Monday, March 13. According to the Times, William Shuman, former president of Juilliard and present president of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts said yesterday:

> Frederic Cohen was a distinguished man of the lyric theater. In the years I knew him at the Juilliard School of Music he inspired in all his students, many of whom are now established artists, a sense of mission. His artistic integrity and enthusiasm were uncompromising and an example to all who worked with him. His persistent courage in the face of debilitating illness was an inspiration which we, his colleagues, can never forget.

Mr. Speaker, we who knew Frederic Cohen in any way will remember him as someone who made our lives richer both personally and by enhancing the cultural life of whatever place in the world he happened to be.

DMSO, THE PERSECUTED DRUG

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, in connection with my interest in promoting free clinical testing of DMSO under the supervision of physicians, I call the attention of Congress to an interview with Dr. Jean K. Weston, vice president of the National Pharmaceutical Council, Inc. The interview was given in Portland, Oreg., and was reported by Ann Sullivan. Here is her story:

[From the Oregonian, Feb. 16, 1967]

PHARMACEUTICAL COUNCIL OFFICIAL RAPS FOOD, DRUG AGENCY LIMITS ON DMSO TESTS

(By Ann Sullivan)

Difficult requirements for pre-clearance of experimental work on dimethyl sulfoxide have been set by the overworked and undermanned Food and Drug Administration, Dr. Jean K. Weston, vice president of the National Pharmaceutical Council, Inc., said in Portland Tuesday.

Dr. Weston, both an M.D. and Ph. D., with a long record of research and teaching at Temple University, was in Portland briefly to confer with state medical and pharmaceutical leaders and to make a talk at the University of Oregon Medical School.

The drug DMSO which figured in clinical bans by FDA a year ago, then was returned to limited testing at the beginning of this year, is expected to be back on prescription in Europe this spring.

Weston said in his opinion, when the New York Academy of Sciences meeting of March 1966, showed so much "of promise" in the unusual chemical, that the testing of it should have been stepped up rather than shut off at that time.

QUESTION POSED

"I would hope they could go ahead and find out what DMSO is good for. Certainly the New York meeting demonstrated enough interesting areas of further study. Why should this be stopped?"

Requiring all further studies planned on DMSO to be precleared by the FDA commissioner, Dr. Weston said, is not spelled out for drugs in either the congressional amendments of 1962, nor the FDA regulations which followed.

Dr. Weston said if he were advising pharmaceutical firms interested in further testing under these requirements, he would say:

"Don't do this. It is setting up a precedent, without going through the law or the regulations."

His Oregon mission Tuesday was the gathering and dissemination of information in regard to new national legislation in the hopper which includes "generic" drug references.

It is Dr. Weston's opinion that these amendments expanding benefits of Titles 18 and 19, some of which carry language restricting the right of physicians to prescribe drugs other than by their generic name, are all based "on a fundamentally inaccurate idea."

EFFECTS VARY

The idea, "That if you put a generic name—the chemical agent—on a drug, that you can be sure of its therapeutic effect. This is not true. You can take the same chemical and grind one batch of it twice as long as another and come out with two different effects," he said.

"The physical characteristics can vary widely." Additions of preservatives, excipient (ingredient to make it run more smoothly), and methods of manufacture, including purity standards, all vary and often can modify the result, he said.

Even penicillin varies between drug manufacturers, said Dr. Weston. Public health standards require 85 per cent purity, yet some top pharmaceutical firms voluntarily set their own standards at 99 per cent.

Some of the physicians at the meeting at the Oregon Medical Association agreed that they themselves know of differing effects from different products.

Dr. Weston said he was in sympathy with the Food and Drug Administration for its problems.

"They were given an important job to do with the 1962 amendments. But they didn't have adequate staff. They still don't. As a result of the hasty legislation, they can't do the job. Dr. James Goddard has said he will try."

Dr. Weston pointed out that approximately 400 new drug applications have been on file with FDA for a long time.

DELAYS SEEN

"We don't know how many drugs are hung up there. They tell us that is confidential information."

He and Dr. Elton McCawley of the University of Oregon Medical School pointed out two "excellent" drugs, Indocin (antirheumatic) and Zyloprim (antigout) which were available abroad long before here.

Dr. McCawley pointed out that a number of major American manufacturers are building plants and research laboratories in other countries, naming Mexico City for one.

"Should I learn Spanish?" he quipped.

A study released two weeks ago show that the number of prescription drug products introduced in 1966 dropped to 80 from 112 the year before. Over a 10-year period, the number of new medicines approved by FDA for marketing has declined 80 per cent.

Sharpest decline was in the number of single new chemical agents. The figure reached a new low of 12 after a high of 63 in 1959.

The study, by Paul deHaen, Inc., of New York City, also showed the American drug industry marketed seven new single chemical agents in other countries which were not available in the United States. The number introduced in the United States was lower than in any of the four major countries of Western Europe.

France marketed 34; Germany, 42; Great Britain, 20 and Italy, 21. One-third of these were developed by American scientists.

OREGON HIGHWAY FUND CUTBACK PROTESTED

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken out in the past about the unjustified and legally dubious cutback in highway funds by this administration. The devious use and misuse of these already dedicated revenues has been protested by many Members of this body.

Officials in State and local government are concerned. The President's arbitrary cut in dedicated moneys, moneys that should go to improve our highway system and save lives, is a shocking example of lack of foresight. Many of the wasteful Great Society programs can be cut, yet the needed highways are left to go begging.

Oregon highway officials are among the many people shocked at the administration's action. A slight thaw in the fund freeze has been a misleading token promise that takes on the appearance of a tree that shows a few blossoms, but never bears fruit.

Oregon's highway program has been one of the Nation's most advanced. It must continue moving forward in order to keep pace with the growth of the State. This will not be possible without the full use of the allotted, dedicated Federal highway funds.

Concern over this situation in the State highway department is rising. I would like to present at this time a statement I have received from Oregon State Highway Engineer Forrest Cooper, outlining Oregon's position on the Federal highway fund cutback:

STATEMENT RE OREGON'S POSITION ON THE FEDERAL HIGHWAY CUTBACK

(By Forrest Cooper)

The position of the Oregon State Highway Commission with respect to the recently announced federal highway cutback and the threatened further cutback is as follows:

(1) We object to the cutback because of the disruption it will cause to Oregon's badly needed highway program.

(2) We object to the cutback from the standpoint of public safety. With great emphasis being placed on highway safety by the Federal Government, it seems an inconsistent position for the Government to reduce funds for improvements which have proven to add materially to highway safety.

(3) We object to the retroactive provisions of the cutback, as we feel they are unfair.

(4) We object to the uncertainty created by the drastic cutback and the proposed cutback, as it is impossible to properly plan future construction programs due to the uncertainty as to when, if ever, cuts will be restored.

(5) We object to the cutback because of the serious disruptions it will cause to the construction industry which, in good faith, tooled and staffed for the efficient completion of the federal highway program.

Highway construction in Oregon, as in many other states, is largely done on a seasonal basis. Doling out money in quarters at the whim of the Federal Government makes it impossible to efficiently plan, contract, and prosecute work. We feel that it is time the waste and confusion caused by erratic federal financing should be ended, so that the states may proceed in an orderly and economical manner to improve the highway systems.

POLLUTION CONTROL IN WILLAMETTE RIVER BASIN

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration recently released a "Summary Report on Water Quality Control and Management for the Willamette River Basin." This report was given to the press and received wide publicity in Oregon.

Last Friday I received a copy of a letter by the chief engineer of the Oregon State Sanitary Authority to Oregon's Governor, Tom McCall.

I am deeply disturbed by the conflict between the Federal agency and our State authority as revealed by this letter.

In this day of rapidly increasing involvement of the Federal Government in the lives of each of us it is of the utmost importance that there be extremely close cooperation between our State and Federal Governments. This is particularly true in connection with both air and water pollution problems.

The correspondence to which I refer indicates a lack of coordination, and what is really shocking to me an absence even of bare communication. The Federal agency refused even to give our State agency an advance copy of the report, with the advice that the State would have to wait to read about it in the newspapers. This procedure raises political overtones.

Mr. Speaker I am asking for an explanation of this breakdown in communications and lack of coordination. I would appeal to both of these government agencies to each go more than halfway in this regard, so that the cooperative effort of both can maximize the progress of solving this important problem.

The letter to which I have referred follows:

OREGON STATE SANITARY AUTHORITY,
Portland, Oreg., March 6, 1967.

Hon. TOM MCCALL,
Governor, State of Oregon,
State Capitol,
Salem, Oreg.

DEAR GOVERNOR MCCALL: As chief engineer of Oregon's official water pollution control program, I feel compelled to comment on the "Summary Report on Water Quality Control and Management for the Willamette River Basin" which was released the other day by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

I must comment on it because in my opinion it represents an extremely biased and slanted evaluation of the State's water pollution control program. Because of the fallacies which it contains it approaches professional dishonesty.

It misleads the reader into believing that the present water quality conditions are critical, that they are continually getting worse, that the State's pollution control program is inadequate, that no real progress has been made in the past. These are all gross misrepresentations of the actual conditions.

First of all its should be pointed out that although much of the report pertains to and severely criticizes the program of the State Sanitary Authority, we were not given a copy of the report until after it had been headlined on the front pages of the local newspapers on Monday, February 27, 1967. As a consequence, we were unable to comment on it when contacted by representatives of the press on Friday, February 24. We had previously been informed that it was to be released, but when we asked for an advance copy the Portland office of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration advised that we would have to wait and read about it in the newspapers.

The Sanitary Authority would be the first to admit that the job of pollution control in the Willamette Basin is far from done, that it will be a continual battle to maintain high water quality standards, that the Authority's present program needs to be accelerated and strengthened, and that the support of the general public is essential to the success of such a program. We will never admit, however, that it is necessary to misrepresent actual conditions, to distort the facts, to exaggerate deficiencies, to resort to such devious means to get headlines in order to gain public support.

I will point out some of the statements made in the report that cannot be supported by factual evidence and therefore must be considered as false.

On page 4 it is stated that "bacterial contamination limits the sources for domestic, municipal and food processing water supplies." That definitely is not true. It is stated further that an "oxygen block" in Portland harbor "prevents the latter stages of the spring migration of salmon upstream." That likewise is not true. It is claimed that as a result of this oxygen block there is a reduction of the spawning population due to predation and other causes. The Oregon State Fish Commission has no evidence to support either that statement or the belief that a high mortality occurs among downstream migrants as a result of pollution in the Portland harbor.

The lead paragraph of the *Foreword* is a good example of how the report misleads the reader into believing that present river conditions are much worse than they actually are. It would have the reader believe, for example, that the gross pollution which existed some 20 or 30 years ago still exists today. Contrary to the impression given in that paragraph the main Willamette, as the result of construction of upstream sewage treatment plants, is today again being used as a source of public water supply and during the summer is heavily used for recreation including water skiing. The lead paragraph's final statement that "spawning areas for that large portion of the Pacific salmon run that is based upon the Willamette have deteriorated with persistence of pollution" cannot be supported by factual evidence and therefore is also false.

Under the program of the State Sanitary Authority, 108 communities (cities, sanitary districts and other entities) in the Willamette Basin are already operating secondary sewage treatment plants. The report on page 6 mentions only 74 such plants. Of the nine cities that still have only primary treatment, five already have secondary treatment units under construction, a sixth one opened bids last month and so will shortly award a contract for construction of secondary facilities, a seventh is planning to start construction as soon as revised plans can be completed by the consulting engineers, and the other two discharge to the Columbia River rather than to the Willamette, and so are not in immediate need of a higher degree of treatment. These latter two are Portland and Gresham.

Page 2 of the report presents the recommendations of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration for immediate pollution abatement and for long-term pollution control.

Recommendation No. 1 for immediate control of pollution caused by pulp mill wastes specifies that the equivalent of primary and secondary treatment (85% BOD removal) is to be provided *within five years* for the five sulphite mills located in the basin. The program of the Sanitary Authority specifies that such requirements shall be met before the low stream flow period of 1968. The report makes no mention of the fact that facilities for the removal of floating and settleable solids (primary treatment) were installed in 1966 for the Lebanon mill, are already under construction at the West Linn and Newberg mills, and during 1967 will be under construction at the Oregon City and Salem mills. Likewise no mention is made of the fact that during the low stream flow period of 1966 the BOD of these pulp mill waste loads discharged to the main river were reduced by 87 to 94 percent at Salem, 88 to 89 percent at Newberg, 69 to 74 percent at Oregon City, and 73 to 76 percent at West Linn. The report gives the casual reader the impression that the pulp mills have thus far done little or nothing to reduce their pollution loads.

Of the eleven communities mentioned in Recommendation No. 2 as being required to install *within the next five years* new or improved secondary treatment works, two (Mt. Angel and Sweet Home) have already completed their projects, two (Cottage Grove and Harrisburg) are presently under construction, one (Junction City) has recently opened bids for construction, and five others (Albany, Monroe, Oakridge, Dallas and Fannon Creek) are expected to be under construction before the end of 1967. The other one (McMinnville) already provides secondary treatment and is not in immediate need of improvement.

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration contends that because the lower Willamette is subject to the ebb and flow of the tide that portion of the river comes within the definition of "coastal water" and therefore is subject to the provisions of the 1965 amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act regarding the establishment of water quality standards. It is difficult for us to believe that Congress intended that such waters which are more than 100 miles from the ocean should be classified as "coastal waters." This is a matter which we believe should be strongly contested by all coastal states.

Even though we do not admit that any part of the Willamette is interstate water, we are in the process of establishing specific water quality standards for all of the main stem as well as Multnomah Channel. A pubilc hearing for considering the standards being proposed by the Sanitary Authority has been scheduled for March 23, 1967, here in Portland. The proposed standards "clearly recognize the importance of the river system as a spawning area for anadromous salmonid fish and support the expansion of recreational and water supply capabilities of the basin's waters" as specified in the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration Recommendation No. 3 for immediate pollution abatement.

With regard to Recommendation No. 1 for long term pollution control, the Sanitary Authority and its staff have for many years been promoting the area-wide or regional approach to solving pollution control problems. The so-called tri-county master sewer system in the Portland metropolitan area, the Salem master sewer system and the proposed Bear Creek Valley project are all the result of these efforts in not only the Willamette Basin, but the entire state.

With reference to the report's Recommendation No. 4 for long term pollution control, no mention is made of or credit given to the Sanitary Authority for having conducted since 1950 a comprehensive monitoring program in the Willamette Basin. This program which has been greatly expanded in recent years will be further improved this next biennium if the 1967 Legislature approves our request for increased staff and budget. It includes regular and frequent (daily during the low stream flow period) surveillance of the river conditions at several selected sampling stations, submission of monthly reports from cities and industries (weekly from the pulp mills during the summer) regarding waste loads discharged to the river, and as frequently as possible surveys or checks by Sanitary Authority personnel of waste treatment plant operations and efficiencies. This monitoring program of the Authority should be more than adequate to maintain effective control of the water quality in the Willamette Basin in the years ahead.

Although we have no intention of defending the city of Portland for being so slow in completing its sewerage works project, we believe it is only fair to point out that since 1947 the residents of Portland have spent more than $31,000,000 for sewage collection and treatment. In 1966 alone contracts totaling in excess of $4,600,000 were awarded by the city. At the present time approximately 94 percent of the total dry weather flow of both domestic sewage and industrial wastes produced within the city is being collected and satisfactorily treated at either the main Columbia River primary plant or the city's new and smaller Tryon Creek secondary plant which discharges to the Willamette. The city has promised to complete the interception of and to provide adequate treatment for the other 6 percent of its total sewage and waste load by 1968. Additional improvements costing several millions of dollars will of course be required over the next few years by the city of Portland to handle future load increases and eventually to upgrade the treatment of the effluents discharged to the Columbia River.

There is nothing unusual or surprising about the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's estimate of $105,000,000 as the cost of water pollution control projects that may be needed during the next 20 years. The actual needs will of course depend upon the amount of population growth and industrial development that takes place during that period. It should be noted that the communities and industries in the basin have spent at least that amount since World War II for sewage and waste collection and disposal.

My last comment regarding the federal report is that it took them an awfully long time to complete it. The federal agency has had the responsibility for developing comprehensive water pollution control programs since 1956.

It has been studying the Willamette Basin intensively since 1961. The first draft of the Willamette report was prepared some two and one-half years ago. Why was it released at this particular time? Most of the factual information which it contains was obtained from the Sanitary Authority. We have been engaged for quite some time in carrying out most of the program which they now recommend.

I apologize for the length of this letter, but I thought it important to bring this matter to your attention, particularly since the local newspapers appear to have joined the federal agency's bandwagon.

If you should desire any further details, please feel free to request them.

Sincerely,

KENNETH H. SPIES,
Secretary and Chief Engineer,
State Sanitary Authority.

TO PROVIDE CREDIT FOR STATE AND CITY INCOME TAX

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to provide for a Federal income tax credit for payments for State and local income taxes.

This legislation will help produce the answer to New York State's fiscal problems. Under the legislation I propose, New York State will be able to raise its taxes, and the Federal Government—and not the taxpayers of New York State—will pick up the tab. My bill would also provide a credit for any city income tax.

Under my legislation, New York State and New York City will be able to get the extra revenues they will need in years to come, although I believe that New York's needs will also be reduced by the great financial success of the lottery about to be established in New York.

Under the Fino tax credit bill, our States and cities will be able to institute or raise income taxes to get more money without this money coming out of the pockets of the people. The Federal Government will be surrendering some of its revenues back to the States so that the States will be able to conduct programs without running to Washington for money. The dollars that are spent in the States will go further than the dollars spent by the Federal Government, hopefully, because they will not have to pay for a roundtrip to Washington, and resultant shrinkage.

This is a measure in support of waning federalism. Today, when the Federal Government is seeking to saddle our cities and States with "Federal coordinators" or "commissars" to supervise Federal programs, I think it is important to provide the financial wherewithal for the return of these programs to the States without Federal control.

Federal tax credits for payment of State income taxes would have several advantages. It would encourage all States to resort to state income taxes, aiming for much greater tax uniformity. It would also mean, as I have said, that the States and not the Federal Government would decide just what should be done with the revenues they raise. Nor would there be any danger that revenues would be cut off in a recession, which means that States could be in a position to maintain their expenditures.

This idea is not a panacea. I would worry that some States might institute excessive income taxes so as to get vast slush funds. They might be able to get away with this because the people of the State would not be hurt, just the Federal Government. Obviously, there has to be some kind of limit on the credit that can be given.

As a start, I propose that the Federal income tax credit for State income tax be limited to an amount which shall not exceed 20 percent of the Federal income tax paid. This will give real meaning to the idea of creative federalism.

TOWARD DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States will soon be leaving to represent this Nation at one of the Western Hemisphere's most important international gatherings of the 20th century—the meeting of American Chiefs of State, to be held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, from April 12 to 14.

In the spirit of the joint resolution now before this Congress to support the other American Republics as we together inaugurate this historic new phase of the Alliance for Progress, I take this occasion to wish President Johnson and the members of his delegation Godspeed, and to express the sincere hope that he and his colleagues, the Presidents of our neighbor nations, may enjoy all success in carrying out the tremendous mission which they have undertaken.

This mission, Mr. Speaker, is no less than the furtherance of the welfare and prosperity of 200 million of the world's people—a 200 million who, if present rates of growth continue, will be 650 million by the year 2000. It also involves the development and modernization of a great continent, a continent which finds itself in many respects in the same dynamic condition of rapid expansion and economic "takeoff" which marked these United States in the early years of the 20th century.

Nowhere in Latin America is this comparison with our own Nation's period of most rapid development more evident than in the agricultural areas of South America. Throughout these vast lands rivers are being dammed, bridged, and diverted; swamps are being drained; jungles cleared; forests planted; lakes created. Mountains are being blasted, and roads are being driven deep into the heartland of the continent. Indeed, Latin America may to a great extent bypass one of the most dramatic eras of North America's expansion into the interior, the thrust westward of our railroads.

Air transportation is rapidly supplanting the iron horse as the most efficient and economical means in the mid-20th century of opening what have been called the "inner frontiers" of these territories. The airplane, the superhighway, and the farm-to-market road provide the transportation pattern of the future there, and the areas which are being opened up resemble in many ways portions of the North American West as they existed during the closing years of the 19th century. There are very large and isolated rural areas. The terrain is difficult, and surprisingly large portions of the best habitable areas have scarcely been developed at all, so difficult is the access.

Mr. Speaker, it is our privilege as Americans to assist our neighbor nations as they confront these great frontiers of theirs; to assist them in the same spirit of mutual respect, appreciation, and admiration shown to us during the corresponding period of our own development. For the past 6 years we have been doing this through the instrumentality of the Alliance for Progress, the farsighted and far-ranging program adopted by the governments of the American States in 1961 to unite the efforts of all their peoples in order to accelerate the economic and social development of Latin America.

At the summit meeting in Punta del Este President Johnson and his colleagues will rededicate themselves to the gigantic tasks remaining if the human dreams and practical goals envisaged by the Alliance are to be realized. To this historic effort we pledge our full support.

FHA INSURANCE FOR SEASONAL HOMES

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to authorize FHA insurance for the construction of seasonal homes. At a time when family use of second and vacation homes is increasing rapidly and when new housing starts are dropping off due to tight money, such legislation is badly needed.

This bill has already received extensive consideration in the other body. It was included as title I of S. 3711 which passed on August 12, 1966. However, it was ruled not germane to the conference which considered the House substitute for S. 3711 because its provisions had not been included in the House bill. I would hope that, because of this previous attention to the matter, we can move forward promptly here in the 90th Congress.

Under the terms of my bill, section 203 of the National Housing Act would be amended to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to insure mortgages on single-family dwellings, whether or not designed for year-round occupancy. The mortgage, to be eligible, would not involve a principle obligation in excess of $15,000 and could not be in excess of 75 percent of the appraised value of the property.

The Secretary would be authorized to waive many of the requirements now considered essential for the insuring of mortgages in urban areas of high population density, but could insist that the development of the property is to be "consistent with the conservation of water and other natural resources of the area." This provision can help us avoid haphazard development of our remaining open spaces.

In my judgment, this legislation provides us with an opportunity to stimulate a healthy development in our economy. I urge its prompt enactment.

WHOSE CONSULATES WILL SPEAK FOR THESE?

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 1966, the Chicago Tribune carried an article by its middle Europe correspondent, Clyde Farnsworth entitled: "250,000 Still in Red Slave Camps." The story related the successful attempt by the Polish division of Radio Free Europe to have returned to their homeland thousands of Poles exiled to the Soviet Union during and after World War II. In 1955 Radio Free Europe began broadcasting into Poland the names of Poles still in Soviet camps according to the information supplied by nearly 4,000 German POW's returned to Germany due to an agreement between Chancellor Adenauer and the Soviets. Of course, the Polish Government stated that there were no more Polish citizens in Soviet camps. After several months of broadcasting, more and more Polish listeners began questioning the Polish Government, and even Russian soldiers, observers, and advisers then stationed in Poland. With a growing uneasiness among the Polish populace, the Polish Communist authorities in October 1955, announced that Poles were returning from the U.S.S.R. and that more would be repatriated. By 1959 approximately 125,000 Poles had been freed from Soviet camps.

Since 1959 the Polish division of Radio Free Europe has been assembling information on other inmates of Soviet camps. Radio Free Europe, in February 1966, estimated that approximately 250,000 prisoners are being held by the Soviets which include, in addition to additional Polish inmates, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans, Russians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Finns, Jews, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Kalmuks.

In view of the correctness of Radio Free Europe's first charge and the subsequent return of approximately 125,000 Poles, this second allegation, as recent as February of last year, should be investigated before any further consideration is given to a Consular Convention, a Fiat automotive deal, or increased trade with the Soviet Union, and its other Eastern Communist cohorts.

If this latter charge is factual, as the first one turned out to be, to what consular office in the Soviet Union can these imprisoned Rumanians, Poles, Latvians, and the others take their cases?

Of special significance during this building bridges era is a recommendation made by the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in its reports in 1963 on the Captive European Nations:

> The Committee believes that we can achieve diplomatic and strategic gains in the cold war if we pursue our objectives with vigor and determination. The Soviets push every advantage, and exploit every weakness of the free world. We should push every advantage, and exploit every weakness of the Communist bloc. In this respect, while the captive nations add some strength to the Soviet Union, it must be remembered that they are captive nations, seeking to regain their freedom at the earliest opportunity. As such they constitute large areas of vulnerability for the Soviet Union. We must always remember that our support for the legitimate objectives of liberty and self-determination for these friendly peoples may exploit a woefully weak spot in the Soviet system.

The forthrightness of the Polish division of Radio Free Europe in Munich is an excellent example of the good that can accrue in pursuing a just and honorable cause. Over 100,000 human beings would in all probability still be languishing in Soviet camps if no one had had the integrity and solicitude to speak for them. The elected officials of the United States, the land of the free and the brave, can raise their voices calling for investigation and review of the Polish division's charge of the wholesale enslavement of one-quarter of a million human souls. Legislation proposing that the issue of self-determination for the Captive Nations be placed on the agenda of the U.N. has been before Congress for a number of years. The State Department, in a report on this legislation which I requested, true to form, opposed it. Included in this legislation was the proposal of "returning to their respective homelands all political prisoners and exiles now in slave labor and prison camps."

Although I will again introduce this legislation this year, it is nevertheless depressing that the United States is so willing to do business with the oppressors while totally ignoring the oppressed. The United States can truly be a worldwide consulate for the oppressed by bringing this issue to universal attention.

I include the article, "250,000 Still in Red Slave Camps," from the Chicago Tribune of May 8, 1966, in the RECORD at this point:

EXCLUSIVE: A REPORT ON POW'S IN THE U.S.S.R.: 250,000 STILL IN RED SLAVE CAMPS—POLES, TERM OVER, KEPT ON TO LABOR

(By Clyde Farnsworth)

VIENNA.—There is reason to suppose that a quarter million Poles and other foreign nationals are still slaving in Soviet work camps, more than 20 years after the end of World War II.

This number and the names of some prisoners, along with the location of their camps, have been revealed by the Polish Division of Radio Free Europe, which has collected the information over a period of years.

Today, while the Polish Communist regime is trying to attract Polish exiles in the West back to their homeland, Radio Free Europe is telling the Polish people again about the fate of thousands of their countrymen in the Soviet Union.

GRIM STORY OF COLD WAR

Behind this campaign and the shocking estimate of the number of lives involved lies an involved but grimly fascinating story of the cold war.

The last time news of large-scale Soviet detention of Polish nationals came to attention was in 1955, when Radio Free Europe broadcast a series of programs about Soviet prison camps based on information supplied by returned German prisoners of war.

The release of the Germans had been prompted by the then Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, who told the Soviet Government that there could be no normalization of relations between Bonn and Moscow until all Germans had been returned from Soviet prisoner of war camps.

EX-PRISONERS AID CAUSE

When the Soviets responded, and German prisoners began to return early in 1955, Radio Free Europe officials compiled a list of the returnees that eventually included almost 4,000 names. To these men a questionnaire was sent, appealing for the names, descriptions, and other pertinent details about fellow prisoners from other countries who were still being detained.

The purpose of the Radio Free Europe appeal—to effect the release of the other prisoners of war—was completely spelled out. And the response was considered remarkable. More than 90 percent of the former German prisoners filled out the questionnaires, and some took the trouble to visit Radio Free Europe headquarters in Munich to provide a firsthand description of their prison life.

DETAILS ARE LEARNED

From them Radio Free Europe gathered the name of prisoners from countries all over the world. Included were details about the prisoners' homes, their marital status, professions, the ages of their children, and so on.

These descriptions enabled Radio Free Europe to set up files on approximately 10,000 prisoners whose existence had been known by scarcely anyone but their Soviet jailers for a decade or more.

The names of those from Western countries were passed on to the governments concerned, usually through their embassies in Germany or through the International Red Cross.

The first Radio Free Europe broadcast campaign to release Polish prisoners was opened July 31, 1955.

DEMAND BY RADIO

Radio Free Europe's Polish language station director, Jan Nowak, told Polish listeners at that time:

"Germans, Austrians, and Italians—former soldiers of conquered enemy forces—are returning to their homes, while Poles remain in the depths of Russia because no one remembers them any longer or demands their return.

"We demand the return to the homeland of Poles in Soviet prisons and labor camps—Poles who are suffering and dying 10 years after the end of the war because they committed only one crime: They fought for independence."

For more than 7 months Radio Free Europe periodically broadcast the names of Poles and the prison camps where they were last known to have lived. The names were read at dictation speed so that listeners could write them down, along with any variations in spelling that might have occurred.

HELD IN SILENCE

According to the freed Germans, the Polish prisoners of war had not been allowed to write their families or communicate in any way to the outside world. As a result, many were presumed dead because they had been missing for so long. In many cases, the Radio Free Europe broadcasts gaves the first indication that individual prisoners were indeed still alive.

The names and descriptions of the prisoners went out over the air in brief messages such as these:

"Walenty Kucharski, 30 years old, born in Sosnowiec; lieutenant in the Polish Army; deported to Vorkuta after the war; mine No. 29."

"Stefan Szymanski, 26 years old, from Lwow, arrested as a 16-year-old boy toward the end of 1945; has remained in camp No. 36 in the region of Vorkuta."

Response to the broadcasts was such that there could be no doubt they were making an impact. Letters were received from behind the Iron Curtain asking the station to repeat particular programs so certain names could be verified.

But few of the writers mentioned the names of those in whom they were interested for fear that the letters might be intercepted and the prisoners face a worse fate.

BROADCASTS ANNOY REDS

Ignored initially by the Polish Government, the broadcasts caused considerable embarrassment to local Communist officials who were questioned by residents about the validity of the charges. Until that time the party line had always been that the Soviet Union held no more Polish prisoners of war.

Poles took advantage of the presence of a great number of Russian soldiers, observers, and advisers to ask the same questions of them. In an attempt to halt the growing uneasiness, the Polish Government finally broke its 3-month silence to comment on the Radio Free Europe pronouncements.

On October 31, 1955, Radio Warsaw referred to "a certain number of repatriates from Russia" and noted a few weeks later that "Poles have been returning from the U.S.S.R. for several months now." It added, "We are certain that the number of returnees will increase in the near future."

MORE AND MORE REPATRIATED

The hope was given foundation by the rising number of prisoners being freed. Before the end of 1955, a total of 6,429 Poles were repatriated. The next year the figure jumped to 30,786, and in 1957, to a record 93,872.

Still in 1958—13 years after the war ended—85,865 Poles were returned from Soviet detention, and in 1959, 28,400 more.

The Polish Red Cross claimed that all except 15 percent of the 245,000 repatriated Poles were actually residents of the territory annexed by the Soviet Union after the war. They said that only about 36,000 were actually deportees.

Even so, the imprisonment of 36,000 nationals of a "fraternal" Communist country would seem to require a lot of explaining so many years after friendly relations had been established between them.

MANY QUIT PARADISE

And the fact that so many of the beneficiaries of Russia's postwar expansion had chosen to leave the Soviet paradise could hardly be comforting to communism's internationalist ideologists.

Observing the return of a group of prisoners from Russia in 1959, a Warsaw journalist said:

"Looking at them, I could not restrain my own tears. And from the crowd of onlookers came anti-Soviet shouts and curses again and again. 'Take those poor devils to Comrade Wieslaw [Wladyslaw Gomulka]. Let him see what the Soviets have done with these people.' "

What they had done was to make the prisoners repay their jailers by working as miners, lumbermen, roadbuilders, and farmers. In short, the Polish prisoners provided a cheap source of labor to the Communist "liberators" of Eastern Europe.

One of the first acknowledgments of the extent of Polish detention in Russia appeared on October 25, 1956, during the time of the Hungarian revolution. The paper Tygodnik Zachodni admitted that there had been official silence in Poland about the "hundreds of thousands of Poles in Russia" and that this had given an excellent opportunity to "foreign radio stations" to conduct "an anti-Polish and anti-Soviet propaganda campaign."

PAPER GIVES ADVICE

It was time to speed up the repatriation of Poles from Russia, the paper added, suggesting that "a settlement of this humanitarian problem is in the interest of Polish-Soviet friendship and will also silence the 'Free Europe' broadcasts."

By mid-1959 the Polish Government was assuring everyone that "repatriation from the Soviet Union is complete." But Nowak and his fellow Polish exiles didn't believe that even a majority of their countrymen had been released from Soviet detention. They continued to search for further information.

Within a year they were convinced that additional thousands of Poles were still working in Soviet labor camps. And last February they decided that enough material had been gathered to open a new campaign to force the release of the remaining Polish prisoners.

A 45-minute special program on February 14 referred to the station's 1955–56 efforts and told of the new freedom drive that was being started. Typical Radio Free Europe programs described the various camps where Poles and other prisoners could be located.

"In the far north of the Soviet Union, near Lumbovka and its environs on the Kola peninsula in the Murmansk Oblast, Poles may be found among the 8,500 prisoners still held in three labor camps," the broadcast said.

STILL HELD CAPTIVE

"Some of the Poles are serving prison terms for alleged political offenses committed during and immediately after the war. Those who have served out their sentences still work under compulsion and are forbidden to leave the area."

"Among the prisoners held in Gandala," a later broadcast said, "there are Germans, Hungarians, and Poles, although the number and nationality of all the inmates are uncertain. They are employed in lumbering, in coal mining, and in the construction of rocket launching pads and sites, highways, railroads hostels, and hotels."

WARSAW NOW SILENT

Although Radio Free Europe has made more than 40 broadcasts since February about the continued detention of Poles, the Warsaw government has again failed to comment on the matter. In view of the long delay in responding to the 1955–56 campaign, however, Radio Free Europe's Polish staff is not discouraged.

The station is still receiving information and further responses from Polish listeners giving details about imprisoned relatives and camps. And, at the start of the third decade of the postwar era, there is still hope for foreigners imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

Listing of 56 Soviet Forced Labor Camps

1. Lumbovka: Mother camp.

2 and 3. Lumbovka subcamps, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans, Russians—8,000 altogether, including women and children; mining of precious metails, construction of airfields, roads.

4. Another subcamp, liquidated because of epidemic.

LOCATED ON KOLA PENINSULA

5. Saborovo: Poles, Russians, a few Germans—total 5,000; mining of precious metals, building construction, road repairs.

6. Wykhodnoy: Poles, Latvians—around 3,000, including women; repairs to airfields, camp services.

7. Noska: In uninhabited area; little known about it.

LOCATED IN NOVAYA ZEMLYA AREA

8, 9, 10, 11. Viermyensk Vorkuta, Izma, Shchugor, Ukhta: Poles, Germans—altogether 6,000; construction of railroads, oil well drilling; terrible conditions, high mortality.

12. Berezniki: Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Germans—total unknown; heavy industry, manufacture of machinery.

13. Sukhobezvodnoye: Poles, Russians, a majority of Germans, a small number of Hungarians—total 2,000; heavy and chemical industries; forest clearing.

14. UFA: Poles from here transferred in 1958, fate unknown; Hungarians, Ukrainians, Russians, a few Alsatians remain—total 5,000; iron ore mines.

15, 16, 17. Camps in Kirghizian steppes. Hungarians, Germans, Kalmuks, Russians—3,000 altogether; drilling of oil wells, railroad track maintenance.

18, 19, 20. Lemborskaya I, Lemborskaya II, Lemborskaya III: Poles, Hungarians, Germans, a small group of Finns—3,000 in each camp, including women and children; construction of factories, airfields, railroads, highways; oil well drilling, canal construction.

21. Ugor Kaukaski: Poles, Czechs, Jews—total 4,000; quarries, airfields.

22. Navyersk: Camp for the military. Nationalities unknown; 5,000 prisoners; quarrying, road construction, oil well drilling.

23. Tbilisi (Tiflis): Poles, Hungarians, Germans, Kalmuks, Russians—altogether 2,500, including women. Electric powerplant, airfields.

24. Voronyezh: Poles, Germans, many Turks; coal mining.

25. Dudina: Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Rumanians, Germans, including women—total 1,500; factories, road construction.

26. Kaluga: Poles, Baltic people, Russians—total 1,000; road construction, canal maintenance.

27. Yaroslavl: Not many Poles, mostly Hungarians. Germans—altogether 2,800; metallurgical factories, canal construction.

28. Kadluga: Camp for Soviet officers; lumbering.

29. Kamenets Podolsk: Poles, Hunganians, Ukrainians—altogether 1,500; construction of airfields, highways.

30. Pervomaysk: Small group of Poles, plus Hungarians, Russians—total 3,000 in 1960; factories, cement plants.

31. Krivoy Rog: Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Germans, including women—altogether 2,400; cellulose factory, road construction.

32. Tobolsk: Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, including women; altogether 20 camps with 500 prisoners each; construction of railroads, highways; drilling of tunnels.

33. Enurmino: Estonians, Finns, Russians—altogether, 6,600; various occupations, including construction of tunnels, airports.

34. Kurgam: Poles, Estonians, Russians—altogether 5,000; road construction.

35. Uka: Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, women—altogether 6,000; drilling of mountain tunnels, railroad construction.

36. Ivashka: Nationality and occupations same as Uka; about 10,000 prisoners.

37, 38, 39, 40. Existence and location confirmed but no more details available; many prisoners sent here never return; official explanation is that, after serving sentences, they decide to settle there for good. [Located on Kamchatka Peninsula.]

41, 42. Darya I and IV: Subcamps: some Poles but mostly Germans, Kirghizians, Russians—althogether 14,500; tunnel, air field construction.

43. Kara-Kum: Camp for the military; also some Hungarians, Germans; prisoners dig canals.

44. Karabash; Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Bulgarians—altogether 3,500; factories, road construction.

45, 46. Alma-Ata, Tiyupa: No other details.

47, 48, 49. Subcamps. Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, many Ukrainians—altogether 16,000; cutting down forests; airport, factory, railroad, highway construction. [Subcamps Nos. 47 and 48 located in Lake Baykal area. Subcamp No. 49 located in Amur River area.]

50. Ulan-Ude: Only Russians since 1958—total 3,500; mining of precious metals, forest clearing, railroad track maintenance.

51, 52, 53, 54, 55. Bogoshi, 52 name unknown, Komsomolsk, Gandala, Wagner: Five camps under joint administration; no details concerning nationalities and number but reportedly many Germans, Hungarians, lesser number of Poles; coal mining, coke factory, electric powerplants, railroads, highways, home building, rocket launching site construction. [Subcamp No. 52 located in Amur River area.]

56. Voloshtchovka; Poles, Russians, Germans, and subcamp of 5,000 Bulgarians—altogether 18,000; coal mines, heavy and chemical industries, forest clearance, building of roads and airports.

THE HOFFA STORY—PART 2

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, as many residents of New York City know, the New York Daily News and the New York Times are on many occasions poles apart editorially. Their agreement on a particular issue must, to some degree, indicate a fair cross-section of sentiment, at least for those in the New York City area. On March 8, these two giant dailies spoke as one concerning the imprisonment of Jimmy Hoffa the day before at the Federal Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pa.

Observed the Daily News:

Jimmy Takes a Fall

He said it couldn't be done, but tough Jimmy Hoffa finally has been hauled off to the pokey—still yelling that jails are for other people. It has been 10 years since the government first began measuring the cocky little Teamsters boss for prison garb; three years since they hooked him for jury tampering. It took the creaking wheels of justice so long to finish the job of putting Jimmy away for eight years that we, along with a lot of others, were beginning to think Hoffa was as jail-proof as he claimed.

Before taking leave, Hoffa brazenly tried to fit himself with a martyr's cloak. "If they can do this to Hoffa, they can do it to anyone," he said.

Change the meaning a little, Jimmy, and that's just the point. Even a man with the power, money and legal talent that a big union overlord has at his command can't break the law and then play hide-and-seek with justice forever.

Devotees of the Times gulped their morning coffee to this temporary editorial sigh of relief:

Exit Hoffa

The walls of the Federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., swallowed up James R. Hoffa yesterday. The president of the giant International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the country's largest and strongest union, went to jail still insistent that he was the victim of a "conspiracy" by his foes in high Federal office.

But in a real sense Hoffa was the victim of his own twisted code—a code built on the idea that corporate society is a jungle, in which every man has his price. It was that concept, ingrained in Hoffa by his early battles as a dead-end kid in Detroit and reinforced by all his experiences as he slugged his way to union power, that involved him in a morass of unsavory deals and associations and finally led to his exile from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. as a disgrace to organized labor.

All Hoffa's extraordinary qualities of dynamism, intelligence and courage were flawed and in the end negated by his cynical outlook on the world.

Hoffa hopes to get out of prison in time to resume the five-year presidential term to which he was elected last summer. But the warden at Lewisburg has made it plain that Hoffa will not be allowed to run the union from his cell, even though he once devoted close study to the record of a man who did just that—Joseph S. Fay, whose domination of the New York-New Jersey building trades was only slightly impeded when he was sent to Sing Sing for extortion in 1948.

The country's interest centers now on whether the caretaker regime Hoffa has installed in Teamster power will conclude a strike-free, noninflationary agreement in the negotiations currently under way for a new nationwide trucking contract. After that, a wild scramble is probable inside the union as power blocs form and struggle for ascendency in an organization accustomed to one-man rule. The union's strategic hold on a key link in America's transportation lifeline makes the outcome of that internecine struggle a matter of consequence for every citizen.

At the present time when it is no longer novel to espouse the doctrine of civil disobedience, the triumph of justice in the Hoffa case is most reassuring. It serves as a source of encouragement to this Nation's young people that even those with awesome power and influence are subject to the laws of the land. Indeed, the awesomeness of our system of laws can be glimpsed from the Hoffa experience in which a formidable source of national power bowed to relentless legal pursuit.

Paul Healy, the author of the three-part series, "The Hoffa Story," recaps for us pertinent events in the Hoffa saga which gained for Lewisburg last Tuesday a most prominent resident. The subtitle of part 2 reads: "He Bet Trouble or Nothing and Raked in the Winnings," and I include it in the RECORD at this point:

THE HOFFA STORY: HE BET TROUBLE OR NOTHING AND RAKED IN THE WINNINGS

(By Paul Healy)

WASHINGTON, March 7—The rise of Jimmy Hoffa, which was at least temporarily halted when he went behind bars today, was built on a succession of troubles. Troubles with rival union factions, with police, with politicians.

For 35 years, Hoffa turned them to his advantage. As long as he stayed out of jail he could picture himself as being persecuted and boast (inaccurately): "I ain't never been found guilty of nothin' . . ." Hoffa believes he had no choice but to fight for his life with every handy weapon from his earliest beginnings.

He was born Feb. 14, 1913, in Brazil, Ind., the third of four children. His mother was of Irish descent and his father of Dutch origin. His father, a driller in coal mines, died when Jimmy was 7. His mother moved the family to Detroit "looking for some way to keep us alive," Hoffa once recalled.

After seventh grade young Jimmy quit school to become a stock boy in a department store.

When he was strong enough, he got a job at a warehouse unloading produce from boxcars and trucks. Because the foreman "treated us like a dog," Hoffa and five young colleagues started a union. They forced the company to capitulate by refusing to unload a boxcar of highly perishable strawberries.

In 1932, Hoffa took his union into the Teamsters and soon became business agent and later president of Detroit Local 299. In the roughest days of the depression, Hoffa and his aides went out organizing day and night. They collected dues as far away as Evansville, Ind.

"EVERY STRIKE WAS A FIGHT"

"Every strike was a fight," he has recalled. "Detroit was the open-shop capital of America. Every time you'd go near to a place to organize it, you'd get picked up and put into jail. The police beat you on the head with nightsticks. It was a mess."

Hoffa's brother was shot, and Jimmy himself got his "head broke." He was arrested 18 times in one day. The picket line arrests do not show on the police record. The record shows only that between 1933 and 1947 he was arrested 16 times on a variety of other charges all related to union activities. This total doesn't count traffic violations.

During this period, Hoffa was convicted three times—once of assault and battery in a picket line fight, once of violating the anti-trust law (conspiring with unionized waste paper companies to prevent non-union companies from selling their product) and once on a misdemeanor growing out of a charge that he had forced grocers to buy permits from his union.

DONATED PROCEEDS TO CHILDREN'S HOME

In 1935, Hoffa took the lead in a plan to whip all the Midwest Teamster locals into a single powerful conference—against the wishes of irascible Teamster President Dan Tobin. In 1940, he succeeded. Area conferences also were being organized elsewhere and, in 1952, Hoffa and the other labor "barons" who headed the conferences steamrolled Dave Beck into the presidency in place of Tobin.

Hoffa simultaneously was elected vice president of the Teamsters international, at 29 the youngest man ever to make the executive board. In this post, while the florid, soft-looking Beck made speeches on foreign policy, Hoffa undercut him by handling wages, hours and working conditions.

Whenever a problem arose, Beck sent Hoffa to straighten it out. In each case, Hoffa made new allies—some with criminal records.

Hoffa meanwhile continued to try to improve his public image. By 1956, he was such an important figure in the labor movement that the Teamsters held a $100-a-plate dinner in his honor in Detroit. Leading Detroit businessmen attended. Hoffa donated the proceeds—$265,000—to Israel to build a children's home.

Later that year there was set in motion an investigation which would focus for three years on Hoffa, though he was not its initial target.

Chairman John McClellan (D-Ark.) of the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee and his chief counsel, Robert Kennedy, were nosing into Teamsters' affairs. They found enough to cause the Senate in early 1957 to set up a select committee on labor and management shenanigans, soon to be known as the rackets committee.

Beck's handling of the union's rich treasury was the committee's immediate concern. But even before they held hearings on Beck, there was a startlingly melodramatic development. Hoffa was brought into court the night of March 13, 1957, on charges of having tried to plant a spy, one John Cheasty, on the committee.

In the Hoffa trial, his first, that summer the government contended that Hoffa had bribed Cheasty, a New York lawyer, to get a job on the committee and feed him information. But Cheasty, the government alleged, had spilled the plot to Kennedy, and Kennedy had asked him to play along with Hoffa and trap him. Thirty-one FBI agents took the stand to supply details on how the trap had been baited for Hoffa—and how he had allegedly passed $1,000 to Cheasty.

Kennedy was so confident he said that "if Hoffa isn't convicted, I'll jump off the Capitol."

OFFER TO SUPPLY PARACHUTE FOR R.F.K.

But Hoffa proved to be more convincing on the witness stand than Cheasty. He denied everything and the jury acquitted him. It was one of the greatest of triumphs for defense attorney Edward Bennett Williams—who gloatingly offered to supply a parachute to Bobby for his leap.

But at the same time the McClellan probers were digging deeply into Hoffa's links with the underworld. In August, 1957, they began to spread them on the record. They had already put the skids under Beck, alleging that he had misused $370,000 in union funds. In September, Hoffa was elected to succeed Beck as Teamsters' president.

Thus in bringing down Beck the committee had unwittingly made room at the top for the much-tougher Hoffa. Newly elected president and fresh from his acquittal, Hoffa was cocky and almost cordial in his first days in the witness chair before the committee. He called Kennedy "Bob" and refused to do what practically all of his accused associates were doing—taking the Fifth Amendment.

Instead, the little president of the world's biggest union, with attorney Williams sitting next to him at $1,000 a day, relied on what he claimed was an incredibly bad memory. He knew that nobody could go to jail for perjury if he could get away with saying: "I don't recall."

An ordinary witness might have been embarrassed by some of the corners this led Hoffa into.

When Kennedy asked Hoffa if he knew New York hoodlum John Dioguardi (alias Johnny Dio), he blandly replied: "Not to my recollection."

Then, as Kennedy prepared to play a tape of a tapped telephone call between Dio and Hoffa, he quickly emphasized: "Let the record show that I said it was to the best of my recollection."

As the weeks and weeks of hearings wore on, Hoffa seemed to wilt under the TV lights as more wiretaps and other evidence was produced to show that gangster types and terror and violence ruled much of his union. Once, he got so rattled he ended up spouting: "To the best of my recollection I must recall on my memory that I cannot remember. . . ."

"Is that your answer?" Kennedy asked incredulously. The audience laughed.

"Well, I am trying to help," Hoffa replied. "This is a serious situation."

"If these things do not refresh your memory," drawled McClellan wearily, "it would take the power of God to do it. The instrumentalities of mankind obviously are not adequate . . . proceed."

During the 1958 hearings, Kennedy later recalled, Hoffa sometimes fixed him with an evil eye—"A deep, strange penetrating expression of intense hatred." Then, Kennedy said, "he would wink at me. I can't explain it. Maybe a psychiatrist would recognize the symptoms."

In its report, the rackets committee charged that the Teamsters membership had been betrayed, democratic processes had been stifled, that money, including pension, and welfare funds, had been misused to the tune of at least $9.5 million. It warned that cogs in the union which controlled all transportation in the U.S. were in the hands of the likes of Dio.

HE GAVE KENNEDYS CHANCE TO SHINE

For these "corrupt practices" the Teamsters were kicked out of the AFL–CIO by a vote of

5-1. Hoffa thumbed his nose at the federation. His main effort was to survive as the Teamsters' monarcn.

Not all the challenges to Hoffa's absolute power as president could be squelched by his musclemen. In 1958, a group of hardy dissident Teamsters filed suit in federal district court to prevent his taking office. The court allowed Hoffa to remain as provisional president pending a cleanup of the union to be carried out under the prodding of a board of three outside monitors."

The board was a gun held at the head of Hoffa. It was dissolved after installing a modern accounting system for the union's labyrinth of finances.

If the racket committee had inadvertently put Hoffa in the Teamsters' saddle, Hoffa, a perfect foil, had given two ambitious young men a chance to play the "good guys."

Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a member of the committee, was planning to run for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1960, and his brother Robert was to manage his campaign. The investigation of Hoffa had made the Kennedy "brother act" familiar through newspapers and television to the households of the nation.

Republican Hoffa fought the Kennedy candidacy. He did not relish the Kennedys pursuing their "vendetta" against him from the White House. When Kennedy was elected and Bobby became Attorney General, he discovered that his court troubles—which he had always licked before—were just beginning.

FEWER PEOPLE ARE BEING FOOLED BY L.B.J. PROPOSALS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, my mail reflects exactly what my close contact with the voters has shown: fewer people are being fooled by White House doubletalk. Whether the subject be Vietnam or taxes, social security or the farm program, there is a growing awareness of the credibility gap between promise and performance.

A few years ago, workers were going to receive "help" by having their profit sharing plans changed from capital gains treatment to ordinary income treatment. The farmer has come to realize that voluntary farm programs are really controlled programs. Tax "revisions" usually end up being tax increases. People know this—they are not fooled.

A constituent of mine from Mt. Vernon, Ohio, has not been fooled. The following letter indicates that he, like many more of his fellow Americans, have pierced the veil of semantics here in Washington and knows what is going on. This is one American speaking and I suggest that all Members of this body consider these views, Mr. Speaker. Fewer people are being taken in by the liberal big spenders. Their day is coming. I am also including the article from the Thursday, March 2, 1967, Wall Street Journal to which my constituent has referred.

The letter and article follow:

MARCH 6, 1967.

Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: I hesitate writing you again, so soon after our recent exchange of correspondence; however, the enclosed article in the Wall Street Journal of March 2nd is of such significance that I feel I must again express to you my thinking, and my resultant personal situation.

I am 72 years of age, and am filled with apprehension each time I read something to the effect that the Treasury Department is concerned over the "welfare" of the 20 million persons over 65, and intend to make some revisions in their special allowances. Each time, in my case, the revisions ultimately resulted in an increase in my Income Tax. This in turn has created a greater "freeze" in my personal investments, as well as a reduction in my general spending.

For example, several years ago the Press, TV and Radio heralded an average 20% reduction in personal Income Taxes through a readjustment in the rate structure. Coincident with this, the 4% credit allowed for years for Dividends Received was first reduced by 2%, and then eliminated altogether the following year.

The 4% taken away from the Stockholders was passed back to the Corporations issuing the Dividends, by reducing their basic tax from 52% to 48%. This has meant a substantial tax increase to me personally, and other Golden Agers in my predicament, as 71% of my total income this past year, including Social Security and Pension, has come from Dividends. The result is that instead of being decreased, my tax has actually been increased.

The Treasury Department has announced that in 1967 the full deduction from income for Prescriptions and Medical costs will no longer be allowed for those over 65, but the usual 1% and 3% of Total Income must first be deducted.

Announcement has also been made that full Hospital and Medical Insurance Policy Premiums deductions will no longer be granted those over 65, but only one-half, or not over a maximum of $150.00. Again both of these revisions affect me, and serve to raise my total tax considerably.

I now read in the enclosed article that President Johnson is proposing further changes in the tax structure for those over 65. Under this proposal the additional $600 Personal Exemption is to be eliminated, as well as tax credit for retirement income. These are to be replaced by a single exemption, as the current system is "too complicated".

Together these latest revisions again represent a still further increase in Taxation for me, and undoubtedly for the majority of the 1.4 million mentioned who will be affected, out of a total of 20 million citizens who are over 65, or approximately only 7% of this age group. I do not know what the percentile is out of the overall total of all taxpayers; however, it must be miniscule.

The absence of a powerful Lobby, or insufficient Voter Strength, seems to be the only discernible reasons as to why this class of Citizen has been singled out each year for the past several for those substantial increases, whereas the major sources of the needed and justifiable additional tax income seem to continue to maintain Lobbies strong enough to protect them from paying their reasonable and rightful share. I refer to the so-called "Co-operatives" and the "quasi legal" Foundations, who in many instances are in direct competition with tax paying Corporations, yet are still tax exempt. Also included are Insurance Companies, Oil Depletion Allowances, and many other recognized tax loopholes and inequities.

No one objects to paying their fair share of the cost of maintaining the justifiable costs of our Government, but when a small minority is repeatedly subjected to a withdrawal of their so-called "Golden Age Considerations", and forced to bear a disproportionate share of taxation, we can only lay our situation before fair minded Legislators such as you, and ask for help.

Writing you on this subject is redundant, as I am sure I know your personal feelings; however, I do want to add a few significant and personal facts, as one of your Constituents, to your arsenal of Ammunition on this subject when this subject comes up on the Floor of the House for consideration.

Again, with best personal regards, believe me.

Cordially yours,

—— ——.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 2, 1967]

NEW TAX TREATMENT OF RETIREMENT INCOME INCLUDED IN PROPOSED SOCIAL SECURITY BOOST

WASHINGTON.—One-third of the nation's elderly taxpayers would pay higher levies under President Johnson's proposed changes in the tax treatment of Social Security pensions and other retirement income, a Treasury official said.

As part of his requested package of higher Social Security cash benefits, Mr. Johnson is asking for abolition of the long-standing income-tax exemption for Social Security pension checks, an end to the extra $600 personal exemption enjoyed by over-65 taxpayers, and repeal of a special tax credit for such retirement income as dividends, interest and rents. The Administration wants these special exemptions replaced with a single exemption.

The tax proposals were disclosed by Assistant Treasury Secretary Stanely Surrey as the House Ways and Means Committee opened public hearings on the Social Security package. Mr. Surrey argued that the current system is too complicated and discriminates against persons who keep working after age 65. Committee members are expected to question Administration officials closely on the proposal when testimony resumes this morning.

Mr. Surrey said that of the 20 million citizens age 65 or over, only 4.2 million currently have some income-tax liability.

The Administration wants these special exemptions replaced with a single exemption. Mr. Surrey argued that the current system is too complicated and discriminates against persons who keep working after age 65.

Under the proposed system, single persons over 65 would get a $2,300 exemption, but if they earned more than $5,600 annually they would lose $1 of the exemption for each dollar of income over $5,600, with the exemption vanishing at $7,900. Married couples would be granted a $4,000 exemption, but if they earn more than $11,200 annually the exemption would be cut back dollar for dollar for income over $11,200, with the exemption eliminated at $15,200.

According to Treasury calculations, the new system would remove about 500,000 low-income elderly taxpayers from the list of 4.2 million over-65 persons who currently pay taxes. Mr. Surrey said that 2.3 million more would pay lower taxes, but that 1.4 million of the upper income elderly—a third of this tax-paying group—would pay more.

"They will lose the special tax benefits now available to them since they have no demonstrable need for special tax relief," Mr. Surrey said. He added, though, that the higher tax bills would in many cases be offset by the President's companion proposal for a 15% increase in Social Security pensions.

RESULTS OF POLL

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, the tabulations have just been completed on my first constituent poll of this session, and I find the results most interesting.

I was particularly interested in the opinions expressed on the President's policy in Vietnam and the bombing raids on North Vietnam.

It would appear from the overwhelming support for these raids that the majority of the people favor heavy pressure to end this conflict, and feel that unilateral cessation of the raids would merely prolong the war.

However, the administration position on Vietnam generally barely received approval of the majority of those answering the poll. This would indicate that the people are divided on the question of the President's leadership, for whatever reason, but are willing to give him the benefit of the doubt.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I insert in the RECORD the results of this poll:

1. In general, do you agree with President Johnson's policy on Viet Nam?

	Percent
Yes	58
No	36

2. Continue the bombing of North Viet Nam or stop it?

	Percent
Continue	75
Stop	21

3. Permit tax credits for some portion of college tuition payments?

	Percent
Yes	77
No	22

4. Permit tax credits to private industry for some portion of the cost of job training?

	Percent
Yes	43
No	52

5. Tighten postal regulations to reduce the amount of unsolicited mail delivered to homes?

	Percent
Yes	88
No	9

6. The President should be elected by popular vote instead of through the Electoral College?

	Percent
Yes	82
No	14

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr Speaker, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker recently said in Buenos Aires:

> In no part of the world does the United States have greater and deeper ties than it has in the Western hemisphere.

This profound but simple statement of fact lends added substance to the validity of our participation in the forthcoming summit meeting of the American Presidents at Punta del Este.

President Johnson will bring to this historic event deep and sincere manifestations of friendship for our Latin American neighbors in clear support of Ambassador Bunker's words.

Encouraging developments have been achieved in the years of the Alliance for Progress, but much more achievement is necessary. In this great undertaking, we must count on the best contributions both of government and of the private sector, throughout the hemisphere.

It is my earnest hope that greater incentives can be generated to stimulate private enterprise in the economy of these developing nations. Obviously, the role of governments is essential, but many believe that the ultimate success or failure of the Alliance for Progress will be determined essentially by the attitudes and actions of the business community in both the United States and Latin American countries. For we all know that private enterprise, given encouragement, can provide much of the stuff of progress—industry, diversification, jobs, and better living conditions.

To encourage U.S. investors, the United States has concluded investment guaranty agreements with 18 Latin American republics.

Under the specific risk guaranty program, U.S. private investors are protected by the Agency for International Development against the inconvertibility of local currencies and possible losses resulting from expropriation, war, revolution, and insurrection.

The United States and our Latin American partners in the Alliance for Progress have no bias against private enterprise. One of the goals of the Punta del Este Declaration is to stimulate private enterprise in order to encourage the development of Latin American countries at a rate which will help them to provide jobs for their growing population, to eliminate unemployment and to take their place among the modern industrialized nations of the world.

Thus the programs of the Alliance for Progress look to a constantly strengthened and modernized private sector as a major instrument for economic expansion.

I wish the President Godspeed and I have every confidence that our representation at Punta del Este will gain full support at home.

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT BILL WOULD AID NORTH COUNTRY ECONOMY

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which would allow State or community-owned airports to qualify as international airports of entry and thus have customs facilities, if they were willing to pay for the services.

Because of the importance of this bill to the economy of northern New Hampshire, I urge that it be given quick consideration by the House of Representatives. The reasons for introduction of the measure are contained in the press release I issued today, which I attach here for my colleagues' perusal:

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT BILL IS INTRODUCED

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Congressman James C. Cleveland today introduced a bill he said could be "a boon to air travel and the economy in our Northern areas."

The bill would require designation of state or community-owned airports as international airports of entry if the state or local governmental agency agrees to provide facilities and funds for customs' operations at the airports.

Several airports in Northern New Hampshire could benefit from this legislation, said Congressman Cleveland, including those at Berlin and Whitefield. Expo '67 adds special urgency to the need for this legislation, he said.

In the past, explained Congressman Cleveland, Treasury Department officials have not established customs' facilities at smaller airports because of the costs involved. And, he said, even in cases where the communities or states owning the airports were willing to pay the full costs involved, Treasury officials were prevented by law from installing customs' service.

Cleveland's bill would change this and allow establishment of the customs' facilities, if the airport owner agreed to furnish free airport space for the federal officials and reimburse the federal government for salaries and operational expenses.

Such designations as international airports in Northern New Hampshire would allow travelers from Canada to land in these airports instead of having to detour to larger airports further South as is now the case.

FAIR PAY FOR HOUSE WITNESSES IS PROPOSED

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today reintroduced legislation to pay witnesses before committees of the House of Representatives the same appearance fees and expenses paid by the other body and by Federal agencies.

Witnesses now testifying before House committees are paid $9 a day and 7 cents a mile for travel. But at the same time, witnesses who testify before committees of the Senate and Federal agencies are paid $16 a day and are reimbursed for travel at the rate of 12 cents a mile.

This discrepancy is wrong and is unfair to these witnesses. Often persons appearing as witnesses before my own House Committee on Public Works are persons who receive low salaries and who have had to travel long distances to Washington. The higher rates of compensation allowed by the Senate and Federal agencies are themselves only barely adequate, if that, to pay necessary expenses. The compensation paid by the House is wholly inadequate.

Our present limitations were established in 1955. Perhaps they were realistic then, but it is impossible to imagine trying to visit Washington at today's prices, high hotel rates, meal costs and other expenses, on $9 a day.

The failure to pay adequate compensation to witnesses is not only a severe burden on the individuals involved, it actually impedes the work of committees. Often, persons whose testimony is sorely needed are unable to appear because they cannot afford the financial drain. I urge my colleagues to approve the more realistic figure of compensation.

CHIPPEWA INDIANS CLAIMS BILL

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I am, today, introducing a bill to pay off a 112-year-old debt owed by the Federal Government to the Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians.

Under this bill, members of these bands would receive the moneys awarded them in a 1965 judgment by the Indian Claims Commission, and the governing bodies of the White Earth, Leech Lake, and Mille Lacs Reservations would determine how such moneys will be spent.

My bill represents a recent consensus of the Chippewa Bands involved, but no moneys can be distributed until such legislation is passed by Congress and signed into law by the President.

As a sponsor of similar legislation in the previous Congress, I am hopeful that the current Congress will take favorable action on my new bill at the earliest feasible time.

The bill follows:

H.R. —

A bill to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe of Indians on behalf of the Mississippi Bands and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the funds on deposit in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe of Indians on behalf of the Mississippi Bands and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians that were appropriated by the Act of October 31, 1965, to pay a judgment by the Indian Claims Commission in docket 18–B, and the interest thereon, after payment of attorney fees and expenses, may be advanced or expended for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing bodies of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and the White Earth, Leech Lake, and Mille Lacs Reservations with whom the members of the Mississippi Bands and Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians are affiliated, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Any part of such funds that may be distributed per capita to the members of the tribe shall not be (1) subject to the Federal or State income tax, (2) subject to any lien or claim of attorneys or creditors, and (3) held to be "other income and resources" as that term is used in sections 2(a)(10(A), 402(a)(7), 1002(a)(8), and 1602(a)(14) of the Social Security Act, as amended.

SUPPORT OF RESTORATION OF 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. McDONALD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that the President has asked the Congress to restore the 7-percent investment credit for business. Certainly, the sluggish economy that we are now experiencing can be traced, in part, to the decision to clamp the lid on the investment credit. And as a representative of a district acutely sensitive to slumping auto sales, swollen inventories, and projected layoffs, I favor any measure which will spur the economy. But, there are certain inconsistencies in the President's call for a singular measure to cure our current economic ills which must also be eradicated if our economy is to regain its health.

First, it is incredible to believe that the businessman will hasten to take advantage of this tax credit when the administration continues to demand that a 6-percent surcharge be imposed on corporate profits. And it is inconsistent with sound economic practices to decrease revenues without cutting back on expenditures as well. Neither the consumer nor the corporation will be pleased to be mortgaged with a huge deficit.

The President informed the Congress in January that his budget forecast a deficit of some $8 billion even with the surcharge. Now, we are told that the deficit will climb to some $12 billion. If this is the case, then we simply must curtail our domestic spending.

But, that aside, I question whether restoration of the investment tax credit is not too little too late. Five months ago, the administration informed us that the 7-percent investment credit had to be removed in order to halt what appeared to be an inflationary trend. This despite certain indications which suggested that the rapid growth in new plant and equipment expenditures was slowing of its own accord.

Yet, the President had his way and everything came to a screeching halt, so much so that the Department of Commerce now tells us that we face a serious decline in capital investment. Rather than the projected rise of $1.5 billion, capital expenditures have dropped from $62.8 billion in the fourth quarter of last year to $62.6 billion in the first quarter of 1967; and, it is anticipated that they will sink to $62.25 billion in the second quarter.

Now the administration is moving to reverse a serious miscalculation. But, is this single measure sufficient? I think not.

Faced with the prospect of a 6-percent surcharge, the businessman is not likely to embark on some ventures to increase profits. Faced with the prospect of increased taxes to pay off a huge Federal deficit, the consumer is not likely to increase his spending. Hence, we need not only to remove the threat of added taxes and cut down on the appropriations for domestic programs, we must also consider other measures for strengthening our economy.

We should, for example, immediately consider an across-the-board corporate income tax cut so that companies not in a position to invest in new facilities or equipment will be encouraged to make other expenditures. And we should consider the possibility of cutting excise taxes as a way of strengthening consumer spending.

In any event, we cannot expect any significant gains from the restoration of the investment credit if we do not, at the same time, abandon the proposal for a surcharge, curb our domestic spending, and provide some incentives for the economy to develop free of constant and quixotic manipulation by the Federal Government.

THE FARMERS' PLIGHT

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from a good friend of mine who is a farmer in the vicinity of New Ulm, Minn., Mr. Armund Scheibel, in which he asks, "What is going to happen to the American farmers?" He goes on to state that taxes on his farm have gone up $929 since 1952 and that he has been forced to compete with meat and dairy imports in the face of the cost price squeeze which is reducing farm income and has driven the parity price ratio down to 74 percent.

In order to bring Mr. Scheibel's letter to the attention of my colleagues I place his letter in my remarks together with a newspaper article which Mr. Scheibel enclosed with his letter reporting an interview with Mr. Homer Jackson, manager of the Production Credit Association of Rifle, Colo.:

New Ulm, Minn.,
March 8, 1967.

Ancher Nelsen,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman: What is going to happen to the American farmers?

With taxes going up for example my farm since 1952 my taxes have gone up $929.00. Dairy herds are being sold off right and left. We have been a well fed nation for many, many years and now our products are priced below production cost. Meat and dairy products are being imported. Ancher where are we going. Are we going to be swallowed up by corporation farming and our children and grandchildren become slave labor. Ancher you and John Zwach should lay down the law to the big city congressman you both know how hard it is to come by a dollar by farming. For your information I am sending you a clipping of a P.C.A. manager out in the ranch country to me it is just terrible.

Please turn this clipping over to the other senators from Minnesota such as McCarthy and Mondale and Zwach.

Trusting this will give you a little thought as to what rural people are concerned about.

Yours truly,

Armund Scheibel.

The Planned Destruction of the Family Farm—A Longtime Cattleman's Devastatingly Forthright Attack on Chain Monopolies and Their Destructive Aims

Homer Jackson is manager of the Production Credit Association of Rifle, Colorado, a position he has held for 23 years. An outspoken advocate of the family-owned farm and ranch, he has appeared often before commissions and public officials on behalf of stockmen. Early in 1965 he contacted members of the National Food Marketing Commission in Washington and officials of the Packers and Stockyards Division of the United States Department of Agriculture in order to detail for them the plight of the primary producer in the red meat business. Later, he appeared before the National Food Marketing Commission at the Cheyenne, Wyoming hearings. The opinions and findings expressed here are those of Mr. Jackson; provocative and devastatingly forthright, they are cause for serious reflections and discussion.

NFO Reporter: Mr. Jackson, in your talks before cattlemen's associations, wool growers—in short, those in the farming business—what do you try to convey.

Jackson: I tell them that if they are stockmen or bankers or in business in any way connected with livestock production, they have one thing in common—we are losing our position in the livestock industry. It is essential for responsible people in position of leadership throughout the livestock industry, within Congress and governmental departments, as well as the publishers of all sources of news media to recognize that fundamentally the producers of livestock represent the foundation of the entire industry.

NFO Reporter: What is the greatest threat at this time.

Jackson: The greatest threat to the livestock industry and the future welfare of the farm families of America is that whether through blindness, ignorance or complacency of fear of retaliation, leadership overlooks or fails to evaluate the crumbling deterioration of the industry at the foundation level.

NFO Reporter: By crumbling deterioration, do you mean the stockmen are going broke?

Jackson: Exactly. To present a picture of the situation, I would like to start by outlining our experience in financing the stockmen of northwestern Colorado. At least 91 per cent of our loans are in financing livestock. Last year we loaned over $18 million and this year we were about $3 million ahead of that. Over the past nearly a quarter of a century we have studied the operating methods, operating costs, repayment programs, financial statements, marketing methods and market prices. I am sure that anyone of you who could have been in our position for this length of time would appreciate the seriousness of this momentous trend that has taken hold of agriculture and the speed and certainty with which these giant corporate chain stores, packing houses and feedlots are controlling and taking over our industry.

NFO Reporter: Specifically, how does cost-of-production square with the prices ranchers are getting for, say, calves?

Jackson: The year 1965 was the 7th straight year when the average price of calves sold off our ranches was below cost of production. Over 90 per cent of the ranch operators today cannot show a sound reasonable program of total debt repayment from the livestock operation. Income from livestock will not meet operating costs, provide a living and permit repayment of the livestock and real estate loans in more than 90 per cent of the cases.

NFO Reporter: With 90 per cent of the farmers simply not making it, what kind of a picture is this constructing?

Jackson: People are leaving the farms and ranches at the most rapid rate in the history of this nation—500,000 farm and ranch people were economically forced out of business in 1965. Colorado alone lost 5,000 farms in the past five years. Those who stayed have doubled their loans to do so. To give you some facts: during 1960, our association loaned $10 million to 410 members. During 1965, we loaned $18 million to 375 members. In 1960 our average sized loan was $14,900. In 1965, it was $32,000.

NFO Reporter: Considering this loan picture, and the prices being received for livestock, does the present situation make mandatory loan cutoffs?

Jackson: The only way we and other leaders can continue financing livestock operations is by using real estate as additional collateral. To point out how this practice has grown—seven years ago, in 1958, we had 6 per cent of our loans secured by real estate collateral valued at less than $1 million. Today, 56 per cent of the loans are secured by real estate collateral valued just under $12 million. Now these figures are facts and they clearly show the extent to which stockmen are pledging their ranch holdings to absorb operating losses.

NFO Reporter: To digress a moment—what does this situation do to young people entering the ranching or farming business?

Jackson: It is economically impossible for young people to engage in the ownership of practical sized farms or ranches. In fact, if we do not get a profit back into the ranching business or the American family owned ranches and farms, they are through. That's why it is time for responsible people to recognize what's going on . I am sure that not one rancher in 20 understands or is even thinking about the real causes affecting his markets and we all have an enormous job of informing the producers. It is time we jerked the blindfolds off.

NFO reporter: At bottom, why is the producer in the position you've just described?

Jackson: To understand this, we've got to analyze our marketing methods. The only system of marketing we have ever known has been governed by the law of supply and demand creating a competitive marketing system. That system is still working at the ranch level out here in the country, but it has been replaced completely by monopolistic control in the other end of our industry.

NFO reporter: Do you mean the stocker cattle situation?

Jackson: Yes. As an example, at the beginning of this year, we had a very active demand for stocker cattle here in the country. Farmers and ranchers began bidding against each other for calves and breeding cows which forced the market up. This created optimism and as the market advanced, optimism grew stronger and what we have had here in the country these past few months is the only market we have ever known—supply and demand and competitive bidding actively controlling the market and establishing the prices. But we should keep in mind, it was the result of ranchers and farmers bidding against each other to force their own market up and they borrowed the money to do so. But when we get away from the country market and livestock moves to the feed lots, to the packers and the retailers, then the law of supply and demand and competitive bidding no longer establishes market prices, and the chain stores primarily are in control.

NFO Reporter: Let's talk about chain stores a minute. What is their position and method of control?

Jackson: In the U.S., approximately 90 per cent of all the dressed beef and groceries are sold through chain stores. Now the whole basic concept of our problem rests on a clear understanding of that point. Just keep in mind that before they can sell it, they first have to buy it. When they are that big in the retail market, they are of like sizes in the buying market and they have a dominant, complete control over the market.

NFO Reporter: Can you clarify what you mean by the term "control?"

Jackson: Compare conditions today in the major terminal markets with what they were like a few years ago. Most of us have shipped to and are familiar with the Denver market. Remember when the market opened on Monday morning, the alleys would be full of local merchants, meat market owners and butchers from all over the city of Denver and neighboring areas. Also, the packer buyers were out in force to supply the outlying towns and areas away from Denver. All of those buyers were on that market, bidding against each other to fill their orders for the coming week. That was competition. It was there every week throughout the entire year and the law of supply and demand was in control.

NFO Reporter: What's the market like today?

Jackson: Well, those merchants, meat market owners and butchers of our state, in fact, of all the United States, have been replaced by chain stores and the major chains set the market by simply stating the price they will pay for dressed meat. They don't bother to go into the yards and bid on the live animals. They simply set the prices their stores will pay for dressed meat and that dressed meat price establishes a "ceiling" under which the packer, the feedlot and the producer have to operate. This is the situation in Denver and it is duplicated in all the major markets throughout the nation. The retail chain stores with their enormous concentration of buying power control the "ceiling" price of dressed meat and the rest of the industry has to live under that "ceiling."

NFO Reporter: Yet you hear talk of chains competing with each other, and the National Food Marketing Commission more or less gave a clean bill of health to chains.

Jackson: Still the hearings established that chains are not in competition with each other to the extent that their volume makes it appear for several reasons: First, the big major chains are fairly well operating in separate areas of the country. Second, there are 25 major chains in the country that do 80 to 85 per cent of the retail business. It has been established that 23 of these stores do not have their own procurement or purchasing agencies. Rather, they buy off what is known as the "yellow sheet." The "yellow sheet" is a marketing publication listing prices of dressed beef, pork, lamb, dairy products, etc. Now 23 of the major stores use that price guide to determine what they will pay rather than to set up their own procurement agency and go out and bid on a competitive market. Their reason, as some have stated, is that if they know they are paying the same price for their products that their competitor pays, they can meet competition with their competitor in the retail market.

NFO Reporter: Are there any chains that do not follow the "yellow sheet"?

Jackson: The two largest chains in the nation reportedly do not follow the "yellow sheet" but do have their own procurement agency and buy on the active markets.

NFO Reporter: Who puts out the "yellow sheet"—that is, who determines the "yellow sheet" prices?

Jackson: That question has not been answered in any meaningful way, and it has not been confirmed just who the publishers are, but it is generally accepted that since "the two majors" set their own market prices that the "yellow sheet" is based on the average price paid by the two major chains.

NFO Reporter: Doesn't this imply that two chains are setting the price for most of the food commodities of this nation?

Jackson: It does. In other words, about a half dozen men fix the price of dressed beef for the nation each week—a price that the entire cattle industry has to live under. Now think that through. There's nothing competitive about such an arrangement and we stockmen accept it by saying, "There's nothing we can do about it."

NFO Reporter: What effect does this concentrated buying power of the giant chains have over packers and feedlot operators?

Jackson: To understand that, we have to look into the manipulations and price fixing practices the packers have resorted to in order to live under the "ceiling" price established by the chains. Now the packer may know as far as a week in advance what the price for dressed beef is going to be, so he contacts the country feedlots and buys their cattle at a fixed price. They are shipped to his plant and bypass the terminal market entirely. He tells the feeder he will pay the same price on the market so why should the feeder pay a commission. This practice has become so prominent that it has forced the terminal markets out of business and destroyed competitive bidding.

NFO Reporter: What about packers going into the feedlot business?

Jackson: Well, they have done that. Now that in itself would not appear harmful to us and we might take the position that packer-owned feedlots offer another outlet for feeder cattle—which as producers suits us because we are always looking for more customers. But the packer-owned feedlot is one of the most vicious market controlling powers operating today.

NFO Reporter: What is the anatomy of this "controlling power?"

Jackson: A packer with his own cattle on feed is in a position to draw on his own supply anytime he needs them and can easily depress a market by doing so. Mr. Rodeen, President of the Sioux City, Iowa Stockyards, brought out in his testimony at the Des Moines Food Commission hearings how effectively packers there controlled his market. He illustrated by explaining that due to storm conditions they were about 2,000 cattle short on the market. Now normally a shortage of 2,000 cattle would raise the market $1.00 to $1.50. He said that two packers sent to their own feedlots that day and shipped in 2,500 cattle which were dumped on the terminal market. So, instead of having a shortage of 2,000 head, their market was oversupplied by 500 head and it broke the price 50 cents. *Take April 22, 1966.* The Denver market quoted slaughter steers 50 cents to 70 cents lower and heifers fully 50 cents lower. Sales were confirmed on 310 loads of steers and 248 loads of heifers for a total of 558 loads. The market stated that packers were filling larger than normal share of their requirements from their own feedlots. Now that is an example where ample cattle are available on the market to supply the packers demand, but instead of buying on the terminal markets, the packer can go to his own feedlot to supply his demand and thus break the market 50 cents to 75 cents by doing so. And if you want to figure that out, it amounts to somewhere around 70 to 80 thousand bucks on one day's trade.

NFO Reporter: What about contract feeding?

Jackson: This is another tactic they are using to get around the Packers and Stockyard Act, which limits their own feeding operation. They contract with individuals, farmers and others to feed for them and in this manner they have a supply of cattle on feed which they are able to draw on at will, the same as if they were in their own feedlots. This packer feeding combination is the direct control of market prices for fat cattle that we are confronted with today. It is this combination of power and manipulation that the Bandstra Bill is designed to break up and certainly it deserves the support of the stockmen of this state.

NFO Reporter: What was the Bandstra bill?

Jackson: The Bandstra bill was a bill which Representative Bandstra of Iowa sponsored for the purpose of prohibiting them from contract feeding and contract buying. This measure received strong support from the feeders and stockmen in Iowa, Nebraska and Wyoming, and I recommended that stockmen in Colorado support it.

NFO Reporter: Doesn't the Packers and Stockyards Act supposedly prohibit chain stores from getting into the feedlot business and likewise limit the extent to which packers may feed?

Jackson: The Packers and Stockyards Act under the USDA was passed in 1921 and contains many effective controls and protective laws, but it needs to be brought up to date and some laws revised to meet present day conditions. The Packers and Stockyards Act does not require the packer to report cattle he has on contract feeding, nor does it require him to report cattle on hand less than 30 days. He does not have to report cattle owned by individual members of his firm. As an example, the Mumford Feed Lot is also the Mumford Packing Company. It is all the same family. In reporting to Packers and Stockyards Division, Mumford Packing reported feeding approximately 25,000 cattle. Actually the Mumford Feed Lots feed about 175 to 200 thousand cattle. In short, these reports by the Packers and Stockyards Division are not only erroneous but they are protecting the packer and are injurious to our position.

NFO Reporter: To what extent are packers feeding?

Jackson: The national figure for the per cent of packer feeding varies from 4.5 per cent to 5.5 per cent. They show, for instance, in Colorado that packers are engaged to the tune of 5.5 per cent. Actually it is known that they feed approximately 30 percent and one feedlot operator testified that it would run about 40 per cent. California runs about 35 per cent. Arizona approximately 50 per cent and other states hold the general comparison.

NFO Reporter: Are economic projections based on the low USDA figures, or on the "actual figures?"

Jackson: The USDA reports obtained through the Packers and Stockyards Division are used by economists, colleges, editorialists and most everyone who publishes information regarding the markets or who studies them. This erroneous information going to our Congressmen, governmental department heads and being published through all of our marketing news is a major damaging factor to our end of the industry.

NFO Reporter: What about the corporate feedlots? How do they fit into the picture?

Jackson: Well, they're springing up all over the country and crowding out the individual farmer feeder. The Agricultural College at Fort Collins recently reported that 7 per cent of the feedlots in Colorado fed 65 per cent of the cattle and that figure is generally about true over most of the western states. Nearly 65 per cent of the individual farmer-owned feedlots have been crowded out of business. The effect of these big feedlots in combination with the packer owned feedlots has been to erect another control over our marketing methods.

NFO Reporter: At the feeder level?

Jackson: To clarify this, let's go back and compare the Denver market a few years ago over in the Feeder Division with conditions as they are today. Remember when you shipped in the fall, the alleys were full of farmers and individual feeders in there bidding against each other to buy feeder cattle for their own feedlots. That made competition. Nearer home, remember when we started the Rio Blanco and Holy Cross Feeder Sales through the Rifle and Glenwood Springs auctions? We had individual farmers and feeders from the Fort Collins-Greeley area of this state and from Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska all coming to these sales to buy their feeder cattle and the barns were full of active competitive buyers. Now with conditions as they are, 65 per cent of the feeders forced out of business, the big packer feedlots and the big corporate feedlots are represented on the central markets and in the auction barns by one or two order buyers. These fellows have a fixed price in their pocket and they immediately establish a "ceiling price for the auction that day." Also, they are going to the country with that same price in their pocket telling the producer that he can save money by selling at home instead of paying a commission through the auction.

NFO Reporter: In a word, the competitive market system has vanished?

Jackson: That's right. All of the major terminal markets have been nearly eliminated. The Denver Stockyards is closing down to an auction market only, just one commission firm. Kansas City is in about the same position. Chicago, except for a hog market, is nearly closed. Los Angeles has completely gone out of the picture. Omaha remains today as the leading terminal market, but like the rest its days are numbered. The competitive market system is gone and for anyone to still contend otherwise is simply being blind to realities and is most harmful to us.

NFO Reporter: In spite of the known existing controls over markets, many economists and leading spokesmen for the cattle industry are still using the prospects for "demand" as offering a bright future for the farmer. In fact, the same has been expressed by high USDA officials in regard to other farm production.

Jackson: No denying that demand is greater than we have ever known in our lifetime. We have had the greatest demand we could hope for ever since World War II. Our population has increased nearly 50 million. Per capita consumption has doubled from 50 to 100 pounds per person. And still we are selling our cattle today at about 30 per cent less than we sold them for 15 years ago. Demand has nothing to do with it. The population is estimated to reach 330 million in the next 34 years. The world population will double from 3 billion today to 6 and one-fourth billion in the next 35 years. There is no other product this nation produces in greater demand than beef, and still, we, at the foundation level are being forced out of business. I just noticed a published report recently to the effect that our government and other leading world governments are seriously concerned with the fact that right now we are producing food on a hand-to-mouth basis. Here in America our surpluses are gone. So don't worry about demand. It is here and will be here for generations to come. We will not benefit from it under our present marketing methods.

NFO Reporter: In your opinion, what will cattlemen have to do to protect the markets of their industry?

Jackson: We have to obtain from Congress a law forcing monopolistic controls over the chain stores and the packers. Their buying practices and their retail business should be regulated through some form of P.U.C. authority, the same as we control all public utilities. They must be required to pay the cost of production. If we are to survive, we must establish our own marketing system under which we set the price for the produce we sell instead of asking the buyer to set the price for us. We are still selling just as we did 100 years ago. We haven't changed or improved our method of marketing at all. Colorado cattlemen are celebrating their 100th anniversary this year. If they hope to celebrate their 105th anniversary, then we in this state and the stockmen of the nation must wake up and go after some effective methods for protecting the markets of their industry.

NFO Reporter: How much time do farmers and ranchers have?

Jackson: Let's back off from the trees and look at the forest. Make your own observation of what you know and see going on before you. Draw your own conclusions. At least 95 per cent of the local merchants and butchers are gone; 65 per cent of the farmer feedlots are out of business; 500,000 farmers forced out of business last year. Colorado lost 5,000 in the past five years, and livestock and real estate indebtedness has doubled. All of our major central markets have gone out in the past five years. Draw your own conclusions. This is no longer a trend. This is no longer something to talk about that may happen in the future. We are on our way out. We haven't much time left. It has happened to others and it is happening to us.

PROPOSAL FOR INCREASED SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. McClure] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. McClure. Mr. Speaker, the President's proposal for increased Social Security taxes has not caught the fancy of my constituents. I have had a great deal of mail on the subject, and nearly all of it opposes the administration's program. A surprising amount of the protests have been made by social security recipients themselves who see it as: First, inflationary; second, a hardship on young wage-earners who must foot the bill; and third, the lastest in a series of vote-buying gimmicks heralding the 1968 election—vote now, pay later.

In this connection, I wish to pay tribute to Berwyn Burke, of the Hailey, Idaho Times, for a very perceptive editorial on this subject. I include it as a part of my remarks.

[From the Hailey Times, Feb. 16, 1967]

The Tax That Has Grown Like Topsy

The tax that has grown like topsy, until it's now getting to be a monster and a millstone around the neck of millions of workers and employers has the fancy name of Federal Insurance Contributions Act but is better known as Social Security. It started out on a modest 1 per cent basis and now has grown to where workers pay 4.4 per cent of their first $6,600 of annual income, or a maximum of $290.40 per year. The employer, whether he is making ends meet or not, must match it.

But we have a man in the White House who talks about the benefits he is going to give everyone, but makes no mention of the terrible tax increases he has in mind. LBJ's plan is to raise the rate to 5 per cent in 1969 and to 5.55 per cent in 1973. The taxable base would climb to $7,800 in 1968 to $9,000 in 1971, and to $10,800 in 1974!

The 5.55 per cent rate and the $10,800 base would mean a maximum annual Social Security and Medicare tax in 1974 of $599.40 . . . or $600 in round numbers. For some workers and employers it would mean their F.I.C.A. taxes would more than double within a seven-year period.

A $600 tax for 20 years is $12,000 just for one form of taxation, and this tax started out, you should keep in mind, at the maximum rate of $30 a year! It illustrates what happens when a gang of politicians get the habit of spending other people's money and find a way to siphon it out of practically every pocket in these United States. They never stop raising the tax and the base . . . but if enough people yell loud enough and long enough and keep yelling . . . they might get scared of being booted out of the government trough and put on the brakes, and ease the pressure. And paying that tax now is plenty tough and is very likely to get rougher . . . not for some other guy but for you and I. Let the White House know through Congress what you think about paying for the benefits LBJ wants to trade for votes in 1968.

SOVIET STRATEGY TO CONTROL KEY MARITIME TRANSPORTATION ROUTES

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, since the nationalization by Egypt in 1956 of the Suez Canal and the impact of that event at Panama, I have repeatedly stressed in addresses, in and out of the Congress, that this startling occurrence was not an isolated matter but part of a worldwide pattern for gaining control of key maritime waterways and adjoining areas from which they can be dominated.

The strategic water routes and areas on which this struggle is now focused are the Suez Canal-Red Sea route, the Strait of Malacca in southeast Asia, the shipping lanes around the Cape of Good Hope, and the Panama Canal. The operations for the control of these arteries of transportation are far more advanced than is generally realized and behoove us to be alert.

As to the Panama Canal, the key issue is not the much discussed U.S. control over the Canal Zone versus Panamanian but U.S. sovereignty versus Communist control. In regard to the Suez Canal-Red Sea route, the Suez Canal is already dominated by Egypt, which in turn is dominated by Soviet power. This means that this key waterway is already under effective Soviet control.

The projected withdrawal of British forces from Aden in 1968 will create a vacuum that Red power is already striving to fill. If successful, this effort will place control of the southern approach to the Suez waterway under Soviet power and serve to advance its influence in surrounding areas.

The latest information on the last is that arrangements have been made for the training of Eritreans in Red China and Soviet Cuba as guerrilla fighters and terrorists to reinforce the Eritrean "Liberation" army. If Soviet power succeeds in taking Eritrea and Aden in addition to its plans for the Suez Canal, it will be in a position to infiltrate and take over Ethiopia and the Republic of the Sudan. In the event of war between the Soviets and the United States or any other free nation, the Suez Canal would undoubtedly be operated as a Soviet waterway sealed off for the transit of all Western vessels of commerce of war.

As with the Suez Canal so with the Panama Canal. Soviet planning and strategy have long been directed toward taking over the latter. Red power has already obtained control of Cuba and is striving to establish its power in Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, the Guianas, and Colombia, all of which are indispensable protective areas for the Panama Canal.

Apropos the Suez Canal-Red Sea route, I quote a recent news story as part of my remarks:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 3, 1967]

Cuba Said To Agree To Train Eritrean Guerrillas—Havana Is Reported Backing Anti-Rebels—Instruction for Terrorists by Peking Also Indicated

(By Eric Pace)

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, March 2.—Cuba has agreed to train guerrilla fighters for an Eritrean secessionist movement, which has been waging a mounting campaign of terror and harassment against the Ethiopian central Government of Emperor Halie Selassie, informed sources reported yesterday.

The informants, who declined to be identified for publication, said the Moslem officers of the secessionist Eritrean Liberation Army had also been making arrangements to send men to Communist China for schooling in terrorist techniques to use against the predominantly Christian Addis Ababa regime.

There was no indication here when the Eritreans would arrive in Cuba or when they would return to reinforce the Liberation Army.

A half dozen Moslem Arab countries have been funneling money and equipment to the Liberation Army and its political arm, the Eritrean Liberation Front. The organizations want full independence for the 48,000-square mile former Italian colony of Eritrea, which was joined to Ethiopia in 1952.

EGYPTIANS AND SAUDIS VIE

The United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia, vying for influence in the Moslem world, have been among the principal supporters of the secessionist movement, which has been trying to rally the loyalty of the Moslem 70 per cent of Eritrea's population of 1.5-million to its crescent flag.

Armed with mortars and bazookas, and with heavier artillery reported hidden in reserve, the Eritrean Liberation Army terrorists have been waylaying trucks, disrupting rail traffic and blackmailing opponents intermittently.

Well organized despite the fact that they have no single outstanding leader, the Liberation Army and the Liberation Front are a continual embarrassment to Emperor Haile Selassie and the 6,000 Government [police force].

The Liberation Army, whose hard core numbers only 2,000 men at most, carries on its intermittent terrorism solely in Eritrea, a largely malaria-infested strip of land along the Red Sea.

Dissident Eritreans feel that their economic development has been neglected by the Emperor, who has concentrated on building up Addis Ababa as a showcase to engender pride among the Ethiopians and awe among the leaders of other African nations.

NO IMMEDIATE THREAT SEEN

The terrorists, who have no clearly defined ideological leanings, have not been effective enough to pose an immediate threat to the political stability in Eritrea. Their activities, however, are part of a broad jockeying for power by Moslem nations that is unsettling the Red Sea area.

Besides supporting the Eritreans, the United Arab Republic is backing anti-British terrorists in Aden, while Somalia, armed with Soviet weapons, hopes to annex French Somaliland if it gains independence.

Broadcasts from Cairo have been encouraging the Eritrean secessionists, and Somalia has been providing passports for them to use in traveling to Egypt, Iraq, and Syria for schooling and training.

The hard core of the terrorist has grown year by year since Eritrea was joined to Ethiopia, with the blessings of the United Nations, 15 years ago.

Africans returning from China have reported that Eritreans were already in training there, but these reports have never been confirmed. And it is considered unlikely that Peking would accept others for training now while is own domestic turmoil continues.

TRAVEL AGENT PROBLEMS RECEIVING INCREASED ATTENTION

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, during the 89th Congress the Subcommittee on Regulatory and Enforcement Agencies of the House Small Business Committee held extensive hearings on the role of small business in air transportation. One of the central issues of these hearings was problems of small business travel agents and their relationship with scheduled air carriers and the Civil Aeronautics Board. The subcommittee received voluminous testimony to the effect that travel agents were being treated as "second-class citizens" as one witness put it.

Recently, a number of hopeful developments have occurred which suggest that increased attention is being given the problems of travel agents and that in the months ahead there may be substantial improvement in the conditions of which they complained during the Small Business Committee hearings.

One of the recommendations contained in the Small Business Committee's report on air transportation was:

> It is recommended that the Civil Aeronautics Board designate one of its offices as the official forum for agent complaints. If, in the opinion of the Board, this would overburden existing personnel, then it is recommended that a new office be created for this purpose. Individual small business travel agents do not have Washington counsel, nor are they familiar enough with the complexities of CAB regulations that they always know which bureau or section they should go to with a particular matter. The intent of this recommendation is that travel agents have available to them an official to receive travel agent problems. It would be his responsibility to call to the attention of the Board or the appropriate members of the staff those problems being encountered by agents.

In January of this year Chairman Charles S. Murphy appointed his special assistant, Miss Joan Coward, to serve as the Board's principal liaison with travel agents. Travel Agent magazine published an article setting forth Miss Coward's views on her new position. Under unanimous consent I place this article in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

CAB LIAISON CHIEF: AGENT PROBLEMS TO BE EXPEDITED

(By James Hogg)

WASHINGTON.—Joan Coward says her new post as CAB Special Assistant on travel agent matters will be "mostly a job of listening" to agents' problems to see that they get proper consideration from the Board.

In her first interview since taking on the new responsibility, Miss Coward, a career civil servant, who likes to fly, told The Travel Agent that her job, as she sees it, will be to act as a "funnel" between agents and the Board to make certain letters and problems get to the right bureau or authority.

"If I see a letter from an agent that needs attention, I'll see that it gets it," she stated.

Miss Coward said she has "no plans at this time" to hold formal, regular meetings with ASTA or IATA officials.

However, she continued, "I do anticipate that I shall attend some industry meetings and hear agents' problems." She added that she hopes to work with industry leaders on an informal basis as problems arise.

Asked to name what she thought were the key problems straining relations between agents and the airlines, Miss Coward singled out "equal incentives," that is, more equitable commission rates for agents selling domestic tickets versus international transportation, and the regulations governing the present North Atlantic GIT fare.

"But as to how deeply the Board will get into this dispute, I don't know yet. It is mainly for the agents and carriers to work it out among themselves." She said the two groups "have to face up to a mutuality of interest," which might take the form of "more dialogue" and perhaps some sort of "formalized arrangement between the ATC and travel agents."

As to relations between airlines and the agents during the past year, Miss Coward said she thought they had improved, but urged closer cooperation in the future between agents, the ATC, and IATA.

The CAB still "doesn't see any need" for licensing of travel agents, she said, and told Congress of this. But if some kind of regulation does come, it should be only on the federal level. States should stay out of matters dealing with interstate transportation, she declared.

What does she think of the people she now has to work with? "I think travel agents are extremely important to air transportation, and will be even more so in the future," she replied.

The committee report also contained the following recommendation:

> It is recommended that travel agents and the Air Traffic Conference take all steps necessary to bring about regular meetings between carriers and agents' representatives for the purpose of discussing mutual problems. It is further recommended that the House Small Business Committee, during the 90th Congress, keep itself informed as to the degree to which this recommendation is implemented.

At its meeting on March 1, the Air Traffic Conference's Policy Committee reviewed means of improving liaison and communications with the travel agency industry. Concluding that such a program would be in the best interests of both travel agents and airlines, the ATC Policy Committee decided to approach the leaders of the various travel agent organizations for the purpose of organizing a meeting of such groups with the airline policy group to discuss the proper organization of a joint group for future discussions, the composition of such a group, and the broad subject areas where joint discussions would be fruitful. One of the matters requiring examination in this connection will be the representation on the joint group of travel agents which are not members of a travel agency organization.

Travel Weekly in its March 7 edition described this meeting in the following language:

[From the Travel Weekly, Mar. 7, 1967]

ATC SEEKS MEETING WITH AGENTS TO LIFT "DIALOG CURTAIN"

WASHINGTON, Mar. 3.—The domestic airlines this week took a first step to shatter the "communications barrier" between travel agents and carriers.

ATC's new Passenger Traffic Policy Advisory Committee voted to meet with agency representatives to seek ways and means to establish an "open dialogue" on trade matters.

The ATC is expected to place the proposal before ASTA, the Assn. of Retail Travel Agents and the Assn. of Bank Travel Bureaus within two weeks. The Creative Tour Operators Assn. and American Automobile Assn. may also be invited.

The need for closer agency-carrier relations was stressed strongly in a recent report of the House Small Business Subcommittee.

On another matter, the policy committee this week declined to recommend a stand on federal licensing of agents. The committee observed that no licensing proposal is currently before Congress.

In addition to these encouraging and commendable actions taken by the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Air Traffic Conference, at least one of the major scheduled domestic air carriers has moved to work in closer cooperation with small business travel agents through an experimental ticket referral program.

This new program being conducted by American Airlines was also described in some detail in the February 14 issue of Travel Weekly. I ask unanimous consent that this description of the American Airlines referral project appear at this point in my remarks:

EXTEND AGENT REFERRAL PROJECT TO FOUR CITIES—AMERICAN TO PURSUE SUBURBAN EXPERIMENT AFTER ST. LOUIS TEST

(By Martin Deutsch)

NEW YORK, Feb. 3.—A ticket referral "experiment" conducted by American Airlines for suburban St. Louis travel agents will be extended in that area for another six months and also tested for a similar period in San Francisco, Cleveland and Washington, D.C.

Kept carefully under wraps until now, the program will be expanded to suburban areas nationally if the pilot projects are successful.

During a six-week period last November and December, American's telephone reservations staff in St. Louis referred 1261 ticket requests to the 17 participating travel agents—and of this number 264 clients, or 21%, actually went to the agencies as recommended.

It was on the basis of these "promising results" that American decided to expand the "trial" to four cities for an extended run. Sixteen of the 17 St. Louis agents were enthusiastic about the referrals, and the only negative reaction came from an agent who said he lacked the parking facilities to handle point-to-point ticket traffic.

In a spot-check, TRAVEL WEEKLY confirmed that the agents were highly laudatory, even though initially they were getting chiefly 5%, short-haul bookings. Travel agent Ed Tenholder had a typical reaction: "This program builds potential clients, educates people in our neighborhood to the fact that we are here, exposes airline travelers to an agency, and encourages traffic into our office."

American's management feels that referrals provide a concrete opportunity to show agents that "we genuinely want to work with them, that we are not merely giving lip-service to the trade when we say we want to do everything possible to cooperate with them and to better their revenues."

The carrier feels that the suburban referrals are a "solid service" to the customer, in that he does not have to travel to a city ticket office in a congested business district, or bother with ticket counter lines at the airports. The system has been confined to outlying communities where there are no CTO's, since the service would offer no advantage to clients who live in high-traffic areas.

"We think we've got a real hot item here for the agents," said an AA vice-president.

American has tried referral programs in the past, but they have been "ill-fated and short-lived" because of opposition by local sales and reservations personnel, and a serious build-up in telephone "holding time." In St. Louis, the reservations clerks were briefed and trained for weeks before the first trial period, and holding time was not appreciably affected during the six weeks.

NINE MAJOR STEPS

The plan works this way: (1) An AA reservations clerk gets a call for a ticket. (2) He asks for the basic passenger information, including name, address and telephone number. (3) From the telephone exchange he can tell whether the client lives in a suburban location, and then the Zip Code Number will further pin down the section.

(5) Working from a chart which gives him the name, address and phone number of the agent nearest the customer, he will recommend that the caller pick up his ticket at that travel agency. (6) In those rare cases where the passenger is equi-distant from two agents, the airline clerk will give both addresses and allow the client to make the decision. (9) If the client prefers a ticket-by-mail, or prefers to pick it up at a CTO or at the airport, the clerk will handle the reservation.

In the instruction sheets, the procedure is spelled out with great clarity for the airline staff. The clerk is advised to ask the caller whether it would be convenient for him to pick up his ticket by a specified date. If the answer is yes, he is told to follow up with: "Perhaps there is a travel agent close to you where it would be convenient to pick up a ticket. Let me check."

The sales and reservations people have also been told repeatedly that "it is very important that we do a thorough and efficient job on this experiment so that a true evaluation can be made and we can give accurate recommendations from the results."

American's St. Louis office reported that the chief reasons given by customers during the six-week experiment for not choosing to pick up the tickets from an agent were these:

Most of the 80% who declined the agency offer had never before done business with an agent. "Well, we've always picked it up downtown. . . ."

Thought they had to pay extra at an agency.

Getting the ticket by mail was easier.

Preferred to go to a CTO either because of habit or convenience.

While none of the above developments are conclusive, they are indicative of a new climate within the air transportation industry in which both the carriers and the CAB are attempting to give greater consideration to the legitimate wants and needs of small business travel agents. In the months ahead my subcommittee will be watching with interest such further developments as may occur. It is our hope that the travel agents will, themselves, strive to work in a spirit of cooperation with other elements of the industry in seeking further improvement.

FROM BOY TO MAN IN THE JOB CORPS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the story of the Job Corps, what it is, what it does, and how it helps in the fight against poverty, was presented in an interesting and informative fashion Sunday, March 5, in the weekly magazine of the St. Paul, Minn., Pioneer Press. Reporter-photographer Mike Zerby told the story through the eyes of his camera and the words of Mitchell Dozier, a corpsman at the Camp Isabella Conservation Center in the Superior National Forest.

This effort to enable poverty-bound young men and women "to correct weaknesses while discovering capabilities" is described in an article, the text of which I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD. The article is an adaptation of a story carried earlier by the Worthington, Minn., Globe.

For those Members of this House who have doubts, or want to know more, about the Job Corps, I especially recommend this brief but encouraging glimpse into the life of one of the young Americans this program is helping. Through basic education, training, and the development of attitude and outlook, the Job Corps is bringing young men and women to say, like Mitchell Dozier, "I'm hoping that one day I will become somebody."

FROM BOY TO MAN IN THE JOB CORPS

(By Mike Zerby)

Mitchell Dozier used to hate himself.

He had only marginal reading ability and limited math skills. Finding a good job and a satisfying way of life seemed impossible.

"I hated myself because I didn't finish high school."

Now he is a member of the Job Corps, discovering himself, his capabilities and limitations. He is getting a basic education, learning a trade and acquiring hope for the future.

To become a corpsman, boys between 16 and 21 must be citizens, have no criminal record, be school dropouts and unable to find or hold adequate jobs. Family income must be less than $3,500 a year.

The 30,000 corpsmen are scattered throughout the country in 111 camps. Dozier arrived at Camp Isabella, in the Superior National Forest 90 miles northeast of Duluth, a year ago. His first impression of the camp: "A very beautiful place."

He is one of 224 boys being rehabilitated in group living, education, work projects designed to correct weaknesses while discovering capabilities.

Corpsmen come from many places. To separate them from their old, presumably undesirable, environment they usually attend a camp more than 300 miles from home.

With so many new faces from differing backgrounds, Mitch, like many corpsmen, was initially "sort of lonely," But now he "has a lot of friends at camp."

"Life is always work," said Mitch, and group living is a full-time job.

He is a leader in Dorm 4. Thomas McDonald said Mitch was selected because he likes people and wants to help them. "He's a good leader."

"As a leader I have to see that the guys always get up on time, that they cooperate in group living and do what is necessary," said Mitch. This includes housekeeping and maintenance in the dorm.

Complaints are aired at dorm meetings. There are some problems and flareups, but "most of the guys, if you take time to talk with them, will straighten out," said Dozier.

Only 31 disciplinary discharges have occurred.

Group living is considered a most important part of the program.

"Getting an education is important," for Mitch. "I will be satisfied when that is done."

Education is composed of reading, math, driver education, world of work and a trade. Corpsmen spend 40 per cent of their time in class, the rest working. Tests determine educational levels and the students progress at their own speeds.

Mitch started reading at second grade level, is now at ninth grade level, will reach twelfth grade level before leaving. He is studying algebra and typing and in driver education he is learning about bulldozers and graders.

As a result of the world-of-work course, Mitch hopes to become a volunteer in VISTA, another anti-poverty program. By helping others in need of help, he feels he can "sort of pay back" for the help given him.

Corpsmen completing the program should be able to compete with the average high school graduate.

Work at the camp gives practical experience, mostly in forestry and conservation. They have built parts of Camp Isabella, including a gym; thinned forests, built campsites and roads.

"Mitch has progressed quite well," said Nate Nelson, a camp official. "He's willing. He works. He doesn't goof off. He's developing a sense of responsibility. This is part of what we're trying to do."

The gym is a needed part of recreation at the camp. They have a fledgling basketball team in the Silver Bay league. There is also a recreation hall with pool table and movies.

But after learning and working all week, what does a teenager want to do? Go on a date—with a girl!

On weekends corpsmen go to Ely, Silver Bay, sometimes Duluth, with transportation provided.

But a new face in a small town is not always welcome. As Mitch put it, "the girls used to look at the corpsmen pretty hard. They didn't know what the program was. People are suspicious and want to know where we come from. If we carry ourselves properly, people will realize we aren't a bunch of hoodlums."

Ely assistant police chief Joseph Baltich, agreed. "There has not been as much trouble as initially expected. The only real incident (a smashed dome light on a police car) included the local kids and it just kind of snowballed. We had to bar the corpsmen from town for a month." The boy involved was discharged from the corps.

The incident led to the establishment of a courtesy patrol, much like the military police. Two corpsmen patrol the towns.

"Since the CPs have been on the job, no trouble," said Baltich.

A teenage waitress in Ely said "the guys behave real nice, maybe they even try too hard to be nice."

Mitch said Ely is friendly. "People have been real nice to me."

Relations have steadily improved. Duluth Cathedral high school invited 30 corpsmen to a basketball game. Ten Silver Bay families invited boys to dinner.

Progress is being made.

But what has all this cost, taking a boy and making a man?

Approximately $7,500 a year per man, according to E. M. Brickner, education director.

"But compare this with the cost of supporting a man and his family on relief for who-knows-how-many years," said Brickner.

"Even more important, what is the value of knowing you can earn a decent living and respect of others?"

It will be several years before the real worth is known.

But, for Mitchell Dozier, he doesn't have to hate himself anymore. He wants to complete his training, marry his girl and work in VISTA.

"This is sort of like a dream world to me," he said. "I am hoping that one day I will become somebody."

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW—XXXI

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Kastenmeier] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, some proponents of universal military training argue that, as long as a few young men are being called upon to serve in the Armed Forces, why then should not all eligible young men be required to spend some time in the service. I believe this argument can best be refuted by inserting, at this point in the Record, the following story told by Prof. David Bakan of the University of Chicago:

The Muddy Street

One of the streets of Gotham was in bad condition. Each time a wagon would pass it would throw mud at the people on the sidewalk, especially those close to the curb. The wise men of Gotham gathered to deliberate what course of action they should take with respect to it. In the course of their deliberations it was pointed out that it was very unfair that those who were near the curb should be splattered while others were not. The Council of Gotham therefore passed a law requiring all citizens on the street to line up at the curb whenever a wagon was to pass.

RAMSEY CLARK: AN EXCELLENT APPOINTMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Rodino] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Ramsey Clark has just become the 66th Attorney General of the United States. I want to express my congratulations both to Mr. Clark and to the President who appointed him. As a member of the Judiciary Committee, I have had the pleasure of consulting with our new Attorney General and I am happy to have the opportunity to continue to work with him on legislative issues of mutual concern to our committee and to the Justice Department.

Mr. Clark's appointment was an outstanding one which has been widely acclaimed throughout the Nation. Numerous newspaper editorials have recognized Mr. Clark for what he is: a most dedicated and competent public servant. Several of these editorials have come to my attention, and I include in the Record as part of my remarks:

[From Newsday]

An Excellent Appointment

President Johnson has named Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark, the son of Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, as attorney general to succeed Nicholas Katzenbach.

The appointment, on all counts, is excellent. Ramsey Clark at 39 is a young man who gets things done. President Kennedy appointed him an assistant attorney general in charge of the lands division six years ago. During each of three years he turned back $300,000 of his division's $3,500,000 budget. With the permission of Congress he reduced his staff from 244 persons to 220. Both were most unusual actions in an era when government jobs and spending tend to proliferate.

A quiet man, he has effectively combined a civil libertarian stance with a strong concern for the rate at which crime is growing in this country. He is the kind of lawyer a private citizen would want to handle his case were that citizen in trouble.

It is a matter of regret, but of course fitting, that his father, the justice, will retire in order to avoid any conflict of interest. Mr. Justice Clark has been an admirably forthright member of the court. Judging from President Johnson's past record of judicial appointments, he can be relied upon to replace Clark with someone equally dedicated.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 1, 1967]

New Attorney General

President Johnson followed the logical course in naming Ramsey Clark to be Attorney General. In the position of Deputy Attorney General under Nicholas Katzenbach, Mr. Clark proved to be a dedicated public servant and an administrator of substantial ability. Since Mr. Katzenbach's reassignment to the State Department last September, Mr. Clark has presided over the Department of Justice as acting Attorney General with poise and good judgment as well as alertness and energy. President Johnson could scarcely have passed him by in making a permanent appointment without discouraging the kind of public service that he most prizes.

If Mr. Clark had been chosen from private life at the age of 39, questions would have been raised about his experience and knowledge of governmental problems. But having risen to the top within the Department, he is in the position, despite his age, of being the most experienced man for the job. Though quiet by nature and cautious in charting his course, he appears to have a keen sense of right and wrong and ample courage to act on his convictions.

This community has special reason to be grateful to Mr. Clark for his wise advice to the President to veto the District crime bill passed by Congress last year. In a delicate position because of his uncertain status and because of the mounting volume of crime in Washington, he held fast to constitutional principles of a sociologically sound approach to the problem. Since he is known to be a liberal with his feet on the ground, we surmise that this incident may well provide an index to the kind of service he will render as Attorney General.

The President has done well to promote a highly promising public servant, and we think the response of the country as well as that of the Senate will be enthusiastic.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Post, Mar. 2, 1967]

The New Attorney General

President Johnson's selection of Ramsey Clark as Attorney General is clearly one of the most distinguished Cabinet appointments he has made.

In a public service career which began early in the Kennedy Administration, Mr. Clark has repeatedly demonstrated quiet courage, calm compassion and a professional commitment to not only the letter but also the spirit of the law. He is known in Washington as a skillful administrator; in other cities, in the South and Far West, he became known as a sensitive, effective troubleshooter in civil rights crises.

As Deputy Attorney General, he was a powerful executive officer for Nicholas Katzenbach; one of his most memorable public appearances last summer was a terse lecture on free speech and constitutional law to the House Un-American Activities Committee, which sought to penalize Vietnam war protesters. As Acting Attorney General, since last fall, he has run the Department of Justice with the accent on "justice"—ordering a review of federal convictions obtained with wiretap evidence and persuading the President to veto a flawed crime bill.

Mr. Clark is a quietly outspoken man and his enlightened views on law, law enforcement and penology will undoubtedly be challenged by zealous reactionaries inside and outside his department. On the day of his nomination, in fact, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was assailing "excessive compassion for criminals." Mr. Clark has indicated that he regards the FBI as an arm of the Justice Department, not as an independent agency, and his firmness is likely to be tested soon. He gives every promise of being able to meet the test.

Mr. Clark's father, Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, has felt obliged to step down from the court to avoid any possible conflict of interest in ruling on the many cases the government presents to the court. We respect the decision and we hope the Senate will speedily confirm the new Attorney General.

MEDAL OF HONOR PRESENTATION TO SP. 6 LAWRENCE JOEL, U.S. ARMY

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Galifianakis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, one of the more pleasant duties of a Member of this House is to praise a constituent for an outstanding contribution to his Nation.

On March 9, the President of the United States, acting under an act of Congress, awarded in the name of the U.S. Congress the highest commendation this Nation can give for valor and gallantry above and beyond the call of duty to a member of the U.S. armed services.

In moving and appropriate ceremonies at the White House, the President awarded the Medal of Honor to Sp. 6 Lawrence Joel for his heroic actions as a medical aidman with the 1st Airborne Battalion of the 503d Infantry during a battle with the enemies of democracy in Vietnam.

We of North Carolina were proud of this honor to a native son, and the following members of our delegation joined with me in paying our respect to Specialist Joel at the ceremonies: Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Senator B. Everett Jordan, Hon. L. H. Fountain, Hon. James C. Gardner, Hon. Walter B. Jones, Hon. Horace R. Kornegay, Hon. Alton, A. Lennon, and Hon. Basil L. Whitener.

It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that Specialist Joel is the first medical corpsman to receive this honor during our struggle in Vietnam. During the entire day and night of November 8, 1965, Specialist Joel, wounded twice and constantly exposed to intense enemy fire, moved across that fiercely contested battlefield saving the lives of his wounded comrades and encouraging his unit to stand fast and resist the enemy attack.

I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to claim Specialist Joel as a constituent. A Winston-Salem, N.C., native, he has, during his 21 years in the service of his country, displayed a level of conduct and gallantry which we all aspire to.

I therefore include in the Record the text of the citation read by the President at yesterday's ceremonies honoring Specialist Joel as a fitting ratification by this body of the President's action in our behalf:

Citation

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of the Congress the Medal of Honor to Specialist Six Lawrence Joel, United States Army for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Specialist Six Lawrence Joel (then Specialist Five) distinguished himself by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on November 8, 1965, while serving as a Medical Aidman, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion (Airborne), 503rd Infantry on a battlefield in the Republic of Vietnam. Specialist Joel demonstrated indomitable courage, determination, and professional skill when a numerically superior and well-concealed Viet Cong element launched a vicious attack which wounded or killed nearly every man in the lead squad of the Company. After treating the men wounded by the initial burst of gun fire, he bravely moved forward to assist others who were wounded while proceeding to their objective. While moving from man to man, he was struck in the right leg by machine gun fire.

Although painfully wounded his desire to aid his fellow soldiers transcended all personal feeling. He bandaged his own wound and self administered morphine to deaden the pain enabling him to continue his dangerous undertaking. Throughout this period of time, he constantly shouted words of encouragement to all around him. Then, completely ignoring the warnings of others, and his own pain, he continued his search for wounded exposing himself to hostile fire; and, as bullets dug up the dirt around him, he held plasma bottles high while kneeling completely engrossed in his life saving mission. Then, after being struck a second time and with a bullet lodged in his thigh, he dragged himself over the battlefield and succeeded in treating thirteen more men before his medical supplies ran out. Displaying resourcefulness, he saved the life of one man by placing a plastic bag over a severe chest wound to congeal the blood. As one of the platoons pursued the Viet Cong, an insurgent force in concealed positions opened fire on the platoon and wounded many more soldiers. With a new stock of medical supplies, Specialist Joel again shouted words of encouragement as he crawled through an intense hail of gun fire to the wounded men.

After the twenty-four hour battle subsided and the Viet Cong dead numbered four hundred and ten, snipers continued to harass the Company. Throughout the long battle, Specialist Joel never lost sight of his mission as a Medical Aidman and continued to comfort and treat the wounded until his own evacuation was ordered. His meticulous attention to duty saved a large number of lives and his unselfish, daring example under most adverse conditions was an inspiration to all. Specialist Joel's profound concern for his fellow soldiers, his conspicuous gallantry, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty are in the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflect great credit upon himself and the armed forces of his country.

SECURITY IN THE HEMISPHERE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Culver] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to call attention to the impending departure of the President of the United States for Punta del Este, Uruguay, where he will participate in a meeting of historic importance and interest for the people of the Western Hemisphere. I refer to the meeting of American Chiefs of State which will be held there from April 12–14.

This gathering of the Chief Executives of the hemisphere is charged with the tremendous responsibility of accelerating the economic and social development of Latin America and its 200 million people. It is a task to which, under the Alliance for Progress, the United States has devoted over a billion dollars a year for the past 5 years, and to which we propose to devote even greater amounts in the years ahead.

In my opinion this is a sound investment. It can, in fact, be considered in many ways to be money spent in our own interest; for the future welfare, security, and prosperity of our own people are inextricably tied to the welfare, security, and prosperity of our neighbor nations to the south.

In this vein, I wish our President and his colleagues all success in their deliberations.

The implications of this gathering of statesmen for the future well-being and security of our hemisphere are of great importance. As we are all aware, the protection of the free nations of our part of the world from totalitarian aggression and intrusion, whether economic or military, is a joint responsibility of all our governments and all our peoples. This agreement to share the burdens of our self protection was formalized in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1948, commonly known as the Rio Treaty.

However, the true security of the nations of this hemisphere rests not in troops or warplanes or warships, but in the manner in which we utilize the skills and resources available to us to further the welfare and progress of our peoples. It is interesting to note that the draft agenda prepared for the meeting of American Chiefs of State specifically recognizes this problem with the inclusion of an item "Elimination of Unnecessary Military Expenditure."

I believe it is correct to say that the presence of this item on the agenda reflects an awareness on the part of our own Government and the governments of Latin America that if economic and social progress is to be accelerated—and this is the primary purpose of the Punta del Este meeting—there must be an intelligent and careful distribution of available wealth and resources between the legitimate demands of military defense, and those of development.

Clearly, the nations of the hemisphere need to maintain effective military forces in being. But we need to be aware at the same time that the best way to deal with the challenge posed by militant communism in this hemisphere, as in the world at large, is through the development of politically strong and economically prosperous societies, based on social justice for the individual and respect for constitutional procedures.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me proper to call attention to this important aspect of the work which President Johnson and his Latin American colleagues will be undertaking, and to wish them well as they prepare to leave on their historic journey.

MEXICO—AND EXEMPLARY PROGRESS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in expressing full confidence in the leadership of the President, as he and his team prepare for the historic meeting of American Chief Executives. I warmly approve of his message.

As we are aware, this summit conference at Punta del Este next month will, in effect, chart a course for the Alliance for Progress in the coming years. The Presidents and their advisers will be discussing broad policies and programs which will affect all the member countries.

Though Punta del Este is far away, the effects of the Alliance for Progress are near at hand. For example, let me draw your attention to what has been happening under the Alliance to our nearest Latin American neighbor, the United States of Mexico. Here we can observe the Alliance at close range.

Other countries have received far more by way of financial aid from the United States but today Mexico stands as one of the leaders among the Alliance nations.

Mexico has, in fact, been meeting the economic development and social reform goals set forth in the Charter of Punta del Este. The country has enjoyed a steady flow of private investment capital from abroad and much of the urban population is enjoying an improved standard of living.

Mexico's GNP has been climbing steadily; it has been increasing in real terms at an average rate of 6.1 percent annually. On a per capita basis this has meant a 2.6-percent annual increase. The present annual growth rate is about 7 percent.

With the peso stabilized at 12.50 per dollar since 1954, Mexico's record of fiscal responsibility is outstanding. The International Monetary Fund announced last year that the Mexican peso would be used for lending to countries requesting standby credits to meet temporary balance-of-payments problems. Strict Government controls have successfully checked inflation.

Mexico's tax reforms have greatly increased tax revenues. Current collections are about 8 percent of GNP.

In 1961 Mexico initiated an 11-year plan for education which called for the construction of over 27,000 rural classrooms, almost 12,000 urban classrooms, and the addition of about 6,000 new teachers each year. In 1966 the Government proudly announced that the 11-year educational plan had been completed 7 years ahead of schedule.

Mexico's social revolution was the forerunner of the great progress which she is now making as an Alliance partner. Many of the principles of the Charter of Punta del Este are written into her national legislation. Under the effective agrarian reform program, Mexico's agricultural production is increasing at a compound rate of some 5.5 percent per year; while her population is growing at about 3.5 percent, leaving a surplus of food production.

Over the past decade Mexico's industrial production has about doubled. Exports in 1966 exceeded $1.2 billion with increasing diversification, while imports topped $1.6 billion.

As a member of the Latin American Free Trade Association, Mexico is showing increased interest in the economic integration movement. It has signed the International Coffee Agreement and in the past 2 years has focused its attention on the Central American Common Market with offers of technical and concessional trade agreements.

In the past several years the private sector has channeled significant amounts of savings into low-cost housing and agricultural credit. In public health services, the government has scored great progress in reducing infant mortality, malaria, and the incidence of infectious diseases. Yellow fever has been eradicated; malaria persists only in a few isolated tropical areas.

Most important in Mexcio's strides under the Alliance is the fact that the country's development is being financed with domestic resources. In 1964 and 1965, the private sector financed more than 75 percent of this development. In 1966 private foreign investment contributed at least $185 million toward the country's industrial and agricultural growth.

The country has identified her own development aspirations with those of the Alliance. The Mexican Commission for the Alliance for Progress has sponsored six regional conferences to focus on the country's development problems. Five hundred delegates attended the conference in Guanajuato, with 350 participating in the working sessions. Special railroad cars brought participants from Mexico City, including the ambassadors of six Alliance member countries.

So long as Mexico retains the economic capacity to finance her internal development, the role of the United States is to encourage international institutions, private sources, and credit agencies to assist Mexico in meeting certain priorities, especially those which contribute to rural development. Similarly, technical assistance can be obtained from non-AID sources or financed by Mexico herself. The AID Mission is stimulating such assistance from non-AID sources, to assure the effective implementation of AID loans and projects already underway.

AID loans total $66.5 million and include $41.5 million for supervised agricultural credit and rural development; $20 million for the construction of low-cost housing, in a consortium with the Inter-American Development Bank which made a $10-million loan; $2.0 million for expanding and improving the National Agricultural Center at Chapingo, and $3 million for expanding and improving the Autonomous University of Guadalajara.

Our loan program has strengthened two important instituitons, one to meet the credit needs of small farmers called FONDO; and the other to finance low-cost social interest housing called FOVI.

More than 16,000 Mexican farmers are now receiving credit and technical assistance under the Agricultural Credit Program. A total of 10,700 low-cost housing units have been completed or are under construction under the U.S. assisted housing program.

In technical assistance AID has provided for an exchange of 25 professors under a contract with the University of California at Los Angeles and the Mexican National Polytechnic Institute.

Under the partners of the Alliance program, relations have been established between California and the State of Lower California, Sinaloa, Nayarit, and Puebla; between the States of Iowa and Yucatan, and between Oklahoma and Tlaxcala.

Under a contract with the University of New Mexico, some 200 Mexican rural youth leaders will travel to the United States for a 1-month training and indoctrination course soon.

In cooperation with the Mexican Government, American voluntary agencies and Mexican industrialists, AID has assisted many rural communities in realizing small self-help community development projects, such as the construction of rural access roads, potable water systems, schools, irrigation works, and agricultural cooperatives.

Under a contract with the American Institute of Free Labor Development, assistance has been given to the Mexican trade union movement by providing scholarships at the ORIT Labor College in Cuernavaca. Members of the Institute staff teach at the ORIT College and direct social projects work at the John F. Kennedy Housing Development in Mexico City.

The Ex-Im Bank has contributed substantially to Mexico's development with loans to finance capital imports from the United States. At the end of 1966 outstanding authorizations totaled $529.68 million.

The World Bank has authorized loans totaling $612.3 million up to the close of 1966. These are concentrated in the fields of power and transportation, with lesser amounts in industry. Agricultural loans totaled $52.5 million.

The Inter-American Development Bank is participating with AID in the low-cost housing program. Other IDB assistance includes $84 million in the agricultural sector; $54 million for rural feeder roads, and about $36 million for water and sewerage, surveys, industry, and program assistance.

It is certain that with a program like this, bolstered by her own resources and indomitable revolutionary spirit, the people and the Republic of Mexico can take just pride in her achievements as a partner in the Alliance for Progress. She has not only succeeded in raising the living standards of her own people but is already sharing her technical and financial resources with the neighboring Central American Republics.

I think it is the consensus here to express our admiration for Mexico's exemplary progress and to wish her well in the years to come.

THE "MAN WHO OWNED MIDNIGHT" MOVES TO LOS ANGELES

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, on the first of March, Washington lost one of its most popular radio personalities to the west coast. Steve Allison, familiar to most Washingtonians as the "Man Who Owned Midnight," left the District of Columbia after almost 10 years as the host of a "talk show" on WWDC. I know that many of my colleagues had the opportunity to appear on Steve's show since Congressmen were among his favorite conversation partners. Because Steve loved to take the role of the devil's advocate on any issue, his guests were assured a lively and challenging evening. Always well informed about his guest's topic of discussion, he could frequently lead one on a merry chase through the conversational thicket.

Washington will miss Steve Allison's nightly show and his natural aptitude for bringing out the best, and occasionally the worst, in a wide variety of guests. Talk is still the main commodity produced in Washington, but the city is not the same without one of its major promoters. I wish Steve much luck in Los Angeles at station KABC where he will begin broadcasting tonight.

I would like to insert after my remarks several articles which describe Steve's long career in Washington radio and as a personality in his own right.

THE MAN WHO OWNS MIDNIGHT

When Steve Allison or one of his guests run out of words, they play a record. Since this happens only on the rarest of occasions there is very little music on *The Steve Allison Show*, heard Monday through Saturday, from 10:30 P.M. to 1 A.M., over Washington's Station WWDC. Known around the capital as "the man who owns midnight," Steve invites the great, the near-great and the men-in-the-street to stir up their controversies with him. . . . A typical, no-holds-barred evening might include comic Jerry Lewis, economist Robert Nathan, Washington Police Chief Robert Murray, a Senator, an anonymous representative of Alcoholics Anonymous, and belly-dancer Nejla Ates. The hotter the issue, the happier is Steve, and he warms things up even further on his "open forum." This is the time when he invites the radio audience to pick up their phones and argue "live" with him or his guests. . . . During the Suez crisis, Steve had an Israeli and an Arab on to exchange accusations. "They almost blew the roof off," he says. But that was calm compared to the night Steve took up the question of whether or not taxis should have meters. He asked the cab drivers themselves to drive up to the Ceres Restaurant—whence the program originates—and honk once if they wanted meters, twice if they didn't. At midnight, 200 cabs came pouring down Pennsylvania Avenue. "All I heard was one long honk," Steve comments. . . . Born in Malden, Massachusetts, Steve spent a foot-loose youth with his mother and his actor-father, Barney Allison, a star of the era of four-a-day vaudeville. Steve himself drifted into radio from GI theatricals in the China-Burma-India theater of operations and the New York stage. He "borrowed" his controversial format from Jack Eigen and had aired it in Boston and Philadelphia before arriving in Washington this past June. . . . Steve makes his residence in a "fashionable" 16th Street apartment which he, his wife Wanda, and their children—Barnaby Adam, 3, and Amy Elizabeth, 2—have turned into a home for stray animals. On the welcoming committee for homeless four-footers are a cocker spaniel named Pepe Le Moko and a pair of parakeets called Mr. and Mrs. Tweets. . . . When Steve goes off the air at 1 A.M., he goes home to at least six hours of reading medical journals, the Congressional Record, books, periodicals, and a minimum of eight newspapers. "I have to keep ahead of my guests," he explains. He retires in the morning, breakfasts at dinnertime, and keeps midnight up his sleeve.

VEGETARIANS BEWARE—WWDC'S MIDNIGHT OWNER SERVES UP MANY A BITING DISH: DIVERSE OPINIONS ALLISON'S MEAT

Conversation is a lively art in Washington, the principal pursuit at parties, meetings and coffee breaks. But nowhere in the capital is it as vigorously—or persistently pursued as on Station WWDC every night except Sunday.

The man who stirs up all the cerebration and articulation is Steve Allison, billed as "The Man Who Owns Midnight." Steve is neither disc jockey, traditional commentator, gushing host for fatuous celebrities or funny-man.

For two-and-a-half hours (10:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. each night he presides normally from a dais in the Peking Restaurant, moderating, provoking, arguing among a gaggle of miscellaneous guests ranging from Castro to cancer researchers, Ambassadors to Girl Scouts, Doctors, lawyers, merchants and chiefs, hot rodders and safety experts, cause pleaders and iconoclasts.

Variety is the spice of the Allison show but the yeast that makes it rise and keep listeners awake is Steve's own strongly-opinionated management of the interviews and his frequent soliloquies on any given—or self-selected—subject.

If this provocative nocturnal talkfest keeps some 50,000 to 60,000 people in the Washington area glued to their radios, it also rouses plenty of passion among them. Some who disagree get hopping mad; some who agree with a particular Allison crusade think he's the greatest. But most people enjoy the exchange of views, the spirit of controversy and debate which help ventilate the issues of the day—little or great.

In spite of his flair for showmanship and tendency to switch moods too abruptly at times, that is essentially what Steve Allison tries to do: make people listen and make people think.

Although he makes no effort to hide his personal views, he is fair in presenting "the other side." Superficial listeners do not always give him credit for that but faithful fans are aware he strives for this kind of balance.

Steve, who has been doing this WWDC stint for the past two and a half years, has interviewed many Members of Congress during this period—but he'd like to have many more come up to his mikes.

He feels Congressmen make the best subject for his kind of program. They're usually quick in debate, used to talking and are well-grounded on important issues, he points out.

Steve usually plays the "devils's advocate" in these exchanges, says: "If I'm talking to a Republican, I'm a Democrat. If I'm interviewing a Democrat, I'm a Republican."

But no matter what the subject—or how heated the talk—Steve tries to emphasize issues and not personalities. "We're not interested in personal affairs or gossip," he avers. "If a man doesn't want to answer a question, we don't high pressure him or insist on pinning him down. We want to have people here who will present both sides of the picture."

To get more Congressmen on his program, Allison sent out invitations to all Members at the begining of each session of the 86th Congress.

"In the two and a half years I've been in Washington I've had almost a hundred Congressmen on the program," Allison says.

Covering the wall in a corner on the Peking restaurant are pictures of Allison with many Members who've appeared on the program.

A few Congressmen liked their interviews with Allison so much they asked for taped recordings. At campaign time, the interviews were played back in the home districts so their constituents could hear what they had to say.

Allison and the Members don't always agree, "But we always part friends and remain friends," he smiles.

Allison and Rep. Alvin M. Bentley, (Mich), didn't entirely see eye-to-eye on certain issues. "But I consider him a close friend," Allison says, "and we did discuss the possibility of my working for his station in Saginaw, Michigan."

To keep in shape mentally for his discussions with the experts Allison reads some eight hours a day. "I've got to know what I'm doing. There are men who eat, drink and sleep certain issues.

"If I'm going to ask intelligent questions, I have to have a grasp of the subject."

What is Allison's idea of the ideal interview?

"I'd like to get the two candidates for the Presidency up in front of my mike," he says, "in a two and a half hour talk with me in the middle."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PYROTECHNICS SET TOWN ON EARS

(By Jay Lewis)

WASHINGTON, December 30.—The polite townfolk here winced when a leather-lunged radio opinionator barged into their political china shop about 18 months ago.

Washington is the melting pot of controversy, but there's a decorous tendency to keep it under the lid of the Capitol or other official debating arenas.

The tussle of naked opinion over Steve Allison's "talk" show confounded and offended. But while the citizenry reddend and winced they listened. Allison's weeknightly (10:35 p.m.-1 a.m.) free-for-all over WWDC radio has been copping the top Pulse ratings for the time slot, and he's billed as "The Man Who Owns Midnight."

An old hand at being an angry young man, Allison came here from WPEN in Philadelphia. There, with a similar format, he whipped up a crusade against McCarthyism, earned the lasting enmity of the lunatic fringe and began carrying a gun.

He's still carrying it. In Washington, Allison has been sounding off for racial tolerance and integration. He stiff-arms the bigot with such invectives as "goon" and "coward." This tends to stir the cranks out of the woodwork. Allison forwards all the anonymous threats to the FBI.

Based in a downtown Chinese restaurant,

Allison musters an assortment of lawmakers, nightclub performers, lobbyists, psychiatrists, etc. for offbeat interviews. Allison's change-of-pace artist and a showman who can followup bawdiness with light humor, and ferocity with calm rhetoric keeps the program in high gear, if it doesn't please the grammarians.

When Allison is alone on the stand, he gets into telephone altercations with irate listeners, or simply relies on his own remarkable loquacity.

Highly opinionated, there's no middle-ground for Allison on most issues. And whether he's for or against, it's strictly from feeling. He can work up a fearsome wrath over the arbitrariness of a House committee chairman who bottles up bills he doesn't like ("I think it's just a horrible thing."). Or returning pre-war assets to the Germans ("I wouldn't give them a cap pistol"). Or home-rule for Washington ("Southern Congressmen don't want a Negro mayor"). Or the American Legion, the McClellan Committee, the starving children of Washington's slums . . .

Allison's experiment in free-swinging speech has enjoyed the loyal support of WWDC prexy Ben Strouse who gave him full rein to plunge into the Negro question in the fall of 1957. Allison began by airing a joint interview between a Virginia segregationist and an NAACP official. Other volatile duels have followed, and Allison has been accused of stirring up racial strife by the same people who demand he depart for Russia or some place even further beyond the pale.

Because of his refusal to stay on the fence, Allison takes some bumps when jumping off. The crank threats have extended to his wife and two children. He's lost a couple of sponsors (but replaced them), and moved his operations twice from previous restaurant locations. As Allison says, "If you can't talk freely in Washington, where can you?"

"We were not only impressed but amazed with your ability to keep talking and still make such good sense. Truly, I have never seen or heard a program like yours."—George Seaton, Producer.

"You really are an interesting man and ask very pertinent questions, and you handle your guests marvelously."—Josh Logan.

"I have been on radio and television from coast to coast these past ten years and the half-hour with you was the most stimulating I have ever spent before the mike."—William P. McCahill, Executive Secretary, The President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

"We are grateful for the public service you have rendered."—U.S. Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (Pa.).

"It is always a pleasure to appear on your show then sit back and wait for the comments from your large listening audience."—Representative William H. Ayres (Ohio).

"I marvelled at your intellectual grasp of such a variety of things."—Carl F. Hansen, Supt. of Schools, District of Columbia.

"Steve Allison keeps himself in key with his guests and could give a lesson to Mike Wallace in this respect."—Dave Reque, Washington Daily News.

"It is Allison's show to make or break, and he turns out to be one of the most vivid personalities around."—Harry Lando, Radio-Television Daily.

[From TV Life, December 1961]

Radio Star of the Month

Though controversy is nothing new in Washington, D.C., radio star Steve Allison deliberately stirs it up six nights a week over Station WWDC. *The Steve Allison Show,* heard from 9:45 to midnight, is spicy, full of variety, steam and good humor. Highly opinionated Steve—and he admits it—interviews mostly politicians and entertainers, but will talk to anyone—belly dancers, doctors, irate telephoners, Indian chiefs. Their one qualification—they must have some viewpoint to add to the conversation. Topics range from integration to home-rule for Washington, foreign policy to the problem of the slums. Quick with the quip, the outspoken radio veteran manages to keep both his guests and his 60,000 listeners on their toes, which is exactly what he means to do. For example, when Castro first visited the U.S. in 1959, he spied Steve doing a live radio show and yelled, "What's going on?" Steve promptly retorted, "What do you think this is, mister—a barber shop?"

Born in Malden, Mass., Steve was early exposed to show biz via his vaudeville performing father, Barney Allison. After almost four years of military service and five battle stars, Steve headed for the bright Broadway lights as production manager for *Call Me Mister*. Soon he became a smash radio hit with shows in Boston, then Philly. The next step—the Capitol and WWDC. He and his lovely wife Wanda live in a fashionable city apartment with their two children, Barney and Amy. Steve spends up to ten hours a day reading five newspapers and every magazine he can get his hands on—"to be informed and ready for my guests," he explains. In his spare (?) time, Steve fences and does a little amateur flying. Future ambitions? To do the same type of interview show on television. When and if this happens, his listeners agree Steve will give Jack Paar a good run for his money!

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF NEGRO CHURCHMEN REGARDING THE POWELL CASE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD a statement by the National Committee of Negro Churchmen regarding the case of Adam Clayton Powell. This carefully considered statement comes as a breath of fresh air following the emotional furor of the action of this body on yesterday. I would like to commend the ministers who signed this statement for their wisdom and objective viewpoint on a most controversial and heated issue.

The statement follows:

The Powell Affair—A Crisis of Morals and Faith

February 1967.

DEAR FRIENDS: We are pleased to provide you with the following statement of the urgent need for congressional reform at this point in the history of our nation. While the statement focuses on the action of Congress against Congressman-elect Adam Clayton Powell, the analysis is shaped throughout by a concern for congressional procedures that will help to insure justice both to individual congressmen and to the American people.

The statement is the result of individual and group reflection by clergymen of the National Committee of Negro Churchmen. This informal group of more than 200 churchmen from across the nation seeks to witness to their faith in Jesus Christ through study and action which relate the Christian faith to some of the crises of our day. As we see it, the action against Powell is a "crisis of faith."

We hope you will find this statement helpful as you reflect upon and respond to the political problems of our nation.

For the National Committee of Negro Churchmen:

Bishop G. Wayman Blakeley, African Meth. Episc. Church.

The Rev. Dr. Edler Hawkins, United Presb. Church USA.

The Rev. Dr. Sandy Ray, President, Empire State Baptist State Convention.

Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw, African Meth. Episc. Zion Church.

The Rev. Joseph Coles, Jr., Christian Meth. Episc. Church.

The Rev. Dr. Nathan Wright, The Protestant Episc. Church.

The Rev. Dr. Sterling Cary, United Church of Christ.

Bishop Charles F. Golden, The Methodist Church.

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (Coordinator of National Committee).

The Powell Affair—A Crisis of Morals and Faith

The manner in which Adam Powell was stripped of his chairmanship and refused his seat in Congress and the way the real issues in the case have been distorted, throw into bold relief the crisis at the heart of race relations in America. The action of Congress, in its precipitousness and harshness, is symptomatic and symbolic of the continuing and perhaps growing alienation between Negro and white Americans. The vigorous defense of Powell even by Negroes who frequently disagree with him, and the outpouring of verbal abuse by many white Americans who seem to reject him totally, suggest that the crisis may rapidly worsen unless some genuinely healing acts are performed quickly.

We, an informal group of Negro churchmen, are of the conviction that the resources of the Christian faith are relevant to both understanding the real nature of this crisis and to resolving it with justice. To that end, we wish to make the following observations.

First, we note that the leaders of the civil rights movement have not focused upon the spurious issue of Congressman Powell's personal conduct. We believe these Negro leaders have rightly seen that the real issue lies elsewhere. It simply is not possible for Congress to be *honestly* concerned about the personal conduct of *one* of its members without manifesting any real concern for developing a code of ethics by which *all* of its members can be judged. We wish to be absolutely clear on this point. Our argument is not that Powell or any other congressman should *not* be punished if involved in malfeasance. Our concern is that Congress needs an impartial moral code to determine precisely the nature of a malfeasance and the kind of punishment justified. We do *not* argue that Powell did no wrong, nor do we conclude that he should not be punished, *if found guilty by impartial rules and appropriate agencies*. We do argue that in the absence of a set of objective guidelines and given the peculiar circumstances of Powell's race and reputation, Congress was bound to respond arbitrarily and unjustly to his case.

Two examples should make this quite clear. How did Congress decide in 1956 to seat Rep. Thomas Lane of Massachusetts and to leave his seniority untouched, even though he had been convicted and jailed for income tax evasion? Why is it that Senator Dodd from Connecticut has not been asked to stand aside from his seat or have his seniority challenged, while he is investigated on charges of diverting hundreds of thousands of dollars of campaign funds to his personal use?

The fact that Congressman-elect Powell was unseated *prior* to the investigation of the Select Committee appointed to examine the charges against him, is already a prejudgment of the case against him. This is radically different from the way in which Congress handled Representative Lane or Senator Dodd. It is this discrepancy and arbitrariness which we protest. An impartial order of law is essential if the human spirit is to find its way to an order of freedom and justice which God wills for man's life on earth.

Moreover, as the lawyers of the American Civil Liberties Union argue in a *brief amici* to the Select Committee investigating Powell's status in the Congress, the Congress acted unconstitutionally in demanding that Powell stand aside from his seat. Congress only has the right to judge a person elected to Congress in terms of the three requirements that he be (1) no less than 25 years old; (2) a citizen of the United States no less than seven years, and (3) an inhabitant of the state in which he was elected at the time of the election. On the basis of this argument, Powell's troubles in the courts of New York are quite irrelevant to the matter of whether or not he should be seated, even as it was deemed irrelevant in the case of Representative Lane of Massachusetts.

There is also considerable evidence that in taking away from Powell the chairmanship of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the Democratic caucus might have been responding more to the desire of some white forces within labor circles to establish a separate committee on labor than to a concern for Powell's alleged misuse of his powers as chairman of that committee. It is a well-known fact that Powell slowed down some labor legislation in an effort to pressure some unions to end racial discrimination. From our point of view, the important moral issue is the opportunistic use of congressional power in the climate of a resurgent white racism to destroy an important symbol of the Negroes' reach for power in one of the key committees of the House.

This arbitrary and cynical use of power by white men over black men is the essential political meaning of racism. The fact that many "friends of the Negro" were involved in the act does not change its essential meaning. There are indications that this arbitrary act has fed the fires of racism, has given fresh courage to self-conscious bigots and new life to old political coalitions designed explicity to oppress Negro American citizens. This should be a matter of concern to all Americans, but certainly to all Christians who work for a society of impartial law and true morality.

Our protest, we insist, is not *only* in behalf of Mr. Powell but in behalf of the vision of a just social and political order which Christians share with all men of goodwill. It is a narrow moral perspective indeed which argues that Powell's deportment (not at all unique in the halls of government) is of such crucial importance to the achievement of that vision that he should be punished in such a way as to cancel out a much more fundamental moral concern. That concern is the possibility of *participating with power* in our society which the strategic position of a chairmanship of a key committee makes possible for both the white and black poor of this nation. It has taken many decades for a Negro with a constituency of strength behind him to achieve the position of chairman of such a key committee as the one in question. Many white Americans hypocritically ask if Negroes would be as concerned had a white congressman been treated in the manner in which Powell was handled. This merely shows the inability of groups with inordinate power either to understand or to appreciate the need for groups who are powerless to be concerned not just with single individuals, white or black, but with the social basis for gaining and wielding power.

We speak, therefore, in behalf of a much more basic and profound moral issue in America today than Powell's personal piety. That issue is the legitimate and necessary power of a racial minority to participate fully and effectively in political and economic decisions that affect the destiny of us all. That the Negro who has been the object of generations of social injustice and racial prejudice should be divested arbitrarily of an important symbol of this power because of the alleged imprudent behavior of the person who occupies the seat of that power, is a morally indefensible argument. Our situation in this nation, tottering as it does on the brink of social upheaval in festering black ghettoes across the land, is much too critical to permit that *kind* of moral judgment to blunt our sense of reality and paralyze our keenest sensibilities.

The second observation is, we believe, even more important. The discrepancies involved in the treatment of Powell reveal a crisis in a realm deeper than that of law and morality. The concern of many white Americans that Powell is not a "model Negro" reveals that many white people expect from Negroes conduct so different from that expected of white men that it discloses what can only be called a crisis of faith. When Americans show such little faith in the real humanity of Negroes, they are at the same time exhibiting little confidence in their own humanity. To be a man means to have frailties as well as strengths. The tragic truth is that few white Americans are able to view Negroes other than as a contrast to themselves. American politics and culture stereotype Negro leaders either as paragons of virtue or as totally depraved. This is a crisis in the realm of faith. It is a denial of the right to be a person to a creature of God and is thus a rejection of Him who created all men in His image.

The crisis of faith implicit in the response of many Americans to Adam Powell is also revealed by the manner in which many well-meaning Americans equate conventional respectability with the righteousness of God. This is one of the more damaging distortions of Christian faith which produces many idolatries in American culture. It involves both the avid worship of middle-class styles of morality and the total rejection of persons and beliefs which appear to be different. We would hope that *all Americans,* black and white, would view personal and social maturity in terms which capture more of the complexity of human nature and society than has thus far been exhibited in the Powell incident.

We certainly will not be intimidated by bigots who pretend to be distressed about Powell's "honor as a clergyman" and Negro "reverse-racism" while they do everything in their power to thwart justice for the Negroes. This nation's easy acceptance of segregationists as chairmen of the most powerful committees in Congress is abhorrent not merely because they defy the Constitution but because they worship the idol god of Race. In the process, they bring all of the evil consequences of that faithlessness upon our land. When white Americans express shocked indignation at Powell's affront to their conventional pieties but install racial bigotry in the nation's seats of power, that is not just a crisis of morality; that is a crisis of faith.

Our third observation is that the Powell who has been presented in the press is a caricature of the Powell to whom white churches and synagogues, labor unions and educational institutions, as well as Negro Americans, owe an unparalleled debt for an unexcelled legislative record in the House. As chairman of the Labor and Education Committee, it was Powell who steered through the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Anti-Poverty Bill, the Juvenile Delinquency Act, the Vocational Education Act and the National Defense Education Act. These bills have benefited all Americans, not just Powell's Harlem constituency.

Certainly Negro Americans cannot forget that Powell is disliked by many white Americans not only because of allegations regarding his personal conduct, but because it was Powell who desegregated congressional facilities for his staff and himself when he first came to Congress in 1945; because it was Powell who attached the "Powell Amendment," a desegregation rider to school, housing, and labor bills which Congress was considering passing and which did not outlaw discrimination. It was Powell who forced congressional recognition of discrimination in the Daughters of the American Revolution. It was Powell who brought to a vote the question of segregation in the nation's capital. It was Powell who demanded that Negro journalists also be seated in the Senate and House press galleries. It was Powell who introduced a bill prohibiting segregation in the armed forces. It was this same man of whom President Lyndon B. Johnson said in observance of his fifth anniversary as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee:

> "The Fifth Anniversary of your chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee . . . represents the successful reporting to the Congress of 49 pieces of bedrock legislation. . . . The passage of every one of these bills attests to your ability to get things done. . . . Only with progressive leadership could so much have been accomplished by one committee in so short a time. I speak for the millions of Americans who benefit from these laws when I say that I am truly grateful."

Finally, it should be apparent that America stands in great peril today. No one can predict what anguish the year 1967 will bring in relations between black and white, separated by gross differences of wealth, status, and by the white noose of suburbia around every metropolitan area. We cannot afford to permit the Powell affair to be used as a political stratagem and a racist ploy to further exacerbate the difficulties we are now experiencing in the great cities of the nation.

We, therefore, call upon the Congress of the United States and the Democratic caucus to permit Mr. Powell to return to his seat as the Representative of the 18th Congressional District of New York and to the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee. If, in the future, an impartial code of ethics is developed for judging the behavior of all congressmen, we would expect that Congressman Powell and all other congressmen would be held accountable to those guidelines. The actions taken against Mr. Powell in the absence of such guidelines have been arbitrary, cynical, and imply racial bias when compared with acts against other congressmen.

As Negro churchmen committed to a greater involvement of the church in the struggle for racial justice, we further call upon our white brothers, especially those of the clergy, who have a prophetic sense of justice, to join us now in exposing the crisis of faith which underlies the surface issues of this incident. We urge them to share with us in a ministry of healing to help America face the truth about herself and to turn her from the idolatrous worship of white skin to the worship of the true God.

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Multer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 90th Congress, I reintroduced my resolution, House Resolution 78, calling on the House of Representatives to take a stand against the Soviet Union's treatment of its nationals who happen to be of the Jewish faith.

While there have been hopeful signs from the Soviet Union on the possible reunification of Russian Jews with their families living outside the Soviet Union, it is extremely important that we not forget those of the 3 million Russian Jews who cannot take advantage of the opportunity to leave, if such an opportunity does, in fact, come about. The Soviet Union has a long history of permitting the private Soviet citizen to engage in anti-Semitic activities and worst of all has itself engaged in such conduct.

In addition to the prohibitions and restraints placed upon religious education, religious publishing, freedom of worship, and the freedom to observe properly religious holidays, the Government of the Soviet Union has deliberately perpetrated the falsehood that its Jewish citizens are responsible for many of its economic problems and have been guilty of so-called economic crimes. It has on numerous occasions tried and executed Jews for these alleged economic crimes.

The pattern of discrimination and persecution is quite clear for all to see and I believe that the House of Representatives should, at this time, place itself on record in favor of freedom of religion and in opposition to persecution of Soviet Jews. I strongly urge our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORGAN], the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to schedule hearings on this resolution at the earliest opportunity.

ADULT HEALTH PROTECTION ACT OF 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to introduce today a bill to be cited as the Adult Health Protection Act of 1967. This bill is designed to protect the health of adult citizens, who have attained age 50, by establishing a program for the detection of disease through regional and community health centers.

As we all know, the distinguished Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, of the neighbor State of New Jersey, has lead the fight for such health detection centers. It is a personal privilege to join the able Senator and his colleagues in pursuit of this needed legislation.

The goal of detecting disease before it has grown into a major affliction of incurable proportion, is indeed an enlightened approach. We have only to look at the medicare program to see the wisdom of this proposal. The great needs and demands for medicare, among the elderly, draw our attention to the reality that reducing illness and the resulting cost of treatment is necessary.

Some 87 million persons in the United States now suffer from at least one chronic condition. More than seven out of 10 persons of age 45 or over are so afflicted. It simply makes commonsense to place greater emphasis on prevention of disease so that we do not have to pay out money for hospital care of illnesses which might have been caught in time.

The economics of such prevention is plain to see. It is estimated that chronic disease takes a dollar toll of about $58 billion a year in direct and indirect cost.

I believe we have a social responsibility to the citizens of this great Nation, who suffer the most in both physical damage and economic loss, to offer a sound national program of detection.

I believe my colleagues in the House will find this bill worthy of their urgent consideration.

NATIONAL MASTER GROUND TRANSPORTATION PLAN

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. MOSS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a resolution—House Joint Resolution 427—which would call for the development of a national master ground transportation plan. This would authorize the Department of Transportation and the Interstate Commerce Commission to develop a national plan and policy with regard to ground transportation. Within a year, the two agencies would submit their plan to the Congress for legislative consideration. During the year in which the plan is being drafted, a moratorium would be declared on railroad merger and train discontinuances.

It is about time that we develop a long-range policy regarding ground transportation rather than continuing to improvise. Right now mergers are considered on a case-by-case basis. What is approved in the East may not necessarily be approved in the West. As a result, there is court litigation and a good deal of uncertainty within the industry. Capital investment programs are delayed, and the goal of an efficient and coordinated rail system is farther off than ever.

Our lack of planning and policy with regard to ground transportation is further illustrated by the plight of our passenger rail facilities. No other modern country in the world has let its passenger rail service deteriorate as we have in the United States in the last two decades. Train after train is allowed to be discontinued. ICC procedures do not require any real analysis of the effect of these discontinuances. As William H. Tucker, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission stated last year:

> While we know that hundreds of passenger trains have stopped running since 1958, and we can measure by total statistics the declining use of passenger service, as a whole, there is no realistic method available to tell us exactly where we now stand in terms of realistic needs, prospects, and potential of intercity railway passenger service. Present Section 13a provisions seem to channel the railroads to a sporadic usage of its procedures. The tendency in the usual case is to remove particular trains whenever the cost and revenue data seem propitious, with no well-conceived plan to account for the consequences on such things as feeder revenues, remaining through connecting train operations, or the remaining market requirements in the area affected.

Chairman Tucker feels that—

> The scope and quality of future railway passenger service represent at least as important a national domestic issue as any other this country will face in the next decade.

I agree that this is, indeed, an important issue and one that such limited programs as the High-Speed Ground Transportation Program will not solve. We need to declare an immediate moratorium on discontinuing passenger service while we formulate a policy in keeping with our present and future rail passenger requirements.

Another policy issue that requires careful consideration is the relationship of rail transportation to other modes of transportation. Present restrictions on common ownership may be inhibiting the true coordination of our transportation system.

Mr. Speaker, the function of our new Department of Transportation is to provide this country with an efficient and coordinated transportation system in keeping with the complex requirements of our economy. I strongly urge that one of its first tasks be the development of a comprehensive ground transportation plan as provided in the legislation which I am introducing today.

The text of House Joint Resolution 427 follows:

H.J. RES. 427

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of Transportation acting in cooperation with the Interstate Commerce Commission shall, within one year after the date of enactment of this Joint Resolution, prepare and submit to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives a master ground transportation plan for the United States.

SEC. 2. Until the 60th day after the submission of the master ground transportation plan to the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives as provided by the first section of this Joint Resolution, the Interstate Commerce Commission may not approve any consolidation, unification, merger, or acquisition of control of a railroad corporation, nor may there be any discontinuance or change, in whole or in part, of the operation or service of any train or ferry subject to part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, unless such discontinuance or change is approved by the appropriate State regulatory agency of each State affected by such discontinuance or change. During the period while the Interstate Commerce Commission may not approve any consolidation, unification, merger, or acquisition of control of a railroad corporation, the operation of any provisions of antitrust laws applicable to mergers or consolidations that are not operative while the Commission has such authority shall be in full force and have full effect.

A BILL TO IMPROVE THE DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced H.R. 7107, a bill to provide for better direction and supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. intelligence activities.

The bill would place the political action activities of the CIA under the President's personal direction. It would also establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence to supervise CIA activities. The membership of the committee would be changed every 4 years in order to bring fresh insights to bear on CIA operations.

I am distressed by recent revelations of the extent of the Central Intelligence Agency's secret involvement in American civilian life. Americans have discovered that the hand of the CIA has been laid on student organizations, universities, labor unions, and the press. How much further the CIA has woven itself into the fabric of American life no one on the outside knows. The Washington Post recently reported that only about $15 million of CIA largesse has been traced and that "unsubstantiated rumors" place the actual amounts in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

On February 16, I said in a speech here on the floor that if the valuable work of the National Student Association, the Peace Corps, and other private American groups is not to be destroyed by suspected ties to the CIA, we must initiate an immediate housecleaning.

If there is to be tidying up, it falls upon Congress to do it. I sincerely hope that we will get on with the task.

The first job is to be clear as to what we are about.

The CIA is in a sense a front for itself. Its publicly announced function is to gather intelligence; but, in addition, it has the covert assignment of carrying out political action in furtherance of U.S. foreign policy.

Allen Dulles, whose excellent book "The Craft of Intelligence," is the most straightforward statement on the CIA which I have seen, puts it this way:

> CIA is not an underground operation. All one needs to do is to read the law—the National Security Act of 1947—to get a general idea of what it is set up to do. It has, of course, a secret side, and the law permits the National Security Council, which in effect means the President, to assign to the CIA certain duties and functions in the intelligence field in addition to those specifically enumerated in the law. These functions are not disclosed.

The cloak of intelligence shields the dagger of political action.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Subsection 102(d) of the National Security Act of 1947 lists as the intelligence duties of the CIA:

> (1) to advise the National Security Council in matters concerning such intelligence activities of the Government departments and agencies as relate to national security;
>
> (2) to make recommendations to the National Security Council for the coordination of such intelligence activities of the departments and agencies of the Government as relate to the national security;
>
> (3) to correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to the national security, and provide for the appropriate dissemination of such intelligence within the Government using where appropriate existing agencies and facilities;
>
> (4) to perform for the benefit of existing intelligence agencies, such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally;

Intelligence is not defined in the statute. A widely accepted definition found in the Dictionary of U.S. Military Terms for Joint Usage describes intelligence as: "The product resulting from the collection, evaluation, analysis, integration, and interpretation of all available information which concerns one or more aspects of foreign nations or of areas of operations, and which is immediately or potentially significant to planning."

Simply put, intelligence is information culled from numerous sources. There is a common misconception that intelligence work is wholly espionage—the secret gathering of information by agents or mechanical devices, such as the U-2. In fact, about 80 percent of all peacetime intelligence comes from open sources—from reports of State Department officials, military attachés, or tourists, or from a careful reading of newspapers, periodicals, and other published documents.

Most of us would agree, I am sure, with the 1955 task force on intelligence activities of the Hoover Commission that—

> The fate of the Nation well may rest on accurate and complete intelligence data which may serve as a trustworthy guide for the top-level governmental decisions on policy and action in a troubled world.

In the present anarchic world of independent nation states, great powers must continue to gather information by straight forward and by devious means about the military capabilities and intentions of rival nations.

The 1962 Cuban missile crisis is an object lesson. Only our highly developed intelligence system, including our aerial surveillance of Cuba, gave us the opportunity to avert the installation of offensive Russian missiles 90 miles off our shores.

Intelligence activities, though distasteful when espionage work is involved, must be viewed as a necessary evil.

SPECIAL OPERATIONS

The dark side of the CIA is its special operations in political action. Paragraph 102(d)(5) of the National Security Act authorizes the CIA:

> (5) to perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct.

Many rumors exist as to what in the past two decades have been CIA special operations. CIA's most notable effort was, of course, the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion. Also on the public record are two CIA-engineered palace coups—one in 1953, in Iran against Mossadegh, and the other in 1954, in Guatemala against Arbenz.

The recently revealed CIA subsidies to all kinds of private groups are another form of special operations. The principal purpose of giving financial assistance to the National Student Association was to prevent the other side from capturing world youth conferences, not to gather intelligence.

Allen Dulles has been quite forthright about CIA's political action activities. He writes that it is the task of the CIA to assist the internal security services of countries which are the targets of Communist takeovers wherever this can best be done on a covert basis.

Mr. Dulles justifies covert special operations as a necessary weapon against Communist subversion. Perhaps this too is a necessary evil. But, if it is sometimes justified to carry on covert special operations, it must be done sparingly and with the greatest selectivity and sensitivity. For it is a weapon with vast implications for deepening United States involvement, as President Kennedy rightly foresaw at the Bay of Pigs. It is also a weapon which should be used only where the stakes are high. Secret U.S. Government meddling in the affairs of state of other nations or in the affairs of domestic or foreign private organizations is so alien to our traditions that it can only be justified when the national security is genuinely at stake.

A large part of the difficulty of justifying the recently revealed CIA subsidies to private organizations is the very real doubt whether the efforts of these groups, no matter how laudable, are really vital to our national security.

A CRITICAL DISTINCTION

To properly direct and supervise the CIA, foreign intelligence activities must be carefully distinguished from special operations.

The two activities differ in kind. Intelligence work produces neutral information as an aid to the President in reaching decisions involving the national security. But in its political action activities, the CIA is an arm of already established policy.

The two activities differ in seriousness. Intelligence activities, even espionage activities, very seldom, if ever, have the potential for more deeply involving the United States. There is evidence that even the U-2 incident, which was an intelligence activity, was seized upon by Khrushchev as a pretext for torpedoing the Paris Summit Conference, and not the basic cause for its failure.

On the other hand, secret political warfare which threatens other governments could become a casus belli; and less ambitious activities, such as the National Student Association affair, have wider philosophical and ethical aspects which must be carefully weighed.

The two activities differ in sensitivity. Espionage is, both at home and abroad, an accepted international activity; subversion is not. If the United States is not to remake itself in the mirror image of its adversaries, it must use the latter instrument, if at all, with the greatest discretion.

Mr. Dulles confirms that foreign intelligence activities and special operations can be separated. Traditionally, he says, intelligence services have kept espionage and political and psychological warfare in different compartments, but—

> The CIA abandoned this kind of compartmentalization which so often leads to neither the right hand nor the left knowing what the other is doing.

WEAKNESSES IN PRESENT CIA DIRECTION AND SUPERVISION

There are two major weaknesses in today's administrative setup for directing and supervising the CIA:

First. The special operations of the CIA are not necessarily under the personal direction of the President.

Second. The people who supervise the CIA are not changed often enough to bring a fresh viewpoint to bear on CIA activities.

1. PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTION

Subsection 102 of the National Security Act places all activities of the CIA under the general direction of the National Security Council. In addition, the CIA can only undertake special operations which the National Security Council from time to time directs.

The National Security Council, whose sole function is to advise the President, as a body does not make decisions. It therefore cannot itself direct the CIA. So far as I can determine from published sources (for this is not a part of the official information on the CIA), the National Security Council has delegated the direction of the CIA to a high level interdepartmental committee, sometimes known as the Special Group.

This committee is composed of a high-ranking member of the White House staff, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. The committee meets weekly.

Mr. Dulles says:

> All operations of intelligence character which involve policy considerations are subject to [the committee's] approval.

Ultimately, the CIA is under the control of the President; and I assume that the interdepartmental committee refers questions which it believes to be of great importance to the President.

It is clear that the CIA is subject today to higher political authority; namely, the directives of the interdepartmental committee, the policies of the National Security Council, and, ultimately, the direction of the President.

For example, in the case of the National Student Association subsidy, the recently appointed Katzenbach committee has reported:

> When the Central Intelligence Agency lent financial support to the work of certain American private organizations, it did not act on its own initiative but in accordance with national policies established by the National Security Council in 1952 through 1954. Throughout it acted with the approval of senior interdepartmental review committees, including the Secretaries of State and Defense or their representatives. These policies have, therefore, been in effect under four Presidents.

This direction is not good enough, however, when questions concerning CIA special operations are up for discussion. These operations are so serious and so sensitive that the President personally should authorize each and every one in writing, and should periodically review each of them.

I have therefore included in my bill a provision requiring a Presidential directive to authorize each special operation, and an annual Presidential review of the operation. This amendment will underline the extreme seriousness of special operations and the extraordinary importance of their being limited in number and nature, precisely directed, and carefully supervised.

In addition, I have designated the President as the person to give general direction to the intelligence activities of the CIA, since the National Security Council is only an advisory body. This change is a technical one which will probably not alter present White House supervisory arrangements.

2. PERIODIC CHANGES OF CIA CONGRESSIONAL SUPERVISION

In the National Student Association case, it is clear that the top Presidential aides charged with national security duties, appropriate cabinet officers or their representatives, and the Congressmen and Senators who serve on CIA watchdog committees all knew of this CIA activity and approved of it. It is unclear whether members of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board knew of it, but it is probably fair to assume that they did. They should have, if they were doing their job properly.

I can only conclude that the CIA policymakers were mistaken because, being insiders for so long, their perspective had become distorted. The keen edge of commonsense had been dulled by lengthy contact with the intelligence and military communities.

The need for men of clear insight to pass on intelligence matters can only be supplied by periodic changes of CIA supervisors.

My bill establishes a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence. The joint committee's job would be to examine continuously the foreign intelligence activities and the special operations of the CIA. The joint committee would be reconstituted with new members every 4 years, at the beginning of even-numbered Congresses. In this way Congress can periodically take a fresh look at the CIA.

No criticism is meant of the Members of Congress who now devote themselves to oversight of CIA matters and appropriations. Theirs has been a job under difficult circumstances. But the present system of Congressional oversight is too piecemeal to produce the close supervision which is called for.

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY

Secrecy is essential in the tasks of the CIA—whether intelligence gathering or political actions. Yet this same secrecy is the chief problem in assuring that CIA actions are in keeping with American values.

But, as President Kennedy suggested when speaking to CIA personnel on November 28, 1961, it is "in the long sweep of history" that the efforts of the CIA will be judged. By this judgment of history the American public retains a subtle control.

To assure that the full record is available to the historians, the bill provides that no CIA records can be destroyed without the approval of the Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence.

All Government agencies, including the CIA, are now subject to the statutory requirement that the Joint Congressional Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers approve any record destruction. With this immense task before it, understandably, the joint committee cannot give much attention to any single request for permission to destroy records. And in the case of the CIA, even if the Joint Congressional Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers were to pursue a request to destroy records, it would have a difficult time ascertaining the importance of the records, since it is not privy to CIA operations.

Thus, it is logical to transfer the function of passing on CIA requests to destroy records to the Joint Committee on Intelligence, which would have the time, resources, and authority to make certain that all important CIA records are preserved for future historians.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the House to give serious consideration to this bill.

Its sum and substance is to strengthen the control of the Nation's elected representatives—both the President and Congress—over the CIA. Its enactment would not hamper the effectiveness of the CIA. It would only help to insure that this potent secret arm of our foreign policy is directed by American values and not by the values of our adversaries.

A copy of H.R. 7107 follows:

H.R. 7107

A bill to amend the National Security Act of 1947 and the Records Disposal Act of July 7, 1943, to provide for the improved direction and supervision by the President and by the Congress of the foreign intelligence activities and special operations of the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

IMPROVEMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTION

SECTION 1. (a) Subsection (d) of section 102 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 401) is amended to read as follows:

"(d) For the purpose of coordinating the intelligence activities of the several Government departments and agencies in the interest of national security, it shall be the duty of the Agency, under the direction of the President—

"(1) to advise the President in matters concerning such intelligence activities of the Government departments and agencies as relate to national security;

"(2) to make recommendations to the President for the coordination of such intelligence activities of the departments and agencies of the Government as relate to the national security;

"(3) to correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to the national security, and provide for the appropriate dissemination of such intelligence within the Government using where appropriate existing agencies and facilities: *Provided,* That the Agency shall have no police, subpena, law-enforcement powers, or internal-security functions: *Provided further,* That the departments and other agencies of the Government shall continue to collect, evaluate, correlate, and disseminate departmental intelligence: *And provided further,* That the Director of Central Intelligence shall be responsible for protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure;

"(4) to perform for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies, such additional intelligence activities as the President determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally and directs in writing;

"(5) to perform such special operations affecting the national security and to expend such funds thereon as the President may from time to time direct in writing."

(b) Section 102 is further amended by redesignating subsections (e) and (f) as subsections (f) and (g), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (d) the following subsection:

"(e)(1) Within sixty days of the enactment of this amendment, the Director of Central Intelligence, and the heads of other executive departments and agencies having responsibilities for special operations shall report in writing to the President on each special operation in which the department or agency is then engaged. Each report shall include a comprehensive description of the special operation, its history, its objectives, the number of persons engaged in the operation, the total annual expenditures planned for the operation, and the total expenditures made to date. The President shall review each report and shall issue a written directive stating whether the special operation shall be continued or terminated, and, if continued, at what level of effort and expenditure it shall be continued.

"(2) Thereafter, at least once a year from the date of the Presidential directive establishing the operation (or, in the case of an operation under way on the date of enactment, annually from the date of the Presidental directive issued in accordance with paragraph (1) hereof), the head of the department or agency engaged in the special operation shall report in writing to the President on the current status of the operation. This annual report shall include a comprehensive description of the special operation, its history, its objectives, the number of persons engaged in the operation, the total annual expenditures planned for the operation, and the total expenditures made to date."

IMPROVEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPERVISION BY ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Sec. 2. Section 102 is amended by inserting after subsection (g) the following new subsection:

"(h)(1) There is hereby established a Joint Committee on Intelligence to be composed of seven Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and seven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. In each instance not more than four Members shall be members of the same political party.

"(2) The entire joint committee shall be reappointed on January 3, 1971, and every four years thereafter. No Member shall serve more than four successive years as a member of the joint committee, except that a Member originally appointed to fill a vacancy may serve the uncompleted term and four years thereafter.

"(3) The joint committee shall make continuing studies of the foreign intelligence activities and special operations of the United States, and problems relating thereto, including problems of the gathering of intelligence affecting the national security and of its coordination and utilization by the various departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Government, and the advisability and problems of carrying out special operations. The Central Intelligence Agency and other departments and agencies engaged in foreign intelligence activities and special operations shall keep the joint committee fully and currently informed with respect to their activities. All bills, resolutions, and other matters in the Senate or the House of Representatives relating primarily to the Central Intelligence Agency and to activities of other departments and agencies engaged in foreign intelligence activities shall be referred to the joint committee (including lists and schedules of records lacking preservation value submitted to Congress by the Administrator of General Services pursuant to Section 4 of the Act of July 7, 1943 (44 U.S.C. 369)). The members of the joint committee who are Members of the Senate shall from time to time report to the Senate, and the members of the joint committee who are Members of the House of Representatives shall from time to time report to the House, their recommendations, by bill or otherwise, with respect to matters within the jurisdiction of their respective Houses which are (1) referred to the joint committee or (2) otherwise within the jurisdiction of the joint committee.

"(4) Vacancies in the membership of the joint committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. The joint committee shall select a chairman and vice chairman from among its members.

"(5) The joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such places and times, to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance of such witnesses and production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable.

"(6) The joint committee is empowered to appoint such experts, consultants, technicians, and clerical and stenographic assistants as it deems necessary and advisable. The committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, facilities, and personnel of the departments and establishments of the Government on a reimbursable basis with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned.

"(7) The expenses of the joint committee, which shall not exceed $250,000 per year, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers signed by the chairman."

DEFINITIONS

Sec. 3. Section 102 is further amended by inserting after the new subsection (h) the following new subsection:

"(i) As used in this section:

"(1) 'Intelligence' means knowledge which is the product resulting from the collection, evaluation, analysis, integration, and interpretation of all available information which concerns one or more aspects of foreign nations or of areas of operations and which is immediately or potentially significant to policymaking or planning.

"(2) 'Intelligence activities' means those activities undertaken for the sole purpose of producing intelligence, and does not mean covert operations which, in whole or in part, are undertaken to carry out the foreign policy of the United States.

"(3) 'Special operations' means those covert operations undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency or other departments or agencies which, in whole or in part, are undertaken to carry out the foreign policy of the United States."

PRESERVATION OF INTELLIGENCE RECORDS

Sec. 4. (a) Section 5 of the Act of July 7, 1943 (44 U.S.C. 370) is amended by adding an additional sentence at the end thereof as follows:

"Except that all lists or schedules of the records of the Central Intelligence Agency, or of the activities of any other departments or agencies engaged in foreign intelligence activities and special operations, shall be referred to the Joint Committee on Intelligence, and the joint committee shall examine such lists or schedules and submit to the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, a report of such examination and its recommendations."

(b) Section 6 of the Act of July 7, 1943 (44 U.S.C. 371) is amended by inserting, after the words "joint committee" and before the word "reports", the phrase, "to which the lists or schedules were referred".

(c) Section 7 of the Act of July 7, 1943 (44 U.S.C. 372) is amended by inserting, after the words "joint committee" and before the word "fails", the phrase, "to which the lists or schedules were referred".

VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS IN FLORIDA

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Pepper] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say that my State of Florida has had an excellent record in moving forward strongly in the development of the building of some 29 area vocational and technical schools and in an overall expansion of its vocational program in the State.

Florida has been one of the fastest growing States in the country and has expanded greatly its vocational schools and has presently five more schools in the planning stages. It is, therefore, apparent that we must appropriate the full authorized figure for fiscal 1968 as authorized under Public Law 88–210. To point out this great need I would like to at this point of the Record insert a letter from Floyd T. Christian, superintendent of public instruction for the State of Florida, and Carl W. Proehl, assistant superintendent for vocational, technical, and adult education, concerning the need to adequately fund this program. Also I would like to call to my colleagues' attention and insert in the Record for their further reading a résumé of program activities by the State of Florida in this area of education.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues to read this letter and résumé with great interest and urge the House Appropriations Committee to adequately and sufficiently fund this program for this fiscal year.

The material referred to follows:

State of Florida,
Department of Education,
Tallahassee, Fla., March 1, 1967.

Hon. Claude Pepper,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Pepper: We would like to take this opportunity to express our continued appreciation for all of the legislation which has assisted in strengthening Vocational, Technical and Adult Education programs throughout the State of Florida. Florida has profited particularly through the continuation of the Smith-Hughes appropriations, the full appropriation of the George-Barden funds, and immeasurably through the Vocational Education Act of 1963. By virtue of the latter act, Florida has moved forward strongly in the development and building of some 29 Area Vocational-Technical School, and in an overall expansion of its vocational programs from Pensacola to Key West.

Florida now has an excellent beginning to do what it must for its people and the economy, but we must continue our efforts and complete all 29 area vocational schools and the five others in the planning stage. Additional programs must be provided in comprehensive high schools, junior colleges, as well as in the sparsely populated regions of our state which can support only small individual programs.

To accomplish all of this will require a tremendous effort and continued financial support through state and federal legislation. We would, therefore, respectfully request your support of those particular areas which are crucial to the further development of our vocational, technical and adult education programs. This would involve appropriating for fiscal 1968 the full amount of funds authorized by PL 88-210 and other Acts which authorize funds for vocational education. There must be continued emphasis on research and evaluation, so that a more accurate assessment can be made of what has and what needs to be done, and the directions which must be taken. We are concerned that an expanded appropriation in the Work Study Program be made in order to help those who could not otherwise profit from an educational program. The Teacher Education Program, as well, is of great concern to us. It is hoped that more adequate support may be received to help prepare the kinds of teachers Florida needs and in the quantity required.

All of these areas—occupational training programs, research, evaluation, work study efforts, and teacher education—are well under way in Florida and can offer direct evidence of a sound investment of federal monies. Now these programs must be continued and expanded, and additional new programs must be built. This cannot be done without continued full appropriations under PL 88-210 and other federal legislation.

Enclosed is a resume of program activities and contributions carried out under federal and state appropriations here in Florida as an indication of the sound investment which we are making with federal funds. It would be helpful, in the interest of further support for Vocational Education, if this resume could be entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Your assistance in this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Your continued support of the educational program in Florida is sincerely appreciated, and we hope that you will help vocational education provide even better programs for all who can profit from it.

Sincerely,

FLOYD T. CHRISTIAN,
Superintendent of Public Instruction.
CARL W. PROEHL,
Assistant Superintendent, Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN FLORIDA

To: The Congressional Delegation from Florida.

From: State Department of Education, Division of Vocation, Technical, and Adult Education, Tallahassee, Fla., March 1, 1967.

For many years, Florida has offered a variety of vocational education programs for youth and adults. Now, in February, 1967, at the time of the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the first National Vocational Education Act, it is appropriate that thought be given to the progress which has been made and to planning for future service. What has happened in the past 50 years is only a prelude to great new developments in vocational education in the future.

Vocational education in Florida has grown from humble beginnings in this century to become one of the state's most potent forces for educational, economic, and social development. Vocational education includes programs in agriculture, home economics, industrial education, business education, and technical and health related occupations education. Work is offered to prepare youth and adults for employment, and supplemental training is offered to retrain or upgrade people who are already employed. Of nearly 300,000 persons enrolled in vocational courses in 1966, approximately 60% were high school graduates and adults seeking job preparation or supplemental training. The others were high school students.

In addition to vocational education, related education, which is closely allied to job training in that it provides exploratory experiences prior to specialization, is offered to many thousands of persons in Florida. Related education includes high school programs of industrial arts, general business, and general home economics as well as general adult education. Enrollments in vocational and related education have grown from 355,000 in 1955 to almost 750,000 in 1966 and are expected to exceed 1,000,000 by 1975.

Vocational education in Florida has been given great impetus through the recent plans for a state-wide system of area vocational-technical schools which will place a training center within reach—financially and geographically—of nearly all the residents of the state. The area schools will expand vocational training by offering many different courses and by emphasizing quality, quantity, and variety in every aspect of each program. Courses will insure a complete program for all students including youth and adults. In addition, the area schools will help many high schools become more comprehensive by providing broadened opporunities for secondary students to enroll in vocational courses.

Financial support to build area vocational schools has come primarily from state and local sources, but has been supplemented with federal funds. Currently, 29 area schools have been designated and approved for construction by the State Board for Vocational Education. These are in various stages of construction. Schools have been approved for the following counties or multi-county areas: Bay, Bradford-Union, Brevard, Broward, Citrus-Hernando, Columbia-Baker-Gilchrist, Dade, Escambia, Hillsborough, Jackson-Calhoun, Lake, Lee, Leon, Madison-Jefferson-Lafayette, Manatee, Marion, Monroe, Okaloosa-Walton, Orange, Palm Beach, Pinellas, Polk, Sarasota, Seminole, Suwannee-Hamilton, Taylor-Dixie, Volusia, Washington-Holmes, St. Lucie.

Nine of the area vocational schools approved by the State Board of Education will be divisions of community junior colleges; the others will be separate and independent vocational-technical centers. Some will be entirely new, while others are already existing schools which will be greatly expanded. Sixteen of the new facilities are scheduled to be completed by the fall of 1967, and five additional schools are expected to open in the spring of 1968. The remaining approved facilities are scheduled for later completion.

These new facilities will provide shops, laboratories, and classrooms for a wide variety of vocational programs including auto repair, agriculture, advertising, hotel work, typing, dental assisting, medical assisting, home economics for gainful employment, cooking, and numerous technologies. Schools already open and schools scheduled to open later this year will serve Florida counties with a combined population of over 2¼ million persons, or approximately 39% of the total population of the state. Additional schools, already approved, will serve counties with another 2¼ million persons. Thus, all schools approved will serve a population of over 4½ million persons or approximately 83% of the population of the state. In addition to schools already approved, five or six additional sites are being studied, providing, ultimately, almost complete coverage of the state.

Financial support of vocational education in Florida has been a joint local-state-federal undertaking, the major portion of funds coming from local and state sources. In a recent year, 83% of funds for vocational programs was from local and state sources and 17% was from the federal government. Increased financial support will be needed as facilities and personnel increase. Teachers employed in 1966 totaled 3690 and it has been estimated that 6670 will be needed in 1969.

The vast expansion projected for vocational education is expected to result not only from additional facilities, additional programs, additional teachers, and the like, but also because of Florida's present industrial growth. Vocational education helps counties of Florida exploit their resources more fully; it strengthens their economy; it helps enrich the lives of their people; and the monetary and intrinsic rewards have emphasis and meaning for the people themselves. Through vocational education and employment, people realize their importance as human beings and as participants in and contributors to our society.

As new area schools have been approved, special studies have been made to prescribe new and additional vocational-technical programs. These programs have been based on students' interests, employment opportunities, and on economic and social needs of people as determined in surveys and by other means. Programs have been designed for particular areas where schools are to be expanded or new schools added. Thus, programs to train waiters and waitresses may be appropriate for one area whereas electronics technology may be appropriate for another.

Jobs for students who complete vocational and technical education courses are a major concern of the Division. Studies are underway, with participants from over the state, to determine how the placement of students may be made more effective. Each county in Florida has reported past activities for placement and follow-up and plans for improvement. Thus, the Division is concerned with every facet of vocational education including adequate counseling and guidance prior and during preparatory training and also with graduates' work performance and job satisfaction.

Vocational education develops the spirit of initiative and enterprise in trainees. It provides a well-trained work force which attracts industry. It reduces unemployment. It prepares individuals for initial entrance into and advancement within an occupation or occupational cluster. It not only prepares for employment but includes supplemental training or retraining as well. Educators are alert to changes brought on by automation and by changing technologies so that new training programs can be provided.

Florida has grown mightily as new industries have moved to the state and educators have been alert to the need for trained technicians. In 1965 it was reported that 65% of the dropouts and 40% of the high school graduates, across the nation, had had no work experience during their school years. Nine dropouts out of every ten reported no job training after leaving school. It has been and will continue to be a concern of vocational educators to provide occupational education at all instructional levels, for all classes of people and, where necessary, to offer special programs for special classes of people.

The needs of disadvantaged persons is a concern of educators throughout the state. Relatively few people choose unemployment as a way of life. Most are anxious to do well—social, economically, and as loyal citizens in our democratic society. Poverty results when people lack skills necessary to earn a living. Florida has made impressive advances in increased per capita income. But too many people and families still earn sub-standard incomes. At the time of the last census, for example, over one-fourth of the families in Florida had less than $3000 annual income.

New studies are underway to arrange new training programs to prepare people for full-time jobs and to increase their incomes. Thus, recently, a woman in one Florida community with three part-time jobs, and children, was enrolled in a training program to be a checkout cashier in a supermarket or in a similar job. She was training so that she might be better able to support herself and her children and to become a self-supporting contributor to the economy. She finished her work and will now have five or six days of work every week instead of three part-time jobs. She will now have employment and earn higher and more steady wages. Thus vocational and technical education is concerned with human values—for human beings and for state and national values.

Vocational education helps solve problems due to technological unemployment. It also helps solve the problem created in Florida when new industries need additional employes. Recently, a "crash" program was inaugurated in one county to provide personnel trained in a number of vocations needed by a new company. The employees were trained in the schools and the company was able to meet its opening date.

Unemployment and the under-utilization of manpower resources results in vast costs against the economy of a state and nation. Economists have reported that the greatest total cost of any operation in the history of the nation was the great depression of 1930–40 when trillions of dollars were the cost of lost productivity. Recently the Council of Economic Advisors reported that the loss in gross national product from unemployment was about $50 billion in the first quarter of 1961. They reported that the unemployment rate of 4.2% in the last quarter of 1965 would account for an annual rate of about $7 billion loss to the U.S. economy.

Vocational educators in Florida are concerned with programs in research and development to help solve problems of unemployment in the state. Studies are underway to incorporate new processes which are appearing in industry, new instruments, new machines, and new techniques for work into instructional programs. Educators are alert to needs for updating curricula to meet technological and social needs. The Research Coordinating Unit of the Division acts to stimulate and coordinate research in vocational and technical education at all levels. Special studies are a continuing project to determine employment opportunities in each county and area of Florida.

Florida is also cooperating with other states in conducting research to improve vocational education. For example, the state is one of several participating in a study of the block-time laboratory approach to office education. The project is a research and development program in vocational-technical education of the Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum of Michigan State University. The objective is to improve methods of educating persons for office occupations. Simulated office conditions allow education of "the whole worker." Thus, the students and teacher view the office course in its entirety instead of as a series of disconnnected tasks. Areas of instruction include classroom experiences, laboratory experiences, and problem-solving experiences. Again, classrooms and equipment are like those found in offices and businesses. The whole project is only one of many studies underway to improve educational methods and techniques.

Of major importance to Florida and to the nation are the implications of vocational and technical education for the national defense effort. Adequate and proper defense of the nation is based upon thousands of highly trained workers in a great variety of vocations and technologies. Actually, the defense, space, and atomic energy programs of the nation have generated more jobs than all other federal programs combined. The first employ over 9 million persons and the latter employ under 2 million persons.

Florida has been particularly active in fulfilling her role in the space age and is offering many vocational and technical programs to furnish trained employees. Programs include electronics, data processing, micro-miniaturization, electricity, drafting and comparable supportive services. Also, Florida has expanded offerings in occupations related to health. The latter include work to train for nursing, certified laboratory technician, medical assistant, surgical assistant, dental assistant, and the like.

The economy of the South and of Florida is changing. Relatively fewer people are needed in agricultural work; and, as people withdraw from the latter, they must prepare to enter new occupations. Individuals in Florida must be trained to work in the many light industries which are moving to the state. The Division of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education is alert to the needs for counseling services to inform youth and adults of job opportunities and the preparation which is required.

The Division of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education and the State Department of Education are continually engaged in planning new and more varied vocational programs to serve more people and more businesses, and to meet the changes which Florida's progress demands.

BILL INTRODUCED TO ESTABLISH A DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago, President John F. Kennedy said in a message to the Congress concerning consumer problems, that the four basic rights of the consumer are "the right to be safe, the right to choose, the right to be informed, and the right to be heard." There are few who would argue with this Magna Carta of consumer rights, but many who question the willingness and ability of our Federal Government to implement and make these rights meaningful.

To begin with, producer interests in this country exercise a disproportionate influence over economic policy. It is, of course, natural that such interests should organize and finance powerful lobbies. Equally proper is their representation by Cabinet-level Departments—Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. What troubles many of us, however, is the absence of any equivalent and countervailing political power for the consumer.

No one can reasonably doubt that consumers have a stake in the operation of the free enterprise system equal to that of producers and workers. Certainly all three share the risks of the system and are entitled to its rewards. However, present governmental structure lends itself to the advancement of the interests of producers and workers but not to the advancement of the interests of consumers. Given the fact that the consumer interest is often in conflict with other interests which are aggressively promoted by the Government, the consumer tends to be isolated from the making of important economic decisions which directly affect him.

Thus, for example, the State Department or the Department of Commerce can recommend tariff agreements affecting the price or quality of major consumer commodities without having given adequate consideration to the interests of consumers. Thus, the Department of Agriculture's milk marketing administration can make decisions affecting the local price of milk without having taken into account the views of consumers. Thus, in fiscal year 1966, without benefit of a consumer point of view, the United States exported nearly a billion dollars worth of wheat at a time when the price of bread was rising dramatically at home. Thus, while the Department of Interior can influence the price of gasoline by loosening and tightening petroleum imports, the consumer is excluded from the decisionmaking process.

Historically, the regulatory agencies were intended to protect the consumer interest in our Government. Yet they have become subject to producer pressures which far outweigh any countervailing power exercised by consumers. Any study of regulatory agencies will reveal their preoccupation with settling the conflicting claims of rival producers. The Interstate Commerce Commission mediates disputes between railroads and trucking firms. The Civil Aeronautics Board adjudicates the competing claims of large certified carriers and smaller airlines. The Federal Communications Commission referees the battle of the networks and the competition between financial interests which compete for scarce channels. The Federal Power Commission is caught between gas producers and public utility companies. And the Tariff Commission arbitrates free trade and protectionist squabbles.

At the present time some 33 Federal agencies are engaged in 296 consumer protection activities. However, no single agency has responsibility for coordinating even the most important of these activities. Thus, the consumer interest, which is perhaps the most widely shared in our society, has no articulate, effective representation within our government.

While there are differences of opinion as to the institutional form increased Federal consumer protection should take, President Lyndon B. Johnson said in 1964:

> For far too long, the consumer has had too little voice and too little weight in government. As a worker, as a lawyer or doctor, the citizen has been well represented. But as a consumer, he has had to take a back seat . . . We cannot rest content until he is in the front row, not displacing the interest of the producer, yet gaining equal rank and representation with that interest.

It is often claimed that the consumer interest cannot be specifically represented by any one agency since that interest, by definition, includes us all. Yet the specificity of an interest is not determined by the number of individuals who happen to share it. We all breathe air, and hence maintain an interest as distinct as that of factories whose activities may impart air-polluting byproducts. We all cross streets and hence have an interest in controlled traffic, which may conflict with the motorists' interest in the speediest possible flow. Motorists, in turn, cross streets, breathe air, or may even be factory foremen. Interest, in other words, overlap and are defined by particular roles within a society. In many cases the consumer interest is particular and specific, quite distinguishable from other interests, and thus a distinct ingredient in the general public interest.

In order to fill what I believe to be a serious "representation gap" in our governmental system, I am today introducing a new bill to establish a Department of Consumer Affairs.

The introduction of this legislation marks the third year of my efforts to secure full representation at the Cabinet level for the American consumer. Support for this legislation is widespread and of long standing. In 1959, the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, Estes Kefauver, joined by 22 other Senators, proposed the creation of a Federal department devoted exclusively to consumer affairs. In hearings held on the Kefauver bill, Vice President, then Senator, HUMPHREY said:

> I think we need a Department of Consumers. I am not at all sure that this bill has all the features in it that it ought to have, but I am convinced that somebody ought to speak up for the great multitude of American people who are not organized into a consumer interest group.

Since that time many other Members of Congress have supported such a proposal.

During hearings held in the 89th Congress by the House Committee on Government Operations on my bill to create a Department of Consumer Affairs, Senators PHILIP A. HART and ROBERT F. KENNEDY testified in support of the proposal. Senator KENNEDY said:

> As long as consumer protection is not focused as the major responsibility of a single department or agency, as long as the consumers lack effective and direct representation in the highest councils of the Federal Government, they will not have the protection that they need and that they deserve.

The concept of a separate Cabinet-level department for the representation of the consumer is neither new nor untried. In both Sweden and Norway such departments are already in existence. A joint committee of the Canadian Parliament only recently endorsed this concept when it stated in a report that—

> Your committee * * * feels that the function of consumer protection is of such urgency as to require the establishment of a department of consumer affairs.

In an Executive order of January 1964, establishing the President's Consumer Advisory Council, President Johnson directed that the distinguished group of private citizens comprising the Council advise the Government "on governmental programs to meet consumer needs or to protect consumer interests." In respect to this mandate, the Council recommended to the President in its June 1966 report that—

> The consumer interest must be represented in its own right at the highest echelons of Government in a cabinet department.

In addition, the National Commission on Food Marketing in its report to the President of June 30, 1966, recommended that—

> A centralized consumer agency should be established in the Executive Branch of the Government by statute.

My bill for a Department of Consumer Affairs is an expanded and improved version of the bill I introduced during the 89th Congress. It contains several new elements: Provisions of an Office of Consumer Information, including a foundation to administer the informative labeling system, Info-Tag; an Office of Consumer Safety; an Institute for Consumer Research; and the transfer of additional consumer functions from other agencies. These are all provisions which would strengthen the Department's capacity to protect the buying public and disseminate comprehensive information of value to consumers.

Specifically, the bill provides for the following:

GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

First. Representation of the consumer interest before Federal courts and regulatory agencies in matters or proceedings substantially affecting the interests of American consumers—section 6.

Second. Representation of the consumer interest before Federal departments and agencies at the time when governmental decisions are made or policies arrived at which vitally affect the interests of the American consumer—section 6(d).

COMPLAINTS

Third. The receipt and disposition of consumer complaints over which the Department has jurisdiction; and the transmittal to other Federal agencies of consumer complaints over which the Department does not have jurisdiction—section 7.

Fourth. To seek the cessation of acts or practices in the trade or commerce of the United States which are inimical to the interests of consumers—section 7(d).

INFORMATION

Fifth. Establishment of an Office of Consumer Information, which shall develop on its own initiative, gather from other Federal departments and agencies and non-Federal sources and disseminate to the public, statistics, data, and other information concerning: functions and duties of the Department; problems encountered by consumers generally within the United States, and the nature and extent of information in the possession of departments and agencies of the Federal Government which would be useful to consumers.

NATIONAL CONSUMER INFORMATION FOUNDATION

There is established within the Department an independent, self-supporting foundation which will test products and offer consumers meaningful information on their performance and safety characteristics.

The system to be known as "Info-Tag," resembling the British "Teltag," literally refers to a tag on the product which provides information about its performance. The voluntary labeling system proposed in this legislation would not grade or classify products as "best buys." But it would describe the characteristics of interest to the consumer, leaving the final choice or selection up to him.

SAFETY

There shall be in the Department an Office of Consumer Safety. It is the duty of the Office:

First. To conduct a continuing investigation of the scope and adequacy of measures now employed to protect consumers against unreasonable risk of injuries which may be caused by hazardous household products.

Second. Pursuant to rules which shall protect the right of all interested parties to be heard, to identify and publish information concerning consumer products determined to present an unreasonable hazard to the health and safety of the consuming public.

CONSUMER RESEARCH

There shall be in the Department an Institute for Consumer Research which shall test products for the Consumer Information Foundation, conduct scientific research on consumer products, and develop new techniques with which consumers can evaluate products.

TRANSFER OF EXISTING FUNCTIONS

There shall be transferred to the Department in section 12 of the bill:

First, those elements of the Consumer and Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, which relate to the standardization, grading, or classing of agricultural commodities for consumer consumption;

Second, the Division of Prices and Cost of Living of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor which has detailed price information of value to consumers;

Third, the Home Economics Research Branch and the Human Nutrition Research Branch of the Agricultural Research Service of the Department of Agriculture;

Fourth, all functions, powers, and duties vested in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Commerce by the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act (Public Law; 80 Stat. 1296);

Fifth, all functions, powers, and duties vested in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act which relate to the misbranding of food and establishing for any food a reasonable definition and standard of identity, standard of quality, and/or standards of fill of container.

ECONOMIC SURVEYS AND INVESTIGATIONS

Section 13 of the bill authorizes the Department to carry on widespread economic surveys and investigations.

When I first introduced the Department of Consumers bill in April of 1965, it was apparent to me that the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department to protect and promote the economic interests of consumers was highly desirable. Testimony received during hearings on that bill, the recommendations of two high-level Presidential commissions, and recent price increases in certain consumer commodities demonstrate that a Department of Consumers is absolutely essential. If we are to give meaning to the consumer "bill of rights" as enunciated by President Kennedy and vitality to the view that a "new and progressive program is needed if we are to protect the American consumer's right in the marketplace," as stated by President Johnson, then we must move swiftly and boldly on behalf of the consumer by establishing a Department of Consumer Affairs.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 7114

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Consumers Act of 1967".

DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMERS ESTABLISHED

Sec. 2. (a) There is hereby established, as an executive department of the Government, the Department of Consumer Affairs (referred to hereinafter as the "Department").

(b) Section 101 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"The Department of Consumer Affairs,"

(c) Section 19(d)(1) of title 3, United States Code, is amended by inserting therein, immediately after "Secretary of Transportation" the following: ", Secretary of Consumer Affairs."

OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT

Sec. 3. (a)(1) The Department shall be headed by a Secretary of Consumer Affairs (referred to hereinafter as the "Secretary"), who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(2) Section 5312 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(13) Secretary of Consumer Affairs."

(b)(1) There shall be in the Department an Under Secretary of Consumer Affairs (referred to hereinafter as the "Under Secretary") who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Under Secretary shall perform such duties and exercise such powers as the Secretary shall prescribe. During the absence or disability of the Secretary, or in the event of a vacancy in the office of the Secretary, the Under Secretary shall act as Secretary.

(2) Section 5314 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(46) Under Secretary of Consumer Affairs."

(c)(1) There shall be in the Department three Assistant Secretaries of Consumer Affairs (each referred to hereinafter as an "Assistant Secretary") who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each Assistant Secretary shall perform such duties and exercise such powers as the Secretary shall prescribe.

(2) Section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(84) Assistant Secretaries of Consumer Affairs (3)."

(d)(1) There shall be in the Department a General Counsel (referred to hereinafter as the "Consumer Counsel") who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Consumer Counsel shall be the chief legal officer of the Department, and shall perform such duties as the Secretary may direct. During the absence or disability, or in the event of vacancies in the offices, of the Secretary, the Under Secretary, and the Assistant Secretaries, the Consumer Counsel shall act as Secretary.

(2) Section 5316 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(118) Consumer Counsel of the Department of Consumer Affairs."

(e) No officer of the Department may engage in any other business, vocation, or employment while serving as such. No individual may be appointed or serve as an officer of the Department—

(1) while he holds legal title to, or beneficial equitable interest in, share capital (A) exceeding in market value $ in any corporation engaged in the production, distribution, or sale of goods or services affecting consumers, or (B) exceeding in market value $ in more than one such operation; or

(2) if within years he has served as an officer or director of any such corporation.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY

Sec. 4. (a) The Secretary shall be responsible for the exercise of all powers and the discharge of all duties of the Department, and shall have authority to direct and supervise all personnel and activities thereof.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be required for the performance of the functions of the Department.

(c) The Secretary may promulgate such rules as may be necessary to carry out the functions vested in him or in the Department, and he may delegate authority for the performance of any such function to any officer or employee under his direction and supervision.

(d) The Secretary shall cause a seal of office to be made for the Department, of such design as the President shall approve, and judicial notice shall be taken thereof.

(e) The Secretary shall transmit to the Congress in January of each year a report which shall include a comprehensive statement of the activities and accomplishments of the Department during the preceding calendar year, and such recommendations for additional legislation as he may determine to be necessary or desirable to protect the interests of consumers within the United States. A separate report shall be prepared and submitted by the National Consumers Information Foundation established by section 9 of this act.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT

Sec. 5. (a) It is the duty of the Department, in the performance of its functions, to protect and promote the interests of the people of the United States as consumers of goods and services made available to them through the trade and commerce of the United States.

(b) The functions of the Department include the following:

(1) To present the viewpoint of consumers of goods and services within the United States in the formulation of policies of the Government;

(2) To represent the interests of consumers of the United States in proceedings before courts and regulatory agencies of the United States to the extent to which authorization therefor is provided by section 6 of this Act;

(3) To develop on its own initiative, receive from Federal agencies and other public and private sources, and assemble, evaluate, act upon, and disseminate information helpful to consumers of the United States, including information concerning commercial and trade practices adversely affecting their interests, as provided by section 7 of this Act;

(4) To conduct annually a National Consumers' Conference, to be attended by experts on consumer affairs and by representatives of organizations engaged in fostering and protecting the interests of consumers of goods and services within the United States, for the purpose of obtaining information, recommendations, and suggestions necessary or desirable for the effective performance of other functions of the Department;

(5) To discharge in the public interest the powers and duties transferred to the Department by section 8 of this Act; and

(6) To perform such other functions as may be prescribed by law.

REPRESENTATION OF CONSUMERS

Sec. 6. (a) Whenever there is pending before any regulatory agency of the United States (as defined by section 12 of this Act) any matter or proceeding which does not involve the adjudication of the alleged violation, by any individual or corporation named as a defendant or respondent therein, of any statute of the United States or any rule promulgated thereunder, and the Secretary find that the determination of such matter or proceeding may affect substantially the interests of consumers within the United States, the Department shall be entitled as a matter of right to intervene in such matter or proceeding as a party to represent the interest of consumers by filing with such agency a duly certified copy of the finding so made by the Secretary. Upon any such intervention, the Department, through the Consumer Counsel or any other officer or employee of the Department designated by the Secretary for that purpose, shall present to such regulatory agency, in conformity with the rules of practice and procedure thereof, such evidence, briefs, and argument as it shall determine to be necessary for the effective protection of the interests of such consumers.

(b) Whenever—

(1) there is pending before any regulatory agency of the United States any matter or proceeding relating to the trade or commerce of the United States which does involve the adjudication of the alleged violation, by any individual or corporation named as a defendant or respondent therein, of any statute of the United States, or any rule promulgated thereunder, or

(2) there is pending before any district court of the United States any matter or proceeding involving the trade or commerce of the United States to which the United States or any regulatory agency of the United States is a party,

the Department upon its own motion may, and upon written request made by the officer or employee of the United States or such regulatory agency who is charged with the duty of presenting the case for the Government in that matter or proceeding shall, certify to such officer or employee all evidence and information in the possession of the Department relevant to that matter or proceeding.

(c) Whenever there is pending before any appellate court of the United States any matter or proceeding involving the review of—

(1) an order or determination made by any regulatory agency of the United States relating to the trade or commerce of the United States, or

(2) any judgment, decree, or order entered by a district court of the United States in any civil action involving the trade or commerce of the United States,

and the Secretary finds that the action taken by the appellate court upon such review may affect substantially the interests of consumers within the United States, the Department, subject to the rules of practice and procedure of such appellate court, may make application to that court for leave to file in such matter or proceeding a brief as amicus curiae, or to present to the court oral argument therein, or both, except that no such application may be filed by the Department without the consent of the Attorney General in any matter or proceeding (A) to which the United States or any regulatory agency of the United States is a party, or (B) in which the Attorney General has been granted leave to intervene on behalf of the United States or any regulatory agency of the United States. Upon the filing by the Department of such application, supported by a duly certified copy of the finding so made by the Secretary and such other showing as the court may require to demonstrate that the action taken upon such review may substantially affect the interests of consumers within the United States, the appellate court in its discretion may grant such application.

(d) Whenever there is pending before any department or independent agency of the United States any matter or proceeding relating to the trade or commerce of the United States which does not involve the adjudication of the alleged violation, by any individual or corporation named as a defendant or respondent therein, of any statute of the United States, or any rule promulgated thereunder, and the Secretary finds that the determination of such matter or proceeding may affect substantially the interests of consumers within the United States, the Department shall be entitled as a matter of right to intervene in such matter or proceeding as a party to represent the interest of consumers by filing with such agency a duly certified copy of the finding so made by the Secretary. Upon any such intervention, the Department shall present to such agency, in conformity with the rules of practice and procedures thereof, all evidence and information in the possession of the Department relevant to that matter or proceeding.

(e) The Consumer Counsel, or any other attorney of the Department specially designated by the Secretary for that purpose, shall be entitled to enter an appearance on behalf of the Department before any court (except the United States Supreme Court) or regulatory agency of the United States, without other compliance with any requirement for admission to practice before such court or agency, for the purpose of making any application or taking any action which is authorized by subsection (a), (b), (c), or (d) of this section.

CONSUMER COMPLAINTS

SEC. 7. (a) It shall be duty of the Department to receive from consumers of the United States, and to evaluate, complaints concerning commercial and trade practices employed in the production, distribution, and furnishing of goods and services to or for the use of such consumers which may be detrimental to their interests.

(b) Upon receipt of any complaint disclosing the use of any commercial or trade practice detrimental to the interests of consumers within the United States by any producer, distributor, or supplier of goods or services, the Department may transmit to such producer, distributor, or supplier written notice as to the nature of the practice concerning which complaint has been made, and shall take such other action within the authority of the Department as may be appropriate to secure for the complainant relief from such practice. If effective action to secure such relief for the complainant cannot be taken by the Department under authority conferred upon it, such complaint shall be transmitted by the Department to the department or agency of the United States whose regulatory or other authority provides the most effective available means to secure such relief for the complainant. The department or agency shall then consider the complaint so transmitted, take such action thereon as that department or agency shall determine to be appropriate, and transmit to the complainant a written reply describing the action so taken or, if no action is taken upon such complaint, the reason for its inaction. A copy of each such reply shall be transmitted to the Department.

(c) Whenever the Department receives from any source any information disclosing a probable violation of (1) any law of the United States, (2) any rule or order of any administrative officer or regulatory agency of the United States, or (3) any judgment, decree, or order of any court of the United States, relating to the trade or commerce of the United States, the Department shall transmit promptly, to the officer or agency charged with the duty of enforcing such law, rule, order, judgment, or decree, for appropriate action, such evidence and information as the Department may have concerning such probable violation. It shall be the continuing duty of the Department to ascertain the nature and extent of action taken with regard to probable violations so reported.

(d) Whenever the Department receives or develops on its own initiative information disclosing the existence of an act or practice in the trade or commerce of the United States which is inimical to the interests of consumers, the Department shall take such action within its authority as may be appropriate to cause a cessation of such act or practice. If effective action cannot be taken by the Department under authority conferred upon it, notice of the existence of such act or practice shall be transmitted by the Department to the department or agency of the United States whose regulatory or other authority provides the most effective available means to cause a cessation of such act or practice inimical to the interests of consumers. That department or agency shall then consider the act or practice, notice of which has been transmitted, take such action thereon as that department or agency shall determine to be appropriate, and keep the Department of Consumer Affairs advised as to any action taken.

CONSUMER INFORMATION; OFFICE OF CONSUMER INFORMATION

SEC. 8. (a) It shall be the duty of the Department to develop on its own initiative, gather from other Federal departments and agencies and non-Federal sources, and to disseminate to the public in such manner, at such times, and in such form as the Department determines to be most effective, information, statistics and other data concerning—

(1) the functions and duties of the Department;

(2) problems encountered by consumers generally within the United States, including particular commercial and trade practices which are detrimental to the interests of such consumers;

(3) the nature and extent of information, data, statistics, in the posession of departments and agencies of the United States which, in the judgment of the Department, would be useful to consumers, and to this end, each Federal agency is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Department to the fullest extent practicable.

(b) There shall be in the Department an Office of Consumer Information (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Office"). The head of the Office shall be an Assistant Secretary of Consumer Affairs designated by the Secretary. It shall be the duty of the Assistant Secretary to administer the functions prescribed by this section and to serve as Chairman of the Board of the National Consumer Information Foundation.

(c) The Secretary shall include as a part of his annual report specific information with respect to the activities of the Office and its success in obtaining and disseminating information with respect to information available from other departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

NATIONAL CONSUMER INFORMATION FOUNDATION; INFO-TAG SYSTEM

SEC. 9. (a) There shall be in the Department a foundation which shall be known as the National Consumer Information Foundation (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Foundation").

(b) (1) The Foundation shall be headed by a Board of Directors composed of four Directors appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the Assistant Secretary having jurisdiction over the Office of Consumer Information who shall serve as Chairman. A vacancy among appointive members of the Board of Directors shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made.

(2) Except as provided in paragraphs (3) and (4) of this subsection, Directors of the Foundation other than the Assistant Secretary who is Chairman ex officio of the Foundation shall be appointed for terms of three years.

(3) Of the Directors first appointed, one shall be appointed for a term of one year, two shall be appointed for a term of two years, and one shall be appointed for a term of three years, as designated by the President at the time of appointment.

(4) Any Director of the Foundation appointed to fill a vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term. A Director may serve after the expiration of his term until his successor has taken office.

(5) In the exercise of its functions, powers, and duties, the Foundation shall be independent of the Secretary and other offices and officers of the Department; except that the Assistant Secretary having jurisdiction over the Office of Consumer Information shall serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors.

(c) Section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(78) Directors, National Consumer Information Foundation."

(d) Three Directors of the Foundation shall constitute a quorum.

(e) (1) The Foundation shall have an Administrator who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. The Administrator shall administer the Foundation in accordance with directives of the Board of Directors.

(2) The Board of Directors may appoint and fix the compensation of such additional personnel as it deems advisable to carry out the provisions of this section.

Info-tag system

(f) (1) The Foundation shall establish and operate a system under which it may grant authority to a person who manufactures for sale at retail a nonperishable manufactured consumer product to affix to such product a label to be called an info-tag.

(2) The Foundation shall have the authority to develop and approve a standard info-tag which specifies the kind of information to be provided for each type of product for which info-tags are to be made available. A standard info-tag shall bear (A) the name, seal, or other distinctive mark of the Foundation and (B) such information with respect to performance, content, safety, durability, care, and other characteristics as the

Foundation determines to be necessary or useful to permit a reasonably prudent consumer to evaluate a particular product for purposes of purchase.

(3) The standard info-tag for any type of product shall be developed by the Foundation after consultation with interested manufacturers, distributors, and users, and shall be prescribed in rules of the Foundation. The Foundation may, if it determines it to be in the public interest, prescribe data formulated by reputable standard-making bodies, including trade associations and similar groups.

(4) At least ninety days before any such rules are prescribed by the Foundation for any product, such rules shall be published in the Federal Register.

(5) Any person may file written objections to the adoption of any such rules until the sixtieth day after the date of publication of such proposed rules in the Federal Register. After reviewing such objections and other pertinent information, the Foundation may, by order, adopt and promulgate such rules, amend such rules, or refuse to adopt such rules. Such an order of the Foundation shall not be subject to review.

(6) The Foundation shall by rule establish schedules of fees and charges which shall be paid by persons participating or seeking participation in the info-tag system. Such fees and charges shall be related to the cost to the Foundation of carrying out the functions and providing the materials and services for which they are paid, but shall include such surcharge as the Foundation determines to be equitable but necessary in order to place the Foundation on a self-sustaining financial basis.

(7) Before authority is granted to any applicant to affix info-tags to any product, the Foundation must (1) have on file a report from the Institute for Consumer Research (established by section 11) or an independent testing laboratory determined by it to be reliable setting forth the information which should be on the info-tag to be affixed to such product, and (2) have received payment of all fees and charges fixed by it and due in connection with the granting of such authority.

(8) The Foundation shall not declare one product to be better, or a better buy, than any other product.

(9) The Foundation shall maintain constant surveillance over products to which info-tags are affixed to assure that such products conform to information on the info-tags affixed to them and may require additional testing to assure that specimens of the product to which an info-tag has been affixed conform in every respect with information on such info-tag.

(10) The Foundation may revoke or suspend authority granted under this section for willful or repeated violations of rules issued by the Foundation in connection with the info-tag system under this section.

(11) The Foundation may by rule exclude any nonperishable manufactured consumer product or class of such products from the info-tag system under this section if it determines that inclusion of such product or class of products would not be beneficial to a substantial number of the consumers of such product or class of products, or would not lend itself to such a system.

(g) Whoever counterfeits an info-tag, or knowingly and willfully affixes an info-tag to any product other than a product with respect to which authority granted by the Foundation is in effect therefor, for the purpose of selling such product to another person, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

(h) For the purpose of carrying out its functions under this section, the Foundation may—

(1) Establish and maintain a reference library and related facilities and utilize the facilities of the Institute for Consumer Research;

(2) Make such investigations as it deems necessary (A) to determine if any person has violated or is about to violate any provision of this section or any rule or order of the Foundation or (B) to aid in enforcing this section or in formulating rules or orders;

(3) Use, on a reimbursable basis, the services, equipment, personnel, supplies, and facilities of Federal departments and agencies and, on a reimbursable or other basis, other public or nonprofit persons, institutions, or organizations;

(4) Enter into and perform such contracts, leases, cooperative agreements, or other transactions as it may determine to be necessary on such terms as it may determine to be appropriate;

(5) Appoint such advisory committees and consultants for such periods of time as it determines;

(6) Make, issue, rescind, or amend rules governing the manner of its operation and the exercise of its functions;

(7) Publish and disseminate reports and publications;

(8) Establish an official seal which shall be judicially noticed;

(9) Establish and maintain such field offices in the United States and abroad as it may determine to be necessary; and

(10) Engage in, and support, by grant or contract, research with respect to, and development of, objective or quantitative standards for nonperishable manufactured consumer products.

(i) The Foundation shall transmit to the President and the Congress in January of each year a report which shall include a comprehensive statement of the activities of the Foundation during the preceding calendar year, together with such recommendations for additional legislation as it may deem useful or necessary to carry out any of the provisions of this section.

(j) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section until the Foundation is operating on a financially self-sustaining basis.

OFFICE OF CONSUMER SAFETY

SEC. 10. (a) There shall be in the Department an Office of Consumer Safety (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Office").

(b) The head of the Office shall be an Assistant Secretary of Consumer Affairs designated by the Secretary.

(c) It shall be the duty of the Office—

(1) To conduct a continuing study and investigation of the scope and adequacy of measures now employed to protect consumers against unreasonable risk of injuries which may be caused by hazardous household products. Such study and investigation shall include consideration of the following:

(A) the identity of household products, except such products excluded in subsection (d) of this section, which are determined to present an unreasonable hazard to the health and safety of the consuming public;

(B) the extent to which self-regulation by industry affords such protection;

(C) the protection against such hazardous products afforded at common law in the States, including the relationship of product warranty to such protection; and

(D) a review of Federal, State, and local laws relating to the protection of consumers against such hazardous products, including the scope of coverage, the effectiveness of sanctions, the adequacy of investigatory powers, the uniformity of application, and the quality of enforcement.

(2) Pursuant to rules to be established by the Secretary protecting the right of all interested parties to be heard, to identify and publish information concerning consumer products determined to present an unreasonable hazard to the health and safety of the consuming public; except that the Office shall avoid to the greatest extent practicable publishing such information in a form which would give an unfair competitive advantage to any person. Information which would separately disclose the business transactions of any person, trade secrets, or names of customers shall be held confidential and shall not be disclosed.

(d) There shall be excluded from the operation of this section, products regulated under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 (15 U.S.C. 1381 et seq.), the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 301 et seq.), the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act (15 U.S.C. 1261 et seq.), the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act (15 U.S.C. 1331 et seq.), and the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act (7 U.S.C. 135 et seq.).

INSTITUTE FOR CONSUMER RESEARCH

SEC. 11. (a) There shall be in the Department an Institute for Consumer Research (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Institute").

(b) The Institute shall—

(1) develop methods for testing materials, mechanisms, and structures used in consumer products;

(2) test articles used or intended for use by consumers and make tests requested by the National Consumer Information Foundation;

(3) compile, analyze, and publish statistical data and other information and data of benefit and interest to consumers, whether resulting from activities of the Department or other departments or agencies of the Federal Government or from other sources; and

(4) make recommendations to other departments and agencies of the Federal Government as to research, studies, analyses, and other information which could result from carrying out their functions, powers, or duties which would be useful and beneficial to consumers.

(c) Insofar as personnel and equipment are available therefor, the Institute may carry out studies and research for other departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

SEC. 12. (a) All functions, powers, duties, and obligations; all officers, employees, property, and records; and all unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds (available or to be made available), of the following agencies or parts of agencies are hereby transferred to the Secretary:

(1) Those elements of the Consumer and Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, which relate to the standardization, grading, or classing of agricultural commodities for consumer consumption;

(2) The Division of Prices and Cost of Living of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor;

(3) The Home Economics Research Branch and the Human Nutrition Research Branch of the Agricultural Research Service of the Department of Agriculture;

(4) All functions, powers, and duties vested in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Commerce by the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act (Public Law; 80 Stat. 1296);

(5) All functions, powers, and duties vested in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (52 Stat. 1040) which relate to establishing for any food a reasonable definition and standard of identity, standard of quality and/or standards of fill of container (21 U.S.C. 341) and the misbranding of food (21 U.S.C. 343); and such functions, powers, and duties transferred to and vested in the Secretary shall be administered in the manner prescribed in subsections (a), (d), (e), (f), and (g) of section 701 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 371).

(b) This section shall take effect one hundred and twenty days after the date of enactment of this Act, or on such earlier date on which the Secretary determines, and announces by proclamation published in the Federal Register, that the Department has been organized and is prepared to exercise the powers conferred and discharge the duties imposed upon it by this Act.

ECONOMIC SURVEYS AND INVESTIGATIONS

SEC. 13. (a) It shall be the duty of the Department, in the public interest—

(1) to conduct economic surveys and investigations with respect to—

(A) the productive capacity for, and the production of, goods affecting consumers within the United States;

(B) the systems and mechanisms in use for the distribution of such goods, and the effects thereof;

(C) the levels of prices for goods and services affecting consumers, the factors entering into their establishment, and their reasonableness;

(D) the quality and suitability of goods affecting consumers, and the factors influencing the quality and suitability of such goods; and

(E) the degree to which the trade and commerce of the United States succeeds in satisfying consumer needs for goods and services; and

(2) to analyze and disseminate to the public information obtained through such investigations and surveys.

(b) In the conduct of such surveys and investigations, the Department shall have power—

(1) to gather and compile information concerning, and from time to time to investigate, the productive capacity; volume of production; selling prices; costs of production and distribution; volume of sales, assets, and earnings; and relationship to any other corporation, of any corporation engaged in commerce which has assets exceeding $5,000,000 in value, and of any division or subsidiary thereof;

(2) to require any such corporation, or any division or subsidiary thereof, to file with the Department in such form as it may prescribe annual or special, or both annual and special, reports or answers in writing to specific questions, furnishing to the Department such information as it may require with regard to the factors described in clause (1), which reports and answers shall be made under oath if so prescribed by the Department, and shall be filed with the Department within such reasonable period as it may prescribe:

(3) to investigate from time to time trade conditions in and with foreign countries affecting the foreign trade and commerce of the United States, and their influence upon domestic price levels; and

(4) except as provided by subsection (c), to make public from time to time such portions of the information obtained by it hereunder as it deems expedient in the public interest, and to provide for the publication of its reports in such manner and form as may be best adapted for public information and use.

(c) Information received by the Department concerning the cost of production or distribution of any product by any such corporation, or any division or subsidiary thereof, may be made public only in a form which does not disclose such information with respect to any particular corporation, or any division or subsidiary thereof.

(d) For the purpose of conducting surveys and investigations under this Act, the Department shall have all powers which are conferred upon the Federal Trade Commission by section 9 of the Federal Trade Commission Act with respect to the conduct of investigations made by that Commission under that Act, except that the Department may not grant to any person any immunity from prosecution, penalty, or forfeiture in accordance with the provisions of that section without first obtaining the written consent of the Attorney General and serving upon such person a duly certified copy of any consent therefor granted by the Attorney General. The provisions of section 10 of the Federal Trade Commission Act shall apply to the act or omission of any person, partnership, or corporation with regard to any subpena, order, requirement, or information of the Department to the same extent, and with the same effect, as if such act or omission had occurred with regard to a like subpena, order, or requirement, or with reference to like information, of the Federal Trade Commission.

(e) Prior to conducting major economic surveys and investigations authorized by this section, the Secretary shall take all practicable and reasonable steps to ascertain whether any such economic survey and investigation would duplicate in significant degree recent economic surveys and investigations by the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice or the Federal Trade Commission. If, in the determination of the Secretary of Consumer Affairs, such a duplication would occur, the Secretary shall not undertake such proposed economic survey or investigation, unless he determines that said economic survey or investigation is absolutely essential to the performance of the duties of the Department.

CONSULTING SERVICES AND COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

SEC. 14. (a) In the performance of its functions, the Department is authorized—

(1) to procure by contract services as provided by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates of compensation not exceeding $100 per diem for the personal services of individuals;

(2) to appoint such advisory committees as it may determine to be necessary for the effective performance of its functions;

(3) to designate representatives to serve on such committees as the Department may determine to be necessary or desirable to maintain effective liaison with other departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States or any State, and with nongovernmental organizations, engaged in activities related to the functions of the Department; and

(4) to use the services, personnel, and facilities of other Federal, State, and private agencies and instrumentalities with the consent of such agencies and instrumentalities, with or without reimbursement therefor.

(b) Upon request made by the Secretary, each department, agency, and instrumentality of the United States is authorized and directed—

(1) to make its services, personnel, and facilities available to the greatest practicable extent within its capability to the Department in the performance of its functions; and

(2) subject to provisions of law, Executive orders, and rules relating to the classification of information in the interest of national security, to furnish to the Department such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics as the Secretary may determine to be necessary for the performance of the functions of the Department.

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 15. (a) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to alter, modify, or impair the statutory responsibility and authority contained in section 201(a)(4) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 481(a)(4)), or of any provision of the antitrust laws, or of any Act providing for the regulation of the trade or commerce of the United States, or to prevent or impair the administration or enforcement of any such provision of law.

(b) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed as relieving any department or agency of the Federal Government of any authority or responsibility, not transferred to or authorized by this Act to be performed by the Department, to protect and promote the economic interests of the American consumer.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 16. As used in this Act—

(a) The terms "commerce" and "corporation" have the meaning given to such terms by section 4 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 44);

(b) The term "regulatory agency of the United States" includes the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the United States Tariff Commission, and any other board, commission, or other agency of the United States hereafter established which is charged with administrative or regulatory duties with respect to the trade or commerce of the United States.

(c) The term "antitrust law" includes—

(1) each provision of law defined as one of the antitrust laws by the first section of the Act entitled "An Act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes", approved October 15, 1914 (38 Stat. 730, as amended; 15 U.S.C. 12), commonly known as the Clayton Act;

(2) the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 41 and the following);

(3) section 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to amend section 2 of the Act entitled 'An Act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes', approved October 15, 1914, as amended (15 U.S.C. 13), and for other purposes", approved June 19, 1936 (15 U.S.C. 13a), commonly known as the Robinson-Patman Act; and

(4) any statute hereafter enacted by the Congress which prohibits, or makes available to the United States any remedy with respect to, any restraint upon or monopolization of commerce, or any unfair trade practice or unfair method of competition in or affecting commerce.

(d) The term "State" includes any State or possession of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 13. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department such sums as may be required to carry out the provisions of this Act.

SHORTCOMINGS IN THE NATION'S PUBLIC WELFARE SYSTEM

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. ST GERMAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Providence Journal applauds the attention which the President gave in his economic report to the shortcomings in the Nation's public welfare system.

The article says that Mr. Johnson is correct in stating that—

> We should encourage self-help and not penalize it.

And that—

> The standards of need set by many states are unrealistically low.

It praises Mr. Johnson's desire to explore the possibilities of a guaranteed income, while putting an end to those deficiencies in the present system which perpetuate dependence instead of encouraging self-sufficiency. It calls on the Congress and the Federal and State governments to face up to the obligation to correct the inadequacies plaguing our public assistance program.

I believe that its insights will be of interest to my colleagues and I include it in the RECORD:

[From the Providence Journal, Jan. 31, 1967]

A WAY TO SHORTEN WELFARE ROLLS

President Johnson in his Economic Report has taken official notice of shortcomings in the nation's public welfare system that have been evident for some time.

In a report on a two-year study concluded last June by the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, it was held that "a major updating of our public welfare system is essential if it is to achieve the goal of assuring a basic floor of economic and social security for all Americans."

The President has cited some of the same deficiencies found by the council and said he will ask Congress to take corrective action. He has called for an end to the requirement that for every dollar a welfare recipient earns, a dollar must be deducted from his assistance allotment. "It is time to put an end to this 100 per cent tax on the earnings of those on public assistance," he said.

Mr. Johnson is correct in stating that "we should encourage self-help, not penalize it." Some financial incentive must be provided for the welfare recipient to join the working community. For many undereducated, unskilled persons, this is a gradual process that needs encouragement and economic assistance along the way.

Mr. Johnson is correct in stating that "the standards of need set by many states are unrealistically low; benefits are further restricted by excessively stringent eligibility conditions. In some respects, the system perpetuates dependency."

In addition, the President has said he intends to establish a commission of leading Americans to study proposals for a guaranteed annual income.

For many, particularly those who lead fairly comfortable lives, a time of high welfare costs and labor shortages is an anachronism. The fact is that most welfare recipients are, for a variety of reasons, unemployable: too young or too old, disabled, mothers of young children who must be cared for and persons whose lack of education and training make them unsuitable for the skilled and semi-skilled jobs that are available.

There is little doubt that Congress will approve an increase in Social Security payments this year. The federal government and the states have a like obligation to correct the serious inadequacies plaguing our system of public assistance.

THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GARMATZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore News-American has issued a sobering warning:

Crime is waging a very real war on the fabric of our civilization, and is winning.

And it has also called upon Congress to pass the anticrime proposals of President Johnson to deal with all aspects of this spreading malady.

There must be more police and they must be better trained. There must be new laws to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. And we must strike at the roots of crime with antipoverty and education programs.

The newspaper's editorial, "The Challenge of Crime," pinpoints our responsibility. I include it in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME

President Johnson's call to Congress for vigorous new measures to stem the ever-growing menace of crime and lawlessness will be welcomed by all law-abiding citizens.

For many millions of those citizens, especially in big cities, the feeling of security which should be theirs has long since been replaced by a climate of well-founded fear. To them, crime is the nation's No. 1 social problem.

Even the alarming statistics cited by the President failed to reflect the pressing scope of the crime cancer. An annual loss of $3 billion in real property through crime is far less personally meaningful than the fact that half the persons interviewed in a recent survey are afraid to leave their homes after dark. Or that unreported crime in some communities is believed 10 times higher than reported.

As part of his proposed new assault, the President again asked for a stiff gun control act. The Hearst Newspapers has long campaigned for such controls and concur with the President's assessment that another failure by Congress to adopt them will be "unconscionable."

We also have urged the outlawing of all wiretapping and electronic snooping except in matters of national security, as requested by Mr. Johnson. And we strongly support his new proposals for federal grants to help strengthen state and local police operations.

The challenge of crime already is being attacked indirectly through the administration's many special programs for slum clearance, job training and other welfare and educational undertakings. It meanwhile must be battled directly and more strongly on its own front. Crime is waging a very real war on the fabric of our civilization, and is winning. The mass store lootings in Chicago after a recent snowstorm show how dangerously thin the veneer of that civilization now is.

It is the clear duty of Congress to act as requested by the President. This nation's spreading climate of crime and disorder makes it imperative.

THE 1967 SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION FOR ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to provide a supplemental appropriation of $10 million for the fiscal 1967 adult basic education programs operating nationwide under the terms of the Adult Education Act of 1966.

The adult basic education program was initiated in 1964 with enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act by the 88th Congress and has been administered by the U.S. Office of Education ever since as a State grant program. ABE is primarily aimed at illiterate and undereducated adults whose English language limitations and other educational shortcomings effectively inhibits their employment opportunities and their full assimilation into our progressive, highly specialized society. The program has been concentrated since its inception on areas with the greatest numbers of adults with such educational deficiencies, and very predictably is most operable in poverty areas.

The adult education classes have been a great success in Hawaii as they have been throughout the Nation. To date, 575,000 individuals have participated in the program in the 50 States, District of Columbia, and three territories, and the Office of Education estimates that a cumulative total of 642,000 participants will be reached by June 30, 1967. Encouraging as these figures may appear, the magnitude of the need can be realized by a study of the 1960 Census which revealed that there were approximately 23,900,000 Americans over 18 years of age lacking an eighth-grade education or its equivalent.

It is apparent that the $64.5 million obligated for adult basic education for the last 3 years, while allowing a promising beginning for a long-overdue program, has not been enough. The problem has been further compounded by the way in which it was originally funded. The fiscal 1965 appropriation was $19 million, but because many States did not have sufficient time to develop and submit their plans, only $4,168,836 was obligated in 1965. This left a balance of $14,443,164 to be carried over into fiscal 1966 and to be added to the $21 million appropriation for that year.

On the surface this appears to present no problem. More than $35 million was thus available last year and the adult education program expanded tremendously, with the enrollment spurting from 38,000 to about 373,000. Teachers were hired, classroom facilities located, and community expectations raised through this rapid growth.

However, after all this progress, the 1967 appropriation of $30 million is not sufficient to even keep the program going at last year's level. When we consider that $800,000 of these funds will go to Federal office administrative expenses and $2,920,000 to Special Projects and Teacher Training, the $26,280,000 remaining for State grants amounts to almost a $10 million decrease from the $35 millions which the States had available in 1966 for actual operating expenses. Massive cutbacks in a program which deserves instead to be increased have already begun, and we have little time left to salvage the hard work that has gone into building it up to the level of service it has already reached.

Hawaii has been hard hit by these developments, and my State illustrates the problem throughout the country. Of the $80,613 that was our share in 1965, we managed to obligate only $27,000 by the end of the fiscal year, leaving a carryover of $53,613 for 1966 to be added to that year's allocations for a grand total of $195,580 available. For fiscal 1967 Hawaii will receive $114,819 as its share of the $30 million, representing a cutback of over 40 percent of the total funds Hawaii expended for this program in fiscal 1966.

Statistics will never adequately replace the individual human success story in reflecting the value of the adult education program, but I submit the U.S. Office of Education tabulations from the 1966 annual report as an impressive record of accomplishment. There were 1,641 local programs operative in the 50 States, District of Columbia, and the eligible territories. Of the 378,906 adults enrolled, the majority were between the ages of 25 and 49, obviously then in an employable range. There were 1,068 guidance and counseling personnel serving in the program and a total of 17,791 teachers, in addition to 1,385 teacher aids. Among the enrollees 125,039 were instructed on grade levels 0–3; 155,351 were instructed at grade levels 4–6; and 98,516 were instructed at 7th–8th grade levels. The student-teacher ratio was 22 to 1, a desirable goal even for our public schools to aim at.

All of these individuals were instructed in listening, speaking, reading, writing, and computational skills, not only to improve their employment opportunities but also to enable them to participate more effectively and broadly as citizens of our democratic society while enriching their daily lives in numerous immeasurable ways.

Let us not now dim the glow of hope that we have lighted among those whose lack of education has burdened and dimmed their adult years and stifled their total growth as human beings. Our obligation is imperative, for as these individuals benefit, so do we all through their increased contribution to our national life. The funds that I am asking for in my bill should be regarded as evidence of our commitment to these largely neglected individuals and a precursor of further expansion of the adult basic education program. I urge early action on this most necessary supplemental appropriation.

TARAS SHEVCHENKO

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, a mighty statue of Taras Shevchenko stands firmly implanted in Washington, D.C. At a great geographic and political distance, in Moscow, stands another statue, also of Taras Shevchenko. Both nations claim this man to be a hero, a fighter for freedom, a symbol of struggle and perseverance.

To Americans and to Ukranians, Shevchenko represents a nation's thirst for independence and the battle against oppressive, alien governments. The War of Independence of 1776 and the British immediately spring to mind as the American counter part to the Ukrainian endeavor. After all, did not Shevchenko implore:

> When will we receive our Washington,
> With a new and righteous law?
> And receive him we will some day. . .!

The Russians, however, interpret Shevchenko as a precursor to communism, one who depicted the revolt of peasant against master, the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Let there be no mistake made here. Taras Shevchenko waged a verbal war against serfdom and injustice, against social and national oppression. He was a humanist; his ideals have universal appeal. But first and foremost, Shevchenko was a patriot, a Ukrainian. Love for his country runs through his veins and through his poetry:

> Peaceful land, beloved country,
> O my dear Ukraine:
> Why, my mother, have they robbed you?
> Why do you thus wane?

These words were directed against the Russians; Shevchenko spared no love for them. He cried out to his countrymen:

> Arise! Sundering your chains,
> Bless your freedom with the blood
> Of foemen's evil veins!

Because Taras Shevchenko is so highly esteemed by all Ukrainians, even the Russians could not nullify him in their policy of Russification of Ukraine. Therefore, they took a more sophisticated approach. Instead of declaring Shevchenko an "enemy of the people," as Nicholas I once did, the Soviets have tried to incorporate him into their own ideology. Let the Ukrainians venerate Shevchenko—but not as the symbol of Ukrainian national self-determination; rather, as the representative of the Communist creed. Only to the naive have the Soviets been successful in their fallacious attempts. Taras Shevchenko remains and will remain a national hero to the Ukrainian people and not a forerunner of Communist ideology.

Shevchenko's entire life was one of hardship and strife. A serf for 24 years, he enjoyed only 9 years of freedom before he was imprisoned and exiled under Czarist decree. More than a century after his death, Shevchenko is still troubled, still cast about as a political pawn. He knows no peace, no happy release from his struggle.

Shevchenko is the Ukrainian spirit. He is dedication; he is obstinate perseverance. He will not and cannot know rest until one day his land, his beloved Ukraine will be free again.

> Till from Ukraine to the blue sea
> It [river Dnipro] bears in fierce endeavor
> The blood of foemen—then I'll leave
> Wheatland and hills forever;
> Leave all behind, soar up until
> Before the throne of God
> I'll make my prayer. For till that hour
> I shall know naught of God.

"THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION—TEACHING THE BILL OF RIGHTS"

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. EDWARDS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the heritage of our Nation is strongly imbued with the rights and freedoms of individual man. Our Founding Fathers envisioned government as the creation of free men—an entity to serve them but not to stifle or smother their most fundamental liberties. Today the rhetoric remains strong. The deep commitment in actual practice, however, is lacking.

In 1961, the Constitutional Rights Foundation was founded in Los Angeles, Calif., as an independent, tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation to promote educational programs aimed at deepening our understanding of and allegiance to the principles of freedom, justice, and equality defined in the Bill of Rights. The invaluable job being done by the Constitutional Rights Foundation—and the extent of the need—is described in two articles which at this time I want to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with unanimous consent. The first, "Teaching the Bill of Rights in California" appeared in the March 19, 1966, issue of Saturday Review and is written by the editor of the California Teachers Association Journal. The other is written by Mrs. DeAnne Sobul, an educational consultant to the CRF, and a former high school teacher. Entitled "Education for Freedom," Mrs. Sobul's article first appeared in the December 1966 edition of the California Journal for Instructional Improvement.

I highly recommend these articles—the authors familiarize us well with this project and the Foundation which deserves so much encouragement and support.

The articles follow:

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM

(DeAnne F. Sobul)

Recent studies of the values and attitudes of adolescents suggest that education relating to the basic principles of American life embodied in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights[1] has been seriously deficient. Instruction concerned with individual freedom and responsibility in general has taken the form of non-critical enumeration, without any attempt to explore or discuss the controversial issues raised by conflicts between asserted individual liberties and the needs of society. The results of that educational deficiency have been serious. Studies show that public attachment to fundamental rights exists only on the most superficial verbal level. Such research reveals that today's youth are more willing to tolerate unauthorized searches of private dwellings, the suppression of the rights of minorities, and the discharge from public employment of persons suspected of subversive activities than were the adolescents of ten years ago. A large percentage of a representative student sample condones the use of "third degree" police methods to obtain confessions, the denial of the right to vote to persons with "wild ideas," and residential and religious segregation.[2]

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[1] The "Bill of Rights" as used in the article pertains to the concept of an expanded Bill of Rights. That is, all Amendments which protect individual rights and liberties such as those contained in amendments Thirteen, Fourteen, Fifteen and Nineteen—not merely the first ten Amendments of the Constitution.

(NOTE.—Mrs. Sobul was one of a staff of six who prepared the manuscript for *The Bill of Rights—A Source Book for Teachers* for the California State Department of Education. She is presently Educational Consultant, Constitutional Rights Foundation, Los Angeles and on leave from the Los Angeles Unified School District where she was a Curriculum Consultant and a social studies teacher at University High School.)

Even more serious is the character of public debate on issues raised by the Bill of Rights. This debate has been marked by an almost total lack of communication between those with opposing views. Great disparity exists between general, and in some quarters almost hysterical support of basic American ideals, especially the Bill of Rights, and how these ideals are implemented in practice. One has only to look at the recent record of events to find evidence of this breakdown in communication: student demonstrations and protests at many universities and colleges throughout the United States; howling and even violent white mobs in Chicago and Grenada; riots and destruction in the Negro ghettos of Los Angeles, San Francicso, Cleveland, Dayton, and Atlanta; totally emotional reactions to Supreme Court decisions; the movement of some groups to engender support for the impeachment of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Evidence of this breakdown in communication is not only apparent in the adult community but is becoming increasingly obvious in the secondary schools of some communities. Witness the emotional response without the mediating influence of dialogue which is aroused over such issues as censoring the school newspaper, extending invitations to individuals to speak on controversial topics, or dressing suitably.

Evidence of a willingness to deny others rights, long regarded as basic American freedoms, and of the inability to rationally discuss issues fundamental to the Bill of Rights indicate a failure in educating the young concerning the responsibilities, the privileges, and the personal demands of freedom. The duty of improving American citizenship cannot rest solely with those who teach. Other groups, as the family, church, parent groups, communications media, and public officials also have substantial responsibilities which must be assumed. The educational community, however, must accept the major responsibility and must recognize that it has the main opportunity to increase the awareness, sensitivity, and civic interest of future citizens.

Fortunately in California the task is begun. In 1963, the Constitutional Rights Foundation persuaded the California State Board of Education to issue a policy statement calling for improved teaching of Bill of Rights principles in California schools. In order to implement this policy the Board requested that the State Department of Education investigate the treatment and coverage of Bill of Rights issues in textbooks and curriculum materials used in California schools. The report, "The United States Bill of Rights in California Education," by John G. Church, Curriculum Consultant, California State Department of Education, revealed that textbooks and other materials, including curriculum guides for teachers, were woefully inadequate. The Board of Education then established an Advisory Panel on Teaching About the Bill of Rights to make suggestions as to how this problem might be solved.

The first specific project to implement Board of Education policy is now completed. Financed by a $30,000 grant from the Constitutional Rights Foundation, *The Bill of Rights—A Source Book for Teachers* will soon be available for distribution to every senior high school teacher of American History, United States Government and problems of democracy. It will also be available on a limited basis to teachers in junior high schools and in elementary schools.

Originally the goal of the publication was to develop a curriculum guide on teaching the Bill of Rights. However, it was soon found that such an approach might lead to sermonizing and thus to indoctrination rather than result in an informed discussion of the application of Constitutional guarantees. Consequently, the final product is very different from most curriculum guides with which teachers are familiar. *The Bill of Rights—A Source Book for Teachers* is exactly that, a source book. It contains many materials from which the teacher can draw in preparing effective lessons relating to Bill of Rights principles in a variety of social studies courses. It includes a compilation of the historical origins and development of the Bill of Rights. It employees the present problems created by the application of the guarantees embodied in these Constitutional provisions.

Time and space limitations necessitated selection, not only of areas of inquiry, but also of whole provisions of the Bill of Rights as well. Not included, for example, are the Second, Third, Ninth, and Tenth amendments. Nor was there an attempt to compile an exhaustive historical or topical treatment. The philosophy of the publication is that effective teaching of the Bill of Rights requires a functional presentation and not a numerical, nondiscriminating catalog.

The mere distribution of this publication, regardless of its worthiness, is not enough to solve the problem discussed above. It is only step one in what must become a massive effort to teach the principles and concepts which underlie Constitutional rights and liberties so that all youth will: recognize the significance of the Bill of Rights; realize the Bill of Rights is a dynamic document and is a vital aspect of everyday American life; demonstrate an awareness that all Americans are entitled to freedom, justice, and equality; participate rationally in the dialogue relating to Bill of Rights issues; demonstrate an appreciation for the views of others by encouraging dissenters to speak openly; and deal with the problem of the unanswered question in a rational, intelligent, and communicative way.

Changed student behavior resulting from teacher use of the Source Book *is dependent upon teacher ability to use the publication.* While the *Source Book* contains many teacher aids, an intensive in-service training experience for most American History, United States Government, and problems of democracy teachers is essential if student behavior relating to Bill of Rights issues is to be changed.

Seven teacher workshops were held at colleges and universities throughout California during the past summer. The primary aim of these workshops was to acquaint eleventh and twelfth grade teachers with the substance and suggested teaching strategies contained in the *Source Book*. The workshops involved approximately 350 teachers and were entirely self-supporting except for a $2400 grant provided by the State Department of Education from funds obtained under Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Additionally, the Riverside Unified School District and the El Monte Union High School District involved their eleventh and twelfth grade social studies teachers in a four-week experimental workshop. In El Monte almost all eleventh and twelfth grade social studies teachers from each of the three high schools participated. In Riverside both junior and senior high school social studies teachers participated; consequently, it will be more difficult to measure the effect of the workshop experience. Thus, the participants were undoubtedly representative of social studies teachers throughout California. Each workshop was structured to allow for instruction by law professors in the substance of the *Source Book* and for preparation of classroom materials. The El Monte and Riverside workshops were jointly financed by the State Department of Education (Title V of E.S.E.A. funds), the Constitutional Rights Foundation, and the local school district.

The results of these two district-wide workshops have encouraged other school districts to plan in-service training programs aimed at implementing the *Source Book* within their curriculum objectives and structure. If the *Source Book* is to be an effective tool for the average teacher, every school district in California must develop programs to develop teacher insights and techniques which will enliven his classroom so that the Bill of Rights becomes a dynamic, vital aspect of the lives of his students. Teachers must be provided with every opportunity to gain insights and to acquire information which will enable them to reassess old teaching strategies. Only in this way can teacher behavior be changed to influence student behavior.

Publication of the *Source Book*, even in the tentative edition last spring, occasioned teacher demands for student materials in support of the approach taken in the publication. In May, 1966, Thomas Braden, President of the State Board of Education, Dean Richard Maxwell, Chairman of the Advisory Panel on the Bill of Rights, and Burt Lancaster, Chairman of the Advisory Panel's Subcommittee on Audio-Visual Aids, called a meeting of textbook publishers and educational film producers. Master teachers and curriculum experts were invited to testify as to the coverage and availability of instructional materials relating to Bill of Rights issues. The conclusion of these experts was that present student materials do little to acquaint the student with the past or present problems created by the application of the guarantees embodied in the Constitution.

Publisher and producer response to this meeting was overwhelming. More than one hundred representatives attended and appeared to accept the challenge to improve existing materials and to create new ones.

The publication of the *Source Book* has been widely applauded by citizen groups, the communications media, members of the law profession, educators and teachers who have read and used it. But its impact on the classroom has not yet been felt. Will the average social studies teacher find the time to select portions from the *Source Book* that will help him plan truly effective lessons on Bill of Rights principles? The answer to this question carries many implications for local school districts in their implementation of the publication within their curriculum objectives and structure. Few teachers can do this alone; a concerted effort to explore the *Source Book's* use and to develop student materials must be made in every school district.

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[2] See for example: Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, Inc., *A Report on the Current Status of Bill of Rights-Civil Liberties Teaching in Secondary Schools*. New York: Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, 1962 (Mimeo). Drucker, A. J., and Remmers, H. H. "Citizenship Attitudes of Graduated Seniors at Purdue University, United States College Graduates and High School Pupils." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1951. Frymier, J. R. "Analysis of Adolescents' Responses to F-seale." *Journal of Experimental education*, 1960. Remmers, H. H., and Franklin, R. D. "Sweet Land of Liberty." *Phi Delta Kappan*, January, 1962. *Youth Looks at Civil Liberties and the 1960 Election*. Report of Poll No. 61 of the Purdue Opinion Panel. Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University. 1960 (Mimeo).

Through the publication of the *Source Book*, the State Board of Education and the State Department of Education have required the teacher to immerse himself and his class in controversy. Topics such as civil disobedience, prayers in the public schools, fair housing legislation, de facto segregation and law enforcement methods must be discussed fairly in the social studies classroom if the approach of the *Source Book* is to be implemented. However, what happens to the teacher who does discuss such issues and receives community criticism but no administrative support? Most teachers have long been reluctant to allow free and open discussion of controversial issues and as a consequence have become silent and didactic in their approach to Bill of Rights issues. Although the *Source Book* does provide insight, information, and techniques for handling such issues in the classroom, no teacher is willing to become a target for those who wish only their point of view taught without being assured of his local district's administrative and Board support.

The aspirations of the *Source Book* are great indeed. Simply put, they are to make high school students aware of their heritage and of the present political imperative that the values of the Bill of Rights be maintained not as interesting historical concepts but as vital, dynamic principles of living. Even partial fulfillment of these aspirations depends upon local school district acceptance of leadership in establishing programs which will implement the *Source Book*. Local districts must accept this responsibility to educate all their youth, not just the brightest, to become effective, participating citizens who are aware of the responsibilities, the privileges, and the personal demands of freedom.

TEACHING THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA

(NOTE.—*The American people are devoted to their Constitution and to the individual rights it guarantees, but they have repeatedly demonstrated their difficulty in translating the broad principles of freedom into action in specific cases. The problem, almost invariably, is ignorance of the practical, everyday meaning of these principles. To make sure that future generations are better informed about their rights and responsibilities as Americans, the Constitutional Rights Foundation (605 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., 90017 is cooperating with public education agencies in California to improve teaching about the Bill of Rights in the state's schools. The foundation is a nonprofit organization made up of public-spirited educators, lawyers, businessmen, labor leaders, and motion picture personalities. The state-wide program it is sparking is described here by the editor of the California Teachers Association Journal.*)

(By J. Wilson McKenney)

One out of four U.S. high school seniors believes that "the government should prohibit some people from making public speeches." Sixty-three per cent of these graduating teenagers would not allow Communists to speak on the radio in peacetime, and 42 per cent agree that the police or the FBI may sometimes be right in giving a man "the third degree" in order to make him talk.

These are the findings of H. H. Remmers and his associates at the Purdue University Division of Educational Reference. Since 1951 they have tested repeatedly the attitudes of young U.S. citizens, and have concluded that these young people display an appalling lack of comprehension of the content and meaning of the Bill of Rights.

But failure to understand that liberty is indivisible is far more widespread. Many Americans who recently tested their own elementary knowledge of the Bill of Rights by participating in the Columbia Broadcasting System's "National Citizenship Test," demonstrated that ignorance is not limited to the young (see end of article). The evidence indicates clearly that Americans are fervently attached to the concept of freedom—in many wars they have fought bravely in its defense. Yet, too often, their understanding of the practice of freedom has been as superficial as the war-time slogans for which they fought. Young and old, they are largely ignorant of the basic charter of their freedom and, in practice, are often oblivious to—even approving of—its violation in specific, emotion-laden instances.

In California, however, something tangible is being done about this gap between principle and practice. The State Board of Education, the State Department of Education, and the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF), have combined forces to see that future generations of high school graduates are better educated concerning their freedoms, their liberties, their rights and responsibilities as citizens, through better teaching of the Bill of Rights.

California's attack on ignorance of the principles of individual freedom was launched in 1963 when CRF representatives persuaded the State Board of Education to look into the nature and extent of teaching about constitutional rights in the schools of the state. It was found that a few school districts had prepared resource materials for their teachers, but the record was spotty, and no comprehensive approach to the subject had been developed.

As a result, the Board prepared a policy statement that strongly endorsed teaching about the Bill of Rights in the schools and called for improved instruction in the field. Methodist Bishop Gerald Kennedy of Los Angeles was appointed chairman of a four-man committee of members of the Board charged with responsibility for seeing that the policy was implemented, and a fourteen-man advisory committee of attorneys, educators, and civil leaders, headed by Richard C. Maxwell, Dean of the School of Law at the University of California at Los Angeles, was appointed to aid the committee.

The immediate need, the Board decided, was for a teachers curriculum guide for use within the existing social studies program in the last two years of high school. With a $30,000 grant from CRF, State Superintendent of Schools Max Rafferty set up a Department of Education project to develop a guide that would provide tangible aid to teachers in treating the subject in greater depth. This guide, the *Bill of Rights Source Book* for teachers of American history and government, is now being published and will be distributed to eleventh- and twelfth-grade teachers throughout the state. It presents applications of the Bill of Rights to current controversies—from school segregation and sit-ins to school prayer and released time—with legal and historical background. The *Source Book* does not aim at developing a particular point of view, but at stimulating an informative dialogue among those with differing points of view.

While the guide was in preparation, CRF launched, in 1964, the first of an annual series of Bill of Rights Teachers Contests to encourage more secondary school teachers to venture into the field. Modest cash prizes and state-wide recognition are offered to teachers who have developed effective classroom approaches to constitutional liberties.

Among the first year's contest winners, the direct approach appeared to be most popular. For instance, Gregory L. Goodwin, a Bakersfield American history teacher reported how he had presented to his classes "a petition to insure personal liberties."

He wrote at the top of a sheet, "We the undersigned, urge that the following points of personal liberty be considered legal and binding upon the government of the United States of America. If necessary, they should be added to the Constitution in the form of Amendments." He then listed seven brief statements which, with minor word changes, accurately identified seven provisions in the Bill of Rights.

Few of his students volunteered to sign the paper, and even fewer recognized that the petition had been drawn from the Constitution. He then asked his students to offer petitions to a few neighbors and relatives. Only one-fourth of the adults recognized the source of the wording. Goodwin used this shocking demonstration of ignorance as an effective introduction to case studies of the application of the Bill of Rights to specific individual liberties.

Even more realistic was the first-prize entry submitted by Joyce Fulton, history teacher at Woodside High School, San Mateo county. Convinced that the increased concern for Bill of Rights protections in recent years has been the result of the dramatic exposure by Negroes of the freedom gap between principle and practice in America, Miss Fulton used as the core of her study "The Due Processing of Asbury Howard," an article by Jeffrey Fuller, which appeared in *The Reporter* of April 16, 1959. Fuller's account tells of the arrest, courtroom "trial," and subsequent courthouse beating of the Alabama Negro by angry whites. Howard had committed the "crime" of ordering, for a voter registration drive, the drawing of a poster showing a chained Negro in prayer.

Miss Fulton took her students step by step through the gripping, tragic story of Howard's experience to enable them to understand the practical applications of due process, search and seizure, and Fourteenth Amendment protections. She plunged her students into vigorous discussion of human rights and liberties to illustrate the complexities of Supreme Court interpretations in relation to state laws. And after using these methods for two years she had ample evidence that this realistic case study approach had helped her students to understand better the true meaning of the Bill of Rights.

Few teachers, however, are as imaginative or as informed as Miss Fulton and Mr. Goodwin, and the problems of presenting the subject in the classroom are many. As Miss Fulton pointed out, when she was invited to speak before the State Board of Education last June, there are numerous barriers to good teaching and learning in the field. The complexity of the issues (often stumping well-trained lawyers), the necessity of obtaining and using pertinent and current materials, and the difficulty of translating fast-changing policies and events into appropriate study units, all present obstacles that must be overcome.

Furthermore: "To teach the Bill of Rights meaningfully," she said, "the teacher must make a conscious choice, immersing himself and his class in controversy. The teacher becomes a target for critical parents—and many teachers are understandably reluctant to open up Pandora's box."

"Discussing the Bill of Rights with highly verbal students who enjoy a clash of beliefs is stimulating and challenging," she continued, "but the young people we must be concerned with are the vast majority of average or remedial students who leave high school—and they couldn't care less about interpretations of law by the courts. Hundreds of students are marching into society with little true understanding of the tolerance they must have if freedom of the individual is to prevail."

In order to meet these and related problems in classroom presentation, CRF is cooperating with educational agencies in sponsoring a variety of programs. In cooperation with the State Department of Education and a number of colleges and universities, CRF has sponsored, since 1964, a series of summer workshops for teachers interested in improving their teaching of the Bill of Rights. During the summer of 1966 workshops will be held at UCLA, Humboldt State College, San Diego State, San Fernando Valley State, and the California State Colleges at Hayward and Los Angeles.

As soon as adequate financing is secured, another effort to develop effective teaching material and procedures, and to identify the best means for introducing them into all high schools in the state, will be launched. The new *Bill of Rights Sources Book* will be thoroughly tested in two representative school districts during the next two years. In El Monte and in Riverside high schools all social studies teachers will participate in a pilot program supervised by CRF staff members and consultants. Not only will the guide itself be refined and improved, but new methods for training teachers and techniques for introducing the subject in the classroom will be developed.

To help provide better community understanding for teachers who raise controversial issues about individual rights in the classroom, the California Teachers Association and the State Board of Education are cooperating with CRF in sponsoring a series of conferences and institutes for teachers, administrators, and community leaders. The objective is greater public and professional awareness of the importance of such teaching, and increased understanding and support by the public generally.

Finally, to help make sure that more children in the state are exposed to teaching about the Bill of Rights and its meaning for contemporary life, CRF is joining with education agencies in sponsoring two programs. The first is a cooperative effort of the State Department of Education and the CRF staff and consultants to develop a Bill of Rights teaching program at the elementary school level. The State Department of Education has just received financing from the U.S. Office of Education for exploratory work on this project. The second project, in cooperation with the Los Angeles Public Schools and the National Urban League, provides weekend programs in a camp environment for students from six senior high schools in the curfew area of Los Angeles created during the "Watts riots" of last summer. These young people from one of the city's most depressed areas are introduced to the rights and the responsibilities that are theirs under the Bill of Rights. Both students and teachers, in a relaxed environment, have an opportunity to work out means of communication that will enhance effective presentations in the classroom. Financing for this project has been received from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

California is not alone of course, in recognizing the necessity for effective teaching about constitutional liberties. During the past year bar associations in New York, Wisconsin, and Illinois, as well as California, set up active committees to encourage lawyers to serve as lecturers on the Bill of Rights in public schools. The New York City schools have begun to introduce a program on concepts of civil rights and liberties. And Columbia University has just announced a new Center for Research and Education in American Liberties.

California's experiment, however, has moved farther than most toward effective teaching in this area. It is unique because it is not being developed in one school district or one university or college, but is the result of the cooperative effort of members of the State Board of Education, university and college educators, classroom teachers, lawyers, and community leaders. If present plans are brought to fruition, it is even possible that the First, the Fifth, and the Fourteenth may become as familiar to California's future generations of high school graduates as space flights, folk singing, and sports cars. And if the movement spreads, it will be good for the whole country.

No student should leave our schools without a lively knowledge of the American Constitution, for here are found the main principles of our heritage. Our democracy can be kept strong only by the dedication of every new generation to the discipline of liberty. In knowledge of the Bill of Rights and in loyalty to its propositions rests our faith in the future.

We believe the teaching in this field, no matter how controversial the issue, should be conducted within the framework of free discussion. Not only the history of the Bill of Rights should be taught, but contemporary issues it raises, such as the debate over separation of church and state embodied in the First Amendment, and the privilege against self-incrimination as provided in the Fifth Amendment, should be discussed. Now is the time to help our young people to become aware of the risks, the privileges, and the personal demands of freedom.

We urge all school superintendents to give this subject the highest priority. We hope that the very conduct of the classes studying the Bill of Rights will reflect its spirit and be a demonstration of civil rights in action.—(*Excerpt from Policy Statement, California State Board of Education.*)

FINDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP TEST

Last November, CBS News broadcast a National Citizenship Test during which viewers were asked to answer forty-two questions on their rights, obligations, and responsibilities as U.S. citizens.

The test was drawn up by CBS with the aid of lawyers, police, professors, and educators. The Opinion Research Corporation helped administer the test, prior to the broadcast, to a representative cross section of the American adult population. Their average scores for the whole test are given below—a perfect score is 100; the lowest passing score is 60. Significantly, scores went up with the educational level.

Average nationwide score, 63; 5 per cent, 86 or higher; 14 per cent, 76–85; 47 per cent, 60–75; 34 per cent, below 60.

Four special groups of citizens were also tested. Their average scores:

Congressmen and wives, 85; Political workers in Philadelphia, 83; High school honor students in St. Louis, 83; League of Women Voters in New York, 72.

POST OFFICE PROBLEMS ARE OUTLINED IN NATIONAL MAGAZINE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the March issue of Fortune magazine touches upon the bewildering range of problems in our overburdened postal system in an excellent article entitled "It's Now or Never for the Post Office."

As Congressmen, we are concerned about the perpetual problem of just keeping up with the growing mail load. This article reviews those problems and points out the steps being planned for modernization to improve service.

I bring this excellent article to the attention of all Members of the House, as follows:

[From Fortune, March 1967]

IT'S NOW OR NEVER FOR THE POST OFFICE—TIME IS RUNNING OUT AND TROUBLE IS SPREADING

Not long ago, a harassed Post Office official looking at figures on rising volume and falling efficiency gloomily concluded that by the year 2000 every man, woman, and ambulant child in the U.S. will be delivering the mail. More sophisticated postal planners, slightly embarrassed, scoff at such speculation. But the pessimistic bureaucrat is essentially right: unless *something* is done soon to reform the service, the postal system is headed for an impossible situation.

Warnings like this are nothing new. This time, though, the wolf really is coming. Until recently, the creaky old Post Office has managed to struggle along more or less abreast of increasing volume—usually by adding to a work force that now numbers 700,000. The traditional remedy of adding workers, however, has only piled up the costs and helped to produce chaos in the system. Wages have increased far more than productivity, and postal rates have lagged. Meanwhile the deficit has soared and service has deteriorated. Mail users who once could take reliable and reasonably prompt service for granted are no longer so sure of either. Beleaguered officials, always preoccupied with the problems of the moment, never have managed to look ahead or to build into the system the added capacity sure to be needed. In the past two years, to their consternation, mail volume has risen at almost double the normal 3 percent annual rate. In December, in fact, it was up 9 percent from December, 1965. Qualified workers to handle the load, even if there were money to pay them and room to put them to work in the antiquated plant, are simply not available to the Post Office in today's labor-short economy. And that oft-talked-about mechanization program is barely under way.

Last October a mail jam in Chicago demonstrated the sobering fact that the U.S. mail system *can* break down. For three weeks the biggest post office building in the world was choked with ten million pieces of mail while shaken Washington officials diverted much of the mail normally processed there to other cities. Some of the causes of the debacle were peculiar to the Chicago operation. But the basic problems—an outmoded facility, too little mechanization, and a shortage of skilled workers—are common to the majority of big-city post offices. "The Chicago experience was a warning," declares a congressional expert on postal affairs. "The same thing can happen almost anywhere if we don't take action."

Fortunately, there are hopeful signs that action *will* be taken. Perhaps the most important indication is found in the performance over the past sixteen months of Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, forty-nine. To the surprise of just about everyone connected with the postal service—and to the gratification of most of them—O'Brien is turning out to be the strongest, most imaginative boss the department has ever had. This is somewhat ironic in view of the vague popular notion that the Post Office should be run "like a business"; O'Brien regards himself as "just a politician." The plain fact, however, is that the Post Office is like no business on earth. It is, and forever will remain, a political institution—one in which authority and responsibility are peculiarly divided between the executive and the legislative branches of the government. Only a consummate politician with the connections and the "clout" of a Larry O'Brien can ever hope to get the broad support needed for the rejuvenation of the postal system. An original member of the Kennedy "Irish Mafia," O'Brien was one of the key managers of the 1960 campaign. He then served as a White House aide to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and now has greater access to the President than any Postmaster

General since James A. Farley. And after six years as White House liaison man with Congress, O'Brien is the best-liked and most familiar Administration figure on Capitol Hill.

When President Johnson decided to elevate O'Brien to the Cabinet rather than lose his services, it is unlikely either man fully realized how "right" the appointment was. In Washington the impression got around that O'Brien would do little more than occupy the Postmaster General's baronial office while he continued to perform as political strategist and legislative missionary. It didn't take him long, however, to learn he had inherited a postal mess. A proud and competitive man, O'Brien resolved he would not permit his reputation for accomplishment to be tarnished without putting up a fierce battle. He came to the fray well equipped, bringing the analytical mind and the organizational skill that marked his previous electoral efforts, plus a thick skin and a touch of Irish temper. Though he still acts as L.B.J.'s chief legislative adviser and handles important political chores, there is no longer any doubt in the Post Office. O'Brien is running the show.

As the Postmaster General, he is demonstrating not only unusual energy but also a flair for modern management practices. Last year he created the department's first Office of Planning and upgraded the small and unproductive Office of Research and Engineering to the more prestigious status of a bureau, bringing in dozens of highly qualified outsiders to run them. Overriding his cautious engineers, he launched a $100-million crash mechanization program—including a computer center, which eventually will keep track of mail flow and manpower use in the seventy-five largest post offices. He has also embarked on a program to provide the Post Office with professional management by recruiting 250 college graduates over the next five years, and is seeking funds for a postal academy to train other executives in modern mail techniques. Finally, O'Brien has expanded efforts to secure the active cooperation of large mailers—persuading them to plan their mailings to make the postal job easier and to perform themselves many operations (see box, opposite) that once were dumped onto the mail system.

It's not a moment too soon. Last year O'Brien's deputy reluctantly conceded to a congressional committee that service was worse than in 1956. "In all candor," the Postmaster General now admits, "I cannot say that mail service is adequate." Rare is the mail user who cannot recount an unforgivable delay: and air-mail special-delivery packet that takes eight days to travel from New York to Washington or a first-class letter that spends five days crossing Manhattan. (Photographs of two high-ranking Post Office officials, intended for use in this article, vanished in the mails and the pictures had to be retaken.) Though postal officials protest defensively that the number of complaints is modest compared with the volume of mail handled, they ignore the strong probability that most dissatisfied customers do not bother to lodge formal complaints.

METHODS DEFEAT THE SYSTEM

Considering the state of the department's facilities, personnel, and management—and the limitations under which the system is required to operate—it would be miraculous if the service were first class. Mail volume in fiscal 1967 is expected to reach 80 billion pieces—more than all the mail handled by all other postal services in the world. Even by the Post Office staff's conservative estimates, the volume will rise 18 percent more by 1972. If the rate of increase of the past two years should continue, the figure could be as high as 35 percent. Yet the work of handling the mail is being performed today with much the same facilities that existed before World War II, when only one-third as much mail was processed. Almost all of the seventy-five largest post offices, which process 50 percent of the mail, were built near railroad stations at a time when 10,000 trains a day hauled the bulk of the mail. Now, with only 900 trains in daily use, the movement of mail depends heavily on trucks that must move to and from depots in the heart of traffic-choked cities. Few post offices can be adequately mechanized; floors are too weak to support heavy machinery, ceilings are too low for overhead conveyer systems, layouts are impossible to adapt to efficient mail-flow systems.

Most of today's mail, therefore, is collected, processed, and delivered by the same methods employed a century ago. Even in a post office as important as Chicago's, throngs of clerks still perch before pigeonhole cases, laboriously sorting individual letters by hand at the rate of about thirty a minute. For letters without a zip-code number, clerks must remember thousands of routing "schemes" for towns all over the country. And this process, in one form or another, is repeated an average of six times as the letter or parcel travels from the sender to the addressee. So great is the human effort involved that 81 percent of the Post Office's current budget of $6.3 billion goes to pay workers.

The department's 700,000 employees, one of every four on the federal civilian payroll, work in an atmosphere of frustration that is ruinous to morale. Their duties, demanding but dull, must be performed largely at unappealing hours: clerks labor through the night to process the mail; carriers must report before dawn to prepare for their morning rounds. Pay is poor at all levels despite a 25 percent average increase since 1962; beginning bus drivers in many cities earn $100 a month more than postal recruits. Opportunities for advancement are almost nil. Some 85 percent of all postal workers are crowded into the bottom four grades—with a pay ceiling, even after twenty-one years, of $7,267. The typical carrier or clerk is maddeningly aware that he will retire with the same rank. It's not surprising, then, that many employees are touchy and brusque with the public, resentful of criticism and antagonistic toward their superiors—or that they react as quickly and violently as they do to any real or imagined threat to the security that is the main attraction of their jobs.

In prosperous times, security is not attraction enough. In many areas across the country—San Francisco and the Chicago suburbs are two—the Post Office literally cannot find qualified people. When it *can* hire people, more often than not they are soon gone. Post Office turnover has jumped from a prewar 13 percent to a current 21 percent. Last year the department had to take on 180,000 employees to fill 80,000 new jobs. The decline in the caliber of personnel is evident in many large post offices. Thirty years ago the service was a haven for many highly educated men who could not find jobs elsewhere, especially Negro college graduates, who came to the Post Office in droves. Today postal recruits are still disproportionately Negro. But employment bars have come down in private industry and other government agencies, leaving the Post Office to forage among those with lesser skills. Many heavy jobs once done by men are now performed, unsatisfactorily, by women. Senator Daniel B. Brewster, Maryland Democrat and member of the Senate Post Office committee, charges that the department has become a "dumping ground" for persons otherwise unemployable.

This growing work force is anything but tractable. A breakdown in discipline is blamed by congressional postal experts for part of the trouble in the Chicago post office. O'Brien has taken public note of disciplinary problems elsewhere. Part of the problem is that some 92 percent of all postal workers are members of fourteen labor unions that are militant, competitive, jealous of their jurisdictions, and resistant to change. President Kennedy granted them formal recognition, and now the Post Office is carved up into 24,400 different bargaining units. When the unions cannot win a point across the table, they sometimes go over the heads of department executives to Congress.

UNIONS RETARD INNOVATION

The union leaders declare publicly they have no fear of mechanization, but they manage to find fault with almost every device the Post Office installs. Some claim that new mechanical letter sorters, which compel operators to keep up with their sixty-a-minute pace, are too nerve-racking and fatiguing. Others assail the three-wheeled "mailsters" used by residential letter carriers as a threat to mailmen's lives. They fire public broadsides against the zip code, which is central to all future mechanization plans. "Our unions don't hesitate to criticize our programs for their own personal reasons," complains an indignant assistant postmaster general.

The picture is hardly any better at the supervisory level. Until recently, promotions depended to a considerable degree on political influence. There was—and is—nothing automatic about the rise to the top of the best-qualified candidate. When a man with superior abilities does advance, he may well discover more frustration than satisfaction. Hemmed in by hundreds of petty regulations, and caught between a politically appointed postmaster and frequently belligerent subordinates, he is asked to do his job without any real training in management techniques. Last year Congress rejected a request for $2 million to teach inexperienced supervisors and local postmasters procedures for negotiating labor contracts and handling employee grievances.

Many supervisors, moreover, find it difficult to shift their loyalties from the work force, in which they have usually spent long years, to the department. Nearly all belong to the 30,400-member National Association of Postal Supervisors, now demanding contract negotiations with the very management of which they are a part. The whole set of relationships is so bad that O'Brien last year felt it necessary to complain publicly about "supervisors who, in an effort to maintain their own popularity, make a habit of deprecating, in the presence of employees under their supervision, programs they feel might be unpopular. I consider this kind of behavior unmanly, disloyal, and an insult to the postal service."

Just above the supervisors are 33,000 postmasters—every one of them chosen subject to the veto of a Congressman or local political chieftain. O'Brien insists that the problem of political patronage in the Post Office is much exaggerated. His view, however, may well be colored by his special relations with Congress. An excellent argument can be made that the inbred postal system needs an occasional infusion of outsiders, but the overwhelming majority of noncareer men appointed to postmasterships are receiving rewards for political service rather than being picked on their merit as managers, their professional qualifications, or their interest in improving the service. It is encouraging that in the O'Brien regime more career men have been promoted to important postmasterships and that Chairman Mike Monroney of the Senate Post Office committee has introduced legislation to eliminate political approval of all postmasters.

Finally, things are far from perfect in the department's headquarters. The atmosphere there is largely a compound of the defensiveness of men who have taken too many unfair beatings from Congress and the public, and the cynicism bound to infect people who have watched too many confident Postmasters General finally accept defeat. O'Brien shies away from discussing it, but a friend says he was appalled in his early days on the job by the staff's apathetic attitudes.

Now, this man adds, "he at least has them convinced that they should stick around until their desks are clear."

Given the intensely conservative attitude of the department's personnel at all levels, making the revolutionary changes needed would be a strenuous task for top postal leaders under any circumstances. The job is made doubly difficult by the restraints under which they operate. Congress, although it is quick to fault postal service, steadfastly refuses to give up any of its tight control in the interest of efficiency. Congress defines the services of the Post Office and the conditions under which they must be performed. Congress sets the postal rates. Congress fixes the size of the postal work force and establishes the pay scales—frequently with little regard to revenues. And Congress doles out every dime of the department's funds—under terms frankly designed to make certain that they are spent in an inflexible manner.

To make matters worse, the real decisions on these matters are made not by the entire Congress, which regards postal problems as totally lacking in political sex appeal, but by four separate committees of the House and Senate. Two must legislate, two must appropriate money—and the coordination of views and intentions among the four sometimes leaves a great deal to be desired.

At that, the Congressmen have often shown themselves to be more progressive than the department's professional management. Only after persistent urging by members of a House appropriations subcommittee did the department establish an Office of Research and Engineering in 1956. Congressmen were ahead of postal officials in taking a look at Europe's postal systems for new ideas. Nevertheless it seems clear that, on balance, Congress holds too tight a rein on the Post Office, and the influence has not always been benevolent.

The inevitable result of this irrational system is inefficiency and a chronic disparity in revenues and costs. The official postal deficit in the current fiscal year is estimated at $637 million.[*] Given the immutable political realities, it seems unlikely that any Postmaster General will ever completely close the gap. O'Brien recognizes the need to try, and over the long haul he hopes that modernization of postal methods will make it possible for the department to cut the deficit drastically. But to balance the books right now, he is proposing to Congress a $700-million boost in mail rates—1 cent on first-class mail and air mail and 20 to 30 percent on second-class and third-class mail. The request is sure to touch off a furious fight, however, and there is no guarantee O'Brien will get his way.

TIME TO STOP PLAYING FIREMAN

So much of what is wrong with the Post Office is so obvious that it is difficult to understand why most of O'Brien's moves were not undertaken years ago by his predecessors. Some tried. Arthur E. Summerfield initiated the regional administrative organization that relieves the Postmaster General of the burden of dealing with the petty problems of 33,000 individual postmasters. J. Edward Day introduced the zip code—the most important single innovation in decades. John A. Gronouski, now U.S. Ambassador to Poland, pushed through regulations making second-class and third-class mailers zip-code and presort mail. But nobody before O'Brien really put together a comprehensive attack on the department's problems. And nobody before O'Brien brought to the job the forward-looking approach that is routine in any well-run business. The present postal boss is quick to defend those who held the job before him. "Every guy who sat here just tried to keep his head above water," he explains. "A crisis around here can be a Congressman who wants some guy in a third-class post office to get some more money. The question is, can we get out of the role of fireman and take some steps in planning?"

O'Brien has already taken two important steps in this direction by establishing the Office of Planning under the direction of Ronald B. Lee, thirty-four, and by turning the Office of Research and Engineering into a bureau headed by an assistant postmaster general. To fill this critically important post, O'Brien outbid the Pentagon for the services of Dr. Leo S. Packer, forty-six, a former engineering manager of Xerox Corp. Lee, a West Point graduate ('54) and former White House fellow, commands a small band of highly qualified analysts who will suggest, coordinate, and criticize specific planning projects for the department's six bureaus and will use their own expertise on more general studies. His function, Lee explains, is to "ask the primary questions."

There is no dearth of such questions. Why should the Post Office sell postage stamps? Lee asks. Millions of dollars could be saved each year if envelopes did not have to be placed just so for canceling. Why not contract with manufacturers to make envelopes with a special ink imprint that could be canceled photoelectrically, with the fee to the Post Office passed on to the envelope buyer? Why should post offices be built in the center of big cities? Perhaps the Post Office should switch to mail-processing factories close to airports. How much money can be saved by eliminating special-service windows in post offices?

The department also lacks vital information about itself. It has no well-defined standards of service, no continuing means of keeping track of how good a job it does, no real evidence that the present structure is the best for performing the tasks of the service. Lee is now talking with a management consultant about applying systems analysis to the department's over-all organization and may soon sign a contract for a study. Systems analysis already has been used to reorganize two of the department's six bureaus, and to examine transportation methods. Work is also under way on a "quality-service index," which would rate mail service between various cities on a regular monthly basis. The index may be in use within two years and eventually it may be used to establish standards for speed of service between most major cities.

The planning group has already had a substantial impact on the headquarters staff's previously sketchy forecasting procedures. It has introduced in the Post Office the planning-programing-budgeting system pioneered in the government by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. The focus is on the department's output, with activities divided into eight categories: direct service to mailers, processing, delivery, transportation, auxiliary services (such as money orders, the sale of migratory bird stamps, etc.), postal laws, research and development, and general support. Planning groups have been set up for each of these categories to forecast future demands and devise the means to meet them. One of Lee's specialists acts as coordinator for each category and the plans are all subject to his office's criticism before they go to O'Brien for approval.

Initially, the program memoranda expected for each category must be based on a five-year projection. Actually, Lee points out, in some areas it is already possible to go well beyond that. Nothing really new is likely to be developed in modes of transportation, for example, in the next couple of decades: "it will still be air, rail, and highway. So we can plan out for perhaps twenty-five years." In mail processing, however, the surface has barely been scratched, and no one is now able to guess when the next breakthrough will come. "Here we need a shorter period to work in," Lee explains.

The planning director is careful to underplay the potential of his work. "I'd be an idiot to tell you that anything we have in mind will eliminate the deficit," he says. "What we will do is establish a standard of service and make the changes necessary to meet it." But Lee's analysts have begun to identify cost-reduction possibilities. Merely by reducing the time involved in transporting empty mailbags, Lee estimates, the Post Office can save $9 million.

The real savings and improvements in efficiency, however, are expected from the efforts of the research and development team Packer is assembling. Because few men with the needed qualifications are available inside the organization, he is engaged in a vigorous talent search in industry and elsewhere in the government. It's not the easiest quest in the world; few research engineers normally think of a Post Office career. But Packer, a graduate of Harvard and Cornell who accepted the job because it offered "a virgin territory for achievement," is getting a good response from others to the same appeal. He has hired eighty new engineers, and is confident he will soon be able to fill half a dozen high-level executive posts.

SOME NEEDED CHANGES

The new research chief is outspokenly critical of the way his functions were carried out in the past. "The organization," he explains, "was fairly primitive compared to the needs. The accepted understanding of engineering—a service organization in a passive, defensive position answering the requirements of others, with no initiative or leadership—was totally unacceptable. The inventory of talents was too narrow for future needs. The breadth of attack was inadequate—essentially a fragmented approach to a huge problem crying for an integrated approach. And, in terms of modern engineering requirements, the caliber of people was too low." He quickly adds, however, that the flaws were not the fault of these running the program "it was just the system."

Packer is reorganizing the structure revising its priorities and reassigning its personnel. "We are shedding some blood," he says, "demoting some people and sidetracking others; a year from now fifteen of the top twenty people will have been brought in from the outside." He plans three major changes in the bureau's operations. It will initiate more projects rather than spend most of its time solving specific and frequently petty problems posed by other officials. It will play a larger role in the design and construction of the 800 to 900 new buildings the Post Office puts up each year now planned and executed mainly by regional officials. And it will "take into our own hands many of the things now done for us by private industry." In the past the department's research engineers spent practically all of their time supervising outside research contracts. Packer plans to build a laboratory in Washington, attached to a regular postal station, enabling his researchers to test ideas and systems on "live" mail.

He has no intention, however, of merely creating a larger, smarter, but equally inbred research organization. He hopes to use more outside expertise than ever before. As a start, twenty-eight technical experts and executives from private industry, government, and education have been recruited to form the Research and Engineering Advisory Council. Members come from construction, communication, information processing, electronics, automotive manufacturing, human engineering, and the aerospace industry. The council is expected to meet four times a year, with panels devoted to specific problem areas working almost on a continuing basis, and its recommendations *will go directly to O'Brien. In addition,* Packer plans a postal-technology symposium this year at which Post Office officials will outline for upwards of 100 research groups and technically oriented companies the technological needs of the department and the enormous dimensions of the market it offers *industry.*

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[*] *Postal expenditures actually exceed current revenues of $5 billion by more than $1.2 billion. But Congress has ruled that certain expenses, such as losses incurred on delivery of mail sent by nonprofit organizations and on the operation of small rural post offices, are valuable public service costs that should be borne by all. That amount, therefore, is charged directly to the Treasury. Critics of the method for paying these public-service charges complain they have grown from a mere $37 million in 1960 to an estimated $567 million—and that the general public pays many costs that should be paid by mail users alone.*

Most of Packer's effort is directed at the long-term future. "We are applying ourselves to the problems ten years late," he says. "We are not doing things now that truly represent the state of the art. We must be looking forward to the possibilities in completely new fields of technology." *But Packer is also very much involved in the* current mechanization program, which is being accelerated at last after more than a decade of much talk but only cautious and half-hearted action.

THE LIMITS OF MECHANIZATION

Clearly there are limits to accomplishment in some phases of the postal process. Mechanization of collection and delivery, for example, does not look very promising. Mailmen will probably always be needed to pick up mail from hundreds of thousands of postboxes and to carry it to millions of front doors. But two-thirds of all postal workers are employed inside the nation's post offices, and even within the limitations of today's technology a great deal can be done to mechanize their jobs. O'Brien is determined to do it, and is spending four times as much on this task as the department did as recently as 1963.

The difference mechanization can make is dramatically evident in the five-year-old main station in Detroit—the department's operational proving ground for its most advanced devices. The building is located just off one of the city's many expressways. Broad driveways run into large truck maneuvering areas and 78,000 square feet of platform space. Two railroad tracks also serve the loading area, with space for fourteen cars.

As mail originating in Detroit is unloaded, the sacks are dumped into manhole-like drops onto conveyor systems that carry them to one of the building's four other floors. Letters are shaken out of the sacks onto another conveyor system that feeds them into a "culler"—a large spinning drum that permits only flat mail to pass. Hotel keys or rolls of photographic film, for example, are rejected for hand processing. The pieces pass on to an "edge-stacker," which flips the fast-moving letters into an upright position on their long sides. Square envelopes frequently tumble in the edger-stacker, and oversized envelopes won't fit—which is why the Post Office would like to get rid of both of them. A "facer-canceler" then locates the stamp, cancels it, postmarks the letter, and separates the mail automatically so that addresses are on the same side and can be processed by the sorting machine.

One of two new sorting devices in use in Detroit is worked by an operator who key-codes letters as they pass at the rate of sixty a minute. The keys set release mechanisms on moving metal slots into which the letters drop. When each slot reaches the proper sorting bin, the release mechanism is triggered and the letters fall into the bin. By this method operators process letters twice as fast as they can be sorted by hand. But an equally important improvement is in the greater number of categories into which the operator divides the mail. A hand-sorting clerk can reach no more than eighty-four pigeonholes, and for this reason letters must be sorted and resorted until they are broken down into a carrier's load. The twenty-two machines in Detroit sort mail into 213 separate boxes, and can be programed to make as many as 367 separations.

This device, however, is primitive compared with the zip-code reading machine now being tested in Detroit. Using two optical scanners, it can read printed or *typed addresses and zip-code numbers on* 36,000 letters an hour and divide them into as many categories as desired. The machine is not yet perfect. It rejects letters that carry any type other than the address or zip-code number in the last line on the envelope. Letters with the address askew *or smudged are also rejected and the scanner* does not read handwriting. But some 80 percent of all mail is business mail, almost all with typed or printed addresses. So the Post Office sees the scanner—with justification as a great hope for the future. Half a dozen are scheduled to go into post offices this year and O'Brien has said the system *needs seventy of the $260,000 machines.* Once the mail has been sorted in Detroit, it goes into plastic trays on conveyers and is automatically directed to tying and sacking areas. Finally, again by conveyor, the sacks pass through a sorting machine similar to the keyboard letter sorter, then move on to the docks where they are loaded on rail cars or trucks for travel to the airport, to other cities, or to Detroit neighborhood stations for carrier delivery.

For the rest of the postal system, mechanization like Detroit's is far off. In the meantime, O'Brien is enlisting big mail users to help him prevent the service from suffering further deterioration. He is putting much of his hope for voluntary cooperation on 300 Mail Users Councils, organized in the past six years. Each council is made up of representatives of most of the large mail-generating firms in a given area, and they meet periodically with local postmasters and specialists in collection, processing, and transportation. In mid-January, for the first time, fifteen regional meetings of the councils were held to hear progress reports by postal officials, to discuss their own problems, and to explore new ideas for mailer cooperation, such as a proposed "early warning system" for alerting postal authorities in advance of heavy mailings.

THE BIGGEST FIGHTS LIE AHEAD

With the programs he has initiated or expanded over the past sixteen months, O'Brien has made an impressive start in his battle to improve the postal service. And he is not afraid to ask for money. His current budget request is for $6.7 billion, a 6.7 percent increase. It includes a rise of 40.2 percent in spending for research and development, and of 45.9 percent in outlays for plant and equipment. But many of the most critical skirmishes lie ahead, and whether O'Brien, or anyone, can rescue the postal system is still very much in doubt.

UNNECESSARY INTEREST OF $14½ BILLION A YEAR FOR 15 YEARS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 6 and 7, I charged that the Federal Reserve System, and its present Chairman in particular, had ignored the public interest and had cost the American people more than $211 billion in excess interest charges over the past 15 years. Any public official who has cost the people $14½ billion a year for 15 years in unnecessary interest burdens is a luxury we cannot longer afford.

As I noted in these two speeches, President Johnson has a great opportunity to start correcting this situation by refusing to reappoint William McChesney Martin as Chairman on March 31, and by allowing Federal Reserve Governor Charles N. Shepardson . to retire on April 30.

These are actions which the President can take in the next few weeks. But they are limited actions and they will not solve the entire problem. The President's action will not absolve the Congress of its responsibility to set our monetary policies straight.

Under the so-called seized independence of the Federal Reserve, the hands of the President of the United States are virtually handcuffed in dealing effectively with monetary policy. *This results directly from the Congress' failure to do its duty over the years.* Congress has abdicated its constitutional role in this area and has allowed the Federal Reserve to more and more move out from under the control of the people and their elected representatives.

Of course, we have President Eisenhower to blame for most of this situation. It was the last Republican President who so willingly gave in to William McChesney Martin and allowed the Federal Reserve to seize its independence. President Eisenhower, apparently, was sadly mistaken about the statutes and thought that the Federal Reserve was some sort of second government in Washington. President Eisenhower's mistake has cost the country billions and billions of dollars and is responsible for the highest interest rate in 40 years which now plague the Nation.

To correct these Republican errors, and to bring a semblance of sanity to our monetary affairs, I have introduced H.R. 11. Basically, this bill is designed to return the control of monetary policy to the people and their elected representatives, including the President and the U.S. Congress. This bill is not revolutionary in any sense. All it does is put the Federal Reserve Board on essentially the same footing as any other Federal agency.

In short, the Federal Reserve would have to play the game by the rules. Under H.R. 11, the Federal Reserve would no longer receive favored treatment and its bureaucrats would have to abide by the same regulations and laws as do all other Federal employees.

Is it revolutionary to expect the Federal Reserve to abide by the Constitution and the laws of the land? I certainly hope not.

My bill would make the term of the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board coterminous with the President's tenure and would reduce the members of the Federal Reserve Board from 7 to 5, and their terms from 14 years to 5 years. Under this bill, the President would be able to choose a Board that would work in harmony with the economic policies and programs of the administration.

As things stand now, the terms of the members of the Board are staggered in such a manner as to prevent a President from ever gaining effective control. He cannot appoint a majority of the Board until his last year in office—and this is dependent upon a President being elected to two full terms. By the time he appoints a majority, he is almost out of office and is in a "lameduck" status.

This means that he never does have a real chance to direct monetary policy.

It is perfectly absurd that the President and the Congress can determine whether this country is at war or peace, when and where young men shall be compelled to serve in combat, whether nuclear bombs are to be dropped or not, how many billions should be assessed in taxation, and how much money should be spent for all facets of American life, and yet have absolutely no control over the money supply and the credit of the most influential and economically powerful nation on earth.

H.R. 11 would coordinate the Nation's money policy with the general economic goals of the administration by requiring the Federal Reserve to report regularly to Congress on its activities to implement the President's economic programs.

The bill would also abolish the Open Market Committee which determines the extent of the money supply through its bond purchases and sales, and vest this power in the Federal Reserve Board directly. In this way, the Board would be directly responsible for its actions to the President and the Congress in this most vital area of monetary policy.

The bill would call for repayment in full of the nonproprietary Federal Reserve stock now in the hands of the private banks. This would put to rest for all time the spurious allegations that have been pushed off on the American people—that the private commercial banks own the system. The retirement of the Federal Reserve stock would prevent the myth of bank ownership from being perpetuated.

The bill further provides for an annual audit of the Federal Reserve System by the General Accounting Office. It is ridiculous that no independent or governmental audit has ever been made of America's Federal Reserve banking system since its inception five decades ago. The bankers opposed to improving the Federal Reserve System do not favor such an audit, yet bankers are the first to require a satisfactory audit of those who seek to borrow money from the banks.

H.R. 11 would also require the Federal Reserve to turn all of its revenue over to the Treasury and annually receive its needed funds for operations via the traditional congressional authorization and appropriation route. Then if monetary policy is not operated properly the people will have a chance to punish their elected representatives who are responsible.

The appropriations process is, of course, a traditional means for the Congress to find out what is happening inside the various Federal agencies. It provides a check on the activities of the agencies as well as a control over the use of public money. This is an important step in our democratic processes and it is certainly one which should be followed fully in the vital area of monetary policy. There is no logical reason why the Federal Reserve should escape the scrutiny of the Appropriations Committee each year. Unelected officials cannot be held accountable even though they ruin the country but elected officials like the President and Members of Congress can be held accountable by the voters. Elected officials should not be allowed to abdicate their sworn duties.

If it is logical, and in the public interest, for the Federal Reserve to escape this scrutiny, then it would follow that the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Commerce, and all agencies of the executive branch, likewise, be accorded this treatment. Of course, this would, in effect, destroy the role of the Congress and would effectively eliminate the checks and balances set up in our Constitution.

I hope that the members of the Appropriations Committees, who rightfully guard their prerogatives in checking and controlling the expenditures of the executive branch, will join me in the demand that the Federal Reserve be brought under this process.

In addition to providing an annual check on the activities of the Federal Reserve, the appropriations route would also eliminate the need for the Federal Reserve to hold onto $45 billion worth of Government bonds. The Federal Reserve now holds these bonds in the New York Federal Reserve Bank and demands an annual interest payment of between $1.7 billion and $1.8 billion on this holding. Now these are bonds which have already been paid for once by the American taxpayers; yet, the Federal Reserve continues to demand and receive $1.8 billion payment on them annually.

The Federal Reserve finances its far-flung operations out of this huge slush fund which is unaudited, unchecked, and unaccounted for. No one really knows just where all this money goes. We have discovered the ultimate recipients of some of this huge fund. At least $90,000 goes as dues to various banking associations, including the American Bankers Association—the lobbying organization for the Nation's commercial banks.

I do not believe that the Appropriations Committees of either House would allow such a misuse of public funds if the Federal Reserve was required to come before them for appropriations. No other Federal agency, to my knowledge, pays dues to a lobbying organization—only the Federal Reserve.

H.R. 11 would put an end to such funny money tactics at the Federal Reserve. I have confidence that the Appropriations Committees would see to that.

Again, Mr. Speaker, let me emphasize that H.R. 11 will not destroy the Federal Reserve System. It will not wreck our monetary system. It will strengthen the confidence of the American people in our monetary system by giving them a voice in the determination of its policies. It will make a group of bureaucrats responsive to the will of the people and their elected representatives. That is the essence of democracy and I cannot see how anyone who believes in democratic principles could oppose the idea.

H.R. 11 will return to Congress to its traditional, constitutional role in determining monetary policy. It will remove the policymaking decisions from the hands of the special interests and return them to the people where they belong in a democratic society.

LAND ACQUISITION BILL AND RELATED LEGISLATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] is recognized for 40 minutes.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a tripartite package of bills designed to revise and reform the Federal land acquisition policy. The first bill, and the primary part of this three-part proposed legislation, is drafted so as to eliminate the present archaic, unrealistic, and unfair system that affects thousands of persons whose property is taken annually under the power of eminent domain.

This particular bill, which would be known as the Fair Compensation Act of 1967, is based on the recommendations of a task force of the House Public Works Committee which made an intensive review of Federal land acquisition policies in the 88th Congress. It has since gathered dust and has been ignored in Great Society circles.

The unfairness of the present policy has been made abundantly clear by the hundreds of requests for help I have received from residents in the Stockton and Kaysinger Reservoir areas, and others, who simply cannot replace their farms and other property with the dollars they are offered by the Corps of Engineers. Federal programs involved would be those that include reservoir acquistion, urban renewal, missile sites, and others involving Federal funds.

The more I have studied the problem the more I have been convinced that the major problem is not so much with the interpretation of the law, as it is the basic law itself. People whose land is under the threat of condemnation expect to receive fair market value for their property, but the term "fair market value" presumes a willing seller and a willing buyer; and, indeed, existing legislation prescribes it. It also presumes a willing buyer. What about the times when the owner of property is not a willing seller, as has occurred in countless circumstances at these Federal projects? I have example after example in my files of cases. They have all been referred to the Corps of Engineers, and indeed that Corps has been most cooperative, including the Under Secretaries of the Army, in going to the area and holding hearings. But I have files of cases where a farmer, who accepted a so-called fair market value offer for his property, could not begin to replace his farm with what the Government paid him. There are some who have been on these farms for generations, and are now physically disabled. He has to sell on terms the Government prescribes, and he has to buy on terms the free market prescribes, often on terms boosted up by land speculators. The average person in a Federal acquisition project is a man caught in the middle. He stands alone against the entire colossus of big government, and his bargaining position is pitifully weak considering the vast machinery of Government manpower and money that sits on the other side of the bargaining table. He may have opposed or not been consulted about the project in the beginning.

Oftentimes the speculators and the downtown builders come to Washington and sell a project, whereas the landowner stays at home and tends to his crops. His disadvantage is further compounded by the fact that, in contrast to the vast amount of displacement and disruption in present-day programs, the market value standard, limiting compensation to the value of the property taken, was adopted by the courts in a comparatively uncomplicated time in our Nation's history, when land was plentiful, and Government acquisitions skirted cities and bypassed homes and businesses, causing few displacement and relatively little damage.

In fact, it was less than 100 years ago, Mr. Speaker, that this very Congress devised techniques, the homestead law and others, not only to get land out of the Federal domain into the hands of private individuals but, strange as it would seem today, they devised the same technique to get moneys from the Federal Treasury into the hands of the people. Needless to say, at that time we had a considerable surplus.

Nevertheless, the Federal courts have made it plain that they are bound by the established precedents, and that it is the responsibility of the Congress to determine whether other losses suffered by property owners—or by tenants—should be absorbed by the public. The amount of disruption caused by Federal and federally assisted programs is astoundingly large. The accelerated pace of government activity, supported by broadened concepts of public use, make any lessening of current activity in the foreseeable future highly unlikely.

As I pointed out when I introduced similar legislation in the 89th Congress, in each of the next 7 years, Federal and federally assisted programs are expected to require the acquisition of real property from 183,000 separate ownerships, and the displacement of approximately 111,000 households, 17,860 businesses, 2,310 farm operations, and some disruption of an additional 1,350 farms. This situation has not changed.

The market value standard of just compensation under the fifth amendment requires payment for the property taken, but does not provide for other losses or expenses, however severe, that may be incurred by property owners or tenants because of the taking of property.

Typical losses of this kind are:

First. Cost of moving personal property and the disconnecting, dismantling, reassembling, and reinstalling of structures, machinery, and equipment;

Second. Transportation and other expenses to move a displaced family to replacement housing;

Third. Transportation and other expenses in search of a replacement farm or other property;

Fourth. Expenses in obtaining substitute real property, such as costs of appraisal, survey, financing, title examination, and closing costs;

Fifth. Expenses incident to the transfer of title to real property required for public use, such as recording fees, transfer taxes and clerk fees; and

Sixth. Loss of crop income due to unreasonable closing dates.

Furthermore, most displacements affect low or moderate income families or individuals for whom a force move generally is a very difficult financial experience. The problem is aggravated for the elderly, the large family, and it becomes more so depending on the distance they must move to relocate.

Here is a battlefield in the poverty problem that has been completely ignored by the poverty warriors in the executive branch.

It is time that concern for the effects of displacement by Government action is consistent with the policy of the Nation to assure economic and social opportunity for every citizen. A greater share of the economic costs of displacement should be borne by the public on a uniform basis, since it is the public interest which benefits from the use of the right of eminent domain in the first place. This is by definition.

This bill includes the following changes in Government policy:

First. Congress would declare that owners and tenants of property acquired for public programs, either Federal or federally assisted, shall be afforded fair and equitable treatment on a basis as nearly uniform as practicable; that owners and tenants shall be fairly compensated for their property and for other losses and necessary expenses incurred because of such programs; and that every reasonable effort shall be made to prevent hardships to persons caused to move from their homes, farms, or places of business, or to lose their employment, or to suffer other economic injury as a direct result of such programs, including planned retirement.

Second. That Congress establish a uniform policy to guide the land acquisition practices of all Federal agencies in order to assure consistent and equitable treatment. These new practices would include:

Every reasonable effort to acquire real property by kindly and friendly negotiated purchase. Instead of threats and harassment, which occur all too often under present law, we will insure bargain and barter.

Real property should be appraised before the initiation of negotiations, and the owner should be given an opportunity to accompany the appraiser during his inspection of the property.

Before the initiation of negotiations for property, the head of the Federal agency concerned should establish a price which he believes to be fair and reasonable consideration therefor, and should make a prompt offer to acquire the property for the full amount so established. The initial offer should not be less than the appraised fair value of the property as approved by the agency head.

Mr. Speaker, the adoption of this procedure would eliminate some haggling and horse trading, and, also, it would eliminate the parties being hauled into Federal court, because, perhaps, for generations these people have been proud of the fact that they have not been in a similar position, but appreciate the particular value of the property.

Congress provides a definition of "market value standard" which assures that the compensation required for property shall be the highest price which the property could reasonably be expected to bring if exposed for sale in the open market for a reasonable time, unaffected by the project. Now, this implies no leapfrogging or boxing in and it certainly implies that all properties are assayed at the same price and that the individual will be reimbursed for expenses incidental to transfer of the title to the United States.

Relocation payments be provided for all displaced persons on a uniform basis in all programs conducted by the Federal Government, or with the assistance of the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, my second bill or leg of this legislative triangle, seeks to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for more equitable treatment of persons affected by capital gains caused by involuntary sales of real property through eminent domain to the Federal Government or through federally assisted programs.

Congress would provide that an owner of property taken for public use may defer any recognition of the gain on the transfer, if he reinvests the compensation received for the property in first, any real property; second, any property used in trade or business; and third, any property to be held by the taxpayer for investment.

It is this latter investment outlet that has been so objectional to our friends in the Treasury Department and more particular to our friends in the Internal Revenue Service. What our fiscal friends and foes alike do not understand, is that a majority of the farms taken by Federal acquisition programs are owned and operated by people in their middle or later years. These people have little if no desire to reinvest in a new farm and try to rebuild a farming operation that took 25 or more years to build in the first place. This is augmented by the additional problem that a majority of these farms fall within the marginal operation category. So this amendment to the Internal Revenue Code will give persons displaced by eminent domain a more just and equitable treatment in regards to capital gains so as to make them financially self-sufficient all to the end of furthering our agricultural policy and reducing the number of marginal producers.

It is paradoxical, Mr. Speaker, that usually these improvements in particular occur in areas of high, rugged terrain with a minimum of alluvial land that is tillable in the valleys.

The third final bill or element, Mr. Speaker, of this interrelated legislative unit is an amendment to the Small Business Act to provide assistance for owners and employees of small business concerns displaced or injured by Federal or federally assisted programs. This assistance would take the form of loans, information, and other assistance.

Perhaps, at least, it is the time that we should not exercise the right of eminent domain to condemn private lands so that our interconnections and our high voltage lines for the Federal grid system would not go through already held Federal property, or even the forests, but would condemn additional private land.

But in addition to that, Mr. Speaker, it will also have the effect of placing more pressure on the Director of the Budget to establish more selective priorities on what we need, and to make doubly certain that the public interests justify the initiation of new programs and of course continue to protect the taxpayers' moneys.

This would be a healthy development at a time when the deficit of our Federal budget is soaring, and at a time when there is an acceleration of Federal land acquisition programs at the expense of private land ownership.

A recent article of farmland entitled "Happy Motoring—No Matter the Farmer," also calls attention to our outdated Federal land acquisition policies. I therefore, Mr. Speaker, request unanimous consent to insert this article in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Bingham). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Hall]?

There was no objection.

The article referred to follows:

HAPPY MOTORING—NO MATTER THE FARMER

(By Jay Richter and Eileen Quigley)

When a problem affects a large number of people all over the nation and begins to spread and grow, it's natural for the citizens involved to look to Washington for a solution.

The problem affecting farmers and other landowners who don't want to give their land up for road-building or other government projects has been around for some time.

But public-use projects are ramifying at such a rate that farmers are beginning to feel as if they are being "plowed under" along with the vast areas of farmland now disappearing under concrete.

And naturally they want to know what can be done about it in Washington.

Since farmland is one of our greatest national assets, it seems as if there ought to be an agency or department of government for preserving agricultural land just as there is an agency dedicated to the conserving of our soil.

In fact, the agricultural land that provides food not only for our citizens but for millions of hungry people all over the world ought to be declared a National Treasure and guarded against depredations of all kinds—even those made by our own conflicting national needs.

But since there is no such agency, it will probably be up to those on the land to help themselves as it has long been their tradition to do. Farmers are going to have to make enough noise about their rights and needs in cases of land acquisitions to be heard in Congress, and if they want something done about their problem, they are going to have to put their weight where it will be felt and give the needed leverage.

They will have to keep in mind the proverb, "It's the squeaking wheel that gets the grease."

The plight of farmers and other property owners caught in a widening vortex of government land-taking is typified by farmers in Iowa who are fighting construction of a section of I–35, an interstate highway that will cut diagonally through their farms, leaving odd-shaped pieces of land difficult, dangerous or impossible to farm.

This proposed highway will slash through some of the richest agricultural land in the U.S., and will hamper farming in that area at a time when hunger is increasing in the world and the President has called on farmers for increased production.

Farmers are angry about the diagonal partly because Iowa roads have generally followed section or sub-section lines (thus doing less damage to farmland) and partly because there was general expectation that the highway would follow a straight-line route that had been studied previously.

And they are upset because they believe the diagonal routing was imposed on them by forces outside Iowa—namely, by authorities in Washington, at the behest of urban interests in Mason City that lobbied for the diagonal that would bring the highway closer to Mason City.

The feel unrepresented in the case, and they are concerned, not only over the unnecessary loss of productive farmland, but because they are certain the diagonal will open the door to the building of more diagonals in Iowa.

Various elements in the state have named the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington as the "villain of the piece," and blame it for forcing on the state the diagonal plan which no one in rural Iowa seems to have wanted.

So what does the Bureau of Public Roads have to say for itself on the matter? It says it recognizes the plight of the property owner and sympathizes, but it must weigh all the factors involved and make the best practical decision.

(Since sympathy can never compete with such factors as economy in these cases, it is clear that farmers will not get far by looking to the roadbuilding authorities for support in trying to hold onto their land.)

An official of the Bureau, asked about the decision on the diagonal, was quick to hand the problem back to Iowa.

"The first thing to remember," he said, "is that this is not a matter of farmers versus the Bureau of Public Roads. It's a group of individual farmers versus the Iowa Highway Commission. The Bureau doesn't decide on a route.

"We review proposals on the basis of legislation prescribing general standards, and either approve or disapprove the proposal. We did not decide the route for I–35—we merely approved the route proposed by the Iowa Highway Commission."

In reviewing the case, he said a study made by Iowa highway men of the original straight-line road proposal was found by the Bureau to have insufficient justification, since it paralleled Highway 69, which already served the cities on its route.

One of the main objectives of a new road, as the Bureau saw it, "was to serve Mason City—a major community and financial, marketing and agricultural center in that part of the state."

"In considering a route for a new highway," the official continued, "there are many complicated factors to be weighed against each other to find the best practical route.

"A plan for a road must take into consideration through traffic, local traffic, side traffic, and how all these would be better served. Among the considerations to be weighed are the local benefits, the travel surfaces, the economic and social impact of the location of the road, the economic costs (both of building the highway and for users of it) and so on. And then we have to balance them all.

"In any routing, we know that uprooting of people from the land will occur. We didn't write this off—we have it in mind when locating a route. We have the impact on people, the displacing of people, in mind, and know it will be present wherever a road is located. But we have to find the *optimal* solution.

"The optimal solution is based on the law which established the interstate highway system. This is the Federal Aid to Highways Act, which says the system shall be designated by 'routes as practical' to serve principal cities, industrial cities, military establishments, and so on, and says that, in determining the route, *local needs, 'to the extent practicable, suitable and feasible,'* shall be given equal consideration to the needs of interstate commerce."

That, he explained, was where Mason City comes in. A motorist driving from the south to the north and passing through Iowa doesn't care about going to Mason City; he represents interstate commerce.

But other motorists, local and non-local, want to go to Mason City; and the law says serve the local needs also. Hence the need for a highway going nearer to Mason City.

So the Bureau directed the Iowa Highway Commission to make a restudy of the routing. After hearings and discussions of four basic alternatives in the state, the Commission submitted the diagonal routing and the Bureau approved it. The diagonal routing, the Bureau man emphasized, was the only actual proposed route ever formally presented to the Bureau.

The inescapable conclusion here is that even if the Bureau only approves or disapproves of proposals made by the state highway people, the power of disapproval is a formidable lever in bringing the state around to a position the Bureau favors.

Another Bureau spokesman told us that studies showed more economy in the diagonal routing, for building the highway and for users, too. The right of way acquisition and construction would be somewhat more expensive per mile on the diagonal, he pointed out, but there was a saving in miles, and he said the Bureau was certain this represented the best decision from the overall economic standpoint.

This official also said that where a road leaves odd-shaped pieces of land, these can sometimes be put to other uses, such as roadside parks and game sanctuaries.

Where such pieces of land are used for borrow pits from which dirt is taken for highway grading, he suggested the state highway department, along with conservation people, might look into the possibility of creating roadside lakes, as has been done on Interstate 80 in Nebraska.

In places on I–80 where it was necessary to dig for grading, lakes and ponds were made, and these have proved popular, especially with people from Omaha and Lincoln who like to go fishing there.

All this gives us the Bureau's view, while failing to grapple with the question of preemption of highly productive farmland for other uses. It also leaves us with the certainty that roadmakers will continue to make roads while leaving to others such problems as preserving rich farmland.

And further, they will continue to make roads on the basis of the legislation that empowers them to make roads—and if that legislation does not contain provisions for avoiding the condemnation of productive agricultural land where possible, then there will be nothing to stop that land from going under concrete when roads and other public works require it.

Or, in a case like that of I–35 in Iowa, unless laws are passed that forbid the cutting of roads diagonally through farmland, farmers can expect to see more diagonals of that kind when new roads are made.

Obviously, what is needed is for the farmer to have a voice in the making of the laws on which the road system and other public works are built. More attention to the rights of property owners, and provisions for fairer compensation for those whose lands are taken should be worked into the legal basis on which land is acquired.

A movement in this direction is already under way.

The crisis in Iowa led to the adoption by the Iowa Farm Bureau of a resolution against diagonal road construction in the state unless absolutely necessary, and the proposal that state and federal highways should be built, not only by estimating convenience and cost to the traveling public, as now, but tempered by an estimate of inconvenience and loss caused to the property owners.

This was followed in December by a resolution adopted by the American Farm Bureau Federation at its national convention to the effect that highway routes should be chosen to avoid diagonal highways and the use of productive agricultural lands where feasible. This resolution will be part of the national policy of county and state Farm Bureaus and the national Farm Bureau.

So already a powerful voice in farm circles is being raised in favor of the farmer and his land in this matter.

But there is a gap between favoring something and getting a law on the books to make it a reality.

Legislative help may be on the way.

A bill to see that farmers and others get fair compensation for their land when they sell to the government, and fair treatment when the land is acquired, was introduced into Congress last March by Rep. Durward Hall of Missouri. It will probably be reintroduced in the coming session of Congress.

Congressman Hall, a surgeon with a distinguished record of public medical service who is now representing the Seventh District of Missouri, was made aware of the problem of private property owners by requests for help from farmers and others in his district who could not replace their farms and other property with the compensation offered by the government.

His bill, which would be known as the Fair Compensation Act, deals with lands taken for roads, conservation, flood control, missile sites, and such, under Federal or federally assisted program. Besides aiming for fairer treatment for property owners, it would set up a uniform policy on the land acquisitions practices of all Federal Agencies.

In introducing his bill, Dr. Hall said of the current land acquisition policy, "The present system is archaic, unrealistic, and unfair to thousands of persons whose property is taken each year under the power of eminent domain."

Each year for the next seven years, Dr. Hall told Congress, Federal and federally assisted programs will require the displacement of about 2,310 farm operations and some disruption of an additional 1,350 farms.

Multiply those figures by seven and you have an alarming total of farm displacement.

Among the new practices the bill would put into effect would be "every reasonable effort to acquire real property by kindly and friendly negotiated purchase. Instead of threats and harassment, which occur all too often under present law, we will insure bargain and barter."

Another innovation would be the provision that real property should be appraised before the initiation of negotiations and the owner given an opportunity to accompany the appraiser during his inspection of the property.

Before negotiations begin, the agency should establish a fair price, Dr. Hall believes, and should make a prompt offer to acquire the property for the full amount, and the initial offer should not be less than the appraised fair value as approved by the agency head.

Dr. Hall wants the agency buying the land to provide the property owner with reasonable information concerning its opinion of the value of the property. And, he believes that where partial taking would leave an uneconomic remnant, the agency should take the entire property.

Another provision is for Congress to provide a definition of "market value standard" which would assure that the compensation required for property "shall be the highest price which the property could reasonably be expected to bring if exposed for sale for a reasonable time, unaffected by the project."

Reimbursement for expenses of transferring title, and expenses incident to relocation, are also provided for in the bill.

"People whose land is under threat of condemnation," Dr. Hall told Congress, "expect to receive fair market value for their property, but the term 'fair market value' presumes a willing seller and a willing buyer.

"What about the times when the owner of property is not a willing seller, as has occurred in countless circumstances at Federal projects?

"I have example after example in my files of cases where a farmer who accepted a so-called fair market value offer for his property could not begin to replace his farm with what the Government paid him. He has to sell on terms the Government prescribes, and he has to buy on terms the free market prescribes, often on terms boosted up by land speculators."

Dr. Hall went on to say, "The average person in a Federal acquisition project is a man caught in the middle. He stands alone against the entire colossus of big government, and his bargaining position is pitifully weak considering the vast machinery of Government manpower and money that sits on the other side of the bargaining table."

The market value standard of compensation, he said, limiting payment to the value of the property taken, was adopted by the courts at a time in our history when land was plentiful and government acquisitions caused much less disruption than they do now.

But the Federal courts are bound by precedent, and therefore it is Congress that must take the responsibility of determining whether other losses suffered by property owners should be absorbed by the public.

"A greater share of the economic costs of displacement," Dr. Hall stated, "should be borne by the public on a uniform basis, since it is the public interest which benefits from the use of the right of eminent domain in the first place."

"It is time," he said, "that concern for the effects of displacement by Government action is consistent with the policy of the Nation to assure economic and social opportunity for every citizen."

Farmers will say amen to that. But they will have to act, too.

Getting action on legislation means putting a lot of shoulders to a lot of wheels, and seeing that they squeak, loud.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I call upon the gentleman to whom this bipartisan package may be referred, the chairmen of the respective committees, and the distinguished gentlemen of those committees, to call for departmental representation.

I would also like to say, in closing, that this action received, with some suggestions for amendment in the 88th Congress, favorable departmental representation, including the Corps of Engineers. I hope it can be called up and hearings held, and that it can be considered by this body at the earliest practicable date.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

WHO IS THE BIG 10 KIDDING?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, supporters of collegiate athletics in the State of Illinois have been shocked and disturbed by the penalties recently handed down to the University of Illinois, three of its coaches, and several players on teams of the university. The discipline handed out by the athletic directors and faculty representatives of the other schools participating in the Big 10 Conference stems from the existence of a fund maintained by friends of the university for the athletes.

University officials themselves revealed the existence of this fund when it was brought to their attention by a staff member, and themselves instituted discipline of those who were aware of its operation. They have not tried to hide the fact that the fund violates Big 10 rules.

But then comes the Big 10 recommendation that the coaches aware of the fund must be fired or the school forced out of the conference and that the players who received aid be given permanent or long suspensions from athletic participation in the Big 10. This action has been roundly decried as unnecessarily harsh by many observers of the situation.

For the boys' part, they received aid in the form of extra spending money which amounted to approximately $1 per day. One boy, Steve Kuberski, of Moline, Ill., was told that he would have to work for his money by working for local firms in his hometown during vacations and semester breaks and would not receive compensation for such work. All of them were told by their advisers that this was completely all right and not in violation of any rules. Were the boys naive? Perhaps so, but their advice came from men they respected and trusted most.

But what of the men who gave that advice, representatives of the school, the coaches? A case for innocence cannot be built for them in that, unlike the boys, they knew of the existence of the special fund for athletes. They hardly could have helped but know that this violated the rules of the Big 10.

But should they and their school alone be penalized for this? Should their lives be ruined, perhaps their careers ended. Men of the sports world know there are no finer men in the coaching profession than Pete Elliot, Harry Combes, and Howard Braun. But they, like others, are caught in a system. Who is Commissioner Reed of the Big 10 kidding? Is Illinois alone guilty of "special arrangements" to get around recruiting rules in big-times athletics? The persistent rumors we hear and the periodic "scandals" suggest not.

Athletics should be a system with the interests of the participating boys paramount, never a means of corrupting and defaming them by schemes beyond their awareness or understanding.

Too long have we allowed "show business" aspects of intercollegiate athletics to overshadow the educational values of the student athlete and the school. The "system" sees one school vying against another for high school stars. The boys are told that this is the way its done—that its all legal.

If these athletics need money to continue their education and are prevented from working as some students are by their participation in athletics, then let their aid be increased to cover their needs, but let it be from legitimate school funds, as for other students.

What seems to be needed is a thorough investigation by the Big 10 and other athletic organizations of the entire system. Let not Illinois, its coaches and players alone shoulder the blame for an unhealthy situation. Let it all be brought out in the open—at Illinois and at every school. Let the problems be aired. Let honest solutions be formed. And let intercollegiate athletic competition return to the honored place in American life it deserves.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Annunzio] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend my distinguished colleague from Illinois, Tom Railsback, for taking the initiative in bringing to the attention of the Members of Congress the serious problem which confronts the universities participating in the Big 10 Conference.

Payments made from a special fund to University of Illinois athletes has resulted in the Big 10 recommendation for severe penalties. While the present controversy involves the State of Illinois, actually the matter has much wider significance. The time has come for the problem to be aired by all our colleges and universities throughout the Nation.

I associate myself with Congressman Railsback's remarks and call upon those who are in charge of the system to bring into the open the relationship between athletes and schools with reference to special payments to athletes to help them continue their education.

The matter must be resolved so that athletes can have access to legitimate financial assistance if they need it to complete their college education.

Again, I commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Railsback] for his understanding of this problem and his forthright efforts in seeking to effect an equitable solution.

POLICY IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Bingham). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Fascell] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the last few days have seen renewed controversy surrounding our country's policy in Vietnam. Once again the focus of this controversy is this Nation's efforts to begin negotiations to end the war. Once again the critics demand that the United States again take the first magnanimous step—expecting nothing in return. Once again it is demanded that we do almost anything, regardless of dangerous consequences, to convince proven aggressors of our peaceful intentions.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the time has come when we can and should expect the North Vietnamese, for just one time, to clearly show their own willingness to negotiate.

On five separate occasions the United States has suspended bombing of North Vietnam. In the last 2½ months alone we have ceased the bombing of North Vietnam on three separate occasions, the last time from February 8 through February 18. This last halt was extended for more than 36 hours beyond the original deadline of 7 a.m. February 12 in order to give Hanoi additional time to show some willingnes to come to the truce table. Not one of these bombing suspensions has provoked any sign of response from North Vietnam. The North Vietnamese have neither taken reciprocal action, cutting down on their military activity, or initiated any diplomatic maneuver. The sad lesson has been that each time we have stopped bombing the north, North Vietnam has stepped up its military activity.

Only last week the hopes of the world again rose when a North Vietnamese delegation visited Burma and met with U.N. Secretary-General U Thant. Once again, nothing happened. The North Vietnamese could have used that visit or many other chances to state publicly or privately that they are either immediately or at some future date ready to begin peace talks.

It should be noted by those who claim that we are taking a hard line position on peace negotiations that we have never asked for a North Vietnamese surrender or complete withdrawal of enemy troops as North Vietnam demands of us.

Recently one outspoken critic of the administration charged that President Johnson is unwilling to negotiate and that, in fact, the administration has hardened its position toward negotiations. Mr. Speaker, this accusation is without foundation.

From the very beginning this administration has sought only one objective in Vietnam—an end to Communist aggression against South Vietnam. We have sought this objective by military action in defense of South Vietnam while at the same time pursuing every possible approach toward beginning negotiations aimed at a peaceful end to the fighting.

Mr. Speaker, charges that the administration has hardened its terms for negotiations by demanding from Hanoi the prior assurance of some reciprocal act as a condition to our ending the bombing of Notrh Vietnam are filled with inconsistencies. The President has repeated time and time again that the United States is willing to negotiate unconditionally, any time and any place, in public or in private, with North Vietnam. Indeed our policy shows that we definitely do not require a prior act as a condition to our suspending bombing of North Vietnam. We have, to repeat myself, already halted the bombing unilaterally several times without any reply before or after suspension.

Whether critics of the administration realize it or not, willingness to negotiate requires will and initiative on both sides of a dispute. The United States has repeatedly shown its willingness. North Vietnam has not.

The responsibility of the President as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces requires that he increase the risk to our soldiers by ceasing the bombing of the north only under the most promising of circumstances. The President, has seen fit to take that step for five separate periods since 1965, but he has received no response from North Vietnam.

I and millions of other Americans find it increasingly difficult to believe that American and allied soldiers alone must suffer in an attempt to get a determined enemy to simply start talking about ending a war. The negotiations we are talking about may well go on while the war goes on, and unless there is a cease-fire, the United States should continue to press to the utmost.

Mr. Speaker, I disagree with those who claim the United States has changed its standards against Vietnamese negotiations. It is however high time for North Vietnam to take the first step toward peace. Their total failure to respond to our continued peace offensive cannot be of a lack of their belief in our sincerity. It can only be because they do not wish to negotiate.

President Johnson is to be commended for his decision last month to resume the bombing of North Vietnam. The continuance of this air assault is vital to our war effort. With the Communist's demonstrated refusal to negotiate, continued bombing is one of our most useful tools in eventually bringing about the negotiations we so ardently seek. I fervently hope and trust that the President will continue his skillful and carefully controlled use of America's vast resources in response to Hanoi's steadily increased aggression against South Vietnam.

SELF-HELP IN SOUTH AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Goodell] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, community action is rarely used as an underpinning of Alliance for Progress programs. This omission is generally attributed to Iberian traditions which supposedly discourage self-help organization among the people. A Peace Corps report, which has come to my attention, directly contradicts this assumption. Tracing the positive response of the people to a Colombian Government program, the Peace Corps states:

> The philosophy of Acción Comunal in Colombia originates from the historical tradition of Colombians in uniting together

in social and religious activities as well as family projects. This tradition applies to both rural and urban communities.

In recognition of the tremendous potential of individual initiative and energy the Government created Public Law 19 in 1958, which sought to accelerate the process of economic and social development of the Nation by giving the concept of Acción Comunal official blessing. The Divisón of Acción Comunal was created by a Decree passed in 1959. The División functioned for several months under the Ministry of Education but was later placed under the Ministry of Government by a new Decree passed in 1960.

From the beginning the División sought ways to meet the needs of the numerous Juntas of Acción Comunal that were already formed unofficially and to respond to the growing interest of people that were anxious to utilize their aptitudes and latent energies for the good of the community.

While it is agreed upon that a true Community Development program demands the participation of the people and the effective utilization of its resources, it must be borne in mind that within the educational process of Community Development certain stimulus is required in the form of technical assistance and/or materials that generally are not found within the community. The neglect of these felt needs could create situations of frustration and dissatisfaction in the communities.

To fulfill this function, to meet the growing demands of the Colombian people, and to better effect the coordination of the various government and private organizations who can lend material and technical assistance to community projects it is urgently necessary to expand the División of Acción Comunal.

Unfortunately, little information is available through official Washington channels. Other sources have supplied fragmentary facts. In more than 9,000 rural communities throughout Colombia, local community action councils—juntas—have been organized. In 1964, the program was allocated more than 1.5 percent of the national budget—over $6 million. According to Director Vincente Pizano Restrepo, 11 percent of the school construction funds of the Ministry of Education is earmarked for use by Acción Comunal each year. The program operates an 8-month training course which has graduated more than 200 local community action workers.

Today, 230 Peace Corps volunteers assigned to rural development are working with Acción Comunal personnel as counterparts. The Peace Corps report, written early in 1965, describes the functions and activities of the program, as follows:

II. FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF ACCION COMUNAL

It is the legal function of the División of Acción Comunal to direct all Community Development activities in Colombia. Within this framework its responsibilities are:

A) Coordination
B) Promotion
C) Training and Technical Development
D) General Evaluation of the Programs

which are explained as follows:

Coordination

Coordination of Community Development is carried out at different levels. At the National level Acción Comunal first and foremost coordinates its activities with the Administrative Department of Planning and Technical Services so that it can become a part of the total development of the Country. It also coordinates programs and projects with the Ministries of War, Education, Agriculture and Health. It has programs with National Institutions such as INA (Instituto Nacional de Alimentación), PINA (Programa Integrado para Nutrición Aplicada), and Caminos Vecinales which has been the principal collaborator in the development of Juntas by designating funds for community projects.

At the Departmental level the División has agreements with all Departments to assist in the development of Departmental offices of Acción Comunal.

Furthermore, coordination is carried out with private organizations such as FEPRANAL (Federación de Sector Privado para Acción Comunal) and with Shell Oil Company. At the International level, the División coordinates its activities with U.S. Peace Corps and the Netherlands Peace Corps (the latter working in Nariño and Meta only). It also has two experts in organization, financing, programming, and evaluation assigned to them by the United Nations.

Promotion

The División has established contact with approximately 4.743 Juntas of Acción Comunal to whom it has loaned assistance in organization of practical functioning, obtaining of legal recognition (personería jurídica), and coordinating the assistance given by National, International, and Municipal entities. Tangible activities of these Juntas have been numerous, especially in the construction of roads and school rooms.

Training and technical development

One of the most important activities of the División has been the presentation of Acción Comunal courses in order to teach the principals of Community Development to all levels. During 1964 there were 67 formal courses given throughout Colombia to persons representing all sectors of Colombian life (teachers, farmers, 4–H club members, priests, etc.). The publication of materials also forms an important part in the development of communities. For this purpose the División has utilized the services of various Ministries as well as private organizations. In addition, it has several films available on Community Development plus a regular weekly 15-minute televised program.

General evaluation of the program

A special department is devoted exclusively to making basic studies and obtaining statistical information of Community Development in Colombia. From these studies improved methods of work can be introduced.

III. PRESENT STATUS OF ACCION COMUNAL

For the purpose of a more thorough explanation, the structure of Acción Comunal in this Report is broken down into three categories

A. Organization
B. Personnel
C. Budgets

Organization

The Division is under Dr. Vincente Pizano Restrepo who has been its Director since the creation of the Division. Under Doctor Pizano there is a Sub-Director who acts as a liaison with the various governmental agencies. There are three sections which carry out the field activities of the Division. These sections are:

Promotion and Coordination: Presently under the direction of Dr. Jorge Bechara Hernandez. The functions of this particular section are to stimulate, supervise and evaluate community organization and their subsequent activities. It coordinates the functions of the community with those of public and private entities for the promotion of community development. In the event of catastrophies such as floods, earthquakes, landslides, this section must provide immediate relief to the area. It is within the jurisdiction of this section to evaluate the work of regional and local promotores and to recommend transfers, dismissals, and promotions. It must also provide the guidelines for promotores and set up systems and norms of operation. Field visitations are made by the section chief in order to effect the above responsibilities.

Planning and Investigation: Presently directed by Dr. Humberto Triana y Antorversa. While its responsibilities are not very defined, generally it is the investigative body of Acción Comunal that helps collect data on such things as the structures and the different levels of community life in regions where local promotores work. It also seeks information on the activities of the Juntas of Acción Comunal and other community organizations. It evaluates the general program plan of the Division of Acción Comunal and prepares the annual report pertaining to the Division. As a subsequent result of its investigations it assists in the planning of future community programs. This section works very closely with the United Nations evaluators in an attempt to determine work methods and their improvement.

Investigation and Technical Development: Headed by Dr. Rafael Melgarejo. In order to improve the quality of promotores and Acción Comunal courses, this section is constantly seeking ways and methods of training personnel and improving teaching materials. At present this section is very involved in the training of some 96 candidates for local promotores now receiving classes at the Escuela Superior de Administracion Publica (ESAP). This is an eight month training program, which involves field practice for a period of two months. Candidates generally come from the lower and middle economic classes throughout the country. They normally belong to local Juntas of Acción Comunal and have been selected by the Junta because of their natural leadership qualities. At the end of this eight month training program, those who complete the course successfully will be assigned to areas as local promotores.

The División also receives assistance from Doctors Alyos Keune and Jorge Videla of the United Nations who are evaluators and experts on organization, financing, and program development. These two men work closely with each of the above mentioned section chiefs and the Director, Dr. Pizano.

Personnel

Since the very beginning of the Peace Corps Program in Colombia, it was felt that the most effective way of establishing permanent inroads in Community Development would be to have Volunteers work in conjunction with local promotores of Acción Comunal. The first contingent of Volunteers had local promotores as counterparts in some cases and a beginning had been attempted. This phase of close cooperation slowly begin to diminish for many reasons, but due mostly to the rapidly accelerated growth of Peace Corps operations in Colombia, as opposed to the static position of Acción Comunal which was beset by financial problems. Dr. Pizano has been constantly waging an offensive effort to have the Colombian Government give the División the much needed financial assistance and personnel that it requires.

With the arrival of new groups of Volunteers, the staff of Peace Corps and CARE/Peace Corps began to take on greater administrative and supervisory responsibilities. In the process the relationship between the División of Acción Comunal and Peace Corps took on aspects of formal acceptance without benefit of untilizing resources pertinent to both organizations. Dr. Pizano would approve all proposed new groups of Volunteers, give them a welcoming speech on the role of Acción Comunal upon arrival, and the contact after that was minimal except for occasional staff meetings.

Obviously, the biggest drawback that the División has had is a lack of sufficient personnel to meet the demands of the job. At this point the organization is top heavy by comparison since there are only 39 promotores locales and approximately 15 people in the central office in Bogotá. With the anticipated increase in operational funds in 1965, it is hoped that by the end of this year the number of local promotores will be increased to approximately 104.

Budgets

The División has access to monies that are classified under three different budgets:

1) Administrative or Operational Budget
2) Supplementary Budget
3) Investment or Development Budget

The *Administrative Budget* is in the amount of Ps. 1.700.000 and is solely for the purpose of meeting administrative costs and payrolls. It is obviously insufficient and limits the proposed growth of the División. Of the above amount approximately Ps. 700.000 are designated for training purposes and are presently being utilized to provide training which include the living expenses of 96 candidates who are enrolled in an eight month training course at ESAP.

The *Supplementary Budget* of Ps. 2.000.000 is a fund designated for the use of the Caja Agraria in agricultural projects hopefully through Acción Comunal. It is the hope of the División to be able to have these monies approved for direct administration and operational costs which would permit it to expand in terms of personnel and services. The request for the transfer of these funds is presently before President Valencia for his consideration and approval.

There is a third source of funds available to Acción Comunal which is incorporated as a part of the *National Budget for* Investments. A specific sum of $59 million pesos within the overall budget will be used for fostering community projects. The major part of this money ($43 million pesos) will be channeled through Caminos Vecinales for eventual disbursement to unspecified Juntas. Fourteen million pesos are destined for end use by specific Juntas. The balance ($2 million pesos) belong to the Caja Agraria intended for agricultural projects but is presently being requested by Acción Comunal for their administrative purposes.

Funds are designated in the following manner. A Junta submits a request through their local promoter; he, in turn, submits it to the Regional Promotor who presents it to the Committee of Caminos Vecinales (committee composed of Jefe Regional of Caminos Vecinales, Regional Promoter of Acción Comunal, Secretary of Public Works, Secretary of Agriculture and a Representative of the Private Sector). Upon approval by the Committee funds are sent direct to local Junta treasurer.

IV. ASPECTS ON INTEGRATION

A Decree that will determine the future expansion of Acción Comunal is presently before the President of Colombia awaiting approval. Essentially this becomes a matter of establishing new Governmental positions. First, the jobs or positions must be "created", which is done by the approval of the President and/or Congress. Secondly, the people to fill these new positions must be appointed—an act officially done by the Ministry of Government based upon recommendations made by the División of Acción Comunal. Thirdly, the distribution of work areas including the sites for new promotores are designated. This responsibility falls under the Section of Promotion and Coordination of the División of Acción Comunal.

This Decree will not only create new positions, but will also permit the use of the fund mentioned previously of some $2 million pesos to cover the expenses involved. With these additional funds the División is also planning to purchase approximately 18 vehicles for use in the program.

Previously the División of Acción Comunal had not been a part of the Civil Service system of the Government. With the reconstructuring of positions, every employee of the División will be given Civil Service Exams and must be approved by the Board. The employee will then be on a 90-day probation period before having permanent employee status.

The old and new positions can best be explained graphically by the accompanying charts (attachment I, II, III), as well as the potential counterpart relationship with CARE/Peace Corps.

A. *Integration as a reality*

Total integration of Community Development programs under the Division of Acción Comunal will involve many new responsibilities and some changes. The staff and field personnel of both organizations would seek a common program approach as a modus operandi. Perhaps it would be best to state the comparative organizational structure at this point.

At the state level, both Central and regional, it would mean sharing the same or adjoining offices in order to plan and coordinate programs jointly. The decision making responsibility would be discussed and shared since they would affect both the Volunteers and Local Promotores. A mutual criteria for both the Volunteers and Promotores Locales would be established to avoid conflicts of interest wherever possible. At the present time CARE/Peace Corps has regional offices in Barranquilla, Medellín, Bucaramanga and Cali. Each office has the responsibility of between 3 to 5 Departments (attachment II). Acción Comunal on the other hand has regional offices in 17 Departments plus 39 Local Promotores scattered throughout the country.

In Bogotá CARE/Peace Corps has an American staff of 3 persons to carry out all administrative functions pertaining to some 232 Volunteers. This, of course, is without benefit of resources to do investigative studies such as the effect of Peace Corps Volunteers in rural communities; or governmental agencies—their functions and potential assistance to Community Development. By comparison the División of Acción Comunal has three Departments dealing with promotion and coordination, investigation and planning, and technical development (specific responsibilities previously stated). The División has seven administrative staff members to direct these functions and will add another two to three staff members in the near future. This is in addition to the two United Nations advisors.

The value of these Departments is unquestionable and their value to Peace Corps via an integrated approach can result in establishing community development programs based on factual studies and more realistic appraisals of situations.

Another factor for consideration is the continuity that would be added to the program through integration. It is a rare opportunity to assist a Nation in the full-scale development of its manpower resources. One of the most common questions asked by Volunteers is "What happens after I leave?" If, through integration, we can strengthen the existing structure of Community Development we will be providing the answer to this question. Our expressed desire for integration is an indication of belief that Community Development is an integral part of the overall development of the Nation.

B. Joint operational structure

Preliminary discussions with the División of Acción Comunal have been held and both organizations seem to agree on the chain of command structure although this must await further concrete discussions. For reference the joint operational lines of authority are indicated in attachment III.

The greater percentage of Volunteers at the present time do not have official counterparts. With the advent of integration a large part of the Volunteers would work jointly with Colombian promotores which would give them an advantage in the language, learning the customs and in dealing with governmental entities. Arrangements would have to be made as to areas of work and also responsibilities since the local promotor and the Volunteer would be at the same level of job responsibility. At the Departmental level the National Division will assign Promotores Seccionales (Departamentales) who would work in conjunction with Volunteer Leaders and who would have under their direct responsibilities the Local Promotores. The new positions created would be those of the Jefes Zonales who would correspond to the Regional Directors of the CARE/Peace Corps organization and possibly 17 Regional Assistants (footnote attachment III). At the Divisional Headquarters level the Acción Comunal Director and CARE/Peace Corps Director would share the responsibilities of direction. At the top of the organizational structure Peace Corps assumes overall planning and supervision as does the National Department of Planning and Technical Support in conjunction with the Ministry of Government.

This report was written for the narrow purposes of urging closer integration of Peace Corps and Acción Comunal, for circulation among people familiar with both program efforts. I regret it is not more detailed. The State Department is obtaining detailed current information for me from our Embassy in Bogotá. I have requested a copy of an evaluation study made by the United Nations, but not yet cleared by the Government of Colombia. Hopefully, this data will provide a basis for evaluation of the program's performance.

Reports now available, however, support the belief that community action can be a valuable tool in the development of the alliance nations. This vast potential remains untapped. Much can be done to spur its utilization at the meeting of the American Presidents, which will be in session 1 month from today.

It is for this reason that I call the attention of the Congress to this report. According to the Peace Corps, the program has been underfunded and hampered by "lack of sufficient personnel to meet the demands of the job." Despite these limitations, "tangible activities of these juntas have been numerous, especially in the construction of roads and schoolrooms."

Perhaps Acción Comunal can serve as a prototype for similar programs among the nations of the alliance. Certainly, its 8 years of experience deserve evaluation as a possible means of implementing title 9 of the Foreign Assistance Act—section 281—which we added last year.

TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE: NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, on the afternoon of February 21, 1947, the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Washington visited the State Department and handed American officials two notes from His Majesty's Government. One concerned Greece, the other Turkey. In effect, they both stated the same thing: that Britain could no longer meet its traditional responsibilities in those two countries. Since Greece was on the verge of collapse and Turkey about to acquiesce to Soviet demands, the implications of the British notes were clear: that a Soviet breakthrough was imminent and could be prevented only by substantial American commitment.

At that time the Greek rebels, composed mostly of Communist elements, were firmly entrenched in northern Greece and driving toward the coast for complete domination of the country, aided and encouraged by Moscow. Turkey had just been presented with a series of diplomatic notes by the Soviet Foreign Minister which in effect, demanded Turkey relinquish control of the Dardanelles and Turkish Straits to the Soviet Union.

It was an historic afternoon. On that day, Great Britain, the only remaining power in Europe, acknowledged its exhaustion. It had fought Philip II of Spain, Louis XIV of France, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Adolf Hitler of Germany. It had preserved the balance of power, but its ability to continue to protect that balance had been eliminated as a result of economic exhaustion caused by World War II. Now, suddenly, there was no one to protect the balance of power favoring the West but the United States itself; no one stood between this country and Soviet imperialism. All other major powers of the world had collapsed—except the Soviet Union. If Greece, Turkey, and Persia were to maintain their integrity it would have to be with a massive American commitment.

President Truman was quick to recognize this stark fact. On March 12, 1947, 20 years ago, he went before a joint session of Congress and delivered what John Spainer has called "a speech which must rank as one of the most important in American history." President Truman said:

> Totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States . . . should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

Thus began the "Truman doctrine," the policy of containment which was supported by a willingness to use military force to preserve the balance of power. Containment said, in effect, "This far, no farther."

The 20th anniversary of any policy is a good time to stand back and measure its success and failures and to determine present and future needs. To do this we must distinguish reality from myth, but unhappily at this critical period in our relations with the Soviet Union we are beset by three myths which are being promoted as realities. They are:

First. That Communist China—not the Soviet Union—is the greatest threat to our security.

Second. That the Soviet Union is less menacing than earlier, because natural Russian nationalism has replaced Communist ideology as the guiding force of foreign policy. The logical conclusion of this myth is that the Soviet Union is no more a threat than would be a non-Communist Russian Government.

Third. That the newly emerging managerial and technical class is winning political control at the expense of the ideologically oriented Communist Party hierarchy. The managerial class, according to this myth, is the gravedigger of communism, and replacing Communist totalitarianism is a more diplomatic Russia.

These three myths cloud our thinking regarding the Soviet Union and prevent us from appraising Soviet intentions for what they really are. Without serious question the Soviet Union remains the greatest threat to our security, not the Communist Chinese. Even assuming reassertion of the Russian nationalism in the Soviet Union, the alternative is not an attractive one for us based on Russian history. Ideology is still the dominant factor in Soviet planning, and this is in our best interest. However, we must acknowledge that there is no inevitable evolution toward a more democratic government in the Soviet Union because of the emergence of a technical and managerial class.

SOVIET UNION CAUSE OF WORLD WAR II

Current United States-Soviet Union conflict actually began with World War II since that event was the major factor which caused the present balance of power. History has judged, incorrectly in my opinion, that World War II was inevitable as a result of Allied appeasement of Hitler at Munich. While it may well be that had the British and French stood firm against Hitler's demands for the Sudetenland at Munich his ambitions would have been checked, there was, after all, a subsequent last chance to deter Hitler's war in Europe as well as Japan's ambitions to establish a "greater east Asia co-prosperity sphere."

Soviet pacts set the stage for World War II. Germany could not wage war against France and Britain with her eastern flank exposed to the Soviet Union. No geographical boundaries stood between Germany and the Red Armies, only the nation of Poland. Germany had learned as a result of World War I that it could not fight two fronts at the same time and hope to win. Therefore, Germany neutralized the Soviet Union through the nonaggression pact signed in 1939. As a result Hitler could with confidence attack France without fear of Russian intervention. For Stalin's part a war among the non-Communist powers had obvious appeal and the pact's secret protocol divided Eastern Europe between Germany and the Soviet Union.

The situation was similar in the Far East. The Soviet-Japanese nonaggression treaty of 1941 relieved the Japanese Government of concern about a possible war with the Soviet Union, and ended a state of semiwar which had existed since 1933. It enabled Japan to pursue a more aggressive policy toward the United States, culminating in the attack on Pearl Harbor. Without the Soviet-Japanese pact Japan would have been unlikely to start military operations because its position in China and Manchuria would have been precarious. Like Germany, Japan could not risk a two-front war. Later the Soviet Union joined the Allies following Germany's invasion of Russia and ultimately entered the fight against the Japanese in the closing days of the Pacific war.

Despite heavy material and manpower losses, the Soviet Union emerged as the only real victor of World War II, and contrary to American expectations, the war against the Axis did not usher in an era of peace within the framework of American-Soviet cooperation.

U.S. disillusionment with the Soviet Union rested on the same factors that enabled the Soviet Union to emerge as the second greatest world power. These were:

First. The war had eviscerated or seriously weakened six of the Soviet Union's seven major enemies; namely, Germany, Japan, Italy, Britain, France, and Nationalist China. Their disappearance as great powers removed significant barriers to Soviet expansion and brought into being vacuums in Europe, the Near, Middle, and Far East and southeast Asia—vacuums which the Soviets attempted to fill.

Second. As a result of military maneuvers and the vacuum conditions, the Soviet Union increased greatly its zone of domination through the annexation of territories and the transformation of independent states of Eastern Europe into Soviet satellites.

Third. Political disintegration, economic dislocations, and social chaos caused by the wars provided fertile soil for the cultivation of communism.

The Soviets were equal to the opportunity. Their armies overran Eastern Europe. And the Red army provided security so local Communist parties could win political control. As Jan Librach points out in "The Rise of the Soviet Empire,"[1] this course was not inevitable.

Winston Churchill had argued for an invasion of Europe through southeast Europe at a time when the Russian Army was still 700 miles from Eastern Europe.

Had this course been taken all of Eastern Europe with the possible exception of Yugoslavia—where the Red army was not a major factor in Tito's successful bid for power—would undoubtedly have remained non-Communist. But Roosevelt and Stalin rejected the Churchill proposal. From that point on Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was inevitable.

The West was caught unprepared and did not react effectively until the crisis in Greece at which point the "Truman doctrine" of containment was formulated. It put Greece, Turkey, and Iran off limits to Soviet influence through a broad show of military force and by economic and military assistance to the Greek Government, then battling for its life.

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[1] See Jan Librach, "The Rise of the Soviet Empire," New York, 1965, pp. 101–104.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN STATUS QUO AND IMPERIALISM BASED UPON IDEOLOGY

The policy of containment was based upon an understanding of international politics as a power struggle[2] based upon ideology. In it the forces seeking to maintain the present distribution of power compete with imperialism seeking to upset the status quo.

The Truman doctrine sought to maintain the 1946 status quo in Europe based on the conferences of the war held at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. The Soviet Union sought to upset to its advantage this distribution of power.

The policy of containment did not seek to roll back the progress which communism had already achieved—although this would have been justified because the Soviets had already violated the conference agreements by subverting free elections.

Critics of the policy have maintained that the Soviet Union no longer was an imperialistic power in the world sense, but sought local preponderance. After all, they argued, Stalin's design on Greece was in keeping with Russian history. Non-Communist Russia had always had as traditional objectives control of Finland, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Dardanelles, and Iran. Thus, said the critics, the United States overreacted because the Soviet leaders acted as would have any non-Communist czar. They said we mistook a traditional Russian policy for Communist imperialism, and therein our troubles started. The United States resorted to certain measures, defensive in intent, such as armaments, bases, and alliances. The Soviet Union in turn resorted to countermeasures interpreting the U.S. moves as imperialism. These countermeasures strengthened the initial concern on the part of the United States. The critics of our policy said in such circumstances both countries must correct their policy errors or else ever-increasing mutual suspicions, feeding upon each other, will end in war. Their argument has gained currency because of the advent of nuclear weapons and the indiscriminate, universal destruction that is associated with them.

Their assumptions, of course, are based on the erroneous premise that the Soviet Union was actually not an imperialistic power. Admittedly the problem of detection was great. How can a policy of conquest which operates within the existing status quo be distinguished from one which seeks to overthrow it? The individual imperialistic steps in themselves are often ambiguous and, therefore, do not reveal the actual nature of the policy of which they form the parts. This problem is aggravated by the fact that a policy which starts out seeking adjustments within the status quo may change character because of either success or frustration. The ease with which the original objectives are reached within the established order may suggest to the expanding nation, in this case the Soviet Union, that it is dealing with weak or irresolute opponents and that a change in the existing power relations can be achieved without great effort or risk.

A nation, on the other hand, which is frustrated in its objectives may seek more dramatic means to change the power relations. Actually the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States are real. Neither is suffering from hallucinations reciprocally induced by staring at one another through a distorting pane they have mistaken for plate glass.

In my judgment President Truman correctly guessed that the Soviet Union was embarking upon a policy of imperialism. Events already underway in Eastern Europe showed the Soviets would not permit the establishment of independent governments. They insisted upon governments which they could dominate. They could have regarded the victory over Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and the Japanese Empire, in alliance with the nondictatorial capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States, as removing once and for all the danger of lawlessness and aggression in international affairs.

They could have, as J. M. Mackintosh[3] argues, interpreted the situation as calling for the maintenance of the alliance with the countries of the West in order to concentrate all their efforts on the rehabilitation of devastated Russia and the development of the economic power of the Soviet Union.

They could have developed the spirit of Soviet-American cooperation in world affairs that President Roosevelt hoped would come to pass.

Soviet leaders instead interpreted their position of tremendous strength as the vindication of all that Stalin and Lenin had prophesied. They treated Europe and Asia not as a sphere for rehabilitation but as an area ripe for revolutionary takeover. Their imperialistic designs were obviously motivated by Communist ideology which called for the expansion of communism.

President Truman realized that to the extent that Communist parties gained influence, by whatever means, in a particular nation, Soviet influence there increased. Where Communist parties actually gained control, the Soviet Government through its control of the Communist parties actually controlled those national governments. It was for that reason that the Soviet Union attempted to overthrow Tito and expel China from the Communist movement. Control of the international Communist movement was of prime importance for, implicit in the Marxian theory of historical determinism, whoever controls the Communist parties will eventually control the world. Thus the Soviet Union could not tolerate an interloper.

The success of the Truman containment policy in preventing overt aggression is clearly established. Dr. Harold Hinton describes the success of containment in these words:

> American containment . . . has been a major factor in inflaming the Sino-Soviet dispute and in fact in bringing down both Stalin and Khrushchev.

But the containment policy has not always been successful in reducing Communist subversion—as in the case of Czechoslovakia in 1948—nor has it eliminated the ultimate goal of the Communists: world domination. It has indeed prevented overt aggression or a general war, but it has not produced any significant reduction in Soviet reliance on secrecy or in charge from its long-term objectives. The underlying causes of conflict do not yet appear to have been substantially reduced because the Soviet Union still retains its imperialist ambition.

SUCCESS OF CONTAINMENT POLICY RECOGNIZED BY SOVIET UNION IN 1956

By remaining firm in our political demands and by utilizing nonmilitary pressures—trade concessions, for example—to their maximum, we can frustrate the Soviet Union's aggressive policies and bring about some desirable changes. Firmness and pressure will not provoke a military first strike against us so long as we maintain an edge on the Soviets in military preparedness and technology.

Checkmated from any natural instincts to retaliate, the Soviets may well choose to pursue instead areas of joint agreement and cooperation. Even as we maintain vigilance and preparedness, we must also stand ready to take full advantage of such opportunities.

The high water mark of containment came with Khrushchev's "secret speech" to the 20th Congress of the CPSU in which he declared that war with capitalist states was no longer inevitable. Chairman Khrushchev clearly saw that the United States would fight to preserve the balance-of-power conflict and the Soviet Union would lose. Khrushchev needed a policy to answer containment which would protect the Soviet base of communism, but permit gradual progress toward what he considered the eventual triumph of communism.

His answer was "peaceful coexistence" which he described in these terms:

> Co-existence means continuation of the struggle between the social systems, but by peaceful means, without war, without interference by one state in the internal affairs of another. We consider it to be an economic, political, and ideological struggle but not military.

Thus he ruled out war in its traditional form. The Soviet Union could not impose its will by overt aggression. It stood too much to lose. The year 1956 marked the final Soviet acknowledgment, short of a successful first strike against the United States, that containment was a success in preserving the balance of power. But the Chairman had an answer to containment: "peaceful coexistence" and now 10 years later we are beginning to see that this new policy has become almost as successful in advancing communism as containment has been in preventing overt aggression.

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[2] For a description of international politics as a power struggle see Hans J. Morgenthau, "Politics Among Nations," third edition, New York, 1960, pp. 27–101.

[3] J. M. Mackintosh, "Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy," New York, 1963, p. 4.

"Peaceful coexistence" began as a temporary and fluctuating tactic but has since become a long-range strategy of the Soviet leadership. Its five principal characteristics are:

First, the struggle for Communist ascendancy must continue, without change in ultimate aims or any thought of compromise except to meet short-term problems.

Second, overt war is to be avoided but not ruled out. Even though Khrushchev asserted the Soviets could win a general war, it is questionable whether he really believed it.

Third, the West must be persuaded to a "noninterference" policy—which means to drop talk of rolling back communism, captive nations, self-determination, and free elections. The Western powers must accept communism as irreversible wherever it is now in control, and not interfere with the local growth of communism in other parts of the world. Struggle, of course, is to take place only in noncommunized areas. Communist areas, for obvious reasons, are clearly out of bounds.

Fourth, threat of war is to be used as a valid instrument for political advance. Since 1956 the Soviet Union has threatened military action against Turkey, Pakistan, Norway, Italy, Britain, France, West Germany, and even the United States.

Fifth, nonpeaceful action is used to protect a Communist regime from attack, and to support by any means just wars of national liberation. Soviet leadership, of course, retains the right to decide which wars are just.

The five-edged policy of peaceful coexistence is accomplished through various ideological appeals and through the devices of war by proxy, civil wars, and coups d'etat.

Since 1963 the Soviets have refined peaceful coexistence to the point where it now includes even the possibility of a detente. And in a meaningless detente lies our gravest danger.

WE ATTEMPT TO MEET PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH MYTHS

Without fully appreciating the full implications of peaceful coexistence, numerous critics of containment, both in and out of the Government, have advanced the thesis that the Soviet Union is no longer bent on world domination, and the Soviet claim of this goal is dismissed as meaningless rhetoric. They argue that we must now treat the Soviet Union just as though it were a non-Communist state with only natural nationalistic interests and assign to her certain spheres of influence. Implicit in this argument is the idea that the United States should restrict its own role as a world power. It should quit trying to stop communism in every corner of the globe. It should pull back and instead restrict its primary role to dominance in North and South America.

MYTHS REGARDING THE SOVIET UNION

To justify U.S. withdrawal they accept the myth that it is Communist China which is our principal enemy, not the Soviet Union. Indeed, some even suggest that the United States and the Soviet Union join as allies against the common foe China.

If Communist China actually possessed the high degree of military technology and the nuclear arsenal of the Soviet Union then it would probably be the greatest threat to our security, but it does not. Although China may well have the goal of destroying us, it does not yet have the means. The fact that the Soviets are a little more subtle in their pronouncements regarding their eventual triumph over us does not mean they are less willing to use suitable means to achieve the goals. The Soviet Union has both the goal and the means. One need look no further than Vietnam to seek confirmation of this state of affairs. The Communist Chinese daily criticize U.S. intervention in Vietnam and threaten us with war, but their bark is worse than their bite.

Contrast this with the position of the Soviet Union which claims it is seeking a peace settlement, but without Soviet equipment and arms, North Vietnam's ability to infiltrate South Vietnam would be greatly limited. The Soviet Union has supplied North Vietnam with numerous Mig fighters, SAM missiles, antiaircraft guns, tanks, and armored cars and millions of dollars in economic assistance, not to mention effective and enthusiastic political support.

Critics of containment also accept the myth that Communist ideology is no longer a guiding force in Soviet foreign policy, and therefore, we need not be obsessed with leading an anti-Communist crusade.

Finally, they accept the myth that the Soviet Union is evolving into a more responsible member of the world community because her people are gaining some degree of freedom, and the newly emerging managerial class is vying successfully with the party hierarchy for control of the government.

It is argued that the Soviet Union is in the midst of profound, inevitable and hopeful transformations. As it produces more consumer goods, it will become less ideological, less militant, and increasingly concerned with material comfort. As Soviet citizens get better standards of living and develop a greater stake in their society, so the argument goes, they will exert increasing pressure for the freedoms long enjoyed and cherished by the West. Industrialization requires technical skills and education fosters a questioning spirit, and they say the managerial class will effectively resist pressures of a police state as time goes on.

These critics hold that the extension of individual liberty and popular self-government are almost inevitable companions of economic development.

This opinion is widely held in high State Department circles. Zbignieu Brzezinski, a key State Department adviser for Soviet affairs and a member of the planning council, has written:

> Development and maturity render dictatorship of any sort . . . historically obsolescent.

A nongovernmental commentator, Adam Ulan, uses even stronger terms:

> The natural process in the U.S.S.R. must be one of erosion of totalitarianism.

Statements similar to these from high officials and certain Russian scholars could be quoted endlessly.

Those who hold these views believe that the rate and direction of political change are influenced by increased education, increased economic welfare, and increased occupational specialization. Thus, "technological complexity will strengthen the managerial class at the expense of the ideologists and militants."

This theory cannot be proved absolutely to be either true or false, but several critical observations can be made.

First, historical inevitability is actually a substitute for effort. By this belief, we rely for the solution of our problems on an evolutionary theory in which the assumed forces of history have replaced purpose and action. In my view, evidence is to the fact that purpose and action—not evolution—actually mold policy. Although changes in Soviet policies often result largely from forces over which the West has little control, they are also in part a Soviet reaction to Western policies. The external condition which has most influenced the evolution of Soviet policy in the direction of restraint has been a firm resistance to Soviet probes—as in Berlin and Cuba—combined with the demonstrated political and economic vitality of the non-Communist world.

It may be that there is some evidence of a Russian nationalism replacing communist ideology on the basis of decision-making in the Soviet Union, but it is hardly substantial. In any event the reemergence in the Soviet Union of the Russian legacy rather than Communist ideology does not in and of itself hold much comfort to the West. Imperial Russia in its day was about as autocratic and imperialistic as modern-day Russia. Russia never knew a renaissance, reformation, or age of enlightenment. In their place were absolutism and orthodoxy. Imperial Russia desired a vast empire under its domination. It sought to extend influence into Europe, the Middle East, Africa, the Far East, and even into North America. The main difference was that czarist Russia lacked the strength of Soviet Rusia. In this respect an evolution toward a Russian character rather than a Communist one is hardly appealing.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NO GUARANTEE OF A MODERATE FOREIGN POLICY

Nor is the record hopeful regarding the relationship between economic development and a moderate foreign policy, between education and a questioning spirit. Industrial advance did not make Germany less militant, and a superior rate of economic development in the 1930's did not make Japan peaceful. Indeed an industrial capacity and a highly developed economy are necessities for any successful aggressive foreign policy. Regarding education, we must not forget that for many centuries and in many societies education served the function of indoctrination. The educational system of Germany during pre-World War II days, as Henry Kissinger has observed, was one of the most advanced in the world. Yet its support of the Hitler regime far outweighed its resistence to it. Education in itself does not necessarily produce enlightened political action.

In the Soviet Union one of the major obstacles to political progress was the systematic Soviet attempt to integrate the ablest individuals into the existing order through preferment, indoctrination, propaganda, and, if necessary, pressure. By constantly recruiting the most talented into its ranks, the Communist hierarchy deprived any opposition of its potential leadership.

Does the managerial class temper the rule of the party hierarchy? Jeremy R. Azrael has concluded in his "Managerial Power and Soviet Politics," that the premise is without historical support:

> Although theories of political development which cast the engineers and managers in the role of foreordained "gravediggers of Communism" have been common for over fifty years, they have found little confirmation in events. At almost every step, the technicians have bowed to the dictates of the ruling elite, and, in those cases where they have proved somewhat recalcitrant, their resistance has ultimately been futile.
>
> That the "gravedigger" interpretation of the political role of the Soviet managerial elite has remained so widespread and so intellectually respectable in the face of such overwhelming counterevidence is graphic testimony to the powerful hold that economic determinism exercises over modern political analysis.
>
> To deny that the primacy of politics has so far been the rule in the development of the Soviet system is to fly in the face of the available evidence.
>
> It is doubtful that any other system has been characterized by so low a correlation between its level of actual freedom and what might be called its level of potential freedom, as measured by economic resources, educational capacity, technical capabilities and such. Potentially, the Soviet Union compares favorably with other industrialized societies and outranks most nations of the world. But the opportunities that might have been used to expand the arena of liberty have been used to keep it narrowly restricted and subject to constant encroachment.

The observations of Mr. Azreal are bitter news for those who believe in historical inevitability under which industrialization and emerging managerial and technical classes will lead to the moderation of the Soviet regime. Yet as long as the economic sphere of the Soviet Union affords a reasonable degree of freedom—sufficient to permit concentration on output and efficiency—the managerial group is not likely to insist upon political participation.

This is precisely the situation in the Soviet Union today, and it supports observations made by Henry Kissinger that the success of economic development, cultural prestige, and political power enhances the prestige of the form of government promoting it. A Russian seeing the growth of the Communist empire over the last 20 years and the significant Soviet contributions in the field of literature, the arts, science, and technology would not automatically conclude that its system of political organization was basically wrong.

This is not to say that evolution in Communist societies is impossible. On the contrary it is inevitable. No system of government is immune to change. No country has ever maintained an unaltered social structure, but the nature of the transformation is by no means foreordained.

It can refine the tools of slavery. There may even be in Russia a degree of liberalization, but it will be a liberalization of a Communist regime, not an evolution toward a democratic one. What little freedom exists in the Soviet Union is at best residual and highly vulnerable. It is as precarious as it is precious. Equally important, of course, is the time scale by which it occurs. It was, after all, no consolation for Carthage that 150 years after its conquest by Rome, the latter was transformed into a status quo power, with no capacity to threaten its neighbors.

Another major myth upon which it is being argued we should establish detente with the Soviet Union is the belief that ideology is no longer a guiding force there—that the Soviet leaders preside over a country, not a cause and their perceptions and decisions are based on pragmatism, not preconceptions.

It would be foolhardy to downgrade ideology as a force in international politics, especially the ideology of communism. The struggle that splits the world today, the clash between totalitarianism and individual liberty is fundamentally an ideological struggle for power. To dismiss this ideology as a collection of ad hoc rules is to fly in the face of history. For under no political system has theory been assigned so important a place as under communism. Nowhere else do doctrinal differences lead to political strife of such magnitude, including open violence. In the name of correct interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, Trotsky was banished and later assassinated; Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Rykov were tried and executed; Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Bulganin were consigned to political oblivion. Differing interpretations of ideology are believed to be the basis of the Sino-Soviet split. It is the factor that gives long-term consistency to the seemingly day-by-day inconsistency of Soviet foreign policy.

For three reasons we should view with comfort the continuation of ideology as a force in Soviet politics, for it is the very importance of ideology that gives the West an edge in the current struggle against communism.

These are the reasons:

First. Since the Soviet ideology is less militant than the Chinese variety, the Soviets are under an obligation to articulate, defend, and prove the fundamental assumptions upon which their strategy of peaceful coexistence is based. The heart of this concept is the belief that war is no longer inevitable. Therefore, the principal reason for the Soviet interest in a detente with the West is the Sino-Soviet split which is based on an ideological struggle as well as a struggle for domination of the world Communist movement.

Second. Ideology serves as a long-range goal or vision for the Soviet decisionmaker, and makes Soviet retreat in the face of Western demands justifiable and even defensible. Communists assume the world moves toward their goal. Soviet ideologies claim the world under communism is inevitable, no matter what setbacks and retreats are incurred, and this injects enough self-confidence into the Soviet decisionmaker to make setbacks acceptable. Thus, retreat is possible, indeed sometimes even ideologically justifiable because an identification with progress and history, and a flexibility in the choice of means is possible so long as the ends are constant.

Third. An imperialistic power like the Soviets must have an ideological justification to change the status quo. Imperialism must prove that the status quo it seeks to overthrow deserves to be overthrown, and that the moral legitimacy which in the minds of many attaches to things as they are, brought to yield to a higher principle or morality calling for a new distribution of power. Thus the burden of proof is upon the Soviet Union to support the necessity for a change in the balance of power.

This third use of ideology is obscure because the Soviet Union pretends to advance the ideology of a status quo power, which includes peace and international law. Peace can preserve the status quo, and law—primarily a static force—defines the present distribution of power and offers standards and processes to maintain it. Peace also permits nonviolent changes in the status quo consistent with international law.

Examples are the United Nations and the World Court. Peace is advanced as the ideology of Soviet imperialism. Fear of a third world war fought with modern weapons of mass destruction—Khrushchev said the living would envy the dead—is so widespread that no government can expect to gain support for its foreign policies from its own and other peoples if it cannot convince them of its peaceful intentions. Consequently, the Soviets have embraced the ideology of peace.

These professions of peace have two important political functions. They tend to conceal the actual policies pursued and they tend to attract the support of men of good will. Among those attracted, of course, are people in the country which is the intended victim. We are seeing this phenomenon in our country today.

Twenty years of heavy defense spending, foreign aid, the loss of thousands of lives in Korea and Vietnam have had their impact. The cost in blood and treasure has been so great and the burdens so unfairly distributed that many people are willing and anxious to reduce our worldwide responsibilities at the first hopeful sign of a relaxation in world tensions.

But it is not only in our country that the Soviet peace campaign has been effective in a disrupting sort of way. It has been seized upon avidly by many Britons who fear that rearmament will lead to bankruptcy, by Frenchmen who may be seeking new excuses to hamper German rearmament, and by Germans who seek monetary gain through expanding business with Soviet Russia and its satellites.

The Soviet profession of peace is obviously a mask hiding true Soviet intentions, because the United States and the

Soviet Union have expressed their objectives in almost the identical terms of peace. Both have proclaimed that they have no territorial ambitions beyond the line of military demarcation which was established by the agreements of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Both claim they want to see free and democratic governments established everywhere; that they are guided only by considerations of security and national defense; and that it is the imperialism of the other side against which they are compelled, in spite of their own wishes, to arm.

Examination of myth versus reality shows the true Soviet intensions. In the first place, communism refers to itself as a peaceful movement, but those in East and West Germany, North and South Vietnam, East and West Berlin, and South Korea know it to be a dividing force.

While some think of it as peace, it is really a mockery of peace.

Communism calls itself defensive, but those in Tibet, Hungary, Korea, and Laos know it is aggressive.

Communism proclaims a welcome, but thousands flee it each week across the Berlin wall, the Austrian frontier, and into Hong Kong.

Some call it the inevitable wave of the future, but others know it to be a plot to alter the future.

To some it appears to be a perfectly normal way of life, while others know it is a system where every man is watched closely and where secrecy, deceit, treachery, and oppression are the stock in trade. Colonel Penkovsky reported that among the Soviet elite, life is a study in debauchery, selfishness, and callousness.

Some favor it as a better life, but millions know it as the end of life.

The 20 years of the Truman doctrine of containment may be viewed from at least two points of view. There are at least two possible verdicts. Either containment helped to preserve freedom and keep the peace, which in turn strengthened the legal and moral foundations of international society—and thus served our cause by halting Soviet aggression; or, insofar as it influenced events and may have been the basis for mutual misunderstandings, it contributed to the tensions and instabilities of the world, to the onset of a kind of never-ending crisis.

In my judgment the true verdict is somewhere in between. Since containment the world has not had a world war, but neither has it had world peace. It halted Soviet aggression, but did not prevent Soviet subversion. We must now seek to convince the Soviets that subversion will not work in the 1960's and the 1970's anymore than nuclear blackmail and threats of war worked during the two decades just passed.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX MEN FROM STATE OF MARYLAND DIE FIGHTING COMMUNISM

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Long] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **LONG** of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, 126 young men from the State of Maryland have died since January 1966, fighting Communist aggression and defending freedom in Vietnam.

These young men might have gone on to complete their educations, to have children, and to enjoy the same good life as all of us here at home.

I wish to pay tribute to these servicemen—many of them really only boys—who have given the only lives they will ever have in a far-off land. I salute their grieving families, who have lost young men of such loyalty and devotion to duty.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the Congressional Record the list of names of these sons of Maryland, so that the memory of their courage will live on in the Record of the Congress which owes them such a debt of gratitude.

The list follows:

SGT Robert L. Posey, Jr., son of Mr. Robert L. Posey, Sr., Chesapeake Mobile Homes Court, Lot # 14, Church Road, Hanover.

1LT Charles S. Hymers, son of Lt Col and Mrs. Charles S. Hymers, c/o Maj Kenneth Thierer, 303 Homewood Road, Linthicum Heights.

SP4 Rodger C. Snyder, son of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney J. Snyder, 3423 Courtleigh Drive, Baltimore.

LCPL Kenneth L. Deavers, Jr., son of Mr. Kenneth L. Deavers, Sr., Route # 2, Williamsport.

MSG Harold E. Stiger, husband of Mrs. Maria Stiger, 114 Gerald Road, Munsen Heights, Severn.

PFC Charles C. Harding, son of Mrs. Margaret L. Harding, 3012 Elliott Street, Baltimore.

PFC Jerry P. Setzer, husband of Mrs. Evelyn L. Setzer, 4116 Doris Avenue, Baltimore.

SGT Donald R. Dorman, son of Mrs. Olive M. Quillen, 3517 Madison Place, West Hyattsville.

CPL William M. Branock, son of Mr. and Mrs. John P. Branock, 5320 Taylor Street, Bladensburg.

SP4 Enoch Johnson, son of Mrs. Ruby Johnson, 815 North Eden Street, Baltimore.

PFC William C. Dayton, son of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Dayton, RFD # 2, Cambridge.

Maj. Richard H. Lowery, husband of Mrs. Margaret C. Lowery, 109 Forest Street, Cumberland.

PVT Dennis J. Hamet, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Hamet, 5011 Hamilton Avenue, Baltimore.

PFC Harold J. King, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Harold J. King Sr., 7120 Roslyn Avenue, Derwood.

PFC William D. Graves, son of Mrs. Alice Smith, 7605 Greenleaf Road, Kentland.

SSG James A. Messick, hubsand of Mrs. Theresa Messick, 307 Sharon Drive, Pasadena.

SGT Angus N. Jackson, husband of Mrs. Myra Jackson, 817 West Ostend Street, Baltimore.

CPL James B. Cannington, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. James B. Cannington, Sr., 1914 Lark Hall, Baltimore.

SSG James N. Byers, husband of Mrs. Patricia Byers, 128 Liberty Street, Westminster.

SP5 Morgan E. Savage, son of Mr. George E. Savage, c/o Mrs. Anna M. Skinner, 2413 North Stockton Street, Baltimore.

PFC William Shover, son of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Shover, 807 Unetta Avenue, Baltimore.

PFC Stephen M. Dydynski, son of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Dydynski, 7503 24th Avenue, Hyattsville.

1st Sgt Melvin G. Davis, husband of Mrs. Melvin G. Davis, 810 Monroe Street, Apartment #108, Annapolis.

SP4 Raymond L. Elliott, Jr., son of Mr. Raymond L. Elliott, Sr., RFD, Box 119, Chestertown.

PFC John A. Lambie, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Lambie, Sr., 1221 Meridene Drive, Baltimore.

SP4 John C. Faidley, son of Mr. Robert L. Faidley, P.O. Box 534, Mt. Savage.

CPL Douglas L. Tracy, husband of Mrs. Douglas L. Tracy, Sharpsburg.

SSG Crawford B. Paris, son of Mr. and Mrs. Walter B. Paris, 6–L Hillside Road, Greenbelt.

PFC Larry M. Barnhill, son of Mr. and Mrs. Rembert L. Barnhill, 7221 Waldman Avenue, Baltimore.

PFC Harry W. Murray, son of Mrs. Laura M. Lynch, 4002 5th Street, Brooklyn.

SSG Donald E. Jackson, husband of Mrs. Donna L. Jackson, 512 East Church Street, Baltimore.

PFC Charles H. Lewis, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Lewis, Sr., House 77, Dixon Avenue, Aberdeen.

PFC August G. Mannion, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. August G. Mannion, Sr., 3615 Elmley Avenue, Baltimore.

SSGT Joseph T. McCreight, husband of Mrs. Joseph T. McCreight, Starlight Farms, Pot Springs, Timonium.

LTC James C. McIntosh, husband of Mrs. Theresa G. McIntosh, 10–10 10th Street, Laurel.

LCPL John S. Hall, son of Mr. and Mrs. James E. Hall, 532 Johannsen Street, Baltimore.

SP4 Carl M. Egolf, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Egolf, 270 East Green Street, Westminster.

LCPL Howard J. Younger, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Younger, Sr., 4404 Asbury Avenue, Baltimore.

PFC Linza Norris, husband of Mrs. Linza Norris, 4220 Colborne Road, Baltimore.

Maj. Gary P. Wratten, husband of Mrs. Shirley A. Wratten, 12 East Granville Drive, Silver Spring.

PFC Wellington M. Donahue, husband of Mrs. Wellington M. Donahue, 508 Baltimore Avenue, Cumberland.

SGT Charles E. Whitefield, son of Mrs. Evelyn Whitefield, 111 McCollough Street, Frostburg.

Capt. Milton F. Smith, husband of Mrs. Cathleen Smith, 8026 Glendale Road, Chevy Chase.

SP4 Wilbert Stewart, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbert Stewart, Sr., 1705 Lamont Street, Baltimore.

PFC Samuel W. Smith, son of Mrs. Dorothy C. Smith, 2460 Joseph Avenue, Baltimore.

1ST LT Adrian F. Purnell, husband of Mrs. Lynn S. Purnell, 14713 Janice Drive, Rockville.

PFC David Wisniewski, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. Wisniewski, 4416 Reisterstown Road, Baltimore.

SSG Walter F. Payne, brother of Miss Florine E. Payne, 3051 West North Avenue, Baltimore.

LCPL Robert G. Davidson, son of Mr. and Mrs. Roy R. Davidson, 7897 Cheverly Lane, Glen Burnie.

2DLT Donald W. Rohleder, son of Mr. John F. Rohleder, 5819 Lawyers Hill Road, Elkridge.

PFC Gary B. Flabbi, son of Mr. and Mrs. Julian J. Flabbi, 5038 East Oliver Street, Baltimore.

A2C Tullie P. Iodice, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Tullie P. Iodice, Sr., 2926 Knoll Acres Drive, Baltimore.

LT Clarence D. Miller, husband of Mrs. Norman J. Miller, c/o Mr. Clarence E. Miller, RFD No. 1, Box 86, Frostburg.

PFC Robert H. Lerner, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Lerner, Ijamsville Rd., Ijamsville.

LCPL Michael T. Defibaugh, son of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Defibaugh, 3530 Cliftmont Ave., Baltimore.

PFC Atlas J. M. Smay, son of Mrs. Mary W. Smay, 300 Gilmor St., Baltimore.

PFC James H. Duffett, son of Mrs. Francis M. Duffet, 202 S. Bruce St., Baltimore.

PFC Jerome D. McArthur, son of Mr. and Mrs. Dannie McArthur, 210 Walnut Ave., Baltimore.

SGT John F. Sewell, Jr., husband of Mrs. John F. Sewell, Jr., 1002 Bethune Rd.

PFC David B. Aiken, son of Mr. and Mrs. Samueln J. Aiken, 5406 Elsrode Ave., Baltimore.

LCPL Andrew W. Youngkin, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew W. Youngkin, Sr., 5700 "F" St., Capitol Heights.

Capt James D. Stallings, husband of Mrs. Ann P. Stallings, 2505 Kevin Lane, Bowie.

SP4 Robert M. Waters, son of Mr. and Mrs. George D. Waters, Stockton Rd., Phoenix, Md.

CPL Joseph C. Brown, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph R. Brown, Longpoint Box 197, Route #1, Pasadena.

PFC Steven R. Sherman, son of Mr. and Mrs. A. Sherman, 1510 Scaggesville Road, Laurel.

SP/4 Earl Melton, Jr., husband of Mrs. Shirley A. Melton, 1000 East 20th Street, Baltimore.

S/MAJ Richard A. Schaaf, son of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Schaaf, Sr., 5504 Clifton Avenue, Baltimore.

1st Lt. Richard W. Meehan, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank M. Smith, Woodsboro.

PFC Kenneth E. Tasker, son of Mrs. Wilda C. Tasker, Route #1, Box 39, Deer Park.

PVT Richard A. Skinner, husband of Mrs. Richard A. Skinner, 14A Crescent Way, Beltsville.

PFC Steve W. Harris, son of Mrs. Alma V. Ritenour, 307 South Stonestreet Avenue, Rockville.

PFC Charles T. McCorkle, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles T. McCorkle, Pfeffers Road, Bradshaw.

PFC Bernard E. Curtis, son of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E. Curtis, Valley Lane, Upper Marlboro.

PFC Linwood B. Krug, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Linwood B. Krug, Sr., 2529 Gehb Avenue, Baltimore.

Capt. Humbert R. Versace, son of Colonel and Mrs. Humbert J. Versace, 506 Hazlett Avenue, Baltimore.

S/SGT James E. Wilson, husband of Mrs. Arsenia C. Wilson, 1824 Caroline Street, Baltimore.

SP4 Charles E. Smith, husband of Mrs. Carrie Smith, 9218 Darcy Street, Upper Marlboro.

SP4 Joseph E. Newman, son of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel J. Newman, 6208 Field Street, Seat Pleasant.

PFC Robert W. Ruhl, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Ruhl, 17 Fifth Avenue, Lansdowne.

Cpl. Richard C. Smith, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph C. Smith, 516 Ashford Road, Silver Spring.

Pfc. Arthur J. Baylor, son of Mr. and Mrs. William R. Baylor, 130 N. Central Avenue, Baltimore.

Sgt. Thomas W. Muir, husband of Mrs. Carolyn Muir, Route 3, Princess Anne.

Sgt. Irving M. Wilson, Jr., husband of Mrs. Grace Wilson, 220 Dallas Court, Baltimore.

2nd Lieutenant James G. Patzwall, husband of Mrs. Barbara Patzwall, 3113 Dillion Street, Baltimore.

Pfc. Mack D. Stainback, Jr., son of Mr. Mack D. Stainback, Sr., 1243 Winston Avenue, Baltimore.

Pvt. Leonard J. Bocek, son of Mr. and Mrs. Francis Bocek, Sr., 6510 North Point Road, Baltimore.

2nd Lt. Robert E. Taylor, son of Colonel and Mrs. Emerson B. Taylor, 404 Lincoln Avenue, Takoma Park.

A/1c Robert L. Hilton, husband of Mrs. Shirley A. Hilton, 313 Mary Lou Avenue, Glen Burnie.

Sp/4 John H. Beauchamp, son of Mr. and Mrs. John B. Beauchamp, Sr., 306 Antioch Avenue, Princess Anne.

L/Cpl. George Hitzelberger, son of Mr. and Mrs. John W. Hitzelberger, 7404 Hammond Avenue, Baltimore.

L/Cpl. Charles N. Rudd, husband of Mrs. Charles N. Rudd, Trailer 14, Wright's Trailer Village, Aberdeen.

Pvt. Gregory V. Armstead, son of Mrs. Helena F. Goodwin, 3832 Old Frederick Road, Baltimore.

Pfc. Harry M. Morse, husband of Mrs. Donna Morse, 17 Holly Road, Route 5, Pasadena.

Sp/4 Eugene N. Chesley, son of Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Chesley, 1205 Etting Street, Baltimore.

Pfc. David B. Ziegler, son of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Ziegler, 1002 S. Curley Street, Baltimore.

Pfc. Dillard R. Burnley, son of Mr. and Mrs. Harley R. Burnley, 5100½ Emerson Street, Hyattsville.

Pfc. Jesse J. Miller, son of Mrs. Ruth Miller, 2917 Clifton Avenue, Baltimore.

L/Cpl. Lawrence T. Hammond, son of Mrs. Gladys Marie Gardner, RFD 16, Box 170 Baltimore.

Sgt. Ronald H. Chittum, husband of Sp/4 Sharon K. Chittum, WAC Company, Ft. Meade.

Sgt. Richard B. Fieller, husband of Shirley J. Fieller, 1020 University Blvd., Silver Spring, Md.

S. Sgt. Oley N. Adams, husband of Mrs. Margaret Adams, 1009 Chillum Road, Apt No. 101, West Hyattsville, Md.

Sp./4 Frederick A. Phoebus, son of Mr. Calvert I. Phoebus, 2337 McElderry St., Baltimore.

1 Lt. James H. Baker, Jr., son of Mrs. Betty Smith, 5702 Powhatten, Riverdale.

Pfc. Michael A. Garris, son of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Garris, 1311 Drew St., Baltimore.

Pfc. Eddie Green, son of Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Green, 105 S. Kossuth St., Baltimore.

Pfc. Paul P. Pennington, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Pennington, 233 Baltimore Ave., Baltimore.

L./Cpl. William E. Tucker, son of Mrs. Laura A. Tucker, 324 First Street, Eastport, Annapolis.

L./Cpl. James F. Smallwood, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph R. Smallwood, 4910 Whitfield, Chapel Road, Lanham.

Pfc. James Kennedy, Jr., son of Mr. James Kennedy, Sr., 1320 69th Avenue, Seat Pleasant.

Sp./4 Harry E. Crissey, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Harry E. Crissey, Sr., 8749 St. Gregory Drive, Baltimore.

Sgt. Gregory B. Norton, son of Mrs. Grace N. Maith, 4702 Garrison Blvd., Baltimore.

HN Robert E. Smith, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Smith, Sr., 350 Park Avenue, Frederick.

2 Lt. John D. Kramer, son of Mr. and Mrs. Claude J. Kramer, 11313 Stephen Lane, Beltsville.

Sgt. Joseph Wilson, son of Mr. Robert Wilson, 1305 Lanvale Street, Baltimore.

Pfc. Richard A. Blanchfield, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Blanchfield, Forge Road, Box 174, Perry Hall.

Sp./4 Norman N. Miller, son of Mr. John E. Miller, 8902 Robin Place, Snow Hill Development Area, Laurel.

L./Cpl. Donald E. Young, son of Mr. Howard Young, 3405 Rolling Road, Baltimore.

PFC Theodore F. Taylor, son of Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Box 112, Chance.

SP/4 George K. Newman, son of Mr. and Mrs. George A. Newman, 1203 Etting Street, Baltimore.

SP/5 Freddie G. Lloyd, son of Mrs. Anna E. Lloyd, 1622 McHenry Street, Baltimore.

PFC Ronald M. Kenny, son of Mr. Charles Kenny, Box 65, Mt. Airy.

PFC James T. Brown, son of Mr. and Mrs. James Brown, 1707 Latrobe Street, Baltimore.

SP/4 James R. Cumberpatch, Jr., son of Colonel and Mrs. James R. Cumberpatch, Sr., 4518 Amberst Lane, Bethesda.

S/SGT Edmund D. Brent, Jr., husband of Mrs. Edmund D. Brent, Jr., 2451 Fairway Rd., Baltimore.

SGT Russell L. Price, husband of Mrs. Virginia B. Price, 2411 Lauretta Avenue, Baltimore.

PFC Lawrence P. Lebrun, son of Mrs. Jeanne L. White, 7F Concord Cove Apartment, Havre de Grace.

S/SGT Charles W. Parsons, husband of Mrs. Daisy B. Parsons, 511 East Booth St., Salisbury.

RESTORATION OF INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in rising to support the President on his new demonstration of firm-handed guidance of the Nation's economic well-being, I want to draw attention to one aspect of last year's investment boom which is apt to be less than fully appreciated.

When the domestic capital goods industry reached the point of full, indeed almost overfull, utilization of productive capacity, shipments dropped behind new orders, backlogs built up to excessive levels, and U.S. businessmen had to turn to overseas markets in search of equipment suppliers. For the first three quarters of last year, imports of capital goods—excluding trucks and buses—jumped an average of 14 percent a quarter. As a result, in 1966 we increased our spending on imported machinery and equipment by $850 million over 1965, causing a painful additional drain on the balance of payments—at a time when it was already under pressure from Vietnam costs.

Now this scramble overseas has subsided noticeably, unburdening this unnatural load on our balance of payments.

So the suspension of the investment tax credit last September not only served our domestic markets—kept prices from exploding, introduced order into the machinery industry's labor market, and took the unsustainable supercharge out of the investment boom—it also helped stem the threatening flood in our balance of payments.

The President again deserves our applause—and our support in restoring the investment tax credit.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. Corman, for today, on account of official business.

Mr. Dent (at the request of Mr. Morgan), for today, and the balance of the week, on account of illness.

Mr. Riegle (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), through March 16, on account of official business as Presidential delegate to the inauguration of the President-elect of Brazil.

Mr. Pirnie (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), through March 16, on account of official business.

Mr. ADAIR (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), through March 16, on account of official business.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, March 13–15, on account of official business.

Mr. HELSTOSKI (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) for today, on account of official business.

Mr. WINN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business as a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. HALL, for 40 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. RAILSBACK, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. GOODELL (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. FINDLEY (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 10 minutes, on Tuesday, March 14; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 20 minutes, on Wednesday, March 15; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALL (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 40 minutes on Wednesday, March 15; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. LONG of Maryland (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ST GERMAIN (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY), for 5 minutes, on Tuesday, March 14; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. FASCELL, for 10 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FEIGHAN.

Mr. DULSKI.

Mr. EDWARDS of California.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 22 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 14, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

CONTRACTUAL ACTIONS, CALENDAR YEAR 1966, TO FACILITATE NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Clerk of the House of Representatives submits the following reports for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD pursuant to section 4(b) of Public Law 85–804:

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND
SPACE ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1967.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is a report to the Congress pursuant to Section 4 of the Act of August 28, 1958, (72 Stat. 972), submitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives pursuant to Rule XL of that House.

During calendar year 1966, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration utilized the authority of the above-cited statute as follows:

1. Extraordinary contractual adjustments authorized by the NASA Contract Adjustment Board:

a. Under date of January 24, 1966, the Board authorized the adjustment of a contract for photographic, reproduction, microfilming, and related services with Continental Graphics, Inc., Los Angeles, California, in the amount of $26,079.36. In the same decision, the Board authorized an adjustment of another contract for similar services with the same contractor in an amount approximating $3,184, the exact amount to be determined upon further audit.

b. Under date of January 27, 1966, the Board authorized the adjustment of a contract for the production and delivery of thermocouples, and the drawings, designs and specifications related thereto with Hy-Cal Engineering Co. of Santa Fe Springs, California, in the total amount of $6,645.93.

c. Under date of March 23, 1966, the Board authorized the adjustment of a contract for the design, development and fabrication of a Ground Receiver System with Avco Corporation, Electronics Division, of Cincinnati, Ohio, in a total amount approximating $3,410.08, the exact amount depending upon verification of calculations made by the contractor.

d. Under date of October 25, 1966, the Board authorized the adjustment of the prime contract for the production and delivery of the Apollo spacecraft with North American Aviation, Inc., of Downey, California, in the amount of $46,000. The adjustment was authorized for the benefit of Central Technology, Inc., of Herrin, Illinois, a subcontractor to North American Aviation, Inc. for 24 docking ring separation systems.

2. Actions under Project Stabilization Agreement applicable to construction work at Cape Kennedy, Florida.

Under date of May 20, 1964, the Administrator of NASA made a determination pursuant to the Act of August 28, 1958 (Public Law 85–804), that, from and after April 1, 1964, all contracts, or amendments or modifications thereof, for the performance of construction work at the Patrick Air Force Base, Cape Kennedy, and the John F. Kennedy Space Center, should include a clause requiring contractors and all subcontractors thereunder to abide by money provisions of a Project Stabilization Agreement, to the extent such money provisions are determined by the Government to be reasonable. The Project Stabilization Agreement referred to is an agreement negotiated by and between the Patrick Air Force Base Contractor's Association and other local and national associations of contractors, and the Brevard Building and Construction Trades Council of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO. The purpose of this agreement is to promote stability, efficiency, and economy of performance of contracts involving construction work at Patrick Air Force Base and the Cape Kennedy complex. The agreement was originally negotiated in 1962, and re-negotiated for the period beginning April 1, 1964.

On February 5, 1964, the President's Missile Sites Labor Commission found the money provisions of the revised Project Stabilization Agreement to be reasonable for cost reimbursement purposes and recommended that they be authorized for payment on all Government contracts. The determination under P.L. 85–804 made by the Administrator on May 20, 1964, was in implementation of the foregoing recommendation of the President's Commission. Pursuant to this determination, 12 NASA contracts for construction work in the Cape Kennedy area, of a total value of $946,684, which were awarded or amended during 1966, included the clause making the money provisions of the above Project Stabilization Agreement applicable. While it is possible that inclusion of the clause resulted in some increase in costs under the contracts involved in an amount not readily determinable, the purpose of the Project Stabilization Agreement is to promote the overall stability, efficiency, and economy in performance of the contracts brought under it.

3. Actions under Project Stabilization Agreement applicable to construction work at the Mississippi Test Facility.

Under date of September 26, 1963, the Administrator of NASA made a determination similar to that described in Paragraph 2 above with respect to contracts and subcontracts for construction work at the Mississippi Test Facility, in implementation of a Project Stabilization Agreement which had been negotiated for that area and which expired on June 30, 1966. Pursuant to this determination, seven contracts or amendments to existing contracts for construction work at the Mississippi Test Facility, of a total value of $1,645,773, which were executed in 1966, included the clause making the money provisions of the Project Stabilization Agreement applicable. Of these seven contracts or contract amendments, five amendments to existing contracts were executed directly by NASA and two new contracts were executed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District, under a delegation of authority from the Administrator of NASA. While it is possible that inclusion of the clause resulted in some increase in costs under the contracts involved in an amount not readily determinable, it is noted again that the purpose of negotiating a Project Stabilization Agreement is to promote the overall stability, efficiency, and economy in performance of the contracts brought under it.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. WEBB.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

506. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting proposed supplemental appropriations request involving new obligational authority (H. Doc. No. 83); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

507. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting a notification as required by section 103(d)(3) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

508. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting a notification as required

by section 103(d)(3) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

509. A letter from the national quartermaster general, Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., transmitting a copy of the audit of financial transactions as of September 30, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 85-530; to the Committee on Armed Services.

510. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a report of actual procurement receipts for medical stockpile of civil defense emergency supplies and equipment purposes, for the quarter ending December 31, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of subsection 201(h) of the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended; to the Committee on Armed Services.

511. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a report of the location, nature, and estimated cost of an additional facility project proposed to be undertaken for the Naval and Marine Corps Reserves, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89–188; to the Committee on Armed Services.

512. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a report on the progress of the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps flight instruction program, covering the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

513. A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish, in the House of Representatives, the office of Delegate from the District of Columbia, to amend the District of Columbia Election Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

514. A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, transmitting a report on the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees issued in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia for the month of January 1967, pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act of 1967, and to the Presidential determination of February 4, 1964; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

515. A letter from the Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, transmitting the first annual report of the work and operations of the Commission, pursuant to the provisions of section 705(d) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (H. Doc. No. 86); to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

516. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a report of instances wherein the National Aeronautics and Space Administration utilized the authority granted, pursuant to the provisions of 72 Stat. 972; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

517. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report of records proposed for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of 63 Stat. 377; to the Committee on House Administration.

518. A letter from the Chairman, National Trust for Historic Preservation, transmitting the 1966 annual report of the National Trust, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89–665; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

519. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

520. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the establishment of the Redwood National Park in the State of California, to provide economic assistance to local governmental bodies affected thereby, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Interior and Insular Affairs.

521. A letter from the Chief Commissioner, Indian Claims Commission, transmitting a report that proceedings have been finally concluded with respect to docket No. 331 and docket No. 331–A, *The Spokane Tribe of Indians, suing on its own behalf and on behalf of the Upper, Middle and Lower Bands of the Spokane Indians or the Upper Spokane, Middle Spokane, or Lower Spokane Band of Indians, or any one or two of them alternatively, Petitioner,* v. *The United States of America, Defendant,* pursuant to the provisions of 60 Stat. 1055 (25 U.S.C. 70t); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

522. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to prevent treminations of oil and gas leases in cases where there is a nominal deficiency in the rental payment and to authorize him to reinstate under some conditions oil and gas leases terminated by operation of law for failure to pay rental timely; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

523. A letter from the Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting a report of changes that will occur in the organizational structure of the Interstate Commerce Commission, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89–670; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

524. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, transmitting the 52d annual report to the Commission, covering the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

525. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to repeal and amend certain statutes fixing or prohibiting the collection of fees for certain services under the navigation laws; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

526. A letter from the Chairman, Atomic Enegry Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of March 9, 1967 the following bills were reported on March 10, 1967:

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 2529. A bill to amend the act of September 8, 1960, relating to the Washington Channel waterfront (Rept. No. 115). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 6638. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to acquire certain real property in the District of Columbia determined to be necessary for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States or as sites for offices of other international organizations or governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 116). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. CAREY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 5277. A bill to amend the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 117). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 3371. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharge from, the District Training School, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1925, as amended; with amendment (Rept. No. 118). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[*Submitted March 13, 1967*]

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MAHON: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 7123. A bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 119). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H.R. 7054. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore the provisions permitting the deduction, without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors, of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee:

H.R. 7055. A bill to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota:

H.R. 7056. A bill to extend rural mail delivery service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BERRY:

H.R. 7057. A bill creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 7058. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BLATNIK:

H.R. 7059. A bill to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extension of credit; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7060. A bill to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe of Indians on behalf of the Mississippi Bands and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 7061. A bill to authorize the construction of bridges across the Harvey Canal and the Bayou Segnette in Jefferson Parish, La.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 7062. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on paper industries machinery; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 7063. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that an individual's foster child may in certain cases be treated as his natural child for purposes of determining his entitlement to a personal exemption for such child; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUTTON:

H.R. 7064. A bill to restore the investment credit and the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H.R. 7065. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to designate airports owned by a State or political subdivision thereof as international airports of entry if the State or political subdivision requests such designation and agrees to provide the facilities and funds necessary for the administration of the customs laws at such airports; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 7066. A bill to incorporate the National Counterintelligence Corps Association; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DENNEY:

H.R. 7067. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exclude ambulance drivers and attendants from the minimum wage and overtime compensation provisions of that act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DEVINE:

H.R. 7068. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 7069. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7070. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act by adding a new title X thereto which will establish a program to protect adult health by providing assistance in the establishment and operation of regional and community health protection centers for the detection of disease, by providing assistance for the training of personnel to operate such centers, and by providing assistance in the conduct of certain research related to such centers and their operation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 7071. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a credit against the Federal income tax for State and local incomes taxes paid by an individual during the taxable year; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7072. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide that accumulated sick leave be credited to the retirement fund or that the individual be reimbursed; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7073. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, with respect to the determination of average pay for retirement purposes and the computation of retirement annuities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7074. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide additional group life insurance and accidental death and dismemberment insurance for Federal employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 7075. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the income tax treatment of business development corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 7076. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H.R. 7077. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HALL:

H.R. 7078. A bill to provide for equitable acquisition practices, fair compensation, and effective relocation assistance in real property acquisitions for Federal and federally assisted programs; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 7079. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to provide assistance for owners and employees of small business concerns displaced or injured by Federal or federally assisted programs; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7080. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and the Social Security Act to provide for more equitable treatment of persons affected by real property acquisitions in Federal or federally assisted programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HARRISON:

H.R. 7081. A bill to amend section 503 of title 38 of the United States Code to exclude from consideration as income, for the purpose of determining eligibility for pension, all amounts paid to an individual under public or private retirement, annuity, endowment, or similar type plans or programs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HARSHA:

H.R. 7082. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the construction of facilities to control water and air pollution by allowing a tax credit for expenditures incurred in constructing such facilities and by permitting the deduction, or amortization over a period of 1 to 5 years, of such expenditures; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H.R. 7083. A bill to amend the act of December 22, 1928, relating to the issuance of patents for lands held under color of title, to liberalize the requirements for the conveyance of the mineral estate, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H.R. 7084. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 7085. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HUNT:

H.R. 7086. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.R. 7087. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 7088. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. LANDRUM:

H.R. 7089. A bill to amend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 to extend its coverage to certain additional counties; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. LIPSCOMB:

H.R. 7090. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 7091. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7092. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7093. A bill to prohibit wiretapping by persons other than duly authorized law enforcement officers engaged in the investigation or prevention of specified categories of criminal offenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7094. A bill to amend chapter 73, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7095. A bill to permit the compelling of testimony with respect to certain crimes, and the granting of immunity in connection therewith; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7096. A bill to outlaw the Mafia and other organized crime syndicates; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 7097. A bill to provide for the popular election of the Governor of Guam, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mrs. MINK:

H.R. 7098. A bill making a supplemental appropriation to carry out the Adult Education Act of 1966 for the fiscal year 1967; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H.R. 7099. A bill to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 7100. A bill to amend section 203 of the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7101. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of unsolicited sample drug products and other potentially harmful items, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7102. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 7103. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7104. A bill to amend part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act to include prescribed drugs among the items and services covered under the supplementary medical insurance program for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POAGE:

H.R. 7105. A bill to amend the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 to strengthen and expand food service programs for children; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 7106. A bill concerning the maximum interest rate; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 7107. A bill to amend the National Security Act of 1947 and the Records Disposal Act of July 7, 1943, to provide for the improved direction and supervision by the President and by the Congress of the foreign intelligence activities and special operations of the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H.R. 7108. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit travel or use of any facility in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to incite a riot or other violent civil disturbance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7109. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 7110. A bill to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 7111. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7112. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide for the free importation of certain turtle meat; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 7113. A bill to increase the maximum rate of per diem allowance for employees of the Government traveling on official business; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 7114. A bill to establish a Department of Consumer Affairs in order to secure within the Federal Government effective representation of the interests of consumers; to coordinate the administration of consumer services by transferring to such Department certain functions of the Departments of Commerce, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and other agencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ROTH:

H.R. 7115. A bill to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 7116. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create the Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 7117. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a tax credit for certain amounts set aside by a taxpayer for the higher education of prospective college students in his family, and a tax credit for certain amounts otherwise paid as educational expenses to institutions of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request):

H.R. 7118. A bill to amend chapter 13 of title 38 of the United States Code to provide that widows of veterans who die while suffering from a total and permanent service-connected disability shall be entitled to dependency and indemnity compensation under that chapter; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WAGGONNER:

H.R. 7119. A bill to create a commission on the establishment of a Council of Free Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 7120. A bill to establish an emergency program of direct Federal assistance in the form of direct grants and loans to certain hospitals in critical need of new facilities in order to meet increasing demands for service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7121. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYDLER:

H.R. 7122. A bill to amend section 112(c) of title 28, United States Code, to provide that the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York shall be held at Brooklyn, Hauppauge, and Mineola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAHON:

H.R. 7123. A bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.J. Res. 421. Joint resolution to provide for the resumption of trade with Rhodesia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.J. Res. 422. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as National School Safety Patrol Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.J. Res. 423. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as National School Safety Patrol Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.J. Res. 424. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution preserving the rights of the States with respect to public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUNT:

H.J. Res. 425. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LUKENS:

H.J. Res. 426. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the offering of prayer in public buildings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.J. Res. 427. Joint resolution providing for the preparation and submission to the Congress of a master ground transportation plan for the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SELDEN:

H.J. Res. 428. Joint resolution to support the other American Republics in a historic new phase of the Alliance for Progress; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MAILLIARD:

H.J. Res. 429. Joint resolution to support the other American Republics in a historic new phase of the Alliance for Progress; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H. Con. Res. 275. Concurrent resolution to provide early appropriations for Federal educational programs; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HARDY:

H. Con. Res. 276. Concurrent resolution to provide for increased efficiency in the legislative branch of the Government; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. KARTH:

H. Con. Res. 277. Concurrent resolution reaffirming the support of the Congress for United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H. Res. 381. Resolution amending the rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GETTYS:

H. Res. 382. Resolution expressing the sense of the House with respect to the resignation of the present Commissioner of Education; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H. Res. 383. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, and establishing requirements for disclosure by Members, officers, and employees of the House of Representatives of assets and liabilities and relationships with certain businesses, firms, and lobbyists, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

57. By Mr. MOORE: Memorial of the House of Delegates, West Virginia Legislature, requesting the West Virginia delegation in Congress to take appropriate action to aid flood victims in West Virginia; to the Committee on Public Works.

58. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to renaming the Tehama-Colusa Canal; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

59. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to limiting the quantity of cotton-rayon textile imports and to increase the tariffs thereon; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

60. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Montana, relative to the return without restriction to the States of a portion of Federal income taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

61. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, relative to Federal financial assistance payments to domestic gold producers; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

62. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, relative to the tax imposed upon slot machines; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

63. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Mexico, relative to exempting from the highway use tax imposed under 26 U.S.C. 4481, those trucks designated by State law as farm trucks; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

64. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, relative to succession to the Presidency and the Vice Presidency; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

65. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, relative to the release of moneys withheld from Federal aid highway funds to the States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 7124. A bill for the relief of Gaspare Lamarca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASHMORE:

H.R. 7125. A bill for the relief of Ekaterini Konst Dimopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIESTER:

H.R. 7126. A bill for the relief of Peter Ercolino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 7127. A bill for the relief of Gilberto Oropa Zapanta and his wife, Lilia Ong Zapanta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 7128. A bill for the relief of Dr. Esther Yolanda Lauzardo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 7129. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jawahar N. Ghia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI (by request):

H.R. 7130. A bill for the relief of Guiseppe Staropoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 7131. A bill for the relief of the estate of Patrick H. Harrington, deceased; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 7132. A bill for the relief of Melbourne Murray; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 7133. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Gulizar Parseyan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of Illinois:

H.R. 7134. A bill for the relief of Dimitrios Vorrias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 7135. A bill for the relief of George Diamantopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 7136. A bill for the relief of Maria Luigia Di Giorgio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7137. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Marcelina Garcia Samson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 7138. A bill for the relief of Sebastiano Sarra Pistone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 7139. A bill for the relief of Rocco Esposito; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS. ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

47. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Henry Stoner, Portland, Oreg., relative to representation of the District of Columbia in the U.S. Senate; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1967

The Senate met in executive session at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, as we rejoice at the gift of another day, may its hours be made luminous by Thy presence—who art the light of all our seeing. Incline our hearts to keep Thy law, and in that law may we meditate day and night.

Wherever we are called to stand in this epic hour, may we strike our blow for the truth of God and the freedom of man.

In everything we are called to do, may we be at our best and so to be worthy of our high calling.

Grant us the spirit of kindliness, of thoughtfulness, and of fair play in all our relationships. Deliver us from all malice and contempt less we hurt others and sour our own souls.

Hear Thou our prayer as out of the depths we cry as we climb the world's great altar stairs which slope through darkness up to Thee—and in dangerous days may we still be able to utter in glad and grateful confidence, though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear.

The Lord is my light and my salvation; the Lord is the strength of my life, of whom should I be afraid. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, March 10, 1967, was dispensed with.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AS IN LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, as in legislative session, and that each Senator's statement therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the following subcommittees were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today:

The Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Committee on the District of Columbia.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

MEETING OF AMERICAN STATES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 84)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States on the meeting of Latin American States. Without objection, the message from the President will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and appropriately referred.

The message from the President was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

In less than a month, the leaders of the American States will meet in Punta del Este in Uruguay.

It will be the first such meeting in a decade, and the second ever held, of the heads of the free nations of our hemispheric system.

This meeting represents another link in the bond of partnership which joins us with more than 230 million neighbors to the south.

The gathering is far more than a symbol of flourishing friendship. Its purpose is a review of the progress we have made together in a great adventure which unites the destinies of all of us. Beyond that it will include a common commitment to the historic and humane next steps we plan to take together.

I look to this meeting with enthusiasm. The peaceful and progressive revolution which is transforming Latin America is one of the great inspirational movements of our time. Our participation in that revolution is a worthy enterprise blending our deepest national traditions with our most responsible concepts of hemispheric solidarity.

THE MEASURE OF PROGRESS

The cooperative spirit between the rest of the Americas and the United States has been building for decades.

The establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank in 1959, and the Act of Bogotá in 1960, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, helped turn that spirit to substance. In those historic compacts the American governments pledged their joint efforts to the development of programs to improve the lives of all the people of Latin America. They provided the impetus for an action taken in 1961 on which the history of the hemisphere has since turned. That action—the Alliance for Progress, which moved dramatically forward under President Kennedy—fused old dreams and fired new hopes. With its commitment of mutual assistance and self-help programs, it attacked evils as old as the condition of man—hunger, ignorance, and disease.

That Alliance is now 6 years old.

What can we say of it?

We can say that there is a clear record of progress. Per capita growth rates for Latin America show that more countries have broken the economic stagnation of earlier years. Reform and modernization are advancing as a new wave of managers and technicians apply their skills. There have been steady gains in private, national, and foreign investments. Inflation is easing. The struggle for social justice is proceeding.

These are all true. But the statements of progress are more meaningful, and they more realistically reflect the spirit of the Alliance, when they relate to the people for whose lives the Alliance itself was created. Since the Alliance began, and with the funds that we have contributed:

Men, women, and children are alive today who would otherwise have died.

One hundred million people are being protected from malaria—in 10 countries, deaths caused by malaria dropped from 10,810 to 2,280 in 3 years' time. Smallpox cases declined almost as sharply; 1,200 health centers, including hospitals and mobile medical units, are in operation or soon will be.

For tens of thousands of families, the most fundamental conditions of life are improving.

Three hundred and fifty thousand housing units have been, or are now being, built, 2,000 rural wells and 1,170 portable water supply systems have been built to benefit some 20 million persons.

Children are going to school now who would not have gone before.

Primary school enrollments have increased by 23 percent; secondary school enrollments by 50 percent; university enrollments by 39 percent; 28,000 classrooms have been built; 160,000 teachers have been trained or given additional training; more than 14 million textbooks have been distributed; 13 million schoolchildren and 3 million preschoolers participate in school-lunch programs.

Men whose fathers for generations have worked land owned by others now work it as their own.

Sixteen countries have legislation dealing directly with land reform; with U.S. assitance, 1.1 million acres have been irrigated and 106,000 acres reclaimed; more than 700,000 agricultural loans have benefited 3.5 million people; 15,000 miles of road have been built or improved, many of them farm-to-market access roads.

All of these are heartening facts. But they are only the beginning of the story, and only part of it. Statistics can only suggest the deep human meaning of hope alive now where once none lived. Statistics cannot report the wonder of a child born into a world which will give him a chance to break through the tyranny of indifference which doomed generations before him to lives of bleakness and want and misery.

Nor can they reveal the revolution which has come about in the minds of tens of millions of people when they saw that their own efforts, combined with those of their governments and their friends abroad, could change their lives for the better.

Perhaps most important of all, statistics cannot adequately reflect the emergence of a vigorous, competent, and confident new generation of Latin American leaders. These men are determined to see realized in their own time a strong, modern Latin America, loyal to its own traditions and history. They are men who know that rhetoric and resolutions are no substitute for sustained hard work.

And statistics can never tell us what might have been. They cannot record the shots which might have rung out in the avenidas and plazas of a dozen Latin American cities, but did not—or the howls of angry crowds which might have formed, but did not. The full success of the Alliance for Progress must be sought not only in what has been accomplished but in what has been avoided as well.

Ferment gripped the hemisphere when the Alliance was born. In places throughout the world, terror with its bloodshed sought to redress ancient evils. And in some of these places—in Cuba and half a world away in southeast Asia—even greater evil followed the thrust of violence. Through their own efforts under the Alliance for Progress, the Latin Americans have transformed the hemisphere into a region of determination and hope.

The United States participation in the Alliance was a bold affirmation of its belief that the true revolution which betters men's lives can be effected peacefully. The Alliance's 6-year record of accomplishments is history's clear testament to the validity of that belief.

It is also a testament to the validity of the underlying principle of self-help. Our support has been vitally important to the successes so far achieved. But the commitments and dedication of the Latin American nations themselves to these tasks has been the keystone of that success.

THE TASK BEFORE US

The record of progress only illuminates the work which still must be done if life for the people of this hemisphere is truly to improve—not just for today, but for the changing years ahead.

Last August, in a statement on the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, I described the challenge in these terms:

> If present trends continue, the population of this hemisphere will be almost 1 billion by the year 2000. Two-thirds—some 625 million—will live in Latin America. Whatever may be done through programs to reduce the rate of population growth, Latin America faces a vast challenge.
>
> Farm production, for instance, should increase by 6 percent every year, and that will be double the present rate.
>
> At least 140 million new jobs will need to be created.
>
> Over a million new homes should be built each year.
>
> More than 175,000 new doctors need to be trained to meet the very minimum requirements.
>
> Hundreds of thousands of new classrooms should be constructed.
>
> And annual per capita growth rates should increase to the range of 4 to 6 percent.
>
> These requirements, added to the demands of the present, mean that new sights must be set, that new directions and renewed drive must be found if we are to meet the challenge, if we are to move forward.

It is with these sober problems confronting us that the leaders of the American States will meet at Punta del Este.

PILLARS OF PROGRESS

Our governments have been hard at work for months preparing for this meeting.

Our concern has centered on the question of how we can speed the development process in Latin America. We know that growth and trade are interacting forces. We know that they depend on the free movement of products, people, and capital. We know they depend on people who are healthy and educated. We know that these conditions contain the seeds of prosperity for all of us.

Further, based on our joint experience so far under the Alliance, we know that the future progress of the hemisphere must rest on four strong pillars:

First, elimination of barriers to trade.

Civilization in most of Latin America followed along the coastal rim of the continent. Today the centers of population are concentrated here. Vast inner frontiers lie remote and untouched, separated from each other by great rivers, mountains, forests, and deserts. Simon Bolivar saw these natural barriers as major obstacles to trade and communication and to his dream of a single great Latin American Republic.

Because of them, Latin American countries for a century and a half tended to look outward for their markets to Europe and the United States.

Now they are looking inward as well. They see the same barriers, but they see them as less formidable. They are confident that with modern technology they can be overcome. Now with projects set in motion by the Alliance for Progress, men are beginning to carve roads along the slopes of the Andes, push bridges across the rushing rivers, connect power grids, extend pipelines and link the overland national markets.

The barriers of nature symbolize obstructions every bit as restrictive as the artificial trade barriers that men erect. The work to remove them both must proceed together.

Latin American leaders have seen the very real threat of industrial stagnation in the high tariff barriers they have erected against their commerce with each other. They see economic integration as indispensable to their future industrial growth.

The Central American countries, stimulated by Alliance programs, have already achieved spectacular increases in trade and investment. The larger grouping of South American States and Mexico, however, has approached economic unity at a slower pace.

Now both groups together must systematically move toward a Latin American Common Market. When this is carried into effect, it will bring the most profound change in hemispheric relations since independence. The countries of Latin America have given clear and sure indication that they intend to join together to advance toward this goal.

Second, improvement of education.

The burden of illiteracy, which the masses of people in Latin America have borne for centuries, is beginning to lift. In other times, the pace might have been satisfactory. It cannot be considered so today.

The countries of Latin America hope and aim to be economically strong. Such nations will require trained people in an abundance far greater than their classrooms and laboratories provide. The scientists, the teachers, the skilled laborers, the administrators and the planners on whom tomorrow depends must be trained before tomorrow arrives. Children must go to school in ever-increasing numbers. Adults who have never written their names must be raised to the level of literacy. University facilities must be expanded and scientific, technical, and vocational training must be provided of different kinds and in different fields.

All of this means more schools and an expansion of educational opportunities to reach more and more people with every passing month.

Third, agriculture.

Half the people of Latin America live in rural areas.

Most of that rural life is still shackled by poverty and neglect. Agricultural productivity is still restricted by outdated methods and outmoded policies. Comprehensive programs and reforms must be accelerated to bring modern farming techniques to the campo.

We and our neighbors to the south envision a dynamic Latin American agriculture which will help raise the standards of rural life.

We envision a sufficient increase in the production of food to provide for their growing populations—and to help meet world needs as well.

We envision a modernization of farming policies and techniques which will lead to a healthy competitive climate for food production.

Fourth, health.

Finally, we will strive harder than ever before to improve the health of all the people.

The battle against diseases that kill and cripple will be intensified.

Programs to make safe water supply and essential sanitation services available to all will be accelerated.

Nutrition levels for poor children and their parents will be advanced.

These are the problems we face together, and the promises we envision together, as we prepare for Punta del Este.

The problems are real. But the promises are also real. They are not empty visions. They are all within our reach. They will not be accomplished quickly or easily. But they are objectives worthy of the support of all our people.

INCREASED ASSISTANCE

In keeping with the spirit of our commitment under the Alliance for Progress and after a careful review of the objectives which our Latin American neighbors have set for themselves, I believe that we should pledge increased financial assistance in the years ahead.

The fundamental principle which has guided us in the past—demonstrated need and self-help—will continue to shape our actions in the future.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to increase our aid by up to $1.5 billion or about $300 million per year over the next 5 years.

It must not be at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world.

This amount will be in addition to the $1 billion we have been annually investing in the future of Latin American democracy, since the Alliance for Progress began 6 years ago. The total value of our economic assistance, even after the proposed increases, will still be only a fraction of the resources the Latin American nations are themselves investing.

The $1.5 billion increase I propose must be considered an approximate figure. Its precise determination will depend on steps which the Latin American nations themselves must take. But even so, we can project in a general way what will be necessary:

First, agriculture, education, and health.

Approximately $900 million of this increase should be used over the next 5 years to train teachers and build new laboratories and classrooms; to increase food production and combat the malnutrition which stunts the promise of young children; to fight disease and cure the ill.

One hundred million dollars of this amount has been included in the fiscal 1968 budget totals. I will request that it be added to the new obligational authority of $543 million already recommended for the Alliance for Progress.

For the next 4 fiscal years, the additional annual amount of some $200 million is within the $750 million authorization for the Alliance for Progress approved by Congress last year.

Second, a Latin American Common Market.

Approximately one-quarter to one-half billion dollars over a 3-to-5-year period, beginning about 1970, may be required to assist Latin America to move toward a common market.

Progress in this direction will require a period of transition. To help with this adjustment, assistance can be used to retrain workers, ease balance-of-payments problems, and stimulate intra-Latin American trade.

The members of the Alliance for Progress, including the United States, should be prepared to finance this assistance on an equitable matching basis.

I will ask Congress to authorize these funds only when the first essential steps toward a common market are taken.

Third, multinational projects—communications, roads, and river systems.

Approximately $150 million over a 3-year period should provide additional funds to the Inter-American Bank's Fund for Special Operations. These increased contributions can help finance preinvestment studies and a portion of the cost of new multinational projects: Roads to link the nations and people of Latin America; modern communication networks to speed communications; bridges to carry the fruits of commerce over river barriers, dams to stem the ravages of flood; hydroelectric plants to provide a plentiful source of power for growth and prosperity.

We will request congressional authorization to provide this amount together with our regular $250 million annual contribution for each of the next 3 years to the Inter-American Bank's Funds for Special Operations.

We expect our partners in the Bank to increase their contributions on a proportional basis.

CONCLUSION

For the nations participating, Punta del Este will be a returning. It was there 6 years ago in that city by the sea, that the American nations framed the charter of the Alliance which unites the hopes of this hemisphere.

We will be bringing with us the accumulated wisdom shaped by the experience gained in the years that have intervened.

We have learned much. Our sister countries know, and know well, that the burden of the task is theirs, the decisions are theirs, the initiative to build these new societies must be theirs. They know that the only road to progress is the road of self-help.

They know that our role can only be that of support, with our investment only a small portion of what they themselves contribute to their future.

This knowledge strengthens their own resolve, and their own commitment.

The people of the United States have learned, over the 6 years since that first conference at Punta del Este, that the investment to which we pledged our support there is a good and honorable one.

It is an investment made in the spirit of our world view, so well described by a great American jurist, Learned Hand:

> Right knows no boundaries, and justice no frontiers; the brotherhood of man is not a domestic institution.

That view of the world provides us with the knowledge that service is mutually rewarding. We have learned in the span of a generation that when we help others in a truly meaningful way, we serve our own vital interests as well.

I could go to the summit meeting with the President's executive authority and reach understandings with our Latin American neighbors on behalf of this country. I believe it is much more in our democratic tradition if the Executive and the Congress work together as partners in this matter.

I am, therefore, going to you in the Congress not after a commitment has been made, but before making any commitment. I seek your guidance and your counsel. I have already met with some 40 of your leaders.

I am asking the entire Congress and the American people to consider thoroughly my recommendations. I will look to their judgment and support as I prepare for our Nation's return to Punta del Este.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

The White House, *March 13, 1967.*

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, and so forth, were laid bebore the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"S.J. Res 9

"A joint resolution, Ratifying a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office

"Whereas, both Houses of the Eighty-Ninth Congress of the United States of America by a constitutional majority of two-thirds of each House thereof, made the following proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States of America in the following words and figures, to wit:

"Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress.

" 'ARTICLE —

" 'SECTION 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

" 'SEC. 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

" 'Sec. 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

" 'Sec. 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

" 'Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.' Therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein:*

"Section 1. That said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America be, and the same is hereby, ratified by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota.

"Sec. 2. That certified copies of this preamble and Joint Resolution be forwarded by the Secretary of this State, to the Secretary of State of the United States, to the presiding officers of both Houses of the Congress of the United States, and to the Archivist of the United States."

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Indiana; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"House Enrolled Concurrent Resolution
No. 58

"A concurrent resolution applying to the Congress to call a Convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:*

"Section 1. That this legislature respectfully applies to the Congress of the United States to call a Convention for the purpose of proposing the following article as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

" 'Article —

" 'Section 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit any state which shall have a bicameral legislature from apportioning the membership of one house of such legislature on factors other than population, provided that the plan of such apportionment shall have been submitted to and approved by a vote of the electorate of that state.

" 'Sec. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall restrict or limit a state in its determination of how membership of governing bodies of its subordinate units shall be apportioned.

" 'Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.'

"Sec. 2. Be it further resolved, that if Congress shall have proposed an amendment to the Constitution identical with that contained in this Resolution prior to June 1, 1967, this application for a Convention shall no longer be of any force or effect.

"Sec. 3. Be it further resolved, that a duly attested copy of this Resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of the Congress from this state."

MEMORIAL

The ACTING PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a memorial signed by Robert M. Wright, and sundry other citizens of the State of Oklahoma, remonstrating against the ratification of the Soviet Consular Treaty, which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. METCALF (for himself and Mr. Mansfield):

S. 1253. A bill to provide loan assistance for the replacement of public elementary and secondary school facilities destroyed as the result of certain disasters; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Metcalf when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. PROUTY:

S. 1254. A bill for the relief of Raymond C. Melvin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLELLAN:

S. 1255. A bill to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act for the purpose of providing additional protection for the interests of participants in and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. McClellan when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1256. A bill for the relief of Safia Talibi Naz;

S. 1257. A bill for the relief of Kuo-Hua Yang;

S. 1258. A bill for the relief of Ramon G. Irigoyen; and

S. 1259. A bill for the relief of Wouter Keesing; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 1260. A bill to amend the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950 (Public Law 845-81); to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Magnuson when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1261. A bill for the relief of Shirley Levitz; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TYDINGS (for himself, Mr. Eastland, Mr. Magnuson, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Morse, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Talmadge, Mr. Clark, Mr. Javits, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Scott, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Williams of New Jersey, Mr. Muskie, Mr. Moss, Mr. Hart, Mr. Fong, Mr. Pell, Mr. Ribicoff, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Mondale, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Hollings, and Mr. Hatfield):

S. 1262. A bill to authorize the Army Corps of Engineers to initiate a 3-year appraisal report of our national tidal and Great Lakes shoreline; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. Tydings when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MOSS:

S.J. Res. 52. Joint resolution providing for the preparation and submission to the Congress of a master ground transportation plan for the United States; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Moss when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MORSE (for himself, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Javits, and Mr. Hickenlooper):

S.J. Res. 53. Joint resolution to support the other American Republics in a historic new phase of the Alliance for Progress; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Morse when he introduced the above joint resolution which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McCARTHY (for himself, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Boggs, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Burdick, Mr. Carlson, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Dirksen, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Fong, Mr. Gruening, Mr. Harris, Mr. Hart, Mr. Hartke, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Jordan of Idaho, Mr. Long of Missouri, Mr. Magnuson, Mr. McClellan, Mr. McGovern, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Mondale, Mr. Moss, Mr. Mundt, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Ribicoff, Mr. Scott, Mr. Smathers, Mrs. Smith, Mr. Williams of Delaware, Mr. Young of North Dakota, and Mr. Young of Ohio):

S.J. Res. 54. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. McCarthy when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC LAW 815

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I send to the desk on behalf of my distinguished colleague, the majority leader, and myself a bill to amend Public Law 815. At all levels of government—local, State, and Federal—we share a responsibility for the education upon which democracy rests. We meet that responsibility in many ways. We have State equalization programs, which spread the costs of education among local school districts, some of which have larger tax bases than others. And we have Federal programs aimed at guaranteeing to all American youngsters an equal opportunity for educational excellence.

One of these programs helps local school districts replace and rebuild schools in areas proclaimed by the President to be disaster areas at the request of the Governor of the State. In this way, we meet our responsibility for education in broad areas hit by a flood, a hurricane, or other major disaster.

But to the student, the loss of his school is a disaster—whether or not that loss can be so classified under existing legislation. He must go to class in makeshift classrooms, with little or no equipment, sometimes without even textbooks. This situation can go on for months, even years, while insurance is collected, plans and specifications are prepared, bids called for, contracts let, and a new school is built or the old one is repaired. During this period, the students who went to that school are being educationally short-changed. This in itself is a serious situation. Even more serious is the problem facing the district which operates the school. The insurance carried on most of the schools with which I am familiar is a percentage of the average value of the plant. Seldom, if ever, is it enough to replace the structure. And frequently the district is at or near statutory or constitutional bonded debt ceilings which prevent residents of the local district from bonding themselves for enough money to replace their school.

This problem was pinpointed recently in Wolf Point, Mont. There fire destroyed the high school operated by School District 45 of Roosevelt County. Some 470 youngsters were going to the school, built in 1952 at a cost of $1 million. It was built in part with funds available under Public Law 815 of the 81st Congress, now scheduled to expire at the end of June.

A horseback estimate is that it will cost $2 million to replace the structure. At the very most, I am told, the district may collect $750,000 on its insurance. Recently the residents of the district voted a $530,000 bond issue to add 10 classrooms to the existing school. That money has not yet been obligated so it may be available for rebuilding. So the district has $1,280,000 available for $2 million worth of school construction. The district has an additional bonding capacity of $215,000. If this were voted, the district would have $1,495,000, or $505,000 less than it would need to replace the structure which burned—with no provision for the needed enlargement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Spong in the chair). The time of the Senator from Montana has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague may have as much time as he desires to finish his remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. METCALF. I thank my colleague.

Mr. President, this is not an unusual case. When my office called the Office of Education to discuss the situation, we were told that this was the third such case in a week. Fire, tornadoes and other storms, and malicious mischief regularly damage or destroy school buildings across the Nation.

With the great mobility of population in the United States, we can no longer refer to problems of this sort as being a local problem. Apart from the humanitarian reasons that we simply must do all possible to educate all of our children, it must be noted that the youngster who is deprived of education because of disaster, will undoubtedly become a worker and citizen of another locale. In short, it is to the mutual interest of the entire Nation to support this type of assistance.

For years, I have included myself among those concerned with the education of our youngsters. As a Member of the other body, I helped write extensions of Public Law 815, under which taxes collected at the Federal level go directly to local districts to help build schools in areas affected by Federal activities.

Public Law 815 now includes a section, under which schools can be replaced in major disaster areas. But there is no provision for replacement of individual schools, damaged or destroyed.

Public Law 815 is scheduled to end on July 1. I am sure Congress will extend it. For the consideration of the appropriate committees considering that extension, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield] and I propose to amend the law to provide for replacement of schools which are victims of pinpoint disasters.

Under our proposal, the Commissioner of Education could offer the school district an advance to replace the facilities damaged or destroyed. The advance would be in addition to the proceeds of insurance and money available from State, local, and other Federal sources, and would be repaid by the district.

This would help districts move promptly to meet an emergency classroom shortage.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that our bill be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1253) to provide loan assistance for the replacement of public elementary and secondary school facilities destroyed as the result of certain disasters, introduced by Mr. Metcalf (for himself and Mr. Mansfield), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1253

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 16 (a) of the Act of September 23, 1950 (Public Law 815, 81st Congress), is amended to read as follows:

"SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE IN CASES OF CERTAIN DISASTERS

"Sec. 16. (a) In any case in which—

"(1) (A) the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning determines with respect to any local educational agency that such agency is located in whole or in part within an area which after August 30, 1965, and prior to July 1, 1967, has suffered a major disaster as the result of any flood, drought, fire, hurricane, earthquake, storm;

"(2) the Governor of the State in which such agency is located has certified the need for disaster assistance under this section, and has given assurance of expenditure of a reasonable amount of the funds of the government of such State, or of any political subdivision thereof, for the same or similar purposes with respect to such catastrophe; and if the Commissioner determines with respect to such local educational agency that—

"(3) public elementary or secondary school facilities of such agency have been destroyed or seriously damaged as a result of such major disaster;

"(4) such agency is making a reasonable tax effort and is exercising due diligence in availing itself of State and other financial assistance available for the replacement or restoration of such school facilities;

"(5) such agency does not have sufficient funds available to it from State, local, and other Federal sources (including funds available under other provisions of this Act), and from the proceeds of insurance on such school facilities, to provide the minimum school facilities needed or other catastrophe which, in the determination of the President pursuant to section 2 (a) of the Act of September 30, 1950 (42 U.S.C. 1855a (a)), is or threatens to be of sufficient severity or magnitude to warrant disaster assistance by the Federal Government, or

"(B) the Commissioner determines with respect to any local educational agency that public elementary or secondary school facilities of such agency have been destroyed or seriously damaged as a result of fire, flood, hurricane, earthquake, storm, malicious action of any person known or unknown, or other catastrophe; and

for the restoration or replacement of the school facilities so destroyed or seriously damaged; and

"(6) in the case of any such major disaster, to the extent that the operation of private elementary and secondary schools in the school attendance area of the local educational agency has been disrupted or impaired by such disaster, such local educational agency has complied with the provisions of section 7(a)(3) of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress), with respect to provisions for the conduct of educational programs under public auspices and administration in which children enrolled in such private elementary and secondary schools may attend and participate,

the Commissioner may provide the additional assistance necessary to enable such agency to provide such facilities, upon such terms and in such amounts (subject to the provisions of this section) as the Commissioner may consider to be in the public interest; but such additional assistance, plus the amount which he determines to be available from State, local, and other Federal sources (including funds available under other provisions of this Act), and from the proceeds of insurance, may not exceed the cost of construction incident to the restoration or replacement of the school facilities destroyed or damaged as a result of the disaster. In all cases determined pursuant to clause (1)(B) of this subsection, and in any other case deemed appropriate by the Commissioner, such assistance shall be in the form of a repayable advance subject to such terms and conditions as he considers to be in the public interest."

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wish to concur wholeheartedly with what my distinguished colleague has just said.

There is a situation of grave importance at Wolf Point, Mont., in the northeastern part of the State. It calls for prompt and effective action. My distinguished colleague has indicated a way and a means by which this can be achieved at the earliest possible moment, so far as the Senate is concerned. I join him in expressing the hope that action will be forthcoming shortly, to the end that this very difficult situation can be successfully resolved so that the youngsters who attend the Wolf Point High School in Roosevelt County can be given the utmost consideration as speedily as possible.

Mr. METCALF. I thank my colleague. The people of Wolf Point in this particular situation find it just as serious as if it were a countywide or regionalwide disaster under a Presidential proclamation.

The whole point of the bill is to provide equality and equity so that we can pinpoint the local disaster as well as the larger, regional disaster.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And, as the Senator has said, there is precedent for the action proposed.

WELFARE AND PENSION PLANS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act. In most of its provisions, the bill is identical with S. 2627, which I introduced in the 89th Congress.

The purpose of the bill is to provide additional safeguards for the rights and interests of approximately 40 million persons, and their families, who are participants in and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans. The added protection would be furnished by the inclusion of four new and sorely needed areas of firm regulation in the existing statute. They would, first, establish minimum standards and requirements for the administration, supervision, and disbursement of all employee benefit plans; second, establish minimum fiduciary standards of conduct for all persons charged with the operations of the plans and the handling of the funds; third, provide adequate penalties for violations; and fourth, provide for the recovery of losses suffered by such funds through mismanagement, dishonesty, or the receipt by any fiduciary of personal profits derived from the funds.

Investigations and hearings of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, of which I am chairman, have during the past several years given clear indication that the existing laws do not adequately deter and prohibit the actions of corrupt and dishonest persons who devise adroit schemes to deplete the assets of welfare and pension funds. Testimony showed that the present statute is not sufficiently restrictive to prohibit the kinds of scandalous manipulations disclosed in our hearings. I will cite two examples:

In 1965, the subcommittee conducted hearings on the diversion of approximately $4,200,000 from the welfare funds of two unions in the New York area. A man named George Barasch, who dominated the two unions, was the union trustee of the welfare funds, appointed for life. Barasch managed, through a series of complicated maneuvers, to divert the funds to overseas "research" foundations in Liberia and Puerto Rico. The foundations were under his complete control, and he had the power to distribute their assets as he pleased. Testimony by officials of the Departments of Justice and Labor showed that this scheme to deplete the trust funds apparently had been accomplished with impunity. Through efforts initiated by the subcommittee and carried out by the New York State Insurance Department, the entire sum of $4,200,000 which had been diverted was restored to the trust funds of the two unions, and Barasch was removed from his lifetime positions as trustee.

The subcommittee held hearings in 1966 relating to certain improper and corrupt activities of a labor relations firm called National Consultants Associated, Ltd., and one of its principal officers, Jack McCarthy. Although the investigation focused primarily on McCarthy's operations as a management representative who negotiated collective bargaining agreements with several unions which he controlled, certain abuses in the field of employee benefit plans were disclosed by the evidence in the hearings. For example, McCarthy was financially involved with a plan for dental service for members of several unions which he controlled. The plan offered a minimum of dental service to the participants, since it was essentially only a dentists' referral bureau. The union members had to pay for the dental work involved. However, testimony showed that McCarthy made personal profits of at least $20,700 from the scheme, and that the assets of the union welfare funds were unconscionably depleted by at least $209,000. Another scheme by Jack McCarthy, undertaken when he was the trustee of a union welfare fund, involved a real estate transaction in which union welfare funds contributed heavily to windfall profits of $45,780 for Jack McCarthy's mother over a 10-year period. This represented a profit of 832 percent above the original investment of $5,500, which purportedly was provided by McCarthy's mother.

Members of the subcommittee were shocked during these hearings to learn that the assets of employee benefit plans could be diverted so readily from the interests of their participants and beneficiaries. It is evident that the Congress has failed to enact laws in this field that will deter and prohibit abuses and corruption by dishonest men, and, therefore, it is incumbent upon us to revise and strengthen the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act.

Mr. President, I am pleased that the administration has indicated its understanding that the existing laws do not adequately safeguard the rights and interests of the working men and women for whose benefit the plans were devised. On February 20, 1967, a bill (S. 1024) to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act was introduced in the Senate, and an identical bill was introduced in the other body on the same day. During his introductory remarks to the bill, the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] indicated that the administration was aware of the contributions made in this field by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations when he said:

> The need for a bill on this subject was made clear by the hearings conducted by the McClellan committee in the summer of 1965 and by the report of the President's Committee on Corporate Pension Funds and Other Private Retirement and Welfare Funds. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 3924, February 20, 1967.)

I am pleased to see that a number of provisions of S. 1024 are so similar to certain sections of the bill which I introduce today that it is apparent that close consideration was given during the drafting of S. 1024 to the recommendations made by the subcommittee in its report to the Senate on the George Barasch case, and to my bill S. 2627 of the 89th Congress. The subcommittee, however, was not provided with copies of S. 1024 to examine and consider prior to its introduction, nor was the chairman asked to cosponsor this measure in which the subcommittee has such a keen and continuing interest. We did receive copies of the bill on February 21, 1967, the day after its introduction, and it has since been studied.

Mr. President, the administration's bill is, in my opinion, a reasonable and workable approach to solving the problem of improving the supervision and administration of welfare and pension funds. I consider its provisions worthy of support. I could scarcely voice a contrary opinion, since the provisions of S. 1024 follow so closely the recommendations of the subcommittee and the provisions of this bill which I reintroduce today.

However, I believe that the existing statute needs certain additional provisions and further strengthening in areas which are not included in S. 1024. Among these matters included in my proposal are: First, a specific prohibition against the removal of funds beyond the jurisdiction of Federal district courts; second, limitations upon the length of terms of trustees of employee benefit plans; third, prohibitions of specific abuses, improprieties, and illicit acts of the kind disclosed by the subcommittee's investigations; and fourth, more stringent sanctions and penalties for violations than are proposed in S. 1024.

I commend the President for his concern in this important field of the national economy and for submitting his recommendations and the proposal embodied in S. 1024 to the Congress for consideration. I believe that the bill I introduced today will serve equally well as a good foundation for new legislation. If its measures are considered by the appropriate legislative committee, and if its principal features are enacted into law, then we shall have made real progress toward deterring and eliminating the raiding and looting of welfare and pension plans by corrupt and dishonest persons.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD, together with a summary of the proposed bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and summary will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1255) to amend the Wel-

fare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act for the purpose of providing additional protection for the interests of participants in and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans, introduced by Mr. McClellan, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1255

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act, as amended, is amended by adding the following new title:

"TITLE II—SAFEGUARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF EMPLOYEE WELFARE AND PENSION BENEFIT FUNDS

"STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

"Sec. 201. It is the purpose of this title to provide additional safeguards for the protection of the interests of participants in and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans (1) by providing certain minimum standards and requirements for the maintenance and management of employee welfare and pension benefit funds; (2) by providing certain minimum fiduciary standards of conduct, responsibility, and obligation, upon all persons engaged in, or responsible for, receiving, holding, managing, investing, lending, disbursing, or otherwise handling any of such funds; (3) by providing sanctions and penalties for breaches of such fiduciary standards; and (4) by providing for the recovery of losses suffered by such funds by reason of the refusal or failure of such persons to maintain and abide by such fiduciary standards.

"DEFINITIONS

"Sec. 202. As used in this title—

"(1) The term 'employee welfare benefit fund' means any fund established pursuant to or in connection with an employee welfare benefit plan subject to this Act, for the purpose of providing medical, surgical, or hospital care or benefits, or benefits in the event of sickness, accident, disability, death, or unemployment, for the participants in such welfare benefit plan and/or their beneficiaries.

"(2) The term 'employee pension benefit fund' means any fund established pursuant to or in connection with an employee pension benefit plan (including a profit-sharing plan) subject to this Act, for the purpose of providing pensions, annuities, or other retirement benefits for the participants in such pension benefit plan, and/or their beneficiaries.

"(3) The term 'fund', when employed in a context which refers to the holding, distribution, investment, or earnings thereof, or to payments or transfers therefrom, means the moneys, stocks, bonds, debentures, or other assets thereof, or deeds, mortgages, or other evidences of ownership of assets or ownership of interests in assets; but such term, when so employed, does not include any welfare or pension insurance policy, contract or plan issued or entered into by an insurance company organized under the laws of the several States of the United States and does not include any premiums, money, or other thing of value which has been paid thereof, or deposited thereunder.

"REQUIREMENTS RESPECTING FUNDS

"Sec. 203. (a) All employee welfare benefit funds and all employee pension benefit funds, whenever established, shall be deemed to be trust funds and to be subject to the terms and conditions provided in this section, whether or not established pursuant to trust agreements or other written instruments.

"(b) Any employee welfare benefit fund and the income accruing thereto shall be available for expenditure only for the sole and exclusive purpose of (1) paying to the participants in the employee welfare benefit plan pursuant to which such fund was established or their beneficiaries (or both), medical, surgical, hospital, sickness, accident, disability, death, or unemployment benefits provided under such plan and (2) defraying the reasonable costs of administration of such plan.

"(c) Any employee pension benefit fund and the income accruing thereto shall be available only for the sole and exclusive purpose of paying to the participants in the employee pension benefit plan pursuant to which such fund was established or their beneficiaries (or both), the retirement benefits (including disability retirement benefits) and death benefits (if any) provided under such plan and for defraying the reasonable costs of administration of such plan.

"(d) No gift of money or other assets shall be made or accepted from an employee welfare or pension benefit fund for any purpose.

"(e) The term of a trustee elected or appointed after the effective date of this title for any employee welfare or pension benefit fund shall not be for a period longer than three years, and the term of any person serving as a trustee of any employee welfare or pension benefit fund, on the effective date of this title shall expire not later than three years after such date, except that pursuant to a plan submitted to and approved by the Secretary pursuant to regulations promulgated by him the term of a trustee elected or appointed after the effective date of this title for any employee welfare or pension benefit fund may be for a period not longer than six years, and the term of any person serving as a trustee of any employee welfare or pension benefit fund, on the effective date of this title, shall, pursuant to such exception, expire not later than six years after such date. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prohibit the reelection or reappointment of any qualified individual upon the expiration of such term.

"(f) Any person who willfully violates any provision of this section shall be fined not more than $2,000, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

"SITUS OF EMPLOYEE WELFARE AND PENSION BENEFIT FUNDS

"Sec. 204. The situs of every employee welfare benefit fund and every employee pension benefit fund shall at all times be located within the jurisdiction of one or more of the District Courts of the United States, or one or more of the United States courts of any territory or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and no part of any such fund shall be transferred, deposited, invested, loaned or held outside the United States except pursuant to a plan submitted to and approved by the Secretary pursuant to regulations promulgated by him. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to require approval by the Secretary of the purchase by an employee welfare or pension benefit fund of securities listed and traded on an exchange subject to regulation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, or securities in an investment company registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940, or securities of a public utility holding company registered under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935.

"LOANS

"Sec. 205. (a) No loan of moneys or other assets shall be made from any employee welfare or pension benefit fund, unless such loan is secured by assets which are pledged and obligated by the borrower as collateral and which are of a value not less than the amount of such loan. No such loan shall be made except pursuant to a duly executed and signed instrument which specifies the amount and term of the loan, the rate of interest to be paid by the borrower, and the location and complete description of the property which is being pledged by the borrower as collateral for such loan. This provision shall not prevent the use of the fund by the trustees for payment of premiums or benefits for employees of an employer who has defaulted in the payment of one or more of his required contributions to the trust fund and any such use of the fund shall not be considered a loan.

"(b) No loan shall be made from an employees welfare or pension benefit fund to any borrower if the situs of either his legal domicile, or of the assets, if any, which he proposes to pledge as security for such loan, is located outside the jurisdiction of the Courts referred to in section 204.

"(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit the making of unsecured loans from any employee welfare or pension benefit fund to any individual who is a participant or beneficiary of such fund, but the aggregate amount of the unpaid balance of such loans to any individual outstanding at any one time shall not exceed $500.

"(d) Any person who willfully violates any provision of this section or section 204, shall be fined not more than $2,000, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

"FIDUCIARY STATUS OF CERTAIN PERSONS WITH RESPECT TO FUNDS

"Sec. 206. (a) Each administrator, officer, director, trustee, and member of any executive board or similar governing body of any employee welfare or pension benefit fund, and any employee of such fund who receives, disburses, or otherwise exercises any control or authority with respect to the moneys or other assets of such fund, is a fiduciary and occupies a position of trust in relation to such fund and its participants and beneficiaries individually and as a group. It is, therefore, the responsibility, obligation, and duty of each such fiduciary, taking into account the purposes and functions of such employee welfare or pension benefit fund, to hold its money and other assets solely and exclusively for the participants and beneficiaries of such fund, and to handle, manage, invest and expend the same in a manner consistent with the purposes for which the fund was established and the provisions of this title, and in his conduct of the affairs of such fund, to exercise the same degree of care and skill as would be exercised by a reasonably careful, diligent, and prudent man.

"(b) No person who is a fiduciary of an employee welfare of employee pension benefit fund shall deal with such fund, represent any other party dealing with such fund, or use his influence in behalf of any other party dealing with such fund, in any matter in which such fiduciary or such party has a financial interest the advancement of which would be contrary to the financial or other interests of such fund, nor shall any such person otherwise act as an adverse party or in behalf of an adverse party in dealing with such fund.

"(c) No person who is a fiduciary of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund, a labor organization (including an official thereof) which represents employees who are participants in or beneficiaries of such fund, or an employer (including an official thereof) of any employee who is a participant in or beneficiary of any such fund, shall borrow, directly or indirectly, any money or other assets from such fund, nor shall any investment be made from such fund, except that a loan or investment may be made from such a fund to any such employer in any case in which the Secretary determines, in accordance with regulations promulgated by him, that such loan or investment would be in the interest of such fund or its participants or beneficiaries.

"(d) No person shall directly or indirectly hold or acquire any pecuniary or other interest in an employee welfare or pension benefit fund of which he is a fiduciary, which conflicts with his responsibilities, obligations and duties toward such fund and its participants and beneficiaries.

"(e) No person shall accept any gratuity, commission, or kickback, or share in any accrued profit, in connection with the management, investment, disbursement, or other handling of any of the moneys or other assets of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund of which he is a fiduciary.

"(f) No person shall, directly or indirectly, receive or accept any payment, pledge, hypothecation, assignment, or other transfer out of the moneys or other assets of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund of which he is a fiduciary.

"(g) Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit any person from receiving (1) any benefit to which he may be entitled as a participant in or beneficiary of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund, or (2) any reasonable compensation for, or reimbursement of expenses properly and actually incurred in, the performance of his duties as a fiduciary of such fund.

"(h) Any fiduciary of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund who willfully breaches any of the responsibilities, obligations, or duties imposed on fiduciaries of such funds by this title, shall be held personally liable to such funds for any losses resulting from such breach and his personal assets shall be subject to attachment in behalf of such fund for purposes of reimbursement.

"(i) Any fiduciary of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund who knowingly agrees to or condones the breach by any other fiduciary of such fund, of the responsibilities, obligations, or duties imposed on fiduciaries of such funds by this title, shall be held liable to such fund for any losses resulting from such breach, individually and jointly with the fiduciary whose breach is condoned or agreed to, and the personal assets of each such fiduciary shall be subject to attachment in behalf of such fund for purposes of reimbursement.

"(j) Any fiduciary of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund who willfully breaches any of the responsibilities, obligations, or duties imposed on fiduciaries of such funds by this title shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

"(k) Any exculpatory provision and any exculpatory general or special resolution which purports to relieve any fiduciary of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund from liability for any breach of the responsibilities, obligations, or duties declared by this title, shall be void as against public policy.

"PROHIBITION AGAINST CERTAIN PERSONS HOLDING POSITIONS OF TRUST

"SEC. 207. (a) (1) No person shall serve as an administrator, officer, director, trustee, or member of any executive board of similar governing body or an employee welfare or pension benefit fund, or as an employee who receives, disburses, or otherwise exercises any control or authority with respect to the moneys or other assets of such a fund for any period which is within the five-year period which commences with whichever of the following dates is the later—

"(A) the date he was convicted of (i) robbery, (ii) bribery, (iii) extortion, (iv) embezzlement, (v) grand larceny, (vi) burglary, (vii) arson, (viii) violation of any Federal or State law dealing with narcotics, (ix) rape, (x) murder, (xi) assault with intent to kill, (xii) assault which inflicts or is intended to inflict grievous bodily injury, (xiii) any other crime which involves moral turpitude and for which a prison term of one year or more may be imposed, (xiv) conspiracy to commit *any of the aforesaid crimes, (xv) violation of* any provision of the Labor-Management Relations Act, violation of any provision of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, or violation of any provision of this Act, if a fine or prison term is imposed as a result of conviction of such violation, or (xvi) conspiracy to commit any such violation, if a fine or prison term is imposed as a result of such conspiracy, or

"(B) the date of the termination of any prison term imposed as a result of the conviction of any crime or violation referred to in paragraph (A),

unless prior to the expiration of such five-year period such person shall have been granted a duly executed pardon for the commission of such crime or violation and fully restored to all rights of citizenship which were revoked as a result of the conviction of such crime or violation.

"(2) For purposes of paragraph (1), a conviction shall be deemed to have occurred on the date of the judgment of conviction is entered by the trial court, or, if later, the date the judgment of the trial court is sustained on appeal.

"(3) The provisions of this subsection shall apply to convictions occurring before as well as on and after the effective date of this title.

"(b) No administrator, officer, director, trustee, or member of any executive board or similar governing body of an employee welfare or pension benefit fund, and no employee who receives, disburses or otherwise exercises any control or authority with respect to the moneys or other assets of such a fund, shall knowingly assent to any person's assumption or holding of any of the positions herein designated, in violation of this section.

"(c) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"DISSOLUTION OR MERGER OF EMPLOYEE WELFARE AND PENSION BENEFIT FUNDS

"SEC. 208. (a) No employee welfare or pension benefit fund having assets in excess of $25,000 shall pay out or transfer any of its assets upon dissolution or merger with any other fund except in accordance with a plan (1) complying with general regulations issued by the Secretary or (2) the provisions of which have been approved by the Secretary as being fair and equitable to the participants and beneficiaries, and to any other person who has a legal or equitable interest in such fund or the assets thereof by reason of having made financial contribution thereto or otherwise.

"(b) The Secretary shall not approve any plan of dissolution or merger of any employee welfare or pension benefit fund which provides for the distribution directly or indirectly to or for the benefit of any person occupying or who previously occupied a position involving fiduciary responsibilities, obligations, and duties in respect to such fund except to the extent that such person may be entitled thereto as one of the participants or beneficiaries for whose benefit such fund was established, or as a person who, because of financial contributions made to such fund or otherwise, has a legal or equitable interest therein the enforcement of which would be fair and equitable, the interests of all parties considered.

"(c) Proceedings on application for approval of plans of dissolution or merger shall be conducted in accord with the provisions and requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act.

"(d) Any person aggrieved by the final determination of the Secretary may within sixty days thereof file with the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, or with any other United States circuit court of appeals having jurisdiction of the situs of the employee welfare or pension benefit fund, *a petition for review of such final determination.* A copy of the petition shall forthwith be transmitted by the clerk of such court to the Secretary. The Secretary shall thereupon file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based such final determination as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

"(e) The findings of fact by the Secretary, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Secretary to take further evidence, and the Secretary may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous determination, and shall certify to the court the transcript and record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

"(f) The court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Secretary or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

"(g) If no petition for review is filed pursuant to and within the time prescribed in subsection (d), the final determination of the Secretary shall become final and shall not thereupon be subject to review by any court.

"(h) The Secretary shall from time to time issue such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

"IMPROPER TRANSACTIONS WITH FIDUCIARIES

"SEC. 209. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person to accept any money or other thing of value from the assets of any employee welfare or pension benefit fund pursuant to any transaction with any person occupying the position of a fiduciary in relation to such fund, if such transaction is contrary to or involves any violation of the responsibilities, obligations, and duties imposed upon such fiduciary under any of the provisions of this title, and any contract or agreement providing for such transaction shall be null and void.

"(b) Any person who knowingly violates the provisions of subsection (a) of this section shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

"CIVIL SUITS—REMOVAL OF TRUSTEES

"SEC. 210. (a) The Secretary or any person who has a legal or equitable interest in any employee welfare or pension benefit fund or the assets thereof may petition the appropriate district or other court of the United States to remove any person occupying a fiduciary position in relation to such fund and, pending the replacement of such person, to appoint an appropriate individual to carry out the duties of the person to be removed.

"(b) If the court finds that (1) such person is failing to carry out his fiduciary responsibilities, obligations, or duties with respect to such fund, or (2) such person is, because of past criminal activity, past record in serving in a fiduciary capacity in relation to a similar fund, or because of other provisions of this title, disqualified or unsuitable to act in a fiduciary capacity for such fund, the court shall issue an order prohibiting such person from continuing to serve as a fiduciary of such fund, and, if the court deems the same to be necessary or desirable to protect such fund and its assets or the persons having legal or equitable interests therein, the court shall appoint a competent and appropriate person to serve as a fiduciary of such fund, in the place of the person being removed therefrom, until such time as another person may be appointed or elected.

"(c) No person who has been removed (other than a person who has been removed because of physical or mental incapacity) *pursuant to this section as a fiduciary of an* employee welfare or pension benefit fund shall thereafter be eligible to serve in a fiduciary capacity for or in behalf of such fund or any other employee welfare or pension benefit fund for a period of five years.

"RECOVERY OF FUNDS

"SEC. 211. (a) In any case in which (1) any person has engaged in acts or practices in relation to any employee welfare or pension benefit fund in violation of any provision of this title and (2) such employee welfare or pension benefit fund or the participants or beneficiaries of such fund have suffered financial loss (including losses resulting from any failure to credit to such fund, any of the income accruing from any investment or other use or manipulation of the assets of such fund by such person) by reason of such acts or practices, and (3) the amount of such loss has not been recovered by or on behalf of such fund or its participants and beneficiaries, the Secretary or any such participant or beneficiary may bring an action in the proper district court of the United States or in the proper United States court of any territory or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to recover any such unrecovered amount on behalf of such fund.

"INJUNCTIONS AND PROSECUTIONS OF OFFENSES

"SEC. 212. (a) In any case in which any person is engaged or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of this title, any person who has a legal or equitable interest in any employee welfare or pension benefit fund (or the Secretary, upon request of the person having such interest) may bring an action in the proper district court of the United States or in the proper United States court of any territory or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to enjoin such acts or practices and for such other relief as may be appropriate. Upon a proper showing a permanent or temporary injunction or restraining order shall be granted without bond.

"(b) The district courts of the United States, and the United States court of any territory or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, shall have jurisdiction, for cause shown, to grant injunctive and other appropriate relief in any action involving any violation of this title.

"SECRETARY TO BE REPRESENTED BY SOLICITOR

"SEC. 213. Any civil action authorized to be brought under this Act by the Secretary may be brought in his behalf by the Solicitor of the Department of Labor, who shall represent the Secretary in all such actions.

"EFFECT OF OTHER LAWS

"SEC. 214. Except insofar as any present or future law of the United States or of any territory or State may be inconsistent with this Act, nothing in any provision of this title shall be construed as exempting any person from liability, duty, penalty, or punishment provided by any such law in regard to any criminal offense referred to in this title or in regard to the operation or administration of employee welfare or pension benefit funds, or in any manner to authorize the operation or administration of any such fund contrary to any such law."

TECHNICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS AMENDMENTS

SEC. 2. The Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act is further amended as follows:

(1) After the first section insert the following center heading "TITLE I—DISCLOSURE AND REPORTING".

(2) In section 2(b), strike out "Act" and substitute "title".

(3) In section 9(a), strike out "Act" and substitute "title".

(4) Amend section 5(a) to read as follows:

"(a) The administrator of an employee welfare benefit plan or an employee pension *benefit plan shall publish in accordance* with section 8 to each participant or beneficiary covered thereunder (1) a description of the plan and (2) an annual financial report. Such description and such report shall contain the information required by sections 6 and 7 of this Act and such other information as the Secretary shall determine to be necessary and appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act. The Secretary may by regulations provide for the exemption from all or any part of the reporting and disclosure requirements of this Act of any class or type of welfare or benefit plans, if the Secretary find that the application of such requirements to such plans is not required in order to effectuate the purposes of this Act."

(5) Section 9(d) is amended to read as follows:

"(d) The Secretary shall have power, when he believes it necessary in order to determine whether any person has violated or is about to violate any provision of this Act, to make an investigation and in connection therewith he may enter such places and inspect such records and accounts and question such persons as he may deem necessary to enable him to determine the facts relative thereto. The Secretary may report to interested persons or officials concerning the facts required to be shown in any report required by this Act and concerning the reasons for failure or refusal to file such a report or any other matter which he deems to be appropriate as a result of such an investigation."

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall become effective ninety days after the date of its enactment.

The summary presented by Mr. MCCLELLAN is as follows:

SUMMARY

A proposed bill to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act for the purpose of providing additional protection for the interests of participants in and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans

The bill would amend the act by adding a new title: Title II—Safeguards for the protection of employee welfare and pension benefit plans.

TITLE II

Section 201. Statement of purpose

The bill would protect the interests of participants and beneficiaries of welfare and pension funds by: (1) providing minimum standards and requirements for such funds; (2) providing minimum fiduciary standards of conduct; (3) providing penalties for violations; (4) providing for the recovery of losses from funds.

Section 202. Definitions

This section provides definitive language for "employee welfare benefit fund" and for "employee pension benefit fund" in keeping with the existing act which it amends. It includes, within pension funds, all benefits received from profit-sharing plans operated upon a pension or annuity basis. It defines the term "fund" to cover all assets, interests, earnings and other moneys of the benefit plan, but it excludes welfare and pension insurance policies and contracts and the premiums already paid to insure companies who have contracted to pay benefits.

Section 203. Requirements for funds

(a) Deems all welfare and pension funds to be trust funds and subject to requirements of this title, whether or not they have trust agreements or other written agreements.

(b) Requires that welfare funds and their incomes shall be used only for stated benefits and for reasonable administrative costs.

(c) Requires that pension funds and their incomes shall be used only for stated benefits and for reasonable administrative costs.

(d) Prohibits gifts of money or assets from funds for any purpose.

(e) Sets terms of trustees at three years, and allows reappointment, and allows the Secretary of Labor to grant longer terms, up to six years.

(f) Provides penalties for violations of this section: $2,000, two years, or both.

Section 204. Situs of funds

This section provides that funds must be held within Federal Court jurisdiction in the United States or territories. No funds shall be moved or invested outside the United States unless the Secretary of Labor approves. Provides, however, that funds may invest in securities listed under SEC jurisdiction, or securities registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940 or under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935.

Section 205. Loans

This section (a) prohibits loans of money or assets not fully secured by collateral. Loans must be legally executed with statements of amount, term, and interests. Full description of the collateral is required. The section permits the fund to pay premiums or benefits for participants whose employer has defaulted. The section (b) prohibits loans to persons whose domicile and/or collateral are located outside Federal Court jurisdiction. The section (c) allows unsecured loans to participants or beneficiaries not exceeding $500. Penalties (d) for violations are not more than $2,000, not more than two years, or both.

Section 206. Fiduciary status of certain persons

(a) States that all persons who handle or control funds, including employees, are fiduciaries in positions of trust, and are charged in all respects to handle and control the funds, according to their functions and purposes and the provision of this title, with the same care and skill of reasonably careful, dilligent and prudent men.

(b) No such fiduciary shall act as, or in behalf of, an adverse party toward the fund or its beneficiaries.

(c) No such fiduciary, including labor unions or employers or their officials, shall borrow from the fund directly or indirectly, except that approvals of loans or investments may be given by the Secretary of Labor when they would be in the interest of such fund or its participants and beneficiaries.

(d) No fiduciary can hold in a fund any interest which conflicts with his duties and responsibilities.

(e) No fiduciary shall accept any gratuity, commission, kickback, or accrued profits connected with a fund.

(f) No fiduciary shall, directly or indirectly, accept any payment or other assignment from the fund.

(g) However, fiduciaries may accept benefits as participants or beneficiaries, and may accept reasonable compensation for their services and for their expenses.

(h) A fiduciary will be held personally liable for losses incurred by willful breaching of this title, and his personal assets may be attached for reimbursement.

(i) A fiduciary will be held jointly and severally liable for losses incurred by agreeing to or condoning the willful breaching of this title by another fiduciary, and the assets for both may be attached for reimbursement.

(j) Penalties for violations; not more than $10,000, not more than five years, or both.

(k) No excuses are permitted to relieve fiduciaries of responsibilities, and such excuses offered shall be void as against public policy.

Section 207. Persons barred as trustees

(a) No person shall be a fiduciary during a five year period following:

A. His conviction for robbery, bribery, extortion, embezzlement, grand larceny, burglary, arson, Federal or State narcotics violations, rape, murder, assault with intent to kill, assault with grievous bodily injury or intent to injure, any other crime involving moral turpitude for which one year or more in prison may be imposed, conspiracy to commit any of the above, violations of Labor-Management Relations Act or Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act or this Act if a fine or prison term is imposed, or conspiracy to commit such violations if a fine or prison term is imposed, or

B. The termination of his prison term for such convictions noted in A. above.

unless he is pardoned within that five-year period and his citizenship rights are returned.

Convictions occur on the date the judgment of conviction is entered, or the date the judgment is sustained on appeal.

Provisions of (a) above apply to convictions occurring before as well as after the effective date of this title.

(b) No fiduciary shall knowingly assent to or condone violations of (a) above.

(c) Penalties for violations: not more than $10,000, not more than five years, or both.

Section 208. Dissolution or merger of funds

(a) No fund exceeding $25,000 shall be dissolved or merged excepting with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, who will issue general regulations on the subject, or who will determine if the action is fair and equitable to all parties having interests.

(b) The Secretary will not approve a dissolution plan that pays or transfers to a current or former fiduciary any moneys or assets except those due him as a participant or those he merits through legal or equitable interest in the fund.

(c) Proceedings for approval of dissolution or merger plans will follow the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(d) Any person may, within 60 days, petition the U.S. Court of Appeals for review of the Secretary's decision.

(e) The Secretary's findings shall be conclusive, but the Court may remand the case to the Secretary, where upon the Secretary may make new findings, which will also be conclusive.

(f) The Court shall have the right to affirm or set aside the Secretary's finding; review may be made by the Supreme Court.

(g) If no petition is filed, the Secretary's determination is final.

(h) The Secretary will issue regulations to carry out the provisions of this section.

Section 209. Improper transactions with fiduciaries

(a) No person shall take money or assets from funds because of transactions with fiduciaries if such transactions are violations of this title, and any contracts relating to them shall be null and void.

(b) Penalties: not more than $10,000, not more than five years, or both.

Section 210. Removal of trustees

(a) The Secretary of Labor, or any interested person, may sue in Federal Court for the removal of a fiduciary and the appointment of a temporary successor.

(b) The Federal Court may, for violations of this title or other sufficient reason, remove such fiduciary and appoint a successor to serve out the term.

(c) No person so removed can thereafter serve as a fiduciary for any such fund for a five-year period.

Section 211. Recovery of funds

When any fiduciary has violated this title and when funds are depleted by such acts, without recovery of the money, the Secretary or any participant or beneficiary may sue in Federal Courts to recover the money.

Section 212. Injunctions and prosecutions

Provides that any person with a legal or equitable interest in a fund, or the Secretary of Labor upon request of such person, may bring action in Federal Court to enjoin any acts or practices which violate this title or may bring action in Federal Court for such other relief as may be appropriate. Permanent or temporary restraining orders or injunctions shall be granted without bond.

The section grants the appropriate Federal Courts the jurisdiction to grant injunctive or appropriate relief.

Section 213. The Solicitor of the Labor Department

The Solicitor of the Labor Department may bring any civil action under this act on behalf of the Secretary of Labor.

Section 214. Effect of other laws

This title shall not be construed to exempt any person from the provisions of other laws in regard to criminal offenses mentioned in this title or in regard to welfare and pension funds.

TECHNICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS AMENDMENTS

There are several technical amendments to the bill, all of which amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to bring its provisions into conformity with the new requirements of the new title.

Two amendments are of considerable importance as following:

Section 5(a) of the Act: Furnishing of information

The amendment provides that administrators of benefit plans shall make available to each participant and beneficiary a description of the plan and the annual financial report of the plan, which shall contain such information as the Secretary of Labor may direct. The Secretary may by regulation exempt certain plans from this provision.

Section 9(d) of the Act: Investigatory powers

The amendment provides that the Secretary of Labor shall have powers of investigation similar to those granted to him under the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act.

EFFECTIVE DATE

The effective date of these amendments to the Act will be ninety (90) days after the date of the bill's enactment.

AMENDMENT OF NORTHWEST ATLANTIC FISHERIES ACT OF 1950

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950 (Public Law 845–81). I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, relating to the bill be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1260) to amend the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950 (Public Law 845–81), introduced by Mr. Magnuson, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter presented by Mr. Magnuson is as follows:

Department of State,
Washington, D.C., February 15, 1967.

The Vice President,
U.S. Senate.

Dear Mr. Vice President: There is enclosed a draft of a proposed bill "To amend the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950" (Public Law 845–81).

It is requested that this bill be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration; its enactment is recommended.

At present, the Act is concerned only with the conservation of fish and shellfish. However, a Protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, 1949, which would permit the conservation of harp and hood seals under the terms of the Convention entered into force on April 29, 1966, and was proclaimed by the President on May 23, 1966. The Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950 is the implementing legislation for the Convention. One purpose of the proposed amendment is to bring the Act into conformity with the provisions of the Convention as amended by the said Protocol. Although Americans do not participate in the harp and hood seal fishery at present, the Department believes that this Government should be empowered to enforce any measures for the conservation of harp and hood seals which might come into force under the Protocol and be thus prepared to fulfill obligations the United States assumed in ratifying the Protocol. Such conservation measures for the harp and hood seal may be adopted by the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries at its 1967 annual meeting and would enter into force in relation to all Governments Parties to the Convention upon acceptance by the Governments which are members of the Panel on harp and hood seals created pursuant to the Protocol.

A further amendment is proposed in order to remove an ambiguity in the Act. Section 4(b) provides that not more than five members of the industry advisory committee to the United States Commissioners to the Commission, designated by the committee and upon approval by the Commissioners, may be paid their expenses "incident to attendance at meetings outside of the United States . . ." The Department of State, responsible for the selection of United States delegates such as those from the industry advisory committee, has interpreted this section to mean that up to five committee members may be paid their expenses to Commission or Panel meetings outside the United States but that no Committee members may have their way paid by the Government to meetings inside the United States. This works a hardship on advisory committee members who must pay their own expenses if they are to attend such meetings in this country. However, it is also possible to interpret the section to mean that not more than five committee members may have their way paid to meetings held outside the United States but that there is no limitation on the number of members who may have their way paid to meetings inside the United States. This would also be undesirable. The Act should be amended to bring it into accord with implementing legislation of other fisheries conventions and to clarify its meaning. We believe that the Act should clearly limit the number of committee members whose expenses may be paid, but that it should be possible to pay such expenses to meetings of the Commission or a Panel thereof held within the United States. The next Commission meeting in the United States is scheduled to be convened at Boston in June 1967.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that there is no objection to the presentation of this draft bill from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely yours,
Douglas MacArthur II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPRAISAL REPORT OF THE U.S. TIDAL AND GREAT LAKES SHORELINE

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I introduce on behalf of myself, Senator Eastland, Senator Magnuson, Senator Jackson, Senator Morse, Senator Thurmond, Senator Talmadge, Senator Clark, Senator Javits, Senator Randolph, Senator Scott, Senator McCarthy, Senator Williams of New Jersey, Senator Muskie, Senator Moss, Senator Hart, Senator Fong, Senator Pell, Senator Ribicoff, Senator Inouye, Senator Brewster, Senator Bayh, Senator Nelson, Senator Mondale, Senator Murphy, Senator Hatfield, and Senator Hollings, a bill to authorize the Army Corps of Engineers to initiate a 3-year appraisal report of our national tidal and Great Lakes shoreline.

This bill is substantially identical to a bill I introduced last fall. Since that time I have received encouragement for this coastal erosion study bill from State coastal erosion authorities, other Senators who are cosponsoring this bill, and especially from Senator Randolph, chairman of the Public Works Committee and a cosponsor of the bill. Senators Randolph has indicated that the committee will hold field hearings on the bill during this session of Congress.

Mr. President, erosion of our national coastlines costs the United States people tens of millions of dollars every year. Yet so little is known about this treacherous phenomenon that we cannot even estimate with reasonable precision the total cost of that annual damage, quite aside from the steps which must be taken to stem it. The bill I introduce today will provide a modest sum to study coastal erosion and suggest concrete steps for State and Federal programs of action to control it.

Mr. President, the length of our national and Great Lakes shoreline exceeds 93,000 miles. This figure is almost one-half the distance to the moon and is slightly less than four times the circumference of the earth. Virtually every inch of this shoreline is the site of an ancient battle, the struggle between land and sea. Sometimes this conflict receives wide publicity, as in the aftermath of a severe coastal storm. It is then that we sadly read of the great human misery, loss of life, and destruction of property that accompanies these natural onslaughts. Yet, it is unrealistic to believe that storms alone are the major cause of severe coastal erosion. Indeed, in many areas of the United States it is the day-to-day erosion process—the hour-by-hour battle between land and sea—that is frequently the primary source of devastating coastal damages. The New York Times, for example, in its July 16 issue, carried an article entitled "The Atlantic Continues To Eat Away at a New Jersey Community After Claiming a Fourth of It."

This is the story of Cape May, a small community similar to many found along our coast. The relentless forces of the Atlantic have inflicted severe losses on the town. Two Roman Catholic convents, two lighthouses, a Coast Guard radar station and nearly a fourth of the land area of the town has been claimed by the sea. Cape May faces the same fate of the nearby borough of South Cape May which fell into the Atlantic less than 50 years ago, leaving only the road that led to it.

Many other areas of the United States are suffering similar annual losses. Each year, my own State of Maryland loses approximately 300 acres of land. This loss results not only in a decrease in acreage, but also in a reduction of agricultural, industrial, and recreational potential. Such losses, of course, diminish both the State and local tax base. The barrier beaches of North Carolina are under attack from both the daily erosion process and an occasional severe storm. It is estimated that if the forces of erosion remove this natural coastal defense, 1.5 million acres of forest and farmland will be destroyed. A fait accompli is demonstrated by Sharps Island in the Chesapeake Bay. In 1848, this island was 438 acres; today, erosion has reduced this to a mere sand bar.

Mr. President, we cannot afford these losses.

Recent Federal studies indicate that the normal, day-to-day coastal erosion process causes more than $31 million of damages yearly along the coastal region extending only from Texas to New England. This is a conservative estimate for this region, because it does not include any damages occurring on the Florida coast. Major storms and hurricanes along the Atlantic and gulf coasts annually inflict damages totaling approximately $83.3 million. Yet much of this damage would be prevented by the installation of proper protective structures.

Navigation, too, is seriously affected. Coastal erosion processes continually loosen and transport large quantities of beach materials. In many regions, the eroded materials tend to accumulate in harbors and shipping lanes, greatly hindering water transport. Approximately $11 million is spent annually for the removal of shoaling in the Gulf Intercoastal Waterway and in the tidal areas of the Charlestown, Columbia, Mississippi, and Savannah estuaries. A significant amount of this shoaling is attributable to coastal erosion.

Public and private recreational facilities also are severely damaged by shoreline erosion. Population trends indicate that the number of Americans living near the shore is continually increasing. Twenty-five percent of our population lives within 50 miles of the coast. Within 30 years, this population can be expected to double. All of us know that each year a greater number of people visit our beaches. The beaches of New Jersey are accessible to over 25 million people, and California's 5 largest cities are all within 20 miles of the ocean. With the ever-increasing demand for these recreational facilities, our shorefront losses become more expensive with each season.

Coastal erosion damages are not limited to one section of the country. Every region of our Nation is scarred by this process. Tillamook Bay, Oreg., has been the site of considerable coastal erosion damages. Over 1,000 acres of valuable oyster beds have been destroyed. Parts of Tillamook Bay have been overrun by the sea, resulting in destruction of houses, roads, and utility lines. The damages in Mississippi occurring from just one storm have been described by a House document as having "undermined and destroyed a considerable portion of the pavement of U.S. Highway 90. Also destroyed were all the piers along the Harrison County shore, numerous homes, tourist cottages, seafood canneries, bridges, cafes, and other structures. The total damage from this storm along the Mississippi Gulf coast has been estimated at $18 million." Properly designed protective devices could have prevented a significant amount of these damages. In California, sections of the Port Hueneme shoreline receded 700 feet over a 10-year period. The Lake Erie shorefront of Ohio has been the scene of severe damages. Over a 20-year period, coastal erosion inflicted damages in excess of $18.5 million, destroying beaches, summer cottages, parks, and playgrounds. This figure does not even include the losses in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County.

We know much about the mechanics of the coastal erosion process. The forces of waves, winds, and currents are continually eating away at our beaches and coastlines. This deterioration is intensified by chemical weathering of the coastal materials. Littoral and other currents transport a significant amount of sand and eroded materials along a path that tends to parallel the shoreline.

For many areas of our coast, the amount of material that is removed by these forces is counterbalanced by the arrival of materials from another area. Thus, a dynamic stability exists, and there is no significant net change in the coastal contour. In many regions, however, these two flows are unequal and an accretion or depletion of the shore results. Coastal erosion thus represents the net removal of beach materials from a given region. In many areas, coastal erosion constantly occurs, with storms tending to accelerate the rate of depletion. In other regions, normal coastal processes enlarge the beaches. However, even in these sections, one storm may remove an amount of material far in excess of what has been gradually accumulated, and erosion occurs.

Thirty States have tidal or Great Lakes shorelines. A breakdown of our coastline shows that our Atlantic States have a total tidal shoreline of 28,673 miles. Our continental Pacific States tidal shoreline totals 7,863 miles, while the Gulf States have a tidal shoreline of 17,141 miles. Alaska and Hawaii have tidal shorelines of 33,904 miles and 1,052 miles, respectively. The aggregate tidal shoreline of our Great Lakes States is approximately 4,776 miles. The total shoreline is in excess of 93,000 miles.

Mr. President, as I have pointed out, many regions of this coast are endangered by the erosion process. I feel action must be taken now to abate this costly advance of the sea.

The Federal Government has taken some action to help mitigate the ravages of coastal erosion. For example, the Government finances a substantial amount of research in this field. The Corps of Engineers is a pioneer in coastal erosion research. Their Coastal Engineering Research Center, located here in Washington, is increasing continually our knowledge of the mechanics of the erosion process and furthering our ability to protect our coasts. In addition to research, the Federal Government, under certain conditions, offers direct financial assistance for the construction of protective works on non-Federal property. The costs of works on Federal property are, of course, entirely federally funded. Our Government also sponsors coastal erosion studies of particular problem areas. Any of the 30 coastal States may request that the corps undertake an erosion study of a particular region along its shore. Each study concerns itself with a physiographic unit that is generally much smaller than the State's entire shoreline. Since 1930, a number of States have partaken in this program. They include Alabama, California, Georgia, Illinois, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin. Approximately 23,000 miles of shoreline have or are presently being studied. But this leaves over 70,000 miles of coastline that have yet to be appraised. We simply do not know the extent of erosion along these shores.

A number of coastal States have promulgated their own programs to help with the problem. Maryland offers the private property owner direct financial assistance to lessen the burden imposed by the great costs of protective works. The State also provides advisory and technical assistance to the individual property owner. Ohio, Washington, and Connecticut have similar assistance programs. North Carolina, much to her credit, has undertaken a research program concerning the use of dunes for beach stabilization purposes.

Yet, despite such Federal and State activity, coastal erosion continues to inflict great damages upon our Nation. These damages, representing both social and economic losses, are difficult to measure precisely. We do know, however, that the present rate of destruction is so large that it can no longer be tolerated. The need for action is clearly evident. My bill, I believe, would be the essential first phase of this action.

Unfortunately, for a substantial percentage of our shoreline, insufficient information makes it impossible to take constructive action. We need to know more about many regions of the diverse coastline of New England, of the sandy beaches of the gulf and Pacific coasts, of the coral shores of the Hawaiian Islands, and of the tidewater backshore of the Carolinas. Maine, for example, has approximately 3,000 miles of eroding shoreline about which we know little. The corresponding figure for South Carolina is 2,000 miles, for Georgia 1,000 miles, for Louisiana 7,000 miles, for Texas 3,000 miles, for Washington 3,000 miles, for Alaska 5,000 miles, for Michigan 2,800 miles, for Massachusetts 1,000 miles, and for Oregon 1,000 miles. These are but a few of the many States with an actively eroding coast. In total, there are over 33,000 miles of shoreline that are experiencing significant degrees of coastal erosion and have not yet been investigated. Before we can even begin to appreciate the exact nature of the problem, much less take remedial action, we must obtain more information about these regions. This appraisal report would gather this information and would be the essential first step toward the ultimate solution.

One of the primary functions of this report would be to establish a priority system for future remedial action. Some areas of our unstudied shore are so impervious to the forces of erosion that no investigation is necessary. An example of such a region is the Bering Sea coastline of Alaska. However, as I have already stated, at least 33,000 miles of our shoreline are so vulnerable to the erosion process as to merit at least an investigation. A priority system would enable us to determine which of these areas demands the most immediate attention. Many factors will be taken into consideration when establishing the priority system. The physical rate of deterioration will be considered, as well as the economic, industrial, recreational, and agricultural losses attributable to the erosion. Furthermore, estimates of future population concentrations will play a significant role in determining the immediacy of the problem.

In addition to defining the magnitude of the problem, the report will include a general description of the most suitable type of remedial action. This description will not provide specific technical data, but rather a broad solution to the regions' problem. For some areas, the appraisal might indicate that a revetment would be the most effective protective measure. For other sections, a groin system, bulkhead, or jetty may be recommended. For still other regions, periodic beach nourishment or dune creation may be preferable.

No matter what form the recommended remedial measure may take, the estimated cost of the project will be included. For many areas, we can expect that the benefits resulting from the completed remedial structures will far exceed the estimated costs of the project: In these instances, a more detailed, technical study should be undertaken, leading to formulation of specific construction plans. For other regions, the extent of damages caused by the erosion may be less than the costs that must be incurred to prevent the encroachment of the sea. For these situations, no immediate action beyond this appraisal would be justified. It is only by these preliminary conclusions regarding the economic feasibility of the remedial works that a sensible, long-range coastal erosion abatement program can be enacted. Because coastal protection is exceptionally expensive, we should not plan to halt every inch of erosion taking place on our shore. Rather we can afford to stop only that erosion where the benefits gained outweigh the costs of the protective works. This appraisal report will greatly aid us in determining which areas merit protection.

In addition to providing this needed information, the appraisal would be an important step toward the establishment of a comprehensive inventory of existing structures, something very worthwhile in its own right. It is almost beyond belief that such a tabulation does not presently exist.

The appraisal would also provide information that would assist greatly the efforts of local governments to establish suitable zoning laws and building codes. Frequently, individuals, although possessing good intention, unknowingly take action that can only lead to coastal erosion damages. Ignorance is often manifested in the wanton bulldozing of protective dunes or the building of dwellings too near the shore.

Developers of ocean-front properties often remove the protective dunes that are found along many of our beaches. Such action destroys nature's most effective means of defending the coastline. As soon as storm waves begin attacking these undefended shores, rapid erosion and flooding generally occur.

A lot-by-lot approach to the coastal erosion problem is another unfortunate occurrence that can only lead to unnecessary erosion damages. The forces of nature do not recognize private property lines. Any solution to a coastal erosion problem must consider the entire physiographic unit involved and not just a minor section of the shoreline. Many private property owners attempt to stop erosion along their shores without considering the effects of such action on their neighbor's property. Frequently, one individual's attempt to stabilize his shorefront only leads to a new erosion problem along the shoreline adjacent to his. Appropriate codes and laws would prevent this lack of knowledge from leading to these needles tragedies.

This appraisal report will cost $1 million and will be completed within 3 years. I believe we must not only acknowledge the national scope of the coastal erosion problem, but begin to take the national action required for its solution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1262) to authorize the Army Corps of Engineers to initiate a 3-year appraisal report of our national tidal and Great Lakes shoreline, introduced by Mr. Tydings (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Public Works, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1262

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, shall make an appraisal investigation and study, including a review of any previous relevant studies and reports, of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts of the United States, the coasts of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the shorelines of the Great Lakes, including estuaries and bays thereof, for the purpose of (1) determining areas along such coasts and shorelines where significant erosion occurs; (2) identifying those areas where erosion presents a serious problem because the rate of erosion, considered in conjunction with economic, industrial, recreational, agricultural, navigational, demographic and other relevant factors, indicates that action to halt such erosion may be justified; (3) describing generally the most suitable type of remedial action for those areas that have a serious erosion problem; (4) providing preliminary cost estimates for such remedial action; (5) recommending priorities among the serious problem areas for action to stop erosion; and (6) providing

State and local authorities with information and recommendations to assist the creation and implementation of State and local coast and shoreline erosion programs. The Chief of Engineers shall submit to the President, the Congress, and the States, as soon as practicable, but not later than three years after the date of enactment of this Act, the results of such appraisal investigation and study, together with his recommendations.

SEC. 2. There are authorized to be appropriated such amounts, not to exceed $1,000,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

NATIONAL MASTER TRANSPORTATION PLAN

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, this Nation seriously needs a rail transportation system which is national in scope to replace our present collection of regional systems which operate without regard to one another. Recent mergers and consolidations of separate systems have improved services in some instances. In others, the changes have resulted in poorer service, or, no trains at all. We must take steps now to assure adequate rail freight and passenger service throughout the entire country.

What we need is a blueprint of necessary facilities; a master plan for a ground transportation system. I am, therefore, introducing today a joint resolution which provides that the Department of Transportation, in cooperation with the Interstate Commerce Commission, formulate just such a master plan. An identical resolution is being introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative JOHN MOSS.

The joint resolution calls for submission of a draft plan on transportation to Congress within 1 year. In the meantime, the ICC could not take action on consolidations, mergers, or discontinuance of service. This temporary freeze is necessary to evaluate our present system before any more irreversible actions are taken.

A weakness of the existing ICC case-by-case method of dealing with mergers and consolidations is the possible creation of gaps in the rail system. An overall plan should insure that a balanced network emerges from changes in existing rail operations.

We should also be concerned that physical barriers still exist where one rail system ends and another begins. A truly integrated system should have no such barriers.

Furthermore, the condition of our rail passenger service has been allowed to deteriorate to a disgraceful degree. Many communities have been completely shut off from passenger service. Passenger train discontinuance is evaluated on a case-by-case accounting basis rather than with any thought of the long-range social cost involved. Our intercity passenger movements are expected to double in the next 15 years. We certainly need rail service to supplement highway and air travel. As William H. Tucker, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has stated:

> The scope and quality of future railway passenger service represent at least as important a national domestic issue as any other this country will face in the next decade.

I feel strongly that we must start facing this and related issues in connection with our ground transportation system. The legislation Representative Moss and I are proposing would do just that. I recommend its prompt approval.

Mr. President, I send to the desk for appropriate reference a joint resolution to accomplish this purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 52) providing for the preparation and submission to the Congress of a master ground transportation plan for the United States introduced by Mr. Moss, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION RELATING TO EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for for the equal rights of men and women.

I am pleased to have 37 Members of the Senate join me as sponsors of this resolution. They are: Senators BARTLETT, BAYH, BOGGS, BREWSTER, BURDICK, CARLSON, COOPER, CURTIS, DIRKSEN, DODD, FONG, GRUENING, HARRIS, HART, HARTKE, HATFIELD, INOUYE, JORDAN of Idaho, LONG of Missouri, MAGNUSON, McCLELLAN, McGOVERN, McINTYRE, MONDALE, MOSS, MUNDT, NELSON, PEARSON, PROXMIRE, RANDOLPH, RIBICOFF, SCOTT, SMATHERS, SMITH, WILLIAMS of Delaware, YOUNG of North Dakota, and YOUNG of Ohio.

This is the same joint resolution that I introduced in the 89th Congress. Similar resolutions have been proposed in past Congresses and several of them have been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Many organizations and many individuals have worked over the years to secure the adoption of this resolution by the Congress for submission of the amendment to the States.

There has been substantial improvement in the status of women in the 20th century, but it is worth remembering that it was more than 130 years after the constitutional convention—and less than 50 years ago—that the 19th amendment, guaranteeing the right of women to vote, was ratified.

The 19th amendment gave hope to some that there would be a general revision of laws and practices to end all discrimination against women, but the hope has not been fully realized. There have been adjustments but much remains to be done. Only 3 years ago the Congress found it necessary to include a provision in title VII of the civil rights bill to prohibit discrimination against women in employment. The cases brought to the attention of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have established that the provision was needed.

The fact is that discrimination against women continues to exist and that adult women are denied full equality of rights in many ways. Discrimination still exists in regard property rights, inheritance rights, the right to control one's earnings, employment opportunities, jury service, and other areas.

This amendment would not prevent reasonable categories among adults. It would not, for example, eliminate special legislation for mothers with dependent children. The Senate Committee on the Judiciary dealt with arguments of this type when it favorably reported the resolution in the 88th Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that the committee report—Report No. 1558, 88th Congress, 2d session—be printed at this point in the RECORD.

It is time to clear the thicket and to assure as a constitutional right that men and women have equality of rights under Federal and State statutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 54) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women, introduced by Mr. McCARTHY (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The report presented by Mr. McCARTHY, is as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of the proposed joint resolution is to submit to the State legislatures an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which, if adopted, would insure equal rights under the law for men and women.

STATEMENT

The substantive section of the proposed amendment is quite simple and straightforward. It reads as follows:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Senate Joint Resolution 45 was introduced in the 88th Congress by Senator McGee for himself and 35 other Senators as cosponsors. During the past 10 years, the Legislatures of Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland have adopted resolutions memorializing the Congress to submit this amendment to the States for ratification.

This proposal has been before the Congress since the 19th amendment to the Constitution extended voting rights to women. In recent years, resolutions proposing this amendment were reported favorably by the Committee on the Judiciary in the 80th, 81st, 82d, 83d, 84th, 86th, and 87th Congresses. In the 81st and 83d Congresses, the amendment passed the Senate with a floor amendment, but it was never acted upon by the House of Representatives. In the 86th Congress, the same floor amendment was adopted by the Senate and then the resolution was recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary upon motion of its principal sponsors. (The provisions of this floor amendment or "rider" are discussed subsequently in this report.)

Adoption of this amendment will complete women's long movement for legal equality. Like the 14th amendment, the restrictions of this proposed amendment apply only to governmental action. It would not apply to private or to individual action.

The 14th amendment provides a body of case law as to what constitutes "State action" and its precedents will be available for judicial determination of the scope of this amendment.

There remain many well-known vestiges of ancient rules of law which treat women as inferiors. In many States, a woman cannot handle or own separate property in the same manner as her husband. In some States, she cannot engage in business or pursue a profession or occupation as freely as can a member of the male sex. Women are classified separately for purposes of jury service in many States. Community-property States do not vest in the wife the same degree of property rights as her husband enjoys. The inheritance rights of widows differ from those of widowers in some States. Restrictive work laws, which purport to protect women by denying them a man's freedom to pursue employment, actually result in discrimination in the employment of women by making it so burdensome upon employers. Such protective restrictions hinder women in their competition with men for supervisory, technical, and professional job opportunities.

Your committee has considered carefully the amendment which was added to this proposal on the floor of the Senate in the 81st, 83d, and 86th Congresses. Its effect was to preserve "rights, benefits, or exemptions" conferred by law upon persons of the female sex. This qualification is not acceptable to women who want equal rights under the law. It is under the guise of so-called "rights" or "benefits" that women have been treated unequally and denied opportunities which are available to men.

Just as equal protection of the law under the 14th amendment is not a mathematical equality, this amendment does not contemplate that women must be treated in all respects the same as men. Nor does it mean that all legal differentiation of the sexes will be abolished. "Equality" does not mean "sameness." "Equal" rights does not necessarily mean "identical" rights. For instance, a law granting maternity benefits to women would not be an unlawful discrimination against men. As a grant to mothers, it would be based on a reasonable classification despite its limitation to members of one sex.

Nor would the amendment mean that criminal laws governing sexual offenses would become unconstitutional. The public has such an interest in relations between the sexes that the conduct of both sexes is subject to regulation under the police power apart from any considerations of unequal treatment or protective status.

In the past, it has been suggested that this amendment would require equal treatment of men and women for purposes of compulsory military service. This is no more true than that all men are treated equally for purposes of military duty. Differences in physical abilities among all persons would continue to be a material factor. It could be expected that women will be equally subject to military conscription and they have demonstrated that they can perform admirably in many capacities in the Armed Forces. But the Government would not require that women serve where they are not fitted just as men with physical defects are utilized in special capacities, if at all.

Your committee wishes to emphasize one additional fact. The proposed amendment would confirm equal rights under law for *both* men and women. In instances where laws are burdensome to meet solely because of their sex, they would benefit from the amendment. For instance, alimony laws probably could not favor women solely because of their sex. However, a divorce decree could award support to a mother if she was granted custody of children. This would be incidental to the children's support. Matters concerning custody and support of children properly should be determined solely with a view to the welfare of the children, without favoritism to either parent solely because of sex.

Both major political parties have repeatedly supported this proposal in their national party platforms. The United States, as a signatory to the United Nations Charter, has confirmed its faith in equal rights of men and women. Nevertheless, we withhold from our women a constitutional guarantee of equal treatment under the law and thus lag behind such countries as Burma, Egypt, Japan, Greece, Pakistan, and West Germany.

An impressive list of women's organizations have recorded their support of this proposal in the past. Among them are the following:

Alpha Iota Sorority.
American Association of Women Ministers.
American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs.
American Medical Women's Association.
American Women's Society of Certified Public Accountants.
American Society of Women Accountants.
Association of American Women Dentists.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
National Association of Colored Women.
National Association of Women Lawyers.
National Council of Women Chiropractors.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Women's Party.
Osteopathic Women's National Association.
Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc.
Women's Auxiliary to American Osteopathic Association.
Women's Auxiliary to the National Chiropractic Association.
Women's Circle, Woodmen of the World.
Women's International Association of Aeronautics.

TO REVISE AND EXTEND THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 121

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I submit amendments intended to be proposed by me, to the bill—S. 602—to revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. I ask unanimous consent that a news release, prepared by me, relating to the amendment, be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the news release will be printed in the Record.

The amendment (No. 121) was referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed.

The news release presented by Mr. Clark is as follows:

Clark Offers Legislation To Combat Acid Mine Drainage in Appalachia

Senator Joseph S. Clark (D. Pa.) today introduced legislation aimed at solving the problem of acid mine drainage in the Appalachian region.

The Clark proposal would authorize the Appalachian Regional Commission, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of the Interior and other appropriate Federal, State and local agencies, to develop a program for fighting acid pollution in the region resulting from mining activities, and the effects of such pollution. $3,000,000 would be authorized over a two-year period for this purpose.

Clark stated that "as long ago as 1959, Pennsylvania officials were pointing out that one of the most serious problems we face in Pennsylvania is the fact that some two thousand miles of our streams are polluted with acid mine drainage. The tragic results of this pollution continue to be visible through much of the Commonwealth: the destruction of fish and wildlife, the contamination of our precious water resources for drinking, for recreation, for industrial uses.

"Research efforts have been carried on in the new Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, in other agencies of the Federal government, and within the Commonwealth, but something more is needed—specifically, a study aimed at developing an action program for solving the problem of acid mine drainage. Virtually all of the research done thus far has been on the technological aspects of the problem. Some of the results have been quite promising, and further technological advances may be anticipated. But it is the consensus of those concerned with the problem of acid mine pollution that the time has come to turn to the job of putting the available technology to work on an economic basis, and that we should not delay this effort to await the last word from the scientists.

"The study my amendment would authorize would have to be completed by March 31, 1969. Actually I would hope to have it concluded earlier than that, so that we can get to work as promptly as possible on a full-scale action program to rid the streams and rivers of Appalachia of the acid pollutants which have poisoned the hopes of our people as well as the beauties of our countryside for so many long years."

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 612) to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 1078, to amend the act of October 4, 1961, relating to the acquisition of wetlands for conservation of migratory waterfowl; to extend for an additional 8 years the period during which funds may be appropriated under that act; and for other purposes, the name of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya] be listed as a cosponsor at the next printing of S. 1204, to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to provide that Federal buildings shall be designed and constructed to maximize fallout protection and that non-Federal construction financed in whole or in part with Federal funds may be designated to maximize fallout protection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 852) to amend section 32(e) of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish financial assistance in carrying out plans for works of improvement for land conservation and utilization, and for other purposes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate, as in legislative session, proceed to the consideration of Calendar Nos. 67 and 68, in that order.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEVELOPMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

The Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S.J. Res 18) to provide for the administration and development of Pennsylvania Avenue as a national historic site.

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** I send to the desk an amendment and ask for its immediate consideration.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The **LEGISLATIVE CLERK.** On page 6, line 3, following the comma after the word "Commerce" and before the word "and", insert "Health, Education, and Welfare, Transportation".

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The joint resolution is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution, as amended.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and agreed to, as follows:

S.J. Res. 18

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress here finds and determines—

(a) that it is in the national interest that Pennsylvania Avenue and the area adjacent to it between the Capitol and the White House be developed, used, and maintained in a manner suitable to its ceremonial historical, and physical relationship to the executive and legislative branches of the Government; and

(b) that the work of reviewing, programing, and coordinating proposals for the proper development, use, and control of Pennsylvania Avenue and the area adjacent to it between the Capitol and the White House should be continued, with the maximum possible use of private enterprise in carrying out the development plan.

SEC. 2. The designation on September 30, 1965, by the Secretary of the Interior of Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House and certain areas adjacent thereto as a national historic site under the name "The Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site" is hereby ratified and confirmed. The boundaries of said historic site are as follows:

beginning at a point on the southwest corner of the intersection of Fifteenth Street and Constitution Avenue Northwest, easterly along the south side of Constitution Avenue to the southwest corner of the intersection of Constitution Avenue and Pennsylvania Avenue;

then easterly along the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue to and including the outer circumference of First Street Northwest which forms an arc around Peace Monument;

then westerly along the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue to the northeast corner of the intersection of Third Street and Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest;

then northerly along the east side of Third Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of Third Street and E Street Northwest;

then westerly along the north side of E Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of E Street and Fourth Street Northwest;

then northerly along the east side of Fourth Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of Fourth Street and G Street Northwest;

then westerly along the north side of G Street Northwest to the northwest corner of the intersection of G Street and Fifth Street Northwest;

then southerly along the west side of Fifth Street to the northwest corner of the intersection of Fifth Street and E Street Northwest;

then westerly along the north side of E Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of E Street and Seventh Street Northwest;

then northerly along thhe east side of Seventh Street to the point on Seventh Street being the intersection of the north side of G Street with the east side of Seventh Street Northwest;

then westerly from that point along the north side of G Street to the point being the intersection of the north side of G Street with the west side of Ninth Street Northwest;

then southerly from that point along the west side of Ninth Street Northwest to the northwest corner of the intersection of Ninth Street and F Street Northwest;

then westerly along the north side of F Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of F Street and Eleventh Street Northwest;

then southerly along the east side of Eleventh Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of Eleventh Street and E Street Northwest;

then westerly along the north side of E Street to a point approximating what would be the northeast corner of E Street and Thirteen and a Half Street if the latter were extended north across Pennsylvania Avenue;

then northerly from the point along a line forming a perpendicular to F Street to the intersection of said line with the north side of F Street;

then westerly along the north side of F Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of F Street and Fifteenth Street Northwest;

then northerly along the east side of Fifteenth Street to the southeast corner of the intersection of Fifteenth Street, New York Avenue, and Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest;

then westerly along the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue to the southwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and East Executive Avenue:

then southerly along the west side of East Executive Avenue to a point which would be the southwest corner of the intersection of East Executive Avenue and E Street;

then easterly along the south side of E Street to the southwest corner of the intersection of E Street and Fifteenth Street Northwest;

then southerly along the west side of Fifteenth Street to the point or place of beginning.

SEC. 3. There is hereby established a Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue (hereinafter referred to as "the Commission"), which shall be composed of (a) not more than seven members appointed by the President who are not officers or employees of the executive branch of the United States Government or of the government of the District of Columbia and who, in the judgment of the President, are especially qualified to serve thereon by virtue of their knowledge and experience in one or more of the fields of history, architecture, city planning, and government, and (b) the following Government officials: the Secretaries of the Interior, Treasury, Commerce, Health, Education, and Welfare, Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, the Attorney General, the Administrator of the General Services Administration, the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Architect of the Capitol, the Chairmen of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, and the Director of the National Gallery of Art. One of the members shall be designated by the President as Chairman of the Commission.

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission shall review and refine the development plans heretofore prepared for Pennsylvania Avenue and the area within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site; shall from time to time, in consultation with other interested agencies of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia, make such modifications therein as may be necessary; shall coordinate the plans, programs, and activities of agencies of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia which affect the area within the said national historic site; and shall take such action as may be necessary to insure that such plans, programs, and activities are not inconsistent with plans developed for the said national historic site, the comprehensive plan for the National Capital, and any other related plans prepared or developed by the National Capital Planning Commission or other appropriate authority.

(b) In addition to consulting with agencies of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia, the Commission shall consider the views of other public, quasi-public, and private organizations having a proper interest in the Pennsylvania Avenue area. The Commission shall also consider the views of owners and occupants of private property whose interests may be affected by any plans, programs, or actions of the Commission or the agencies whose activities are coordinated by the Commission and, for this purpose, shall, to the extent it deems feasible, conduct public hearings on those plans, programs, and activities. The Commission shall make every effort to minimize any harmful effects of such plans, programs, or activities on owners or occupants of private property in or adjoining the area affected thereby.

(c) The Commission, in carrying out its functions, shall utilize the services and facilities of other agencies of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia to the maximum extent possible. Financial and administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial reporting, personnel, and procurement) shall be provided the Commission by the Department of the Interior, for which payment shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement, from funds of the Commission in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the Chairman of the Commission and the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided,* That the regulations of the Department of the Interior for the collection of indebtedness of personnel resulting from erroneous payments (5 U.S.C. 46e) shall apply to the collection of erroneous payments made to or on behalf of a Commission employee, and regulations of said Secretary for the administrative control of funds (31 U.S.C. 665 (G)) shall apply to appropriations of the Commission: *Provided further*, That the Commission shall not be required to prescribe such regulations.

(d) The Commission shall report to the President and the Congress annually and shall make such other reports as the President shall direct or as the Commission shall deem desirable. Such reports shall include recommendations for such further legislation as the Commission may consider appropriate for the proper performance of its functions or for the development of the national historic site in other respects.

(e) The Commission shall present a final report to the President and the Congress not later than July 1, 1972, and shall thereafter cease to exist. All of its records and papers shall thereupon be turned over to the custody of the Secretary of the Interior for his use and for proper disposition.

SEC. 5. (a) No agency of the Federal Government or of the District of Columbia shall conduct, consent to, or approve any project or program (1) relating to urban renewal, land redevelopment, or public housing within the area of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, or (2) involving permanent construction, improvements, or facilities of a type designed to change the character of said area, without the approval of the Commission while it is in existence: *Provided*, That this prohibition shall not be effective if the President, notwithstanding the views of the Commission, shall approve such project or program: *Provided further*, That this section shall not be applicable to land under the jurisdiction of the Architect of the Capitol.

(b) During the three years immediately following the Commission's submission of its final report, no agency of the Federal Government or of the District of Columbia shall conduct, approve, or consent to any project or program of the types described in subsection (a) of this section which, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior, is inconsistent with the development of the area within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site proposed in said final report unless, before the expiration of said three-year period, the plans therein proposed are disapproved by Act of Congress or are modified by such Act, and in the latter case the project or program may be conducted, approved, or consented to only if it is not inconsistent with the plans as so modified.

SEC. 6. (a) Members of the Commission who are officers or employees of the Federal Government or of the District of Columbia government shall receive no additional compensation by virtue of membership on the Commission. Other members of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of not to exceed $100 per diem when engaged in the performance of duties for the Commission. Each member of the Commission shall be reimbursed, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b–2), for travel and subsistence and other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of his duties for the Commission.

(b) The Commission is authorized to employ such personnel as may be required for the performance of its functions without regard to the civil service laws and regulations, and may procure the services of experts and consultants by contract or otherwise, but at rates not in excess of $100 per diem for individuals.

SEC. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, but not more than $800,000 in all, as may be necessary for the Commission to carry out the duties and responsibilities imposed on it by this Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 64), explaining the purposes of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Senate Joint Resolution 18 would give the recognition of the Congress to the concept of rehabilitation of Pennsylvania Avenue and adjacent areas between the White House and the Capitol for development, use and maintenance as a national thoroughfare appropriate to its ceremonial, historical, and physical relationship to the executive and legislative branches of the Government of our Nation. Along this segment of Pennsylvania Avenue travel our Chiefs of State on the days of their inauguration. Along it in death have traveled six Presidents and a number of our other national leaders in state funerals. Along it have marched processions commemorating the conclusions of four major wars and other major events in the history of our Nation.

Action to make this area symbolic of the majesty and power of the American people and illustrative both of the unity among the three branches of Government and of our historic separation of powers doctrine was initiated by the then President Kennedy in 1961 and has been carried forward by President Johnson. However, the project is a continuation of the work on the Federal Triangle begun in the latter 1920's under the sponsorship of President Hoover and Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon. In turn, the Federal Triangle project was based on the McMillan plan, proposed at the beginning of the century by a Senate committee headed by Senator James McMillan, of Michigan, in the administrations of Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. Again, the McMillan plan drew its inspiration from and was in furtherance of the fundamental spirit of the plans for the Capital of the United States conceived by Major L'Enfant in the administration of President Washington.

Thus, the concepts and plans with which Senate Joint Resolution 18 is concerned are deeply rooted in our history and are truly bipartisan in character.

The current phase of action to create a great national symbolic thoroughfare in the area was given formal legal status by the designation on September 30, 1965, of Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and the Capitol as a national historic site under National Historic Sites Act (49 Stat. 666; found in 16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.) by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, with the concurrence of the President. The text of the order and the provisions of the act are set forth in the appendix to this report.

By Senate Joint Resolution 18, Congress would confirm and ratify the designation of this area as a national historic site, with a specific delineation of its extent by streets and avenues.

The measure also establishes a Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to assure that the plans, programs, and activities for the creation of such a national ceremonial way are carried forward in an orderly and effective manner as a unified concept, with maximum possible use of private enterprise.

The Commission, to be composed of not more than 21 persons, will not have "operative" functions so to speak, in that it will not itself implement plans for construction or reconstruction. Rather its responsibilities would be, in the words of the proposed legislation, to "review and refine" plans, to consult with other agencies, organizations, and individuals, and to coordinate all activities concerning the program.

The Commission would report to the President and to Congress, submitting a final report not later than July 1, 1972. Congress specifically reserves the right to disapprove or modify any of the plans, and although no specific times for submitting interim reports are fixed in the legislation, the committee expects that the Congress will be advised and kept currently informed of all major decisions and developments.

THE COMMISSION

The resolution specifies the composition of the Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, and makes more definite and certain its duties, powers, and responsibilities, especially with respect to private property owners or occupants. The membership shall not exceed 21. Of these 21, the President shall appoint not more than 7 persons who are not officers or employees of the executive branch of the Federal Government or of the government of the District of Columbia and who, in the judgment of the President, are especially qualified to serve thereon by virtue of their knowledge and experience in one or more of the fields of history, architecture, city planning, and government. The following Government officials are Commission members by office: The Secretaries of the Interior, Treasury, Commerce, and Housing and Urban Development, the Attorney General, the Administrator of the General Services Administration, the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Architect of the Capitol, the Chairmen of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, and the Director of the National Gallery of Art.

The Chairman of the Commission will be designated by the President from among the members.

This Commission would be a successor to the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue established by Executive Order 11210 signed by President Johnson on March 25, 1965. The Temporary Commission, in turn, is a successor to the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, appointed by President Kennedy in 1962, which submitted its final report to President Johnson in April 1964, with plans for the avenue to "provide a working basis for further action." This report has been published and is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office.

President Johnson's Temporary Commission undertook a review of the recommendations of the Advisory Council and has initiated plans and programs to implement certain of them. Both the Advisory Council and the Temporary Commission included in its membership leaders and persons of outstanding attainment in the fields of planning, architecture, urban design, and metropolitan architecture, urban design, and metropolitan studies. Without necessarily approving their plans and recommendations, which are not yet formally before the Congress, the committee wishes to express its commendation and appreciation to these public-spirited citizens for their work in initiating the creation of an area and national thoroughfare worthy of its historic role.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

The committee believes that the need for rehabilitation of Pennsylvania Avenue is so obvious to anyone who has driven or walked along it as to require no elaboration. Much of the north side can be described only as a quasi-slum area.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space reported to President Kennedy that—

"Pennsylvania Avenue should be *the* great thoroughfare of the city of Washington. Instead, it remains a vast, unformed, cluttered expanse at the heart of the Nation's Capital.

The north side presents a scene of desolation: block after block of decayed 19th century buildings, many of which are vacant above the first story, only rarely interspersed by partially unsuccessful efforts at modernization. The roadway, sidewalks, lampposts and other features of the avenue have been sorely neglected. Increasingly the Capitol itself is cut off from the most developed part of the city by a blighted area that is unsightly by day and empty by night."

Although the need for and desirability of rehabilitating the White House-Capitol segment of Pennsylvania Avenue is self-evident, the question that concerned the committee was whether another commission, appointed by and reporting directly to the President need be established for the purpose.

At the hearings, witnesses pointed out that there were presently a large number of agencies with existing responsibilities, jurisdiction and authority for differing activities, Federal and District, in the area. Also, a number of private and quasi-public bodies and individuals had legitimate interests that should be considered. The very number of existing agencies, each with its own program and responsibilities, as well as the requirement that nongovernmental views be heard, emphasizes the need, in the committee's judgment, for a single, overall coordinating agency to assure that the separate plans, programs, and activities would be in harmony with the whole concept. In regard to this particular issue, the committee cites with approval the conclusion of the President's Advisory Council in its final report:

"We plead that this 'grand axis of the Nation' cannot be remade by breaking it up territorially into small fragments or administratively into scattered assignments. To fulfill these proposals will require an administrator, an authority or agency, with power to enforce local regulations as well as the architectural and planning principles integral to this plan. Therefore, we stress the integrity of the approach even while recognizing that its fulfillment will require phased development and flexible means adapting to continual change. Likewise, these proposals assume special standards of maintenance and landscaping not characteristic of most urban development."

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION

The committee wishes to stress the fact that approval of Senate Joint Resolution 18, as amended, does not constitute approval of any specific plan or part thereof respecting Pennsylvania Avenue. In fact, as has been pointed out, no such plans are before Congress for consideration.

What the committee is doing in reporting favorably on the resolution, as amended, is (1) approving congressional recognition of the designation of Pennsylvania Avenue and related, adjacent areas as a national historic site of interest and moment to all of the people of the United States, and (2) recommending the establishment of an overall commission to coordinate plans and views for creation in the area of a truly symbolic National Ceremonial Way illustrative of the unity and separation of the executive and legislative branches.

For these purposes, the committee recommends prompt approval of Senate Joint Resolution 18.

JUDGMENT AGAINST THE UNITED STATES BY THE CONFEDERATED SALISH AND KOOTENAI TRIBES OF INDIANS OF THE FLATHEAD RESERVATIONS OF MONTANA

The bill (S. 1177) to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation in Montana, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 1177

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the unexpended balance of funds on deposit in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation that were appropriated by the Act of October 27, 1966 (80 Stat. 1065), to pay a judgment by the Indian Claims Commission in docket numbered 61, and the interest thereon, less payment of attorneys fees and expenses, may be invested, expended, or advanced for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Any part of such funds that may be distributed to the members of the tribes shall not be subject to Federal or State income taxes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report—No. 66—explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 1177, introduced by Senators Metcalf and Mansfield, is to authorize the distribution of an award by the Indian Claims Commission to the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation in Montana.

The bill provides that the judgment funds awarded the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation by the Indian Claims Commission in docket No. 61 may be used as authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It also exempts from Federal and State income taxes any funds distributed to tribal members.

The judgment funds appropriated by the act of October 27, 1966 (80 Stat. 1065), are on deposit in the U.S. Treasury to the credit of the tribes in an interest-bearing account. This bill authorizes the use of both the principal and the interest. The judgment was for $4,431,622.18, and the payment of attorney fees and expenses will reduce the figure to about $4 million. The interest earned to December 31, 1966, amounts to $24,768.52.

NEED

This legislation is necessary in order for the funds awarded to the tribes to be expended. The annual Appropriations Act for the Department of the Interior provides that judgments awarded to Indian tribes by the Indian Claims Commission or the Court of Claims shall not be available for advances until specific legislation has been enacted that sets forth the purposes for which said funds will be used.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

A TURNING POINT FOR THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are on the threshold of what promises to be a major turning point in the history of this hemisphere. From April 12 to 14, President Johnson will meet with the chief executives of the Alliance for Progress nations at Punta del Este, Uruguay, to provide new impetus to this grand economic and social development program. New life will be breathed into our alliance with Latin American nations through stronger emphasis on multinational endeavors and economic integration.

It is fitting that our President should attend such a meeting, for in so doing he points up U.S. leadership in this bootstrap operation to lift millions of disadvantaged peoples into the modern technological world.

We will have before us a joint resolution to support the other American Republics in their historic new phase and again it is only fitting that when the President leaves for Punta del Este that he carry with him the consensus of the Congress that this country fully supports the goals of economic integration and social progress that our neighbors to the south are seeking to work out for themselves.

When the Presidents meet at the site where the Alliance for Progress was created in August 1961, they will consider an agenda which covers the key areas necessary to development: rural improvement, increased food production, industrial diversification, multinational projects, improved health and education, scientific and cultural advance, and above all, economic integration.

It is only natural that we as a nation would espouse and lend assistance to the attainment of these noble goals. The very objectives our neighbors are striving to accomplish were—in the not too distant past—our own aims. As a growing republic, our country, under the able leadership of wise and provident Presidents, carved out a heritage of progress through hard work and unity. We saw an industrial revolution change the face of our land. This was followed by rural modernization on a scale never before known to man—which enabled us to literally feed millions from our agricultural surpluses.

The United States, following its democratic ideals, developed a technological machine unequaled in the annals of history. Step by step, we have marched forward together toward that society where physical, intellectual, and spiritual fulfillment exist side by side.

We all realize that we have much to do to accomplish our own goals—but our vast experience can be of inestimable value to the developing peoples to the south.

As we approach the presidential summit meeting, let us once again renew our pledge to help where help is needed—and where people are willing to help themselves. In President Johnson's recent special message on aid to foreign lands he reiterated a concept which he has underlined time and again; namely, the theme of self-help. The very first proposal he set forth, based on our country's vast knowledge in the aid field embodies this principle of self-help. It is that nations develop primarily through their own efforts. Our programs can only be supplements, not substitutes.

This support has taken many forms—from providing tax experts to help modernize antiquated tributary systems, to long-term loans for national community development programs.

Today I would like to mention a few examples of what is being done with our assistance in Latin America in the field of community development through self-help. One of the most remarkable programs in this area is Peru's Cooperación

Popular. Schools, roads, reservoirs, and health clinics are being built under this imaginative program. It has completed over 2,000 projects, begun 4,000 others, and has requests to assist 11,000 more.

The Agency for International Development recently approved a loan of $2.1 million to help establish a community revolving loan fund to finance projects under Cooperación Popular. A pilot project for the first operation under this fund will be a loan for the purchase of materials for a water and sewerage system in the adobe-hut town of Rimac, on the slopes of the Andes.

This town's people have shown how community action provides results. Though its workers average just a little over $2 a day they have worked and saved to build a well, a school—built in 22 days—and, an electrification system.

Similar programs are taking place in other Latin American countries. In Bolivia, following an AID study in 1965 the Government established an Office of Community Development with a program centered around the training and use of so-called community development workers—handpicked campesino leaders. Following 6 months of intensive training these workers return to their communities where they apply what they learned in organizing community projects. To date over 200 such workers are active representing 1,600 communities with a total population of over 1 million—roughly 30 percent of Bolivia's rural population. They are assisted by selected Peace Corps volunteers.

Military civic action programs are also playing an important role in developing rural communities. Working shoulder to shoulder with civic leaders they have helped build drinking water systems, improve streets, and provide electrification, bridges, and health clinics.

Our food-for-peace and food-for-work programs, along with the Peace Corps, are also playing valuable roles in supporting such local efforts.

We have always been a nation of practical, hardworking people, and these projects appeal to us, for they are laying the groundwork for new democratic, cooperative programs at the grassroots level. This, as we know, is the very essence of a democracy's strength and vitality.

I should like formally to express my confidence that our country will, under President Johnson's leadership, continue to assist our neighbors in their development efforts under the Alliance for Progress. And I extend my wishes for a most fruitful meeting at Punta del Este.

STATE OF ECONOMY CALLS FOR NO TAX INCREASE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in the last day or so, the administration has been reported to believe that it has done so much to stimulate the economy that the 6-percent surtax recommended by the President is still a better than 50–50 bet to be pressed to enactment, to take effect July 1.

It is true that action by the Federal Reserve authorities in making credit more readily available, and by the President in recommending the restoration of the investment credit, will help the economy.

But it would be most unwise to conclude that these limited steps are all that is likely to be needed to end the general slowing down in business.

Government stimulative actions have been going on now for several months and they have not stopped the trend toward industrial slowdown.

Inventories continue to accumulate alarmingly. Sales are still off. Steel demand is soft. Auto, appliance, textile sales are down. Construction is still in the doldrums. New orders are continuing to tail off. Hours worked through American industry have declined.

I am convinced that, in any event, it would be far wiser for the President and Congress to work to retard spending rather than to increase taxes as the most effective method of fighting inflation.

In any event, the enactment of the proposed surtax should certainly await economic developments in the coming months.

In this connection, this morning's New York Times reports a recent study by the National Bureau of Economic Research showing that the average forecast of the gross national product generally misses the mark by a huge $10 billion. It shows that economists do little better than amateur forecasters, and that the components of gross national product—personal consumption expenditures, Government purchases, and so forth—are usually forecast even wider of the mark. The gross national product forecast is off in terms of increase on the average, according to this analysis, by about 40 percent.

The gross national product forecast would be even worse except that it is offset by compensating errors.

The study also shows that forecasts are much better when they are limited to an ensuing period 2 or 3 months.

This study suggests to me that in connection with the proposed tax increase, Congress should wait as long as possible to impose it, and then determine its action based on the established economic statistics at the time we make our decision—next June or later—rather than on a forecast of what is likely to happen later in the year or next year.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Wall Street Journal setting forth the odds on a tax increase, and another article from the same paper analyzing the impact of Government fiscal and monetary policy on the present economy, both be printed in the Record at this point, together with an article from this morning's New York Times reporting the findings of the National Bureau of Economic Research on economic forecasting.

I also ask unanimous consent that a column from this morning's Washington Post by Harold Dorsey be printed in the Record. Mr. Dorsey does an excellent job of showing why stimulative actions to date by the Government may not be enough to end the business slowdown.

I also ask unanimous consent that a cogently reasoned editorial from the Milwaukee Journal commending President Johnson on his recommendation for restoration of the investment credit be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial and articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal]

SURCHARGE PROSPECTS: ODDS FAVOR BID FOR INCOME-TAX RISE TO AVERT FRESH INFLATIONARY UPSURGE

(By Richard F. Janssen)

WASHINGTON.—"We're doing so much for the economy now that we're darn well going to have to raise income taxes."

While circulating as a joke in the Johnson Administration's policy-making circles, the quip has its serious side, too.

For with the vigorous credit-easing efforts of the Federal Reserve Board and the Administration's own proposal to quickly restore business investment incentives, strategists say the odds still favor that by about June they'll be making a sincere request that Congress raise income taxes to head off a fresh inflationary upsurge that otherwise would develop later in the year.

Officials aren't totally convinced they'll be doing this, to be sure, and they are clearly less confident that the statistical evidence that will accumulate in the meantime will be convincing to Congress. They concede, too, that the July 1 target date is almost certainly going to be missed by a fairly wide margin and that the tax surcharge very likely won't be a uniform 6% both on corporations and on individuals. But in a typical comment, one official says flatly: "I predict that before Congress goes home it will have passed some sort of tax surcharge."

CENTERS ON THE CONSUMER

Aside for the welcome complication that peace in Vietnam would present, the big uncertainty about whether the economy will warrant fresh fiscal restraint centers on the consumer. A few more months with retail sales as weak as they were in February (when the seasonally adjusted $25,277,000,000 total was down 2% from January and up only 1% from a year before), one Government economist worries, "and businessmen might panic, start unloading their big inventories, and give us a classic downturn."

The potential for much zippier retail sales certainly lies in the massive pool of savings currently being built up, officials say. After saving an exceptionally skimpy 4.8% of after-tax income in last year's third quarter, consumers boosted the savings ratio sharply to 5.9% in the fourth quarter, the Council of Economic Advisers calculates. In February, the savings inflow to commercial and mutual savings banks ran 100% ahead of a year before after a 43% year-to-year gain in January, the National Association of Home Builders says. Personal income is growing "fantastically faster" than forecast, a government economist says, while employment totals are holding up remarkably well despite many scattered layoffs.

Partly because the savings inflow is also replenishing the coffers of such other mortgage-lending specialists as savings and loan associations, Administration men say that housing starts are already outstripping their forecasts of only a few months back. "The arguments had been about whether starts would reach a 'normal' rate of around 1.5 million annually by the end of 1967," says one official. "But now our people are arguing about whether this will happen in November or as early as June." Even the optimists add, though, that they don't think there will be steady gains in the meantime from the 1,243,000 rate in January, on the ground it may have been something of a statistical fluke.

The more abundant credit already being generated by the Federal Reserve Board is adding to Administration confidence that the economy will grow more rapidly this year, and further direct actions, such as a cut in the discount rate, could still be taken in the spring; this rate on loans to member commercial banks has been 4.5% since December 1965.

Another possibility considered likely to come sooner by some outside observers is a cut in the reserves banks must keep idle behind larger time deposits. Like the recent cut in reserve requirements on smaller time deposits such as saving accounts, such an action would free a large amount of cash for immediate lending by commercial banks. Rather than see the reduction in interest rates give way once again to a panic-courting tightness, though, Administration men vow they would rather have a tax increase.

The business inventory pileup, which continued growing in January to the surprise of U.S. analysts, certainly ought to have leveled off or turned down before much longer, they say. By June, then, they assume that they'll be in a position to tell Congress that inventory growth in coming months will revive and again be an expansionary factor in the overall economy.

SEEN ADDING STRENGTH TO THE ECONOMY

Since there's every sign that Congress will quickly honor President Johnson's bid for restoration of the 7% tax credit for investment in equipment, strategists see this sector adding strength to the overall economy in the second half, too. They don't expect the tax break to greatly speed the capital spending pace, although this is possible. They admit that they underestimated the degree to which the credit suspension last Oct. 10 would damp spending plans.

Even speedy restoration wouldn't have much impact on actual outlays before midyear, officials say, because of the time lag between making and carrying out major business-expansion projects. So on this as on most other features of the economy, they relate, they'll probably have to base their case for higher taxes on their outlook for the future rather than on what already shows up in statistics.

Federal as well as state and local government spending is in a strong uptrend, of course. This is one of the factors that initially prompted the tentative decision to seek a tax increase. By the time they testify for one, Johnson aides add, it's quite possible that Congress will have added to the President's appropriations requests for a good many popular programs, thus adding to the inflationary risk from a widening deficit.

A POSSIBLE POSTPONEMENT

Some of the more politically attuned strategists doubt that these reasons will be enough to sell Congress on a tax increase, assuming that they and the President himself don't first change their own minds. "The forecasts will be on our side, but that's all we'll have," sighs a fiscal expert, "while the Congressmen will have all the statistics on their side." A likely compromise, some figure, would be to postpone the recommended tax-rise date from July 1 to August, September or even October, so that there would be more time to withdraw the boost altogether if the expected upsurge failed to materialize.

While they're sure it will be used against them in Congress, officials protest that the surprise move to restore the 7% credit now doesn't mean they think the economy will be too weak to stand a broad tax rise come summer. "It wouldn't be consistent with asking for an income-tax increase right now, but of course we're not asking for one right now," a key planner says. And if officials do follow through with a formal tax-boost request, he adds, they figure they will have to make its effect on corporations relatively tougher to avoid charges that individuals will bear all the real burden because businesses get a roughly offsetting tax break through the 7% investment credit.

One of the reasons for the restoration move at this time, in fact, appears to have been a political one. There was strong fear that the Senate would bow to business pressure and tack a 7%-investment-credit restoration rider onto some other tax bill the Administration wants badly, such as the one to increase the interest-equalization tax that's intended to curb the dollar drain into purchases of foreign securities. "This Administration," one insider says, "doesn't like to look like its being blackjacked into something that it really wants to do anyway."

The economic situation in the capital-goods industries could deteriorate, officials fear, unless the credit is restored soon. The $63 billion plant-and-equipment-outlay total projected for this year in the latest Government survey is only about $500 million below the analysts' prior private estimate, though the outlay pattern worries them. Considering the sharp cut in outlays planned for the second quarter, some analysts doubt that the projected second half spending upturn would actually take place without an early restoration. "Some businessmen may have been anticipating restoration by July 1 when they filled out the questionnaires," an economist suggests, "so that without it, they'd be cutting back too hard despite what their forecasts say."

RETAIL SALES REVISION

The drop in February retail sales would be viewed more pessimistically by top analysts it it hadn't been accompanied by a major upward revision of the January figures. Initially shown as slipping slightly from December to $25,315,000,000, January volume was revised up to $25,703,000,000, matching the record set last September. The unusually large revision has analysts wondering if the February totals, too, may prove inaccurate.

At a seasonally adjusted $25,277,000,000, the February figure was the lowest since the $24,475,000,000 of May 1966. Durable-goods volume, at $7,733,000,000 in February, fell 5% from January and was down 6% from the year-earlier level. Nondurables volume, at $17,544,000,000 was up less than 1% from January and up 4% from February 1966.

The report showed that, without seasonal adjustment, the automotive group's February sales were down to $3,905,000,000 from $4,194,000,000 in January and more steeply below the $4,366,000,000 of February 1966.

[From the Wall Street Journal]

The Outlook: Appraisal of Current Trends in Business and Finance

One feature of general business today is that it has been showing widespread, and spreading, spots of weakness in spite of the fact that since late fall official Washington has taken numerous measures intended to stimulate activtiy. The proposal made Thursday, to re-enact tax incentives suspended last October for equipment buying and building construction, is only the latest of many.

It is true that President Johnson in his State-of-the-Union message early in January proposed a 6% increase across the board in Federal income taxes to go into effect July 1, which he says he still wants and which would tend to be a depressant if enacted. It is also true that Federal agencies have put pressure on a couple of industries to get them to roll back price increases. But the list of would-be stimulants is much longer.

Starting chronologically, let us cite first a number of decisions taken by the Federal Reserve authorities to make bank credit more abundant and cheaper. After deciding Sept. 13 and Oct. 4 to maintain "firm but orderly" credit conditions, and on Nov. 1 to "maintain generally steady" conditions, the Fed's Open Market Committee changed course Nov. 22. It resolved to conduct its buying and selling of securities "with a view to attaining somewhat easier conditions." This wording was repeated when the committee met Dec. 13.

What policies this committee has adopted since then won't be made public until early 1968, but the effect of its activities has been an almost continuous week-by-week increase in commercial banks' reserves available for lending and investing. This process was speeded this month by the Feb. 28 decision of the Reserve Board to cut the cash reserves that banks are required to keep behind savings deposits, and was reinforced by further open-market moves to ease credit.

This double action was unusual. In the past the Fed often has partially offset its own moves to cut reserve requirements by temporarily restrictive open-market transactions, the purpose being to make bank lending power rise gradually rather than suddenly. This time it has done the opposite—at least so far—by continuing the easing process on top of the cut in reserves.

Other Governmental actions to stimulate business start with the fact that in the fourth quarter of 1966 Federal spending produced a larger rate of deficit, measured in total effect on the economic system, than in any other quarter since just after the big tax cuts of 1964. The rate was $5 billion a year.

In mid-January the prospective rates of deficit on the same basis for all fiscal 1967 (to June 30) and fiscal 1968 were projected at $3.8 billion and $2.1 billion respectively, not as big as the fourth quarter rate but still stimulative. Furthermore, the reduction to $2.1 billion in the coming fiscal year would depend on enactment of the 6% income-tax boost, which Congress is obviously going to be reluctant to impose.

A week earlier President Johnson had sought to offset the effect of this 6% tax-boost proposal by promising to "do everything in a President's power to lower interest rates and ease money." As a first step to carry out this resolve, the day after he said these words the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, on his instructions, cut the rate on loans by its regional banks to savings-and-loan associations to 5¾% from 6%. It also told the associations they could count on borrowing $1 billion more from the system if they needed the funds for mortgage loans.

On Jan. 31 the Board eased the restrictions it maintains on loans to member associations. And early this month it again reduced the rate on loans to members, this time to 5½%.

In turn, the Federal National Mortgage Association joined in this series of actions early in February by raising the prices it pays for mortgages that lenders want to sell in order to make new loans. And a month later Fannie Mae got $380 million from the Treasury, mainly to buy low-price and medium-price private loans made for the specific purpose of starting construction of new housing. One other similar move a few days earlier was the releasing by the Federal Government of $175 million for highway construction, out of $800 million which had been kept back from $4.1 billion earlier appropriated for this fiscal year.

Whether the coming restoration of the tax incentives—which in truth are already available because the effective date of the legislation is to be March 9—will quickly spur new spending on buildings and equipment remains to be seen. In comments from businessmen it was noticeable that those who sell equipment were more enthusiastic about the likely effects of the legislation change than general businessmen—many of the latter suggested their plans wouldn't change very much.

But one thing which is sure is that the previous stimulative moves haven't yet stopped a mild trend towards slowing of general business. For the first time since 1962–63 new spending on plant and equipment threatens to decline for two quarterly periods. Prices for more and more goods are being shaded, even though a few price increases are still being announced. Steel demand is soft and mills have put off hopes for a revival to the third or fourth quarter.

Automobile, appliance and textile sales are down and this has been reflected in layoffs. The weakness in housing, which though up from October's extreme low is still down from early 1966, has spread to other kinds of construction. Factories' total new orders are down and sharp declines are reported by individual industries such as makers of machine tools and rail equipment. Finally, the shorter hours and layoffs mentioned above are reflected by a mild weakness in sales of all retail stores, as shown on the chart at the top of the column just to the left of this one.

Altogether, it may be said that so far the shoring-up measures have been principally reflected in stock-market celebrations.

—George Shea.

Forecasts Found Wide of the Mark—Study Assesses Many Past Predictions on Economy

Forecasters of the gross national product generally miss the mark by an average of $10-billion, the National Bureau of Economic Research points out in a report issued today.

Economists do not do much better than amateur forecasters who use the simple device of projecting the total value of goods and services by using the percentage gain of the previous year, according to the report.

Victor Zarnowitz, professor of economics and finance at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, wrote the report, "An Appraisal of Short-Term Economic Forecasts." It is the first report in an investigation of a large number of forecasts of general economic activity in the United States during 1953 through 1964.

LONGER FORECASTS TRICKIER

Though a forecasting error of $10-billion is only 2 per cent of the average level of the gross national product, such an amount is about 40 per cent of the average yearly change.

As the span of a forecast increases, accuracy tends to diminish, it was noted. Errors are usually small in forecasts for the next three to six months. But forecasts for a year ahead are often less accurate than a mere projection of the year-earlier percentage gain.

It was also determined that forecasts for the gross national project as a whole are typically much better than those for the components that make up the total. These components include personal consumption expenditures, gross domestic investment, government purchases of goods and services, net exports and changes in business inventories.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 13, 1967]

Investment View: Downward Trend Expected To Persist

(By Harold B. Dorsey)

New York, March 12.—The figures derived from the latest survey of business capital expenditure intentions were released last week. No doubt they were quite disappointing to those who have been optimistic about the outlook for the economy.

Only three months ago the executives participating in this survey intended to spend more money for new plant and equipment in the first and second quarterly periods this year than they spent in the fourth quarter of last year. Now they expect to spend less—not only less than the fourth quarter but less than they anticipated only three months ago.

For at least six months, this column has been anticipating that the unusually long and sharp upward trend in capital expenditures would be reversed in the first half of 1967 and probably after the first quarter. Evidently, I missed it by one quarterly period. In the fourth quarter of last year these expenditures were running at the annual rate of $62.8 billion, with the first quarter of this year estimated at $62.6 billion and the second quarter at $62.3 billion. Three months ago the respective figures were $62.6 billion, $63.5 billion and $64.1 billion.

The magnitude of the difference is not important. But this new evidence which confirms my anticipation of a reversal in the trend is highly significant. In the light of the new figures, I am impelled to repeat once more that the trends of business capital expenditures have a very strong influence on the economy as a whole.

To a greater degree than any other sector, a large proportion of capital expenditures are paid for out of newly created debt. They convert this new debt into payrolls and into demand for materials. There is a direct connection between the sharp and uninterrupted rising trend in these expenditures since the first quarter of 1963 and the unusually large percentage increases in personal income. A flattening out—or more probably a decline—in capital spending will almost certainly slow the rate of growth in personal income perceptibly.

At this point I might express my complete disagreement with the survey's forecast of rising capital expenditures in the second half of this year. In spite of the proposed reinstatement of the tax credit and accelerated depreciation effective last Thursday, the fundamental determinants of capital spending strongly suggest that a downward trend will persist through the balance of the year at a minimum. The initial stages of that trend will only be less precipitously downward than indicated before last week's action on the tax credit and accelerated depreciation.

As the indicators of impending deterioration in the economy become more evident, it is highly likely that there will be a series of shifts in fiscal and monetary policies designed, hopefully, to counteract the historical sequences of the classic economic forces which now appear to be leading the economy into a period of adjustment. But it remains to be seen whether easier credit, or the reinstatement of the tax credit and accelerated depreciation, or the abandonment of the contemplated 6 per cent surcharge on income taxes can do the job.

These measures will not encourage business to continue the recent terrific pace of inventory accumulation when the inventory position is already very high.

Those same measures are not likely to encourage a business to build a new plant in the next twelve months when it built one last year. Nor will they encourage consumers to increase their purchases of durable goods when they have bought so much so recently.

If credit is eased too much in an effort to stimulate the domestic economy, we are going to have to worry more about the international payments situation. If taxes are not to be increased, then we are going to have to worry more about a very substantial Government deficit. The point is that it is going to be difficult to help the domestic economy—i.e., to counteract the normal consequences of excessive operating inventories and excessive "inventories" of consumers' and producers' durable goods—by easier credit and the avoidance of higher taxes without creating other serious problems.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Mar. 11, 1967]

Wise Economic Move

President Johnson is wisely urging congress to restore the 7 percent tax credit on business investment and the fast tax write-off schedule on industrial and commercial buildings. The measures were suspended last fall to cool an overheated economy and ease inflationary pressures. At the time, interest rates were at a peak and there was excessive demand for capital investment funds.

The pressures have eased. The president noted that interest rates have fallen as much as 1¼ percent since September and the home building industry is beginning to revive as a consequence. Business capital spending has begun to decline, causing worry about a slowdown in economic growth.

The tax credit and write-off schedule, which represent several billion dollars in tax relief to business, were to have been reinstated next Jan. 1, but Johnson wants them restored immediately.

There is nothing contradictory about the on again, off again use of the investment credit and write-off. They are necessary tools to stabilize the economy.

The president's reiterated request for a 6-percent surtax on individual and corporate incomes may seem inconsistent with his other efforts to encourage spending. But this is not necessarily so. The surtax proposal allows the president to retain an option—which he can give up in a few months if conditions demand—in case the economy heats up too fast again. Asking congress to step a bit on the accelerator while simultaneously toeing the brakes gives him greater control over the economy than going whole hog toward either stimulation or retardation of the availability of money.

L.B.J. SUCCEEDS IN SLOWING ARMS RACE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Baltimore News American recently commended President Johnson for his initiative in seeking agreement with the U.S.S.R. not to build a vast nationwide anti-ballistic-missile system.

This editorial shows how the Johnson initiative is slowing the arms race, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Slowing the Arms Race

Acceptance by the Soviet Union of President Johnson's invitation for discussions on possible ways of limiting the arms race is definite good news. For the mere fact that Moscow has agreed to such talks means that the looming next step in nuclear escalation—wholesale deployment of anti-missile systems—no longer need be considered inevitable.

Especially is this good news for the American taxpayer. Because Moscow has recently been installing an anti-missile defense system around that city, it had been feared the U.S. would have no choice but to undertake deployment of our own Nike X missile defense system, now still in the research and development stage. This appallingly expensive system would cost as much as $60 billion.

Russia, of course, has accepted the President's invitation because full extension of her own anti-missile system would be comparatively even more expensive to its economy. Realistic as always, the Kremlin master minds apparently have decided it might be wiser at this time to limit her arms program and pay more attention to the rising clamor of their populace for more consumer goods. Economic pressures, not humanitarian motives, are the reason for the decision.

Actually, there is no cause for being highly optimistic about the impending discussions. The world has been talking disarmament for 20 years with little noticeable effect. And the Soviet Union, in keeping with its Communist double-cross philosophy, will never keep any agreements it makes when it no longer suits its purposes to do so.

In this case an arms slowdown would suit our practical purposes as well as those of the Russians. So if even a temporary respite in the arms race results it will be all to the good.

President Johnson is to be commended for his initiative.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL COMMENDS MONRONEY-MADDEN REFORM BILL

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, one of the Nation's great newspapers, the Milwaukee Journal, has expressed its warm approval for the Monroney-Madden congressional reform bill which has just passed this body.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Good Congressional Reform

No one could logically argue that the congressional reform bill passed by the senate is far reaching or drastic. But the wonder is that it goes as far as it does. Congress has shown little interest in reform since the LaFollette-Monroney reorganization act in 1946—and it has disregarded much of that.

The new measure contains some goodies for the congressmen, of course. They will get seven instead of six expense paid trips to and from their home states each year. Each senator will get another legislative assistant. Senate committees will get additional staff members.

There are two notable provisions in the bill. One would scrap the historic senate role in confirming postmaster appointments and that of the house in recommending rural mail carriers. The postmaster general would handle these matters on the basis of merit. While this does away with patronage not all congressmen will be sorry. Many find that they make more enemies in selecting a postmaster or a rural mail carrier than they gain friends and influence.

The bill would also tighten controls over lobbying. The 1946 act required lobbyists whose "principal purpose" is to influence legislation to register with the clerk of the house or the secretary of the senate. The courts interpreted "principal purpose" so rigidly that many lobbyists were able to argue that they need not register. The law required no action by the house clerk or senate secretary to inspect registrations or enforce the law.

Now the law would read "substantial purpose." The registrations would be with the comptroller general, who would be charged with enforcement. Penalties for violators would be set at 12 months' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

This legislation still ignores basic ethical regulations for congress. It does not show the concern of the 1946 act for the proliferation of committees and subcommittees. But what it provides is good and the house should go along with it.

ROWAN FINDS TEACHERS CORPS DOING VITAL JOB

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Congress will soon be faced with the need of the new Teachers Corps for the funds it must have to continue the fine and vital job it has begun.

My colleague, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson], has been a leader in fighting for the Teacher Corps against serious and discouraging odds. He deserves great credit.

Carl Rowan, the nationally syndicated columnist recently wrote an excellent article showing why this program should be continued and expanded in the national interest, and I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Future of Teacher Corps in Mahon's Hands

(By Carl T. Rowan)

In Chicago's Shakespeare Elementary School one day last fall, 35 third graders were designated as "slow learners" and placed in a separate class.

These youngsters were already two years behind their classmates in reading and other schoolwork. The "experts" figured that by the eighth grade, they would be four years behind.

Then some teachers who had some extra time, extra skill and extra concern took a look at those 35 youngsters. Their conclusion: Given adequate, sympathetic instruction, all but two of these children can complete high school with adequate grades, make competent career decisions, and become responsible, self-supporting members of society.

The teacher team that cared, and took that extra look at 35 kids who, at the ripe old age of 9 had been consigned to failure, are part of the National Teacher Corps.

There are now 1,213 Teacher Corps members trying to carry that extra care, that special skill, that vitally needed imagination, into the slum schools of 111 school districts in our urban and rural slums.

They are hardly a token of what is needed is the Chicagos, New Yorks, and Hernando, Mississippis of America.

But the school superintendents, mayors and other astute observers already have seen enough to conclude that the Teacher Corps offers something without which the anti-poverty program cannot succeed.

They know that if we cannot alter old processes where insidious hopelessness is drilled into 8- and 9-year-olds, that if we cannot educate these children and lift them above the despair that engulfed their parents and grandparents, then there is no hope for our inner cities. And there is little hope that we can cut our relief rolls; or win any real victories over crime; or improve in any lasting way the relations between the races.

So, educators around the country are asking for three times as many Teacher Corps teams as they have. Whether they get them, or keep the ones they have, will probably be decided by a tall, gentle-natured Texan.

He is George Mahon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. Since the death of Rep. John Fogarty, the House subcommittee that must pass on President Johnson's request for additional funds for the Teacher Corps has been full of conflict, and is more anti-Great Society than it was before. Many vital issues in the fields of health, education and welfare may live or die by the margin of one vote in this panel. Thus Mahon's influence is likely to be crucial.

Probably he alone can remove from the "stepchild" category a program that has received effusive praise from a variety of people such as Jack J. Efurd, superintendent of schools in Gentry, Ark.; Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City, and Alfred Gilpin, president of the Indian Tribal Council and a school board member in Macy, Nebr.

Congressional enthusiasm for the Teacher Corps seemed widespread in Congress in 1965 when President Johnson proposed creation of a large force of idealistic young men and women who would supplement the staffs of slum schools. It was no secret to congressmen that many teachers shunned these schools. (An official in Boston recently proposed "combat pay" for teachers serving in certain slum schools.)

So the Higher Education Act of 1965 spelled out a program under which a team composed of one master teacher and several interns (often former Peace Corps volunteers who are paid $75 to $125 a week while undergoing intensive summer training) is assigned to schools to work with disadvantaged children.

Congress authorized $64,000,000 for the program for the fiscal year ending this June 30. It finally got around to appropriating only $7,500,000. The President has asked for a supplemental allocation of $12,500,000—or enough to train 2,500 more interns this summer.

That is what is before the subcommittee now chaired by Rep. Daniel Flood, D-Pa. And the President has asked $36,000,000 for fiscal 1968.

Richard Graham, director of the Corps, recently asked school districts for a frank appraisal of the program. Of the 79 reports received so far, 77 districts asked for more Teacher Corps teams, one was happy with what it had, and one district was critical of the personnel it received.

Not a bad record for a program that is being run on peanuts.

Mahon is under a lot of pressure to hold down spending. But he just might find the Teacher Corps a place where he can strike a blow for decency and dignity for a lot of long-neglected kids and still not get the feeling that he's bankrupting the treasury.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON: MAN OF PEACE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in his news conference March 9, the President again made crystal clear that he is prepared to pursue any honorable path to a negotiated peace in Vietnam—if he receives some clear signal that the other side is willing to do the same. He has not yet received such a signal, and he must therefore continue the military and economic policies which sustain the Vietnamese in their fight to defend their freedom and territorial integrity.

The burden which the President bears today is especially heavy. He is constantly reminded of the sacrifices of both Americans and Vietnamese in this tragic war. Just before the March 9 press conference he expressed the Nation's feeling toward one brave young American soldier by presenting him with the Medal of Honor for valor above and beyond the call of duty.

I know that President Johnson would much rather be giving out peace medals than medals for bravery under fire. President Johnson is a man of peace. He knows that the best kind of world is one without arms and bombs and armies. Yet his responsibilities call him to make necessary judgments which have military consequences.

He will keep every avenue open to peace. He will explore new avenues to peace. And he needs and deserves the support of every Member of this body in all his efforts.

SENATE RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION WOULD BE MAJOR LIFT TO RULE OF LAW—XXXVII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, history has offered us both abundant evidence and conclusive proof that there exist only two means of settling disputes between individuals and nations: law or force. We have also learned that in any human situation, where law is not firmly established, force must be the absolute arbiter of men's differences.

The United Nations and the Human Rights Conventions are an honest and hopeful effort to assert the rule of law throughout the world. Implicit in these conventions is the clear recognition by civilized men that peace can only exist when men are willing to settle their controversies by agreement instead of by violence.

These Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery, are admittedly a small step toward law and away from force as the arbiter of human disputes. The moral persuasion of these conventions is their greatest strength.

Regimes which still resort to forced labor, still condone slavery, and still deprive women of full political equality need to be reminded of the high degree of international agreement on opposing these practices. Those regimes and their leaders deserve the opprobrium of civilized society. While Senate ratification of these Human Rights Conventions requires no domestic nor legislative upheaval in the United States, other nations—in order to comply—will have to change and to sacrifice. We can encourage that change and ease that sacrifice by putting the United States squarely on record in favor of these minimal standards of human rights.

Let everyone and every nation know where the United States stands. Let them know that we support the rule of law and not the recourse to violence in the settling of international, as well as national, disputes.

As President Kennedy so profoundly observed in urging Senate ratification of these conventions:

> There is no society so advanced that it no longer needs periodic recommitments to human rights.

The time is now for the Senate to make that recommitment by ratifying the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

WHY VIETNAM?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, along with other Senators, I recently viewed a Defense Department film entitled "Why Vietnam?" The question is never answered. In fact, this film raises far more questions than it answers—not only concerning our reasons for being in Vietnam but also about our own country.

"Why Vietnam?" was intended, we are told, to be shown to our GI's in training camps while in training for service in the Vietnam conflict. Of course, in a war as miserable as this Vietnamese civil war, in which the reasons for our being involved are not quite clear to anyone, except perhaps to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and generals and civilian officials in the Pentagon, it may appear necessary to some of our military leaders to give our boys a bit of brainwashing before they leave, to give them some reasons for fighting a ground war in Vietnam, a small far-off country of no strategic or economic importance to the defense of the United States. However, now we discover that more than 1,600 copies of this film are being distributed free of charge to civic groups, church groups, schools, or persons or groups asking for it. Officials of the Defense Department appear to feel it is necessary to propagandize all Americans as well as the boys fighting in Vietnam.

This "educational" film, so-called, begins not in the jungles of Vietnam, but with a parade of Nazi storm troopers in Hitler's Germany in 1938, on the eve of the signing of the Munich agreement. We then hear Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of England, stating that England and Germany could and would never wage war against one another, and that this fact had achieved "peace in our time." Scenes are then shown of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, of the Korean war, and finally we are brought to Vietnam. The implication is clear. The allegation is that the war in Vietnam, like Hitler's "Anschluss" in Austria, is a clear-cut case of aggression and invasion by an outside aggressor. Ho Chi Minh, or Mao Tse-tung—it is never really clear which—is alleged to be a modern Hitler, and that for the United States not to go to fight in Vietnam would be an act of appeasement.

Mr. President, as you know, historically there never was a North or South Vietnam; and the Geneva Accords of 1954 specifically stated that the 17th parallel was a temporary demarcation line dividing Vietnam into North and South Vietnam at that parallel.

And so it goes throughout the film. The picture is not one of Communist aggression with Communist China ultimately the chief aggressor. It is filled with gory pictures of Vietcong terrorism. However, there is not one picture of the destruction and human suffering wrought by our bombing of North and South Vietnam and by the ground fighting between American GI's and the Vietcong. There is not one picture of a Vietnamese child horribly burned by one of our napalm bombs, although thousands of such terrible incidents have been recorded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Meanwhile, back in the United States, Secretary of Defense McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk are giving pious speeches, assuring the world that "we seek no wider war." The narrator tells us that North Vietnam and China seek to dominate southeast Asia—and ultimately the whole world. He implies that they would have the capacity to do so if the United States had not responded to the South Vietnamese plea for help.

Think of it, Mr. President, this paper tiger, Communist China, with 750 million people, 85 percent of the population, without any navy and only an obsolete air force, no nuclear capability whatsoever except the crudest plants that cannot be operable to convey nuclear warheads within 8 to 10 years. The author implies that they would have the capacity to do all of this, conquer the world, if the United States had not answered the South Vietnamese call for help.

Very definitely, this film is propaganda, pure and simple. The question is asked: "What are we fighting for?" The architects of our Vietnam policy answer, of course, that we are fighting for such lofty principles as individual freedom and a government which allows the truth to prosper. These Pentagon leaders and the film narrator roundly condemn the Red Chinese Government for mass indoctrination of its population.

However, when hundreds of thousands of American citizens—including our schoolchildren—are being shown at government expense a film which so distorts facts—a film which was supposedly intended only to boost the morale of our fighting men—one may ask: "What are we fighting for?"

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

JUDGMENT AGAINST THE UNITED STATES BY THE SOUTHERN UTE TRIBE OF THE SOUTHERN UTE RESERVATION IN COLORADO

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 69, S. 1191.

The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 1191) to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation in Colorado.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, S. 1191 raises essentially the same legal questions that were raised in behalf of S. 1171, which was sponsored by Senators METCALF and MANSFIELD, and upon which favorable action was taken today.

The need for this bill has arisen with respect to the Southern Utes of southern Colorado and part of New Mexico because the law provides that before these funds may be disbursed for the judgments awarded under the Indian Claims Commission, specific legislation must be enacted that sets forth the purposes for which said funds will be used.

The plan of the Southern Utes may be found in the report on file with the Senate, in a letter from the Albuquerque area office, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which begins on page 3 of the report. I simply refer to it. The plan has been gone over by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

I ask unanimous consent that the first five paragraphs of the report, citing the purpose and the need for this bill, be printed in my remarks at this place in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the extracts

from Report No. 65 were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

> The purpose of S. 1191, introduced by Senator Allott, is to authorize the disposition of a judgment awarded the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation, Colo., by the Indian Claims Commission.
>
> The bill provides that the judgment funds awarded to the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation in Colorado by the Indian Claims Commission in docket No. 327 may be used as authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It also exempts from Federal and State income taxes any funds distributed to tribal members.
>
> The judgment funds appropriated by the act of April 30, 1965 (79 Stat. 108), are on deposit in the U.S. Treasury to the credit of the tribe in an interest-bearing account. This bill authorized the use of both the principal and the interest. The current balances in the Treasury are $1,456,832.98 in the principal account and $70,855.90 in the interest account.

NEED

> This legislation is necessary in order for the funds awarded to the tribes to be expended. The annual appropriations act for the Department of the Interior provides the judgments awarded to Indian tribes by the Indian Claims Commission or the Court of Claims shall not be available for advances until specific legislation has been enacted that sets forth the purposes for which said funds will be used.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill is open to amendment.

If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 1191

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the unexpended balance of funds on deposit in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation that were appropriated by the Act of April 30, 1965 (79 Stat. 108), to pay a judgment by the Indian Claims Commission in docket Numbered 327, and the interest thereon, less payment of attorneys fees and expenses, may be invested, expended, or advanced for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Any part of such funds that may be distributed to the members of the tribe shall not be subject to Federal or State income taxes.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT FORT ADAMS, NEWPORT, R.I.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I believe it would be very much in our national interest to have a Government house built on a site at Fort Adams, in my home city of Newport, and administered by the Navy. Such a house would be a restful haven both for leaders of our own Government and for visiting chiefs of state who could stay there, either before or after visiting the President in Washington.

Sometimes the visiting chiefs of state or foreign government leaders are in this country for unofficial reasons, such as medical treatment, and they may need to convalesce or rest for a few days. A Government house could serve a very real need in looking after such individuals.

In addition, it would mean that if a President plans to again visit Newport, as some 17 have, he would have an appropriate place to stay. It might also mean that the Vice President and other senior officials of our Government would have a place where they could either stay themselves or where their official guests could temporarily visit.

In recent years, President Kennedy, who was a frequent visitor to Newport, had contemplated having a temporary summer residence in Newport, and, in fact, had made arrangements to rent such a residence at the time of his death. His predecessor, President Eisenhower, also vacationed frequently at Newport and stayed at Fort Adams.

And when not employed in these ways, such a Government house could well be used by the Naval War College as both a conference center and a place for its visiting lecturers to stay.

With the newly regenerated interest in the America's Cup Races; the rapidly increasing tourist interest in Newport as a cultural center with not only the Jazz and Folk Festival but also the plans to stage summer performances of the Metropolitan Opera, this city is becoming ever more appropriate for VIP's from other countries to visit during the summer months.

As to the practical facilities and services available, let us look first at transportation. Allegheny Airline's new jet flight from Washington can bring visitors to Providence's Theodore Francis Green Airport in an hour. There is connecting commercial air service, which takes only about 10 minutes, to the Newport Air Park. If the flight is by Government jet, of course, the plane can land at Quonset Naval Air Station, with the final airlift by Navy helicopter; or if flying weather is prohibitively bad, by Navy surface craft.

As for other services, if the occasion involves a recuperating foreign chief of state, the Nation has no finer center of medicine than the Boston area. This, of course, is only a few minutes distant from Newport by air and an hour by car.

The Newport Air Park—Newport's air field—is at present being extensively improved. The field is being lengthened and fitted out for day and night use by modern aircraft of most types. These improvements are scheduled to be completed this summer.

Security arrangements are always important considerations when housing chiefs of state. The historic Fort Adams site can be much more easily protected by the U.S. Navy security guards than could private housing facilities.

Also, the maintenance of such a Government house would be quite simply handled by the same naval administrative capability that handles Brenton Village—the complex of low-cost housing for Naval War College officer students currently living on the Fort Adams property.

My final thought on this subject is that international jet service is now so efficient that chiefs of state from all over the world can, and doubtless will, be invited to visit the United States more frequently than in the past. So the demand for such a dwelling is bound to increase. I need not emphasize that water-front property on the northeast coast is rapidly becoming scarcer, and it makes practical sense, therefore, to exploit in this way the Government's possession of this fine piece of land in Newport—now.

THE SITUATION IN EUROPE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the March 1967 issue of Harper's magazine there is an article under the section known as The Easy Chair, by John Fischer. The subject of the article is, "Field Notes on the Europeans." The subheading is "A Cautiously Optimistic Report on the New Temper of Our Allies, Ex-Allies, and Not-Quite-Enemies."

I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for several additional minutes, so that I may call the attention of the Senate to various excerpts from this report by Mr. Fischer.

I also ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of the reading of these excerpts, the entire article may be incorporated in the RECORD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Fischer says that:

> Perhaps the most significant thing that has happened in Europe during the past decade is a change in mood.

He states further:

> Today both fevers seem much abated. Nobody I spoke to was really fearful, in the old bone-deep way—not of a Soviet attack, a resurgence of Nazism, a proletarian uprising, the suppression of the workers by the wicked bourgeois, or even of an atomic war. Vestiges of fear remain, of course, especially among the older people. Germany is still loathed and mistrusted by most Eastern Europeans, plus many Western ones. Anti-Semitism appears to be endemic, in a low-grade, muffled form, throughout much of Austria and South Germany. Local antagonisms persist—Croat vs. Serb, Fleming vs. Walloon, Italian vs. Austrian in the disputed areas of the Tyrol. But these obsessions now seemed drained of most of their virulence. They don't arouse the murderous enthusiasm of the feuds one still encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean—Greek against Turk, Arab against Jew—nor do they dominate the political scene and the coffeehouse conversations as they did only a few years back.

Further on Mr. Fischer says:

> Even the Communists no longer pretend that they hope to take over Europe within the foreseeable future. Nor does anyone believe that, if they did, they could build a New Jerusalem. For a long while Europeans have been watching Communism, in its several varieties, in actual operation; and this security has dispelled, probably for good, their visions of a classless Camelot.

And further on—

> As the apocalyptic ambitions of the Left have evaporated, so have those of the Right. Fascism and Nazism are now about as dead as Zoroastrianism; and I could find no sign that they are likely to revive.

Then further on, Mr. Fischer says:

> "In their hearts," he said, "the people of Europe already have abandoned the NATO

alliance. They think you Americans will protect them against any possibility of Soviet aggression, for your own reasons. But they don't think it necessary any longer for them to share the cost of that protection. And the United States can do nothing to make them pay.

"Suppose you threaten to pull your troops out of Europe? They would shrug. For they believe—rightly or wrongly—that a NATO ground army is no longer needed. The American nuclear umbrella is defense enough. Besides, they expect you to withdraw most of your forces anyway, to meet the needs of Vietnam. When Mr. McNamara assures us that he has no such intention, he simply is not believed."

Further on, again quoting from Mr. Fischer's article:

"You keep begging us to buy your weapons, to help pay for the upkeep of your army in Germany. Why should we? We can make our own machine guns—and you can support your soldiers wherever you like. You fuss about our trade with the Soviet bloc, and tell us we ought to help feed India, and warn us not to sell arms to the Arabs. Forgive me if I sound rude, but we are tired of these moral lectures. We are no longer an occupied country, and our government now ought to be deciding for itself what is good for Germany, without advice from foreigners."

To cite one more example, an Italian journalist—a perceptive and charming young woman—suggested that Dean Rusk makes himself "look like a clown" when he asks our European allies for support in the Pacific, or for aid to the underdeveloped countries. "He should know," she said, "that we simply laugh at him. Perhaps big rich countries like the United States and Russia can afford to get involved in such far-off places—but we have plenty to do at home." (Even "at home" the Europeans often are glad to let Uncle Sam pick up the tab. When floods ravaged Florence and Venice last winter, very few wealthy Italians gave a single lira to rescue their damaged art treasures. They were confident that contributions would flow in from America—as they did.)

One final comment, if no one seeks the floor. Again quoting from Mr. Fischer:

The disquieting fact, it seems to me, is our slowness in adjusting our own policies and attitudes to the changed atmosphere of Europe. Not only our diplomats, but our Congressmen, editorial writers, and businessmen operating abroad sound—all too often—as if we were still living in the postwar era. Their unconscious assumption is that Europe still needs, and wants, our leadership, as it did during the years of the Marshall Plan; that we have a right to expect European help, or at least understanding, in our own undertakings; and that we will wield considerable leverage on European policies and public opinion.

These things are no longer true. And we do indeed "look like a clown" if we pretend they are.

If we can no longer expect much sympathy or understanding, we can at least command respect. To do so, we need to change our own attitudes and behavior toward Europe. This does not mean, of course, any display of chagrin or bad temper; it simply means a certain coolness and detachment. A reluctance to give advice. A readiness to let the Europeans solve their own problems, conduct their own quarrels, clean up their own messes. A thinning-out of our overstaffed embassies, to reduce the official American presence. Possibly a withdrawal of a substantial part of our armed forces—getting in return the best possible diplomatic bargain from Russia.

Such a course would not imply a retreat into isolationism. De Gaulle is no doubt right in assuming that, if the crunch comes, we would in our own self-interest have to help protect Western Europe. But he is probably also right in calculating that no Soviet attack is likely within the foreseeable future. So long as that is true, why shouldn't we let the Europeans carry the main burden of their standing ground defense?

Perhaps, too, a little less generosity would be a good thing. Seldom guilty of it themselves, most Europeans are suspicious of it in others. It indicates, they believe, that one is either a fool or has some hidden motive. This suspicion, rooted in millennia of peasant folk-wisdom, is one reason why they talk so much about "American imperialism." They simply cannot believe that the United States would have poured billions of dollars of aid into ruined Europe unless it hoped, in some sinister fashion, to gain control of the European economy . . . or bribe the local politicians . . . or get rid of farm surpluses . . . or something equally selfish. Or if not, we must be idiots, deserving contempt.

So we might do well to take a lesson from de Gaulle, the most respected man in Europe. He is reserved, even chilly. He gives no favors, and asks none. He drives hard bargains. First and always he keeps an eye on the interests of his own country. And he embodies, more than any other individual, the new spirit of nationalism which characterizes the post-postwar period.

We might not find it easy to emulate his aloofness, because for a whole generation—from the rise of Hitler to the fall of Khrushchev—we had to watch events in Europe with an anxious, hand-wringing intensity. Then anything that happened there profoundly affected our vital interests. Today that is no longer the case. What is happening may be a disappointment—certainly Europe is taking a shape far different from the confederated continent we once hoped for—but it is hardly a threat. We have no need, then, to be so nervously solicitous.

If we do learn to behave with a bit more detachment—with more regard for our own concerns and less for theirs—we may discover ourselves getting along surprisingly well with our European friends. For such a stance would imply the respect, and the recognition of independence, which the new mood of Europe demands above all else.

Mr. President, I believe there is a good deal of food for thought in what Mr. Fischer has to say.

EXHIBIT 1

THE EASY CHAIR: FIELD NOTES ON THE EUROPEANS

(By John Fischer)

(*A cautiously optimistic report on the new temper of our allies, ex-allies, and not-quite-enemies.*)

Perhaps the most significant thing that has happened in Europe during the past decade is a change in mood. It has come about so gradually that many Europeans may themselves be scarcely aware of it. Such a shift in attitude and emotional tone can only be sensed, not gauged with precision. Yet it is unmistakably there, and it may be a major influence in shaping the style of European life for a long while to come.

So at least it seems to me, after six weeks of intensive conversations with Europeans. This time the outlook and temper of nearly all the people I talked to seemed markedly different from anything I had observed before. The change may, I suspect, indicate the end of the postwar peroid, and the beginning of a new segment of European history which does not yet have a name.

The most noticeable difference is a sharp fall in emotional temperature. In the years just before World War II—and for a long while after—practically every European you met had passionate feelings about politics. He would assure you that if The Enemy won the next election (or *coup d'etat*) that would mean the end of his nation, if not Western civilization. If his side triumphed, however, Utopia would be a-dawning. For until quite recently nearly everybody—certainly all intellectuals—believed fervently in some kind of panacea: Socialism, Fascism, Communism, Trotskyism, the Restoration of the Banat, or whatever. And they were equally obsessed with deep fears.

Today both fevers seem much abated. Nobody I spoke to was really fearful, in the old bone-deep way—not of a Soviet attack, a resurgence of Nazism, a proletarian uprising, the suppression of the workers by the wicked bourgeois, or even of an atomic war. Vestiges of fear remain, of course, especially among the older people. Germany is still loathed and mistrusted by most Eastern Europeans, plus many Western ones. Anti-Semitism appears to be endemic, in a low-grade, muffled form, throughout much of Austria and South Germany. Local antagonisms persist—Croat vs. Serb, Fleming vs. Walloon, Italian vs. Austrian in the disputed areas of the Tyrol. But these obsessions now seemed drained of most of their virulence. They don't arouse the murderous enthusiasm of the feuds one still encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean-Greek against Turk, Arab against Jew—nor do they dominate the political scene and the coffee-house conversations as they did only a few years back.

At the same time, Europeans clearly have lost their faith in The Revolution, of whatever brand. So far as I can discover, men like Gustav Regler no longer exist. He was an idealistic Communist, a man with a vision for which he was willing to give his life, and nearly did. During the winter of 1934, when I was a very junior reporter for the United Press, I spent many evenings with him in a grubby little café in Saarbrücken, listening to him explain how Communism was going to conquer Europe any day now, and soon afterwards the rest of the globe. He was quite certain that this Apocalypse would wipe out everything in life—not only hunger, but greed, envy, and strife. Human nature itself would change, in everything from sexual relationships to personal ambition, so that mankind would live forever after in joyous harmony.

At that time, and well into the fifties, such visionaries were plentiful throughout Europe. In England G. D. H. Cole and Harold Laski led in educating a whole generation of intellectuals to a similar (though somewhat less ecstatic) anticipation of the Socialist paradise. In Germany Kurt Schumacher, the postwar leader of the Social Democrats, was preaching the old-time religion with hot-eyed zeal as late as 1952. In Italy Togliatti apparently clung to some remnants of the dream until his death. But these evangels left no heirs.*

Even the Communists no longer pretend that they hope to take over Europe within the foreseeable future. Nor does anyone believe that, if they did, they could build a New Jerusalem. For a long while Europeans have been watching Communism, in its several varieties, in actual operation; and this scrutiny has dispelled, probably for good, their visions of a classless Camelot.

The present mood of European Marxists probably was best described last fall by Pietro Nenni, the grand old man of Italian Socialism, when he formally renounced the revolutionary goals he had pursued for nearly fifty years. Admitting that his party had finally "put behind us the old maximalist dreams and illusions," he announced that from now on it would try to work within the existing system "without dogmas" or "ideological fetishes." He thereupon led his party into a Centerist coalition government—an example followed a little later by his fellow Socialists in Germany.

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*Regler died in Mexico, an embittered man. He had worked in the underground against Hitler, had been seriously wounded fighting with the International Brigade in Spain, and had left the Party in disillusionment after the Hitler-Stalin pact.

As the apocalyptic ambitions of the Left have evaporated, so have those of the Right. Fascism and Nazism are now about as dead as Zoroastrianism; and I could find no sign that they are likely to revive.

Some of my journalistic colleagues do not agree. Last winter the German National Democratic party—often described as neo-Nazi—won a few seats in the state elections of Hesse and Bavaria. As a consequence a number of respected publications here and in England began to speculate nervously about a resurgence of Hitlerism. Their anxiety redoubled after Kurt Kiesinger, a one-time member of the Nazi party, became head of Germany's new coalition government.

Such worries are understandable, but I don't think they have much basis in fact. The NPD is not really a neo-Nazi movement, in my view, nor is it very important. It seems rather to be a loose collection of Radical Rightists, something like the Birchites here or the Poujadsts in France a decade ago. Without a coherent program or even a common grievance, they aren't likely to achieve a great deal more than their voting strength of last fall: less than 8 per cent. It is true, as James Cameron pointed out in the *New York Times*, that "as recently as the late 'twenties. Hitler's electoral support was almost exactly the same . . ." But it is also true that Hitler's movement then grew with cancerous speed only because the German economy was in collapse, unemployment was intolerably high, and because he could argue, with some plausibility, that the "injustices" which Germany suffered could be remedied by force of arms.

Today nothing like that exists, or is in prospect. Although the long boom has now leveled off, the German economy is still strong and may well resume its climb before the end of the year. Unemployment is trivial, in comparison with the United States or most European countries. And I did not encounter a single person in Germany who thought that a military adventure could result in anything but disaster, incomparably worse than the last one.

Indeed, the state of mind of the ordinary Germans whom I talked to struck me as far more realistic than at any time since the war. They still yearn to see their country reunited; but they are coming to understand that it isn't going to happen soon—probably not until some kind of general political settlement is worked out between East and West. And that, in turn, depends largely on a change in the nature and aims of the European Communist states—an evolution well under way, but which may take decades to complete.

The Germans are also recognizing (sometimes reluctantly and with bitterness) that they are not going to regain their lost provinces in the East. Most now seem ready to accept the Oder-Neisse boundary as permanent. The politicians and diplomats still hope to get something from the Russians in return for a formal acceptance, but they know that the value of this bargaining counter is eroding year by year.

In like fashion, the Germans are changing their minds about atomic weapons. As recently as three years ago many of them were arguing that since their country had renounced atomic weapons of its own, it ought to share in control of the American arsenal, through some such device as a NATO multilateral force. Today even the German military men have abandoned that notion. And many intellectuals, plus some politicians, are wondering out loud whether it might be a good idea to negotiate the removal of all nuclear weapons from German soil, both East and West.

This does not mean that the European intellectual landscape has turned altogether sunny. On the contrary, some cumulus patches are building up which—to the American eye, at least—look fairly ominous. But they are different in kind from the ideological storms which racked the continent for the first two-thirds of this century.

What struck me as most unsettling is a new spirit of nationalism which seems to be growing, swiftly and quietly, not only in Germany but throughout most of Europe. Unlike the old-fashioned nationalism, it is not concerned with territorial expansion. Instead it seems to be a turning inward, a preoccupation with internal affairs. "Isolationist" is perhaps too strong a term to describe it, and "neutralist" isn't quite right either. But it certainly is tinged with an impatience with the problems of the world outside Europe, or even beyond the borders of a single country; for this reason, it sometimes takes the form of anti-Americanism.

At a lunch one day in a villa on the north shore of Lake Como, one of the wise old men of Europe tried to tell a few American guests what he thought was happening. He spoke sadly, because he had devoted the best decades of his life to the effort to build a united Europe, and now felt that he had failed. And he realized that although he was still widely reversed as an elder statesman, his practical influence had almost vanished.

"In their hearts," he said, "the people of Europe already have abandoned the NATO alliance. They think you Americans will protect them against any possibility of Soviet aggression, for your own reasons. But they don't think it necessary any longer for them to share the cost of that protection. And the United States can do nothing to make them pay.

"Suppose you threaten to pull your troops out of Europe? They would shrug. For they believe—rightly or wrongly—that a NATO ground army is no longer needed. The American nuclear umbrella is defense enough. Besides, they expect you to withdraw most of your forces anyway, to meet the needs of Vietnam. When Mr. McNamara assures us that he has no such intention, he simply is not believed.

"At least for the time being," he went on, "they also have forgotten the ideal of a European community. I no longer have much hope that the Common Market will lead to an integrated European economy, much less the growth of federal institutions. For de Gaulle has won. His ideas of petty, selfish nationalism are gaining everywhere. Perhaps it was inevitable, as soon as the threat from the East faded away—or seemed to fade. . ."

Other conversations appeared to confirm this prognosis. When a German student said, "What we need is a strong leader," it turned out that he was thinking of de Gaulle, not Hitler; and what he wanted was a government which would assert more independence of American policy than Erhard's had done. What bothered him about that policy? Not, I was surprised to find, the war in Vietnam. He felt rather reassured that the United States was demonstrating there its determination to defend a smaller ally. (This view was echoed frequently, particularly by nationals of the little countries, such as Austria and Norway, and even by a few Yugoslavs. But they spoke privately; probably not one would have said a good word for America's Vietnam policy in public.) What my young friend objected to was "American nagging."

"You keep begging us to buy your weapons, to help pay for the upkeep of your army in Germany. Why should we? We can make our own machine guns—and you can support your soldiers wherever you like. You fuss about our trade with the Soviet bloc, and tell us we ought to help feed India, and warn us not to sell arms to the Arabs. Forgive me if I sound rude, but we are tired of these moral lectures. We are no longer an occupied country, and our government now ought to be deciding for itself what is good for Germany without advice from foreigners."

To cite one more example, an Italian journalist—a perceptive and charming young woman—suggested that Dean Rusk makes himself "look like a clown" when he asks our European allies for support in the Pacific, or for aid to the underdeveloped countries. "He should know," she said, "that we simply laugh at him. Perhaps big rich countries like the United States and Russia can afford to get involved in such far-off places—but we have plenty to do at home." (Even "at home" the Europeans often are glad to let Uncle Sam pick up the tab. When floods ravaged Florence and Venice last winter, very few wealthy Italians gave a single lira to rescue their damaged art treasures. They were confident that contributions would flow in from America—as they did.)

What concerned me about all this was not the anti-American overtones. We should expect that, since big countries always get scolded by the smaller ones. Remember how England in its heyday was reviled as "perfidious Albion"? And we surely should have learned by this time those ancient maxims of international affairs: (1) There is no such thing as gratitude among nations; (2) Nobody forgives a benefactor.

The disquieting fact, it seems to me, is our slowness in adjusting our own policies and attitudes to the changed atmosphere of Europe. Not only our diplomats, but our Congressmen, editorial writers, and businessmen operating abroad sound—all too often—as if we were still living in the postwar era. Their unconscious assumption is that Europe still needs, and wants, our leadership, as it did during the years of the Marshall Plan; that we have a right to expect European help, or at least understanding, in our own undertakings; and that we still wield considerable leverage on European policies and public opinion.

These things are no longer true. And we do indeed "look like a clown" if we pretend they are.

If we can no longer expect much sympathy or understanding, we can at least command respect. To do so, we need to change our own attitudes and behavior toward Europe. This does not mean, of course, any display of chagrin or bad temper; it simply means a certain coolness and detachment. A reluctance to give advice. A readiness to let the Europeans solve their own problems, conduct their own quarrels, clean up their own messes. A thinning-out of our overstaffed embassies, to reduce the official American presence. Possibly a withdrawal of a substantial part of our armed forces—getting in return the best possible diplomatic bargain from Russia.

Such a course would not imply a retreat into isolationism. De Gaulle is no doubt right in assuming that, if the crunch comes, we would in our own self-interest have to help protect Western Europe. But he is probably also right in calculating that no Soviet attack is likely within the foreseeable future. So long as that is true, why shouldn't we let the Europeans carry the main burden of their standing ground defense?

Perhaps, too, a little less generosity would be a good thing. Seldom guilty of it themselves, most Europeans are suspicious of it in others. It indicates, they believe, that one is either a fool or has some hidden motive. This suspicion, rooted in millennia of peasant folk-wisdom, is one reason why they talk so much about "American imperialism." They simply cannot believe that the United States would have poured billions of dollars of aid into ruined Europe unless it hoped, in some sinister fashion, to gain control of the

European economy . . . or bribe the local politicians . . . or get rid of farm surpluses . . . or something equally selfish. Or if not, we must be idiots, deserving contempt.

So we might do well to take a lesson from de Gaulle, the most respected man in Europe. He is reserved, even chilly. He gives no favors, and asks none. He drives hard bargains. First and always he keeps an eye on the interests of his own country. And he embodies, more than any other individual, the new spirit of nationalism which characterizes the post-postwar period.

We might not find it easy to emulate his aloofness, because for a whole generation—from the rise of Hitler to the fall of Khrushchev—we had to watch events in Europe with an anxious, hand-wringing intensity. Then anything that happened there profoundly affected our vital interests. Today that is no longer the case. What is happening may be a disappointment—certainly Europe is taking a shape far different from the confederated continent we once hoped for—but it is hardly a threat. We have no need, then, to be so nervously solicitous.

If we do learn to behave with a bit more detachment—with more regard for our own concerns—and less for theirs—we may discover ourselves getting along surprisingly well with our European friends. For such a stance would imply the respect, and the recognition of independence, which the new mood of Europe demands above all else.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VIETNAM POLICY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, once again President Johnson has defined our position in Vietnam. At his March 9 news conference, the President reiterated that our Government is prepared to find a solution to this conflict that is just and honorable.

In my view, the President's firm but reasonable position should satisfy those critics who have questioned whether or not our Government has sincerely tried to find peace in Vietnam.

For as President Johnson indicated, the Government of the United States has proved its sincerity by extending cease-fires on six separate occasions, and to no avail. It is now time for the critics to begin to question Hanoi.

President Johnson has been courageous and patient, reasonable but firm in handling his enemies abroad and his critics at home. He deserves the support of the country and the people in his efforts to secure peace by following a course of firmness and resoluteness in Vietnam.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, several days ago, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations asked the Secretary of State for his opinion on the advisability and feasibility of amendments, reservations, or understandings to the consular convention with the Soviet Union. The Secretary has now replied, in a letter dated March 8. I ask unanimous consent that his letter to the chairman be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. In his letter, Secretary Rusk says that efforts to amend the treaty, or to incorporate reservations or understandings to our ratification, could lead to what the Secretary terms—"either of two undesirable consequences." The first of these consequences is that the Soviets might not ratify the treaty—a treaty the Secretary describes in the last paragraph of his letter as "essential to obtaining those rights we need to protect Americans traveling in the Soviet Union," and as "in our national interest."

The Secretary describes the second undesirable consequence in these words:

> Reservations or understandings by the United States would give the U.S.S.R. an opportunity to qualify or interpret its own obligations under the treaty in ways that would deprive this country of the treaty's important benefits.

The Secretary also states in his letter:

> It is altogether doubtful that any renegotiation could secure a better treaty, or indeed one that is as good.

In other words, Mr. President, attempting to attach a reservation or understanding to our ratification of this treaty could cause the treaty to operate in a way that would be less beneficial to the United States or could result—and, if the reservations proposed by the Senator from South Dakota are adopted, probably would result—in there being no treaty at all. That is the issue involved in our vote on these reservations. Make no mistake about it, the issue is purely and simply the life or death of this treaty.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD following the letter to the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], two responses from Mr. William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations in response to specific inquiries by me relative to the two reservations which will be considered by the Senate on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

EXHIBIT 1

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, March 8, 1967.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing in response to your question concerning the advisability and feasibility of amendments, reservations, or understandings to the US-USSR Consular Convention.

This treaty emerged from a long and thorough process of negotiation with the Soviet Government. It is altogether doubtful that any renegotiation could secure a better treaty, or indeed one that is as good. Efforts to amend the treaty, or the incorporation of one or more reservations or understandings to the U.S. ratification, could lead to either of two undesirable consequences. The Soviet Government might simply not proceed to ratify the treaty. Alternatively, if the treaty were ratified, reservations or understandings by the United States would give the USSR an opportunity to qualify or interpret its own obligations under the treaty in ways that would deprive this country of the treaty's important benefits.

As I have stated earlier to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the main purpose of the Consular Convention is to provide a needed legal basis for the protection of Americans who might be arrested in the USSR. The number of Americans traveling to that country has now reached a total of some 18,000 annually. Under present Soviet law, arrested persons can be held incommunicado for nine months or longer during investigation of a criminal charge. The Consular Convention specifies that U.S. officials will be notified immediately (within 1–3 days) when an American citizen is arrested or detained in the Soviet Union, and it stipulates that our officials will be allowed to visit the American without delay (within 2–4 days) and on a continuing basis thereafter.

As soon as this treaty is ratified and enters into force, the benefits conferred by it will come into operation whether or not any consulates are opened in the Soviet Union or the United States. The Convention does not provide for the opening of consulates. Decisions on any such action are separate from the Convention; no treaty is required before the President can exercise his constitutional power to establish U.S. consulates abroad or to permit foreign consulates in this country.

I have earlier informed the Committee that there has been no agreement with the Soviet Government in the negotiations on the Consular Convention or otherwise, for the opening of any consulates in either country. We have no present plans for taking such action. I have already assured the Foreign Relations Committee that, if and when in the future we should consider proceeding toward the opening of a consulate, we would consult fully with the Committee and with the Leadership on both sides of the aisle before reaching a decision. Moreover, as I have also assured the Committee, in the event of our decision to agree to the establishment of a Soviet consulate in this country, we would discuss the question with the municipal authorities of any American city under consideration as the site; we would not wish to proceed with the opening of a consulate against the will of the responsible local authorities. In the event a Soviet consulate were established in this country, we would insist that the number of Soviet consular personnel enjoying immunities under the Convention be limited, and in no case would it exceed the number of Americans to receive identical immunities in the consulate we would open in the Soviet Union.

I have stated earlier my conviction that the US-USSR Consular Convention is a good treaty, essential to obtaining those rights we need to protect Americans traveling in the Soviet Union. I am convinced that the treaty is in our national interest. I hope very much the Senate will decide to give its advice and consent, and will do so unconditionally.

Sincerely,

DEAN RUSK.

EXHIBIT 2

Hon. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: In response to your inquiry, I am pleased to give the viewpoint of the Department of State regarding a reservation proposed to the US-USSR Consular Convention now before the Senate.

This reservation would provide that American consular officers in the Soviet Union should have the "same right to free expression" in Russia as a Soviet consular officer would have in the United States. In addition, it would stipulate that there would be "no limit on the number of American newsmen" in Russia.

The Consular Convention is an instrument regulating the status and functions of consular personnel. It would destroy its usefulness for that important purpose if we attempted to use it as a vehicle for re-making Soviet society, however desirable it seems to us that steps should be taken in the USSR to make it a free society. We share the concern to reduce and eliminate barriers to the free expression and circulation of ideas. However, it is our strongly held judgment that this cannot be done by means of reservations to the Consular Convention. The immediate consequence of an effort to do so in this way would be to kill the Convention.

Please do not hesitate to call on me if I can provide any further information or assistance.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

MARCH 13, 1967.

Hon. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: In response to your inquiry, I am pleased to give you the viewpoint of the Department of State regarding a reservation proposed to the US–USSR Consular Convention now before the Senate.

This reservation would provide that the Consular Convention would not enter in force until the President advises Congress that there is "no longer a need for U.S. Forces in Viet-Nam" or that any war material and arms the Soviet Union is furnishing to North Viet-Nam are "not delaying or preventing a return of U.S. troops" from Viet-Nam.

This reservation will preclude or substantially delay entry into force of the Consular Convention. Soviet nationals already enjoy the protection of the U.S. Constitution and of our legal system in a free society, should they be accused of a crime. We need the Convention now, and without delay, to secure some elementary rights of consular access and notification for American citizens present in the USSR. These features will become operative without the opening of consulates.

We believe our national interest requires the earliest possible entry in force of the Consular Convention. Under present Soviet law, arrested persons can be held incommunicado for nine months or more during investigation of a criminal charge. The Consular Convention contains major "due process" concessions by the USSR. It specifies that U.S. officials will be notified immediately (within 2-4 days), and it provides that access will be allowed on a continuing basis thereafter.

As soon as this treaty is ratified and enters into force, diplomatic officers now attached to our Embassy in Moscow who are notified to the Soviet Government as consular officers will have these important rights of notification and access whether or not consulates are eventually opened as the result of separate negotiations.

Please do not hesitate to call on me if I can provide any further information or assistance.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.

LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I was not present when the President's message on the Latin American summit meeting was laid before the Senate. I do not want to speak at any length on it, but the majority leader knows whereof I speak because he was present at the White House conference last Friday when President Johnson briefed us on the message which he has sent to the Congress today.

The minority leader was appropriately represented by others on the minority side of the aisle at the White House last Friday morning because he was unable to be present in person. In respect to the message, I highly support the objectives that the President has in mind and which he has set forth in the message.

I think it is important that the President consult with us in advance of going down to Punta del Este and I am very glad that the President is doing just that.

We discussed this matter at the White House, and this seemed to be the overwhelming consensus of the opinion as the majority leader well knows, for he was present for the conference and made his own contribution to the conference.

I think now is the time to avoid any possible misunderstanding as to the plans for the Summit Conference and the proceedings that are to be followed by the Congress in advising the President as to congressional viewpoints.

I am delighted to hear that the message and the resolution attached thereto will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. I am pleased that the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee is present in the Chamber because, as he knows, we had an informal discussion of this matter in the Committee on Foreign Relations this morning.

I take it upon myself to say—and I am sure the chairman will not object to my saying it—that I strongly urged at the committee meeting this morning that hearings be held with dispatch by the full Committee on Foreign Relations. There seems to be some question raised as to the nature of any hearings on the President's message and the purpose of the resolution. Let me make very clear that as far as I am concerned—and my view is shared, may I say, by a considerable number of other members of the committee who have talked to me—the holding of hearings involves no commitment on the substance of the resolution sent to us by the President. The holding of hearings does not in any way prevent any amendments to the resolution.

It may very well be that because of other points raised at the hearings—and there may be others—there will be some amendments offered.

I make no commitments to vote for the resolution until I hear the witnesses presented by the administration and other witnesses who may testify. I do support the basic objectives which the President has in mind, but their implementation is to be decided by the Congress after all the evidence and points of view are presented at the hearings. It is of the utmost importance that, when our President goes to that conference, he goes with the advice of Congress in advance of his carrying out the negotiations which he will be expected to engage in at the conference. We owe it to our President to do what we can to strengthen his hand at this summit conference discussion consonant with what the Congress thinks it can support in expanding the Alliance for Progress program if a case is made out for such expansion.

This is a vitally important conference, in my judgment, as far as the future of the Western Hemisphere is concerned and our economic relationship in the future with the rest of the countries in the Western Hemisphere.

I heartily endorse the objectives that the President has in mind. I think his proposed program in general is the next step in the advancement of the Alliance for Progress program. I yield to no one in my ardent support of the Alliance for Progress from the very beginning. It was really born in my subcommittee when the then Senator from Massachusetts, the late President Kennedy, was a member of the subcommittee. We held hearings, and the monographs and recommendations from our committee that President Kennedy later took to the White House with him were used by him for the formulation of the Alliance for Progress program.

We have often heard it said in the Congress that we in the Congress should be in on the take-off as well as on the landing in the formulation of American foreign policy.

For 22 years, I have argued that the advice-and-consent clause of the Constitution does not mean that we should give our advice after the fact, but that we should give our advice while the foreign policy is being developed by the White House and by the State Department.

The President has made it clear to me, in my conversations with him in regard to this particular matter, that he does not disagree with that general proposition as to the part Congress should play in helping the executive branch of Government formulate foreign policy. President Johnson has made a practice of conferring with Members of Congress many, many times requesting their advice on foreign policy. This is another example of it.

There has been some discussion as to whether this might be another Tonkin Bay joint resolution.

In my judgment, it is altogether different from the Tonkin Bay joint resolution.

This is not a program that gives the President of the United States any precommitment in regard to the exercise of military authority.

The resolution is sought by the President out of his seeking to advise with Congress in regard to the economic future of the Alliance for Progress program. It refers to many variables and many specifics, such as, for example, the whole problem of a Common Market for the hemisphere within the next 10 years. We had better come to a Common Market if there is ever to be economic stability and prosperity throughout the Western Hemisphere.

An economic approach to the Alliance for Progress program on a self-help cooperative expanded basis is essential if we are to have the sound prosperous economic relationship that ought to exist among the countries within the hemisphere, including the United States.

I simply want to say that is my interpretation of the proper approach. I commend the President of the United States for seeking our advice prior to the summit conference. However, I am sorry that the message mentions any figure as to what we might subsequently agree to by way of any financial aid to the Latin American countries.

I say now, as the Senator from Montana knows I said at the White House the other day, that the whole Alliance for Progress program is based upon a mutuality of self-help effort among the countries concerned. It is based upon the commitment of self-help on the part of the Latin American countries. All obligations in it are entirely mutual; not one is a unilateral obligation on the part of the United States.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] and I laid that down at the time of the Bogotá Conference. We made it very clear when the act of Bogotá was consummated. It was made very clear in the report that the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] and I made to the Senate when we came back from Bogotá that the whole program of economic cooperation in this hemisphere is based upon self-help and cooperation on the part of the Latin American countries.

Otherwise, they have no right to expect or accept help from the United States. We have made no commitment of help on our part unless they carry out their commitments, which were called for in the act of Bogotá, to institute a self-help program.

We extended and expanded that idea in the act of Punta del Este. Senator HICKENLOOPER and I were two of the Senate representatives at Punta del Este when the act of Punta del Este was presented. Again, it is based upon a self-help program.

I make this brief statement today so that there will be no misunderstanding so far as I am concerned and, in my judgment, so far as the President is concerned. The President made clear at our conference with him last Friday that his suggestions are based upon a self-help program. Above all else I want to emphasize that the Alliance for Progress program, based upon a mutuality of cooperation among all the other countries, which will involve the cooperation of the United States, involves self-help on the part of those countries.

So far as any dollar figure is concerned, we certainly are free, in our hearings, to offer any amendments that may be appropriate on the basis of the evidence presented. At the present time I do not think the United States should make any commitment in respect to any amount of money we may make available in the future. That should all depend upon many variables including to the extent to which the Latin American countries are willing to contribute their fair share of self-help to the Alliance for Progress program.

Regardless of what dollar figures may be bandied about, I do not believe that any Latin American country should assume that Congress, in agreeing to a resolution that contains no dollar figures, is committing itself to any dollar figure. I do not know whether it should be x dollars or y dollars. That aspect depends more upon the Latin American countries than upon us. It depends upon the kind of self-help program they will work out.

With respect to the objectives of the message that the President has in mind, I repeat what I have said to the President: Now is the time to talk about the future of the Alliance for Progress program. As was said at the White House the other day, there is a belief in Latin America on the part of some that we are passing Latin America by. We have no intention of passing Latin America by. We have demonstrated time and time again our desire to help them develop their own economic improvement, by coming to the assistance of the masses of the people of Latin America, if their governments are willing to cooperate with us in that assistance.

The great bulwark against communism in Latin America, in my judgment, is the development, in each country where it is needed—and it is needed throughout Latin America—of a system of economic freedom of choice for the people of Latin America and a recognition on the part of their respective governments that economic freedom is the best security those governments can have against communism.

The other great weapon we can export, and which we can help them develop, is literacy. Give me a literate population throughout Latin America, and in country after country, in which the people enjoy economic freedom of choice—which means that you have economic development projects that raise the standard of living of the masses of the people—and you need not worry about two things: You need not worry about the spread of communism, because economic freedom and liberty will stop communism. Second, you need not worry about the development of political self-determination on the part of the people in developing their own democratic institutions. A literate, enlightened people and an economically free people will never support any form of totalitarianism, be it communism or military dictatorship.

Each Senator should study with great care the President's message, and we should do all we can to cooperate with the President in advising him, before he goes to Punta del Este, what our attitude is in regard to strengthening and expanding the Alliance for Progress program.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The Senator from Oregon has mentioned that he brought up this matter in the committee meeting. The committee will conduct hearings at the earliest possible moment. I have not seen the resolution, but it certainly will receive immediate consideration as soon as it arrives.

Mr. MORSE. I know it will. That is why I brought up the matter.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to corroborate what the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon has said about the meeting at the White House, which I believe the President referred to specifically as bringing us all in on the takeoff rather than telling us about it after a crashlanding.

Between 30 and 40 Members of the House and Senate were present. The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations was invited, but unfortunately he had to address a statewide gathering in Arkansas that day, so he was not present.

The emphasis was placed upon attempting to bring about a common market for all of Latin America, including the United States, if my recollection is correct. The intention was to do what we could, in a peripheral sense, to help bring about rural modernization, better health and educational facilities. The idea was that the initiative was to be undertaken by the Latin American nations themselves.

There is absolutely no connection or relationship between a resolution of this kind and the type of resolution which was agreed to in August 1964, known as the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. The latter resolution dealt with military situations. As a matter of fact, as I recall the proposed resolution—it was only embryonic in form when it was shown to us at the White House—its sense was against continuing militarism in various Latin American countries; and the emphasis was placed on economic integration, rural improvement, better schools, better health facilities, and similar matters.

I am prepared to go all the way on a resolution such as this, because this is the kind of resolution which makes sense to me. This is the kind of resolution which will seek to help people. This is the type of resolution to which I hope the Senate and Congress will give special attention. It is directed to an area of greatest concern to this country—to the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the majority leader has stated the situation more succinctly and in clearer form than I have. He has accurately reported the discussion at the White House the other day. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. GRUENING. In the White House discussion or conference, did the President advert to the subject he has discussed so emphatically and so repeatedly since he took office; namely, the population problem?

In one of his statements on this subject, the President indicated that aid would go particularly to those nations that attempted to solve their population problems; and we all know, of course, that the great population explosion in Latin America and elsewhere is largely undercutting and nullifying all our efforts to give them economic assistance. Was that problem referred to?

Mr. MORSE. As the Senator from Alaska knows, I never quote the President. But I am within the proprieties in saying that this matter was not raised by the President. Undoubtedly the matter was recognized by all, without its being spelled out. One of our problems in Latin America, as we discussed briefly the food problem, is the problem of the population explosion.

We must even think about this problem in our own country with respect to the next 50 years. The matter was not discussed specifically. It will have to be discussed in connection with any Western Hemisphere economic program to be participated in by all countries, including the United States. It will have to be discussed in connection with its relationship to a common market, which the message and the resolution contemplate we should attempt to implement within the next 10 years.

Mr. GRUENING. As the Senator from Oregon well knows, the President has shown great leadership in this field. He has spoken not fewer than 28 times about the population problem. In his last state of the Union message, he adverted to it again by saying that the time for rhetoric has passed and that the time for action is here. Unfortunately, his agencies, his Cabinet members, do not seem to have received the message, and very little is being done to implement the President's repeated utterances.

I hope that when we come to the discussion of the foreign aid program, this will be one of the major topics of discussion.

Mr. MORSE. As this matter is discussed at the hearings of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in connection with the message, the problem of the population explosion undoubtedly will be raised. So far as I am concerned, I would be glad to recommend to the committee that the Senator from Alaska be invited to appear and to raise the matter, if he would like to do so. He is the Senate's expert on this subject. I believe he should be given the opportunity to appear.

Mr. GRUENING. I appreciate the invitation. I believe that it would be appropriate if the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs would agree that it might be well to earmark a certain part of our foreign aid funds for this purpose.

Mr. MORSE. I shall take that under advisement as the record is made.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Senators who have expressed the view that the President's message, and the consequent resolution which is to be introduced by someone, whose identity I do not now know, receive early and careful consideration.

I notice in the President's message, which I now have had an opportunity to read, that he recommends that Congress make a "commitment" of $1.5 billion for various purposes. He then says:

> It must not be at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world.

It is a little hard to understand, with the expense we have in other parts of this troubled world, including our own country, how we could commit ourselves to $1.5 billion additional with an already unbalanced budget without, in fact, doing so "at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world."

I notice, for instance, he recommends $150 million over a 3-year period for certain public works improvements, including roads to link the nations and people of Latin America.

Will that be done by further impoundment of highway funds to link our own cities and to complete our highway system? What does this message mean? Is Congress, in fact, to make a commitment of $1.5 billion for Latin America additional only after all other problems of this troubled and distraught world are met?

> It must not be at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world.

The troubled world surely includes our own American cities, and includes problems in unemployment, especially in economic and minority groups, and the social and economic problems in our ghettos.

I am willing to consider this proposal and consider it early but I want to be careful about signing blank checks, particularly when there are so many needs at home for which funds are now being withheld and impounded.

We are now losing more lives on our inadequate highways than we are losing in the tragic conflict in Vietnam, as heavy and as tragic as those losses are. Yet Congress made a commitment by legislative enactment that the Interstate Highway System shall be completed in a given period. It was my fortune to be coauthor of the Highway Acts of 1956 and of 1958. In consequence of that commitment, we levied taxes upon highway users. Those taxes are now being collected. The revenue from those taxes is going into the trust fund, the expenditures from which, however, are being impounded, inhibited, and held back by the President, the same President who now asks us to make a commitment of $1.5 billion, but we are advised that

> It must not be at the expense of our efforts in other parts of this troubled world.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. GRUENING. I am in complete accord with the thoughts which are fairly expressed in what the distinguished Senator from Tennessee has said. I wish to point out that not only is the Federal highway program being cut all over the country, but specifically, in my State of Alaska, which was totally excluded from all Federal highway aid for the first 40 years of this important legislation, and after 8 years of effort we finally succeeded in getting a start in catching up, and beginning to nullify this 50-year discrimination, but are denied inclusion in the President's proposed budget.

The two Houses voted and Congress approved an additional $14 million a year for 5 years including use of these funds for maintenance in order to rectify gradually the condition which existed and still exists in my State, which is that it entered the Union in the unique situation, unthinkable in our 49 sister States, unthinkable, for example, in the Senator's State of Tennessee, whereby not merely a few, but a majority of our communities were and are unconnected with any other community by highway or railway. That would not be possible in Tennessee, New Jersey, or California, or any other State, but it does exist in Alaska. A map of Alaska with existing highways delineated shows four-fifths of its territory almost without any roads, and its communities unconnected except by air.

At long last, in the last Congress we succeeded in making a beginning, some $14 million a year for the next 5 years in addition were authorized, but now this is omitted from the President's budget. I would therefore, find myself unable to vote for this proposed increase in our aid program to Latin America while this nationwide drastic reducation in our own highway programs and the discrimination against our other domestic needs continues. I think that many other Senators feel the same way.

I believe in a foreign aid program wisely administered, which we have not had. Merely increasing the appropriation will not increase its efficiency as the study of the program in Chile, made by my Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures and published as a Senate document clearly reveals.

President Johnson is now requesting that about $900 million be authorized for agriculture, education, and health programs in Latin America over and above the $543 million already requested. Yet in 1967, President Johnson has reduced domestic agricultural programs by $423 million and has reduced domestic health, education, and welfare programs by over $590 million.

President Johnson is requesting about $150 million for roads and bridges for Latin America. For 1967, he reduced domestic road programs by over $1 billion. The $150 million requested is in addition to the $750 million which the United States had previously planned to spend for these purposes in Latin America.

President Johnson is requesting aid for "over a million new homes" for Latin America each year. Yet, for 1967 he has ordered reductions in our domestic housing programs by about $1 billion.

I should like to help the countries of Latin America, but so long as these drastic cuts in number and amount are being levied against our own domestic interests, which I consider should have priority over any foreign assistance, I would find it impossible to accede to the President's demands for increased aid to Latin America.

Mr. GORE. I am willing to consider the President's message, which I have read, and the resolution which someone, I am sure, will introduce. I am willing to consider it. I realize that Latin America is very important to us. They are our neighbors. However, I am not convinced that a common market is the wisest course either for them or for the United States.

On the contrary, I rather feel that the concept of international trade is more advantageous not only for the United States but also for Latin America. Trade blocs often hamper world trade rather than facilitate it. They tend to become incestuous and protectionist. I am not sure that the Common Market in Europe has been the most fortuitous development in the world in recent years, particularly for the United States. There are a number of questions here that deserve and require examination before I would wish to make a commitment for a vast increase in funds for the Alliance for Progress. I want to know more about how the Latin American countries have fulfilled their part of the bargain, which was to make certain and specific economic and social reforms within their own countries.

Does the Senator know whether they have lived up to their obligations?

Mr. GRUENING. I can say very definitely that some of them have not.

Let me give a pertinent illustration, although this is not specifically part of the current foreign aid program.

The Senator from Tennessee knows that some 20 years ago, the United States entered into an arrangement with the Central American countries to build the inter-American highway from Mexico's southern border through Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica to the Panama Canal. This, as the Senator knows, is the responsibility of the Public Works Committees of the two Houses of Congress. Nearly every year some members of those committees go down to report on progress made, which has, unfortunately, been very slow. The road has not yet been fully completed.

Under the arrangement entered into with these nations, Uncle Sam was to pay two-thirds of the cost and each of the Central American nations one-third of the cost within each country.

During my visit down there with the distinguished present chairman of the Committee on Public Works, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], we made the interesting discovery that, with the exception of one of the five nations, the others are paying their one-third share out of our foreign aid funds; so that the United States is, in reality, paying the total amount, in complete violation of the understanding and the agreement entered into.

If that is typical, and it does exist in this particular case, I think the Senator's request for a searching examination as to what the Latin American countries are doing for themselves is most pertinent.

Mr. GORE. Does not the Senator think that such questions as these will require examination before Congress should commit itself, as it is now being asked to do, for another $1.5 billion?

Mr. GRUENING. Yes, I certainly do. I think there will be very little dissent from that when the facts are fully exposed. It is shocking to think that an arrangement entered into in good faith is continuously being violated, and that the violations are continuing after they have been exposed. It would seem to me that when the report of the Public Works Subcommittee on Roads, of which the distinguished present chairman and I are members, had been made, and it was pointed out that four of the five Central American countries are paying their one-third share out of foreign aid funds, that the situation would have been rectified; but it has not been.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Tennessee for his contribution. It is extremely important right at this time, when all our domestic programs are being drastically cut, when the great promises and performances in the first half of the 89th Congress on the domestic front—aid to education, resource development, combating pollution of air and water, and so forth—all these splendid programs enacted into law are now being eroded, that we should think twice and very carefully before we enlarge our foreign aid commitments in the face of domestic cuts.

I think this is an issue which must certainly be raised. I intend to raise it. I think it should be fully debated before we embark upon a further enlargement of our foreign aid commitments. I believe that we should consider seriously whether foreign commitments, instead of being increased, should not be drastically reduced until the promises made in the domestic commitments are fulfilled.

Mr. MORSE subsequently said: Mr. President, I spoke earlier this afternoon on the President's message and resolution dealing with the forthcoming Latin American Conference. I have just been advised by the White House that it anticipated that I would introduce this afternoon the resolution which President Johnson sent to the Congress along with his message. Therefore, Mr. President, I send the resolution to the desk and ask unanimous consent to introduce it out of order in behalf of myself, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD], and the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

I repeat, I now ask unanimous consent to introduce, out of order, the joint resolution that the President sent on Latin American problems that he wishes to have appropriate committees of Congress consider prior to the summit conference, and I ask that the joint resolution be received and appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 53) to support the other American Republics in an historic new phase of the Alliance for Progress, introduced by Mr. MORSE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join as a cosponsor of this resolution because I believe that the formation of a Latin American Common Market is essential to increase the speed of Latin America's development and to resolve many of its basic economic and social ills.

The main burden must remain on the shoulders of the people of Latin America. Nevertheless, the United States should fully support this effort both with money—governmental and private—and with the transfer of technical know-how. Not only is this dictated by our obligations under the Act of Bogotá and the Charter of Punta del Este, but also by our national security interests in the hemisphere.

I believe that the American people will fully support the financial burdens requested by the President for the Inter-American Bank and for the Alliance for Progress in his message to the Congress today.

I welcome the President's desire for the participation of Congress in the decisions to be reached at the forthcoming Latin American Summit Conference. The joint resolution introduced by Senator MORSE will provide this opportunity.

The forthcoming summit conference of Presidents is an historic opportunity to deal with the many-faceted economic and social problems which piled up during the first 5 years of the Alliance for Progress. It has become clear to me that without a Latin American Common Market fully supported by the United States, Latin America's economic and social ills cannot be solved. True, there is no assurance that once such a market is established and other supporting measures are instituted, these problems will disappear overnight. I am convinced, however, that without a drastic new departure embodied in the common market approach, the continent will be faced with increasing instability and violence.

Two additional elements are needed to make a Latin American Common Market a success: the full support of the private enterprise community and the cooperation of the industrialized nations of the West, particularly Canada, Western Europe, and Japan. Their full cooperation is of critical importance.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

POLICY STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND THE ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Association of State Colleges and Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges have recently issued a statement of policy positions concerning the recommendation for national action affecting higher education that was jointly adopted by both organizations in sessions held November 13–16, 1966, here in Washington, D.C.

Because both organizations are major spokesmen for the higher education community and because I feel that Senators would wish to evaluate the recommendations made, and finally, because my very good friend, President James H. Jensen of Oregon State University, has strongly commended this statement to me, I ask unanimous consent that the materials contained on pages 8 through the conclusion of the brochure, together with materials appearing on pages 4 and 5, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NATIONAL ACTION AFFECTING HIGHER EDUCATION

(A joint statement by the Association of State Colleges and Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, January 1967)

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges consists of 99 State and Land-Grant universities and colleges located in each of the 50 states and Puerto Rico. Together, these institutions grant more than one-fourth of all baccalaureate degrees and almost three-fifths of all the doctoral degrees awarded by American institutions of higher education.

Founded in 1887, the Association is the oldest organization of institutions of higher education in this country. It is a completely independent organization that determines its own policies and procedures by action of delegates representing all member institutions in annual convention.

Officers

Chairman of the Executive Committee: President Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

President of the Association: President James H. Jensen, Oregon State University, Corvallis.

President-Elect of the Association: Chancellor W. Clarke Wescoe, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Executive Director: Russell I. Thackrey, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (462–3888).

The Association of State Colleges and Universities consists of 208 institutions and seven statewide systems of state colleges located in 41 states and the Island of Guam.

Approximately one million students—or one out of five college students in the United States—attend the type of institutions represented by the Association. These institutions are the fastest growing degree-granting institutions in the nation.

The membership includes comprehensive institutions which have developed from single-purpose teachers colleges, newly-established state colleges and universities, technological institutions, and former municipal and junior colleges which have become state institutions.

Officers

President of the Association: President James P. Cornette, West Texas State University, Canyon, Tex.

President-elect of the Association: President Fred F. Harcleroad, California State College at Hayward, Hayward, Calif.

Executive Director: Allan W. Ostar, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (462–6770).

I. SUPPORT FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AS INSTITUTIONS

The universities and colleges of the United States are currently being called upon to expand their traditional educational programs in unprecedented dimensions and to enter new areas of service. Not only is the demand for higher education growing rapidly, but also the need for continuing education in a period of rapid change, technological and otherwise, is greater than ever before. So is the need for research on the frontiers of knowledge.

Not to meet these challenges would be to prejudice the future of the present generation. To attempt to meet them quantitatively at the sacrifice of the quality of educational experience would be equally disastrous, and fraudulent as well. Universities and colleges can and are increasing the efficiency of the educational process through research and experimentation in many ways. But the possibilities here are extremely limited in terms of the magnitude of today's challenges.

Financial needs and pressures are so great and resources so inadequate that universities and colleges have been steadily increasing charges to students at a rate which indicates a tendency on the part of the present adult generation to shirk the social responsibility of educating the coming generations. Huge loan programs have been created to "bridge the gap" between family incomes and college costs—a process which throws these costs on young people at a time when they are establishing families and can least afford them.

The Associations have supported the expansion of these programs and the provision of an interest-rate subsidy for those most in need of it to meet the situation as it exists. They have also supported the "educational opportunity grants" program designed to help those on the lowest rung of the financial ladder. Meanwhile, college charges continue to rise to the extent that even the relatively affluent are lured by proposals for individual relief through tax-credits and similar devices which benefit selected groups at the expense of rising costs and higher financial barriers for others.

The real need is to treat the disease rather than its symptoms by increased support for our *colleges and universities,* through public and private channels, to enable them *to keep down the charges to students and their families.* It is only when these charges mount to the point of denying educational opportunity because of limited family and individual resources that the demand and necessity for individual financial relief rises to extreme proportions.

The Associations are concerned by the inflationary spiral of rising student charges which require constantly expanding Federal and state student loan funds. Neither the student nor the taxpayer benefits in the process. Expanded institutional support would help put a brake on rising tuition charges and reduce the need for additional federally-supported student financial aid programs.

Controversy over *how* college and university operating costs may be supported by the Federal government has divided both educators and the general public. The century-old experience of the land-grant institutions and more recent adoption of the principle of operating support in certain health-related fields show that methods can be found to solve this first priority problem.

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and the Association of State Colleges and Universities recommend the following actions at the Federal level designed to help keep down the rising cost of college to students:

(1) *General Operating Support.*

Operational support for the educational and general activities of colleges and universities may be approached through various types of formulae and involve various levels of education. The two Associations stand ready to cooperate with other major organizations in the field of higher education to develop a formula which will be equitable to the institutions involved, fulfill the national responsibility, assist the states, assure that this type of support will indeed contribute to assuring quality instruction in our colleges and universities, and check the rising spiral of student charges.

(2) *Aid for Academic Facilities.*

The Associations again commend the 89th Congress for removing categorical limitations on aid for academic facilities and substantially increasing the authorization for funds for this purpose. Specifically, they recommend:

(a) That the Federal proportion of matching grants for both undergraduate and graduate facilities be increased to up to 75 per cent of the cost of such facilities.

(b) That responsibility for the administration of the graduate facilities programs and for loans for academic facilities continue to be vested in the U.S. Office of Education.

(c) That, with respect to the undergraduate facilities grant program:

(1) It should continue to be based on the premise that substantial expansion of enrollment capacity within the context of maintenance of quality of instruction is the fundamental justification for Federal facilities aid.

(2) Special attention should also be paid to encourage removal or modernization of obsolete facilities.

(3) State commissions should be free to allocate funds in accordance with expansion needs in their respective states.

(d) With respect to the facilities loan program, a radically new approach is needed to provide adequate funds for needed expansion under conditions which will not have the effect of increasing student charges. Suggestions made with respect to the college housing loan program (see below) might be adapted for use in this program.

(e) Provisions should be made in all facilities programs for aid for the modernization and extension of utilities and maintenance and service facilities.

(3) *College Housing Loan Program.*

The Associations express appreciation to the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government for the benefits provided many students through the College Housing Loan Program in its present form and at the levels of financial support made available over the past several years.

However, the Associations have determined that the present form of the program and the present level of funding for it are not adequate to provide assistance to meet the current or predictable need for sufficient college housing at the lowest reasonable cost to the students housed.

The Associations accept and support the estimates of college housing requirements contained in the recent study of this matter by the American Council on Education. Summarized and simplified, the minimum estimates contained in that study support a need for initiating about 150,000 "bed-starts" per year for each of the next ten years. At current prices, the total capital funding requirement will approximate one billion dollars per year.

Therefore, the Associations recommend that the Federal Government undertake, immediately, a review of the present College Housing Loan Program and make changes which will assist higher education to meet better the tremendous demand for housing facilities and to maintain the lowest reasonable charge to students. It is the position of the Associations in making this recommendation that the institutions of higher education must continue to bear the primary responsibility for supplying the needed facilities and that assistance from the Federal Government be provided through the simplest possible administrative and financial mechanism.

Specifically, the Associations recommend that the Federal Government amend present legislation in such a way as to assist higher education in generating a capital funding source of not less than one billion dollars each year for the next ten years for single and married student housing at an interest cost of not more than 3 per cent, and for debt terms of not more than 50 years.

Of the several alternative methods available to assist in the provision of such a capital source, the Associations favor:

(a) A program which would provide for an annual increment of interest cost subsidy resulting in an interest cost to institutions of not more than 3 per cent, for the debt term of a project, or

(b) A program of capital grants which will have the effect of reducing effective interest cost of a project to at least the level of 3 per cent for the debt term, or

(c) A program which would make it possible for institutions to elect one of the two alternatives above.

In the same financial framework suggested above for single, married, and graduate students, the Associations also recommend:

(a) That specific provisions be made for assistance in rehabilitation of existing college housing.

(b) That specific provision be made to provide for housing of those staff members of medical centers whose services are needed on an "on-call" basis.

(c) That assistance in the provision of student center facilities be continued.

The Associations recommend that the policies, practices, and regulations of the Department of Housing and Urban Development applicable to the College Housing Program be reviewed and revised particularly with respect to debt-service and maintenance reserve requirements, consistent with changes made in the program, and to make them accord with realistic capital-market conditions.

II. DIRECT SUPPORT OF GRADUATE INSTRUCTION AND RESEARCH

(1) *Graduate Fellowships.*

(a) *Doctoral Fellowships.*

The graduate programs of the National Defense Education Act, and those administered by other Federal agencies, have done much to remove economic barriers to graduate programs in new areas. The 1964 amendments to the N.D.E.A. also make it possible to assure that present resources in existing graduate schools of high quality should be used fully. These programs should be continued and expanded.

(b) *Master's Degree Fellowships.*

There is also need for support of fellowships at the master's degree level to meet the heavy and increasing need for college teachers, within the broad spectrum of institutions in higher education. The junior or community colleges have critical staffing needs. A master's degree fellowship program should be established separately from and in addition to the present doctoral program, designed in such a way as to permit graduate schools to develop a wide range of proposals for meeting the varying needs for faculty members in post-high-school programs.

(2) *Federal Support of Research.*

(a) *Needed, a New Program of Institutional Support in the Sciences.*

Preface. The United States has achieved within the last two decades almost revolutionary advances in science as a result of the rapid expansion of Federal support for research activities. This advance has contributed significantly to the security of our nation and its economic, social, and material progress. This support has greatly strengthened both the research and instructional capacities of those institutions participating in the Federal programs, particularly at the graduate level.

The expansion of support in recent years has been largely through the project-grant and contract mechanism. Despite its accomplishments, it has serious deficiencies when used as the *sole means of Federal support* of scientific and related activities of our colleges and universities. The project-grant system is highly effective as a mechanism for enlisting scientific resources of the colleges and universities in the solution of specific, short-term problems of national concern. Experience has also shown that it is a means of making a national *investment* in scientific progress. It is now generally agreed that a substantial program of *institutional* grants is needed to *complement, not supplant or diminish,* present programs. This is necessary to protect the essential integrity of colleges and universities *as such,* and to enable additional institutions to develop the capacity to contribute more effectively to the achievement of national goals and objectives.

The Proposed Program. To satisfy this need, the Associations propose a National Institutional Grants Program for the support of education and research in the sciences, engineering, and mathematics in the colleges and universities on the basis of a three-part formula.

In this proposed program:

(1) One-third of the funds appropriated for the program would be distributed to the institutions as a graduated percentage of the total amount of project awards received by them from the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, and the U.S. Office of Education. We suggest that the formula be so designed that all institutions receive 100 per cent of the first $30,000 of this base and that no institution receive more than $300,000 in any one year.

(2) One-third of the funds would first be divided among the several states in proportion to the relative number of high-school graduates in the states and then re-allocated by the responsible Federal agency among the colleges and universities within a single state in proportion to the number of undergraduate semester credit-hours taught by each in accredited programs of instruction in the physical, biological, and social sciences, engineering, and mathematics.

(3) Finally, one-third would be allocated to the institutions in proportion to the number of advanced degrees (both masters and doctoral) awarded by each institution during the immediately previous three years in the physical, biological, social sciences, engineering, and mathematics, including degrees in education which qualify recipients to teach in these fields.

We suggest that the program be administered by the National Science Foundation with the counsel and guidance of a National University Science Council composed of representatives from each of the following national associations representing institutions of higher education: American Council on Education, National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, Association of American Universities, Association of American Colleges, Association of State Colleges and Universities, and American Association of Junior Colleges. The Directors of the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health and the U.S. Commissioner of Education would serve *ex officio*.

Institutions may be required to report on their use of the funds. They would be encouraged to anticipate future funding in order to design long-range plans for the development of research and educational programs in the sciences emphasizing the achievement of national goals and objectives such as the expansion of educational opportunities and improvement in the quality of the programs offered.

Used in conjunction with present types of support, this program would, we believe, provide a sound mechanism for investing in the development of the nation's potential for scientific progress.

Our Associations commend Representative George P. Miller of California for having introduced H.R. 13786 in the second session of the 89th Congress to implement this proposal and are gratified at the encouraging response this proposal has received. We urge reintroduction and passage in the 90th Congress.

(b) Support for Basic Research.

The Associations strongly urge expansion of support for basic research.

(c) *Indirect Costs of Research.*

The Associations commend the 89th Congress for its recognition of the fact that indirect costs of research are real costs which, unless fully reimbursed by the sponsors of research, constitute a serious drain on the resources of our universities. These resources are very much needed by our universities for performing their traditional functions of instruction and of research in which Federal support is limited or lacking. Additional funding should be provided at the earliest opportunity to enable implementation of the policy of full reimbursement of indirect costs. Further, the Associations, strongly urge that all affected Federal agencies adopt policies and procedures which are consistent with the clear intent of the Congress that indirect costs shall be fully reimbursed.

(d) *Cost Sharing.*

The Associations object strenuously to the mandatory cost-sharing concept introduced in recent legislation relating to research grants made by Federal agencies. In effect, the legislation creates a process through which a portion of the cost of the conduct of work under research grants is "withheld" by the agency, and forces institutions to apply their own funds to the costs of the work or to elect not to become invloved.

This process is discriminatory and grossly inequitable. Simple equity dictates that institutions making available their human and physical resources to assist in the attainment of national objectives, on a not-for-profit basis, receive the full costs of doing so.

The Associations urge the Congress to delete the cost-sharing requirement in its next session and thereby to bring into full application the principles of Bureau of the Budget Circular A–21 in the research relationships between the Federal Government and higher education.

III. FEDERAL ACTION FOR OTHER EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

(1) *Education in Health-Related Fields.*

The Associations commend the 89th Congress for its recognition of the need for substantial programs of support for education, extension activities, and library services in health-related fields. Legislation providing aid for the operation of educational programs, for library services, for scholarship support, for expansion of educational facilities, and for regional cooperative efforts for continuing education and the dissemination of the most advanced medical knowledge will make substantial contributions toward the expansion of professional education in these areas. However, we note with concern the omission of schools of pharmacy from the list of those eligible for aid under these various programs and urge corrective legislation to end this discrimination against a major health-related field.

We especially commend the 89th Congress for recognizing, with enabling legislation, the importance of veterinary medicine and the need for financial assistance in the construction of veterinary educational facilities. We urge that the appropriation for construction assistance be increased in a supplemental measure, to the full authorized amount, in order that this program may be funded.

(2) *Increased Federal Support for the Humanities and Arts.*

Establishment of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities is a welcome step. The initial appropriation, however, falls far short of correcting the imbalance which has long existed between Federal support of these important areas and that for science and related fields. We reiterate our belief that the emphasis of the new Foundation should be heavily on support of institutional programs.

(3) *R.O.T.C. Programs and Facilities.*

The Reserve Officers Training Corps Programs conducted by the several Armed Services in cooperation with our colleges and universities have long been the chief source of officer personnel, both regular and reserve. The Associations commend the Office of the Secretary of Defense for taking action during the past year to see that the right of institutional choice between voluntary and required basic Air and Army R.O.T.C. is preserved in practice as well as informal policy. Developments in recent months cause us again strongly to recommend advance consultation with duly established educational advisory panels of the Department and its various Services, in order that mutually satisfactory solutions to problems may be arrived at before new policies or regulations are promulgated. We continued to recommend, also, that the Department of Defense provide adequate assistance to colleges and universities in financing the costs of R.O.T.C. programs.

(4) *Educational Research and Development Program.*

The Associations support the strengthening of the Cooperative Research Program and the establishment of those Regional Development Centers by the United States Office of Education which offer the prospect of undergirding educational practice with the research knowledge and tested leadership essential to progress. In particular, greater attention needs to be focused on the important functions of higher educational institutions in these programs, both in affording the essential scholarly resources for significant educational research and in supplying through the development programs, continuing study of the factors of sound change in educational and improved training of educational leaders for the future. The strengthening of the regular programs of colleges and universities in educational research and training may prove to be as important to future results as presently appealing innovations in the schools.

(5) *Research in Agriculture and related Fields.*

The cooperative program of research in agriculture and related fields between the Federal government and the land-grant institutions has been conspicuously successful both in its results and in the absence from the relationship of many of the problems which characterize government-university relationships in other areas, where the emphasis is on project rather than on university orientation. We commend the 89th Congress for rejecting proposals both to reduce support in these areas and to shift emphasis to Federal rather than university control. Federal support of the program has in recent years lagged substantially behind rising costs, requiring the states to carry an increasing proportion of the cost of maintaining the program and needed expansion. The past year has brought strong evidence of a changing public attitude toward agricultural research, as the public became aware that our situation is no longer one of a surplus problem but one of inadequate supplies of many agricultural products to meet both domestic needs and urgent international commitments. Rising prices have brought greater public understanding of the fact that the chief beneficiaries of efficient agricultural production are the consuming public, now heavily concentrated in large urban areas.

A major cooperative study of agricultural research needs by the Department of Agriculture and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges furnishes, we believe, a sound basis for the needed substantial expansion of support for agricultural research.

(6) *Aid to Developing Colleges.*

The Associations commend the Congress for renewing the program of aid to developing colleges, which was supported by the Associations in testimony both before the House and the Senate committees having jurisdiction, and urge that the authorization contained in the legislation be fully funded.

(7) *Intergovernmental Manpower Training Act.*

The Associations support activities of the Federal government designed to increase the capacity of state and local governments to provide the quality and variety of public services needed in our complex society. The proposed intergovernmental personnel training act, with provision for use of college and university resources and facilities to strengthen training for state and local government service, is an example of the kind of constructive Federal action needed. The Associations, however, strongly urge that, in all legislation involving intergovernmental cooperation, the unique character of public higher education as an instrumentality of government be fully recognized. All the states have, by constitutional or legislative provision, placed responsibility for governance of public universities and colleges under the control and direction of governing boards separated from direct channels of political and state administrative control. The Federal government should recognize this well-established principle in all its programs.

(8) *Computer Facilities and Programs.*

It is clear that the machine computation capacities of our institutions of higher education must be greatly increased and provisions made for easy and rapid access by students in a broad spectrum of disciplines and studies, and it is apparent that institutions from their normal resources will not be able to provide adequate budgets for facilities and programs of instruction and research. The Associations therefore urge that existing programs of support in this area be supported and strengthened, and that new programs be inaugurated, for the development of computer facilities, networks, and instructional and research programs which will provide the necessary basic educational experiences for young men and women to prepare them for productive careers in which computers will be necessary tools for research, design, and administration.

(9) *Improving the Conditions of Urban Life.*

The Federal government is engaged in a major effort, through the Demonstration Cities Program and other legislation, to assist in rebuilding slums and blighted areas, and to provide public facilities and services essential to improving conditions of urban life. However, programs of research, demonstration, and education conducted by universities and colleges—which can contribute substantially to attainment of national objectives in this effort—are presently inadequately supported. The Associations therefore recommend that adequate provision be made through the amendment of present legislation as well as in future legislation, for continuing grants for the support of research, demonstration, and educational programs in colleges and universities, in professional and subject-matter areas related to the objectives of the legislation. This might be accomplished, for example, by setting aside a percentage of appropriations for this purpose, as is done in Federally-aided highway and other legislation.

(10) *Establishment of New Federal Degree-Granting Authority and Institutions.*

In recent years, many efforts have been made, some successfully, to authorize the granting of advanced academic degrees by Federal agencies or establishments. We believe these efforts arise from basic confusion as to the nature of a university, the significance and meaning of the academic degree, and the resources of the non-Federal academic establishment.

The basic characteristic of the university as a center for the advancement of knowledge is one of free inquiry, free exchange of the results of research with other scholars in the field, and free criticism. Another characteristic is the opportunity offered for educating young men and women in the processes and methods of research. The advanced academic degree is a recognition of educational attainment and research accomplishment under conditions of free inquiry, free exchange of results, and freedom of criticism. Its use by agencies or institutions which are not and cannot become universities in this sense of the term is a misuse which is both undesirable and unnecessary. A more comprehensive statement of this position is available on request.

(11) *Proposal for Research Centers Independent of Universities.*

While our Associations recognize that the problems of research in an extremely limited number of areas may require the establishment of research centers away from the site of a university, we believe that such action by Federal or state governments should be taken only when its necessity is unequivocally established. We believe graduate education of high quality is inseparable from basic research, that basic research flourishes best in the atmosphere of an academic institution, and that any national policy of encouraging the establishment of new basic research institutes that are not university-related would be seriously detrimental to both basic research and graduate education.

(12) *Land-Grant Teaching Funds, Morrill-Nelson Act.*

In the 10 years since the last revision and expansion of the authorization for annual grants for further endowment of instruction in the Land-Grant institutions, there has been continued inflation and substantial population growth. The net result is that the purchasing power represented by these funds has decreased while demands have increased. The Associations support the expansion of the authorization under this legislation to take account of inflation and population growth over the past decade.

IV. AID TO INDIVIDUALS IN OBTAINING A COLLEGE EDUCATION

The most effective and most urgently needed form of aid to individuals in obtaining a college education is a program of support for educational institutions to enable them to keep charges to students low. Much of the present demand and need for individual assistance in financing college costs stems from failure to recognize and act on this fact. The Associations, however, recognizing the necessity of dealing with situations as they exist while working toward more fundamental solutions, have supported expanding access to student loans at reasonable carrying charges, expansion of the work-study program, and provision of economic opportunity grants specifically designed to help the most needy gain access to higher education.

The characteristic of programs designed to help individuals meet the rising costs of college, however, is that they result in pyramiding budgetary costs and administrative complexities without getting at the root of the problem. If student charges are permitted to continue to rise more rapidly than the level of income—which they have done steadily in recent years—more and more students will need special aid and more and more programs must be devised to assist them, unless educational opportunity is to be denied. For this reason, our Associations believe that first priority in new programs needs to be given to those which will help keep down the costs of higher education to the students. These are discussed elsewhere. The following comments concern student-aid programs:

(1) *N.D.E.A. Student Loan Program.*

The National Defense Education Act Student Loan program was established to insure access to low-interest loans to able students particularly in need of financial assistance to attend college. It is essential that the integrity and identity of this program be maintained. Within this context, the Associations support experimental approaches to the problem of providing the full amount of funds needed, while reducing the burden on the Federal administrative budget and on the capital resources of colleges and universities involved in the 1/9 matching requirement. We question the further expansion of the forgiveness feature of the loan program.

(2) *Guaranteed Student Loan Program.*

The Guaranteed Student Loan program was adopted in recognition of the fact that the rising level of student charges in our colleges and universities has caused undue financial burdens on many families at the middle-income level. This program and its purposes should not be confused with those of the N.D.E.A. loan program. Under present credit conditions, the Guaranteed Loan Program has been less successful than anticipated, because of lack of availability both of loan guarantee funds and of loans. Private loan-guarantee organizations, which originally assurred the Congress of their ability to satisfy institutional loan-guarantee requirements, have been unable to do so. The result is that the states and individual institutions, which were not consulted when the program was framed, are being called on to provide substantial amounts of loan-guarantee funds. The Associations recommend that, with respect to loan-guarantees, the Commissioner of Education exercise the responsibility and authority which is his under the law of providing direct Federal guarantee of loans where non-Federal guarantee funds are not available in adequate amounts. The Commissioner of Education should also be given legal authority to fix interest rates which would permit lending institutions to participate on a no-loss basis.

(3) *Work-Study.*

The Associations, which for many years urged adoption of an experimental work-study program, have previously expressed their continued support of this legislation, as an important element in a flexible program of helping worthy students meet college costs. We note, however, that, in this as in many other programs designed to help more students attend college, the institutional matching requirement tends to be counter-productive. That is, in order to get matching funds, institutions must charge students more, increasing the need for additional student aid. We therefore recommend that the Federal contribution to this program continue to be at least at the 90 per cent level.

(4) ***Opportunity Grants, Federal Scholarships, Veterans Education.***

The Associations continue to support the educational opportunity grants program as one specifically designed to make college attendance possible for needy students who could not otherwise attend. The Associations continue to oppose a *general* Federal scholarship program in the absence of evidence that it would in fact assure college attendance for a substantial number of the highly talented who cannot now attend under existing public and private programs; and in view of higher priority needs for other forms of Federal aid to education. With respect to the Veterans Educational Program, the Associations recommend that Congress make provision for payment of the costs of special record-keeping and reporting on veteran students, not required for non-veteran students. Fees paid by veteran students are the same as for non-veterans, and the Federal government should assume the cost of special reports required for its purposes, particularly since the law places on the institutions the responsibility for overpayments to veterans, incurred as a result of failure to make reports requested by the Veterans Administration.

(5) *Tax-credit and Related Proposals.*

Proposals for a direct deduction from income taxes owed the Federal government because of tuition and required fees paid colleges and universities have attracted substantial support because of several assumptions. The first is that they will provide relief to hard-pressed parents. A second is that they provide a way around the problems related to direct Federal aid to non-public institutions, and would therefore provide for a substantial flow of Federal tax dollars to these and other institutions. A third is that they are so devised as sharply to limit or eliminate aid to the most affluent, and give the greatest aid to those in lower income brackets (though admittedly none at all to those who pay no income tax). The first two assumptions are obviously contradictory. If institutions raise fees to collect tax dollars, parents will get no relief. If parents get substantial relief, institutions will not be aided. The third assumption is untrue. Despite limitations on benefits in terms of gross taxable income, the chief bill advanced to date before Congress allows families with taxable incomes in excess of $50,000 to receive some benefits, those with capital gains incomes well in excess of that amount to receive some benefits, and those with incomes chiefly from tax-exempt sources to benefit without limitation as to total, as compared to taxable income.

Although percentage benefits are higher for lower-income families, dollar benefits are clearly higher as incomes rise up to $25,000 while benefits to those with lower incomes steadily decrease to the vanishing point. The Associations have consistently recognized the desirability of participation in various tvpes of Federally-aided programs by both non-public and public institutions. They view the tax-credit proposal as inequitable from every standpoint, and unsound from the standpoints of fiscal policy, educational policy, and national policy in general. The Treasury Department has ably stated the objections from the standpoint of national fiscal policy. Proponents of this legislation have made it clear that its essential purpose is to give tax support to educational institutions proportional, to some extent at least, to the fees charged students. Since the fees would have to be raised to provide the additional income desired, the benefit would flow to the college, not the taxpayer. To the extent that fees are raised, students from low-income families would find their educational costs increased rather than decreased. Institutions with low tuition charges would be placed under pressure to increase them in order to collect Federal aid by this route. Institutions which wish to engage in discriminatory practices and still enjoy Federal support would be encouraged to do so.

The Associations take the position that, to the extent that Congress finds it in the national interest to provide either general or specific-purpose support from public funds for institutions of higher education, ways can and should be found for doing this which retain the principles of public accountability for the expenditure of public funds, which are fiscally and educationally sound, and which do not in their operation discriminate against large groups of students and institutions. The tax-credit approach does not meet these standards.

V. DISCRIMINATION IN THE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

Member institutions of the Associations believe that public policies against discrimination in the use of public funds for educational purposes should apply equally in their use by all types of educational institutions, public and private. They note with regret that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not uniformly apply this standard, because of the failure to include provision against discrimination because of religion in Title VI of this Act, which applies to non-public as well as public colleges and universities. They also note that Title IV of the Act, which requires a survey of the extent of discrimination in education to be made by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, applies only to public institutions at all levels, and not to discrimination in the use of public funds by other institutions receving them.

It is therefore our position that the Civil Rights Act should be amended to ban use of public funds by institutions which discriminate in the admission of students or employment of staff because of religion, and that, pending such amendment new educational legislation, bar the use of tax funds by institutions which discriminate because of religion. If there is reasonable ground for exception to this rule, such as might be involved in programs of a public welfare rather than an essentially educational character—such as the school lunch program—they should be made by explicit exemption from the general rule.

VI. "DISCLAIMER" AFFIDAVITS

Member institutions of the Associations have consistently opposed the requirement of negative "disclaimer" affidavits, or certificates of non-subversion as a requirement for individuals taking part in non-sensitive Federal programs. Such requirements should not be confused, as they often are, with affirmative statements of loyalty to the United States and its institutions which may be properly required of those entering posts of public trust. The Associations welcome the relaxation or elimination of such negative requirements. Experience has shown that, while they involve extensive paperwork and record keeping and are a constant source of friction and controversy, they have no affirmative values.

VII. EXTENDING THE RESOURCES OF HIGHER EDUCATION BEYOND THE CAMPUS

The Congress has recognized the great need for Federal aid to make available beyond the confines of the campus the resources of our colleges and universities in the solution of problems of national and international concern through the enactment of such legislation as Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the State Technological Services Act, the Regional Medical Programs Act, Title VIII of the Housing Act of 1964, the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, and the earlier Smith-Lever Act and its amendments. Through the implementation of programs of continuing education and extension, authorized by these and other acts, the Congress enables universities to bring their unique resources to bear on the needs of individuals and communities for assistance in solving the multiple problems associated with rapid urbanization, technological change, social change, and the needs of the professions, agriculture, labor, business, industry, and the Federal Government itself.

We call attention to the need for:

(1) Full funding of Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, at the earliest possible time, in order to fulfill the congressional legislative intent to provide comprehensive, coordinated state-wide programs of continuing education and community services.

(2) Activation or continuation of other pertinent Federal programs with maximum effective funding for educational programs and facilities (including television) to the end that the national needs for continuing education, already clearly identified by the Congress, may begin to be met.

(3) Continuity of funding for these programs in order that the nation may have the most effective institutional commitments in the allocation of their resources in the national interest.

(4) Increased Federal support for problem-oriented research as the need for this kind of extension service becomes increasingly acute.

The experience and special competence of the institutions represented in these Associations in the administration of problem-oriented, off-campus programs should be recognized in the allocation of responsibility for administering Federally-aided programs in these areas.

VIII. COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AND VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION

State colleges and universities make important contributions to vocational-technical education in two ways:

(1) *Through Occupational Education.* Many prepare individuals for a variety of technical occupations requiring less than a baccalaureate degree. State and land-grant institutions, for example, conduct some of the nation's most successful associate-degree programs in such fields as engineering, agriculture, the allied health professions, and industrial technology. Those with strong technical-education departments provide training in a manner difficult to duplicate in other types of institutions.

(2) *Through the Training of Teachers.* Collegiate programs for the preparation of teachers of vocational, technical, and industrial subjects in junior colleges, vocational schools, and technical institutions should be greatly expanded. One of the most pressing needs today is effective teaching of the technical content and skills required for entrance into and advancement in occupations in which manpower is in critically short sup-

ply. Technological advancements make it imperative that greatly expanded in-service training opportunities be provided for those currently teaching vocational, industrial, and technical subjects. Shortage of adequately prepared teachers is hampering development and expansion of vocational-technical education.

These Associations therefore, support:

(1) Necessary amendments to and increase in authorizations for the Vocational Education Act of 1963 to permit colleges and universities, including junior colleges and 4-year colleges, to participate more adequately in vocational and technical education programs.

(2) Proposed amendments to the Vocational Education Act which authorize in-service training programs, make available fellowships for prospective and experienced vocational education instructors and administrators, and provide for adequate financing of teacher education programs in vocational and technical education.

IX. HUMANE TREATMENT OF EXPERIMENTAL ANIMALS

During the past decade, much progress has been made by all scientific personnel in providing adequate care of experimental animals. Federal legislation has now been passed to regulate the sale and transportation of research animals and to insure humane treatment for such animals during transportation, sale, and non-experimental periods at research laboratories. We believe this legislation can be effective in correcting the isolated difficulties that exist at research installations and pledge the support of our Associations toward this end. We believe it would be unwise and unnecessary to consider additional legislation regarding the care and handling of laboratory animals until the effectiveness of the present legislation and of accreditation has had an opportunity to be fully evaluated.

X. WATER RESOURCES

The Associations:

(1) Renew their 1965 endorsement of the programs authorized by the Water Resources Research act, and commend the Congress and the executive branch for enactment of the 1966 amendments to Title II which remove obstacles to its activation.

(2) Reaffirm their recognition of the important contributions that can be made to water-resources research pursuant to the Title II authorization, and urge its activation at the earliest possible time in order to secure full advantage of the current readiness of academic and non-academic research scientists and engineers to apply their competence to finding solutions of pressing water resources problems of this country.

(3) Recommend that appropriations be made for implementation of the Title II program, consistent with the terms of its authorization.

XI. INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

Many steps were taken by the Congress and the President during the past year to expand and improve both educational and technical assistance programs in the international field. These include passage of the Foreign Assistance Act through Section 211 (d) to include provision for strengthening the capacity of institutions working in the technical-assistance field to discharge both their international and domestic responsibilities and proposed establishment of the Center for International Educational Cooperation in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Food for Freedom Act also significantly expands the area of cooperation between government and higher education.

We call attention, however, to the fact that if these new initiatives are to fulfill their promise, the following actions are needed:

(1) Since the total authorization of $10 millions under Section 211 (d) of the Foreign Assistance Act is small in proportion to the need and reductions in technical-assistance appropriations have made even this modest funding impossible, the authorization should be expanded substantially and funded fully.

(2) Funds to support the planning activities required by law under the International Education Act should be provided early in the first session of the 90th Congress, and for its substantive implementation as authorized, in appropriations bills for the 1968 fiscal year.

(3) Extension of the authority to conduct technical assistance programs to at least a 5-year period, to diminish the uncertainty which has from the beginning hampered the effectiveness of this effort.

(4) Provision of funds to colleges and universities to help meet the special costs of giving foreign students an appropriate educational experience in this country, commensurate with the emphasis placed on such efforts as a matter of public policy.

The Associations commend the Agency for International Development, Department of State, and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for specific evidence of their willingness to consult with educational organizations and institutions in formulating and carrying out international programs under their jurisdiction.

Member Institutions of
The National Association of
State Universities and
Land-Grant Colleges
and
Association of State Colleges and Universities

ALABAMA

**Alabama A. & M. College.*
Alabama College.
Alabama State College.
Auburn University.
Florence State College.
Jacksonville State College.
Livingston State College.
Troy State College.
University of Alabama.
University of South Alabama.

ALASKA

University of Alaska.

ARIZONA

Arizona State University.
Northern Arizona University.
University of Arizona.

ARKANSAS

Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College.
Arkansas A & M College.
Arkansas Polytechnic College.
Arkansas State College.
Arkansas State Teachers College.
Henderson State Teachers College.
Southern State College.
University of Arkansas.

CALIFORNIA

Chico State College.
Fresno State College.
California State College at Fullerton.
California State College at Hayward.
Humboldt State College.
Sacramento State College.
California State College at San Bernardino.
San Diego State College.
San Francisco State College.
San Jose State College.
Sonoma State College.
Stanislaus State College.
University of California.

COLORADO

Adams State College.
Colorado State College.
Colorado State University.
Southern Colorado State College.
University of Colorado.
Western State College of Colorado.

CONNECTICUT

Central Connecticut State College.
Danbury State College.
Southern Connecticut State College.
University of Connecticut.
Willimantic State College.

DELAWARE

Delaware State College.
University of Delaware.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

District of Columbia Teachers College.

FLORIDA

Florida A & M University.
Florida State University.
University of Florida.

GEORGIA

Albany State College.
Augusta College.
Fort Valley State College.
Georgia Institute of Teechnology.
Georgia Southern College.
Savannah State College.
University of Georgia.
The Woman's College of Georgia.

GUAM

College of Guam.

HAWAII

University of Hawaii

IDAHO

University of Idaho.

ILLINOIS

Eastern Illinois University.
Illinois State University.
Illinois Teachers College Chicago–North.
Illinois Teachers College Chicago–South.
Northern Illinois University.
Southern Illinois University.
University of Illinois.

INDIANA

Ball State University.
Indiana State University.
Indiana University.
Purdue University.

IOWA

Iowa State University.
State College of Iowa.
University of Iowa.

KANSAS

Fort Hays Kansas State College.
Kansas State College of Pittsburg.
Kansas State Teachers College.
Kansas State University.
University of Kansas.

KENTUCKY

Eastern Kentucky University.
Kentucky State College.
Morehead State University.
Murray State University.
University of Kentucky.
Western Kentucky University.

LOUISIANA

Grambling College.
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.
Louisiana State University.
McNeese State College.
Francis T. Nicholls State College.
Northeast Louisiana State College.
Southern University.

MAINE

Aroostook State College.
Farmington State College.
Fort Kent State College.
Gorham State College.
Maine Maritime Academy.
University of Maine.
Washington State College.

MARYLAND

Bowie State College.
Coppin State College.
Frostburg State College.
Maryland State College.
Morgan State College.

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* *Member of both Associations.*

Salisbury State College.
Towson State College.
University of Maryland.

MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts College of Art.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Massachusetts Maritime Academy.
State College at Boston.
State College at Bridgewater.
State College at Fitchburg.
State College at Framingham.
State College at Lowell.
State College at North Adams.
State College at Salem.
State College at Westfield.
State College at Worcester.
University of Massachusetts.

MICHIGAN

Central Michigan University.
Eastern Michigan University.
Ferris State College.
Grand Valley State College.
Michigan State University.
Northern Michigan University.
University of Michigan.
Wayne State University.

MINNESOTA

Bemidji State College.
Mankato State College.
Moorhead State College.
St. Cloud State College.
University of Minnesota.
Winona State College.

MISSISSIPPI

*_Alcorn A. & M. College._
Delta State College.
Mississippi State College for Women.
Mississippi State University.
Mississippi Valley State College.
University of Mississippi.
University of Southern Mississippi.

MISSOURI

Central Missouri State College.
Harris Teachers College.
Lincoln University.
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College.
Northwest Missouri State College.
Southeast Missouri State College.
Southwest Missouri State College.
University of Missouri.

MONTANA

Eastern Montana College.
Montana State University.
Northern Montana College.
University of Montana.
Western Montana College.

NEBRASKA

Chadron State College.
Kearney State College.
Peru State College.
University of Nebraska.
Wayne State College.

NEVADA

University of Nevada.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Keene State College.
Plymouth State College.
University of New Hampshire.

NEW JERSEY

Glassboro State College.
Jersey City State College.
Montclair State College.
Newark State College.
Paterson State College.
Rutgers, The State University.
Trenton State College.

NEW MEXICO

Eastern New Mexico University.
New Mexico State University.
University of New Mexico.
Western New Mexico University.

NEW YORK

Cornell University.
State University College at Buffalo.
State University College at Brockport.
State University College at Cortland.
State University College at Fredonia.
State University College at Geneseo.
State University College at New Paltz.
State University College at Oneonta.
State University College at Oswego.
State University College at Plattsburgh.
State University College at Potsdam.
State University of New York.
State University of New York at Albany.
State University of New York at Buffalo.

NORTH CAROLINA

Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina.
Appalachian State Teachers College.
Asheville-Biltmore College.
East Carolina College.
Elizabeth City State College.
Fayetteville State Teachers College.
North Carolina State University.
Pembroke State College.
University of North Carolina.
Winston-Salem State College.

NORTH DAKOTA

Dickinson State College.
Ellendale State College.
Mayville State College.
Minot State College.
North Dakota State University.
University of North Dakota.
Valley City State College.

OHIO

Bowling Green State University.
Central State University.
Kent State University.
Miami University.
Ohio State University.
Ohio University.
University of Akron.

OKLAHOMA

Langston University.
Northeastern State College.
Oklahoma State University.
Southeastern State College.
University of Oklahoma.

OREGON

Eastern Oregon College.
Oregon State University.
Southern Oregon College.
University of Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bloomsburg State College.
Cheyney State College.
Clairon State College.
East Stroudsburg State College.
Edinboro State College.
Indiana University of Pennsylvania.
Kutztown State College.
Lock Haven State College.
Mansfield State College.
Millersville State College.
Pennsylvania State University.
Shippensburg State College.
Slippery Rock State College.
West Chester State College.

PUERTO RICO

University of Puerto Rico.

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island College.
University of Rhode Island.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Clemson University.
South Carolina State College.
University of South Carolina.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Black Hills State College.
General Beadle State College.
Northern State College.
Southern State College.
South Dakota State University.
University of South Dakota.

TENNESSEE

Austin Peay State College.
East Tennessee State University.
Memphis State University.
Middle Tennessee State University.
Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial University.
Tennessee Technological University.
University of Tennessee.

TEXAS

East Texas State University.
Midwestern University.
North Texas State University.
Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College.
Sam Houston State College.
Southwest Texas State College.
Stephen F. Austin State College.
Sul Ross State College.
Texas A & M University.
Texas College of Arts and Industries.
Texas Southern University.
Texas Technological College.
Texas Woman's University.
University of Houston.
University of Texas.
West Texas State University.

UTAH

College of Southern Utah.
Utah State University.
University of Utah.
Weber State College.

VERMONT

Castleton State College.
Johnson State College.
Lyndon State College.
University of Vermont.

VIRGINIA

Longwood College.
Madison College.
Radford College.
University of Virginia.
Virginia Polytechnic Institute.
Virginia State College.

WASHINGTON

Central Washington State College.
University of Washington.
Washington State University.
Western Washington State College.

WEST VIRGINIA

Shepherd College.
West Virginia University.

WISCONSIN

Stout State University.
University of Wisconsin.
Wisconsin State University—Eau Claire.
Wisconsin State University—La Crosse.
Wisconsin State University—Platteville.
Wisconsin State University—River Falls.
Wisconsin State University—Stevens Point.
Wisconsin State University—Superior.
Wisconsin State University—Whitewater.

WYOMING

University of Wyoming.

A Note On "Federal Aid"

The term "Federal aid" is commonly used, and is used in this document, as a general term covering all the multiplicity of purposes for which Federal funds flow to institutions of higher education or those attending them. The reader should keep in mind, however, that the term "Federal aid" is inaccurate and misleading as applied to many of these programs. Where the Federal Government, in fulfillment of a clearly defined and asserted national responsibility, uses the services, facilities and personnel of colleges and universities to accomplish this purpose, the term "Federal aid" is not applicable. Indeed when the payment for this use is inadequate to cover its cost, as it frequently is, colleges and universities are supplying fiscal aid to the national government rather than the reverse. Colleges and universities have a responsibility for the national welfare which exceeds that of most other institutions in our society, and on which they are uniquely able to discharge. Willingness to give whole-hearted cooperation in programs of national importance should not, however, obscure the fact that the flow of "aid," both in terms of accomplishment and in fiscal terms, is a two-way flow. Cooperation in the national interest is a better word for it.

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*_Member of both Associations._

Mr. MORSE. Further, Mr. President, Dr. Jensen has brought to my attention an article by Mr. Robert P. Crossley, which was originally published in Pageant magazine in July 1965, in which the author presents an analysis of tax credit proposals as a method of furthering the attainment of higher educational training by students.

In my judgment, this article deserves, again, the careful review of Senators, since I feel sure that during the session such a plan will be urged upon the Senate. I therefore request unanimous consent that the article to which I have alluded be printed at this point in my remarks, together with a November 16 newsletter from the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and the Association of State Universities, relative to tax credit proposals.

There being no objection, the article and newsletter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TAX CREDIT PLAN TO CUT COLLEGE COSTS—WILL IT WORK?

(By Robert P. Crossley)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article by Robert P. Crossley was published by *Pageant* magazine in July, 1965. Proponents of tax credits for college costs are planning to push the legislation again during 90th Congress. With the permission of *Pageant* magazine we are reprinting Mr. Crossley's very thoughtful article on this vital issue affecting the pocketbooks of thousands of parents and students.)

A friend of mine has six kids. The oldest one attends the state university, and he hopes to send the rest of them to college, too. But it has him worried. He makes $9,000 a year.

If all the children go to the state university, it will cost him around $1500 a year or $36,000 before they're all through. He'd like to send them to the well-known private college he attended 20 years ago. In those days it cost $900 a year for everything—tuition, books, board, and room. Now it's $2500, which would make it $60,000 for six children to complete college.

My friend came to me all excited the other day. He had just read about a bill introduced in Congress that would let him subtract a good chunk of college costs from his income tax. He thought it was a great idea.

I told him I wasn't so sure.

Under the plan, introduced by Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Connecticut) and cosponsored by Senators of both parties, anyone who pays money to a college for tuition, fees, and books can subtract up to $325 from his net tax bill. That includes parents and students and anyone who helps pay.

To get the maximum credit, your payments would have to total at least $1500, not counting board and room. If your child goes to a state university or other less expensive school, your tax credit is less. Here's how the Ribicoff plan would work:

First $200 paid, 75 percent credit	$150
Next $300 paid, 25 percent credit	75
Next $1000 paid, 10 percent credit	100
Maximum credit	325

If you paid, say, $390, which is average for resident students at state universities, your credit would be only $198. All this applies to anyone with an adjusted gross income up to $25,000 a year. Over that, the credit is reduced $50 for each $5000 of income. But a taxpayer making as much as $57,000 can still take *some* credit.

The plan almost passed the Senate in 1964 when Senator Ribicoff introduced it as an amendment to the Administration's tax-reduction bill. It was beaten, 48 to 45, only when three of its original sponsors, including Democratic Whip Hubert Humphrey, voted against it.

[In March, 1966, Senator Ribicoff brought the bill up again. His move caught opponents of tax credit by surprise, but his proposal was beaten even more decisively. 47 to 37.]

"Tuition tax credits are like motherhood and home," says one opponent, Allan M. Cartter, former vice president of the American Council on Education. "Few would want to be on the record as opposing it."

Yet such Senators as Aiken, Anderson, Bayh, both Senator Byrds, Douglas, Fulbright, Javits, Edward Kennedy, both Senator Longs, Mansfield, McCarthy, Monroney, Morse, Muskie, Russell, Smith, Stennis, Talmadge and Yarborough have voted against it. Why?

Why should they oppose a bill that Senator Ribicoff says is designed to treat the burden of college education the same way we treat the burdens of medical expenses, interest payments, and casualty losses? And why, if gifts to colleges are tax deductible, shouldn't tuition be, too? Why should anyone be against letting hard-pressed parents take a few hundred dollars off their income tax to ease the pain of tuition? Three hundred twenty-five dollars isn't much, but it would sure help.

The big question—and there are some others, as we shall see presently—is *whom will it help?*

Parents? Students who are paying their own way? Maybe.

Obviously parents and students can benefit only if they keep the money they take off their income tax. There are good reasons to fear that they won't. The colleges may get there first.

The Rev. John E. Walsh, vice president of Notre Dame, who has seen that university's tuition go from $750 to $1400 in ten years, makes no bones about it: "The tuition tax credit plan is basically a form of federal assistance to American higher education . . . It would enable colleges and universities to raise their tuitions without fear of pricing themselves beyond the ability of parents to pay. The full value of each tax credit dollar would flow directly and immediately to higher education."

Arthur G. Coons, president of Occidental College in Los Angeles, explains: "There is little doubt but that the great majority of independent colleges and universities, and to some extent also the publicly oriented colleges and universities would increase tuitions further in the event the tax credit plan should be adopted."

The whole idea started as a way to aid the colleges, admits Waldo C. M. Johnston, associate director of alumni relations at Yale, but he explains, "In order to get the American Council on Education to sponsor the proposal we were forced to reverse our field and place the emphasis on the side of the parents.

"While this reversal may have had momentary advantages by making the proposal more salable to Congress and probably state universities, I think the wheel of fortune has turned to a point where the emphasis once again should be placed where it belongs. The fact that the tax credit plan would enable institutions to raise their tuition without adding one cent to the burden parents are already paying is a thoroughly convincing statement."

It's convincing all right. An official of a private university in the Midwest figured that a school with 5000 students now paying $1500 each could get an increase of $1,625,000 a year by raising tuition the full amount of their tax credit.

Dr. Robert A. Freeman, senior staff member of Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, and the man who worked out the graduated tax credit plan incorporated in the Ribicoff bill in place of wider exemption and deduction schemes proposed earlier, conceded in 1963 that the U.S. Treasury would lose $700 million a year under his plan. (The Treasury now says $1 billion.)

"Institutions," Dr. Freeman believes, "may be expected to recoup as much as three-fourths of that through increased tuitions. Tax concessions need not aim as much at providing relief for students and their families as at enabling colleges to augment their tuition income without proportionately increasing the burden on those who pay."

It might not *increase* their burden, but what ever happened to that extra money those families thought they'd find in their pockets? And if the government "gives away" $1 billion of income-tax money to the colleges—with no strings attached—who will make up the deficit in the federal budget? You know who. The same taxpayer who got "relief."

The Ribicoff bill shortchanges you if you live in, say, California or one of the many other states that have developed modern systems of public colleges and universities. With some exceptions it favors the North Atlantic States as a group. Two out of three students in that area attend private institutions, almost the exact reverse of the nation as a whole.

The State of Massachusetts, for example, spends only $6.47 per capita on higher education. It has great—and expensive—private universities, but until recently its state university was a stepchild. California, on the other hand, spends about seven times as much per capita, $45.14. Eighty-five percent of California's students attend public institutions, 50 percent the excellent free or very cheap junior colleges.

States that spend a lot on their state colleges have low tuition rates because they've already taxed themselves to guarantee it. Under the Ribicoff bill taxpayers in such states would receive smaller tuition credits and would pay more of any increase in federal taxes imposed to make up the $1 billion shortage.

What about the student who cannot afford to go to college at all or whose family does not have an income high enough to pay *any* income tax or to make use of a tax credit? Not only would such students not be helped by the Ribicoff plan but those who do go to college would actually be penalized by the increased tuition, even at state institutions. Students who are working their way or borrowing money would find it harder to stay in school.

Seymour Harris, former Harvard economist and an expert on college finances, has called tax credits "costly and wasteful because they would be available to families irrespective of need and unfair because they discriminate against families not paying income tax or paying very little."

Today out of 100 college-age young people in the top one-third income level, 55 enter college. In the bottom one-third only ten out of 100 make it.

"The choice seems clear," says the Washington *Daily News*. "It is of more value to the country to invest tax funds in helping those who would otherwise never get beyond high school than to ease the financial load for those who, through parental help, would go to college anyhow."

And, adds the Washington *Post*, "If we are going to provide an additional $1.3 billion [the estimated cost by 1970] annually in aid to higher education, is this bill the wisest way to do it?"

The *Post* also worries about the fact that Congress would have no control over how the colleges used the money from increased tuition. "Would tax credits," it asks, "be available to parents in southern states who removed their children from integrated public schools and put them into segregated private schools? In this event would the federal government not be, in effect, in the business of subsidizing a circumvention of the U.S. Constitution?"

Senator Peter H. Dominick (R.–Colorado), a co-sponsor of the Ribicoff bill, thinks this freedom from Congressional control is one of its advantages. "The tax-credit approach," he has stated, "will avoid the constitutional problems of federal aid to education, the segregation issue, and controversial aspects of other plans."

He favors it also because "It does not entail institution of new government bureaus or agencies."

Small colleges, by and large, have not shared in the government's vast appropriations for research and student grants. Nor are they getting more than a trickle of the gift money being channeled into education by alumni, business, and the big foundations. It's understandable that they should applaud the idea of tax credits that would direct government money to them without its having to go through the hands of Congress.

Their situation is so bad, says Louis T. Benezet, president of the Claremont Graduate School and University Center in California, that "Unless new sources of income are found for our private liberal arts colleges, only twenty percent may survive the pressure of rising costs."

One of the strongest opponents of tax credits is the United States Treasury, which takes a dim view of diverting tax revenue to accomplish social objectives.

One provision of the Ribicoff bill has received little attention, but it could have far-reaching significance and cost the Treasury still more. This is the provision that the tax credit is not limited to the taxpayer's own children or dependents. Father Walsh sees this as encouraging the setting up of more scholarships, a deserving goal if it isn't carried to the extremes. But under the proposed law there is nothing to prevent a big-hearted person from giving away his entire income tax by paying tuition for other people's children.

What worries many educators—including such organizations as the National Education Association and the American Association of University Professors, presidents of the nation's state and land-grant colleges and universities, and spokesmen for Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, Yale, Chicago, and Columbia—is that once Congress has "given" $1 billion to colleges in the form of tax credits to students and parents, it will balk at voting money for such things as scholarships, student loans, research grants, and new facilities.

Senator Ribicoff, citing his own support of such measures in bills introduced by Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Oregon) and others, says tax credits won't jeopardize other aid to higher education. But the fact remains that some proponents of tax credits *do* want to see other forms of aid eliminated. They argue that it would prevent red tape if the money bypassed Washington and went directly to the colleges to use as they saw fit.

President Fred Harrington of the University of Wisconsin is afraid of a different sort of red tape. He remembers the headaches colleges had keeping records on books and supplies purchased by students under the World War II GI Bill.

"If the Treasury Department is to police this provision [the credit for books] in a manner calculated to protect the interests of all the taxpayers who foot the bill for it," he says, "it will have to impose on the colleges and universities, the parents and individual students the most elaborate system of record keeping and certification ever applied to American higher education."

Added to this problem is the fact that the $325 maximum proposed by the Ribicoff bill is sure to seem inadequate to taxpayers whose tuition payments run to five times that amount. The bill is considerably scaled down from earlier proposals and, if enacted, is almost certain to be the target for those who would want the credit increased. Dr. Freeman has already advocated a 100 percent tax credit up to $100, with a maximum of $420.

Demands for further credits would be sure to follow. Senator Ribicoff has announced that he will campaign next for deductions or credits for tuition in private elementary and secondary schools. Dr. Freeman wants to see gifts to colleges allowed as a tax credit instead of as a deduction. This would encourage more donors but cost the government.

Not long ago the commission on legislation of the Association of American Colleges, an early supporter of the tax-credit idea, advised its parent body to reconsider.

"It is hard to see," the commission reported, "how both the colleges and the parents can benefit at the same time. In order to gain any financial advantage the college would presumably have to increase its charges to students, but if charges were raised, they would tend to nullify any advantage derived by parents' from tax remission. The poorest parents, who would get little or no relief from tax credits, would be even worse off than they are now. The force of this argument is such that we believe that, before giving further support to this proposal, the Association should make a truly serious study of the results that might realistically be expected of it."

That goes for my friend with the six kids, too.

A NEWSLETTER FROM THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C., November 16.—College students and their parents were cautioned this week not to become unwitting supporters of a proposal that would lead to higher tuition fees across the country.

The warning came from the joint meeting of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and the Association of State Colleges and Universities.

In reaffirming their opposition to proposed Federal income tax credit for educational expenses, the Associations urged the 90th Congress and citizens not to be deceived by the seeming attractiveness of the proposal.

The only way colleges could benefit from tax credits would be by hiking tuition, the associations noted, and this in turn would increase—not reduce—the burden of college costs that many families now bear.

Legislation to authorize the tax credits has been introduced at every session of Congress over the past several years, although it has yet to win majority support. In its most frequently cited form, the proposal would allow taxpayers to deduct up to $325 from their annual tax.

Proponents of the measure have sought to emphasize the financial relief it appears to imply for parents of college students. But the 300 publicly-supported institutions represented at this week's meeting remain convinced that "tax credits would offer most help to those who need it the least—while giving the least help, or none at all, to those who need it the most."

The associations noted, for example, that relatively high-income families paying tuition of $1500 or more a year could deduct as much as $325 from their tax bills, while low-income families paying little or no federal taxes would receive no benefits at all under the plan.

These poorer families would be all-the-more hard-pressed to meet consequently higher college expenses, the associations declared.

At the same time, they continued, the tax-credit idea has been advanced by some of its advocates as a simple method of bringing federal aid to the colleges without government stipulations on how the money should be spent.

The associations view this as a direct contradiction of the claim that tax credits would provide citizens with financial relief. NASULGC and ASCU maintain that the credits could not simultaneously aid both the college and the taxpayer.

Pointing out that the tax-credit approach would cost the U.S. Treasury at least 1 billion dollars in lost revenue during the first year alone, the associations warn that its adoption would likely preclude other forms of sorely-needed government aid to colleges for the foreseeable future. Knowing this, college trustees would be unable to avoid imposing higher tuition fees as a primary source of additional funds.

And higher tuition would, at the least, offset the "advantages" many families might realize from tax credits.

The associations also point to these objections:

Supporters of the tax-credit plan have conceded that it would by-pass Constitutional provisions against using public funds for discriminatory purposes. By raising tuition, all colleges and universities—whether they adhere to non-discriminatory policies or not—could receive the indirect government assistance that tax credits would provide.

The money lost to the federal government through tax credits for college expenses would probably have to be recouped—no doubt through additional federal taxation.

The associations feel there are a number of affirmative ways by which federal funds, state tax dollars and private support can be used to halt the rising cost of higher education to the individual.

Increased support of existing national programs and new programs of institutional support offer sounder ways of providing assistance than tax credit. They feel, through the wise use of the billion dollars that tax credit legislation would cost the Treasury each year "many dramatic and worthwhile accomplishments could be achieved for public and private higher education," a spokesman for the associations noted.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL EVALUATION REPORT ON TITLE I, PUBLIC LAW 89–10, OREGON DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I was very pleased to receive from the Oregon State Department of Education an evaluation report on the programs undertaken in Oregon during the 1965–66 time span under the authorities contained in Public Law 89–10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended.

In my judgment, Superintendent Minear and Mr. Maynard L. Christensen, coordinator of title I evaluation, as well as Dr. Austin Haddock, director of title I activities, are to be congratulated. This summary, to my view, is a concise and helpful document which will be of major assistance to me, as will the complete report upon which it is based, during the Education Subcommittee review of the program in the coming months.

Because of my belief that a report such as this is of interest to my colleagues and to a widespread segment of the educational community, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EVALUATION SUMMARY FOR TITLE I OF PUBLIC LAW 89–10, REPORTING ON OREGON'S 1966 FISCAL YEAR, WITH GUIDELINES FOR FUTURE PLANNING, FEBRUARY 10, 1967

A SUGGESTED OUTLINE AND PLANNING FLOW CHART FOR PLANNING PROJECT ACTIVITIES

I. Identification of target areas and most pressing needs for the *children* in the school district (Page 1–2).

II. Development of objectives as expected *pupil* behavioral outcomes (Page 3).

III. Description of *pupil* activities to achieve the objectives of the project (Page 4).

IV. Evaluation of the listed objectives to measure the increase in educational opportunities and educational achievement of the *children* in the school district.

A Planning Flow Chart for Developing Projects

I. Target areas and pressing needs.
II. Objectives: Primary, secondary.
III. Activities.
IV. Evaluation.

[Chart not printed in RECORD.]

I. Identification of needs

Title I of PL 89–10 was enacted to improve the educational opportunities and thereby the educational achievements as measured by objectives achievement tests and other supporting evidence for educationally deprived children in areas with high concentration of children from low income families.

A. The list below gives the most popular methods selected to identify target areas in the order of frequency of use:

1. Census data.
2. Information from Welfare agencies.
3. Judgment of local teachers and administrators.
4. Local survey or school census.
5. Records from the free lunch programs.
6. Aid for Dependent Children data.
7. Employment of parents.
8. Opinion of community leaders and Community Action Programs.

B. The list below gives the most popular methods selected to identify the most pressing needs:

1. School achievement test records.
2. Pupil cumulative records.
3. Teachers' collective opinions.
4. School health records.
5. Reading inventories.
6. Informal surveys.

C. Percentage of local school districts that identified the following needs:

Instruction area:	*Percent*
Reading	75
Teacher aides	38
English language arts	30
Cultural enrichment	15
General education	15
Mathematics	12
Kindergarten	9
Reduction of class size	9
Physical education/recreation	7
Art	6
Social studies	5
Second language-English	5
Speech therapy	5
Science	5
Music	4
Special education for the handicapped	4
Industrial arts	3
Work-study	3
Vocational	3
Foreign language	1

Other: Business education, home economics, preschool, work experience, etc.

Percentage of local school districts that identified the following target areas:

Service area:	*Percent*
Library services	25
Guidance and counseling	22
Transportation	17
Inservice training	16
Health services	15
Curriculum materials center	10
Food services	8
School social work	8
Tutoring after school	6
Lunch	6
Psychological services	6
Waiver of fees	5
Preservice training	5
Related service for parents	5
Psychiatric services	2
Attendance services	2

Other: Breakfast, clothing, recreation, etc.

D. Innovative projects that received special attention:

1. Model school projects for educationally deprived children.
2. Mobile reading laboratories.
3. Projects designed to improve the self-concept of under-achievers.
4. Use of teacher aides.
5. Projects that provide field trips for children located in isolated areas.
6. Work experience projects.
7. Cooperative projects (19 approved).

E. A few statistics from Oregon's Title I projects:

1. 383 projects were approved.
2. $8,544,505—the state allocation.
3. $7,926,758.67 approved—92.66% of allocation.
4. $7,211,645.16 spent in 1966.
5. 490,812 children were enrolled in Oregon's public schools.
6. 34,664 children were enrolled in Oregon's non-public schools.
7. 55,824 public school children participated—11.3% of item 5.
8. 1,805 non-public school children participated—5.2% of item 6.
9. A total of 57,629 children participated in Title I—10.9% of state total.
10. $106 was the average cost per pupil in Title I projects.
11. 1,299 public schools in the state (elem. 989; sec. 310).
12. 709 public schools participated (elem. 515; sec. 194)—55% of the total.

II. Development of objectives

A. Percentage of project applications that identified the following objectives as expected pupil behavioral outcomes:

Objective	*Percent*
To improve classroom performing in reading	67
To improve performance as measured by standardized achievement tests	62
To improve children's verbal functioning	56
To improve children's self-image	46
To change the pupil's attitude toward school	45
To improve classroom performance in other skill areas than reading	36
To improve the children's emotional and social stability	25
To improve and increase children's attention span	24
To improve children's nonverbal functioning	18
To raise the public's educational aspiration levels	18
To increase the pupil's expectations of success in school	17
To improve the children's average daily attendance	15
To improve performance as measured by standardized tests of intellectual ability	14
To improve the physical health of the children	13
To reduce the rate and severity of disciplinary problems	6
To improve the nutritional health of the children	4
To promote adequate clothing for the children	1

Others: To improve other achievement abilities, attitudes, behavioral problems, and related learning conditions.

B. Subjective measurement of local school districts' primary and secondary objectives are listed in the following tables and show the percentage of projects as evaluated from tabulated reports.

[In percent]

School level	Substantial progress achieved	Some progress	Little or no progress achieved
1. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE			
Preschool	52.5	42.5	5.0
Grades 1 to 3	36.9	30.6	32.5
Grades 4 to 6	25.7	53.6	20.7
Grades 7 to 9	35.5	49.3	15.2
Grades 10 to 12	27.6	52.9	19.5
Average	32.1	45.2	22.7
2. SECONDARY OBJECTIVE			
Preschool	50.0	45.2	4.8
Grades 1 to 3	36.4	34.1	29.7
Grades 4 to 6	35.1	41.2	23.7
Grades 7 to 9	40.2	45.4	14.4
Grades 10 to 12	27.6	53.9	18.4
Average	36.6	40.8	22.6

III. Description of activities

A. Prevalent activities were:

1. Remedial and developmental reading.
2. Individualized instruction.
3. Language arts and communication programs.
4. Specialized instruction.
5. Health and physical education.
6. Coordination of community services.
7. Guidance and counseling.
8. Development of corrective procedures.
9. Materials center.
10. Work experience programs.
11. Field trips and play activities.
12. Summer schools and cultural experiences.

B. Methods of increasing staff:

1. Hiring aides and teachers not under contract.
2. Contracting retired professionals.
3. Use of substitute teachers.
4. Sharing personnel from intermediate education districts, local districts, and college staff members.

C. Additional personnel employed in Title I projects:

	More than half time	Half time or less
1. CERTIFICATED PERSONNEL		
Teachers (total)	519	472
General classroom	194	284
Remedial reading	221	123
Special education	56	20
Kindergarten	22	17
Preschool	14	18
Speech correctionist	12	10
Guidance-counseling	88	52
Librarian	29	10
Supervision-administration	61	42
Total	697	576
2. OTHER PERSONNEL		
Teacher aid and library aid	672	323
Secretary and clerk	48	51
Cook, custodian, bus driver	17	70
Social worker	33	1
Nurse	15	19
Dentist	------------	3
Physician	------------	4
Psychologist	9	12
Technical assignments (machine operations)	19	35
Total	813	518
Grand total	1,510	1,094

IV. Evaluation of objectives

A. Review

Evaluation is the process of determining worth in relation to the stated objectives, and it sets out to appraise, not to prove. This process is usually done by comparing an established standard with something of an unknown value. Therefore, *steps to develop baseline data to act as the established standard must be taken before pupil participation in the project begins, and the post-data is collected at the end of the project.*

An example:

(PROGRESS)

BASELINE DATA	POST-DATA
A reading survey shows 3.1 grade level.	A reading survey shows 3.3 grade level.
Achievement test shows a 3.6 grade placement or a 39% Median (midpoint).	Achievement test shows a 3.7 grade placement or a 42% Median (midpoint).
1.5% of the pupils dropped out of school.	1.2% of the pupils dropped out of school.
540 books were checked out of library.	960 books were checked out of library.
Subjective evaluation showed 45 points for enthusiasm.	Subjective evaluation showed 55 points for enthusiasm.
Check list scale showed 40 points for self-concept.	Check list scale showed 46 points for self-concept.

B. Evaluation Measuring Instruments Used in Oregon's Title I Projects

1. Pre-school and Kindergarten: (a) Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, (b) Detroit Readiness.

2. Grades 1–3: (a) Stanford Achievement, (b) SRA Reading Achievement, (c) Gates Reading Diagnostic, (d) Scott-Foresman Reading Readiness.

3. Grades 4–6: (a) Stanford Achievement, (b) California Achievement, (c) Metropolitan Achievement, (d) Gates Reading Survey.

4. Grades 7–9: (a) Stanford Achievement, (b) California Achievement, (c) Metropolitan Achievement, (d) Gates Reading Survey, (e) SRA Achievement, (f) California Mental Maturity.

5. Grades 10–12: (a) Iowa Test of Educational Development, (b) Metropolitan Achievement, (c) Gates Reading Survey.

6. Percentage of projects using other measuring instruments in addition to those shown in items 1–5:

Measure:	*Percent*
Teacher ratings	62
Anecdotal records	46
Teacher-made tests	27
Observer reports	25
Aptitude tests	7
Local tests	4
Interest inventories	5
Attitude inventories	3

Other: Parent, pupil, and administration opinion questionnaires, material usage check lists, attendance records, student grades, health records, dropout rates, and other surveys.

C. Evaluation Techniques

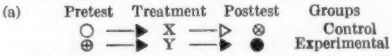
1. Nine (9) out of every ten (10) projects used a standard achievement test in the evaluation.

2. Over eighty-two percent of the projects used a one-group design in the evaluation.

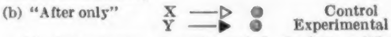
3. Over two (2) out of every three (3) projects used a pre-test and post-test evaluation design to compare results.

4. Only seven (7) percent of the projects used a two-group experimental design in the evaluation.

5. Sample research designs.



(A two-group experimental design with before and after.)



(A two-group experimental design with after only.)

(c) A single group, experimental only, where children are tested before and after then compared with other groups.

(d) A single group, experimental only, where children are tested at the end of the experiment then compared with the group's own past.

(e) An Ex Post Facto experiment—two groups that are compared but the design is projected with definite predictive differences.

D. Objective Measurements

Listed below are the total number of Title I children in 301 projects according to their scored standardized test battery percentile interval. The Baseline shows the children who were tested when the projects started and the Post-Test shows the children who were tested in projects at the end of the school term.

Baseline						Total
Number of children	3,251	6,635	6,479	1,942	1,051	19,358
Percentile score	0-19	20-39	40-59	60-79	80-100	

Mean=40.48 Median=39.36

Posttest						Total
Number of children	2,865	4,826	6,076	1,971	1,410	17,148
Percentile score	0-19	20-39	40-59	60-79	80-100	

Mean=43.16 Median=42.33

E. Subjective Measurements

Using subjective judgments the Title I evaluation reporters from 301 projects determined the group rating for each project by writing the number of children rated poor, fair, good, excellent, and superior under self-concept and enthusiasm for school.

1. Children's self-concept:

Baseline						Total
Percent of total	29.1	36.8	26.2	6.3	1.7	
Number of children	6,870	8,686	6,177	1,491	393	23,617
Rating	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	Superior	

Posttest						Total
Percent of total	**15.1**	**32.9**	**35.4**	**13.6**	**3**	
Number of children	**3,338**	**7,269**	**7,824**	**3,001**	**667**	22,099
Rating	**Poor**	**Fair**	**Good**	**Excellent**	**Superior**	

2. Children's enthusiasm for school:

Baseline						Total
Percent of total	28.1	33.4	28.1	8.6	1.7	
Number of children	6,660	7,912	6,641	2,037	413	23,663
Rating	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	Superior	

Posttest						Total
Percent of total	11.3	30.4	38.8	15.8	3.8	
Number of children	2,612	7,021	8,975	3,643	879	23,130
Rating	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	Superior	

F. Summary

Title I, PL 89–10, should be judged as mildly successful based on the responses received from the local school districts' evaluation forms.

The objective measurements of standardized tests showed some gain and the subjective judgments on rating scales for children's self-concept and enthusiasm for school indicated a slight improvement.

Many of Oregon's 1966 Title I projects were excellent and there were other Oregon projects that failed to reach expectations, but considering the limited time for planning projects and the delays in appropriation of federal funds, most local school districts gave a wholehearted effort to help educationally deprived children.

When it comes to evaluating the effectiveness in achievement and bringing about change in children or educational procedures, the true assessment can only be measured at some future time. Therefore, future measurements should be designed to make long range evaluations of these new programs.

This publication was developed from Oregon's Annual Evaluation Report of Title I Activities with the assistance of Maynard Christensen, Coordinator of Title I Evaluation, and Dr. Austin Haddock, Director of Title I Activities.

(*Reporting research*: Information reports are issued by the Division of Administrative Services, Research Section, Milt Baum, Director. The Division of Administrative Services' Research Section functions in a service capacity to: transmit information which may contribute to the improvement of educational administration; provide timely data for use by district school boards; prepare useful educational statistics in a meaningful form; disseminate to school executives the results of pertinent studies and research reports on school administrative topics.)

NEED FOR STUDY OF PROPOSALS FOR ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, recently a great deal of attention has been focused on the need for reform of the electoral college. As a member of the Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee and a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 12, which would adopt the district plan, I welcome the discussion of this need. It is an important subject and one which deserves a great deal of study.

An article in the Federalist Today, which is published by the American Good Government Society, discusses the merits of one proposal for reform. The American Good Government Society is no newcomer to this subject. It has shown a healthy and informed interest in the electoral college for many years. The article stresses the historical significance of our system of electing the President and helps put the problem in perspective.

In order to contribute to the wide consideration of this matter, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ABA Test Due on Electoral College—Policymaking Group Would Abolish Present System and Substitute Nationwide Presidential Elections

The American Bar Association's House of Delegates will meet in Houston, Texas, on

February 13 and 14 to decide, among other things, whether the Association will promote, under the banner of Electoral College reform, an amendment to the Constitution which would abolish the Electoral College. The ABA, by adopting such a course, would be urging the complete elimination of federal and national elements of representation upon which the Executive power rests. They would substitute an eccentric, fluctuating, mathematical constituency of voters; and cut off the taproot of the two-party system in Presidential elections. The Association would abandon the principle of Separation of Powers and place ultimate control of the President's election in the hands of Congress.

The significance of the Association's proposal is not readily visible, but lies, like the unseen mass of an iceberg, submerged and hidden from view. The ABA's House of Delegates, which is the policy making body of the Association, will be taking up a report from its Commission on Electoral College Reform. The Commission recommends that a Constitutional Amendment be adopted which would provide for the election of the President and Vice President by forty percent of a direct, nationwide popular vote; provide for a nationwide runoff when no candidate receives forty percent of the vote; empower Congress to alter State provisions for Presidential elections, and to establish age and residence requirements for voting eligibility.

Within the Commission's report we read: "The electoral college method of electing a President of the United States is archaic, undemocratic, complex, ambiguous, indirect, and dangerous." These are serious charges but the report fails to support the statement with substantive evidence. The broadside charges leveled against the Electoral College system hit another target, the foundation structure of representation upon which the Executive power of the United States is based. These charges cannot, by mere rhetoric, stand as truth.

The Honorable Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., who served twelve years in the House of Representatives, and is now senior partner in the New York law firm of Coudert Brothers, has addressed himself to the question of how a President of the United States should be selected:

"The American political system is unique among all others in history . . . the Constitution of the United States is the capstone of the American political system. It is the instrument by which the people in the States created a government for the United States, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed . . . its primary purpose is the protection of personal Liberty . . . no other government was ever formally dedicated to this purpose.

"The political structure of the United States can be described as a limited dual-sovereignty in a federal union of States, with a separation therein of the delegated powers of sovereignty (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial). It should be noted that the whole sovereign power of the People is not delegated, the People have kept for themselves full sovereignty in the moral realm of personal Liberty . . .

"In unitary governments, like those of Continental Europe, which are founded in the Roman law, there is only one sovereign government in a country and its sovereignty is complete, unlimited, and undivided. The objects of government are all-inclusive, extending to every person and every thing. The Legislative power is dominant and derives its authority from the voters.

"The structure of our Federal Government is somewhat complex. James Madison (The Federalist No. 139) best describes the elements of the new government proposed in the Constitution: 'In order to ascertain the real character of the government, it must be considered in relation to the foundations on which it is to be established; to the sources from which its ordinary powers are to be drawn; to the operation of those powers; to the extent of them; and to the authority by which future changes in the government are to be introduced (Constitutional Amendments) . . .'

"Madison goes on to note: '. . . the Constitution is to be founded on the assent and ratification of the people . . . not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the independent States to which they belong . . . the act, therefore, establishing the Constitution will not be *national,* but *federal* . . . it is to result neither from a majority of the people of the Union, nor from that of a *majority* of the States. It must result from the unanimous assent of the several states that are parties to it. Were the people regarded in this transaction as forming one nation, the will of the majority of the whole people of the United States would bind the minority . . . each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered a sovereign body . . . in this relation then, the new Constitution will, if established, be a *Federal,* and not a *national* constitution . . . the executive power will be derived from a very compound source. The immediate election of the President (by Electors) is to be made by the States in their political character. The votes allotted to them are in a compound ratio, which considers them partly as distinct coequal societies, partly as unequal members of the same society. From this aspect of the government, it appears to be of a mixed character, presenting at least as many *Federal* as *national* features.' "

Coudert continues: "If the sole basis of a choice between a complex *federal* government and a simple unitary *national* government were simplicity and ease of understanding the *national* form would be selected. But, the blessings of Liberty, under out seemingly complex governmental system, have so far exceeded the promises—even the hopes—of the Founding Fathers, that there are but few, even today, who would consolidate us into one government, and reduce the State government to the status of provincial satrapies. If this then is to be the choice, the ideal way of selecting a President . . . must fit in with, and be in balance with, the different parts of our complex *federal-national* system."

What Coudert is saying, is what Chief Justice John Marshall said on another subject, and what every lawyer should know, that Constitutional questions "depend on a fair construction of the whole instrument." If we look at Constitutional provisions for the division of delegated sovereign powers, for the powers, and for the structure of government, we find them in separate Articles of the Constitution and granted as *legislative powers, executive power,* and *judicial power.* We are concerned with the two powers that are elective and have representative foundations, the legislative and executive. The Constitution provides:

"Article I, Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

"Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States . . . Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States . . . according to their respective numbers (of persons) . . . but each State shall have at least one Representative.

"Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State . . . and each Senator shall have one vote.

"Section 6. No person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office."

If we follow Madison then, the legislative power is derived from two different sources and these sources are represented in Congress on two distinctly different principles, the *national* principle of population in the House, and the *federal* principle of the States as coequal political societies in the Senate. This, then, is at once the dual-sovereignty of the States and the government of the United States, and, the dual-citizenship of each American, of a State and of the United States.

Article II of the Constitution states that the executive Power shall be vested in the President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during a term of four years, and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative . . . shall be appointed an Elector."

With every State receiving an Electoral College member for each of its two Senators, and for each of its Representatives, the Constitution establishes, for the executive power, a body of Electors of the President which is the exact counterpart of the Houses of Congress. The States, as political societies, are represented in their individuality and also according to their populations.

This is as close to exactness of representation as the President's constituency, of States as well as people, can be brought to that of the Houses of Congress. Clearly, the Constitution provides in the electorate, virtually the same constituency for the executive power that it provides for the legislative power.

The fly in the ointment is the State Legislatures' misuse of their power in determining the *manner* of appointing Electors. New York's election laws show the distortion with crystal clarity:

"Section 131(1) Party nominations of candidates for the office of elector of president and vice president of the United States, one for each congressional district and two at large, shall be made by the state committee.

"Section 290 . . . as many electors of president and vice president as this state shall be entitled to, shall be elected by general ticket, and each voter in this state shall have the right to vote for the whole number. . . .

"Section 297. Representatives in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States shall be chosen in the several congressional districts. . . ."

Of equal relevance is the tremendous distortion in the New York election results for 1960 and 1964 as certified by the Secretary of State:

"In 1960, the whole number of votes given for the office of Elector of President and Vice President was 331,590,904. . . .

"In 1964, the whole number of votes given for the office of Elector of President and Vice President was 303,032,517. . . ."

These distortions are inherent in the use of a statewide general ticket for Electors.

In 1960, New York voters had 45 votes apiece in the Presidential election. This was reduced to 43 votes apiece in 1964 as the State lost two Representatives, and therefore two "Representative Electors," with the apportionment of Representatives under the 1960 census. Citizens of the State of New York could vote for 43 and 41 "Representative Electors" on these occasions, but could only vote for one Representative in the Congress of the United States.

Before the Constitution was 50 years old the general ticket for the popular election of Electors was in use in all but one of the 26 States (Maryland was the 25th State to adopt it in 1836). At the same time, there was developing in several States, the practice of using the general ticket for the election of Representatives. In 1842, to stop the practice, Congress prescribed that Representatives be elected in single-member districts (it was 1846 before all Representatives were so elected).

On the general question of representation, a select committee headed by John Quincy Adams (who had been President and Senator) reported in part:

"The representation of the people by single districts is undoubtedly the *only* mode by which the principle of representation, in proportion to numbers, can be carried into execution. . . .

"A more unequal mode of assembling a representation of the people in a deliberative body could not easily be contrived than that of one portion chosen by general ticket throughout the State, another portion by single districts, and a third portion by single and partly by double, treble and quadruple districts.

"This forms, in the mass, a representation not of *one* representative for the common standard number throughout the whole Union, but of States, and cities, and sectional divisions, in knots and clusters of population, of different dimensions and proportions. . . .

"Should the general ticket system universally prevail, it is obvious that the representation in this House will entirely change its character, from a representation of the people to a representation of States, and transform the constitutional government of the United States into a mere confederation like that which, fifty-four years ago, fell to pieces for the want of ligatures to hold it together."

The Commission's recommendation to provide for the election of the President and Vice President by direct nationwide popular vote would eliminate the *federal-national* element of the President's constituency. In place of the *federal-national* constituency would be substituted an eccentric mathematical constituency of voters representing none but themselves and subjected to the whims of weather and the convenience of the polling place; the political center of gravity would shift about as varying ideological forces, now confined by State boundaries, organized themselves nationwide; and the present *intra*-state election of Electors under State laws would give way to an *inter*-state election of the President under national laws enacted by Congress. The Commission recommends the latter.

The Commission's requirement that a candidate must receive at least 40 percent of the popular vote would cut asunder the taproot of the two-party system which is majority requirement in the Electoral College to elect a President, and would bless, Constitutionally, a President opposed by a large majority of the voters.

The recommendation that the places and manner of holding the Presidential election and the inclusion of names on the ballot should be prescrbied in each State by the Legislature thereof, with the provision that *Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations,* would violate the principle of separation of powers. Congress now has no authority whatever over this subject. The proposal would compel Congress to regulate party conventions for Presidential nominations and every detail of the election.

The Commission calls the Electoral College system of electing a President "archaic, undemocratic, complex, ambiguous, indirect, and dangerous." If the system is *archaic* then so is the Constitution. If the system is *undemocratic,* whatever that means here, it is certainly unrepresentative—but only because its representative members are elected on a statewide general ticket. If it is *ambiguous* the Commission should explain. Certainly the system is *indirect*—as it was designed to be—and as it must be if the separated Legislative and Executive powers are to be founded on constituencies most closely resembling each other. If the present system is *dangerous,* as the Commission argues, then the danger lies in the states' general-ticket system and not within the Constitution.

The present evil distortion between the constituencies of the Executive and Legislative Powers is not through Constitutional requirement but was created a long time ago, by the State Legislatures in a misuse of their authority, under the whip of partisan politics. This does not furnish good reason to embed within the Constitution an equally evil distortion between the constituencies of the President and Congress. The result would be a political monstrosity, with Congress based on a federal union of States—and the Executive, an elected "king" of a unitary government.

The Electoral College is the most misunderstood of American political institutions. Almost every man has his own set of mistaken ideas on the subject, and the Commission's report—in what it said and in what it didn't say—is conclusive evidence that this is true.

ACTIVITIES OF THE CIA

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], in his recent report to citizens of Oregon, states his views about the activities of the CIA as related to the National Student Association and other domestic groups. In his report, Senator MORSE discusses both whether there was a need for secrecy and the effects of it on a democratic society. I ask unanimous consent that the section of his report dealing with the CIA be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CIA: HAS IT PENETRATED AMERICAN SOCIETY MORE THAN IT HAS PENETRATED COMMUNIST SOCIETIES?

A young man from Seaside, Oregon, named Phil Sherburne, is a University of Oregon graduate who was president of the National Student Association in 1965–66. His effort to sever NSA dependence on the Central Intelligence Agency for much of its budget has produced another round in the old argument of whether ends justify means. In recent weeks, every day has brought new stories of unions, student groups, academic and literary associations, even church organizations, receiving secret CIA money through dummy foundations.

The defense of secrecy in financing these activities is a curious one. It holds that the decision to finance these "fronts" was made in the period of 1952 to 1954, an era dominated by McCarthyism. It contends that in many contests around the world where Communists were in competition with non-Communists, it would have been impossible to persuade Congress to appropriate funds to send our representatives abroad at public expense. So in the interest of assuring that liberals, even leftist Americans, who could better compete with Communists than could conservatives, would be on hand at international meetings, CIA slipped them the money.

The odd thing about this official defense, however, is that long after the demise of McCarthy, the programs not only continued, but were expanded. In these years, 70 and 80% of the NSA budget, which included extensive civil rights activities in this country, came from CIA. A wildly mismanaged bookstore venture by University of Chicago students lost $140,000, a tab picked up by CIA.

We also have learned that the U.S. Information Agency has long had a secret program of causing books to be written and published in the United States. Part of this subsidy also came from CIA, all unknown to the buyer and reader.

I have been appalled and astonished that in the latter days of the Eisenhower Administration, and the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, conspiratorial thinking at the highest level dominated these decisions. It is difficult to understand why Congress could not have been asked openly to provide money to finance the international convention of the National Education Association; to pay U.S. unions to train journalists, and to teach unionists in Latin America, Africa, and Asia how to organize workers and how to bargain with employers.

But secrecy begat easy money, and more easy money begat more secrecy. The necessity to explain the purpose, to educate public opinion, and to obtain permission was circumvented by funding these things secretly. Conservative members of Congress who say now they knew about these CIA activities and approved of them, did not have to explain to their constituents what they were supporting, and why.

This is all rationalized on the ground of "intelligence-gathering." But little of it had to do with gathering information. These were operational programs, not unlike some we finance openly through foreign aid. Some, like American Friends of the Middle East, took the form of propaganda at home more than propaganda abroad.

Senator Yarborough of Texas has introduced an amendment to the International Education Act, authorizing the Office of Education to finance openly certain student and academic activities abroad. I support it. I am anxious that we put an end to the secrecy and hypocrisy of CIA sponsorship of such programs. Likewise, I believe the International activities of unions should be financed through the Department of Labor, or AID or the State Department, and the public should know about it. CIA funding has made a farce of our claim that unlike Communists, Americans who represent private U.S. organizations abroad act as free agents and not as minions of their government. We should stop making false claims, and compete with Communism on our own ground of being what we claim to be. We should not fall victim to lame excuses about "fighting fire with fire," when water is still the best defense against fire.

* * * * *

If the forms of democracy are too inconvenient, too exacting, for *us* to respect, who else in the world will respect them? We require candidates for office to disclose their campaign funds; we punish elected officeholders for misuse of public money; we enact federal laws requiring citizens to disclose more and more of their business practices in labeling, packaging, and interest rates. But while the federal government requires more forthrightness from the American people, it retreats further into the world of deception and stealth in its own operation. This scandal has shown us what a long way we have travelled down the road to a police state.

AMERICA'S CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the President has announced that Soviet Premier Kosygin has agreed to discuss the possibility of a mutual disarmament program, one in which the United States would be expected to refrain from establishing an anti-ballistic-missile system. In light of the incontestable fact that the U.S.S.R. has already deployed an extensive ABM system around its principal cities and industrial centers, this so-called peace feeler on the part of the Soviets can readily be seen for the delaying tactic that it is.

Gen. Nathan F. Twining, former Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, has written an article entitled "America's Clear and Present Danger," in which he describes the very real and imminent peril our Nation is in. This authoritative and concise presentation of a military expert's opinion on the dangers of our defense policy should be brought to the immediate attention of my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that the article, "America's Clear and Present Danger," from the Reader's Digest of March 1967, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

(An interview with Nathan F. Twining, General, U.S. Air Force (Retired))

(In his current book, "Neither Liberty Nor Safety," Gen. Nathan F. Twining, who served as chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1957 to 1960, discusses the alternative courses of cold-war strategy open to the United States: (1) to disarm the nation gradually in the hope that communist countries will follow suit; (2) to maintain overwhelming military superiority as a deterrent to aggression. In an interview with editors of The Reader's Digest, General Twining explains why he considers the former course—the one the United States is now pursuing—a blueprint for national suicide.)

Q. General Twining, in your book you express serious misgivings about the present state of U.S. defenses. What has you so worried?

A. During the past few years our ability to deter an enemy attack has been severely eroded. I am convinced that if the present trend is not reversed, and fast, the United States will soon find itself in very serious danger.

Q. Do you mean actual military danger?

A. I do. We have technologically competent enemies who are determined to destroy us. They have been working hard and steadily to advance their military technologies; we have not. The Soviet Union presents the most immediate danger, and clearly is aiming at across-the-board nuclear supremacy. But Red China, too, is rapidly developing an important nuclear capacity.

Q. Won't our ICBM's, our missile-firing submarines and our strategic bombers continue to be an effective deterrent?

A. The force that we have today has done exactly what it was meant to do: it has provided the United States with overwhelming military supremacy through the mid-1960's. But military supremacy is not a permanent fact of life. To keep it, you must keep working at it. If you don't, sooner or later an ambitious enemy is bound to achieve technological breakthroughs which will shift the balance of power in his favor. This, I'm afraid, is what has been happening.

All the major weapons systems now in our combat inventory were started in the 1950's. Since then, we have added nothing significant. We have thrown away more than half a decade of irretrievable lead time in the development of the advanced weapons systems we will need to present a convincing deterrent through the mid-1970's and beyond.

At the same time, we have been discarding existing strength. For example, soon after the 1962 agreement by the U.S.S.R. to withdraw its medium-range ballistic missiles from Cuba, to the amazement of our military professionals and our allies we suddenly announced that all our ballistic missiles in Europe were outmoded and ineffective, and took them out—from Turkey, Italy and the United Kingdom. The truth is that these weapons were still effective, and by removing them we greatly simplified both the offensive and the defensive problems for the Soviets.

Then we canceled plans to produce a mobile medium-range ballistic missile for NATO Europe, whose vital centers are now within range of hundreds of Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles. We made major reductions in the production of materials for nuclear weapons. We are now engaged in a rapid phase-out of our strategic bombardment force.

Q. What have the Russians been doing in the meantime?

A. Evidence mounts that the Soviets have been pursuing a vigorous weapons program. They have developed a high-yield nuclear-weapons technology, and it seems likely that they can produce warheads of 100 megatons and more. In addition, reliable evidence indicates that they are rapidly deploying an operational anti-ballistic missile system for the defense of vital target areas. There have also been reports that they are increasing substantially the size of their ICBM force.

Q. Do you think that if they achieve breakthroughs in their military technology they will attack?

A. We certainly could look forward to some interesting nuclear blackmail. I think they might attack if they were convinced that they had achieved a clear strategic ascendancy and could strike with acceptable losses to themselves.

Q. Why have we not been developing our own military technology?

A. Two forces have been at work. One is an anti-nuclear clique of moralists, pacifists and academic dreamers associated at influential levels with the State and Defense departments and the White House. These people may be sincere, concerned and patriotic, but they have never been able to acclimate themselves to the nuclear age. They don't believe that the Soviets mean it when they tell us that someday they will destroy us. They insist that our military supremacy has been "provocative" and largely responsible for the tensions of the past two decades. They theorize that if we scale down our strategic capability to the point where it is equal to or even a little inferior to Russia's, the Soviets will stop competing, the arms race will end and peace will reign.

To my mind, such views are indicative of an inability, or a refusal, to cope with reality. But the anti-nuclear clique is vociferous. It has been a major force in the retardation of our weapons technology and in the weakening of our deterrent.

Q. Who are these anti-nuclear people?

A. The leaders are, mainly, scientists who have been active politically for many years. They advised President Truman not to develop the hydrogen bomb. In fact, there might not have been an American H-bomb if Dr. Edward Teller, a scientist who *is* in touch with reality, had not presented convincing evidence that we could develop it, and that for national security we *must* build it. As it turned out, the Soviets tested their first H-bomb within a few months of ours; so it was obvious that they were not guided by any considerations of what the United States might or might not do, but had developed the H-bomb as fast as they could. There is no telling whether this country would still exist if Truman had not decided to proceed with development of this weapon.

Q. Then, in 1958, we joined the Soviets in a moratorium on nuclear testing?

A. That's right. At first we had insisted on a foolproof inspection system—we didn't mind stopping if we knew that no one else was testing and developing. But the Soviets didn't want any sort of inspection. They wanted us to stop our nuclear-weapons program, and to take their word for it that they had stopped theirs. Communist propaganda went to work, and our own anti-nuclear clique picked up the cry, giving assurances that we were so far ahead in nuclear technology that we would lose little even if the Soviets *did* test clandestinely.

Every responsible American military leader and our more responsible nuclear scientists, again led by Dr. Teller, opposed a no-inspection moratorium. They insisted that it was a trap, and would end in a double cross. But they were overruled. Of course, the Soviets continued secretly, and in 1961 they ended the "gentlemen's agreement" with a series of tests of great sophistication, technological depth and military significance. We gave them three free years, and they made the most of them.

Q. Did we then re-establish the development capabilities we had when we stopped testing?

A. No. We should have, but we didn't. Gen. Curtis LeMay, then chief of staff of the Air Force, organized a committee of nuclear and military professionals to study the military implications of the Soviet tests. When we finished our study, we went to the White House to recommend urgently that the United States get cracking in exploring the high-yield nuclear-weapons field. But Dr. Jerome Wiesner, who was chief science adviser to President Kennedy, and others did not agree. We were turned down. The underlying conviction of those who opposed us, it seemed to me, was that the American posture of nuclear supremacy had to be cut back so that "military parity" with the Soviet Union might be achieved.

Even after we learned that the Soviets had made sensational progress with their nuclear-weapons programs, Dr. Hans Bethe, another influential scientist, said he thought that this contributed to stability and reduced Soviet fears of an attack by the United States. I believe most Americans must find such reasoning as upside down as I do.

A year after the Soviets completed their tests, knowing that they had advanced well beyond us with their very-high-yield technology, our government signed a formal nuclear test-ban treaty with them which substantially froze our technology where it stood. Our proposals for on-site inspections were turned down.

Q. Why is it so important to test a high-yield device?

A. Because the Russians have this big weapon, and we do not know what effect it might have on our missile systems. We cannot afford this information gap.

Q. Don't we have an underground testing program?

A. Yes, but you can't measure underground the exact phenomena which might develop from a detonation in the atmosphere or in space.

Q. Has the United States remained ready to resume atmospheric testing immediately, if it should become necessary?

A. It would take a long time—possibly too long—to re-establish a comprehensive testing and development program. It is impossible to keep together, against a day which may or may not come, the kind of scientific talent such a program requires. People disperse. It is unrealistic to think you can stop such a program and then start it up again immediately.

Q. Is the anti-nuclear clique still active in government?

A. Yes. Dr. Wiesner recently headed a committee for President Johnson which suggested a total ban on nuclear testing, plus a new concept of flexibility on the matter of mutual inspection, and a total halt in the production of nuclear materials for weapons purposes. In other words, the committee seems to me to say that the United States should quit the nuclear-weapons business altogether and take it on faith that the Soviets will do the same. The plan strikes me as a blueprint for suicide.

But I would not dare predict that we won't implement portions of it. In fact, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has proposed in the United Nations that the United States would retire vast amounts of nuclear-weapons materials if the Soviet Union would retire about two thirds as much—leaving the Soviets to do with the remaining third whatever they wished. This is an incredible proposal.

Q. Does our Arms Control and Disarmament Agency do a sensible job of planning and negotiating?

A. Many in Congress feel that the 1961 Act which established the agency exceeded the original intent of Congress, which was to provide an arms-control research service for the President. As passed, however, the Act charges the agency with preparing for and managing American participation in international *negotiations*—even though it is not answerable to Defense or State, and has no overall responsibility for national security. Of course, those who staff this agency want to succeed at what they conceive to be their primary mission—disarmament. Thus, the agency is bound to use its influence on such matters as nuclear testing and development of new weapons—and to lean toward the concept of "no inspection" or "minimum inspection" for the sake of reaching some form of agreement with the communist powers.

The military assigns knowledgeable officers as advisers to the agency, to try to make sure that the family jewels are not given away. Even so, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency should be abolished and its functions returned to the departments of Defense and State.

Q. You said that two forces have combined to retard the development of our military capability. One is the anti-nuclear clique. What is the other?

A. The rigid application of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's cost-effectiveness theory to defense planning. Cost-effectiveness is simply a way of measuring the most economical way to accomplish a military mission. I don't quarrel with the theory. But it becomes self-defeating when it is made the dominant factor in defense planning, almost to the exclusion of other vital elements of judgment. Most military professionals believe that this poses a grave danger to the future security of the nation because it stifles research and development. It is usually impossible to produce in advance, from the thresholds of new technologies, conclusive proof that a proposed weapons system will accomplish a mission more effectively and more economically than it could otherwise be done. You must move off the thresholds, conduct serious explorations in promising fields, give some leeway to disciplined imagination. If McNamara's policies had been in effect during the 1950's, we would not have the ballistic-missile force we have today.

Q. Don't the senior military officers speak freely to Congress on such matters?

A. No. The Defense Department monitors everything they say, and the officer who talks out of turn may expect some kind of reprisal. I believe strongly in civilian control of the military. But I don't believe that the military posture of the United States is the private business of an autocratic civilian authority, such as the Defense Department has become. When the elected representatives of the people seek professional military judgments, I believe that they are entitled to straightforward answers, and that such answers should be given without fear of reprisal. As the situation now stands, the civilian managers of Defense have effectively silenced the military, and are tightly managing the news that reaches the people.

Q. For a country that isn't doing much to advance its military technology, isn't our defense budget inordinately high?

A. Yes—but primarily because of the war in Vietnam. Any war is extremely expensive—which is another excellent reason for staying militarily strong enough to keep wars from happening.

Q. What must we do? How should we assign priorities?

A. The Defense Department is making our strategic posture a Maginot Line of missiles. If we fail to reverse this trend quickly, the President in some future crisis is going to find himself in a dangerous, inflexible military position. An all-missile strategic force will not give him much choice in the response we can make, since missiles cannot be used for anything short of general nuclear war.

To ensure operational flexibility, we need a mixed force. We need a new manned bomber, one with great range and speed, and the ability to penetrate existing and projected air defenses. Such a bomber, called AMSA (Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft), has already been through the preliminary design stages. It can be built.

Q. What has been holding it up?

A. The Defense Department argues that the need for AMSA is not clear. The military and Congress disagree. Congress keeps appropriating funds and authorizing the Defense Department to proceed. But Defense keeps saying year after year that it is "studying the matter." Millions for study, nothing for hardware.

Q. What else should we be doing?

A. I am deeply concerned at the lack of attention the United States has paid to the really awesome military potential of space. We have done no significant work in developing offense and defensive space-weapons systems. Yet the Soviets are on record as recognizing and planning for the military utilization of space; in fact, in the past year they have paraded a weapon that they call an orbital bomb. We have been governed in our approach to space by the same absurd and dangerous logic that thwarted development of our nuclear technology. Now, a treaty banning weapons of mass destruction from outer space has been worked up, and high officials of our government are hailing it as a great step toward peace. I'm sure that the Soviets will respect this treaty just as they respect all the agreements they enter into—until it suits their purposes to break it.

Q. In the past, it has taken war or the threat of war to snap America out of peacetime weapons development lethargy. Do you think it will happen this way again?

A. If we keep trying to appease the Soviets with foolish offers and concessions, and keep reducing our military capabilities toward their level, and also keep tying our military technology into unrealistic cost-effectiveness straitjackets, I believe we can look forward to a major crisis. Such a crisis will be far more serious than any we have been through before—certainly more serious than the Cuban missile crisis. Next time, an enemy who no longer can see such a clear strategic superiority on our side may not be inclined to back off so quickly. There would be grave danger of miscalculation. There could be war. I believe that such a crisis is coming. I also believe that such a crisis need not come. But if we are to prevent it, we have no time to lose. The hour is late, and the enemy is watching the clock.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON COMMUNISM

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Church League of America sponsored an international symposium on communism in Chicago, Ill., March 10–12, and well over 500 delegates attended from across the country. Maj. Edgar C. Bundy, former Air Force intelligence officer, and one of the first to offer testimony before congressional committees regarding the dangers of Communist activities in the Far East, is executive secretary of this league and termed the speakers at the symposium "the greatest gathering of experts on communism on one platform in the history of the United States."

The symposium included among its speakers Mme. Suzanne Labin of Paris, internationally recognized expert on Vietnam; Dr. J. D. Vorster, actuary of the largest single church denomination in South Africa and brother of the Prime Minister of South Africa; Paul Bethel, former press attaché and director of public relations at the American Embassy in Cuba from 1958 to 1961, who just last week testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Nathaniel Weyl, a former Communist and world authority on Communist strategy and tactics; Fulton Lewis III, national news commentator and a former research analyst for the House Committee on Un-American Activities; and Hon. Donald C. Bruce, former Member of Congress from Indiana and former member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia, who was invited to attend and address the symposium, was prevented from coming to the United States for this purpose by the State Department because he did not have a validated British passport. Mr. Smith is the leader of a country that is one of the few remaining bulwarks against communism in Africa, a continent characterized by ferment, bloodshed, and revolution. He was invited in his capacity as one of the staunchest anti-Communists of his country, and was also expected to present Rhodesia's side in the current controversy, a point of view that has been shamefully neglected by the American and world press.

In effect, Mr. Smith was denied entrance to prevent his expressing the case for Rhodesia, a case of undeniable logic and self-evident truths. The basic American right of free speech, of late the shield for the radical left, is being withheld from the American populace in this instance.

It does not require much examination of our policy against Rhodesia to determine the actual reason for our unprecedented and unwarranted discrimination against her; *one has only to observe the* internal policies of that country—properly, a matter of concern only to Rhodesians—and compare them with the goals of blanket equality and unselective privileges advocated by the present administration.

I fail to see how this country can admit Nikita Khrushcev, Fidel Castro, and Holden Roberto, the terrorist from Angola—all of them opponents of the American way of life—and at the same time deny entrance to Mr. Smith, whose country is following historic American precedents. This refusal by the State Department under such a patently shallow pretext would be ludicrous, indeed, were it not for the tragedy of underscoring the double standard employed by this administration in dealing with avowed Communists and leftists.

ANDREW JACKSON BICENTENNIAL

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, yesterday, March 12, South Carolina's celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Andrew Jackson began in Lancaster County, which is the birthplace of the seventh President.

It was appropriate that this 4-day observance, to be climaxed on his birth date Wednesday, March 15, was initiated at the Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church, which was the family church of the Jackson family. It was here that the seventh President of the United States was baptized and received his first religious instruction. It was here at this old church, organized in 1755, that he learned to read and write in the church school. It was here in the church cemetery that the final remains of his father, two brothers, and several uncles and aunts were laid to rest.

Yesterday, in this setting, Dr. Harry Y. Gamble, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, Roanoke, Va., conducted commemorative services to begin the South Carolina celebration marking the 200th anniversary of President Jackson's birth in 1767.

Today and tomorrow, Lancaster Girl Scouts will conduct walking tours of old homes and Lancaster points of interest, such as the courthouse and county jail, which were built during President Jackson's lifetime.

Tuesday's program will also include a program of "Music of the Revolutionary Era," presented by the Lily Strickland Music Club in the auditorium of the Lancaster extension of the University of South Carolina. Also, at this time, Dr. Francis A. Lord, director of the extension, will exhibit articles and weapons of the colonial and revolutionary periods.

On Wednesday, March 15, the day's celebration will begin at 10 a.m., with a pageant about Jackson to be offered by the fifth-grade students of the H. R. Rice Elementary School. The Lancaster News reports in its March 9, 1967, issue:

> The pageant, written by Miss Virginia Cousar of Rice School, is appropriate because a letter from the students of the sixth grade to Anna Hyatt Huntington resulted in the creation of the statue to be dedicated Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. President, this statue is a beautiful work of art. Situated within a stone's throw of the main building at Andrew Jackson State Historical Park, it depicts Andrew Jackson the boy and reveals him as the sturdy and vibrant young man he was. Larger than lifesize, the statue depicts Jackson as a young boy sitting bareback on his horse. Jackson the boy is dressed as a young man of that period would be—wearing a loose-fitting shirt and work pants rolled up above his knees. Cast in bronze, the 3,500-pound statue rests on a 5-foot-high granite base and overlooks the grounds of the Jackson Park. On looking at it I cannot help but recall to memory the words written in the February 1967 issue of the national DAR magazine, by Viola Caston Floyd, of Lancaster, which read:

> To Tennessee belongs Andrew Jackson, the President of the United States, to North Carolina Andrew Jackson, the law student and to South Carolina, Andy Jackson the boy.

As stated, this statue is a gift from Mrs. Huntington, conceived and created by her, in response to a letter from the sixth-grade class of Miss Nancy Crockett, now principal of the Lancaster Rice Elementary School. Mrs. Huntington and her husband, the late Archer Milton Huntington, are renowned for their magnificent statuary in Brookgreen Gardens near Myrtle Beach, S.C. As in the case with the Jackson statue, the art works at Brookgreen represent a gift to the State of South Carolina from the Huntingtons.

The statue dedication ceremonies will be held at 2 p.m., with E. R. Vreeland, South Carolina State Park Director, presiding. Formal dedication will be made by four Rice School students, Allen Adams, Elizabeth Ellison, Susan Helms, and Dottie Moorefield. The dedicatory address will follow and be delivered by the Governor of South Carolina, the Honorable Robert E. McNair.

Besides the statue and the State park building, much interest during the bicentennial celebration will center at the Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church and its cemetery. The present church was built some 71 years ago and is the fourth to be constructed by the congregation since the church was established in 1755. The first meeting house was a log structure without a floor and was burned by the British during the Revolutionary War.

Lasting evidence of the connection of the church with the Jackson family may be found in the Old Waxhaw Cemetery. The father of the President was buried there in March 1767, a few days before Jackson was born on the plantation of his uncle, James Crawford. Jackson's two brothers, Hugh and Robert, lie in unmarked graves in the older section of the cemetery. Many other marked graves, including Jackson's aunt and uncle, Margaret and George McKemey, and another uncle, James Crow, can be found in the graveyard.

Mr. President, before concluding my remarks I would like to list the members of the Andrew Jackson Bicentennial Committee who have worked so hard to make this celebration a reality. They are Joseph H. Croxton, chairman, and Mrs. Willis Bethea, Mrs. E. C. Bridges, Miss Nancy Crockett, Mrs. John S. Davidson, Mrs. Charles M. Duke, Mrs. B. M. Ellison, Jr., Mrs. H. C. Floyd, Mrs. Ben C. Hough, Ed Khoury, Dr. Francis A. Lord, Dr. G. T. Myers, Joe C. Norman, Roscoe Poovey, Julian Starr, Jr., Clyde H. Wade, and Mrs. D. Reece Williams.

Mr. President, as I am sure you must be aware, there is some controversy regarding the actual birthplace of Andrew Jackson. Both Houses of the Congress have heard this issue debated between distinguished lawmakers from South Carolina and North Carolina. Although Andrew Jackson said on more than one occasion he was born in South Carolina, I know he would be pleased to be claimed by both States. I, for one, remain convinced he was born in South Carolina, and feel this splendid bicentennial celebration in Lancaster County attests to the fact the people closest to his home share this belief.

However, whatever the merits or demerits of both viewpoints, it seems appropriate that the value of this observance in South Carolina, and others which may be held in other States, not be distracted from by another debate on this issue. Rather we should be thankful there was an Andrew Jackson at all, and recognize that while each State—South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee—have legitimate claims to some part of his life he, in fact, belongs to all America.

UMWA PRESIDENT W. A. BOYLE BECOMES CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COAL POLICY CONFERENCE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at a recent luncheon, Mr. W. A. "Tony" Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers of America, was formally installed as chairman of the National Coal Policy Conference. He succeeded Mr. G. A. Shoemaker, longtime Consolidation Coal Co. president, who had served 3 years as chairman of the conference.

I extend my best wishes to both Mr. Boyle as the new chairman and to Mr. Shoemaker as the past chairman. I know both men well and respect their continuing efforts to improve and expand employment in the coal industry. I am hopeful that they will continue in their efforts for many years to come because I know that their interests will greatly benefit all men employed in coal mines.

I ask unanimous consent, as in legislative session, to have printed in the Record the addresses made at the luncheon by both Mr. Boyle and Mr. Shoemaker.

There being no objection, the speeches were ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

ADDRESS BY G. A. SHOEMAKER

It is my pleasure to welcome members and guests of the National Coal Policy Conference to this annual meeting.

We appreciate the interest you evidence in this organization, which is basically coal oriented and has in its membership the United Mine Workers of America, the coal-carrying railroads and barge lines, coal mining equipment manufacturers, utilities and the bituminous coal industry.

The National Coal Policy Conference is frequently described as being unique—and it is. But, much more important is the fact that it is *logical* and *essential* and *successful*. The remarkable team work of this group makes possible the delivery of raw energy in the form of coal at a lower price today than existed sixteen inflationary years ago.

I submit to you that we need more than ever a strong, well-supported N.C.P.C. and (N.C.A.) (which incidentally are coordinating their efforts in a commendable manner).

Why? Because we continue to need the mutuality of understanding, the labor and industry statesmanship, applied to our problems and opportunities.

Essential to the progress of our economy are reliable and economic sources of raw energy.

The non-subsidized U.S. coal industry supplies some 55% of the raw energy requirements of the rapidly growing utilities. Practically 100% of the steel industry coke requirements, as well as 100 million tons of general industry requirements. So, coal is truly integrated into the economy's growing needs.

This adds significance to the above-mentioned 16 year price stability because it indicates tremendous technological progress as well as social and human relations progress between employer and employee.

Let us meditate for a moment and ask ourselves a few questions—Where would the industry be if we did not have—

(1) Drastically improved and safer tools of production skillfully operated and maintained?

(2) The economies of transportation by unit train and barge movements?

(3) Cooperative and intelligent purchasing and utilization (long-term contracts)?

(4) Reliability of supply?

(5) Willingness to make tremendous capital investments?

Today, coal along with most other major U.S. industries, finds itself confronted with a "technological lag" in spite of all its technological progress. This, in the challenging area of minimizing air pollution created by its very use. Given reasonable time and support the technology for this will be developed. Much is being done but much more remains.

As previously mentioned this is a multi-industry problem and I recommend that all industry accept the challenge of working collectively and constructively to solve the problem. To do so within any reasonable economic framework, requires some time. Surely the most can be accomplished by a joint effort of all industry and the cleaner air agencies working together. Likewise, the public interest will be served.

I commend Joe Moody and his staff, the officers, directors and members of N.C.P.C. for their diligence and success. I am pleased and proud to have been privileged to serve with you.

To assure the Conference of great leadership, the Board of Directors this morning elected a proven leader, a dynamic man who has spent his life in the coal industry and is one of its strongest supporters.

It is a real tribute to his stature as President of a large International Union to be elected to head this Conference.

It has been my privilege to know Tony for many years and now it is my pleasure to turn the gavel over to W. A. Boyle, President of the United Mine Workers of America.

ADDRESS BY W. A. BOYLE

I am deeply honored to have been elected chairman of the National Coal Policy Conference. It is with deep humility that I accept this responsibility. I hope that my tenure in office and the years to come will be filled with success for the Conference and all segments of the coal complex which it serves. Certainly, you may rest assured that I will devote my time and energies toward that end. I will work with its officers and membership to make the policies and programs of NCPC responsive to the needs of the coal industry.

The National Coal Policy Conference is founded upon two assumptions:

First, we assume that the nation needs bituminous coal in large quantities to continue as a strong industrial power. Our platform takes note of this need in the following words:

"The strength of the American economy is importantly based upon coal. Coal is vital to the generation of electricity, the production of steel and chemicals, the fabrication of aluminum, and the development of those products which are the basis of this nation's security, well-being and progress."

Second, since the growth and prosperity of coal is vital to the nation, it is essential that the industry be permitted to grow and to seek its destiny free of unfair competition or unreasonable governmental action. The responsibility to see to this is obviously ours, since we also have a vested interest in the success of coal in the market place.

The platform of NCPC also recognizes this responsibility in the following words:

"It is therefore, the responsibility of those who mine coal, who manufacture coal producing equipment, who transport coal, and who consume coal, to combine their efforts to assure that the coal industry will be able to serve the nation effectively and fully in the years ahead."

We in NCPC represent divergent interests—interests which have often been in conflict. But, in a more basic sense we share a common goal—a goal which binds us together in mutual effort. That goal is the preservation of coal as a strong industry, an industry growing to meet the energy demands of a modern America.

In finding this unity amid the diversity of our interests, we have fashioned a weapon of great strength for the struggles in which we are engaged. As we go forward we move not as coal operators, or coal miners, or manufacturers, or transporters of coal, or utilities, but only as industries and organizations who depend upon coal, and who serve to bring it to the public in one form or another.

Within this functional context all of our differences disappear, and we are enabled to confront our adversaries with the strength that can only come from unity—from the wisdom born of cooperation—and from the singleness of purpose possible only because of mutual understanding and need.

In the final analysis, however, NCPC will live or die by its actions, not by its purposes. Its success or failure will be measured in deeds, and not in words.

To us—the officers of the Conference—and its members—goes the responsibility of using the Conference by employing its strength to achieve the objective for which we all strive, namely, the progress of coal in America.

As your chairman, I would like to outline the goals which we have set for ourselves and for the Conference in the coming year. We do this, aware that not all of them will be met, but hopeful that they will serve to focus our attention on the needs of the industry and the role that NCPC can play in meeting those needs.

First, however, we would like to note one important point. The National Coal Policy Conference does not work alone. All of the divergent interests represented here have their own associations and their own individual problems. It is not the purpose of NCPC to infringe on areas better served by others. At least, to the fullest extent of my powers that will not be done. On the other hand, it has always appeared to me that the magnitude of the task confronting coal is such that there is ample room for all to work.

The objectives of the Conference are clearly spelled out:

One. *To foster among all who are connected with coal a militant pride in their industry.* Coal is a good industry. As such we must sell it to the public. We must also sell it to those who depend upon it so that they may help us in our efforts to meet the challenges before us. Further, we must reach the families of coal miners and coal operators and the railroads so that the children of these families will look to the coal industry as a place for future growth and not a relic of the past.

We have seen the gradual exodus of the young from the coal mines of this nation. We have seen coal areas turn their backs upon coal. It is disheartening and it is unnecessary. We must take steps to mobilize our people so they will become an effective force for the coal industry at the local level.

Several years ago the National Coal Policy Conference, in conjunction with the National Coal Association and the UMWA, made an economic survey of coal mining regions. That survey indicated the value of coal to coal areas. It helped our people to understand their place in the economic structure of their communities. We must do more along this line and we must communicate that pride which we feel for coal to those who, in turn, will spread the gospel to others not connected with the industry. We will try to do this in the coming year.

Two. *To cooperate and participate in government studies of the present and future energy needs of the nation and the relative significance of the various fuels in our energy-based civilization.*

For many years an overall energy policy has been an objective of the NCPC and its constituent membership. The wisdom of this policy is more and more evident as the years go by, and as the need for a coordinated use of our energy reserves becomes more apparent.

In requesting such a policy we seek not advantage, but only fair play. In asking for coordination we ask for no more than the most elementary concepts of conservation consistent with national goals and free enterprise competition.

Recently, the President of the United States called for a study of the energy demands of the nation, and our revenues to meet such demands. We in coal should do what we can to participate in this study, and place before it a most detailed exposition of coal's potential importance.

In the year ahead, the Conference should devote itself to evolving a rational and reasonable program so designed to convey to those in authority the need for and advantages of an energy policy built upon the nation's basic energy resource—coal. This we hope to do.

Three. *To concentrate the industry's broad public relations activities to bring the importance of coal to public attention, and to correct any misconceptions regarding the industry.*

Public relations efforts are already being carried on by the coal industry and other members of the Conference. However, in this field there is never enough work being done. Fortunately, the Conference is in a good position to devote itself to a public relations program, not aimed at coal as such, or at any other single segment of the complex, but at the complex as a whole. Therefore, the public relations activities of the Conference should be aimed at conveying to the interested public the interdependence of coal and our industrial economy, and the way in which coal contributes to the progress of our nation.

Four. *To take all necessary steps consistent with the public interest to maintain and promote a healthy coal industry, and to correct factors which weaken it and thus imperil the national welfare.*

The Conference has engaged in many of these activities in the past years. For example, it has been active in the fight to retard the importation of residual oil, in the field of atomic energy, and more recently in efforts to secure reasonable air pollution standards. In all of these endeavors the Conference has acted in concert with others interested.

It is apparent that the atomic energy and air pollution problems are of most immediate interest. Each in its own way threatens the future health of the coal industry, and thus the welfare of the nation.

The Conference can play a role in both of these fields. In air pollution the Conference can use its resources in an effort to work out acceptable pollution abatement programs with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and press for reasonable laws before the Congress. Since the Conference does not possess the knowledge to speak authoritatively in the technological sense, it should continue to rely upon those with such competence.

In atomic energy, the Conference should redouble its efforts to remove the atom from its privileged position. All available means should be employed by the Conference to make the atom a part of the normal free enterprise system, and to insure that nuclear growth and development will take place within the context of the national welfare. I am somewhat disappointed at the lack of an effective program to counter atomic energy by the coal industry, by the National Coal Association and the National Coal Policy Conference. I do not think we have done all we could and should do in this area. I shall try to step up our activity in this field. It is my hope that a powerful, vigorous, effective and influential program can be implemented in the near future. We must face these problems with one voice—a strong voice—not a divided voice and I ask for the full cooperation of all members of the National Coal Policy Conference.

One other avenue for Conference activity is in manpower development. I am aware of the manpower shortage and also the unemployment problem in our coal industry. NCPC does not, or should not, possess prime responsibility in this program. However, it will do what it can to expedite its progress and I want the Conference—when it is necessary and timely—to use its great resources to help the coal industry solve this problem.

This brings me to the basic need of the mineworkers which is jobs—jobs for those mineworkers displaced by automation, nuclear power, hydropower, oil, natural gas, diesel fuel and imported fuels.

Five. *To continue to promote a healthy transportation industry and forward-looking transportation policies in coal.*

Transportation is the key to the future success of coal. To the extent that sound transportation policies can be evolved, coal will be successful. Conversely, all of the gains made by coal in efficient mining will be lost unless such transportation policies are implemented.

Within the past year, a new department of transportation has been established. Hopefully, sound programs of benefit to coal and its consumers will emanate from this department.

NCPC has a vital part to play in the establishment of a progressive transportation policy. For NCPC can look at the movement of coal from an overall sense, as a part of a system that begins at the mine face and ends at the stack of the consumer. We hope that the members of the Conference will come forth with proposals to use this unique position to best advantage. We will assist in the development and implementation of such programs.

Six. *To articulate the problems and requirements of coal to the legislative and executive branches as well as other institutions of government, thereby establishing a positive and constructive public policy toward coal.*

This is an integral part of the Conference activity. Because of its unique membership, and its unusual position in our American society the Conference speaks from a position of strength.

We will soon ask the component parts of the Conference to set forth an agenda of legislative goals so that the activities of the Conference in this area may be formulated. In a similar manner we shall also formulate policies concerned with the executive branch of government where the Conference may be helpful. In each of these instances we shall attempt to ascertain whether NCPC should assume a position of leadership, or one of supplementing the efforts of others.

Seven. *To foster and encourage all research into the production, marketing and utilization of coal that will strengthen and extend coal's markets and give it a wider base upon which to build its future.*

The Conference does not now engage in scientific research efforts, nor is it our intention to have it do so. However, the Conference can do much to encourage research and bring the needs of the coal industry to the attention of the public and government. In the coming year, we wish to see the Conference move forward in this field. We hope to see the members of the Conference acting in concert and meeting periodically to assess the best possible avenues of coal research, and positive programs to achieve research goals. We would caution at this point that the research activities of the Conference will supplement those already in existence in other parts of the coal industry. But it would seem to us, that the area is so broad and the need so great, that any effort is worthwhile. Therefore, in the coming year, research will be an important part of the Conference's activities.

Eight. *To assist in the formulation and establishment of policy when the mutual interests of coal and related industries are affected, and to aid in and direct the execution of such policies.*

The word "policy" was used advisedly in the name of the National Coal Policy Conference. The formulation of overall policy of interest to all of our members is an important function of the Conference activities. We hope that in the coming year those connected with the Conference will take time to draft comprehensive policies for use by its members. Such policies should be concerned with the overall health of the coal complex, and with the promotion of those goals which affect coal in the broadest sense—not just as a single industry.

We shall work closely with the operating heads of the Conference to create a framework within which such policy can be formulated, and we shall do everything within our power to encourage maximum participation in such policy conferences. This is a basic part of our program for the coming year.

As we look to the year ahead, we are somewhat awed by the goals which we have set. We know that some of them will not be met, and others will not be fully achieved. This is the nature of any organization composed of human beings, ofttimes buffeted by the winds of necessity. But, of one thing you may be sure. The National Coal Policy Conference is the creation of us who are its members. What it does or does not do is our responsibility. And, I for one, fully intend to *lend my efforts* to make the Conference an effective tool, a weapon which we can use in the years and months which lie ahead.

I would like to pay special tribute to the past chairmen of the NCPC who preceded me in the following order:

Mr. George Love, 1959 to 1962.
Mr. John L. Lewis, 1962 to 1963.
Mr. Joseph P. Routh, 1963 to 1964.
Mr. G. A. Shoemaker, 1964 to 1967.

I further would like to extend my sincerest compliments to Mr. Joseph Moody who has served as president of NCPC since its inception and to his staff and to the members of this Conference. My thanks and appreciation to all of you for your cooperation.

FALLACIES OF VIETNAM POLICIES

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, a few days ago I received a letter from a young officer in Saigon which in a very coherent and logical fashion points out many of the fallacies of our Vietnam policy. It is one of the best statements I have ever seen which brings home the real meaning of this conflict. Because I believe that it will be of interest to Senators and to readers of the Record in general, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record. I have deleted a few sentences in the letter in order to protect the identity of the writer.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

February 26, 1967.

Senator J. William Fulbright,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Fulbright: Enclosed you will find a letter that was originally meant for a student friend of mine; however, as I formed it in my mind I decided that I may as well send it where it may do some good.

I was afraid to state my thoughts to anyone in government channels because of possible reverberations against an officer in the United States Army who would not be in support of his country's foreign policy. That is, until last night when I picked up a copy of *The Arrogance of Power,* and read of "The Higher Patriotism."

I am not much of a typist, so please excuse some of the errors.

You may feel free to use this letter any way you see fit.

February 16, 1967.

Just a little over five months ago I sent a letter to a few of my closer friends and relatives in "the States" who seemed to show a bit more than the average amount of interest in Vietnam and the question of United States involvement. This is a sequel to that letter. No, it is more. Originally I had intended to say something about how I was not changing my mind about my opinions, just adding to them and amending them. After reading over the first ideas that I scribbled out on paper I realized that no matter how much I wished to avoid the embarrassment, no matter how reluctant I was to admit it to myself, I had changed my mind; not in all things, mind you, but in most. If you read the old letter, born of naivete and a green, collegiate mind such as it was, you will see the differences, not unlike a complete reversal of stance. If you did not read it, or do not remember it, I think the ideas I want to get across will be clear anyway.

There are three facets to American involvment in Vietnam. There is the moral question, which all the peaceniks bleat about. There is the physical, with which all the generals concern themselves. Finally, there is a legal, which most of the politicians confuse with moral and which, being international law, is pretty much a moot question. I do not intend to discuss all these questions fully, or even try to, because I cannot. With no self-depreciation intended, I am merely a Second Lieutenant.

What I am attempting to do is tell you how I feel about the situation and shed some light on it.

Into everyone's life comes some disillusionment. The first is probably when a boy realizes that he was not delivered to his home by a stork. One of the more important disillusionments of my boyhood dreams occurred over here. I used to believe that all mankind was on the same sophisticated level of reason and civilization as my acquaintances at home, or were ready to learn . . . or at least basically the same in human emotions. I am afraid I have found that this is not so to the extent I believed.

I see automobile accidents over here where the local police (Cahn Sats) have just stood by and let a man die: A Philippino missionary was hemmoraging—bleeding from the mouth and nose. Take him to the hospital. Apply first aid. Call an ambulance, anyway. At least roll him from his side to his back (I mean his back to his side). Don't just stand there and look at him, smoking cigarettes and laughing. Never mind Cahn Sat, It's too late anyway. He has drowned . . . in his own blood.

I could not stand to look, and it seemed vulgar that everyone should stand around and oogle and joke, saying, "Hey, numba one!" I told one of the MP's to cover him up, that we had arrived too late. The MP used his own raincoat. I then asked the Cahn Sat if there was anything that he could do to keep people from uncovering the body to look but he did not seem to understand. Funny, I had thought I heard him speaking English a little while before. When it was all over we realized that a Cahn Sat had stolen the MP's raincoat off the body as the body was put in the American ambulance.

This sort of thing is not unusual. Then, it is not common, either. Unfortunately, it is a hell of a lot more common than unusual.

You will not see a Military Policeman pull his weapon unless he has had one pulled on him. No, I correct myself. You probably will not see him pull it then, either. The Mayor of Saigon raised a Thompson submachine gun at an MP. The MP took it away from him. None of the MP's on the scene fired; though, for all they knew the "mayor" was any old VC. No one had told them that he was the mayor. He was in civilian clothes. He was drunk. He had fired the weapon down near the American Embassy. They just wanted to ask him some questions because the brave Cahn Sats would not go near the man.

You would quite possibly see a Cahn Sat pull his pistol on an MP. It has happened before, and it will happen again—without provocation. Ridiculous! There has never been a Cahn Sat harmed by an MP and they know it, but . . .

Drinking water is hard to come by in Vietnam, and must be distributed by truck. Just last week an NCO in the Military Police stopped some Vietnamese from bathing in drinking water that was in a water trailer parked next to a dispensary. It is part of his job to protect U.S. government property, and there are plenty of public watering points (attached to the city water system) in which to bathe. When the MP did this, a nearby Cahn Sat saw it and ran over. He called the MP the most vile names (in English) possible, and tried to pull his revolver on the MP. Fortunately, the MP got his own pistol out first and told the Cahn Sat not to try that sort of thing again.

I was under the impression we were supposed to work together, but am getting tired of trying and making no headway. Politeness is met with a brush off, and cooperation met with dishonesty, greed, and complaints of colonialism.

It is often said that the South Vietnamese appreciate us for what we are doing over here. Nuts! All the Vietnamese want from us, without exception, is money—the good old American Dollar; everything they do is geared to bleed us. Do they care about what we are doing? I firmly believe they do not. They appreciate our wallets. Do they want the Americans to go home? Horrors, no! Well, not unless we leave our wallets here.

The Vietnamese do not really care who wins the "war," so how could they appreciate eight thousand American dead? They can see only one reason why the Americans should win, and that is because if they lose they will take their money home. The easy life will be gone. With that as the only reason for victory, it is easy to see why these people put so little effort into the war. Besides, why should they fight when the American's "war machine" will spend lives and money to do it for them?

A friend of mine, another Lieutenant, knows Vietnamese well, or so he claims. He does know a Vietnamese family, originally from North Vietnam. They often express thanks to him for what the United States is doing. They tell him how terrible it is to live under communism and how they hate the Viet Cong for what the VC are doing to Vietnam. What is the family doing for their country? What are they doing to fight the VC? Well, says my friend, they are sending their children to college in France.

Are you kidding? For a country in the throes of a civil war, they are doing nothing. They are educating their children for their own selfish reasons, not for their country. No one, not one member of that family has ever lifted a weapon to halt the Viet Cong.

Look at the city of Saigon. I bet you that if you took all of the able bodied men in the city between the ages of seventeen and thirty-five, you could field forty divisions of troops. That would be enough to seal off this country's borders, and then some!

Did you know that it is estimated that there are over sixty thousand draft dodgers in Saigon alone? I estimate that the Vietnamese statisticians are off by a least a hundred thousand men—most probably purposely.

What I am trying to say is that if they do not care, why should we?

Yes, I said that this was a civil war. Although I thought differently when I arrived here, I have again been disillusioned. It seems like just about half the people in South Vietnam are from the North, and that all of the important, educated, and powerful are from North Vietnam. More than that, the Viet Cong are from the South. South, North, North, South—it is all the same here.

I think we are meddling in someone elses affair.

I am told that if the Communists win it would be terrible. Why? The Vietnamese people are too dumb to tie their own shoelaces, much less cast an intelligent vote. They do not have the chance of the proverbial snowball of understanding a democratic system, economics, or politics (which I fail to understand, myself). A dictatorship is what they need. It is what they understand. I might go so far as to say that a benevolent dictatorship would increase their GNP more steadily, more solidly than the type of capitalism they would have to practice; the capitalism that is a throwback to the pre-industrial revolution times of our own western society, with its inhumanity, and feudalistic corporations—or maybe its family sized businesses. These people, barring a very small minority, do not have the ability that European men had in the 1700's.

There is a popular story among the GIs over here that Confucious came through here 4,000 years ago and taught the people to carry two buckets on a stick over their shoulder—and they are still waiting for him to come back and give them their second lesson.

I am also told that if we do not make our stand at the Saigon River, we will have to make it at the Mississippi River. I cannot buy that idea either. The domino theory is not a valid one in this case. The pat little phrase, "history repeats itself," combined with the history of Europe during the time of Hitler creates a totally invalid analogy. North Vietnam is not fascist Germany, and South Vietnam is not western Europe. It is not 1939, or even 1949 . . . or even '59. It is 1967. The Vietnamese do not claim to be a master race and do not want to exterminate anyone.

This is the other side of the world, and an entirely different people. This is a people who want no more than to be left alone. They want peace. They want it under any government that can give it to them, but they want it under a Vietnamese government. Who is more imperialistically greedy? Is it Ho or Ky? It is Ky. Who is more Vietnamese, Ho or Ky? I think Ho. Who worries about his country instead of his clothes? I think Ho. Ho Chi Minh has the support of all of North Vietnam and half of South Vietnam; Premier Ky has to send his generals out of the country when he goes anywhere. He has the support of, at most, one sixth of the Vietnamese people—and most of them are in it for dishonest personal gain. Making such "Anti-American" statements, I certainly hope I am right, but, then, I would not say it if I did not think it is—and think it has to be said.

It has been said that if South Vietnam falls, Cambodia will fall. Thailand will fall. The Philippines will fall. Australia will fall. Korea will fall. Formosa will fall. Hawaii will fall. Okinawa will fall. The US may even fall! See countries fall. Fall, countries fall. Fall. Fall. Fall.

Oh, really? First, I do not buy that. Second, if Cambodia falls, what have we lost? If Thailand and all of Southeast Asia falls, so what? In the first place, they would be communist, yes, but communism eats itself—or, rather, it dies of internal starvation. The USSR is finally proving that, as it swings as rapidly towards a socialistic form of government as the US does. In the second place, these people are not, as many would have us believe, the Red Chinese; in fact, they harbor a definite dislike for the Chinese foreigners. Ho uses the Chinese for the sole purpose of winning the war he has so long fought. It it unfortunate that Ho has misread us (if he has), that he equates us with the French. We are not the French, and have only our race in common with them. We are neither colonists nor greedy. We wish only to help Vietnam, and I would hope that if Ho would give LBJ a chance, the President of the United States of America would be more than willing to take on the whole of Vietnam in the War on Poverty, with nothing for us in return but gratitude and, if we attached no strings, probably an ally and friend; but, then, I am overlooking one fact.

Ho Chi Minh is a communist. However, this does not mean he is Chinese. It does not mean that he wants the Mississippi Valley in order to grow more rice. I think that despite his political beliefs, he is above all, a patriot. Definitely more so than the ruling South Vietnamese strong men, who build castles in Saigon and bars at Tan Son Nhut.

Let us suppose that all of Southeast Asia does fall. Southeast Asia would end up split into a dozen small communist factions, each a separate and jealously nationalistic entity. Actually, Thailand is the only country over here that has not yet fallen; the only one that resembles what could be called an ally of the US. Now, does this mean that the Philippines will fall? Most definitely not. The difference is that of night and day.

Australia? The same can be said.

The entire argument is like saying that if Cuba falls, the United States will fall, too.

Let us go back. Let us assume that the parallel drawn between Hitler and Ho is also valid, or at least a possibility. Is it wrong that it took us so long to fight back? Is it wrong for a man, or a country, to be slow to anger? Was it wrong at the time? My conscience says, no, but my hindsight says, yes. Actually, I wonder if Hitler would have been any easier to defeat if we had struck earlier, before he had extended so far—before we had been able to build up our war machine.

Now I would like to discuss my friends and leaders: THE very touchy subject on which I could be held highly punishable for touching in the wrong way. Of those who control my life, and life itself, and of those who I live with, I must never speak.

I feel certain that the troops over here are the best in the world. They have a tremendous sense of humanity, and they have a tremendous ability to wage war. The men here have that inner courage that is needed to go on a night patrol into enemy held countryside. They have the sense of humor necessary to keep their spirits up when they are killing, or being killed. Best of all, they are Americans, and Americans of the most loyal sort. They are able, and have confidence in their ability to get a job done. So do I.

Oh, Lord, tell me if the job is really worth the Price. Better still, tell my boss.

One enlisted man was on duty at Deputy Ambassador Porter's residence one evening, and when the Deputy Ambassador came out into the yard to put some things into his car they struck up a small conversation. About this time the children of the villa's cook ran up, and in the manner of most Vietnamese children, Began saying, "Nam Dong," and holding out their hands. The conversation went something like this:

Porter: "Aren't they cute? Whose children are they, I wonder?"

MP: "They are the cook's, sir."

PAUSE

Porter: "Isn't that cute; they want to shake hands."

The MP did not have the heart to tell him they were asking for money.

I do not call this knowing the people. This man is the Deputy Ambassador. How out of touch can any person be?

The Honorable Stanley R. Resor, Secretary of the Army, was in Saigon on his visit to this country. I am sure he must realize that he got a "snow job" from those who showed him around. For a full hour before he came in, chopper after chopper landed with their battle casualties. Some were put gently aboard an ambulance; others, wrapped in ponchos, were loaded on the back of a truck. Then the Secretary came in: no ambulances in sight, no medivac choppers in sight—just a flurry of brassy salutes and big smiles for a wonderful trip, a fun ride, and an "interesting briefing."

Funny, he never did ask the men how things were going. No matter though, if he did we would have said, "Fine, thank you, sir, just fine." Would we have had any other choice? I wonder what would have happened if we would ever say, assuming we were given the chance, "rotten," in front of those generals?

The big American buildup of Vietnam occurred over a year ago, and there are, and will be many more veterans of this war returning home. Some will agree with me, some will not. Those that do not will for the most part be expressing an attitude that is very easy to adopt over here. I find myself adopting it. I must feel this way to a certain extent as a matter of survival, and to do my job. It is what I call the "hate my enemy" attitude.

When a man first arrives "in country" and gets off the plane, he begins looking at every Vietnamese he sees, wondering if that is the one with the grenade. If the man is smart, he will never stop looking—I have scrapped up many who did. With that sort of mental strain in the air, and with the mission given, it is not in the least surprising that a GI will go home at the end of a year and say: "Those dirty Commie Rats! We have got to win. We cannot back down." Then add, rather without thinking, "We must help those people be free"—the same people that are trying to kill him. How can you beat them and give them freedom, both?

I am learning what a huge word "Futility" really is.

To men who have seen their friends be killed or injured, it is easy to say that the dirty commies must be beaten at all costs; however, when I was in college, one of my economics professors brought out an idea that never before occured to me. He said that when a corporation makes a mistake, sinking millions into a bad project, they have two choices. They can either put more money into it to try to rectify the mistake, or they can junk the project and write off the entire initial investment as a loss by bad judgment. The deciding factor is how much they expect to get as a Return On their Investment. If the correction will cost more than the project could make back as an ROI, it is best to forget about it and write off that initial expenditure because you will be losing—whether or not you win.

The same can be said of lives. We have invested over 8,000 American lives in this ungrateful, bottomless grave, and we made a mistake. Our leaders seem to be willing to invest at least as many more lives to try and salvage their mistake—without a thought about what kind of return they can expect to get. At best, it can be no better than a Laos. You are darned right I advocate that we make a unilateral withdrawal! That is essentially what we did in Laos.

Will it be honorable?

Is what we are doing honorable? Is waste, waste of *lives*, honorable? Is it honorable to admit a mistake and write it off as a lesson learned? Perhaps it is more honorable to keep bluffing, keep wasting, and compound the mistake.

What will the World think when we go home? Tell me what the World thinks of us now? What truely great men have ever been swayed by what others thought when they had to do what was right? Lincoln? Washington? Schweitzer? Hammarskjold? Christ? Who that lets others run his life can go home and sleep with himself at night?

I am not a "peacenik." I cannot admire "peaceniks," and I have definite doubts as to what motivates them. I do not agree with their methods and I do not think they work. They can do little more than to irk the rational man. Those people do nothing more than avoid their duty as citizens, especially the duty to serve in their country's armed forces if they are asked.

Why is that a duty? There is only one moral purpose in having an army, and that is to defend one's homeland, his family, and his way of life. When an army is used for purposes other than this it ceases to be a moral thing; it becomes the aggressor. It should be used, more specifically, to fight to maintain or gain the freedom of the people who represent it and constitute it. The greatest gift one country can give another is its army, and that gift should never be given lightly, without thought of the consequences, the rewards, and the needs and desires of the other country. It is the gift of human life. It must be both necessary and appreciated—both necessary and appreciated.

I have written this with an appreciation of my shortcomings, and so it should be read. I am not at home reading the papers, I am not a civilian. I am an American soldier, and proud of it. I am also thickly embroiled in the situation I am commenting on, and cannot look at it with a detached viewpoint. It is hard to see the progress that is being claimed, and it is hard to see the overall picture, but I cannot help thinking that it is too bad this money and these troops are not being used to fight crime, poverty, and all the things we worry about back home.

Well . . . when I get out of the service I have a final little speech to say to that last Sergeant that hands me my discharge: "If you ever get another Hitler, call me."

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A STUDY OF TAX ASSISTANCE TO THE STATES

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, it is my intention to introduce for appropriate reference next week a bill to provide for a study to determine in detail means by which the Federal Government can assist each of our States to meet their needs for increased revenues.

Several so-called tax-rebate proposals have been introduced this year. Each has merit. It is increasingly apparent, however, that there is little possibility for enactment of any of these far-reaching revenue proposals in this session. With our necessary additional commitments to southeast Asia, and the administration's 6-percent surtax proposal still to be considered, action on serious tax-rebate measures will in all probability be deferred for now. I propose that this time be used for study and planning.

My bill provides for: First, establishment of a 33-member commission on State Revenue Assistance, 15 members to be appointed by the President, 6 by the Speaker, 6 by the President of the Senate, and 6 selected by the President from a panel of names submitted by the U.S. Conference of Governors; second, consideration by the commission of proposals relating to tax sharing; Federal relinquishment of certain tax sources; distribution, limitations, or restrictions on shared revenue; income tax credits; and necessary Federal and State controls and supervision.

Mr. President, I am particularly interested in determining the feasibility of relinquishment of certain areas of Federal taxation so that States may exert their taxing power in these areas without duplicating or overlapping Federal taxes. My bill takes special note of this possibility.

The bill does not call for any specific tax rebates and has no set formula. It does call for a thorough study and subsequent report to the President and Congress about this entire revenue-sharing approach. Enactment of my bill would allow us to move in an orderly way into immediate consideration of this important future policy field, without committing us now to specifics. It would afford us an opportunity to study all the possible approaches.

I believe we can start now in the direction of revitalized State revenues, bringing revitalized State government and new life throughout our federal system.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. —

A bill to establish a temporary commission to study and report to the President and the Congress with respect to means by which the Federal Government can assist the States to meet their need for increased revenues

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SECTION 1. (a) There is hereby established a temporary commission to be known as the Commission on State Revenue Assistance (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall consist of 33 members as follows:

(1) Fifteen members to be appointed by the President;

(2) Six members to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives from Members of the House, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party;

(3) Six members to be appointed by the President of the Senate from Members of the Senate, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party; and

(4) Six members to be appointed by the President from a panel of at least eighteen persons submitted by the United States Conference of Governors.

(c) In making appointments under subsection (b)(1), the President shall endeavor to provide representation for industry, labor, the academic world, and the general public.

(d) The President shall designate a chairman and a vice chairman of the Commission from among the members appointed by him under subsection (b)(1).

(e) Seventeen members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(f) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers and shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

DUTIES

SEC. 2. (a) It shall be the duty and function of the Commission to make a complete study of means by which the Federal Government may provide assistance to the States to meet their needs for increased revenues. Such study shall include a thorough appraisal of proposals that the Federal Government provide such assistance—

(1) by relinquishing certain areas of taxation so that the States may exert their taxing power in these areas without duplicating or overlapping Federal taxes,

(2) by collecting for the States certain taxes imposed by the States, and

(3) by sharing with the States a portion of the revenues received from taxes imposed by the United States.

(b) In making its appraisal of the proposal that the United States share certain of its revenues with the States, the study made by the Commission shall include the questions of—

(1) the amount of Federal revenues which could or should be shared with the States each year;

(2) the distribution of the shared revenues among the States on a fair and equitable basis;

(3) the limitations or restrictions, if any, on the use by the States of the revenues shared with them;

(4) the extent of Federal control or supervision, if any, over the expenditure by the States of the revenues shared with them; and

(5) the amounts, if any, of the shared revenues which the States should distribute for use by their political subdivisions.

REPORTS

SEC. 3. The Commission shall submit a final report of the results of its study, together with its recommendations, to the President and to the Congress not later than January 31, 1969. The Commission may submit such interim reports as it deems advisable.

POWERS; ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission, or, on authorization of the Commission, any committee or members thereof, may hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission deems advisable in carrying out its duties under this Act.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government shall, upon request of the chairman, furnish to the Commission such information as the Commission deems necessary to assist it in carrying out its duties under this Act.

(c) Subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the Commission, the chairman may—

(1) appoint and fix the compensation of such employees as may be necessary to assist the Commission in carrying out its duties under this Act without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates; and

(2) procure temporary or intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $100 a day for individuals.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

SEC. 5. Members of the Commission who are appointed from private life shall receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of duties as members of the Commission, and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

(b) Members of the Commission who are Members of the Senate or House of Representatives, or who hold any Federal, State, or local public office, shall serve as members of the Commission without compensation, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of duties as members of the Commission.

EXPENSES

SEC. 6. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to enable the Commission to carry out its duties under this Act.

EXPIRATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 7. The Commission shall cease to exist on March 31, 1969.

NORTH AMERICAN WILDLIFE AND NATURAL RESOURCES CONFERENCE

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference convened in San Francisco today. Attending this 32d conference are more than 1,200 natural resource administrators, biologists, and conservation leaders from throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico. During the conference, the theme of which is "Human Needs and Environmental Limits," they will discuss the most crucial conservation issues of our time.

A feature of each conference will be the address by Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute. In that address, the dean of American conservationists will comment on the state of conservation and the problems and opportunities for restoring and maintaining natural resources for the benefit of all our people.

This year, "Gabe" chose as his title "Where Do We Stand?" I am particularly interested in his comments on the land and water conservation fund.

It is known widely that the national outdoor recreation program financed predominately from that fund is lagging because the program needs greatly exceed the revenues received. A bill introduced by the senior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] a bill which I am cosponsoring, would enlarge the fund by crediting to it certain monies received from the Mineral and Potash Leasing Acts and from the Outer Continental Shelf.

Dr. Gabrielson agrees that additional money is needed if overall outdoor recreation programs are to keep pace with the demand. But he points out that the provision of more money alone will not guarantee that this can be done. In addition, he recommends that Congress review its authorization and appropriations procedures, and he recommends enabling the appropriate agencies to move promptly to acquire lands intended for national seashores, parks, and recreation areas. Only by making these changes, Dr. Gabrielson says, will Congress assure that we are investing efficiently in meeting our outdoor recreation needs.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Gabrielson's speech be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE DO WE STAND?

(Presented by Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute, at the 32d North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference, San Francisco, Calif., Mar. 13, 1967)

The theme of this year's conference—Human Needs and Environmental Limits—underscores the most challenging conservation issue facing resources administrators in this century. Population expansion and the forces that accompany it already are surpassing environmental limits in some areas. The situation will spread, because man's efforts to regulate himself seldom succeed in more than a limited way.

Bringing variation to the monotonous proliferation of suburbs, sparing needed cropland from development, suppressing pollutants of air, water, and soil, assuring that highways do not mindlessly sever communities and countryside, providing opportunity for outdoor recreation—in short, deliberately shaping our environment instead of being shaped by it—requires as much determination as it does new technical knowledge. Many people decry what they see around them. Yet few do much to correct it, to support essential programs or to seek new authorizations.

Perhaps too much attention in the past has been given to resources specialization instead of to resources leadership. Both are needed, of course, but we may be giving too little attention to the whole while delving into its parts. Whatever the reasons, we largely are unprepared for the problem of environmental ecology that population growth has thrust so suddenly upon us. It is a massive problem for which everyone bears responsibility, but for which no one is fully responsible.

To succeed in guiding our environmental destiny rather than being engulfed by it, we need new technology, new skills, new concepts and understanding. But above all we need a national determination to use what we already know. Delay leads mostly to retreat and defeat. There are few absolute answers. No miracle will sweep away these problems. Tough ones become tougher and small problems become larger. Available know-how must be put to full use in resources programs. New skills can be fed into the process as they are developed.

Nowhere is the need to put present technology to work more evident than in the fields of water and air pollution abatement. The public is insisting that this be done and has proved its intentions by supporting substantial expansion of the federal water pollution control program in 1965 and again in 1966. The public is willing to pay the bill for clean water as the federal Acts and state referendums show.

But there is foot-dragging and delay. International commitments hold down the amount of money that is requested for the vital sewage treatment construction grants. That temporary situation should improve.

The most damaging and divisive information being circulated about the water pollution control program comes mainly from those who should be most closely identified with it, the sanitary engineers and public health authorities. Some continue to spout the dinosaur theory that rivers and lakes have a waste-assimilation role, that a principal function of the nation's waters is to carry the wastes of one community to the next. They let the fact that present treatment technology cannot remove 10 percent or less of some pollutants stand in the way of getting rid of the other 90.

Fortunately, some communities and industries are beginning to look upstream to the sources of their water. They are the ones who are helping to press for action. But not as many, unfortunately, are as willing to look downstream, where their own sewage effluents go. Fewer yet are those who recognize that their effluents, while possibly of no direct consequence to a watercourse itself, contribute to an aggregate pollution load of a magnitude intolerable to society as a whole. This is the focal point of the public hearings on water quality standards being held in many states today. Our national population has become so large, our industrial output so great, and our ability to alter land and water so formidable that a few resources users no longer can be permitted to despoil a natural resource's values.

In the heat of arguments over water quality standards, sight oftentimes is lost of the fact that the ultimate goal is not the standards that may be propounded for any state. It is whether water, in face of almost limitless demand, will have any reasonable future use for anyone and anything.

Abatement of water pollution is the prime conservation issue facing us today. Citizens everywhere should insist that their states establish the highest possible levels of water quality. They also should insist on flexible standards that can be upgraded as new knowledge becomes available. State standards should be reviewed periodically.

Everyone should guard against being misled by arguments about costs and economics. Certainly, huge sums are involved. But these really are investments. All of us lose as individuals, and society loses as a whole, if water pollution *is not* controlled.

The real question is whether we pay for pollution or for pollution control. Do we pay for control as an investment by way of new taxes and costs passed on to consumers, or do we pay for tolerating pollution in the continued destruction of community values and the natural environment? I think the choice is obvious.

The public is being offered a choice in another area, too, in the authorization of new national parks. We need a few choice national parks, to be sure, but the great challenge today is not in enlarging the system, but rather in protecting what we already have.

The same population pressure that is creating air and water pollution is threatening national parks. Humanity is on the verge of wearing out some of the country's most renown parks. Scenic vistas and natural wonders are seen over the shoulders of encircling mobs. The National Park Service's charter to administer national parks so as to keep their natural values unimpaired for the benefit of future generations has collided head on with public demands.

Many national parks are being overwhelmed by people and automobiles. There is no end to political and economic demands for more park roads, overnight accommodations, restaurants, filling stations, parking spaces and picnic places. And in trying to cope with the problem, park planning becomes more and more oriented toward mass recreation.

Until it is overturned by congressional action, and I do not believe it ever will be, the 1916 charter of the national parks system holds true. There must be a national reawakening to the purpose of national parks. They are not playgrounds, and it never was contemplated that they should be. Mass recreation should be provided elsewhere.

The Federal Government should stop trying to provide in national parks the kinds of facilities and services that private enterprise can supply outside. Regional planning should be expanded vastly to provide campers and other adequate facilities on appropriate federal and state lands adjacent to the parks. Constructing major highways that spew out thousands of curious but completely unappreciative motorists at park entrances should be avoided.

Much the same holds true for units of the national wildlife refuge system which were, and still are, being established to preserve wildlife. Mass recreation is invading a number of refuges, and with it comes the threat to their continued usefulness for the wildlife they were created to assist. Public-use facilities at both national parks and wildlife refuges should be limited to those that complement their intended purposes. If this is done, many of the casual vacationers will not be attracted to the parks and wildlife refuges. Instead, the areas will be used largely by persons who visit them in connection with the reasons for which they were established.

No one, no park or refuge administrator has any legislative directive to accept or encourage mass recreation. Rather, there are clear directives to regulate public and private use so as to protect and perpetuate the natural values involved. Several years ago, in authorizing the Department of the Interior to accommodate recreational use on wildlife refuges, Congress stipulated that recreational use was appropriate only when incidental and secondary to the primary wildlife purposes of any refuge. Additionally, the law stipulated that land may be purchased outside refuges to accommodate mass recreation where necessary. No significant areas have been purchased under this authorization.

Nationally, the Land and Water Conservation Fund is failing to perform to expectations. The primary difficulty is that there is not enough money to acquire lands promptly in all of the seashores, recreation areas, and other projects that have been authorized. Several situations contribute to the Fund's inadequacy. First, the income into the Fund, particularly from the national recreation-user fee, has been less than estimated. Secondly, the insistence of Congress that the costs of all seashores, recreation areas, and parks be borne out of the Fund has created unanticipated financial demands. This is contrary to what conservationists had in mind when they supported the Land and Water Conservation Fund program. They had expected, and so urged, that the Fund complement customary congressional appropriations for these projects. And finally, congressional delay in providing necessary money has resulted in greatly increased project costs because of land speculation and the normal rising value of land.

Corrective proposals in both the Senate and House seek to enlarge the Fund by crediting to it certain monies received from the Mineral and Potash Leasing Acts and from the outer continental shelf. These recommendations are good. They deserve widespread support if the over-all local, state, and national outdoor recreation program is to grow with demand.

But merely providing more money is not enough. That may help buy a few more acres sooner, but unless fundamental program weaknesses are corrected, more money only will enrichen speculators still further. Changes are needed so that available funds can be invested more efficiently toward attaining outdoor recreation goals.

Inefficiencies of the system must be corrected by Congress itself. The principal weaknesses stem from a combination of delay and inadequate appropriations.

It works this way. Congress frequently authorizes a new seashore or national park, accepting an all-too-often minimal cost estimate. The new law authorizes only a certain sum for the project. It does not appropriate the money. This has to be obtained under a separate appropriation act, usually the following year. During this period, speculators have a description of the lands authorized for federal purchase. Bidding intensifies, land prices go up, and the amount authorized for the project will cover only part of the contemplated purchases. The delay is further accentuated, because an Administration seldom requests and the Congress seldom provides all of the money authorized for a project the first year. Land acquisition is drawn out over a decade or more.

This inefficient system costs us dearly in terms of dollars wasted and recreation lost.

Both the Executive and Legislative Departments can help overcome this serious obstacle by seeking funds for outdoor recreation projects on a more realistic schedule. Congress also should re-examine its operating procedures. Why cannot Congress authorize the agency designated to administer a new park, recreation or seashore area to proceed promptly to commit funds for land acquisition up to the amount specified in the authorization bill? Appropriations could be geared to commitments. This would encourage the agencies to submit more realistic cost estimates; it also would enable them to tie down needed land at a faster pace. This, in turn, would help blunt the inflationary aspect of land speculation in the project area, thereby assuring that outdoor recreation dollars would be invested more efficiently.

This suggestion is not revolutionary. Some federal agencies already have congressional authority to commit funds in advance of appropriations, especially in the protection and management of resources. Certainly, we have had enough experience with the Land and Water Conservation Fund program to know that this would be a beneficial tool. Such authority would enable the administrative agencies to move ahead as rapidly as acquisition and field work would permit. The American people would be assured more recreational benefit in return for their money.

Among the legislative proposals already in the 90th Congress are some that deserve immediate attention. One, which would establish a cooperative program for identifying and preserving estuaries and coastal marshes, is of paramount importance to both sport and commercial fish and wildlife resources. The nation's coasts and estuaries are under great pressure for development. They are further plagued by pollution and other forces that each year render thousands of acres less suited for fish and wildlife habitat. Estuaries and coastal marshes are the great nursery grounds for many fish and wildlife.

The importance of acting promptly to preserve the remaining productive areas was given impetus by a 1965 recommendation of a special advisory panel to the President on the prevention of the pollution of the environment. A key section of this proposal would require that the Secretary of the Interior pass on applications for dredging, channeling, or otherwise altering estuaries and similar waters. These projects, many of which destroy natural habitat for fish and wildlife, now receive no biological consideration. Only their potential impact on navigation is considered.

Legislative priority must be given to extension of the accelerated wetlands preservation program, due to expire on June 30, 1968. Appropriations have fallen far short of the authorized $105 million. Continuing the program for eight more years, with adequate appropriations support, would enable the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to go a long way toward achieving wetlands preservation goals.

Legislative priority should be given to authorization of a Redwood National Park, here in California. Surely, enough is known about the various suggested sites that a large area of true national park caliber can be selected.

Another proposal that deserves support is the Wild-Scenic Rivers Bill. Most of the suggestions that have been advanced would affect rivers in the West, but there are streams in other parts of the country that also are worthy of consideration. I believe that there is ample opportunity to make the framework of any legislation flexible enough to include many excellent streams that still remain substantially unaltered by man.

The work of implementing the Wilderness Act of 1964 has barely started. The President already has sent us wilderness recommendations to Congress. Others will follow. The Argiculture and Interior Department agencies will continue to hold hearings on many more national forest, park, and wildlife refuge wilderness proposals. Already there are indications that some persons are thinking of making separate wilderness acts of each of the President's wilderness recommendations that must receive congressional approval. By doing so, they would alter and modify the directives of the Wilderness Act of 1964. That basic Act, of course, contains the ground rules accepted by conservationists. Bending that Act would violate some of the principles of wilderness preservation to which we all agree.

I wish to point out that the Administration's recent recommendation for a Lower Colorado River Project did more than suggest keeping dams out of the Grand Canyon. The new plan is an admission that there are other ways to construct water projects than by building reclamation dams to serve merely as cash registers. This represents a sharp change in philosophy, and one which I hope will stimulate broader consideration of other more compatible sources of power generation in the future.

It is too early to determine where we stand on the studies and ultimate recommendations of the Public Land Law Review Commission. Many user interests believe that this review involving the fate of hundreds of millions of acres of public land offers opportunities to get new advantages. Some have assigned top staff members to follow the Commission's work. The stakes are tremendous, and conservationists should keep fully informed.

Finally, I want to observe that it is too early to predict the impact of America's changing agriculture policy on wildlife and recreation. Agricultural surpluses are mostly a thing of the past. The emphasis now is on crop production. Some are urging that the nation accept a larger responsibility for feeding the world. How all this will work out is difficult to see, but there is little doubt that greater production will mean fewer acres in soil, moisture, and wildlife conservation practices. It could mean, too, that significant wildlife and outdoor recreation advances made under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 may not be as enduring as many of us hoped.

If it appears that what I have said adds up to more fighting to protect natural resources, that is the truth.

As long as people act from avarice or political expediency, there will be efforts to devastate and destroy for private gain those resources that have been reserved for public use.

Laws, while necessary, are not enough. Only a well informed and militant public can ensure that necessary resources restoration and management will proceed.

Each of us has a part in maintaining that militancy and public sentiment.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY MUST CONTINUE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Honorable True Davis, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and the U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, recently addressed the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. His speech, delivered at Amsterdam on February 27, 1967, makes very clear the fine cooperation now existing between the Federal Government and American universities in furtherance of scientific inquiry. Secretary Davis emphasizes the manifest need for the continuance and further expansion of this cooperation and inquiry in meeting the challenges of today and tomorrow and in providing the means to cooperate with other nations in their development efforts.

Secretary Davis points out that the record of this country in the improvement of our educational system in all fields of learning and inquiry has been unparalleled in history. The achievements of our economy in conjunction with the firm intention of our people to improve the quality of their own and mankind's lot in every field, whether physical, intellectual, esthetic, and even moral, has produced results beneficial to the world. The advancements here at home have been paralleled by an increase in an international dialog that is aimed at opening indefinitely the frontiers of the universe and expanding at an equal or greater pace the ability of mankind to comprehend its many now largely hidden riches. To paraphrase Chesterton, man hopes not only to put his head into the clouds but the clouds into his head. Until we find that we perhaps are not alone, is this not our universe, granted us by the Deity as a home, a way of life, and a challenge requiring mankind's growth?

Part of this challenge is ours, and we must continue to meet it not only as individuals, unafraid to live and accept and adapt, but as a nation firmly committed to meeting this challenge, cosmic though its totality may be. We must not allow man's partially obscured suicidal tendency, in Vietnam and wherever violence degrades mankind, to strangle man's right to live and know, to give and love.

To a great extent, this is why we must continue on all levels of both governmental and private effort to encourage and support advancement in all fields of intellectual endeavor: in medicine, space, general industry, agriculture, the arts and humanities, and certainly, not least of all, those areas of inquiry which are bringing us a better understanding of ourselves, our fellow man and our mutual relationships and responsibilities.

Mr. President, Secretary Davis speaks with authority and understanding as a truly involved public servant, banker, diplomat, and scholar. I heartily endorse his words, particularly in light of the present political climate surrounding domestic spending programs, and recommend them to legislator, scientist, administrator, and educator alike.

I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN FINANCING SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY

(By the Honorable True Davis, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Feb. 27, 1967)

Everywhere today men of good will are earnestly seeking to understand each other's desires, aspirations, and problems. Despite some lapses and some gaps, I think it can be said as a general proposition nowadays that we have been moving closer together in our endeavors to become a community of countries capable of spreading to all people the fruits of man's accumulated knowledge, of safeguarding and strengthening the health of people everywhere, of improving environmental conditions affecting their lives, and of eradicating wherever it exists the disease of illiteracy.

There now exist among all nations avenues of communication for the discussion of ideas, the resolution of problems and the amicable settling of differences. Between peoples everywhere there are now organizations, institutions, and societies of learning devoted to the exchange of information and the diffusion of knowledge—in particular, scientific knowledge.

Never before, not even in the high floodtide of Renaissance culture, has the world witnessed such a free flow of ideas, nor such a movement of students, teachers and scholars between one university and another, one country and another, one continent and another. The innumerable cultural bridges between peoples and countries that people the world over have helped design and build reflect the desires of men and women of good will in their quest for knowledge and their search for understanding. Although our goals are numerous, one is paramount above all others. That is this: peace on earth, good will toward all men.

My being with you here today is one small aspect of this drawing together. My remarks will be directed primarily to the role of scientific research in our universities, the cost of such research, and the viable partnership that exists between the Federal government and American universities and colleges. In my discussion, however, I propose to deal also with some of the concepts and ideas involved, for an understanding of *why* we do something is equally as important as knowing *how* we do it.

II. "THAT LEARNING MAY NOT BE BURIED IN THE GRAVES OF OUR FATHERS."

Today in the United States there exists an intimate partnership between our Federal government and our entire educational system—from elementary schools, through high schools and colleges, and on into university graduate endeavors, especially in the physical, biological, and social sciences. This partnership which today allocates some $2.3 billion yearly to our institutes of higher learning alone did not suddenly come into existence. It is the culmination of a philosophy that grew and developed from concept of education and the role that government should play in fostering education and knowledge that goes back to the founding of our country.

I would like to look at that past for just a moment before we turn to today's conditions, for, as Proust showed in his writings, in the rememberances of things past, the present often becomes more viable, meaningful, and more clearly comprehended.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that when the Puritans of the Bay and Plymouth Colonies settled in our country during the first half of the 17th Century, no other community in the world had so large a proportion of university graduates or of learned men. At this time there were no less than one hundred and thirty-five graduates of Cambridge, Oxford, and Dublin universities among them. Their immediate goal was to survive against the harsh elements of nature. Their long-range goal was the education of men's minds—"to advance learning and perpetuate it to Posterity."

Even as they cleared the woods and plowed the fields, built their homes and churches, they founded a little college which they named Harvard. But higher education was not their only goal. They were interested in education for all. Thus it was that in 1647, a few years after the founding of Harvard College, the Massachusetts School Law decreed that every child should be taught, that grammar schools should be established, and knowledge disseminated so "that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers."

It was a bold measure at that time to aim at universal education through the establishment of free schools. It was the beginning of a partnership between a people and their government—in this instance a State Government and its citizens. As new States came into being, however, this concept of universal education quickly grew, and these individual partnerships flourished between individual State Governments and their citizens.

Perhaps it was because we lived so closely with the primitive wilderness that it has been correctly said that "From the first, education was the American religion." There quickly evolved in the United States a philosophy of education which we have regarded as especially fitting to a democracy such as ours: It is, that an enlightened citizenry is the *sine qua non* of a democracy's survival. We early acknowledged that to the extent a people's inherent capacity for intellectual growth is nurtured, to that extent are our cultural institutions strengthened and successive legacies from one generation to another enriched.

The United States during the 17th and 18th Centuries had more than its quota of educated men—educated in the fullest and broadest sense of the word, men who were as equally trained and skilled in the sciences as they were in the humanities. When they wrote the Constitution of the United States they wrote as political scientists, protecting by law the inalienable rights of man against all forms of tyranny. When many of them attempted to incorporate into that Constitution provisions to establish within the structure of our Federal government institutions for promulgating scientific thought and enquiry, they were thinking as physical, biological, and mathematical scientists. No matter how they thought, however, they never thought as specialists—a species peculiar to the 20th Century. They were humanists, and as humanists they brought science into the highest councils of our land. In their daily lives they moved about in the vast area of science, the arts, and literature with facility and ease.

Unfortunately, the numerous efforts to grant the Federal government constitutional authority for the pursuit of scientific enquiry—a pursuit, incidentally, which many States individually supported and followed—all met with failure. They died under the prevailing opinion of the farmers of our Constitution who believed in strong State governments and a weak Federal government.

While political leaders continued to debate the feasibility and practicability of creating a partnership between the Federal government and science, the government found itself becoming more and more directly involved with science. A census had to be taken, patent laws had to be written, money had to be minted. The country had to be explored, the land mapped, mountains measured, boundaries established, coast lines delineated and coastal waters chartered. Individual States could not do this. The scientific requirements for these and other activities, arising out of public requirements, fell to the Federal government. To fulfill these requirements, increasing in number and scope as the country grew and the population expanded, the Federal government established scientific bureaus and agencies. This process that began in 1790 has continued until the present day.

Although there was a great deal of scientific activity prior to our Civil War of 1860–64, no cohesive fraternity of scientists existed and there was little scientific activity of distinction when compared to that in Europe. By mid-19th Century, the scientific profession had also undergone a marked transformation. American scientists had become distinct from politicians and administrators—in marked contrast to the political leaders and administrators of our Revolutionary Period who were as well versed in science as in the humanities.

During the Civil War the Navy began to make extensive use of scientific advice to achieve military objectives, establishing a course of action that was to be followed extensively by our military establishment. Our Congress at this time created the National Academy of Sciences as a self-perpetuating body of scientists charged with investigating various fields of science when called upon to do so by the government. It also directly aided higher education in a substantial fashion by passing the Morrill Act which appropriated thirteen million acres of public land for the use of individual States.

The sale of this land enabled individual States to realize sufficient money for these purposes of the Act: "for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."

This is a statement of aims, and an acceptance of the appropriate starting point that every nation that is today at the early stage of economic development, as was the United States then, could take for their encouragement, if they also took it as their model.

The importance of this Congressional Act cannot be over-stated. It had far-reaching and lasting effects upon our economy and culture. Since the founding of these institutions of higher learning the Federal government has been involved directly in a scientific partnership with our colleges and universities—the goal of which has been enquiry into those branches of knowledge that would simultaneously enrich the lives of our citizens and strengthen our national security.

It is unlikely that any American ever looked upon the Federal government from the 18th to the 20th Century as the grand patron of science. Yet this is precisely what it was. It had carried out, without being aware, John Quincy Adams' belief that "government owed humanity the support of science as a necessary element in civilization." It was fortunate for our country that "from the beginning the Federal government had rendered honor to science and profited from it," for the requirements that the 20th Century imposed on American science and scientists were equally as demanding as those the 18th Century imposed on the political scientists who wrote our Constitution.

Much has happened since the end of this preparation for the partnership of the government and the private sectors in research in the United States that we have just been examining. But our examination of the background has been sufficient, I think, to permit us to skip over the rather obvious effects of World Wars I and II, to the 1950s, by which time it had become plain that scientific research must be regarded—and treated—as one of our most important national resources.

III

The challenges that faced us in the 1950s, not alone in space, although these were considerable, but across the entire spectrum of scientific enquiry, required the mobilization and maximum use of our national resources—particularly human resources. The sophisticated requirements of our age demanded highly skilled, well-trained, fully educated men and women in the humanities, social, and natural sciences. The scope and enormity of our problems required a greater number of college educated men and women than our educational system was presently capable of providing with existing facilities and standard normal operating procedures.

Education, you will recall, has always been the primary responsibility of our individual State and local governments in America. These, however, were incapable of solving alone the sudden educational requirements thrust upon them. Tens of thousands of schools had to be built, present facilities expanded and improved, curricula revised, the entire educational process accelerated, and students stimulated to achieve academic excellence. Private, corporate, municipal, state and federal resources were mobilized into cooperative action to achieve these and other desired objectives.

Working within the firmly established educational pattern evolved by our States since the early 17th Century, the Federal government began a massive financial aid program, especially to higher education, but also to education at our elementary and secondary levels.

Today, financial aid from the Federal government to higher education is channeled into almost 2,000 colleges and universities in a wide variety of ways to accomplish a wide variety of objectives. Within the government are various mission-oriented agencies, such as the Department of Defense and our Public Health Service, who turn to our universities for large components of their basic research programs. These and other agencies also support universities and colleges by providing general research grants and sustaining research grants in those particular scientific areas with which they are directly and vitally concerned.

The National Science Foundation, which was created in 1950, will give almost $500 million in the next academic year to universities and colleges to conduct basic research and further education in sciences and engineering. Some of this money will be allocated to basic research projects originated by university professors, approved by NSF, to be carried out by individuals or teams of scientists. Other funds will go to universities to conduct, for instance, special summer science seminars, to which teachers from other colleges will be invited to lecture. The purpose of such seminars is to provide summer employment, to bring together groups of eminent scientists, and to further the scientific education of high school teachers by permitting them to keep abreast of current scientific development.

NSF will also this coming academic year continue its efforts to help stimulate academic excellence by giving some $35 million to institutes of higher learning to improve, or upgrade, the quality of teaching and research, widen the scope of their scientific enquiry, and graduate more and better trained scientists.

Another extremely important source of Federal aid is the financial support given by the government to Federal Contract Research Centers (FCRC) administered by universities and colleges. There are presently 32 of these Research and Development (R & D) centers in all areas of the country financed exclusively or substantially by the Federal government. Examples of these include the two Applied Physics Laboratories administered by Johns Hopkins and the University of Washington; the Cambridge Electron Accelerator, jointly administered by Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology; the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, the Navy Biological Laboratory and the Lawrence-Radiation Laboratory, all administered by the University of California; the National Center for Atmospheric Research, the Kitt Peak National Observatory, Brookhaven National Laboratory, three of five centers administered by a university consortium. During academic year 1965 almost a billion dollars went to the support of these centers. In addition, NSF provided $1.4 million to support the Cerro Tololo International American Observatory in Chile.

To show how extensive the financial partnership is between the Federal government and our colleges and universities, let us examine the period 1954–1964. During this time Research and Development (R & D) expenditures in our universities and colleges increased at an annual rate of 16 percent, climbing from $290 million in 1954 to $1 billion, 300 million in 1964. Research and Development expenditures in the university-administered FCRC's also increased at this same rate.

In 1954 the Federal government only financed 55 percent of the $290 million spent for R & D in our universities. By 1964, we were financing 72 percent of the $1 billion, 300 million spent for R & D. The Federal government, moreover, financed virtually all R & D in the university-administered FCRC's. That part not financed by the Federal government in our colleges and universities came from several sources, the largest amount from individual universities' own State and local governments.

The annual rate of 16 percent increase in R & D during this 1954–1964 period reflects not alone our country's interest in space, but also our country's employment of science in *all areas* as a national resource to promote the general welfare of our people while strengthening the cultural institutions of our democracy. This becomes apparent when we examine the type of research being done and the science areas consuming these tremendous quantities of money.

Let us look again at the year 1964. Of the $1 billion, 300 million expedited at our institutes of higher education for R & D—79 percent went for basic research, 18 percent for applied research, and 3 percent for development. When we separate into sciences these expenditures, we find that by far the greatest amount goes to our life sciences—medical, biological and agricultural—those sciences directly related to saving life and nurturing health. Next come the physical sciences—physics, chemistry, earth sciences, mathematics, and others. The remainder goes to engineering.

Percentage-wise, the figures look like this for the $1 billion, 300 million spent on R & D in universities and colleges; 53 percent to life sciences; 24 percent to physical sciences; 18 percent to engineering; 6 percent to social sciences; 3 percent to psychology; and 1 percent in other sciences.

When we similarly examine the amount of money spent in the university-administered FCRC's for 1964, we find that the pattern changes radically. For it is here, in these centers, that most of the development is done for our institutes of higher learning. In 1964, 40 percent, or $238 million, was spent for basic development; 35 percent for applied and 25 percent for basic research. The $352 million spent for both applied and basic research was distributed as follows: 92 percent to physical sciences and engineering; 7 percent to life sciences, and 1 percent to psychology and social sciences combined.

Year in and year out, our universities and colleges account for nearly one-half of *all* basic research performed in the United States, most of which is financed by the Federal government, as I have emphasized. This is attributable to the heavy orientation of R & D projects concerned with *advancing* the frontiers of man's knowledge—the primary objective not only of the Federal government, but also of American scientists.

Such an accelerated university orientated program during the 1954–1964 period I have been discussing could not have taken place without a corresponding acceleration of our program to train scientists. Since 1954 employment of full time and part time scientists and engineers and graduate students in our universities and colleges has increased at an annual rate of eight percent. In January 1965, there were 250,000 scientists and engineers and graduate students employed. Of this number, 40 percent were life scientists; 25 percent physical scientists; 16 percent social scientists; 13 percent engineers, and 5 percent psychologists. At our university-administered FCRC's there were an addiitonal 11,000 scientists and engineers employed, all except 100 of whom were actually employed in R & D. The majority here, however, 93 percent, were physical scientists and engineers.

One extremely important point that I would like to emphasize is that during the period our Federal government—recognizing the importance of science as a national resource—poured billions of dollars into our educational system, it neither controlled intellectual pursuits nor regulated scientific enquiry. Nor did it weaken the public and private school systems, nor degrade the educational processes that have existed in the United States since the early 17th Century.

On the contrary, Federal support and financial assistance revitalized intellectual enquiry, strengthened our educational systems by making more meaningful and fruitful the partnership between government and education, and encouraged in all intellectual activity the pursuit of excellence. One of numerous examples of this scientific excellence is reflected in the number of Nobel prizes in physics, chemistry, and medicine awarded to Americans between 1953–1964. Twenty-eight were so honored, all except five or six of whom were educated solely in our schools. Yet during the period 1920–1940, only 12 of 72 Nobel laureates in these categories were awarded to Americans.

In any relationship of value, such as the relationship between our Federal government and our universities, both partners have an inherent obligation to strengthen and improve their bonds of mutual interest and goals. Our universities and the Federal agencies in science and education, recognizing this obligation, are working continuously to improve this relationship, to strengthen our national goals and our international objectives.

As a nation and as a people we know that as we build and enrich strong centers of learning across our country, we also strengthen the fabric of our freedom and the fiber of our democracy. As these are strengthened we increase our opportunities to bring to poorer countries of the world more and more of the fruits and blessings of scientific discoveries from which hundreds of millions of human beings have too long been deprived.

One of the many existing organizations helping to bring the riches of scientific discoveries to people of the world is the Inter-American Development Bank, of which I am our country's Executive Director. Through this multi-lateral regional bank, which makes loans to speed up a country's social and economic development, we are able to utilize some of science's riches in the fields of agriculture, public health, and education. These key sectors are the critical elements of advancement everywhere in underdeveloped countries. To the extent that we accelerate advancement in these areas—by providing more and better food to a rapidly increasing world population, by eliminating or controlling crippling diseases, by educating and training more people to strengthen the cultural and economic fabrics of their society—to that extent will we control and eliminate the diseases upon which revolutionary movements feed and grow.

Our country's efforts to strengthen the economy of underdeveloped nations through such organizations as the Inter-American Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations—to mention only a few—reflect our belief that more of mankind must share more of science's inexhaustible wealth. President Johnson recently reaffirmed this philosophy when he spoke of the goal of American science, which is:

"To follow knowledge, like a sinking star, Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought."

"Today, our enormous investment in science and research is our evidence of our faith that science can not only make man richer—but science can make man better."

This is our country's goal. This is the goal of all Americans. I think, too, that it is the goal of scientists everywhere.

PROTESTS AGAINST CONTINUED U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE UNDECLARED WAR IN VIETNAM CONTINUE TO GROW

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the latest in a long series of public protests against continued U.S. military involvement in the undeclared Vietnam war, which is now steadily being escalated, was published in the New York Times of March 12, 1967. In a two and one-half page advertisement signed by thousands of educators from all parts of the United States they appeal to the American people. They ask help to stop the war in Vietnam; ask help to stop the killing of American youth; ask help to stop the death and destruction in Vietnam; ask help to stop the squandering of billions upon billions of our dollars in Vietnam; ask help to bring our boys home.

I add my support to this appeal for help. I hope it will be heeded.

I ask unanimous consent that the advertisement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 12, 1967]

Educators Appeal to the American People: "Help Stop the War in Vietnam"

Help stop the killing of American youth ... more than 7,500 already dead protecting a corrupt military dictatorship against the wishes of the Vietnamese people.

Help stop the death and destruction in Vietnam . . . help stop the merciless bombing of men, women, and children; help stop the use of burning napalm, noxious gases, and chemicals that destroy the crops of this already impoverished country.

Help stop the squandering of billions upon billions of our dollars in Vietnam . . . for which we foot the bill through inflation, cuts in essential government services, and inevitable tax increases.

Help bring our boys home. The war continues because vital facts about its origin and development have been deliberately glossed over, distorted, and withheld from the American people. Only an informed public opinion can stop this barbaric conflict before it escalates into nuclear war. Help destroy the myths about the war in Vietnam. Help get the truth into your community.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

People all over the country are heartsick over the war and want to do something about it. Take the lead . . . get in touch with a like-minded colleague, a friend, a clergyman, or a neighbor. Decide together what you can best do to get the facts into your community. Maybe you should distribute fact sheets, have discussion groups in homes, or have a debate. Perhaps your community is ideal for a teach-in or an ad in a neighborhood newspaper. Make certain that your community's growing opposition to the war is made known repeatedly to Congress and the President by letter, telegram, or personal visit.

A wealth of factual material presenting a clear and forthright case for ending the war is now available. Do you want a reading list? film strips? Would you like to know what other communities have done, how *they* got started? Then please get in touch with us. We will help in every way we can. But the important thing is to get started, for every increase in casualties, every bombing of a bridge, every escalation of the war, makes peace that much harder to achieve, nuclear war that much closer.

JOIN US IN URGING THAT OUR GOVERNMENT

1. End all bombings both in North and in South Vietnam.
2. Declare a cease-fire.
3. Adopt the realistic position that the National Liberation Front is the representative of a substantial portion of the South Vietnam people and is thereby destined to play a role in any future Vietnam government.
4. Arrange to implement the 1954 Geneva Accords which call for the removal of all foreign troops from Vietnam.

As American citizens we are responsible for the actions of our government. And as teachers we feel a particular responsibility to the youth and children of our nation—and of all nations—to guarantee their future. No teachers, no American citizen can, in good conscience, sit idly by in the face of this illegal, immoral, and senseless war.

If you share our views—as a *first* step—write, wire or visit your elected representatives. Impress upon them the need for ending the bombing now.

(Affiliations are given for identification purposes only)

ALABAMA

Tuskegee Institute

Abigail Krystall, Eric Krystall, Marilyn Magee, David Newby, Richard Riemer, Marget Robischon, Tom Robischon, Tom Schmidt and Richard Wasserstrom.

ALASKA

Teachers

Arthur L. Bruhn, Lois Bruhn, Nancy J. Decker, Rubin Decker, Connie Griffith, Ernst Marduer, J. E. Koponen, Dick Korvola, Ralph Pfiester, Robert W. Small and Carlton K. Scott.

ARIZONA

Teachers

Richard Daigh, Mona W. Dayton, Gerald Dulgov, Barbara Elfbrandt, Vernon C. Elfbrandt, Richard Gorby, Muriel T. Herhold and Ruth G. Yeager.

Arizona State University

Donald W. Gieschem, Naomi Harward, Thomas Ford Hoult, Ted B. Humphrey, Edward G. Lesko, Bonnie A. Nelson, T. A. Votichenko and William M. Wingfield.

University of Arizona

Briggs Ackert, Patricia Ackert, James R. Anthony, Jonathan S. Barker, Stanley Bashkin, Jean Robert Beck, Claude F. Bennett, Ulrich H. Bents, Frederick R. Black, Leon Blitzer, Robert W. Bretall, Phillip C. Chapman, J. L. Cowan, John E. Crow, Paul E. Damon, Jack Emory Davis, D. J. Donahue, Roy M. Emrick, Arthur A. Evett, and Donald M. Freeman.

J. R. Hambenne, Henning Jensen, John O. Kessler, Robert J. Kreyche, John A. Leavitt, Babette Luz, Clifford M. Lytle, James E. McDonald, Bruce McGrew, L. C. McIntyre, Jr., J. M. Mahar, Hormoz Mahmoud, Paul S. Martin, Ralph E. Mitchell, Robert H. Parmenter, Earl H. Pritchard, Louis Ramaley, Alan R. Raucher, Jeffrey Ridenour, John W. Robson, Thomas F. Saarinen, Frederick J. Schmitz, Roland V. Shack, Bernard S. Silberman, Lorenza H. Snow, Dan Stanislawski, Morris Starsky, Corneluus Steelink, Carl T. Tomizuka, Andrew W. Wilson, Clifton E. Wilson and David J. Woloshin.

Other Institutions

Nell Benson, Warren E. Benson, Amos H. Hoff and Sylvia S. Meixner.

CALIFORNIA

Teachers

Roy Abad, William Abrams, Jorge Acevedo, Martha Acevedo, Eyrle W. Aceves, Carolyn Adams, Margaret Agretelis, Marlene Ahnne, Norman Airoldi, Marguerite Allen, Paul Andersen, Bruce Anderson, Lena L. Anderson, Robert S. Anthony, Sonia Appell, Jerry Arena, Surrinder S. Arman and Philip H. Arnot, Jr.,

Marshall Axelrod, Walter Bajor, James E. Ballard, Kalma Barne, Meryl C. Barnes, Norah K. Barr, Edward Barton, Walter Bava, Eleanor A. Beach, Thelma Beckerman, Donald Behm, Hanna Bergas, Pearl Berkelman, Eugene V. Bernd, Evelyn Berns, Abraham R. Beytin, Phyllis F. Beytin, Evelyn M. Bishop, Darwin Bjerke, Judith B. Brandes, Rosalie Bole, Derrell Bond, Marge Bond, Paula C. Bowman, Thomas Boyden, Ted W. Bray, Mary Breen and Jerry Bres.

Don Brings, Beatrice Brooks, Micki Broughton, Jim Brovelli, Alfred Brown, Kenneth H. Brown, C. Robert Brush, John F. Burgoa, Betsy Campbell, Barbara Carleton, Nello F. Carlini, Richard Carlson, William Carpmill, Robert S. Carter, Wallace Chaney, Sr., Carol Lee Chapnick, Laura P. Cahse, Evelyn R. Chatman, Eva Churton, Alan Clark, Johanna Clark, Jack R. Coffey, Harvey Cole, Robert M. Cole, Carol Commins, Arthur Coopersmith, Elizabeth R. Cordes, Jerry Cordon, Eva Corey, Melvin R. Cox, Hilda J. Craddock, Sarah Crome, Josie Crystal, Wm. T. Dane, Jeanne Delp, Olivia Del Rio.

William M. Dickinson, Ann L. Dixon, John R. Doherty Robert S. Donn, Paul Drakbin, Anne Dreyfuss, F. Driscoll, Dion D. Dubois, Victoria Durant, Patricia Dyer-Bennet, Chas. Echternacht, Raphael A. Edmonston, Beverly I. Elgner, Jerome Eisenman, Hope G. Elkins, Frank C. Elliot, Maurice F. Englander, Nancy Erb, Jack Fairchild, Jack Fasman, Edwin Feldman, George Felker, III, Eileen Fenske, Iris Ferdland, L. D. Ferland, Terry Fieldhouse, June R. Finis, Doris L. Fink, William Fink, Kenneth Finlayson, Mary Fitzmaurice, Alta Fly, Sydwell D. Flynn.

Marie Fontenrose, Luisa Forbes, Beverly J. Ford, Mary Forth, Mary C. Foster, Thelma B. Fox, John Franklin, Sue Friedlaender, Robert H. Frierson, Veraine Frierson, Joseph Fulford, Manfred H. Funk, Judith Gass, Karen George, Judy Gershenson, William B. Getzelman, Madeline Ginsburg, Kenneth Glasgow, Leonard Glasser, Milton Goldman, Beverly Gorham, Sylvia Gott, Clotilda C. Gould, Scott Graff, Gail A. Graham, Elizabeth Gravalos, Sandra Greenspan, Robert L. Griswald, Robert Hahnel, Mary C. Halley Donald K. Halvorson.

Clarence W. Hampton, Mrs. C. W. Hampton, Phil Hardyman, Nancy Harlan, Lucille Harmon, Patricia Harre, Luther R. Harris, Herbert G. Hart, Judith Hartman, Ray Hartman, Stuart Harwood, Sheila Henry, W. Robert Herrel, Benjamin M. Herring, Sylvia K. Herring, Yetta Heynick, Mary Beth Higman, Stephanie Hiller, Robert E. Hilmoe, Margaret Hoberg, Stephen R. Holman, Faith Hornbacher, David E. Horne, Jane V. Hughes, Spahr Hull, Barbara Hulsebus, Jack Hutton, Sharon Imai, Martha M. Irons, Lucietta Irwin, Elizabeth Jackson.

Julianne Jansen, Clem Jeep, Howard P. Jeter, Everett Johnson, Margaret B. Johnson, Melvyn L. Johnson, Mildred L. Johnson, Patricia A. Johnson, Marilyn Jones, Alfredo Jordan, Florence Juvinall, Eugene Kadish, Ernest Kalm, Murray A. Kaplan, Ernest Karstein, Jr., Fredric A. Kaufman, Thomas Kawakami, Alfred H. Kazmier, Harry W. Kelley, Ying Lee Kelley, Clayton Kelly, Janet E. Kernoll, Richard B. Kidd, Gerald Klenck, Graham Knight, Maria Knight, Jonquil Kohls, Stanley Kohls, Carolyn Kolka, Gita S. Kornfield, Deanna J. Kuhn, L. P. Lakas, Karen Landsman, Katherine Leffler, Leland Lena, Saul Levinson, H. E. Lezzeni, Linda E. Lewis, Steve Liatos, Gene Lipson, Henry Lohmann, Jr., Carol H. Lokken, Alfred Lukavich.

Philip Luks, James Lynch, Charles Lyons, Robert MacDonald, Norah I. McCardell, Linda McCloud, Mary Ellen McDonnell, David L. McKean, Lois McMillan, Elaine Maibaum, Kiyo Mamestsuka, Martin Marcus, Morton Marcus, Jack M. Marks, Rose Marshall, Joseph A. A. Martin, Ida Martini, Signe I. Mattson, Jack H. Meier, Pat Memsic, Earl G. Minkwitz, Elizabeth Mitchell, Betty Moffett, George L. Moore, Carol Morel, Anne Morgan, Jean R. Moses, James R. Mulholland, Kristin Mumm, Bill Murdock, Diane Murray, Gladys Naitoh, Clark Natwick.

Myra Nebel, Norma Newman, Elizabeth Nichols, Carroll E. Nickels, G. B. Norall, A. J. Olson, Charles C. Paine, Robert Parker, Helen Jane Patterson, Marty Paull, Richard C. Payton, Robert Pearson, Deidre G. Peaslee, Rodger Perelli, Gerald Peterson, Marjorie Pettit, Marjorie E. Phillips, Norene A. Phillips, Florence Piliavine, Michael J. Pinto, Margaret Ploss, Martin Ponch, Nancy Ponch, Evelyn D. Prisk.

Robert W. Pritchard, Lynn E. Pryer, F. B. Pustay, Gale Randall, Joan R. Raphael, William E. Reidsema, Helen Renfro, Phyllis Richmond, Arielle Ridley, Susan Rizzo, Barbara Rodney, Zena P. Rodni, Lottie Rosen, Karen Rosenzweig, Aruna Roy, Dwight Sandifur, Irene Sapir, Jautrite Savage, Derril W. Schneider, B. G. Schonborn, John deB. Schuermann, Elizabeth Shaw, Bertha B. Sheets, Ralph Shroyer, Betty Silverman, Sharry Simeri, Roberta Simms, David Smith, Frederic Sonenberg, Deena Sortland, William Sousa, Ann Spake.

Sol Spears, Suzu Speier, Eric A. Spiekerman, Lois Sprague, Gail Sredanovic, Juanita R. Starck, Virginia Steele, Susan Sternbane, Marjorie Stokell, George D. Stokes, Vittorina R. Stokes, Nancy Stouffer, Lee Ann Strain, Charles R. Stuart, Gloria Suffin, Anne Sussman, Beno Taini, Clarence A. Taylor, Ted Tenenbaum, Shirley Tepper, Gwen Thoele, Ken Thollang, Susan Tirsch, Judith M. Tobin, Barbara J. Todd.

Robert Trask, Walter K. Tresize, Rudie W. Tretten, Daniel Treudenthal, Jeff Tudisco, Michael Tugendreich, Anna Vaczek, Doris Vallon, Mary E. Van Patten, Ann Waldo, Lawrence J. Waldron, Gerald Walker, Martha Wallace, Sheila Wander, Isabel Waters, Dwight Webb, David A. Whitver, Brien Williams, Henry Williams, Joyce L. Wilson, Mark Wittenberg, Dorothy Wolfrom, Frank Wright, Samuel Wright, Bernard Young, Garnet N. Young, Martha Young, Dan W. Zeller, Serge Zimberoff.

California State colleges

Georgia Babladelis, Peter A. Griffin, Stanley P. Hughart, Ronald G. Rabedeau, Alfred Sheets, Stuart Silvers, Shirley Shapiro, James Sorrells, C. W. Telford, Nancy Wagner.

City College of San Francisco

Darwin Alonso, Margaret B. Ancker, Sidney Ancker, Alfred Averill, Ralph Bauer, Merritt T. Beckerman, William Y. Bell, Jr., Robert H. Berman, Waddington Blair, John Booher, A. G. Bratoff, Grace M. Brown, James E. Cagnacd, Margaret B. Cain, John Caris, James H. Conley, Paul J. Crawley, Alice B. Cuttrell, H. E. Davis, J. S. Elworthy, Diane M. Fairchild, Richard Fenner, John O. French.

Mrs. F. E. Gantwer, Catherine Geissler, Ralph T. Granneberg, Wm. Grothkopp, Jr., John Hallock, Bruce F. Hannah, James Haran, Paul G. Hewitt, Katherine Hondlus, Helen C. Huffman, George Hutchins, Richard S. Innerst, Masha Z. Jewett, John N. Johnson, Robert C. Johnson, Edward S. Jordan, Josephine Kennedy, Harold E. Korf, Walter C. Krumm, Mrs. Walter C. Krumm, Stephen Levinson, Lloyd Luckmann, Roberta Lumb, Donald C. Marcus, Walter E. McCloud.

E. W. Mead, Franchon Mead, Robert Mess-man, Burt W. Miller, Eric Moeller, Robert M. Morton, Maueline Mueller, Michael W. Mullin, Gertrude N. Norgard, Ronald Pelsinger, Donald J. Peterson, Maurice Power, Wm. G. Richardson, John E. Ross, Eileen Rossi, Sandra Schlesinger, E. E. Smith, David Spears, William Svabek, Alfred J. Tapson, Edward Taylor, Victor R. Valo, Edward T. Walsh, Vivian Ward, W. Merle Weldman, Warren White, S. B. Ziegler.

Diablo Valley College

Harvey Berman, Diane Bruckmeier, Dan W. Clancy, Lewis Fonseca, Silas E. Gould, William K. Harlan, Margreta G. Kimball, Joseph A. King, Helen Lindgren, Warren Pearson, Raymon Stansbury, John O. Stevens.

Foothill College

Diane Appleby, Ronald E. Ingalis, C. M. Keen, Joan MacDonald, James Mauch, Constance Mundrick, Henry Rink, William O. Walker.

Laney College

Jack Atkins, Robert Berke, Ruth G. Decker, George Donovan, Jerome Herman, Nicole Hollander, Hilda Johnston, Oliver Kellogg, Flora Kirschner, Alan R. Meisel, Shirley Nedham, Hannah Neibner, Ned Pearlstein, Janice Smith, Martena Wilson.

Merritt College

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St. Mary's College

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Juilliard School of Music

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EAST-WEST TRADE

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce has recently promulgated a statement on U.S. policy toward East-West trade. The council, dedicated to world peace through world trade, has provided one of the most able and incisive expressions that I have read of the need for new trade initiatives tailored to a modern world.

This will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the council. It is as distinguished a body of American business leaders as one could imagine, a fact which can be judged by surveying the roster of officers and members of the executive committee. I can personally attest to the great contribution made through the council by its present chairman, Arthur K. Watson, of IBM; Vice Chairmen Rudolph A. Peterson, of the Bank of America; Amory Houghton, of Corning Glass Works; Roger M. Blough, of United States Steel; Patrick E. Haggerty, of Texas Instruments, Inc.; James A. Linen, of Time, Inc.; and Robert D. Murphy, of Corning Glass International—all men that I hold in the highest esteem. From my own acquaintance with this sampling, I equally commend the entire list, which I have appended to the council statement.

At the heart of the statement lies a conclusion which might well be expanded from its context there to apply to all constructive relations between countries of the world. It is particularly apt in our present consideration of the Consular Convention:

> Trade by definition does not take place unless benefits accrue to both parties. If one nation refuses to participate, insofar as the second party can find another trading partner, the loss is entirely sustained by the party refusing to do business.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the statement and the list of officers and executive committee be printed in the RECORD. I commend a study of this statement to Members of both bodies of Congress.

There being no objection, the statement and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON U.S. POLICY TOWARD EAST-WEST TRADE

The U.S. Council believes, for the reasons set forth in the next six paragraphs, that the United States should pursue a more flexible policy than in the past towards trade with Eastern Europe. To this end, the U.S. Council supports enactment of the proposed East-West Trade Relations Act and offers a further series of recommendations in the balance of this statement for measures it would urge the U.S. Government to take over a period of time should the climate for a regularization of trade between East and West continue to improve.

The recent NATO meetings decisively reflected the changes in East-West relations which have taken place in the last twenty years. After a generation of concentration on the defense of the West against the East, including commercial and economic policies oriented to that objective, the emphasis at this session and in the summary communique issued at its conclusion was almost exclusively on commercial policies in keeping with the developing detente between East and West. The noticeable improvement in relations among Western nations and those of Eastern Europe certainly has at least some of its origins in the growing coincidence of the long-run interests of the United States and Russia in peaceful conditions in the world at large. To the extent that this coincidence is recognized by both parties, there is reason to hope that recent guarded progress toward normalization of commercial contacts will prove durable.

The gradual relaxation of cold-war tensions has already brought about a substantial increase in trade flows between Eastern European countries and those of the rest of the world. Both industrialized and developing countries have participated in this growth. However, in comparison with other industrialized nations, U.S. trade with the Eastern European nations has remained very small. During 1965, for example, Western Europe and Japan exported $3.8 billion in goods to the Eastern European countries, excluding Yugoslavia, and imported almost $4.5 billion from them. U.S. figures for this same period were only $139 million in exports and $138 million in imports.

As *The Economist* put it: "The communist countries remain the one market where America virtually leaves the field clear to Western Europe and Japan." The same article points out that Comecon (a limited Eastern European effort to mirror Common Market economic collaboration) includes within its perimeter over 330 million people—almost 60 million more than the countries of the EEC and the EFTA combined.

The U.S. Council does not believe that controls over strategic materials can at present be relaxed, but it does believe that the argument against trading with the USSR and other Eastern European countries on the grounds that such trade might contribute to their economic power is of limited validity. Trade by definition does not take place unless benefits accrue to both parties. If one nation refuses to participate, insofar as the second party can find another trading partner, the loss is entirely sustained by the country refusing to do business. This is the situation into which the United States has drifted. While other countries of the world are increasingly enjoying the benefits of expanded two-way trade with the communist countries, our policies to a great extent deny these markets to our exporters and deny to our consumers those products in which the Eastern European countries are becoming competitive.

As other industrialized countries expand their markets within the Eastern countries, there is a natural tendency for the exporter's technology and standards to be accepted and adhered to in the importing nation. The longer that U.S. exporters refrain from participating in the markets of Eastern Europe the more firmly established in those markets will be the standards and technology of our competitors in other Western industrialized countries—and the more difficult will it be for American companies to enter these markets in the future.

From the U.S. view, the most fundamental gain of all may well be the imprint inevitably made by successful and growing daily commercial operations, carrying as they do a continuous effective argument for the freer contractual trading policies which they inculcate.

Accordingly, the U.S. Council believes that the time has come for the United States to do what it can to make possible a regularization of trade and payments with the Eastern European countries. New opportunities are, in fact, arising for the U.S. to negotiate with the countries of Eastern Europe for modification on their part of policies which have rigidly reinforced the differences between our economic systems. We should be ready to take advantage of these opportunities.

Specifically, as noted above, the U.S. Council supports enactment of the East-West Trade Relations Act of 1966. Eastern European nations have more and more been pursuing individual national policies over recent years. They no longer constitute a monolithic bloc. The United States should be in a position to forge new relationships with these countries individually. New economic policies are being adopted by Russia and the other Eastern European countries designed to make their production more responsive to market considerations and their prices more reflective of costs. These policies, if successfully implemented, should gradually result in the production of more goods marketable in the United States and Western markets generally. The President should be empowered to grant most-favored-nation status to Eastern nations, enabling their goods to be imported into the U.S. at the same tariff rates as those of other countries of the world. Since tariffs at present have little meaning in the controlled economies of Eastern Europe, other concessions should be sought in exchange, such as market access for U.S. products, the protection of industrial property rights, the right to more direct contact between U.S. businessmen and the ultimate consumer/supplier, and satisfactory arbitral arrangements for the settlement of commercial disputes.

The extension of most-favored-nation treatment to Eastern European countries should enable the U.S. consumer to benefit from competitive imports from the Eastern European countries, and, at the same time, enable those countries to earn the foreign exchange with which to purchase U.S. goods. United States suppliers should be able to participate to the fullest extent consistent with our national security in the markets of Eastern Europe. To permit this participation there should be further removals of non-strategic items from the Export Control List, as in the case of 400 items recently removed. Items which are freely available elsewhere in the world should not require individual export licenses in the United States.

The U.S. Council would not like to see a so-called credit race develop among Western suppliers to Eastern Europe. It recognizes, however, that recently credits of longer than five years duration have been granted in other industrialized countries. It does not believe that U.S. industry should be precluded from bidding on an equal basis with its competitors in other nations. It is recognized that a shortage of hard currencies in many ways places the countries of Eastern Europe in a position similar to that of many less developed countries, and that if sales of heavy equipment are to take place longer-term credits, more realistically representative of periods of amortization, may be essential. Bearing in mind that such exports are beneficial to the United States, the U.S. Council accordingly urges that U.S. suppliers be enabled to match the terms offered by their competitors. To this end, the credit guarantee policies of the Export-Import Bank should be similarly normalized to permit credits to be extended to buyers in Eastern European countries which are competitive with those of other Western suppliers, and the full use of these facilities should be encouraged. In principle, we believe that Eastern European governments should equally extend adequate credit to Western buyers, and would recommend that the Administration attempt to include provisions for reciprocal credit in trade agreements negotiated with individual countries.

The recent trend toward internationalization of production has not left Eastern Europe untouched. In the past few years a number of agreements have been concluded under which individual Western firms have undertaken to participate in the actual production of the USSR and other communist countries of Eastern Europe. American firms, which are prime initiators and leaders in the field of overseas production, should be able to participate in the opportunities which the large and growing markets of Eastern Europe present. U.S. government policy should support private efforts to respond to these markets. Where the underlying transaction warrants, credit terms should be as favorable as for other areas; similarly, the program of government guarantees against political risks ought in principle to include these markets. More systematic payment arrangements than now exist would be desirable, if not essential, to the growth of producing arrangements. To assist in the determination of credit-worthiness, and thus to expand the use of credits in business transactions, countries of Eastern Europe should be encouraged to publish financial data similar to that published by Western countries—and by Yugoslavia—covering gold and foreign exchange reserves, total foreign indebtedness, and repayment schedules.

Many, if not most, of the problems encountered in attempting to increase peaceful commerce between East and West stem from the lack of participation of the Eastern countries in Western institutions. The present move toward association on the part of Poland with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade should be encouraged. It is to be hoped that other Eastern European countries will follow suit. Compliance on their part with the general rules of GATT in their external trade would do much to regularize the conditions for their Western trading partners.

Most important, however, to a return to normal commercial relations, as it was for the industrialized countries of the West after World War II, is eventual currency convertibility. Every opportunity should be pressed to broaden convertibility with the rest of the world. Increased transferability among Eastern European currencies should, where possible, be encouraged as an interim step. The recent addition of $33 million of gold and convertible currencies to the fixed capital of the Comecon's bank, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, should be welcomed. While there is little that can be done on our part to hasten this process, the U.S. Council recommends that the U.S. Government attempt to emphasize in its negotiations with Eastern European governments the benefits accruing from early convertibility. The question of Eastern countries' membership in the I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D. could usefully be restudied by member countries and by Eastern countries. It is in the interest of the United States to see these countries assume the responsibilities that are inherent in membership in these organizations.

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ADDRESS BY SENATOR MOSS BEFORE REGIONAL WATER SYMPOSIUM, PORTALES, N. MEX.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, early last month, at a regional water symposium in Portales, N. Mex., where I spoke on our regional water situation, the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] speaking on the same program, delivered an excellent address that proposed a national approach to the use of our water resources. I was profoundly impressed by his points, especially the subject of continental management of all water resources.

As I heard this address, I was caught up by its message and factual content to a point where I feel the entire subject deserves wider exposure. The concept is so vast, yet so graspable and essential, that it has ramifications for all areas of this Nation—for each State.

This concept calls for collection of unused water and its delivery to where it is needed. The continent is embraced as a whole in the planning, while antipollution and desalinization efforts are woven expertly into the total picture.

In my State, water is a magic word, one that in many areas gets more attention than any other. Hence, my heightened interest, for this plan could write a new series of pages into the book of my State's history. I therefore ask unanimous consent that this meaningful address be printed in the RECORD, in the hope that others Senators may be enlightened by it as I was.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR FRANK E. MOSS, DEMOCRAT, OF UTAH, AT THE PANEL DISCUSSION "A 'SOUTHWEST LOOK' AT NORTHWEST WATER" CONSERVATION CONGRESS FOR THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, WENATCHEE, WASH., MARCH 7, 1967

I am very happy to have an opportunity to talk about NAWAPA (North American Water and Power Alliance) in this particular forum, and at this particular time.

In the first place, I like the company, the auspices, and the constructive tone of the discussion.

In the second, I find that the NAWAPA concept—the concept of continental water management—is groving in terms of its validity as an answer to national and international water problems.

A speaker sometimes finds it is helpful to start defining something by saying what it is not. A Canadian detractor during one of my visits to Canada last year described NAWAPA in these words:

"The North American Water and Power Alliance is not an alliance, it has no power, it has no water, and it is not North American. It was thought up in Southern California and it is just a scheme to enrich a Los Angeles engineering firm."

Ralph M. Parsons, the head of the firm which bears his name and which "thought up" the scheme, would probably like to hear what the critic had in mind about enriching the firm. I have been told that the Parsons Company has invested something over a half-million dollars in bringing the NAWAPA concept to its present state of development.

The results of the company's work were published in the spring of 1964, putting the idea in the public domain. *It is public property.* Mr. Parsons makes no proprietary claims on it. He says he will be amply repaid for his efforts if the idea is thoroughly studied. He is confident the long range answer to America's water problem will involve such a sytem—this one, or some variation or refinement of it.

Being in the public domain, the NAWAPA concept is subject to public analysis and criticism. It is subject to distortion and exploitation by its opponents. It is also open to modification and improvement.

One of the points I would like to make here today is that *NAWAPA is more important right now as a symbol than it is as a specific map routing of a water transfer and distribution system.*

It is the symbol of total water manage-

ment. It embraces the things we need to do to preserve and extend our water resources.

The type of distribution system envisioned by *NAWAPA depends first upon the conservation of our waters and the abatement of pollution in them.* At the same time this type of system is *essential if we are to get the most out of both desalting and weather modification.* The latter is an area in which technology is moving very rapidly and we might look forward to the day when great rivers in the sky transport water from the seas to vast inland basins—water from which nature itself has removed the salt.

If we learn how to stimulate this overhead movement of moisture, we must also have very excellent collection and distribution systems so that we can make full use of the water we've tricked nature into hauling for us.

Similarly, desalting holds growing promise for man. But, as in any other business operation, the economic facts of life make the operation worthwhile only if one has raw materials and markets close together. Our great coastal cities meet this criteria. Desalting will certainly pay off first at the place where there is salt water and people to use the desalted product, but *desalting is no answer in the high inland plains.*

I am told that engineers have a rule of thumb to estimate the cost of moving large amounts of water over vast distances. It costs something like 40 cents a thousand gallons to lift water 1000 feet and move it 1000 miles inland.

Since there is a projected starting cost of about 25 cents to produce a thousand gallons at our newest and biggest planned desalting plants, this means fresh water can be delivered to the high inland areas for somewhere between 50 cents to $1.00 per thousand gallons. Retail distribution costs must be added to this figure. So you can be sure we are not talking about irrigation water. These prices approach $300 an acre-foot.

These are rough figures, of course, but they do serve to highlight one fact. They make it clear how *valuable is the gravity stored energy in the water which nature desalts and deposits in the mountainous areas of the continent. It is this gravity stored energy which NAWAPA exploits to start the continental distribution system working.*

A NAWAPA type system will pay off in many ways. *It will serve conservation and pollution control objectives and at the same time improve the economics of desalting and weather modification.*

We cannot afford to slacken our efforts to develop low cost desalting processes, nor our efforts to find ways to stimulate precipitation. But to make full use of both technologies, *we must have a surface distribution system. This NAWAPA provides.*

In essence NAWAPA is a system for collecting in the high lands of the north some of the water discharging unused into the seas and bringing it to the areas of the continent where it is most needed.

Its primary significance is that it represents the first time the water resource planners have treated the continent as a whole. For the first time, we are looking beyond the brow of the hill which is the rim of the basin, or sub-basin, which has been traditionally the horizon of our water planning.

It is interesting to note that the original NAWAPA plan continues to expand. Its designers, of course, have made it very clear that it represents only a concept, and that when field engineering starts, we will find many ways to improve it. Iit is also interesting to note that NAWAPA has stimulated a new approach to resource development in Canada, which now has at least three subcontinent water collection plans that cover a part of the same ground as NAWAPA.

NAWAPA has three main service stems, or operating regions. One is along the west slope of the rockies and extends from Alaska to the Tamaulipas delta lands of the Rio Grande in Mexico. This western stem is the largest segment of NAWAPA and is of primary importance to the northwest.

The second service area is the vast plains of the central continent. This covers the three prairie provinces of Canada—Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba—and the entire high plains area of the United States from Montana and North Dakota to Texas. This area of NAWAPA has been given less attention than the far west and northeastern regions. It's importance is rapidly growing, however, because *there appears to be no other way of restoring the ground waters of the southern high plains than to bring in new water from the far north.*

The third major service area centers around the Great Lakes. It involves collecting water now flowing into Hudson Bay and redistributing it through the Great Lakes for the benefit of eastern Canada and north-central and northeastern United States. This is the area which offers the greatest hope of early cooperation between the United States and Canada on continental water planning since. In the pollution of the Great Lakes, we share a mutual and urgent problem. There are some indications, therefore, that the first move toward an eventual continental system will be made in the Great Lakes region.

However, it would be ironic, in my estimation, if we found ourselves negotiating for *international* water exchanges before we had arranged for large scale *interstate* or *interbasin* exchanges within the United States. I don't think this will happen, for the simple reason that *we must have a national system of water distribution before we can take advantage of a continental system.* I am optimistic that we will reach both objectives simply because I have immense confidence in the good sense of the people on both sides of the border.

I was in Canada twice last year to discuss Nawapa—the first time in June when I appeared, with the late General A. L. G. McNaughton, before the Royal Society of Canada at the University of Sherbrooke near Quebec, to discuss the concept and aspects of Nawapa, and the second time in August when I spoke at one of the sessions of the 1966 water quality symposium in Montreal.

I was received courteously by both the distinguished scholars and scientists of the Royal Society, and by the representatives of the water-conditioning business at the symposium who were seeking new ways of attacking water pollution. In both groups I found a consuming interest in the Nawapa concept, and for the most part, a willingness to consider it with open minds.

Frankly, some of our Canadian neighbors have strong reservations about exporting water to the United States. Others are willing to assess their supplies, see what they will need for themselves, and then find out what consideration the United States wants to offer for their surplus water.

In every speech I have made, and in private conversations with Canadian leaders, I have made it clear that we in the United States are, and must be, interested only in *surplus* water, and then only after Canada has measured its water and projected its own ultimate requirements, and has found that it would be in Canada's own self-interest to sell its surplus water to the profitable market south of the border in both the United States and Mexico.

Preliminary studies indicate that it is technically feasible and economically sound to collect, store and redistribute unused water from the northern reaches of the continent. And, unlike oil and uranium, *water can be marketed on a sustained yield basis.* If the producing areas are properly managed, they will continue without depletion to produce a "profitable crop" for export.

I said at Sherbrooke that both countries have a lot of homework to do before we can make up our minds to enter into a long term agreement for trade in water.

NAWAPA, as a continent wide distribution system, depends upon the water harvest from many producing areas. The first thing we must do to assure a continuing return from the $100 billion investment required for NAWAPA is to make a detailed water inventory and to make sure we are taking care of those water producing areas. We must be sure we do indeed have a continuous supply of surplus water to distribute.

The second thing we have to do is clean up the water courses we want to use in the distribution system. This means full steam ahead on pollution abatement.

Third, we must take a hard look at how we use water, to make sure we get the most mileage per gallon. This means *improving water using industrial practices*, and examining irrigation and other agricultural practices in order to get the most for our money. *We need to exercise discipline in domestic use of water.*

And finally, we have to provide for the collection, storage, transfer and distribution of water.

These things can't all be done in sequence. There is no order in terms of importance or chronology. But these are the half-dozen things we can do about our water resource, and we have to do them all. Furthermore, we have to do them all at the same time, and from now on.

One of the great values of the NAWAPA studies is that they have brought these other objectives into perspective. While NAWAPA appears to deal only with collection, storage, transfer and distribution, it will be no good without conservation, pollution control, efficient utilization and discipline. It will also make desalting and weather modification more worthwhile.

It has one other great value. The concept of a continental system affords a context in which we can discuss interbasin transfers within the United States.

The Canadians chide us on the fact that we want them to join us in a continental water system but that we are not yet in agreement as to how we might connect up the several parts of our own system. They have a point. We do not have a very strong posture from which to bargain for imports.

NAWAPA, or something like it, is coming, simply because it makes so much sense for both Canada and the United States. I offered two stipulations at Sherbrooke. They are the starting point for negotiations on trade in water.

The first stipulation was that the Canadians and Americans want to live together in constructive peace for a long time, a very long time.

The second was that between us we occupy a continent-sized piece of real estate that is more favorable to man than any other comparable area of the world and if we want to stay here, we had better take care of it.

NAWAPA makes it immediately profitable to do so. It will provide the U.S. with water and strengthen our economy, but it will also strengthen our neighbor. It will provide Canada with a continuing inflow of investment capital for further development of her farms and factories. It will make both of us concentrate on conservation and pollution control—concentrate on taking care of nature's endowment.

The Pacific Northwest offers a clear demonstration of what this approach to the care and development of water resources can mean.

The Columbia River treaty was a great step forward, but all of the dams built or currently planned on the Columbia and its principal tributaries will not provide enough storage capacity for proper river regulation. The NAWAPA plan would provide a degree of regulation of the Columbia which would wipe out its flood peaks and its low water troughs, stabilizing flow sufficiently to permit greatly increased power generation even from the existing and currently programmed facilities.

The advantages are quite apparent from a glance at flow variations. In the years we've been keeping records, the people along the Columbia have witnessed a high flow nearly thirty times the low flow. The recorded high was 1894, the recorded low 1937. During a single year, however, the high can be five times the low.

If the Columbia system is integrated into a continental system, the northwest empire can be assured of enough water for all its foreseeable needs, and get better use of the water in the Great Columbia artery itself.

The principal feature in this regulatory system would be the Rocky Mountain trench reservoir. Water brought from Alaska, the Yukon, and northern British Columbia would be stored in a great inland sea, stretching 500 miles from the Fraser River gap near Prince George in central British Columbia to the Kootenay outlet in Montana. This reservoir would have a storage capacity for a five year supply of water for the western stem of Nawapa. The indicated effect on the Columbia would be to increase the base flow at McNary Dam by 8700 cfs while lowering flood crests by 60,000 cfs.

NAWAPA would have a similar influence on the clearwater, greatly increasing its hydroelectric potential and decreasing its flood damage potential.

Similar benefits are indicated for all the rivers that are joined in such a continental system. I believe the more we study the idea, the more advantages we will see in it.

The NAWAPA concept was initially evaluated by a subcommittee of which I was chairman back in 1964. On the basis of a comparison of this system with an inventory of all the water resource projects foreseeable for the next twenty years, we found that NAWAPA would provide twice as much water for about 25 percent more investment, and was subject to expansion. The advantages of NAWAPA have become even clearer since.

The very magnitude and daring of the NAWAPA concept have made us raise our sights, all of us, about water resource planning. It undoubtedly shaped President Johnson's recommendation for a National Water Study Commission to develop an overall national water policy.

That bill, introduced by your Senator Jackson, and passed by the Senate twice, is now under consideration in the House. It was lost last year in the debate over two additional federally financed power dams in the Colorado River. I believe its chances are better this year.

Before Canada and the United States sit down to talk about joint water resource development, both must do a lot of homework. The proposed National Water Commission, or some similar overall agency, could be the vehicle to get a lot of our homework done.

The type of discussion we have had here today is an important part of that homework. Public enlightenment is the only foundation upon which two sovereign governments can base an agreement. Similarly, public enlightenment and recognition of the total interdependence of the States of the United States, are the building blocks of a national water policy which will assure preservation of our precious water resources.

If my Sherbrooke stipulations that we have to take care of—and share—our resources in order to live on this continent in abundant and productive peace with the Canadians are valid; then equally valid and even more sharply apparent would be a stipulation that we Americans must do as much with our water resources here between our States and our regions!

THE NEED FOR WORLD COOPERATION IN FOOD PRODUCTION

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Herman S. Kohlmeyer of New Orleans is a distinguished member of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fibers, as well as being a member of the board of governors of the New York Stock Exchange and senior partner of Kohlmeyer & Co. Mr. Kohlmeyer, upon returning from a recent European trip, was interviewed by the economic columnist, Eliot Janeway, concerning the problems faced in the production of food in the midst of the world population explosion. Mr. Kohlmeyer's observations on the diet of Europeans today and how it is changing, with its accompanying implications for our own agricultural production, are of interest. But perhaps a greater significance is the belief expressed in the last part of his interview that the growing food demands for a growing world population require that there must be increasing specialization by the various countries in those crops and foodstuffs which they can best produce: "Let Cuba grow sugar, and let America grow wheat and beef."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 2, 1967]

POPULATION GROWTH CALLS FOR COOPERATION

(By Eliot Janeway, Consulting Economist)

NEW YORK, Feb. 1—Evidence of industrial slump is developing—in Europe as well as in America. But it appears that any recessionary trend will be offset by marked gains in at least certain sectors of the world farm economy.

For analysis of the relative strength developing in fundamental crop supply-demand relationships, this column interviewed Herman S. Kohlmeyer of New Orleans, senior partner of Kohlmeyer & Co., a member of the board of governors of the New York Stock exchange and of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fibers.

JANEWAY. You have just returned from a trip to Europe. Are diets there up to American standards?

KOHLMEYER. People in Europe, particularly in eastern Europe, are certainly beginning to eat more high-protein foods. In fact, even in the communist countries, Americanization of the diet is beginning to compete for priority with industrialization.

JANEWAY. Is Europe able to produce sufficient high-protein foods to meet its needs?

GOOD BEEF LUXURY

KOHLMEYER. No, not yet. Quality beef is still a luxury there. To provide meat, the Europeans are simply increasing their dairy herds—with the unhappy result that they're not only producing poor quality beef but an oversupply of milk, cheese and butter. As a matter of fact our good European friends are putting considerable pressure on us to let their dairy products into this country—as if we didn't have plenty of our own to worry about. What with the cholesterol scare and the oleo that you can't tell from the high-priced spread, the bottom could well fall out of our own butter business.

JANEWAY. What protein foods are in quantity supply in Europe?

KOHLMEYER. Chicken is one. Europe began importing frozen poultry from America about 10 years ago. Then, Europe decided to start raising its own chickens and began importing our breeders. Europe is, however, more dependent than ever on us for soybean meal: Without it, you can't raise poultry. Soybean meal is the basic feed not only for poultry, but for cattle too.

BULLISH FOR SOYBEANS?

JANEWAY. Then you would be bullish about the future for soybeans?

KOHLMEYER. Not for soybeans, but for soybean meal. I think there will be a surplus of soybean oil. There are many kinds of oil, but good meal comes only from soybean and cottonseed; and cotton meal production has been severely restricted because of the effort to reduce the cotton surplus. If the animal and fowl population of the world is to increase enough to support the growing human population in the style to which it is getting accustomed, there should be a real feed crop boom.

JANEWAY. What's the outlook for sugar?

KOHLMEYER. Not good. Like dairy products, it's being overproduced and synthesized, and I think we will eventually have to stop growing sugar beets and sugar cane here. Our domestic price is five times the world price, and that's ridiculous.

JANEWAY. Are you optimistic about the possibilities of cooperation between Washington and the European governments on agricultural protectionism?

KOHLMEYER. No. I think we're still a long way from that.

JANEWAY. What do you think of the prediction of a world food shortage by the 1980's?

POPULATION BASIC PROBLEM

KOHLMEYER. The basic problem, of course, is the population explosion, which is just beyond the imagination of the average person. In Ceylon 20 years ago, the life expectancy of a girl baby was five years. Today it is 60. And when you consider that every girl child who lives is a potential producer of more babies, the statistics really get astronomic.

A further complication is the fact that people everywhere not just in Europe, are eating better, and that once a man learns to eat steak, he isn't going back to cassava root. But only a small amount of the earth's surface is arable, protein-producing land. We can't plant crops in the desert in the face of an impending water shortage. The seas are being fished out.

So that, basically, if we're ever going to keep up with the world's food needs, we'll have to get the most we can out of every square foot of productive land; that is, each country is going to have to raise only what its land grows best. Let Cuba grow sugar, and let America grow wheat and beef. World food production, like industrial production, needs division of territory.

EAST BENCH UNIT OVERCAME THE ELEMENTS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the January 1967 issue of Reclamation News, published by the National Reclamation Association, includes an article on one of the most successful new reclamation projects, the East Bench unit in western Montana.

The article was written by my former colleague in the House of Representatives, the Honorable Wesley A. D'Ewart, who is now National Reclamation Association director for Montana.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Drought, Heat, and Wind Overcome by New Reclamation Project," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DROUGHT, HEAT, AND WIND OVERCOME BY NEW RECLAMATION PROJECT

(Report by Wesley A. D'Ewart, NRA director for Montana and former Member of Congress)

Last summer Madison and Jefferson Counties in Southwest Montana suffered the worst drought in thirty years. In the spring there were very cold nights, and during the summer growing season, hot winds. This is a livestock country and the result was disastrous to the industry. There were short range-feed, short hay crops and failure of grain crops—except for East Bench lands.

Fortunately this was the first year of a ten year development period for the East Bench Irrigation project located in these drought-stricken counties. The new project provided water for 13,000 acres of grain and 2000 acres of hay and pasture. The 65 operators on this project last summer describe the result as excellent, and certainly the benefits of irrigation were never more vividly illustrated.

At the present time, one-fourth of the land in production is served by a sprinkler system and the remainder is irrigated by gravity. Water costs will vary during the development period but Mr. Richard H. Kennedy, the project engineer, estimates them to average about $3.00 per irrigated acre.

Mr. Kennedy states "This is strictly a development phase for this land. The operators went into this venture well aware that expensive preparation would be necessary before their production hopes could be achieved. We term it a ten-year development project—and that's exactly what it is; the fact that many of these first-year units are productive and providing excellent crops is truly phenomenal to us."

The ranchers and town people who live in this drought-stricken area are truly thankful for the East Bench Project. Never was the first unit of a project completed at a more opportune time, and the ranchers—truly appreciative—are willing to continue to raise capital for their costs on the remainder of the development.

When completed, the East Bench Project will provide water for 49,000 acres. There will be supplemental water for 28,000 acres and full irrigation for 21,000 acres. Storage for the project will be provided by the Clark Canyon Dam on the Beaverhead River located just below the junction of the Red Rock River and the Horse Prairie Creek. On the right abutment of the dam are headworks for Canyon Canal, serving the supplemental land in the valley, and headworks for the Bureau of Reclamation's 44-mile-long East Bench Canal, which serves new land on a bench above the valley.

In addition to the obvious benefits of irrigation development and the stabilization of the local and regional economy, the unit will provide such benefits as flood control and recreation. Some four miles of U.S. Interstate Highway 15 will parallel the east shore of Clark Canyon Reservoir and thousands of visitors will be able to see the blue waters of the lake. Picnicking, boating, fishing and camping will be enjoyed. The park Division of the Montana Highway Commission is developing a very pleasant recreation area near the dam. Day use, camping, and cabin sites are being provided in accordance with plans prepared in cooperation with the National Park Service.

For many years the problem faced by the ranchers in the Beaverhead Valley has been the erratic water supply of the unregulated stream. With a stable supply stored in Clark Canyon Reservoir, the ranchers will be able to plan long-range programs, thus providing a continuing contribution to the entire economy of the area.

Mr. O. A. Bergeson, a long time member of the National Reclamation Water Users Committee and for many years Treasurer of the Montana Reclamation Association was a prime supporter of this project and to him goes much credit.

Constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation under the $25 million East Bench Project, the bench land developed is under operation and maintenance of the Bureau of Reclamation for a period of 10-year development, which began January 1, 1966 but could terminate earlier if users desire. Management would then be turned over to the East Bench Irrigation Company, with members repaying construction costs under a 40-year plan. Owners of that valley land which receives supplemental water organized the Clark Canyon Water Supply Company, and have contracted with the United States for additional water from Clark Canyon Dam to supplement an inadequate water supply from existing water rights. Mr. Phil Cotton is president of the Company.

Elsewhere in southwest Montana, plans are under study by the Bureau of Reclamation for the Jefferson-Whitehall Units of the Three Forks Basin. These proposed units are located along the Jefferson and Missouri River. Storage would be provided by Reichle Dam on the Big Hole River, a tributary of the Jefferson. This project would deliver a full water supply for 42,390 acres of new land and a supplemental supply for 15,190 acres of presently irrigated land in an area not far from the East Bench Project. The 90th Congress is being requested to authorize this project. Results of East Bench prove the value as a federal investment to counter nature's war against farmers and stockmen.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, an editorial recently published in the periodical of the American Good Government Society, the Federalist Today, deserves to be brought to the attention of the Senate.

The editorial suggests that the American Bar Association reconsider its recommendations on electoral college reform in view of the implications it has to our federal structure, and I wish to associate myself with this view.

While the editorial is concerned with the recommendation of the ABA on revising the electoral college system, it contains many trenchant remarks on our federal system.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled, "Lawyers as Constitutionalists," published in the January issue of the Federalist Today, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWYERS AS CONSTITUTIONALISTS

"I do not believe there are more than a very limited number of persons, perhaps a hundred, who really know what is in the Constitution of the United States," Dr. John J. Tigert, U.S. Commissioner of Education, October 1924.

"Lawyers are being graduated from our law schools by the thousands who have little knowledge of the Constitution. When organizations seek a lawyer to instruct them on the Constitution they find it nearly impossible to secure one competent," Committee on American Citizenship report to the American Bar Association, Denver, Colorado, July 1926.

"Today ideas of public law imported from Continental Europe are being taught and urged against our American legal-constitutional polity . . . We are told that bills of rights are founded on eighteenth-century philosophical ideas of natural rights which the World has outgrown. We are told that the separation of powers and consequent high position of the judiciary are not more than an eighteenth-century political fashion based on a mistaken notion of Montesquieu as to the British constitution of his time. In the rise of political absolutism throughout the world, we, too, show signs of becoming infected," Roscoe Pound, Harvard Law School, May 1942.

These observations were brought to mind by a careful reading of the report of the American Bar Association's Commission Electoral College Reform published this month. We have discussed these observations with a fair number of lawyers over more than twenty years. None doubted their validity when made, nor the continuing prevalence of the conditions which prompted them; and their profound effect on the general run of lawyers.

These recollections and the reasons they are so vivid in memory do not qualify a layman to measure the competence of lawyers in the practice of their profession. But one need not be a lawyer to understand the Constitution of the United States as a limited constitution of government; or to comprehend the separated Legislative, Executive and Judicial Powers as related parts of the limited sovereignty of the United States; or to envision the balance, proportion and symmetry of its political structure, and how all this imposes the shape of the American Political System.

Conversely, lawyers can be most proficient in the Courts of Law and in every phase of their legal practice, and still know damned little about these questions of Constitutional-polity.

Yet, it is these Constitutional-polity questions that make up the entirety of the work of the Commission on Electoral College Reform. The subject is the form and manner of representation of the People of the United States in choosing the "President of the United States of America." The report does not suggest a profound knowledge of the subject.

Whether he does or not, *every lawyer should know* that the People of the United States wear two hats, that is, they are at once Citizens of States and Citizens of the United States, and that they are represented in the United States Senate as a body of people composing a State and in the House of Representatives as Citizens of the United States.

Whether he does or not, *every lawyer should know* that the People of the United States in both of their characters make up the constituency of the President of the United States, and that he represents them in both their characters at the same time.

Whether he does or not, *every lawyer should know* that in national elections each voter wears his two hats to the polling place: under one he votes for United States Senators; under the other he votes for a Representative in Congress; and under both he votes for President when he votes for "Senatorial" and "Representative" members of the Electoral College.

If the members of the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association know these simple things about our Constitutional structure they will also know that their Commission's recommendations go so far beyond Electoral College Reform as to restructure the whole Constitution and consequently the political system.

If they wish to do this, well and good. But they should do it knowingly.

At stake is the political structure of the United States. Also involved are their own reputations as Constitutionalists.

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION AND THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a comprehensive and thoughtful analysis of the selective service decisions facing Congress and the administration was published in Army magazine in February. I commend to the attention of the Senate this article by Col. Samuel H. Hays, and ask unanimous consent that it and its supporting tables be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article and tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Military Conscription in a Democratic Society

(By Col. Samuel H. Hays)

(Editor's Note.—*Colonel Samuel H. Hays, Infantry, is Director of Leadership and Psychology on the faculty of the United States Military Academy, a post he has filled since 1965 and is on his second tour on the Military Academy faculty. A 1942 graduate of the Military Academy, he has had a number of troop and command assignments and is a graduate of the Command and General Staff College and the Army War College. He holds a Master's degree from Columbia University. This article is drawn from a working paper he submitted for the Conference on the Draft at the University of Chicago in December.*)

The problem of providing manpower for our Armed Forces has been with us since the founding of the republic. For the past 188 years the ultimate source of military manpower has been the citizen selected from among his peers. Since the sound of gunfire faded away in Korea, the Armed Forces of the United States have been procuring from all sources between 600,000 to 900,000 men annually. The obligatory provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 as amended have provided the incentives for both voluntary enlistments and officer procurement programs as well as providing from 13 per cent to 41 per cent of this annual intake. During this same period of time the numbers of young citizens eligible under the provisions of the act for military service grew steadily from 10,590,000 to 13,360,000 with a steadily decreasing percentage being required to perform some type of military service.

The larger draft calls of early 1966, which placed students in a vulnerable position, aroused some of the more vocal and outspoken segments of our society and have stimulated a public debate over the inequities and problems surrounding the workings of the selective service system. As the debate has developed, not only have the inequities, always associated with selective service, been brought to light, but the fundamental philosophy and purposes behind the act have been seriously questioned for the first time in nearly 15 years.

Through all the criticism and complaint runs a strong element of demand for uniformity of risk, equity, justice and consideration for the individual. To citizens steeped in our liberal democratic traditions, this search for individual equity and justice has great emotional and logical appeal, a fact which the Congress fully recognized when it passed the act in 1951. The popular outcry in behalf of the traditional liberal creed should not obscure the fact that American society as a whole has a serious interest in the issues involved nor drown out the viewpoint of the Armed Forces who must use the products of the system.

Although on the surface the discussion over the operation of the Selective Service System appears to be largely over its mechanical operation, in reality there are fundamental social issues at stake. The principal issue is how best to raise and maintain in a democratic society the efficient and effective Armed Forces which our country needs in its present world position. Allied to this issue is the problem of the manner in which the Armed Forces should relate to the society which raised them. Finally, there is the issue of the relative value which should be placed on the overall welfare of society as compared to the demand for equal individual treatment. These are not easy issues to resolve. They have been the subject of discussion and controversy since the founding of the republic. Indeed the founding fathers in their day arrived at a general consensus on the subject which unfortunately we, today, are unable to apply to our greatly changed circumstances.

Today, we find ourselves, willingly or not, in a position of pre-eminent world power during a period of rapid and accelerating technological and social change. These conditions directly influence the type and size of forces we must maintain and the problems involved in their recruitment. Most agree that our international position, with the extensive responsibilities which our power position endows us, requires the maintenance of Armed Forces of a much greater magnitude than in previous eras. Our experience in World War II and Korea taught us that the purpose of world peace and our national security were best served by maintaining professional land, sea and air forces adequate to meet the international commitments we felt necessary in our national interest.

Since the end of the Korean War the Department of Defense has felt that such forces must amount to over two and a half million men organized to cope with a variety of situations. Whenever we have tried to reduce these forces a crisis arose, such as that over Berlin or Cuba, which forced us to rebuild them. Further, the advent of nuclear weapons, the increased speed of communications and transportation have greatly reduced mobilization and readiness times and of necessity placed an increasing priority on immediate ready forces. The sequence of events in Lebanon, Berlin, Cuba, Dominican Republic and now Vietnam have clearly shown that if we are to contain conflict, keeping it within manageable proportions, we must be able to move our forces fast enough and in sufficient strength to influence the action at the earliest possible time. The organization of the Strategic Air Command and subsequently the Strike Command constitute an organizational response to the requirement.

The type and size of forces required is also affected by increasing qualitative requirements of military forces. The accelerated rate of contemporary technological advances dramatically portrayed in our space programs and missile weapons development is having a profound effect on the internal structure of our forces. Each year the weapons systems, vehicles, communications systems and associated equipment become more sophisticated, more complex, and more specialized. The demand for skillful and highly articulated teamwork resulting from the development of nuclear powered aircraft carriers, Polaris submarines, and the airmobile division are far beyond similar demands of World War II or Korea. At the end of World War II the technical, mechanical and military administrative assignments in our services were less than half of all enlisted positions. By 1954, they had grown to nearly 60 percent and today they amount to nearly two-thirds of all positions filled. Even these figures fail to tell the full story because each skill position has substantially increased its technical and educational demands on the individual who must fill it. While the basic requirements of the fighting man for endurance, emotional and physical stamina, leadership, courage and practical intelligence are still in demand, they alone are no longer sufficient to cope with today's technical weaponry and complicated operational techniques.

Thus we find that the members of our forces must be more carefully selected from the point of view of mental capacity, technical aptitude and social maturity. More members must be sent to specialist schools for longer periods of time. Units require longer training times to develop the same degree of combat efficiency in the tactical employment of their weapons that they did in the past. In addition these increasing complexities create an increasing requirement for adequate motivation, social solidarity and cohesiveness in our military units. Today's forces require a high degree of teamwork involving a wide variety of man-machine mixes capable of dealing with a wide spectrum of problems.

The increased size of the standing forces required, the necessity for more rapid action, and the increased lead times required for weapons production and personnel training have had an obvious effect on our traditional military posture. The concept of the small regular force as the base around which to mobilize the civilian soldiers of our reserve forces has faded more and more into the past. As the immediate show of force has become more frequent, partial or general mobilization has tended to become an increasingly less desirable alternative. We are thus being required to depend more and more on active duty forces and, short of a general emergency, able to place less reliance on large reserve forces or on long-term mobilization. While we must continue to retain our extensive reserve resources as insurance against the all-out emergency, we must also take into account our increased reliance on efficient combat ready forces organized in proper proportions for such missions as can be anticipated.

In the light of the conditions just described, the first basic issue of how best to maintain the efficient combat ready forces we need involves at least three major problem areas. One that taxpayers tend to think about most frequently is the cost. Our national budget provides mute evidence that our appropriations for defense and military forces absorb almost half of our programmed funds. The economic costs of the more complex weapons systems, the costs of education and training, the costs of maintaining larger numbers of higher paid personnel increase year by year as new developments and new situations create new demands. All would join in agreeing that one of our high priority goals should be to have the most effective Armed Forces possible for the least cost.

A second problem area which has plagued the services for the last decade is how to procure the high caliber officers and men required and how to retain them on active duty at least long enough to amortize the investment in their education and training. By its very nature an armed force with its hierarchic structure and its innate requirements for combat readiness requires a reasonable turnover of officers and enlisted men in its lower grades. Combat conditions place a premium on youthful agility, stamina, audacity and courage in the junior grades, coupled with the stability, judgment and maturity of age, normally associated with the more senior positions. Problems of career progression, promotion, and rotational assignment indicate an annual turnover of about 15 to 20 per cent, largely concentrated in the junior grades. However, such a turnover should not denude the services of their skilled specialists or most promising leaders. Despite the extensive efforts to make the pay and career opportunities attractive, all services have had to rely heavily on other motivational factors in order to gain and retain the necessary level of talent. The rather negative view of liberal democratic society toward military careers tends to make recruiting difficult and has forced reliance on obligatory service to maintain both strength and skill levels.

A third problem area in maintaining efficient forces stems from extensive fluctuation in military strength levels, personnel procurement programs, and force deployment. The same recurring crises which require the existence of our standing forces tend to create problems in their maintenance. Vietnam, the Berlin crisis and the Cuban crisis were all reflected in increased draft calls, sudden changes of plans, family dislocations and not infrequently individual hardship. These fluctuations create many uncertainties in the plans of young men eligible for induction into the service as well as in the plans of those already serving. On the national level they make installation planning and programming subject to fits, starts and frequent reversals. No person or agency connected with the services is entirely immune from these abrupt changes. Even educational institutions and employers of inductees must shoulder a part of the burden. Such fluctuations underlie many of the basic inequities caused by the highly variable and frequently unpredicted draft calls. They create part of the difficulty in retaining highly trained people in the service. Those who have served during the past 15 years have lived lives of intermittent crisis and tension. Thus raising and maintaining our active forces are not easy under the best of conditions. They require the most efficient and flexible manpower management system we can devise. Every available incentive and management technique must be employed if the resources we devote to national defense are not to be misused or wasted.

Social and technological change, and the complexities and tensions which it engenders, places an additional emphasis on the motivation, morale, teamwork, and loyalty of the Armed Forces. Our society places a heavy responsibility on them and rightfully expects them to produce. Their motivation, morale, and teamwork are affected by a wide variety of factors. The educational and social level of their membership, caliber of leadership, and the severity of deprivation of the normal advantages of civilian life all play a significant part. Underlying them all is the degree of social approval and recognition which each member thinks he receives in return for his deprivation, risk or sacrifice. While this recognition can be expressed to some degree in terms of pay, housing and fringe benefits, it is more importantly a function of prestige, status and public recognition. The motivation and morale of our force is not a constant which can be taken for granted as it stems from individual and group needs over time and under varying conditions. In many ways it is easier to procure and develop the technical equipment used by the forces than it is to procure the men needed to put it into battle.

Thus today more than ever before the Armed Forces must relate positively to their society. Their members must perceive that they are performing a vital social function and one which is recognized and awarded an appropriate status by the society as a whole. It is perhaps equally important to the welfare of the society that this relationship be positively and continuously expressed. The rapid social change we are now facing with the weakening of community and isolation of the individual emphasizes the importance of those institutions which can provide some elements of stability. The Armed Forces have been identified as agencies useful in inculcating social discipline and a sense of national purpose and in teaching individual responsibility and group living.

It does not take extensive research to discover what has happened when the military forces of a society become estranged or isolated from the society which supported them. When citizens no longer feel responsible to perform military service, it is difficult for them to develop much interest in the military forces or their duties and responsibilities. In return when soldiers no longer consider themselves understood by the community and not full citizens in the true sense of the word, the ensuing gap between military and society becomes difficult to bridge. Whatever solution might be chosen to solve the problem of manning military forces, it should include measures which would maintain the close relationship between the civilian society and the military institution which has been achieved during the past 25 years.

The third basic issue, equity and justice for all individuals, must be given its true importance as has been indicated by the Congress. However, when equity for the individual and the welfare of society as a whole are inconsistent, decisions for society may be hard decisions to make and it may have to accept the resulting dissatisfaction and criticism. Unfortunately, true equity is hard to achieve in military operations. Inequity results when some serve while others escape. However, inequities also occur even among those that serve. No one could find much equity between pounding a typewriter in the Pentagon and carrying the M16 rifle in the jungles of Vietnam. Although the Services do what they can to distribute risk, hardship and discomfort through periodic rotation, the burdens and risks of military life are most unequally distributed both in peace and combat. In many ways the differences in sacrifice between those who are called to the service and those excused are less drastic than the differences which result from different assignments in the Services. Saying this, of course, does not remove the problem of the growing gap between those required to serve and those who are not. What it does say is that regardless of the system devised or the course chosen, inequity will exist and there will be those dissatisfied because of it. While we may not be able to do much about equality of sacrifice in the national interest we should do what can be done to see that the system of selection for service is efficient, just, and produces the best possible result for society as a whole.

Considering our general situation and the fundamental issues involved, we may now examine our existing system of selective service to determine how well it has filled our requirements. We are immediately struck by the fact that it is essential in maintaining the strength of our Armed Forces. Despite our very best efforts during the 1948–1949 period, we were unable to maintain the relatively modest levels authorized during that period. Further, the quality and motivation of the personnel recruited during that period were too often marginal. In an infantry battalion during that period one might find only two or three high school graduates in nearly a thousand men. Technical proficiency was not at a high level. Delinquency and court-martial rates were. The costs stemming from misuse of equipment, from vehicle accidents as well as those associated with the administration of disciplinary punitive systems were proportionately high. These hidden costs were multiplied many times over when the forces raised under the volunteer system were committed suddenly to combat in Korea.

As Selective Service brought in an increased volume of manpower needed for the Korean build-up, the personnel make-up of services changed perceptibly. There was a marked increase in educational levels, skill levels, and efficiency among those brought into the service. During the months of continued high draft calls there was an increased number of volunteers who displayed many of the same characteristics as those who were drafted. However, disciplinary studies made during that period tended to show that military delinquents were more likely to be volunteers than draftees, have less education, be younger, come from backgrounds with fewer economic and social advantages, and have displayed more pre-Army delinquent behavior than draftees, factors generally related to unconcern with commonly accepted rules of behavior. A larger proportion of delinquents than draftees stated that they had planned to make the Army a career.

Following the Korean War, as the draft calls declined, so too did both the number and quality of those volunteering. The numbers drafted amounted to the number required to provide sufficient incentive for the volunteers plus the number needed to fill the spaces they didn't fill. During the mid-fifties the percentage of volunteers climbed slowly from about 60 to, in some years, over 80 per cent. However, once again the high school drop-out became the typical volunteer and the frequency of delinquency with its associated human, material and economic costs began to rise. In 1958, the Department of Defense sought and obtained authority to raise the mental and physical standards for draftees. The reasons for this move were the increasing demand for highly qualified men with the advent of new weapons, the growing surplus of eligible men in the draft "pool", and the desire to improve the effectiveness of military manpower through reducing costs incident to the administration of discipline and administrative discharges.

This increase in entrance standards brought in some dramatic changes. The Army was able to close down four out of five of its disciplinary barracks. Noteworthy as the gains were, the most telling gains resulted from the increased proficiency and professionalization of the military units themselves. A significant result of the increase in quality input was the steady improvement in reenlistments during this period, reflecting higher morale, greater satisfaction with the service and improved primary group solidarity.

During most of this period of relatively low monthly calls, the Navy and Marine Corps and Air Force were able to supply all of their personnel needs by volunteers. However, the same draft calls that stimulated individuals to volunteer for the Army stimulated volunteers for other services. Draftees continued to be older and have higher educational levels than volunteers as Table II clearly shows.

This variation of distribution of accessions by educational level tends to remain relatively constant as is confirmed by the distribution as of 31 December 1963. The fact that this higher educational level is essentially the result of the concentration of drafted personnel in the Army is shown by the table of distribution of enlisted accessions to the Army during the first six months of 1962 (Table II.)

Age is another factor which bears directly on the quality of military accessions. The number of variables which influence this factor are difficult to unscramble. Physical

TABLE I.—*Education of men inducted and enlisted from Jan. 1 to June 30, 1962*

[In percent]

Educational level	Department of Defense	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force
College graduates	1.5	3.3	0.3	0.4	0.6
2 or more years college	6.1	10.4	1.8	2.4	5.3
Some college	13.6	17.3	4.5	6.4	18.0
High school graduate	66.1	63.5	51.4	62.8	81.1
2 or more years high school		85.3	79.7	83.2	
Some high school	92.4	90.5	90.4	92.1	96.3
Graduate of grade school	98.0	98.0	97.3	97.9	98.7

TABLE II.—*Education of men entering Army from Jan. 1, to June 30, 1962*

Educational level	Inductees	Percent	Volunteers	Percent
4 years or more college	2,769	6.4	1,195	2.4
1 year or more college	9,482	21.8	7,773	15.6
12 years of school or more	27,649	63.7	28,926	58.1
Less than high school	15,781	36.3	20,825	41.9

TABLE III.—*Age levels of men entering the services, 1950–65*

	1950	1952	1954	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1965
Median age	23.6	22.9	22.7	23.0	23.8	24.5	24.2	24.0	23.9
Largest age group	20	21	21	20	20	20	20	21	21

agility and stamina are generally associated with youth. After screening out the physically disqualified the optimum age for physical performance would appear to be from age 18 to 25. Similarly the optimum age for military performance is difficult to gauge. Studies made following World War II tended to indicate that peak performance appeared to occur just over 25 years of age. As we have seen, the 19-year-olds tend to be less stable and mature and more prone to delinquency than those 20 and above. Men over 30 tend to develop more problems and are less agile physically. Thus optimum military age lies some place between 19 and 30. The age levels produced by our military procurement programs over the past fifteen years have stayed well within the limits defined by the study as shown in Table III.

The advancing ages after the Korean War can be attributed to increasing percentages of personnel of the Regular Forces age 40 and over and the somewhat advancing ages of those inducted due to reduced draft calls.

As the higher draft calls for the Vietnam build-up have called in successively lower age groups, they have provided incentives for increased volunteering among these same lower age groups. This can be expected to lower, in some degree, the educational levels and the civilian skills possessed by those inducted. In addition, both the Navy and the Marine Corps have had to request the allocation of some draftees to fill their requirements.

Officer procurement programs are affected by induction calls in much the same manner as are voluntary enlistments. As calls declined after the Korean War, ROTC enrollments tended to decline and officer candidate programs were drastically reduced. As the calls increase, more college students seek to enroll in ROTC, thus enhancing the program both in numbers and in quality. The Vietnam build-up has seen an extensive expansion of the officer candidate program.

All the services have been under a severe strain to receive, train and deploy increased numbers of recruits while organizing and equipping new units and sending them overseas—all without the benefit of a reserve call-up. That this operation has been as efficient and as effective as it has been is a tribute to the quality of leadership and the high quality and motivation of the men procured both by volunteering and through the operation of the selective service.

Our commanders in Vietnam have been unanimous in their praise of the quality of the soldiers being provided. Even a cursory glance at our training centers today reveals ample evidence that we are producing a high quality of soldier. It is exceedingly doubtful whether we could have manned our modern air, sea and ground units without this high quality. In terms of contributing to the efficiency of the Armed Services it would be safe to say that the Selective Service System as it now stands today has successfully passed the ultimate test of battle.

In terms of relating the Armed Forces to society, the steady mixture of selective service men in the ranks and ROTC graduates among the officers have continued to maintain the integration of the military institution with society at large. As far as the Services are concerned, they visualize themselves as a part of American society performing a vital service for the nation.

Has the system been just and equitable? This depends on the yardstick used to measure the results. If one uses the yardstick of uniformity or equality of risk, it has not been particularly equitable. As previously mentioned, equity in the military service can only be gauged in relative terms, as absolute equity is not available. If one measures justice in terms of adherence to law, regulation, and principle of local selection by one's neighbors, one could say that the system has been just. Perhaps equally vital to the national interest is the question of whether it has been the most efficient and best allocation of our human resources. This suggests still other questions, questions of deferment for vital occupational skills, age at induction and quality of personnel inducted. Only too often these questions become entangled with the questions of equity.

Still another issue habitually inserts itself into any discussion of obligatory military service. Should the military services be used as an educational and socializing agency in our democratic community in order to provide educational opportunities, social discipline, and medical assistance to the lesser privileged elements of our society? Since the turn of the century this idea has repeatedly raised its head during discussions of military preparedness and Universal Military Training. It lay behind the proposed STEP (Special Training and Enlisted Program) and also behind recent programs to lower the induction standards in order to enlist personnel previously considered unqualified. To some extent it is implicit in a statement of the civic duty of military service. Those proposing such measures see the increasing percentages, now approaching 30 per cent of our young men who are considered unfit for military service, and feel that something should be done about it. They assume that providing military training for these men will assist in their rehabilitation through providing them with medical assistance, increased educational opportunities, a vocational skill and perhaps a sense of social responsibility. The fact that the number of unqualified is increasing is a result of both the higher skill demands of the services and the failure of our families, educational systems, urban communities and local governments to provide the facilities, schools and social environment which would permit them to keep up the demands of a rapidly changing world.

The military services can provide some assistance for these youths, although there is some evidence to indicate that special educational programs conducted by the Services do not measurably improve the performance of such marginal personnel. Physical education and health programs coupled with a proper diet should greatly improve the physical condition of those young men with correctible deficiencies. Perhaps some of those who are alienated can be given a sense of purpose and understanding through their barracks experiences. Insofar as the provisions the Uniform Code of Military Justice allow, some might be brought to a greater respect for the provisions of law and the rules of society.

It must be recognized, however, that there is considerable increased cost in such a program. There is an inordinate amount of administrative and training effort involved in handling marginal personnel. As has been mentioned before, they have more disciplinary offenses, more vehicle accidents; go AWOL more often, have more personal problems and have more mental breakdowns. They take longer to train for the same degree of skill. They are less flexible in their utilization. Their effect on the social solidarity and espirit of units to which assigned tends to be negative and destructive. While some may be raised by the level of their associates, only too often they tend to drag the weaker ones down to their level or disrupt the group, creating anti-social attitudes with the organization which persist long after they are gone. In significant numbers, their ways of thought and habits of life make their barracks a less desirable place to live thereby tending to drive out the better qualified. The process is somewhat analogous to the situation resulting from a requirement for State universities to matriculate and graduate not only every high school graduate who applied for entrance, but also those who graduated from reform schools. It would tend not only to drive out the good students but frustrate the faculty as well.

The problem of marginal personnel involves not only their mental aptitude and agility and their physical stamina, nor by itself, their record of delinquency. It is essentially a problem of moral and social standards, attitudes, motivation, habits, and ability to adjust to the social standards and requirements of the group. Skills can be taught if the student has the interest and desire. Unless there is some organic deficiency, physical condition can be improved through diet, exercise and proper medical care. Deficiencies in social and moral attitudes are another problem. The young man who has not made an adjustment to the standards of society in his community or who comes from an environment where such standards are ambiguous or non-existent is not very likely to adjust satisfactorily to the more rigorous demands of military life.

Without trying to evaluate the social advantages of having the military services undertake the task of the social rehabilitation of marginal personnel, it should be sufficient to point out that such an effort involves an associated cost. The bill for such a program must be paid in terms of the diversion of military resources of men, installations and equipment which could more profitably, from the military point of view, be employed in training qualified people. It would entail hidden costs in terms of lowering the status, attractiveness and efficiency of the organizations with which they serve. It would involve some degree of expansion in the administrative effort and installations required in the punitive and correctional area for the increased percentage of delinquency.

The costs and adverse effect on the military establishment of accepting the mission of social rehabilitation of marginal personnel raise the question as to whether the military organization is in fact the most effective instrument. A pretty good case could be made for accomplishing the job under the aegis of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Control of such a program could be placed in the hands of retired military personnel to provide a military type of environment if such were desired.

Most of the proposals for revision or modification of the Selective Service laws revolve around the questions of social rehabilitation, individual equity and uniformity of criteria. As we have seen, no matter what alternatives one might choose, some element of inequity is going to remain. The Armed Forces for the foreseeable future are going to require an ever declining portion of the increasing numbers of young men reaching military age each year. In examining the alternatives one might examine first the relative merits of each proposal in terms of the national good; secondly, its efficiency of operation and its utilization of available human resources; and finally, its relative merit in terms of its effects on the military services.

The first alternative is Universal Military Training. This proposal has been current off and on almost since before World War I. Many prominent personalities have endorsed it. It has been strongly pushed by the Military Services particularly, on several occasions by the Department of the Army. It has been said that it would perform the citizenship training and socializing mission previously discussed. By giving every physically qualified male three to six months of military training on active duty, we would provide a pool of trained manpower, available for an emergency, would provide trained personnel support for our Reserve forces, and would reduce the requirement for active duty forces. The program would be more just and equitable for all than a system of selective service. This proposal was seriously put forward and publicly discussed following World War II and was set aside as being unnecessary. After the Korean War broke out, it was again considered, basically accepted as a principle in the Universal Military Service and Training Act of 1951 and subsequently explored in great detail by a Presidential Commission which supported it and by the Congress which eventually did not. It has considerable appeal, not the least of which is the fact that it provides the closest approach to individual equity achieved by any of the proposals.

There are, however, a number of disadvantages which tend to make the plan exceedingly difficult to implement. Foremost among these is the problem of handling numbers. As we have seen, about 1,700,000 young men become 18 each year and the number is climbing. In 1952, it was estimated that the personnel required to support such a training effort, acting as the trainers, the administrators, and the housekeepers for the training installations would demand the services of about one man for every two trainees. This would mean that we would have to devote something over 500,000 men of our current military establishment of about three million to the task of Universal Military Training alone. This would either require a substantial addition to the size of our existing military establishment or a substantial reduction in its commitments and capabilities. In addition, the costs in terms of facilities, obligations for pay, medical care, clothing, food, bonuses, or reimbursement in case of service-connected disability would add substantially to our current military budgets without a proportional increase in our effective, immediate ready military forces. On the one hand there is a limit to the amount of training that could be profitably provided in basic training camps, while on the other hand we do not have a military structure of sufficient size to absorb all of the recruits thus provided. The training time even if extended to a year, as General Eisenhower recently suggested, is still too short to incorporate the trainees as fully trained members of combat ready units. The combat units so used would have their readiness status seriously degraded by the necessity of absorbing a high proportion of new recruits once a year.

Experience with education and training generally indicates that while there is some carry over of skills or knowledge acquired, it tends to dissipate with time and disuse. Thus the training given, while not enough for immediate use in a combat unit, would gradually fade once the trainees have left the service. Events, since Universal Military Training was studied in 1952, indicate that whatever else we do, we need a combat ready active force ready for immediate action in support of the national interest. As we have seen, such a force requires long training and a higher percentage of higher skill levels. The hope that Universal Military Training could act to reduce our standing forces is not nearly as bright today as it appeared to be fourteen years ago. Despite its obvious advantages in terms of equity, its citizenship training and socializing mission, the overall cost of the program and its tendency to reduce the efficiency of our active forces by giving them an additional training requirement argue against the adoption of this proposal.

The alternative proposal for National Service is similarly a long standing suggestion, having been proposed in a different form and context by President Roosevelt during World War II. Like Universal Military Training, it has the egalitarian ring of idealism, equity and justice for all, at least to a point. When one reaches the point of deciding whether it should be compulsory or voluntary, the equity of it begins to break down. Similarly the comparison between civilian and military service has little to offer in individual equity. The concept itself has much to recommend if it were put forward as a proposal distinct from the problem of raising, equipping and training our Armed Services. Setting the requirement for selecting young men for military service to one side, the problem of National Service, either voluntary or compulsory, should be examined on its own merits. Problems of educational and training facilities, useful employment opportunities, length of service required, all should be studied in detail as should the necessity or desirability of such a program. It would still leave to be answered the problem of what to do with the marginal personnel—the ones that no one would want. The military professional would probably support the concept providing that in its operation it did not detract from the quality or quantity of manpower allocated the Services or give them an additional training or administrative burden beyond those they already have.

A third proposal which has many strong supporters is the one to provide individual equity through selection of service inductees by lot. As advanced by Senator Edward Kennedy and others, this proposal would appear to have considerable appeal. If coupled with selections from the 18-19-year-old age groups with minimal deferments, it should provide decreased uncertainty as to when the individual might be called and decrease fears of favoritism through substituting random selection of chance for the decentralized judgment of draft boards in the community.

General Hershey himself, after several experiences with lottery selection, is adamantly opposed to it on both practical and theoretical grounds. Disregarding the mechanical administrative problems imposed, it is doubtful whether it would in fact be any more equitable to the individuals concerned than the present system. The reduction of uncertainty could be procured through other means. If it is meant to obtain more equitable distribution among social groups, that, too, could be accomplished by other means. The problem of deferring special categories will arise under any system, as does the problem of standards of qualification for military service. Considering fluctuations in the monthly and yearly draft calls, the lottery system would appear to have many difficulties.

Perhaps the greatest problem with the lottery proposal lies in its rationale and psychological impact on the Services. Efficient and scientific management of our personnel would not support random selection. No employer in industry, government or education would say, "Here are my basic criteria. Now let's select our employees from amongst those available by drawing straws." How would the selectee evaluate his selection? The potential damage to the public image of the Armed Forces and to the morale and motivation of both professional and inducted personnel could be extensive and cannot be airily disregarded.

A counter proposal which has been put forward from time to time and which is still a contender for public attention is the idea that we should abolish the draft entirely and commit our national security into the hands of paid professionals, hired for the job. As with the other proposals this concept has a basic appeal and much can be said in its favor. It should provide the military forces with personnel who want to be there. It would relieve the government from the unpleasant and politically unprofitable requirement for sending its greetings in support of military recruitment, with all the uncertainties, inequities and problems that entails. It is also claimed that this solution would contribute to increased efficiency resulting from longer terms of service, less training load and greater continuity. From the viewpoint of the professional, these arguments are attractive.

The other side of the coin, however, holds some basic drawbacks which would appear to rule out this solution at least for the foreseeable future. First, the Armed Forces as a whole have not been able, since World War II, to maintain an adequate force structure based on voluntary recruiting.

A recent study on this subject was made in the Department of Defense and presented by Assistant Secretary of Defense Thomas D. Morris in the hearings before the House Committee on Armed Services, on June 30, 1966. The study concluded that an all-volunteer force under current policies would fall far short of any force level required since 1950 or projected for the 1970's, and that the quality of personnel procured, including officers, medical personnel and skilled technicians, would fall well below our increasing requirements. In pursuing the idea that higher pay or other incentives might bring forward an increase in volunteering, the study determined that pay alone is a much less potent motivator than might be supposed. Only four per cent of those questioned felt that equal pay with civilian standards would influence them and only 17 per cent felt that considerably higher than civilian pay would provide an inducement. In determining how much pay increase would be required to stimulate voluntary enlistments, estimates indicated an order of magnitude of 20 to 50 per cent for officers and 80 to 280 per cent for enlisted men. There appeared to be no practical financial inducement sufficient to entice physicians or dentists to enter the services. Nor did the area of fringe benefits appear to be any more likely to produce results. Less than three per cent of those questioned indicated them as being important in career selection. Only in the area of education and training did special measures appear to have an effect on between 8 and 29 per cent of the 16–19-year-olds questioned. However, since the "GI Bill of Rights" is already law and in operation, it was concluded that there was little more that could be added to increase inducements for volunteering above present levels. These findings pretty well corroborate the general feelings of those who have associated with our young soldiers over the years. Military motivation is not generally a commodity for sale. Even if it were, we might not elect to live with its results.

If we were to assume that we could raise a force for service in Vietnam on the basis of pay, the amounts paid would have to be competitive with those offered by civilian contractors or shipping lines in the same area. These rates are high. We could then find ourselves enmeshed in problems of differential pay for different areas of the world with all the difficulties that would surround its administration: equitable assignments, rotation, living standards, gold flow and impact on local economies. Changing from a $110 a month private to a $240 or $300 a month private would amount to a quantum leap forward in problems that a professional company commander would shudder to contemplate in the field or in garrison. The morale, esprit and discipline of a fighting force would tend to be substantially undermined. The personal risks, deprivations and discipline of military service do not appear to be compatible with a financial motivation. How do we get men in large numbers to risk their lives for a monetary reward? History tells us that mercenary soldiers tended to exhibit considerable reluctance to undergo serious risks and hardship and were frequently most difficult to discipline and control.

While Secretary Morris stated he felt the increased cost of a volunteer payroll might amount to about five to nine billion dollars, it could well come to much more if fringe benefits and combat bonuses were added and the services required of military personnel continued to be the high risk and high sacrifice variety now needed in Vietnam. There are other ways in which this kind of money could be spent to better advantage.

There are, of course, other disadvantages. A professional force envisages an organization with long service, high pay, and high investment per man. This implies increasing ages with stagnation in the lower officer and enlisted grades, higher percentages of married men, more dependents, more household goods to move and higher standards of living expected, with greater impact on local economies. Military service, in the combat arms at least, is a young man's game, and, as we have seen, we would like to see a healthy turnover in junior officer and enlisted ranks, probably somewhat larger than a professional force concept might envisage.

We also could expect that there would be an increasing loss of contact and rapport between the American society and its defenders. This would work two ways. The military would lose sympathy or understanding of civilian attitudes and values, while the citizen lost interest in the military problems facing the professional force. The abandonment of the requirement for the citizen to perform military service would have far reaching effects in degrading social solidarity and patriotic commitment. It would also tend to deprive the country of any sizable body of trained reserves. One could well foresee the pressure building up for the next step—that of hiring soldiers wherever we could hire them the most cheaply. Since they could be procured most cheaply abroad, we might soon find ourselves in the foreign legion business with European legions and Asiatic legions and with progressively fewer citizens interested in the risks, pay or working conditions of military service. Such a developing pattern is not new. The dangers and pitfalls in this approach have been pretty thoroughly explored. Few would recommend this path.

As one views the problem of military recruitment and its impact on society from the viewpoint of the using agencies, the following points stand out:

The present draft system does accomplish its objectives although with some inequity and lack of uniformity. There may be ways in which the efficiency of the system could be improved.

Both universal military training and a volunteer professional force would involve an excessive expenditure of funds and incur other disadvantages which generally outweigh the advantages foreseen.

The lottery system would substitute chance for a rational system of selection, would not substantially increase equity for individuals and could well have a most undesirable impact on military motivation and morale.

Universal service may be a most desirable concept when required in the national interest, but it is not, in fact, a reasonable substitute for the draft. It would not substantially improve the degree of equity for the individual but could have desirable effects in citizenship training and in providing services not otherwise obtained for our national community.

The ultimate welfare of a democracy lies in the hands of its informed and educated citizenry. Its freedom depends on the amount of sacrifice they are willing to offer in its defense. To divorce military service from the duties of citizenship would be the height of folly, inviting ultimate disaster. At the same time the hard facts are that for the foreseeable future we will have an increasing number of our younger citizens with a decreasing percentage required for military service. At the same time the requirements of the services for high caliber manpower are increasing with each advance in technology. Keeping in mind the steadily mounting costs of our military establishment, it is obviously in the national interest to obtain the most efficient military forces possible at the least possible cost, while involving at least some portion of our citizens in the process. Efficient and effective teams and organizations depend on high caliber personnel, while citizens' involvement implies a degree of rotation and obligatory service.

We know from experience that not all of our best young men seek to serve their country in the military service. We also tend to feel that those who eventually become our national leaders in government or business are somehow in a better position to evaluate national goals, objectives and problems if they have, in fact, performed duty in the Armed Forces. Social approval, recognition and status enhance the attractiveness and morale of the services. Good men in an organization tend to attract others while low quality personnel tend to drive them out. The social atmosphere and group relationships have very powerful attracting or repelling powers as well as a profound influence on group effectiveness.

There are a number of solutions which might be developed to cope with our problems of military recruitment. Regardless of the type of solution considered we should assure ourselves that it will fulfill the following conditions:

The increasing demands for high quality personnel for the Armed Forces would be met in the numbers considered essential.

Officers and specialists would be provided in the quality and numbers required.

The system would provide an ability to maintain reserve forces at the strengths and degree of readiness necessary to supplement relatively inflexible standing forces.

The total concept of manpower utilization would foster the principles of the duties, obligations and responsibilities which a citizen owes to his society.

The system would ensure some commitment of the public to the purposes to which their armed forces are committed and would prevent an alienation of the armed forces from the basic purposes and values of the society which supports them.

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ON THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF WINSTON CHURCHILL'S SPEECH AT FULTON, MO.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, speaking on March 6 at Westminster College in Fulton, Mo., Vice President HUMPHREY delivered a thoughtful and wide-ranging address in which he took note of the great changes which have taken place in Europe and in East-West relations since Winston Churchill's famous speech in 1946.

Calling for both a unified Western Europe and strengthened ties with Eastern Europe, the Vice President said that the Western alliance "must be an alliance for peace and peaceful progress, not simply against the specter of invasion from the East."

Among other constructive proposals—for Western unity, for building bridges to the East, and for East-West cooperation in assistance to the underdeveloped nations — Vice President HUMPHREY issued a timely call for the strengthening of the United Nations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Vice President HUMPHREY's speech at Westminster College be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF CHURCHILL ADDRESS, WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, FULTON, MO., MARCH 6, 1967

Exactly 21 years ago today, Winston Churchill spoke these well-remembered words.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent."

"The continent," of course, was Europe.

When Churchill spoke here, a new phase in history had begun—that post-war conflict, centered in Europe, which was to become known as the Cold War.

It is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relations with the peoples of Europe—a period of New Engagement.

And I believe that this new period, if we do not lose our wits or our nerve, or our patience, can see the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the Open Door.

When Churchill spoke here on March 5, 1946, there were many in this country—and elsewhere—who would not accept his stark characterization of the state of affairs in Europe.

But Churchill was right. And he was right to speak out.

The beginning of wisdom, the foundation of sound policy and action, is to face the facts.

What were the facts in March of 1946?

Western Europe lay helpless and prostrate after terrible war—literally dependent for her survival on the protection and goodwill of the United States. The political institutions, the economies, the peoples of Western Europe stood helpless—save for the United States—in face of the imperialist impulses emanating from the East.

There, Stalin had literally erected an Iron Curtain between the nations and peoples of Eastern Europe and those of the West. On his side of that Curtain he saw all as occupied territory . . . the spoils of war. And his further intentions were declared and clear.

What are the facts of March of 1967?

Western Europe stands second only to the United States as a free and powerful center of economic and social well-being. Because of their brave initiatives—and with our help— the nations of Western Europe stand able once again to assert their own role in the world.

In Eastern Europe the captive states of 21 years ago are once again reaching toward *their* own identities. The monolithic control which smothered and held them in the grip of terror is today diminishing.

The Iron Curtain itself—although firm and impenetrable in many places, as in Berlin—has become increasingly permeable in others. Goods, ideas and people have begun to crisscross the European continent.

The essence of the situation today is this: The European family—long-separated . . . long set against each other, yet still a family—is becoming reacquainted and is moving toward more normal relationships.

The Soviet Union, recovering by heroic effort from the frightful loss of human life and resources which it suffered in the war, has grown greatly in its capacity and its inclination to satisfy the material needs of the Russia people. No one who cares about the human condition can fail to rejoice at this fact. And its aggressive behavior has been tempered.

All these things have happened. Yet they did not happen by accident.

They have happened because we followed the course Winston Churchill counseled 21 years ago.

They have happened in large part because, in the face of Stalinist tyranny, we in America brought our power and protection to the rebuilding European continent.

They have happened because we helped and encouraged our European partners in their unceasing efforts toward self-renewal.

They have happened because—in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, yes, and in Cuba—the Soviet Union came to recognize that brute force—or its threat—could no longer be an acceptable means of attaining political goals.

If today the Soviet Union takes a more prudent and cautious course, it is—for more than any other reason—because together we and our Western partners have in these two decades stood firm and fast.

During this time, too, a constructive force has been at work in Western Europe—releasing the constraining bonds of old hostilities and closed institutions to the fresh stimulation of competition and cooperation across national boundaries. That constructive force has been the will of the peoples of Western Europe that they should unite.

Their desire for unity has been most manifest in the building of the European Communities, and of the initiatives of an increasing number of nations to join those communities.

This, too, has had a powerful influence on the positive changes which have taken place. And we have supported it.

Some today see Western European unity endangered by a rising wave of nationalism there.

And there are those who fear that the renewal of a narrower nationalism in Western Europe must be accepted as an inevitable and immutable fact—that we must resign ourselves to the abandonment of our support for unity, and to the acceptance of a return to power politics among nations.

There are a small few in other countries who conclude that the "realistic" next step toward a settlement of European problems can therefore only be by bilateral agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States—over the heads of our Western partners.

I do not believe this is "realism."

Neither do I believe a realistic settlement of European problems can be achieved by European nations without *our* participation, and that of the Soviet Union.

It is precisely now—at the time when new opportunities lie ahead—that we must retain cohesion with our Western partners—and they with us. If the Cold War is to end . . . if the Iron Curtain is to be lifted, we shall need them and they shall need us.

The task now, in light of a new situation, is not to throw away what has been successful, but to build constructively upon it.

I believe that the people of Western Europe will reject concepts of narrow nationalism and of national adventure, and will continue to move forward toward unity—toward a unified Western Europe open to expansion and conscious of its need to strengthen its ties with the nations of Eastern Europe.

I believe, too, that they will reject any severing of their ties across the Atlantic—ties built firmly on common cultural heritage, on common experience, on common interest.

For our part, we do not mean either to abandon our friends or to dominate them.

We know that American power continues to be necessary to stability in central Europe.

We know that difficult and intractable problems—such as arms control and the reunification of Germany—must continue to involve both American and European effort.

In our Alliance, the task is this: To transform what was built on fear and common threat into a vital, working instrument built on hope and common opportunity and common responsibility.

It must be an Alliance *for* peace and peaceful progress, not simply *against* the specter of invasion from the East. It must be an Alliance *for* promotion of social and economic welfare, not simply *against* a Communist threat.

For, as the President has said, the times require "a shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement."

To strengthen the Alliance, we in America must be determined to treat our Western European partners as *equal* partners . . . to consult with them, in the true sense of that word, in every area of common interest . . . and to practice forebearance as they find their way to new forms of cooperation and unity among themselves.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of open and honest consultation and discussion among the members of the Atlantic Alliance.

For, it is precisely now—when there is movement and ferment in Europe—that the temptations are greatest for unilateral action by the individual partners.

As I have said, it is imperative that we retain our solidarity. And to do so, we must all take the extra step to insure that no action should be undertaken by any one of the partners which might jeopardize the welfare and security of all.

We cannot afford the luxury of division.

We cannot afford it in matters of military security. Nor can we afford it in matters of high economic and social concern.

That is why:

We must, and we shall, be forthcoming in response to the initiatives taken by our Atlantic partners toward narrowing the "technology gap" between us. For, if we cannot narrow this gap between ourselves, how can we ever hope to narrow the far-greater gap between the Atlantic nations and the poor nations to the South?

We must, and we shall, persevere in our efforts to bring the Kennedy Round trade negotiation to a successful conclusion—one in which there is true reciprocity . . . one in which arbitrary and artificial restraints to trade may be removed and from which a far more efficient allocation of resources may result.

The goals of Western European unity and of Atlantic partnership are *not* in opposition to the goal of the Open Door. They are a first necessity in reaching it. They are the key to that door.

As we strive toward these former goals, how shall we proceed toward the latter?

First, we must work together with our Western European partners in encouraging a further development of trade, technological and cultural contacts with Eastern Europe.

This is why it is imperative that we seize each opportunity—such as the East-West Trade Bill now before the Congress—to increase the flow of people and trade to and from these previously-closed societies.

We look, for example, toward the time when the nations of Eastern Europe may become members of the GATT, and full participants in the work of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe.

Second, we must encourage the continued evolution of Soviet policy beyond the ambiguities of "peaceful coexistence" toward more substantial forms of cooperation.

We have negotiated a treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space.

We are working with others to bring about a treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons—a treaty acceptable and beneficial to the nuclear and non-nuclear powers alike.

We have concluded an air agreement with the Soviet Union and have just signed a new U.S.-Soviet cultural agreement.

Through liberalization of credit, and easing of travel restrictions, we hope to accelerate the exchange of goods and people.

We seek early Senate ratification of the United States-Soviet Consular Agreement.

We shall actively work toward closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and the nations of the West in space, in medicine, in peaceful technology.

We have not responded to the Soviet deployment of a limited anti-ballistic missile system by immediately beginning to build one of our own. Instead, we seek to convince the Soviet leaders that this would merely mean yet another costly round in the arms race. After the expenditure of many billions of dollars, neither of us would be more secure than when we started.

Our objective is not to step up the arms race, but to slow it down or halt it, to the mutual interest of *all* nations.

Third, we must work toward a settlement of those European problems which have been left unresolved in the aftermath of the War.

At the heart of this is the reunification of Germany.

As I said earlier, this is a matter which concerns not only Europeans, but America and the Soviet Union as well.

It is a matter, too—and this sometimes seems nearly forgotten—important for the people of Germany.

Thus reunification can only take place after the most thorough and careful consultations among all parties involved. Reunification is a difficult goal. But it is a necessary one, if stability and peace are finally to be achieved in central Europe.

Fourth, no nation can hope to be an island of security in a turbulent world. We must therefore consider how the resources of the industrialized parts of the world can usefully assist the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that progress and stability and hope may overcome despair and violence.

It does not require much foresight to realize that the widening gap between growing populations and diminishing food supplies is approaching a time of explosion.

Shall we sit in complacency, lulled by creature comforts, until we are engulfed in chaos? Or shall we act, now and together?

It is Europe's problem—*and the Soviet Union's*—as much as it is ours, and we must consult together, plan together, and combine our wisdom and resources to help work toward security and peaceful development in the poverty-stricken parts of the world.

Those who have launched the technological revolution—a revolution without ideology—have the responsibility to see that its benefits are more widely shared by others.

For poverty breeds disorder, and hunger breeds violence. And it has been the lesson of these past few years that it is precisely in the poverty-stricken and hungry parts of the world where a conflict might arise which would draw the super-powers into disastrous confrontation.

Fifth, we must continue to develop and strengthen international institutions which *will provide a framework of law and order in the world,* in which nations of all ideologies may find common and peaceful grounds for settlement of disputes.

Churchill said aptly, that "jaw, jaw is better than war, war."

Most important of such institutions is the United Nations.

The United Nations, among other things, is an unmatched buffer zone between conflicting interests and ideologies. It is a place where reason and compromise may interpose themselves before major nations reach the point of no return.

It is the invaluable "middle man" . . . the honest broker necessary when normal contacts fail.

And it is also an invaluable instrument of peace-keeping in places around the world where major powers might otherwise feel it necessary to inject themselves.

There is no denying that the Soviet Union, as our Western partners and ourselves, has a vital interest in the strength and health of an institution which may serve as a force for order and restraint among us.

Let us examine these things:

Greater exchange at all levels with the nations of Eastern Europe;

Active pursuit and encouragement of "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union;

A European settlement including the reunification of Germany;

Joint efforts with our former adversaries in helping the developing countries;

Building a system of international order in which these same former adversaries are our partners.

Would any of these things have been at all imaginable when Winston Churchill stood here 21 years ago?

When the final realization sank in on the last doubter that an Iron Curtain indeed *was* being erected across the heart of Europe, how many of us had reason for hope that in 1967—so short a time later—it might be possible to begin replacing it with an Open Door?

In the center of free Berlin there stands today a stark ruin—the skeleton of a church, preserved to symbolize eternally the depravity of war.

It is our hope that the Iron Curtain may one day, too, lie in ruins—its remnants a symbol of a time that mercifully ended.

A great act in the human drama lies at hand: Through a new Engagement in Europe we have the chance to shape a commonwealth of progress dedicated not to war but to peace . . . not to doctrinal conflict but to constructive reconciliation.

We have the chance, as President Johnson has expressed it "to help the people of Europe to achieve together:

A continent in which the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe work shoulder to shoulder for the common good;

A continent in which alliances do not confront each other in bitter hostility, but instead provide a framework in which West and East can act together in order to assure the security of all."

Therefore, I leave you with this: Who is to say, if we in the West stand together and in unity, where the next two decades may lead?

Who is to say, if our rich and powerful nation exerts the enlightened leadership of which it is capable, what bright new fulfillment may lie ahead for the human family?

Our guide could be no better than that set forth here 21 years ago by Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men . . . the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

America is ready to play its role.

THE INCREASE OF CRIME

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the increase of crime in the United States in recent years has become a subject of mounting concern for the present administration, Congress, and the American people.

Various studies have been made and recommendations proposed for combating the crime and lawlessness which now plagues America. Many varied explanations and sometimes excuses have been offered in an attempt to show why the crime rate is so high and why in many parts of the country it is no longer safe to walk the streets.

Unfortunately, in attempting to get at crime in America, there has been too much sociological meandering, and not enough attention to the needs of law enforcement in order that it may do a more effective job, in the best interests of the security and safety of our law-abiding citizens.

Mr. President, it is my belief that if law enforcement is to prevail over lawlessness, our policemen must be given the tools with which to work, and they must have more public support than they have had in the past. Moreover, they also need more support from many of our courts, principally the U.S. Supreme Court, which, according to the Sunday Star of Washington, has lost all sense of keeping the scales of justice in balance. Congress has the power and the duty to take corrective action, and I hope that it will do so.

Said the Star in an editorial yesterday:

> The notion that the purpose of our system of criminal justice is to convict the guilty and absolve the innocent is out the window.

The Sunday Star discussed this problem in a very fine editorial last Sunday. I recommend it to the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Problem—Unequal Justice Under Law

The inscription carved in bold letters over the imposing entrance to the Supreme Court building suggests that the nation's highest tribunal is dedicated to the concept of Equal Justice Under Law. The fact is that the court, in major rulings is criminal cases in recent years, has been dispensing a brand of justice that is deplorably unequal. And this is what the shooting has been about this past week in the hearings before Senator McClellan's subcommittee.

Assuming that law-abiding people have rights, and we think they have or should have, these rights have been recklessly disregarded by a majority of the court. The President has often spoken of the right of the people to be secure in their homes, on the streets and in their places of business. Each day brings new evidence, however, that this is rhetoric and nothing more. For the people are not secure anywhere. And this insecurity is due in considerable part to the extreme lengths to which a five-man majority of the court has gone in enlarging and protecting the rights of criminals. Reading such opinions as those in the Escobedo and Miranda cases, one might think that the court majority has never heard of the rights of the public—and couldn't care less. Certainly it does not subscribe to the view expressed by Justice White in his dissent in the Miranda case that "the most basic function of government is to provide for the security of the individual and his property."

This process of shielding the criminal at the expense of the public safety grew out of a laudable purpose to erect safeguards against criminal convictions based on coerced or involuntary confessions. There was ample reason for this some 25 or 30 years ago. For the third degree, even in those relatively recent days, had not disappeared from the law-enforcement scene. And a coerced confession is both offensive to one's sense of justice and unreliable as an item of evidence.

The trouble is that the court has not known where to stop, has lost all sense of keeping the scales in balance. The notion that the purpose of our system of criminal justice is to convict the guilty and absolve the innocent is out the window. The commendable effort to erect greater safeguards against involuntary confessions has been carried to such lengths that entirely voluntary confessions are now in jeopardy. In fact, Justice White has said that the court majority seems to be moving in the direction of barring all confessions. He could very well be right.

The hearings which Senator McClellan has been holding have moved along two main lines. One effort has been to find a way to reverse or at least to minimize the pernicious effect on law-enforcement of the court's 5 to 4 rulings with respect to confessions. The other has been to work out legislation to strengthen the hand of those whose duty it is to enforce the laws.

This second undertaking, largely concerned with legislation to permit the use of wiretap evidence and electronic bugs, presents few problems. Congress will get no help in this from the President or the Department of Justice. Still, at least as of this time, there seems to be no constitutional barrier to such legislation.

The subcommittee received a very strong statement on these matters from Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Lumbard was especially concerned with the problem of organized crime. It is, he said, almost impossible to curb it under existing restrictions on enforcement agencies.

Opponents of wiretapping sometimes misrepresent the "dirty business" comment by Justice Holmes in support of their stand. In a reference to this, Judge Lumbard said: "There is no dirtier business today than the business of organized crime; it rules by violence and terror; it victimizes the public and corrupts public officials. Every possible resource of government should be used to expose and destroy it."

He meant that he thought Congress should move without delay to sanction the use of wiretaps and electronic devices, under suitable controls, and we heartily agree.

The question of what to do about the unreasonable and unneeded obstacles which the court has erected against the use of voluntary confessions is a tougher question. For the five-man majority wrapped its Escobedo and Miranda rulings in constitutional interpretations. And this, though the interpretations were gross distortions of what the Constitution says, makes it difficult for Congress to remedy the rulings.

Senator Ervin, himself a former judge, would take two approaches. First, he would amend the Constitution to overcome the effect of the court's rulings on confessions. Second, with the support of 19 other senators, he has introduced a bill which would strip the Supreme Court and other Federal appellate courts of jurisdiction to make such rulings as those in Escobedo and Miranda.

What he is trying to do, and it is a worthy objective, is to get back to the decades-old state of the law in which the test of a confession was whether it had been made voluntarily or not. If voluntary, it would be admissible. And the Supreme Court would not be permitted to throw out a voluntary confession by reading something into the Constitution that was never before thought to be there.

The constitutional amendment route is long and difficult. And while Congress, under Article III of the Constitution, apparently has authority to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, this would be a drastic remedy. One must hope that some other way can be found—even assuming that Congress would accept the Ervin proposal.

A somewhat different approach is being urged by Senator McClellan. He, too, would re-establish the admissibility of voluntary confessions. But he would do this by having Congress spell out the meaning of voluntariness and set up standards by which a trial judge and jury would make the judgment on this question. Should this be tried, the Supreme Court might say that the new law is unconstitutional under its own rulings. But the senator hopes that at least one member of the majority, upon further reflection, might change his mind.

Various other recommendations have been laid before the McClellan subcommittee, including a strong statement from Senator Bible urging rectification of the notorious Mallory rule. And we hope that Congress, which for years has been marching up and down the crime-remedy hill, will at last be moved to take effective action.

Still, even though nothing finally emerges in this session, time will not have been wasted. For these hearings and the strong statements by most of the witnesses are a reflection of the mood, not of a few men on Capitol Hill, but of the overwhelming majority of the American people. A President or a Supreme Court justice may be personally remote from contact with crime. But the people are not; they live in its shadow every day and every night. And they are sick and tired of unequal justice. The volume of crime is going to continue its upward climb, and sooner or later the people will make themselves heard.

A final word: Some people think it is almost subversive to criticize the Supreme Court, and that any criticism must spring from ignorance or malice. Let them read the dissenting opinions of Justices Harlan, Clark, Stewart and White. No more severe condemnations of the majority rulings can be found than those which appear in these dissents. And if the five members in the majority will not heed even the protests of their own brethren, they will have no one but themselves to blame as the Supreme Court and, still worse, the law itself, falls into disrepute.

THE U.S. PAYMENTS GAP—WHITHER NOW?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, an interesting article on the U.S. payments gap is contained in the latest "Economic Letter" of the First National City Bank of New York. It states that the balance-of-payments deficit on a liquidity basis rose only $100 million in 1966 from the $1.3 billion deficit in 1965. Although the total picture gives some cause for encouragement, the gains resulting from returns on investment, and inflows of foreign capital incident to the high interest rates, masked a deterioration in other basic sectors of the balance of payments.

As example, our trade surplus narrowed to $3.7 billion, the lowest since 1959. Military expenditures and foreign aid continued to increase. Military costs rose $800 million from the previous year, almost 90 percent of which is attributable to the Vietnam war.

The concluding section of the article poses the question: "Whither Now?"—a question which prompts careful thought with respect to our growing payments deficit.

I ask unanimous consent that this section of the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITHER NOW?

The renewed weakening in the U.S. international payments position is a matter of deep concern. It is all the more unfortunate as it comes after repeated high-level assurances to the world that our payments would be brought into sustainable order. For deficits mean weakness at international bargaining tables; the demonstrable capability of achieving a viable balance means strength in the world's financial as well as political affairs.

For the longer run, of course, there are elements of fundamental strength in the international position of the dollar. Sooner or later, the Vietnam war will be ended. Year in year out, the United States has been building up productive assets abroad that have greatly exceeded its gold losses and increases in its short-term liabilities; the income from these assets is growing. And even though the recent price-cost push has interrupted a period of reasonable price stability, inflationary pressures may well remain less persistent and less pervasive in the United States than in other large industrial countries—so long as Americans work hard and display good sense, courage and skill in managing their economic and financial affairs. Economic efficiency and productivity, and reasonable price stability, will help the U.S. export performance, provided that the main trading nations succeed in safeguarding a reasonably free access to each other's markets.

But, however the longer-run outlook is assessed, the hard fact of life today is that the United States remains overstrained internationally, supplying more dollars abroad than other nations really want and are ready to retain willingly. Much of the payments deficit must thus be met in gold from the Treasury's still sizable but not inexhaustible stock.

Lasting relief cannot come from such measures as increasing stringency of the restraints on private investments abroad, as exemplified most recently by raising the interest equalization tax. It can come only from a major overhaul of government spending overseas and from recreating conditions under which our economy will experience less pressure on its resources than during 1966. As 1967 is shaping up, much will depend on how the U.S. economy moves back to a more nearly balanced growth.

A THOUGHTFUL SENATOR SPEAKS OUT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, in a thoughtful as well as thought-provoking article entitled "Why Don't You Speak Out, Senator?" published in the March 18, 1967, issue of the New Republic, the able and distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN] reviews the ever-increasing voices being heard in the Senate, and of Senators speaking from other forums, against the escalating military involvement of the United States in the undeclared war in Vietnam.

It is, indeed, unfortunate that those voices have not had more effect in determining the course of that war—indeed, in terminating it.

Senator MCGOVERN rightly expresses his belief:

> Our deepening military involvement in Southeast Asia represents the most regrettable diplomatic, political and moral failure in our national history.

This coincides wholly with my own frequently expressed view that our military involvement there is the worst mistake our country has made in the nearly two centuries of our national existence.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator MCGOVERN's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DON'T YOU SPEAK OUT, SENATOR?

DEAR SENATOR MCGOVERN: I appreciate the things you are doing in the Senate, but why so quiet on Vietnam? Why don't you senators have the guts to speak out against this terrible war instead of leaving it to the college kids?

Letters of this kind have come not only to me but to most of my colleagues in the last two or three years. As one who believes that our deepening military involvement in Southeast Asia represents the most regrettable diplomatic, political and moral failure in our national history, I react to such queries with some feeling—perhaps some measure of guilt, and a deep sense of frustration over the failure of Senate dissent, including my own, to influence our course in Vietnam.

The truth is that there has been an unprecedented volume of thoughtful criticism by senators, in floor speeches and committee hearings, on public platforms, over radio and television, in mass circulation articles, countless news releases, and in confidential discussion with the President and high Administration officials. While the major part of this effort has rested on a dozen senators nearly a third of the Senate has raised searching questions.

Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, for example, one of the most articulate orators ever to serve in Congress, has for three years literally bombarded our policymakers from the Senate floor and from platforms across the nation. Senator Ernest Gruening, a tough-minded old warrior of wisdom and conviction, has waged a relentless campaign to reverse the Administration's course in Vietnam.

Senator J. William Fulbright, with intelligence and sophistication, has conducted hearings in depth to which he has brought the country's most respected authorities—much of this on nationwide TV and all of it widely reported in the press. Mr. Fulbright has placed the full force of his reputation and a prestigious committee chairmanship behind public hearings, Senate floor statements, and a stream of articles, books, lectures and television interviews. His case against our policy in Vietnam has not been accepted by the Administration, though it seems to me to be so thoroughly convincing as to be irresistible.

In the fall of 1965 Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and Vermont's respected Senator George Aiken, the senior Republican in the Senate, and several other highly regarded Senate moderates conducted a thorough study tour of Southeast Asia. That effort led to the sobering "Mansfield Report" signed by every senator in the group. This report, published in full or in considerable part in the nation's press, clearly spelled out the folly of what was then becoming an "open-ended" war in Vietnam. It was all but ignored.

Nearly a year prior to the Mansfield report, other senators, including Church of Idaho, Clark of Pennsylvania, Bartlett of Alaska, Gore of Tennessee, and Nelson of Wisconsin, had raised pointed questions about our Vietnam policy. I believe it was this Senate floor discussion early in 1965 which finally prompted the President to make his April 7, 1965, offer at Baltimore for unconditional discussions with Hanoi. On the afternoon of the Baltimore address, the President called Senator Church and me to his office at the White House to examine an advance copy of his text and to tell us in effect that we were "getting our way" on the negotiation offer. Actually, the speech struck a shrewd balance between hawks and doves and was accompanied by an escalation of the war. It did, however, represent a partial response to Senate dissent, though I have come to think it was primarily calculated to disarm the dissenters at home and abroad without changing policy.

The 37-day bombing pause of late 1965 and early 1966 was also partially an outgrowth of Senate pressure. Sixteen senators, including Hartke of Indiana and McCarthy of Minnesota, signed a letter urging an extension of the bombing pause. These senators have individually and in groups subsequently taken issue with the official line.

To grasp both the frustration of dissenting senators and their limited impact on Administration policy, it is necessary to consider the experience of Senator Robert Kennedy. Because of the prestige of his name, the size of his state, and his possible presidential interests, any statement by the junior senator from New York is assured of much closer press coverage and attention by the Administration than the average senator could expect.

On Thursday morning, March 2, Senator Kennedy called to advise me that he expected to take the Senate floor that afternoon at 3 p.m. to discuss American policy in Vietnam. He and his advisers had been at work for weeks on a major Vietnam proposal and had been calling other senators and members of the press to alert them.

That afternoon, when Kennedy took the floor, the press gallery was jammed and a considerable number of senators were in their seats with advance copies of the speech which called for a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam accompanied by an invitation to Hanoi to begin peace negotiations within a week.

As the senator was preparing to speak, the Administration launched a series of strenuous moves to "kill" the speech. The White House quickly called an impromptu news conference to announce that Russia had agreed to a proposal made weeks before to discuss methods of limiting the arms race. The President also reiterated his determination to continue the bombing. In a rather remarkable contrast to the days when we used to regard the war as primarily a Vietnamese conflict with our forces there simply to assist Saigon, he added: "I think the American people should know that this is a question between their President, their country, their troops, and Mr. Ho Chi Minh and the troops that he is sending in from the North. Everyone can take whatever side of the matter he wants." As *The Washington Post* observed the following day, the President was reacting as though the war were "no more than a personal vendetta between Lyndon Johnson and Ho Chi Minh." No matter the views or interests of our ally in Saigon or our principal enemy, the Viet Cong in the South, or the United States—please keep out of this private affair between the White House and Ho Chi Minh!

Kennedy's suggestions for negotiation tied to a bombing pause were further blanketed by a letter which the President had previously arranged for release through Senator Henry Jackson. Simultaneously, Kennedy's proposal was being blasted by Secretary of State Rusk and General Westmoreland—Rusk saying that we had already tried this approach and Westmoreland saying it was too dangerous to try.

The treatment given Kennedy recalled the President's sudden rush to Honolulu a year ago when Senator Fulbright's hearings were capturing mass television audiences and large news headlines.

Those of us who have observed the inability of such prestigious senators as Mansfield, Fulbright and Kennedy to influence significantly our policy can be at least partially forgiven if we conclude that our own less publicized efforts are of limited value.

It should be noted that the Senate critics have experimented with a variety of approaches "to reach the President's ear." Most of the dissenters have accompanied their criticism with positive alternatives to our present course. Their initiatives have been backed by many of the nation's most vocal citizens and private groups. Seldom in our history have so many enlightened and morally sensitive political, religious and educational leaders joined in opposing a wartime policy of our government.

Their principal satisfaction to date, however, has been the nervous, unprovable assumption that we would be involved in an even larger war had it not been for the critics both in and out of the Senate. There may be the further hope that while dissent is not likely to halt a war it serves to point up the painful lessons that we must learn if we are to avoid another such ill-advised venture in the future.

To the man who writes "Why don't you speak out, Senator?" my answer is, "We have, and we can only pray that it has served some useful purpose."

George McGovern.

DEATH OF JOSEPH GOLDBERG, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on Sunday, March 12, Joseph Goldberg, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor, died at the age of 53 from a heart attack.

Joseph Goldberg's death is a real loss to the people of the United States and the citizens of the District of Columbia, and it is a loss to me personally.

Joe was born in Poland, and his rise to outstanding accomplishment and service to the United States is heartwarming. I first met Joe in 1960, when he was assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare as technical adviser to the Subcommittee on Labor during its consideration of amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act.

As almost any Member of Congress will agree, the Fair Labor Standards Act, governing minimum wages and working conditions for millions of American workers, is one of the most intricate and complex fields of the law. Joe soon demonstrated that he was an expert, but even more he demonstrated an honesty and integrity, a passion for the poor and underprivileged who were unprotected by this law.

It was not until 1961 that the Fair Labor Standards Act amendments, bringing the minimum wage up to $1.25, were adopted. Joe continued to provide valuable help to Members of Congress that year. He was in constant attendance at markup sessions of the committee and helped us with many constituent complaints.

Starting in 1963 and culminating in 1966, Joe provided expert technical advice for the enactment of a minimum wage law covering the District of Columbia. He was indeed the District Committee's principal adviser, trusted by Senators on both sides of the aisle, and a participant in every critical session of the District Committee's discussions of this legislation. It could be rightly said that the minimum wage law today for the District of Columbia is a monument to Joe Goldberg.

I know that Joe Goldberg's death will be a loss to the Department of Labor and a loss to Esther Peterson, for whom he was an immediate assistant, but most of all I know it will be a loss to his wife and children.

I hope especially that his son, Stephen, and daughters, Susan and Lucy, will grow and mature with the image of their father before them, an image of devotion to the American people, and a person of great moral character.

THE QUALITIES OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, recently, the Washington Post commented editorially on a remark made by President Johnson to the effect that Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey is an able and indispensable ally. That editorial does, I believe, a highly commendable job of evaluating the performance of Hubert Humphrey as Vice President. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in its entirety following the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, as students of constitutional history know, the role and mission of the Vice President has been greatly expanded in recent years. The duties of today's Vice President require a depth and breadth of skill, experience, and judgment which could not have been imagined by the Founding Fathers who, after all, failed to define the duties of that office after considering a committee report which had been drawn up over a single weekend.

It has been said of the Presidency that the office shapes the man. While the same bit of conventional wisdom applies to the Vice Presidency, future commentators will surely note the singular contribution which Hubert Humphrey has made personally in shaping that high office and in giving it new life and a very special place in the American political experience.

I am pleased to commend this editorial to the attention of Senators who, far better than most persons, know firsthand the brilliant competence of Vice President Humphrey.

A Model Vice President

It is good to know that President Johnson appreciates the qualities of Vice President Hubert Humphrey as a public servant. His kind remarks about the Vice President at the press conference on Thursday certainly are deserved. It would be dismaying indeed if the President did not hold these views.

The Vice President has brilliantly succeeded in an office that presents the greatest difficulty to a man of his temperament and genius. Congress has given him two special tasks to which he devotes great attention—outer space and undersea exploration. The President has showered him with special duties and missions. He has dealth with all of them competently and quietly. History will have to disclose how valuable he has been in the inside councils of the Administration but there is reason to believe he has been very useful there.

The most important legacy that he will leave the country will be a concept of the Vice Presidency that fits both its subordinate position in the Executive Branch and the necessities of modern administration. Not for an instant has he allowed himself a word or a deed that would indicate any confusion about the place where there resides the constitutional duty and power to speak for the Government of the United States. He has rightly said, and repeatedly said, that there can be only one authoritative voice—and that is the voice of the President. He has been the President's echo on every public policy discussion of the Administration. And whenever the Vice President, under our system, tries to be anything other than that, "the trumpet maketh an uncertain sound."

No wonder the President admires his public service. The thoughtful citizens of this country also admire it and understand it. He is, in truth, the very model of a model Vice President.

SELECTION OF JURORS IN FEDERAL COURTS

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the administration's current civil rights bill, like its predecessor which was defeated in the Senate last year, contains in title I extremely important proposals for a revolutionary reform of the jury selection procedures in the Federal courts. One of my major objections to this proposal has been that its merits have never been adequately analyzed—either in Congress or in the country at large. The administration's jury selection proposals have been shielded from meaningful debate by the decision to make them a civil rights issue.

To some extent this unfortunate situation has improved in recent days. I was pleased that the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] chose to introduce a series of six alternative proposals for jury selection reform and that he has scheduled these bills for hearings in his Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary. I hope that in this way jury reform can be evaluated on its own merits.

Apparently, the editors of the American Bar Association Journal have also appreciated the fact that the 1966 debate on civil rights failed to produce much enlightened discussion of these very serious jury proposals. They recently asked the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] and me to present in essay form a summary of the arguments for and against title I. The provocative article by Senator HART is really the first thoughtful statement by the proponents of title I, and it has helped to raise the level of debate toward its proper plane.

In the interest of widening this discussion still further, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "The Case for Federal Jury Reform," written by Senator PHILIP A. HART, and my article entitled "Jury Reform Needs More Thought," published in the February 1967 issue of the American Bar Association Journal, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SELECTION OF FEDERAL JURORS

(A discussion of proposed changes by Senators PHILIP A. HART of Michigan and SAM J. ERVIN Jr., of North Carolina)

(NOTE.—On the following pages, two distinguished members of the United States Senate set forth differing views on how the names of prospective jurors should be chosen for the federal courts. The problem was before the 89th Congress as Title I of the much-debated Civil Rights Bill of 1966, and it seems certain that similar legislation will be introduced in the new Congress.

(Surprisingly enough, the question is not one that has received much attention from the organized Bar. A resolution opposing the provisions of Title I was introduced in the House of Delegates in Montreal last August and was voted down after several hours of heated debate. At that time, a former President of the Association remarked that "in some inexplicable fashion" the subject had until then escaped the attention of the legal profession.

(According to its sponsors, Title I was intended to assure that federal grand and petit jurors are selected from a full cross section of the community. The legislation contained four basic features that were meant to accomplish this.

(First, the bill specifically stated that no citizen "shall be denied the right to serve on grand and petit juries . . . on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status". The present law, Section 1863 of Title 28 of the United States Code, merely provides that no citizen "shall be excluded from service . . . on account of race or color".

(Next, the legislation designates voter registration lists as the exclusive source from which names of prospective jurors may be drawn. The only exception is the case where use of the registration rolls would still not produce a true cross section. In that case, the judicial council of the circuit could order the addition of other names in order to achieve a cross section. The present law, Section 1864 of Title 28, specifies that the names of prospective jurors shall be drawn from a box containing the names of not fewer than 300 persons, but it does not spell out how the names are to be obtained.

(Third, the legislation compels use of a master jury wheel from which the names of potential jurors would be selected at random. The only qualifications that could be required of jurors are ability "to read, write, speak, and understand English". No higher qualifications could be imposed, and thus the "blue ribbon jury" or the "key-man system", used in many parts of the country, would be eliminated. This is one of the most controversial features of the proposal.

(Finally, the legislation includes a challenge provision whereby any defendant in a criminal case would be entitled to dismissal or a stay of proceedings on the ground of failure to comply with the bill's provisions.

(Senator Hart urges that these proposals be adopted. He argues that the present statute allows jury commissioners too much leeway in selecting jurors and he points out that Negroes have been substantially underrepresented on juries in the South.

(Senator Ervin argues that the proposal is awkward and perhaps unworkable. He contends that the goal of juries that are a true cross section of the community is an impossible one, and he points out that the standards imposed by the legislation are at odds with the statement of the Judicial Conference of the United States that jury commissioners should select jurors of "as high a degree of integrity, intelligence, morality and common sense as possible".)

THE CASE OF THE FEDERAL JURY REFORM

(By PHILIP A. HART, U.S. Senator from Michigan)

The basic responsibilities of jury officials, federal and state, are imposed by the Constitution. "The American tradition of trial by jury, considered in connection with either criminal or civil proceedings, necessarily contemplates an impartial jury drawn from a cross-section of the community." *Thiel* v. *Southern Pacific Company*, 328 U.S. 217, 220 (1946). The Supreme Court has recognized that it is impossible to select completely representative juries. "Neither the jury roll nor the venire need be a perfect mirror of the community or accurately reflect the proportionate strength of every identifiable group." *Swain* v. *Alabama*, 380 U.S. 202, 208 (1965). But the Court has made it equally clear that the Constitution not only bars conscious discrimination, but that jury officials have a "constitutional duty . . . not to pursue a course of conduct in the administration of their office which would operate to discriminate in the selection of jurors on racial grounds". *Hill* v. *Texas*, 316 U.S. 400, 404 (1942). Other decisions make it clear that discrimination in jury selection on account of religion, sex, national origin or economic status is similarly proscribed.[1] In other words, jury officials have an affirmative duty to insure that their source lists of potential jurors substantially reflect a broad cross-section of the population of the community and that the subsequent steps in the selection process will operate in the long run to produce truly representative juries.

The fundamental defect in the present laws relating to the selection of federal juries—contained in Chaper 121 of the Judicial Code—is that they do not afford sufficient guidance to federal jury commissioners as to how they should discharge the duties imposed upon them by the Constitution. No specific source of names of potential jurors is prescribed, and the subsequent steps in the selection process are left largely to local determination. The practical consequences of this lack of statutory guidance were summed up by one of the district court clerks who submitted statements to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee in the course of the subcommittee's hearings on the Administration's 1966 Civil Rights Bill:

> "Faced with the lack of statutory guidelines as to an acceptable system of jury selection, and cognizant of the many directives arising out of decisions of the courts affecting jury selection generally, the Federal jury commissioners are faced with an extremely difficult task in order to perform their duties and fulfill the responsibilties of their office."[2]

The present systems for selecting federal juries do vary significantly from district to district. It may be that in most districts federal juries are more or less representative of the population. But there is considerable evidence that the varied systems now used in many areas do not produce truly representative juries.

An informal survey conducted by the Department of Justice last year with respect to the composition of jury panels and lists of qualified jurors in certain federal judicial districts in the South indicates that Negroes have been substantially underrepresented on juries in several federal courts in that area.[3]

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[1] See *Showgurow* v. *Maryland*, 213 A. 2d 475 (Md. 1965); *White* v. *Crook*, 251 F. Supp. 401 (M.D. Ala. 1966); *Hernandez* v. *Texas*, 347 U.S. 475 (1954); *Labat* v. *Bennett*, 365 F. 2d 698 (5th Cir. 1966).

[2] *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on S. 3296*, 89th Cong., 2d Sess., pt. 2, at 1463–1464 (1966). These hearings are hereafter cited as *Subcommittee Hearings*.

[3] *Subcommittee Hearings*, at 238.

For example, in three divisions of one five-division Southern federal court, the United States Attorney estimated that only 8 to 12 per cent of the persons on recent jury panels were Negroes. In that district over 40 per cent of the population 21 years of age or older is Negro. In one division of another Deep South district where 50 per cent of the population is Negro, it was estimated that only 5 per cent of the members of jury panels were Negro. In none of the federal judicial districts surveyed in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi or Texas did the percentage of Negroes on federal jury lists or panels approach the percentage of age-eligible Negroes in the district.

The problem of underrepresentation of Negroes on federal juries in the South is perhaps best illustrated by the decision last July of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in *Rabinowitz* v. *United States*, 366 F. 2d 34. In that case it was stipulated that the federal jury officials had acted in good faith. Nevertheless, only 5.9 per cent of the persons on the jury list for the division in question were Negroes, while 34.5 per cent of the adult population of the division was Negro. It appeared, moreover, that when the jury list had last been reconstituted in 1959, 557 new names had been added to the list, and only four of those names were of Negroes.

Against the background of these statistics, a majority of the eight-judge panel held that the statutory cross-section requirement had been violated and ordered the convictions reversed and the indictments dismissed. The majority in *Rabinowitz* also held that present 28 U.S.C. § 1861 prescribes the maximum qualifications that may be required of federal jurors and that the jury commissioners' practice of imposing higher qualifications of "intelligence" and "moral character" was illegal. In other words, the *Rabinowitz* ruling abolishes so-called blue ribbon juries in the Fifth Circuit.

Some might read the *Rabinowitz* decision as merely an illustration of a regional problem of underrepresentation of Negroes. In my judgment, the case has profound implications with respect to the fairness of jury selection procedures in all parts of the country. In the *Rabinowitz* case the jury officials had relied on the "key-man" system in securing names of potential jurors, and they had limited their contacts almost exclusively to white "key men". The key-man system—under which the jury officials ask various individuals, usually prominent persons in the district, the submit names of persons who, in the opinion of the key men, would be suitable for jury service—is now being used to some extent or as the exclusive means of securing names of potential jurors in about half of the federal judicial districts, including districts in the North, South, East and West. Although I do not mean to imply that that system inevitably operates to exclude such disproportionate numbers of minority groups as it did in the *Rabinowitz* case, I am convinced that the key-man system, even when followed in complete good faith, may often operate to produce nonrepresentative juries.

A study of the operation of the keyman system in an Eastern seaboard district court strongly supports the view that that system produces disproportionately white-collar, upper class juries.[4] The study analyzed the occupational classes of jurors in that court between 1958 and 1961. Names of jurors had been solicited from a wide variety of individuals and organizations, including elected officials, corporations, civic and social organizations, churches and labor unions. The study revealed that while managers, officials and proprietors constituted 9.5 per cent of the labor force eligible for jury service, they constituted 33.5 per cent of the persons on the jury lists. On the other hand, while "operative" employees—*i.e.*, delivery men and semiskilled factory workers—constituted 20.2 per cent of the jury-eligible labor force, they constituted only 7.1 per cent of the persons on the jury list. Service workers, such as waiters and domestic workers, made up 13.2 per cent of the jury-eligible labor force but were only 4.3 per cent of the persons on the jury list. Finally, while laborers made up 8 per cent of the jury-eligible labor force, only 2 per cent of the persons on the jury list were laborers.

Present system favors certain litigants

We cannot be satisfied with a jury selection system in the various federal courts which operates to produce more or less representative juries in some areas and nonrepresentative juries in others. The result of the present diversity in selection systems is that certain types of defendants and litigants have a better (or worse) chance in some federal courts than in others. This is inconsistent not only with the policy of uniformity in federal law but also with the fundamental principle of the equal protection of the laws.

In my view, there is an urgent need for new federal legislation to provide a uniform federal juror selection system that will assure that federal juries in district courts throughout the country represent a broad cross-section of the community. To achieve that goal, the legislation must embody the following basic features:

1. Names of all potential federal jurors must be selected from a uniform and broadly representative source.

2. Random selection must govern the taking of names from the basic sources and, when appropriate, each successive narrowing step in the selection process.

3. The federal jury officials must be required to follow uniform procedures that narrow the areas open to the exercise of individual discretion. This concept is particularly important with respect to determinations of whether a person is qualified to serve. Their determinations must be based exclusively on objective criteria.

4. Authority to excuse and exclude individuals and classes of persons from jury service must be relatively narrow in order to assure implementation not only of the cross-section policy but also of the principle that jury service is a serious obligation of citizenship.

Last year President Johnson sent to the Eighty-Ninth Congress a proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 (S. 3296; H.R. 14765). Title I of this bill prescribed for the selection of jurors in the federal district courts a uniform system that incorporated each of the basic features listed above.

Extended hearings were held on the Administration bill and similar proposals by subcommittees of the Committees on the Judiciary in both the House and Senate. Following adoption of certain amendments in the House Judiciary Committee and during House floor debate, the Administration bill, including Title I, was passed by the House of Representatives on August 9, 1966, by a roll call vote of 259 to 157 and transmitted to the Senate.

As Senate floor manager of the Administration bill, I made a motion in early September that the full Senate take up the House-passed bill. Opponents of the bill then began a filibuster against the motion to consider the bill, and, unfortunately, this tactic was successful and prevented Senate action in the critical area of federal jury reform by the Eighty-Ninth Congress. However, many of my Senate colleagues and I remain convinced that the federal jury selection systems must be reformed and that the substance of Title I of the 1966 bill is a practical and effective response to this need.

The mechanics of the selection procedure prescribed by Title I were as follows:

1. The jury commission for each district or division would obtain copies of the voter registration lists of persons registered to vote in the district or division from local election officials.

2. The commission would select a specific number of names from the voter lists, in accordance with a random selection procedue prescribed by the chief judge of the district—for example, every hundredth name on the lists.

3. The jury officials would write each name on a card or slip of paper and place it in a "master jury wheel".

4. As a need for jurors arose, they would draw at random from the master wheel the number of names expected to be required.

5. Each person whose name is drawn from the master wheel would be required to fill out a juror qualification form that would provide all of the information necessary to determine whether he satisfied the statutory qualifications. The qualifications for jury service would be essentially the same as under present law, including ability to read, write, speak and understand the English language.

6. The jury commission would determine, solely on the basis of the executed form (with certain minor exceptions), whether a person is qualified to serve.

7. The names of all persons determined to be qualified would be placed in a "qualified juror wheel".

8. As jury panels were needed, the required number of names would be taken from the qualified juror wheel, persons would be assigned to panels and summoned to serve.

Since Title I was introduced in the Congress, the proposal has generated considerable discussion among Congressmen, federal judges and members of the Bar. Space does not permit consideration here of all of the questions raised, but three of the commonest criticisms may be noted and refuted. First, some critics of Title I have argued that the present methods of selecting federal jurors are efficient and fair, that there simply is no need for change. I have already referred to facts which demonstrate that that argument is without merit and that there is an urgent need for reform. Second, it has been contended that the Title I selection procedure is not administratively feasible. Third, it has been argued—notably by spokesmen for the so-called blue ribbon jury—that enactment of Title I would lower the quality of federal juries.

The essential features of the Title I selection system are currently followed in a number of federal judicial districts having jurisdiction over both urban and rural areas. To cite one example, the most basic provision of the title is random selection of names of potential jurors from voter registration lists. Names of some or all potential jurors are now selected at random from the voter registration lists in the Districts of Alaska, Delaware, Kansas, New Jersey and the Virgin Islands, the Northern District of Illinois, the Southern Districts of New York, Ohio and Texas, the Eastern Districts of Texas and Wisconsin, and the Western District of Missouri. One or more of each of the other basic features of the title are in current use in these and other districts in all parts of the country. Thus, in my view, current practices are the short and complete answer to questions of workability.

Title I would not diminish jury quality

A disturbing criticism of Title I is that outlawing the practice of selecting so-called blue ribbon panels composed of persons of "good character" and "intelligence" would allegedly lower the quality of federal juries. Title I would abolish the use of subjective criteria to select blue ribbon juries in the federal courts, but the charge that it would diminish the quality of federal juries is, I believe, without foundation.

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[4] Mills, *A Statistical Study of Occupations of Jurors in a United States District Court*, 22 Md. L. Rev. 205 (1962).

Title I proceeds on the premise that persons who are sufficiently interested in government to vote, who can read, write, speak and understand the English language and who satisfy the other statutory qualifications are fully capable of serving as jurors in the federal courts. There are several cogent considerations to support the validity of this premise. First, reliance on the voter registration lists as the source of names of potential jurors will operate as an automatic screening factor, eliminating at the outset persons who have no interest in public affairs. Second, as we have seen, jurors are now selected at random from voter registration lists in a number of districts in various parts of the country. We can infer from this that voter registration lists have been tested and found to be a reliable source of competent jurors. Finally, a recent comprehensive study of the operation of the jury system in the United States supports the view that juries truly representative of the community—including its less educated members—are generally as able to perform the duties of triers of fact in judicial proceedings as would be nonrepresentative juries selected from a highly educated elite.[5] Thus, the evidence shows that Title I will represent a substantial gain in fairness and no loss in the competence of federal juries to perform their role as triers of fact.

Apart from the question of juror competence, there are other important policy reasons for requiring that only objective standards be considered in determining whether a person is qualified for jury service. The practice of imposing subjective tests such as "intelligence" or "good character" may operate inconsistently with the constitutional requirement of a representative jury by excluding disproportionate numbers of persons of low economic status or members of certain racial and other minority groups. The recent *Rabinowitz* decision illustrates how this is particularly true where the key-man system is used.

Title I would assure that the constitutional requirement of a jury selection system that operates to produce truly representative juries is implemented throughout the United States. It will emphasize that in a democracy all persons have a right to be considered for jury service and a duty to serve when selected. I am hopeful that this important reform will be enacted by the 90th Congress.

JURY REFORM NEEDS MORE THOUGHT

(By SAM J. ERVIN, JR., U.S. Senator from North Carolina)

The civil rights bill of 1966 (S. 3296 and H.R. 14765) is popularly regarded as having been a legislative test of a national "open housing" law. That it was, but behind the furor over Title IV, another debate was also in progress—proposed reform of the federal jury system. While Title IV of the bill was embroiled in instant controversy, this proposal, Title I (and Title II, concerning state jury selection), never really caught the public eye, and even the legal community was slow in expressing its interest.[6]

The debate on the federal jury proposals flickered into national view only fitfully—occasionally because of speeches on the Senate floor and once because of the debate at the American Bar Association Annual Meeting in Montreal. But even if the proposal had been divorced from the preconceived and partisan politics that were the inevitable result of joining it to a civil rights bill, men of both parties, of all political persuasions, would have found themselves faced with profoundly complex and basic decisions with regard to this jury legislation—decisions going to the very heart of the assumptions underlying the Anglo-American system of justice.

The proposals clearly deserve the most careful evaluation, both because of the technical provisions which have proved substantially defective and also because of the philosophic bases of the attempted reform—bases that in my view are quite antithetical to the philosophy of the jury system and the administration of justice. Now that emotional debate on the Civil Rights Bill has subsided somewhat, it may be possible to review the jury reform proposals of the bill in a less partisan context and to make a belated start towards an objective evaluation of such proposals.

Today there is much controversy over the jury system, not only with respect to lack of uniformity and possible discrimination, which were the target of Title I's sweeping reform, but other matters as well—prejudicial publicity, to name one. Congress has considered many aspects of the jury system in its time, and one basic principle has developed as a result: That system is too complex, too important, too fundamental to be tinkered with hastily and in ignorance. Whatever the problems that are said to exist, none is easy to solve. Reform in jury selection procedures should be a painstaking task. It deserves more than a "bum's rush" through Congress on the coattails of other legislation. It should be more than a side show in a circus of controversy.

An adequate analysis of Title I was not possible while the bill was pending in Congress. When the Civil Rights Bill was first referred to the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, my attention and that of the other members necessarily was divided among five complex titles. Having long been concerned with the jury system and its many problems, I welcomed an attempt to correct deficiencies in the existing selection procedures. As I stated at the opening of the Senate hearings:

"The purpose of Title I is worthwhile and there is no doubt that Congress has both the authority and the obligation to provide for an effective and uniform Federal jury system. However, the subcommittee will hear from witnesses who are concerned with the administration of justice in the courts as to whether the provisions of this title are best designed to accomplish its purpose. Congress has plenary power over the Federal judicial machinery and our question here is not whether to act, but how."[7]

I then expressed the fear, unfortunately borne out by succeeding events, that Title IV would overshadow the issues raised by the jury provisions and that Title I would not be considered on its merit but would rise or fall with the rest of the bill.

The debate that eventually developed, subdued as it was compared with the debate on Title IV, centered on the technical deficiencies of the jury proposal and on the refusal of the bill's proponents to delay action pending completion of a study of it by the Judicial Conference of the United States. Prior to the introduction of Title I, every important proposal of Title I, every important proposal affecting judicial machinery had been referred for comment and analysis to the conference, as well as to other legal groups, such as the American Bar Association. Many of those who eventually came to oppose Title I were influenced by the Administration's refusal to seek independent, objective review.

In the absence of any official study, as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, I wrote to each of the chief judges in the ninety-two district courts for their evaluation of the bill. Two thirds of the judges replied. Only two supported the legislation; the others were either opposed outright to the bill in its present form or expressed a desire that the Judicial Conference study it before passage by the Congress. Many of the corresponding judges were disturbed not only with the details of the selection mechanism, but also with the implications of the legislation for the jury system itself.

The subcommittee also heard testimony from clerks of courts representing ten of the eleven federal circuits. Their testimony further demonstrated the need for extensive changes in the bill. Unanimously, they opposed its passage before consideration by the Judicial Conference.[8]

In midsummer the Chief Justice appointed a new chairman to the Judicial Conference's Committee on the Operation of the Jury System and reactivated the dormant committee. When the bill failed in the Senate, the conference committee was just beginning to direct its attention to Title I, as well as to other problems in the federal jury system.

If the guiding principles of jury selection can be condensed into a handful of words, I believe that the report of the Judicial Conference committee in 1960 has expressed them well. The report commenced:

"The following recommendations concerning the selection of jurors and operation of the jury system constitute the conclusions of the Committee:

"I. In order that grand and petit jurors who serve in United States district courts may be truly representative of the community, the sources from which they are selected should include all economic and social groups of the community. The jury list should represent as high a degree of intelligence, morality, integrity, and common sense as possible. . . ."[9]

The jury, that committee concluded, has an awesome responsibility in American justice. It determines the fate of men—their property, their freedom and sometimes their lives. To work well, indeed, to work justice, the jury must perform according to the premises that the law lays down. We assume that the jury listens to the evidence and evaluates it sensibly, that it comprehends instructions on the governing law and that it makes its decisions wisely and honestly.

These are not easy tasks for the best of men. Yet over 1,000 years of experience has convinced American jurisprudence that justice can best be performed by a collection of men chosen from the community at large. Ordinary men, yes, but with certain qualifications. The purpose of existing law, according to the committee report, is to obtain jurors with "as high a degree of intelligence, morality, integrity, and common sense as possible". This is fundamental if juries are to be composed of men and women with the ability to perform their duties and perform them well. In the words of the late Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of New Jersey, "the efficacy of jury trials depends as much on the caliber of the jurors as on the character and training of the trial judges and the powers accorded them in the conduct of jury trials".[10]

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[5] KALVIN & ZEISEL, THE AMERICAN JURY, ch. 11 (1966).

[6] Title II was rarely mentioned at all. Even when the bill's fate was about to be decided on the Senate floor, neither the public nor the legal profession had really come to grips with what I consider to be the fundamental issues it raised. Since the state jury proposals of the bill involved the added problems of constitutionality and the fundamental question of judicial federalism, the burden of my remarks in this essay will be restricted to the federal jury proposals of Title I.

[7] *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on S. 3296*, 89th Cong., 2d Sess., pt. 1, at 47 (1966). The hearings are cited hereafter as *Subcommittee Hearings*.

[8] The majority of the letters received by the subcommittee are reprinted in the *Subcommittee Hearings*, beginning at page 1242 and again at page 1805. The clerk's testimony appears at page 1436.

[9] "The Jury System in the Federal Courts", *1960 Report of the Judicial Conference Committee on the Operation of the Jury System*, 26 F.R.D. 409.

This, of course, is not the only criterion governing the selection of jurors. In our system, justice is not dispensed by professionals but is regarded as the judgment of the community. Since it is the conscience and experience of the community which is assumed to be evaluating the evidence and applying the law, the jury must be representative of the society for which it acts. The machinery that selects twelve persons from the whole of the citizenry must, then, find honest jurors with sufficient intelligence to understand the issues presented and yet be as representative of the community as possible.

Title I would create uniformly awkward system

Title I proposed to rework completely the existing statutes governing jury selection in the federal district courts in an effort to enshrine only the principle of "cross-section". It would have created a uniformly awkward system, inconvenient to both the citizen and the court, for selecting the sources from which names would be chosen for juror qualification. The procedures it contained for challenging the jury were completely unrealistic and could have been used, as one judge wrote, to prevent a case from ever going to trial. The title prescribed the selection mechanics to the smallest detail, even to the extent of requiring "jury wheels" instead of boxes or files.[11] It hedged any exception to its rules with the closest controls and required the affirmative consent of the judicial conference of the circuit for any deviation. The uniform rules it laid down were to be applicable to all circuits, districts and divisions, regardless of their size, differing jury requirements or case loads. It rejected all else in the single-minded pursuit of the principle of perfectly representative juries.

This was a false and chimerical goal. Twelve jurors cannot perfectly mirror society. A panel of fifty cannot, nor can a jury wheel of 2,000 or 5,000 names, or ½ per cent, 1 per cent or 5 per cent of the population. This numbers game, which wasted so much of the debate on Title I in both the House and Senate, is basically irrelevant. What is important is that the method by which the twelve ultimately are selected not operate so as to exclude any economic or ethnic group or class. It is improper to test the jury wheel or the jury itself against the class structure of the population. The jury wheel should not be a statistical sample of the general community, with every group and class proportionately represented.

Employment of random sampling devices with this objective in mind destroys the important requirement that the jury be composed of persons capable of performing their assigned tasks well. It also implies something more inimical to our fundamental assumptions as to the nature of justice. It strips the blindfold from Justice. The jury is supposed to decide controverted questions on the basis of facts presented in an environment carefully organized to afford the best opportunity for determining objective "truth", insofar as that is humanly possible. That point of view which places exclusive emphasis on proportional representation—"cross-section of the community" in the words of Title I—necessarily suggests that justice is a function of "class". The search for truth thus is regarded as a partisan operation—there is one truth for the poor and another for the rich; justice is one thing for the hyphenated American, another for the New England Yankee. It is true that all trial lawyers recognize that jurors bring their backgrounds to the courtroom, but this is no reason for elevating bias to a rule of law and regarding justice as a judicial balance of economics, ethnic origin and religious and cultural backgrounds. This was a fundamental defect of Title I.

An integral element in the proposed reform was the use of voter registration lists as the major source of prospective jurors for every district court in the country. These voter lists were considered by the bill's authors as immune from discrimination based upon race, economic or social status, or any other factor generally considered an improper distinction in jury selection. Although voter registration lists may have advantages over other sources of names in some localities, they are by no means as ideal as the proponents of Title I asserted. Voting in this country is not universal. It has been estimated that perhaps 25 per cent of those who are eligible to vote do not even register, and this figure is even higher in off-year and local elections. Use of registration lists immediately excludes the nonvoter from jury service. Further, those who do vote are probably the more politically informed, the more socially conscious, perhaps the better educated of our citizenry. To the extent that voter lists reflect these characteristics, they may well be antithetical to the "cross-section" purpose of the bill's drafters. And to the extent that voter lists reflect political factors, their use injects improper elements into the jury system. Voting lists are clearly poor sources in the District of Columbia, where, for example, few are registered. At present the District uses as a source of names the city directory, in which all residents of Washington are listed.

A rigidly mechanical proposal

The heavy reliance of Title I on voter registration lists stemmed less from a conviction that these lists were broadly representative than from the objective of prescribing a rigidly mechanical method of jury selection that would be uniform throughout the country. Title I is replete with devices designed to exclude judgment and discretion from the selection process—not only judgment by the jury commissioners but even by the judges themselves. For example, the text of the proposed Section 1866(a) would have deprived not only the jury commission but also the judge from disqualifying on any evidence but his own admission a person found to be illiterate. It was not argued by the proponents that literacy is not an important qualification for jurors and, in fact, the bill specifically retained this standard. So important was it to have automatic and uniform selection procedures, however, that the proponents preferred to risk having illiterates serve rather than to permit the judge to exercise his power of discretion and to make this quite simple decision on the basis of whatever facts were available.[12]

Since the jury provisions were contained in a civil rights bill, there was some attempt to justify it in civil rights terms. Despite this, there has been no evidence of overt, or even covert, racial discrimination in federal courts in the Southern districts. Even in the much touted case of *Rabinowitz* v. *United States*, 366 F. 2d. 34 (5th Cir. 1966), which was decided well after the bill was written and introduced, there was no allegation of discrimination on the part of the court official.[13] Rather than proving the case for Title I, this decision stands as evidence that Southern courts will not tolerate even a suggestion of radical discrimination.

The real justification for Title I was not, however, any supposed need to eliminate racial discrimination. Rather, the bill was claimed as essential for combating the inevitable tendency of the courts in all parts of the country to exclude the poor. In support of the proposal, proponents pointed to what they considered was a major weakness in the present philosophy and operation of the federal jury selection system. They equated the Judicial Conference standard of "intelligence, morality, integrity, and commonsense" with the "blue ribbon jury," which they considered a euphemism for discrimination against lower economic classes. This syllogism is not only false, but condescending. "Intelligence" is not equivalent to a college education, nor are "integrity" and "morality" the exclusive possession of the well-to-do, the white-collar worker, the business executive. Most assuredly, "common sense" is not reserved to third-generation Americans as opposed to first or second.

These terms, as I understand them, refer to qualities of character, not of class. They are independent of economic status or educational achievement. They pertain to some individuals in every racial and religious group, and they are absent in some individuals in each. The "blue ribbon jury" is not to me a term of opprobrium signifying a jury of twelve bankers. It denotes a jury composed of persons of common sense and integrity who show interest and alertness, a concern for their own affairs and for society's and who will bring to the jury box the same high qualities they exhibit in their other activities.

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[10] VANDERBILT, MINIMUM STANDARDS OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION 147 (1949).

[11] During the subcommittee's deliberations on Title I, numerous amendments, based for the most part on the objections raised by the corresponding judges, were offered to correct technical defects in the bill and to ease the administrative burdens of the selection machinery for the courts. One of the amendments would have applied the definition of "jury wheel" contained in Title II, Section 206(c), to Title I. Judges from large metropolitan areas had written that the number of names they would be required to place in the "master wheel" was so large as to make it unwieldy and that a box or file system would serve equally well. The Justice Department, however, rejected this change. Apparently it was thought that somehow a "wheel" would be better suited for random selection of prospective jurors than a "box".

[12] A close reading of this section had demonstrated that the judge would have no power to determine the literacy qualification and that his power to consider evidence on the other factors would be limited to "objective" evidence. There was some doubt whether he could determine the question of exemptions at all. During Subcommittee consideration of the bill, I offered a series of amendments to Section 1866(a) to permit a determination of juror exemption or qualification, including literacy, by the judge if evidence other than that contained on the juror questionnaire satisfied him that the person was unqualified or exempt for jury service. These amendments were all rejected by a vote of 5-4.

[13] The *Rabinowitz* case was decided on July 20, 1966, by the Fifth Circuit on appeal from the District Court for the Middle District of Georgia. The appellants challenged their convictions on the grounds that the disproportionately low number of Negroes on the jury lists demonstrated improper exclusion. As the court stated, "the charge is focused on the qualifications which [the clerk of court, his deputy, and the jury commissioner appointed by the court] required of prospective jurors and on the method by which the jury list was compiled, rather than on any affirmative evil intent of the jury commissioners". The opinion of Judge Rives, speaking for three of his colleagues, traced the legislative history of the 1957 amendments to Title 28 and concluded that "there were impermissible departures from the statutory scheme both as to the qualifications required of prospective jurors and as to the method and procedure by which the list was compiled. One result was that Negroes were excluded from the jury list which formed the source of the grand and petit juries in the cases". Judge Brown concurred in the opinion "to avoid a 4-4 deadlock", but characterized his vote as "weak" because he was "not at all certain just what is decided" and he thought the court's opinion was too "doctrinaire".

Why distrust the Federal judges?

There is no reason to equate high quality jurors with class lines, and no grounds for assuming that the exercise of judgment in selecting a jury inevitably results in unconstitutional exclusions of certain groups. It is beyond comprehension why a federal judge, upon whose integrity, knowledge, honesty and obedience to the law rests the entire fabric of justice, should be so suspect as to be deprived of his judicial powers in this field. The best paper rules that man could devise could not insure a fair and just trial if the judge were so corrupt as to seek an unjust result. It was never satisfactorily explained why there was such a suspicion of the judge and the other court officials in respect to their operation of the jury selection machinery, and yet no evident concern that they would behave similarly in the discharge of their other responsibilities.

Although it is already clear that some changes in the jury system are warranted, no evils have yet been proved that would justify legislation which eliminates the historically proper functions of the judge and the jury commissioner, or which discards the machinery the Congress and the courts have carefully established over the years. Proposals to improve jury selection by strengthening existing machinery have been under study for some time. One such proposal, H.R. 5640, had already passed the House of Representatives with Justice Department sponsorship and was before the Senate Judiciary Committee when Title I was introduced. This bill was a product of the 1960 Judicial Conference report, the Knox Committee recommendations and studies of the American Bar Association and other legal groups gong back to before World War II.

Whatever may have been its defects, this proposal at least recognized that the responsibility for the successful operation of the jury system, no less than the other elements of the judicial system, rests in the last analysis on the quality and integrity of the men charged with its implementation. It recognized, as Title I did not, that there is no mechanical substitute for intelligent, resourceful and conscientious men. It permitted those responsible for operating the system to apply the controlling standards in ways bests suited to achieve good results in the light of the difficult problems of their courts. It set forth the principles to be achieved and left the details of the operation to those who were charged with running the court system.

Reform should not be tied to civil rights

Our jury system is a finely tuned and complex instrument in the administration of justice. Improvements demand the interest of specialists, and comprehension of the problems requires both experience and learning. Public debate on jury legislation is beneficial and necessary, but reform should not be dependent upon politics, civil rights strategy or election tactics. Justice is too important for such cavalier treatment. Therefore, I am pleased that we can again discuss jury reform outside the context of a civil rights bill. Since Chief Justice Warren has reactivated the Judicial Conference's jury committee, I hope that the Department of Justice will defer any decision on a new version of Title I until after its study is completed. But at whatever time and in whatever form new proposals are put forth, I urge that they be presented independent of any other legislation which might detract from careful deliberation.

The American Bar Association should begin now to consider possible jury reform and be prepared to give its recommendations. I have full confidence that the results of dispassionate and objective study will reaffirm our reliance on the jury as a mainstay of justice. I expect that any proposals which come out of such a critique will strengthen existing machinery and not replace it with a system which, like Title I, would inevitably result in poorer juries, and consequently, lesser justice for all.

OBLIGATION OF UNITED STATES TO END EVIL OF SLAVE LABOR

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, slave labor continues in today's world, and the United States has an obligation to assert moral leadership in moves to end the evil. The U.S. Congress should ratify without delay an international convention to abolish its use.

Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL–CIO Department of Legislation, told the Senate Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Human Rights on March 8 that the convention, adopted by the International Labor Organization "goes to the heart of the struggle between democracy and communism." Mr. Biemiller recalled that the American labor movement initiated the inquiry into slave labor in 1947, and that 2 years later the United Nations Economic and Social Council authorized an ILO study which showed that there was a systematic program of slave labor in Soviet-controlled countries and Red China. The ILO convention resulted from those findings.

So far, said Mr. Biemiller, 75 nations have ratified the convention. Among those who have not acted are the Soviet Union and the United States. U.S. inaction, he declared, has had an adverse effect on uncommitted countries as has our "refusal of recognition to millions of persons still denied human dignity in slave labor camps." U.S. action, on the other hand, would emphasize to the world our commitment to the realization of human rights not only at home, but abroad.

It is my opinion, Mr. President, that not only the members of the Senate subcommittee, but everyone else should have the opportunity to read and consider the testimony of Mr. Biemiller. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, TO THE AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, MARCH 8, 1967

Mr. Chairman, my name in Andrew J. Biemiller. I am Director of the Department of Legislation of the AFL–CIO.

The AFL–CIO is extremely pleased to have this opportunity to testify before this subcommittee. It is our firm conviction that hearings—and appropriate Senate action—on these conventions is long overdue.

Because of the time limit, Mr. Chairman, as well as the large list of other witnesses scheduled to appear before this subcommittee, the AFL–CIO's testimony will deal specifically with our support for ratification of the Convention on the Abolition of Forced Labor.

This is the Convention adopted by the International Labor Organization in Geneva, on June 25, 1957.

It requires ratifying states to suppress and not to make use of any form of forced or compulsory labor for certain specific purposes: namely, as a means of political coercion or education or as a punishment for holding or expressing particular social, economic, or political views; as a means of mobilizing labor for purposes of economic development; as a means of labor discipline; as punishment for having participated in strikes; or as a means of racial, social, national, or religious discrimination. Ratifying states are required to take effective measures to secure immediate and complete abolition of these proscribed uses of force or compulsory labor.

Organized labor's strong support for this Convention is based on its desire to protect and advance the freedom of labor both at home and abroad. It was, in fact, the American Federation of Labor—in 1947— that first requested the United Nations in conjunction with the ILO to conduct an investigation of forced labor wherever it may exist in the world.

It took two years of persuasion before the AFL accomplished its goal. In February 1949, despite the opposition of Russia and her satellites, the UN Economic and Social Council voted to request the ILO to make such an investigation.

An Ad Hoc UN-ILO committee was established to study the nature and extent of the forced labor problem, resulting in a report being issued in 1953 that found a systematic program of forced labor in all of the Soviet-controlled countries.

As a part of its report, the committee recommended: ". . . wherever necessary, international action be taken, either by framing new conventions or by amending existing conventions, so that they may be applicable to the position regarding forced labor conditions found to exist among the workers of fully self-governing countries."

On December 15, 1955, a second factual document was issued. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the ILO reported to the Economic and Social Council of the UN on the use of widespread forced labor in Red China. This same report confirmed the 1953 findings regarding forced labor in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania.

Early in 1956, as the result of effective American leadership, the ILO established an Independent Committee to analyze material on forced labor received by the ILO and to submit conclusions to the governing body.

The Independent Committee issued its report shortly thereafter. It was this report that urged the ILO to adopt a new international instrument prohibiting the forced labor found to exist in a number of self-governing countries. It should be pointed out that an ILO Convention of 1930 imposed restrictions on forced labor in non-self-governing countries.

Although the United States, starting with the request of the AFL, had been largely responsible for the studies leading up to the ILO committee's proposal, it became apparent—in late 1955—that our State Department was not anxious to have the ILO adopt a forced labor convention.

When the ILO prepared to implement its findings by sending questionnaires among its member governments prior to proposing a new instrument or convention, the United States government refused to cooperate. Unlike the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and 41 other nations, our government failed to complete and return the questionnaire.

On April 25 and 27, 1956, the State Department's reasoning—or lack of reasoning—for this action became a matter of public record during hearings before the Subcommittee on Labor of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

These hearings were conducted on S.J. Res. 117, introduced by our present Vice President, calling upon the United States to "exercise leadership in the International Labor Organization to develop and adopt an international convention which will effectively outlaw forced labor for political and economic purposes."

During the hearings a letter from the State Department to Senator Lister Hill was placed in the record. Basically, Secretary Dulles took the position that adoption of an ILO convention would not be an effective way of prohibiting forced labor since there would be no adequate enforcement machinery.

Instead, the State Department called for an ILO declaration to be coupled with continued efforts to expose and publicize forced labor practices wherever they exist.

In the letter written to Senator Hill by Assistant Secretary Robert C. Hill, the State Department attempted to support its position by pointing out: "It is interesting to note . . . that the U.S.S.R. has embraced the idea of a convention and has called upon the International Labor Organization to 'adopt as broad and radical an instrument as is possible.' Endorsement of the convention form by the U.S.S.R. is indicative of what might be expected from the adoption of this (convention) form of action."

Testifying during the same 1956 hearings was AFL–CIO International Representative George P. Delaney. Mr. Delaney, who is now Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Coordinator of International Affairs, correctly predicted that a majority of the participants at the June 1957 ILO conference would support the adoption of the convention.

He told the subcommittee: "The failure of the United States Government vigorously to support the adoption of a convention on forced labor would place this nation in a position that would be ludicrous if its consequences were not so grave. . . .

"I think that I can reasonably state that the overwhelming majority—in fact, all of the workers of the conference—except those who are controlled by governments—will certainly support the adoption of a convention. And I think I can say, with possibly the exception of the United States employer, that that will be true of the participants from the employer side of the International Labor Organization.

"The employer and worker representatives of the free nations of the world will consider anything less than vigorous leadership by the United States as an incomprehensible abandonment of its principles."

On June 25, 1957, the Convention on the Abolition of Forced Labor was adopted by the ILO. As of January 1, 1967, 75 states have become parties to the convention. It is interesting to note that despite the prediction of the State Department in 1956, the Soviet Union has ratified the two other conventions being considered by this committee, but has refused to ratify the forced labor convention.

Unfortunately, neither has the United States. It was not until 1963 that the three conventions being considered by this subcommittee were submitted to the Senate. In asking for the Senate's constitutional consent to ratify, President Kennedy clearly stated the paramount issue when he declared: "The United States cannot afford to renounce responsibility for support of the very fundamentals which distinguish our concept of government from all forms of tyranny."

It is now two decades since the AFL first called for an investigation of forced labor and one decade since the ILO convention was adopted. Surely, it is time—at long last—for the Senate to give its advice and consent to this convention.

Legal and moral arguments strongly support this conclusion. As Ambassador Goldberg testified before this subcommittee on February 23, there is ample legal precedents for ratification. The moral reasons are just as compelling.

Our nation is now a party to two international human rights agreements. We ratified a convention on slavery during the administration of President Herbert Hoover and we ratified an agreement on the nationality of women during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Further, there is nothing in the forced labor convention that does not coincide with the fundamental rights guaranteed under our Constitution. There is nothing in this convention that will alter the balance between the jurisdiction of the federal government and the jurisdiction of the states. There is nothing in this convention that is not already covered by federal constitutional protections. Finally, from a legal standpoint, approval of this convention would require no implementing legislation.

Ambassador Goldberg clearly spelled out the provisions of the convention dealing with labor strikes and labor discipline. We are in complete agreement with his explanation. As he testified, "The convention would have no application to criminal sanctions for violations of court orders—such as those commonly issued under the National Labor Relations Act. Nor would it cast any doubt on punishments for illegal activities, for example, assaults, in connection with a strike. Nor, finally, would the convention apply to sanctions imposed for having participated in an illegal strike or for other illegal activities."

It is, of course, just as clear that forced labor cannot be imposed in this country as a result of strikes or other labor activities that are legal.

The moral arguments supporting ratification of this convention are well known by members of the subcommittee. As the chairman pointed out in his opening statement on February 23, "We have made giant strides in our own country over the past decades in eliminating the inequities inherited from the past."

Ratification of this convention by our nation would emphasize—to the world—our commitment to the realization of human rights not only at home, but also abroad. For too long, the United States has supported the charter of the United Nations and its human rights principles without agreeing to give these principles real meaning and force.

Until our government ratifies this convention, the United States will continue to abdicate its moral leadership on an issue that goes to the heart of the struggle between democracy and communism. Our inaction refuses to recognize the effect this lack of leadership has on the uncommitted countries of the world just as it refuses to recognize the millions of persons still denied human dignity in the slave-labor camps that continue to exist behind the Iron Curtain and elsewhere.

Mr. Chairman, attached to our testimony is a copy of a statement on forced labor adopted by the AFL–CIO Executive Council on August 13, 1957. We would hope that this statement could be included in the record of this hearing.

Thank you.

Forced Labor

(Statement by AFL–CIO Executive Council, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 13, 1957)

The Executive Council of the AFL–CIO notes with satisfaction the recent adoption by the ILO of a Convention to Abolish Forced Labor.

The continued existence of systems of forced labor notably in the Communist world, as amply substantiated by UN–ILO reports, is an outrage against human dignity and a threat to freedom everywhere.

The United States should assert moral leadership in the effort to bring an end to this shocking and inhuman violation of the basic rights of man.

We, therefore, strongly urge the President of the United States to immediately forward this Convention to the U.S. Senate for ratification.

INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

Mr. HART. Mr. President, with many others, I should like to express my wholehearted support of the President's proposal to reinstate the investment credit. This appears to me to be a prudent and well-timed response to changes in the economic situation. The conditions which existed last fall and which led to the suspension of the credit are no longer present. The tax policy which was appropriate under the pressures of last fall should now be modified to meet the current needs. Fiscal policy should again demonstrate its ability to respond flexibly to changing conditions. Congress should, without delay, seize this opportunity to restore the investment credit to its normal place in our tax system.

Although there have, in recent months, been significant changes in many areas of economic activity, some of the most noteworthy changes have occurred in the financial markets. Interest rates have declined one-half to one-fourth percentage points from their peak levels in September. The flow of funds into savings and loan institutions is returning to normal levels.

The Federal Reserve System has relaxed its tight money policy of last year and is providing the funds that a growing economy needs. In effect, the Federal Reserve has indicated that the removal of what it regarded as inflationary pressures permits it to continue to supply the funds necessary for sustained economic expansion. The commercial banks, like the savings and loan associations, have used their newly acquired funds to repay their indebtedness and build up their liquidity. They are now in a stronger position to provide credit to help finance continued prosperous growth.

The supply of credit has been brought more nearly into balance with demand. The survey conducted by the Department of Commerce and the Securities and Exchange Commission makes it clear that the investment boom has cooled off.

When the investment credit was suspended, the President and the Congress said that it would be returned as soon as possible. There should now be no delay in making good that promise.

ALASKA'S CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AND ITS MULTIPLE ACTIVITIES—1867–1967

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, during this Alaska Centennial Year, I hope many Members of Congress will come "north to the future" and see firsthand the beautiful, big country which cost the Federal Government $7.2 million, or less than 2 cents an acre, 100 years ago. A few days hence, at 4 a.m. on March 30 it will have been exactly one century since the treaty of cession of Russian America to the United States was signed in Washington, D.C.

Yesterday, the Washington Star published a feature story about centennial activities in Alaska. Because of the interest in the centennial, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this informative article, authored by my administrative assistant, George Sundborg, be printed in the RECORD. I believe it will answer many questions that potential Alaskan visitors will have during the centennial celebration.

A part of the centennial activity has been possible because Congress approved the spending of $600,000 for Federal exhibits at Fairbanks, Anchorage, Juneau, Ketchikan, and Sitka, and also appropriated $4 million to match local funds for projects and facilities which will be lasting contributions to the economy of our State.

So come north to the future and see why we believe the Aleuts correctly refer to Al-a-aska as the Great Land.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By George Sundborg)

"North to the Future" is the slogan Alaskans have adopted to symbolize their celebration this year of the centennial of the purchase of Alaska from Russia.

All indications are that hundreds of thousands of their fellow Americans will be traveling "north to the future" during 1967 to help the people of the 49th State observe the 100th anniversary of one of the best real estate deals in history.

It was right here in Washington at 4 o'clock in the morning of March 30, 1867, that Secretary of State William Henry Seward and Baron Edouard De Stoeckel, Russian minister to the United States, signed the treaty of cession of Russian America to the United States. They had bargained all day and far into the night. The price tag on the 365 million acres was $7,200,000.

WIDESPREAD OBSERVANCE

Throwing the centennial party in Alaska will cost considerably more than the original purchase price. All the Alaska cities you've ever heard of (and a good many smaller settlements such as Clam Gulch which may not be in your gazeteer) are planning something special for visitors.

The federal government is cooperating by spending $600,000 for federal exhibits at Fairbanks, Anchorage, Juneau, Ketchikan and Sitka and $4,000,000 to match local funds for projects and facilities, which in the language of the act which the Alaska Congressional delegation succeeded in getting through last year, "contribute to the celebration, result in an enduring symbol of the significance to the United States of its purchase of Alaska in 1867 and provide a permanent contribution to the economy of Alaska."

It will be a big party, stretching from the Canadian border to Bering Sea and lasting all year. Already Alaskans have been engaged in a welter of dog team races, ski contests, concerts, art shows, stage productions, winter carnivals, queen contests, traveling historic exhibits, pageants, parades, blanket tossing exhibitions, curling bonspiels, beard growing contests and community festivals, all in the name of the centennial.

FAIRBANKS MAIN SITE

The pace will step up as spring arrives and will reach a fairly furious level by May 27 when the official centennial exposition opens at Fairbanks. There, on a 40-acre site, a local public purpose corporation known as Alaska 67 is laying out Indian and Eskimo exhibits, mining displays, a recreated Gold Rush town, a wildlife zoo, a real Yukon River steamboat floating in a man-made pond, amusements and demonstrations of what life is like in the North.

The main exposition will run until September 30. Fairbanks competed against Anchorage, Sitka, Juneau and a number of other Alaska cities for the designation as official centennial center, winning out with the State Legislature-created Alaska Purchase Centennial Commission on the basis of boldness and creativeness of its exposition plan.

But all of the communities named and dozens of others will be putting on special centennial shows and the traveler to Alaska will want to touch several points to savor the full effect of the 100th birthday celebration.

NATIVE DANCES

Fairbanks will present Eskimo and Indian dances all summer, with groups coming in from Nenana, Minto, Port Chilkoot and other villages ad seriatum so as to have something going in the Native dance line at all times. Native arts will also be on display. On June 17–18 (the days tend to run together in Alaska in the summertime because it is bright daylight all night) there will be an 800-mile marathon river boat race from Fairbanks to Ruby and return. A midnight sun baseball festival with all games to be played at midnight without artificial lights, will be held June 20–24.

Fairbanks will also stage its biggest-ever Golden Days celebration, an annual festival commemorating the discovery of gold on Pedro Creek in 1902, from July 19 to 23. The World's Eskimo Olympics, featuring competition in blanket tossing, kickball, seal skinning and other Arctic sports, will be held August 9–12.

OLD RUSSIAN CAPITAL

Sitka has built a stunning centennial center which will be dedicated on March 30, the anniversary of the purchase, which has also been selected as the date of issue of a commemorative eight-cent postage stamp, with Sitka to be the city of issue. Sitka, the old Russian capital, will have a fisherman's festival lasting the whole month of April, an all Alaska logger's competition July 4–5, historic exhibits all year and a reenactment on October 18 of the actual transfer ceremony from Russian to U.S. dominion which occurred on that date in 1867.

Anchorage, which has just finished holding its annual Fur Rendezvous, will blow the whistle and ring the bell May 6 to signalize beginning of regular operation of a Centennial Steam Railroad running from the Anchorage International Airport to the city center. A Cook Inlet Native cultural exhibit will open the same date. On June 1 an aviation museum and Alaska resource exhibit will open. An Alaska big game trophy exhibit will open June 4. The Alaska Music Festival, for which Anchorage is already famous, will be held June 9–22.

DRAMA FESTIVAL

Juneau, the capital, is building a new State museum costing $1,250,000 as a centennial project. Tours via ore car are offered all year through the Alaska Juneau Gold Mine. An international drama festival, customarily held in the Yukon Territory, has been moved across the line from Canada to be staged at Juneau June 8–10. A centennial homecoming week will be held July 31–August 6 with performances of a home-grown drama called "Hootchinoo'n Hotcakes", a ferry tour of the area and flights over the great Juneau Ice Cap as features.

Drama will bloom additionally at Ketchikan with "The Fish Pirate's Daughter", Anchorage with "Lord of Alaska" and a musical "Seward's Follies", Kodiak with "Cry of the Wild Ram" and Haines-Port Chilkoot with "Smell of the Yukon" and "Ghost of the Dalton Trail" playing on alternate nights.

INDIAN WAR CANOE

Ketchikan will launch a 30-foot Tlingit war canoe to paddle out and greet each arriving tour ship. A replica of old Fort Tongas has been built on a hillside above Ketchikan Creek. Public band concerts will be held on the dock at Wrangell whenever a ship comes in sight.

Dillingham, the principal community on Bristol Bay, will stage its annual Beaver Roundup March 15–20, with trappers arriving by dog team and bush plane to sell their furs and take part in mushing races, Eskimo dancing and games.

Skagway will offer a Days of '98 show every two to four nights, depending on cruise ship and train arrivals (the narrow-gauge White Pass and Yukon Route connects Skagway with Whitehorse, Y. T., 111 miles away) and the Shooting of Dan McGrew will be reenacted as often as anybody is willing to watch. A Trail of '98 Museum will be open daily.

FESTIVALS NUMEROUS

Kodiak will stage a King Crab Festival May 5–7, Petersburg a Little Norway Festival May 20–21, Palmer its annual Colony Days (celebrating the colonization of the Matanuska Valley) May 27–28, Nome a Midnight Sun Festival with a raft race down the Nome River June 17–19, Kenai a Centennial Homecoming June 29–July 4, Haines its annual Strawberry Festival June 30–July 2, Seward the annual Mount Marathon climbing race July 4, Clam Gulch a fish and wildlife barbecue July 3, Cordova a pageant portraying Vitus Bering's 1741 discovery of Alaska July 20 and Soldotna a Progress Days celebration July 30–31.

Salmon derbies, with the prize for the largest fish in most cases being a new automobile, are scheduled for Sitka, Ketchikan, Juneau, Wrangell and Seward. Homer will hold a halibut derby and the Matanuska Valley a rainbow trout derby. Deer derbies will be held at both Wrangell and Petersburg.

A beluga whale hunt is scheduled for Kotzebue early in June, a whaling festival at Point Hope for the same month and a caribou and bear barbecue for Delta Junction July 4.

Centennial events will close with a November potlatch at Sitka with Indian dance groups from Klukwan, Haines, Hoonah, Yakutat, Angoon, Kake and Sitka performing daily for seven days.

HOW TO GET THERE

So, how does a centennial visitor get to Alaska?

The quickest way is to fly. From Washington, it's possible to leave at 8:45 a.m. any day of the week and be in Anchorage at 1:52 p.m. the same day. This one-plane service by Northwest Orient Airlines has just been reduced in price by $48 under a special centennial fare.

A $25 fare reduction for the centennial is in effect via Seattle, from which three other carriers in addition to Northwest provide daily service to Alaska points. They are Alaska Airlines (Anchorage, Fairbanks, Nome), Pacific Northern Airlines (Ketchikan, Juneau, Anchorage, Kodiak) and Pan American World Airways (Fairbanks only).

Cruise ships carry passengers from Vancouver, B.C., to Southeastern Alaska ports starting in May. Alaska Cruise Lines (900 I.B.M. Building, Seattle), Canadian Pacific (1221 Fourth Avenue, Seattle) and Canadian National (1629 K St., N.W., Washington) are the only carriers still in this service.

ALASKA BY HIGHWAY

Greyhound and Trailways both offer bus tours to Alaska.

Most visitors to Alaska this year, at least, are expected to go in their own automobiles. This involves no danger or hardship, though the way is long and—in Canada—dusty. The writer drove from Washington to Fairbanks a couple of summers back. With some meandering out west, the distance was 6,000 miles and the elapsed time 14 days. Yes, there are plenty of gas stations along the way.

Since the State of Alaska instituted fast ferry service along the coast from Prince Rupert, B.C., most visitors going to Alaska by automobile have preferred to go one way by ferry and the other over the Alaska Highway. (It is not, and never was, the "Alcan" Highway, and that appellation is abominated by the hardy men of the North—Canadians as well as Alaskans.)

The Alaska Highway begins at Dawson Creek, B.C., and extends 1523 Miles to Fairbanks. Except for about 100 miles at its southern end, it is unpaved in Canada. All of the Alaska Highway within Alaska and practically all of the connecting roads in the State are paved. These connections tie together Anchorage, Palmer, Valdez, Mount McKinley National Park, Circle, Nenana, Big Delta, Glennallen, Seward, Kenai, Soldotna and Homer. State ferries tie Kodiak, Cordova, Seldovia and all the cities in Southeastern Alaska into the system.

STATE FERRY SYSTEM

The main ferry route from Prince Rupert, B.C., to Ketchikan, Wrangell, Petersburg, Juneau, Haines and Skagway operates on a daily schedule. Sitka is served weekly.

It has been possible since 1966 to travel by ferry from Kelsey Bay on Vancouver Island (reached easily by highway and short ferry from Seattle) to Prince Rupert and thence to Alaska.

The best source of information on all aspects of travel to and within Alaska is the Alaska Travel Division of the State of Alaska, Pouch E, State Capitol, Juneau, Alaska 99801.

Perhaps without even meaning to, Alaska's new Republican Governor, Walter J. Hickel, epitomized the centennial sentiments of his 272,000 fellow Alaskans a few days ago when he said: "Come up and get the feel of this country. We're not only a State of the Union. We're a state of mind."

ICELAND—A NATION ON THE MOVE

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an interesting article about Iceland, reprinted from the June 1966, issue of the Reader's Digest.

I recently visited this unique country to participate in the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Educational Exchange Program with Iceland. I believe that in very few communities in the world today have the people done as good a job of managing their affairs as have the people of Iceland. They are blessed with relatively few natural resources, but have created an extremely fine life for their people. There is much we could learn from their experience on how to organize and operate a civilized community in this modern age.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ICELAND—A NATION HURRYING TOWARD TOMORROW

(By James H. Winchester)

After breakfast at my hotel in **Reykjavik**, the thousand-year-old capital of Iceland, I left a tip for my waiter. Later, I found the coins returned, neatly stacked in a table in my room. "We get paid for our work," an Icelandic friend told me when I related the incident. "We don't want favors."

Super-independence is characteristic of the people of Iceland, an island republic which cast loose its ties with Denmark in 1944. Sitting atop the North Atlantic, surrounded by hostile seas, this island, one-fifth larger than Ireland, is Europe's most sparsely settled land, with 190,000 people. For centuries Iceland refused to involve itself with the outside world, trading only with Denmark and discouraging immigration. "As a result," says Gunnar Helgason, a Reykjavik lawyer, "everyone here is related to everyone else."

Irish monks are believed to have settled in Iceland as early as 795 A.D. They were followed by piratical Vikings and restless Celts in the ninth century. Some of these early Icelanders plundered Western Europe's seaports for 100 years and frequently raided Ireland and Scotland, kidnapping handsome girls. This selectivity shows today in Iceland's beautiful women, a surprising number of whom are redheads. Icelanders are similar in appearance to Swedes and Norwegians. "We are Scandinavians, with reservations," Icelanders describe themselves.

In today's air age, with most of Europe's capitals only two or three hours away, Iceland can no longer stand aside from the mainstream. Moreover, because of a high birth rate and low death rate, the island's population has almost tripled in this century; to survive, this country, where almost everything is imported, must look abroad for trade and investors. Thus, Iceland is beset by contrasts and contradictions, caught between its desire to have the best of all that is new, and its love for the treasured heritage of the past.

Oldest Living Speech. A thousand years ago, all the Scandinavian countries spoke a common tongue, which was of Germanic origin. But while Norway, Denmark, and Sweden accepted the infiltration of foreign words, Iceland has stubbornly kept the language untainted. As written and spoken today, the language is very little different from what it was in the ninth century. Icelanders are so jealous of this purity that the state radio broadcasts frequent warnings against foreign words smuggled in by visitors. If the early Vikings could return to Reykjavik, now, they would be able to talk with the man in the street. "It's the world's oldest *living* speech," Dr. Gylfi Gislason, Iceland's Minister of Education, insists. "Latin, Classical Greek and Sanskrit are more ancient, of course, but they are no longer in everyday use."

To keep abreast of changing times, university professors pore through old manuscripts seeking obsolete words that can be adapted for new meanings. Thus the telephone is *simi*, an old word for "long thread," and a jet is *thota*, which formerly referred to a bird's quick flight through the air.

One of the most literate countries in the world, Iceland publishes seven times more books per person than England. "Better shoeless than bookless" is an Icelandic proverb. Every home has its library, and many of the volumes are in Danish, English and German, for the Icelanders are great linguists. There are five daily newspapers in Reykajavik (pronounced rá kya vék), and two bookstores in almost every block. The country's most popular radio program is a weekly reading of Sagas and Eddas, stories written in the 12th and 14th centuries about the virtues and character of early settlers, of heroes and of gods.

Indeed, culture enjoys great popularity in Iceland. Regular salaries are paid by the government to outstanding local artists, writers and composers. The country supports an opera company, two symphony orchestras, a national theater. Ballet troupes from Russia, Denmark and England perform in Reykjavik regularly.

Fire and Frost. As geologists look at things, Iceland isn't very old. Volcanic blasts heaved it out of the ocean only 60 million years ago, making it the world's youngest major landmass. Over the centuries, lava and ash from further eruptions have built it to a size of 39,800 square miles, and the island is still in the making.

New volcanoes are constantly appearing. The latest is Surtsey, off Iceland's southern coast. On the morning of November 14, 1963, smoke appeared at the surface of the water. Nearby fishermen thought that a ship was afire. Arriving at the scene, though, they found the waters boiling. By the next night, a black cone had broken above the waves and risen 30 feet high. Steam, produced by the meeting of sea water and volcano fire, caused frequent explosions. Great lumps of red-hot lava shot into the air and fell back into the sea. Purple flashes of lightning, formed in the rapid uprush of steam, zigzagged through the smoke.

For months molten lava continued to spill over Surtsey's sides. When I flew over the volcano a year and a half after its hair-raising birth, the new offshore island it had created was a square mile in size. The original cone was now quiet, but the smoke from satellite eruptions still seething around it was visible 75 miles away in Reykjavik.

Second only to Iceland's volcanoes in explosive drama are its thermal springs, which spout like teakettles everywhere. Visitors in Reykjavik (which means "Bay of Smoke") are often surprised to see small hot springs spouting steam from vacant lots and unpaved roads. Residents in northern Iceland for years have baked potatoes and bread in the warm, sulphury clay around the geysers near their homes.

Most famous of Iceland's hot springs is the "Great Geyser," which gave its name to similar springs all over the world. Unlike some, this one does not perform exactly on schedule, so tourist guides start the show by tossing soap powder into its basin. The powder dissolves just below the surface and triggers the sulphur in the warm water like a bomb, exploding a column of steam 200 feet into the air. The display lasts about 20 minutes.

With all its fire, Iceland has plenty of frost. One eighth of its surface is covered by glaciers. Where there isn't ice there are dreary wastes of lava, with black volcanic mountains rising on every side. This vast, uninhabited interior is so similar in appearance to the face of the moon that America's astronauts are flown there to sample simulated lunar living and working conditions.

Here and there, however, the country has patches of surprising beauty. Lovely fjords indent the western and northern coasts, with the mountains dropping sheer to the sea. Hundreds of small, unpeopled islands sit like watchdogs all around Iceland. From the broad, rock-covered beaches of the south and east, deep valleys, green with grass and dotted with red-roofed farmhouses, run back to the mountains and the glaciers.

Since there are no railroads and only a few gravel highways in Iceland, the best way to get about is by plane; more than 100 communities have airfields, with scheduled services to a quarter of them. Each year, the number of air passengers within the country is equal to three out of five of the population. Looking down from the sky, you see water everywhere. Rivers, alive with salmon and trout but treacherous with quicksand, pour down from the melting ice to the sea; waterfalls abound. Highland lakes, also teeming with fish, are filled with icebergs broken off the glaciers.

Iceland's climate is relatively temperate though temperamental. Summers are cool, and the average January temperature in

Reykjavik, the world's northernmost capital, is 30 degrees. A branch of the Gulf Stream, washing Iceland's coasts, is largely responsible for this mild climate. Air coming up from the south dumps a lot of snow inland, maintaining the immense glaciers, but generally a raincoat is more suitable than a heavy overcoat.

Polar currents clashing with these southern clouds make Icelandic weather more changeable than cold. In one morning there may be a drizzle, bright sunlight, dead calm and a shattering gale. Iceland has almost 24 hours of daylight during the summer months, almost total blackness in winter.

Sons and Dottirs. Iceland's people are even more complicated than its weather. To start with, there are names. Icelanders use their own Christian name and their father's Christian name, to which is added "son" or "daughter." If I were an Icelander, my name would be James Hughsson, because my father's Christian name was Hugh. My wife would be Josephine Johnsdottir, because her father first name was John, and my children would be Kenneth Jamesson and Nancy Jamesdottir. Thus, in an Icelandic family the surnames of husband, wife and children are all different. A man registering in a hotel abroad with his wife and daughter can cause a lot of confusion.

Juvenile delinquency is hardly known in Iceland. Violence of any kind is rare. In the last 50 years only three murders have been committed. There are but 250 policemen in the whole country. When it was necessary to disperse celebrating Allied soldiers and sailors on VE-Day—one of the few times there has been anything resembling a riot in the last few centuries—the police didn't even know how to release the firing pins on tear-gas grenades.

Smuggling and traffic offenses are the most common crimes; drinking while driving is the most serious. If caught after having just one beer, a man loses his license for six months, is fined $80 and gets six days in jail. He can choose the time of year it is most convenient for him to serve this sentence, though, and there are no cells in the national prison, which is only a country farmhouse.

Promising potentials. The largest single slice of Iceland's national budget is spent for "free" education through the university level, "free" medical care, hospitalization, accident and unemployment insurance and old-age pensions. But to pay for this, Icelanders are taxed heavily. (Progressive income taxes, collected by both the state and municipalties, can take up to 57 percent of a man's earnings.) Nearly everyone holds two or more jobs and works long hours. Because the average salary in the country is only $3800 a year, wives often work too.

Iceland's outstanding example of free enterprise is Loftliedir (Icelandic for "Sky Trails"), the only airline flying the North Atlantic that is privately owned and not subsidized by government funds. Established 22 years ago with one single-engine plane and less than $10,000 in cash, Loftliedir is today Iceland's largest single employer. In 1964 it carried 106,000 passengers to and from the United States, Iceland and Europe, had a net profit of one million dollars, paid a 15-percent shareholder dividend and large bonuses to all employees.

The island's economy is keyed almost exclusively to fishing. The total catch is one million tons a year, about the same as that of Norway, which has 20 times more people. Iceland has made good use of its natural resources. It has, for example, a substantial greenhouse industry based on its abundant natural steam. At Hveragerdi, acres of tomatoes, cucumbers, grapes, bananas, grapefruit, melons, pineapples and even coffee beans are cultivated under steam-heated glass. Eighty to ninety percent of all buildings and homes in Reykjavik have central-heating systems fed with 130-degree water piped from wells ten miles away. In five years the city will be completely heated this way, as will most of the rest of the country.

But Iceland is now taking a hard look to see what more can be done—particularly with its waterfalls and hot springs. Their power potential is estimated at over five million kilowatts. To take advantage of this, new kinds of businesses are being encouraged: chemical factories, aluminum plants, greenhouse flowers for air shipment to big-city markets in Europe and America, heavy water for the atomic age, the extraction of salt from the sea.

As it grasps at these new technologies, Iceland is shifting from a rural to an urban society. Industry now employs 30 percent of the population, as compared with three percent at the turn of the century, when Reykjavik had fewer than 5000 people. Its population today: 77,000.

Food prices are 20-percent higher than on the Continent; inflation has averaged ten percent a year for the last decade; wages have jumped 40 percent since 1963. Although Iceland depends on Iron Curtain countries for 25 percent of its trade, the country is a charter member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Immediately after World War II, largely because of sympathy for the wartime suffering of the Russian people, the communists enjoyed considerable prestige in Iceland. However, Soviet brutality in the Hungarian revolution dissolved this sympathy, and today communists hold only 9 of the 60 seats in the Althing, the world's oldest parliamentary assembly.

Reconciling the ancient and the modern in so many ways, Iceland's life and conditions are changing daily. One evening I sat talking with Indridi Thorsteinsson, a newspaper editor. "I was born only 39 years ago on a red foal-skin in a mud hut in northern Iceland," he told me. "In just that short time we've stepped up to all we have today. I like it—but it's a big adjustment."

As Iceland faces its promising potentials, President Asgeir Asgeirsson says about his country: "Whether we like it or not, our splendid isolationism is gone forever."

THE SCOURGE OF UNWANTED FIRES

Mr. HART. Mr. President, many hazards to man have either disappeared through changes in the natural world or have been alleviated through determined efforts to deal with the threat. Numerous deadly diseases, for example, have yielded to modern biological science. One hazard, however, has exacted a human and material toll from earliest civilization to modern times, and we have not yet done the job necessary and possible to contain this threat. I am referring to the scourge of unwanted fires.

Here are some recent headlines in newspapers from my own State of Michigan: "Farm Shack Fire Kills Six Children," "Blasts Jar Factory in Blaze," "Smoke Kills Mother, Two Tots in Plymouth." "Three Children Die in Fire; Mom Escapes With Fourth," "Fire Kills Man; Friend Rescued," "Centreville Fire Destroys Motel," "Seventy-five Thousand Dollar East Side Fire Is Marked by Blast."

President Johnson has recognized the problem of fires at both the individual level and the national level. In the first instance, he recently wrote an admiring letter to a 7-year-old boy in the Detroit area who has made a remarkable comeback from a fire 2 years ago that left burns over 70 percent of the youth's body, and took the lives of his sister, his brother, and his uncle.

At the national level, the President summed up the situation succinctly in his message "To Protect the American Consumer." He said:

> In 1965, some 12,000 lives and $1.75 billion worth of property were lost to fire. We can do better, and we must.

In response to the President's plea, legislation has been introduced to authorize a comprehensive fire research and safety program for this country. I strongly endorse the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967, and urge other Senators to support and enact the bill. It is a reasonable and a responsible bill, because it seeks to achieve its objectives through existing resources and institutions, wherever possible, rather than creating an entirely new structure. Many public and private groups have been working in this field for years, but their efforts need to be supplemented and complemented.

The proposed new program would include factfinding on the frequency, severity and other aspects of fires. It would authorize laboratory research on the causes of fires and on ways to combat fires. There would be an educational effort to inform the public on fire hazards and safety techniques, and to help train those who must cope with the problem of fighting fires. Information and data services would help assure that the latest knowledge on fire safety and prevention is made available to all who need it. Finally, demonstration projects would be encouraged, to aid in the development of new and improved methods for the prevention and control of fires. To carry out the provisions of the bill, grants could be made to State and local governments as well as to other public and nonprofit institutions.

All in all, the bill represents a well-planned effort to bring the resources of the entire Nation to bear upon a problem which faces the entire Nation. There is a clear and obvious need for action, and I believe that the responsibility of all Members of the Senate is equally clear.

SUCCESS IN REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, a success story of interest and importance to the American people is being written in the Republic of Korea.

South Korea was devastated by the war of the early fifties. But now, under the leadership of President Chung Hee Park, that nation is enjoying political and social stability accompanied by a gratifying growth in the economy.

The story of what has happened in Korea is summarized in a recent editorial published in the Arizona Republic, one of the great newspapers of my State. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial

was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Korean Payoff

Americans who get discouraged about the outlook in Vietnam should take a look at Korea.

On June 25, 1950, American troops entered South Korea to repel a Communist invasion from North Korea. War raged on that unhappy peninsula until July 27, 1953, when an armistice was signed.

With the line between North and South Korea virtually where it had been three years earlier, the question arose: Just what was accomplished by this expenditure of blood and treasure?

The answer, or at least one answer, was contained in a speech President Chung Hee Park delivered to the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea last month. Citing scores of facts and figures, President Park declared, "We have today achieved political and social stability, such as we have never before witnessed in the long history of our nation."

During Korea's first five-year plan, from 1962 through 1966, the gross national product grew at an average rate of 7.6 per cent; allowing for population increase, the per capita GNP grew at the average rate of 4.6 per cent. Annual exports jumped from $30 million in 1960 to $250 million in 1966. Food production far outpaced the population growth.

During the first five-year plan, a country that had produced few things more sophisticated than exquisite silks and beautiful lacquer work erected "an oil refinery, automobile plants and factories to turn out chemical fibers and plastic goods." Last year foreign exchange reserves—in a country devastated by war only 15 years earlier—reached $230 million, the highest level in Korea's history.

President Park announced the launching of a second five-year plan, which by 1971 should produce self-sufficiency in food production and an industrial plant capable of turning out 30,000 automobiles a year.

Korea's economy is near what economists call the take-off point. "Until a few years ago," said President Park, "we had to rely upon foreign aid to supply 50 to 60 per cent of our annual financial needs. . . . However, our degree of reliance upon foreign resources has now been reduced to 18 per cent and the day is not far when we shall be fully free of reliance on foreign aid."

While Korea has achieved political stability and is achieving economic stability, it has made a positive contribution to the fight against communism in Asia by sending 45,000 soldiers and 10,000 technicians to South Vietnam.

What did we achieve by our frustrating, bitter war in Korea? A dependable ally that by 1970, in President Park's words, "will emerge as one of the leading industrial nations in Asia," a country determinedly anti-Communist, a country that has demonstrated the merit of democratically elected governments.

And what will be achieved in South Vietnam? Much the same, we believe, plus a demonstration of the failure of the Communist program of conquest by infiltration. In the '60s, as in the '50s, we are engaged in a war that is far from popular. Now, as then, however, the stakes are large and the benefits (for us and for the world) will be substantial.

RESPONSIBILITIES AND DUTIES OF GOVERNMENT IN A FREE SOCIETY

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, the February 1967 publication of the Detroit Athletic Club carried a guest editorial which I recommend being read by every American, especially Members of Congress. Written by Ernest R. Breech, the brief editorial presents one of the finest, most literate explanations of the responsibilities and duties of government in a free society that I have ever read.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial—together with a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Breech—be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Guest Editorial

(Note.—Ernest R. Breech, now chairman of the board of Trans-World Airlines, stands as a giant in executive management, a man whose remarkable career with some of the nation's largest and most important industrial corporations is without parallel. Among the achievements of more than four decades, he also has been a group executive and vice-president of General Motors, chairman of the board of North American Aviation (whose merger and spectacular growth he organized), chairman of the board of Ford (and one of its directors today), and president of Bendix Aviation. An articulate and energetic champion of American ideals, Breech received the Freedom Foundation Award in 1951 for outstanding achievement in bringing about better understanding of the American way of life.)

Ever since Mr. Lincoln delivered his memorable address at Gettysburg, Americans have been alert to how closely their cherished freedoms are tied to prepositions. Yet if anything ever causes government *of*, *by*, and *for* the people to perish from earth, it could well be the failure to pay enough attention to two other prepositions which attach themselves to freedom—the difference between "freedom from" and "freedom to."

Freedom from want, oppression, intolerance, and like evils is what democracy aims to achieve, of course, but in a democracy the "freedoms from" are not enough. They have little real benefit for us unless we also have our "freedoms to"—freedom to act, to risk, to explore, to experiment, to choose, to complete, to achieve. In fact, it is doubtful whether we can ever reach our "freedoms from" without using our "freedoms to" in order to get there.

Nevertheless, it is incontrovertible that government in recent years has taken to throwing most of its weight into the "freedom from" side of the balance. If this meant a pure gain for the total of freedom, no one could lift an eyebrow. Unfortunately, it doesn't.

In the first place, government efforts are not always, to put it mildly, completely successful. They include a great deal of tare which must be subtracted (that it also must be subtracted from taxpayer income is, for the moment, incidental). In the second place, and even more serious, the more "freedom from" government tries to give us, the more "freedom to" government is in the habit of taking away.

If we the people are slow to recognize the danger now that it is upon us, our founding fathers were quick to anticipate it. We have only to read Madison's journal of the proceedings at the Constitutional Convention to find how determined he, Randolph, Gerry, and other delegates were that Federal government should never dominate the individual or his local or state governments.

In fact, their concern led them to frame and adopt Article X of the Bill of Rights, which reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Just that plain and simple—on the surface, at least.

In government, however, nothing is ever plain and simple. By a series of Supreme Court decisions in the past thirty-five years or so, the power of Federal government to encroach upon the powers "reserved" to the States" has largely invalidated Article X of the Bill of Rights. What has not been invalidated has been circumvented by the ability of Federal agencies to force their policies on the States and the citizens of the States through the power of the Federal purse.

In 1913, Constitutional Amendment No. 16 granted to the Federal government the right to tax incomes of corporations and individuals. (There was laughter in the Senate when someone pointed out there was nothing in the amendment to prohibit the government from taking as much as 10% of a man's income. He was assured such avarice would be confiscatory and therefore unconstitutional.)

Since then, a succession of Federal tax laws has created such an affluent national government that state and local officials find themselves dependent upon Washington for the necessary funds to promote the general welfare of their own people—from whom, of course, the funds came in the first place. Federal grants to state and local governments have grown at a fantastic pace. In 1930, they totaled $147 million and by 1940 they reached $945 million. By 1950, the figure was up to $2½ billion and only starting to gain momentum; in 1960, grants in aid came to $7.2 billion. And the 1966 estimated total is nearly $14 billion!

Most of these funds, of course, set out ground rules with which state and local governments must comply in order to receive their part of the largesse. So many of these laws have been passed in recent years that thick, cross-indexed catalogs are issued in order to keep track of all the available Federal assistance programs, but a few that come readily to mind are aid to education (some $10 billion in all, set up by the 89th Congress, most of it to be spent in the next two years), urban renewal, urban transportation, public housing, hospital construction, highway construction, and the welter of programs known collectively as "the war on poverty."

Where is Federal government leading us and where will we stop? Hopefully, somewhere short of the gloomy end Plato long ago predicted for a democracy. Democracy, he said, first degenerates into mob rule where every wind of oratory stirs up the waters and deflects the course of the ship of state. The upshot is tyranny or autocracy because the crowd so loves flattery and is so "hungry for honey" that at last the wiliest and most unscrupulous flatterer, calling himself the "protector of the people," rises to supreme power.

The saving grace may be that Plato attributed this catastrophe to the fact that people as he knew them were not properly equipped by education to select the best rules and the best courses. If education is the answer, the $25 billion a year we are putting into public and private schools at every level should mean that we have never been better equipped to preserve and increase our freedoms—to and from. Time will tell.

TRUTH IN LABELING

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, very considerable gains were made in net farm income in 1966, and they have been pretty well publicized.

But farm prices have been falling in recent weeks and months. The outlook in agriculture is for a poor year in 1967, unless the Government uses every authority at hand to lift farm returns. Farm prices today are below the level of farm prices 20 years ago, but production costs are continuing to go up and up. Tens of thousands of farmers are having to close out every year. Dairy production last year was seriously below the preceding year, and dairymen continue to sell off their herds.

It is inevitable that returns to farmers be increased, either as a consequence of government price supporting actions, or as a consequence of the concentration of agriculture into the hands of so few that they can manage production and prices to survive. If we go the concentration route, millions more farmers and rural residents will be heading into our overcrowded cities in search of employment; the social adjustments which will have to be made will rival estimates of costs of rebuilding our cities.

I believe that if American consumers knew the very small proportion of their income, and of their retail food costs, reaching the farmers of this Nation, a vast majority would support everything we can do to improve farm returns, and if they realized the social and economic consequences of liquidating another vast number of our farm families, they would clamor for a better break for agriculture.

I have been pondering ways that we can make consumers aware of the small percentage of their food dollar that goes to the farmer. Perhaps we need a system of labeling food packages to show the gross farm return from the commodities inside.

This is not going to be nearly as complicated as it may appear.

The Department of Agriculture already calculates the figure on an extensive list of commodities by quarters. Tables appear in the Marketing and Transportation Situation Report. Such a report, including the last quarter of 1966, is just out.

Perhaps a requirement that food commodities in interstate commerce be labeled to show the net farm value of the farm ingredients would do more than anything else we could do to create understanding of the farm problem, and the necessity of letting farm prices rise to decent living levels for our producers.

The current table shows that—if labeled—1-pound loaves of bread selling for an average of 29.7-cent price would carry a label indicating that the net value of farm ingredients was 3.7 cents.

A pound of choice beef marketed at an average price of 83.9 cents per pound in the last quarter of 1966 would be labeled to show that the farm share—the farmers' return—was 47.2 cents.

A No. 303 can of beets, selling at average price of 17.4 cents, would bear a label showing that the net farm return for the contents was 1.2 cents.

The farmers do better on canned corn. A No. 303 can of corn that sells at 22.5 cents brings the farmer 2.7 cents. The producer gets 3.7 cents for the peas in a 24.7-cent can of that item, and he gets 3.3 cents for the tomatoes in an 18.2-cent can of tomatoes.

The table shows that a 12-ounce box of corn flakes selling at 30.6 cents contains nearly 3 cents worth of corn and other farm products—2.9 cents to be exact.

If Senators have any suggestions in regard to a labeling bill, or can suggest any better way in which to call consumer attention to food price realities, I should very much appreciate their comments and ideas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the table contained in the current USDA publication, Marketing and Transportation Situation for February 1967, entitled Farm Food Products: Retail Cost and Farm Value, October-December 1966, from which I have been quoting.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 12.—*Farm food products: Retail cost, farm value of equivalent quantities sold by producers, byproduct allowance, farm-retail spread, and farmer's share of retail cost, October–December 1966*

Product [1]	Farm equivalent	Retail unit	Retail cost	Net farm value [2]	Farm-retail spread	Farmer's share (percent)
Market basket	Farm produce equivalent to products bought per urban wage earner and clerical-worker household in 1960-61.	Average quantities purchased per urban wage earner and clerical-worker household in 1960-61.	$1,103.30	$425.01	$678.29	39
Meat products			322.73	163.20	159.53	51
Dairy products			198.78	94.66	104.12	48
Poultry and eggs			92.69	52.66	40.03	57
Bakery and cereal products: [3]						
All ingredients			171.41	36.82	134.59	21
Grain				28.45		17
All fruit and vegetables			229.55	57.26	172.29	25
Fresh fruits and vegetables			110.62	34.20	76.42	31
Fresh fruits			44.51	12.88	31.63	29
Fresh vegetables			66.11	21.32	44.79	32
Processed fruits and vegetables			118.93	23.06	95.87	19
Fats and oils			40.18	11.54	28.64	29
Miscellaneous products			47.96	8.87	39.09	18
			Cents	*Cents*	*Cents*	
Beef, Choice grade	2.25 pounds Choice grade cattle	Pound	83.9	47.2	36.7	56
Lamb, Choice grade	2.37 pounds lamb	do	86.0	45.3	40.7	53
Pork	2 pounds hogs	do	70.2	35.4	34.8	50
Butter	Cream and whole milk	do	87.1	62.0	25.1	71
Cheese, American process	Milk for American cheese	½ pound	44.8	19.5	25.3	44
Ice cream	Cream, milk, and sugar	½ gallon	83.4	26.2	57.2	31
Milk, evaporated	Milk for evaporating	14½-ounce can	16.8	7.9	8.9	47
Milk, fresh:						
Home delivered	4.39 pounds Class I milk	½ gallon	57.5	25.7	31.8	45
Sold in stores	do	do	51.9	25.7	26.2	50
Chickens, frying, ready-to-cook	1.37 pounds broiler	Pound	38.6	17.7	20.9	46
Eggs, Grade A large	1.03 dozens	Dozen	63.4	42.4	21.0	67
Bread, white:						
All ingredients	Wheat and other ingredients	Pound	22.9	3.7	19.2	16
Wheat	0.877 pound wheat	do		3.0		13
Bread, whole or cracked wheat	0.708 pound wheat	do	29.7	3.5	26.2	12
Cookies, sandwich	0.528 pound wheat	do	52.3	4.6	47.7	9
Corn flakes	2.87 pounds yellow corn	12 ounces	30.6	[4]2.9	27.7	9
Flour, white	6.8 pounds wheat	5 pounds	61.4	23.2	38.2	38
Apples	1.04 pounds apples	Pound	17.2	5.7	11.5	33
Grapefruit	1.03 grapefruit	Each	15.1	2.3	12.8	15
Lemons	1.04 pounds lemons	Pound	24.8	6.6	18.2	27
Oranges	1.03 dozen oranges	Dozen	88.1	20.7	67.4	23
Cabbage	1.08 pound cabbage	Pound	12.2	4.4	7.8	36
Carrots	1.03 pounds carrots	do	15.2	4.9	10.3	32
Celery	1.08 pounds celery	do	15.2	4.5	10.7	30
Cucumbers	1.09 pounds cucumbers	do	20.1	7.5	12.6	37
Lettuce	1.88 pounds lettuce	Head	26.9	8.4	18.5	31
Onions	1.06 pounds onions	Pound	13.1	4.8	8.3	37
Peppers, green	1.09 pounds peppers	do	33.0	11.3	21.7	34
Potatoes	10.42 pounds potatoes	10 pounds	73.0	21.1	51.9	29
Spinach	0.71 pound spinach	10 ounces	29.4	6.3	23.1	21
Tomatoes	1.18 pounds tomatoes	Pound	34.1	13.0	21.1	38
Peaches, canned	1.60 pounds California cling peaches	No. 2½ can	32.3	5.4	26.9	17
Pears, canned	1.85 pounds pears for canning	do	45.2	7.2	38.0	16
Beets, canned	1.24 pounds beets for canning	No. 303 can	17.4	1.2	16.2	7
Corn, canned	2.495 pounds sweet corn	do	22.5	2.7	19.8	12
Peas, canned	0.69 pounds peas for canning	do	24.7	3.7	21.0	15
Tomatoes, canned	1.84 pounds tomatoes for canning	do	18.2	3.3	14.9	18

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 12.—*Farm food products: Retail cost, farm value of equivalent quantities sold by producers, byproduct allowance, farm-retail spread, and farmer's share of retail cost, October–December 1966*—Continued

Product [1]	Farm equivalent	Retail unit	Retail cost	Net farm value [2]	Farm-retail spread	Farmer's share (percent)
			Cents	*Cents*	*Cents*	
Orange juice, concentrate, frozen	3.42 pounds oranges	6-ounce can	23.2	8.6	14.6	37
French fried potatoes, frozen	1.38 pounds potatoes	9 ounces	15.7	2.4	13.3	15
Peas, frozen	0.70 pound peas for freezing	10 ounces	20.5	3.5	17.0	17
Beans, navy	1 pound Michigan dry beans	Pound	19.2	6.1	13.1	32
Margarine	Soybeans, cottonseed, and milk	do	29.5	8.4	21.1	28
Peanut butter	1.33 pounds peanuts	12-ounce jar	44.9	14.9	30.0	33
Salad and cooking oil	Soybeans, cottonseed, and corn	Pint	40.4	9.4	31.0	23
Vegetable shortening	Soybeans and cottonseed	3 pounds	92.6	30.0	62.6	32
Sugar	*Sugar beets and cane*	*5 pounds*	60.9	[5] 21.8	[5] 39.1	36
Spaghetti with sauce, canned	Wheat, tomatoes, cheese, sugar	15½-ounce can	16.1	2.1	14.0	13

[1] Product groups include more items than those listed in this table. For example, in addition to the products listed—Choice beef, lamb, and pork (major products except lard)—the meat products group includes lower grades of beef, the minor edible pork products, and veal.

[2] Gross farm value adjusted to exclude imputed values of byproducts obtained in *processing*.

[3] For the bakery and cereal products group and the *individual wheat products*, gross farm value, byproduct allowance, net farm value, and farmer's share are based on the market price of wheat received by farmers plus the cost of the marketing certificate to millers. This cost equals the value of the domestic marketing certificate received by farmers complying fully with the wheat program.

[4] Based on market price of corn received by farmer; no allowance made for price-support payment received by farmers who comply with the Federal feed grain program.

[5] Net farm value adjusted for Government payments to producers was 25.6 cents, *farm-retail spread adjusted for Government processor tax was 36.4 cents, farmer's share* of retail cost based on adjusted farm value was 42 percent.

INDIANA LAW STUDENTS AID CONSUMER LEGISLATION

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, a wonderful experiment in education is taking place which is exciting, imaginative, and significant. The participants are the Indiana University Law School and the President's Committee on Consumer Interests. The beneficiaries may well be all Americans.

Prof. F. Reed Dickerson has arranged with the President's Committee on Consumer Interests to have his seminar in legislation at the law school develop a position paper for the President's Committee on Consumer Interests to submit to any National Commission on Product Safety that may be established by the Congress.

This project cannot help but be of benefit to all concerned. For the students, it will be an opportunity to do legal research on a live and current problem. For the Commission that may be established, it will be a sorely needed piece of research in a field that has been relatively neglected. For the President's Committee on Consumer Interests, it will be at the very least a background paper for use in developing their own recommendations.

The 15 students involved and Professor Dickerson are to be congratulated for this public service they are rendering. If this project is successful, it will encourage students and professors in a wide variety of professional schools to work with Government agencies on current problems.

I ask unanimous consent that the names of the students, a letter from Mrs. Esther Peterson, the President's former Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, and a statement of mission describing the project be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 21, 1967.

Prof. F. REED DICKERSON,
School of Law, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

DEAR PROFESSOR DICKERSON: I can't begin to tell you how pleased I am that you are willing to allow your seminar in legislation at the Indiana University Law School to assist the President's Committee on Consumer Interests in a very important and timely project.

As you know, President Johnson has called on the Congress to enact legislation establishing a National Commission on Product Safety. We have every expectation that such a Commission will be established, and that we will be called upon to make recommendations. The work of your seminar could be invaluable to us in preparing our recommendations. In any event, I would plan to turn over to the Safety Commission the document being prepared by your students.

I am thoroughly convinced that the relationship between our Committee and the Indiana School of Law cannot but be of mutual benefit, and I eagerly await your final product. My thanks to you and your students for participating in this worthwhile innovation.

Sincerely,

MRS. ESTHER PETERSON,
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

B777 SEMINAR IN LEGISLATION

Mr. Dickerson.

Altman, Jerry Dean, 809 E. Hunter Ave., Apt. 2, Bloomington, Indiana.

Andrews, Kenneth Lee, 706 E. University Ave., Bloomington, Indiana.

Baken, Alan, 3315 Longview Ave., Apt. 35, Bloomington, Indiana.

Bloom, Lewis Elliott, Campus View Hse., Apt. 828, Bloomington, Indiana.

Bussell, Donald Dee, 423 E. 4th St., Bloomington, Indiana.

Eskridge, James Hubbard, 323 S. Grant St., Apt. 1, Bloomington, Indiana.

Fehr, Michael, Walnut Grove Trailer Ct., No. 150, Bloomington, Indiana.

Gowdy, Robert, Hepburn Apt., Rm. C–113, Bloomington, Indiana.

Hawk, Robert, 2110 N. Walnut St., Bloomington, Indiana.

Kixmiller, Robert, Hepburn Apt., Rm. C–111, Bloomington, Indiana.

Lewis, Donald, 305 E. Vermilya, Tennells Trailer Ct., Lot 11, Bloomington, Indiana.

Meredith, Roger Lynn, 1103½ S. Lincoln St., Bloomington, Indiana.

Murphy, Edward, 414 S. Henderson St., Apt. 7, Bloomington, Indiana.

Stanley, Kelly, 508 S. Fess Ave., Apt. 9, Bloomington, Indiana.

Wilks, John, 510 E. Smith Ave., Apt. 1, Bloomington, Indiana.

STATEMENT OF MISSION

The mission of the Seminar in Legislation is to develop a position paper for the President's Committee on Consumer Interests to submit to any National Commission on Product Safety, which may be established by Senate Joint Resolution 33.

The focus of the paper will be "household products" other than those excepted by section 6 of the Resolution. These are defined very broadly as "products customarily produced or distributed for sale through retail sales agencies or instrumentalities for use by a consumer or any member of his family." This includes all consumer products except those regulated under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, the Federal Food Drug and Cosmetic Act, the Federal Hazardous Substances Act, or the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act. However, products regulated under the Flammable Fabrics Act are included, even though that Act is listed in the current text of section 6.

The first objective is to discover and define the areas within which household products carry unreasonable hazards of physical harm, and to develop criteria for determining whether such a product or group of products is sufficiently hazardous to warrant legislative intervention. This involves considering not only the seriousness of the threatened injury and its incidence, but also the degree of consumer vulnerability. Hazards that affect only property or convenience need not be considered.

The second objective is to develop criteria for selecting the most feasible approaches and sanctions in those instances in which legislative intervention appears to be called for. Feasibility includes such factors as cost and inconvenience to the industry concerned, the need to make the product available, and the source of the hazard, that is, whether it results from faulty design or faulty construction.

The third objective is to study in detail the more important household products or groups of household products. Presumably, these will be products involving serious physical hazards of high incidence and with respect to which the consumer is highly vulnerable. Each study should cover the kinds of hazards involved, their seriousness, and their incidence; application of the criteria for legislative intervention; and application of the criteria for selecting the most appropriate approaches and sanctions in preference to their reasonable alternatives. Where specific legislative action seems called for, the paper should include drafts of recommended legislation.

The position paper should include a background statement. Its conclusions and recommendations should be supported by adequate facts and rational explanation. This will require inventorying and evaluating existing consumer protections.

MARCH 1, 1967.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business, which the clerk will state.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A consular convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D, 88th Cong., 2d sess.).

The Senate proceeded to consider the convention.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, as a Member of this body and one who, as a vice consul for six years, has probably had the most personal experience as to why the Consular Convention should be ratified, I strongly urge that the Senate take favorable action.

I can well remember being stationed behind the Iron Curtain in Bratislava and establishing the consulate general there. I recall the frustration I felt when an American citizen was arrested, held in jail, and brutally maltreated while I was denied admittance to see him. And here I must add the importance to a prisoner of some friendly outside contact in order to provide at least some source of inner strength to a man who has been beaten and maltreated to make him implicate himself and others to the effect—in this case utterly false—that he was engaging in espionage for his own Government.

I also well remember, too, when we provided sanctuary for a Jewish employee during a minor pogrom. Since a consulate does not enjoy any kind of immunity, we sought to secure this immunity and give sanctuary by putting up the sign "Consular Archives" on our door. We adopted the same device another time when an employee of our consulate general, who had been cruelly beaten in an effort to implicate me and others, was released to us a sour, spiritless, listless physical wreck. When, after a few days, it looked as if he was going to be picked up and abused again, we invited him to stay within our building. And again we had to use the device of putting up the "Consular Archives" sign on our door. This would not have been necessary if we had had a convention of this sort, since article 19 states that—

> Consular officers shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of the receiving state in matters relating to their official activity.

The same applies to employees of the consular establishment, if they are nationals of the sending state.

When it comes to great numbers of traveling Americans, too, who want help and protection, we obviously should not fail them.

There is the argument against ratification that this convention might increase espionage on the part of the Soviet Union in the United States. I do not believe this argument valid. In the first place, the United States is an open society and the Soviet Union is a closed one. Accordingly, a Soviet Union tourist in the United States can photograph, see, and report on a great number of things; for similar activity in the Soviet Union an American citizen would be arrested. I have myself undergone this experience, having been arrested three times by Communist officials behind the curtain for actions that would not have raised an eyebrow in our own country. Actually, what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander and the argument that this convention increases the opportunity for Soviet espionage in the United States can also be taken the other way in that it increases such opportunities for the United States in the Soviet Union. And, as I have said, it is much harder to secure information in a closed society like the Soviet Union than it is in an open one like ours. I am sure we would all agree that our consulates provide information to our Government just as do those of the Soviet Union to their Government.

In this regard I would imagine that the emotions of Gen. Vladimir Yefimovich Semichastny, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's opposite number in the Soviet Union, must be similar to those of Mr. Hoover in connection with the ratification of this convention.

From the viewpoint of espionage then it is a "wash" transaction, but with the edge to the United States, and from the general national interest viewpoint—the protection of our citizens, and from a viewpoint of eroding the Communist monolithic structure, the ratification of this convention can serve our country very well.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a transcript of President Johnson's news conference on foreign and domestic matters, excerpts from President Johnson's state of the Union message relative to this matter, and a portion of his speech to editorial writers in New York City relevant to this matter.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 3, 1967]

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC MATTERS

OPENING STATEMENT

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen.

I have been asked to give a statement about the consular convention that's pending before the United States Senate and I should like to say very briefly that I hope the Senate will give its advice and consent to the proposed convention with the U.S.S.R.

I feel very strongly that the ratification of this treaty is very much in our national interest. I feel this way for two principal reasons:

First we need this treaty to protect the 18,000 American citizens who each year travel from this country to the Soviet Union.

The convention requires immediate notification to us whenever an American citizen is arrested in the Soviet Union and it insures our right to visit that citizen within four days and as soon thereafter as is desirable.

We think that we need these rights to help protect American citizens. These are rights which the Soviet citizens already have who travel in this country because they are guaranteed by our Constitution.

Second, the convention does not require the opening of consulates in this country or in the Soviet Union. It does provide that should any such consulates be opened, the officials would have diplomatic immunity.

The Secretary of State informs me that no negotiations for consulates are under way, and that the most that he can envision in the foreseeable future is the opening of one consulate in each country to be manned by from 10 to 15 people.

There are presently 452 Soviet officials in the United States that have diplomatic immunity. So if an additional consulate were opened, and if another 10 were added to the 452, Mr. Hoover has assured me that this small increment would raise no problems which the F. B. I. cannot effectively and efficiently deal with.

In short, I think we very much need this convention to protect American interests, to protect American citizens abroad. And in my judgment, it raises no problems with respect to our national security.

Therefore, I hope very much that the Senate in its wisdom, after full debate, will see fit to ratify it.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 11, 1967]

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE EXCERPTS, JANUARY 10, 1967

Our relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are also in transition. We have avoided both the acts and the rhetoric of the cold war. When we have differed with the Soviet Union, we have tried to differ quietly and with courtesy. Our objective is not to continue the cold war, but to end it.

We have:

Signed an agreement at the United Nations on the peaceful uses of outer space;

Agreed to open direct air flights with the Soviet Union;

Removed more than four-hundred nonstragetic items from export control;

Determined that the Export-Import Bank can allow commercial credits to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, as well as Rumania and Yugoslavia;

Entered into a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union for another two years;

Agreed with Bulgaria and Hungary to upgrade our legations to embassies; and

Started discussions with international agencies on ways of increasing contacts with Eastern European countries.

This Administration has taken these steps even as duty compelled us to fulfill and execute our treaty obligations throughout the world.

I ask and urge the Congress to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West Trade Bill and approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union.

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF EDITORIAL WRITERS IN NEW YORK CITY ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1966

HEALING THE WOUND

IIII. One great goal of a united West is to heal the wound in Europe which now cuts East from West and brother from brother.

That division must be healed peacefully. It must be healed with the consent of Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. This will happen only as East and West succeed in building a surer foundation of mutual trust.

Nothing is more important for peace. We must improve the East-West environment in order to achieve the unification of Germany in the context of a larger, peaceful and prosperous Europe.

Our task is to achieve a reconciliation with the East—a shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement.

Americans are prepared to do their part. Under the last four Presidents our policy toward the Soviet Union has been the same. Where necessary, we shall defend freedom; where possible we shall work with the East to build a lasting peace.

MUST INTENSIFY EFFORTS

We do not intend to let our differences on Viet Nam or elsewhere prevent us from exploring all opportunities. We want the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe to know that we and our allies shall go step by step with them as far as they are willing to advance.

Let us—both Americans and Europeans—intensify our efforts.

We seek healthy economic and cultural relations with the Communist states.

I am asking for early congressional action on the U.S.-Soviet Union Consular Agreement.

We intend to press for legislative authority to negotiate trade agreements which could extend most-favored-nation tariff treatment to European Communist states.

NEW STEPS

And I am today announcing these new steps:

—We will reduce export controls on East-West trade with respect to hundreds of nonstrategic items;

—I have today signed a determination that will allow the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits to four additional Eastern European countries—Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. This is good business. And it will help us build bridges to Eastern Europe.

—The secretary of state is reviewing the possibility of easing the burden of Polish debts to the United States through expenditures of our Polish currency holdings which would be mutually beneficial to both countries.

—The Export-Import Bank is prepared to finance American exports for the Soviet-Italian Fiat auto plant.

—We are negotiating a civil air agreement with the Soviet Union. This will facilitate tourism in both directions.

—This summer the American government took additional steps to liberalize travel to Communist countries in Europe and Asia. We intend to liberalize these rules still further.

—In these past weeks the Soviet Union and the United States have begun to exchange cloud photographs taken from weather satellites.

REMOVING BORDER DISPUTES

In these and many other ways, ties with the East will be strengthened—by the United States and by other Atlantic nations.

Agreement on a broad policy to this end should be sought in existing Atlantic organs.

The principles which should govern East-West relations are now being discussed in the North Atlantic Council.

The OECD can also play an important part in trade and contacts with the East. The Western nations can there explore ways of inviting the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries to cooperate in tasks of common interest and common benefit.

Hand-in-hand with these steps to increase East-West ties must go measures to remove territorial and border disputes as a source of friction in Europe. The Atlantic nations oppose the use of force to change existing frontiers.

The maintenance of old enmities is not in anyone's interest. Our aim is a true European reconciliation. We must make this clear to the East.

Further, it is our policy to avoid the spread of national nuclear programs—in Europe and elsewhere.

SOVIET TROOP CUTBACKS

That is why we shall persevere in efforts to reach an agreement banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

We seek a stable military situation in Europe—one in which tensions can be lowered.

To this end, the United States will continue to play its part in effective Western deterrence. To weaken that deterrence might create temptations and endanger peace.

The Atlantic allies will continue together to study what strength NATO needs, in light of changing technology and the current threat.

Reduction of Soviet forces in Central Europe would, of course, affect the extent of the threat.

If changing circumstances should lead to a gradual and balanced revision in force levels on both sides, the revision could—together with the other steps that I have mentioned—help gradually to shape a new political environment.

A LONG PROCESS

The building of true peace and reconciliation in Europe will be a long process.

The bonds between the United States and its Atlantic partners provide the strength on which the world's security depends. Our interdependence is complete.

Our goal, in Europe and elsewhere, is a just and secure peace. It can most surely be achieved by common action. To this end, I pledge America's best efforts:

—to achieve new thrust for the Alliance;

—to support movement toward Western European unity;

—and to bring about a far-reaching improvement in relations between East and West.

Our object is to end the bitter legacy of World War II.

Success will bring the day closer when we have fully secured the peace in Europe, and in the world.

RECESS UNTIL 2:30 O'CLOCK P.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 2:30 o'clock p.m. today.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until 2:30 o'clock p.m., the same day.

At 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m., the Senate reassembled, and was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BAKER in the chair).

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D, 88th Cong., 2d sess.).

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the Senate is engaged in a discussion over whether to give its "advice and consent" that the President enter into a consular convention or treaty with the Soviet Union. That is the technical subject before us.

In reality, however, we are debating and considering a larger series of related proposals going far beyond a document which seeks to establish ground rules for such consulates as may be established in the respective countries by authority which resides in sources other than this treaty.

This series of proposals includes many aspects of our foreign and commercial trade policies with the Soviet Union. Among them are an East-West trade bill; a civil air agreement for direct air flights between the Soviet Union and the United States; virtual abolition of export controls on East-West trade on several hundreds of so-called nonstrategic items; extending and guaranteeing credits to several East European Communist countries; financing American exports for the Soviet-Italian Fiat auto plant to be constructed in Russia.

Further treaties are also contemplated between the Soviet Union and the United States, such as peaceful uses of space activities and space mechanisms, the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and disarmament.

This wider scope of major, radical changes in our foreign policy and international relations has been spelled out in detail by the President a number of times.

First, perhaps, in this package form, where it received its widest publicity, was the New York meeting of the International Conference of Editorial Writers in October 1966.

Then there was reference to it in the state of the Union message of the President.

The third source was a number of occasions in news conferences in less formal ways when the President referred to the process of building bridges between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Another source for detailing and outlining the package, as it is sometimes called, has been the hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

No one has asserted to the contrary, on the floor of this Chamber or elsewhere, that we are engaged in a series of related subjects which deal with fundamental relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It is the position of this Senator that the Congress, and especially the Senate, should not act on this program in a fragmentary way. A piecemeal treatment does not befit a subject of this importance.

This debate, in its overall aspects, is not between proponents and opponents of the consular treaty. It is, and should be, rather, a debate between those who favor building bridges between East and West and between the United States and the Soviet Union and those who oppose building bridges at this time.

Advocates of the Consular Treaty are heard to say and to repeat frequently that the reason for their desire to ratify it is that they want to end the cold war, and no progress can be made toward this goal if we persist in a hostile, suspicious, adverse posture toward the Soviet Union.

Hence, it is argued by the proponents that if this treaty will result in even a small gain in advancing the cause of peace, it should be ratified.

Mr. President, there is no one who more fervently or more earnestly wishes an end of the cold war than this speaker. But to base action on hopes and prayers for peace or for termination of the cold war without further inquiry is a case of hopeless and harmful wishful thinking.

It takes action by two great nations to bring about an end to the cold war. No one knows this better than the President, because of his inability to get the enemy in our Vietnam war even to agree to sit down and talk about peace. Goodness knows he has tried for a long time, and persistently, to bring about that result.

Approval by the Senate of the Consular Treaty would endow the Soviet Union with a new prestige and added respectability in the eyes of the world. It would cause dismay in the hearts and minds of many nations and of many millions of people, including millions of Americans.

Before taking this step, it would be most advisable to determine the likelihood of the Soviet Union's making some small effort which could be considered effective to bring the cold war to an end, or even slow it down a little, or ameliorate it to some degree.

The record, however, plainly shows that the Soviet Union has rejected any promise to seek such a goal.

Mr. President, the President of the United States addressed the National Conference of Editorial Writers in New York City on October 7 of last year. There were three principal sections to his speech. The third part bore upon the subject of strengthening ties with the East, "to quicken progress in East-West relations."

It was there that President Johnson first set out, in comprehensive fashion, his program of bridge-building from the United States to Eastern Europe.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record at this point an excerpt from the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents for October 10, 1966, as found on page 1426 thereof.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> Let us—both Americans and Europeans—intensify our efforts.
>
> We seek healthy economic and cultural relations with the Communist states.
>
> I am asking for early Congressional action on the U.S.-Soviet consular agreement.
>
> We intend to press for legislative authority to negotiate trade agreements which could extend most-favored-nation tariff treatment to European Communist states.
>
> And I am today announcing these new steps:
>
> We will reduce export controls on East-West trade with respect to hundreds of non-strategic items;
>
> I have today signed a determination that will allow the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits to four additional Eastern European countries—Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. This is good business. And it will help us build bridges to Eastern Europe.
>
> The Secretary of State is reviewing the possibility of easing the burden of Polish debts to the U.S. through expenditures of our Polish currency holdings which would be mutually beneficial to both countries.
>
> The Export-Import Bank is prepared to finance American exports for the Soviet-Italian FIAT auto plant.
>
> We are negotiating a civil air agreement with the Soviet Union. This will facilitate tourism in both directions.
>
> This summer the American Government took additional steps to liberalize travel to Communist countries in Europe and Asia. We intend to liberalize these rules still further.
>
> In these past weeks the Soviet Union and the United States have begun to exchange cloud photographs taken from weather satellites.
>
> In these and many other ways, ties with the East will be strengthened—by the U.S. and by other Atlantic nations.

Mr. HRUSKA. The passage referred to, Mr. President, includes those related subjects which I believe to be a part of the entire package of proposals which deal with a major and radical change in our foreign policy, particularly toward the Soviet Union. This speech was the President's bid to help end the cold war.

The gesture is a good one. How was it received by the one other nation whose cooperation and acceptance of such a bid, or even consideration of such a bid, is necessary?

There was quick response; not from the Soviet Union government channels, Mr. President, but from a higher authority, the Communist Party which is the real ruler of the Soviet Union. The formal government channels are only a part of the organization through which the party rules the nation.

The New York Times of October 16, 1966, reported the remarks of Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist Party leader, as made in a Moscow speech at a Soviet-Polish friendship meeting. I shall quote pertinent parts of that news story. The article begins:

> Moscow, Oct. 15.—Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, rebuffed today as "a strange and persistent delusion" the hope expressed by President Johnson that closer Soviet-United States cooperation was possible despite tensions over the war in Vietnam.
>
> The United States must stop bombing North Vietnam and end its "aggression" before relations can be improved, the Soviet leader declared.

So, in response to President Johnson's list of proposals to improve relations with the Soviet Union in connection with the cold war, which has existed now for some 20 years, there was an outright rejection of any possibility of progress in that direction without accepting what the Soviet Union lays down as a prior necessity—the stopping of bombing of North Vietnam and the ending of aggression by the U.S. forces in that land.

Another portion of the news story reads as follows:

> In his rejection of Mr. Johnson's appeal for steps to improve relations, Mr. Brezhnev said:
>
> "We have declared many times that if the United States wants to develop mutually beneficial relations with the Soviet Union—in principle, we also would like this—then it is necessary to clear major obstacles from the path. The piratical bombing attacks against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, must be halted and the aggression against the Vietnamese people stopped."
>
> Mr. Brezhnev added as a further condition:
>
> "The sovereignty and territorial inviolability of other countries must be respected, not just in words but in deeds."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record the text of the article to which I have referred, entitled "Soviet Calls United States 'Deluded' in Hope for New Ties Now," written by Raymond H. Anderson and published in the New York Times of October 16, 1966.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 16, 1966]

Soviet Calls U.S. Deluded in Hope for New Ties Now—Brezhnev Rebuffs Johnson's Bid for Cooperation While Vietnam War Goes On—Bloc Parley Expected—East Europe's Leaders Said To Plan a Coordination of Harder Line on China

(By Raymond H. Anderson)

Moscow, Oct. 15.—*Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, rebuffed today as "a strange and persistent delusion" the hope expressed by President Johnson that closer Soviet-United States cooperation was possible despite tensions over the war in Vietnam.*

The United States must stop bombing North Vietnam and end its "aggression" before relations can be improved, the Soviet leader declared.

Mr. Brezhnev's rejection was the first public statement by the Kremlin leadership in response to Mr. Johnson's appeal, made in a speech in New York eight days ago. Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, indicated last Sunday that the ending of the bombing raids was Moscow's major preliminary condition for any favorable responses to the President's overture.

The rebuff to President Johnson, made in a speech at a Soviet-Polish friendship meeting, came amid indication of an impending gathering of Soviet-bloc leaders here. According to East European sources, the meeting would discuss steps to coordinate harder policy against China, which is being denounced for obstructing Soviet-bloc assistance to North Vietnam.

OTHERS DUE IN FEW DAYS

The two visiting Polish leaders, Vladyslaw Gomulka, the party chief, and Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz, are delaying their return to Warsaw. Tass, the Soviet press agency, reported that Janos Kadar, the Hungarian party chief, was enroute to Moscow with Premier Gyula Kallai and other Hungarian officials.

The leaders of East Germany, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria are said to be planning to come to Moscow within a few days.

Besides discussing the problems confronting the Soviet bloc as a result of China's attitudes, the leaders are expected to deal with President Johnson's overtures for an East-West reconciliation.

In his rejection of Mr. Johnson's appeal for steps to improve relations, Mr. Brezhnev said:

"We have declared many times that if the United States wants to develop mutually beneficial relations with the Soviet Union—in principle, we also would like this—then it is necessary to clear major obstacles from the path. The piratical bombing attacks

> against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, must be halted and the aggression against the Vietnamese people stopped."
>
> Mr. Brezhnev added as a further condition: *"The sovereignty and territorial inviolability of other countries must be respected, not just in words, but in deeds."*
>
> Mr. Gomulka also spoke at the meeting, which was held in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses.
>
> He assailed the United States intervention in the Vietnamese war and echoed Mr. Brezhnev's declaration that improved United States relations with Eastern Europe were impossible while the war continued.
>
> "An unconditional end of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by American aircraft must be the primary preliminary condition for embarking on the path of seeking a political solution of the Vietnam problem," the Polish leader continued.
>
> Commenting Thursday on the demand for an end of the bombing raids, President Johnson said: "If the aggressor will pause, we will pause."
>
> ### CHINESE POLICY ASSAILED
>
> Both Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Gormulka criticized China's refusal to join in united Communist action to support North Vietnam.
>
> Peking's obstructionism on Vietnam, the Soviet leader declared, evokes "bitter regrets and stern condemnation" from Communist nations, especially because China, "is the only socialist nation having a common border with Vietnam."
>
> China, competing with the Soviet Union for leadership of the Communist movement, is said to hamper rail deliveries of Soviet-bloc aid to North Vietnam. The Chinese have termed Moscow's assistance as insignificant and asserted that it was mainly intended to mask a Moscow-Washington "plot" to settle the Vietnamese war through negotiations.
>
> The denunciation of Peking's policies today followed a warning Thursday by Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin that "a decisive rebuff" must be given to the Chinese leadership by the world's Communists.
>
> The coming meeting of Soviet-bloc leaders is expected to discuss the form that such a rebuff should take.
>
> In his attack on the Chinese leadership, Mr. Brezhnev declared that Communists would be hypocrites if they failed to denounce Peking's "splitting" policies, its obstructive tactics on the Vietnamese war and the so-called "cultural revolution," which is seeking to oust all foreign influence in China and glorify Mao Tse-tung, the party leader.
>
> "These policies, these actions can only discredit, socialism in the eyes of the people and confuse them," Mr. Brezhnev said. "The policies clearly are helpful to the imperialists. It is not without reason that their propaganda seizes upon the events taking place in China."

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I submit that in view of this emphatic and almost instantaneous response to the "building bridges" speech of the President in October of 1966, the outlook is not very bright for the ratification of this treaty in any way to lessen tensions between these two nations. In fact, it is nonexistent. The idea is rejected.

I wonder sometimes if those who say "We want to end the cold war, and therefore we will do anything the enemy asks, virtually, to gain that end," would include the cessation of bombing in North Vietnam and the ending of aggression, as it is viewed by the Russians and by the Vietnamese forces in Vietnam. I wonder if there is a parallel there to the ideas and wishes of those who say, "We want to end the hostilities in Vietnam," and who would be willing to do so at the price of complying with and abiding by the conditions which either the Soviet Union or the North Vietnamese would dictate.

More recent affirmations in this general area are to be found in declarations of the Soviet leaders in connection with celebrating the 50th anniversary of the great October Revolution of 1917.

What I have said so far has to do with the groundwork for any lessening of tensions and the minimum chance—in fact, the nonexisting probability—of such lessening of tensions on the basis of what the Soviet Union has declared and what it has said.

However, there is another class of arguments and reasons and sources to which we can repair if we want to examine the matter of deeds on their part. They have been mentioned here in the Senate Chamber during the course of the current debate.

Among those is the fact that with increasing degree and quantity the Soviet Union has been furnishing war material and supplies to the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong.

The Senator from South Dakota, who is present in the Chamber, made a splendid statement and a detailed documentation of that a few days ago. This includes virtually all of the sophisticated weapons going there in more recent days, including the military helicopters, which are perhaps as good as our best helicopters. It includes the surface-to-air missiles and a lot of other material, armament as well as ammunition, petroleum, and a host of other things.

Mr. President, recently this Senator urged the Senate to insist that consideration of the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union be deferred until all of those measures affecting our relations with the Communist bloc nations have received careful consideration in an appropriate manner; that is, consideration of all of the parts of this major policy change as one complete package. This course is urged as a necessary alternative to the administration's present piecemeal, pig-in-a-poke approach.

That the Consular Treaty is one of the major bricks in the design of the East-West bridge builders cannot be denied. If it is ratified by this body, then we will be given another piece, the Open Space Treaty. If we approve this treaty, then in the administration's logic, we surely could not reject the East-West trade legislation.

If we accede to this course, we will have worked a major change in our foreign policy posture without ever having the opportunity to assess the effects of the parts in relation to the whole. Commonsense dictates that this is not a prudent course to follow in a matter of this importance.

What I am urging is not blind obstructionism. All that is asked is that if we are to consider a détente with the Communists. Let us carefully examine all facets of the question in a proper perspective.

The first premise in this dialog, and the one on which all others must stand or fall, is the belief in some quarters that we are dealing with a "new" Communist. The administration has asked us to concede this point as though it were a truism.

Mr. President, the facts argue that this point can be legitimately contested.

It is a midwestern belief that if you are going to buy a horse, you must look at the animal. In seeking information regarding the transaction you "get it from the horse's mouth." In dealing with the Communists, we might profitably look to both their internal writings and their actions based on these words.

This consideration of the changing nature of communism is crucial in determining our relations with the whole Communist-controlled world. Is it correct that we should, as one Kremlinologist, former Ambassador George Kennon, asserted recently:

> Think about Russia as simply another great power, with its own interests and concerns, often necessarily in conflict with our own, but not tragically so—a power different in many respects, but perhaps no longer in essential ones from what Russia would have been, had there been no Communist Revolution in that country 50 years ago.

Or is this opinion a product of wishful thinking, a widespread weakness of the free, open society, often adroitly exploited by the Communists themselves? Is it, in other words, a false assumption, which, ultimately, will lead to a disastrous failure of our foreign policy?

A glance through the leading United States and foreign newspapers over the last 50 years will establish first of all the fact that this "evolution of communism" theory is nothing new. Every important change within the Soviet ruling apparatus was, curiously enough, always accompanied by speculations in the West about significant changes in the Communist ideological outlook.

After the disaster of the civil war and of the so-called War Communism in 1921, Lenin announced the new economic policy—NEP—a temporary concession to private enterprise of small industry and farming, reported in the New York Times under a headline: "Lenin Has Thrown Communism Overboard." After Lenin's death the belief that communism had been abandoned had been further confirmed by events resulting from the struggle for power between Lenin's successors, Stalin and Trotsky. The NEP was continued and even expanded, and Stalin called for moderation and collective leadership. He even rejected proposals for Trotsky's expulsion from the Party.

The free world reaction to these events was again mirrored in the press. The New York Times described the promised reforms as the "greatest step away from Marxism since the creation of the Bolshevik regime." Great importance was attached to promises as coming from Stalin, who is the Communist Party chief and successor to the power formerly held by Lenin. The London Daily Express called these steps the greatest—

> On the road away from militant Communism. By 1927 Stalin adopted Trotsky's agrarian policy of collectivization, which resulted in the loss of 10 million lives by

murder and famine and liquidation of well-to-do peasants (kulaks) as a class.

After this irreversible trend toward liberalization was completed by forcing the peasant to accept the collective-farm system, new concessions were made in the field of civil rights. In 1936 a new Constitution was promulgated, described by Stalin as "the only thoroughly democratic Constitution in the world," which guaranteed all imaginable rights of Soviet citizens. There was so much talk abroad about the new departure from Bolshevism that even Stalin complained:

> The fourth group of critics attacking the Draft of the new Constitution describes it as a "swing to the right," as "renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat," as "liquidation of the Bolshevik regime."

After scornfully mentioning some Polish and American newspapers which displayed a particular zeal in this respect, Stalin frankly stated:

> I must admit that the Constitutional Draft really does leave in force the regime of the dictatorship of the working class and also leaves unchanged the present position of the Communist Party.

As for the international aspects of communism, Stalin, though himself an internationalist, has been credited with restoring national interest as a primary motivation of Soviet policy. The post-World War II spread of communism in Eastern Europe and Asia shows the doubtful value of this illusion of change.

The greatest wave as yet of speculations about change, softening of the Communists hit the free world after Stalin's death in 1953. A succession of Soviet leaders, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and now Brezhnev, representing the new collective leadership, have been blaming Stalin's cult of personality for the brutal excesses of that period and promising internal liberalization and peaceful coexistence with the outside world.

This did not prevent Khrushchev from unconstitutionally violating the collective farm statute in order to consolidate the existing 252,000 collective farms into 97,000 giant ones, thus strengthening the Communist Party control over the peasantry. This "liberal" reform affected millions of peasants by depriving them of or reducing their minute private plots, until that time their main source of subsistence. Neither did his incessant preaching of peaceful coexistence stop him from crushing the Hungarian revolt, provoking the Cuban crisis, and openly supporting aggression—wars of national liberation—from Vietnam to Angola.

The religious persecution during the collective leadership became even more oppressive, according to all available information, than under Stalin, although it may now be carried out by administrative coercion and persuasion rather than by open burning of churches and killing of priests.

This sketchy survey of the changes and evolution of communism clearly demonstrates that during the 50 years of existence of the Communist system every period of tactical relaxation has been followed by a new period of repression.

If this were not sufficiently evident from the statements of the Communists themselves, it has been proven by experience. Ever since their first seizure of power, the use of intermittent soft policies and concessions has been as much a deliberate part of the Communists' internal policy as the use of terror and repression, and together with the inherent weakness of their system, has been evoking perennial prophesies of their gradual evolution or even early demise.

Just as they have always been voicing their intention of abandoning their aims of world revolution and renouncing the use of violence against the free nations, so have they also allegedly been terminating every form of domestic oppression, democratizing their dictatorial regime and even discarding the harsh and impractical economic theories of strict Marxist communism. However, each Soviet retreat was only introduced to insure the ultimate victory of socialism.

Let us go back to the Consular Treaty. Despite the official line of the administration that the main reason for concluding the Convention is our concern for the safety of U.S. citizens travelling in the U.S.S.R., some columnists grasped better the motives behind the maneuvers to induce the Senate to ratify the Convention.

Richard Wilson of the Cowles Publications, obviously impressed by certain witnesses before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, ardent advocates of the changed communism theory, grasped the real meaning of the convention in his column of February 1967, entitled "Consular Pact Contains Symbolic Importance." Its ratification by the U.S. Senate will amount to sanctioning the administration's assumption of a basic change in the Soviet world outlook, their presumed abandonment of world revolutionary aims and the possibility of Western accommodation with the Communist-controlled States. In Mr. Wilson's words:

> The U.S. relationship to this *change* is what is at issue in Senate ratification of the Consular Treaty. The issue divides those who wish to build bridges to the Soviet Union and those who do not. If the Senate gets across this particular bridge, it will undoubtedly build additional ones in the form of expansion of East-West trade relations, and ratification of the outer-space treaty.
>
> A great many Senators are bothered that these bridges should be built while in other matters we continue to collide head-on with the Soviet Union, particularly over Vietnam. This all-or-nothing approach to our relations with the Soviet Union contains more emotion than logic. If both nations are willing to place Vietnam in a separate category and proceed with a step-by-step building of other relations in other respects, something is said about the confidence on both sides in an eventual settlement of their major differences.

I pointed out earlier that the Soviet Union not only has not agreed to place Vietnam in a separate category and proceed with the step-by-step building of other relations in other respects; they have rejected that proposition.

They said with respect to the package of related subjects to which the President referred at the Editorial Writers Conference in October, and in his state of the Union message:

> We will have none of it until the United States permanently stops bombing in North Vietnam and until it ceases its acts of aggression in South Vietnam.

Since the Consular Treaty with the U.S.S.R. belongs to the realm of international relations and foreign trade, let us now investigate the Communist policies and their motivations in that crucial field of our mutual contacts.

Have they, as it is being claimed by détente apologists, abandoned their world revolutionary aims and are they ready to live in a pluralistic community of national states in peace as the free world understands it? Or are they still committed to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, with its totally different world outlook, based not on national but international class interest? Are the Communist-controlled states and especially the Soviet Union institutions primarily serving the limited, national interests of their inhabitants or are they revolutionary instruments, used by the respective Communist Parties in order to, in Lenin's words, "stir up, promote, and support" the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary program all over the world?

I find it difficult to understand where the advocates of rapproachement find the confirmation of their claim that the Communists have abandoned their world revolutionary aspirations. Even the reading of the daily press, despite the often misleading interpretations of Communist operations, should convince us about the present far-flung revolutionary activities carried on by the U.S.S.R. and other Communist-controlled countries all over the globe. Moreover, we can find clear admissions of their commitment to support and accelerate the world revolutionary process, in innumerable official Communist statements, which are usually available in most of the world's languages.

One of the most recent documents worth reading is the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of January 4, 1967, printed in Pravda on January 8 under the title "On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

This very lengthy statement contains 8,500 words and surveys the 50 years of existence of the first Socialist State which was born on November 7, 1917. It is claimed that not only the Soviet people but the toilers everywhere will celebrate this epoch-making event "the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the ideals of the working class movement, the ideas of proletarian internationalism and friendship among nations."

Further on in the text, we find an explicit reaffirmation of doctrinal Marxism-Leninism as a world outlook:

> The October Revolution showed a way of solving the vital problems brought to the fore by preceding world history: the future of society, the nature of social progress, war and peace, the destinies of world civilization.
>
> The global validity of Marxism-Leninism has been vigorously reasserted: "The victory of the October Revolution confirmed the Leninist theory of socialist revolution. Marxist-Leninist teaching had been proved correct on the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and its replacement by socialism, on the vanguard role of the working class, led by the Communist Party, in the

> Revolution and in building a new society; on the dictatorship of the proletariat and its role in the struggle for the triumph of socialism; on the Soviets as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and organs of genuine popular rule in a socialist democracy; on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other strata of the working people, under the leadership of the working class as the decisive force in the struggle for social liberation; on the industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture; on the ways of solving the national question; on raising the living standard of the working people and carrying out a cultural revolution.

While the following text contains patently exaggerated boasts concerning Soviet achievements within the country during the last 50 years, the passages claiming that "the Great October Socialist Revolution is of enormous international significance," merit a careful reading.

Without accepting the Communist claim of beneficial consequences, it is true that "the revolution hastened the march of historical events," that "the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of the October Revolution have spread all over the world" and that "its gains became a mighty base for revolutionary transformation in all parts of the world."

The most important gains of the October Revolution was, of course, the conquest by the Communist Party of the old Russian State and its replacement by a proletarian or socialist state, the Soviet Union. This new type of state became not only a world revolutionary base but also the cradle of the contemporary world Communist movement which has now developed into a most influential political force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world along socialist principles.

An individual Communist, looking through the Marxist-Leninist class prism, sees the world not as composed of political formations, the states, but rather as composed of classes, whose interest and loyalty transcend and ignore national state boundaries. Again quoting the January 4, 1967 Communist Party Central Committee Resolution:

> Socialism and capitalism, i.e., the forces of progress and those of imperialist aggression, are engaged in *irreconcilable struggle*. The imperialists will not stop at any crime in their attempt to hold back History and arrest the mighty revolutionary movement towards liberation. American imperialism, having assumed the function of world policemen, is intensifying provocation in various areas of the world. U.S. imperialists have unleashed a gangster war against the Vietnamese people and are trying to strangle the freedom and independence of the peoples and establish their domination.

The forces of socialism—that is, the world socialist system, the Communist-controlled states, and the remaining Communist Parties—are bound by the principle of socialist or proletarian internationalism to mutual support. We can easily agree with the Central Committee's key assertion that—

> The Soviet Union is in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism. Faithfully fulfilling its internationalist duty, the CPSU applies every effort to strengthen the cohesion and might of the socialist system, to rally closer the international Communist and working class movement on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; *it supports* the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against capitalist slavery; the struggle of peoples against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism; and consistently pursues a policy of strengthening the alliance with the forces of national liberation.

This certainly does not sound like a statement by a conventional government announcing a national anniversary celebration. It is also rather absurd to suggest, as we so often hear, that the Communist leadership is paying lipservice to revolutionary terminology, which they continue to use by inertia or as a face-saving device, while they are irrevocably turning into pragmatic politicians devoid of revolutionary fervor, embourgeoise, and ready to strike all kinds of deals with their Western counterparts.

The passages quoted above will be repeated throughout the anniversary year by every important personality of the Soviet Communist hierarchy, in one form or other, mostly quoting whole passages word for word, of the Central Committee statement. It is therefore superfluous further to buttress the argument that the directives quoted above represent the official party line in its strategic and tactical aspects.

One familiar with Communist doctrinal material will immediately realize as he studies the central committee's anniversary statement that he has before him a rehash of several sections of a programmatic statement issued in November 1960 by the 81-Party Conference held in Moscow.

The United States was also singled out in this statement as "chief imperialist country of today, chief bulwark of world reaction" and "its international gendarme, an enemy of the people of the whole world."

There are still those unduly impressed by the so-called Sino-Soviet rift, interpreted in most quarters erroneously as clash of national rivalries and not as an intramovement struggle for leadership aggravated by an apparent mental deterioration—as in Stalin's case—of Mao Tse-tung. They claim that at least the U.S.S.R. and the other Communist-controlled countries in Europe now prefer the nonviolent methods to achieve their aims. The constant Soviet advocacy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, misunderstood as to its class struggle implications, also has helped in creating the general confusion.

A reading of some of the documents mentioned, all available in English, will easily reveal that whether transition to socialism will be violent or nonviolent depends on the conditions in each country.

> Experience confirms that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people.

Since in the eyes of the Communists the will of the people in every capitalist country is represented by its vanguard, the local Communist Party, every resistance of the ruling classes—the capitalist or reactionary circles—to the demands of Communists will lead inevitably to revolutionary violence and ultimately to the most acute form of class struggle, the civil war. It is also well to remember that the old local civil war is largely a thing of the past. In the future every civil war unleashed by Communists and their sympathizers will become inevitably an international civil war, in which the foreign Communists are bound by the principle of proletarian internationalism to support the local ones.

With regard to the split, it has not prevented both the Soviet and Chinese Communists from attending and participating actively in the so-called Tricontinental Conference in Havana in January 1966, despite clashes between the two delegations.

More than 500 representatives of 79 Communist Parties and national liberation movements met to map out a coordinated strategy for the underdeveloped world. The meeting issued a series of declarations and resolutions pledging an intensification of revolutionary warfare, and established a military directorate to coordinate the various offensives.

Mr. President, it is difficult to conceive why this very important and significant tricontinental conference in Havana has received so little attention in the free world. It certainly was a highly significant conference. It made concrete recommendations. These recommendations are being carried out as rapidly and as effectively as possible; yet, we must resort to an analysis of that conference such as that which was given to the subject by J. Edgar Hoover in testifying in the other body not too long ago, and also the work done by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, of which I am a member.

The Soviet delegate, Sharaf R. Rashidov, fully supported the declaration of the Conference, which constitute a virtual declaration of war against non-Communist governments throughout the developing areas of the world.

As an official of the Organization of American States put it:

> This Conference was a most blatant and open effort by the USSR, Communist China and Cuba and their satellites to extend their power and influence in the free world, to exploit legitimate needs, to create discord and sow discontent and strife—in order to seek the violent overthrow of governments in this hemisphere and to supplant them with Communist dictatorial regimes, subservient to Soviet and Chinese Communist imperialism.

It was reported in the press—New York Times, February 17, 1966—that at least one South American Government launched a formal protest against the dual position of the Soviet Government: calling for armed revolution and yet seeking to gain influence with the governments that are to be overthrown. The Uruguayan Government summoned the Soviet ambassador in Montevideo to the Foreign Ministry to explain the statement made by the Soviet delegate, Rashidov who said in his lengthy speech that—

> Throughout the course of its history, the Soviet Union, following the behest of the great Lenin, has been sacredly fulfilling its *international duty*, giving full-scale support

> to the peoples struggling against colonialism and imperialism for their national and social liberation. The peoples rising in the heroic struggle against imperialism, no matter what corner of the earth this may take place, may be certain that the Soviet people will always be on their side.

From our point of view it is interesting to note that he also expressed solidarity with the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico.

The Soviet Ambassador's answer is available in summary in the two-volume Report on the Tricontinental Conference prepared by the OAS.

The Soviet disclaimer, couched in very arrogant language, denied the Soviet Government's participation in the Conference and based its denial on the fact that the Soviet delegation was composed of representatives of Soviet "social—or better, public—organizations and not of the Soviet Government." This is an old game played by the Communists, which unfortunately has often not been properly understood and countered by the non-Communists States.

We often speak, as did Secretary Rusk when testifying about the Consular Convention with the U.S.S.R., about "different systems of law, even of dissimilar systems of government." However, it may well be that it is our lack of understanding of the true nature of the Soviet state itself, or of any Communist-controlled state, for that matter, which makes it possible for the Soviet Government to use that kind of primitive, transparent disclaimer, as it did in the case of the Uruguayan protest, and many times before, as for instance, in countering our protests against the Comintern activities in the 1930's.

This lack of understanding of the nature of the Communist-controlled state is caused, first of all, by the fact that most political scientists in studying it are using a purely formalistic, positivistic approach, one based on study of external characteristics of that State, and are ignoring the philosophy which created it and is motivating its operations; namely, Marxism-Leninism.

Even a superficial investigation of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 will discover some formal resemblance between the Soviet state machinery and that of a Western-type democratic state. There is a bicameral parliament, the Supreme Soviet, directly elected by the constituency. There is the Council of Ministers, the highest executive and administrative organ of the U.S.S.R. state power—article 64.

There is a separate Judiciary, with "independent judges, subject only to Law"—article 12. Chapter X contains what could superficially be defined as a bill of rights: "Basic rights and duties of citizens." There, however, the formal resemblance ends.

In order truly to grasp the nature of a Communist-controlled state, we must resort to its analysis from the point of view of a theory of state and law, ours as well as the Marxist-Leninist. We believe that, to use Burke's well-known definition:

> A state is a necessary, natural institution, founded in the social nature of man.

Marx, Engels, and especially Lenin, proceeding from the class viewpoint, saw in every state an organization serving the ruling class. Logically, then, the socialist proletarian state is "only a weapon of the proletariat in the class struggle. A special cudgel, rien de plus." As the bourgeois state is believed by the Communists to be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the proletarian—socialist—state must exercise the dictatorship of its ruling class, that is, the proletariat or working class.

The doctrine of the dictatorship of the working class has since been the cornerstone of Marxist-Leninist state theory and practice. Soviet university textbooks on the theory of state and law, elaborating on this doctrine, explain that—

> The dictatorship of the proletariat considered as mechanism appears as a complex system consisting of a sum total of "levers" and "transmission belts" and "the directive force," which is the [Communist] Party.

It is further explained that—

> The Soviets with their executive machinery represent such levers and transmission belts; also, labor unions, cooperatives of all kinds, including collective farms, the Communist youth organization (*Komsomol*) numerous voluntary associations (for sport, defense, learning, etc.), which as a whole form the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, the state organs, the government in the broad sense of the word, are only transmission belts, or levers, used by the Communist Party to exercise its guidance, to direct, rule the so-called Socialist state. This has been reaffirmed as a constitutional principle in article 126, which states:

> The most active and politically conscious in the ranks of the working class and other strata of toilers shall unite in the Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the toilers in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system, and *the directive body of all organizations and societies of toilers, both public and governmental.*

This gives the Communist Party an indisputable monopoly of power and control in every Communist-controlled state, together with the monopoly of *nomination of candidates in an election.*

In the light of this analysis, one must reach the conclusion that the Soviet Communist leadership has a very low opinion of our intelligence and our understanding of the workings of their so-called state, if they seriously disclaim any Soviet Government participation in the Tricontinental Conference in Havana by asserting that the head of the Soviet delegation, Sharif R. Rashidov, candidate-member of the politburo of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which places him among the 19 most important apparatchiks in the U.S.S.R., represented only public—social—organizations and not the government.

The Communist Party itself is not an ordinary political party. It is a party of a new type, as the Communists themselves have correctly defined it. Its novelty consists in the unique features of its historical mission as a substitute for the state and state apparatus and in the originality of its internal structure. On one hand, it is a close hierarchial organization with a regular apparatus; on the other, it is an open mass party with a membership of many millions. Therefore, the party elite, the apparatchiks, virtually represent a party within a party.

The Communist Party is not simply the sole ruling state party; it is not even a state within a state. It is the state, but a new type of state, according to the Communist doctrine. Its novelty lies in the fact that the hierarchy of official state legislative organs is only the executive-administrative machinery for carrying out the decisions and instructions of a parallel hierarchy of formal executive party organs. A modern Communist state can exist without its official state apparatus, but it cannot exist without its party apparatus. Relationships between the party apparatus and the state apparatus are not those of coordination but of subordination; this in itself eliminates dualism in rule. Lenin destroyed Russia's old state organization in order to replace it with his new party machine. This machine was the system of partocracy, as it has been very aptly defined in a recent monograph, "The Communist Party Apparatus."

A Communist Party is a party of a new type also because of its international class character. The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of 1961 describes it as—

> An inseparable part of the International Communist and Working-Class Movement. The tried and tested Marxist-Leninist principles of the proletarian internationalism will continue to be inviolable principles that the Party will follow undeviatingly. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, to develop fraternal ties with all the Communist and Workers' Parties and to coordinate its actions with all the detachments of the World Communist Movement for the joint struggle against the danger of a new world war, for the interests of the working people for peace, democracy and socialism.

There is a school of thought which denies, at present, any possibility of restoring the former cohesion of the International Communist Movement. As evidence they list the Sino-Soviet rift, the rifts between the U.S.S.R. and the European Communist-controlled states, frictions due to supposedly increasing nationalism in those states, and so forth.

I am afraid we may be ordering the funeral before the patient is dead. It is for this reason that this Senator again urges the Members of the Senate to insist that we be given the opportunity to consider the entire package, both treaties and trade legislation, intact rather than on a piecemeal basis.

Mr. President, by way of summary, I should like to suggest again that as much as anyone would want to see the end of the cold war, as much as anyone would want to lessen the thrust and the brutality of the cold war, and the hot war in which we are engaged in Vietnam, ratification of this treay simply cannot be based upon the hypothesis or the proposition that there is a "new communism," or that there is a new partnership in the process of formation between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R.

There is simply nothing to indicate that the Iron Curtain is being formed into an open door. If anything, there is reason after reason to conclude, from overt acts as well as from well defined and definite statements, and declarations by Communist leaders, that they do not mean to let up for one moment in that position and posture which has made it necessary for this country to have entered into the cold war in the first place, and to have continued it since that time—about 20 years ago.

Certainly, there is nothing to indicate that they are going to abate one iota in their participation in the hot war in Vietnam. And, we are engaged in a hot war with the Soviet Union there because they are supplying the armaments, the munitions, the supplies, and the war materiel without which the war would come to an early and definite end if delivery of those articles of war were suspended or ceased by the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, it is for these reasons that I urge two things: One, that the Senate not, at this time, advise and consent to the Consular Treaty before it. Two, that the Senate should, as a matter of fact, insist upon a discussion of all the related subjects in this proposed major and radical change in our foreign policy before disposing of any of the component parts thereof.

It is only from that overall perspective that we will be able to render a decision which will be wise, and judicious.

It is my hope that we will be able to sustain the position of a complete, overall discussion when the matter before us comes up for final disposition.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, what the Senator says is very significant in the whole discussion that we are having about the desirability and undesirability of ratifying the consular treaty with Russia at this time of war. Admittedly she has become the arsenal of Hanoi and the sole source of military weaponry of modern design which is being used to continue the war there and is making it more difficult to obtain peace. *It certainly* is escalating our American casualties.

It is certainly true also that deeds speak louder than words.

The Senator alluded to the fact that in the RECORD of Friday, March 10, I placed in the RECORD for public scrutiny for the first time a list of the supplies now available for shipment to Russia in unlimited numbers and without license.

I had this list printed in the RECORD because we have heard them described as nonstrategic and as peaceful goods. The facts are now before the public that the weapons are going from Russia to Hanoi.

I thought it would be illuminating to note just what kind of American shipments have been made eligible to the Russians by President Johnson's ill-advised and unprecedented Executive order of October 12, 1966.

That astonishing but revealing list will be found beginning on page 6262 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 10, and extending to page 6266.

I think it is illuminating reading for the country, and I think it should be must reading for every Senator before he votes on the treaty.

The Senator is aware that it was on October 12, 1966, that by Executive order President Johnson opened up these exports in trade to Russia and other Communist countries without license and without limitation.

The Senator pointed out that this act of appeasement and conciliation apparently did not serve very well the purposes of amity between the two countries, that this had no impact whatsoever on lessening the amount of war weapons which are being shipped by Russia to Hanoi, and that it has been only recently that these tremendously significant helicopters have been supplied by Russia to Hanoi.

The Senator would agree, I am sure, with the Senator from South Dakota that the helicopter activities of our American forces and our South Vietnamese allies have been one of the bright spots and one of the productive operations of our war effort.

Mr. HRUSKA. Those activities have been among the most efficient and effective forces in the waging of that war. They put us far ahead of the enemy. Yet, that "advantage" is being rapidly dissipated by the appearance on the scene of the Russian-supplied helicopters.

Mr. MUNDT. Precisely, and it was for that reason that the North Vietnamese Communists sent out that great Macedonian call to their comrades in Moscow, "We must have helicopters."

They got helicopters, and they got helicopters of the best possible design. They got a substantial number of these helicopters and, of course, they got them from Russia.

Mr. HRUSKA. And, very likely, with training by Russian helicopter pilots.

Mr. MUNDT. There is no question about that. That would follow the formula pursuant to which some 200 Migs have been supplied by the Russians to the Communists of North Vietnam *in order to attack and destroy our American* Air Force. Those planes were also escorted and accompanied by well-trained Russian Mig pilots who trained the North Vietnamese on how to use them with the maximum of effectiveness.

Talking about deeds, I point out further that by his Executive order on October 12, 1966, openly and directly defied the expressed desire of Congress—incorporated in rollcall votes in both the Senate and the House over the past few *years—that these* wartime exports to Russia be ended or curtailed, President Johnson opened the Pandora's box for war-profiteering Americans to send anything listed on these pages of the RECORD of March 10, 1967, to which I have just referred and which I have identified *starting on page 6262.*

After President Johnson had done that, just exactly one fortnight later, on October 26, 1966, there was an Associated Press story out of Moscow, corroborated by an Associated Press story out of Warsaw, in which those countries announced that the Communists were sending an additional $1 billion worth of military aid to Hanoi. Scarcely a device, I might add for ushering in a detente between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

It seemed to follow as the night follows the day that, since the Russians had an additional source of material coming from the United States to shore up some of their consumer shortages and some of their consumer needs and some of their industrial deficiencies, they felt free to make available an extra $1 billion of aid to help defeat us in Vietnam and to destroy or decimate our American forces there.

Certainly here is a deed not in the direction of amity, not in the direction of a detente, and not in the direction of trying to work out some conciliatory arrangements with the United States. There instead is a deed designed for the destruction of our war effort in Vietnam.

It seems to me that kind of a deed speaks much more effectively than the words we hear on occasion emanating from Moscow.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, when the Senator from South Dakota referred to this list of more than 400 nonstrategic items freed from export control between this country and the Soviet Union, I am reminded of the list of other things which have been done in the way of benefits and concessions and movements to try to mollify and appease the Soviet Union with never a return or reciprocal item advanced by the Soviet Union.

In addition to the 400 nonstrategic items, for example, the President lists these other things in the state of the Union message:

> We have agreed to open direct air flights with the Soviet Union.
>
> We are determined that the Export-Import Bank can allow commercial credits to Poland, Hungry, Bulgaria, and Czechslovakia, as well as to Rumania and Yugoslavia.
>
> We have entered into a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union for another two years.
>
> We have started discussions with international agencies on ways of increasing contacts with Eastern European countries.

Then he continues:

> I ask and urge the Congress to help our foreign and trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill.

There are other items, also.

The point I wish to make is that concession after concession and act of appeasement after act of appeasement have been extended in favor of the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe, with never a return item, except to bite the hand of those who seek to make a little progress toward ameliorating or concluding the cold war.

Of course, the matter of 400 so-called nonstrategic items is a leader among those lists. In time of a hot war, such as that in which we are engaged, I should like to know what item contained in that list of 400 is nonstrategic.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. In this day of modern warfare, it is almost impossible, it seems to me, to single out any conceivable item we might export to Russia, in order to help her overcome a deficiency, which could not be definitely and accurately termed a war item. Even if it were something strictly for consumer utilization, when a country needs to import an item of that kind, it does so because a desperate shortage of it exists at home.

Once Russia gets this consumer item from a country such as the United States, you automatically relieve a certain number of the labor force, you relieve the pressures on certain amounts of raw material, you relieve the utilization of certain amounts of the mechanical and industrial complex of Russia. You free all those elements to start producing additional war supplies. And the Russians need the additional war supplies because they are shipping so many of them, first, not only to Hanoi, where we are at war with their armaments and at war with their guns, but also to other trouble spots of the world where they are tending to arm other nations and groups so as to make mischief for the United States.

Mr. HRUSKA. Another item was the extending of credits for American exports to help in the construction of the Soviet-Italian Fiat automobile factory to be constructed in Russia.

This is an extension of credits, Mr. President, at a time when the citizens of the great Midwest, engaged in farming and ranching, find it difficult to obtain credit; and when they do obtain it, they pay a high price for it. In face of our dwindling gold supply and in face of the indirect but very effective assistance to the North Vietnamese which results therefrom, the administration is going forward to help the economic and the industrial productivity and to strengthen the position of the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries. Such action simply does not make sense.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. The $50 million credit which we are extending to the Communists for the purpose of helping them build that automotive plant is a credit which is underwritten by every American citizen. We all have the ugly expectancy of having to pay more taxes or, in lieu of that, to go deeper into a national debt which has already lit the fires of inflation so that the budget of every householder has suffered. In any event, if the Communists do not repay the $50 million, the money will have to be paid by the taxpayers or by the credit of the United States. And for what? To build an automobile factory. And why do they want that?

Every schoolchild knows that when this country is at war—and the wars get big and tough and consume a great deal of our armaments and much of our time and labor—the industry we turn to first is the automotive industry of the United States, in order to shift from making automobiles to making tanks, to making guns, to making planes.

In this regard, we are actually lending $50 million to the Russians to enable them to manufacture, by 1969, when the plant is scheduled to be completed, additional armaments to kill additional boys in a war which very likely will still be continuing in 1969, if we continue the insane policy of shipping to the fellow who is providing the weapons to continue the war the things he needs to keep his country viable enough so that he can continue the shipments.

Mr. HRUSKA. I am grateful to the Senator from South Dakota for the contribution he has made to this discussion.

In addition to furnishing warstuffs to Vietnam, however, the Soviet Union has been taking other actions which clearly show that the ratification of this treaty will not have any effect at all on the shortening of the cold war or even a slight letup in the war.

There is the matter of the Soviet Union continuing to subsidize in a substantial way the only Communist nation in the Western Hemisphere—Castro's Cuba. The Soviet Union has been subsidizing Cuba consistently for a number of years, without any signs of a letup. Perhaps it is a fine, friendly action to a fellow Communist nation, but it does not indicate any desire on the part of the Soviet Union to get to a point where it will lessen the cold war in which we are engaged.

Another overt act on the part of the Soviet Union is its recent enlargement of the military budget for the coming year. The military budget of the Soviet Union has been constantly stepped up in the last 2 or 3 years because of the drain on their war reserves to furnish munitions and armament to the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong.

A further factor is the installation of the antiballistic missile system in various parts of the Soviet Union, posing for our country the necessity of meeting that situation by a comparable step if we do not wish the Soviet Union to be in a military posture superior to ours.

Mr. President, this is not the time to enter into a consular treaty of this kind. The Soviet Union should do something to indicate that such a step by the United States will be entertained as good faith for ending the cold war, or even a slight letup in it. We should consider the entirety of the package and not consider in attempted isolation, the ratification of the consular treaty.

Instead of having some concrete, overt action by the Soviet Union along the lines I indicate, we have had an outright rejection of the treaty as a part of the big package, and, in fact, an apparent rejection of the entire package. We also have a stepping up of the hot war which Russia is waging against the United States in Vietnam.

The argument in favor of ratifying the consular treaty is, "We want to end the cold war, and therefore we ought to ratify this treaty." This plea is not applicable. There is no indication that a letup by the Soviets will take place in the cold war because of the ratification of the treaty, if the treaty should, unhappily, be ratified.

The principal basis of the proponents' arguments—those who favor ratification of the treaty—seems to be along this line, and it is to this line that I should like to devote the greater part of my remarks:

First, it is said that we are dealing with a new communism.

Second, it is said, as appears in the state of the Union message by our President:

> We are shaping a new future of enlarged partnership in nuclear affairs and in economic and technical cooperation in trade negotiations, in political consultation and in working together with the governments and the peoples of eastern Europe and the Soivet Union.

There is a little intervening language and, then, continuing—

> Our relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are also in transition.

We have language such as that referred to and language such as that used a week ago today in the city of Fulton, Mo., at Westminster College by the Vice President, who said:

> It is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relations with the peoples of Europe—a period of New Engagement.
>
> And I believe that this new period, if we do not lose our wits or our nerve, or our patience, can see the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the Open Door.

Here we have these statements and a new commitment, a new further partnership with the governments and peoples of Fastern Europe and the Soviet Union; and the statement "Replacement of the Iron Curtain by the open door."

They are all statements to the effect that there has occurred a change in the attitude, activities, and relationships between this country and the Soviet Union. Yet, nowhere have we had any assignment of reasons, any proof, nor any indication that any of these things have occurred. Hopefully they will occur. No one will engage in more earnest or fervent hope that they do occur in due time than I and I know that that hope is shared by everybody, but we have to be realists.

There is not only a lack of proof, but also there is much evidence to the contrary.

Whatever changes they might show, their adamant and vigorous attitude points toward increasing an escalation of the cold and hot wars in which the Soviet Union is engaged against us, rather than the reverse.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. The Senator from New Hampshire is very deeply impressed with all that the distinguished Senator from Nebraska has been saying. I think it is a masterful, thorough, and analytical presentation of things the Senate should be thinking about before we vote on this momentous question. I wish to ask the Senator from Nebraska in regard to the statement just made, if he agrees, that so far as we have been able to discern, there has not been one single overture or any act of softening, indicating that there is a new attitude toward us on the part of the Soviets. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is correct, as far as the study, the reading, and the observations of this Senator are concerned. I have searched in vain for some act that could be construed in the light in which the Senator referred, and I have been unable to find it.

Mr. COTTON. Knowing the thoroughness with which the Senator from Nebraska undertakes all of his research before engaging in as important an utterance on the floor of the Senate as he has made, I am satisfied, that there has not been any significant change.

I wish to ask the following question: If there had been any change in the attitude of the Soviet Union, or if there had been made to our Government directly or indirectly secretly or otherwise, any promise or offer, or any suggestion that there might be a change, and that that change of attitude might be effected if we ratified this treaty, does not the Senator from Nebraska think that every Senator, who has the solemn duty to vote on this ratification should be informed of that fact, and not have it merely hinted at?

Mr. HRUSKA. I agree with the Senator. If there are any secret communications or unpublicized communications every member of the Senate should be informed of them.

There have been rumors from time to time that they do exist but for high reasons of state they cannot be disclosed. I have never been able to track them down. I know that one of our colleagues—I shall not undertake to identify him; he can speak for himself if he wishes—came across rumors that two different kinds of some classified reason that has been advanced by those in the executive department; each was different from the other and did not include reference to the other.

If there are such things they should be disclosed, and they could be disclosed in a discreet manner. We could consider them as classified, and for reasons of national security not disclose them. That would be one thing, but to deny that information, if any does exist, I think we should assume that there are no such reasons, and vote accordingly.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. HRUSKA. I am happy to yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. I am sure the Senator from Nebraska is just as reluctant as the Senator from New Hampshire, and others in the Senate who have misgivings about this treaty, to stand in the way of any real step that might make our relations with the Communist world better in the future, and avert even in some small degree the possibility of nuclear war. I am sure he is just as reluctant as any of us are in that respect. Is that correct?

Mr. HRUSKA. Yes. I have declared that to be so in my statement and I repeat it now.

Mr. COTTON. If I interpret correctly what the Senator has just said, if he were informed in the strictest confidence by the responsible heads of the Government of the United States of any real facts that would indicate that ratification of this treaty would hasten peace in the future, I know that he, as is true of many of the rest of us, would take that fully into consideration without divulging the facts, if they should not be divulged.

Mr. HRUSKA. There is no question about that, as far as my thinking and belief are concerned.

Mr. COTTON. It is my understanding, as far as the Senator from Nebraska is concerned, and as is the case with the Senator from New Hampshire, that at no time has any responsible person given us any information, any real evidence that this treaty that we are urging upon the Soviet Union, that we are in a sense supplicating them to accept, will have any more significance than our action in paying tribute to the pirates of Tripoli—before we rebelled and decided that we would not continue to pay tribute—while hoping that they would be kinder to us?

Mr. HRUSKA. No such information has come to me from any source in the executive departments. Other Senators will have to make their own disclosures as to what may or may not have happened to them in this regard.

Getting back to the oft-repeated assertions that we are dealing with a new communism or are entering into a new partnership with the government and people of the Soviet Union, and the statement that the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the open door is imminent, and that all we have to have is patience and the other things that go with it, such as forbearance, I do not know how much more by way of appeasement, perhaps, or modification we must display. On that subject, I wish to address myself to the proposition that there has been no change in the stance or in the program of the Communist Party.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield for a question?

Mr. HRUSKA. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MURPHY. As the Senator said, there has been no change. Am I correct in believing that in spite of the fact that, from time to time, we read in some of the press that there has been a thawing of the cold war, the Senator means that actually, as to basic principles or a change of objectives, there has been no noticeable change in, let us say, the last 15 years?

Mr. HRUSKA. In that respect, I should like to expand my statement and correct any impression I may have created. There have been no changes for the better in the stance or in the program of the Soviet Union, so far as America is concerned. There have been some changes which have been to the harm, the detriment, and the expense of the United States, both in the program of the Soviet Union and in its activities.

Mr. MURPHY. Is it not true that because of the so-called or alleged changes, it now seems, or has seemed in the last year or so, that the activities of the Soviet Union and around the world have been expanded? Is there not evidence that the Soviets were concerned in the Congo, in Cuba, and in many other areas, whereas 5 years ago they were not spread out in those areas?

Mr. HRUSKA. There is no question about that. That subject was thoroughly canvassed in the tri-continental conference of the Communist nations in Havana, Cuba, in January 1966.

Mr. MURPHY. Is it not true, as I have put it in oversimplification, that for the past 30 years we have been the "main door" prize and still remain so, except that the conditions of our health are not so good now as they were 5, 10, 15, or 25 years ago?

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator puts it well, indeed. I certainly accept that characterization.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. HANSEN. The Senator from Wyoming is most impressed with the able and learned presentation being made by the Senator from Nebraska.

All the mail which has come to my office since I became a Member of the Senate, taken together, excluding the consular treaty, has not approximated the interest evoked by the debate on the consular treaty.

As the Senator from Wyoming understands it, the primary concern of the State Department in trying to secure the ratification of the consular treaty seems to be for the 18,000 Americans who visit Soviet Russia annually—at least, that is the number who visited Russia a year ago.

By way of contrast, it might be observed that in 1966, 900 Russians visited this country. The number of Russians who come here seems not to fluctuate, but the number of Americans going to Russia has increased steadily. I think that we would be naive, indeed, to assume that ratification of this treaty would do anything but encourage further visitations to Soviet Russia, by American businessmen and tourists.

To say that we cannot draw the line of demarcation between what are nonstrategic materials and strategic materials belies the fact. I do not know how much of the Russian labor force last year was involved in the production of agricultural commodities, but I do know that not many years ago 47 percent of the Russian labor force was involved in trying to produce enough food for the Russian people. So the remarks of the Senator from Nebraska, in saying that whatever we export to Russia helps to contribute to their warmaking capability, are precisely true.

If we send food or anything else over to Russia, it will make them better able to help destroy this country, as they are presently trying to do in Vietnam.

I wrote to the Secretary of State a few days ago, expressing great misgiving because this country proposes to authorize a $50 million loan to an Italian automobile manufacturer to set up shop in Soviet Russia.

As has been pointed out by the able Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], it is true that it is one and the same thing, so far as war-making capability is concerned, when we talk about the manufacture of cars and the manufacture of war armaments. How better could we assure the advancement of Russian capability to make helicopters, airplanes, tanks, and missiles than to contribute sophisticated machine tools and related technology to their automaking capabilities?

Thus, this subject concerned me and was the basis on which I wrote to the Secretary of Defense, denouncing the action and expressing my great concern over what it could do to our posture and our position in Vietnam.

I know that all of us share the common hope that we can soon resolve the conflict in Vietnam. I think the best way to resolve it is to achieve a position of strength, to demonstrate our superiority on the battlefield, and to weaken the enemy. If he is weakened and sees that he cannot hope to prevail, then I suggest that he will be more inclined to sue for peace and want to sit down at the conference table and, resolve the conflict there.

I repeat: the way to guarantee this result, in my mind, is to negotiate from a position of strength. It is in that context that we must review the consular treaty.

It seems to me that anything we do which enables the Soviets better to supply the forces of the Vietcong, better to assist the North Vietnamese people, will make more difficult the early resolution of the conflict in southeast Asia.

Therefore, I am convinced that the ratification of the Consular Treaty now will encourage more of our businessmen to go to Soviet Russia. They will know that they will have the protection of our consulates. They will know that if they do happen to get into trouble, the strong hand of Uncle Sam will be near by to help bail them out of that trouble.

Mr. President, I appreciate, as we all do, the importance of better understanding among the nations of the world. I think that were it not for the fact that we are today involved in this conflict, there is every argument and every reason, and there should be every desire on our part, to enter into this sort of arrangement; but this is not the time. The priorities are set by the situation in southeast Asia.

Because of that, I compliment the Senator from Nebraska for calling to our attention, as he has, the impact and the importance of this treaty.

I believe that the President has mentioned in his state of the Union message the different bridges we hope to build between our country and those behind the Iron Curtain.

But, this is not the time to take steps to try to bring about a better detente with the Soviet Union, to try to bring about a better understanding with the other Iron Curtain countries, or to introduce an agreement which will weaken, not strengthen, America's position in southeast Asia. Because of that I hope the Senate will consider well the very important observations the Senator is making at this time.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is very generous in his comments, and I appreciate them very much. The contributions he is making in regard to the subject at hand are very constructive.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. I was called from the Senate Chamber, and have had an opportunity to speak with a group of mayors of towns and cities in California. They asked me what the current business in the Senate was. I recommended that they go to the galleries and hear the discussion which the able Senator from Nebraska is propounding.

I asked them what they thought would be the wishes and reactions of the people in their cities. They unanimously said that there was no question that the people of their cities would be against the ratification of this treaty.

I have noticed something else on which I should like the Senator to comment. Usually, as we get into discussions of this kind, we are overwhelmed with a flood of polls in newspapers and periodicals. I have seen no polls as to the wishes of the people with respect to the subject before the Senate at this time. I wonder if there is any particular significance to that fact. I wonder if the Senator has noted the lack of such polls.

Mr. HRUSKA. We will continue to look for polls, to see what information may result.

Mr. MURPHY. Does the Senator from Nebraska agree with the Senator from California that possibly the polls—and I am just old fashioned enough to believe this is a representative form of government and that I am here to represent the best wishes of the people of my State—might well show that a great proportion of the people in the States would be against this treaty, and that therefore some of its proponents had decided it would be better not to publish those polls? Does the Senator think that is a possibility?

Mr. HRUSKA. There may be the possibility that that is the reason the polls are not being published.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Has the Senator noticed, as this Senator has, sometimes with a little amusement, although we do not like to think lightly of such grave matters—I have noticed this for a number of years—that whenever there is a strong sentiment on the part of people for proposals and programs that are espoused by those in power, the sentiments of the people as expressed in polls are thrown in our faces day after day as the spontaneous outbursts of the individual beliefs of the great American people. But now, when there is a flood—and if the Senator has had the same experience I have had, perfectly overwhelming flood—of personal letters from the folks back home, protesting the ratification of this treaty, and begging us to resist it, we are told that these letters were all inspired. Now we are told that these letters were all the result of propaganda by organizations; that they do not represent the individual thoughts and deep feelings of individuals; and that we should disregard them?

Has the Senator noticed that strange contrast of opinion as between when the people's feelings are really their own feelings—as in this case—and when their feelings are not their own, but what someone else says they are.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator puts the matter in good perspective.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the comments on polls introduced by the Senator from California and commented upon by several of my colleagues are quite pertinent. I might raise the question, Where is George Gallup? Where is Louis Harris? This subject has been debated and discussed for well over a month, perhaps 2 months. It is one of the most vital issues before the country. It is one of significant departure from all previous American history. The decision, one way or the other, will have an impact on the war in Vietnam. What more vital subject than this for the poll of the people's thinking, Dr. Gallup or Mr. Harris? Is this a time for silence?

I wonder if it is not pertinent to the fact that over the weekend the Senator from South Dakota had conversations with at least two important editors. I think it may have been three, but I will be conservative and say it was two. They very vividly told me they had been importuned by the State Department to write strong editorials in support of the treaty, and the editorials were forthcoming.

I wonder what kind of pressures and propaganda are behind the desire to downgrade and ignore the wishes of the people, and not even to reflect them in polls such as those operated by Dr. Gallup and Mr. Harris on a host of other issues and then to go further and decry those who have opposed the treaty as simple automations, being inspired by someone else. One of our colleagues has even called them crackpots or extremists.

I believe this is still a representative government, with the concept that on matters such as this we must get information and views of the people, who can expect some kind of response when the people make their wishes known by correspondence, telephone calls, and telegrams.

After all, who are the people writing us? How can a Senator assume the arrogant position that the only time the people are right is once every 6 years when they vote him into office; that the rest of the time the people are wrong; that we should ignore their opinions except on that on precious day, election day, when we get elected?

It is these same people who pay taxes. It is the people who elect the Representatives and Senators that they send to Congress. These same people are supplying over 500,000 boys in uniform today, and they may have to do double that composite figure if the war goes on too much longer. I do not think it is right to downgrade them.

I invite any Senator who will sit down and read his mail on this issue—not take the secondhand reports of his secretary or some staff member for it, but sit down and read the letter himself—to then express his conviction on the floor that these letters are from crackpots and extremists. One Senator expressed the opinion that such letters were from "nuts." Mr. President, these letters are not from "nuts." These are not in the main letters from inspired sources. It is easy to spot inspired letters. We can easily recognize the same monotonous phrases. The letters we are getting are written by individuals who express their individual, serious views, as can be noted by the handwriting and viewpoints expressed. Many come from serious students of American history. I think the people have some right to have from

Senators some expression as to their overwhelming judgment and desires, and that they are not to be kicked aside arrogantly by Members who say those letters are coming from crackpots and extremists and should be ignored. We should not hear, "Oh, I get letters 100 to 1 in favor of opposing the treaty, but I am going to vote for the viewpoint of that one because I know his sentiments are sincere and genuine, and the rest are opinions reflecting some inspired viewpoint of other sources or from some extremist group."

I resent that view because to me it brushes aside the views of the people, which, in our representative form of government, we should reflect and carefully consider. I resent the idea that we should swagger around and say that the people do not know what they are talking about on the simple question of do we or do we not want to ratify a consular treaty with Russia in this time of bitter war? There are no top secrets involved. If the question involved were one about the wisdom of building or not building an antiballistic missile system, then we might be able to say that we must rely on the expert opinions of technicians and scientists and specialists in nuclear warfare, and say that, wise or unwise, our decisions were going to have to be determined by the opinions of those experts.

On this issue, however, Mr. President, the people are the experts, because they are the ones who will lose or profit. There is nothing complicated here; nothing confusing; nothing technical. It is merely a question of whether or not, in this time of war, we wish to do something which inevitably must lead in the direction of encouraging those gunmakers in Moscow to ship more supplies to North Vietnam. On this issue, we have no technical or secret information which our constituents do not have.

I was interested in the very eloquent and persuasive remarks by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], who has made some exellent points in his discourse. The question that the Senator from Nebraska is presently discussing—about what element of change, if any, has crept into this whole matter called communism, and if there has been change, has it been change which we should welcome and embrace and encourage, or is it a change which indicates a greater degree of belligerency and greater degree of antipathy by the Communists against the best interests of the United States—is most pertinent.

In the matter of East-West wartime trade, I think we have a case in point. I recall that Lenin said, back in 1921:

> All it is necessary to do is to bribe capitalism with extra profit, so as to get the machines with which to defeat it economically.

That was Lenin's Communist doctrine then, and of course it was he who wrote the bible of communism. He was the master and the architect of the Communist creed.

It seems to me the students of communism overseas have today become the masters. Now they have taken that Lenin recipe seriously. They have carried it to the logical degree that all it is necessary to do now in time of war is to bribe capitalism with extra profits to get it to supply the tools to kill its own sons fighting for freedom in Hanoi. That is a pretty serious extension of this Lenin doctrine but it fits it like the hand fits the glove.

If it can be argued, as it probably will, that those who come from pastoral rural States do not have any great industrial machines, do not have any international banking houses, and thus perhaps are not qualified to talk about the intricies of international trade and the rich profits it is supposed to provide for certain people in this country, perhaps they will permit me to quote from a magazine which is seldom read out in the grassroots areas of our country. Let me present the testimony of a magazine published in one of the great financial centers of our land—Barron's Business and Financial Weekly.

On January 16, 1967, its front-page story was headed, "Dangerous Bridges," with the subheading "Proposals for Expanded East-West Trade Rest on Shaky Ground." I recommend that article to the reading of all of my fellow Senators. It is true that we do not have much chance to read this magazine out in the country areas of South Dakota; but I am happy to note that here one of the great metropolitan financial journals of this country looks with a skeptical eye on this "national desire" to develop expanded trade, to increase profits for some and to provide earlier death for others—all under the persuasive heading of "Building Bridges."

After arguing eloquently, through several pages, against the unwisdom of running the risk of prolonging a war which we in the Senate ought to be spending our time trying to shorten, instead of expanding; in its concluding paragraph the article says:

> There remains the final supreme consideration for any American businessman who may still hanker after elusive profit from selling to the Communists: He must decide, in his own private conscience, whether the profit is worth the personal risk that some day, sooner or later, on some near or distant battlefield, his neighbor's son or his own may be struck down by a weapon which his zeal for trade put into the enemy's hands.

Only those with very short memories can forget, Mr. President, that we learned this lesson—or should have learned it—back in 1940 and 1941, when proponents of the same line of thinking which urges us now to move in the direction of expanded trade with Russia were practicing the fine art of selling scrap iron to the Japanese, to help them build their war machine, while some of us, the present speaker included, were moving around the country whenever opportunity presented itself, and declaring our opposition in the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives. I served in the House of Representatives at that time.

What happened? On Pearl Harbor day we found that our Pacific Navy was virtually destroyed, and more than 3,000 American casualties had occurred, in an infamous surprise attack by the people to whom we were selling, for a profit, war supplies less significant by far than the war supplies we are selling to Russia today.

At least it could be said by those advocating such policy then, "We are not at war with Japan yet. They have not killed any American boys yet. You pessimists who believe there might be a war with Japan could be wrong. In the meantime, we are making extra plush, war-fed profits in America."

This administration cannot even use that defense today, Mr. President, because 3 years after the heavy casualties began coming in, 3 years after the big war had begun in Vietnam, the present Commander in Chief, Mr. Johnson, by a scratch of his pen, on October 12, 1966, opened up the shipment of iron ore and scrap metal again, plus 399 other commodities, to the country then and now busy at the job of supplying the guns to kill American boys.

It is no wonder, it seems to me, that Americans write in, in such vast numbers—Americans who, we hope, will continue to support this war effort until we are successfully out of it, but Americans who form part of the great body politic which is becoming growingly discontented with this whole curious war, which goes on and on, is now in its fifth year, and now we hear the same people who say, "We would like to do something to shorten it," support this pagan formula to increase the traffic in blood, which is certain to prolong it.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield, so that I may ask the Senator from South Dakota a question?

Mr. HRUSKA. I am happy to yield.

Mr. THURMOND. I should like to associate myself with a remark just made by the Senator from South Dakota on the point that the people who are writing in, opposed to this treaty, are not "extremists" or "crackpots," or whatever term some of those who espouse this treaty so ardently would apply to them. I can say that my mail—and I know my people—reflects a sentiment very strongly against this treaty, and it is coming from some of the ablest, finest people in South Carolina. I believe that is typical of the kind of people who are writing about this treaty throughout the Nation. I believe it is typical of the members of the Republican Party.

Last Saturday evening, I had the pleasure of speaking to the Young Republicans of four States—Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland—and the District of Columbia. When I spoke to them for a few minutes on this consular treaty, together with other subjects upon which I spoke, I know that the terrific response I received shows that the Young Republicans representing this area of our country are strongly opposed to ratifying this treaty.

Mr. MUNDT. And why not? They have to go to war along with other young Americans, to be shot at by the products which we help to fabricate by sending additional industrial supplies to the arsenal of Hanoi.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator from South Dakota is exactly right.

I believe that the more people study this treaty, the more they will become convinced that it is not in the best interests of this country.

I have not heard one sound argument yet in favor of the treaty. I have given nine specific arguments against it. I have not heard one sound argument yet to cause me to support the treaty.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, one of the distressing developments to the Senator from South Dakota is that he does not believe in the growing centralization of power in the Nation's Capital. After it has been concentrated in the hands of a few dozen people, those people are presumed to personify the authority of the people, and they are empowered to exercise authority over all of us.

One of my reasons for opposing this so-called new liberalism is because it moves in the direction of placing fewer and fewer and fewer top-level officials in control of the lives of the remainder of us in the country.

My quarrel is with the new liberals who believe in this concentration of power.

The traditional liberals abominated both economic monopoly and political monopoly in the same breath. However, our new liberals embrace political monopoly. They abhor economic monopoly, as we all do, but they embrace political monopoly which is infinitely worse.

The new liberal would tip the pyramid of American government upside down, with the people at the bottom and the power structure of government at the top.

In this connection, some of the comments which I have recently heard made on the floor have disturbed me greatly. The comments have downgraded and attacked and ridiculed the statements contained in the mail received from conscientious people who write in opposition to this treaty.

This reflects the growing sentiment among some public officials in this country. It frightens me more greatly almost than the consequences of the ratification of this treaty. That involves the tendency for some people in high positions—some of them elected, but most of them appointed—to develop an arrogant contempt for the people who base their whole philosophy for the solution of an economic or social problem on the concept: "You can't trust the people. You can rely only upon the politicians, only upon the Government, only upon the bureaucrats, only upon the snoopers, only upon the administrators, and only upon the politicians." I deny that liberal concept emphatically.

I think politicians are wonderful people. I am proud to call myself a politician, but we do not have halos around our heads. We do not know the answers to all of the problems.

We come from among the people who write letters and who vote to keep us here. However, when we develop the attitude, as an elected or appointed public official, that people cannot be trusted, that people are always wrong, that people have not any ethics, good judgment or sound sense, and cannot run a good business or a good school, that kind of "liberalism," concentrated in the hands of a few people with the right to shove everybody else around, is totally and demonstrably wrong.

It is nevertheless contained in the answers some people get back home to the letters they are writing on the Consular Treaty. I know, because, for one reason or another, my name has been listed as one of those leading the opposition to the treaty. I get copies of a lot of letters received by my colleagues in the Senate; and also copies of the Senators' replies when they disappoint or provide disenchantment to the recipients.

I know some of the things that have been written by Senators to their constituents. The names of the Senators who wrote them could not be dragged out of my mouth with a 20-mule team.

But, I can say this: If any Senator from South Dakota ever wrote his constituents in that manner and manifested his contempt for the judgment and knowledge of individual citizens, those citizens would find some way to get rid of him before he served out his term, and I think properly so.

I read the letters and I know what is being written.

I am a little ashamed of the whole approach that would try to condemn as an ignoramus, a crackpot, or a nut the mother of a son in Vietnam who takes her pen in hand and says: "I don't think it is wise at this time of war to support and ratify this Consular Treaty."

I think the Senator from South Carolina is treating with one of the problems of our times, the whole question of whether we the elite, we the officials, or we the officeholders have this right to assume such lack of good faith or good judgment on the part of the people who write us in such great numbers in opposition to this treaty.

I think the concept is wrong, and that the voice of the people in America still has a right to be heard, and should on occasion be reflected in our public policy.

Mr. THURMOND. Is it not a fact that this war would not be going on now if it were not for Russia providing North Vietnam with weapons with which to fight the war?

Mr. MUNDT. I think that can be factually demonstrated. I have heard many military people allude to the fact that the war in Vietnam would have been over at least 12 months ago if the Russians had not supplied the sophisticated weapons with which to fight the war, and over 95 percent of the petroleum required by the Vietnamese Communists to continue it.

I have yet to find a military man who will tell me how a country can fight a modern war without gasoline, oil, and petroleum.

Those products go to Hanoi almost exclusively from Russia.

If we want to find out how to end the war, we must figure out a way to get the Russians to quit supplying the materials. We cannot do that by kissing them on the cheeks and saying: "Go out and kill more men."

Mr. THURMOND. I visited Vietnam in December. I made a report after my visit in Vietnam where I spent a week, another week in that area of the world, Thailand, Burma, Japan, and other countries.

I read one brief paragraph from my report:

Russia's Role in Vietnam War

The Soviet Union is furnishing North Vietnam anti-aircraft weapons, surface to air missiles, jet fighter planes, heavy artillery, artillery rockets, machine, guns, rifles, ammunition, advanced radar system, ships, helicopters, trucks, heavy construction equipment, bridge building materials, oil mines, and other supplies with which to fight the war. Without the aid the Soviets are providing, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong would be unable to wage the war very long. Soviet Russia has it within her power to stop the war and bring the combatants to the negotiating table without delay.

Mr. MUNDT. We can also add to that list the MM ground-to-ground rocket which has proven so effective in killing not only our American troops, but also our allies there.

That weapon is now being employed by our enemies in the South Vietnamese part of the conflict.

Mr. THURMOND. I am convinced that if we ratify this treaty with Soviet Russia now, it will do at least two things, aside from other harmful effects.

It will raise the prestige of the Soviet Union throughout the world by misleading nations into believing that now the great United States, the most powerful nation in the world, has tremendous respect for the Soviet Union and is willing to enter into agreements with the Soviet Union signifying that the United States is willing and able to trust the Soviets.

Mr. MUNDT. There is no question about that.

Mr. THURMOND. I am convinced that if we ratify the treaty, the treaty will cause other nations to wonder where the United States stands. The countries behind the Iron Curtain, the captive nations, will give up hope. They will feel that the last solid country, a country which could help to save them someday, has gone over to the Soviet side.

They will wonder whether we have gotten together with the Soviets and are just going to forget them and leave them where they are and do nothing to help them in any way, shape, form, or fashion, to emerge from behind the Iron Curtain.

It seems to me that if we ratify the treaty, it will have a severe and serious psychological effect all across the free world.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator brings up an interesting point.

Let us consider the case of an American businessman who is traveling in Russia in the Baltic area, visiting some of the cities of the Baltic States.

Let us assume that he gets into trouble in Latvia. He decides to make use of this consular arrangement. It seems to me that by that very act we will be giving, ipso facto, recognition to the fact that Latvia and Estonia and Lithuania, those three great little brave Baltic Republics, have now ceased to exist. And they will officially be recognized by us as forever part of the Soviet Union, because we will have been forced into the position of working through our consular officers with the Russian Government in that connection.

The contrary side of the coin could also be true. Let us say they set up this consular office in Chicago, and a Latvian in this country gets into trouble in the United States and we put him in jail. Under the Consular Treaty, the Russian consular officer would have a right to talk to this Latvian citizen in jail, because we would have the consular treaty with Russia, and Russia claims control over Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. By recognition of that fact, also, it seems to me, ipso facto, we have recognized a status of affairs which officially and directly our Government has refused to recognize.

Many of the evolvements in this matter, when we think them through, as to what will happen at the end of the road, give this innocent-sounding treaty much more significance than the fact that perhaps it can be beneficial on the average to nine Americans per year traveling for pleasure or profit in Russia.

Mr. THURMOND. Does it not amount to de facto recognition by forcible inclusion of these nations—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—into the Soviet empire?

Mr. MUNDT. The State Department denies that automatically it is de facto recognition, and I acquiesce in and accept their position. But the operation of the treaty will be such that, sooner or later, over there or in this country, we will have an American in trouble in Latvia or Lithuania, or a Lithuanian or an Estonian in trouble in this country, and the Russians, under the terms of the treaty—and they have a right to do so—will immediately insist upon being notified and insist upon talking to him, as through consular officer. So, whether he wishes to see the Russian consular officer or not, the fact is that we must let the Russian representative talk to him. This is a de facto recognition at that point that those Baltic countries cease to have any independent status, and we might just as well turn out the light of hope that they will ever again attain that status, so far as the United States is concerned.

The Senate, which piously expresses its sympathetic attitude toward the captive nations by agreeing to a Captive Nations Week resolution every year, sympathizing with them, can, by this Consular Treaty action, condemn them to the status quo so far as we are concerned, because it will provide that de facto recognition and it will destroy their rightful and proper and enduring hope that, come some happy day, their homelands can once again be independent.

Once you put them under the domination of the consular operations, as this treaty does—on both sides of the water—as set up in the mechanics of treaty, you have provided a beautiful device for the Russians to express themselves, through actions, that they are in charge of the Baltic and other captive countries, and if we wish to have communication between the nationals of those countries and this country, Mother Russia and its consular officers are the ones to provide it.

If this is not de facto recognition, I should like someone from the State Department to say what it is.

Mr. THURMOND. We may pass resolutions in the Senate each year extending our sympathy to the people of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain, but are we not, in effect, nullifying and counteracting such action when we take real action, which counts, by ratifying the treaty?

Mr. MUNDT. At least, the representatives and the spokesmen in this country of the captive nations are unanimously in that belief. It seems to me that all the rules of logic, all the rules of precedence, and all the rules of international procedure indicate that these representatives of the captive nations are demonstrably correct; that what we are doing is creating a pathway, and when we walk down this Consular Treaty pathway and it begins to function, this is the end of their hope of this country doing anything but recognizing the status quo and the fact that they are, indeed, permanently the captives and the satellites of the Soviet Union.

Mr. THURMOND. I ask the Senator from South Dakota this question: If the Soviet law is so capricious that the U.S. consular employees need special immunity while in the U.S.S.R., is the time yet ripe to normalize travel and trade relations with the Soviets?

Mr. MUNDT. This kind of treacherous line of argument is encountered in connection with what is known as Executive Reservation No. 2, on which the Senate will vote on Thursday of this week, which is being opposed by some of the spokesmen for the treaty who say:

> No, this won't help cut down the shipments of arms to Hanoi, and this won't make it more likely that we can work out an agreement and negotiation by using this diplomatic tool to induce them to stop. All you have to do is to simply go along with them and say nothing, just go ahead and acquiesce and all will be well.

As the Senator from Nebraska has pointed out, and as the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] reaffirmed this afternoon, in this instance they have us on our knees, crawling to Moscow as supplicants, if we ratify the treaty. The Russians have not ratified it. They have not even presented it to their ratifying body. They want us to come crawling to them and say, "Please, would not you now ratify the treaty which we have ratified?" That is a miserable position in which to put Uncle Sam, if we are attempting to negotiate or to curtail the shipment of supplies from Moscow to Hanoi.

It certainly follows that it is a capricious line of reasoning, which says, on the one hand, "you can depend upon the word of the Russians to move in the direction we want them to move"; but, on the other hand, "they have so many curious laws that they maliciously are arresting our citizens and we have to have a special consular treaty with them to protect our American travelers in Russia."

I believe that the welcome news from Moscow over the weekend that they have agreed to release an American citizen, proves the argument that has been made on the floor of the Senate and before the Committee on Foreign Relations for weeks; that if you have a little more rugged and determined exercise of diplomacy with Russia on this side of the ocean, you can utilize without this treaty, through the diplomatic understandings existing between all civilized nations, every kind of contact you need to induce them to release prisoners or to induce us to release prisoners. You do not need this unprecedented treaty, with all the problems attendant upon it, even in peacetime—but, in time of war, this treaty can become a signal to the world that others had not better tie too closely to Uncle Sam because we are also reaching out with a special arrangement of our own with their Communist enemy in Moscow.

Mr. THURMOND. Some people will take the position that the Soviet Union is evolving into a peaceful country. Yet, the treaty that is before the Senate for ratification has been violated 20 or more times since it was signed. Does that sound like the Soviet Union is evolving? If so, what does evolving mean? When are they going to live peacefully in the world and respect the dignity of a citizen and of all free people?

Mr. MUNDT. When the Senator from South Carolina and I began discussing this matter and utilizing the time generously granted us by the Senator from Nebraska, the Senator from Nebraska was in the process of discussing whether there was an evolution in the Communist approach in Moscow. Perhaps I should bow out now and permit the Senator from Nebraska to answer that question and then to resume with the point he was developing when he was interrupted by the numerous colloquies.

Mr. THURMOND. I thank the distinguished Senator from South Dakota, and I thank the able Senator from Nebraska for his kindness in yielding.

Mr. HRUSKA. I thank the Senator from South Dakota and the Senator from South Carolina. They have engaged in splendid colloquy. It has been constructive, enlightening, and very pertinent to the subject at hand.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, let me say once more how very appreciative I am to the Senator from Nebraska for the able presentation he has made this afternoon. The Senator from Nebraska has placed the consideration of the Consular Treaty in its proper context. Certainly, this Nation has demonstrated for all the world to see that America desires no extension of its control, or authority, or jurisdiction over the people of any area anywhere in the world.

The United States hopes, rather, for an extension of peace, and for an extension of the right of peoples everywhere to self-determination through law and order.

I share the hope of most Americans in

anticipating the time when we can, one nation with another, achieve a better understanding and a greater accord than now exists.

We cannot overlook the fact that this country has made great efforts since the end of World War II to bring about the sort of condition which will, we hope, someday, characterize the world.

We have contributed more than $125 billion toward foreign aid and rebuilding war-torn countries. We have done everything we possibly could do to lessen war tensions, to bring about better understanding, to bring about a better detente with the nations of the world, and particularly with those behind the Iron Curtain. But it seems to me that there is an analogy which ought to be considered as we discuss the Consular Treaty. It is that in the Congress of the United States we are discussing the wisdom of providing in a bill the control of small arms. We recognize, or at least there are those who believe, that we want to bring about a diminution of lawlessness, murder, and all acts attendant to crime in this country, and one of the ways to do that is to limit the supply or transshipment of arms. Yet we turn right around in this Consular Treaty and seem to think that there is no relationship between the Consular Treaty and the encouragement of businessmen to move into Russia, to have new trade with Russia, to supply Russia with goods, and that Russia will not have greater opportunity to devote more effort to the manufacture of warmaking materiel. We seem to find no relationship between that fact and our efforts to supply Russia with 400-some-odd so-called nonstrategic materials in the context of enlarging her general economic and hence, her warmaking capability.

I suggest we ought to take into account such consideration because, in my mind, there is a very real relevance between our supplying Russia with anything today and Russia's being able to supply Vietnam with warmaking materiel.

Once again I want to record my appreciation to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska for having called to the attention of the Senate some very important considerations that we ought to mull over seriously before we give our advice and consent to the implementation of this Consular Treaty.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter dated February 28, 1967, from the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE
THROUGH LAW,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1967.

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: As members of the Steering Committee of Members of Congress For Peace Through Law, we declare our support for the proposed Consular Convention with the Soviet Union.

Having studied the terms of the treaty, it is our conviction that this convention provides practical benefits and protection for the thousands of U. S. citizens who visit the Soviet Union annually, as well as those U. S. officials and employees who serve in that country.

We recognize the Consular Treaty as a priority step toward the expressed purposes of this group: "To coordinate congressional concern into specific action for the development of international cooperation." Accordingly, we are urging our membership to join us in the effort to gain widespread support for its ratification.

(*Signed*) Joseph S. Clark, Chairman; Congressman Jonathan B. Bingham; Senator John Sherman Cooper; Congressman Donald M. Fraser; Senator Jacob K. Javits; Congressman Robert W. Kastenmeier; Senator Robert F. Kennedy; Senator Eugene J. McCarthy; Congressman Patsy T. Mink; Congressman F. Bradford Morse; Congressman Benjamin S. Rosenthal; Congressman Richard S. Schweiker.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order of March 9, 1967, that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 47 minutes p.m.) the Senate, in executive session, adjourned until Tuesday, March 14, 1967, at 11 o'clock a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 13, 1967:

U.S. MARSHAL

Walter N. Lawson, of South Carolina, to be U.S. marshal for the district of South Carolina for the term of 4 years to fill a new position created by Public Law 89-242, approved October 7, 1965.

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer to be placed on the retired list in grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3962:

To be general

Gen. Paul Lamar Freeman, Jr., O17704, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

To be general

Lt. Gen. James Karrick Woolnough, O18709, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

William A. Garrett, Fort Payne, Ala., in place of H. J. Horton, retired.

James M. Ford, Gadsden, Ala., in place of W. T. Boyd, retired.

ARKANSAS

Dean P. Duboise, Hackett, Ark., in place of L. H. Johnson, transferred.

James C. Holt, Jr., McRae, Ark., in place of F. M. Henry, deceased.

CALIFORNIA

Ben R. Taylor, Durham, Calif., in place of F. S. McNabb, retired.

Lloyd G. Wood, Idyllwild, Calif., in place of R. P. Patton, retired.

Gerald McGinnis, Lynwood, Calif., in place of C. R. Parker, deceased.

Stella L. Davis, Walnut, Calif., in place of H. A. Davis, deceased.

COLORADO

Carl B. Larned, Golden, Colo., in place of Z. M. Pike, retired.

Paul F. Dearmin, Idaho Springs, Colo., in place of C. A. Brown, deceased.

Burdette S. Stone, Rifle, Colo., in place of Carleton Hoffmeister, retired.

DELAWARE

Bernard P. Lynch, Frankford, Del., in place of C. A. Boothe, retired.

G. Edgar Williams, Middletown, Del., in place of A. I. Stafford, retired.

FLORIDA

Clifford C. Betts, Okeechobee, Fla., in place of R. C. Arnold, removed.

GEORGIA

Dessie P. Jeanes, Union City, Ga., in place of A. F. Gray, retired.

IDAHO

Lenorah G. Shaeffer, Nezperce, Idaho, in place of W. S. Shaeffer, deceased.

Lorin F. Widdison, Rexburg, Idaho, in place of P. W. Petersen, resigned.

Cameron H. Edgar, Troy, Idaho, in place of H. A. Krier, retired.

John A. Albertini, Wallace, Idaho, in place of L. C. Harris, retired.

ILLINOIS

Bobby J. Horner, Armington, Ill., in place of T. B. Zimmer, retired.

Albert L. Dussliere, East Moline, Ill., in place of F. T. Huggins, retired.

Robert D. Yordy, Flanagan, Ill., in place of M. D. O'Brien, retired.

Donald R. Clark, Freeport, Ill., in place of T. C. Tavenner, retired.

Leona M. Vogt, Hillsale, Ill., in place of H. M. Feaster, retired.

Clark D. McKenna, Kankakee, Ill., in place of G. P. Ravens, retired.

Sarah E. Jones, Latham, Ill., in place of R. D. Waddell, retired.

Bernard S. Olinski, Northbrook, Ill., in place of F. H. Miller, retired.

John W. Hoban, Riverton, Ill., in place of W. A. Schulke, retired.

Daniel J. Sullivan, Rochelle, Ill., in place of E. P. Hayes, retired.

Evelyn M. Haigh, Steward, Ill., in place of B. M. Hewitt, retired.

Janet M. Monahan, Strawn, Ill., in place of P. M. Rusterholz, retired.

INDIANA

Hubert N. Ellis, Hazelton, Ind., in place of Gertrude Armstrong, retired.

Karl T. Hammerle, Liberty, Ind., in place of J. E. McMahan, retired.

George W. Moore, Modoc, Ind., in place of B. J. Bales, retired.

Wendell J. Van Riper, Noblesville, Ind., in place of Arthur Heiny, retired.

IOWA

Thomas K. Hardy, Bloomfield, Iowa, in place of B. M. McClanahan, transferred.

Donald E. Roseland, Gilman, Iowa, in place of F. E. Wynn, retired.

Wyatt W. Vance, Milton, Iowa, in place of G. S. Morgan, retired.

Leland J. Hart, Oskaloosa, Iowa, in place of L. L. Snyder, retired.

William C. Miller, Pilot Mound, Iowa, in place of H. L. Pritchard, removed.

Nyle F. Wegener, Walcott, Iowa, in place of L. E. Gasseling, retired.

Rodger L. Johnston, West Liberty, Iowa, in place of H. F. Lewis, retired.

KANSAS

Marion W. Mooberry, Cheney, Kans., in place of F. A. Ryniker, retired.

Frank Lill, Emporia, Kans., in place of G. K. Jackson, retired.

James H. Kusel, Kensington, Kans., in place of H. C. Brunow, transferred.

Ronald Sidebottom, Kinsley, Kans., in place of B. A. Bieber, retired.

Mary B. Porter, Mayetta, Kans., in place of O. G. Thomas, deceased.

KENTUCKY

William S. Jenkins, Central City, Ky., in place of J. R. Lawton, retired.

Edwin T. Elliott, Harrodsburg, Ky., in place of C. H. Grimes, retired.

Thomas R. Abell, Leitchfield, Ky., in place of H. P. Meredith, retired.

Joseph R. Cox, Livermore, Ky., in place of M. C. Shoplick, retired.

LOUISIANA

Quincy J. Lemoine, Moreauville, La., in place of I. J. Dufour, retired.

MAINE

John L. Ross, Gorham, Maine, in place of E. B. Files, retired.

MARYLAND

George E. Rosensteel, Emmitsburg, Md., in place of L. H. Stoner, retired.

Daniel C. Robertson, Gaithersburg, Md., in place of M. A. Spalding, retired.

Hubert L. Harden, Olney, Md., in place of E. G. Armstrong, retired.

Melvin B. Grimes, Owings Mills, Md., in place of M. G. Richardson, transferred.

Edward R. Grimes, Sykesville, Md., in place of W. V. Bennett, retired.

MICHIGAN

Urban R. Whalen, Big Rapids, Mich., in place of G. A. Wright, Jr., retired.

Bertha M. Kurtz, Comins, Mich., in place of H. D. Winton, transferred.

Loy H. Roe, Rudyard, Mich., in place of P. C. Carr, retired.

Elanor L. Tanner, Salem, Mich., in place of J. A. Thomasson, deceased.

Lawrence A. Frith, Vermontville, Mich., in place of R. K. Kilpatrick, transferred.

MINNESOTA

Kermit W. Thorsland, Milan, Minn., in place of H. H. Moe, retired.

Carlton G. Hess, Pipestone, Minn., in place of W. J. Crook, retired.

Morris A. Johnson, Renville, Minn., in place of D. L. Randleman, deceased.

John L. Bystrom, Sauk Rapids, Minn., in place of F. P. Schroeder, retired.

Wayne M. Viesselman, Trimont, Minn., in place of Arthur Conlin, retired.

MISSISSIPPI

Mildred M. Blair, Caledonia, Miss., in place of C. E. West, retired.

Charles E. Monroe, Dennis, Miss., in place of E. K. Campbell, retired.

John B. Waller, Enid, Miss., in place of N. B. Hughes, retired.

Edward S. Thompson, Grenada, Miss., in place of R. D. Sharp, deceased.

Julian P. White, McComb, Miss., in place of J. A. Fellows, resigned.

Jesse H. Carter, Philadelphia, Miss., in place of J. L. Posey, retired.

MISSOURI

John J. Strode, Grandview, Mo., in place of P. L. Myers, deceased.

Ellis M. Huston, Windsor, Mo., in place of B. B. Cooper, retired.

MONTANA

Hugh Heily, Columbus, Mont., in place of J. P. Graham, deceased.

Milton M. Sloan, Whitefish, Mont., in place of G. W. Duffy, retired.

NEBRASKA

Cecil G. Hutt, Lexington, Nebr., in place of G. W. Lincoln, retired.

Carl F. Eman, Oxford, Nebr., in place of V. C. Penny, transferred.

Marvin R. Holz, Paxton, Nebr., in place of I. H. Roberts, retired.

NEVADA

Betty F. Keep, Jackpot, Nev., in place of I. W. Weighall, removed.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Norman T. Fecteau, Exeter, N.H., in place of A. D. Holmer, Jr., retired.

Tadeusz Lepianka, Franklin, N.H., in place of H. J. Proulx, deceased.

Ralph J. Lavallee, Goffstown, N.H., in place of L. H. Watt, deceased.

NEW JERSEY

Alfred W. Conrads, Andover, N.J., in place of E. D. Hill, retired.

Geraldine B. Nyce, Califon, N.J., in place of M. H. Pill, retired.

Lee M. Evans, Newport, N.J., in place of E. B. Moncrief, retired.

Belford L. Cox, Port Elizabeth, N.J., in place of F. M. Cox, retired.

Frank J. Antine, Secaucus, N.J., office established September 1, 1964.

Hermine B. Kuhl, Three Bridges, N.J., in place of Eva Case, retired.

Walter A. Forrest, Westwood, N.J., in place of K. H. Schlupp, retired.

NEW YORK

Frank J. Viola, Bronx, N.Y., office established October 2, 1962.

Jerome P. Meyer, Corfu, N.Y., in place of Celestine Reynolds, retired.

Kathryn S. Rose, Elka Park, N.Y., in place of M. H. Bunt, retired.

Howard D. Holland, Hadley, N.Y., in place of V. B. Hawk, retired.

Regina V. Myers, Kill Buck, N.Y., in place of E. L Brownell, retired.

Patrick J. Reilly, Larchmont, N.Y., in place of P. A. Lane, retired.

Joel C. Stein, Locust Valley, N.Y., in place of D. C. Merritt, retired.

John W. Ball, New Berlin, N.Y., in place of L. A. Schermerhorn, retired.

Lloyd R. Milliman, Palmyra, N.Y., in place of E. R. Perrin, resigned.

Anthony F. Biscone, Ravena, N.Y., in place of F. J. Leedings, retired.

Dyas W. Carden, Scarsdale, N.Y., in place of T. D. Sullivan, retired.

Katherine I. Bristol, Schuylerville, N.Y., in place of W. R. Reel, removed.

Ida M. Marlatt, Shokan, N.Y., in place of Betsy Von De Osten, retired.

Sarah J. Keene, South Colton, N.Y., in place of L. H. Selleck, deceased.

Francis J. Foote, Valois, N.Y., in place of J. E. Hawes, declined.

NORTH CAROLINA

Crayteen A. Brown, Cedar Falls, N.C., in place of P. J. Harmon, removed.

Ralph C Jones, Crumpler, N.C., in place of Frank McMillan, retired.

Roscoe D. Franklin, Glade Valley, N.C., in place of J. R. Thompson, retired.

Jeannine W. Winstead, Leasburg, N.C., in place of M. S. Rittenbury, retired.

Norris C. Long, Southport, N.C., in place of Niels Jorgensen, resigned.

NORTH DAKOTA

John P. Wheelihan, Ellendale, N. Dak., in place of F. C. Cowles, retired.

Roger O. Lunde, Mohall, N. Dak., in place of T. J. Dougherty, retired.

OHIO

Joan C. Dickerson, Alpha, Ohio, in place of L. D. Glass, deceased.

Paul L. Rider, Lancaster, Ohio, in place of A. F. Rabb, retired.

Russell J. Krueger, Oberlin, Ohio, in place of G. D. Keller, deceased.

Donna V. Miller, Somerdale, Ohio, in place of M. E. Robb, retired.

OKLAHOMA

Jetta J. Wiseman, Gate, Okla., in place of U. E. Mixon, retired.

Laura E. Vaughan, Kiowa, Okla., in place of F. D. Arnold, retired.

OREGON

Harry M. Stevenson, Canyonville, Oreg., in place of N. J. Hanson, deceased.

Claude B. Allen, Gold Hill, Oreg., in place of H. D. Force, retired.

Mildred V. DeMastus, Unity, Oreg., in place of R. V. Beam, retired.

PENNSYLVANIA

Martha D. Ridgway, Allenport, Pa., in place of C. F. Ferren, retired.

Doris L. Oldham, Fishertown, Pa., in place of Faye Wolfe, resigned.

Lester S. Poorman, Lock Haven, Pa., in place of J. P. Dennehy, retired.

Bernard J. Brashears, New Oxford, Pa., in place of G. M. Bower, retired.

Floyd F. Plasterer, Shippensburg, Pa., in place of J. P. Hockersmith, Craley.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Carlisle E. Hammett, Converse, S.C., in place of E. S. Drake, retired.

Frederick W. Dantzler, Holly Hill, S.C., in place of Wade Waddill, resigned.

Douglas W. McMillan, Mullins, S.C., in place of P. L. Rogers, deceased.

TEXAS

Herbert M. Cole, Beaumont, Tex., in place of F. S. Braden, deceased.

Lee R. Moreland, Canyon, Tex., in place of W. M. Higdon, retired.

William C. Galloway, Corsicana, Tex., in place of C. E. Rittersbacher, retired.

Jack Q. Durham, Cotulla, Tex., in place of A. E. Tarver, retired.

Jack King, Junction, Tex., in place of U. D. Kindrick, retired.

Laura M. Maney, Natalia, Tex., in place of C. M. Maney, retired.

Carroll L. Robertson, Paducah, Tex., in place of B. F. Hobson, retired.

William R. Brooks, Sterling City, Tex., in place of H. M. Knight, retired.

Willa M. Chandler, Tuleta, Tex., in place of Esther Selgelid, retired.

VIRGINIA

Harold H. Copenhaver, Atkins, Va., in place of P. W. Atkins, retired.

Doris H. Noel, Daleville, Va., in place of L. C. Kessler, retired.

WEST VIRGINIA

Glenn W. Thompson, Barboursville, W. Va., in place of T. M. Green, retired.

WISCONSIN

Oswald R. Curtis, Hazel Green, Wis., in place of M. T. Carns, retired.

Walter J. Wessely, Kewaunee, Wis., in place of William Wright, retired.

Howard L. Newman, Markesan, Wis., in place of J. E. Davidson, resigned.

Robert A. Otzelberger, Menomonee Falls, Wis., in place of C. N. De Laura, deceased.

Emil W. Plain, Oconto Falls, Wis., in place of G. C. Flatley, resigned.

WYOMING

Betty J. Leonard, Bairoil, Wyo., in place of E. A. Weisenberger, deceased.

James H. Fuller, Torrington, Wyo., in place of O. J. Colyer, retired.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Address by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien at the Fourth Annual Postal Parley of the Direct Mail Advertising Association, Inc., Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., March 9, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the fourth postal parley of the Direct Mail Advertising Association held in Washington, D.C., last week, our Postmaster General addressed the parley on March 9.

I wish to bring Postmaster General O'Brien's speech to the attention of my colleagues and include it at this point in the RECORD:

I am pleased to join with you once again in this Annual Postal Parley.

I am particularly pleased because one of the problems facing all Postmasters General is to make some unusual contribution to the postal service. Since Postmasters General are human too, the satisfaction from this accomplishment comes not only from better postal service but from the assurance that it will immortalize his name in the annals of postal history.

Postmaster General Benjamin Franklin, we all remember, was known for two achievements: lightning mail delivery and flying a kite during office hours.

Postmaster General Montgomery Blair introduced City delivery—which was the beginning of the urban traffic problem as we know it today.

Postmaster General John A. J. Creswell determined that the opening of mail bags should be at the top, and in a brilliant clarifying directive, ordered that the top should be located opposite the bottom.

Postmaster General James N. Tyner, after having lost several carriers on the Alaska run, introduced the snowshoe to the postal service.

Postmaster General Amos Kendall, in what can only be considered a partisan move, directed that the horse on our seal should forever move toward the right.

With so many illustrious predecessors having introduced so many significant changes to stamp their administrations, I was somewhat worried about how the O'Brien period might be recalled. Well, I find I need not worry. As you know, we have been busy placing 100 self-service post offices around the nation. Just the other day, up in New York State, a man by the name of Caminsky innocently approached one of our new machines.

He wanted to buy a 25-cent stamp. It was eleven o'clock at night, there was a strong northwest wind blowing, and the temperature was about 8 degrees above zero. Maybe it was the cold. I don't know. But when he pressed the button, the red light turned on, the machine made a funny noise, and—nothing happened. Mr. Caminsky pressed again, and a stamp popped out. And then another, and another, and another. Until there were 2,780—worth $695. Did you ever try getting hold of 2,780 stamps in a stiff wind? At 8 above zero? At 11:00 at night? Well, Mr. Caminsky did it somehow. And, being an honest citizen, he turned them in to the post office.

But the point is that now I will forever be known as the Postmaster General who introduced the first pari-mutual post office in the world. And with a pay-off of 2,780 to one.

And I am also afraid that I will be known, perhaps less favorably, as one of the unfortunate line of Postmasters General, Republicans and Democrats, who had to go before the Congress and ask for a rate increase.

Now rate increases, to use an understatement, are not popular.

They are not popular with the individual, they are not popular with business, they are not popular with the Congress, and certainly they are not popular with me. I do not achieve any measurable satisfaction from having to request and to defend a rate increase.

But, I submit, I have an inescapable duty to ask for this increase. The Magna Carta of the Postal Service—the Postal Policy Act of 1958—clearly spells out the requirement that postal income and expenditures should be approximately equal, and that rates should be adjusted from time to time if expenditures and income are not equal. As you well know, this fiscal year our expenditures and our income are out of balance by $600 million after subtracting public service items.

As the President stated in his Budget Message:

"To provide improved services, to cover proposed pay increases for postal workers and largely offset the remaining postal deficit, a postal rate increase is both necessary and desirable."

Right now, no category of mail is paying its way, other than first-class and air mail, and the cost coverage in those classes of mail is nearing the break-even point.

The Postal Policy Act considered it proper that first-class mail pay more than its cost due to the preferred service such mail receives.

So, we will ask for an additional one-cent on first-class and air mail. This is a 20 per cent increase, estimated to produce an additional $536 million in revenue.

The Fiscal 1968 Budget calls for $700 million in revenue from postal rate increases—which on an annual basis will amount to some $800 million when fully effective. Your arithmetic is as good as mine, so I will simply say that the difference between what we can raise with a one-cent increase on first-class and air mail and what we need in revenue must come from the other classes of mail. Our goal is to distribute the rate increases on as equitable a basis as possible.

But the simple fact is that on second and third-class mail and on fourth class mail other than parcel post, we lose money on every item we handle.

The situation reminds me of a haberdasher in my home town of Springfield, Massachusetts. Whenever anyone went into his store to buy a suit he always made the same remark. Shaking his head sadly, he would say, "I lose money on every suit I sell." Once I asked, "If you lose money on every suit you sell, how do you make a profit?" "Volume," he answered, "volume."

Well, unfortunately, he never told me his secret of turning a loss into a profit through volume. I wish he had. For we have plenty of volume. . . . 80 billion pieces worth. And over 83 billion for the next fiscal year. The third-class mail segment of that volume has shown amazing growth in recent years, reflecting the healthy nature of the direct mail business in the United States today.

Let's look at mail volume changes in both pieces and pounds.

In the 13 years from 1953 to 1966, the Department's mail volume rose 48 per cent. Among the major services, third-class mail rose faster than all others. Mailings at bulk rates increased 73 per cent and third-class subject to single-piece rates increased 51 per cent.

Also, between 1953 and 1966, bulk-rate third-class volume in pounds increased by 175 per cent.

Certainly, third-class mail is an important instrument of commerce, and statistics clearly show that its importance is increasing from year to year.

In considering this healthy growth, I am reminded of a cartoon I saw a few weeks ago. A group of executives were sitting around the conference table at a meeting of the Board of Directors. The Chairman was standing before this group and saying: "I regret to announce that despite governmental interference in business and a never-ending snarl of bureaucratic red tape, our corporation has the highest net income in its history."

I hope you will recall how well your industry is faring—I believe Bob DeLay said recently you'll grow another 5 per cent this year—when you assess the higher rates we propose for third-class mail.

We recognize that many of your members have incurred costs in complying with the bulk rate ZIP Code pre-sort regulations. It is for that reason that we will ask the Congress to postpone the effective date of rate increases on second-class and bulk-rate third-class mail six months beyond that of first-class and air mail—to January 1, 1968. I might add, that if it were not for your cooperation with the pre-sort program, it would have been necessary to ask for rate increases earlier.

What can you expect, in turn, from the Post Office Department?

I want to pledge to you today that you can expect from us our concerted efforts to remove every remaining barrier to the most productive employment of our resources.

Some of these barriers are the result of past developments. Some reflect lack of action when action was needed; others, action taken but not conducive to good management.

The most significant barrier that faces us is one we are in the process of surmounting—it is the archaic nature of our mail handling methods.

Mail handling today is in the position the cotton industry was in 1820, a quarter of a century after Eli Whitney introduced the cotton gin. But we don't have any single instrument that will revolutionize mail handling the way the cotton gin did for cotton processing. We do have proven hardware, such as letter sorters, edger stackers and facer cancellers, and highly promising machines already in the production line, such as the ZIP Code reader.

We are confident that through our research and mechanization program, coupled with a strong effort to modernize our physical plant—and to build new major post offices that are specific to our needs and are located in the right places—we can reduce to an absolute minimum the horse-and-buggy methods of hand processing of mail.

Our budget request, now being considered by the Congress, is a measure of our efforts to surmount the barrier of insufficient technology and research.

In that budget we asked the Congress for more than $300 million for modernization. This includes a 40 per cent increase for research and engineering, the seedbed of further progress, and a 46 per cent increase for plant and equipment.

The income from higher rates will go far to help pay for this forward thrust in technology. And, have no doubt that unless we modernize, rates will continue to rise.

Some have pointed out to me that this year the total difference between postal revenue and postal costs—including the public service element—comes to 1.2 billion dollars, or about the same amount that salary and fringe benefit costs have increased since 1962.

Lest anyone draw the conclusion from these figures, that postal salaries are lush, and that high labor costs are behind the gap between revenue and income, permit me to point out a few often overlooked facts about the postal worker.

First, if anything, we are uncompetitive in many areas. For example, many of you have no doubt seen the signs on D.C. Transit buses offering $6,900 for beginning bus drivers. While, of course, the two jobs are not identical, while bus drivers make more money here in Washington than in many other cities, and while our fringe benefits are greater than those in much of private industry, a postal clerk or carrier must work 15 years to reach that figure. Moving people around by bus is important; but, so is moving the U.S. mails.

Hence, despite a 28 per cent increase in average postal pay during the past five years, I am not satisfied that we are paying our employees what they should be paid. And neither is President Johnson. That's why he recommended a pay increase in his Budget Message.

Second, I think we often overlook the high productivity of the American postal worker. Dividing our total mail volume by our total number of employees, we find that the average employee handles more than 114,000 pieces of mail a year. This compares to 96,000 for Switzerland, 94,000 for The Netherlands, 73,000 for Belgium, 62,000 for Germany, 59,000 for France, 56,000 for Great Britain, 47,000 for Italy, and 31,000 for Japan. And none of these other nations deals with a postal delivery area of 3,600,000 miles complicated by dispersed suburbs, urban sprawl, coagulated traffic, and skyscraper office buildings.

In other words, my friends, each American postal worker handles as much mail as two French or German postal workers and more than three Japanese postal workers.

So, our employees are performing well. And they deserve to have both a living wage and the most modern mail handling tools we can secure.

One final barrier remains. The barrier of organization. I do not refer merely to our internal organization chart, with its boxes and lines. These I can change, or get changed. Rather, I refer to the entire nature of the Post Post Office Department itself, as it has evolved since the days of Benjamin Franklin. We joined the President's Cabinet, for example, in 1829. There were many good reasons for that step. The Post Office was one of the principal policy arms of the Federal Government in 1829. During our history, we were the channel for various forms of Federal assistance, such as roadbuilding, the newly developed steamship, and the infant railroad and airline industries.

Since 1829, there have been many changes in our society and in our way of life. New forms of communication and transportation, undreamed of then, are commonplace now. Our national goals today would not be recognized by generations of frontiersmen only beginning the long struggle to win the West. Despite these enormous changes that have swept by, the Post Office Department remains essentially what it was back in the 19th Century.

I have promised the President that I will achieve his mandate of superlative postal service. Hence, I will follow the logic of improved service wherever it leads. Whatever experience and logic tell me is required to achieve better service, I can promise you I will not hesitate for one instant to recommend to the President.

In the weeks and months ahead, I intend to continue to study this problem intensively, and I will also speak out more definitely on my conclusions as to the need for a new look at our traditional concepts and a new set of goals for the Postal Service.

Many people feel the Postal Service to be a mundane, uninteresting area of our national life.

I disagree entirely. We form a vital link in the tide of communication on which moves so much of our business and social life. I dream of the day when that link will be unbreakable, and when the excellence of our service will match the importance of its contribution to the nation. And I intend to settle for no less than the fulfillment of that goal.

Miss Angela Kruse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the future of America lies with our youth. It is they who will be responsible for the future direction of American society. It is important, therefore, that we have an accurate picture of our youth. All too often, what we hear and read gives us the impression that our young people are irresponsible, apathetic, or self-seeking. Though most people know this to be untrue, little publicity is given to the majority of young citizens who constantly strive to better themselves and to make a contribution to our society.

It is refreshing, indeed, a pleasure to relate the successes of one such young citizen.

Miss Angela Kruse, a senior at Lourdes Academy in Cleveland, is a National Merit Scholarship finalist. During her 4 high school years, Angela has been an honor student and was chosen for the National Honor Society. She is first in her class' academic standings, outranking 151 other seniors. Angela is not only a brilliant student but just as important has been an active and useful citizen by participating in a wide range of student activities. Angela is president of the Christian Action Council—sodality—serves on the student council, writes for the student literary magazine, Prism, and is a member of the Mission Club. She was student director of her senior class play, "South Pacific," which played to three full houses during its January presentations.

Her evenings have been equally well spent. Both last spring and again this fall she took evening classes in astronomy and data processing.

Angela's National Merit Award, won in competition with thousands of seniors throughout the United States, reflects the hard work and drive she first learned at home.

Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Erwin Kruse, are proud of their daughter, for not only does she maintain an active academic schedule, but she also works in the family-owned photo studio on weekends and after school.

This family pride is reflected many times over. I am proud that such a young lady devotes so much of her time to activities that benefit others. I am also happy to point out that I feel she is representative of hundreds of thousands of American youths who daily go about preparing themselves to be useful, worthwhile citizens.

Maybe we do not read about these young people as often as we should. But our country can continue to be in safe hands with the high quality of young citizens like Angela Kruse.

My personal congratulations for a job well done are extended to this young lady.

School Safety Patrol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, springtime is again approaching, and with it comes the annual parade down Constitution Avenue by the school safety patrol boys and girls.

Knowing of their effectiveness in protecting some 19 million boys and girls each day, I am introducing a joint resolution to honor these dedicated boys and girls.

As I said last year when I introduced House Joint Resolution 921, which was later signed into law by President Johnson as Public Law 89–412, these boys and girls are "deserving of every honor and recognition."

Their belts, badges, and raincoats are familiar to most Americans. This material, along with manuals used by the patrol members, is generally provided by automobile clubs associated with the American Automobile Association.

The AAA is also the coordinator of the Washington parade, and sponsors it along with the District of Columbia public schools, the Metropolitan Police Department, the National Park Service, and the District of Columbia parochial schools.

Over 20,000 boys and girls will march in the parade this year on May 13th. They will represent over 20 States, and I might point out that even the State of California will have a delegation at the parade. The expense, of course, prohibits us from bringing as many boys and girls to the parade as we would like.

At this time, I want to urge my colleagues to join with me in introducing similar joint resolutions so we can honor these over 900,000 patrol members who attend 40,000 different schools in the United States alone. In addition, there are an additional 156,000 patrol members serving in 20 foreign countries—a truly international program of dedicated service by students to their fellow students.

SENATE

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

The Senate met in executive session at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. Metcalf).

Rear Adm. James W. Kelly, Chief of Navy Chaplains, offered the following prayer:

Eternal Lord God, may we as men cultivate and develop the great spiritual art of carrying on a dialog through prayer with You. There have been so many times when we have been in need and have called upon You for help. Your grace, mercy, wisdom, and strength were imparted to us. For this, Lord God, we express gratitude.

We thank You today for this sacred place and these men here and their dedication to purposive activity. In their involvement with the affairs of this Nation and the world, help them to perform their duties in exemplary fashion and to serve You, their country, and fellow man with dignity, honor, and devotion—for these men we humbly thank You and pray Your blessing ever to be upon them.

May their hearts always be warm with love for You and the people of this great Nation.

May they be persevering when things are difficult, serene when things are irritating, and stubborn for what is right.

Bless, we pray, our President in his leadership and our soldiers, sailors, marines, airmen, coastguardsmen, and civilians in Vietnam and their families here in the homeland—be with them as they keep holding high the lamp of truth, freedom, courage, and sacrifice.

Help us as a nation to be united in the realization that the cost of purchasing and maintaining freedom with responsibility is valid and meaningful.

In Your name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, March 13, 1967, was dispensed with.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AS IN LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, as in legislative session, and that each Senator's statement therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Public Works were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

On request of Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Committee on the District of Columbia was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States, transmitting nominations, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting several nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 827. An act to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act;

H.R. 829. An act to amend the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act to provide exemptions for certain operations of the House of Representatives from taxes imposed by that act and the District of Columbia Use Tax Act;

H.R. 831. An act to amend the act of July 11, 1947, to authorize members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the U.S. Park Police force, and the White House Police force to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department Band, and for other purposes;

H.R. 834. An act to amend section 5 of the act of February 11, 1929, to remove the dollar limit on the authority of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims of the District of Columbia in escheat cases;

H.R. 836. An act to amend section 15–503 of the District of Columbia Code with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 1437. An act to amend section 10 of the District of Columbia Traffic Act, 1925, as amended, so as to require reports of collisions in which motor vehicles are involved;

H.R. 1944. An act for the incorporation of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association;

H.R. 2529. An act to amend the act of September 8, 1960, relating to the Washington Channel waterfront; and

H.R. 3371. An act to authorize voluntary admission of patients to the District of Columbia institution providing care, education, and treatment of mentally retarded persons.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 827. An act to amend the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act;

H.R. 829. An act to amend the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act to provide exemptions for certain operations of the House of Representatives from taxes imposed by that act and the District of Columbia Use Tax Act;

H.R. 831. An act to amend the act of July 11, 1947, to authorize members of the District of Columbia Fire Department, the U.S. Park Police force, and the White House Police force to participate in the Metropolitan Police Department Band, and for other purposes;

H.R. 834. An act to amend section 5 of the act of February 11, 1929, to remove the dollar limit on the authority of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims of the District of Columbia in escheat cases;

H.R. 836. An act to amend section 15–503 of the District of Columbia Code with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 1437. An act to amend section 10 of the District of Columbia Traffic Act, 1925, as amended, so as to require reports of collisions in which motor vehicles are involved;

H.R. 2529. An act to amend the act of September 8, 1960, relating to the Washington Channel waterfront; and

H.R. 3371. An act to authorize voluntary admission of patients to the District of Columbia institution providing care, education, and treatment of mentally retarded persons; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 1944. An act for the incorporation of the Merchant Marine War Veterans Association; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. GRUENING, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

S. 49. A bill to revitalize the American gold mining industry (Rept. No. 67).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. KUCHEL (for himself, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Burdick, Mr. Carlson, Mr. Case, Mr. Church, Mr. Clark, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Fong, Mr. Gruening, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Javits, Mr. McGee, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Miller, Mr. Mondale, Mr. Moss, Mr. Muskie, Mr. Pell, Mr. Prouty, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Ribicoff, Mr. Scott, Mr. Williams of New Jersey, and Mr. Young of Ohio):

S. 1263. A bill for the incorporation of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Kuchel when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FULBRIGHT (for himself Mr. Case, Mr. Clark, Mr. Dominick, Mr. Gruening, Mr. Hart, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Hickenlooper, Mr. McGee, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Morse, Mr. Moss, Mr. Percy, Mr. Tydings, Mr. Yarborough, and Mr. Young of Ohio):

S. 1264. A bill to provide specific support for voluntary family planning programs in friendly foreign nations; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fulbright when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. GORE:

S. 1265. A bill to repeal the authority of the President to proclaim modifications of the Tariff Schedules of the United States under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 and to terminate modifications of such schedules heretofore proclaimed under authority of such act; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. Gore when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CHURCH:

S. 1266. A bill for the relief of Ahmad Abbas Ghomi, Mohammed Ali Tarkeshian, and Mostafa Tarkeshian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHURCH (for himself and Mr. Jordan of Idaho):

S. 1267. A bill to establish the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Church when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 1268. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ruben H. Ruiz-Montalvo;

S. 1269. A bill for the relief of Dr. Gonzalo G. Rodriguez; and

S. 1270. A bill for the relief of Alfredo Borges Caignet; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEARSON:

S. 1271. A bill to promote planning and development in air transportation and airports; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Pearson when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 1272. A bill for the relief of Jerry Lester Wheeler; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BAYH:

S. 1273. A bill for the relief of Ioannis Metanias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1274. A bill for the relief of Donald C. Goewey; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HATFIELD:

S. 1275. A bill to provide for the early transition to a fully voluntary military manpower procurement system by further improving, upgrading, and strengthening the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. Hatfield when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. LONG of Missouri:

S. 1276. A bill for the relief of Dr. Delfina M. Ibalio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARTKE:

S. 1277. A bill relating to the appointment of U.S. marshals and the appointment and promotion of deputy U.S. marshals; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. Hartke when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 1278. A bill for the relief of Dr. Floriberto S. Puente;

S. 1279. A bill for the relief of Dr. Francisco Montes; and

S. 1280. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alfredo Pereira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRUENING (for himself and Mr. Bartlett):

S. 1281. A bill to authorize the appropriation of funds to carry out the activities of Federal Committees for Development Planning in Alaska; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 1282. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to curb the tax-exempt financing of industrial or commercial facilities used for private profitmaking purposes; and

S. 1283. A bill to amend section 103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to remove the tax exemption for interest on State or local obligations issued to finance industrial or commercial facilities to be sold or leased to private profitmaking enterprises; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. Nelson when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FONG:

S. 1284. A bill to amend section 329 of the Immigration and Nationality Act in order to facilitate the naturalization of certain aliens or noncitizen nationals who have served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States during the Vietnam hostilities;

S. 1285. A bill to amend section 328 of the Immigration and Nationality Act relating to naturalization through service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 1286. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate the immigation of aliens seeking to enter the United States to perform labor of a type for which there are not sufficient workers available in the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 1287. A bill to establish a Board of Visa Appeals with jurisdiction to review determinations of consular officers and immigration officers refusing or revoking the issuance of nonimmigrant or immigrant visas or refusing the granting of conditional entries to aliens outside the United States;

S. 1288. A bill to provide a statute of limitations with respect to the deportation of aliens from the United States; and

S. 1289. A bill to repeal certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act which unjustly discriminate against naturalized citizens of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fong when he introduced the above bills, which appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S. 1290. A bill to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. Williams of New Jersey when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 1291. A bill for the relief of the estate of William Kirk Patch;

S. 1292. A bill for the relief of John Sardelis; and

S. 1293. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon certain claims of certain individuals who performed services as civilian guards at the U.S. Naval Academy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1294. A bill to reclassify certain key positions and increase salaries in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

TO EXTEND CONGRATULATIONS OF CONGRESS TO PARLIAMENT OF CANADA ON OCCASION OF CENTENNIAL OF THE CONFEDERATION OF CANADA

Mr. AIKEN submitted a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 16) to extend congratulations of Congress to Parliament of Canada on occasion of centennial of the confederation of Canada, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above concurrent resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. Aiken, which appears under a separate heading.)

A FEDERAL CHARTER FOR THE FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES COMMITTEE

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, for more than 10 years the Fair Campaign Practices Committee has fought hard and effectively to improve the climate of American politics. The struggle has not been easy nor have the final goals been achieved, but we are much, much closer to the ideals of democracy because of the work of the men and women who are dedicated to cleaning up political pollution in campaigns.

When the Fair Campaign Practices Committee first was organized, the casual imputation of disloyalty and the blatant distortion of facts were becoming common campaign tactics. There was no set of principles to measure the conduct of campaigns; there was no forum to debate the fairness of candidates' charges and countercharges.

A code of fair campaign practices was established in 1954 with the help of a number of U.S. Senators who were dedicated to the ideals of their political profession. Over the years, the Fair Campaign Practices Committee has publicized the code, has convinced candidates to adhere to the principles it sets forth, and has pinpointed violations. And the committee has served as the forum for consideration of the propriety and the truthfulness of campaign statements.

The committee has not only been a force for good within the profession of politics; it also has worked with schools and colleges to instill a knowledge of the practical working of honest politics in the voters of tomorrow. It has developed teaching aids and other background material to show that hard-fought and effective campaigns need not be dirty campaigns.

Political campaigns are becoming cleaner. As the vicious invective of campaign oratory is replaced by the reasoned thought of political discussion, the candidate who plays dirty politics loses the trust of the voter. A clean campaign—an all-out political contest with the issues honestly presented and forcefully debated—gives the voters a clear basis for choice. And a choice thus solidly based gives the people better political servants and the Nation a better Government.

To recognize the national scope, effect and stature of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee and to help all of us achieve the goal of clean and effective political contests, I ask the U.S. Congress to grant the organization a national charter. Political campaigns fiercely fought but fairly conducted are an absolute necessity to the life of our democratic society. The Fair Campaign Practices Committee, as the single objective, bipartisan national organization solely dedicated to this goal, needs and deserves the support which a national charter will provide.

Mr. President, I am glad to say that I am joined by some 25 cosponsors in the Senate, Senators Bartlett, Burdick, Carlson, Case, Church, Clark, Cooper, Fong, Gruening, Inouye, Javits, McGee, Metcalf, Miller, Mondale, Moss, Muskie, Pell, Prouty, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Scott, Williams of New Jersey, and Young of Ohio. I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill for the incorporation of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Church in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1263) for the incorporation of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, introduced by Mr. Kuchel (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1263

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following named persons: Honorable Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mr. Harry Louis Selden, Washington, District of Columbia; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, New York, New York; Mr. Philip M. Stern, Washington, District of Columbia; Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Honorable Harry S. Truman, Independence, Missouri; Honorable H. Meade Alcorn, Junior, Hartford, Connecticut; Mr. Carl Ally, Norwalk, Connecticut; Mr. Samuel J. Archibald, Kensington, Maryland; Honorable William Benton, Southport, Connecticut; Honorable James A. Farley, New York, New York; Mr. Bruce L. Felknor, Armonk, New York; Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, New York, New York; Mrs. Elizabeth Rudel Gatov, Kentfield, California; Honorable Guy M. Gillette, Cherokee, Iowa; Honorable Leonard W. Hall, Locust Valley, New York; Honorable Paul G. Hoffman, New York, New York; Mr. Palmer Hoyt, Denver, Colorado; Mr. George F. Jewett, Junior, San Francisco, California; Mr. Vann M. Kennedy, Corpus Christi, Texas; Mr. Herman S. Kohlmeyer, New Orleans, Louisiana; Bishop John Wesley Lord, Washington, District of Columbia; Mr. Joseph Martin, Junior, San Francisco, California; Honorable Stephen A. Mitchell, Taos, New Mexico; Mr. A. C. Nielsen, Junior, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. Louis Nizer, New York, New York; Mr. John Nuveen, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. Richard Ravitch, New York, New York; Mr. N. C. Templeton, Sacramento, California; Mr. Ernest G. Weiss, Armonk, New York; Most Reverend John J. Wright, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and their associates and successors, are hereby created and declared to be a body corporate of the District of Columbia, where its legal domicile shall be, by the name of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee (hereinafter referred to as the "corporation"), and by such name shall be known and have perpetual succession and the powers, limitations, and restrictions herein contained.

COMPLETION OF ORGANIZATION

Sec. 2. A majority of the persons named in the first section of this Act, acting in person or by written proxy, are authorized to complete the organization of the corporation by the selection of officers and employees, the adoption of a constitution and bylaws not inconsistent with this Act, and the doing of such other acts as may be necessary for such purpose.

PURPOSES OF CORPORATION

Sec. 3. The purposes of the corporation shall be: To elevate the standards of ethics and morality which prevail in the conduct of campaigns for election to political offices on the National, State, and local levels (including primary elections, as well as general elections), and covering party positions within the various political parties as well as public offices, including without limiting the foregoing, collecting information concerning campaign practices through studies of various media (such as press, radio, television, mail, and public platform) and through direct contact with the various candidates; to give wide publicity as to the requirements of the laws of the several States and the Federal Government concerning such practices; to stress the importance to the proper functioning of the American form of government of ameliorating any evils inherent in such practices; and to solicit contributions of money, securities, or other property, real or personal, or rights or services of any nature to carry out the foregoing.

CORPORATE POWERS

Sec. 4. The corporation shall have the power—

(1) to have succession by its corporate name;

(2) to sue and be sued, complain and defend in any court of competent jurisdiction;

(3) to adopt, use, and alter a corporate seal;

(4) to choose such officers, managers, agents, and employees as the activities of the corporation may require;

(5) to adopt, amend, and alter a constitution and bylaws, not inconsistent with any Act of Congress or any law of any State in which the corporation is to operate, for the management of its property and the regulation of its affairs;

(6) to contract and be contracted with;

(7) to take by lease, gift, purchase, grant, devise, or bequest from any public body or agency or any private corporation, association, partnership, firm, or individual and to hold absolutely or in trust for any of the purposes of the corporation any property, real, personal, or mixed, necessary or convenient for attaining the objects and carrying into effect the purposes of the corporation, subject, however, to applicable provisions of law of the District of Columbia or of any State (A) governing the amount or kind of property which may be held by, or (B) otherwise limiting or controlling the ownership of property by, a corporation operating in the District of Columbia or such State;

(8) to transfer, convey, lease, sublease, encumber, and otherwise alienate real, personal, or mixed property;

(9) to borrow money for the purposes of the corporation, issue bonds therefor, and secure the same by mortgage, deed of trust, pledge, or otherwise, subject in every case to all applicable provisions of any Act of Congress or of any State law; and

(10) to do any and all acts and things necessary and proper to carry out the objects and purposes of the corporation.

NONPROFIT, NONPOLITICAL NATURE OF CORPORATION: DISSOLUTION

Sec. 5. (a) The corporation is organized and shall be operated exclusively for educational purposes and not for pecuniary profit, and no part of its income or assets shall inure to the benefit of any of its members, directors, or officers, or shall be distributable thereto otherwise than upon dissolution or final liquidation of the corporation.

(b) The corporation shall not have or issue shares of stock, nor declare or pay dividends.

(c) No loans shall be made by the corporation to its officers or directors, or any of them; and any directors who vote for or assent to the making of a loan or advance to an officer or director of the corporation, and any officers participating in the making of any such loan or advance, shall be jointly and severally liable to the corporation for the amount of such loan until the repayment thereof.

(d) Upon dissolution or final liquidation of the corporation, after discharge or satisfaction of all outstanding obligations and liabilities, the remaining assets, if any, of the corporation shall be distributed in accordance with the determination of the board of directors and in compliance with the constitution and bylaws of the corporation and all Federal and State laws applicable thereto.

(e) The corporation and its officers and agents as such shall not contribute to any political party or candidate for public office.

MEMBERSHIP; VOTING RIGHTS

Sec. 6. (a) Eligibility for membership in the corporation and the rights, privileges, and designation of classes of membership shall, except as otherwise provided in this Act, be determined as the constitution and bylaws of the corporation may provide.

(b) Each member of the corporation shall have the right to one vote in each matter submitted to a vote at all meetings of the members of the corporation.

GOVERNING BODY

Sec. 7. The supreme governing authority of the corporation shall be the board of directors thereof, composed of citizens of the United States who shall be elected from the membership of the corporate organization as shall be provided by the constitution and bylaws: *Provided,* That the form of the government of the corporation shall always be representative of the membership at large and shall not permit the concentration of control thereof in the hands of a limited number of members or in a self-perpetuating group not so representative. The meetings of the national convention may be held in any State or territory of the United States or in the District of Columbia.

OFFICERS OF CORPORATION

Sec. 8. (a) The officers of the corporation shall be selected in such manner and for such terms and with such duties and titles as may be prescribed in the constitution and bylaws of the corporation.

(b) The corporation shall be liable for the acts of its officers and agents when acting within the scope of their authority.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE; SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AGENT; CITIZENSHIP

Sec. 9. (a) The principal office of the corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia, or in such other place as may later be determined by the corporation, but the activities of the corporation shall not be confined to that place and may be conducted throughout the various States, territories, and possessions of the United States, and the District of Columbia.

(b) The corporation shall have in the District of Columbia at all times a designated agent authorized to accept service of process for the corporation; and notice to or service upon such agent; or mailed to the business address of such agent, shall be deemed notice to or service upon the corporation.

(c) For purposes of court jurisdiction the corporation shall be deemed to be a citizen of the District of Columbia.

BOOKS AND RECORDS; AUDIT, REPORTS

Sec. 10. (a) The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of account and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its members, board of directors, and committees having any of the authority of the board of directors; and shall keep at its principal office a record giving the names and addresses of its members entitled to vote. All books and records of the corporation may be inspected by any member, or his agent or attorney, for any proper purposes, at any reasonable time.

(b) The accounts of the corporation shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants, certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the corporation and necessary to facilitate the audit shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audit; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositors, fiscal agents, and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

(c) A report of such audit shall be made by the corporation to the Congress not later than six months following the close of the fiscal year for which the audit is made. The report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements, as are necessary to present fairly the corporation's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit with an analysis of the changes therein during the year, supplemented in reasonable detail by a statement of the corporation's income and expenses during the year, including (1) the results of any trading, manufacturing, publishing, or other commercial-type endeavor carried on by the corporation, and (2) a schedule of all contracts requiring payments in excess of $10,000 and any payments of compensation, salaries, or fees at a rate in excess of $10,000 per annum. The report shall not be printed as a public document.

(d) On or before June 1 of each year the corporation shall report to the Congress on its activities during the preceding fiscal year. Such report may consist of a report on the proceedings of the national convention covering such fiscal year. Such report shall not be printed as a public document.

USE OF NAME

SEC. 11. The corporation shall have the sole and exclusive right to use the name "Fair Campaign Practices Committee." The corporation shall have the exclusive and sole right to use, or allow or refuse the use of, such emblems and seals as have heretofore been used by the New York Corporation described in section 12 and the right to which may be lawfully transferred to the corporation.

ACQUISITION OF ASSETS OF NEW YORK CORPORATION

SEC. 12. The corporation may acquire the assets of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, a Corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York, upon discharging or satisfactorily providing for the payment and discharge of all the liability of such corporation and upon complying with all laws of the State of New York applicable thereto.

RESERVATION OF RIGHT TO AMEND OR REPEAL CHARTER

SEC. 13. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is expressly reserved.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR POPULATION CONTROL ASSISTANCE

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, today the world's population is nearly 3½ billion. According to reliable estimates it will be more than 6 billion by the end of the century. Three-fourths of these 6 billion people will be living in less developed lands where poverty prevails and food supplies are inadequate.

The world's population is now increasing by about 2 percent a year, a rate of growth that has doubled since the end of World War II, while food production creeps up by only 1 percent a year. In the poverty-stricken countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America the growth rate is 2.5 percent and the population in many of these lands, which can least afford additional mouths to feed, will double in less than 30 years. About one-half the world's people are underfed or badly fed and some 10,000 people—mostly children—die of malnutrition each day. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization reported that per capita food production fell 4 to 5 percent in 1965–66 in the developing regions. If present population and food production trends continue, much of the world will be faced with massive starvation within the next decade. As one agricultural expert put it: "The stork is outrunning the plow."

In the poorest one-third of the world, where average per capita income is less than $100, a 5 percent annual increase in national income, the goal of the United Nations Development Decade, means about an extra $2.50 each year in the pockets of the average citizen—the rest is absorbed by population growth. In contrast, our per capita income is increasing at about $100 a year. So the gap between the rich and the poor is getting wider and deeper at an ever-increasing rate. Population growth is the greatest single obstacle to economic growth in much of the underdeveloped world.

Congress has shown increasing concern over the world population crisis, beginning with the approval in 1963 of my amendment authorizing the Agency for International Development to conduct research and other activities related to problems of population growth. The congressional mandate for greater executive branch efforts in the field was strengthened last year through adoption of amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act and the Food for Peace Act. The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations on the aid bill gave a firm warning to the Agency for International Development that population problems should have a higher priority in the aid program, and stated that—

> Unless greater progress is made in control programs even massive aid will be relatively ineffective in raising living standards in many underdeveloped countries.

Despite last year's mandate from Congress, many statements by President Johnson on the issue, and the success of family planning programs both here and abroad, the Agency for International Development plans to spend only about $10 million this fiscal year on assistance related to population problems. The National Citizens Commission on Population of the 1965 White House Conference on International Cooperation recommended that $300 million be made available over the next 3 years for population control assistance to governments asking for help. AID officials have not given this problem the high priority it deserves.

Assistance on population control problems is not, and cannot be, a substitute for economic aid. I know of no Member of Congress who looks upon population control assistance as a long-range scheme to relieve the United States of its obligation to help the world's poor. But the end objective of our aid program is to help create a better life for the less fortunate of the world community. Population control programs are like yeast in the bread of economic development, and the benefits of economic aid will be meager and dwarfed unless birth rates are reduced. In proper proportion with other aid, help in family planning is an effective means to improve individual life and expand economic opportunities in the developing countries. It is not a panacea for all social and economic evils—it is only one of many tools to help others help themselves.

We in the industrialized nations bear a considerable share of the blame for the population explosion. Modern public health programs, malaria eradication, vaccinations and the like, often made possible through our aid, have reduced mortality rates appreciably in the developing nations. Yet there is little virtue in saving people from malaria and dysentery to let them die slowly of malnutrition. The commonsense answer is clear—we need to provide help for voluntary birth control needs as we have already provided help for death control.

Cooperation with interested foreign governments in helping solve population problems involves sensitive issues with deep personal and moral overtones. This must be a voluntary program to assist nations which want assistance, not a Madison Avenue promotion effort. The hard sell has no place in this program, and our officials should bend over backward to avoid the appearance that the United States is seeking to impose its own ideas for solutions on a foreign country. Population growth is their problem and this basic fact should never be forgotten in our eagerness to help.

I am introducing today, for myself and 15 of my colleagues, a bill which would insure that proper priority is given to population control work in the aid program.

The bill will authorize first, the President to provide assistance through foreign governments, the United Nations, and private nonprofit organizations for voluntary family planning programs; second, the appropriation of $50 million for each of the next 3 fiscal years for population control assistance; and, third, the establishment of a President's Advisory Council on Voluntary Family Planning programs in foreign countries.

This is a modest proposal when measured against the needs. I hope it will serve to focus greater attention on the population crisis during the work of the Foreign Relations Committee on this year's foreign aid legislation.

I ask unanimous consent to have the text of the bill printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1264) to provide specific support for voluntary family planning programs in friendly foreign nations, introduced by Mr. FULBRIGHT (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1264

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new title as follows:

"TITLE X—VOLUNTARY FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS

"SEC. 291. General Provisions.—(a) It is the sense of the Congress that, while every nation is and should be free to determine its own policies and procedures with respect to problems of population growth and family planning within its own boundaries, nevertheless voluntary family planning programs to provide individual couples with the knowledge and medical facilities to plan their family size in accordance with their own moral convictions and the latest medical information, can make a substantial contribution to improved health, family stability, greater individual opportunity, economic development, a sufficiency of food and a higher standard of living.

"(b) To carry out the intent of Congress as expressed in subsection (a), the President is authorized to provide assistance for voluntary family planning programs in friendly foreign countries and areas, on such terms and conditions as he shall determine, to foreign governments, United Nations specialized agencies, United States and foreign nonprofit organizations, universities, hospitals, accredited health institutions, and voluntary health or other qualified organizations.

"(c) In carrying out programs authorized in this title, the President shall establish reasonable procedures to insure, whenever family planning assistance from the United States is involved, that no individual will be coerced to practice methods of family planning inconsistent with his or her moral, philosophical or religious beliefs.

"(d) As used in this title, the term 'voluntary family planning programs' includes but is not limited to demographic studies, medical and psychological research, personnel training, the construction and staffing of clinics and rural health centers, specialized training of doctors and paramedical personnel, the manufacture of medical supplies, and the dissemination of family planning information, and provision of medical assistance and supplies to individuals who desire such assistance.

"SEC. 292. Authorization.—There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President for each of the fiscal years 1968, 1969, and 1970, not to exceed $50,000,000 for each such fiscal year, which shall be available until expended, together with excess foreign currencies made available under section 612 (c), to carry out the purposes of this title.

"SEC. 293. Advisory Council on Voluntary Family Planning.—(a) There is hereby established an Advisory Council on Voluntary Family Planning Program to be composed of such authorities in the fields of population, family planning, government, and other areas pertinent to the purposes of this title, as may be selected from time to time by the President. The Advisory Council shall carry out studies and make recommendations for achieving medically, socially and economically effective Voluntary Family Planning Programs in foreign countries. The Advisory Council shall consist of not more than nine members, and one of the members shall be designated as chairman by the President.

"(b) The members of the Advisory Council shall receive no compensation for their services but shall be entitled to reimbursement in accordance with section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for travel and other expenses incurred by them in the performance of their functions under this section.

"(c) The expenses of the Advisory Council shall be paid by the head of the agency charged with administering this title from funds otherwise available under this Act."

WORLD POPULATION CRISIS

Mr. PERCY. I am pleased to join the chairman and ranking Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee in cosponsoring a bill to authorize $50 million for voluntary family planning programs in connection with our foreign aid program.

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that today the world is facing a food and population crisis of unprecedented magnitude. The world's present population of over 3 billion is expected to exceed 7 billion by the year 2000. World food production is increasing approximately 1 percent a year, but the production of people is racing ahead at about 2 percent a year. That 1 percent gap—which represents 35 million people each year for which there is no additional food—is the most dangerous gap in the world today. For with one-half of the world's population and two-thirds of the world's children not properly fed today, a disaster course surely lies ahead unless population growth is reduced or food production is dramatically accelerated. Programs in both areas are vitally needed.

The first recommendations for providing assistance, on request, to foreign nations wishing to promote family planning was made by the distinguished committee appointed by President Eisenhower to study the foreign aid program. Headed by Gen. William H. Draper, Jr., that committee included Dillon Anderson, Joseph M. Dodge, Alfred M. Gruenther, Max Leva, John J. McCloy, George McGhee, Joseph T. McNarney, Arthur W. Radford, and James E. Webb.

It recommended:

> That, in order to meet more effectively the problem of economic development, the United States (1) assist those countries with which it is cooperating in economic aid programs, on request, in the formulation of their plans designed to deal with the problem of rapid population growth, (2) increase its assistance to local programs relating to maternal and child welfare in recognition of the immediate problem created by rapid population growth, and (3) strongly support studies and appropriate research as a part of its own Mutual Security Program, within the United Nations and elsewhere, leading to the availability of relevant information in a form most useful to individual countries in the formulation of practical programs to meet the serious challenge posed by rapidly expanding populations.

At the time, President Eisenhower was concerned about the Federal Government becoming involved in family planning, but in the light of the subsequent vast population increases in the developing countries, he later wrote to Senator GRUENING:

> If we now ignore the plight of those unborn generations which, because of our unreadiness to take corrective action in controlling population growth, will be denied any expectations beyond abject poverty and suffering, then history will rightly condemn us.

Today, General Eisenhower, with former President Truman, serves as Honorary Chairman of Planned Parenthood. Former President Kennedy gave full encouragement to additional Federal support for research and dissemination of information on population problems. President Johnson has endorsed active Government programs in this field.

But to cope with this problem, more than mere words is needed. The Citizens Committee on Population for the International Cooperation Year, at the White House Conference in 1965, recommended spending $100 million a year for the next 3 years on population programs in our foreign aid effort. This bill would authorize only one half that sum. But it is a start in the direction which we must follow if we are to prevent economic, social, and political catastrophe on this planet.

Certainly without such help the developing nations will have little chance to achieve the objectives of growth and individual betterment for which they are striving. Without such help, many individual families will have little chance to feed, shelter, and care for their offspring. And without such help, the overall effectiveness of the U.S. foreign aid program will be greatly impaired.

Mr. President, I am pleased to join in supporting this important, humanitarian, and far-reaching bill.

PRAISEWORTHY ACTION ON POPULATION CONTROL

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the perceptive chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT] today once again evidences his concern for mankind and the quality of man's life on earth. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of his bill (S. 1264) which will amend the Foreign Assistance Act and authorize the expenditure of $150 million to carry out family planning programs in friendly foreign nations when the nations request assistance.

Congress properly should pay attention—and hereby does—to the desirability of implementing monetarily the President's 31 magnificent directives in the fields of health and family planning. I ask unanimous consent that these statements by President Johnson appear as exhibit 1 at the close of my remarks.

There being no objection, the statements by the President, presented by Mr. GRUENING, were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT 1

STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON CONCERNING POPULATION

YEAR 1965

1. *State of the Union Address before Congress,* January 4, 1965:

"I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources."

2. *20th Anniversary of the United Nations at San Francisco,* June 25, 1965:

"Let us in all our lands—including this land—face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations and seek the answers to this most profound challenge to the future of all the world. Let us act on the fact that less than five dollars invested in population control is worth a hundred dollars invested in economic growth."

3. *Swearing-in Ceremony of John W. Gardner as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in Rose Garden, The White House,* August 18, 1965:

"This Administration is seeking new ideas and it is certainly not going to discourage any new solutions to the problems of population growth and distribution."

4. *Text of letter to U.N. Secretary General U Thant at Second United Nations World Population Conference opening in Belgrade,* August 30, 1965:

"MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL: The United States Government recognizes the singular importance of the meeting of the second United Nations World Population Conference and pledges its full support to your great undertaking.

"As I said to the United Nations in San Francisco, we must now begin to face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying population. Our government assures your conference of our wholehearted support to the United Nations and its agencies in their efforts to achieve a better world through bringing into balance the world's resources and the world's population.

"In extending my best wishes for the success of your conference, it is my fervent hope that your great assemblage of population experts will contribute significantly to the knowledge necessary to solve this transcendent problem. Second only to the search for peace, it is humanity's greatest challenge. This week, the meeting in Belgrade carries with it the hopes of mankind."

YEAR 1966

5. *State of the Union Address before Congress,* January 12, 1966:

"That is what I have come to ask of you . . . to give a new and daring direction to our foreign aid program, designed to make a maximum attack on hunger, disease and ignorance in those countries determined to help themselves—and to help those nations trying to control population growth. . . ."

6. "I will also propose the International Health Act of 1966 to strike at disease by a new effort to bring modern skills and knowledge to the uncared-for suffering of the world—and by wiping out smallpox, malaria, and controlling yellow fever over most of the world in this decade . . . to help countries trying to control population growth, by increasing our research—and by earmarking funds to help their efforts."

7. Ceremony held at the Harry S. Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace, January 20, 1966, Independence, Missouri:

". . . we will increase our efforts in the great field of human population. The hungry world cannot be fed until and unless the growth in its resources and the growth in its population comes into balance. Each man and woman—and each nation—must make decisions of conscience and policy in the face of this great problem. But the position of the United States of America is clear. We will give our help and our support to nations which make their own decision to insure an effective balance between the numbers of their people and the food they have to eat. And we will push forward the frontiers of research in this important field."

8. *Foreign Aid Program Message to the Congress,* February 1, 1966:

"Yet today the citizens of many developing nations walk in the shadow of misery; half the adults have never been to school; over half the people are hungry or malnourished; food production per person is falling; at present rates of growth, population will double before the year 2000.

"These are the dominant facts of our age.

"They challenge our own security.

"They threaten the future of the world.

"Our response must be bold and daring. It must go to the root causes of misery and unrest. It must build a firm foundation for progress, security and peace."

9. "Only these people and their leaders can invest every possible resource in improved farming techniques, in school and hospital construction and in critical industry; make the land reforms, tax changes, and other basic adjustments necessary to transform their societies; face the population problem squarely and realistically; create the climate which will attract foreign investment and keep local money at home."

10. ". . . in many other countries food output is also falling behind population growth. We cannot meet the world food needs of the future, however willing we are to share our abundance. Nor would it serve the common interest if we could."

11. "We stand ready to help developing countries deal with the population problem.

"The United States cannot and should not force any country to adopt any particular approach to this problem. It is first a matter of individual and national conscience, in which we will not interfere.

"But population growth now consumes about two-thirds of economic growth in the less-developed world. As death rates are steadily driven down, the individual miracle of birth becomes a collective tragedy of want.

"In all cases, our help will be given only upon request, and only to finance advisors, training, transportation, educational equipment and local currency needs.

"Population policy remains a question for each family and each nation to decide. But we must be prepared to help when decisions are made."

12. "Technical Cooperation: This request—$231 million—will finance American advisors and teachers who are the crucial forces in the attack on hunger, ignorance, disease, *and the population problem.* The dollar total is relatively small. But no appropriation is more critical. No purpose is more central."

13. *International Education and Health Acts Message,* February 2, 1966:

"We have committed ourselves for many years to relieving human suffering. Today our efforts must keep pace with a growing world and with growing problems."

14. "Therefore, I propose a program to—

"Create an International Career Service in Health;

"Help meet health manpower needs in developing nations;

"Combat malnutrition;

"Control and eradicate disease;

"Cooperate in worldwide efforts to deal with population problems."

15. ". . . Food production has not kept pace with the increasing demands of expanding population."

16. In Part 5, the President carefully spells out his proposal "to cooperate in worldwide efforts to deal with population problems."

"By 1970, there will be 300 million more people on this earth. A reliable estimate shows that at present rates of growth the world population could double by the end of the century. The growing gap—between food to eat and mouths to feed—poses one of mankind's greatest challenges. It threatens the dignity of the individual and the sanctity of the family.

"We must meet these problems in ways that will strengthen free societies—and protect the individual right to freedom of choice.

"To mobilize our resources more effectively, I propose programs to—

"(1) *Expand research in human reproduction and population dynamics.* We are supporting research efforts through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, AID, and the World Health Organization. I am requesting funds to increase the pace and scope of this effort. The effort, to be successful, will require a full response by our scientific community.

"(2) *Enlarge the training of American and foreign specialists in the population field.* We are supporting training programs and the development of training programs through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and AID. We will expand these programs at home and abroad.

"(3) *Assist family planning programs in nations which request such help.* Here at home, we are gaining valuable experience through new programs of maternal and infant care as well as expansion of private and public medical care programs. Early last year we made clear our readiness to share our knowledge, skill, and financial resources with the developing nations requesting assistance. We will expand this effort in response to the increasing number of requests from other countries."

War Against Hunger Message, February 10, 1966:

17. "Populations are exploding under the impact of sharp cuts in death rate. . . ."

18. "A balance between agricultural productivity and population is necessary to prevent the shadow of hunger from becoming a nightmare of famine. In my message on international health and education, I described our increased efforts to help deal with the population problem."

19. *Domestic Health and Education Message,* March 1, 1966:

"Family planning.

"We have a growing concern to foster the integrity of the family, and the opportunity for each child. It is essential that all families have access to information and services that will allow freedom to choose the number and spacing of their children within the dictates of individual conscience.

"In the fiscal 1967 budget, I have requested a sizable increase in funds available for research, training and services in this field. The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development will expand its own research and its grant program to study human reproduction. The Children's Bureau and the Office of Economic Opportunity will support family planning to the maternal and infant care programs in local communities when requested. State agencies will be aided by federal welfare funds to provide family planning services to mothers."

20. *Economic Aid to India Message,* April 1, 1966:

"The Indian Government believes that there can be no effective solution of the Indian food problem that does not include population control. The choice is now between a comprehensive and humane program for limiting births and the brutal curb that is imposed by famine. As Mrs. Gandhi told me, the Indian Government is making vigorous efforts on this front."

21. *President's Report on Food for Peace Program to Congress,* June 30, 1966:

". . . The increasing pressure of world population growth was the most disturbing indicator in a year otherwise highlighted with promise in the war against hunger and malnutrition. Population growth of 2 percent a year—increasing to 3 percent in some of the underdeveloped countries—made it difficult to increase per capita food consumption. There was more food grown in 1965 than in 1964. But there were 64 million more mouths to feed.

"In simplest terms, the task of bringing food and population into balance—while maintaining progress in health, education, and economic growth—is the most critical challenge many countries are facing today. It will probably remain their most urgent challenge in the immediate years ahead. The world's capacity to respond will dramatically affect the course which individuals and nations choose in confronting their problems and their neighbors in coming generations.

"This is a world problem . . .

"The U.S. Congress recognizes the moral and practical implications of hunger and malnutrition . . .

22. ". . . The critical food shortage in India, though aggravated by drought, should be read as a warning that a crisis in food and population trends is already at the world's doorstep."

23. *Speech on World Food Shortages and Vietnam War—in Omaha, Nebraska,* June 30, 1966:

". . . Here today in the center of the greatest food-producing area anywhere on this globe, we Americans must face a sobering fact: Most of the world's population is losing the battle to feed itself. And if present trends continue we can now see the point at which even our own vast productive resources, including the millions of acres of farm lands that we now hold in reserve, will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of human beings for food.

"We will lend America's technical knowledge. We will lend America's practical experience to those people who need it most and who are willing to prove to us that they are willing to try to help themselves."

24. *President's Remarks Honoring the Battle Creek Sanitarium, Michigan,* September 5, 1966:

"He (Rep. Paul Todd) has drafted and pushed through the House of Representatives, the first term that he served there, the most important population amendments to the Food for Freedom Bill.

"But Congressman Todd made a courageous and pioneering effort to come to grips with the world's single most pressing problem. Even under conditions as inhumane as war, we are mounting a ceaseless effort to care for the health of human beings."

25. *The President's Remarks at the International Rice Research Institute,* October 26, 1966:

"Man's greatest problem is the fearful race between food and population. If we lose that race our hopes for the future will turn to ashes.

"These are danger signals we can ignore only at our peril. For between now and 1980 we must prepare to feed one billion more people."

26. *Statement by the President Upon Signing H.R. 14929—Food for Freedom Bill,* November 13, 1966:

"Most of the developing world is now in crisis—one that is more serious than any ideological disagreement. Rapid population growth is putting relentless pressure on food supplies.

"For six consecutive years world food consumption has exceeded production.

"But even the food-producing capability of U.S. farmers—unmatched in history—cannot suffice indefinitely in a world that must feed a million new human beings each week.

"The only long-term solution is self-help. Our new Food for Freedom program will provide American food and fiber to stimulate greater productivity in the developing countries . . ."

"The sound population programs, encouraged in this measure, freely and voluntarily undertaken, are vital to meeting the food crisis, and to the broader efforts of the developing nations to attain higher standards of living for their people."

YEAR 1967

27. *State of the Union Address before Congress,* January 10, 1967:

"Next to the pursuit of peace, the really great challenge to the human family is the race between food supply and population increase. That race tonight is being lost.

"The time for rhetoric has clearly passed. The time for concerted action is here, and we must get on with the job.

"We believe that three principles must prevail if our policy is to succeed:

"First, the developing nations must give highest priority to food production, including the use of technology and the capital of private enterprise.

"Second, nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

"Third, the developed nations must all assist other nations to avoid starvation in the short run and to move rapidly towards the ability to feed themselves.

"Every member of the world community now bears a direct responsibility to help bring our most basic human account into balance."

28. *Food for India Message to Congress, February 2, 1967:*

"I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken.

"India is not alone in facing the specter of near famine. One-half of the world's people confront this same problem.

"India's plight reminds us that our generation can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it . . .

"We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. Without some type of voluntary population programs, however, the nations of the world—no matter how generous—will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

"We know, too, that failure to act—and to act now—will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children."

29. *Foreign Aid Message to Congress,* February 9, 1967:

"In particular, we will wage war on hunger. Together, the world must find ways to bring food production and population growth into balance. My proposals make clear our determination to help expand food supplies. We must be equally ready to assist countries which decide to undertake voluntarily population programs.

30. "The Agency for International Development is a sound, well-run instrument of public policy. But, like all arms of government, AID can be improved. It can add further to its economy record—a record which includes $33 million in cost reduction last year alone, and a 20 percent cut in personnel, apart from southeast Asia, since 1963.

"I am establishing two new offices in AID:

"An Office of the War on Hunger to consolidate all AID activities relating to hunger, population problems, and nutrition.

"An Office of Private Resources to concentrate on marshaling private investment and the expansion of private sectors in the less-developed world—the best long-term route to rapid growth.

"Both of these steps are consolidations—they will require no new appropriations or personnel. They will focus the attention and energy of the Agency directly upon two priority areas. They are significant steps forward.

31. "India is trying to regain the lead in the race between her expanding population and her food supply. She plans to double her outlays for agriculture in the next 5 years and to quadruple her voluntary population program."

UNITED STATES-CANADIAN AUTO AGREEMENT

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, in 1965 Congress approved a bill, H.R. 9042, to implement the agreement concerning automotive products between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada. The results of this unwise agreement are now being clearly revealed.

I call this an unwise agreement. Certainly it is unwise from the viewpoint of the American worker. Several thousand of our people have been thrown out of work because of its operation. And, so far as I can tell, our relations with Canada have not improved one whit as a result of this agreement. There are surely ample reasons for second thoughts.

The primary purpose of my remarks today is to issue a caveat to my colleagues. Do not be so ready to play follow-the-leader on the next round. This agreement is scheduled for comprehensive review by the end of this year. Let us be more careful when we review our legislation, and let us look particularly closely if we are asked to extend the same kind of one-sided treatment to other commodities as well.

So far as I am concerned, very few recent events more clearly illustrate the difficulties we get into when our orderly procedures of government, so carefully spelled out in the Constitution, are short-circuited. The wisdom of our system of checks and balances is wasted if we refuse to follow the system.

In the case of this agreement, President Johnson called Mr. Pearson down from Canada to the ranch in Texas and announced the agreement without prior consultation with Congress, although the agreement is concerned with tariffs and trade—clearly an area of congressional responsibility, prerogative, and competence. Since the agreement affects our whole reciprocal trade pattern, our balance of payments and our foreign relations generally, to say nothing of our internal economy, and the unemployment of many of our people, it was inexcusable to have avoided orderly procedure, inexcusable for both the executive and legislative branches.

Despite the best efforts of Senators HARTKE and RIBICOFF, and my own protestations, the Finance Committee approved the agreement, and the Senate followed along. There were a few other Senators, in addition to the three of us on the Finance Committee, who took the trouble to inform themselves as to what was going on, but congressional approval was had with hardly a ripple.

And, lest I be accused by fellow Democrats of attacking my own party on this measure, let me point out that the big automobile companies wanted this and that Republican support for this proposition, as evidenced by the Senate vote on passage of the bill, was 95 percent. Only one Republican voted against the bill, and one other was paired against it.

The full fruits of our folly are now being harvested. Thousands of our people have been thrown out of work at a time when the economy, particularly in automobiles, shows signs of softening. Even some Canadians are unhappy, prices of Canadian automobiles remaining high in comparison with U.S. prices.

It would appear that the Canadian automobile companies, for the most part owned by our own Detroit giants, are the real gainers. They are, through this arrangement, forcing Canadian consumers to pay for their Canadian plant modernization and expansion.

Even the automobile companies may be having second thoughts, since, according to the Financial Times of Canada, the Canadian Government is proceeding to collect taxes from at least some of the companies for failing to meet their production commitments.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article published in the February 27, 1967, issue of Financial Times of Canada.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUDITOR-GENERAL FINDS $7 MILLION OWED GOVERNMENT UNDER AUTO PACT

OTTAWA.—Studebaker of Canada, American Motors (Canada) Ltd., and another company have piled up a $7 million tax liability for failing to meet their commitments in the first year of the Canada-U.S. auto agreement.

The debt—owed at March 31, 1966—was uncovered last week in the auditor general's report to Parliament. Revenue Minister Benson promised to explain it last week but did not say if it had been settled or remitted since last March.

Studebaker—which closed its Hamilton car plant on March 17, 1966—owed the government $2.4 million in customs duty for the model year that ended in July 1965. No demand for payment had been made by the following March.

American Motors owed $3 million in unpaid duty and the other company owed $1.7 million.

The report says Studebaker and AMC have received duty remissions worth $2.2 million after failing to meet conditions for duty free entry under the old British Commonwealth content regulations.

These regulations required from 40% to 60% Canadian or British content depending on the company's vehicle production.

AMC failed to meet the terms in the 1962 and 1963 model years. It got a 94% remission worth $667,000 for the 1962 model year and a 84% remission for the 1963 year—worth about $780,000.

Studebaker has received a full 100% remission for the 1964 model year, worth $750,000. The remission was granted after its Canadian plant went out of business.

Studebaker's failure to comply with the auto pact conditions is directly related to its import of 10,918 Volkswagen cars from 1964 to 1965.

In the 1965 model year it failed to maintain its ratio of Canadian produced vehicle sales to total sales because of the VW imports. This made it liable for all duty due that year on cars and parts it had imported free. It met the pact's conditions in the 1966 model year but under the law could not carry any surplus back to cover its sales "deficit" the previous year.

The VW deal—which appeared to save the two companies an estimated $2.3 million in duties—was strongly attacked when it became public last fall.

Studebaker also came to grief over VW imports from November 1963 to January 1965. It failed to meet requirements for duty free entry under arrangements that preceded the auto pact and piled up a $500,000 tax liability.

The company paid $170,000 of this debt last June and the remaining $300,000 last Nov. 23.

The auditor general urges the Department of National Revenues to strengthen its administration of the various duty free auto arrangements to make sure no revenue is lost to the government.

Duty remissions are granted under section 22(1) of the Financial Administration Act, which allows the government to remit any tax, fee or penalty when it is in the public interest.

In 1965–66 Ford of Canada was granted remissions worth $2.2 million and GM got remissions worth $4.3 million on imports of vehicles and parts. Twelve other vehicle manufacturers also received what appear to be routine duty remissions worth about $1.9 million.

The $2.2 million remissions to AMC and Studebaker appear to be special cases, however.

The government needs give no justification beyond "the public interest" for using its remission power and the auditor general thinks it is used too widely.

MAKERS TAKEN BY SURPRISE

TORONTO.—American Motors (Canada) Ltd., and Studebaker of Canada Ltd., are unaware that they owe the federal government back tariffs for failing to meet conditions of the Canada-U.S. auto agreements.

Mr. Earl K. Brownbridge, AMC president, said he has not heard from the government about unpaid duties on cars or parts.

Mr. G. E. Grundy, president of Studebaker, said "this is all news to me."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, many of the points I would bring out have already been brought out by others, notably the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE] in his remarks to the Senate on February 15 of this year, but there was an article published in the Washington Post on March 7 which I feel is worth reading. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATIVES, UNEMPLOYED GRUMBLE—AUTO PRODUCTION PACT STIRS DEBATE IN CANADA

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

TORONTO.—Unhappiness with the Canadian-American automobile agreement has been mounting among unemployed workers at the same time that the Canadian government in Ottawa is proclaiming it a conspicuous success.

Much of the grumbling comes from Oshwa, an Ontario city of 75,000 near here where some 5000 General Motors employees are out of work. Another 1200 have been laid off at the GM plant at St. Catherines.

Although some of the layoffs result from reduced market demand, others have been caused by GM's decision to modernize operations with a new plant at St. Therese, Que. This plant in turn has undergone a two-month strike by the United Auto Workers.

IDLE WORKERS BLAME PACT

But displaced employees are not consoled by statistics which show that Canada has benefited under the two-year-old automobile agreement with the United States. Instead, they tend to blame the pact.

In a sense, officials say, they are right in that the pact has stimulated more cost-consciousness and attention to productivity, with the result that adjustments are under way which can be painful in individual situations.

Nevertheless, cabinet officers in Ottawa point out that the auto pact has brought Canada far more than she expected initially. Her share of the North American automobile market has risen from 4 to 7 per cent, and increased Canadian production in 1966 brought in $197 million more than the $266 million forecast two years ago.

In the same period net automobile employment has increased by some 20,000 with 8000 more workers in Windsor alone. Chrysler and Ford have operations in Windsor just across the river from Detroit, and others near Toronto. Ford has invested large amounts in expanded plants.

The agreement signed by Liberal Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and President Johnson in January, 1965, provides for virtually free trade between the two countries in manufactured automobiles. It is subject to review at the end of 1967.

Manufacturers guaranteed at the time to maintain a 60 per cent ratio of Canadian components in cars produced here (50 per cent in trucks).

One result of the pact has been a substantial increase in the number of Canadian-built vehicles exported to the United States, particularly trucks. At the same time, Canadian imports of parts from the U.S. have shot up.

In 1966 Canada produced 901,230 automotive units of which 285,481 were for export. Canadian shipments to the U.S. were valued at $900 million in 1966, whereas U.S. shipments to Canada were valued at $1.2 billion.

CONSERVATIVES COMPLAIN

But the grumbling has grown despite the figures. Former Conservative Labor Minister Michael Starr, who represents the Oshawa district at Ottawa, has accused the Liberal government of sitting on its haunches while layoffs spread.

Former Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, who when the pact was signed denounced the government as a "puppet" of the United States, has raised a question in Parliament why Canadian-built cars sell for less in the U.S. than in Canada, and whose U.S.-built cars sell for more here than across the border.

He has received no definite answers. The price differential is one of the sorest points with Canadians. A new model car will sell for between $200 and $600 more here than in Buffalo, even when adjustment is made for the 7½ per cent discount on Canadian currency.

Usual explanations are that Canadian costs are higher because of smaller production runs and that there is slightly lower productivity here. Karl Scott, president of the Ford Motor Co. of Canada, predicted parity of prices with five to 10 years after the auto pact was signed.

That has not yet come, but industry representatives say that the gap has been markedly narrowed. One stock model car with a recommended price of $2951 in the U.S. and $3303 in Canada in 1965 now has prices of $3068 and $3323, respectively. On a more elaborate model the gap has been closed from $1479 to $570.

Some of the difference also is accounted for by the fact that Canada has had an 11 per cent federal tax (now being increased to 12 percent) whereas the American excise tax is 7 percent.

But such explanations do not fully satisfy critics. The fact that the number of models has been reduced as a means of increasing production runs is sometimes cited as a factor in unemployment—though the principal reason is the slump in demand for exports to the United States.

Others say that the unhappiness has been exaggerated by a union faction in the United Auto Workers (AFL–CIO) which did not like the auto pact in the beginning and has sought to portray its effects in the worst light.

PACT RENEWAL EXPECTED

Despite the complaining, no one believes that Canada will seek to abrogate the agreement when it comes up for review. Many industry people are happy with it.

Canadian automobile purchases have fallen somewhat, but not so much as American purchases. General Motors has been hit hardest. Ford reports increased sales in January and February, and Chrysler has held steady.

Authorities point out that Canadian auto production normally runs in three-year cycles, and they look for an upturn in the fall. January and February are traditionally slack months, and the winter this year has been especially severe.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, as pointed out in this article, Canada, in 1966, had 7 percent of the North American automobile market, as compared with only 4 percent prior to this agreement. Net automobile employment in Canada increased by some 20,000.

But what has been happening in the United States? Thousands are out of work because of this disastrous agreement.

When the Senator from Indiana addressed the Senate on February 15, he pointed out that seven petitions for relief had been filed on behalf of various groups of employees. Four petitions covering 1,170 workers—former workers—had been approved, and three others were then under consideration.

They involved, incidentally, many workers who are now out of employment in the State of Tennessee as a result of this agreement.

Now, it can be reported that the numbers of unemployed automobile workers have swelled because of the operation of this agreement. Petitions have, within the last few days, been filed on behalf of unemployed workers at Kenosha, Wis., Milwaukee, Wis., and Detroit, Mich. There are 7,752 former workers covered by these petitions, and these men, let me point out, were making good wages and supporting their families up until January of this year when they were laid off because of this monstrous agreement.

I would not want to predict how many more petitions will be filed this year, or how many more thousands of workers will be severely hurt by this unwise agreement. But anyone working in any phase of automobile production had better look sharp. The special provisions for adjustment assistance under this legislation will expire June 30, 1968. I do not know how many more thousands may be thrown out of work after that date.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have these petitions printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Form Approved: Budget Bureau No. 126 R–001]

AUTOMOTIVE AGREEMENT ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE BOARD

(Petition for determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance by group of workers (under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965))

For Government use only.
Date Filed ______________________________
Petition No. 7–004.

General instructions: Each petition shall contain such information as will assist the U.S. Tariff Commission in its investigations and the Board in making the determinations required under the Automotive Act, relating to (a) whether the product which is the basis for the petition is an automotive product within the meaning of the Act, (b) whether there is dislocation of a significant number or proportion of the workers, or a threat thereof, and (c) the role of the operation of the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement in causing such dislocation or threat thereof.

The regulations of the Board apply to this form. Copies of the regulations are available at the local State employment security agency offices or may be obtained from the Board.

Return an original and three copies to: Chairman, Automotive Agreement Adjustment Assistance Board, c/o U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212.

Section I. All questions in this section must be answered. (For additional instructions see last page.)

1. Petitioner—Name and address.

a. Person filing: Pat Greathouse, Vice President, International Union, UAW, 8000 E. Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214; Telephone 926–5415.

b. If petition filed by a union give name and address of union: International Union, UAW, 8000 E. Jefferson, Det., Mich. 48214 and its Local No. 72, 3615 Washington Road, Kenosha, Wisconsin 53140; Telephone 657–9308.

c. If petition is filed by a group of workers, other than a union, describe the group briefly and give the names and addresses of three members of the group.

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2. Employer—Name and address: American Motors Corporation, 2526–25th Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin, ZIP 53140.

3. Automotive product—Name or describe the automotive product—i.e. the motor vehicle or fabricated component to be used as original equipment in the manufacture of motor vehicles—forming the basis for the petition. If the product is a part or component and if known, give the manufacturer's part number and indicate the make of the vehicle in which it is used: Automobiles.

4. Dislocation—If there were or are scheduled concentrations of dislocation on specific dates, indicate dates, and number of workers affected. If actual data are not available, make estimates and indicate the basis of each estimate:

Type	Date dislocation began or is threatened	Number of workers affected in establishment		
		Producing named article—		Workers in other subdivisions unemployed because of lack of work in the affected subdivision
		Unemployed	Underemployed or working short weeks	
Actual dislocation	Jan. 25, 1965	990		
	Aug. 7, 1965	1,566		
	Dec. 9, 1965	107		
	Dec. 23, 1965	2,323		
	Mar. 25, 1966	240		
	Jan. 6, 1967	2,314		

b. If the dislocation noted in 4a involves a layoff, indicate the type of layoff: Permanent X; Indefinite ____; or Definite ____ for for a duration of ____ weeks.

5. Basis of petition—Describe fully the basis for your belief that the operation of the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement has been a factor in causing, or threatening to cause, the dislocation. Include or attach all available evidence.

In 1961 American Motors commenced operation of its new plant at Brampton, Ontario, Canada. From the Brampton plant the Company was able to supply part of its Canadian market with additional cars coming from the Kenosha and Milwaukee plants.

As of January 1965, however, the volume of cars for the Canadian market supplied from the two U.S. plants decreased and the volume supplied from the Brampton plant increased. It was this decrease in the number of cars supplied the Canadian market from the two U.S. plants that caused the layoffs of 1965 and the pre-October layoffs of 1966. The decrease, in turn, was caused by the Act.

As of October 1966, the beginning of the 1967 model year, the Brampton plant, in addition to supplying most of the Canadian market, began supplying cars for the U.S. market as well. This increase in Canadian production, too, was caused by the Act. An American Motors press release of July 26, 1966 (copy enclosed) deals with this increase in manpower and production at Brampton and cites the Act as the cause.

AUTOMOTIVE AGREEMENT ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE BOARD

(Petition for determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance by group of workers (under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965))

For Government use only.
Date Filed ___________________________
Petition No. 7–003.

General instructions: Each petition shall contain such information as will assist the U.S. Tariff Commission in its investigations and the Board in making the determinations required under the Automotive Act, relating to (a) whether the product which is the basis for the petition is an automotive product within the meaning of the Act, (b) whether there is dislocation of a significant number or proportion of the workers, or a threat thereof, and (c) the role of the operation of the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement in causing such dislocation or threat thereof.

The regulations of the Board apply to this form. Copies of the regulations are available at the local State employment security agency officers or may be obtained from the Board.

Return an original and three copies to: Chairman, Automotive Agreement Adjustment Assistance Board, c/o U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212.

Section I. All questions in this section must be answered. (For additional instructions see last page.)

1. Petitioner—Name and address.

a. Person filing: Pat Greathouse, Vice President, International Union, UAW, 8000 E Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214, Telephone 926–5415.

b. If petition filed by a union give name and address of union: International Union, UAW, 8000 E. Jefferson, Det., Mich. 48214 and its Local No. 75, 2640 North First St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212. Telephone 562–2733.

c. If petition is filed by a group of workers, other than a union, describe the group briefly and give the names and addresses of three members of the group.

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2. Employer—Name and address: American Motors Milwaukee Body Plant, 3880 North Richards Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, ZIP 53201.

3. Automotive product—Name or describe the automotive product—i.e. the motor vehicle or fabricated component to be used as original equipment in the manufacture of motor vehicles—forming the basis for the petition. If the product is a part or component and if known, give the manufacturer's part number and indicate the make of the vehicle in which it is used: Automobile bodies.

4. Dislocation—If there were or are scheduled concentrations of dislocation on specific dates, indicate dates, and number of workers affected. If actual data are not available, make estimates and indicate the basis of each estimated:

Type	Date dislocation began or is threatened	Number of workers affected in establishment		
		Producing named article		Workers in other subdivisions unemployed because of lack of work in the affected subdivision
		Unemployed	Underemployed or working short weeks	
Actual dislocation	Jan. 22, 1965	2,029		
	Feb. 15, 1965	4,900		
	Aug. 23, 1965	4,900		
	Dec. 22, 1965	4,800		
	Feb. 21, 1966	4,421		
	May 27, 1966	3,900		
	Sept. 20, 1966	4,600		
	Dec. 27, 1966	4,400		
	Jan. 9, 1967	4,400		

b. If the dislocation noted in 4a involves a layoff, indicate the type of layoff: Permanent X; Indefinite ------; or Definite ------ for a duration of ------ weeks.

5. Basis of petition. Describe fully the basis for your belief that the operation of the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement has been a factor in causing, or threatening to cause, the dislocation. Include or attach all available evidence:

In 1961 American Motors commenced operation of its new plant at Brampton, Ontario, Canada. From the Brampton plant the Company was able to supply part of its Canadian market with additional cars coming from the Kenosha and Milwaukee plants.

As of January 1965, however, the volume of cars for the Canadian market supplied from the two U.S. plants decreased and the volume supplied from the Brampton plant increased. It was this decrease in the number of cars supplied the Canadian market from the two U.S. plants that caused the layoffs of 1965 and the pre-October layoffs of 1966. The decrease, in turn, was caused by the Act.

As of October 1966, the beginning of the 1967 model year, the Brampton plant, in addition to supplying most of the Canadian market, began supplying cars for the U.S. market as well. This increase in Canadian production, too, was caused by the Act. An American Motors press release of July 26, 1966 (copy enclosed) deals with this increase in manpower and production at Brampton and cites the Act as the cause.

[Form Approved: Budget Bureau No. 126]

Automotive Agreement Adjustment
Assistance Board

(Petition for determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance by group of workers (under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965))

For Government use only.
Date Filed-----------------------------------
Petition No. 7–006.

General instructions: Each petition shall contain such information as will assist the U.S. Tariff Commission in its investigations and the Board in making the determinations required under the Automotive Act, relating to (a) whether the product which is the basis for the petition is an automotive product within the meaning of the Act, (b) whether there is dislocation of a significant number or proportion of the workers, or a threat thereof, and (c) the role of the operation of the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement in causing such dislocation or threat thereof.

The regulations of the Board apply to this form. Copies of the regulations are available at the local State employment security agency offices or may be obtained from the Board.

Return an original and three copies to: Chairman, Automotive Agreement Adjustment Assistance Board, % U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212.

Section 1. All questions in this section must be answered. (For additional instructions see last page.)

1. Petitioner—Name and address.

a. Person filing: Douglas A. Fraser, Director, UAW Chrysler Department, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214, Telephone 926–5481.

b. If petition filed by a union give name and address of union: International Union, UAW (same address as (a)) and its Local Union 7, 1551 Hart, Detroit, Michigan 48214, Telephone VA 2–1744.

c. If petition is filed by a group of workers, other than a union, describe the group briefly and give the names and addresses of three members of the group.

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2. Employer—Name and address: Chrysler Jefferson Plant, 12200 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, ZIP 48215.

3. Automotive Product—Name or describe the automotive product—i.e. the motor vehicle or fabricated component to be used as original equipment in the manufacture of motor vehicles—forming the basis for the petition. If the product is a part or component and if known, give the manufacturer's part number and indicate the make of the vehicle in which it is used: Automobiles: Dodge Polara and Dodge Monaco.

4. Dislocation—If there were or are scheduled concentrations of dislocation on specific dates, indicate dates, and number of workers affected. If actual data are not available, make estimates and indicate the basis of each estimate:

Type	Date dislocation began or is threatened	Number of workers affected in establishment		
		Producing named article—		Workers in other subdivisions unemployed because of lack of work in the affected subdivision
		Unemployed	Underemployed or working short weeks	
Actual dislocation	Jan. 23, 1967	1,038		

b. If the dislocation noted in 4a involves a layoff, indicate the type of layoff: Permanent ----; Indefinite ----; or Definite ---- for a duration of ---- weeks.

5. Basis of Petition—Describe fully the basis for your belief that the operation of the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement has been a factor in causing, or threatening to cause, the dislocation. Include or attach all available evidence:

The 1966 model Dodge Monaco was manufactured at the Company's Jefferson and Belvidere Plants. Its 1966 model Dodge Polara was manufactured at three U.S. plants plus its Windsor, Ontario Plant.

Its 1967 model Dodge Monaco and Dodge Polara are scheduled for production in only two plants—the Belvidere and Windsor, Ontario plants. This means that the Jefferson Plant has neither the 1967 Dodge Monaco nor the 1967 Dodge Polara and that the Windsor plant now has a much larger share of the Polara than it previously had, plus having the Monaco for the first time.

This rescheduling of production from the Jefferson Plant to the Windsor Plant was caused by the Act.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, things may well be worse than anyone in the Congress knows. I do not have all the facts on the operation of this agreement. The administration has chosen to bottle up the facts. Although the agreement has been in operation for more than 2 years, and although the law clearly requires an annual report on the working of the agreement, no such report has as yet been filed with the Congress.

There have been many strange ways to broaden, widen, and deepen the credibility gap. Why has the legal requirement of a report been flouted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, a great deal is said these days about the power and prestige of Congress. We have just completed a long and detailed study of congressional organization and procedures, Many lament the loss of power by Congress and the consequent enhancement of the power of the Executive. This agreement clearly shows one reason for congressional loss of power and prestige. Although the Congress was shortcircuited and ignored when this agreement was negotiated, it, nevertheless, acquiesced and approved this unwise agreement. What reason is there to be confident of a more thorough congressional job of weighing the facts when the matter comes up for review? Too many recommendations from the White House are followed without conscientious study, particularly if backed by pressure from the business community.

We have, unfortunately, not developed any regularized procedure for Presidential consultation with the Congress in policymaking. But the Congress is certainly not without weapons to force the President to consult with it before rushing pellmell into any given course of action. Admittedly, it is difficult to stop a process in midstream. Once the President has embarked on a line of policy action, it is difficult to reverse that action. For this reason, the Congress must pay more attention to policymaking in advance of Executive commitments.

A strong-willed President may not consult with Congress, and often will not heed such unsolicited advice as he may receive.

We have the weapons, but do we have the will? It takes a certain amount of individual interest and intestinal fortitude on the part of Senators. A deep interest in the public welfare and an independence of judgment are necessary.

This agreement comes up for comprehensive review not later than January 1, 1968. At the least, let us prepare for that review. Perhaps by then we may even have a report from the President on the operation of the agreement. Why do we not already have it? The law requires it. But there is more that can be done, and now. The facts already emerging, which were clearly foreseen, are sufficient to justify repeal. I send to the desk for appropriate reference a bill which so provides. Unless action is taken, more thousands of our automobile workers will be unemployed.

Where is Walter Reuther?

Why have we heard nothing from George Meany?

Where are the congressional friends of labor?

It is time for action, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1265) to repeal the authority of the President to proclaim modifications of the Tariff Schedules of the United States under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 and to terminate modifications of such schedules heretofore proclaimed under authority of such acts, introduced by Mr. GORE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I wish to commend my distinguished colleague from Tennessee, Senator GORE, for his action this afternoon with regard to the United States-Canadian automotive agreement and on his questions about why the annual report, required by law, after 26 months has not been delivered to the Congress.

I filed my own report on February 15, 1967, in a speech to the Senate because the bureaucracy ignored and continues to ignore section 502 which stipulates an annual report to the Congress. The agreement is in default with the government which spawned it. Now, Senator GORE has introduced a bill to repeal the implementing legislation of the United States-Canadian automotive agreement.

Senator GORE asks where labor is with their protests and where are the friends of labor in the Congress. Ought they not protest this agreement or at least the lack of a report?

There are, as of the end of January 1967, 870,000 employees—wage and salary—in the automotive industry. This figure includes the automotive plants as well as parts manufacturers—with the exception of employees in these industries: tires, tubes, glass, electrical equipment, lights and batteries. How many of these 870,000 men and women and their families are wondering if they will have jobs in 3 weeks, 6 months or a year?

Although 1,170 men have lost jobs as a result of the operation of the agreement, where is the voice of labor? Have the United Autoworkers with their counterparts in Canada brought the Canadian employee's wage scale up to our standards? Have they insisted that if we in the United States are to compete in this industry with the cards stacked against us, their brothers should be paid as much as our people? There is still a 40 cents an hour wage differential between the Canadian autoworker and the U.S. worker.

The automotive companies, what are they doing? Instead of complaining that safety standards are contributing to problems of production and loss of sales, these automotive companies had better take another look at the United States-Canadian automotive agreement which they so vigorously sought.

Maybe the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], is right that we should repeal this agreement even without a report. There are many side effects and damaging ramifications to this agreement: First, that it is a lopsided arrangement for price fixing with guarantees for Canadians and none for the United States; second, that it was designed to create unemployment; third, that it adds further to our world balance-of-payments deficit; fourth, that it required a waiver from our general agreement on tariffs and trade; fifth, that it is merely a replacement of the illegal Canadian rebate scheme; sixth, the agreement went into effect under Executive order even though implementation by the Congress came a full 10 months later. Another ramification of this United States-Canadian automotive agreement I will put in the form of a question: What effect will this have on the truckers and the U.S. motor carriers? Pending before the ICC is a favorable recommendation that Canadian truckers—paid below our wage scale—and Canadian carriers be allowed to haul cars, trucks, buses, and chassis assembled at a Ford plant in Canada to seven States in the United States, even though U.S. carriers and truckers are allowed to move only to the Canadian border.

Mr. President, the senior Senator from Indiana joins with the senior Senator from Tennessee, Senator GORE, today, in his protests and say once again—we had better have that report.

SAWTOOTH NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, for appropriate reference, I introduce, on behalf of myself and my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN], a bill to create a Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho.

The purpose of this legislation is to assure preservation of the upland Sawtooth Mountains as wilderness, and to protect the scenic, historic, pastoral, fish and wildlife, and the other recreational values of one of the most uniquely beautiful areas of the American West.

How best to accomplish this has been a lively argument for several years, and it was not until last year that sentiment crystallized in favor of a national recreation area for the Sawtooths.

Historically, many Idahoans and Government officials have urged this pristine area be made a national park. Bills proposing such a park have been introduced in Congress by the distinguished Senator James P. Pope and the late, great Senator William E. Borah. Early sessions of the Idaho Legislature memorialized Congress for a national park in the Sawtooths. During the 88th Congress, I introduced a bill calling for creation of a Sawtooth Wilderness National Park, but my purpose was to provide a vehicle for a thorough feasibility study of the area by both the Forest and National Park Services. This study revealed that the comparatively new concept of a national recreation area should be considered as an alternative to a park.

During the 89th Congress I introduced alternative bills, one for a park and one for a national recreation area. Last June, the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation conducted hearings in Idaho on both bills. Two days of testimony revealed overwhelming support for the national recreation area plan as opposed to the park.

Mr. President, I, too, believe the recreation area proposal the best plan for public management of this magnificent mountain chain containing 42 snow-capped peaks of more than 10,000 feet, numerous ice-blue alpine lakes, rushing white-water streams, and majestic evergreen forests. The foreground to this mountain grandeur is formed by the Sawtooth Valley and Stanley Basin, where white-faced cattle graze in log-fenced pastures along the picturesque Salmon River. Scattered ranch houses accentuate this authentic western setting. A national recreation area will preserve this scenic approach to the mountains by preventing unsightly commercial development of the valley lands through the procurement of scenic easements.

The high mountain country is presently administered as the Sawtooth Primitive Area by the U.S. Forest Service. To assure its preservation as wilderness, the bill calls for the Secretary of Agriculture to expedite its inclusion in the national wilderness system. The total recreation area would include around 350,000 acres. This would amount to less than 1 percent of the 20 million acres of national forest land within the State of Idaho. The Forest Service would continue as the administrative agency of the area.

Mr. President, the influx of out-of-State visitors to the vast mountain regions of Idaho has mushroomed in recent years. Thousands come from throughout the Nation to hunt and fish or boat down our wilderness rivers; others come to camp out, marvel at the spectacular scenery, or seek the mountain solitudes. The creation of a Sawtooth National Recreation Area will assure the additional facilities needed to accommodate visitors to this area—primarily to afford family-type recreation. It will also increase the economy of the State and region. Perhaps most importantly, it will guarantee the integrity of the upland wilderness, which for many years has been one of my major concerns, as it has been that of so many outdoorsmen of my State. Not only is the upland important for its beauty and recreation potential; it is also the very fountainhead of three great rivers, the Salmon, Payette, and Boise—rushing down from the snowfields to irrigate vast agricultural lands. The upper reaches of the Salmon River constitute the last remaining major nursery for the anadromous fish which fight their way up from the Pacific Ocean to spawn in the mountain shallows.

In a day when our recreational needs are burgeoning throughout the United States and when general prosperity and easier transportation move these great natural attractions closer to urban populations, we must plan well for their future. The program envisioned in this bill will allow much greater recreational use of the Sawtooths, and at the same time provide prudently for their protection.

Mr. President, I hope for early hearings and action on the bill to establish a Sawtooth National Recreation Area, and I now send it to the desk and ask that it be appropriately referred. I also ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill appear at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1267) to establish the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1267

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to assure the preservation of, and to protect the scenic, historic, pastoral, fish and wildlife and other recreational values of the Sawtooth Mountains and adjacent valley lands, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the Sawtooth National Recreation Area.

Sec. 2. The boundaries of the recreation area shall be those shown on the map entitled "Proposed Sawtooth National Recreation Area", dated April 1, 1966, which is on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter called the "Secretary") shall, as soon as practicable after the date this Act takes effect, publish in the Federal Register a notice of the establishment of the Sawtooth National Recreation Area, together with a detailed description and map showing the boundaries thereof.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall administer the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in such manner as will best provide for (1) the protection and conservation of the salmon and other fisheries, (2) the conservation and development of scenic, historic, pastoral, wildlife, and other values contributing to and available for public enjoyment, including the preservation of sites associated with and typifying the economic and social history of the American West; and (3) on federally owned lands, the management, utilization, and disposal of natural resources, such as lumbering, grazing, and mining, that will not substantially impair the purposes for which the recreation area is established.

Sec. 4. Subject to the limitations hereinafter set forth, the Secretary may acquire by purchase with donated or appropriated funds, by gift, exchange, bequest, or otherwise, such lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the recreation area as he determines to be needed for the purposes of this Act. But any property or interest within the reservation area owned by the State of Idaho or any political subdivision thereof may be acquired under the authority of this Act only with the concurrence of the owner.

In exercising his authority to acquire property by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property located within the boundaries of the recreation area and convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property within the State of Idaho under the jurisdiction of the Secretary, notwithstanding any other provision of law. The properties so exchanged shall be approximately equal in fair market value: *Provided,* That the Secretary may accept cash from or pay cash to the grantor in such an exchange in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any Federal property located within the recreation area may, with the concurrence of the agency having custody thereof, be transferred without consideration to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary for use by him in carrying out the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 5. (a) The authority of the Secretary to acquire an interest in private property by condemnation shall be subject to the provisions of this section.

(b) The Secretary shall make and publish regulations setting standards for the use of privately owned property within the boundaries of the recreation area. Such regulations shall be generally in furtherance of the purposes of this Act and shall have the object of assuring that the use and development of privately owned property is consistent with the purposes of this Act and with the overall general plan of the Sawtooth National Recreational Area. Such regulations shall be as detailed and specific as is reasonably required to accomplish such objective and purpose. Such regulations may differ amongst the several parcels of private land in the boundaries and may from time to time be amended by the Secretary.

All regulations adopted under this Act shall be promulgated in conformity with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act: No regulation shall be promulgated for any purpose described in this Act unless a public hearing has been conducted and opportunity for review has been accorded in conformity with the provisions of sections 7 and 8 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(c) To assure that private land within the boundaries of the national recreation area is used in a manner which is not detrimental to the purposes of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to procure by gift, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or otherwise, scenic easements within the boundaries of the recreation area.

As used in this Act the term "scenic easement" means the right to control the use of land (including the air space above such land) in order to protect the aesthetic values for the purposes of this Act, but shall not preclude any customary or traditional use exercised by the owner prior to the acquisition of the easement.

(d) Where an owner of private property within the exterior boundaries of the recreation area as of the date of this Act, or his heirs, desires to dispose of such property to the Federal government, the Secretary shall purchase said property at a price that shall include compensation for any decrease in the value thereof that may have resulted from the promulgation of regulations, zoning or scenic easements as a consequence of the establishment of the recreation area: Provided, however, that the provisions of this subsection shall cease to be in effect after a period of 10 years from the date of enactment of this Act.

(e) The limitations herein above set forth on the authority to condemn an interest in lands shall not apply to property which the Secretary determines to be needed for easements for access to and utilization of public property: Provided, that the acquisition for such purposes shall not exceed five per centum of the total acreage of all privately owned property in the recreation area.

Sec. 6. Nothing in this Act shall affect the applicability of the United States mining and mineral leasing laws on the federally owned lands within the recreation area, except that all mining claims located or leases issued after the effective date of this Act shall be subject to regulations the Secretary may prescribe to effectuate the purposes of this Act. Any patent issued on any mining claim located after the effective date of this Act shall recite this limitation and continue to be subject to such regulations. All such regulations shall provide, among other things, for such measures as may be reasonable to protect the scenic and esthetic values of the recreation area and to assure against pollution of the Salmon River and other streams and waters within the recreation area.

Sec. 7. Recommendations and other procedures of the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964, shall apply to the Sawtooth Primitive Area and adjacent public lands within the national forests. The Secretary of Agriculture shall comply with the requirements of Section 3 of said Act in relation to such primitive area in an expeditious manner.

Sec. 8. The Secretary may cooperate with other Federal agencies, with State and local public agencies, and with private individuals and agencies in the development and operation of facilities and services in the area in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, including, but not limited to, the restoration and maintenance of the historic setting and background of the old mining town of Atlanta and the frontier ranch-type town of Stanley.

Sec. 9. Nothing in this Act shall diminish, enlarge, or modify any right of the State of Idaho, or any political subdivision thereof, to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within the recreation area or of rights to tax persons, corporations, franchises, or property, including mineral or other interests, in or on lands or waters within the recreation area.

Sec. 10. Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction or responsibilities of the State of Idaho under other provisions of law with respect to hunting and fishing.

Sec. 11. The jurisdiction of the States and the United States over waters of any stream included in the Sawtooth National Recreation Area shall be determined by established principles of law. Under the provisions of this Act, any taking by the United States of water right which is vested under either State or Federal law at the time of enactment of this Act shall entitle the owner thereof to just compensation. Nothing in this Act shall constitute an express or implied claim or denial on the part of the Federal Government as to exemption from State water laws.

Sec. 12. Money appropriated from the land and water conservation funds shall be available for the acquisition of lands and scenic easements for the purposes of this Act. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to join my colleague, Senator Church, in introducing a bill to designate and create a Sawtooth National Recreation Area in central Idaho.

The Sawtooth Mountains have been a source of attraction ever since the first fur trappers and miners came upon them many years ago. It is difficult to describe their grandeur. They are mountains of a savage and truly awesome natural beauty, dotted with crystalline mountain lakes and green alpine meadows.

And there is great charm in the valley approaches to these mountains. Most of this country is little changed from the way it looked when originally settled. One can still capture the flavor of the old West there.

The bill we introduce proposes a recreation area in the Sawtooth country under the supervision of the U.S. Forest Service. The total area encompassed is over 360,000 acres: 195,000 now in the Sawtooth Primitive Area, about 22,000 in private ownership, 1,600 owned by the State and approximately 142,000 acres of Federal forest land available for multiple use.

Included in the boundaries of this area are unspoiled lakes such as Redfish, Stanley, Alturas, and Yellowbelly and wild reaches of the Salmon, Payette, and Boise Rivers. The area offers exceptionally fine opportunities for hiking, camping, fishing or just looking in a spectacular mountain and forest environment.

Presently, the beauty and unique western character of this environment is being threatened in some measure by subdivision of the meadows and fields near highway 93 in the Sawtooth Valley. Some of this development is incompatible with the scenic and historic integrity of the area. To protect this integrity we need regulation of developments and scenic easements.

On the valley lands we believe that grazing, typical ranching facilities and appropriately located and designed business structures and houses can be harmonized with national recreation area objectives.

The migration of salmon and steelhead trout to the headwaters of the Salmon River reaches into the proposed recreation area. The continuation of this unusual recreation resource is dependent in part on the preservation of the spawning grounds. To maintain the run, we need to protect the spawning beds.

The local economy in the Sawtooth country is dependent to a great extent on the use of commodity-type natural resources—forage, timber, minerals, fish, and game. The limited private ownership in Stanley Basin and Sawtooth Valley is essential to the tax base of rural counties. Public ownership consolidation and development management programs, therefore, must be geared to serving the maximum public benefit with the least possible negative impact on existing or potential business and on the taxing abilities of local government.

Under this bill, the land now designated as primitive area would remain primitive and in due course would be presented to Congress for inclusion in the national wilderness system. The lands outside the primitive area would undergo careful, conservation-oriented development to accommodate an increase in recreation pressure. Multiple use of the area including grazing and domestic livestock raising, public hunting and fishing, timber harvesting and other managed resource utilization would be permitted to the extent these are compatible with the objectives of the complete recreation area program. The development of mineral resources would be authorized with regulation.

Preservation of the rustic western atmosphere would be actively encouraged. Cooperative programs of State, county, and local agencies and groups would be pursued. Scenic easements to protect the lands would be acquired and easements for needed public access roads would be obtained.

Mr. President, this bill is the outgrowth of extensive consultation with concerned local interests, public hearings and liaison with Federal agencies. I believe that it represents a unique approach in its attempt to accommodate the legitimate desires of local residents with the objectives of a national recreation area. I think it is an approach that will work.

Having been a rancher myself for many years, I know what it is to be a working conservationist. And I know how seriously livestock operators take their conservation responsibilities in this day and age.

I am convinced that Idaho's mountain and valley land resources must be managed under the concept of multiple use and continued yield if our State is to develop economically and to prosper. I am equally devoted to the idea that we must preserve and protect our natural heritage. These two necessities, if wisely handled, are not incompatible. I think the establishment of Sawtooth National Recreation Area will show this to be true.

AIR TRANSPORTATION AND AIRPORT DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1967

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which may be known as the Air Transportation and Airport Development Act of 1967. This measure will provide for one of the greatest needs of the aviation industry today—that of overall coordination and planning for air transportation and airport development.

Mr. President, I have spoken previously about specific problems now facing the aviation industry—problems brought about by tremendous success in recent years. There is no question but that many airport facilities are inadequate and overcrowded. Congestion abounds everywhere from the access road to the parking lot, from the check-in terminal to the baggage area.

What has caused this crisis? Do our aviation people lack ideas? Do they lack the necessary technological know-how? Of course they do not. We know how to design efficient airports. We know how to provide efficient means of access transportation to and from the airports. But we do not know where—among the cities, the airport authorities, the aircraft manufacturers, the airlines, and the Federal Government—to place the responsibility for coordinated, systematic airport planning and construction.

I believe the logical place to rest this responsibility is in the Department of Transportation. My bill will establish an assistant secretary for air transportation and airport development who will head a continuing advisory commission for air transportation and airport planning and development. The commission shall consist of representatives from the aviation industry, from related government agencies, from the Congress, and others having special qualifications with respect to aviation or airport development.

The commission shall make a continuing investigation and study in the fields of commercial and private air transportation generally, including airports, for the purpose of determining and making recommendations with respect to the present and future needs of the United States in such fields. They shall also serve as an advisory agency and a clearinghouse for information in such fields to Federal, State, and local government agencies and to private industry. They will provide the overall planning for aviation and airport needs which is now lacking.

The members of the Commission, being drawn from all segments of the industry will be able to provide every type of information necessary for effective overall planning. Data will be collected. Traffic predictions and estimates of future needs will be discussed. Ideas of how to solve certain problems will be analyzed. Recommendations for different situations will be made. All of this is presently available through many associations, agencies, and industries around the country. But now it can be collected at one central point. It can be coordinated and utilized for overall planning by leaders from Government and private industry who know aviation and the problems involved.

The bill does not specify who shall serve on the Commission other than the Assistant Secretary, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency and the Director of the Civil Aeronautics Board. However, I would suggest that the remainder of the 15-man Commission come from the aircraft manufacturers, the commercial airlines, the airline pilots, the general aviation industry, the airport operators and city planners, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and those Members of Congress who are directly involved with legislation dealing with air transportation and airport development.

Mr. President, tomorrow's air transportation problems can be monumental or, because of today's planning, they can be inconsequential. I sincerely hope that this bill to establish an advisory commission for air transportation and airport planning and development will receive hearings and a thorough study. I hope that in 10 years we may be able to say that we recognized the problems, we foresaw a future crisis, and we avoided it by a continuing program of coordinated planning.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The bill (S. 1271) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1271

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Air Transportation and Airport Development Act of 1967".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds that the existing National Aviation System within the United States is rapidly becoming inadequate to meet the present and future needs of the air transportation system under the Federal Aviation Act; that there is a need of coordination and overall planning assistance in developing and maintaining such a system beyond that provided under the existing laws; that there is a primary responsibility in the Federal Government to provide the necessary coordination and cooperation with State and local governments and other elements of the aviation system.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION FOR AIR TRANSPORTATION AND AIRPORT DEVELOPMENT

SEC. 3. (a) Section 3(c) of the Department of Transportation Act is amended by striking out "four Assistant Secretaries" and inserting in lieu thereof "five Assistant Secretaries".

(b) One Assistant Secretary in the Department of Transportation shall be designated the Assistant Secretary of Transportation For Air Transportation and Airport Development. All functions of the Secretary of Transportation relating to air transportation (including airports) shall be carried out through such Assistant Secretary.

ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR AVIATION PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary of Transportation shall appoint an Advisory Commission for Air Transportation and Airport Planning and Development consisting of the Assistant Secretary of Transportation For Air Transportation and Airport Development, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, the Director of the Civil Aeronautics Board and not more than twelve other members who are persons representing the aviation industry, the Congress, Government agencies affecting such industry and other persons having special knowledge and experience or qualifications with respect to aviation. Such Assistant Secretary shall serve as chairman of the commission.

(b) Such advisory commission shall make a continuing investigation and study in the fields of commercial and private air transportation generally (including airports) for the purpose of—

(1) determining and making recommendations with respect to the present and future needs of the United States, and to promote advancement, in such fields; and

(2) serving as an advisory agency, and a clearing house for information, in such fields to Federal, State, and local government agencies and private industry.

(c) Members of such advisory commission who are not regular full-time employees of the United States, shall, while serving on the business of the commission, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary of Transportation, but not exceeding $100 per day, including travel time; and, while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, members may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(d) The terms of all commission members except those named specifically in section 4 shall be staggered and shall not exceed four years.

(e) The Secretary of Transportation shall engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out the functions of such advisory commission, and the Secretary shall, in addition, make available to the advisory commission such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance and such pertinent data prepared by the Department of Transportation as the commission may require to carry out its functions.

(f) In carrying out its functions pursuant to this section, such advisory commission may utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government, in accordance with agreements between the Secretary of Transportation and the head of such agency.

(g) Such advisory commission shall make an annual report to the Secretary of Transportation and the Secretary shall forward such report, with his recommendations, to the President and the Congress. Such report shall include a review of the advisory commission's activities pursuant to this section during the year and the commission's recommendations determined pursuant to subsection (b).

(h) There are authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

ARMED FORCES IMPROVEMENTS ACT OF 1967

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill entitled the "Armed Forces Improvement Act of 1967." It provides for the early transition to a fully voluntary military manpower procurement system by means of the further improvement, upgrading and strengthening of the Armed Forces of the United States. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD, as requested by the Senator from Oregon.

The bill (S. 1275) to provide for the early transition to a fully voluntary military manpower procurement system by further improving, upgrading, and strengthening the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. HATFIELD, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, the debate over our present system of military conscription has been continuing since the draft was initiated in 1940. It has had strong supporters, such as General Hershey who sees the draft as the only possible method of meeting military manpower needs and its vehement detractors, such as the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg who, in 1940 described it as "repugnant to the spirit of democracy and the soul of republican institutions."

Recently, the focus of the debate on the draft has shifted from an attack on, and defense of, this system to an argument concerning the best method of eliminating the many inadequacies in our current draft law. The pertinent question has become "What system of military manpower recruitment best meets today's realities and needs?" The answer to this question lies in the identification of a system that is based on the following criteria. This system must: First, preserve the maximum amount of individual liberty and freedom from unjustified intrusion by the government; second, be fair in its application so that every young man receives equal treatment and no young man is required to make sacrifices that are not demanded of his peers; and third, the system must provide for maxium national security and must economically provide the armed services with the needed quantity and quality of men.

It can very definitely be shown, I believe, that the current draft system does not adequately meet this criteria. I feel very strongly that each man has a moral obligation to serve his country, but he must be granted the freedom to accept his responsibility and the right to determine what form his service shall take. Anytime a man is forced, against his wishes, into military service his individual liberty and freedom of choice have been denied. Daniel Webster spoke against a draft proposal in 1814:

> The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered, and depotism embraced in its worst form.

The surrender of this right to liberty can only be justified when there is no other alternative to conscription and when it is absolutely necessary for national survival. There have been periods in our history when, perhaps, conscription was the only alternative to destruction. But circumstances have changed and forcing men into service is no longer the only alternative in meeting military manpower needs.

The draft does not meet the second criterion of just and equal application to all young men. The inequities of the draft have been much discussed and well documented. Critics have pointed to the inequities of college deferments that discriminate in favor of the wealthier and brighter young men who can stay in school until they are 26. According to Thomas Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense, of the men reaching age 26 as of June 1964, only 40 percent of the college graduates had served while 60 percent of the college dropouts, 57 percent of the high school graduates and 50 percent of the non-high-school graduates had been required to serve.

Also criticized have been deferments that excuse from draft liability those who can obtain an occupational or hardship deferment, those with criminal or unacceptable moral backgrounds, and those who marry young. And the nature of the Selective Service System, itself, has produced inequities. The 4,084 local draft boards have been granted great latitude in interpreting and administering draft regulations and this lack of clear and nationally uniform standards has led to situations where cases with similar circumstances have been handled entirely differently in various parts of the country.

But the most basic inequity of the current draft system, and an injustice that is often camouflaged by listings of specific inequitable policies, is the fact that a smaller and smaller minority of our young men is carrying the burden of national defense. The principle of universal sharing of the national defense responsibility, upon which the present system was sold to the public years ago, is a transparent falsehood today. Currently, only about 46 percent of the men reaching age 26 have seen military service. By 1974, at pre-Vietnam force levels, only 34 percent of those reaching age 26 will be required to serve. Even under current crisis conditions, the military drafts only about 300,000 men a year out of a draft-eligible manpower pool that totals nearly twelve and a half million.

This manpower surplus has spawned the many inequities of the current draft system by eliminating the feasibility of requiring all young men to share the burden of insuring national security. We cannot tolerate the injustice of a system that capriciously requisitions 2 years out of the lives of some young men while allowing others their liberty.

The third criterion that a military manpower recruitment system should meet is that of efficiently and economically providing the armed services with the needed quantity and quality of men. It must be conceded that the current system of conscription does provide the necessary quantity or numbers of men. But even this success of the draft system must be qualified by the great costs and inefficiencies that result from this method of meeting military needs. Draftees—who have been taken from civilian life against their wishes—spend their 2 years of military service counting the days until they get out. As soon as the required period is over, they inevitably return to civilian life. Their empty bunks are filled with more draftees and the cycle continues. This high turnover is extremely inefficient and uneconomical. According to the latest figures available from the Department of Defense, the current turnover rate among draftees is about 95 percent. Since the full cost of training of a foot soldier is a minimum of $6,000, the total training cost for the draftees now serving and who will leave the service at the end of their 2-year obligation is $3 billion.

The draft, then, provides the necessary quantity of men only at great cost. But even this huge expenditure cannot buy the quality of military personnel that is needed. Since the draft was instituted, the basic nature of military strategy and technology has changed. The Universal Military Training and Service Act was designed to supply the armed services with large numbers of men, but large numbers of men in uniform are no longer appropriate to the nature of a military system centered around highly sophisticated, efficient, and technical weapons systems. As early as 1957 this new character of the military was recognized. A report to President Eisenhower, based on a study of military personnel, stated that:

> Reduced to its simplest terms, the personnel problem appears to be a matter of quality as opposed to quantity. . . . It is foolish for the Armed Forces to obtain highly advanced weapons systems and not have men of sufficient competence to understand, operate, and maintain such equipment. . . . The solution here, of course, is not to draft more men to stand and look helplessly at the machinery.

As Representative REUSS, of Wisconsin, pointed out last year, everything now indicates less and less need for a mass army and more and more need for a relatively smaller, highly trained, professional force. The draft is not designed to satisfy this new need, and, in fact, operates to frustrate it. The greater degree of weapons sophistication calls for a higher percentage of specialized personnel. This in turn requires greater professionalization which is obtained through extensive training and extended terms of service. But draftees, serving against their will, are in for 2 years and then inevitably leave before the months invested in specialized training can be effectively put to work.

Another consequence of the high turnover among draftees is the undermining of our military strength and the weakening of our national security. Gen. Lynn Smith has stated that 43 percent of the Army at any given time has less than 1 year's experience and, according to the general, the acknowledged basic problem of the Army today is too much personnel turbulence. By the time a unit is sufficiently experienced and able to operate as a team, the trained men leave, are replaced by green trainees and the cycle starts all over again.

It has been clearly demonstrated, I believe, that the current draft system does not allow the maximum amount of personal liberty; does not apply equally to all young men; and does not economically provide the type of personnel needed by the military.

President Johnson has proposed that the manpower requirements of the armed services be met through a lottery. Under this system, the necessary number of draftees would be selected on a random basis from a pool of draft-eligible 18-year-olds. Does this attempt to doctor the draft bring it any closer to meeting the criteria necessary for an effective military manpower procurement system?

First, this method does not alter the fact that forcing young men into military service—regardless of the procedure used in selecting who shall be drafted—still contradicts our traditional belief in the right of the individual to personal liberty and freedom from government interference. The lottery just makes this denial of liberty a little more arbitrary.

Second, this method of selecting who shall serve does not alleviate the basic injustice of the draft, but merely treats some of its symptoms. The lottery approach, if accompanied by other reforms, could reduce some of the inequities currently found in the deferment system and in the lack of uniform administration of the draft laws by the thousands of local draft boards. But it does not remedy the basic inequity of the draft; the injustice of forcing one man to serve while another is allowed his liberty. As Bruce Chapman questioned in his book "Wrong Man in Uniform," is injustice handed out by a machine any more tolerable than injustice handed out by other men? Chapman's strongest criticism of a lottery system "is that it would not come to grips with the new manpower facts of the nation and the military, that a smaller and smaller percentage of young men would be forced to sacrifice for the balance. Since pure chance, neither reasonable nor compassionate, would choose the draftee, the lottery would also be supremely callous, a dehumanizing, frivolous, Government-sponsored game of Russian roulette."

Finally, the lottery method of determining who shall serve in no way reduces the inefficiency or costliness of the draft, does not increase the quality of military personnel, and does not strengthen our national security.

The lottery approach is a patchwork proposal designed to cover some of the gaping holes in the fabric of military conscription but it does little to retailor the flaws in the basic design of the draft.

Let us measure one more method of military manpower recruitment against the criteria that has been established. Let us consider how well a voluntary system of meeting manpower needs meets the standards by which we judged—and rejected—the other manpower procurement systems. First, a volunteer system provides maximum individual liberty and freedom of choice. No one would be forced to serve in the Armed Forces against his will.

Second. A voluntary military would eliminate the inequities of the current draft system. Those men who assumed the burden of insuring our national security would do so willingly. Gone would be the injustices of the deferment system, and gone would be the inequities created by the lack of uniform policy in the nation's 4,000 local draft boards.

Third. The volunteer system of manpower recruitment must meet the criterion of providing for maximum national security and for the efficient and economical supplying of the necessary quantity and quality of men.

It is difficult to project with any accuracy the potential cost for a volunteer or professional armed forces. Even the Secretary of Defense is unable to estimate with any consistency the price tag of a volunteer military. His predictions have ranged from $4 to $20 billion.

In estimating the cost of a volunteer service, the increased expense of raised pay scales and improved benefits must be weighed against the economies that would result under this system. The report issued following the 1957 study of military personnel estimated that more realistic pay scales would increase enlistments and would allow a 10-percent cutback in maintenance technicians as higher morale and better training would reduce damage to technical equipment. The total possible savings estimated by this report, if its recommendations had been followed, were $2.8 billion in 1960 and $5 billion in 1962. These would have been substantial savings and strongly suggest that economies would be realized under and effective volunteer system.

Perhaps the largest economy of a volunteer military would be the reduced cost of high turnover. The current draftee turnover rate is nearly 95 percent while the turnover rate is about 15 percent for career men. If this reenlistment rate of 85 percent could be maintained in an all-volunteer force, the savings in the cost of training new inductees would be considerable. And, there is another side to the picture. We are spending 25 percent of our military effort to train men who do not stay. A reduction in trainees through lowered turnover rates would mean a corresponding reduction in the number of instructors and training facilities it is now necessary, and costly, to maintain. Further economies could be made through a reduction in the size of the military forces, and therefore, a reduction in the number of men necessary to train. A smaller armed service could be achieved by the substitution of civilians for military personnel in noncombatant positions. Representative

THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, has estimated that it costs the Government $18,000 to keep one soldier for a year. Hiring a civilian to replace this soldier in such functions as storeroom clerk, maintenance man, or typist would be considerably less expensive.

The substitution of civilians for military personnel would not only lower costs but would reduce the size of the Armed Forces and thereby reduce the number of men necessary to recruit. Another step that should be taken to insure that a volunteer system of military manpower procurement was able to recruit the necessary number of volunteers, would be to accept the large number of young men who now try to volunteer and who would like a military career but who are currently rejected because of slight physical or educational deficiencies. Through additional and specialized training programs, these men could become productive members of the armed services.

The recruitment of the necessary quantity of men to meet military manpower needs would be further assured under a voluntary enlistment system because of the fewer servicemen that need to be replaced due to lowered turnover rates.

Finally, steps taken to increase the benefits and status of a military career and to make it competitive with opportunities in private industry, would attract increased numbers of volunteers.

A voluntary military recruitment program is not only economically feasible, and capable of producing the necessary number of recruits, it can also provide the quality of military personnel that is vital to the sophisticated and technical nature of the armed services. The lengthened periods of service would result in a better trained force more capable of operating complicated modern weapons. These career soldiers would take greater pride in their work, would function more efficiently and professionally, and as the foundation of our national defense system, they would increase our national security.

A voluntary armed services program, then, could meet the necessary criteria for an effective military manpower procurement system. But it must pass one more test. The critics of a voluntary military have stated that such a system would not be adequately flexible during times of crisis. I submit that it would be more flexible and, in conjunction with a strengthened Reserve and National Guard, would be better able to respond to an emergency situation than is the current draft system.

According to Gen. Lynn Smith, 43 percent of the Army at any given time has less than 1 year's experience. In an emergency situation are we willing to risk the possible consequences of committing these inexperienced troops? In the past, when confronted with crises that required a rapid buildup of military strength, the Defense Department has declined to use draftees but has called up the Reserve Forces. During the Korean war more than 600,000 World War II veterans were called back while 1,600,000 young men of draft age were not called. During the Berlin crisis, 150,000 reservists were called to active duty while the draft calls were enlarged only by several thousand. There would likely be much less reluctance to commit an experienced and well-trained armed service in times of crisis. A voluntary and professional military force, with a strengthened Reserve, could respond more quickly and effectively to a crisis than can the present system.

A volunteer military manpower recruitment system would work But for such a system to be given a chance to prove its merit, we must dispel the myth that the draft, however undesirable, is inevitable. We must be willing to accept the challenges of new realities and have the foresight and confidence to accept logic over habit and reason over the retarding security of tradition.

A volunteer military is a workable alternative to conscription.

The bill (S. 1275) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1275

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Armed Forces Improvement Act of 1967".

CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds that—

(1) the Armed Forces of the United States can be materially improved and strengthened by increasing and improving the economic and educational benefits of the members thereof, by elevating the status of military personnel generally, and by developing and maintaining a system of manpower procurement based on the free choice of the individual rather than on involuntary service;

(2) the present system of military manpower procurement, which is based primarily on conscription, is an undesirable infringement on individual liberty; militarily inefficient; inherently inequitable to draft age Americans; and productive of low morale in the Armed Forces;

(3) transition to a fully voluntary military manpower procurement system should be commenced immediately and completed not later than July 1, 1968; and

(4) authority to induct persons into military service under the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended, therefore, should be extended only until July 1, 1968.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTIVES RELATING TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES

SEC. 3. (a) The President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretaries of the military departments shall exercise the authority vested in them by law to provide for the military manpower needs of the nation and for the improvement of the Armed Forces through a voluntary program of enlistments. In the exercise of such authority, the Secretaries of the military departments shall, under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of Defense, specifically provide for:

(1) the inducements necessary to take fullest advantage of career selection motivations in attracting persons to military careers;

(2) the adjustment of physical induction standards to accommodate volunteers who cannot meet the physical requirements necessary for combat service but who can meet those physical requirements necessary for noncombatant service;

(3) the adjustment of the mental induction standards to accommodate volunteers who have inadequate educational backgrounds but who have the aptitudes and capabilities to overcome their educational deficiencies through special courses conducted as part of their military training;

(4) the improvement and expansion of the program for utilizing civilian personnel in lieu of military personnel for noncombatant service;

(5) the improvement and expansion of in-service educational opportunities at the technical, vocational, and college levels;

(6) the improvement and expansion of programs under which the education of specialists, such as doctors and dentists, is paid for by the Armed Forces in return for an obligated period of military service by the person receiving the educational assistance;

(7) the improvement and expansion of officer training programs, particularly programs to facilitate the qualifying and training of enlisted members who wish to become officers;

(8) the reduction of time-in-grade and time-in-service requirements for promotion eligibility of enlisted military personnel;

(9) the improvement and expansion of the reenlistment bonus program;

(10) the improvement and expansion of social, cultural, and recreational facilities for military personnel;

(11) the institution of any other appropriate actions designed to upgrade the conditions of service and the status of military personnel generally.

(b) Not later than April 1, 1968, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the Congress a detailed report regarding the operation of the voluntary system of meeting the military manpower needs of the Nation and for the improvement of the Armed Forces, and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation to improve such system as he deems appropriate.

INCREASE IN PAY RATES OF CERTAIN ENLISTED GRADES

SEC. 4. (a) The table prescribing pay rates for enlisted members of the uniformed services in section 203(a) of title 37, United States Code, is amended by striking out the column prescribing the rates of pay for two or less years of service, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"2 or less
"299.40
262.20
230.40
198.60
151.80
130.50
126.90
120.60"

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) of this section shall become effective on the first day of the first calendar month beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON IMPROVEMENT OF READY RESERVE AND NATIONAL GUARD

SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby established a joint congressional committee to be known as the Joint Committee on the Improvement of the Ready Reserve and National Guard (hereinafter in this section referred to as the committee) to be composed of six members of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and six members of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. A vacancy in the membership of the committee shall not affect the powers of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment. The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. A majority of the members of the committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that the committee may fix a lesser number as a quorum for the purpose of taking sworn testimony.

(b) The committee shall conduct a thorough study and investigation of the Ready Reserve program of the Armed Forces and of the National Guard with a view to determining what action is necessary to (1) insure that Ready Reserve and National Guard units will at all times be adequately equipped and trained to meet combat assignments, and (2) increase the attractiveness of the Ready Reserve program and the National Guard program to insure adequate manpower for each program.

(c) The committee shall report to the Senate and the House of Representatives not later than April 1, 1968, the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations as to necessary legislation and such other recommendations as it may deem advisable to achieve the purposes stated in clauses (1) and (2) of subsection (b) of this section. Ten days after making such report the committee shall cease to exist.

(d) In carrying out its duties, the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such places and times, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The committee may make such rules respecting its organization and procedures as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the committee or by any member designated by him or by the committee, and may be served by such person or persons as may be designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Members of the committee, and its employees and consultants, while traveling on official business for the committee, may receive either the per diem allowance authorized to be paid to Members of Congress or its employees, or their actual and necessary expenses provided an itemized statement of such expenses is attached to the voucher.

(e) The committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and staff employees as it deems necessary and advisable. The committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, facilities, and personnel of the departments and establishments of the Government.

(f) The expenses of the committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate from funds appropriated for the committee, upon vouchers signed by the chairman of the committee or by any member of the committee duly authorized by the chairman.

EXTENSION OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT AND RELATED ACTS

SEC. 6. (a) Section 17(c) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended (50 U.S.C. 467(c)), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1968".

(b) The Act of August 3, 1950, chapter 537, as amended (77 Stat. 4), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1968".

(c) Section 16 of the Dependents Assistance Act of 1950, as amended (50 App. U.S.C. 2216), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1968".

(d) Section 9 of the Act of June 27, 1957, Public Law 85–62, as amended (77 Stat. 4), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1968".

(e) Sections 302 and 303 of title 37, United States Code, are each amended by striking out "July 1, 1967" wherever that date appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1968".

UPGRADING DEPUTY MARSHALS

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a measure which upgrades deputy U.S. marshals to a civil service pay classification level that is commensurate with the job and duties these men discharge. My measure would also provide for the Attorney General of the United States to appoint U.S. marshals.

Mr. President, I have been informed by reliable sources in the Justice Department that the deputy marshal's service has come to what amounts to a complete standstill. This has come about for several reasons. The first is that it has now become virtually impossible to recruit qualified and capable men to fill the deputy position. Second, and perhaps an even more important problem, Mr. President, is that of poor morale within the ranks of the deputy marshals. As the situation now stands, some 200 deputies have been promoted to a working grade of GS–8, while the rest of the deputies—and I might add, the majority—have remained in their present grade of GS–7. I personally know of several instances, Mr. President, where seniority or dedication to the job has made little difference regarding promotion.

I wish to point out that deputy U.S. marshals make up the oldest law enforcement agency in our country. The Marshal Service is truly the backbone of law enforcement in our country today. No other single agency in our system of government performs a wider and more diverse range of duties.

Deputy U.S. marshals, as subordinate officers to the U.S. marshals, perform highly responsible and extremely hazardous tasks associated with the enforcement of Federal laws. As directed by the marshal, it is the responsibility of the deputy to carry out the orders of the U.S. Federal judges and commissioners, which includes the servicing of civil and criminal processes, making arrests, transporting prisoners, maintaining order in Federal courtrooms, conducting sales, and preparing necessary statements, reports, and correspondence relating to these duties. Moreover, many dangerous and difficult assignments and situations are daily encountered in performing these duties. The daily functions of the deputies demand an exercise of independent judgment, tact, and discretion at all times.

Here I wish to point out that these duties involves arduous physical exertion requiring both sound mental health and physical vigor. Consequently all deputies are required to undergo an annual physical examination before entry into the marshal's service, and must remain physically qualified at all times.

Deputies must either qualify in specialized experience or general experience as provided for by the Department of Justice for the initial appointment. Experience as provided for includes active duty as a regularly employed police officer of an organized Federal, State, county, or municipal organization, member of a governmental organization engaged in criminal investigative work which requires the use of firearms and includes the power of arrest or in lieu of this, an educational substitution in an accredited law school.

Let me be concrete in illustrating the degree of inequities which exist for these hard-working deputies. The entrance rate, at GS–6, is $5,867; at the end of a year, the promotion to first step of GS–7 results in a pay of $6,451. By contrast, a rookie policeman in the District of Columbia starts at $6,700: more than the deputy marshal receives after a year. At the end of his first year, the rookie District of Columbia officer receives $7,040, which is within a few dollars of the deputy's pay after the promotion to GS–8, which as I have said is the exception rather than the rule. After 5 to 6 years, the District of Columbia policeman will receive about $8,400: which is more than the deputy marshals will ever receive under the existing situation.

I say to my colleagues here in the Senate, Mr. President, it is not in the best interest of the Nation's law enforcement agencies—nor is it in the best protective interest of the general public as a whole—to let this inequity linger on until these men are forced to leave the service and find employment elsewhere in order to acquire a livable income for their families and loved ones.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1277) relating to the appointment of U.S. marshals and the appointment and promotion of deputy U.S. marshals, introduced by Mr. HARTKE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

THE STEALING OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY SHOULD BE STOPPED THROUGH THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF THE USE OF TAX-FREE MUNICIPAL BONDS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I would like to draw the attention of the Senate to the abuse by municipalities of encouraging industry to relocate their businesses and plants in their area through the use of tax-free municipal bonds.

Thirty-four States now allow by law the issue of municipal industrial development bonds to lure an industry into its locality. Any legally constituted county, city, or village can do this. All that needs be done is for the town fathers to make an agreement to issue bonds in the community's name to pay for a plant which a corporation agrees to erect.

The plant is then paid for by money derived from the sale of the community's bonds. The next step involves leasing or selling the plant to a corporation. The terms usually cover the principal, interest, and costs of floating the bond issue.

Since these are municipal bonds, the interest is Federal tax free, and so the holder of the bond has a windfall, too. As the result, the bonds sell at a lower interest rate than most credit worthy corporations can issue. In turn, this additional saving helps the community to subsidize a company which might be induced to move into the area.

In addition, the town does not have to worry about the reliability of their bonds, since the corporation's credit backs them. As the result, any town or group of citizens can float revenue bonds because repayment is guaranteed by the business which will use the facility. The money derived from the sale, rent, or lease of this building will pay off the bond within the time prescribed.

The tax free municipal bond was authorized by the Federal Government to be used mainly as a Federal subsidy in underdeveloped regions for the erection of public facilities. These facilities are supposed to be schools, roads, sewers, hospitals, and the like. But I do not think that many of us would support any measure which would allow the pirating of our industry by means of a system which is not fair to all. If one State allows it, then all should. By the same token, if not all the States are authorized to do so, then none should be.

Obviously, abuses are occurring to the detriment of my own State of Wisconsin. New York, Illinois, Michigan, and many others are also suffering harm.

The abuse continues further. Since most States do not impose any restrictions on the amount of local borrowing when it comes to industrial revenue bonds, the town does not endanger its borrowing capabilities for its legitimate needs through this device.

This practice allows a community to pirate an industry at a lower tax-exempt bond rate, and if the company buys some or all of these bonds, as is the case many times, the company then receives tax-free income. Thus the taxpayer's money is being used to induce industry to move from his own community to another one.

And the taxpayers throughout the country are the losers, too. The U.S. Treasury does not collect all it should because of the tax-exempt feature of the bond. We find ourselves in the curious position of seeing our industry stolen away and helping to pay the ticket at the same time.

Thus we have a federally financed subsidy for the new community, but nothing for the city which now has an empty plant, empty stores downtown, depleted bank accounts, and people who wonder what the Federal Government is going to do to them next.

Let me bring this point closer to home—my home. Several years ago, a leading manufacturer in Milwaukee, Wis., the Cutler Hammer Corp., moved part of its operation to Kentucky. There they were presented with a brand new plant worth $6.5 million, derived from the sale of an industrial bond issue. In addition, Milwaukee lost 750 skilled jobs worth $5 million in annual payroll.

To develop this point a bit further. In most cases, obviously the area which loses is industrial. The argument goes that since they are highly industrialized one small plant leaving town will not hurt.

> After all—

The recipient community says—

> isn't your job to help develop the country as a whole?

Well, gentlemen, this should be the case. However, we have been talking about the problems of the cities of our nation in Congress for many years. The answers always seem to escape us, and the problem grows larger every year. The industrial base becomes depleted in our urban areas like Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, and many others. Meanwhile, we have the continual migration of unskilled workers from the distressed and depressed areas to the cities, looking for jobs which no longer exist, creating bigger and worse problems than before. The exporting area benefits through the shipment of its unemployment problem to a city which has more problems than it can handle in three generations, much less one. And the problem becomes compounded by the movement of industry and jobs—which these unfortunate people need—to another part of the country.

The error is further compounded when one realizes that competition suffers. Whenever a corporation can be presented with a new plant, resulting in a more efficient operation, at a cost substantially lower than before, its competition will have to fight them or join them. If they decide to join them—they do have to stay in business—then a greater influx results. More and more corporations head for the hills, taking their bankrolls with them, leaving behind bitterness and unemployment.

Nevertheless, this does not always work to the advantage of the pirate. I am aware that, in some cases, a business will move every few years in order to avail itself of another good deal elsewhere. I was told by an employee of one of our agencies, of the cases of the cut and sew operation in a small town in the South which picked up its machines and inventory and disappeared over the horizon during a 3-day weekend. In this instance, nobody but the business was the gainer. I think the abuses caused by this kind of operation would also be curtailed by a change in our laws.

In the long run, as a matter of fact, only the corporations stand to gain by these devious devices. In time every community and every State will offer larger and larger inducements to industry until the lure is the same, or until we all get smart enough to stop bidding against each other.

The tax loophole should be closed immediately. In 1951 only two States, Mississippi and Kentucky, authorized the issuance of municipal industrial development bonds. Before 1951 only $6 million of these bonds had been issued.

This changed by 1960. Twelve States were authorized to do so by then, and they floated $47 million in issues.

Fourteen more States joined in by 1963 and $144 million had been issued in bonds.

Now we have 34 States joining the fray, with more to come. It is estimated by the Investment Bankers Association that these issues will total between $500 million and $1 billion for the year 1966. This represents 127 separate issues.

It is ironic that eight issues represented two-thirds of the total bonds issued. Under the criteria of the Economic Development Administration, only two were in areas classified as depressed or distressed—that is, areas of substantial or persistent unemployment or where the median family income was below $2,264. Of the nine corporations which were subsidized, seven were listed on the New York Stock Exchange—hardly a place for a new or emerging businesses. One of the nine was listed on the American Exchange and only one was not listed on either the New York or American Exchanges.

The conclusion has to be; therefore, that these tax exempt municipal industrial bonds are not being used for the purpose for which they were authorized. On the contrary, they are being used for the corporations who need them the least, and for the communities which can afford other kinds of financing. If we were talking about creating new jobs in areas of distress, areas of low income or high unemployment, some defense might be made for it.

My colleagues in the House of Representatives, HENRY REUSS and CLEM ZABLOCKI, have already introduced measures designed to curb this illicit traffic in jobs and tax bases.

They point out that North Carolina has bemoaned the situation which resulted in their not being able to induce eight corporations into locating in that State because they could not offer them industrial bond financing. One hundred and twenty million dollars in investment was lost to them, they say.

Soon the industrial giants of the north will join the fray. New York City is going to fight back to save its annual loss of 10,000 jobs. Michigan, Maryland, Delaware, Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas are all chiming in. Pennsylvania is asking the Federal Government to eliminate the use of these bonds so that it will not have to pass enabling legislation which will permit that State to do unto the others as has been done unto it.

Already even small communities in Wisconsin are trying to get into the whirlpool of this whiplash financing.

An article in the Stevens Point Daily Journal, Portage County, Wis., discusses how Wisconsin is moving to implement standing laws to allow the various counties to authorize county industrial development corporations. Because of competition from the other States where low-cost financing is available, Wisconsin's counties and communities are being forced into the position of competing on equal terms for the industrial base so necessary to every growing area.

I doubt whether many leaders in Wisconsin's counties would complain if all forms of low-cost municipal financing were to be outlawed. However, I am told by these same people, even while these borrowing features are being implemented, they are looked upon by their supporters as necessary evils, needed to meet competition from other States.

Mr. Roy Menzel, president of the Stevens Point Industrial Development Corp., who aided in the formation of the county group, says:

> The bigger companies were asking for this.

I imagine that Mr. Menzel has no choice but to protect his community the best way he knows how, and to fight back with the same weapons in the quickest and most effective way. The corporations in his area are quick to recognize a good deal and are right in asking for the same treatment there as is being offered elsewhere in the country.

Opposition to these lures and the bond practices have been voiced by the Investment Bankers Association, the AFL–CIO, the National Association of Counties, the Mortgage Bankers Association, the American Bar Association, the Municipal Finance Officers Association, the Securities and Exchange Commission, Victor Roterus, adviser to the Area Redevelopment Administration, and predecessor to the Economic Development Administration, and former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon. In addition, expressions of doubt have been voiced by Gardner Ackley of the Council of Economic Advisers, former Budget Director Kermit Gordon, and present Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler.

On Sunday, February 26, as reported in the Washington Post, a top expert in the Government said that the end result can only be a chaotic situation that will hamper States and localities in financing their genuine needs.

Mr. Stanley S. Surrey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for tax policy, one of the Government's top tax experts, said that misuse by localities and corporations of tax-exempt industrial bonds is spreading rapidly throughout the Nation, and that strong corporations which turn to tax-exempt bonds are accomplices with localities in distorting this privilege and forcing the Federal Government to support their enterprise improperly.

According to him, most localities are often forced to adopt this technique out of self defense against others who use it to lure industry; and that in 1960 about $41 million in tax-exempt industrial development bonds were issued by local governments or agencies, but by last year the total exceeded $500 million.

The only security behind these bonds, he said, is normally the revenue derived from the sale or lease of a plant or industrial facility to a private corporation.

This places the corporation in the position of borrowing from the public, but because the local agency has stamped its seal of approval on the bonds, the market for trading in them is tax exempt.

These bonds were originally designed for corporations willing to enter areas of high unemployment but were lacking the money to locate there. This practice is now used more and more by strong corporations able to obtain money through normal channels.

As the 1967 report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers states:

> Through the use of these (industrial developments) bonds, localities have passed to private industries the benefit of the exemption of their interest from Federal tax, in many cases without assuming any real obligation for repayment of the bonds. This questionable practice is becoming increasingly widespread, and the lack of any obligation by the locality authorizing the bonds permits proliferation without limit. The use of the Federal tax code in this fashion is inefficient and inappropriate.

I think it is time the entire issue is examined and that finally legislation is passed to curb these flagrant abuses.

To that purpose, I join my colleagues in the House in introducing companion measures to their House bills.

The first measure would abolish these bonds issued by indirection. It provides that whenever proceeds from a tax-exempt bond issue are used to construct facilities for sale or lease of private profitmaking corporations, these corporations may not deduct rental payments for the use of these facilities in figuring their Federal income tax.

The second bill takes the problem on pointblank. It removes the tax exemption from State and local bonds to the extent that the proceeds are used to construct commercial or industrial facilities for sale or lease to private profitmaking corporations. Purchasers of such bonds can be assured of the extent to which tax exemption applies through a certification procedure provided for in the bill. The bill states explicitly that the removal of tax exemption in no way encroaches upon the general privilege of States and localities to issue tax-exempt bonds for those purposes for which the bonds were originally authorized.

I ask unanimous consent that the bills be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bills will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bills, introduced by Mr. Nelson, were received, read twice by their titles, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1282

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to curb the tax-exempt financing of industrial or commercial facilities used for private profitmaking purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) part IX of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to items not deductible) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 276. CERTAIN PAYMENTS TO ISSUER OF TAX-EXEMPT OBLIGATIONS.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—No deduction shall be allowed for any amount paid or accrued (including interest on a mortgage and taxes) to a State, the District of Columbia, a possession of the United States, or any political subdivision or instrumentality of any of the foregoing, relating to the use or occupancy of an industrial or commercial facility acquired, constructed, or improved (in the whole or in part) out of the proceeds of industrial development obligations.

"(b) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) INDUSTRIAL OR COMMERCIAL FACILITY.—The term 'industrial or commercial facility' means any building or equipment—

"(A) which is or will be used primarily for the mining, manufacturing, assembling, fabricating, storing, processing, or sale of articles or commodities (including any building or equipment the use of which is incidental to such mining, manufacturing, assembling, fabricating, storing, processing, or sale), and

"(B) a substantial portion of which has been or will be sold or leased to nonpublic enterprises. Such term does not include land (or interests in land).

"(2) INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OBLIGATION.—The term 'industrial development obligation' means any obligation which is issued (whether before or after the acquisition, construction, or improvement of the industrial or commercial facility involved) by a State, the District of Columbia, a possession of the United States, or any political subdivision or instrumentality of any of the foregoing, to finance directly or indirectly the acquisition, construction, or improvement of an industrial or commercial facility, and the interest on which is wholly exempt from the taxes imposed by this subtitle. For purposes of the preceding sentence, where a State or other governmental unit borrows money through a bank loan or otherwise, such governmental unit shall be treated as having issued an obligation at the time of such borrowing."

(b) The table of sections for part IX of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"SEC. 276. Certain payments to issuer of tax-exempt obligations."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply only with respect to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act, and only in the case of amounts paid or accrued with respect to the use or occupancy of an industrial plant acquired, constructed, or improved with the proceeds of industrial development obligations issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

S. 1283

A bill to amend section 103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to remove the tax exemption for interest on State or local obligations issued to finance industrial or commercial facilities to be sold or leased to private profitmaking enterprises

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress and the purpose of this legislation—

(1) to encroach in no way whatsoever upon the rights of the States and local governments to issue for any purpose which may be a public purpose obligation the interest on which is wholly exempt from Federal income taxation, but

(2) to provide that a similar exemption will not continue to be available for subsidizing the financing of industrial and commercial facilities to be sold or leased to private profitmaking enterprises.

SEC. 2. Section 103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to interest on certain governmental obligations) is amended by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d) and by inserting after subsection (b) the following new subsection:

"(c) OBLIGATIONS TO FINANCE INDUSTRIAL OR COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—

"(1) INCLUSION IN INCOME.—Notwithstanding subsection (a) (1), where part or all of the amount which the issuing authority receives from the issuance of an obligation described in subsection (a) (1) is to be used for industrial development purposes, a like percentage of each interest installment on such obligation shall be included in gross income. For purposes of the preceding sentence, where a State or other governmental unit borrows money through a bank loan or otherwise, such governmental unit shall be treated as having issued an obligation at the time of such borrowing.

"(2) CERTIFICATION BY ISSUING AUTHORITY TO BE FINAL.—For purposes of this subsection, a certification by the issuing authority—

"(A) that no part of the amount received from the issuance of an obligation is to be used for industrial development purposes, or

"(B) specifying the percentage of the amount received from the issuance of an obligation which is to be used for industrial development purposes, shall be final and conclusive.

"(3) USE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES.—

"(A) For purposes of this subsection, an amount is to be used for industrial development purposes to the extent it is to be used to finance directly or indirectly the acquisition, construction, or improvement (whether occurring before or after the issuance of the obligation) of one or more industrial or commercial facilities.

"(B) For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term 'industrial or commercial facility' means any building or equipment—

"(i) which is or will be used primarily for the mining, manufacturing, assembling, fabricating, storing, processing, or sale of articles or commodities (including any building or equipment the use of which is incidental to such mining, manufacturing, assembling, fabricating, storing, processing, or sale), and

"(ii) a substantial portion of which has been or will be sold or leased to nonpublic enterprises.

Such term does not include land (or interests in land)."

SEC. 3. The amendment made by section 2 of this Act shall apply only to obligations issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a series of six bills to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965.

A few days ago I noted with great pleasure and satisfaction that after 1 year of experience under the landmark Immigration Reform Act of 1965, immigration to the United States from all over the world has become more evenly distributed.

This result eloquently attests to the fact that we have achieved one of the principal avowed purposes of the new law—that is, to wipe out all traces of racial discrimination from our immigration laws and policies.

A number of shortcomings, however, still exist in our basic immigration law. These shortcomings had been noted during consideration of the Immigration Reform Act in 1965, but those of us who strongly favored the law decided not to push them, because we felt that the more basic reforms should come first.

Now that these basic changes have been accomplished and have proved effective, I believe that the Congress should consider and enact corrective legislation to plug these loopholes in our laws.

By enacting these changes, we will be bringing the Immigration and Nationality Act into closer harmony with the traditional American concepts of fair play and equal justice for all under the law.

BILL TO GIVE CITIZENSHIP TO VIETNAM WAR VETERANS

First, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend section 329 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. This legislation would facilitate the naturalization of certain aliens or noncitizen nationals who have served honorably in the armed services of the United States during the Vietnam hostilities.

I have carefully considered the most appropriate date which should be specified in the bill as the date on which the Vietnam hostilities may be deemed to have begun. The date February 12, 1955, has been selected because that was when the first American military assistance group—approximately 800 members of the Special Forces—was sent to Vietnam.

As for the closing date, I have left this open and flexible and propose that this be left to the discretion of the President in view of the uncertainty of the present situation in Vietnam.

To qualify for naturalization under my bill, an alien or noncitizen national GI must have served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States in an active duty status, and have been honorably separated.

In addition, my proposal incorporates the two alternative conditions precedent already spelled out in section 329(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act—8 United States Code 1440—that is, first, at the time of enlistment or induction the serviceman "shall have been in the United States, the Canal Zone, American Samoa, or Swains Island, whether or not he has been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence"; or, second, at any time subsequent to enlistment or induction the serviceman "shall have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence."

Under the same provision, no person who was a conscientious objector, who refused to wear the uniform, or who was separated from the military service on account of alienage, may be regarded as having "served honorably" or having been separated "under honorable conditions." These requirements are retained in my proposal.

This legislation also leaves intact all other basic requirements for citizenship enumerated under chapter 2 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, such as the requirement of good moral character, allegiance to the principles of the Constitution, and the understanding of the English language.

Finally, this bill would leave unaffected an alternative procedure for the naturalization of alien GI's provided for under section 328 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Section 328 allows aliens who serve honorably in the Armed Forces for an aggregate period of 3 years following lawful admission for permanent residence to apply for naturalization.

Mr. President, section 4(a) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act—50 appendix U.S.C. 454(a)—provides that—

> Every male citizen of the United States and every male alien admitted for permanent residence, who is between the ages of eighteen years and six months and twenty-six years . . . shall be liable for training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

That law further provides that—

> Any male alien who is between the ages of eighteen years and six months and twenty-six years . . . who has remained in the United States in a status other than that of a permanent resident for a period exceeding one year . . . shall be liable for training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

The Universal Military Training and Service Act allows an alien to be relieved from liability for training and service under the act if he makes application to the appropriate authorities. But any alien who so applies "shall thereafter be debarred from becoming a citizen of the United States."

Besides induction, aliens may, under certain conditions, enter the service by voluntarily enlisting in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Under the authority of an act of June 30, 1950—64 Stat. 316—2,500 unmarried male aliens were authorized for enlistment in the Regular Army of the United States. However, Public Law 87-143, section 1(1), 75 Stat. 364, enacted August 17, 1961, provides that—

> In time of peace, no person may be accepted for original enlistment in the Army unless he is a citizen of the United States or has been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence.

Public Law 87-143, then, revokes the authority granted under the 1950 act. Aliens who did enlist under the 1950 act were exempted from the limitations of Public Law 87-143, by a law enacted by the 85th Congress—Public Law 85-116, 71 Stat. 311.

Mr. President, as of March 31, 1966, there were approximately 2,968,000 men and women serving in the U.S. Armed Forces. Of this number about 889,000 serve at the overseas bastions of the United States as protectors of freedom and democracy. Approximately half a million soldiers wearing the American uniform are now fighting in South Vietnam to stem Communist aggression in that area of the world.

While more recent figures and more inclusive statistics are not available, the Department of Defense has been able to give me the number of aliens who are serving in the U.S. Army as of July 31, 1965. Out of an approximate total of 970,000 GI's 2,005 were aliens—about twenty-seven one-hundredths of 1 percent. Of this 2,605 total, 835 aliens were inductees who were either permanent residents of the United States or who have resided in the country for 1 or more years, as required by the Universal Military Training and Service Act which I discussed earlier. The remaining 1,770 were voluntary enlistments.

Comparable figures for other branches of our Armed Forces are not available. However, the Department of Defense has assured me that the number of aliens serving in the U.S. Navy and Air Force is very, very small, and that the number serving in the Army constitutes well over 95 percent of the total number of aliens serving in all three branches of the armed services.

I feel very strongly that any man or woman wearing the American uniform, serving in the defense of our country, risking his life for the United States, should have the opportunity of immediately becoming an American citizen if they qualify. We can bestow upon them no higher honor for the great service they are rendering our Nation.

There is ample precedent for my proposal. Similar legislation was enacted previously, enabling aliens who served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II and the Korean war to qualify for naturalization, whether or not they had been admitted to the United States as permanent residents. These laws were enacted on March 27, 1942, to affect veterans of World War II, and on June 30, 1953, affecting veterans of the Korean hostilities.

Having extended the privilege of naturalization to veterans of all previous conflicts in recent history, I believe veterans of the Vietnam conflict should also be accorded these privileges.

I trust that the Congress will speedily and expeditiously enact this very meritorious legislation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill be printed at this point in the Record.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1284) to amend section 329 of the Immigration and Nationality Act in order to facilitate the naturalization of certain aliens or noncitizen nationals who have served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States during the Vietnam hostilities, introduced by Mr. Fong, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1284

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 329 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1440), relating to naturalization through active-duty service in the Armed Forces of the United States, is amended by inserting "or during a period beginning February 12, 1955, and ending on the date of the close of the Vietnam hostilities, as determined by the President," immediately after "July 1, 1955," at each place it appears in subsections (a) and (b) of such section.

(b) The section heading of such section 329 is amended to read as follows:

"NATURALIZATION THROUGH ACTIVE-DUTY SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES DURING WORLD WAR I OR WORLD WAR II, OR THE KOREAN HOSTILITIES, OR THE VIETNAM HOSTILITIES"

(c) Section 329 of the table of contents of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 329. Naturalization through active duty service in the Armed Forces during World War I or World War II, or the Korean hostilities, or the Vietnam hostilities."

BILL TO ALLOW ALIEN GI'S TO REENLIST

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, second, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act, allowing any alien who has been inducted into the U.S. Army to reenlist in the U.S. Regular Army.

Under provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, as amended by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, foreign-born persons without permanent U.S. residence status who are inducted into the U.S. military forces are prohibited from reenlisting or extending service.

My bill would render alien inductees now in the U.S. military service eligible for reenlistment by waiving this requirement of permanent residence.

In addition, my proposal leaves intact the provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act that give naturalization rights to persons who satisfy three requirements: First, have served for 3 years in the U.S. Armed Forces; second, were honorably discharged; and, third, filed naturalization papers within 6 months of his separation from the service.

Alien GI's under my proposal may qualify for naturalization under these requirements, but my bill would add a fourth requisite; he must first reenlist in the Regular Army of the United States.

All the other requirements to citizenship, such as good moral character, are, of course, retained under this proposal.

My bill would take care of requests such as those I have received from several citizens of the Philippine Republic who entered the United States as contract laborers for the U.S. Navy at Guam, and other alien GI's who have served our Nation honorably and well but who have been barred from reenlistment under present laws. Many of these alien GI's had been inducted into the U.S. Army and are now serving at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii.

All who have written to me have expressed a deep loyalty to America and see a continuance of their service in our Armed Forces as their patriotic duty to their newly adopted country.

Mr. President, I feel that this is a meritorious bill, in that the commendable impulses of persons who are of proven worth to serve the Nation should be encouraged. I believe, to paraphrase Thomas Paine, that "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom" should be given the opportunity to "undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the Record at this point.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1285) to amend section 328 of the Immigration and Nationality Act relating to naturalization through service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Fong, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1285

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 328(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1439) is hereby amended (1) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon, and (2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(4) the petitioner may be naturalized without having been lawfully admitted for permanent residence, if (A) at any time subsequent to enlistment or induction, the petitioner shall have entered the United States pursuant to official orders of the Armed Forces of the United States, and (B) the petitioner, unless ineligible, shall have reenlisted in the Armed Forces in the United States within five years after the date of expiration of the original term of service for which the petitioner had enlisted or was inducted."

Sec. 2. Section 3253(c) of title 10, United States Code, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(c) In time of peace, no person may be accepted for original enlistment in the Army unless—

"(1) he is a citizen of the United States, or

"(2) he has been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence under the applicable provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, or

"(3) he has been inducted into the Army and enlists on or before the date of the expiration of the term of service for which he was inducted, or within any period of five years immediately succeeding such date if he has resided continuously in the United States during such period."

BILL TO FACILITATE IMMIGRATION OF CERTAIN PROFESSIONAL, SKILLED, AND OTHER WORKERS

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, third, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to facilitate the immigration to the United States of aliens seeking to enter this country to perform labor of a type for which there are not sufficient workers available here.

Mr. President, long before the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 was passed by the Congress, and again during the Senate debate on that law, I presented to the Senate a rather extensive study on the immigration laws of this country.

One of the main points I made then was that the admission of more immigrants to the United States would not add to our unemployment—rather, that exactly the contrary was true.

I pointed out that only half of all the immigrants to America could have entered the work force. The overwhelming proportion of those who could work in this group were in the central age range urgently needed by our economy.

Most of these immigrants were skilled workers already trained and educated, and able to fill serious occupational shortages. High unemployment rates in this country were and still are in the unskilled occupational groups. Since most immigrants are skilled, they do not then measurably take away employment from unemployed Americans. See the Congressional Record, volume 111, part 18, pages 24446–24468.

Experience under the 1965 law has reaffirmed all of these facts. In fact, experience under the new law has proved that existing provisions of the law are unduly restrictive.

Section 212(a)(14) as presently written provides that any alien seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor is automatically ineligible to receive a visa and shall be excluded from admission into the United States.

Such aliens may be issued visas and admitted only if the Secretary of Labor determines specifically and in each case that: first, there are not sufficient workers in the United States who are able, willing, qualified, and available at the time of application for a visa and admission to the United States and at the place to which the alien is destined to perform such labor; and second, that the employment of such alien will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of the workers in the United States similarly employed.

These limitations apply to aliens in the classes described in section 101(a)(27)(A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and in paragraphs (3), (6), and (8) of section 203(a) of that act. In general these are special immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, those who are members of the professions, or persons with exceptional ability in the sciences or arts, persons capable of performing specified skilled or unskilled labor not of a temporary or seasonal nature, or persons who are nonpreference aliens.

The instant bill would revise the provisions of section 212(a)(14) so that aliens seeking to enter the United States to perform labor will no longer be automatically ineligible for visas and admission, unless the Secretary of Labor determines that there are sufficient workers in the United States able, willing, qualified, and available to perform that type of labor, or that their employment will adversely affect the wages and working conditions of the workers in the United States similarly employed.

The coverage of the revised section 212(a)(14) would apply to the same aliens as the present language of the law.

My amendment would, in effect, restore the law relating to the amendments to section 212(a)(14) made by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. Thus, except for certain changes necessary to conform with other amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act made by the act of 1965, my proposal would amend the language of section 212(a)(14) to read exactly the same as it did before the enactment of the act of 1965.

Finally, the bill would repeal the third sentence of section 203(a)(8) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which provides that no immigrant visas shall be issued to immigrants within the classes described in paragraphs (3), (6), and (8) of that section unless the consular officer is in receipt of a determination made by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to section 212(a)(14). This sentence must be repealed in order to conform with the revisions I discussed earlier which are to be made in section 212(a)(14).

Mr. President, the law as it now stands undoubtedly has impeded the flow of workers having skills and talents badly needed by our national economy and who wanted to come to America.

Moreover, I believe that this result was not intended by the Members of Congress—including myself—who had a hand in drafting the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. It is wholly inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the new law.

In far too many cases, nurses, engineers, teachers of foreign languages, chefs, scientists, and others representing a wide array of vocations have found it difficult to enter the country.

One of the primary goals of the 1965 act was to facilitate the admission of highly qualified immigrants—not to impede their entry.

I am well aware of recent steps taken by the Department of Labor to ease the processing procedure on labor clearances. But I feel that legislative action is absolutely essential to correct this unfortunate situation.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the Record at this point.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1286) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate the immigration of aliens seeking to enter the United States to perform labor of a type for which there are not sufficient workers available in the United States, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Fong, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1286

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the third sentence of section 203(a)(8) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1153), relating to the prohibition against the issuance of immigrant visas to certain aliens seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor, is hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. Section 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182), relating to the exclusion of certain aliens seeking to enter the United States to perform skilled or unskilled labor, is amended to read as follows:

"(14) Aliens seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor, if the Secretary of Labor has determined and certified to the Secretary of State and to the Attorney General that (A) sufficient workers in the United States who are able, willing, and qualified are available at the time of application for a visa and for admission to the United States and at the place to which such aliens are destined to perform such skilled or unskilled labor, or (B) the employment of such aliens will adversely affect the wages and working conditions of the workers in the United States similarly employed. The exclusion of aliens under this paragraph shall apply only to special immigrants defined in section 101(a)(27)(A) (other than the parents, spouses, or children of United States citizens or of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence), to preference immigrants described in section 203(a) (3) and (6), and to non-preference immigrants described in section 203(a)(8);".

BILL TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT BOARD OF VISA APPEALS

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, fourth, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to establish an independent board, to be known as the Board of Visa Appeals.

The first section of the bill provides for the establishment of the Board and contains necessary administrative provisions.

Under my proposal, the Board is to consist of five members who may meet within or outside the United States. The Chairman would be compensated at the second lowest level of the executive schedule—currently $27,000 annually—and the other members would be compensated at the lowest level of the executive schedule—currently $26,000.

Section 2 would provide jurisdiction to the Board to review, upon request, determinations of the United States consular officers and immigration officers refusing or revoking visas or conditional entries to aliens outside the United States.

At present, there is only a limited intradepartment review available with respect to some of these determinations. But there is no quasi-judicial board authorized to conduct any such review.

Under existing regulations, if a consular officer refuses a nonimmigrant or immigrant visa the principal consular officer or his designee reviews the case. If he does not concur in the refusal, he may refer the case to the Department of State or assume responsibility for the case himself.

Also, the Department may request a consular officer in any case to submit a report if a visa has been refused. The Department may then furnish an advisory opinion to the consular officer, but it may only issue binding rules on an interpretation of the law, as distinguished from an application of the law to the facts.

No system of administrative review appears to be provided by law or under regulations in the case of the revocation of a nonimmigrant or immigrant visa by a consular officer, or the refusal of conditional entry by an immigration officer, to an alien outside the United States.

The provisions of section 2 of the bill are self-explanatory In summary, unless the Board finds any request to be frivolous on its face, it shall proceed to review the challenged determination. Each review is to be conducted solely upon the administrative record upon which the determination is based.

The Board shall set aside as unlawful any findings of fact or conclusions of law unsupported by reasonable, substantial, and probative evidence, and any action which is an abuse of discretion or in excess of statutory authority. The Board shall compel any action of a consular officer or immigration officer found to have been unlawfully withheld.

Decisions of the Board are made binding upon the officer concerned and are not to be subject to any administrative or judicial review. This means that the Secretary of State or the Attorney General could not overturn a decision of the Board. In addition, the procedure for review set forth in section 2 is to be the exclusive means for review of determinations covered by section 2.

Section 3 of my proposal would require that consular officers and immigration officers receiving applications for nonimmigrant or immigrant visas or conditional entries from aliens outside the United States must inform these aliens of their right under this act to appeal to the Board for a review of any determinations refusing or revoking such visas or conditional entries.

Section 4 contains an open-end authorization of such sums as may be necessary to carry out the act.

The jurisdiction of the Board does not extend to any determinations with respect to: First, the approval of petitions or certificates to grant special immigrant or nonimmigrant status; second, the extension of time for the expiration of a nonimmigrant visa; or third, any orders of deportation to exclusion.

My proposal would leave undisturbed

existing provisions of the law that the Attorney General shall make the decisions of whether or not to approve petitions granting special immigrant status—for example, that of a member of the professions or a person with exceptional ability in the sciences or the arts, special nonimmigrant status, or an imported migratory worker.

Under my bill, the authority to prescribe the period of time during which nonimmigrants may stay in the United States would remain solely with the Attorney General. Also left intact is the provision that the Secretary of Labor is to make the determinations of whether or not to make the certifications necessary for the admission of aliens seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of performing skilled or unskilled labor.

In contrast, my proposal provides that only determinations made by consular officers and immigration officers are subject to review by the Board of Visa Appeals. Consequently, the Board is not granted authority to review determinations required to be made by the head of an executive department.

With respect to orders of deportation and exclusion, significant differences exist between these orders and the determinations made subject to review by the Board under my proposed bill. As most Senators know, orders of deportation are applicable only in the case of aliens actually within the United States; and orders of exclusion are applicable only to aliens arriving at the ports of the United States and seeking admission.

Under my bill, determinations which may be reviewed by the Board of Visa Appeals are applicable to aliens who are still in foreign countries.

I have also excluded orders of exclusion and deportation from the purview of my proposal, because there is already an extensive type of administrative review provided for under the Immigration and Nationality Act. Section 236 provides that a special inquiry officer may review the decision of an immigration officer to detain an arriving alien. From a decision of a special inquiry officer excluding an alien, that alien may appeal to the Attorney General, who by regulations has established a quasi-judicial board—the Board of Immigration Appeals—with appellate jurisdiction over such decisions.

In the case of orders of deportation, the present law also provides for proceedings before a special inquiry officer—section 242. Again, decisions of these officers may be appealed to the Board of Immigration Review.

In both cases the Attorney General retains authority to review the decisions of the Board of Immigration Appeals.

As I pointed out earlier, there is no review procedure before a quasi-judicial board now provided under law or regulations for decisions of consular officers and immigration officers refusing or revoking visas or conditional entries.

Furthermore, in both the case of final orders of deportation and exclusion there is specific statutory authority for the right of judicial review—section 106, Immigration and Nationality Act.

Thus, while aliens already in the United States may appeal all decisions of immigration officials to the Board of Immigration Review, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of State—all of whose decisions, in turn, are subject to judicial review—aliens outside the country have no such recourse.

More often than not, decisions of consular officers are final and not appealable.

As we are a government of laws, not of men, I feel that this is a gross inequity which my proposal would correct.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1287) to establish a Board of Visa Appeals with jurisdiction to review determinations of consular officers and immigration officers refusing or revoking the issuance of nonimmigrant or immigrant visas or refusing the granting of conditional entries to aliens outside the United States, introduced by Mr. FONG, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1287

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) there is hereby created a Board to be known as the Board of Visa Appeals (hereafter referred to as the "Board"), which shall be composed of five members, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. One of the original members shall be appointed for a term of one year, one for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of four years, and one for a term of five years, beginning from the date of enactment of this Act, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of five years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed.

(b) The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Board, and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall be responsible on behalf of the Board for the administrative operations of the Board, and shall appoint such employees as the Board deems necessary to assist it in the performance of its functions. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(c) A vacancy in the Board shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Board and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

(d) The Board shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the actions it has taken during such fiscal year and the names, salaries, and duties of all individuals in its employ and the moneys it has disbursed.

(e) The principal office of the Board shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise its powers at any other place within or outside the United States.

(f) The Chairman shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level IV of the executive schedule and the other members shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level V of the executive schedule.

SEC. 2. (a) The Board shall have jurisdiction to review, upon the request of any alien outside the United States who has applied for a nonimmigrant or immigrant visa or a conditional entry, pursuant to the Immigration and Nationality Act, all determinations of United States consular officers pertaining to the refusal or revocation of such a nonimmigrant or immigrant visa to such alien and all determinations of Immigration and Naturalization Service officers refusing the conditional entry of such alien. Every alien seeking to obtain review by the Board of any such determination shall submit a request therefor to the Board in such form and manner as the Board may by regulations prescribe; but each such request shall set forth a concise statement of the facts upon which the request is based and the grounds upon which such alien believes he is entitled to relief. No such request may be submitted to the Board by any alien later than six months after the date of the making of the determination with respect to which such alien is seeking review.

(b) Upon the filing of a request with the Board by any alien, if the Board finds that such request is frivolous, the Board shall dismiss such request and furnish notice thereof to the alien making such request. If the Board finds that any request is not frivolous, the Board shall immediately furnish notice of the filing of such request to the consular office or Immigration and Naturalization Service office where the determination in question was made and such office shall transmit to the Board a transcript of the entire record of such office pertaining to such determination. Thereupon the Board shall proceed to review the determination so presented to it. The commencement of a review under this section shall not operate as a stay of any determination subject to review.

(c) Each review under this section shall be conducted solely upon the administrative record upon which the determination of a consular officer or immigration officer is based and such officer's findings of fact and conclusions of law, if supported by reasonable, substantial, and probative evidence on the record considered as a whole, shall be conclusive.

(d) The Board shall set aside as unlawful (1) any findings and conclusions of a consular officer or immigration officer found to be unsupported by reasonable, substantial, and probative evidence on the record considered as a whole and (2) any action of a consular officer or immigration officer found to be an abuse of discretion or in excess of statutory authority. The Board shall compel any action of a consular officer or immigration officer found to have been unlawfully withheld.

(e) In carrying out its duties under this Act, the Board shall endeavor to insure, insofar as practicable, that the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be uniform and equitable.

(f) The Board shall communicate notice of its decision in each case to the alien who requested review of the determination involved in such case and to the consular office or immigration office where such determination was made. Decisions of the Board shall be binding upon the consular officer or immigration officer who made the determination concerned, and his successors, and shall be final and conclusive for all purposes and not subject to review by any other official of the United States or by any court by mandamus or otherwise.

(g) Notwithstanding any provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act to the contrary, the procedure prescribed by this section shall be the sole and exclusive procedure for the review of all final determinations hereafter made by consular officers refusing or revoking nonimmigrant, or immigrant visas to any aliens outside the United States and by immigration officers refusing the conditional entry of any aliens outside the United States.

SEC. 3. In carrying out their powers, duties, and functions under the Immigration and Nationality Act, consular officers and immigration officers to whom application is made by any aliens outside the United States for the issuance of nonimmigrant or immigrant visas or the granting of conditional entries shall inform such aliens of their right to obtain a review by the Board, pursuant to this Act, of the final determinations of such officers refusing or revoking such visas or conditional entries.

SEC. 4. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

BILL TO ESTABLISH STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS FOR DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, fifth, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which would add a new subsection to section 241 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, in order to establish a statute of limitations with respect to the deportation of aliens from the United States.

Clause (A) of the first paragraph of this new subsection would prevent the deportation of an alien who is in the United States if he has been physically present in the United States for a continuous period of 10 years or more and has been—and still is—a person of good moral character during the entire period of his residence in the United States.

This clause would primarily benefit aliens who entered the United States without inspection, or who are admitted as nonimmigrants and remain beyond the expiration date of their visas. So long as such aliens live in the United States for a continuous period of 10 years and were, and still are, good residents of their communities, they would be permitted to remain in this country.

In order for the purposes of this clause to be carried out, my proposal specifies that the mere fact that an alien does not come forward and volunteer information concerning his illegal entry to or residence in the United States shall not be used as a ground for finding that he is not, or was not, a person of good moral character.

However, if the alien is called before an official proceeding held under law of the United States and, upon making an appearance, fails to answer correctly specific questions concerning his illegal status, this conduct may be used as a ground for a finding that he is not a person of good moral character.

Clause (B) of the first paragraph of the new subsection would prevent the deportation of an alien who is in the United States if the conduct for which he is deportable occurred more than 10 years prior to the institution of deportation proceedings against him.

Thus, where an alien cannot meet the residence requirements of clause (A), he can still obtain the benefits of clause (B), if the particular conduct for which he is deportable occurred more than 10 years prior to the institution of deportation proceedings against him.

For example, an alien who has been in the United States for only 2 years may be threatened with deportation as the result of new information which has become known to the immigration officers concerning the commission by such alien of a crime involving moral turpitude prior to his entry in the United States. If the crime occurred more than 8 years before his admission to the United States, the 10-year period would be satisfied and that alien could not be deported on account of that past conduct.

In order to conform with the purposes of clause (A), aliens who are deportable because they entered without inspection or have remained in the United States beyond the time allowed by their entry documents are specifically excepted from coverage by clause (B).

This is to assure that in order for these aliens to benefit from the statute of limitations, they must be persons of good moral character during their residence in the United States. Also, since they continue to be in violation of the Immigration and Nationality Act during all the time they reside in the United States without valid entry documents, this exception merely clarifies the interpretation which should otherwise be given to clause (B); that is, that the 10-year period prescribed by clause (B) would not run out with respect to such aliens because the conduct for which they are deportable is a status which continues to attach to them during all their residence in the United States.

Finally, paragraph (3) of the subsection would provide that any alien who has not been admitted to permanent residence, but who cannot be deported under the other provisions of this subsection, shall, upon application, be considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence at the time he met the necessary requirements. If the alien is chargeable to any category described in section 203(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the visas to be issued to that category are to be reduced by one.

If an alien has lived in the United States for 10 years and has established himself in a community as a person of good moral character and respect during that entire period, then I think it only fair to permit him to remain in the country without the constant threat of deportation hanging over him, like the sword of Damocles.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1288) to provide a statute of limitations with respect to the deportation of aliens from the United States, introduced by Mr. FONG, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1288

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 241 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1251), relating to the classes of aliens who shall be deported from the United States, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"(g)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, no alien in the United States (including an alien crewman) shall, on or after the date of enactment of this subsection, be deported if—

"(A) such alien has been physically present in the United States for a continuous period of not less than ten years, and, during all of the period of his residence in the United States, has been (and still is) a person of good moral character; or

"(B) the conduct (whether or not such conduct occurred prior to or after such alien entered the United States) for which such alien is deportable occurred more than ten years prior to the institution of deportation proceedings against him; except that this clause shall not be applicable to any alien who is deportable because he entered the United States without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Attorney General or has remained in the United States beyond the expiration date of his entry document.

"(2) For the purposes of clause (A) of paragraph (1), the fact that any alien conceals or fails to disclose, at the time he entered the United States, or thereafter during the period of his residence in the United States (other than upon inquiry made in any case where such alien appears in any administrative or judicial proceeding held under any law of the United States), any matter relating to the fact that at the time he entered the United States he was within one or more of the classes of aliens excludable by law existing at such time, or that he entered the United States without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Attorney General, or that he has remained in the United States after the expiration date of his entry document, shall not be used as the basis of, or constitute a ground for, a finding that such alien is not, or was not during such period, of good moral character.

"(3) Any alien who meets the requirements of clause (A) or (B) of paragraph (1) and has not acquired permanent residence shall, upon application therefor to the Attorney General, be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date such alien satisfied such requirements. Upon the granting of permanent residence as provided for in this paragraph, the Secretary of State shall reduce by one the number of the visas authorized to be issued under section 203(a) within any class to which the alien is chargeable, for the fiscal year then current."

BILL TO REPEAL IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT PROVISIONS DISCRIMINATING AGAINST NATURALIZED CITIZENS

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, sixth, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to repeal certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act under which naturalized citizens are treated differently than native-born citizens.

The first section of the bill provides for a short title—the "Naturalized Citizens Equality Act."

The second section of the bill would amend section 340 of the Immigration and Nationality Act by striking out all provisions under which a naturalized citizen might be subject to the revocation of his naturalization solely because of the commission by him of certain acts which occur after he has procured his naturalization.

The third section of the bill would strike out sections 352, 353, and 354 of the Immigration and Nationality Act which describe certain cases in which naturalized citizens are to lose their nationality solely by reason of certain residence abroad following their naturalization. These grounds for loss of nationality do not apply to native-born citizens.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill

will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1289) to repeal certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act which unjustly discriminate against naturalized citizens of the United States, introduced by Mr. FONG, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1289

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Naturalized Citizens Equality Act".

SEC. 2. Section 340 of the Immigration and Natonality Act (8 U.S.C. 1451); relating to revocation of naturalization, is amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (a) of such section is amended by striking out the following: ": *Provided,* That refusal on the part of a naturalized citizen within a period of ten years following his naturalization to testify as a witness in any proceeding before a congressional committee concerning his subversive activities, in a case where such person has been convicted for contempt for such refusal, shall be held to constitute a ground for revocation of such person's naturalization under this subsection as having been procured by concealment of a material fact or by willful misrepresentation".

(2) Subsections (c) and (d) of such section are hereby repealed.

(3) Subsection (f) of such section is amended by striking out the following: "under the provisions of subsections (c) or (d) of this section, or".

SEC. 3. (a) Paragraph (2) of section 350 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1482), relating to dual nationals, is amended by inserting, immediately after "section 354 of this title" a comma and the following: "as each such paragraph existed immediately prior to the repeal thereof by section 3(b) of the Naturalized Citizens Equality Act".

(b) Sections 352, 353, and 354 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1484–1486), relating to the loss of nationality by naturalized citizens, are hereby repealed.

(c) Section 355 of the Immigration and *Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1487), relating to* loss of nationality through parent's expatriation, is amended by striking out "or 352".

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I am fully aware of the landmark decision rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1964—Angelika L. Schneider against Rusk—which struck down as unconstitutional a provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act that takes citizenship away from a naturalized person who returns to live in his native country for 3 years.

At the time the Court handed down *this decision, I applauded it vigorously* and pointed out that the only difference the Framers of the Constitution drew between native born and the naturalized citizen is that only the native American is eligible to be President. In all other respects, all citizens—native and naturalized alike—stand on equal footing.

While I was pleased and delighted that this injustice has been wiped off our law books—and my bill, in this respect, simply brings the law into conformity with the Schneider case—I also urged at that time that Congress act to repeal other sections of the law which, in effect, create a second-class citizenship for our naturalized citizens who are assumed to have less reliability and allegiance to this country than do the native born.

The Supreme Court rightly ruled that the rights of citizenship of the native born and of the naturalized person are "of the same dignity and are coextensive." I should point out that this is true in each respect enumerated in my proposed bill.

The Constitution does not authorize the Congress to abridge these rights. We should restore them promptly.

NATIONAL FLOOD INSURANCE ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, following the devastating flood of March 1962, I started striving to develop a workable flood insurance program. I called for a study to determine the feasibility of such a program to provide financial assistance to flood victims. After considerable effort, a provision for such a study was finally included in the Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act of 1965. On August 8 of last year, the completed study was transmitted to the President, who in turn conveyed it to Congress. This report said a flood insurance program could and should be established. It outlined a program for accomplishing this. And I was informed that draft legislation embodying these recommendations would be forthcoming.

It is now March 14, some 7 months later. I had hoped that a bill implementing these recommendations would be before the Senate by this time. Unfortunately, this is not the case. As chairman of the Securities Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, I know that plans have been made to hold hearings on this subject matter early this session by this subcommittee.

A bill has been developed by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners and transmitted to me. In the interest of getting a bill before the committee and in seeing that all proposals are given adequate consideration and *study, I am today introducing this bill* with a few additions and changes. I am not proposing that this constitutes the best approach to a final solution of this problem, and I am not, therefore, endorsing all the provisions of the bill. However, in view of the pressing need in this area and the necessity to get plans for a final bill underway, I believe that it is imperative to have some vehicle on which the committee can begin the journey toward enactment of legislation.

The bill that I am introducing would *provide a two-pronged approach to the* flood insurance problem. It would provide for the establishment of a Federal Flood Insurance Corporation jointly owned by the U.S. Government and the participating insurance companies. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would direct the corporation in cooperation with private insurers and would be authorized and directed to provide a flood insurance program for the United States. It would in no way compete with these private insurers. The bill proposes that the corporation be managed by a board of directors—the chairman of which shall be the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Four additional directors would serve staggered terms of 8 years each to provide for continuity of management. The corporation would have initial capital of $150 million subscribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. It would be authorized to borrow an additional $500 million, and the Treasury Department is authorized to lend such an amount.

The corporation would guarantee and reinsure contracts of insurance written by private insurance companies. It would employ private insurers, agents, brokers, and adjusters in the issuance of policies and the servicing and adjusting of claims. Initially, such insurance would apply only to dwellings of four families or less, but a provision is included to extend the coverage in the future to certain other property. A prohibition is included against guaranteeing or reinsuring insurance contracts if there is available coverage from other sources at an economically feasible premium rate. No such coverage is presently available. The contracts are required to have a deductible feature applicable to the property owner.

The Secretary would be authorized to pay as a subsidy on behalf of the insured property owner the difference between an economically feasible premium rate and the rate which would be actuarially necessary in areas of special flood hazard. He would be authorized to cooperate with State and local authorities in their acquiring properties in flood risk areas to restrict development or convert these areas to other uses, such as recreation. He would be directed to use to the maximum extent practicable the facilities and services and expertise of private insurers, agents, brokers, adjustors and such other people in the field as rating organizations.

The Secretary of the Army would be directed to identify all flood plain areas and rate them as to risk and furnish the Secretary with such information. The Secretary would be given authority to acquire by purchase, lease, or donation, or *other means—other than by eminent* domain—such properties as identified by the Secretary of the Army in order to remove the flood risk areas.

I have added a provision to the bill which would provide for the joint ownership of the corporation by both the Federal Government and participating insurance companies or other insurers. The companies shall subscribe to nonvoting stock in the corporation. I have also added a provision to the bill which would require that the corporation pay *no dividends or distribution of earnings* based on flood insurance premiums or otherwise until all money borrowed from the Federal Government has been repaid. The final additional provision that I have added would prevent persons who purchased land or constructed improvements in flood risk zones in the future from being able to take advantage of this program.

Mr. President, I send this bill to the desk, and ask that it be appropriately referred and that the bill be reprinted at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1290) to provide for a national program of flood insurance, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1290

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Flood Insurance Act of 1967".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(1) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(2) The term "Flood Loss" shall mean any physical damage caused by, resulting from, contributed to or aggravated by:

(A) Flood, surface water, waves, tidal water or tidal wave, overflow of streams or other bodies of water, or spray from any of the foregoing, all whether driven by wind or not;

(B) and, when caused by, resulting from, contributed to or aggravated by any of the above;

1. water which backs up through sewers or drains;

2. water below the surface of the ground including that which exerts pressure on or flows, seeps or leaks through sidewalks, driveways, foundations, walls, basement or other floors, or through doors, windows or any other openings in such sidewalks, driveways, foundations, walls or floors.

(3) The term "Person" means an individual or a group of individuals, corporation, partnership, association, syndicate, business trust, or any other legal entity, including State and local governments and agencies thereof.

(4) The term "Insurer" includes every person engaged as principal and as indemnitor, or contractor in the business of entering into contracts of insurance.

(5) The term "United States" when used in a geographic sense, means the several States, the District of Columbia, the territories and possessions thereof, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

(6) The term "State" includes the several States, the District of Columbia, the *territories of the United States,* and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CORPORATION

SEC. 3. (1) There is hereby established a "Federal Flood Insurance Corporation" (hereinafter referred to as the "Corporation") which is authorized and empowered to guarantee and reinsure as to risks located and situated in the United States against the hazard of Flood. The objects and purposes of the Corporation shall be to encourage and assist private insurers in order to obtain their maximum participation in an insurance program consistent with the effective achievement of the objectives of this Act; to guarantee and reinsure private insurers with respect to flood insurance policies issued by participating insurers. It is a policy of the Congress that the Corporation in the exercise of its functions should supplement and encourage and not compete with private insurers.

(2) The management of the Corporation shall be vested in a Board of Directors (hereinafter referred to as the "Board") consisting of five members, one of whom shall be the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and four members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Secretary shall be the Chairman of the Board and shall serve without additional compensation. Not more than three members of the Board shall be members of the same political party. The President shall, at the time of appointment, designate one of the members of the Board to serve for a term of two years, one for a term of four years, one for a term of six years, and one for a term of eight years. Thereafter the term of each member appointed to the Board shall be eight years from the date of the expiration of the term for which predecessor was appointed. Whenever a vacancy shall occur among the members of the Board, the person appointed to fill such vacancy shall hold office for the unexpired portion of the term of the member whose place he is selected to fill. The Chairman shall designate one of the other members of the Board to perform the duties of his office in his absence or in the event of his disability.

(3) The Corporation shall have a capital stock of $150,000,000 which shall be divided in shares of $100 each. For the purpose of making payments for such stock, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds of the sale of any securities hereafter issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act are extended to include such purchases.

(A) The corporation shall have nonvoting common stock with a par value of $100 per share which shall be subscribed to by participating insurance companies or other insurers.

(B) The corporation shall also have voting preferred stock with a par value of $100 per share which shall be subscribed to by the Secretary of the Treasury, as provided in paragraph (3), and with respect to such stock held by him, he shall be entitled to cumulative dividends for each fiscal year or portion thereof, at rates determined by him at the beginning of each fiscal year taking into consideration the current average interest rate on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as of the last day of the preceding fiscal year.

(C) No stock shall be transferable except on the books of the corporation.

(4) Upon the date of enactment of this title, the Corporation shall become a body corporate and shall be an instrumentality of the United States, and as such shall have power—

(A) to adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal;

(B) to adopt, amend, and repeal bylaws governing the performance of its powers and *duties;*

(C) to have succession until dissolved by Act of Congress;

(D) to make contracts, and execute all instruments necessary or appropriate in the exercise of its powers; to issue such guarantees or reinsurance to or with private insurance companies or groups thereof, and where appropriate may employ any of such companies or groups, agents, brokers and adjustment organizations to act as its agents in the issuance and servicing of such guarantees or reinsurance, and the adjustment of claims arising thereunder, subject to the following limitations:

1. *Guarantees or reinsurance issued* pursuant to this Act shall not apply to any real property other than that intended for occupancy by from one to (and including) four families, until such time as the Secretary determines that guarantees or reinsurance on other real property is feasible;

2. No insurance shall be provided under this Act on any real property with respect to which insurance may be obtained from other sources at economically feasible premium rates (as determined by the Secretary) on terms and conditions substantially similar to those provided in insurance issued pursuant to this Act;

3. Premium rates on insurance issued pursuant to this Act shall be such as to reflect differences in zoning requirements of the several States and their political subdivisions;

4. Guarantees or reinsurance issued pursuant to this Act shall be issued only with respect to real property in areas prescribed in regulations of the Secretary;

5. In order to promote and further the purposes of this Act, no risk shall be guaranteed or reinsured unless as a part thereof there is a deductible feature applicable as to the person to whom payment is ultimately to be made.

(E) To sue and be sued, complain and defend, in any court of competent jurisdiction in the United States or its territories or possessions or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. No attachment or execution shall be issued against the Corporation or its property. The Board shall designate agents upon whom service of process may be made.

(F) To appoint such officers, employees, attorneys, and agents as may be necessary for the performance of its duties.

(G) To exercise by the Board, or duly authorized officers or agents, all powers specifically granted by this Act, and such incidental powers as may be necessary to carry out the powers so granted.

(H) To prescribe by the Board such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(5) (a) Funds received by the Corporation from the sale of its capital stock, as provided in this action and from fees and premiums collected pursuant to any guarantee or reinsurance issued by the Corporation shall be available for carrying out its functions under this Act, and for operating expenses arising in connection therewith. Moneys which are not otherwise employed shall be invested in obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to principal and interest by the United States.

(b) If at any time the Corporation determines that the solvency of the Corporation is jeopardized by reason of extraordinary demands made in the course of its guaranty or insurance operations, the Corporation is authorized to borrow from the Treasury and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to lend to the Corporation, on such terms as may be fixed by the Corporation and the Secretary, such funds (not exceeding in the aggregate $500,000,000) as the Corporation determines are necessary to meet its guaranty or reinsurance obligations. For the purposes of this subsection, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized *to use as a public-debt transaction the* proceeds of the sale of any securities hereafter issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, *and the purposes for which securities may be* issued under such Act are extended to include such loans. Any such loan shall be used by the Corporation solely in carrying out its guaranty or reinsurance functions. All loans and repayment under this subsection shall be treated as public-debt transactions of the United States.

(6) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the Government Corporation Control Act, or any other Act of Congress, the Corporation shall determine the necessity for *and the character and amount of its obligations* and expenditures, and the manner in which they shall be incurred, allowed, paid, and accounted for within the limitations as to dividends contained in subsection (11) of this Section.

(7) The Corporation shall be entitled to the free use of the mails in the same manner as the executive departments of the Government, and, with the consent of the head of any department or agency of the Government, may avail itself of the use of information, services, and facilities thereof in carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(8) The Corporation, including its capital, reserves, surplus, or other security holdings, and income shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United

States, or any territory or possession thereof, or by any State or political subdivision thereof.

(9) No individual, association, partnership, or corporation, other than the Corporation, shall hereafter use the words "Federal Flood Insurance Corporation", or any similar combination of such words, as the name or part thereof under which he or it shall do business. Any violation of this subsection shall be punishable by a fine of not exceeding $100 for each day during which such violation is committed.

(10) Section 5315 of title 5 of the United States Code is amended by redesignating items (70)-(77) as items (71)-(78), and by inserting after item (69) a new item as follows:

"(70) Members of the Board of Directors of the Federal Flood Insurance Corporation".

(11) The Corporation is authorized to pay to the holders of its common stock such dividends as the board in its discretion declares, except that no dividends may be declared or paid unless the conditions specified herein are met.

(A) The Corporation authorized to be established under this section shall make no distribution of earnings based on flood insurance premiums or otherwise until—

(1) all outstanding liabilities incurred by reason of loans of Federal funds have been satisfied,

(2) an amount equal to the aggregate amount of funds which the Secretary determines has been expended for selling and servicing flood insurance under this Act,

(3) an amount of earned surplus is equal to three times aggregate annual premium paid or payable to such corporation for the preceding annual period (as determined by the Secretary).

(B) Any funds paid to the Secretary under paragraph (2) of subsection (A) shall promptly be paid by the Secretary to the Secretary of the Treasury for covering into miscellaneous receipts.

PROGRAM

SEC. 4(1) The Secretary is authorized and directed to provide, by utilization of the facilities and services of the Corporation in cooperation with private insurers, a flood insurance program in the United States. If the Secretary determines it to be necessary in order to carry out the provisions of this Act, he shall be authorized to enter into a contract or contracts with one or more private insurers in order to provide for flood insurance at economically feasible premium rates in areas of special flood hazard. Any such contract shall provide that he shall pay, as a subsidy on behalf of the insured property owner, the difference between such economically feasible premium rates on policies of flood insurance issued pursuant to this Act and the actuarial premium rate necessary to provide such insurance otherwise.

(2) The Secretary, after consulting the Corps of Engineers and appropriate State and local authorities, shall designate areas which are flood prone as "high risk flood zones". Anyone who purchases or develops land within a high risk flood zone after it has been so designated shall not be eligible for flood insurance through the Federal Flood Insurance Corporation.

COOPERATION OF INSURERS WITH CORPORATION

SEC. 5. The Act of July 2, 1890, as amended, known as the Sherman Act, and the Act of October 15, 1914, as amended, known as the Clayton Act, and the Act of September 26, 1914, known as the Federal Trade Commission Act, shall not be applicable to any act or acts of any insurer or insurers or their officers, employees or agents when such act or acts are in connection with and in pursuance of a program of providing flood insurance in cooperation with the Corporation: *Provided, however,* That nothing contained in this Act shall render inapplicable to any such act or acts, the provisions of 15 U.S.C., sections 52–58: *And, provided further,* That nothing contained in this Act shall render the said Sherman Act inapplicable to any agreement to boycott, coerce, or intimidate, or act of boycott, coercion, or intimidation.

COOPERATION WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

SEC. 6. The Secretary shall cooperate with State and local planning bodies in developing long-range plans for land use in flood hazard areas and in developing standards for local land use zoning in such areas; and shall cooperate with other departments and agencies of the Federal Government in assisting States and their political subdivisions in acquiring properties in flood risk areas for the purpose of restricting their use to low flood risk purposes.

USE OF OTHER PUBLIC PRIVATE FACILITIES

SEC. 7. In carrying out his duties under this Act, the Secretary—

(1) to the maximum extent practicable, shall use the facilities and services of the private organizations and persons authorized to engage in the insurance business under the laws of any state (including insurance companies, agents, brokers, and adjustment organizations), and the Secretary may arrange for payment of reasonable compensation therefor; and

(2) may use the services of other public agencies, and pay reasonable compensation therefor, and may supply, receive from, and exchange with, other agencies of the Federal Government, State, local, and interstate commissions or agencies, and private organizations experienced in the field of insurance, such information as may be useful in the administration of the program authorized by this Act.

COOPERATION WITH SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

SEC. 8. In order to assist the Secretary in carrying out his duties under this Act, the Secretary of the Army, in consultation with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall undertake to identify within two years after the date of enactment of this Act all flood plain areas, including coastal areas, which have special flood hazards; and within ten years after the date of enactment of this Act, shall establish flood risk zones in all such flood plain areas and furnish the Secretary with such information as may be required by him with respect to insurance against the hazard of flood for each such flood risk zone.

SUBSIDIARY PROGRAMS

SEC. 9. In order to minimize the hardship caused by floods, the Secretary shall encourage private insurance companies to develop nonsubsidized insurance programs and to expand present coverage of insurance policies to cover the risk of rising waters, earthslides, mudslides, and subsidence.

ANNUAL REPORT

SEC. 10. The Secretary shall submit to the President and to the Congress an annual report on his activities under this Act including such legislative recommendations as he may determine to be appropriate.

ADDITIONAL FUNCTIONS

SEC. 11. For the purpose of carrying out functions under this Act the Secretary may—

(1) sue or be sued,

(2) without regard to Sections 3648 and 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529 and 41 U.S.C. 5), and Section 322 of the Act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 412, as amended (40 U.S.C. 278a)), enter into and perform contracts, leases, cooperative agreements, or other transactions, on such terms as he may deem appropriate, with any agency or instrumentality of the United States, or with any State or agency or political subdivision thereof, or with any person, firm, association, or corporation and consent to modification thereof, and make advance or progress payments in connection therewith;

(3) without regard to Sections 3648 and 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529 and 41 U.S.C. 5), and Section 322 of the Act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 412, as amended (40 U.S.C. 278a)), by purchase, lease, or donation acquire (other than by eminent domain) such real and personal property and any interest therein, make advance or progress payments in connection therewith, and hold, use, maintain, insure against loss, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such real and personal property as the Secretary deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(4) appoint, pursuant to civil service laws and regulations, such officers, attorneys, and employees, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act; fix their compensation in accordance with the provisions of the Government Organization and Employees Act (Title 5 U.S.C., 80 Stat. 378); define their authority and duties; provide bonds for such of them as he may deem necessary; and delegate to them, and authorize successive redelegations by them, of such of the powers vested in him by this Act as he may determine;

(5) conduct researches, surveys, and investigations relating to flood insurance;

(6) issue such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act; and

(7) exercise all power specifically granted by the provisions of this Act and such incidental powers as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 12. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

CONGRATULATIONS ON CENTENNIAL OF THE CONFEDERATION OF CANADA

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a Senate concurrent resolution extending the congratulations of the U.S. Congress to the Parliament of Canada on the occasion of the centennial of the confederation of Canada.

For some years now, I have served as chairman of the Senate delegation which participates in annual Canada-United States Interparliamentary meetings. In cooperation with Representative CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER, who serves in a similar capacity in the House of Representatives, I am today introducing this resolution.

It may seem like a small thing for the Congress to extend its congratulations to the Parliament of Canada on this occasion. I must note, however, that it is usually the good things that go unnoticed. One of the good things in our foreign relations has been the close and understanding relationship between Canada and the United States. Certainly, when one thinks of states throughout the world with long borders, there are few who have had such friendly relations as have existed between Canada and the United States. Indeed, close association often breeds quarrels and disrespect. This has not been the case between our two countries.

I know the Senate will approve this concurrent resolution unanimously and I hope that Members of this body may find occasion to speak of our close relationship.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of the concurrent resolution printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the concurrent resolution will be printed in the Record.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 16) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

S. Con. Res. 16

Whereas the year 1967 marks the centennial of the confederation of Canada; and

Whereas the century of Canadian confederation has been marked by close ties of friendship and association between Canada and the United States; and

Whereas relations have been strengthened through the annual meetings of the legislators of Canada and of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (*the House of Representatives concurring*), That the Congress of the United States extends its congratulations and its best wishes to the Parliament of Canada on the occasion of the centennial of the confederation of Canada and in affirmation of the affection and friendship of the people of the United States for the people of Canada.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE AGING TO FILE REPORT

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate Special Committee on Aging be permitted to file its annual report on or before April 12, instead of March 15, which is the present due date for that report. I have been asked to make this request by the distinguished minority leader, who also serves as ranking minority member of this committee, and it has, of course, been cleared with the minority.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 122

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, an amendment to S. 1125, the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967.

Last January I introduced a bill to create a nationwide program of teacher aids to help relieve the burdens of the Nation's classroom teachers. Public response to this proposal has been overwhelmingly favorable.

Inasmuch as this program is designed to relieve teachers in elementary and secondary schools of the monotorial and clerical tasks which now occupy so much of their time, I am reintroducing the legislation as a new title to the Elementary and Secondary Act. The substance of the bill has not been changed from its original form in S. 721, but I believe it wise to place this program in its logical place, within the Elementary and Secondary Act.

Mr. President, cosponsoring the amendment are Senators Clark, Pell, Muskie, and Mondale.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 122) was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 109) to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 612) to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes, at its next printing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff] be added at the next printing of S. 1249, a bill to amend the National Housing Act to further protect the interests of the United States in the insurance of certain mortgages.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FEDERAL JURY SELECTION PROCESS—NOTICE OF CHANGE IN HEARINGS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary, I wish to announce a change in the hearings on the Federal jury selection process.

The hearings on March 21, originally scheduled for 9:30 a.m., in room 4200 of the New Senate Office Building, will be changed to 2 p.m. of that same day in room 6226 of the New Senate Office Building. The hearings on March 22 and 29 will still be held as scheduled, at 9:30 a.m., in room 4200 of the New Senate Office Building.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON RIGHT OF PRIVACY ACT OF 1967

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, on Monday, March 20, the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, of which I am chairman, will begin hearings on S. 928, the Right of Privacy Act of 1967. There are many complex and detailed problems involved in considering legislation which would grant to every American citizen their right of privacy. Wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping, more often referred to as "bugging," is especially complex. Opinions in this area range from all-out bans on snooping to complete permissiveness by Federal, State, and local police.

Recently, Judge J. Edward Lumbard, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit appeared before Senator McClellan's Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures. The New York Times of Sunday, March 12, reprinted excerpts from this testimony. We intend to hear all sides of the issue; in fact, I have today invited Judge Lumbard to testify before my subcommittee, and give us the benefit of his educated views.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert, at this point in the Record, the excerpts from the New York Times.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Another Opinion—In Defense of Wiretapping

The following are excerpts from the testimony last week of J. Edward Lumbard, Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, before a Senate subcommittee considering wiretap legislation:

"Any proposals for expanding and clarifying the powers of law enforcement agencies must be considered in light of the fact that it has become more and more difficult for these agencies to secure sufficient evidence of crime to justify arrest, prosecution and conviction.

"First, decisions of the Supreme Court now require law enforcement agents to warn suspects who are in custody of their rights in such a way that those who otherwise would voluntarily speak are now virtually encouraged not to do so. Moreover, the requirement that, before any questioning, counsel must be available, if desired, and that counsel be furnished if the suspect cannot get counsel himself, prevents or postpones questioning at the very time that it would be most fruitful. Thus in many cases the most ready, the most authentic and the most natural means of getting information by the voluntary statement of the person best able to tell, is no longer available.

"Second, court decisions have made it impossible to secure testimony before grand juries and Government bodies where there is any claim of Fifth Amendment privilege, however far-fetched it might be.

"Third, revolutionary developments in the speed and means of travel and communication have enabled organized crime to operate countrywide, secretly through agents who may be far removed, and in such ways that detection is not only difficult but almost impossible in view of present restrictions. At the same time it is now unlawful for law enforcement agencies to tap telephone wires and divulge what is thus obtained and the use of any electronic devices is being questioned.

"There is a fourth obstacle: the increasing reluctance of victims to come forward to complain and to testify. As law enforcement difficulties increase and the likelihood of successful prosecutions decreases, those who suffer from organized crime become more fearful of the consequences of speaking. . . .

"In the light of today's crisis in law enforcement, the old arguments against wiretapping are no longer weighty.

"We cannot have effective law enforcement without running the risks of some invasion of privacy; no good citizen who places any value on living in an orderly and peaceful society where crime is under reasonable control should object to those occasional annoyances which sometimes are the by-product of a suitable police action.

"WIRETAPPING NECESSARY

"If wiretapping by law enforcement agents is legalized because, as I believe, it is necessary, it will not be dirty business. Those who oppose wiretapping have always relied heavily on the eloquent dissent of Justice Holmes in Olmstead v. United States, 277 U.S. 438, where the majority permitted the Government to use wiretap evidence to convict bootleggers despite the fact that the wiretapping was itself a crime in violation of laws of the State of Washington. Of course there was no federal law on the subject at the time.

"Justice Holmes called it 'dirty business' because the evidence was 'obtained and only obtainable by a criminal act,' i.e. a violation of state law, and he held that courts should exclude evidence obtained by a crime committed by the officers of the law.

"It seems clear that had there been a Federal law which permitted wiretapping, upon findings of the public necessity for such legislation, as S. 675 proposes, Justice Holmes would not have said what he did about wiretapping, even in 1928; it would not have been 'dirty business' had the law authorized it.

"It was Justice Holmes who wrote in 1880, 'The life of the law is not logic but experience.' The bootleggers whose convictions were affirmed in the Olmstead case in 1928 were public benefactors compared to the professional criminals of 1967.

"There is no dirtier business today than the business of organized crime; it rules by violence and terror; it victimizes the public and corrupts public officials. Every possible resource of Government should be used to expose and destroy it.

"COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

"The report of the President's Commission ends its discussion of electronic surveillance by pointing out that the 'present status of the law with respect to wiretapping and bugging is intolerable' and that the present controversy must be resolved. A majority of the Commission favors legislation 'granting carefully circumscribed authority for electronic surveillance to law enforcement officers.'

"We should never forget the price we must pay if the enemies of society are permitted to operate without fear of detection. The Commission appointed to investigate the facts relating to Pearl Harbor, of which Mr. Justice Roberts was chairman, noted in its report, filed in January 1942, that the restrictions then in effect prevented resort to 'certain methods of obtaining the content of messages transmitted by telephone or radio-telegraph over the commercial lines operating between Oahu and Japan' and that the contents of the messages sent just prior to Dec. 7, 1941, might have furnished valuable information.

"It concluded that among the causes which contributed to the success of the Japanese attack were 'restrictions which prevented effective counter-espionage.'

"Today there are too many enemies within the country in the ranks of organized crime who can operate almost at will because we have denied to law enforcement the necessary means of detection.

"The Congress should legalize the use of evidence secured by electronic surveillance, under such safeguards as [this bill] proposes, as a necessary measure in the war against organized crime."

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON AID TO LATIN AMERICA

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I announce today that the committee has scheduled a public hearing to receive testimony from Secretary Rusk on Senate Joint Resolution 53, which relates to President Johnson's message recommending that Congress approve a commitment to increase our aid to Latin America by up to $1.5 billion over the next 5 years. The hearing will be held at 10 a.m. on Friday, March 17, in room 4221, in the New Senate Office Building.

In addition, Chairman FULBRIGHT announced that on Tuesday, March 21, the committee will hear several executive branch and public witnesses on S. 1030, a bill dealing with the U.S. informational media guaranty program. This hearing will also be held in room 4221, in the New Senate Office Building, beginning at 10 a.m.

AIR POLLUTION IN WASHINGTON AND THE HOPFENMAIER ODORS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, those who over the years have opposed home rule for the District of Columbia apparently do so with the premise that the present setup is better for the people of this city.

Maybe so.

The other day the press carried a story that Washington currently has the dubious honor of running fourth in polluted air among all American cities.

Those of us who live in or around Georgetown have firsthand knowledge of this disgraceful condition in our Nation's Capital, because for many years, without success, we have tried to have something done about the almost unbelievable smells which come from the Hopfenmaier Rendering Co., at 3300 K Street NW., any day or night the wind blows the odor over Georgetown.

The Hopfenmaier people cook old horses, bone scraps, grease, anything to obtain the desired residual and a profit; to the point where the smell is so unbearable that some people have left the neighborhood and others have been "rendered" ill.

The smell is so bad that the plant next to the Hopfenmaier plant has a sign on it, "The objectionable odors you may notice in this area do not originate in this plant."

We have protested this condition for years. All we get are words, never any action.

As example, in 1964 we received a memorandum from District of Columbia Director of Public Health, Murray Grant, written to the District Commissioners, which says in part:

> The Hopfenmaier Rendering plant has been a source of objectionable odors in its present Georgetown location for eighty years, and has engendered mounting community complaints during the past twenty years.

The memorandum also states:

> The Department of Public Health is evaluating the present contribution by the plant of objectionable odors in the Georgetown area in the light of recent improvements. Using the evaluation as a guide, the plant will be required to take all further steps that are technically and economically feasible to minimize odors from its processing.

This statement meant exactly nothing, because last week this air pollution, as expressed by this disgusting odor, was worse than ever.

Under the normal local self-government of any city, how long do the Members of the Senate believe this condition would be allowed to continue?

I shall have more to say about this unwarranted condition. In the meantime, I ask unanimous consent that the memorandum in question, dated July 21, 1964, written by Dr. Murray Grant, Director of Public Health, be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
Washington D.C., July 21, 1964.

Memorandum to: The Commissioners, District of Columbia.
Through: Commissioner John B. Duncan.
From: Murray Grant, M.D., D.P.H., Director of Public Health.
Subject: Hopfenmaier Rendering Company, 3300 K Street NW.

The subject company processes fat and bone scraps from supermarkets in the metropolitan Washington area extending out over a radius of 50 to 75 miles. It also processes grease from restaurants in the same area. The company operates six days per week around the clock from 9:00 a.m. Monday morning until 11:00 p.m. Saturday evening and estimates that it handles approximately 12,000 pounds of product per day. On occasion it operates on Sunday as necessitated by production demands.

The process consists of cooking fat, bone scraps and grease and at the appropriate time drawing off tallow, used in the soap industry, and solid residual matter, used as a high protein additive to animal feeds.

As is well known the rendering of fats produces strong objectionable odors particularly when the material being processed is putrid. Throughout the country much effort has been made during the past few years to reduce the odors from such processes. These efforts have met with varying degrees of success, never, however, to the complete satisfaction of neighbors downwind from such plants during adverse atmospheric conditions.

The Hopfenmaier Rendering plant has been a source of objectionable odors in its present Georgetown location for eighty years and has engendered mounting community complaints during the past twenty years.

Twelve months ago the company agreed to make substantial changes to its plant facilities providing for the mechanization of handling facilities for both raw materials (fat, bone and grease) as well as finished product (tallow and solid residual matter). It also agreed to make improvements, if found necessary, to existing odor removal equipment for cooking vapors consisting of water cooled condensers to remove condensible odors and a combustion process for the removal of noncondensible odors.

To date the plant has expended $125,000 on a $150,000 program to provide enclosed conveyors, holding tanks, drum washing facilities and other associated improvements all directed toward a more efficient handling of materials leading to a reduction of in-plant odors and at the same time reducing cooking odors which are aggravated when the raw material is allowed to age and putrefy.

At the present time, the Department of Public Health is evaluating the present contribution by the plant of objectionable odors in the Georgetown area in the light of recent improvements. Using the evaluation as a guide, the plant will be required to take all further steps that are technically and economically feasible to minimize odors from its processing.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senator from Missouri be granted 3 additional minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Will the Senator from Missouri state to the Senate whether or not he has upon any previous occasion protested to the president of the Board of Commissioners?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I have so protested. And may I say to the able Senator from West Virginia that the memorandum which I just placed in the RECORD was sent to me by Mr. Tobriner, the Chairman of the Washington, D.C., Board of Commissioners.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. What is the date of the memorandum?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The date of the memorandum is July 21, 1964.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. This memorandum was dated over 2½ years ago.

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator is correct.

The reason why the head of the Washington, D.C., Commissioners sent the memorandum to me was that on some unfortunate days and nights of the week back in 1964—in April, as I recall—it was impossible for the citizens of this area to keep their windows open. They had to go indoors and close their windows.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The memorandum states, as I recall hearing it read on the Senate floor today, that all feasible steps would be taken to ameliorate the condition. Is my understanding correct?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. What steps, if any, have been taken, so far as the Senator from Missouri knows?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I know of no steps. No effective steps could have been taken, because last week these odors were as bad as they have ever been.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I say to the Senator from Missouri that I am interested in this matter. The Senator from Missouri has spoken to me earlier today about it. It is my intention to open hearings on the District of Columbia appropriations bill for the fiscal year 1968 on this coming Friday. The Commissioners will appear on Friday morning, and it is my intention to ask the Commissioners about this matter, to determine what steps have been taken and, if no steps have been taken, to inquire as to what steps can and will be taken.

I thank the Senator for bringing the matter to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I deeply appreciate the position of the acting majority leader in this matter. As chairman of the Subcommittee on the District of Columbia of the Committee on Appropriations he could have much more influence and effect in trying to correct this problem for literally hundreds of our citizens than could I. I am grateful for the comments of the Senator on the floor of the Senate this morning.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I thank the Senator.

CRIME AND IDEOLOGY

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, a very perceptive editorial is published today in the Wall Street Journal entitled "Crime and Ideology." I commend the editorial to the attention of Senators.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 14, 1967]

CRIME AND IDEOLOGY

Citizens worried about mounting crime can thank a Senate Judiciary subcommittee for taking testimony on how recent Supreme Court decisions have hampered law enforcement, an issue which the Administration's touted anti-crime crusade has pointedly avoided.

The practical effects of these decisions, several commentators make clear, are ominous. They give the criminal so much leeway even a self-confessed murderer can go free. Beyond that, we're convinced, an analysis of the philosophy the decisions reflect would tell the nation a good deal about its crime problem.

The Judiciary subcommittee under Senator McClellan, heard Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter testify that the Court's decisions have meant the loss or abandonment of many prosecutions. And Judge J. Edward Lumbard, chief of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, said High Court decisions and other influences have made it so difficult to convict criminals that "it is unthinkable" the nation could allow such a situation to persist.

Similarly, a minority statement in the report of the President's Crime Commission pointed out how recent decisions have sharply limited traditional use of confessions and even threaten to preclude police interrogation of suspects. The minority asked if "the scales have tilted in favor of the accused and against law enforcement and the public further than the best interest of the country permits."

This statement concluded that such an imbalance does indeed exist, and called for nothing less than a Constitutional amendment modifying the Bill of Rights. The modifications would insure the police an opportunity for interrogation, permit use of any truly voluntary confessions and allow prosecutors to comment on the silence of the accused.

This minority statement was written by four distinguished attorneys, three of whom are past presidents of the American Bar Association. Three additional members of the panel concurred, meaning the statement was backed by over a third of the Crime Commission. Here is a pivotal issue of law enforcement, raised by the most responsible quarters, which demands attention and exploration.

Yet not only was the statement ignored in subsequent Administration proposals, but the majority of the Commission itself managed not to utter one word about the issue in its 300-page report. The reason for the curious silence, we suspect, is much the same as the original reason the decisions were made. That is, to many the doctrines involved are not subjects for rational debate, but articles of faith.

Take the decisions expanding the privileges against self-incrimination. The Crime Commission minority statement noted that among legal scholars, "the question is now being increasingly asked whether the full scope of the privilege, as recently construed and expanded, is justified either by its long and tangled history or by any genuine need in a criminal trial."

Certainly, in none of the instant cases was there much indication that previous police practice had served to convict innocent persons. Rather than legal precedent or practical justice, the source of the Supreme Court majority's decisions favoring criminals was its own rarefied ideology. This has become so apparent that even a liberal columnist like Joseph Kraft has recently been commenting on "the weakness of the liberal theology as a rationale for judicial determination."

Their connection with this secular theology gives the Court decisions an importance beyond even their great practical effect. For, it is the same ideology that holds, in gross exaggeration of several certain truths, that a criminal is an object of sympathy deserving every break, that society sins against the criminal rather than the other way around, that a lawbreaker bears no individaul moral responsibility.

By starting with the Supreme Court decisions embodying that ideology so completely, some subcommittee or commission might be able to trace its pervasive effects, and its concomitant dilution of every variety of moral authority.

The exploration would expose one important root of today's troublesome crime problem, a root many ideologists would prefer to keep hidden.

A PLEA AGAINST DISCRIMINATORY STATE TRADE BARRIERS

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the California Legislature recently passed a resolution which seeks to focus the attention of the Congress and the Nation on a matter of grave importance to economy of my State. Assembly Joint Resolution No. 2 concludes with this resolve:

> That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to take cognizance of these discriminatory practices by the several states and proceed in such a manner as it may deem appropriate to cause the elimination of trade barriers by the several states of the Union against California wines.

The wines of California have received national and international acclaim. They account for approximately 85 percent of all the wine produced in the United States. My State is justly proud of its wines and its wine industry, not only because of the quality of the wines, but also because of the major role this industry plays in California's total economic picture.

California naturally is concerned when discriminatory trade barriers are erected by certain States to restrict the free movement of its wines between the States. It particularly is concerned because the Constitution of the United States sets forth basic principles which seek to make this Nation a single union functioning under a single national economy that assures the products of every lawful industry access to the markets of all States.

What is the basis for these charges of discrimination? At the time the 21st amendment was presented to the Congress for adoption, those States which were dry were greatly concerned that their autonomy might be destroyed. The constitutional amendment therefore read that no intoxicating liquors should be transported or imported into a State in violation of the laws thereof. The obvious intent of these words, as evidenced by the debates in the Congress, was to protect those States which desired to remain dry. It does not appear that the intent of the 21st amendment was that States possessing an alcoholic beverage industry could impose discriminatory trade barriers against similar products from out of State.

Mr. President, it is a perversion of that provision of the Constitution for a State legislature to try to pass legislation, from a standpoint of taxes, which deals differently with a wine produced in California from the manner in which it seeks to treat its own locally produced wines. This is not a Union of sovereign nations; this is a Union of sovereign States. The Constitution should be followed.

There has been an unfair balkanization of America insofar as alcoholic beverages are concerned. States have imposed all types of discriminatory barriers to protect their own alcoholic beverage industry, as well as placing extraordinary burdens on the out-of-State industry.

What are some of the trade barriers that have been employed? Taxation is the most commonly used. It consists of levying a preferential tax favoring wine produced within the State against a higher tax on all other wines sold in the State. There are eight States in which such a preferential tax barrier exists.

Another type of trade barrier is that of imposing unusually high annual license fees on out-of-State firms for the privilege of soliciting or shipping wine into the State. A final form of discrimination is the interstate agreement whereby each state would require an affirmation by each shipper of alcoholic beverages into that State that the price at which such shipper sold to the State was the lowest price that he sold to any other State.

These barriers create an almost impossible burden on wineries in attempting to freely compete with similar products from the various States. The consequences unduly restricted not only the industry but the citizens of this country who seek the freedom to select whatever product they desire to purchase.

These are but a few of the increasing trade barriers which, if not controlled, will cause great and irreparable harm to the wine industry and economy of California.

It is the belief of the California Legislature that the 21st amendment was not intended to permit discriminatory treatment by one State of the products of another State; but only to protect the integrity of each State in the matter of regulating the importation and sale of alcoholic beverages by such States.

It is the belief of the California Legislature that the United States was founded on the principle of free commerce among the States, and citizens of each State should be free to select the products they desire to purchase, at fair prices and under reasonable conditions, without undue favoritism for local products.

Mr. President, I heartily support and endorse the position my State has taken on this matter and urge the speedy elimination of discriminatory trade barriers. I have directed a letter to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance urging an immediate study of such barriers in conjunction with their work on S. 968, a proposal to provide a system for the taxation of interstate commerce. I believe the Congress is obligated to protect free trade and an industry that means so much to California and, indeed, the entire Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my letter be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 10, 1967.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN LONG: The California Legislature recently adopted a Resolution requesting the Congress to take cognizance of and eliminate discriminatory trade barriers by the several states of the Union against California wines.

Many states have by legislation and regulation erected unfair trade restrictions against the nationally and internationally acclaimed wines produced in my State. These restrictions include the levying of higher taxes on California wines than are placed upon local wines, and the imposition of severe limitations on the distribution and marketing of such out-of-state products. The result is an unfair favoritism for local wines and a restrictive and damaging barrier against the entrance of California wines into the so-called "free market place" of America.

This Nation is founded on the principle of free commerce and competition among the states. The Constitution, and certainly the 21st Amendment, do not intend that states be permitted to create trade barriers that restrict the free movement of products between the states. Trade must continue to move without undue restrictions across this country if citizens of every state are to enjoy the freedom of selecting the products they desire to purchase, at fair prices and under reasonable conditions. In order to protect this freedom and prevent the creation of artificial and inequitable trade barriers, our forefathers bestowed upon the Federal Government the Constitutional power to regulate interstate commerce. I believe my State is justified in calling upon the Congress to exercise this power in acting against such discriminatory trade practices.

It is my understanding that a bill—S. 968—is now before your Committee which seeks to provide a system for the taxation of interstate commerce. It is my hope, and that of the State of California as expressed in the enclosed Resolution, that your Committee, in studying the merits of S. 968, will give serious consideration to controlling the practice of a state which imposes undue taxation on an out-of-state product as a form of trade barrier. If any legislation is to be enacted in this area, it must include adequate provisions to protect the freedom of interstate commerce so necessary to the prosperity and growth of this Nation.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS H. KUCHEL.

ABUSE OF POWER IN GEOTHERMAL WITHDRAWAL

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on February 7, the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of the Interior caused to be published in the Federal Register a notice of the filing of a withdrawal of those public lands valuable for geothermal steam resource development, and also those public lands prospectively valuable for such geothermal steam development. The ambiguity and scope of the withdrawal are shocking. The legal description of the lands withdrawn reads as follows:

> All public lands which are valuable or prospectively valuable for geothermal steam.

Since it is not yet known just what lands are valuable, or prospectively so, all public lands are subject to the withdrawal. Reinforcing this, is the withdrawal's enumeration of the acreage affected. The notice states that the number of acres involved is "indeterminate." The notice goes on to state:

> The withdrawal is permanent and will continue in effect until terminated or modified by the Secretary or by the Congress.

The effect on the existing public land laws, laws passed by the Congress, is to emasculate the present system of appropriation. The withdrawal states that:

> The lands will not be subject to appropriation under any of the public land laws including, without limitation, the mining laws and the mineral leasing laws.

This means that lands of indeterminate acreage, potentially all public lands, are put beyond the reach of existing legislation permanently, with no indication of how long the restrictions will apply and when a more specific designation of lands affected will be provided.

This gross misuse of the withdrawal authority could have the effect of halting all activity on public lands which could lead to the appropriation of any public land under existing law. If one were to seek to establish a mining claim, complying with all existing laws, and then invest a large sum of money in the claim, a subsequent finding that the land was prospectively valuable for geothermal steam would render the claim a nullity, with the resulting loss of the investment.

Proposed legislation to develop the geothermal resources on public land look to leasing rather than sale. There is no sound reason for closing those portions of the public land prospectively valuable for geothermal steam leasing to other compatible types of exploration and development.

This "blank check" approach employed by the Department of the Interior is an outrage. It seeks to circumvent the laws established by Congress which deal with appropriation of public lands and, instead, allow the Bureau of Land Management to operate by fiat in the void. As authority for the broadness of the withdrawal, the Department merely cites "implied authority of the President and the President's directive of January 30, 1967." This directive was that the withdrawal be accomplished.

It is completely contrary to our democratic form of government that such a wholesale disregard of the existing laws of the land can take place under so-called implied power of the President. While it is desirable that our geothermal steam resources be developed in an orderly fashion, this worthwhile objective should not cause the Department of the Interior to ignore all that has gone before. The Government owes a greater obligation to the public, who have a right to rely on the existing laws of the land.

I urge the Secretary of the Interior to cancel this ill-advised withdrawal notice immediately, and to replace it with an order that is limited in scope, identifies the specific public land affected, and allows compatible appropriation under other public land laws.

TRADE AND TREASON—ADDRESS BY HON. EZRA TAFT BENSON

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson is known as one of the most distinguished moral leaders of this Nation. A great churchman and a great statesman, he has served both God and country with equal ardor. From the wide ranges of his experience and the eminent observation points he has held in his life's work, he has acquired a fund of both knowledge and wisdom. Perhaps that is why in his recent address, "Trade and Treason," he ranges far beyond the narrow economic considerations or trading with the enemy, to consider the philosophical significance of our actions.

> In our confusion—

He says—

> we are betraying the intellectual and moral heritage of the West.

Yet despite the underlying pang of anguish, Dr. Benson remains detached and objective. His analysis is cutting, but his tone is moderate. He is able to draw illuminating parallels and ironies which outline the enormity of our failure. I heartily recommend his address to the attention of my colleagues. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the address, "Trade and Treason," by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, given before the Portland Forum for Americanism, February 17, 1967, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRADE AND TREASON

This is a signal honor, a very great pleasure, and a challenging responsibility. Humbly and gratefully I stand before you. Grateful for citizens and patriots such as you—humbled by the magnitude of the task before us.

Because of the nature of the message I bring to you, I have committed most of it to writing. I shall speak to you frankly and honestly.

What I shall say are my personal convictions borne out of an active life which has taken me into forty-five nations and brought me close to the insidious forces that would destroy our way of life in this choice land. I express these convictions and warnings today because of my love for you, all humanity, and our beloved country.

The message I bring is not a happy one, but it is the truth and time is always on the side of truth.

I speak to you as a fellow citizen of the United States of America deeply concerned about the welfare of our beloved country.

Once again, with all the solemnity of my soul, I sound a voice of warning.

As Americans, lovers of freedom and high moral principles, we are face to face with the greatest evil in this world and the greatest threat to all we hold dear.

Consider the following shocking facts.

Since World War II the Communists have brought under bondage—enslaved—on the average approximately 6,000 persons per hour, 144,000 per day, 52,000,000 per year—every hour of every day of every year since 1945.

Since 1945 the Communists have murdered in one country alone enough people to wipe out the entire population of over fifteen of our states.

J. Edgar Hoover, the best informed man in government on the Socialist-Communist Conspiracy stated: ". . . we must now face the harsh truth that the objectives of communism are being steadily advanced because many of us do not readily recognize the means used to advance them . . . No one who truly understands what it really is can be taken in by it. Yet the individual is handicapped by coming face to face with a conspiracy so monstrous he cannot believe it exists. The American mind simply has not come to a realization of the evil which has been introduced into our midst." (*Prophets, Principles and National Survival*, p. 273).

I have personally witnessed the heartrending results of the loss of freedom. I have seen it with my own eyes. I have been close to the godless evil of the Socialist-Communist Conspiracy on both sides of the Iron Curtain particularly during my years as European Mission President for my Church at the close of the war and today and also during my eight years in the Cabinet.

It may shock you to learn that the first communist cell in government, so far we know, was organized in the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the early 1930's. John Abt was there. It was John Abt whom Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, requested for his attorney. Harry Dexter White was there. Lee Pressman was there. And Communist agent, Alger Hiss, who was a principal architect of the United Nations and Secretary-General of the United Nations organizing conference was there also.

I stood in Czechoslovakia in 1946 and witnessed the ebbing away of freedom resulting in the total loss of liberty. I visited among the liberty-loving Polish people and talked with their leaders as the insidious freedom destroying conspiracy moved in, imposing the chains of bondage on a Chirstian nation.

Wherever communism has come to power it has destroyed the indispensable conditions for the intellectual and moral existence of man. Communism is totalitarianism that encompasses every manifestation of man's moral, political and economic life.

Too many Americans do not fully comprehend the true meaning of communism. They are thinking of a competing system of political and economic order that has won acceptance and loyalty with other civilized nations. After all, they feel, the nation of Tolstoi, Dostoevski, and Tchaikovsky commands an esteemed place in the family of western nations. And the nation of Confucius, whose philosophy and system of ethics evokes peace and order in society and encourages a moral life—a nation with 4,000 years of distinct civilization—should command our respect and affection. Therefore, they believe, we must view their present political and economic institutions which have been imposed on them by the Communists with goodwill and compassion.

This opinion reflects our inability or unwillingness to comprehend the true nature of the conflict between communism and us. The antagonism is no old-fashioned diplomatic power struggle in which both sides maneuver for territorial possessions and spheres of influence. It is a collision of two irreconcilable systems: one that endeavors to preserve man's civilization and one that aims to destroy it. It is a war waged on many fronts over the moral, intellectual and economic conditions of human existence in the world.

Communism is totalitarianism in which government control has been extended to practically every phase of human life, subjugating man's conscience and sacrificing to the State his faith in all that is right and humane. It is fervent atheism that derides the human soul.

Totalitarianism means the total politicalization of life without exception. The state encompasses society in all its spheres. There is no corner where man can hide from the state, no place without regimentation.

The world has had an opportunity to observe and reflect on the true meaning of totalitarianism. German Nazism, which was an affinitive offshoot from the communist prototype, was a truly revealing manifestation of totalitarianism. Nazism, which is the popular abbreviation of national socialism, imported from Soviet Russia the one-party system, the pre-eminence of the party, the position of secret police, the concentration camps for dissidents, the methods of propaganda. Hitler was an excellent disciple of Lenin and Stalin, a perfect product of totalitarianism. The heinous Nazi crimes were the outcome of a consistent application of totalitarian principles.

Our mental and moral confusion towards communism could easily be avoided if we were ever mindful of the affinities of the two systems. After all, the inhumanities of communism differ little from the Nazi crimes against humanity. How can we possibly condemn the Nazi record, and condone the communistic inhumanities? How can we blithely ignore the millions of victims of communism: the bourgeois, Kulaks, Poles, Baltic people, Georgians, Ukranians, Kalmuks, Cossacks, East Germans, Hungarians, Chinese, Tibetans, Cubans and now Vietnamese?

Communism, in fact, is incomparably more dangerous to man's civilization than German Nazism whose doctrine of Aryan superiority prevented its dissemination to all mankind. Without this narrow racial limitation communism is capable of subjugating all that is human.

Consider with me the following 12 significant and sobering questions:

1. Would you have been concerned if, during World War II, a Nazi had murdered our President right here in our own country?

Yet, a Communist, Lee Harvey Oswald, who maintained contact with Party headquarters in New York, murdered President Kennedy.

2. Would it have bothered you, if after the assassination of the President of the United States by a Nazi, a top Nazi newspaper had called for a special Commission headed by a hero of the Nazis to investigate the crime, only to have the new President appoint exactly such a Commission three days later?

Yet following President Kennedy's assassination, the Communist newspaper *The Worker* recommended that President Johnson form a Commission with Earl Warren at its head to make an investigation. Three days later, Johnson did exactly that and Earl Warren later selected Assistant Counsel for the Commission a man who had belonged to one of the most notorious Communist fronts in the country. (The Warren Court and its decisions have been honored with victory rallies by the Communist Party.)

3. Would you have been aroused if, in our life-and-death struggle with the Nazis

during World War II, we had refused the assistance of an ally who, without any strings attached, wanted to come to our aid and provide a half-million trained and armed men to fight an enemy he had already fought before, on a terrain with which he was acquainted?

Yet our government refuses the help of Chiang Kai-Shek and his trained and equipped army which knows how to fight the Communists on Asian land.

4. What would you have said during World War II if our government had told us that Mussolini was a different sort of Fascist than Hitler, and therefore could be won to our side if only we would give him foreign aid and help train his pilots and military officers?

Yet our government has sent billions of dollars to Tito, a Communist, and trained his pilots and military officers in our country, on the grounds that he is "independent" of Moscow. Tito has stated that in an all-out war between Russia and the United States, he will be on the side of the Russians.

5. Would you have been shocked during World War II if a labor union headed by a man who joined the Nazis in the 1930's caused a 12-day public transportation strike in our largest city, at a cost of over one billion dollars?

Yet New York City recently suffered such a strike, and the leader of the union causing it was Mike Quill, who joined the Communist Party in 1934 and followed the Communist line consistently thereafter.

6. Would you have sought the impeachment of the President if, during World War II, he had asked American mothers to sacrifice their sons to stop Hitler, and at the same time requested an increase in trade with the Nazis?

Yet in his State of the Union address, the President of the U.S. asked us to sacrifice American manhood in a war against the Communists in South Vietnam, and in the same speech asked that he build more bridges to the East through increased trade with the atheistic Communist murderers.

7. Would it have startled you during World War II if our government had encouraged businessmen to sell Nazi goods in their stores and trade with the Nazis hence enabling Hitler to have more finances with which to slaughter our sons?

Yet just this last September, the State Department said it was against the national interest for people to oppose the sale of Communist goods in American stores, or to oppose trade with the Communists by American businessmen. Could this mean that the national interest of the present Administration is to promote Communism?

8. Would you have suspected something if, during World War II, a man who had made substantial contributions to the Nazi Party and had been declared a security risk was honored at a White House ceremony?

Yet President Johnson presented a $50,000 tax-free award and a gold medal at the White House to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who made contributions to the Communist Party and who is still listed as a security risk.

9. Would you have taken the Nazi threat seriously if, during World War II, they had claimed credit for starting one of the worst riots in our country's history?

Yet a Communist took credit for the Watts riot in California in 1965, with all its destruction, pillage, and bloodshed, and boasted that his group had spent two years in Watts agitating for the uprising.

10. Would you have disagreed with our defense policies during World War II if the Secretary of Defense had said our objectives against the Nazis were limited and did not include the destruction of the Nazi regime in Berlin?

Yet Secretary McNamara asserted in October, 1966, that our objectives in Vietnam are limited, and do not include the destruction of the Communist regime in North Vietnam.

11. Would you have been disturbed if, during World War II, the courts had permitted a Nazi to run for political office in one of our States, and the Nazi had then received the votes of thousands of Americans?

Yet an open and avowed leader of the Communist Party was allowed by the courts to run for a county office in one of our states recently and she received over 87,000 votes.

12. Would it have shocked you during World War II if a Nazi folksinger had received a U.S. Government service award and had a government building named in his honor?

Yet Woody Guthrie, an identified Communist who worked as a columnist for one Communist publication and contributed to another, received the Interior Department's Conservation Service Award in 1965, and Secretary Udall announced that a Bonneville Power Administration sub-station in the Pacific Northwest would be named the Woods Guthrie sub-station.

In our dealings with communism let us ever be mindful of past experience. A policy of appeasement, rapprochement or even friendship towards communism is as offensive and suicidal as it was towards Nazi Germany. And the fellow travelers of communism are no less despicable than those of the Nazi tyrants. In fact, why should we not condemn more harshly the appeasers of communism and deem their blindness incomparably more inexcusable after we experienced the barbarism of the Nazi totalitarianism?

And yet, our policies continue to be guided by intellectual confusion and moral lethargy. We wheel and deal with communist agents and officials as if they represent their peoples. We launch diplomatic maneuvers and countermaneuvers as if we were engaged in an old-fashioned power struggle. We make treaties and agreements, accept promises and declarations as if we were dealing with Victorian England. We embark upon cultural exchanges as if the communists were receptive to cultural values. We trade with communist governments as if we were exchanging goods and services with merchants in London. In fact, our officials fraternize with communist officials in political, economic, social and cultural matters while at that very moment thousands of individuals linger in communist prisons and concentration camps, or risk death trying to escape their tyrants.

Since our military involvement in Vietnam our dealing and wheeling with communist officials has assumed shameless and even treacherous proportions. While American soldiers are cut down by Russian arms and ammunition, U.S. Government officials, in fact, are encouraging trading with communist Russia and her allies. And yet, we continue to curry the economic favors of the Kremlin masters.

How can the President of the United States claim, as reported by the Vice-President, that the so-called Cold War is over and predict that Congress will lower trade barriers with communist countries? How can he request Congress to ratify the consular convention with the Soviets who are pledged to bury us and enslave the world?

How can two American corporations, The International Basic Economy Corporation, a Rockefeller enterprise, and Tower International, Inc., headed by the pro-communist tycoon Cyrus S. Eaton, Jr., join forces to promote trade between the communist countries and the United States, Canada, and Latin America? By so doing they strengthen the hands of the enemies of all righteousness who are supporting the slaughter of American boys and imposing slavery on millions of people throughout the world.

In recent months the official list of "nonstrategic" items that may be sold to communist governments has lengthened continually. In 1966, for instance, the Soviet Union was encouraged to buy from American manufacturers airborne communications and navigation equipment and a tire cord factory. Licenses were issued permitting the Czechoslovakian Government to purchase ball and roller bearings, petroleum products, and a hydrogen plant. Airborne radar equipment and automotive replacement parts were approved for Red Rumania; for the Bulgarian regime pumps and compressors, for Poland more radio communication parts and various generators, for Hungary, electronic navigational aids and railway equipment, for Yugoslavia, aircraft parts and petroleum products, for East Germany, boring and drilling machines.

It is important to understand that our trade with communist countries constitutes no trade with the people of those countries, but merely with communist governments. An American merchant who sells navigation equipment to Russia must negotiate and deal exclusively with Kremlin agents. And for the Kremlin all goods are "strategic" for its military, psychological, or economic war on the West.

And yet, in his 1966 State of the Union message to Congress, re-affirmed by his 1967 message theme of "bridges to the East", the President urged an expansion of trade "between the United States and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." In September, 1966, the State Department even published a pamphlet entitled *Private Boycotts versus the National Interest*, in which it openly denounced those Americans who criticize our trade with communist governments.

Does not the President understand the characteristics of a totalitarian regime that politicalizes every transaction? Everything is made a political transaction that concerns the destruction of the free world. Is our President blind to the fact that trade with communist officials first of all is political and not business as usual? Shall we ascribe the President's attitude to moral cowardice, an amoral attitude toward the peoples entrapped by communism, or something else?

This recognition also indicts gravely those American merchants and manufacturers who in the bureaus of the Kremlin seek profitable orders and favors from the communist tyrants. In fact, some businessmen who are either exceptionally unintelligent or extraordinarily unscrupulous are now proffering their merchandise and service to the Kremlin masters, who at this very moment are aiding and supporting our enemies in Vietnam. In the waiting rooms of the Kremlin, American businessmen dream of personal gains and profits while thousands of American boys in Vietnam are slain by communist bullets made in the U.S.S.R.—a shameful spectacle that is indicative of our incredible confusion and moral decay!

American businessmen are lending their managerial ability and capital resources to the communist masters who are boasting of heir economic achievements. Their boastful slogan is that "in 1970 we shall surpass the U.S." This is conceivable only if we accomplish it for them. If we build their factories, supply them with our resources and technical know-how and if, at the same time, we cause our apparatus or production to deteriorate through confiscatory taxation and inflation, through bureaucratic controls and expropriations—then, and only then, may this most unscrupulous regime surpass our own. Dr. Werner Keller, author of that great book, *The Bible as History*, concluded his recent book *East Minus West = Zero*, outlining Russia's debt to the west, with these words:

"All that the West stands for, all that it has achieved and is still achieving culturally, technically, and scientifically, has been done without a single important contribution from the Russians. If the Russians had never existed at all it would have made not an iota of difference to what the West has to offer all humanity.

"The present position of Russia, had she not been taught, helped and supported by the West, would be unthinkable. Even at this moment Russia can only keep up by the continuous theft and exploitation of every new development in the free world."

It is tragic indeed that our trade with communist governments is planned and promoted by our own officials who have made aid to the Soviet Union the official policy of the American Government. Wherever private businessmen still hesitate to proffer their aid and support, the U.S. Government itself backs up the Kremlin with special deals, credit guarantees and outright subsidies.

The 1963 wheat deal was an example in case. The Federal Government not only paved the way for the transaction but also guaranteed the Soviet credit and subsidized the communists to the tune of $42,000,000. In addition, concessions were made on freight rates. When private bankers refused to extend credit to the grain exporters, the President had the Export-Import Bank, which is a government agency, guarantee the transaction.

The deal was also indicative of the Administration's concept of economic welfare, which is a primary objective of the Great Society. With tax money the Federal Government buys vast supplies of grain and other foodstuffs and thus raises the price of these commodities. The taxes reduce the people's disposable income which is then further reduced through higher food prices. And finally, more tax money is used to finance and subsidize the sale of government stocks to the Kremlin, which in turn is either reaping huge profits on its resales to the Russian people or scoring political victories through aid to its communist allies. And the American people are supposed to believe that these Great Society policies improve their economic welfare and generate political benefits in foreign affairs!

In many cases our economic aid to the enemy is channeled through the United Nations Organization. We pay at least 32% of all U.N. operations which cost more than $500 million in 1966. Many special programs are financed by voluntary contributions of the member governments among whom our government is usually the most generous. We contributed at least 40% of the expenses of the International Development Association and the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development which "provide systematic assistance in fields essential to technical economic, and social development of less-developed countries." As all communist countries can be classified as "less-developed," a great deal of U.N. assistance is channeled towards communist governments. Through the Special Fund, for instance, we covered 40% of the costs of an agricultural experimental station in Communist Cuba. And through the United Nations Economic and Social Council we subsidize the University of Havana, which every year is graduating thousands of young communists.

Our intellectual confusion and moral lethargy also shapes our attitude and policy towards the communist satellites. Poland, for instance, has received no less than $548 million in U.S. aid, while Yugoslavia garnered some $2.4 billion.

The rationale of this aid springs from our hope to divide the communist camp and, in particular, achieve satellite independence from Moscow. But all available evidence indicates that our aid merely serves to consolidate and fortify the position of the Kremlin and its foreign henchmen. Communist Tito has stated repeatedly that he will stand firmly with Moscow in any rift with the United States. According to him, our military operations in Vietnam are "aggressive acts by reactionary forces," are "shameful" and "dangerous to world peace." This attitude is hardly suited to create confidence in our aid to communists. After all, communism is a barbaric system wherever it raises its ugly head, in Moscow and Peking, Warsaw and Belgrade, Prague and Havana. Aiding an supporting the communists is offensive and suicidal not only in Moscow, but anywhere in the world.

And it is inexcusable no matter who does it. Of course, we would hope that our own government, whose example is so important in world affairs, would point the way out of this confusion and blindness. But unfortunately the New Frontier and Great Society Administrations not only shattered this hope, but also, to our greatest dismay, often led the way into darkness. But this confusion of ours does not in the least clear from fault or blame, other free world governments who are guilty of the same failure.

It is a new and strange chapter of history that the enemies of the United States receive aid and support from our allies. A British Government agency, for instance, has agreed to supply credit guarantees for the sale of a $28 million fertilizer factory to the Castro government. Two years ago Socialist Britain sold 950 buses on credit to Castro. While the U.S. government, unfortunately, gives all-out support to the British effort to bring down the white-minority government of Rhodesia, the British Labor Government supports Castro's Cuba with both credit and trade.

Red China's biggest trade partner is Japan. British Hong Kong is the biggest source of hard currency for Red China, and Canada sells her vast quantities of grain. Western Europe supplies chemical fertilizer. She gets steel from West Germany, France, Belgium and Japan; airplanes from Britain; ships from France and Netherlands; Diesel locomotives from France.

Even the North Vietnam Government does brisk business with allies of the U.S. Japan buys anthracite and sells industrial goods which are carried to North Vietnam on communist-flag freighters.

A dozen ships flying the flags of Britian, Cyrpus and Malta deliver European goods to Haiphong, and ships from Hong Kong probably deliver American goods.

The economic significance of this aid to our enemies is overshadowed by far by its moral meaning. Our actions and policies towards communism reflect the extent of subversion within our own government, our incredible confusion, indecision, and even cowardice. We tremendously overrate the productivity of Communism and lack faith in the values we defend. We are weak intellectually and morally. In our confusion we are betraying the intellectual and moral heritage of the West.

In his recent State of the Union address the President said:

"I ask and urge the Congress to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West Trade Bill and approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union."

Commenting on this *The Review of the News* said:

"The war in Vietnam is, for all practical purposes, a war between the United States and the Soviet bloc, for it is the Soviet bloc which contributes the vast amount of military equipment which makes it possible for the primitive economy of North Vietnam to wage this war against us. No amount of semantic trickery on the part of the President can change this fact of reality. That is why the war is costing us billions, and Lyndon Johnson knows it. There are others who know it also, policy makers like McNamara, Rusk, Rostow, and the rest of the clique." (*Review of the News*, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 21.)

There seems to be no limit to our follies—our essentialy treasonable policies. On June 1, 1964, the present Administration and the Kremlin signed the *Consular Convention* which provides for the reciprocal establishment of consulates in all major cities of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. At present, Soviet diplomatic personnel are stationed only at their Washington embassy and with the U.N. in New York. In fact, there are no Soviet consulates anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. If the U.S. Government now sets the precedent by opening our country to additional Kremlin agents, how can our Latin-American neighbors resist similar Soviet demands?

A consul is a public officer who is authorized to protect the interests and to foster the commercial affairs of its subjects in a foreign country. As consuls have no representative character like ambassadors they cannot claim general immunity and extraterritoriality attached to diplomatic representatives. But under the terms of the Johnson-Kremlin convention, consular officers and employees would be completely immune from prosecution, even in the case of felonies.

How blind! We grant consular rights to the Kremlin communists, oppressors of their own nation. The communist agents then are "to foster the commercial affairs of their subjects," who are forbidden to trade abroad under the penalty of death. The communist agents are "to protect the interests of their citizens," who are prisoners. There are no emigrants from Soviet Russia, only refugees. When they manage to escape, risking death at the order, they are often haunted, blackmailed or even murdered by communist agents abroad. And finally, we offer diplomatic immunity to such agents!

How bent we are on our own destruction! We now promote "cultural exchange" which in the service of mutual understanding and peace is to provide contact between the communist nations and us. We exchange athletes, scientists, singers, pianists, and other artists, supposedly, in order to mend the break in communications and thus end amicably the Cold War.

We readily admit that the Russian people are very much like the American people. But we are not confronted by the Russian people who themselves are extremely regimented and whose lives are totally dominated by the communist regime. We are confronted by a communist conspiracy that does not "exchange" in good faith, but uses every transaction for its sinister ends. American tourists who visit Russia are shown exactly what the communist agents want them to see. But Soviet nationals who visit the United States are either communist functionaries or individuals under their vigilant control with family hostages left behind the Iron Curtain. The communists make every professor, every dancer, pianist, and athlete their political agents. Every sporting match, artistic performance, and speech is made a political action. We are confronted by a monolithic totalitarianism that differs radically from our own system of individuality, the many-sided, libertarian, pluralistic nature of the West.

Again and again we are inclined to accept communist promises and declarations at Western face value. We ignore Communist standards of morality that, according to Lenin, make deceit a duty and virtue. This is why disarmament agreements, treaties, and negotiations with the communists are surely suicidal.

And yet, we are eager to make such agreements, and have, in fact, taken a number of steps towards disarmament. In 1963 the Kennedy Administration entered the Moscow Treaty which was to stop testing nuclear explosives above ground and under water. The test ban was signed by Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in August and ratified by the United States in September. France and Communist China which also have nuclear devices refused to sign the agreement.

The treaty was hailed by the Administration as the first joint East-West move toward disarmament of any kind since World War II. It was signed five years after the negotiations had begun and two years after the Soviets had broken a voluntary accord against testing. The new agreement is so loose that it requires no international inspection and permits any of the three nations to repudiate it in time of danger. There is nothing to prevent clandestine tests but the honor and integrity of the participating parties. And yet, we are dealing with murderers who have neither honor nor integrity. The record is clear. How could we, leaders of the greatest nation in the world—a Christian nation—make this deal with the devil, through his emissaries, Godless atheistic leaders devoid of principle?

To rely on truth, integrity, and honor in communism entails unbearable risks of our security and survival. The treaty prevents our full development of any new weapons requiring the use of nuclear warheads. It prevents us from testing our intercontinental ballistic missiles on which our strategic defenses greatly depend. It prevents us from developing an effective anti-missile defense system on which our survival may depend. And finally, it prevents us from developing tactical atomic weapons that would give us invincibility on the battlefield. In short, the Moscow Treaty neutralized our major military advantage over the communists and would subject us to Soviet conventional forces and their proficiency in subversion, guerrilla warfare and internal revolution. The war in Vietnam is a good example.

"Acceptance of any precipitate program of disarmament" a report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee warns us, "would constitute for the West a strategic defeat of enormous magnitude, leaving an irresolute Western world only the recourse of seeking accommodation with an aggressive movement which is dedicated to achieving mastery of the globe."

But our weakness is not primarily strategic and military, it is intellectual and moral. In a world of enormous tensions and conflicts have we lost our sense of direction and the will to survive?

We must ever remember that we are at war with a clever, ruthless, unprincipled enemy. And we are losing the war. Yes, and we will continue to lose unless we the American people become alerted and informed. Unless we stand up to the enemy of all we hold dear.

Why do we bow and yield to their unreasonable and dangerous demands? When will we act like men of courage and faith? The language of courage is the only language they respect. Let's be sure we're right and stand firm. If we do so they will back down every time.

Some timid souls speak fearfully of war. The communist economy would not support a major war. They can't even feed their own people.

It is time for the citizens of this nation to vigorously question and oppose programs and policies which threaten our very existence.

The record is obvious that since World War II, we have dealt with, appeased, begged, pleaded, bought off and otherwise conducted business with Communists only to see the threat grow greater and more menacing than ever.

Why does our President condemn in word communist aggression and then seek to bolster their economies through aid and trade "when the Moscow government is supplying MIG's to the North Vietnamese to kill American boys?" (David Lawrence)

Why fight the communists in Vietnam and help them everywhere else? Why does the Administration move heaven and earth to increase trade with the enemy?

Why does the Administration send wheat to feed those who are making the guns and bullets to kill our American boys in Vietnam?

"Why," as a prominent agricultural publisher has asked, "is the main plank of our foreign policy predicated on friendship with Russia? Only one word can adequately answer that question. The word is treason. We—'our' State Department—made Russia. Ever since Roosevelt, we have exported factories, food, equipment, and American know-how to Russia and her satellites. Russia is the enemy. Treason is 'giving aid and comfort to the enemy.'

"In 1967 let us resolve to win in Vietnam and in Cuba and China. In 1967 and every year let us dedicate ourselves to making the criminal Communist conspiracy fail everywhere; and to freeing the enslaved of the world." (Tom Anderson)

This contest in which we are engaged is as old as man and as young as hope. The issue is over the God-given eternal principle of freedom—free agency, the right of choice. In this struggle it is not enough to be right—we must put strength and action back of that which is right.

In the conflict with socialistic communism we must have courage and wisdom. We must also have friends. Russia has hostages—we have friends—millions of them in temporary slavery behind the Iron Curtain, and millions more to be mobilized throughout the free world. We must take greater risks for freedom. We must dramatize "American might and Soviet myth."

For two decades "our government has been paying the Soviet blackmailers with one concession after another." How long will we continue this dangerous and diabolical surrender of our legitimate rights?

When will we proclaim the truth—as we did in 1776—that we may be free? When will we stand up to the greatest evil in this world—the greatest enemy of our God-given freedom? The hour is late.

One of the greatest errors every made by an American President occurred when Franklin D. Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition to the Godless Soviet Conspiracy—after each of four American Presidents in succession had refused to do so.

Without this tragic action in 1933, by an American President, apparently insensitive to the dangers of Socialism and Communism, Soviet Communism would have collapsed in ruins. Why do we continue to keep this evil, freedom-destroying system alive by such indefensible action?

Statesman-patriot, Dean Clarence E. Manion, who had a son in Vietnam, put it this way:

"The truth is that there is no such thing as a legitimate Communist government anywhere on earth. The truth is that what our State Department calls the 'closed societies' of Communism are ironringed jails from which the inmates may attempt to escape only at the risk of their lives. The truth is that conditions in these Communist jails are so horrible that hundreds of people risk and often lose their lives in attempts to escape from them. The truth is that the hundreds of millions of helpless people who are held in this monstrous Red captivity are scandalized by the calloused indifference of our government to their cruel fate as expressed in a foreign policy which is deliberately calculated to 'help stabilize tottering Communist regimes, as in East Germany'.

"The truth is that without our positive and active help, all of these 'tottering Communist regimes' would fall of their own weight within six months after our help was withdrawn.

"The truth is that if we withdrew our official prohibition against an invasion of the Red Chinese mainland by the Nationalist Chinese Army on Formosa, that invasion would take place immediately, and 90 per cent of the enslaved Chinese on the mainland would join the attack against their Red Chinese jailers.

"This would solve our problem in South Vietnam and Laos where the Red forces are being supplied and supervised by the Red Chinese government. The collapse of communism in China would start a chain reaction of anti-Communist revolution which would sweep across Europe to the eastern boundary of West Germany.

"The consequences of an official proclamation of the truth about Communists and Communist governments by the government of the United States would open the door to the destruction of Communism by its own oppressed victims without international war and without the use of American military forces.

"The truth that made us free will restore our freedom now and lift the hearts and the hopes of millions whom our present policy of retreat and surrender has doomed to perpetual slavery.

"This will not be a signal for international nuclear war but for successful anti-Communist revolution which will melt down the Iron Curtain from the inside. This is the high road of moral principle that leads to peace with freedom for America and for mankind." (*The Conservative American;* pp. 200, 201, 202.)

Senator Barry Goldwater put it courageously and simply when he said:

"We should declare the world Communist movement an outlaw in the community of civilized nations. Accordingly, we should withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Communist governments, including that of the Soviet Union, thereby serving notice on the world that we regard such governments as neither legitimate nor permanent." (*The Conscience of a Conservative;* p. 120.)

The aggression of atheistic communist countries supported by the treasonous policies of our own government and some misguided American businessmen, led to the killing of over five thousand American soldiers last year.

This is the result of the so-called "building bridges of friendship" by increasing trade with the Communists who are supplying Asian hordes with the material to kill our boys in Vietnam.

The lead editorial of *The Boston Herald*, January 21, 1967, began as follows: "Last week in Vietnam, 144 Americans were killed, 1,004 were wounded and 6 were reported missing."

My fellow citizens—normally, I am slow to anger. It is my nature to seek to find the good in what every man does and to give him the benefit of any reasonable doubt. I strive to follow the admonition to be forgiving. But it has become increasingly difficult for me the last while to restrain my wrath at what I consider to be not only a lack of support, but an actual betrayal of our valiant fighting men and our allies. A betrayal of the suffering, loneliness and sacrifices of the mothers, wives and children of our fighting men.

Ladies and Gentlemen, fellow Americans, I refer to what appears to be a deliberate and determined effort to provide our enemies with the means to kill our own sons.

It is perhaps not just anger that I feel at this betrayal of our fighting men, their families and this nation, by trading with the enemy. Deep within my soul, is a feeling of sickness and revulsion at the seeming injustice of it all. Of bitter disappointment in the attitude of a few of my fellow Americans.

This situation must not be allowed to continue. If it does continue, if we as a nation do not assert our rights as citizens to insist that it stop, I fear that dishonor may become our national heritage.

Thomas Jefferson is quoted as follows:

"A departure from principle in one instance becomes a precedent for a second; that second for a third; and so on, till the bulk of the society is reduced to mere automatons of misery, to have no sensibilities left but for sin and suffering." (Thomas Jefferson, Works 7:14)

As it is, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not mollified—rather I am angered and hurt. Hurt that my nation, with a spiritual foundation, which I love so dearly could act with such great dishonor in respect to its own fighting men.

A challenge would seem to be in order.

I challenge our youth to adopt as a part of their innermost feelings and desires the cry:

"Keep faith with our fighting men! No aid or comfort to the enemy!"

I challenge, with reverence, the mothers and wives of our servicemen—not to distract and concern their heroes by complaining to them—but to make their Congressmen, Senators and all government officials aware of our united concern. Let our plea, and our prayers be:

"Keep faith with our sons. Don't provide our enemy any means to destroy our boys. Stop all trade with the enemy. Let our valiant men return to us in honor having won an honorable victorious fight for freedom."

I challenge the fathers and husbands of this Nation. Gentlemen, who is to restore honor, honesty, virtue, integrity, and loyalty to our way of life? We, as fathers and husbands, are the real leaders of our civilization—of our nation. We are responsible if the blight on its glory is not removed. Gentlemen, let our cry be:

"I shall become and remain a man of principle. I shall lead my family, my friends, my community and my nation also in the way of principle and not of expediency. I will defend my freedom and the freedom of my fellow men. I will raise my head high and look every man in the eye unashamed of my defense of that which is good. I shall be able to look every man returning from Vietnam squarely in the eye, knowing that I did not betray his faith."

I challenge us all to advocate, desire, teach and live God fearing lives of righteousness. Lives of courage. Truly patriotic American lives.

There is no other way of honor—no other way to save our great nation and the God-given freedom we cherish.

That we may heed the sacred call—before it is too late—is my humble prayer.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

EXECUTIVE RESERVATION 3

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the Senate has been considering the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. I believe that foremost in the minds of all Americans is the question of how to protect the interests of the United States and bring the Vietnamese war to a successful and speedy conclusion.

It must be safe to say that North Vietnam could not carry on without the aid of the Communists in Russia. Therefore, I believe the Senate has an opportunity to further the cause of peace by taking advantage of what the Russian Communists want. They want the U.S. Senate to ratify the Consular Convention. It will raise their stature around the world if we say we have confidence in their intentions and integrity. Therefore, Mr. President, why not take advantage of that situation and lessen the length of the war?

I have prepared a reservation to the Consular Convention. It is brief. I shall read it. Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following:

> Subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this Convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force, until the President, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, finds and reports to the Congress that the Soviet Union has ceased all military support and assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to North Vietnam.

Here is a chance for individual Senators to go on record in a request—a petition, if you please—to the Soviet Union to stop providing the very essentials that make this war of Communist aggression possible.

I hope the reservation will be adopted. I am sure that it would do much to direct the attention of the entire civilized world upon the aggressor in this war. Should Moscow decide that the treaty was worth while with this reservation and would comply, it would mean that it would cease all military support and assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to North Vietnam. It would mean the end of the killing of American boys. It would mean the restoration of peace.

I send this reservation to the desk and ask that it be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reservation will be received and printed, and will lie on the table.

NELSON'S FIGHT FOR TEACHER CORPS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, somehow, the Teacher Corps, which is one of the best and brightest ideas we have had in Government, is in trouble.

The Teacher Corps is designed to bring gifted teachers into American communities where children need special attention and encouragement.

It has been given a small start, and it has succeeded exceedingly well. In my own State of Wisconsin, the principals of the schools where the Teacher Corps has come in to give a helping hand have been enthusiastic about it.

All of us know the old truism about education as the best investment a family or a nation can make.

And yet the Teacher Corps has run into tough opposition and its future is cloudy.

My colleague, Senator GAYLORD NELSON has been a driving, leading inspiration for the Teacher Corps. He deserves great credit for keeping it alive and fighting for its development.

I ask unanimous consent that a recent article from the Washington Star by Mary McGrory, entitled "The Embattled Teacher Corps" be printed at this point in the RECORD. Miss McGrory sets forth very appealingly the case for the continuation of the Teacher Corps.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EMBATTLED TEACHER CORPS

(By Mary McGrory)

The Teacher Corps, a modest proposal to combat ignorance in the slums, has engendered a hostility on Capitol Hill that baffles and discourages its friends.

The Teacher Corps trains volunteers who ask only to be allowed to teach in poor schools where many teachers fear to tread. Since assignments to "blackboard jungles" are not exactly fought over, it is incomprehensible to many observers, including President Johnson, that anybody would want to stand in the way of the volunteers.

But Republicans have made opposition to the Teacher Corps a party issue and conservative Democrats, while less vocal, have fought it every step of the way. The Corps squeaked through the Senate Appropriations Committee by one vote last year, and was initially rejected by the House. Its "Perils of Pauline" existence seems likely to continue in this session.

Some 1,200 volunteers are now actually at work. Sen. Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., one of the Corps' few friends on Capitol Hill, reports that he has not had a single complaint from any principal who has interns in his school.

The volunteers are trained under the Office of Education in summer courses where they learn about subcultures and the special problems of poor children. They visit the grim neighborhoods where they will live and teach.

The President has just told Congress he wants to expand the number of volunteers to 5,500 by September 1968. He wants an additional appropriation of $12.5 million in fiscal 1967.

His espousal of the scheme, which was originally proposed by Nelson and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., is one of the factors that have made the Corps vulnerable. It is an easy way to buck the President.

While it seems to its admirers a simple and direct approach to the sea of troubles in poor schools in both country and town, the Corps is regarded by its enemies as a nefarious scheme for bringing Uncle Sam into the elementary and secondary classrooms of the land.

The administration has tried to meet this objection by dropping the word "National" from the designation of "Teacher Corps." It has given local jurisdictions the right to hire staff and volunteers at will. It has adjusted salary scales so that no volunteer will receive more money than a beginning teacher in the same school.

Nelson started with the idea of interns based on his observation of the work of Peace Corps returnees in the Cardozo area of Washington. Kennedy was inspired by the 1963 experiment in Prince Edward County, Va., where schools were closed to avoid integration. One hundred experienced teachers were imported from all over the country, including elegant suburbs like Grosse Pointe and Westchester. Their efforts were a huge success.

The two senators combined their idea in a bill, which was promptly attacked. Rep. Edith Green, D-Ore., objected to the "pirating" of experienced teachers from other areas. And she foresaw morale problems among permanent slum teachers "just as idealistic and dedicated" who have paid for their masters' degrees out of their own funds, while Corps volunteers working for their masters' were financed out of federal funds.

The National Education Association proposed that Teacher Corps funds and volunteers be under the control of state departments of education.

Mrs. Johnson is going to do her bit for the beleaguered young Teacher Corps. On a journey which begins tomorrow, she will stop off at Canada Township, a little hollow in North Carolina, where there are 49 impoverished families who live in shacks papered with newspapers and furnished with old automobile seats.

There are eight Teacher Corpsmen and a master teacher who, according to the local school principal, have transformed the life of the town. They cut their pupils' hair, drive them to school in buses, collect clothes and shoes for them in nearby Asheville. They are teaching them remedial reading in a novel fashion. The children tell stories into a tape recorder and the tapes are transcribed into little booklets which the children then learn to read.

"For some people," said a friend of the Corps, "going into an area like that is like going to Nigeria. They have the Peace Corps spirit, and the Teacher Corps gives them a chance to play the national game of helping people."

The hope is that Congress will allow many more players.

L.B.J.: MAN OF BOLDNESS AND COURAGE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the American Presidency from time to time becomes a target for brickbats. And it is no secret that this is one of those times.

And yet it is most ironic that there are few, if any, Presidents in history who have accomplished as much for the Nation as President Lyndon Johnson.

Carl Rowan has recently written eloquently of this. He writes in part:

> The record is going to show that no President ever defied so many taboos, challenged so many prejudices, corralled so many sacred cows or sought to abridge so many special privileges . . .

Mr. Rowan also points out how relatively smoothly President Johnson has accomplished this when he writes:

> But it may be reckoned as one of the great political feats of all time that he moved so boldly against custom and vested interest in areas of business, race, public welfare and social philosophy without producing an embittered army of Johnson-haters comparable to the Roosevelt-haters of the 1930s . . .

I ask unanimous consent that the entire article by Mr. Rowan, briefly documenting this remarkable Johnson record, be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Johnson as a Man of Boldness and Courage

(By Carl T. Rowan)

Whatever the historians say about Lyndon Baines Johnson, they will not conclude that he was a lazy, or unimaginative, or gutless President.

Never, even in those feverish early days of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, has a President flooded the Congress with so many messages and bills that affected the well-being of so many people.

Whatever his contemporaries think of Johnson's "style" or "grace" or "personality," the record is going to show that no President ever defied so many taboos, challenged so many prejudices, corralled so many sacred cows or sought to abridge so many special privileges.

His recent proposals to alter our Selective Service System, so as to wipe out injustices that have been nurtured by the privileged for 104 years, is but the latest of an endless stream of such proposals.

Maybe our country isn't really much more egalitarian than it was in 1863 when Congress enacted a conscription program under which a man could buy his way out of the draft by paying the government $300. Maybe a majority of our people still believes that a nation must preserve its elite (meaning those fortunate enough to be born to parents who value and can afford college) and use its "lesser" mortals as cannon fodder. So perhaps the lottery draft that the President has called for will be blocked by Congress. But the President has had the courage to put the challenge before the nation.

Just as he had the courage, in his message on Children and Youth, to ask that states be compelled to pay to dependent children on welfare the amount of money that the states themselves have said is the minimum needed.

Just as he had the fortitude to go back to a stubborn, "backlashish" Congress with far-reaching civil rights proposals in the fields of racial discrimination in housing, and in the selection of juries.

Just as he fought publicly, and apparently with success, for a consular treaty with the Soviet Union at a time when some congressmen preferred the emotional cliches that give the illusion of advanced anti-Communism and a higher patriotism.

Just as he courted the enmity of the food and other industries by pressing for "truth in packaging," and "truth in lending" laws and other measures to protect the consumer from myriad merchandising tricks.

Just as he aroused the ire of the automobile industry with his auto safety proposals; and is antagonizing a far wider spectrum of industry by asking nationwide standards to combat air pollution; and has irritated the textile industry by seeking restraints on flammable materials; and the natural gas industry by attacking the pipelines that move gas at dangerously high pressures; and the medical industry by seeking Food and Drug Agency safeguards against such devices as X-ray equipment that gives overdoses of radiation, or defective screws that are used to hook up hips, or artificial eyes that are improperly made.

And Mr. Johnson had the forthrightness to tell Americans how much they would have to surrender in money and old prejudices if they want to reduce crime and make their streets safe—even though the public might have preferred a promise of a "cheaper" panacea, such as "tougher police action."

With newspapers, television and the car radio constantly reminding us of Vietnam and other things that arouse tempers and fears, it is hard to maintain a perspective where this man Johnson is concerned.

But it may be reckoned as one of the great political feats of all times that he moved so boldly against custom and vested interest in areas of business, race, public welfare and social philosophy without producing an embittered army of Johnson-haters comparable to the Roosevelt-haters of the 1930's.

JEC STUDY OF STATE AND LOCAL PUBLIC FACILITY NEEDS AND FINANCING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Economic Progress, under the leadership of Representative Wright Patman, Democrat, of Texas, undertook a far-reaching study of State and local public facility needs and financing for the coming decade. This two-volume study, which was released in January, provides for the first time the comprehensive information necessary for long-range public facility planning. Mr. Patman is to be praised for his foresight in undertaking this huge project, and I am happy to see that the study is receiving attention and support from many quarters.

The March issue of the AFL–CIO American Federationist has a very fine article on this study entitled, "The Public Facilities Gap." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Public Facilities Gap

(By Marvin Friedman, economist in the AFL–CIO Department of Research)

The growth of public facilities and public services in America has not measured up to the needs of a steadily growing, increasingly urban population. Despite a stepped-up effort in recent years, there is still a sizable backlog of unmet needs.

With the population continuing to grow—and with more and more people crowding into urbanized areas—these needs also will continue to grow. The nation will require still more in the way of public facilities and public services. And the only way these needs can be met is by substantially increased outlays for these purposes by government—federal, state and local.

In a very real sense, the pressure for expanded public facilities and public services stems from technological progress. This is no longer a nation of farmers as it was at the turn of the century, when approximately 40 percent of the employed manpower was engaged in agriculture. Today, because of improved technology, it takes only about 5 percent of the work force to produce enough food for the population—and a considerably larger population at that. In 1900, this was a nation of 75 million; now there are nearly 200 million people in the United States.

There has been a steady movement of people off the farms and into the growing industrial and commercial areas. The growing numbers that first crowded into the cities has overflowed into the suburbs—into one suburb after another, stretching the urban area far beyond the boundaries of the central city and leading to the suburban sprawl.

At the turn of the century, less than one-half of the nation's population lived in such urbanized areas. Now the figure is around 70 percent and still climbing. By 1980, it will be close to 80 percent, but of a much larger population—250 million. And, by the year 2000—when the population is expected to reach 350 million—one estimate places the urbanized portion at 95 percent.

The growth of urban areas—together with the greater aspirations—has led to a growing demand for public facilities and public services: paved streets and highways; bridges and tunnels; storm sewers and sanitary sewers; schools, colleges and libraries; hospitals and clinics; police and fire protection; public utilities; parks, playgrounds and recreation centers; airports; museums and theaters; clean air and clean water; public transportation.

Some of these public services are provided mainly by private businesses for a profit. This is true, for example, in the case of gas and electric utilities. These are usually, but not always, privately-owned operations.

And some are provided by so-called private, nonprofit organizations. Many hospitals fall into this category.

But for most of these services, and for the facilities they require, people depend upon government—mainly state and local government, with a helping hand from the federal government.

A 10-YEAR PROGRAM

For many years, when the Depression and World War II caused shortages of money, manpower or materials, these public needs went neglected. And programs initiated since the end of the war have hardly reduced the backlog. Of the nation's public schools, for example, 14 percent were built before 1920, while 15 percent of the libraries date from before the turn of the century.

Meanwhile, the needs have continued to grow and they will keep on growing. A reluctance to spend enough money to meet these needs has been the basic problem. But it has not been the only one.

There also has been a lack of information. That is to say, detailed estimates of the full range of needs have been non-existent, especially as regards estimates of future needs. And without such data, long-range planning—the only effective way to meet these needs—is next to impossible.

A major step in closing this gap has recently been taken. Thanks to the efforts of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, there exists now a pretty solid blueprint—projected to 1975—of state and local public facility needs. It provides the basis upon which to embark on a long-range, planned program to meet those needs—to catch up with the present backlog and meet the future needs as the population grows.

The information contained in the Committee's study, which is titled "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing," represents the findings of experts in their respective fields.

And it is comprehensive, covering needs in about 40 different kinds of public facilities: basic community facilities, such as water supply, sewers and waste treatment; transportation facilities, such as roads, turnpikes, tunnels and airports; educational facilities, including all levels of schools as well as college housing; health facilities, such as medical schools, hospitals and clinics; recreation and cultural facilities, including neighborhood centers, arenas and auditoriums; and public buildings, such as jails, fire stations, armories and courthouses.

The study does not deal with housing and urban renewal, important though these items may be. They were regarded as outside the scope of the definition of public facilities. Moreover, the projected cost estimates contained in the study cover only the capital outlays for the facilities—the costs of construction and equipment. They do not include the cost of providing the services—the additional teachers, doctors, policemen and numerous other personnel—after the facilities are built.

Nor is it beyond the realm of possibility that the experts have underestimated state and local public facility needs. "It is conceivable," the introduction to the study says, "that many of the chapter authors preferred to employ conservative judgments . . ."

Even at that, the experts believe that state and local governments will have to step up their public facility capital outlays considerably if they are to meet these needs. In 1965, these expenditures came to $20 billion. By 1975, they will have to total more than $40 billion. And, over the entire 10 years, the experts estimate that state and local governments will be required to spend a grand total of $328 billion to finance public facility needs.

Viewed against a backdrop of needs and capabilities, these projected figures are not as large as they initially appear.

In the first place, there exists a substantial backlog of sorely-needed facilities.

Second, the population, which totalled under 195 million in 1965, is expected to reach 230 million by 1975 and the proportion of the population crowding into urbanized areas will continue to increase. And, finally, by 1975 the total output of the nation's economy, assuming continued high levels of employment, will be in the vicinity of $1,250 billion per year—as against $680 billion in 1965.

Thus state and local expenditures of $40 billion per year for public facilities would not represent a significantly greater rate of spending—in terms of the nation's output—than did the $20 billion in 1965.

Funds for these outlays come essentially from three sources—borrowing, taxes and other current revenues such as user charges, and federal grants-in-aid.

In the recent past, borrowed money has provided about 50 percent of the needed funds. Taxes and other current revenues have accounted for 30 percent and federal grants produced the remaining 20 percent.

On the assumption that high levels of economic activity are maintained, the report of the Committee anticipates that these sources will be adequate to finance the needed increase in outlays. That is to say, with adequate economic growth these outlays can be met in the future in much the same way that they have been in the past and without any greater strain.

In other words, the nation is fully capable of meeting its rapidly-growing needs for additional public facilities.

THE EMPLOYMENT IMPACT

As a matter of fact, a stepped-up, planned program to meet the needs in public facilities—not only state and local, but also federal—will be required in the years ahead to provide jobs for a rapidly-growing workforce. Over the next decade, the labor force will increase by about 1.5 million workers per year and, unless the number of job opportunities keeps pace, unemployment will rise. A logical policy would be to see to it that these two needs—the growing need for jobs and the pressing need for public facilities—are brought together in a planned program.

The employment impact of these construction activities is substantial. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated that each million dollars spent in this way creates approximately 100 jobs for the year—about 40 jobs at the construction site and about 60 jobs in industries supplying building materials, equipment and services, including unskilled and semiskilled jobs badly needed in an automated economy.

Moreover, to this must be added the indirect impact—that is, the impact felt as a result of the wages and salaries paid to these workers. As these wages and salaries are spent, retail sales are increased and still more jobs are created—in stores and warehouses and in companies producing consumer goods. This adds another 50 to 100 full-time jobs.

This would mean that $1 billion spent on public facility construction is worth 100,000 jobs directly created on the construction site and in the production and distribution of equipment and materials, plus somewhere between 50,000 to 100,000 more jobs as a result of the increased sales to consumers.

It is obvious from these figures that outlays for these public facilities have a significant employment impact. But the basic reason for these outlays is to provide much-needed public services. And with the growth of the nation and its urban areas, these needs will grow.

It might be well to take a look at a few types of state and local public facilities—and at how much capital outlays will have to be increased, according to the estimates of the Joint Economic Committee's experts, if the needs of the people are to be met.

PUBLIC WATER SUPPLY

Not too many years ago, most Americans took their water from wells or springs. As a matter of fact, not much before the turn of the century, the public water supply system served only about one-third of the population. Today, it serves about 80 percent and it will grow. Increasingly, Americans are getting their water supply by turning on a faucet.

But it costs money to put that water, literally, at the consumer's fingertips.

It first has to be taken from its source and this may necessitate the construction of dams or the creation of reservoirs. Then it must be transported and this means pumping stations and pipelines. And it is usually transported first to treatment plants—another expense—because even water of excellent quality very likely needs a disinfectant as a safeguard. And, if it is not of excellent quality, it requires much more extensive treatment to make it safe and palatable.

When the water is ready for consumption, it goes through the distribution system and that system requires pumping and storage facilities and water mains.

In 1965, state and local governments spent just over $1 billion in capital outlays on such public water supply systems. The needs estimated for 1975 will require $2.25 billion. And, from 1966 to 1975, the total amount that will have to be spent by state and local governments for these capital outlays will be roughly $19.5 billion.

STORM SEWERS

If getting water to the urbanized population represents a problem and an expense, so does getting rid of an excess amount. It is estimated that the failure to provide adequately for the runoff—that is, to provide enough storm sewers—costs the nation about $1 billion per year in property loss. The Joint Economic Committee described the problem this way:

"Inadequate disposal of runoff often results in widespread loss of valuable time and frequently causes great inconvenience to urban populations. This is characterized by persons arriving late to places of employment, or perhaps not reporting at all, because of delays in transportation caused by street flooding, or resulting from the need to care for property being endangered by flooding.

"Flooding of basements can result from unsatisfactory or nonexistent storm sewer systems. The results may vary, from mere inconvenience and loss of use of basement facilities, upward to very serious threats to health and safety. The extensive use of combined sewers presents a threat of disease to the helpless public in such areas.

"In commercial areas, where food may be served in basement cafeterias and restaurants, such basement flooding admits sewage which could cause disease to spread rapidly to many persons and, if communicable, thence to others over wide geographic areas.

"In industrial and commercial areas, basement flooding from combined sewers frequently causes serious damage to mechanical, electrical and processing equipment, such as power generating equipment, heating and cooling equipment, transformers, mechanical shop equipment and stored equipment, goods and supplies."

And, the report points out, "the present rate of industrial expansion and population growth in urban areas [will very likely mean] an increase in losses due to such property damage."

The cost to state and local governments to meet the nation's needs in storm sewers, in order to cope with the runoff problem, will grow substantially. The needed capital outlays estimated for 1975 will be about $1.8 billion—in contrast to 1965 outlays of approximately $400 million. The total amount required for the 10 years between 1966 and 1975 is estimated at $16 billion.

WASTE DISPOSAL

Inadequate facilities for the disposal of waste are a danger to health and safety. And with the continued growth of the population in urban areas, and with increased industrialization, the need for expanded and improved facilities also grows.

Facilities to dispose of this human and industrial waste include sanitary sewer collection systems as well as waste treatment plants. The waste must be subjected to extensive treatment so its subsequent discharge will not be a health hazard.

According to the report of the Joint Economic Committee, existing combined sewer systems—that is, systems used both for water runoff and for waste—constitute "the single largest problem involving adequate sewage collection facilities which must be resolved. . . ."

In 1965, state and local government capital outlays for sanitary sewers amounted to $385 million and outlays for waste treatment plants amounted to $625 million. To meet the projected needs, these figures will have to rise, respectively, to $1.1 billion and $1.2 billion in 1975. Over the 10-year period, the total outlays required for these two types of facilities are estimated at more than $17.5 billion.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In the postwar period, there has been a tremendous upsurge in enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools. In contrast to the 25 million pupils who attended public schools in 1947, enrollments in 1965 reached 42 million. The estimate for 1975 is 48 million.

Despite the increase in state and local outlays for additional public elementary and secondary school facilities in recent years—the amounts rose from $111 million in 1946 to about $3.7 billion in 1965—not enough has been spent. Millions of children and youths are still being shortchanged on their education because inadequate and overcrowded classrooms lead inevitably to inferior education. And these are the conditions that presently prevail.

The estimate of the number of classrooms needed depends upon the standards used concerning the number of pupils per room. The U.S. Office of Education, in a chapter written for the Joint Economic Committee study, applied as a standard the present national average of 27 pupils per room. As a result, it estimates that 107,000 classrooms are needed now to handle overcrowding.

This is a highly conservative estimate. Many education experts, including those in the AFL-CIO, believe the present national average itself represents general overcrowding. The AFL-CIO estimate of needs to deal with overcrowded rooms—based on 25 elementary school pupils per room and 20 high school pupils per room—is 286,000 classrooms, considerably in excess of the 107,000 rooms suggested by the Office of Education.

Regardless, however, of which estimate one accepts, it is obvious there is at this time a substantial backlog of classrooms needed simply to deal with overcrowding.

But this is only a small part of the total backlog. According to the Office of Education, there is, in addition, a need for nearly 200,000 classrooms to replace existing facilities that ought to be abandoned because they are unfit. While the exact number of youngsters subjected to schooling under these conditions cannot be determined, it runs in the millions.

All told, the Office of Education places the nation's need for new public elementary and secondary school classrooms at 750,000 over the next 10 years. Of this number, 300,000 would be required to cope with the present backlog and 350,000 to take care of increased enrollment. The remaining 100,000 will be needed to replace facilities which will become outmoded.

In order to meet these needs, state and local outlays for public elementary and secondary classroom construction will have to rise to $5.3 billion by 1975. In 1965, the outlays came to $3.7 billion. Over the entire 10-year period, the amount which will be required totals $42 billion.

Included in these figures are outlays for area vocational schools. Over the 10 years between 1965 and 1975, capital expenditures for these facilities will absorb over $6 billion of the $42 billion total.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the need to modernize vocational education. The quality of the training has left much to be desired and, as a consequence, too many youngsters have been turned out inadequately prepared for the modern job market.

Area schools are essential to this effort to improve vocational training because, for many occupations, facilities for small numbers of students cannot be economically provided. The cost involved for adequately-equipped shops and laboratories—if students are to be trained for some of the better jobs in a highly-automated economy—makes it necessary to develop more of such facilities on an area basis.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In part reflecting greater aspirations as a people, an ever-growing number of young people are attending college. And, while a substantial number seek their higher education in private schools, the large majority depend upon publicly-supported institutions.

In 1955, publicly-supported institutions of higher education—four-year colleges and junior colleges—had approximately 1.5 million students enrolled. By 1965, this figure had risen to more than 3.5 million. And in the years ahead it is expected to increase still further, by about 5 percent per year.

If this growing demand for higher education opportunities is to be met, state and local governments will have to spend $13.9 billion for academic facilities during the 1966–75 decade. And, in addition, another $6.1 billion will be required in order to provide housing and related facilities for the students. As a result, outlays for academic and housing facilities will have to climb from approximately $1.2 billion in 1965 to nearly $2.5 billion in 1975.

HEALTH FACILITIES

According to the projected needs, state and local capital outlays for health facilities will have to reach $1.7 billion in 1975. In 1965, these outlays amounted to $500 million.

The growing needs in this field reflect both the growth of the population and the growth of aspirations. An ever-growing number of people are intent upon receiving the best possible health care and existing facilities in many instances are either inadequate or overburdened.

Although most of the hospitals in the country are not governmentally operated, a substantial number—approximately 25 percent of the total—are operated by state and local governments. Over the decade of 1966–75, total capital outlays by states and localities to provide the additional facilities that will be required will come to nearly $4 billion.

The health needs of the people also will compel state and local governments to step up outlays for many other health-related facilities, such as clinics, mental health centers, medical research facilities and medical schools.

The total capital outlays by state and local governments for all types of health facilities in order to meet the growing needs of the people will have to reach over $13 billion during 1966–75.

TRANSPORTATION

As a people on wheels, Americans depend heavily on highways, roads and streets—to move commerce, to get to work, to take care of chores and to enjoy leisure hours. And since people are so dependent on a big and growing network of highways and streets it is not at all surprising that these types of facility should represent a fairly substantial expenditure by state and local governments.

In 1965, $7.9 billion was spent by state and local governments for road construction. In order to meet estimated needs for 1975, the annual expenditure should be over $15 billion, or not quite double the rate of spending in 1965. And over the 10-year period of 1966 to 1975, the total outlays—if expected needs are to be met—will have to be more than $121 billion.

The nation's transportation needs, however, do not end with highways, roads and streets. They include bridges and tunnels and parking facilities, as well as airports and marine port facilities. During the 10 years of 1966–75, state and local capital outlays to meet these needs are estimated to total nearly $12 billion.

Moreover, several million Americans, especially those living in the urbanized areas, depend daily on mass transit facilities. The fact that a declining number of people rely on such public service—while a growing number have turned to the automobile—does not mean that mass transit is any less of a problem. Service is generally inadequate and fares constantly rise and, as a result, more and more people turn to the automobile. As the number of riders shrink, the fares go up again, and service may be reduced. This forces still more commuters to turn to the automobile.

One end result of all this is substantially increased automobile traffic and frequent traffic jams—and the demand for still more roads and highways which, of course, means more spending.

Congress finally recognized the transportation plight of the urban-area dweller in adopting the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act. As a result, federal grants are now available to aid state and local governments in connection with capital outlays for mass transit facilities.

In 1965, state and local governments spent $242 million in capital expenditures for urban mass transit facilities. In order to meet the needs estimated for 1975, spending for these purposes will have to climb to nearly $1 billion in that year. The total cost projected for the entire 10-year period is about $5 billion.

THE NEED FOR LONG-RANGE PLANNING

These are but a few examples of growing public facility needs and the estimates of experts as to how much they will cost. And, as the urbanization process continues and as the population grows, these needs also will continue to grow. And they will grow also because man's aspirations—spurred on by scientific and technological advances—will continue to rise.

President Johnson in 1965 called the city and its suburbs "a community for the enrichment of the life of man." But it can be this only if it serves his wants—only if it helps to make his life more pleasant. And, in the crowded, urbanized areas—indeed, also in the less crowded areas—this cannot be done without adequate attention to needed public services. And these require public facilities.

The fact that the nation has the capability—the money, manpower and materials—in no way guarantees that these needs will be met. There is still the problem of commitment and planning. That is, government at all levels still must make the decision to meet the needs and this can be done effectively only if there is adequate long-range planning.

The study of the Joint Economic Committee has provided numbers in the aggregate. What is sorely needed at this point are the details—state by state, community by community. The federal government should lose no time in urging these other governmental units to come up with the specific projects, based on their anticipated needs over the next decade.

The federal government can then plan ahead in terms of its grant-in-aid programs. During the current year, federal grants to help state and local governments with capital outlays for public facilities approximate $4.9 billion. In the years ahead, this figure will obviously have to increase considerably in view of the expected growth in public facility needs.

Public facility needs—Projected capital outlays of State and local public agencies

[Dollars in millions]

	1965 actual	1975 estimated to meet needs	Percent increase in annual outlays, 1975 versus 1965	1966–75 estimate 10-year total
Basic community facilities:				
Regional and river basin water supply systems	$2	$30	1,400	$170
Public water supply systems	1,040	2,250	116	19,440
Rural agriculture water supply systems	(1)	140	(1)	1,100
Sanitary sewer collection systems	385	1,090	183	7,750
Storm sewer systems	417	1,820	336	16,000
Water waste treatment plants	625	1,240	98	9,830
Solid wastes collection and disposal facilities	130	270	108	2,170
Electric power	766	1,350	76	12,250
Gas distribution systems	44	70	59	550
Subtotal, basic community facilities	3,409	8,260	142	69,260
Transportation facilities:				
Highways, roads, and streets	7,782	15,330	97	121,650
Toll bridges, tunnels, and turnpikes	338	500	29	4,000
Offstreet parking facilities	102	300	194	2,400
Urban mass transit facilities	242	960	297	7,600
Airport facilities	261	530	103	4,980
Marine port facilities	159	50	−69	430
Subtotal, transportation	8,934	17,670	98	141,060
Education facilities:				
Public elementary and secondary schools	3,650	4,480	23	35,500
Area vocational school facilities	(2)	790	(1)	6,300
Academic facilities for higher education	915	1,750	91	13,870
College housing and related service facilities	301	720	139	6,080
Educational television	5	30	500	230
Subtotal, education facilities	4,871	7,770	60	61,980

	1965 actual	1975 estimated to meet needs	Percent increase in annual outlays, 1975 versus 1965	1966–75 estimated 10-year total
Health facilities:				
Hospitals	$494	$480	(1)	$3,930
Clinics and other outpatient facilities		100	(1)	810
Long-term care facilities		130	(1)	1,060
Community mental health centers		220	(1)	1,470
Facilities for the mentally retarded	34	130	282	1,070
Health research facilities	(1)	240	(1)	1,920
Medical and other health schools	(1)	360	(1)	2,880
Subtotal, health facilities	528	1,660	214	13,140
Recreational and cultural facilities:				
State and Federal outdoor recreation facilities	313	530	69	4,400
Urban local outdoor recreation facilities	360	2,200	511	17,600
Arenas, auditoriums, exhibition halls	600	910	52	7,200
Theaters and community art centers	(1)	460	(1)	3,620
Museums	14	40	186	270
Public libraries	103	240	133	1,910
Subtotal, recreation and cultural	1,390	4,380	215	35,000
Other public buildings:				
Residential group care facilities for children	(1)	70	(1)	560
Armories	1	15	1,400	150
Jails and prisons	(1)	120	(1)	920
Fire stations	191	170	−11	1,370
Public office and court buildings	218	400	84	3,250
Other	214	(1)	(1)	(1)
Subtotal, other public buildings	410	775	89	6,250

[1] Not available.

[2] Included in public elementary and secondary schools.

Source: "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing"; Joint Economic Committee of the Congress; December 1966, vol. 1, pp. 24–25.

The development of such an inventory and a long-range planned program has been long advocated by the AFL–CIO. In its policy resolution on "Public Investment to Meet America's Needs," the 1965 AFL–CIO convention declared:

"A vast and planned national effort, under federal leadership, is needed to apply as much of our resources as possible to meet these [public] needs within a reasonable period of years. Such effort should be based on a national inventory of needs in the various categories. . . .

"The AFL–CIO urges the federal government to develop, coordinate and maintain a national inventory of needs . . . based on present backlogs and future population growth. Each state and metropolitan area should be encouraged to develop an inventory of needs within its geographical jurisdiction, in addition to the development of a coordinated national inventory, prepared by the federal government.

"Such comprehensive inventory of needs should provide the foundation for nationwide programs in each category—based on federal financial and technical assistance to the state and local governments, including federal grants-in-aid and guaranteed loans, as well as direct federal efforts. Target dates should be established for achieving specified objectives and the pace should be speeded up or slowed down, depending upon changes in defense requirements and the availability of manpower and productive capacity.

"We urge the federal government, the states and metropolitan government authorities to develop such inventories of needs in housing, community facilities and public services as soon as possible and to move ahead rapidly, with sufficient funds and resources, to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing, urban population."

Each year the needs increase. There is more and more pressure for additional facilities to catch up with the backlog and to provide for growth. These needs can be met effectively only by a planned national effort, with vigorous federal leadership and financial aid.

BRUNO BITKER, MILWAUKEE ATTORNEY, ARTICULATE AND FORCEFUL ADVOCATE OF SENATE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—XXXVIII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the hearings before the ad hoc subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee on the three human rights conventions are now over. It is the strong hope of advocates of U.S. ratification that this first and necessary step toward long-overdue ratification will result in a favorable committee report quite soon.

Many knowledgeable and distinguished witnesses appeared before the ad hoc subcommittee to testify in favor of Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery. Included among these witnesses were the spokesmen and officers of respected national labor, religious, nationality, and veterans organizations. Their testimony was uniformly persuasive and the case which they made for Senate ratification was compelling.

I was especially gratified and impressed by a constituent of mine from Wisconsin, Mr. Bruno V. Bitker.

I was gratified, because Bruno Bitker has long been in the front rank of those fighting hard for human rights and human dignity.

Bruno Bitker, a prominent Milwaukee attorney for over 45 years, was a former member and officer of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights. He is presently the chairman of the Governor's Committee on the United Nations. He is also chairman of the Special Human Rights Committee of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. In addition, Bruno Bitker has served as chairman of the Human Rights Panel of the White House Conference on International Cooperation.

Bruno Bitker has fought the good fight for human rights far longer and far harder than most of us. In his testimony before the committee Bruno Bitker makes a skillful and convincing case for Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery.

I congratulate Bruno Bitker for his testimony. I commend Bruno Bitker's testimony to my colleagues. I request unanimous consent that the statement of Bruno Bitker on March 8, 1967, before the ad hoc committee of the Foreign Relations Committee be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF RATIFICATION

(Submitted by Bruno V. Bitker, Milwaukee, Wis.)

In 1945, the United States, after an almost unanimous vote of the Senate, ratified the United Nations Charter treaty. Its purpose to achieve "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion", is clearly stated. This, says the Charter, is with "a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations."

While the Charter was in the process of being drafted at San Francisco, there was considerable discussion about creating an international bill of rights. Though limitation of time prevented formal action, President Truman, at the conclusion of the sessions at San Francisco said:

"Under this document we have good reason to expect the framing of an international Bill of Rights acceptable to all the nations involved. That Bill of Rights will be as much a part of international life as our own Bill of Rights is part of our Constitution. The Charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and freedoms, and unless we can attain these objectives for all men and women everywhere—without regard to race, language or religion—we cannot have permanent peace and security."

The significance attached to the human rights provisions of the Charter by the Supreme Court is indicated in the references to it in the separate concurring opinions filed by Justice Black, in which Justice Douglas joined and by Justice Murphy, in which Justice Rutledge joined, in *Oyama* v. *California*, 1947 (332 U.S. 633, 92 L. ed. 249). The Supreme Court found the California Alien Land Law unconstitutional. Justice Black thus expresses the weight given to the Charter (p. 649):

"There are additional reasons now why that law stands as an obstacle to the free accomplishment of our policy in the international field. One of these reasons is that we have recently pledged ourselves to cooperate with the United Nations to "promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." (U.N. Charter, Articles 55c and 56). How can this nation be faithful to this international pledge if state laws which bar land ownership and occupancy by aliens on account of race are permitted to be enforced?"

In 1948, the General Assembly approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although the Declaration was intended to be purely declaratory, like our own Declaration of Independence, nevertheless, over the years since its adoption it has acquired a status greater than originally contemplated. Its inclusion in part and sometimes in full in the constitutions of some of the newly emerging nations indicates that it is something more than a moral manifesto; it has acquired an independent vitality of its own. It is of great value in interpreting the understanding of the United Nations as to the scope of human rights.

In spelling out specific rights covered by the Declaration, the United Nations, directly or through its specialized agencies, has adopted a number of treaties written in the spirit of the Universal Declaration and of the Charter.

Pursuant to our constitutional process, four of these treaties have been transmitted by the President of the United States to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification: The Genocide treaty in 1949, and the treaties on Forced Labor, on Slavery and on the Political Rights of Women in 1963. All four treaties have been pending in the appropriate Senate committee ever since submission. The latter three are referred to as the Kennedy treaties.

Abbreviated summaries of the treaties follow:

The Genocide Treaty makes the commission of specified acts with intent to destroy national, ethnical, racial or religious groups as such, a crime under international law. It is directed at mass annihilation such as the killing of Armenians by the Turks in World War I and the Nazi murder of Jews in World War II. It fills the void left by the Charter of the Nuremberg Court, under which those trials were limited to consideration of the crimes against humanity which were actually war crimes and not those which were not directly related to the war conspiracy. The Genocide treaty makes Genocide a crime whether committed in time of peace or in war.

The Slavery treaty supplements an existing treaty against slavery, to which the United States became a party in 1926. It requires the abolition of such practices as serfdom, involuntary marriage, transfer of women for payment, transfer of widows as inherited property and exploitation of children.

The treaty on the Abolition of Forced Labor prohibits the use of any form of compulsory labor as a means of political coercion or as a punishment for expressing views opposed to the established political, social or economic system or as a means of discrimination.

The treaty on the Political Rights of Women provides that women shall be entitled to vote and to hold public office and exercise all public functions established by national law on equal terms with men.

Slavery and forced labor are already barred by the Constitution (the Thirteenth Amendment against slavery and involuntary servitude). The provisions for the Political Rights of Women are protected by other constitutional amendments (the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing the rights of citizens regardless of sex, and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments forbidding national or state discrimination).

The fact that the objectives of these particular treaties are attained by our own Constitution has been suggested as making it unnecessary to enter into international agreements on the same subjects. With respect thereto, President Kennedy, in his letter transmitting these three treaties to the Senate, said:

"United States law is, of course, already in conformity with these conventions, and ratification would not require any change in our domestic legislation. However, the fact that our Constitution already assures us of these rights does not entitle us to stand aloof from documents which project our own heritage on an international scale . . . The United States cannot afford to renounce responsibility for support of the very fundamentals which distinguish our concept of government from all forms of tyranny." (Department of State Bulletin, August 26, 1963, p. 323)

Surprising as it may be to many Americans, slavery still persists in parts of the world. At this very time, the U.N.'s Human Rights Commission is meeting in Geneva and dealing with slavery. It has before it a report which indicates that there are more than two million human beings held in slavery today.

As to Genocide, this appears so fundamental as to require merely a statement of its objectives to establish its validity as a subject covered by the United Nations Charter. Genocide is not new to history. It occurred long ago with the mass extermination of Christians by the imperial government of Rome. It reached an unbelievably low level of butchery by the Nazis in the extermination of six million Jews under Hitler. It was these events related to World War II which so shocked the conscience of mankind that civilized society determined that such conduct must be outlawed by the world community of nations.

Objections have been voiced by some to the United States ratifying any and all treaties in the field of human rights. Some objectors assert that because of the supremacy of treaties under our Constitution, they might produce otherwise unacceptable or unconstitutional domestic law. It is claimed that the usual legislative processes could be circumvented and a President, with the advice and consent of two thirds of the Senate, might impose burdens on the states and on the American public which otherwise could not have been imposed because of constitutional prohibitions.

It is true that the power to enter into treaties is broad under our Constitution (Article II, sec. 2). The President may make treaties "with the Advice and Consent of the Senate." The supremacy of the treaties as the "law of the land" is clear (Article VI, Cl. 2). The vast scope of the treaty power has been judicially recognized in this country almost since the Constitution was adopted. As long ago as 1796, in *Ware* v. *Hylton*, 3 Dall. 199, the Supreme Court affirmed the power when, by the provisions of the peace treaty with England, it prevented a state from wiping out debts due to British subjects.

But the treaty making power does not rise above the Constitution. The Supreme Court has said, *Reid* v. *Covert*, 354 U.S. 1 @ 17 (1957) that:

"The prohibitions of the Constitution were designed to apply to all branches of the National Government and they cannot be nullified by the Executive or by the Executive and Senate combined. . . This Court has regularly and uniformly recognized the supremacy of the Constitution over a treaty."

These limitations have been thus spelled out in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (133 U.S. 258 @ 267):

"It would not be contended that it (the treaty-making power) extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government or in that of one of the states, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter without its consent. . . But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touching any matter which is properly the subject of negotiations with a foreign country."

Thus the Court has said in *Asakura* v. *Seattle*, 265 U.S. 332 @ 341, that while the treaty making power "does not extend 'so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids', it does extend to all proper subjects of negotiations between our government and other nations."

Obviously, treaties declaring mass murder an international crime, preventing slavery and forced labor, securing the political rights of women, would not authorize something which the Constitution forbids.

The only question of substance, therefore, that may be raised as to these treaties is whether they are "properly the subject" of international negotiation. What is a proper and natural and obvious subject for such negotiation may be something of which man had no conception a few decades ago. What was considered solely a matter of domestic interest yesterday, becomes a subject of vital concern today between nations.

In my childhood there was a popular poem which began:

> "I shot an arrow into the air
> It fell to earth, I know not where."

When Longfellow wrote these lines more than 100 years ago, who could have conceived that arrows shot into the air might be the subject of an international agreement? But today we are working on a treaty on the use of outer space that talks of arrows shot into the air and what happens when they fall to the earth no matter where. This emphasizes that there can be no rigid, permanent, fixed standard for determining what is a matter about which nations can negotiate.

The idea that the denial of human rights and other anti-social conduct are proper subjects of international concern was accepted and acted on long ago by the United States. Hence, we have made treaties prohibiting white slave traffic, traffic in arms, traffic in narcotic drugs and, as to a specific issue at hand, the United States is now a party to the international treaty of 1926 to suppress slave trade and slavery.

A recent authoritative analysis on the constitutionality of related treaties is contained in the Restatement of Law, Second, Foreign Relations Law of the United States, adopted by the American Law Institute, 1965. The reporter's note to Section 118, "Scope of Treaty", page 375, reads:

"*Treaties relating to human rights.* Proposed treaties dealing with human rights have raised questions in the U. S. and, indeed, in other countries as to whether or not they deal with matters that are appropriate for settlement by agreements between nations. The issues are not unlike those presented by international labor conventions under the constitution of the International Labor Organizations. Although such conventions generally specify standards already observed in the U.S., it has an interest in seeing that they are observed by as many states as possible, not merely to protect its own standards but to promote conditions abroad that will foster economic development and democratic institutions that are conducive to prosperity in the U.S. and achievement of its foreign policy objectives. It cannot effectively urge other states to adhere to such conventions without doing so itself."

Long before the United Nations Charter was in the drafting stage, President Roosevelt, in 1941, in his famous Four Freedoms speech, recognized that to make the world secure, there was a direct relationship between peace on the one hand and human rights on the other.

President Truman in 1945, at the conclusion of the San Francisco conference and before the Senate had considered the treaty, said that the Charter was "dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Unless", said the President, "we can attain those objectives for all men and women everywhere. . . . we cannot have permanent peace and security."

Continuously, throughout the more than twenty-one years since the United States Senate gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the United Nations Charter, the relationship between the observance of human rights and peace has been affirmed and reaffirmed.

President Eisenhower's message to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1953 points out that:

"People everywhere are seeking freedom—freedom to live, freedom from arbitrary restraint, freedom to think and speak as they wish. . . . The United States is convinced that freedom is an indispensable condition to the achievement of a stable peace."

President Kennedy thus summarized it when he said in his American University address in June, 1963: "And is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights." In transmitting the three treaties to the Senate in July, 1963, the President stated it thusly:

"The day-to-day unfolding of events makes it even clearer that our own welfare is interrelated with the rights and freedoms assured the peoples of other nations. . . . The United States cannot afford to renounce responsibility for support of the very fundamentals which distinguish our concept of government from all forms of tyranny."

In June, 1965, in his San Francisco speech commemorating the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, President Johnson said that "the world must finish once and for all the myth of inequality of races and peoples, with the scandal of discrimination, with the shocking violation of human rights and the cynical violation of political rights."

General George C. Marshall, when he was Secretary of State, addressed the U. N. General Assembly on September 23, 1948. Although he was then urging approval of the Genocide treaty, what he said on that occasion applies with equal force to the other treaties under consideration.

"Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people, are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international fields."

Man has long recognized that there are standards of justice and humanity which transcend all local boundary lines. They are, in the words of the Universal Declaration, "a common standard of achievement for all peoples" to which all nations must agree. Over the centuries, in one manner or another, nations have recognized that rights of man are proper subjects for agreements between nations. Such agreements may not have the sophistication of the treaties now under consideration, but history is full of agreements in the general area. The Christian states of Europe and the Mohammedan rulers long ago entered into agreements covering religious freedom. There are many treaties for repressing slavery and slave trade, for improving conditions of labor, for preventing white slavery, for policing the opium trade. There were the "minorities treaties" after World War I and there were general provisions in peace treaties concluded since World War II for the protection of minorities.

An endless variety of matters has been deemed proper for treaty ratification by the United States. One was supported in the famous Supreme Court decision, *Missouri v. Holland*, 252 U. S. 416 (1920). The Court there held that a treaty for the protection of migratory birds which fly over Canada and the United States was a proper exercise of the treaty-making power and federal legislation thereunder. It is almost ludicrous to assert that the lives of migratory birds can be protected by a treaty, but that the lives of human beings cannot.

It seems late in the day to suggest that the United States cannot now enter into treaties relating to human rights which in fact it committed itself to do twenty-one years ago when the United Nations Charter was ratified. If there was any doubt prior to World War II of whether human rights were a proper subject for agreements between nations, that doubt was resolved at the end of the war by the President and by the Senate of the United States. If the treaties relating to minorities adopted after World War I are not considered precedents so far as our own country is concerned (though they obviously are in the world at large), then what we agreed to at the close of World War II must certainly have meaning.

A few references to the United Nations Charter which we ratified in 1945 should suffice to emphasize our commitment. Article I sets forth the purposes as covering the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms; Article 23 requires the General Assembly to assist in the realization of such purposes; Article 55 requires the organization to create conditions of peace among nations through observance of human rights; Article 56 pledges all members to take action to achieve the purposes set forth in Article 55; Article 62 envisions recommendations from the Economic and Social Council for promoting these rights; Article 68 requires the Council to set up a human rights commission.

It is difficult to conceive what more need be spelled out to indicate our recognition that human rights are a matter of negotiations between nations. As Philip C. Jessup, now a member of the International Court of Justice said in his Modern Law of Nations:

"It is already law at least for members of the United Nations, that respect for human dignity and fundamental human right is obligatory. The duty is imposed by the Charter, a treaty to which they are parties."

Bearing on Mr. Jessup's statement is the fact that as of the end of 1966, only nine of the United Nations had failed to ratify any one of these four treaties. They are: Bolivia, the Maldives, Paraguay, Spain, Togo, the Union of Sotuh Africa, Uruguay, Yemen and the United States of America.

By its heritage and its ideals, because of its good will toward all mankind and its desire for peace throughout the world, the United States has assumed international responsibilities. It now has the opportnuity and the obligation to vigorously continue to advance the cause of human rights and fundamental freedoms everywhere on earth. To further this noble objective, we should speedily ratify the pending four human rights treaties on Genocide, on Slavery, on Forced Labor and on the Political Rights of Women.

PHONY BOOKKEEPING PROCEDURES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, today the Comptroller General sent to the Congress another report which further emphasizes the phony bookkeeping procedures of this administration. At this point I ask unanimous consent that the letter of the Comptroller General, dated March 13, and a chart be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter and chart were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Comptroller General of the
United States,
Washington, D.C., March 13, 1967.

To the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

This report on our examination of financial statements of the Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966, presents the Corporation's financial statements for the year, together with our comments thereon and our comments on selected highlights of the Corporation's operations during that period. We are reporting the results of our examination to the Congress as required by the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U.S.C. 851).

In calendar year 1966, separate reports covering our reviews of various activities of the Corporation were issued to the Congress and to the Corporation's management. A summary of selected findings included in such reports is presented in the forepart of this report.

The Corporation reported a total realized loss of $3 billion for fiscal year 1966. This loss, reimbursable through appropriations, was substantially the same as the realized loss for fiscal year 1965. The amount of unreimbursed losses at June 30, 1966, was $7.6 billion.

The realized loss of $3 billion for fiscal year 1966 did not include costs totaling $1.9 billion incurred by the Corporation in carrying out special activities such as those under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, commonly known as Public Law 480. The costs of these special activities are accounted for separately by the Corporation.

In view of the unique character and vast scope of the Corporation's operations, particularly with respect to commodity inventories, it was not practicable for us to perform all the examination and verification steps which we believe would be necessary to reach an independent overall opinion concerning the accuracy and fairness with which the financial statements present the Corporation's financial position at June 30, 1966, and the results of its operations for the year then ended. This matter is discussed more fully in the section of the report which describes the scope of our audit.

However, we do express the opinion that the Corporation's accounting methods provided a generally satisfactory record of its financial transactions and that its system of financial reporting was, in general, adequate for the purpose of supplying the Corporation's management with information for conducting its affairs.

As explained, beginning on page 15, the Corporation had acquired pooled payment-in-kind certificates on feed grains which exceeded the estimated sales value of its feed grain inventory by about $2.2 billion at June 30, 1966. For all practical purposes, the pooled certificates merely represent the amount of feed grain sales that the Corporation may make at the higher of market price or loan rate plus reasonable carrying charges. Without the certificates, sales generally must be made at a substantially higher price.

Program operations indicate that the balance of pooled certificates will continue to outpace the Corporation's feed grain inventory. At September 30, 1966, the excess of pooled certificates over the estimated sales value of the feed grain inventory had risen to $3 billion. We are bringing this matter to the attention of the Congress because of the interest it has shown in the past with respect to the pricing policies of the Corporation.

Copies of this report are being sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of Agriculture.

ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States.

SCHEDULE 3.—*Commodity Credit Corporation—Analysis of deficit from inception in 1933 to June 30, 1966*

	Cumulative to June 30, 1965	Fiscal year 1966	Cumulative to June 30, 1966
Total realized less exclusive of cost of wartime consumer subsidy program	[1] $24,987,326,756	$2,984,871,295	$27,972,198,051
Cost of wartime consumer subsidy program	2,102,281,073		2,102,281,073
Subtotal	27,089,607,829	2,984,871,295	30,074,479,124
Reserves for losses, program	1,235,688,000	[2] −347,495,000	888,193,000
Net operating loss	28,325,295,829	2,637,376,295	30,962,672,124
Less:			
Reimbursement for net realized loss (15 U.S.C. 713a)	19,078,776,242	2,799,789,092	21,878,565,334
Appropriation for the postwar price support of agriculture (60 Stat. 8)	500,000,000		500,000,000
Loss recovered under the Foreign Aid Act of 1947 (22 U.S.C. 1411)	56,239,432		56,239,432
Recovery of emergency feed program losses (69 Stat. 62)	41,915,799		41,915,799
	19,676,931,473	2,799,789,092	22,476,720,565
Net deficit (schedule 1)	[1] 8,648,364,356	−162,412,797	[3] 8,485,951,559

[1] Revised to exclude $197,506,487 which represents interest included in realized losses as of June 30, 1965, on the portion of borrowings from Treasury equal to unreimbursed realized losses as of June 30, 1964, not subject to interest as provided by Public Law 89-316, approved Nov. 2, 1965.

[2] Represents adjustment of reserves for losses.

[3] Comprised of the following:

Unrestored realized losses:	
Fiscal year 1961	$1,057,047,170
Fiscal year 1964	507,834,256
Fiscal year 1965 (see note 1 above)	3,048,005,838
Fiscal year 1966	2,984,871,295
Subtotal	7,597,758,559
Reserves as of June 30, 1966	888,193,000
Net deficit as of June 30, 1966	8,485,951,559

The notes on pp. 37–43 are an integral part of this statement.
The opinion of the General Accounting Office on this statement appears on p. 29.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, this letter calls attention to the fact that the Commodity Credit Corporation, as of June 30, 1966, had unreimbursed losses totaling $7.6 billion. These unreimbursed losses have been accumulating over the past several years. They represent expenditures for which an appropriation is not included in the budget. This policy of concealing the actual losses is being perpetrated further in the budget for 1968.

The administration, in submitting the budget for fiscal 1968, is claiming a reduction in appropriations for the Commodity Credit Corporation of $1,346,277,000. It arrived at this figure because it has asked for only $1.4 billion to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation for its fiscal 1968 losses, and this amount was less than the $2.746 billion requested in fiscal 1967. This claim is a farce because this so-called savings is only due to the fact that the administration is restoring a small percentage of the losses of that agency.

As evidence of that statement, I call attention to a report by the Commodity Credit Corporation issued under date of February 10, 1967. This report shows the results of this Government corporation's operations for the first 6 months of fiscal year 1967, or for that period between June 30, 1966, and December 31, 1966.

This report of the Corporation itself shows:

> The Corporation's total realized loss for program operations amounted to $2,578,875,000 for the 6 months period ending December 31, 1966.

To offset that $2½ billion loss which we already have sustained in the first 6 months of 1967 fiscal year the administration is asking for an appropriation of only $1.4 billion. Then they are boasting of the fact that they are making a saving for the taxpayers. They are not making any saving at all; they are merely trying to smooth some whitewash over the red ink of this administration. They are merely postponing the day when these losses will have to be paid for.

As of December 31, 1966, the Commodity Credit Corporation owed the Treasury in outstanding notes $10,234,589,000. The total inventories and loans—that is, the net worth—of the Commodity Credit Corporation, if it were liquidated as of that date and all its inventories were sold at actual cost, plus all the storage costs, if all their loans were liquidated with full payments, would total $4,405,775,000. That is all they would have after they liquidated their assets to make payment on the $10,234 million borrowed from the Treasury. This would leave a deficit as of that date of $5.8 billion if the agency were liquidated. Yet they are not telling the American people about this huge loss which has already been sustained; instead, they are claiming that they are actually going to save money this year as compared with last year's expenditures. Apparently they are not going to recognize those losses until the 1968 presidential election is over, and then somebody will have to face up to it.

The administration has sent to Congress a request asking for legislation requiring truth in packaging and truth in lending. When those bills dealing with truth in lending and truth in packaging come before Congress I am considering offering an amendment requiring—and I emphasize the word "requiring"—the administration to tell the American people the truth as to the cost of operating this Great Society. If we want truth on the part of the American people let the Government set the example and start telling them the truth.

REAPPOINTMENT OF DR. HANSEN

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an editorial which appears in today's Washington Star, entitled "Reappoint Hansen."

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a letter to the editor of the Washington Star, appearing in today's issue, written by Margaret Moore, a retired elementary school principal. The letter is written under the caption "Support Hansen."

There being no objection, the editorial and the letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REAPPOINT HANSEN

It is not Superintendent Hansen who will be on trial when the issue of his reappointment reaches the District school board for a vote tomorrow. It is the board itself.

Praise for Carl Hansen's abilities and sound educational concepts has been the subject of a great many letters appearing on this page in recent weeks from District citizens, Negro and white alike, who have personal knowledge of them. This esteem was earned, by accomplishments dating back to the difficult days of transition from a legally segregated school system. It is no less pertinent in terms of his value today, in the struggles with the equally difficult problems of de facto segregation.

One critic, board member John A. Sessions, says he opposes Hansen because he hopes for "substantial change" in District schools. What change, however, is that? Sessions does not say. Actually, it is the present school board itself which has failed to make good its promises of brave new educational policies to "improve" the system.

Indeed, Sessions' comment is all too typical of the criticism one hears of Hansen these days. The superintendent has become a convenient target for all the frustrations, all the inadequacies of the District school system—for the most part entirely without justification. The wonder is that Hansen is willing to come back for more. It is a good thing, however, that he is willing, for his departure would only compound existing problems.

Perhaps the report on District schools by the Columbia Teachers College, due this summer, will suggest some desirable new policies. If so, the board has nothing to fear from Hansen on that score. The superintendent has made it clear that he will resign if he is unable to follow the board's directives in good conscience. No board member can doubt that he means it.

Meanwhile, the sudden desire of Hansen's arch-enemy, board president Euphemia L. Haynes, to postpone a conclusive vote on the reappointment tomorrow, is puzzling. Perhaps Mrs. Haynes fears that the tide of board sentiment is against her. Whatever her motives, to prolong the present turmoil any longer would be an act of gross irresponsibility toward both Hansen and the community.

SUPPORTS HANSEN

SIR: Have the critics of Dr. Hansen truly considered the educational achievements of his term of office? Have they been fair to him or just twisted certain results in order to argue for some pet theories of their own? Perhaps a brief review may help to clear the thinking.

When Dr. Hansen was an assistant superintendent of schools in charge of elementary schools, he inaugurated a program that was appreciated by all the elementary school principals in former Division I. He held monthly meetings to discuss the problems facing the schools at that time. These meetings were very democratic in nature. Principals felt free to speak out and to bring up any phase of our school program that needed better understanding. For a year or two, when integration seemed imminent, much of the discussion turned around such questions as how to prepare for the merger of the two divisions. How could we prepare ourselves; how could we prepare our parents and our children to work together? Dr. Hansen welcomed all the suggestions we could give him.

Although the District of Columbia Schools had had but one superintendent over all the schools; although that superintendent had held meetings of all officers together (all levels in both Divisions I and II) to outline school programs and procedures, when integration came both groups learned that these programs had been interpreted differently within the two divisions and many adjustments had to be made.

When Dr. Hansen became superintendent he consistently *fought for smaller classes*, which meant more school buildings to house the classes, more personnel to teach the classes. His budget requests were cut year after year.

Because he realized that reducing class size was going to be a long process, he sought other ways of insuring better education for all the children. *Grouping together children* of similar ability would enable the teacher to reach more children. No matter how skillful the teacher, there are not enough minutes in the day to teach individual children or even five or six groups within a class without the rest of the class marking time if not actually becoming disorderly. Personnel responsible for choosing textbooks and other tools of learning were directed to find materials suited to the several levels of learning; books that the pupils could really use.

The Amidon Plan was another experiment to help teachers to do a better job. Our schools were being staffed by more and more temporary teachers, many of whom needed definite help.

There are other school programs which might be considered. Perhaps there have been errors made in carrying out the proposed plans; but no one who has known Dr. Hansen and worked with him could say that he has not earnestly tried to meet the needs of all the children of Washington. One person cannot do it alone. A superintendent must have able assistants and good teachers. If some of his programs have not been as successful as he and everyone else hoped, perhaps there were not enough well qualified people to carry out the programs. Certainly constant criticism has not helped. Dr. Hansen has worked against terrific odds. If parents and the school board had done everything they could to help, our schools would be in better condition. I feel sure that some of the disciplinary problems among the pupils are a reflection of the bickering among the parents and some of the board members. This also could account for teachers resigning to take places elsewhere. Are the critical parents and board members taking their share of the responsibility for a sound educational program for the children in the D.C. Public Schools?

MARGARET MOORE,
Retired Elementary School Principal.

CREATIVE FEDERALISM AWARD

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I am pleased to call attention to the remarks made upon the occasion of the presentation of the Creative Federalism Award last March 1 to the distinguished chairman of the Senate Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE] by the National Association of Counties at their recent national legislative conference held in Washington, D.C.

I have had the privilege of serving on that subcommittee as the ranking minority member and have participated in the important task before the subcommittee of examining the functioning of our federal system and the relationship of Federal, State, and local governments particularly in this time of increasing Federal grant programs. Counties play a continuing important role in the administration of these programs and the National Association of Counties has been most helpful to our subcommittee in its work.

Senator MUSKIE is to be congratulated for his significant role as chairman of our subcommittee in calling attention to *the need for coordination in our Federal* programs. I congratulate him on receiving this first Creative Federalism Award and for this significant recognition.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the *statement made by Ed Munro*, commissioner, King County, Seattle, Wash., and president of the National Association of Counties, when presenting the award, the remarks by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, chairman of the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, and the remarks of the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE] at the time of the acceptance of the award.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS AT THE PRESENTATION OF "CREATIVE FEDERALISM" AWARD TO SENATOR EDMUND MUSKIE, BY ED MUNRO, COMMISSIONER, KING COUNTY, SEATTLE, WASH., AND PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, MARCH 1, 1967

The "creative federalism" award is made to Senator Muskie by the National Association of Counties in recognition of that person who, has in the view of county officials throughout the country, by his action and deeds, made an outstanding contribution to the achievement of "creative federalism". This is the second time such an award has been made by NACO, the first being to Vice President Humphrey in 1965. Senator Muskie's political career is well known—first coming on the National scene as a Democratic Governor for the State of Maine. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1958 and reelected in 1964. Senator Muskie's concern for improved intergovernmental relations was recognized shortly after his arrival in Washington in that through his leadership and that of Congressman L. H. Fountain of North Carolina, Congress established what in the mind of NACO has been one of—if not the guiding lights in the field of intergovernmental relations, that is, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. NACO first came to know him well through its membership on the commission, the county charter members being Ed Connor, Clair Donnenwirth and Ed Michaelian.

Senator Muskie's appointment to the Senate committees on Government Operations, Banking and Currency and Public Works has put him close to the major Federal programs of most immediate and direct concern to local government. He has consistently demonstrated his overriding concern for all levels of government in his legislative drafting efforts, which have been monumental.

The award that we are presenting today to Senator Muskie is the highest honor we as county officials could make to a public servant. We are deeply honored to be able to do so. I have asked several persons who have been close to Senator Muskie in his efforts in this field of "creative federalism" to offer their own remarks regarding this award and I shall do so now prior to formally presenting him with it.

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN L. H. FOUNTAIN, DEMOCRAT, OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN OF HOUSE INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, AT PRESENTATION OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES' "CREATIVE FEDERALISM AWARD," SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, MARCH 1, 1967

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to participate this morning in the presentation of your Association's "Creative Federalism Award" to Senator Muskie. The National Association of Counties is to be commended for sponsoring conferences of this kind and for its continuing interest in improving intergovernmental relations.

We are living in an age of vast and rapid technological change—change which puts great strains on our social institutions.

Changing conditions give rise to demands *for new and expanded activities*, in the public as well as in the private sector of our economy, and these, in turn, necessitate interlevel adjustments if a federal system is to operate successfully.

The temptation, unfortunately is to centralize governmental powers increasingly at the national level, where revenue sources are largest and the disposition to establish new programs is strongest.

But we must never forget that the strength and the genius of our constitutional system is its reliance on effective government at all levels—local, State, and Federal.

In the federal principle we have an admirable political concept well suited to the conditions of a country as large and diverse as ours. This extraordinary political invention of the Founding Fathers has weathered the tests of time and has proved remarkably adaptable to changing conditions.

The clear-cut division of functions between the States and the National Government that was appropriate in the early days of the Republic, in time gave way to a sharing of certain responsibilities in response to the advent of new economic and social conditions. Various methods of intergovernmental cooperation, like the grant-in-aid and the tax credit device, were found to assure the continued workability of our federal structure. The challenge is now ours to discover practicable new methods for further strengthening the federal system to better serve contemporary America and future generations.

Political inventiveness is sorely needed if we are to deal successfully with the newer problems of government, such as those associated with the explosive growth of metropolitan complexes. We can no longer safely rely exclusively on existing methods of intergovernmental cooperation. Here State and local governments have the major responsibility—and a great opportunity—to contribute to the solution of the growing array of metropolitan area problems. Effective State and local leadership in meeting this challenge would constitute indisputable evidence of the continued vitality of our federal system.

Unquestionably, States, counties, and cities must be more responsive to public needs if we are to avoid over-concentrating programs in Washington, with the resulting inefficiencies and impersonal character of "Big Government."

It is not simply a matter of the States exercising responsibility to preserve the division of powers, in practice as well as in theory. The Federal Government *needs* help. With the demands of national defense, international relations, and space exploration increasingly requiring more of the Federal Government's energies, it is essential that the States, and their political subdivisions, equip themselves to assume greater responsibility for domestic programs.

You are honoring this morning a man who has worked diligently and effectively to help improve intergovernmental relations and to strengthen our federal system.

Soon after his election to the Congress, Senator Muskie joined me in sponsoring and holding hearings on the legislation which in 1959 created the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. And he has been actively engaged in studying and resolving intergovernmental problems ever since—both as an active member of the Commission and as Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and on Air and Water Pollution. His legislative accomplishments have been outstanding, as, for example, his management of last year's very important water pollution control legislation.

Senator Muskie has pursued his committee work, I might say, with integrity, devotion and determination. In addressing himself to the difficult and laborious task of improving the operation of our federal system—the nuts and bolts of government, so to speak—he has avoided the temptation of engaging in the more spectacular type of hearings which appeal to the news media but contribute less to the solution of public problems.

In view of his achievements and his dedication to the cause of good government, it is most fitting that Senator Muskie should be the recipient of your Association's "Creative Federalism Award." It gives me great pleasure to be here with him on this happy occasion.

REMARKS BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES, CREATIVE FEDERALISM AWARD, MARCH 1, 1967

I am pleased and gratified to receive the creative federalism award of the National Association of Counties. I accept it with the mixed emotions, perhaps, of most people who are so honored. On the one hand is the excusable pride of recognition. On the other is the trepidation that such an award generates in the recipient, for He, of all men, knows that he must now set out to justify the honor.

I should like to use this occasion, not only to express my thanks to the officers and members of NACO for this expression of confidence and trust, but to review briefly the current status of creative federalism.

To the extent that this term embraces the improved coordination, organization and and management of Federal assistance for State and local governments—and I realize it means much more—to that extent, I believe we have succeeded in identifying the most serious weaknesses of the system. We have even set a possible course for a rational solution of those weaknesses.

Our subcommittee hearings last November and in recent weeks have focused attention on, and given voice to, the frustrations suffered by most officials at all three levels of Government, especially those involved in the administration of the grant-in-aid programs.

The grant-in-aid device is the most acceptable means so far found to translate nationally accepted goals into action programs. It has made a substantial contribution to the capacity of State and local governments to cope with the problems of an increasingly complex society.

But, overall, the lack of policy coordination, different planning requirements, confusion of authority, and lack of cooperation between different agencies at all three levels of Government have reduced the potential of the grant-in-aid programs. The problem is not just a shortage of funds; if all of these programs could be funded to their full authorization, I am convinced the problem would still be just as serious.

But, I think we can be encouraged by the Demonstration Cities Act, comprehensive planning requirements which have been written into various grant-in-aid programs; and the statewide and areawide planning provisions of the comprehensive Health Planning Act. All of these approaches are designed to make maximum use of our resources.

At the executive level, I believe the President's deep concern for this program has produced some very encouraging actions. While I have some reservations about the potential value of the so-called "convener order," it is nevertheless a constructive move toward resolving problems of program coordination where HUD is concerned. The President's November 11th and 17th directions to Federal departments and agencies to make more effective use of the planning, programming and budgeting system underscore his determination to move toward a solution of these problems. His November memorandum charged the Director of the Bureau of the Budget with establishing procedures to carry out his directive. I believe the Director's letter to various department and agency heads will produce improved working relationships and more effective arrangements among the levels of Government concerned with administration of grant programs.

I am particularly pleased that the Director's specifically charged the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations with the task of providing a reference service to help improve relations between Federal agencies and State executives. I believe this brings into the administration a pool of talent and knowledge that has not yet been fully recognized for its contribution to improved intergovernmental relations.

At the State level, a number of encouraging signs appear. Some States have already established offices of program coordination, and others are moving in this direction. Several States have initiated constitutional revisions. I was particularly impressed by the statement of Governor Hughes of Iowa when he testified before the subcommittee a few weeks ago. He said:

"I believe in States' rights as devoutly as any man, but I am fully aware that for many years we have seen giving out stereotyped dialogue about States' rights without paying constructive attention to *obligations* and *responsibilities* of State government.

"We have not held up our end of the Federal system—either in relation to the Federal Government or in relation to our political subdivisions."

Governor Hughes' key words, "obligations" and "responsibilities" ought to be accepted by all of us who are concerned with re-invigorating our Federal system. Those two words, against the background of the problem as we see it today, can move all of us toward a realization of the goals of the great society, if we move with a determined approach.

The recent suggestions made by NACO for better coordination of Federal programs is yet another hopeful sign. Your recommendation that counties established a coordinator for Federal and State programs is commendable. Your suggestion for a "block" grant as a primary means for bringing about better coordination through, among other things, comprehensive planning, seems to me to be a positive response of the lack of management capacity at the local level which Mr. Hillenbrand's testimony before the subcommittee emphasized. This kind of thoughtful analysis by groups such as NACO—groups who are in close contact with the various levels of our Federal system—cannot but help to guide us out of this morass of red tape and confusion.

All of us see the problem somewhat differently, and so have somewhat different approaches to solutions. I, of course, see great hope in the legislative proposals I have introduced—the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act, the Intergovernmental Personnel Act, and the National Intergovernmental Affairs Council. I believe these proposals can contribute to a solution of some of the more pressing problems. But I am not totally wedded to them as final answers. I *do* believe they represent positive, forward steps, and I shall continue to press for them until better solutions are proposed.

The President's state of the Union message, for me, contains the most succinct statement on what is needed. He said:

"Federal energy is essential. But it is not enough. Only a total working partnership among Federal, State and local governments can succeed. The test of that partnership will be the concern of each public organization, each private institution, and each responsible citizen."

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE HEMISPHERE

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I should like to express myself in support of the President's upcoming trip to Punta del Este and express my support of the resolution introduced yesterday by Senator

MORSE, for himself, Senator HICKENLOOPER, and Senator MANSFIELD, supporting the development of economic integration throughout Latin America.

The enormous resources in the countries to the south are waiting to be harnessed and cultivated in the years ahead to bring forth immeasurable economic and social benefits.

As a simple but dramatic example, it is interesting to note the accomplishments achieved in just a few short years by the countries of Central America in the economic and social structure of the Central American Common Market. Central American economists, after World War II, created the climate. Multilateral treaties ensued; then, in 1961 came ratification of basic treaties by El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, and in the next 2 years, by Honduras and Costa Rica. The movement has grown into a structure of more than a score of organizations carefully delineated to forge and strengthen a solid economic integration process among the five republics.

The Central American region as a whole has so far achieved an increase of more than 2½ percent per capita in gross national product. Five years ago, intra-Central American trade amounted to $37 million; in 1964 it jumped to over $105 million. Today, trade among the five Central American republics exceeds $150 million.

It is worth recalling that the United States of America was the first integrated geoeconomic area in the world. And it is interesting to speculate on what the development processes of the United States would have been like had not this prior integration taken place.

Last June 4, President Johnson hailed the fifth anniversary of the Central American Common Market with the words:

> We salute our Central American friends for what they have accomplished by placing the common good of the region above narrow interests.

I have no doubt but that other peoples of Latin America take heart in the achievements of their Central American neighbors. I believe that the meeting in Punta del Este will provide great impetus toward economic integration of all Latin America. I believe that, with our continued support, the countries to the south with their 230 million people will gather their strengths and inestimable resources to bring forth all that is required in the accomplishment of the great objectives of the Alliance for Progress.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD some comments by Perry S. Heath, grand chief engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, on the subject of collective bargaining and compulsory arbitration. These comments are excerpted from the official weekly of Mr. Heath's union, the Locomotive Engineer.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

(By Perry S. Heath, grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers)

Some recent observations by New York Times Labor Writer A. H. Raskin provide additional arguments against any form of compulsory arbitration which the new Congress may be under pressure to consider.

Writing about the reaction which seems to be setting in against the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, Raskin noted that the law was passed "to give rank-and-file unionists a more assertive voice in running their own organizations."

"One of the law's principal features," he went on, "was a union 'bill of rights' designed to guarantee increased internal democracy in electing union officers and in supplying workers with information about contract terms. The law's sponsors made no secret of their desire to curb the autocracy of 'union bosses.'

"But community concern about what's wrong with labor tends to operate on alternating current, and today's fuse-blower is excess power in the hands of the rank-and-file, rather than the leaders. Federal mediators report that the number of strikes resulting from membership unwillingness to ratify pacts proposed by union negotiators has been edging upward for the last two years . . .

"Secretary Wirtz made known in a speech last week his conviction that the frequency of membership rejections is 'very, very dangerous for collective bargaining,'" Raskin wrote. "He left no doubt that he was particularly concerned about the possibility that such upsets might become a deliberate technique for pushing up the price of settlements."

And so it would appear that more and more people are coming to realize the difficulty—the impossibility, actually—of legislating successful labor-management relations or of legislating solutions to labor-management disputes, whether the attempt be known as the Landrum-Griffin Act, Public Law 88–108 or the ill-advised Senate action during the Machinists' dispute with the airlines last summer.

The vast majority of BLE and other organization members are responsible, intelligent unionists who realize that they have elected officers to represent them effectively—and that the elected officers will be effective if the collective bargaining process—with its indispensable right to strike—is allowed to work unhampered by government intervention.

Compulsory arbitration, rather than eliminating strikes, would promote rank-and-file rebellion. As Dr. George Taylor said recently, "Compulsory arbitration doesn't eliminate strikes—it merely makes them illegal."

Experience abroad, where compulsory arbitration has been tried, shows that workers won't accept what they consider to be unfair settlement, even if it has the blessing of a supposedly impartial tribunal. But here in the U.S. experience has shown that workers will accept settlements reached through free collective bargaining, even if the terms are not all that they desire, because they know that their representatives have had a direct hand in shaping the settlements and have done the best possible job in the particular situation.

Compulsory arbitration would be about as successful as Prohibition, another attempted legislative "reform." There is no substitute for collective bargaining, and anyone who is tempted to try to improve it by imposing more restriction on unions should think again.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT AGAINST COMPULSION

(By P. S. Heath, Jan. 27, 1967)

In marshalling arguments against compulsory arbitration, we should add this basic consideration:

Outsiders, no matter how fair and impartial they seek to be, can never match the experience and understanding of labor and management representatives who have spent many years in an industry and have firsthand knowledge of its conditions and problems.

Under collective bargaining, representatives of labor and management can achieve genuine settlements of their differences. They know exactly what is involved in a dispute. They can weigh alternatives. In the give-and-take of negotiations they can shape agreements both sides can live with.

Under compulsory arbitration, however, settlements are imposed from without and the third party, of necessity, has great difficulty understanding and appreciating all of the elements at issue because he has not lived with them and has not seen their practical consequences.

The neutrals on the Presidential Railroad Commission publicly commented on the great complexity of the work-rules dispute. Off the record, they told the labor representatives they hadn't realized how much was involved, and they admitted that even the lengthy period allowed the commission for its deliberations was insufficient to permit them to become familiar with the industry's practices and conditions.

It is ridiculous to expect that outsiders, no matter how intelligent and well-meaning they may be, can grasp almost overnight the many elements that are involved in a major dispute. To empower such persons with authority to make irrevocable, binding decisions is equally ridiculous.

But the proponents of compulsory arbitration try to ignore this basic consideration. They argue that the recommendations of Presidential emergency boards should be binding or that a system of labor-management courts should be established or that something resembling the National Railroad Adjustment Board should have life-and-death power over contract changes, instead of merely over time claims and grievances.

They obviously would have us move toward a totalitarian state where the best we could hope for would be benevolent dictators and well-intentioned arbitrators.

We don't want dictators, benevolent or otherwise. We want to preserve the democratic processes of collective bargaining which permit representatives of labor and management to shape their own settlements in full knowledge—from long, practical experience—of all that is involved.

There is a long history in the railroad industry of attempts to have outsiders make decisions. Back before the turn of the century, the law of the land provided for arbitration of major disputes. It didn't work. Arbitration didn't result in settlements that the industry could live with.

And because the decisions weren't satisfactory, they were disregarded and there was much turmoil. Settlements still had to be made by the representatives of labor and management, but it was difficult because of the confusion over this award and that.

Finally, there emerged the Railway Labor Act, setting forth procedures for making changes in agreements. It was supported by representatives of both labor and management at the time, and when Congress enacted it, it was widely hailed as a tremendous progressive step in labor-management relations.

But now compulsion is rearing its ugly head again and the new Congress is being importuned to turn the clock back.

We must not let real progress in labor-management relations be swept away.

Success of Railway Labor Act Shows Compulsion Not Needed

(By P. S. Heath, Feb. 3, 1967)

The pressure for compulsory arbitration, as already evidenced by the introduction in Congress of five or six bills, ignores the generally successful operation of the Railway Labor Act during the past 40 years.

In a 1955 report, the National Mediation Board observed:

"Whereas labor legislation as originally applied to the railroads, like most of the recent efforts to deal with labor disputes in other industries, made no attempts to differentiate between the various types of labor controversies but treated them as if they were all of a kind, the amended Railroad Labor Act clearly distinguishes different kinds of disputes, recognizes the differences in the principles which underlie them, and provides different methods and establishes separate agencies for handling the various kinds. These principles, methods, and agencies, evolved through years of experimentation, provide a model labor-relations policy, based on equal rights and mutual responsibilities."

Although the Railway Labor Act is not perfect and although court decisions from time to time have thrown obstacles in the way, the procedures help produce settlements without disruption of service in the overwhelming majority of disputes.

The Railway Labor Act was enacted in 1926, amended substantially in 1934 to provide for the National Railroad Adjustment Board and amended in a number of important respects since.

In outlining the development of the act, the National Mediation Board has noted that the first act dealing with labor relations on the railroads was approved by President Cleveland on Oct. 1, 1888.

"This law provided two methods of adjusting disputes between railway companies and their employes which threatened to interrupt interstate commerce: (1) Voluntary arbitration, (2) investigation," the board stated in its 1955 analysis. "At the request of either party, and if the other party accepted, a dispute was to be submitted for decision to a board of three arbitrators, one appointed by each party, and a chairman selected by the two." No provision was made for enforcement of any award.

The first act also authorized the President to appoint a temporary commission to investigate the causes of any labor dispute on the railroads, with the U.S. commissioner of Labor as chairman and two additional commissioners appointed by the President.

During the 10 years that this law was on the statute books, the arbitration feature was never used and an investigating commission was established only once—in the 1894 Pullman strike. Interestingly, the commission in the American Railway Union strike recommended a permanent three-man board be established to rended binding decisions in disputes.

ERDMAN ACT OF 1898

The Erdman Act was adopted by Congress and approved by the President in 1898. It provided for government mediation and conciliation, and it also tightened the arbitration features of the earlier measure.

The Erdman Act provided that if mediation efforts failed, the commissioners should "at once endeavor to bring about an arbitration of said controversy," with a three-man board to be established. If the two arbitrators designated by the parties could not agree within five days on the selection of a neutral chairman, the conciliation commissioners were to appoint him. Arbitration awards were to be binding for one year.

After one unsuccessful mediation case, no use was made of the Erdman Act for eight years, according to the NMB's account. But between December 1906 and 1913, when the law was repealed, 61 disputes were settled under provisions of the act, 26 by mediation alone, 10 by mediation and arbitration and six by arbitration alone.

NEWLANDS ACT OF 1913

The Newlands Act, adopted in 1913, established a permanent Board of Mediation and Conciliation, consisting of a full-time commissioner appointed by the President and two additional commissioners designated by the President from among other government officials. The board was to use its best efforts to resolve disputes by mediation. If unsuccessful, the board was to endeavor to induce the parties to submit to arbitration.

The Newlands Act provided for six-member arbitration boards with the Board of Mediation and Conciliation authorized to appoint them if the parties couldn't agree on the selection. The act also gave the board the "quasi-judicial" function of interpreting and applying agreements reached through mediation, but said nothing about the opinions of the board being binding. If differences of opinion arose over the meaning or application of arbitration awards, the arbitration board could be reconvened at the joint request of both parties.

Under the Newlands Act, in the period from 1913 to 1919, 70 cases were settled by mediation alone, 21 by mediation and arbitration and 19 by mutual agreement of the parties after the board's services had been invoked.

ADAMSON ACT OF 1916

The Adamson Act of 1916 was an attempt to settle a specific labor dispute by direct Congressional action—something that wasn't tried again until Public Law 88–108 which, in 1963, referred the fireman and crew consist issues of the work rules disputes to binding arbitration. The Adamson Act was the result of the dispute over the eight-hour workday with time-and-one-half for overtime.

The provisions of the Newlands Act had failed to produce a solution to the eight-hour day controversy, and President Wilson asked Congress to establish the 8-hour day by law for operating employes, set up a commission to study operations under an 8-hour workday and approve an increase in rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission if increased costs under the law made this necessary. The President also recommended that the Newlands Act be amended to make a strike or lockout illegal prior to an investigation of the dispute by a government commission.

In the Adamson Act, Congress accepted the first two Presidential recommendations, setting eight hours as the standard work day and directing him to appoint a three-member commission to observe the effects. When a lower court declared the law unconstitutional, operating employes again threatened to strike and President Wilson appointed a committee of the Council of National Defense to mediate. The committee persuaded the carriers to concede the eight-hour day. Eventually the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Adamson Act as an emergency measure, just as Public Law 88–108 was upheld nearly a half century later.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL

During government control of the railroads in World War I, a Division of Labor was established in the Railroad Administration and from time to time the Director General of Railroads issued orders setting forth policies and regulations and creating agencies for dealing with disputes. A commission of four members was appointed to make a general investigation of wages in the railroad industry and to make recommendations to the Director General.

On the basis of this report, the Director General issued general order No. 27 readjusting rates of pay for all classes of employes and establishing the basic 8-hour day. This order also created a Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions "to hear and investigate matters presented by railroad employes or their representatives." By agreement the awards of this board were incorporated into wage schedules. Another innovation under government control was the creation of boards of adjustments with authority to make decisions on interpretation and application of agreements.

TRANSPORTATION ACT OF 1920

The Transportation Act of 1920 included provisions for the settlement of disputes when the railroads were returned to private ownership. Also known as the Esch-Cummins law, the Transportation Act of 1920 provided that all disputes should be considered first in conference between representatives of the carriers and of the employes and, secondly, that if conferences failed to produce settlement, disputes should be referred to the U.S. Railroad Labor Board for "hearing and decision."

The Railroad Labor Board was composed of nine members, three to represent labor, three the carriers and three "the public." It was not authorized to mediate or adjust disputes, but was to hand down rulings. Wages were to be fixed by a set of general criteria capable of varying interpretations.

"Dissatisfaction with the Railroad Labor Board grew the longer it operated, so that by the end of 1925 both the carriers and the employes were agreed in their desire to have it repealed," the National Mediation Board noted in its review of the legislative background for the Railway Labor Act. "A joint committee of management and railroad brotherhood representatives supported a bill which was enacted into law and entitled 'The Railway Labor Act of 1926.'

"In the framing of this law the experience and the lessons learned from previous legislation were thoroughly canvassed by representatives of the parties directly affected, the railroads and their employes."

If the present Congress substantially alters the Railway Labor Act by making final and binding the recommendations of Presidential emergency boards or by otherwise going down the road to compulsion, it will sweep away the lessons and experience of 80 years.

Discusses Railway Labor Act Procedures and Safeguards

(By P. S. Heath, Feb. 10, 1967)

The Railway Labor Act as amended governs labor-management relations on the railroads and the airlines. As I have stated before, it is not perfect. But generally speaking, it has worked exceedingly well, and it would be a tragic mistake if the present Congress were to think it could improve upon it by imposing additional compulsion and further restricting the right to strike.

The act requires carriers and their employes "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements, concerning rates of pay, rules, and working conditions." No change may be made in agreements except as provided for in Section 6 of the act which reads: "Carriers and representatives of the employes shall give at least 30 days' written notice of an intended change in agreements . . . and the time and place for the beginning of conference between the representatives of the parties . . . shall be within 10 days."

When a dispute arises out of a grievance or over an interpretation or application of an agreement, the representatives of the parties also have the duty of conferring and attempting to adjust the dispute amicably.

The law guarantees employes the right to organize and provides that "the majority of any craft or class of employes shall have the right to determine who shall be the representative of the class or craft for the purpose of this act."

When a Section 6 notice has been served and while conferences are being held, or while a dispute is in the hands of a National Mediation Board, the status quo must be maintained—that is, the carrier cannot alter rates of pay, rules or working conditions and the employes cannot withdraw from service.

The National Mediation Board, at the request of either party or on its own motion in cases of emergency, is required to "promptly put itself in communication with the parties . . . and use its best efforts, by mediation, to bring them to agreement."

When a dispute is settled by a mediation agreement and a question of interpretation or application arises, the NMB is required, upon request by either party, to hear both sides and render an interpretation within 30 days.

If the board's mediation efforts fail to resolve a dispute arising out of a Section 6 notice, the law says the board must "at once endeavor as its final required action . . . to induce the parties to submit their controversy to arbitration."

VOLUNTARY ARBITRATION

Arbitration boards may consist of three or six members, with each party appointing one or two members. Those appointed by the parties try to agree on the neutral or neutrals. If they can't agree, it is up to the NMB to make the selection.

Either party may reject the National Mediation Board's proffer of arbitration. However, if arbitration is agreed to, the award is binding. Within the memory of many BLE members, our organization has twice agreed to submit wage demands to arbitration, in 1953 and again in 1960. This was purely voluntary.

EMERGENCY BOARD PROCEDURES

If arbitration is refused and a dispute remains which in the judgment of the National Mediation Board "threatens substantially to interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive any section of the country of essential transportation services," the board then notifies the President. The President has discretion to appoint an emergency board to investigate the dispute and make a report.

An emergency board has 30 days in which to investigate and report, although the time may be extended by agreement. Usually the emergency board conducts hearings. Trial-like procedures have developed, although the law doesn't say the board's activities have to be of this nature.

After the creation of an emergency board and for 30 days after its report to the President, "no change, except by agreement, shall be made by the parties to the controversy in the conditions out of which the dispute arose." The latter period is sometimes described as a "cooling off period" in which the parties are expected to resume negotiations on the basis of the emergency board's recommendations.

There has been criticism of these emergency procedures. Some management representatives contend emergency board recommendations should be binding. To make them binding would be to establish compulsory arbitration and, thereby, to wreck the whole collective bargaining process.

As I have tried to explain a number of times in recent years, it is the right to strike that makes collective bargaining work. Without it, there would be no incentive for management representatives to negotiate. Instead, they would sit tight and wait for the arbitration machinery to be called into play.

ADJUSTMENT BOARD

Emergency boards, as their name implies, are something far different from the National Railroad Adjustment Board, which was created by amendment in 1934 to handle grievances or disputes over interpretation or application of agreements. The NRAB, with headquarters in Chicago, is composed of 36 members, 18 selected by the carriers and 18 by the employes' organizations. It is divided into four divisions. Division One handles cases involving operating employes. Assistant Grand Chief Engineer R. E. Delaney is the BLE representative on Division One.

If any NRAB division cannot agree on an award or if it is deadlocked, it is required to select a neutral referee or have the National Mediation Board name one.

Although the original intent may have been otherwise, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the NRAB machinery must be used in cases referrable to it. In other words, employes cannot strike over "minor disputes" referrable to the board.

So we already have a measure of compulsory arbitration in the railroad industry, and we must continually resist efforts to extend the principle of compulsion into the area of contract or agreement changes.

Much of this discussion may be "old hat" to some BLE members, but the procedures of the Railway Labor Act are worth reviewing from time to time, particularly when bills are being introduced in Congress to revise them drastically.

The act is the culmination of many years of experience, and for the most part, it has worked well, imposing its duties and responsibilities on both labor and management as well as guaranteeing important rights and freedoms.

HOW CAN WE IMPROVE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING?

(By P. S. Heath, Feb. 17, 1967)

". . . No one as yet has devised a way to ban strikes without destroying collective bargaining and Congress is not about to scuttle the bargaining process. Since there is no effective alternative to collective bargaining in a democratic society, why don't we concentrate more on trying to make it work better than to seek always to replace it?"

These words of wisdom were offered by Theodore W. Kheel in a recent discussion of possible anti-strike legislation. Kheel and Dr. George W. Taylor were President Johnson's hand-picked mediators in the April and May 1964 negotiations which settled the so-called "secondary issues" in the railroad work rules dispute.

How can we make collective bargaining work better? One obvious way would be to curb the tendency of the courts to issue temporary restraining orders at the least hint of a strike. The carriers' confidence that they can block a strike through a court order removes their incentive to negotiate a settlement.

Another way to improve collective bargaining would be to insist that the negotiators have the necessary authority to conclude agreements. Negotiators shouldn't be errand boys who merely transmit offers and counteroffers to high echelon carrier officials or back to the membership for ratification. They must be armed by their constituents with meaningful authority.

First and foremost, however, is the need to remove the threat of compulsory arbitration legislation. As long as there is talk in Congress of revising the Railway Labor Act and the Taft-Hartley Act to deal differently with national emergency disputes, the climate for collective bargaining is bad.

Management negotiators are inclined to sit tight if they believe the dispute will end up before Congress. Organization negotiators are tempted to sit tight and hope that a political solution will favor them. There is little incentive to bargain in good faith.

It is the unfettered right to strike that makes the collective bargaining process work. Neither side wants a strike because of the economic losses that necessarily results. The threat of economic losses provides the incentive for genuine negotiation.

SIOUX FALLS CONSIDERS URBAN RENEWAL

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, on March 5, 1967, Tom Miller, an able member of the executive staff of the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., began a series of articles on urban renewal. An advisory committee has been formed in Sioux Falls and the members were directed to explore the possible needs and objectives of such a program for the city of Sioux Falls.

I consider this series of six articles to be an outstanding example of public education in a little-understood federally sponsored program. I commend the Argus-Leader and its editorial staff for its excellence in reporting, and for its responsible and forthright approach to the growing problems of our cities. I also congratulate the advisory board for the volunteer work it is doing in initiating recommendations. It consists of Tom Harkison, John Mertz, Allan Jones, Dr. L. M. Stavig, and I. W. Taylor, all longtime public-spirited citizens of Sioux Falls.

I ask unanimous consent to have the six articles, together with an editorial written by Fred C. Christopherson printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARGO'S EXPERIENCE SHOWS SIOUX FALLS WHAT TO EXPECT

(NOTE.—Sioux Falls is old enough to consider rebirth—on a planned basis.

(Some of Sioux Falls' structures are from a bygone generation. The passage and ravages and advancements of time dictate the heralding of a new era-generation. Technically, this is termed "Urban Renewal."

(The following is one of a series of articles pointing the way to the steps that must be taken to foster the coming of the new generation to Sioux Falls.

(The author is Tom Miller, advertising director of the Argus-Leader. He accompanied a Sioux Falls delegation to Fargo to observe what that North Dakota city has done in urban renewal.)

(By Tom Miller)

Sioux Falls has a lot to learn from Fargo, N. Dak.

And she owes a debt of gratitude to her sister city of the north.

Those are the sentiments of 11 Sioux Falls people who spent the better part of two days in Fargo.

Their journey was undertaken to study a new dimension in the life of a city-urban renewal.

They learned much.

In a short period of time—thanks to the cooperation of Fargo city officials—they gleaned the experiences of 12 years and two urban renewal projects.

TWO POINTS GAINED

Two major knowledge points were gained: (1) that renewal can increase the tax base of a blighted area many-fold, thereby paying for the project over a period of years; and (2) that delay in time is costly; even if application for funds is made today, it will be at least one year before the project study can get under way.

Information gathered on the trip is particularly informative and can be related with ease because Fargo and Sioux Falls have much in common: approximately the same in size, largest cities of their respective states, and both about the same age.

The basic difference is that Fargo began its modernization program in 1955, while Sioux Falls is just entering the planning stage.

Sioux Falls officials and interested citizens trekked to Fargo chiefly to learn procedures and movements from people who have gone through the developmental stages of renewal and can show not only how such a large project is approached—but, more important, the benefits of such a project. They also knew that Fargo was one of the first cities in the nation of non-metropolitan size to become involved in the federally-financed program which is designed to give urban centers a needed rebirth.

SIX ADVANTAGES CITED

Fargo counterparts told the Sioux Falls men that urban renewal has six blessings:

It provides a method of disposing of an area which now has economic problems, replacing it with a strong, new planned area.

The tax base is improved immeasurably by the change.

Investment of private capital is encouraged.

More employment is offered those in the construction trades during the demolition and building phases; and continuing employment becomes available in the commercial businesses that populate the improved area.

The esthetic appearances of the city is improved.

The project serves as a springboard for other civic improvements, notably true of property adjacent to the project area.

MAYOR HEADS GROUP

The Sioux Falls delegation was headed by city officials and citizens who have been appointed to head up the local project. Officials included Mayor Vinton Crusinberry, City Engineer Ray Jorgenson and Ed Becker, head of the planning division.

The citizen group had a composition of many professions: Tom S. Harkinson, retired chairman of the board of The National Bank of South Dakota; Allan Jones, president of the Sioux Falls Trades and Labor Assembly; Dr. L. M. Stavig, retired president of Augustana College and presently business administrator for First Lutheran Church; John Mertz, assistant to the general manager of Northern States Power Co., and I. W. Taylor, manager of the J. C. Penney Co. store. This group has been appointed to serve without compensation as the Urban Renewal Advisory committee. Harkinson serves as chairman.

To those who have been associated with the renewal program for a time, there is no financial mystery involved. Low-rated property brings in a low tax return. If the property can be upgraded, the tax return rises accordingly.

Federal funds invested in Fargo projects will come back to the federal treasury in time through increased tax return. The same holds true of Fargo city funds.

Public Understanding, Volunteers Are Essential To Protect Success

(By Tom Miller)

To understand a project as different as urban renewal, particularly when you have little background information, you have to absorb some fundamental philosophy.

The delegation of Sioux Falls officials and interested citizens who visited Fargo, N.D., received an abundance of philosophic understanding from two people:

Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, a controversial figure in Fargo and North Dakota politics, who found it necessary to become involved in more controversy in promoting one renewal project to near completion and helping plan a second which now is getting underway.

M. Danny Wall, executive director of the Urban Renewal Agency which is charged with carrying out all details of the projects. Wall was an architectural student at North Dakota State University, working part-time when the first project started; later, he became assistant director and now carries the full title.

BRIEF VISITORS

Gracious, dynamic Lashkowitz and studious, precise Wall donated the better part of two days to visitors from Sioux Falls, North Platte, Neb., and St. Cloud, Minn. They showed film slides of the urban renewal projects, escorted their visitors on bus tours of the project areas, and stayed up late at night to answer any and all questions.

Lashkowitz was emphatic when he pointed out that "You must pursue this type of project with determination. You need dedicated people, and by that I mean unsalaried civic leaders who will volunteer the time necessary to get the job done. And when I say time, I mean years of time, not hours. Some of our volunteer people have been at work since 1955, and they're still diligently working."

He told of the time he and a fellow Fargoan stood almost alone—at the beginning. But their persistence and perseverance has brought about two projects which so far involve more than $15 million . . . and the spending and investment continue to count up. Now that the physical evidence of urban renewal can be seen by all, there is an abundance of help available from interested people.

UNITY REQUIRED

"You need a united community," Lashkowitz said more than once. "You must draw on every segment of your society. Your group seems to be well balanced."

The Sioux Falls group he was talking to consisted not only of city officials—the mayor, city attorney and planning director—and the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, but also members of the five-man Urban Renewal Advisory Committee. They include a retired banker, the president of the Sioux Falls labor movement, a utility executive, a retired college president and the manager of a large retail store.

Lashkowitz said some of the controversy stemmed from a lack of understanding of renewal objectives by the public. However, he said most of the trouble emanated from what he termed "the establishment"—monied and old-family interests who were content with the status quo and almost seemed to resent progress.

"To be successful, you need a well-informed citizenry," Lashkowitz explained. "You should have the cooperation of the press and other news media. If you do, the total story can be told to all citizens and they will understand that what you are doing will ultimately benefit everyone in your community.

"And those few who might object to federal controls which go along with federal funds should be told that the so-called controls actually are necessary to establish minimums; they do not control project maximums. Indeed, they are not controls at all—only guideposts to make certain your project is successful."

DECAY DICTATES SITE

Both Lashkowitz and Wall explained that selection of both urban renewal sites in or near the downtown area of Fargo did not mean favoritism toward business interests, particularly retailing. Decay and blight dictated location of the projects, they said, rather than special interest preference.

The heaviest tax base comes from the downtown core, they said, and if that base can be strengthened, the whole city profits. Let the core deteriorate and your city deteriorates. Renewal encourages investment, not only in project areas but also on surrounding property.

"You can't selectively tear down a building here and another one there," Lashkowitz said. "You need a comprehensive approach. Otherwise, a new building would be erected in a blighted area and the area would not materially change. You can't encourage investment with that approach."

In showing projected building plans for what will be a large-scale extension of Fargo's downtown retail area, Wall pointed out that adequate parking is being assured.

He underscored Lashkowitz' comments about a strong retail core in the city: "Parking is a must, and we believe in it so strongly that we are pushing for state legislation which will provide tax-writeoff incentive." The legislation has passed the North Dakota Senate and is now before the House.

For those who fear that devastation of a blighted area—with sub-standard buildings which house undesirable elements—will merely result in spreading the elements into other areas of the community, the two Fargo men offered reassurance.

"One of the basic premises of the project," Lashkowitz said, "is that relocation must be planned and pursued. Property owners are compensated at market value for their holdings and are provided with much guidance for the future. Families and individuals are replaced in dwelling units superior to what they have been experiencing. To many, relocation provides a new lease on life with new opportunities which are suddenly opened to them.

"You tell me you have a building code but, like Fargo prior to the projects, you do not have a minimum standard housing code. It will be necessary to draw up such a code, and you will find that application of the code provisions will bring city-wide benefits. In Fargo, this has led to an upgrading of housing units."

Investment in Time and Money Returned to City

(By Tom Miller)

What is the cost of urban renewal?

Fargo, N.D., officials say it doesn't cost. It pays. And it will pay and pay and pay for itself many times over through an increased tax base.

But to get the benefits, you have to invest city time and money.

As a for-instance, Fargo Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz points with pride to Urban Renewal Project 1. When it has been fully completed and the balance sheets are drawn, less than one-half million dollars will have been expended from city funds. Increased taxation from Project 1 property will return that much money in eight years. At most.

And the time span is being shortened by continual spread of renewal spirit in business areas adjacent to the project area. New buildings are sprouting around the fringe without any official encouragement—new buildings which bring in increased tax money.

TAX REVENUE INCREASED

Before the initial Fargo project began, the land in the nine and a half block area was bringing in $30,000 in taxes. Now it causes $90,000 to flow into city coffers. And you must bear in mind that only 30 per cent of the land area is bing used by taxable property. The other 70 per cent consists mainly of a city civic center, bringing no tax income at all.

The motel-inn, where Sioux Falls people met with Fargo officials, brings in $30,000 annually in taxes by itself. The same is true of a savings and loan building in the project area.

"Every federal dollar will stimulate from $6½ to $8 of private development money," Lashkowitz says. "From a taxation standpoint, our second renewal project should bring in a very large return. While only 30 per cent of Project 1 land was available for private development, 100 per cent of Project 2 land is open. The yield should strengthen our tax base more than considerably."

MAKES FINANCIAL SENSE

The Fargo example seemed to make financial sense to 11 Sioux Falls people—city officials and members of the local Urban Renewal Advisory Committee—who visited the North Dakota city for two days. They drew their information from Mayor Lashkowitz and M. Danny Wall, executive director of the Fargo Urban Renewal Agency.

Project 1 consisted of 30 acres of rundown property near the business heart of the city and alongside the Red River which separates Fargo from its "bedroom neighbor," Moorhead, Minn. All but two buildings in the area were leveled. That meant wholesale devastation of 110 structures—a mixture of business and residential dwellings. The area many years before had been known as a red light district.

TOTAL COST $2.7 MILLION

Total cost of the project was roughly $2.7 million. Though the federal aid program dictates that a city the size of Fargo would stand one-fourth of total costs, actual money paid will be less because of credits earned through construction of an underpass and a new library (not yet started). Engineering costs and loss of tax revenue in the interim stage of the project also count as credits.

Project 2 will cost an estimated $2.9 million. It is the original townsite of Fargo. Of the 87 buildings in the area, 60-some have now been demolished. Clearance will be complete.

Total cost to the city for both projects is estimated a $1½ million after all credits have been figured.

And just how is money raised to pay renewal bills? In Fargo's case, it was through special mill levy. For Project 1, two mills were levied for six years. For Project 2, money will come in over a 10-year span at an annual 1½-mill rate.

"BEFORE" PICTURES POINT UP FARGO'S PROBLEMS IN OLD DWELLING AREAS

(By Tom Miller)

To gain a proper perspective of what urban renewal can mean to a given area of a community, a person should see the "before" and "after".

For the group of 11 Sioux Falls officials and interested citizens, who visited Fargo, N.D., this came in the form of "before" pictures and "after" visual observation.

The delegation stayed at a motel-inn—A moderistic structure covering an entire city block. Nearby, they saw a huge public parking area, a gleaming city hall and civic auditorium . . . and in the distance, a grouping of all-new buildings, many of them multi-story. Beside the city hall was a large space which visitors were told was designated for a new city library.

Slide films showed the delegation what the area had been like before renewal.

TRACKS ELIMINATED

Spur tracks sliced along the river which separates Fargo from Moorhead, Minn. The tracks have been eliminated to allow the riverland to be developed as a scenic parkway. A new street carries traffic alongside the project area.

Where the motel-inn is now situated was a collection of leaning frame construction storage buildings.

Tenements and junk yards sprawled in gaping fashion to the view of visitors crossing the bridge from Minnesota on the main thoroughfare into Fargo. Old, large homes—cut up into many, many apartments—hulked against one another, the almost-paintless boards warped and misshapen.

This land now displays a pizza restaurant and military buildings. The projected library site formerly held a vacated gasoline station and an old car storage facility with a bowling alley on the second floor.

NEWNESS IN OLD AREA

A huge frame structure, sagging after more than 70 years of use, used to occupy the space where the city hall and auditorium now stand. Originally, it had been a blacksmith shop, and in late years it had been used for other purposes—mostly storage.

The residential dwellings were not only old—they had been cut up into too many pieces, most of them sub-standard units. In one, there were six families; near the front entrance was a cold-water sink, and in the basement was a single stool. There were no other sanitary facilities.

Because some of the land adjacent to the river was too low for sewer lines, a number of outside privies served residential inhabitants.

RENEWAL RESISTED

To the visitor, it seems almost unbelievable that some of the landowners and landlords would have fought urban renewal. This is true particularly when you are told that all people concerned were reassured that a fair market price would be paid for property taken over by the project development. But it was an initial project, and Fargo officials think now that it was fear of the unknown that prompted some of the resistance.

Still, only 15 per cent of the property was contested by landowners who refused to accept the amount of money offered for their holdings. They took their cases to court. The 85 per cent who did accept what was offered did so with the knowledge that property appraisal was accomplished by two competent, out-of-city appraisers.

There was almost no negotiation over property values. Either there was acceptance or rejection. Experience so far in Project 2 is that a smaller percentage will object.

RELOCATION HAS PERSONAL, INDIVIDUAL PHASE

(By Tom Miller)

Urban renewal does not only mean bright, sparkling new buildings and bigger tax dollars for the city treasury.

It also means relocation—of businesses and people who dwell within the project area.

Judging from experiences in two Fargo, N.D., projects, which were viewed by a delegation of Sioux Falls officials and interested citizens, the commercial element presents little problem. But people do, particularly the individuals who are alone and without families.

In Fargo's Project 1, there were 30 businesses, 105 families and a few individuals. A number of businesses simply ceased to exist, because of their nature and the ages of the owners. Other businesses used settlement money to relocate in sites in other parts of the city. But the families had to be moved, too, and they needed help in reestablishing.

HOUSING UPGRADED

Fargo officials had been told that they could not just take over an area, flatten it and tell the occupants to go elsewhere. Common sense told them, too, that people living in sub-standard housing should be upgraded.

Solution came with joint cooperation of the Fargo Board of Realtors and financial institutions. Realtors found adequate quarters for the families. All of those relocated were moved to facilities superior to those where they had lived.

SOME FAMILIES SUBSIDIZED

In the few cases where families could not afford the quarters offered to them, the banks and savings and loan organizations cooperating in the project underwrote the differences in costs.

The finance guarantee was for up to five years. At the end of that time, only one family still was being subsidized. And, in total, only seven had been given aid.

Project 2 in Fargo brought a new problem: many single individuals.

The area was the oldest in Fargo—the original townsite. Most of the structures were designed for business—or had been. Of the 86 businesses in the project area, a good fourth of them did not relocate. Their owners were as old as some of the buildings; they retired.

Many of the structures had been converted into rooming and flop houses. There were only 30 families in the area—but there were 200 individuals, most of them men.

These were the retired, the pensioned and the derelicts. Most of them were elderly. A good share of these people did not live a natural life by accepted standards—but since it was their choice to set their way of life, urban renewal people moved cautiously while attempting to help.

NOT A CURE-ALL

Fargo Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz likes to speak philosophically about this phase of the projects: "Urban renewal is not a panacea or cure-all. It causes you to solve problems you don't anticipate. It points to the need of helping and rehabilitating people whenever possible."

M. Danny Wall, executive director of the Urban Renewal Agency in Fargo, said a full-time employe worked with individuals to plot their future. Many of the single people entered retirement homes. Wall said; of these, quite a few had wanted just that in prior years, but had assumed they couldn't afford it.

Wall said some of the individuals found out about Social Security for the first time.

For those who preferred the type of existence they had had prior to renewal, agency people helped them find other hotel and rooming house quarters.

PLANNING IN SIOUX FALLS TODAY WILL SEE COMPLETION IN EARLY 1970'S

(By Tom Miller)

Sioux Falls is gearing for urban renewal.

The impetuous should be warned that such involved development must be accomplished in stages. And oftentimes there is considerable waiting and marking time between stages.

It should be kept in mind, too, that others who have experienced urban renewal will tell you that it is a never-ending program . . . that application of renewal in one phase or another will continue and become an accepted way of change in city life for years and years to come.

Where is Sioux Falls now in its gearing?

It is still in the talking phase with the beginning of action just around the corner.

The urban renewal move was instigated late last year by ABCD (Attaining Balanced Community Development), an organizational, non-official entity embracing civic leaders from all walks of life.

BODY NAMED

ABCD representatives, directors of both the Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial & Development Foundation and the City Commission discussed the proposed project. Then the commission acted by appointing a five-man advisory committee to study needs and make recommendations for a program.

What lies ahead and what is the timing of the over-all program?

Committee members and city officials spent the better part of two days in Fargo, N.D., viewing the near-completion of one urban renewal project and the start of a second project. Now all concerned know pretty much how to proceed.

The committee, appointed to serve one year, first will select an area within the city for renewal. Application then will be made to the federal government for a grant to permit definitive planning of the project. When the project has received federal approval, then and only then can activity be started.

At that time, the commission will appoint a permanent Urban Renewal Board, which in turn will set up a small staff adequate to convert rough plans into fairly definite ones.

Up to that point, the city itself will have expended little money. Planning costs will have come from the federal planning grant.

TIME FOR DECISION

When final plans have been completed and an assessment of total costs has been made, a final decision will have to be made by local officials: proceed with the full plan, modify it or withdraw.

If the local decision is favorable, an Urban Renewal Project will be designated once final federal approval is forthcoming.

Then will follow acquisition and disposal of property . . . and, finally, bids will be taken from investors for the erection of new structures.

Only at that point can new construction begin.

How long will it take?

Years!

FARGO STARTED IN 1955

That's what the Sioux Falls delegation was told at Fargo. In 1955, the North Dakota city made its initial application. A little more than a year later, the project received government approval. The next two years were spent buying property in the project area. In 1959–60, buildings were demolished and businesses and residents were relocated. Finally, in 1961, construction was begun.

On that scale, an immediate move now will mean that construction will start in Sioux Falls in 1973. Or perhaps somewhat sooner. Sioux Falls can profit from Fargo's loss of time due to pioneering inexperience.

Is it worthwhile? What assurance is there, should an older commercial area be knocked out, that investors will be willing to locate in the project area?

Fargo's Project 2 seems to hold the answer. The property involved has good location—adjacent to the downtown retail section. One intersection in the project area bears the heaviest traffic in the state of North Dakota. Fargo officials had determined that the entire area should be retail—nothing else.

Right now, a selective process is taking place. Fargo found that it did not have to coerce or subsidize commercial interests. Such interests are bidding for the right to build. These are developers. So far, 14 have applied—each one willing to take over the entire project area—45 acres—and handle all of the details.

BIDDING FOR SITES

So the problem does not appear to be one of selling—more so, it is a matter of being properly selective. Certain criteria have been set down by Fargo officials. They now are choosing the firms which have presented plans most nearly conforming with specifications. The firms then will bid against each other.

Do nearby retailers resent such development? Not at all, say Fargo officials. In fact, some of the people encouraging Project 2 are large retailers. Their point of view is that they prefer to have competitors in the same area, rather than scattered in the suburban fringe; and they say that more competition will result in upgrading of all downtown retail developments.

Fargo city officials are happy, too, because renewal of the downtown area will mean more tax dollars for city coffers—thereby making the city healthier.

FARGO'S FUTURE VIEWED

Now that one project has been nearly completed and another is well under way, what is the view of the future in Fargo?

"I foresee urban renewal as continuing indefinitely," Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz told the Sioux Falls delegation. "You might equate it with a health department. The national movement of urban renewal goes beyond demolishing the obvious. It enters grey areas which need rehabilitation."

All Fargo officials who visited with the Sioux Falls people expressed the same sentiment. Some of them said that even though Project 2 would not be completed for some time, an area of blight is now being viewed for Project 3. And beyond that is still another area demanding attention.

By that yardstick, Sioux Falls undoubtedly will be engaged in urban renewal for some years to come.

(End of series.)

SIOUX FALLS EYES URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM

Appearing on page one of the Argus-Leader today is the first of a series of articles about urban renewal in respect to its particular application to Sioux Falls. Read this article and those that are to follow and prepare to give some careful thought to what our city should do.

Urban renewal is nothing new under the sun. For years and years many cities have been giving consideration to a deterioration in certain areas, notably in segments of the downtown districts. Cities in many instances were decaying from the inside out. On the outskirts was a fresh bloom—modern, sparkling and lively. Inside—often in the city's heart—was a slow rot with a contaminating spread that broadly threatened the community's very life as a thriving entity.

FACING UP TO IT

Many may say: "It isn't really very bad in Sioux Falls." And it isn't, not by comparison wtih some older cities.

But we are less than wise if we fail to recognize a disease—call it a problem—and do what we can about it.

The opportunity for action presents itself in the federal urban renewal program. Question may arise about the propriety of the entrance of the U.S. government into this field. But that is now beside the point. The federal government is in the field and substantial appropriations have been authorized to aid communities in the rebuilding projects. We share in the payment of the federal dollars that are being spent. We hurt only ourselves if we fail to participate in the available disbursements.

Minneapolis is now fully engaged in an urban renewal program of this type. Sioux City and several other Iowa cities are involved. So are literally hundreds of other cities in the land, including many where the spirit of private enterprise flares just as brightly as it does in Sioux Falls.

WHAT FARGO HAS DONE

But of special and notable interest to us is what has been done in Fargo, N.D. Fargo is comparable to Sioux Falls in many respects—about the same size and age, the largest city in its state and situated on the state's border.

A Sioux Falls delegation went to Fargo last month to see what had been done and to learn how it was done. Tom Miller of the Argus-Leader accompanied the group and prepared the illuminating articles for this newspaper from the impressions and information he gained.

Happily Sioux Falls is in a position to benefit from Fargo's experience—an experience that dates back to 1955, 12 years ago. That city learned much in the process and it was compelled to move slowly because there was so much to study. The Fargo experience, however, may reduce materially the time involved in getting a project of this nature under way in Sioux Falls.

This is not to suggest, though, that it shouldn't be carefully studied. Though Fargo and Sioux Falls have much in common in respect to their problems, there are notable dissimilarities and these are to be evaluated.

A CITY'S HEART

Perhaps the best approach to the problem from the viewpoint of the average citizen of Sioux Falls is to examine the downtown area—the sections of it where the years have exerted a dehabilitating influence. Some parts have been substantially improved and kept pace with the years. There are new buildings among the old. But there are others where time has taken its toll.

Despite the development of suburban shopping areas, the heart of a city continues to be the downtown sector. Its pulse and character are highly important. A luxurious perimeter can be a wonderful thing but it alone is not sufficient. If it is only a facade that conceals an inner blight, the consequent results can be destructive.

TALK IT OVER

An urban renewal program, though, must have the support and understanding of the people. City officials, however enthusiastic they may be, can't do it alone. Nor can a small group of eager citizens. There must be a broad comprehension of its value and a solid endorsement of the objective.

Because the project is so vitally important, it deserves much more than a casual thought from the average person. It is unwise to make a decision hurriedly, either for or against it. Let's not assume, for example, that this is just a wild scheme to tear down buildings and smash things around in order to have action. And let's not assume either that it is something into which we should plunge precipitately without foreknowledge of what we are doing.

So let's study it. Read Miller's first article today and the others to follow. Talk about it with your neighbors and over the coffee counters. Consider what other communities have done and are doing. Then decide.

—F. C. CHRISTOPHERSON.

DEATH OF C. HAROLD SAIDT OF THE NEW JERSEY AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the recent death of C. Harold Saidt created a vacuum which will be difficult to fill. Having served 20 years as public relations director for the New Jersey American Legion, Harold was certainly one of the best known and loved veterans of my State. But his activities ranged far afield from just veteran's work. He was active in his community and State in a long list of public service positions much too lengthy to set forth here. I can truthfully say that the world is a little better for Harold Saidt having passed this way.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a recent article published in the Trenton Times concerning Harold printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FUNERAL SCHEDULED FOR LEGION AIDE

The funeral of C. Harold Saidt, public relations director for the State American Legion, will be held at 10 a.m. Saturday from Ivins and Taylor, 77 Prospect Street.

Saidt, who was 70 years old, died yesterday afternoon after he was stricken with an apparent heart attack in Governor Hughes' outer office at the State House.

Dr. William J. Dougherty of the State Health Department administered mouth-to-mouth breathing and a photographer, Steven Mervish, attempted to revive Saidt with chest massage.

State Police took the victim to Mercer Hospital where he died soon after being admitted.

Saidt had taken Boys State Governor Andrew Steketee and his cabinet to meet Governor Hughes. The Boys State program is sponsored by the Legion.

After Saidt was stricken and removed to the hospital, Governor Hughes asked his young counterpart whether the Boys State ceremonies should continue.

EVENT CONTINUES

The youth replied that members of his Boys State cabinet came from all parts of the state and it would be difficult to get them together again. The Governor then went on with the event after calling for a minute of silent prayer.

"Mr. Saidt helped me a lot during the past six months. He was the most convenient person I could talk to about Boys State," said young Steketee, who is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Steketee of 706 Lower Ferry Road.

Governor Hughes said he was shocked and deeply saddened by the death of the Legion official.

"Harold has long been known and held in very high affection by the many citizens of this area who have had the pleasure of working with him in his position as public relations consultant for the American Legion of New Jersey. Harold Saidt died while doing the thing he loved most—serving the American Legion and the youth of this state. I want to offer my deep sympathy to his wife and family."

Saidt was the father of Harold N. (Bus) Saidt, sports columnist for The Trentonian and WBUD sportscaster for 20 years.

Saidt, born in Pemberton, was the son of William H. and Louisa K. Saidt. He was a graduate of Rider College and a World War I veteran.

DRAFT BOARD MEMBER

During World War II, he was industrial deferment director for New Jersey Selective Service and was a member of the local selective service board.

He was a member of the Trenton School Board from 1944 to 1953 and served as its president from 1947 to 1949.

For the past 20 years, Saidt was public relations and conventions director for the New Jersey American Legion. His Legion service included membership in Trenton Post 93, command of the Mercer County American Legion, and vice command of the state Legion.

Saidt also was a member of the New Jersey Press Association, the American Legion Press Club and the Calvary Baptist Church.

Survivors, in addition to his son, include his widow, Mrs. Mildred Newbert Saidt, a daughter, Mrs. Paul D. Loser, and her two children.

The Rev. Russell G. Martin of Calvary Baptist Church will officiate at services.

Interment will be in Riverview Cemetery. Friends may call from 3 to 5 p.m. and 7 to 9 p.m., Friday. American Legion services will be held at 8 p.m.

PROPOSED TREATY ON OUTER SPACE

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I am in agreement with the general purposes and objectives of the Outer Space Treaty.

Most of what it proposes is properly the subject matter of the treaty. Treaties among sovereign nations should deal with questions of sovereignty, either recognized or in dispute, and seek to adjust differences and settle claims.

Article V extends to astronauts the same protection and rights now extended to mariners.

Article VI defines the responsibilities and liabilities of nations for activities in outer space, whether the activities are carried out by governmental or nongovernmental institutions of the respective nations.

Article VII further defines the liabilities of states for damages or injuries to others, on earth, in space, or on celestial bodies, caused by an object launched or its parts.

Articles VII, IX, X, XI, and XII all relate in some degree to national sovereignty and, therefore, are properly subject to treaty arrangements and processes.

Articles I, II, III, and IV either in whole or in part are, I believe, of another order. For the most part they deal with areas and activities over which no nation has yet claimed any sovereignty. Since no sovereignty has been claimed or admitted, I question whether these matters should be included in the treaty. The ideal way to treat them would be by way of amendment to the U.N. Charter itself, since by such action the sovereignty, original and clear, of the U.N. could be confirmed without the weakening process of the treaty. The use of the treaty for these matters implies, at least, that the sovereignty has in some way been held by separate nation states, which are at times giving it over to the U.N. with the right, of course, to repudiate the treaty on notice and reclaiming this sovereignty.

Amending the charter is a long and difficult process. Nonetheless, I believe the charter is the document in which these rights with reference to the uses of outer space should be stated.

While awaiting charter action, I believe it would be better for the U.N. simply to proclaim on the substance of these articles and to assert its claim, rather than to prejudice and cloud the right of all nations in space and the essential and integral role and claims of the U.N.

THE HUMAN AND ECONOMIC COST OF CRIME

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the Nation can no longer tolerate the economic and human cost of crime. Vigorous action must be taken at every level not only to improve law enforcement but to eliminate the causes of crime.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently published an editorial discussing the President's recommendations for a comprehensive Federal program to help solve our crime problem. It endorses the President's responsible and realistic approach and I believe it would be of interest to all Members of the Congress. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb. 7, 1967]

Crime at the Roots

President Johnson's creditable anti-crime program uses Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign theme of "crime in the streets" to reject the philosophy that lay behind it.

An example is the proposed Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. In offering it, Mr. Johnson recognizes that the relatively high crime rate in this prosperous nation is a proper matter of concern. But does he, like so many others demanding a war on crime, propose to let police question suspects for long periods or suggest mandatory minimum sentences as contained in the District of Columbia bill that he vetoed last year?

He does not. Instead, he suggests a schedule of federal grants to states and larger cities to help them plan better police training and crime laboratories, to create speedier and more effective court work and to innovate programs against juvenile delinquency and organized crime. The President is calling for more efficient, not more arbitrary, law enforcement. His plan reflects what he said at the University of Maryland last October:

"Poverty! There is the real enemy. Strike poverty down and much of crime will fall with it. Punish the criminal, by all means. But if we wish to rid this country of crime, if we wish to stop hacking at its branches only, we must cut its roots and drain its swampy breeding place, the slum."

A similar forthrightness surrounds his second news proposal: The Right of Privacy Act of 1967. This would prohibit all forms of electronic eavesdropping, public or private, except where national security was at stake "and then only under the strictest safeguards."

Mr. Johnson made it plain in his State of the Union message that he felt the time had come to stop the intrusion of the public ear into all phases of private life, that restrictions on wiretapping alone would not be enough, and that a government which had led the way in electronic invasions of privacy had itself to take responsibility for reversing the trend. There is no more practicable way to outlaw such snooping than to outlaw it.

The exception for national security cases could prove a loophole, since what constitutes national security is subject to broad interpretations. But if the promise of "the strictest safeguards" means what it implies, it means at least court authorization as constitutionally required in search and seizure cases.

The President's 19-member National Crime Commission is said to have wanted even broader police power for snooping, but to have backed away from contradicting Mr. Johnson. Perhaps this explains why the commission report will be made public after the presidential message. Otherwise, however, the commission subscribed to the President's view that crime should be removed by cutting at the roots rather than by clubbing at heads.

This idea has not proved popular with Pleistocene politicians on the stump or in Congress. So the issue of how to combat crime is joined, with bold and responsible leadership from the White House.

INGREDIENTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, from time to time, some doubts are expressed about the productivity of meetings at the highest level.

Too often, it is said, these meetings turn out to be mere protocolary encounters, which are deemed successful or not according to the passing moods and personal compatibility of the participants.

Or, worse still, some might point out, sometimes because of a lack of adequate preparation, the decisions reached may be the wrong ones.

It seems to me that under the right circumstances summit meetings can be highly successful and of great positive significance for the future of the participant countries.

The prime ingredients for a successful summit, in my opinion, are three: First, common goals; second, a need for top-level decisions; and third, careful preparation.

All three of these ingredients fortunately are present today as we move toward an inter-American summit meeting *in April*.

The nations of this hemisphere have a common history and common traditions, that lead them to place first emphasis on human freedom and national independence.

In order to preserve and strengthen their free institutions, they have joined together in that great mutual effort, the Alliance for Progress, which is dedicated to increasing the rate of economic and social progress of the developing nations of the hemisphere.

Progress since the beginning of the Alliance for Progress in 1961 has been reasonably good. But the members of the Alliance are aware that more must be accomplished to assure their basic objective—the maintenance and strengthening of individual freedom and well-being, and national independence.

They are also aware that some of the decisions to be taken—particularly that of more rapid progress toward economic integration—require a push from the top.

Understanding this, and acting on a Latin American initiative, hemisphere leaders almost a year ago undertook to prepare for a meeting of their chief executives.

From the beginning, there was a consensus that the meeting should be held only if there were the most careful preparations and if agreement could be reached on concrete actions that would make a significant difference for the future of these peoples.

In this spirit, all ideas have been carefully explored—within this Government; in contacts with business, labor, and the academic world; and in long and intensive discussions among the governments of the hemisphere.

In addition to detailed internal studies, and bilateral conversations, there have been long and productive exchanges within the Organization of American States through a Preparatory Committee set up specifically for this purpose. The Preparatory Committee had the valuable advice of nine distinguished inter-American economic statesmen.

It is an extremely complex matter to arrive at a consensus among 20 nations on matters, so complicated and so vital to the interests of each, such as economic integregation.

It is more complex because of the great differences in size and economic strength of the 20 nations despite a long history of cooperation, chiefly due to the difficulty of transportation, communication, and contact among many of them.

But the results of the most recent stage in the preparation process—the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Buenos Aires in *February—indicate that a consensus has* indeed been achieved.

This consensus brings with it the promise for a successful summit. It seems clear that from this summit will come action to enhance significantly the prospects for economic and social progress in Latin America. *And we can look* forward to even closer and more mutually satisfying relations between the United States and our neighbors to the south.

The process has been a serious and *responsible one. I wish to join with many* of my colleagues to pay tribute to the leadership of the President in these important preparations, and to offer my solid support and best wishes as he undertakes his trip to Punta del Este.

A NEW SPIRIT IN THE HEMISPHERE

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, President Lyndon B. Johnson soon will leave for the summit meeting of the American chief executives from April 12–14 in Punta del Este, Uruguay. Our support for the resolution before us will be symbolic of our support for him and our faith in him and in the Alliance for Progress.

The time is propitious for a summit meeting. Hard-won accomplishments within the Alliance have carved out new opportunities for advancement.

Moreover, a new spirit moves Latin America today. Its leaders, like determined mountain climbers nearing the peak, can see past the obstacles to a greater, more hopeful world where social and economic injustices have diminished.

We might call this new spirit the "spirit of Buenos Aires," because it was in the February meeting, in the Argentine capital, that Latin American and American leaders passed along, hard hours working shoulder to shoulder, night and day. It was then that they hammered out the agenda for the summit and decided upon far-reaching amendments to the Charter of the Organization of States. This atmosphere of genuine cooperation and hard work was a very real thing during those 2-week-long meetings, and everyone who was there sensed it and commented on it.

Veteran Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, who headed our delegation at the 11th meeting of Consulation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs following the departure of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, expressed it this way:

> . . . a new spirit is alive today in the Americas—a spirit eager to face up to the great challenges and the task before us, and to get on with the job.

I know that this spirit will move our chief executives at Punta del Este in April. And that, following their decisions there, it will be translated into real moves toward the establishment of a Latin American Common Market in the 1970's, into more opportunities to learn, into adequate food for the peoples of Latin America, and multinational projects which will challenge the imagination.

Our faith and support will go with President Johnson to the summit.

SEVENTEEN YEARS OF TRUSTEESHIP OF TUCKER CORP., OF CHICAGO

Mr. LAUSHCE. Mr. President, a few days ago I received a letter from an Ohio constituent who is a creditor of Tucker Corp., of Chicago, which was placed in the hands of a trusteeship about 17 years ago. In the letter he asks me whether I am practicing law. I replied that I am not; that I have not had a client, either directly or indirectly, during all the periods that I have occupied public office; *and that I do not contemplate having* any in the future.

This Ohio citizen has money coming to him from Tucker Corp,. which was placed in liquidation by a Chicago court. Seventeen years have elapsed since that trusteeship was established. It still goes on; trusteeship fees are still being paid; and unless someone goads the court into compelling the trustees to finish their job, the prediction is justifiable that the liquidation will go on interminably, feeding fees to the trustees in charge of bringing the business of Tucker Corp. to an end.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, the communication which I received from the Ohio constituent, Mr. Cliff Knoble. It consists of a letter dated March 1, addressed to me, and a letter dated January 31, 1966, addressed to Mr. Knoble by Gerald F. Munitz, one of the trustees. The letter states that the attorney for the trustee alone has, to date, drawn fees and reimbursement for expenses of close to a quarter of a million dollars. How much the trustee or trustees have drawn, I do not know.

It would seem that the court which has jurisdiction in this matter should recognize that 17 years of waiting by the creditors is a rather inordinate time and would proceed vigorously to achieve a final closing of the Tucker Corp. business.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 1, 1967.

Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE,
Senate Office Building,
First and Constitution Avenue NE.,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: This letter might seem to border on the presumptuous. I hope it does not. It is not intended to do so. It is intended to be candid and straight-forward.

I'd like to inquire whether you give any part of your time to the private practice of law. If so, here is a matter that might merit your interest.

Briefly—I happen to be one of the creditors of the late, lamented Tucker Corporation, of Chicago, whose affairs were placed in the hands of a Trusteeship about seventeen years ago.

In the ensuing period, assets which were carried on the company's books at a valuation of approximately twelve and a half million dollars, diminished (after settlement of government claims) to a net worth of around one and a half million dollars. About four years ago, stockholders were notified that they would receive nothing. On December 31st, 1963, dividend checks for 10% of claims were mailed to creditors. On or about November 15th, 1964, checks for 15% were sent. On or about March 10th, 1965, checks for 25% were sent.

Nothing more has been paid in the ensuing twenty-four months. Several subsequent assurances *from individuals in the Trustee's* organization, as to what might be expected in the way of further dividend payments, proved to be inaccurate and undependable. (Note the copy attached.) Furthermore, during recent months, inquiries as to the progress of the Trusteeship and as to what creditors might expect, have been completely ignored.

Meanwhile, the Trusteeship continues to collect its fees and "expenses," as it has done for seventeen years! The largest, single, dollars-and-cents beneficiary of the Trusteeship—aside from the Government—will undoubtedly be—the Trusteeship! The *attorney for the Trustee, alone, had to* date drawn fees and expenses of probably close to a quarter of a million dollars.

Assets were converted into cash which was invested in interest-bearing securities. The interest received cannot be sufficient to meet the costs of the Trusteeship—which results in a continuous depletion of the principal. The creditors, of course, receive no interest on their unpaid claims, while the amount they may expect in final settlement steadily diminishes.

The outrageous prolongation of this matter, at the eventual cost of stockholders and creditors, has reached a point where it begins to bear the earmarks of a national scandal—and might easily become just that. In fact, it is known to be under scrutiny by those who sense its potential news value and political dynamite. It appears that it is not a lone instance of the kind, but could prove to be a particularly flagrant one.

Meanwhile, the arrogant and 'secure' attitude of the Trustee's organization seems to be impervious to ordinary recourses.

On the other hand, I have been told that an awareness and a respect exists toward a conceivable interest by someone whose inquiries might result in bringing facts to light, or which might even remotely point toward the possibility of an authoritative inquiry.

This seems to me to indicate that a legitimate and proper letter of inquiry—from a respected source—might produce tangible and speedy results.

The writing of such a letter, in the interest of a creditor, by one of your stature, would therefore, in my estimation, be worth a substantial fee.

Would you be interested in considering the rendering of such a service?

Sincerely,

Cliff Knoble.

Copy of Letter of January 31, 1966, From Gerald F. Munitz to Cliff Knoble

Dear Mr. Knoble: Although there cannot be any justification for our callous treatment of you, I sincerely hope you will nevertheless be compassionate in passing judgment upon us.

In investigating our failure to reply to your letter, and more important, to get another dividend paid in re Tucker, I plead two complex matters before the court of appeals (petitions for certoriari will probably be filed with the U.S. Supreme Court), the filing and consummation of various cases in Federal Court, and the miscellaneous, time-consuming problems incident to the conduct of our office. Although it is flattering to be called in on the tough cases, we have yet to find a solution to a difficult problem other than through careful research and preparation.

Nate Yorke has in his possession the sum of approximately $656,000.00. Of this sum, $581,880.00 is invested in short term U.S. Treasury notes so that the estate can earn some interest. Since it required $217,814.00 to effect a 25% distribution to creditors, it would appear that creditors will receive substantial additional dividends on their respective claims. (A good lawyer never makes an absolute commitment.)

Now that your spirits are perked up, the question which I am sure is on the tip of your tongue is "When will I see more of this money?" Even if I have to do it myself, I'll try to have a fourth dividend paid by April 15, 1966.

You should note that since February 1965, when the last dividend was paid, we have resolved certain disputed claims so that the amount necessary to pay a 25% dividend will be substantially more than $217,814.00. Our best estimate—and it's really a guess—is that it will take between $300,000.00 and $325,000.00 to effect a 25% dividend.

I hope this finds you well and that the con*tents of this letter are satisfactory.*

Jerry Munitz.

SENATOR METCALF ADDRESSES CONSERVATIONISTS AT WENATCHEE, WASH.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, our colleague, the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf] gave the principal address at the Conservation Congress of the Pacific Northwest in Wenatchee, Wash., on March 7. I was privileged to be there to hear his excellent speech.

In his address, Senator Metcalf has some sound advice for all of us who are seriously concerned with the conservation, wise management, orderly development, and highest possible use of the natural resources with which we are blessed.

His point is that the day is coming fast when conservationists can no longer afford the luxury of conflict among themselves. He put it this way:

> The great national effort to preserve and develop outdoor recreation and fish and wildlife resources, to protect our vital watersheds, to harvest our renewable natural resources, to clean up our air and water, will succeed only as we maintain a united conservation front.
>
> We differ in specifics perhaps, but we must never yield to temptation to destroy the whole program because we cannot achieve a special advantage for our own special interests.

Senator Metcalf knows what he is talking about. He has been in the forefront of the conservation movement in Congress for 14 years, and has been cited for distinguished service to conservation by the five major national conservation organizations—the Izaak Walton League of America, the National Parks Association, the National Wildlife Federation, the Wilderness Society, and the Wildlife Management Institute. As the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson] said in introducing Senator Metcalf, he has given conservation "a voice, a vote—and velocity."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that his speech, made at the Wenatchee Conservation Congress be printed in the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Last year it was my privilege to speak at the Fontana Roundup, in North Carolina. It has become one of the principal gatherings of persons who share a concern with natural resources. I am honored to be a part of another regional conference which in its short life has already become recognized as a significant contribution, nationally, to the discussion of conservation matters.

You have mustered here almost as impressive a galaxy of experts and practitioners of the political arts as could be gathered before a joint hearing of those tremendously important committees headed by Washingtonians, Senator Jackson's Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, on which I serve, and Senator Magnuson's Commerce Committee.

It is typical of the man who introduced me to talk of my awards and not his own. There is a curious paradox about Senator Magnuson that takes a long time to understand. On the one hand he is responsible for some monumental achievements of *which river development is just one.* Few know his role as founder of the National Science Foundation or the National Institutes of Health. The same can be said of his guiding role in Civil Rights legislation, Educational Television, Nuclear Shipping, the Communications satellite, and so on. On the other hand, he works so quietly and effectively and efficiently that little is known of his leadership role.

The perceptive observer must analyze it this way: the Senator has a deep commitment to progress in many diverse fields. He is a problem solver, whether it be human rights or conservation or education—and he can do better with a problem than any man I have ever observed in the Senate. Washington State is noted for its natural resources, one of the finest is Senator Magnuson.

Let me say that those of us who are sincerely interested in the conservation, wise management, orderly development and highest possible use of our natural resources appreciate the fact that Washington has sent Tom Foley to work with us.

Before he was elected to the House of Representatives I knew Tom as an effective member of the staff of Senator Scoop Jackson and of the Senate Interior Committee. He made a name for himself in his first term as the leader of a group of House members from the Northwest who fought to protect the resources of the Columbia River and its tributaries against the threat of diversion to the Southwest.

Tom was a sponsor of the bill authorizing additional power generating facilities at Grand Coulee—which is still the largest single public works project ever authorized in the west.

I would like to pay my special respects to the sponsor of this Congress, Publisher Wilfred Woods of the Wenatchee Daily World. You people from the sundown side of the slope know his accomplishments. I want you to know that we easterners, from Montana, know of the impetus which Wilfred Woods, and his father before him, have given to development of this region for decades. For you from the remote eastern seaboard who may not have heard, one of the greatest conservation stories of all time, well told in George Sundborg's *Hail Columbia* is the story which had its setting here. It is the moving account of how Rufus Woods and Jimmy O'Sullivan provided the drive determination and tenacity that made Grand Coulee Dam a reality.

The Columbia is harnessed now working for the development of the Pacific Northwest and entire nation. There are other conservation matters though which are no less urgent today than Grand Coulee Dam was thirty years ago. And you Wilfred Woods are providing the leadership the focus the public understanding which will transform the problems into accomplishments.

Every age has its hallmark. There is some catch phrase to designate almost every decade—The Gay Nineties, The Mauve Decade, The Roaring Twenties and The Jazz Age. The Thirties had bread lines, the dust bowl, the decade of the forgotten men. Some of the recent periods have had hallmarks too—so many designations, neither authentic nor artificial, that no one label will fit.

But surely one of these decades is going to be designated The Decade of Conservation. And it may well be the present years of the Sixties.

Interior Secretary Udall designated the 88th Congress—the one that convened in January of 1963—as the Conservation Congress. And President Johnson has said that this past Congress—the 89th—did more for conservation than any Congress in history.

Secretary Udall was pointing to the passage of such legislation as the Wilderness Act, the Water Resources Planning Act, creation of the Job Corps, and significant additions to our system of national parks—including Canyon Lands National Park, the Cape Cod Seashore, Point Reyes National Seashore and Padre Island National Park.

In the 89th Congress, President Johnson's statement was inspired, among other accomplishments by significant improvements in existing laws aimed at cleaning up our air and water. There was another Water Resources Planning Act, this one to help local and state governments become full partners—as they must—in planning to meet national water needs.

The Water Quality Act established a new water pollution control administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Water Resources Recreation Act established a uniform policy for fish and wildlife benefits in multipurpose dams.

The 89th Congress also voted to create the Assateague National Seashore in Maryland and Virginia, which will preserve in its natural condition the largest remaining undeveloped area between Cape Hatteras and Cape Cod.

Mrs. Johnson's pet project, the Highway Beautification Act, also was passed in the 89th Congress. It will require the removal of unsightly billboards and auto junkyards from the interstate and primary road system of the nation.

So we are certainly trying to make the 1960s the Decade of Conservation. Perhaps we're trying too hard.

Conservation has been so well advertised, so well sold in these past few years that it is a popular item. Today, everybody is wearing a conservation badge.

As you can tell from the diversity of legislation that has a conservation label, we Americans are going to conserve forests, soil, birds, fish and wildlife, metals, oil, water, coal, wilderness and probably a lot of other things I've neglected to list. In the name of conservation it is proposed that we dam some of the best fishing streams left in this continent—and that we preserve these same streams as free-flowing rivers. We are going to protect the Wilderness—and develop the wild places for mass recreation. We are going to protect wildlife, but we are going to poison wolves and kill coyotes and eagles and scatter pesticides indiscriminately. For everything we Americans favor in the name of conservation, we also favor the opposite. It all depends on whom you talk to last.

On discussing conservation we tend to confuse two rather different aspects of the use of our natural resources. The concept of conservation when applied to renewable resources,—soil, water, and forest, for example, might mean the use of the resource on a sustained yield basis. In other words, use at a rate and under such conditions that, on the average, the resource is replaced as fast as it is utilized.

When applied to nonrenewable resources, the metals, oil and coal, for example, conservation might be described as orderly development without waste.

These simple definitions do not cover all cases but for the present discussion I wish to emphasize the basic issues and the ideas that are relatively unconfused by these other complications.

Our chief renewable resource, of course, is water. Most important, though water is constantly flowing to the oceans, is being replaced by rainfall. The amount of water which falls each year as precipitation averages about thirty inches for the continental United States. That is, the water falling annually on the United States as precipitation would cover the whole area of the country to a depth of about two and one half feet. Montana's annual precipitation is about half of that, 14.8 inches and Nevada has 8. So we in the West have lived with the water shortage as a historical fact of life.

But in 1965 in New York the prophecy of II Kings 2:19–22 came to pass. It is the one that reads: "The situation of this city is pleasant as my Lord seeth; but the water is naught and the ground is barren." It is incredible that the largest city in the richest nation in the world in the scientific twentieth century would order waiters under the penalty of prosecution not to serve a glass of water to a restaurant patron unless he asked for it. Yet that is what happened in the summer of 1965 in New York City. It is inconceivable that men completely surrounded by water would experience the same sort of water shortage that we have known in the West for many years. The water shortage, of course, was not confined to New York City. The entire Northeast section of the U.S. and some areas in the Midwest and the South suffered a most serious drought that year. But all pointed up our needs for conservation and wise use of our water resources and better methods of preserving this valuable resource.

The chief reason for water shortage is pollution. Probably the history of the human race could be written in mud. The battle against silt, today's and yesterday's chief pollutant, is a never ceasing one. "Too thin to plow and too thick to pump" is a description of the Missouri but also applies to many other rivers of America.

Dr. Milton Eisenhower has estimated that from colonial days until the end of the dust bowl, the average depth of America's topsoil was reduced by one half as a result of erosion, mud and water pollution.

This lost soil not only grew no crops but clogged rivers, silted-in dams and harbors, choked aquatic plants, destroyed domestic water supplies and killed enormous quantities of fish, both fresh water and salt water, and oysters and clams.

Today we are doing a much better job of retarding soil erosion and the water run-off. Better irrigation methods, re-seeding of damaged plains and denuded slopes, better understanding of the importance of our national forests as watershed protectors, have all contributed to control of soil and silt pollution. The passage of the Soil Conservation Act in 1935 and its local administration was a landmark in this program.

But we no sooner solved the problem of siltation and soil pollution than we began to realize the problem of pollution by industrial and municipal wastes.

After we have used the water for domestic and industrial purposes, it goes down the drain into the sewer. We have water treatment plants for about 125 million people in the United States, but only a part of the communities treat the water before it is discharged back into the rivers.

That is the major problem that confronted New York City. Upstream areas on the Hudson discharged raw sewage into the river and the people of New York had to watch the Hudson flow by the city with thousands of gallons of polluted water while they thirsted for domestic water.

The same is true all over the United States. Industrial and sanitary pollution has spoiled every major river basin in America.

The Potomac, flowing by Washington, D.C., our national Capital and national showplace, is a stinking sewer. The Mississippi, the Missouri, the Columbia, the Arkansas, the Rio Grande, the Colorado, and the other great river systems are all polluted by industrial and domestic waste so that they are unfit for bathing and swimming, their fish population is decimated, and their waters must be chlorinated and treated for use for domestic purposes.

In a pun on the title of a best seller by John Kenneth Galbraith some have referred to America's use of its river system as "The Effluent Society". This play on words is so serious as to be not very amusing.

Lake Erie is now a dead lake because of pollution; it not only is endangering the health and welfare of the people in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana, but it has destroyed the commercial fishing industry, the recreational facilities and the domestic use of that water.

Lake Tahoe, now a deep blue crystal clear lake may be ruined forever if the residents, the builders, the developers and the gambling casinos do not agree on effective methods of disposal of sewage. The beautiful blue will soon become a murky green because of the algae which thrive on these pollutant materials.

The storied beauty of San Francisco Bay is still there but its waters have long ago ceased to support the oysters and the shrimp that were famous gourmet dishes in the San Francisco restaurants. Today dead fish washed up on its beaches and warning signs of "Danger, Pollution" characterize this famous waterfront.

These are only examples of what is happening all over America. In many communities you cannot turn on your faucet without getting a glass of water that has a head on it like the best of beer. I remember a cartoon of some hunters lost in the woods, finally they came to a great mass of foam where the detergents had piled up and they said "Thank goodness we are back in civilization". This was due to the fact that detergents then in use were not soluble in most municipal waste disposal systems. Then Congress acted to require that sewage treatment plants take care of the detergents and the manufacturing companies are now putting on the market soft detergents that can comply with the law and be absorbed in the bacteria treatment plant provided by most modern cities.

Another source of pollution is the combination of storm sewers and sanitary sewers. It is estimated that it will cost about eight billion dollars to convert the combination of sanitary and storm sewers to a system that will take care of the storm run off and at the same time will not flood their treatment plant. The Federal government is prepared to assist by matching funds in these programs.

Today with our waterways befouled by silt, by industrial wastes and by sewages and pesticides we have to ask ourselves about the costs of taking care of these problems so that we can have quality water, we can have sparkling streams, swimming beaches and fishing areas. The price today is high, but it must be paid, on the local, state and federal level.

Of course, another conservation area is the land. Robert Frost said in his poem for the inauguration of President Kennedy, "The people belonged to the land long before the land belonged to the people". Today many people live in an urban sprawl of traffic tangles, polluted air in real estate developments, lands scarred by real estate developments and menaced by poverty and crime. This is a description of many an American city.

Many years ago when conservation had barely gotten off the ground, Uncle Joe Cannon, the Speaker of the U.S. House of

Representatives, issued an ultimatum—"Not one cent for scenery". President Johnson, when he signed the Assateague Seashore Bill, a few years ago, said that Cannon's Law was repealed. But long before it was repealed, a new doctrine had been declared.

The United States government conducted the first census of this country in 1790. The government census-takers found that only four percent of Americans lived in cities. For the 96 percent who did not, the idea of a grand holiday was a trip to town to enjoy the noise and excitement of crowds and commerce.

But that was 1790.

Today, almost one hundred and eighty years later, two-thirds of Americans live in the cities and the suburbs. In their leisure time they have a mighty urge to get away from the city and out to the lakes and the woods or their favorite fishing spot.

But as the population has grown and cities have sprawled, there is less and less unspoiled countryside to get to—fewer lakes not crowded. The process of getting to these gems in the great outdoors has become increasingly expensive, unpleasant and inconvenient. Since World War II, as the income, leisure time and mobility of the American population has increased, the rush to the great outdoors has taken on the dimensions of a stampede.

The outdoor recreation needs of the American people can be met in our time only if we now deliberately strive to meet them.

Outdoor recreation is a public good for which the nation, its states and local governments and the private sector all share responsibility. However, because the task is so large and so complex, the federal government has agreed to provide national leadership.

The opportunity to participate in a variety of outdoor recreation activities is, for various reasons, unequally distributed among the people of our nation. For example, in the crowded eastern seaboard area, the opportunity is rapidly being restricted in variety and reduced in quality.

The forces affecting the situation frequently are beyond the control of the local governments. Many instances have exceeded the financial resources of the states themselves. For this reason, the federal government has an interest in the development of these recreational opportunities in these areas.

Congress authorized the creation of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in 1962—a bureau which is developing a nationwide Outdoor recreation Plan to guide future investment of public funds. As a first step under the new plan, Congress in 1964 enacted the Land and Water Conservation fund to supply national aid to states and local governments.

One of President Johnson's great conservation addresses included these words:

"We have always prided ourselves as being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today, that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe are treated with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded. Our green fields and dense forests are disappearing. Once the battle is lost and our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured, and once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature, his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted".

Those words of President Johnson underscore the need for comprehensive planning and development.

Because of the cosmopolitan features which I mentioned, conservation is now a political issue.

For example, many of the national conservation organizations testified in favor of Knowles Dam in Montana because it would inundate an area that is relatively unimportant for conservation purposes. The storage in this reach of the river would prevent the construction of other dams on areas which the fish and wildlife people feel are more important.

The same was true at the Bruce's Eddy Dam where the conservationists tried to stop the authorization because of the damage to the salmon run.

Boaters and fishermen find themselves at odds over the use of limited water resources. Wilderness proponents are at odds with recreationists who want to drive, not walk to the quiet places that are beyond the road's end. Hunters want to enter the national parks and traditional park enthusiasts are dead set against such a proposal.

Because of this widespread conflict of conservation, there is urgent need for compromise.

Let me put it bluntly.

The great national efforts to preserve and develop outdoor recreation and fish and wildlife resources, to protect our vital watersheds and use our water to its best advantage, to harvest our renewable natural resources, to clean up our air and water will succeed only if we can maintain a united conservation front. We differ in specifics perhaps, but we must never yield to temptation to destroy the whole program because we cannot achieve a special advantage for our own special interest.

We must recognize that the public domain is a national asset. The national forest and Bureau of Land Management lands belong to all the people. They are there for the mining development, for timber management, for grazing and for recreation, for fish and wildlife and above all else, as a part of our precious watersheds.

We conservationists can no longer enjoy the luxury of conflict among ourselves over the use of our land and water; We cannot permit fragile lands to be overgrazed; we cannot have our last remaining power sites underdeveloped; we must stop poisoning the water we drink and the air we breath or else we need not fear the atomic bomb because we will all go out as in T. S. Eliot's poem, "The Hollowmen",—"Not with a bang but with a whimper". Thank you very much.

AMERICAN LAW STUDENTS' CONVENTION ENDORSES TUITION TAX CREDIT

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, when the American Bar Association held its annual convention in Montreal in August 1966, the American Law Students Association met in Montreal for the same purpose. This organization, founded by the American Bar Association in 1949, represents American law students from every State of the Union.

At that convention, the house of delegates of the American Law Students Association unanimously endorsed a resolution supporting tax relief for the expenses of higher education. I have reintroduced my bill, S. 835, in the 90th Congress and ask unanimous consent that the letter of John P. Hederman, president of the American Law Students Association, and the resolution of that association be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN LAW STUDENT ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill, March 3, 1967.

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RIBICOFF: Enclosed you will find a copy of a resolution which was unanimously passed by the House of Delegates at the American Law Student Association at our annual meeting in Montreal. As you are aware, law students are concerned with the increasing costs of education. The possibility of some form of tax relief is most appealing to the students and most assuredly to their parents.

While the resolution was proposed by law students I am sure the underlying motive is indicative of all students in the United States. I sincerely hope that resolution will be of some assistance in your efforts to obtain tax relief for educational costs.

On behalf of the American Law Student Association I would like to thank you for your efforts in this direction.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. HEDERMAN.

RESOLUTION—TAX RELIEF FOR STUDENTS

Whereas the future strength of our Nation lies in the education received by our country's youth; and

Whereas a college education is today a necessity for all who would make a full contribution to society, not a luxury to be enjoyed by a few, and

Whereas freedom to obtain an education requires freedom of choice based upon ability rather than economic necessity, and

Whereas the steeply rising cost of college education endangers the quality and availability of this education to America's youth, and

Whereas as the expanding student population and the effect of the advancing frontiers of knowledge will continue to cause these costs to increase; and

Whereas money spent on education is an investment in our nation's future, and

Whereas scholarships and college loan programs may mitigate but cannot solve this problem for growing numbers of Americans; and

Whereas the proposals to give tax credit or deduction for higher education expenses sponsored by 38 Senators of both political parties, would give needed tax relief to Americans attempting to meet these necessary expenses;

Therefore, be it resolved that the American Law Student Association hereby endorses the principle of providing tax relief to reflect the expenses of higher education and respectfully calls upon the Congress of the United States to enact such a proposal as needed measure to promote the growth and strength of America and relieve a growing hardship for her citizens; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.

FAIR IS FAIR—IRS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, for a number of years, I have received many letters critical of IRS practices, as exposed at hearings of the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure.

Recently, I received a letter commending the IRS, and I want to bring it to the attention of the Senate also. I am delighted to hear from taxpayers who are receiving courteous and fair treatment. As I have said many times before, IRS has many efficient, courteous, and loyal employees.

I agree with the author of the letter that if all employees of the IRS were like the two mentioned in his letter, we would not have to conduct the type of investigation we are conducting. The two employees mentioned, Mr. Kenneth Gibbs and Mrs. Irene O. Mitchell, are to be commended for their courtesy and service to Mr. Wirt.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Roanoke, Va.,
February 16, 1967.

Senator Edward V. Long,
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C.

Sir: I have been following with interest the transcripts of the hearings you have been conducting on the various government agencies including the Internal Revenue Service. I think you are doing a wonderful service to our country, but the purpose of my letter is a little different to the majority of the ones you receive, I would think.

I would like to take this opportunity to point out an experience I have had with the Internal Revenue Service that is quite different. Last year my wife and I had difficulty with our returns. We filed separately and ran afoul of the regulations covering this matter. We received a notice calling our attention to this matter and we requested that the records be sent to Roanoke, Va., for audit there. Mr. Kenneth Gibbs, Revenue Agent in Roanoke, went over the return with me and pointed out where I had made our mistakes. He is a young man and very considerate and kind, but also did a fine job of representing the government in this matter. The amount of the difference was not high, but I later asked Mrs. Irene O. Mitchell in the office to help me with setting this up in installments. She was most kind in handling this matter with me, even called Richmond once or twice when my payments went astray. This agency has received much publicity about things that have gone wrong and I thought that you would like to hear that our people here in Roanoke, Va., are very considerate and treat everyone like they would like to be treated. They make the pain of paying much more bearable. If all their employees were like the two I have mentioned above you would not be having to conduct the type of investigation you are. As an American Citizen and Virginian I would like you to know you have my best wishes in the future.

Sincerely,

E. S. Wirt, Jr.

THE COMING MISSION IN VIETNAM

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, in a copyrighted article in the Saturday Evening Post of March 25, 1967, released today, Mr. Stewart Alsop has written one of the most absorbing and provocative articles I have read on the nature of the war in Vietnam, the obstacles we face there, and some of the grim alternatives.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Alsop's article entitled "Vietnam—The President's Next Big Decision," be printed in the Record. I commend it to Members of Congress and to the people of this country who are bearing the ever-increasing burden of this incredible and tragic war.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Vietnam: The President's Next Big Decision

(By Stewart Alsop)

The American military in Vietnam have a consuming passion for briefing reporters. Most of these endless briefings are both tedious and uninformative. But a briefing I got from a handsome, high-ranking officer at Marine headquarters in Danang succinctly highlighted the two most important facts about the Vietnamese war.

"We have four missions here," the Marine officer said briskly. "The first is to establish secure bases. No sweat, already done. The second is to search out and destroy the enemy main forces. We'll have completed this mission by the end of 1967—maybe sooner." His voice reflected an absolute confidence.

"Then what?"

"Our third mission is to pacify the populated areas along the coast, make them secure from the V.C., and our fourth mission"—suddenly his voice sounded less confident—"is to prepare the way so eventually the South Vietnamese can take over from us."

"How long will that take?"

"Maybe five years, maybe ten, maybe longer—but for God's sake don't quote me." He paused, then added, "The trouble is they're after a quick fix back in Washington, and there just isn't any.

The Marine officer's brisk initial confidence underlines the first important fact about the war in Vietnam—the fact that the American forces are rapidly winning the war they were sent there to fight. This war is being fought mostly in the jungles and the lightly populated areas north of Saigon and inland from the coast. It is the war against the enemy "main forces."

According to Army intelligence estimates, the main forces consist of between 160 and 180 battalions, each with 500 men at full strength, well armed largely with Chinese copies of Russian infantry weapons. More than half the main forces are North Vietnamese regular soldiers; the rest are hard-core Viet Cong. Unless every combat commander I interviewed on a recent trip to Vietnam is optimistic to the point of insanity, this war is being won. The main forces are being destroyed as effective fighting units.

The Marine officer's sudden loss of confidence underlines the second important fact about the war in Vietnam—the fact that another war is going on there, and that this second war is not being won. This is the war against the Viet Cong "infrastructure" for control of South Vietnam's 2,500 or so villages. The infrastructure is the Communist shadow-government, and in much of South Vietnam it is the real government, collecting taxes, recruiting ruthlessly, exercising an increasingly harsh discipline.

The war to "pacify" the villages has been almost wholly the responsibility of the Saigon government's armed forces. Even where the Saigon government force are physically in control of an area, the infrastructure still operates, like a grim and murderous ghost, constantly making its presence known in ways brilliantly calculated to convince the people that the South Vietnamese government cannot guarantee their security. In much of the Mekong Delta, a vast semi-swamp swarming with people, the infrastructure is actually stronger than it was a year ago.

This is why—barring a negotiated settlement of the war—President Johnson is soon going to have to make a crucial decision. He is going to have to decide whether American troops should be given the mission of pacifying the delta and the other heavily populated areas along the coast.

This looming decision, which only the President can make, is at least as important as his decisions in 1965: to bomb North Vietnam, and to send U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam. Experienced American civilian officials in Saigon believe that if U.S. forces are given the pacification mission, our total troop commitment is certain to increase drastically. They also believe that the very nature of the war will change, that the American Army will become, in effect, a semi-permanent army of occupation, and that South Vietnam will be an American colony in all but name.

For such reasons the President's two chief civilian advisers on the conduct of the war—Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and White House aide Robert Komer—both oppose giving American forces the pacification mission. But many respected military men argue that U.S. forces must pacify the populated areas. Their logic is simple: "The South Vietnamese can't do the job. Therefore Americans must do the job, or the war will never end." And the President's understandable eagerness to get the war over with before November, 1968, is so great that in Saigon the pressure from the White House is known as "the blowtorch." This is why the argument of the military men, as often in the past, may in the end prevail.

But can Americans do the job? The place to look for an answer to this question is in the area around the Marine headquarters in Danang. The Marines have had an explicit mission to pacify this area—except for one experimental Army battalion in the delta, only the Marines have been assigned this mission. For going on two years now they have worked earnestly at the task. "Marines have learned," says a Danang press release, "that to win this war they must not only liberate the people, they must also win their hearts and trust."

To "liberate the people"—that is, pacify the villages—the Marines have developed a special technique, which they call "County Fair." They surround a village by surprise, at night, and then move into it at first light with a detachment of Vietnamese army or police. All the people are herded into a tent, or other central place. All those attempting to escape are shot, of course. In one County Fair last year 45 Viet Cong were killed and 17 captured.

When the shooting ends, County Fair begins. Concerts are given, and movies shown, to keep the villagers entertained. Marine dentists move through the crowd, treating bad teeth. A hearty meal is served—fried chicken and ice cream, perhaps. While all this is going on, the "vc-s"—those suspected of being Viet Cong—are put under guard and bundled off to interrogation camps. In a hard-core village, most males of military age end up in the vc-s category. At the end of the day the women, children and old men who are left are given 80 piastres apiece—about 50 cents—and allowed to return to their houses. Then the Marines move on.

It is worth trying to imagine what a County Fair in an American town might be like. This exercise in imagination will suggest why it has always been immensely difficult for a foreign army to deal with a well-organized, deeply entrenched guerrilla movement.

Imagine, then, huge, smelly, alien men with strangely shaped eyes, averaging about eight feet tall, moving into an American town by surprise, at dawn, shooting all those who attempt to escape, and herding the rest of the people into the town hall or the movie house. Imagine the foreign music and entertainment, the strange, rich food, the enormous dentists moving through the crowd, peering into people's mouths and, despite their protests, smilingly pulling out their teeth. Imagine seeing almost all the young men of the town loaded into trucks and taken away, while the women and children and old men are each given 50 cents and allowed to return to their homes.

What would be the reaction of the people of an American town? Would they really give the big alien men "their hearts and trust"? Unless it is supposed that the people in a Vietnamese village are totally unlike the people of an American town—or any other town on earth—the question answers itself.

The Marines are full of good will and good deeds—they repair roads, build schools, distribute "maternity kits" to mothers, and smiles and candy to children. They go to great lengths to avoid bombing population centers (contrary to the myth, a bombed-out village is a very rare sight in South Vietnam), and as a matter of policy they accept casualties to avoid even the appearance of brutality to the civilian population.

Yet the fact remains: There is a deadly incompatibility between winning "the hearts and trust" of the villagers, and killing, capturing, or carting off to interrogation centers most of the village's young men. The basic job of the Marines, after all, is not to distribute midwife kits but to kill or capture the V.C. That, as the Marines say, "is the name of the game." In the heavily populated areas it is a confusing game. "We'll zap the bastards," said a young Marine officer, describing his plans for clearing a village which had already been cleared once, then reinfiltrated by the V.C., "but the trouble is we don't know who to zap." Inevitably the wrong people sometimes get zapped, and this does not help to win "the hearts and trust" of the survivors.

The Marines, who are unaccustomed to failure, make hopeful public noises about the progress they have made in accomplishing their pacification mission. But all you really have to do it to examine their own statistics to see why the Marine officer quoted above made his gloomy forecast of "maybe five years, maybe ten, maybe longer"; and also why, if American forces are assigned the pacification mission in the delta, a big American Army is likely to be bogged down in Vietnam for a generation or more.

The Marines claimed, when I was in Danang, that, of 169 villages in the area under their control, about 40 had been "80 percent pacified" since the Marines began arriving in March, 1965. There are about 2,500 villages in South Vietnam, and I remarked jokingly to one officer that, at this rate, it would take them about 89 years to pacify the country. He didn't smile. "Oh, no," he said, "I don't think it will take that long."

It may not take that long, but if you drive from Danang to Hoi An, a provincial capital that is a 40-minute Jeep ride away, you begin to sense why it could take a very long time. The road was only recently opened for traffic, and on the day I made the trip some Viet Cong had been throwing grenades at a convoy up ahead. Off to one side, a company of Marines was engaged in a brisk fire fight with the V.C. near a village.

In Hoi An, an Army major who was an "adviser" to the province chief said that the day before he and the chief had visited one of the 80-percent-pacified villages. Just in time, the chief had noticed there was no one in the streets, a sure sign that the V.C. had moved back in. They made a fast U-turn in their Jeep and got out, with bullets whistling about their heads.

Clearly an area which is 80 percent pacified remains 20 percent *un*pacified. "To tell you the truth," said a Marine officer in a moment of candor during that drive to Hoi An, "we can't really say that *any* place around here is really pacified. As soon as we move out, the V.C. moves right back in."

The pacification mission is, in short, a hideously difficult mission for American troops to perform. In the opinion of many wise and knowledgeable people—military as well as civilian, Vietnamese as well as American—it is an *impossible* mission for American troops to perform.

A brilliant young State Department man who has been in Vietnam, off and on, for four years, says, "The American combat troops are doing a wonderful job fighting the main forces out in the boondocks. But in the populated areas they're like blind giants, stumbling about among pygmies, stepping on some and killing them, being pinched and pricked and bitten by others. Only the Vietnamese can root the Viet Cong out of the villages, and they've got to learn how—that's the only way this war can be won."

An articulate Vietnamese village priest in the delta, who has been twice wounded in battles with the Viet Cong, says, "You Americans must fight the big battles, but the pacification of the villages must be left to the Vietnamese. Otherwise it will be the French story all over again. If you Americans move into the villages, you will occupy us, like the French, and then you will surely lose."

All this suggests why virtually all the senior American civilian officials in both Washington and Saigon are resisting the military impulse to commit large numbers of American troops to the pacification mission in the delta. A compromise plan has been adopted, which calls for sending a maximum of five U.S. infantry battalions into the delta this year, to hit the Viet Cong's main base areas along the coast and in the Plain of Reeds, west of Saigon. But the main part of the job of pacifying the villages will be left to the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese army, idiotically trained by Americans as a small cumbersome replica of the big, cumbersome American Army, will be retrained as a "People's Army." Its men will be taught the techniques of "civic action"—building roads and schoolhouses, perhaps even distributing midwife kits, smiles and candy. The soldiers will be paid and fed enough so that they do not have to steal chickens from the villagers in order to get a square meal, and they will be brought out of their barracks, into the villages, to protect the villagers from the guerrillas.

Under the Vietnamese army's protection, a thousand or more 59-man, all-Vietnamese "Revolutionary Development teams" will move into the villages, teaching the villagers to work together for their own economic advantage and for security against the V.C. These "R.D. teams" will have the main job of identifying and rooting out the V.C. infrastructure in the villages. Gradually—if the new plan works—the authority of the Saigon government will spread throughout the populated areas, while the V.C. shadow-government fades away. Meanwhile, on the American side, the direction of the pacification program will remain firmly in civilian hands.

That is the scenario. Will it work? In the past, numerous similar plans for pacifying the Vietnamese countryside have been attempted. All of them have failed. Aware of this, the U.S. civilian officials who are chiefly responsible for the new plan are blowing no advance trumpets. But they cite certain reasons why this plan just might work where the others have failed.

First, there is beginning to be a hope—a faint but growing hope—that by the end of this year there may actually be a legitimate civilian government in Saigon, with real national roots. This is the *sine qua non*. There will also be village and hamlet elections this year, which will give the local village chiefs, hitherto Saigon appointees, a measure of genuine local authority and support.

Second, the retraining of the South Vietnamese army, though it will be a very difficult job, is surely not an absolutely impossible job. Third and finally, there are already more than 300 R.D. teams in the field, and some of them, at least, have proved to be surprisingly effective. I spent a day in Binh Dinh province, visiting several villages where the Vietnamese R.D. teams were at work—building schoolhouses, improving irrigation, organizing village centers, and the like. The whole thing seemed a bit Boy Scoutish, but I confess I was impressed, despite an initial skepticism. I remember particularly a big blackboard put up by an R.D. team in the center of a village, which listed about half a dozen names. The names, the leader of the team explained, were those of the Communists in the village. I asked what his team did about these people.

"We don't do anything," the leader replied. "We just want everybody to know who they are." This answer indicates the kind of thing the Vietnamese can do in the villages that no American could possibly do.

In short, the new plan—given time—just *might* work. But already there are military mutterings to be heard that, if the plan does not show signs of "really working" by spring, then the Americans will have to take on the pacification job. There is not the slightest chance that the new plan will begin "really working" by this spring—or, in all probability, by next spring or the next after that.

As month follows month, therefore, with "the blowtorch" burning constantly hotter, it will be rather surprising if the five U.S. battalions in the delta do not multiply until those "blind giants" are stumbling about in all the thousands of villages and hamlets of the Mekong Delta. The British are said to have acquired an empire in a fit of absent-mindedness. We Americans may be about to acquire a colony in a fit of impatience.

I asked a brilliant senior official in Saigon, who is one of the authors of the new plan, how long it might take before the plan really began to succeed.

"Maybe five years, maybe ten, maybe more," he said, using precisely the same words the Marine officer had used. "The trouble is that Washington just won't face up to the nature of the commitment here." The United States is almost certainly caught in what Mao Tse-tung calls "the protracted war"—a long, long test of will and staying power which, if Mao's doctrine is correct, the Communists *must* win in the end. That is "the nature of the commitment."

No American official or officer in Vietnam is ready to concede that Mao's doctrine is correct, but five years was the *lowest* estimate I heard of the time we would need to prove it incorrect. Some estimates run much higher. Sir Robert Thompson, former chief British military adviser in South Vietnam and architect of the victory over the Communist guerrillas in Malaya, writes: "The Americans alone cannot win this war. They can only set the stage for the South Vietnamese to win their war. . . . That will inevitably take time—ten, fifteen, or even twenty years."

The American mind instinctively rejects the notion of the grisly little war still being fought "ten, fifteen, or even twenty years" from now. "Americans do not like long, inconclusive wars, and this is going to be a long, inconclusive war," North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong told French historian Bernard Fall in 1962, as Fall reported in a *Post* article that year. A few weeks ago, Dong told *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury almost exactly the same thing.

There are, theoretically, two ways the war could end in the reasonably near future—by a negotiated settlement, or by victory for one side or the other. As this is written, talks between Washington and Hanoi about ending the war seem more likely than ever before. But talking is one thing, achieving an agreed settlement another. The best-informed officials in Washington and Saigon remain profoundly skeptical about the chances of a negotiated settlement in the near future. There are many reasons for this, but the basic reason is simple.

The North Vietnamese leaders have said again and again—and again—that they will settle the war only if the Viet Cong political organization, the National Liberation Front, is recognized, in effect, as the real government of South Vietnam. The evidence—including the fact that they have risked the very existence of their state to attain this objective—suggests that the Hanoi Communists mean exactly what they say.

The United States has taken more than 7,000 deaths precisely in order to prevent the

N.L.F. from becoming the government of South Vietnam. It seems almost inconceivable that Lyndon Johnson or any other American President will abandon that objective. Between these two positions there is not much room for compromise.

It is not impossible that, if the war goes badly enough for them, the North Vietnamese high command will decide to liquidate the war, at least temporarily, and accept the best terms they can get. That is the way the Korean war ended. But there is no real evidence, as this is written, that the Hanoi leaders have any intention at all of liquidating the war on any terms but their own.

In theory, a settlement might be negotiated directly between some future civilian government in Saigon and the N.L.F. But this too seems at best only remotely conceivable. The depth of the hatred this war has engendered tends to be underestimated by Americans. A high American diplomat was given the job of persuading South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky to accept the American sponsored "Program of National Reconciliation" promulgated at the Manila Conference.

"Sir," said Ky, "you do not understand. The Communist leaders consider me a traitor, and if they catch me, they will first torture me and then kill me. I consider them traitors and, naturally, if I catch them, I will do the same."

It is just barely possible that, at some time in the rather distant future, a stable and self-assured civilian government in Saigon might negotiate a settlement with a much-weakened Viet Cong. But for the foreseeable future all doors to a negotiated settlement seem to be closed. I found nobody in Saigon who believed that they could be opened by dropping more bombs on North Vietnam; by dropping no bombs at all; by "dumping" Ky; by retiring to "enclaves"; or by any of the other expedients heatedly debated at home.

The only other way the war might end soon is by the victory of one side.

A Communist military victory over the American forces in Vietnam is now inconceivable. Until recently the American high command hoped, and at least half believed, that a U.S. military victory over the Communist main forces might lead to a sort of unraveling process in the Viet Cong. The Viet Cong has unquestionably been badly hurt. In 1966, for the first time, the desertion rate from the V.C. was roughly equal, proportionately, to the desertion rate from the South Vietnamese army. But the experts on Viet Cong tactics study masses of evidence—prisoner interrogation, reports of defectors, and the like—and they agree that the hard-core guerrilla infrastructure is intact.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge calls the infrastructure "the real cancer," and until that cancer is successfully removed, the war will go on. A sudden collapse of Viet Cong morale, with a breakdown of the hitherto rigid discipline, and mass defections to the government side, is not absolutely ruled out. But it seems much more likely that the operation on "the real cancer" will take years—and years.

The prospect of a long war in Vietnam is certainly not a pleasant prospect. But—on one condition—it may not be quite so unbearable as it seems. The American casualty rate in this war—somewhat over 7,000 killed in action as this is written—has been much lighter than the rate in any of the three other major wars we have fought in this century. The great majority of our casualties occurred in the fierce battles of 1965–66 against the enemy main forces. As the process of chewing up the main forces continues, comparable casualty rates must be expected during this year.

If the combat commanders are right, however, the main forces will be thoroughly chewed up by the end of the year. Then, on condition that our forces do not get drawn into the pacification mission, casualties should be reduced sharply—by half or more, according to one expert. Furthermore, with the basic mission of the U.S. troop commitment completed, the total force might be cut back to 300,000 men or even less, beginning early in 1968—a possibility which political bookmakers should bear in mind. And, with the completion of such expensive projects as the vast Cam Ranh Bay installation, war costs could probably be cut back from the present level of more than $22 billion a year to $10 billion or less.

Finally, the prospect of a very long war in Vietnam is not quite so intolerable as it may seem because it is a different *kind* of war from any we have fought before. For one thing, the American Army in Vietnam is, by and large, a professional army, and a man does not become a professional soldier in order to avoid wars. For another, it has very little in common with the conventional 20th-century infantry war, with three or four divisions crowded into a front approximately 10 miles wide and 10 miles deep. In fact, the officers often compare Vietnam to the Indian wars during the era of the winning of the West.

"Looks kind of like Custer's last stand, doesn't it?" a Marine battalion commander said of his isolated unit, perched on a mound near the Demilitarized Zone, its weapons pointing outward in every direction. The captain of an Air Cavalry company, which had just landed by helicopter in a clearing in a long valley farther south, said much the same thing.

Sometimes these units, suicidally isolated by conventional-warfare standards, suffer Custer's fate. But thanks to the helicopter, which can provide almost instant reinforcement, and to close air and artillery support—with the accent on the "close"—this is increasingly rare. And the war in Vietnam, with its Wild West flavor, provides far more opportunity for individual initiative and small-unit action than the other wars we have fought in this century.

There is, after all, adventure as well as boredom and death in war—and more so in this war than in most. I remember the steersman of a river-patrol boat on the Mekong River who apologized as a night patrol was coming to end because "we didn't show you much action." The boat had been shot at once, which was quite enough for me, and I asked him whether he enjoyed his work.

"That river gets kinda boring," he said, "but I sure do enjoy the action." I looked at him carefully, and it was clear that he was telling the simple truth. He was having the adventure of his life in Vietnam, and so are a lot more young men who hate the place, of course, but, partly because of the wise rule that a man goes home after a year, morale in Vietnam is high.

All wars are horrible, but to borrow from Orwell, some wars are less horrible than others. From the point of view of the American combat troops involved in it, this war is less horrible than most. This is why the prospect of a long war in Vietnam does not seem quite so unbearable when viewed up close as when seen from the guilty comfort of home. In any case, we may have to bear the prospect of a long war simply because we have no choice. It seems to be a rule of history that great world powers—and by the accident of history we have become the world's greatest—must pay for their power in agony. And although the war in Vietnam is less horrible than the other wars we have fought in this century, the agony is real enough.

The war is also an untidy and unpredictable war, and I left Vietnam with only one strong conviction. If the President, in his desperate and understandable eagerness to end the war somehow, gives U.S. forces the pacification mission, pacification will become occupation, and South Vietnam will become a restless, hostile American colony. Then the agony will be deep indeed, and it will have no visible end at all.

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the foster grandparents program established in 1965 by the Office of Economic Opportunity has already yielded many heartwarming examples of its effectiveness. It brings older persons into the service of youngsters who are in desperate need of attention, affection, and understanding from someone older than they.

The program is also a good example of teamwork among Federal agencies. Though funded by OEO, it is conducted by the Administration on Aging, working in close liaison with community action programs in individual communities.

Already, the Senate Special Committee on Aging has amassed many case studies of the program's effectiveness. I personally am impressed by the enthusiasm and effectiveness of the elderly participants. Here is proof once more that older Americans, so often relegated to idleness after they retire, will respond vigorously when given the opportunity to serve in a worthwhile service program.

A heartwarming description of one Foster Grandparent project was published in the New York Times on February 24. It tells the story of a program in New York City, where the foster grandparents extend "warm, loving patience" to children in their charge. It is easy to agree with the project director's conclusion that the foster grandparent program is one of the biggest successes of the OEO.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

For Children, Loving Kindness—"Grandparents" in Foster Plan Serve Well

Max Blustein's avocation is grandfathering. He is one of about 2,500 old people throughout the country participating in Foster Grandparent programs.

Mr. Blustein, who is 76 years old, spends 20 hours a week visiting with his foster grandchild, Joseph, at the New York Foundling Hospital, Third Avenue and 68th Street. Grandpa Max, as he is known, and Joseph a 2-year-old Negro, go for strolls in the parks, read together, go shopping, play games and share together the wonders of a child's world.

The New York Foundling Hospital is one of four agencies here participating in the program. There are 114 foster grandparents working there and at the McMahon Memorial Shelter. 128 East 112th Street; the Cardinal McCloskey School and Home, and the orthopedic ward of St. Agnes Hospital, the latter two are in White Plains.

The New York program, which is one of the 42 throughout the country, began its operations a year ago today. Organized by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, the local program is sponsored by the Catholic Charities Counseling Service of the Archdiocese of New York.

WARM, LOVING PATIENCE

"More than 175 children are being enveloped in the warm, loving patience of a very resourceful group of senior citizens," said Edward F. Dohrenwend, project director of the New York program.

"Their patience and kindness has been remarkable, and not only the children but all who come in contact with them hold them in high regard," he said. The program, he added, is probably the "biggest success" of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The foster grandparents, men and women, receive a two-week training and indoctrination course in the institution where they will work. They earn $1.50 an hour. They must be more than 60 years old, in good health and have an income that does not exceed $1,500 a year. A high-school education is not required, and persons who have never married, but who have had experience caring for children, are also eligible.

Mr. Blustein, who has five grandchildren of his own, frolicked with Joseph in one of the playrooms at the foundling hospital. He said that he knew and played with all the children there, although he is assigned only to Joseph.

Mrs. Catherine McKew was playing in the corridor with her foster grandchild, Tyrone, and said that it was "heartbreaking" when she had to leave at the end of the day. She said the program had "enriched" her life.

Mrs. Mary Leinow, a widow with four grandchildren of her own, said "it is a marvelous incentive to get up and go to visit the children."

NEW ROLES FOR OLDER PEOPLE

The program was designed to provide new roles for older persons, create new employment opportunities, stimulate innovations in child care and institutional administration and demonstrate a major new resource of responsible workers—all in addition, of course, to giving the children a continuing relationship with adults.

Foster homes, temporary group residences and shelters operated by religious, independent nonprofit and city agencies have generally replaced orphanages. They provide short-term and long-term placement for orphans and unwanted, neglected or abused children who have no other place to go.

The waiting period for foster homes is often prolonged, and the foster grandparents give the children the individual attention that often is not otherwise possible and that is needed for emotional growth and development. Sister Marie LeGras, coordinator of the program at the New York Foundling Hospital, said the foster grandparents provided a counterbalance for the children to the youthfulness of the institution's regular staff.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, for the convenience of all Senators, a most illuminating and provocative series of articles published in the March issue of the magazine, Air Force and Space Digest.

These comments by the magazine's editor, John F. Loosbrock, and its technical editor, J. S. Butz, Jr., contain material which well may bear on many of the national defense and foreign relations decisions Congress will be called upon to make.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Air Force and Space Digest magazine]

THE MYTH OF TECHNOLOGICAL STALEMATE

(By J. S. Butz, Jr.)

Soon the US public must be told that its multibillion-dollar long-range rocket systems are not the weapons to end all weapons. Their invulnerability, which is the key to their effectiveness, is decreasing at a rapid rate. As a result, the whole strategic war picture could, and probably will, change rapidly in the next few years. Four major developments, made possible by little-publicized technological breakthroughs, are critical to our future national security posture:

Very large nuclear weapons could form the basis of a "screening-type" missile defense, a shield of X-rays and high-energy particles protecting a target nation against ballistic-missile attack.

Missiles, now deployed in hardened underground silos, could be made obsolete by the development of extremely accurate ICBMs which can hit within 600 feet of a target at intercontinental ranges—ten times the accuracy once thought feasible.

Satellites, using "multispectral" reconnaissance systems soon will almost surely be able to "see" missile-bearing submarines lurking several hundred feet below the surface of the ocean.

Major cost reductions for rocket vehicles raise the possibility that many nations can acquire intercontinental nuclear attack forces and that the more advanced nations will be able to consider more sophisticated defensive systems than have hitherto been available.

TECHNOLOGY—THE GREAT DESTABILIZER

(By John F. Loosbrock)

On page 48 of this issue, our Technical Editor, Sam Butz, presents a thesis that is as disquieting as it is important. Once again, new knowledge, and new technology based on this knowledge, has upset the equilibrium of current strategy.

For almost twenty years the heart and core of American foreign and military policy, in a strategic sense, has been one of deterrence of Communist aggression. This has been accomplished by maintaining a retaliatory strike capability that could withstand a surprise attack and still retain the ability to devastate the Soviet Union, which during this period has been the only country with both the capacity and the motive to seriously damage the continental United States.

Essential to this thesis have been two considerations. The first is that the United States will not strike the first blow. Preventive war was rejected from the beginning as intrinsically evil and repugnant to the American people and their government. There have been cautious pronouncements that left the door open a crack to so-called preemptive war, whereby the indications of attack might be so compelling that one might justify beating the enemy to the draw in terms of valid self-defense. But essentially the idea of any kind of first-strike strategy on the part of the United States has been consistently rejected at national policy-making levels.

The second consideration, which flows inexorably from the first, is that the retaliatory force must be secure, that is, not subject to being neutralized by a first blow. So the idea of a secure second-strike capability has formed the bedrock of deterrence.

In the beginning, the problem was a simple one. The United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them over intercontinental ranges—the bombers of the Strategic Air Command. There was just no way that any enemy could hurt the continental United States.

But the problem became complicated at a pace which no one foresaw in the beginning. Very quickly the Soviets broke the atomic monopoly and began acquiring their own means of delivering nuclear warheads over long distances. As long ago as 1951, Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenburg, then Chief of Staff of the Air Force, pointed out the need for a counterforce capability, saying that the first targets for SAC from that point on would have to be the Soviet strike forces. And steps were taken to reinforce deterrence through a meaningful air defense system against Soviet bombers, not so much to protect U.S. cities and American lives as to ensure the survival of the retaliatory force. While the threat consisted of air-breathing aircraft, the problem was still relatively easy to manage.

Then the intercontinental ballistic missile entered the picture. It upset the strategic equilibrium because it could not be defended against, at least by any means then considered feasible. It threatened the security of the U.S. second-strike force, which itself began to consist of a mix of manned bombers and missile initially in so-called "soft configurations," which was merely another way of saying they were unprotected against enemy missiles.

Various means were employed to ensure the survival of this second-strike force. Bombers were dispersed and a portion of the bomber force placed on airborne alert so that at least a percentage of the bombers would always be available to retaliate. The missile force was "hardened," placed in underground "silos" that rely on the relative inaccuracy of the incoming missile to assure the survival of enough of the force to continue to deter attack.

So the composition of the missile force progressed from the first soft Atlases to the current deployment of hardened Titans and Minutemen. Meanwhile, the Polaris was developed to be launched from submarines under the sea, presumably invulnerable to detection and hence to destruction.

And, all through this period, strategy was based on a simple, bipolar confrontation. It was a game that only the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were equipped to play. This tended to simplify the problem.

Currently, there is debate about whether deterrence can be usefully strengthened by the deployment of a point-defense antimissile system, the Nike-X, as a countermeasure to clear evidence that the Soviets are deploying an antimissile system of their own.

Essentially what Sam Butz points out is that the security of our second-strike force now is seriously jeopardized by advances in technology, not all of which stem from military requirements. Any one of these developments would pose a serious threat and require a recasting of our strategic posture. The developments he talks about are: first, the notion that radiation effects of a high-altitude nuclear burst could furnish a highly efficient antimissile defense system; second, that warheads can now be guided so accurately that the hardened silo is no longer hard; third, that forthcoming reconnaissance capabilities from space will be so good that even undersea mobility will not serve as a protection; and, forth, that launch-vehicle costs are coming down to a point where many nations can achieve an intercontinental missile capability.

Alone or in combination, these developments clearly call for a whole examination of our strategic posture. Clearly, more missiles are not the complete answer, as Mr. McNamara appears to suggest. Neither is the point-defense Nike-X approach to antimissile defense, which the Joint Chiefs are reported to support.

We do not pretend that Sam Butz has all the answers. But we submit that the questions he proposes deserve searching and detailed examination.

Technology, the great destabilizer, has done it again.

THE MYTH OF TECHNOLOGICAL STALEMATE

(By J. S. Butz, Jr.)

The modern technologies affecting strategic war are in a violent state of flux.

More true breakthroughs, more destabilizing changes, can be expected in the next decade than have occurred in the twenty-five years since World War II.

The idea that offensive weapons are all-powerful in the nuclear age, with the defense helpless against them, may prove to be one of the shortest-lived "axioms" upon which a national military strategy was ever based.

Such views, of course, are completely contrary to the official US position on strategic war. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara recently said, "Even if the Soviets . . . were to assign their entire available missile force to attacks on our strategic forces, more than one-half . . . would still survive and remain effective." He also holds that no conceivable type of missile defense would be able to stop our surviving force of missiles and prevent them from bringing an unacceptable retaliation against the Russians.

There is room to seriously question these conclusions.

A great deal of technical evidence indicates that the pendulum is swinging away from an all-powerful offense. Possibly the Administration does not believe it is time to start discussing this swing. But soon the US public must be told that the multibillion-dollar long-range rocket systems it has just purchased, those based undersea as well as underground, are not the weapons to end all weapons. They could become obsolescent more quickly than any major system of the past. They may have a much shorter time in the sun than the high-altitude bomber.

The most destablizing of all developments—a sound, "nearly perfect," *operational* defense against ballistic missiles—appears to be in the technical cards within the next ten years or less. Both the US and the USSR could devise such a defense.

The idea that the whole strategic war picture can change rapidly in the next few years and that a viable defense can be erected against long-range rockets rests on four critical developments. These are:

Very large nuclear weapons, above sixty megatons, could form the basis of a "screening-type" of missile defense, a protecting shield of high-energy particles over a target nation. Such a shield would be much more economical and more effective than the Nike-X type of "dueling" terminal defense, in which each incoming warhead must be met by a defending warhead in a "bullet vs. bullet" engagement.

Extremely accurate ICBMs, which can hit within 600 feet of a target at intercontinental ranges. The unexpectedly rapid development of this "hard-target" capability during the past five years has disrupted original US plans for long-term protection of its Minuteman retaliatory force in underground silos. The concept of mobile ICBMs, mounted on trains or cross-country vehicles, has been resurrected only recently.

Astounding reconnaissance systems development. Astounding is the quietest adjective that can be applied to the results now being achieved with "multi-spectral" reconnaissance systems and to the progress that is surely coming in the next five to ten years. Most important is the prospect that a satellite will be able to "see" submarines submerged several hundred feet in the ocean. Rapid, nearly real-time, methods of transmitting large volumes of this data to surface vessels and aircraft open the way to effective antisubmarine defenses. Similar satellite reconnaissance techniques will allow mobile ground-based offensive missiles, as well as aircraft, to be tracked continuously. The security of mobility, even Polaris-type under-the-sea mobility, as a protection for offensive systems is rapidly declining.

Major cost reductions for rocket vehicles and many types of space systems have opened two broad avenues for change in the strategic balance. First is the possibility of many nations acquiring small intercontinental nuclear attack forces. Second is the prospect that the more advanced nations will be able to consider more sophisticated offensive systems as well as defensive systems which will intercept ICBMs in their bost and midcourse flight phases.

Technology is pushing these four critical developments rapidly and unavoidably upon us. Any engineer, any scientist, any planner working on the over-all strategic war problem now deals with this technology regularly.

Unclassified sources reveal the general extent of this technical advance today and the rapid progress that can be expected in the near future. However, classification keeps most of the story buried with only about ten percent of the iceberg showing. The following paragraphs come from a study of that ten percent.

LARGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The original US calculations in the effects of very large nuclear weapons, in the 100-megaton class and above, have been grossly in error. It now appears that when exploded in space, these weapons will generate more than 1,000 times the number of high-energy particles originally predicted. Estimating the energy of these particles and their number (flux) by extrapolating from the data the US has gathered on tests of twenty-megaton-class weapons has not been possible. The very large weapons represent a new phenomenon.

Original warning of the new phenomenon came from the Russian sixty-megaton test at high altitude above the Arctic circle in 1961. It is by far the largest nucelar weapon exploded to date.

The US has followed up and investigated this phenomenon to a limited extent through underground tests. Small weapons have been rigged, in long tunnels about a mile underground, to produce directional explosions, which simulate the effects of the larger weapons through a small arc. Air is pumped out of these instrumentation-lined tunnels, and it is possible to gather some data on nuclear effects in a near space environment. Collecting meaningful data from such tests and developing a valid theory for predicting the effects of very large nuclear weapons in space have become top-priority tasks of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Some basic new possibilities in ballistic missile defense are raised by the fact that these very large weapons give off more than 1,000 times more high-energy particles than expected. A "screening" defense system now appears possible. Explosion of a few very large weapons at the proper altitude and latitude could trap dense quantities of the particles in the earth's magnetic field at relatively low altitudes below the Van Allen belts of natural radiation. The umbrella of trapped radiation could be strong enough to disable ICBM warheads by violently and suddenly changing the characteristics of their electronic guidance and fuzing elements or by reacting adversely with their basic nuclear material.

In a defense system the very large weapons would have a dual advantage. Exploding in the midst of a barrage of warheads and decoys they would do great immediate damage. The full force of the weapons would be felt in one massive pulse of energy, and their kill radius with this pulse would be much wider than that of the relatively small weapons, well below ten megatons, that are contemplated by the US for use in the Nike-X system.

A second or so after the blast, if it were triggered at the right point, a portion of these particles would bounce back into the area of the attacking missiles to start forming the screen. They would be trapped along the earth's lines of magnetic force traveling between points near the North and South magnetic poles. Travel time between the poles has been found to be about one second. In about a half-hour the particles would spread out to encircle the globe. It is believed in some quarters that the belt created by very large weapons in the 100-megaton range and higher would be powerful enough to turn the most heavily shielded ICBM warhead into a dud. The decay rate would be rather rapid, but the belt could remain lethal to the warheads for many minutes, possibly an hour. So a few weapons, with a warning system to report when ICBMs were fired, have the potential of stopping barrages.

Serious thought about "screening" defense dates back a number of years. They have great potential advantages over Nike-Zeus and Nike-X type "dueling" systems because they don't require elaborate radar facilities for tracking large numbers of in-coming warheads, they need not sort out warheads from decoys, and they can handle a large "saturation barrage."

The first tests to determine if a radiation umbrella could be formed were made by the US in 1958 with three small Argus shots, each in the kiloton yield range. It proved possible to form three umbrellas, but they were far too weak to damage a missile warhead. Extrapolation of the Argus data apparently misled most US researchers to the conclusion that it would be impossible to build a weapon large enough to create an effective belt.

A NASA report indicates that seven artificial radiation belts have been created around the earth—four by the US and three by the Russians. The three Soviet tests mentioned by NASA came in the fall of 1962—shortly after the US 1.4-megaton explosion code-named Starfish. The following year the test-ban treaty was signed, and all experimental work has since been carried on underground.

The NASA report does not contain information on a large number of high-altitude shots that did not form a long-lasting radiation belt because they were not exploded at the proper altitude and latitude. It dealt only with the belts that had a measurable intensity for months or years.

The two principal US high-altitude shots of this "non-belt" type, Teak and Orange, were made in 1958 and were both in the "megaton range." Teak, the biggest, formed a fireball eighteen miles in diameter that glowed brightly for about five minutes. Serious disruptions of high-frequency radio communications and some types of radar transmission lasted for more than an hour.

Soviet high-altitude tests reportedly have been much more numerous. One of them was the sixty-megaton blast made in the fall of 1961, early in the surprise test program that broke the voluntary test moratorium.

A total of seventy-one shots, around one a week, were made in this Soviet test series that ran for nearly eighteen months, mostly in the Arctic. Many high-yield weapons were exploded at various altitudes and latitudes. On the strength of these tests, many US experts believe the Russians know considerably more than this nation about high-altitude effects of large weapons.

"HARD-TARGET" ACCURACY

For several years two basic bodies of information on strategic war have been passing about in the United States. That reaching the general public is generated by the government and very often is at odds with the information circulating in the technical community.

No better example exists than the double information on ICBM accuracy. In his Posture Statement in January 1963 before the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. McNamara discussed the 1964–1968 defense program and the general outlook for that period. He said, "An attacker would have to use several of his missiles in order to be reasonably confident that he had knocked out one Minuteman [in a silo]."

This translates roughly into a technical estimate that the Soviet missiles for the period discussed would have an accuracy CEP (circular error probable) of about one mile, meaning that half of the missiles fired at a given target would strike within one mile of it Hardened structures, such as Minuteman silos, can withstand one-megaton surface bursts at distances of about 2,000 to about 2,500 feet, according to DoD publications. Several factors influence this estimate, including type of terrain and shock-absorbing mechanism in the silo, but it is in the ball park.

At the time that Mr. McNamara was making this estimate it was commonly accepted in the US technical community that guidance accuracies were improving rapidly, and that in this five-year period a hard-target capability with a CEP of .1 mile, or about 600 feet, would be achieved. This common technical opinion was reflected in the November 1962 issue of *Astronautics* in an article by H. H. Koelle, former director of future projects at NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center. Mr. Koelle said, "For many years guidance accuracy was a limiting performance factor, which led to requirements for high-yield warheads. But, through extension of presently available technology of sensors and terminal control, *we can now see the achievement of a hard-target capability before 1970.*" (Emphasis supplied.)

Mr. Koelle then made the obvious comment that strategic missile systems would have to be moved out of the silos and made mobile once the hard-target capability was a reality.

Today all signs indicate that the information in the technical community was correct and the public information from DoD was about one order of magnitude in error. Last month Gen. John P. McConnell, Air Force Chief of Staff, talked to a congressional committee about the need for advanced ICBMs which would be mobile, able to move constantly about the US in trains, trucks, or some new type of cross-country vehicle. The Washington *Star* reported that General McConnell indicated that Mr. McNamara "already has given tentative approval."

On this particular point the Air Force record for being in tune with technology is better than Mr. McNamara's. Very early in the program, the USAF planned to put a significant percentage of the Minuteman force on trains. By 1961 considerable work had been done in designing and testing proper rail equipment, etc. More than $100 million was spent on this project before Mr. McNamara canceled it in 1962, giving several reasons why the mobile missiles were more costly and less cost/effective than the silo types.

This doesn't mean the 950 or so Minutemen in silos today are useless and are not a potent retaliatory force. It simply means that Mr. McNamara's five-year estimates in 1962 were quite inaccurate and that his 1962 cost/effectiveness standards do not hold up now. The difficult problem of counting the relative worth of ICBM forces apparently has turned out to be different than he expected. With a hard-target capability the Soviets can get one Minuteman for about each warhead expended, instead of "for several missiles" as Mr. McNamara estimated.

This brings up the question of comparing missiles to warheads. The terms are not synonymous, as is well known today. However, in 1962 they were often used loosely and interchangeably. Earl H. Voss, writing in the Washington *Star* at the end of 1962, optimistically reported that, "The United States is credited with more than a 3–1 advantage in nuclear missiles over the Soviet Union. . . . Competent observers said this estimate of United States power is behind recent statements by President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk that the world has come to a 'turning point' in history . . . [which was brought about by] smaller, cheaper, advanced nuclear weapons scattered in hardened sites and almost invulnerable to attack." Mr. Voss went on to say that "an attacking power would have to use four rockets, given reasonable accuracy, to knock out each silo." On this basis, Voss's sources said the Russians would have to outdistance this country "4–1 in missile production" before attempting a "first attack."

Since then, starting in about 1964, there have been numerous newspaper stories about multiple warheads being developed, with Minuteman and Polaris carrying about three apiece. If the Russians also can handle multiple warheads, their bigger missiles could be a great advantage. For instance, they have shown missiles in Red Square with bigger payloads than the Titan II, which can carry more than five times the load of a Minuteman. So, by rough estimating, one might conclude that the large Soviet ICBMs might carry more than fifteen warheads or more than five times that of the Minuteman.

Regardless of the capability one attributes to the Soviet missiles, hard-target accuracy and development of multiple warheads have changed the picture completely from 1962. It would seem highly foolish today to attribute overwhelming warhead superiority to the United States, or to say that the Soviets would have to outproduce us 4 to 1 in missiles to overcome our lead and make a first strike on the Minuteman force feasible.

MULTISPECTRAL RECONNAISSANCE

Today's technology has no more important message for laymen than the one from the reconnaissance business. This message is, "Man really is just learning to 'see,' but we are rapidly gaining full sight along the entire electromagnetic spectrum." The lifting of our "blindness" is going to be a traumatic affair. Enough is known already to establish that.

It is abundantly clear that man and his new and improved reconnaissance devices can "see" much more from a satellite than was predicted even five years ago. For example, submarines can be observed at depths of several hundred feet in the ocean. There is reason to expect, in the next five years or so, other revolutionary developments of great military importance, such as the observation of men under heavy foliage, possibly using improved versions of older equipment such as long-wavelength radar.

It is now possible to begin design of a satellite which can deliver the following information using only on-board equipment: the pressure, temperature, and humidity at various altitudes in the atmosphere; the temperature and salinity of water at various depths in the ocean to more than 200 feet; the dimensions and speed of ocean currents to depths of more than 200 feet; tracking the movement of fish in schools as small as thirty feet in diameter at depths of more than 200 feet; survey of water supply, including the location of underground rivers, inventory of forests, including the types, heights, and health of trees; structural information on the earth's surface, including the types of rocks, their attitude, and drainage pattern; water content, texture, plasticity, and bearing capacity of some types of soil; sources of sand and gravel; survey of crops under cultivation, including types and state of health; sources and types of pollution in rivers and coastal waters; and identification of some types of ore deposits. This list could go on and on.

Most of the information is made available by comparing several pictures of a given spot on earth which were made at the same time but in various portions of the electromagnetic spectrum; hence the term "multispectral" reconnaissance.

Conventional photography in the visible light region continues to be the backbone of aerial reconnaissance as it has for fifty years. The resolution (ability to show small objects from high altitude) of conventional photographs is higher by far than those obtained from radar, infrared, or other types of sensors. Steady improvements in resolution have been made since World War I, and the experts say there seems to be no end in sight. Today, judging from reports in technical journals, satellite photographs taken on a clear day should show objects on the ground smaller than a garbage-can top.

Multiband color photography is just about the hottest development in conventional systems today. Three or four color photographs, each sensitive to light at a particular narrow band of visible or near-infrared frequencies, will show a great deal about land and water when compared.

Additional data comes from instruments collectively capable of scanning nearly the entire electromagnetic spectrum, from radio waves, through radar and microwaves, the complete infrared spectrum, up to ultraviolet and X-rays. Steady improvements are being made in both passive instruments, which observe natural radiation at a particular frequency, and in active equipment such as radar which emits radiation at a given frequency (coherent radiation) and picks up a reflection from the object being observed. With this lineup of devices, quite detailed reconnaissance can be carried on continuously regardless of atmospheric weather conditions.

To be useful, however, data from all these instruments must be recorded at the same instant, and reduced to a format that can be studied by either humans or machines. Immense quantities of data must be handled rapidly to do the complete job. A few years ago it was considered impossible. Today, however, the experts are arguing about which of several possible methods would be best.

A key development has been the extension of the region of coherent radiation to frequencies far higher than those of radar. This ability to radiate energy at the shorter wavelengths, *e.g.* the visible-light laser, vastly increases the resolution of radar-like reconnaissance devices and allows communication equipment data-handling capacity to be increased to the infinite for all practical purposes. (*See chart, page 52.*)

Future development of these multispectral sensors will have two main branches. One branch will be pure science. It concerns the development of improved sensors in all parts of the spectrum, and development of means for generating coherent radiation at shorter and shorter wavelengths, beyond the laser. Eventually, one can expect that gamma-ray lasers will be possible, and they will be the true death ray. Nothing could stand against them. Natural gamma rays from space now are detected in mines more than a mile deep. A coherent stream of radiation with this sort of energy could destroy anything it was focused upon.

Excitement in the scientific community has seldom topped that being shown in the new sensors and the new forms of coherent radiation. This is because the sensors are important "eyes" for science just as for reconnaissance. They are vital in learning more about plasmas, high-temperature reactions of all types, the structure of the atom, and a host of other phenomena. There is little likelihood of stemming this scientific development even if it was desired. Too many good minds are at work and the costs of meaningful experimentation are not high.

The second major course of development concerns the actual multispectral reconnaissance systems. Here the big need is to calibrate the entire system—to get the various sensors to work together. The basic capabilities of the various sensors have been established. But simultaneous measurements must be made over various types of known terrain before the full implications of the sensor outputs can be interpreted.

Some calibration data already exists, and this forms the basis of predictions being made. It also has been established that complete calibration and shakedown of the system is likely to take many months and possibly years of work in a manned satellite. Equipment adjustments and test modifications couldn't be handled automatically.

The Department of Defense has allowed the Air Force to request $431 million in FY 1968 to accelerate the Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL), after keeping the project moving at a slow pace for three years. First flight of a MOL complete with crew is scheduled for 1969. In view of the reconnaissance potential of manned satellites with multispectral equipment, this could hardly be called a high-priority program.

NASA expects to have its first small manned station in orbit in 1968. This station will be more than twice as big as the MOL, and as soon as its habitability is established, testing with elements of a multispectral system is to begin.

DECLINING COSTS—INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES

It may not be immediately apparent from the size of US expenditures, but the costs of rocket vehicles and space systems are falling rapidly. US research is mainly responsible for the new low-cost opportunities, but other nations may be in a better position to capitalize on some of it because they started late.

The commonly held idea that large, long-range rockets must be extremely complicated and very expensive already has been outmoded. The best example is the Japanese space program, which has developed a four-stage, solid-fueled rocket capable of putting a 300-pound payload in a 300-mile orbit. This rocket, the *Mu,* is officially known as a satellite launcher, which is one way of saying that it also is an intercontinental rocket with a payload of about 400 pounds.

The startling point is that the Japanese claim to have spent only $25 million in more than five years of work on a series of ever-larger solid-rocket motors, some of which have been stacked together to form the *Mu.* In contrast, the United States spent hundreds of millions before we had a rocket that could put 300 pounds in orbit.

Solid-propellant rockets have proven to be less expensive and more reliable than predicted five years ago by anyone except their manufacturers. Many US experts today contend it would be the highest form of arrogance not to concede that at least a dozen nations, Red China included, could produce intercontinental solid-fueled rockets. The production rate might be slow, the propellant formulation conservative and the motors might only have eighty-five percent or so of the Minuteman's efficiency, but these foreign vehicles easily could be larger than Minuteman with substantially bigger payloads.

The rapidly declining cost of "minimal" delivery systems upsets the predictions of many experts who held that at least a dozen nations had the capability to make atomic bombs but could not afford the greater cost of building intercontinental rocket delivery systems. For example, a 1958 report prepared for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences by nuclear scientists William C. Davidson, Christoph Hohenemser, and Marvin I. Kalkstein, concluded that eleven nations, including Red China, had the wherewithal to make up to twenty nuclear weapons in a five-year program costing $150 million. Mr. Hohenemser, about five years later in 1963, expressed the belief that some of these twelve nations would begin "a primitive nuclear weapon program at present or in the near future." He felt that these weapons would be a menace to other secondary powers but not to the United States or Russia because long-range delivery systems cost billions, as "is well illustrated by US expenditures." Japanese expenditures in capitalizing on previous US technical experience are perhaps a more valid index.

Declining costs and improving performance for all space systems may bring reconsideration of many offensive and defensive concepts, previously discarded by the US as too expensive. One such concept is the Bambi (ballistic missile boost intercept) (*see illustration page 49*) which involves many hundreds of satellites spaced out in low earth orbit so that several of them always are over enemy ICBM sites. In case of attack, the Bambi satellites would launch small rockets against the rising ICBMs. During this vulnerable takeoff period, lasting several minutes, the ICBMs would be traveling relatively slowly on a trajectory that is quite predictable. The rocket and warhead would be locked together to form a large target and the rocket exhaust plume would be the strongest sort of homing beacon.

Several years ago many believed that a successful defense would require action against ICBMs in their boost and midcourse flight phases as well as the terminal. Dropping costs may revive such thinking. Satellite technology now offers the long-life components, small computers, infrared sensors, and power systems needed for Bambi, all at a new low price.

Launch costs also will be reduced to about one-fifth the current price in the near future as Saturn V becomes operational. The Saturn V could put over 100 Bambis, each weighing a ton or so, into orbit at once. Total Bambi system costs should be reduced by a factor of at least ten compared to estimates of eight to ten years ago.

Today, a cursory look at even the rudiments of the military-technological revolution inevitably leads to two conspicuous conclusions. First, the revolution which began with World War II—fission weapons, rocket engines, and electronic developments—is far from dead or dormant. The opportunity for, indeed the probability of, major technical change still is rising sharply.

Second, the layman must feel cut off from technical reality. So much is withheld. The ostensible reason is national security, but one must wonder if the basic kind of information needed to put a layman in the ball park of reality would really give secrets away to the Russians.

Little light is being shed on the full reaches of technical reality. Instead of systematic discussions of possible technical alternatives, scientists and government officials are presenting the public with strong doses of their personal philosophies, moral and political beliefs, and their stands on global strategy, all under the guise of technical objectivity.

No shade of thinking seems to lack the prestige of support by at least one prominent scientist. This runs the gamut from complete disarmament now, to crashing ahead on a host of major new offensive and defensive systems. In effect, the scientists are saying, "We have seen reality, and we advise you to take this particular course." They don't explain the reasons behind their advice or why their conclusions and those of equally eminent scientists may lie 180 degrees apart.

Administration policy is presented with similar finality. Mr. McNamara says flatly that no antimissile system would be worth the price of installation. He reiterates that our military strategy is based on a secure missile force that could absorb any conceivable enemy action and then penetrate any conceivable defense in a retaliatory attack. The Administraiton holds that a stalemate situation exists because no US defense could prevent this nation from being destroyed by the Soviets. It is not anticipated that any technological advance or series of advances could break the stalemate.

On this basis the US is attempting to reach two major agreements with the Soviet Union. One would stop the installation of any type of missile defense system by either country. The other, a "nonproliferation" pact, would stop either power from aiding another nation in the acquisition of nuclear arms.

Enough is known of the military/technological revolution to question each fundamental tenet of this US policy. The basic questions, which not only must be asked but also answered, would seem to include the following:

Aren't US missile forces, both land and sea based, less secure today than they were three years ago? Won't they be far less secure five years from now than they are today?

Isn't it reasonable to assume that any missile defense system installed by either the US or Russia today could be improved substantially in the next five to ten years?

Is there reason to believe that the day of a meaningful nonproliferation treaty is past? Can't Red China, and possibly other nations, be expected to have substantial strategic arsenals of twenty-five to fifty nuclear weapons plus intercontinental delivery systems within five years? If this is so, isn't the two-nation stalemate theory outdated for good, and doesn't the erection of the soundest possible missile defense become exceedingly attractive?

The Congress, as it debates ballistic missile defenses, has an obligation to get detailed answers to these questions. If the answer to any, or all, is yes, it seems properly prudent for the United States to exploit its technological prowess to the maximum, at the same time that it is attempting to negotiate a more peaceful world.

THE PROBLEM OF CHINESE REFUGEES IN BURMA

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, there is mounting evidence of increased disaffection among the people of mainland China. A manifestation of this unhappiness is the rush by many Chinese to leave their homeland. Peter Boog of the Associated Press, in a dispatch from Rangoon, tells of the problem being created in Burma by refugees from the Red Guard terror of China. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article, which I have taken from the Rocky Mountain News of Denver for March 12, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHINA UPHEAVAL CAUSES REFUGEE RUSH FOR BURMA

(By Peter Boog)

RANGOON, BURMA, March 9.—The upheaval in neighboring China is being anxiously watched by Burma, which fears an influx of Chinese refugees.

The Burmese press traditionally has been extremely careful in its comments on China. Recently it has been giving wide coverage to developments and freely commenting on how Burma could be affected.

The focal point of concern is the illegal entry of refugees along a 1200-mile frontier.

Burma has an estimated 1½ million Chinese within its borders. Many crossed from China in the past 20 years, but Chinese have been trickling into Burma for a century. Most of them trekked the long route from Kunming to Lashio to work in mines close to the Chinese-Burmese border.

After Burma became independent in 1948, hordes of Chinese crossed into Burma at will. Says one immigration official: "It was only in the late 1950s that control points were set up and security tightened across the border."

Since 1948, Chinese communities in many parts of Burma have doubled. In Lashio, close to the border, there were 250 residents before the war. There are more than 5000 now. Mandalay has more than 10,000 Chinese, twice the number a few years ago.

In recent weeks the press has carried several reports of illegal border crossing detected by immigration officials.

The Government-owned Working Peoples' Daily reported Feb. 20 that 300 refugees, fleeing from persecution by Red Guards, entered Burma illegally. They crossed over from Yunnan and entered at Kunlong, the northernmost frontier town.

Included were four Buddhist monks who claimed Red Guards ordered them to disrobe. Also in the group were two former Red Guards who reportedly said they were disgusted with the anti-Buddhist attitude of the Red Guards.

The Rangoon Daily in another report said a special foreigners investigation team at Mogaung, Kachin state, had discovered 250 illegal entries early in January.

The immigration team found that many more illegal immigrants were working at the Namti and Sanaw sugar factories in Kachin state. Some of these Chinese were said to be qualified technicians drawing $80 monthly.

Immigration officials admit that only a fraction of the illegal immigrants can be detected because of the vastness of the border and the lack of sufficient personnel to police the area. A Rangoon Daily editorial calls for greater efforts to seal off access points.

FULL OPPORTUNITY AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTING ACT OF 1967

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a little more than a month ago I introduced, together with 10 other Senators, S. 843, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967.

The bill grew out of a deep conviction that we need more precise analysis and evaluation of governmental programs aimed at improving the public welfare, and improved statistical methods of measuring progress or retrogression in these fields.

I pointed out at that time that such precise analysis and statistical evaluation by the President's Council of Economic Advisers during the past 20 years has helped to propel the Nation's economy into sustained vigor of unprecedented duration, and that we should have a comparable institution to help the President in his efforts to achieve our national domestic social goals.

The Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act would establish a President's Council of Social Advisers, paralleling the Council of Economic Advisers; it would also require the President to submit an annual Social Report, the social counterpart of the President's Economic Message; and finally it would establish the Joint Congressional Committee on the Social Report to give Congress oversight responsibility in this field.

In the period since the introduction of the bill, the unanimously favorable response from private citizens, social welfare agencies, and Federal officials has been truly amazing. Among the most heartening is the support I have received from social scientists working in universities across the Nation.

I have before me letters from five eminent social scientists and scholars: John G. Turnbull, associate dean of the University of Minnesota; Amitai Etzioni, of Columbia University; David Caplovitz, of Columbia University; David Riesman, of Harvard University; and Robert Coles, research psychiatrist, also of Harvard, regarding the proposed legislation. I ask unanimous consent that their letters be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

University of Minnesota,
College of Liberal Arts,
Minneapolis, Minn., March 6, 1967.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale: Thank you for your Social Accounting Act letter: I could not agree more with your proposal had I written it myself. Let me comment in a bit more detail.

1. We use a pluralistic approach to our social welfare programming. Given our set of cultural values this is by no means all to the bad. But it does result in a lack of "overview" with all sorts of attendant problems. Your proposal, it seems to me, would be most useful in providing that overview. This by no means suggests a monolithic federal "social welfare" system, but it would have the tremendous advantage of bringing all the bits and pieces together.

2. There is a definite need for collated "social welfare" statistics. The HEW *Indicators* provide a groping start toward this, but it is only a beginning. (I have had long correspondence with them about expansion of the statistics; at present one needs to go to a dozen sources to put together what one wants for, e.g., classroom presentation).

3. There is a definite need for cost-benefit analysis in the social welfare field. While such analysis is in its infancy and needs development, it is capable of providing much more help to us than it currently does.

4. A Council of Social Advisers would, it seems to me, be an excellent instrument through which to accomplish the goals envisaged. While I can see all sorts of jurisdictional problems, they do not appear insurmountable, and these goals are so desirable I believe one should move ahead.

I have no expertise whatsoever on the "details" of such an organizational proposal. But, I believe such an agency would serve a most valuable purpose and I enthusiastically endorse it. Should you develop a series of specific "questions" with respect to your proposal I would be most happy to do some homework and respond thereto.

Cordially,

John G. Turnbull,
Associate Dean.

Columbia University,
in the City of New York,
New York, N.Y., March 9, 1967.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Senator Mondale: This is in reference to your letter of March 3. I would like to congratulate you for initiating the bill, "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967," S. 843. This is a very important bill which, I am sure, in years to come you will look back in pride for having initiated. I believe that it will have many beneficial consequences as it will help focus our attention on our domestic problems, on progress we make, and will provide a scientific technique to assess the value of conflicting approaches which are being advocated for their treatment.

I am also happy to see from your discussion that you are aware of the contribution social scientists, in particular Professor Bertram Gross, have already made in this direction, and will continue to make.

I would like to use this opportunity, on top of my unqualified support and enthusiasm for this bill, to call your attention to the need to both go beyond it in one way and worry about possible implications it could have. (Both points may be elaborated in a testimony if that would be desired.)

One, I feel that an investment will have to be made not just in building indicators but to provide for the appropriate ways and means for analyzing the information these indicators will provide. There is a certain tendency both in this country and in Britain to collect information without fully analyzing it. In order to do that I suggested some time ago that there should be a social science policy research institute, a kind of RAND, for domestic issues. I believe that this would be best attached to Congress because I have found in the past that executive agencies practically blind Congress with information collected and processed by them, and Congress has relatively few facilities to independently check on that information. Details you will find inclosed.

Second, I would like to point out that while I am quite confident that the social indicators and social accounting will prove to be a major blessing, they both may have some harmful side-effects unless the indicators are broadly and carefully constructed. Otherwise they may support attempts at "rush" jobs, build up quantity instead of quality, sacrifice the long run for the short run, all inclinations which exist in human nature as it is. I know that my colleagues are also concerned with this question, and I hope we all will make a joint effort to cause social accounting to make the full contribution it can make to our great society.

Sincerely,

Amitai Etzioni.

Columbia University
in the City of New York,
New York, N.Y., March 6, 1967.

Senator Walter F. Mondale,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale: Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your speech concerning the social accounting act you have introduced. I have read it with great interest. You are to be commended for sponsoring such far-reaching and important legislation.

For some time now I and many of my colleagues have been convinced the need for a measure of social welfare equivalent to such economic measures as G.N.P. Without such a measure, it is almost impossible to assess the impact of governmental programs. You undoubtedly know of the interest and efforts of the Russell Sage Foundation in this problem. Dr. Wilbert Moore of the Russell Sage Foundation is certainly someone you should discuss this matter with if you have not done so already. Also, my colleague, Professor Daniel Bell, has thought a great deal about this matter and has done much work on it—but again, I am sure you have been in touch with him.

It has often occurred to me that it might be a good idea to have established a Council of Social Advisors equivalent to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. No doubt this, too, will inevitably happen.

If I have any further thoughts on this matter, I shall of course pass them on to you. Again many thanks for the copy of your speech.

Sincerely yours,

David Caplovitz,
Associate Professor of Sociology.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS,
Cambridge, Mass., March 9, 1967.
Senator WALTER F. MONDALE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: I appreciated ever so much your letter of 6 March and your enclosure from the *Congressional Record.* I agree entirely—and only hope that social science will be able to live up to the expectations for it, and its responsibilities to help provide adequate social inventories as a basis for understanding and for planning.

With very good wishes and great admiration,

Sincerely,

DAVID RIESMAN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES,
Cambridge, Mass., March 6, 1967.
Senator WALTER F. MONDALE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: Thank you so very much for your most interesting and welcome letter. I read the copy of your remarks made to the Senate with a good deal of enthusiasm and would like you to know how very important I think your proposal to the Senate on "social accounting" is.

I have worked in both the South and the North in a variety of social issues, connected with both desegregation and poverty, and as a child psychiatrist have had more than a fair share of opportunities to observe some of the social problems that exist in this nation. One of the difficulties that a person like me faces is that of communicating in an exact way and to a widespread and relevant audience the exact nature of his findings and their implications for national policy. It is one thing to write articles for both the public and professional audiences; it is quite another to know that one's views and observations and evaluations will be sifted and taken into consideration by a proper agency of the government that is responsible for gathering together and making available to all concerned parties exactly what obtains—let alone what needs to be done.

Furthermore, in my work with ordinary people caught up in a variety of social stresses I am more and more impressed with how little they actually know about some of the problems that they are in fact more interested in than we might suspect. I do not mean this as an attack upon the newspapers or television but I have in mind even the reporters and commentators in the news media who are wandering around at times in the dark, as are the ordinary citizens of this country, and indeed as are many officials in all kinds of organizations, probably including the United States government. Until the facts at the disposal of isolated or scattered scientists, doctors, lawyers, economists, etc. are gathered together and made in some efficient and coherent sense available, then there is small wonder that all too many people simply fall back on hearsay, speculation, rumor and often the easiest available prejudice or distortion.

Consequently, I am very happy to hear of your intention to look into this problem and indeed hold public hearings on it. If in any way I can be of further help, please do not hesitate to write me again.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT COLES, M.D.,
Research Psychiatrist,
Lecturer in General Education.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the message which President Johnson sent to Congress yesterday on the forthcoming Latin American summit meeting is both hopeful and challenging.

The President has made clear our intentions to strengthen the Alliance for Progress, and to work closely with the nations of this hemisphere in promoting economic, social, and political stability.

I share the President's view that while the problems of Latin America are serious, the promises and plans are realistic.

The President has asked Congress to approve a commitment to increase American aid by up to $1.5 billion, or about $300 million per year over the next 5 years. I endorse this recommendation as a most necessary step toward meeting the growing economic and social needs of the hemisphere.

By far the largest share of these funds—some $900 million—would be used over the next 5 years to train teachers and build new classrooms; to increase food production and combat malnutrition.

Without adequate food, medical care, and education, there is the constant threat of political turmoil and social unrest.

I am certain that the President can count upon the support of the 90th Congress as he embarks upon his journey to Punta del Este.

President Johnson has made this commitment. I believe that the American people have made it. And that the 90th Congress will do the same.

THE LIBERTY LOBBY AND THE CONSULAR TREATY

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, like other Senators in this Chamber, I have been no stranger of late to a mountain of mail opposing the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union. It is imperative, I think, that the Senators understand the nature of this mail campaign. Indeed, I suppose we all do. But, for the general public, a good deal of light has been shed by the Washington Evening Star, and by its reporter, Robert Walters, on the activities of the Liberty Lobby in generating opposition to this treaty.

Mr. President, this opposition is born in fear and mistrust. Not just mistrust of other nations, I would add, but mistrust of the Government of the United States. The Star and Mr. Walters have done well in exposing it, and I ask unanimous consent that the article, printed in the Evening Star of March 10, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSULAR PACT CAMPAIGN INTENSE—LIBERTY LOBBY'S STRENGTH SURPRISING

(By Robert Walters)

An intense "grassroots lobbying" campaign marks the Senate battle over the consular treaty with Russia.

Senators have been swamped in mail from their constituents—most of it opposing ratification of the treaty.

An example: Sen. Charles Percy, freshman Republican from Illinois, has received about 7,000 letters against the treaty and about 50 supporting it.

The conservative Liberty Lobby has shown an unexpected influence here in leading the drive against the pact.

Many Senate observers have been surprised at the overwhelming amount of constituent mail the Washington-based organization has been able to generate in the last two months, although most of its efforts have been offset by an equally vigorous administration campaign for support of the treaty.

NEW TECHNIQUE

Much of the Liberty Lobby support has been attributed to a new and unusually successful lobbying technique—the use of a political comic strip to attract voter interest.

The organization, "conceived among a group of patriots in California" in 1955, has as its principal purpose "reversing the dangerous trend toward socialization internally and defeat of the insidious effort to weaken our resistance to international communism."

It did not initiate regular operations here until 1961, and its greatest period of growth came during the 1964 presidential campaign when it picked up thousands of new supporters by distributing a tabloid newspaper opposing President Johnson's election.

The group's budget is estimated at $250,000 a year.

GROWTH PHENOMENAL

Liberty Lobby is not a membership organization, but its officers usually have quoted subscriptions to its principal publication, the monthly "Liberty Letter," with the number of individual supporters.

The circulation figures, as reported to the Post Office Department annually, show a phenomenal growth rate. In 1961, the "Liberty Letter" had fewer than 10,000 subscribers. By 1964, that figure was up to 26,500.

As a result of the anti-Johnson activity during the last presidential campaign, circulation in 1965 rose to 92,400 and jumped again in 1966 to 174,300.

The circulation figure is higher than that enjoyed by any other publication which is classed as a political one—right or left—except the sometimes unpredictable Reporter magazine, which sold 205,400 copies biweekly last year.

By comparison, the conservative National Review had a circulation of 97,000 last year and Human Events sold an average of 95,500 copies weekly. On the left, the New Republic had a circulation of 124,000 and Ramparts sold 45,300 copies monthly.

STARTED DRIVE IN JANUARY

Using its large mailing list as a base, Liberty Lobby early this year began an intensive campaign to provoke grass-roots opposition to the consular treaty.

On Jan. 25, W. B. Hicks, the organization's executive director, made public a letter to Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, vigorously opposing the treaty.

Hicks said "classified bulletins" of the FBI and Customs Bureau described half-kiloton "Atomic Demolition Munitions"—nuclear weapons which could be concealed "within the diplomatic pouches of Soviet diplomats."

Hicks said the "ADMs" were being manufactured in the Soviet Union in two sizes—the one-suitcase model containing a 70-pound weapon with the power of 100 tons of TNT, and the two-suitcase model with the power of more than 500 tons of TNT.

Approval of the consular treaty with its diplomatic immunity for Soviet representatives to this country, he argued, would allow such weapons to be brazenly carried into our largest cities.

On Feb. 10, the organization sent out a "special emergency mailing" to all those on its mailing list, seeking individual contributions from $5 to $1,000 "to help finance wide distribution of the cartoon strip, 'The Communists Next Door.' "

NEW CARTOON TACTIC

Copies of the 16-panel cartoon strip, described as "a new technique to reach the voters . . . clear, direct, motivational," were enclosed with each letter.

The cartoon presents illustrations of a Soviet consulate next door to a U.S. public school, a Soviet citizen leaping to freedom from a tall building, a medal-bedecked Soviet official conspiring with aides to infiltrate the United States, a foreign-looking State Department lobbyist, a conspirator assembling one of the suitcase-size A-bombs and a hapless woman being dragged into a Soviet consulate.

The strip ends with this appeal: "How about it folks? Help your two senators by letting them know how you feel about the Soviet consular treaty! There isn't much time left, so write today!"

An attached appeal blamed "hidden forces" and the "invisible government" for promoting support for the treaty, it called on opponents of the treaty to raise $100,000 to assure its defeat.

A spokesman for the organization said yesterday he did not know how much was raised through the mailing, but said distribution of the literature cost more than $17,000.

On Feb. 14, the organization expended another $22,000 to purchase advertising space in 26 papers throughout the country to reproduce the cartoon strip.

AIMED AT SENATORS

Among the papers in which the advertisement appeared were the Detroit News, the Arkansas Gazette (Fulbright's "home town" paper) and the Des Moines Register (Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper, R-Iowa, is the ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee and at the time was somewhat uncertain of how to vote on the treaty.)

On Feb. 17, Liberty Lobby mailed a six-page single-spaced memo to all members of Congress and their legislative aides, presenting the arguments against the treaty.

In the meanwhile, those who received the mailing were reprinting and widely distributing the cartoon strip. A Liberty Lobby official said yesterday the organization's supporters paid for advertisements in an additional 15 newspapers.

On March 3, Hicks sent a personally typed letter to about 65 senators—those regarded as still undecided on the treaty issue. Attached was a list of 15 votes "taken by the Senate on East-West Relations since the beginning of our involvement in the Vietnam war."

The letter appealed for votes against the treaty, and closed by saying: "For your own private information, you have supported the administration posiiton on—of the 15 issues on which you have voted in the past. By now, it should be clear that the administration has been wrong all along."

OTHER GROUPS ACTIONS

Although Liberty Lobby has been the mainstay of the effort to provoke grass-roots opposition to the treaty, other conservative groups have made similar appeals. Their efforts are particularly important because many of the "swing" votes on the issue are those of Midwestern Republicans, often susceptible to such pressure.

Among the other organizations involved are the Manion Forum, led by former Notre Dame University Law School Dean Clarence Manion; the Dan Smoot Report; the United Republicans of America and the National Review.

The United Republicans, in a March 2 memo to GOP senators, said "it is now clear that Republicans in the Senate are the targets of a cleverly contrived administration campaign to prevent LBJ's 'bridge building' from becoming a Republican political issue in 1968."

MAIL POURS IN

It concluded by warning that GOP senators "may find that a vote for consular treaty will prove to be an albatross around their political necks."

The result of the grass-roots campaign has been a deluge of congressional mail, including countless letters to House members who will not even vote on the issue because treaties require only Senate ratification.

Few senators count each piece of incoming mail, but staff estimates indicate it is running unusually heavy on the consular treaty. Many senators long ago prepared form replies to the inquiries.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, said his mail was running three-to-one against ratification. Many of the initial letters were virtually identical except the signature, he said.

Sen. Frank Carlson, R-Kan., said he had "never seen anything like" the mail he has been receiving on the issue. He described it as the meanest sort." The mail is running nine-to-one against the treaty, Carlson added.

Sen. Thruston Morton, R-Ky., one of the most outspoken treaty supporters, said one letter-writer promised that as soon as the weather became warmer he would ship a rattlesnake to the senator.

A typical anti-treaty letter, from a Texan, warns that if the "liberal-appeasers of both parties in the Senate ratify the consular treason-treaty," former Alabama Gov. George C. Waliace "should get his biggest boost yet" in his undeclared drive for a third-party presidential campaign in 1968.

The author added: "We sent a lot of new conservatives to the House last November. We aim to do the same for the Senate next year."

GEORGE TODT WRITES ON A VARIETY OF SUBJECTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. George Todt of the San Francisco Herald Examiner is a noted columnist whose writings on a variety of subjects always prove stimulating. Mr. Todt ranges from foreign policy to domestic issues and then to religious topics with equal ease. Sometimes he displays a warmth virtually unequal in the journalistic profession, and at other times he takes very controversial positions. While I may not necessarily agree with everything he has to say, our concern for the broad fundamental issues is similar.

Mr. Todt's writings deserve wide attention as some representative samples of recent date reveal that his is not a provincial viewpoint, but would be of interest across the country. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Todt's columns, which were published on December 22, 27, and 29, 1966, and on January 3, 10, and 17, 1967, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HE STILL LIVES ON

(By George Todt)

"God is dead."—The New Left.

God is not dead. There have always been doubters, dissenters, pagans and atheists in every generation. But there are always the steadfast, devoted believers, too. Let us not be fooled by the loud outcries, errant nonsense and radical hullabaloo against God. He really lives.

In order for international communism to triumph in the end, Christianity—and other organized world religions such as Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, et al—all must die. But actually they will not be eradicated. Deism will be the final victor.

As Christmas approaches this season, seldom have so many raucous calls been made for the "second burial" of Jesus Christ. Now they try to tell us he did not live at all. Just a philosophical essence wafted down from the prior Essenes. Unbelievable.

A great to-do is made of the little-understood Dead Sea Scrolls, found recently in a cave, which may or may not have been a forgery. It would not be the first.

A TRIED WEAPON

Forgers go to great lengths to discredit their intended victims sometimes. In the past a weird and very controversial apparatus called "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Israel" has been used as a weapon against Judaism.

I have considered them a forgery, as has been stated by organized Jewry, and have resented their vicious attempt at discrediting innocent Jewish friends. I view the Dead Sea Scrolls in the same lights where they tend to discredit Christianity.

This writer is tolerant of all religions—even nonbelievers called atheists (providing they are not militant against religionists)—but happens to be a practicing Christian, Mormon variety. I believe in Jesus Christ.

Many versions are given as to His physical description, but the best one I have seen was the one written by Publius Lentulus, Roman historian, who wrote as follows to Tiberius Caesar:

SINGULAR VIRTUE

"There lived at this time in Judea a man of singular virtue—whose name is Jesus Christ, whom the barbarians esteem as a prophet, but his followers love and esteem him as the off-spring of the immortal God.

"He calls back the dead from the graves and heals all sorts of diseases with a word or a touch. He is a tall man, well-shaped, and of an amiable and reverend aspect—his hair of a color that can hardly be matched, falling into graceful curls, waving about and very agreeably couched about his shoulders, parted on the crown of his head, running as a stream to the front after the fashion of the Nazarites; his forehead high, large and imposing; his cheeks without spot or wrinkle, beautiful with a lovely red; his nose and mouth formed with exquisite symmetry; his beard of a color suitable to his hair, reaching below his chin, and parted in the middle like a fork; his eyes bright and blue, clear and serene, look innocent, dignified, manly and mature.

"A MAJESTIC MILDNESS

"He rebukes with majesty, counsels with mildness, his whole address, whether in word or deed, being eloquent and grave. No man has seen him laugh, yet his manners are exceedingly pleasant, but he has wept frequently in the presence of men. He is temperate, modest and wise.

"A man for his extraordinary beauty and divine perfection, surpassing the children of men in every sense."

Mention of this moving account by Publius Lentulus was contained in the writings of St. Anselm of Canterbury as early as the 11th century.

I found them in the Little Chapel at Knotts Berry Farm in Buena Park along with a copy of a miraculous painting of Jesus Christ by Paul V. Klieben.

All are entitled to their own opinion—including us believers!

ONE SOLITARY LIFE

(By George Todt)

"O thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with predestin'd evil round
Enmesh, and then impute my fall to sin."
—Omar Khayyam, *Rubaiyat*.

In our country we are called "The Affluent Society" and do our best to show it during the Christmas Season, even the ones among us who are to be considered poor. Ostentation is the order of the day.

We are more concerned with parties, gilt and glitter than with those things which count most materially in life. Perhaps it is a refuge from the world, our frustrations, our troubles and cares.

But the emphasis is not upon reason, intelligence and humble devotion to the God who gave us life anymore. The people who make the news for us more often than not have a hollow ring to them. What is the matter?

WHAT IS GREATNESS?

Most of us want some small degree of greatness, something to set us apart from the herd. How to go about it? What is the real criterion?

Is it winning an election? Amassing a fortune? Gaining a Nobel or Pulitzer prize? Perhaps causing millions to fear? What is true genius?

Most important, what do we really mean by "personal achievement"?

For answer, let me show a facet you may not have thought about so much before. Let me tell you about The Greatest Man Who Ever Lived.

It concerns the noble personality for whom Christmas is celebrated. The words are quoted from an unknown author. It is called: "One Solitary Life".

"Here is a young man who was born in an obscure village, the child of a peasant woman. He grew up in another village. He worked in a carpenter shop until he was 30, and then for three years he was an itinerant preacher. He never wrote a book. He never held an office. He never owned a home. He never had a family. He never put his foot inside a big city. He never traveled 200 miles from the place where he was born. He never did one of the things that usually accompany greatness.

"NAILED TO CROSS

"While he was still a young man, the tide of public opinion turned against him. His friends ran away. He was turned over to his enemies. He went through the mockery of a trial. He was nailed to a cross between two thieves. While he was dying, his executioners gambled for the only piece of property he had on earth, and that was his coat. When he was dead, he was laid in a borrowed grave through the pity of a friend.

"Nineteen wide centuries have come and gone, and today he is the central figure of the human race and the leader of the column of progress.

"I am far within the mark when I say that all the armies that ever marched, and all the navies that were ever built, and all the parliaments that ever sat, and all the kings that ever reigned, have not affected the life of man upon this earth as has that One Solitary Life."

HOOK, LINE, SINKER

These words are piercing and eloquent in their classic simplicity. Most important, they tell us a tremendous message of vital import to all. We may very well be missing the boat today. What are we doing wrong?

We are emphasizing affluence and power over goodness and character—and our slip into pitfalls of ever-increasing immorality is showing up in our national life, particularly among some of the more youthful radicals.

Due to a sag in national character, we are becoming patsies for the fabulously successful psycho-political warfare being waged against us by the international Communist conspiracy. They are beating us, too.

The Reds are feeding their propaganda pap to our weaker minds and we are biting on the bait. Falling hook, line, and sinker. We are stronger than the opposition militarily. But the appeasers may make us quit.

BOOK ON TWO BOOKS

(By George Todt)

"Fabian socialism can destroy the American free enterprise way of life, the same as communism. The former is not so well understood by the public. We need a better understanding so we can come to grips with the problem."—Patrick J. Frawley, Jr.

Today a great controversy is raging about a book. It has not even been published yet. But it has already received upwards of $100 million dollars worth of free publicity. What will it profit us?

To be called "The Death of a President," this work by author William Manchester, deals with the last days of the late and much-admired President John F. Kennedy. Many of us did not agree with his policies, but nevertheless liked him.

Now there is considerable misunderstanding revealed between the Kennedy family, notably the widow, and the author. The President of the United States is unhappy because it shows friction at the time of the lamentable event between him and the Kennedys.

IT WAS RIGHT

It seems LBJ is taken to task because he called Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy "honey" during her ordeal and insisted on being sworn in as President at once.

This is making mountains out of molehills. In the first place all Southerners universally use "honey" as an endearing form of address to those stricken with grief. I spent a few years in the South and know.

The President was absolutely correct in being sworn in immediately.

In this age of push-button nuclear warfare and instant diplomacy, the Republic of the United States requires a President on tap 24 hours a day.

Duty to our country took precedence for LBJ over any personal grief of the Kennedys—and that is the way the bereaved family ought to have viewed it.

AN EXAMINATION

One controversial remark of Mrs. Kennedy is worth examination here. On learning the former President had been assassinated by a Marxist, she exclaimed "That's absurd." But was it?

Today an idiotic lunatic fringe of the new left is trying to infer that the vile work was performed by rightists.

This inference completely overlooks the telltale fact that the Soviet secret police gave Lee Harvey Oswald target practice on the rifle range at Minsk. He married the daughter of a Soviet Colonel in intelligence work. Was she a member of the secret police?

Strangely enough, this nondescript American (?) Marxist was permitted to bring back his beautiful, highly-educated Soviet bride. What other U.S. citizens were ever allowed such a privilege? Why Lee Harvey Oswald?

It is most likely that JFK was not assassinated because the USSR had anything in particular against him—but in order to try to cast the blame on the American right wing. This is what the Marxists tried to do.

But Oswald was caught, fortunately, and the cunning plan partially backfired. For reasons of state, we have averted our official gaze from the obvious truth.

ANOTHER BOOK

Recently I have seen a marvelous new book that has already been published which would be far more important for us all to read than any other one I have seen lately:

It is called "Fabian Freeway" by Rose L. Martin, with appropriate foreword, by prominent attorney Loyd Wright, Sr., published by Western Island, Belmont, Mass.

This masterpiece is a monument of dispassionate, analytical research into British Fabian Socialism and how it spread to the United States through the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), LID (League for Industrial Democracy) et al. "Fabian Freeway" plots the high-road to Socialism in the USA.

WE CAN'T BE WRONG

(By George Todt)

"If Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara is right (concerning the Nike X anti-missile defense system for America), we will save a few dollars. If he is in error, may a benign Providence save these United States."—Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga.

Yesterday the attention of the public was riveted to the Rose Bowl, Tournament of Roses Parade and many other fascinating spectacles of similar nature across the nation. Let me take this opportunity to wish my readers a Happy New Year.

But even as we gorge ourselves now with feasting, drinking, parties and fun—all evidences positive of our affluent society—let us consider that within a short time another great "bowl" game is shaping up.

This one will be fought in the arena of the United States Congress when it convenes and the chief gladiator will be Defense Secretary McNamara.

STAKES—LIFE OF DEATH

Again he and his anti-anti-missile clique will take on the U.S. Senate and Congress in another "Great Debate" and it may become the most important one of its kind in our generation. The stakes are life and death.

No mere national football championship rating rides on this one, the most important game of the year as far as the American people may be concerned.

Reports from the Soviet Union indicate she has already embarked upon an extensive anti-missile defense system. Why do we not match her?

The truth is that we started work on the Nike and other anti-missile systems a decade ago. We have spent some $2.3 billions on research and development of the hardware. It is ready to go. The Joints Chiefs of Staff recommend it. Congress wants it. But McNamara continually nixes it.

The Nike X is a nuclear bullet which can hit an enemy missile aimed at our cities. It has been demonstrated as provably working, could save upwards of 100 million American lives if an agressor attacked us.

DEFENSE IS FIRST

It seems to this writer that an effective anti-missile system of defense is of far more importance and worth to the Republic of the United States than pie-in-the-sky Great Society programs, now or in the future.

Safety of our country and the people should have precedence over any other conceivable program. We are in World War III, like it or not.

If we have no adequate anti-missile defense system—and the enemy does—we will ultimately quite likely be forced to yield to nuclear blackmail.

Personally, I think the idea of hitting a bullet with another bullet in midair is the hard way to do it. Would much prefer to see an advanced system of orbiting space platforms armed with radar scanning devices and laser beams. The enemy missiles ought to be shot down near point of launch, not point of descent.

However, there is no use quibbling at this late date. The Nike X is available and ready to be mass-produced in quantity. We ought to have it.

STRIKE FROM SPACE

With reference to the Nike X system, it would be worthwhile for all interested persons to read the excellent book by Phyllis Sclafly and Admiral Chester Ward called "Strike from Space" (Devin-Adair Co., New York).

A paperback copy may be obtained from Pere Marquette Press, P.O. Box 495, Alton, Ill. It ought to be "must" reading for the public.

The authors are brilliant in their defense concepts and likely will find many worried laymen in their corner. They take the position that the appeasement corps in the

United States is bent on disarming us. Is it true?

For one thing, Secretary McNamara's cutback of two-thirds of our superb manned bombers and ending of the airborne alert by SAC "may be signalling the end of the country"—this by no less a proven expert than Gen. Curtis LeMay.

"Old Iron Pants," as he was lovingly referred to by his men, who consider him the greatest authority on war and peace today, knows the facts.

Read "Strike From Space" without delay. Write your congressman.

"Committee of '76"

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak."—Lowell.
"Stanzas on Freedom."

On the day of the inauguration of Gov. Ronald Reagan in Sacramento, I remained in Los Angeles to receive the President-General of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and his charming wife, at the world famous Biltmore Hotel of Baron Bernard.

His name is Kenneth G. Smith of Philadelphia, Pa., a successful management consultant. He is a man whose high-minded American ideology stamps him a worthy successor of many other fine past Presidents-General.

I have been president of the California Society, SAR over the past three years and felt I should forego the gubernatorial inaugural activities "up north" in order to be on hand here and officially receive the head man of the SAR.

PROFITABLE MEETING

Others in the local party who met and conferred with Smith the day he was here included: Col. H. Lewis Mathewson, San Francisco, Secretary, Calif. SAR; Col. Glendon C. Hall, Thousand Oaks, Registrar; Hon. Charles Mauzy, San Francisco, Vice President; and Carl Gray, President, San Francisco Chapter, SAR.

The meeting was a profitable one for all concerned. Smith is a great admirer of Gov. Ronald Reagan and expressed the hope that we might have him as chief speaker at the annual SAR convention someday.

Two years ago, Superintendent of Public Instruction Dr. Max Rafferty was the key speaker at the national convention held in Albuquerque, N.M. He brought the house down with his brilliantly erudite but down-to-earth Americanism.

Reagan speaks in much the same style and with the same welcome amount of candor.

Others who appealed considerably to Smith were John Wayne, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Jimmy Stewart, Gen. Thomas Power, Ginger Rogers, Rhonda Fleming, Barbara Brittain as typical examples. The SAR admires their kind of American patriotism.

NATIONAL MEET

The SAR will hold its next convention in Columbus, Ohio, probably in April. It is the oldest patriotic society in the nation and has numbered six Presidents of the United States on its rolls in the past.

The society stands for traditional Americanism, but never in any unwise, hateful sense. We stand for something, instead of merely being against it.

For example, Smith wants to see prayer back in the schools one day. But in encouraging it, he cautions against attacking the Supreme Court in a negative way. Wage a campaign based on a positive approach instead.

One way to do it is to instill additional pride in the public over our national heritage. Smith is moving to make the SAR a prime instrument in this kind of ideological warfare. What is his plan?

As of now, he is setting up a massive "Committee of '76" which is designed to get ready for the 200th anniversary of American independence.

He plans to approach the Governors of States, Mayors of large cities and other influential sources to line them up behind this wholesome project.

RESTORE PRIDE

The idea is to return and restore pride in our national heritage here in the United States—something that howling mobs of youthful savages and barbarians of the "new left" have sorely wounded for us.

Smith is very astute in his outlook on international affairs. He was less than happy at the biased and inconsistent position the United Nations has taken against small nation Rhodesia. It is extremely hypocritical. And, most important point, it is an "internal matter."

The President-General thinks that ultimately this expedient hypocrisy will result in an extensive international "black market" to aid Rhodesia. The UN will lose "face," blow itself up over these sanctions. Remember the old League of Nations and Ethiopia?

Membership in the SAR is open to those who can trace their lineage to an ancestor who served the American side in the Revolutionary War of '76.

Go for Bull's Eye

(By George Todt)

"Communist evils now plaguing much of Asia come from the Chinese mainland where they will eventually meet their fateful end. The Communist evils in Asia began with the rise of the Chinese Communists and will necessarily end with their downfall."—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, New Year's Message, 1966.

When will our policymakers in Washington, as well as world kibitzers who try to horn into the act for our benefit, realize that the heart of our distressing problem in Asia is Red China, not Vietnam?

We are deploying much of our military-economic strength in a third-rate theater of war which will settle nothing in the end. It is an unfortunate choice of a battlefield. Yet we must stand up to the Communist enemy, defeat him.

The best way to do it is not to cut from the deadly octopus an inch of his choking tentacles at a time—but rather to plunge a blade quickly between its eyes.

Rather than fight a long-term "limited war" which would cost us $24 billion a year or more for the next 10 or 20 years, why not win it now?

This might be done by the simple expedient of unleashing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and assisting his return to the Chinese mainland.

He is our tried and trusted friend. We need one in Peiping today.

Instead of starting World War III, this would prevent it.

Without Red Chinese supplies, North Vietnam would sue for peace.

"The nerve of Mao Tse-tung has cracked and the Chinese Communist Party is disintegrating," Chiang said recently. "Mao is virtually prostrate.

"We are determined to save our people from a fatal catastrophe. The question now is how to pick up the pieces after Mao's collapse."

It was the fateful and meaningful message of Nicolai Lenin many years ago that "The road to Paris lies through Peking," as he addressed the leaders of his Communist party.

It is my contention that if we can bring Peking back to the side of the West—through the efforts of Chiang Kai-shek—we will negate simultaneously Lenin's doctrine for world conquest by the Reds. Here lies the basic cornerstone.

The Soviet Union is reputed to be on the outs with Red China. If this is indeed true—and some qualified experts have their educated doubts—then the USSR should welcome the collapse of threatening, abusive Mao and his neurotic Red Guards.

A knowledgeable and authoritative world traveler who made an extensive trip to the Far East during the Christmas holidays, spending 5 days of eye-opening experiences on Taiwan, was Dr. William Steuart McBirnie of Los Angeles.

"What I learned while there," he told me, "convinces me that conditions are ripe for a return to the mainland by Chiang Kai-shek at this time, I hope the Administration assists him to do so. Let's see."

Another authority I talked with recently about the overall situation in the Asiatic sector of our troubled globe was Hon. James Shen, Nationalist Chinese Ambassador to Australia. When I visited Taiwan two years ago, he was then Minister of Information.

We saw the premiere of "Sand Pebbles" produced by 20th Century-Fox, which tells of gunboat diplomacy days in China prior to World War II. Later some authentically prepared Chinese food at the famous Kowloon of two highly-regarded Chinese American restaurateurs, George Lim and Joe Ho.

"Your thinking concerning Red China has been right on target," Shen said.

THE ESCALATING POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, a thoughtful editorial by John S. Knight, editor of the Akron Beacon Journal, makes clear how repeatedly the administration has changed its Vietnam policies and how, little by little, the American people have been led deeper and deeper into the southeast Asian morass. John Knight has courageously and intelligently opposed the folly of our military intervention in southeast Asia from the beginning.

I ask unanimous consent that his editorial entitled "Mounting War Toll Chargeable to L.B.J." from the Akron Beacon Journal, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Editor's Notebook—Mounting War Toll Chargeable to L.B.J.

The U.S. command in Saigon has announced the highest casualties of any week in the Vietnam war—232 dead, 1,381 wounded and four missing.

We are informed "officially" that 1,736 of the enemy were killed during the same period.

And the debate on Vietnam is, as James Reston says, "getting noisier and sillier because almost all of the principals keep arguing about mysterious proposals and ultimatums that have never been put on the public record."

Americans are sharply divided over Vietnam. For the United States, it is the first war of its kind. As The Economist of London says, "This kind of war is not explicable in the traditional categories of American foreign policy.

"It is not," continues The Economist, "a war to end all wars, or a war for the Four Freedoms. It is a dirty little war that has fallen to the lot of the only power that is in a position to try to contain the expansion of Asian Communism."

This "dirty little war" is now assuming the proportions of a major conflict. Gen. William C. Westmoreland reminds us that American forces in Vietnam total 417,400 and will continue to increase.

The end of the war and its outcome defy prediction.

To those of us who have long opposed

U.S. intervention in Vietnam, there is no solace to be found in our past warnings that "little wars" have a way of erupting into big ones.

The blood, the tears and the sacrifices of our gallant men in the field leave us sick at heart. We are saddened by this cruel slaughter, depressed over our inability to make the slightest contribution to our young men who are but the instruments of what we believe to be irrational foreign policy.

For who can have faith in leaders who have, since 1954, proclaimed the following:

1—That our assistance to South Vietnam would merely be advisory and of a technical and training nature.

2—That no American boys would ever be sent to do, as President Johnson once said, "what Asian boys should be doing for themselves."

3—That American forces would be returning to the United States by the end of 1965.

4—That bombing of North Vietnam was interdicting the movement of men and supplies to South Vietnam. And, later, that these bombings had not perceptibly slowed this flow.

5—That we were awaiting a "signal" from Hanoi in reply to our peace overtures but had received no response. The fact is that the U.S. is constantly in touch with Hanoi through international diplomatic channels.

So one is forced to the conclusion that either the government has no well defined policy, or it stands guilty of miscalculation or lying to the people, or both.

In previous wars of modern times, the American people have stood united and resolute, prepared for any sacrifice they might be called upon to make.

With Vietnam, they know not what to think as the debate between hawks and doves leaves only a biter taste from the dregs of dissatisfaction.

In earlier years, when the Republicans might have stood together in opposition to our growing involvement, they chose to remain silent.

Only a handful of courageous Democrats, Fulbright of Arkansas, Hartke of Indiana, Morse of Oregon, McGovern of South Dakota, Gruening of Alaska, Church of Idaho, Mansfield of Montana, Young of Ohio, Clark of Pennsylvania, Gore of Tennessee and McCarthy of Minnesota, have from time to time either questioned or bluntly challenged the wisdom of our course.

Republican leadership, when it could have called President Johnson to account for doing what he said he would not do, elected to straddle the great issue of Vietnam while engaging in petty hit and run tactics for political advantage.

The Republicans cannot play this game much longer. For, in 1968, the GOP must come forward with a plan and a candidate which give the voters a real alternative to Lyndon Johnson.

As Walter Lippmann has written, the issue may well be whether it is in this country's interest to "police the world, thus entangling itself in one Vietnam after another—or whether its interest and duty are to return to the older American conception of the United States as on the whole a non-interventionist power, except where its own vital interest is clear."

Meanwhile, many fine young men will be killed and maimed in our uncertain quest as the politicians place their careers above courage and country.

The people who recoil from this tragedy of errors are helpless. The editorialists and assorted pundits, declaiming from day to day on what should or should not be done in Vietnam, are wasting their ink.

Mr. Johnson is running this war, not Rusk, not McNamara, not the Chiefs of Staff, but Johnson.

When the great verdict of history is handed down, he alone can be called to account.

MRS. ESTHER PETERSON, PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT FOR CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the announcement last week of the naming of a new Presidential assistant for consumer affairs ends a short but significant era. Mrs. Esther Peterson, who has served in this position for 3 years, was the first to fill such a post for the Federal Government. During these years, Mrs. Peterson carried the responsibility of two major governmental posts. In addition to being Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, she was Assistant Secretary of Labor, to which position she will again devote full time.

My colleagues are aware of the fact that Esther Peterson holds a special place in my heart. I have had occasion to speak of her in this Chamber before.

She is one of Utah's most distinguished daughters and our pride in her is amply justified. Esther Peterson was reared in a Utah steeped in a pioneer heritage of hard work and devotion to the public interest. Her family was, and is, noted for its interest in public affairs. Its members have been taught to speak up, to express their ideas, and to make a contribution to community improvement.

The New York Times has described Esther Peterson as "a woman of boundless enthusiasm and energy." Since leaving Utah, this energy and enthusiasm have been devoted to education and to the promotion of a better life for America's working men and women.

Following the election of President John F. Kennedy, Mrs. Peterson was made head of the women's division in the Department of Labor. Soon thereafter, Congress authorized an additional position of Assistant Secretary of Labor to which she was immediately appointed. Then, 3 years ago, President Johnson gave her the additional responsibility of Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

In this post, she has been a well-informed, sympathetic, and aggressive champion of the consumers of America. She has made the Nation conscious of the consumer and aware of facts hardly recognized before.

One of these facts is the unusual consumer problems that face the poor. Too often, the poor must pay more for the necessities of life—food, housing, appliances, clothing—in proportion to the quality of the goods they are able to obtain. Because of less education and lower economic status, the poor are generally less able to protect themselves against sharp practices such as excessive finance charges, low-quality materials, and poor workmanship. Because they must pay cash more often, and frequently have precarious credit ratings, they are unable to take back unsatisfactory merchandise.

Esther Peterson induced Americans to take a new look at consumer education in the schools. This, she believes, can be developed into a new tool which will enable our young people to better cope with the economic problems of rearing families.

During her activities as the consumer's champion, two major pieces of consumer legislation were passed by Congress. One of these concerned automobile safety, the other is truth in packaging. Neither of these laws are wholly satisfactory—either to the industries which they regulate or to many consumer groups, which feel that they do not offer enough protection. But laws which do not totally satisfy either side are in the American tradition. Both these bills are important forward steps. Both are undoubtedly only the beginnings of programs which will ultimately mean safer driving for Americans and packaging practices which will benefit consumers and manufacturers alike.

To many of her critics, Esther Peterson is an enemy of business. But by advocating consideration for the consumer and frankness in the marketplace, she has pointed out a sound path for American free enterprise. The basic protection of consumers remains the right of the buyer to choose what he wishes. But here—as in other facets of our society—we need basic regulations to protect both consumers and manufacturers from the competition of the unscrupulous.

In addition to supporting new legislation, Mrs. Peterson has induced many Government agencies to make better use of existing authority to assist consumers. It has been charged that Mrs. Peterson gave the administration more than it bargained for, and that her efforts were hampered by tepid support. This view was expressed editorially by the New York Times on March 7. Concerning Miss Betty Furness, Esther Peterson's successor, the Times wrote:

> The real question is how energetic a job anyone in the White House wants her to do in speaking up for the consumer. There is no point to having the consumer "represented personally in the highest councils of the Federal Government" unless that representative can speak to and for the Administration with some measures of authenticity.

We salute Esther Peterson for her high standards and for fighting the good fight and for accomplishments of lasting benefit, but we must ask the question: Where do we go from here?" Mrs. Peterson is the last person who would want to see the work which she has so valiantly begun come to naught, or see the consumer she has championed become the forgotten man—or woman.

Despite her accomplishments of the past 3 years, and her success with the Congress in the consumer field, much remains to be done. Many consumer programs are under discussion now in the Senate Committee on Commerce. One of these is the question of finance charges. Others have to do with flammable materials and other potentially harmful substances and devices. And much will remain to be done in the years ahead. This is made certain by the dynamic nature of our society. Hundreds of new chemicals are synthesized and hundreds of new products go on the market every year. Inevitably, some of these are going to be dangerous. Reasonable protection of the consumer will continue to be a legitimate concern of society, and therefore, of government.

For these reasons, I believe the Nation is fortunate to have as Mrs. Peterson's successor a woman who is vigorous, intelligent, and determined. I was privileged to meet Betty Furness and to be benefited by her talents during my campaign for reelection in 1964. She came to Utah to conduct a telethon. Scheduled near the end of the campaign and lasting an hour and a half, it gave me the opportunity to respond to her intelligent questioning and thus to answer many questions in the minds of our citizens. She did an outstanding job, and I was—and remain—most grateful.

Knowing her, I am sure Miss Furness will perform her new tasks with diligence and charm. Admittedly, she has much to learn as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. But so do both Congress and the administration in this comparatively new field of interest for the Federal Government. I can wish her no greater success than to carry on as well as Esther Peterson has begun.

VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star, in an editorial Friday, put into proper perspective the often repeated charges that the United States has been responsible for opportunities to peaceably negotiate a settlement in Vietnam being lost.

If an end to the fighting were our only objective, we could have it by merely pulling out, this editorial states. But our objective, our reason for being in Vietnam, is to thwart Communist ambitions to expand at the expense of free southeast Asian countries. We cannot negotiate away freedom in Vietnam.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Star's editorial of March 10 be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Lost Opportunities

This talk about "lost opportunities" for negotiation or for peace in Vietnam is nonsense, and the politicians and columnists who talk that way should know it.

Surely they do know that it is within the power of the United States to get negotiations or peace on any day, but that negotiations and peace are not, in themselves, our national objective in this war.

The President's objective, clearly supported by most Americans, is to hold the line against further Communist expansion into Southeast Asia. Negotiation is only one possible means to the objective; peace is the probable result of attaining the objective. The President's critics seem, deliberately, to confuse means and objectives and results. They pretend that if only we can sit at a table with the enemy or if only we stop shooting or bombing, our war objective will have been attained. They forget so easily that there is no negotiation and no peace simply because the other side insists on attaining its objective—a Communist South Vietnam—by violence.

It is true that both negotiation and peace are easily attainable for the United States, even if not for the Vietnamese people. All we have to do is accept the Viet Cong program, and the other side will "negotiate" in a minute. And if we just want peace for the United States, we can move the American soldiers out of South Vietnam far faster than we moved them in.

But unless the other side abandons its objective, this kind of negotiation and this kind of peace merely would ensure that our own objective would fail.

If the President's critics do not accept his objective—the identical objective of Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower—let them say so when they talk about lost opportunities. Let them state their own objective and tell how negotiation or peace, under existing circumstances, will attain it. If the objective of their negotiation is surrender and of their peace scuttle-and-run, then let it be said clearly. This is the fruit of the negotiation and the peace offered by the other side.

If someday the Communist side becomes willing to concede the American objective and stop its expansion efforts then negotiation, or simply peace, will come easily. Hanoi has only to pick up the phone. President Johnson is ready with a compassionate reply on the other end.

CITIZENS AGAINST CRIMINALS

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, Stephen G. Worth, a much beloved court reporter in North Carolina, sometimes engages in poetic observations concerning the problems which perplex us. He has recently made some comments concerning crime, the results of the Miranda case, and similar decisions. His poetic comments are entitled "Citizens Against Criminals."

I ask unanimous consent that these comments may be printed at this point in the body of the Record.

There being no objection, the poetic comments of Mr. Worth were ordered printed, as follows:

Citizens Against Criminals

Enough has been done for those who rob,
Rape and murder, with never a sob;
Crime has risen *forty-six* per cent,
While births have increased just *eight* per cent!
Now it is time that something should be done,
For those wishing to live and have fun;
Since the higher courts in this great land
Have safe-guarded crime, to beat the band!
The more courts coddle criminal folk,
The more enforcement becomes a joke;
There is more incentive to go wrong,
As the courts sing the "Civil Rights" song!
"Don't tell me anything, now, Old Top,
"I must tell you that I am a cop;
"You can get a Lawyer, that's no joke,
"No matter how wealthy are your folk."
"Don't open your mouth or tell a thing,
"If you want friends, I'll give them a ring;
"If you have a gun, I can't search you,
"Or threaten you, nor make you feel blue."
"I cannot offer you a small hint,
"To cause you to confess or relent,
"If so, the jury will leave, voi dair,
"Till their patience and seats will be bare."
Courts have safeguarded accused around,
While all crimes have jumped leaps and bounds;
We must restore that sound principle—
True confessions be admissible!
After all, who should be protected,
Should good citizens be neglected?
Wake up, citizens, and stand your ground,
If not, all you have may be unsound!!

Stephen G. Worth.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the voice of the American consumer is being heard this year both in Congress and in the executive branch.

Consumers are not, and never will be, represented by large, well-financed organizations. It is in the nature of things that they cannot be. We are a fast-moving, commercial society in which individuals touch the marketplace dozens of times in a week, perhaps in a day. But the marketplace in which they deal varies constantly; there is not a single market for mutual fund shares, for toasters and washing machines, for real estate. Thus, because the consumer's interest is divided and subdivided, he generally speaks with no coherent voice until some crisis or scandal, or until a series of deaths or major financial losses, raises such a hue and cry that his Government at last responds. This, I submit, is a haphazard and wasteful way to proceed.

On January 16, I told the Senate that the consumer subcommittee would press forward vigorously in 1967 to make consumer demands effective in the marketplace—to assure the highest possible degree of safety in the products he buys for use in his home; to assure that he can make an informed choice, based on sound, factual information, candidly conveyed; and to assure that the terms of routine commercial transactions, such as guarantees, are clearly understood.

On February 16, one month later, President Johnson sent us his message on American consumer protection. It was a good message. At many points, the President's recommendations give strong support to the legislation I have introduced and to the work that our subcommittee will be doing this year. We have already begun hearings on legislation I introduced to create a National Commission on Hazardous Household Products.

Mr. President, what we do, or fail to do, will not go unnoticed. The President's proposals for consumer protection have received the attention they deserve in editorials from some of the country's finest newspapers. They do not in every instance approve each comma and period in the President's message, but they do in every instance recognize the constructive approach President Johnson has taken.

I congratulate the President for consistently seeking to advance the interests of the American consumer; we in Congress must now do our part, and in the consumer subcommittee, we shall.

I ask unanimous consent that certain editorials, relating to the matter of consumer protection, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Harrisburg Patriot, Feb. 18, 1967]

Consumer Laws—Americans Need More Protection

A citizen of the richest, most powerful and in many respects most progressive nation in the world, A.D. 1967, can purchase a baby blanket confident that it meets elementary safety standards.

Wrong.

He can buy a roast at the market without fear it may have been processed under substandard conditions.

Wrong.

He can arrange a loan or a time purchase and get a clear, dollars-and-cents answer to any question he may have about the interest he will be required to pay.

Wrong.

He can go to sleep at night confident that a natural gas line under his house meets maximum safety requirements for the tremendous pressures which it handles.

Wrong.

Amazingly, the list goes on and on, as President Johnson noted in his special message to Congress on consumer protection. Most of the items seem so simple and obvious that the wonder is that laws covering them aren't already in effect.

But just as amazingly, many of these items generate powerful opposition, and the President's latest plea for carrying on "important unfinished and new business" in this field is bound to be fought on several fronts.

Members of the 90th Congress will assure themselves an honored place in history if they resist these pressures and heed the President's message. Their constituents have a right to know that clinical diagnoses of their health are conducted under exacting standards; they have a right to know how their contributions to pension and retirement funds are being invested; they should not have to worry whether certain types of advertising are fraudulent, whether hand tools used around the house are correctly designed and manufactured.

As President Johnson pointed out, it was almost 100 years ago that the 42nd Congress enacted the first consumer protection law, to prohibit fraudulent use of the mails. Much progress has been made since then, but, as the President's list shows, much also remains to be done.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Feb. 18, 1967]

PROTECT THE CONSUMER

It's the same old story.

But the fact that the neglects of state government must become federal responsibilities has never been more dramatically shown than in President Johnson's message to Congress on consumer protection.

Three of the President's requests covered problems familiar in almost every state:

One would protect the public from "slippery language and omission of important facts" that amount to fraud in the interstate sale of land.

Another would establish safeguards to prevent explosions in the nearly 800,000 miles of natural gas pipelines that crisscross the nation.

A major request again seeks enactment of a federal truth-in-lending law to protect legitimate lenders and borrowers from misrepresented credit costs.

In each of these cases, federal action is needed because of state inaction.

The case histories go like this:

Land sales: As a growing resort state, Florida is a center of installment land sales. The unregulated, fraudulent marketing of land that later turned out to be under water is a problem that dates back to the 1920's, yet the state made not the slightest effort to protect buyers until 1963. And when the Installment Land Sales Board was created, its control by law was turned over to the very businesses it was supposed to regulate. Its failure is the reason federal action is necessary.

Because interstate regulations would protect citizens of Florida, reform of the board membership still should be an objective of the '67 Legislature.

Pipelines: As pipeline age and populations grow, the danger increases of explosions like the one that killed 17 persons in Natchitoches, La., in 1965.

Yet 22 states have no safety regulations whatsoever. Many of the remaining states' safety codes are weak. If all states guarded their citizens well against this hazard, there would be no need for federal regulations. They don't. There is.

Truth in lending: Installment purchasing is a way of modern American life. It has helped raise living standards to the heights. But there are serious abuses—mainly misrepresentation of the cost of credit.

To our knowledge, only one state, Massachusetts, has passed laws requiring lenders to tell borrowers the true interest rates on installment loans. Again, the states haven't so the federal government must.

The consuming public cannot wait for do-nothing state Legislatures. The vacuum must be filled and President Johnson's message on consumer needs has proposed to Congress proper ways to fill it. But the true test is whether Mr. Johnson is as aggressive in pushing for this legislation as he has been thorough in describing the need.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Feb. 18, 1967]

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Those who doubt that consumers constitute the most varied of special interest groups need only to glance at the President's latest message to Congress. In it he recommended legislation to protect the public against hidden interest charges, phony land sales, improper administration of private pension plans, unwholesome meat, natural gas pipeline failures, flammable fabrics, hazardous medical devices, substandard clinical laboratories, defective household products and large-scale power blackouts, such as the one which hit the Northeast in 1965.

The most familiar item in the package is the proposed truth-in-lending bill, which would require lending agencies to state interest charges in terms a layman can understand. Former Senator Douglas of Illinois unsuccessfully sponsored a similar measure in the last Congress. Its chances for passage this time are not markedly improved, nor is any item on the list expected to win easy approval.

This is not to suggest of course that the package lacks merit. From the standpoint of politics, it isn't so much what the lawmakers do as what the President asks them to do. And in this case he has asked them to do plenty.

[From the Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa., Saturday, Feb. 18, 1967]

HELPING THE BUYER BE WARY

Protecting the consumer is an old and alluring political gambit. President Johnson's special message to Congress in this field cannot, however, be dismissed as merely another vote-getting assurance that Big Brother will guarantee a fair deal to one and all.

It is more than that because of at least two fields into which Mr. Johnson would thrust the strong arm of federal law. These are consumer credit, and such investments as interstate land sales, pension funds, and mutual funds.

These are all very big business, and in most cases scrupulously honest businesses. But there are always sharpers. Concealed charges in credit buying can double the purchase price. Shiny color photographs of a retirement land site can make a desert bloom in the buyer's imagination—and only there. Pensions can be fed back to a crooked management, and mutual funds can quite legally be rigged against the small investor.

It is at the thieving exceptions to the general rule of honesty that the Johnson message is aimed. He proposes full disclosure of credit charges and interstate land sales, and SEC regulation of funds.

The message does not stop with these. Mr. Johnson also would put the federal government more deeply into protecting the consumer on medical devices, meat, flammable fabrics; and he would add controls on electric power and gas pipelines. These latter proposals have appeal; but some of them are contestable on two grounds: they would greatly increase the already gigantic federal bureaucracy, and they would undertake to do what cannot really be done—protect the consumer from his own folly.

On the major matters of credit and investment, the approach is correct and potentially helpful—full disclosure. That's fair assistance to any buyer who has the sense to beware.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Feb. 18, 1967]

FOR THE PROTECTION OF CONSUMERS

All of us are, in one way or another consumers. The housewife shopping in the snpermarket, the man looking over the latest models in autos or TV sets, the family making purchases in a department store—these are among countless examples of consumers in action. In the broadest sense, consumers are the public-at-large.

It is, in effect, the general public that President Johnson was talking about in his special message to Congress on protection for consumers. Many of his proposals—concerning regulations for natural gas pipelines and electrical power distribution, for example—are in the category of public safety measures. Other recommendations—proposing Federal standards for medical devices and X-ray equipment—are safeguards of public health.

For consumers who borrow money—or make purchases on credit—the President requests a law requiring that interest charges be clearly specified. Reputable business establishments and financial institutions make a practice of providing this information to customers but there should be effective legal protection against the shady, fly-by-night organizations seeking to saddle the unwary consumer with excessive interest rates and hidden fees.

In the past, credit control bills have been rejected by Congress—as they should have been—because of ambiguous wording and obscure intent. Credit legislation should be designed to protect consumers, not penalize them.

Numerous other proposals of the President are deserving of action by Congress—including measures to curb swindlers in real estate offerings, to prevent sale of dangerously flammable clothing and household articles, to modernize and improve meat inspection rules, and to guard against excessive charges in the sale of mutual funds.

No law can protect consumers from their own foolishness or poor judgment, but they have a right to be accurately informed on matters of cost and quality and safety.

[From Newsday, Long Island, N.Y., Feb. 18, 1967]

TO PROTECT THE CONSUMER

The President has sent Congress a special message titled, "To Protect the American Consumer." It ranges broadly over areas within which government regulation is needed to guard against "the high cost of deceit, misinformation and confusion." Truth is one keynote—truth in lending, truth in land sales to end the type of swindling first exposed by Newsday in a 1963 series, "Misery Acres." Protection is a second keynote—protection of employe pension funds, meat supplies and electric and natural gas lines, among other items. Safety is a third, through proposals to prevent hazards in the home and to insure that such items as fabrics cannot suddenly burn.

The proposed Truth-in-Lending Act is a modified and more workable form of the legislation so often introduced by former Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), but always shelved by Congress. This will assure that "when the consumer shops for credit," to quote the President, "he will be presented with a price tag that will tell him the percentage rate per year that is being charged on his borrowing."

The Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act is intended to end millions of dollars in frauds perpetrated on elderly citizens bilked of their savings through the purchase of worthless desert or swampland. Developers selling unimproved subdivided lots would be required "to disclose to potential buyers fully, simply and clearly all the material facts needed for informed choice."

These proposals, along with all the others in the message, are long overdue. Pension and welfare fund audit regulations are required because a few persons may have handled such funds dishonestly, to the jeopardy of employes. Better control over mutual funds to insure that buyers are not overcharged were urged by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Minimum standards for clinical laboratories and medical equipment; improvement of standards for meat; greater safety on gas pipelines—there have been recent, sometimes fatal, pipeline failures; and better coordination to prevent electrical blackouts, such as the one that paralyzed the East, are all needed to assure that our complex society continues to function.

Some may feel this is simply another incursion by the federal government into matters that should not concern it, but they are wrong. State and local governments cannot provide adequate uniform codes. The President has chosen the only sound approach. His proposals should be made law.

THE MEDAL OF HONOR

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, each time the Nation offers the Medal of Honor to one of its loyal sons—as the President did on March 9 to Sp6c. Lawrence Joel, a medical corpsman from Winston-Salem, N.C.—it offers a symbol of its finest values in recognizing personal bravery, heroism, and patriotism.

Sp6c. Lawrence Joel risked his life many times in performing his duty as a medical corpsman under unceasing enemy fire in Vietnam. He thought not of himself but of his comrades, and it is very gratifying to me that this brave North Carolinian was recognized by receiving his Nation's highest military honor.

The words of President Johnson in awarding the Nation's highest medal to Specialist Joel are eloquent and moving. I ask unanimous consent to insert them into the Record.

There being no objection, the President's statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks of the President at Presentation of the Medal of Honor to Sp6c. Lawrence Joel, U.S. Army, the South Lawn

Specialist Joel, Members of your family, Mr. Vice President, Secretary Resor, distinguished Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, members of the press:

We have come here today to honor the courage of a very brave soldier. His was a very special kind of courage—the unarmed heroism of compassion and service to others. The conduct of Specialist Six Lawrence Joel reflects, I believe, the role America itself must play on every battlefield of freedom.

In the face of death, in the fury of ambush, he risked his life that other men might live. Wounded twice, Specialist Joel crawled for more than 12 hours, through unceasing enemy fire to bring others of his fellow men to safety.

In those dark, dangerous hills, with the enemy 30 feet away, he sustained the faith that our fighting men place in the medic—their constant comrade, always ready to back their courage and bind their wounds.

Today, in this quiet American garden, we acknowledge our great debt to Specialist Joel for his great dedication in that savage action.

It is a terrible truth that suffering is so often the price of freedom. But freedom is indivisible: to protect it in distant Asia is to maintain it here in America.

The willingness of Specialist Joel to die for freedom in the remote Vietnam province of Bien Hoa indicates, as nothing else could, the willingness of his country to sacrifice, to stand, and to persist in freedom's cause.

As we salute the valor of this soldier, we salute the best in the American tradition.

Just as he sustained those who fought for freedom in War Zone D, so shall we.

Just as he bound up their wounds, so shall we.

Just as he cared for his fellowmen, so does all America care for those with whom we share this planet.

America, too, stands behind the fighter who is struggling to prevent subjugation; America is willing to make sacrifices in order that all men may know the joy of peace and security; America, too, is dedicated to the highest of all principles—that of serving mankind in its endless struggle toward a better, fuller life of dignity, devoid of tyranny.

Specialist Joel, with this medal comes your nation's enduring gratitude. We thank you for what you have done. You stand as a symbol—reminding all of us of our continuing responsibilities as citizens and our continuing obligations as a nation. If we are worthy of your sacrifice and the sacrifice of those of your comrades, then we shall never forget them.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I believe my colleagues will find of unusual interest an address given Monday this week by His Excellency Choong Hoon Park, Minister of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of Korea. This address, presented to a large group of business and financial leaders in New York, documents the strong support now being given U.S. foreign policy in relation to Vietnam by one of our stanchest partners in the Far East. It is also unusual documentation of the economic progress recently made by the Republic of Korea.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this address be reprinted in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Address by His Excellency Choong Hoon Park, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Republic of Korea, at Luncheon of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry

It is my great privilege to be here in this great City of New York and my honor to meet leaders of the business community and good friends of Korea. At the outset I would like to express my deep appreciation to the officers and directors of this Council who have arranged this opportunity for me to discuss with you matters of importance to your country and mine.

My message to you today is a multi-faceted one . . . one from which, I think, freedom-loving peoples everywhere can take heart. Ours is a happy message. It is retrospective as well as prospective.

In its retrospective aspects it must give comfort and heart to those Americans who today are torn by sincere and troubling doubts as to the values of a continuing war against communism in far-away Asia, where American youth again suffer and die for a cause whose value some question.

To these troubled good people, I would say "Look at Korea today." For Korea is yesterday's Vietnam. The sacrifices which you made with us in our war of liberation have resulted in the establishment of a progressive nation of free people who today are proud of their role as your principal ally in your continuing commitment to assist free peoples in their desire to remain free.

Today, 46,000 of the flower of our youth—our sons—well-trained soldiers, are fighting at the side of your sons in Vietnam. And I should point out that on a population basis our commitment of men to the effort in Vietnam percentage-wise is about equal to yours. Additionally, we have sent 10,000 engineers to Vietnam and I am happy to report that our battle-shrewd soldiers and technicians are telling and persuading the Vietnamese of the communist excesses during the Korean conflict. They are warning them from bitter personal experience not to be deceived by communist propaganda. Our soldiers and technicians thus are also serving as diplomats. They are explaining to South Vietnam officials and people that the United States will not impose colonial rule on Vietnam because the United States has never colonized Korea, although U.S. troops have been stationed in our country for over 20 years.

Based on our experience with American democracy and with anti-communism, which is now virtually a religion with the Korean people, our Korean soldiers and technicians are thus playing an important role in the pursuit of peace and freedom in Vietnam.

We could not be more proud of our emergence—in a few short years—as a nation able to assist others as we have been assisted, while at the same time moving from a country which shortly no longer will ask aid, but which today seeks a dynamic trading partnership with our former benefactors. I, of course, refer to you, our cherished American friends.

Perhaps it is not remiss to recall that Korea was once cited as an example of the failure of your country's Far East policy. I am tempted to suggest that the parallels between the problems and tribulations confronting your country in Korea in the Fifties and those which you—and we—face today in Vietnam are startlingly similar.

From liberation a short few years ago, Korea has emerged—perhaps too quietly—as a new nation on the move; a politically stable republic whose economic growth and potential make it today a golden opportunity for the internationally-minded businessman.

Korea today is a shining example of the success of your country's foreign policy.

Who, as recently as five years ago, would have dared dream that in this short period Korea would have emerged from the misery and devastation of war to take its place today as a rapidly industrializing nation, offering investment opportunities as good as any in the world—and ready to challenge its Asian neighbors in the world market place.

As we mount this challenge, in your classic American phrase with "vim, vigor and vitality" which would surprise many of you, we invite your attention as businessmen to the new opportunities which we offer you for sound, safe investment; to the products of our factories which today compare to any in the world; yes, and to tell you that the time has come to look at us, if you are not doing so already, as an interesting market for your goods.

That, in fact, is the purpose of our mission to your country and it will be the purpose of the Ball Mission of 27 U.S. businessmen and financial leaders being sent to Korea by President Johnson five days from now.

I was happy to note upon arriving in your country the current issue of Time Magazine with its illuminating discussion of the dramatic change taking place in our country under the courageous and enlightened leadership of President Chung Hee Park.

"South Korea," the magazine notes, "is constructing a political and economic base that is the envy of its Asian friends."

The article points out that "the change in this long time dependent country is not just physical but also psychological."

And Time pointed out, moreover, that through the Asian Pacific Council we are discharging a leading role in promoting regional co-operation. Time, in short, in its current issue reports what I want to tell you today. That is, to use Time's words, Korea today "is pulsing with activity."

Our mission is to alert the American business and financial community to feel that pulse and realize its message of industrial opportunity.

To fully appreciate the dramatic transformation taking place in our country, it should be mentioned that, though our recorded history goes back to 2333 B.C., as a new nation we go back but 18 years. And our real history within the context of our discussion today covers a short span of only five years. I say this because a country with a long history and a proud tradition was obstructed first by the imposition of Japanese colonial rule, starting at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and later by communist aggression.

As a result, Korea was reduced to a supplier of raw materials to Japan and to a consumer market for her. The end of World War II restored political independence to Korea but left half of the nation, with its rich mineral and industrial resources, behind the Iron Curtain. Following the Korean War and the armistice of 1953, a vigorous reconstruction program was launched with the assistance of the United States and other friendly allies.

But persistent political instability and governmental incompetence at that time acted as a strong curb on the growth and development of our national economy with the result that reliance on foreign economic aid continued at a high level.

The present government elected in 1961 set the eventual economic independence of the country as its primary goal and set into motion energetic programs of industrialization and export promotion designed to obtain our primary goal of economic independence by 1971. I can report today that we are on the way to achieving that goal.

Our first Five Year Plan for economic development, which began in 1962, has been successfully completed. It paved the way for rapid and continuous economic growth in the future. The second Five Year Plan, which started this year, and which places primary emphasis on industrialization and export expansion, is well launched. With it we have eliminated trade restrictions, particularly for American investments. Our currency is hard, our prices are stable, and our foreign exchange account is adequate to insure convertibility.

I trust that it was not merely that we continue to maintain an armed force of 600,000 armed men as a bulwark against communism and to help maintain peace and freedom in the world, that your distinguished Ambassador in Seoul said recently that in this missile age investment in Korea is as safe as investment in New York.

I am reluctant to burden you with figures, because I realize the difficulty of following figures by ear. But I think that a few of our more important economic statistics will be both enlightening and convincing. In 1960 our exports totaled $32,000,000. In 1962, they totaled $54,813,000; in 1966 they had jumped ahead to $255,751,000. We project $350,000,000 in exports for this year. Thus, our exports have shown a 44 percent annual increase, doubling every two years, and the portion of manufactured goods in our overall exports rose to 63 percent in 1966 from a level of 20 percent in 1960. Korea today exports nearly 800 items to almost every country in the world, except those behind the Iron Curtain.

I might add parenthetically that as I have traveled East across your country in the last few days, I have been asked repeatedly by knowledgeable businessmen why it is that American exports to Korea in the face of our economic upsurge have been steadily decreasing, while Japanese exports to Korea have been increasing. To each questioner I have replied "You tell me."

The answer obviously is that Japanese businessmen have been more alert to the business opportunities in Korea than have their American counterpart.

Korea maintained an average growth rate of 8.5 percent throughout the first Five Year Economic Development Plan. Last year the rate of growth was 11.9 percent. The basis for our prosperity, rooted in the first place in the generous help of our friends and allies, is the industry of our people, one of the highest rates of literacy in the world, abundant human resources, a determination on the part of all Koreans to move aggressively in this latter half of the Twentieth Century, and to maintain our defenses although they today cost us 30 percent of our national budget.

Under President Park's leadership, the businessman in Korea today is inspired as never before. Our President's personal and keen interest in economic planning and industrial expansion has created a favorable climate for business and to the American businessman we today hold out the hand of friendship and co-operation. We ask you to come and see for yourself and we ask you to participate in our dynamic growth. Doing business with Korea today is good business, and we are ready to prove it to you.

Don't take our word for this. Take the word of some of your own most competent planners. In Columbus, Ohio, the other day an American economic planner whose credentials would be recognized and certified anywhere in the American business community, reviewed some of our own projections. We project, for instance, electronic production by 1971 of $100,000,000 a year. The American planner advised us on the basis of his own survey in Korea that we are wrong. He contends our electronic output will double our projection.

That is the way Korea is moving today. Mr. Walt Rostow, sizing up the vitality of our economy, said recently that we have reached the "take-off stage." The American businessman and the American investor is invited to take off with us.

TRIBUTE TO THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, two of the genuine "iron horses" of the Democratic Party are Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien.

While some of us may falter in battle, the Vice President and the Postmaster General press ever onward, carrying the bright banner of our party to unprecedented heights.

Their unflagging energies and devotion are well worthy of high praise and this is just what they received in a Washington Post column by David S. Broder, published March 14, 1967.

If there are no objections, I respectfully request that the full text of the column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL PARADE: THE POSTMAN AND THE VEEP

(By David S. Broder)

Among the diminishing assets of the Democratic Party, two that stood out last week, during the high-level meetings here, were the spunk of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and the wisdom of Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien.

Humphrey is probably the best bucker-upper in the business. He has an unquenchable enthusiasm, a zest for life that is overpowering at times, but never more appealing than in circumstances of adversity such as those that now confront his Party.

Ever since last November, the Vice President has been bouncing around the country raising money and raising spirits in states where the Democrats were shellacked. Last week, he faced his toughest test with the entire Democratic National Committee descending on Washington at a moment when almost all the Democrats in town, from President Johnson on down, were thoroughly sick and tired of one another's company.

It could have been a fiasco, and it was largely due to Humphrey's expenditure of energy and enthusiasm that it was not. From Wednesday through Saturday, he turned himself, his wife, his office, his apartment and his entire staff over to the visiting Democrats. By dint of sheer effort—and a closed session that must have been a humdinger, even by Humphrey standards—he convinced them that there is life in the old donkey yet.

It was a bravura performance and a timely one for Humphrey's own needs. He reminded the Democrats, who may well have forgotten, why most of them wanted him on the ticket in 1964. They wanted him because he is the battler who is never so satisfied with yesterday's accomplishments that he forgets tomorrow's challenges.

The President's virtual endorsement of Humphrey's renomination was applauded more vigorously by the Democratic National Committee than would have been the case had the Vice President not proved anew that Number 2 does try harder.

O'Brien's service is more difficult to define, but just as real. He has great prestige in the Party, for he has come to symbolize success and staying power. He is almost the last of the Kennedy political lieutenants prominently identified with the Johnson Administration.

When O'Brien pointedly reminded the National Committee that in 1960 first Humphrey and then Mr. Johnson had set aside their own feelings of disappointment and rallied behind John F. Kennedy, he was really doing no more than other Democrats have done in appealing to the Kennedy faction to cease and desist its warfare on the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

But coming from O'Brien, the message had particular potency. He was a Democrat before John Kennedy came along and he will be one whether Bobby or Teddy or somebody else is leading the Party. He was, as he stood there recalling "where we have been together," a not-so-gentle reproof to the cults of personality that currently plague the Democrats.

Second, O'Brien, for his work in helping nominate and elect the last two Democratic Presidents is widely and rightfully regarded as one of the best political organizers of this generation.

When he endorsed, as he did in private conversations, the steps taken recently to strengthen the National Committee and praised the competence of the men Chairman John M. Bailey has hired to prepare for 1968, he did as much as any man could do to quell the rebellions against the President's handling of Party affairs.

Third, for those who sought his counsel, O'Brien showed again, that, good as he may be as an organizer, he has the rarer skill of sensing shifts in the public mood before they fully surface.

Those who talked with him learned that the portion of O'Brien's mind that is not preoccupied with postal rates and the management of his antiquated department is, in his phrase, "groping for an answer" to the seeming public disaffection with the Democratic Party.

He does not profess to have uncovered answers that escaped others' detection, but the mere fact that he is "groping" for new answers puts him light-years ahead of those in the White House and the Party headquarters who are operating on the complacent assumption that the old ways of winning elections will be good enough again.

Humphrey and O'Brien, who are closer political partners than most people realize, are two reasons for Democrats not to despair.

FOREIGN AID: A CRISIS FOR CHURCH AND NATION

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, an old friend and former colleague of mine, Judge Frank M. Coffin, of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, has written an article entitled "Foreign Aid: A Crisis for Church and Nation," which was published in the February 6, 1967, issue of Christianity and Crisis. As a former Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development, U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N. Development Assistance Committee of the Organization of Economic Cooperation Development, and managing director of the Development and Loan Fund, Judge Coffin has far-ranging, firsthand experiences in the field of foreign assistance.

At a time when we read little but searing criticisms of our foreign aid program, Judge Coffin's article is an eloquent affirmation of our national obligation to assist the developing nations of the world. He points out that Americans are suffering from a conscience gap in foreign aid and that too many have fallen prey to the mythology of foreign aid. To these myths Mr. Coffin provides reasoned and reasonable answers.

Mr. President, I believe that Judge Coffin's excellent article has particular relevance for Members of Congress. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Church and the Long Fuse—Foreign Aid: A Crisis for Church and Nation

(By Frank M. Coffin)

"Crisis," Reinhold Niebuhr reminds us, was used by the founders of this journal in a dual sense. In 1941 there was an external threat to Western religious, moral and political culture. There was also a moral and religious peril in our own complacency. Today there is a gathering crisis of similar, if less measurable, breadth and depth. Like that of a quarter century ago, it has its political and its spiritual dimensions . . . and a long fuse.

The present crisis is the looming unreadiness of the world of the rich Northern, Western, largely white countries of Judeo-Christian tradition to give adequate, sustained assistance of the most helpful kind to the "third world"—the poor, mostly Southern and Eastern nations, whose peoples, except for Latin America, are of brown, black or yellow skin and pay homage to other religions.

On the surface, the deficiency lies in the policies and priorities of the advanced countries. More deeply viewed, the stagnation of policy and commitment points to the shrinking moral boundaries of peoples whose comforts are increasing dramatically. And at bottom, widespread complacency in the face of accelerating disparity is building up to a massive indictment of the breadth of outlook, adequacy of theology, compassion and efficacy of action of Christians and their establishments in the industrialized countries.

No area is more subject to misleading figures than the aid field. Grants, long-term loans, hard bank loans, strictly commercial export credits, surplus food, private investment for profit, and contributions to international organizations can all be loosely called "aid." Lumping together all these apples and oranges, *The New York Times* on July 20, 1966, headlined the annual stocktaking meeting of the "rich man's club"—the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization of Economic Cooperation Development—as follows: "Aid to the Poor Nations Soared to Record $10.98 Billion in 1965." Nothing could be more misleading.

Few readers could be expected to draw from the article the real news: that once again there was no significant increase in governmental aid; that no progress was being made in liberalizing interest rates and maturities; that the slump in new commitments in 1965 threatened to become an actual drop in the future flow of aid.

The unvarnished fact is that governmental foreign aid for development from the dozen or so rich countries to the hundred poor ones has reached a dead level—less than $6 billion a year—where it has remained stuck for the past five years. The total represents six-tenths of 1 per cent of a trillion-dollar economy. This level becomes steadily less impressive as the economies of Europe, America and Japan reach new highs, as repayments of principal and interest from the poor increase, and as the terms of trade (what can be bought from the rich by the exports of the poor) remain unfavorable. Even now over half of the flow of development finance is offset by the return flow of amortization, dividend and interest payments. At the present rate the world of the poor will, in shortly more than a decade, be repaying the rich more than it receives. It is already arguable that the flow of brains has been at least as much to the rich as to the poor.

This stagnation of developmental aid has taken place at a time when the administrative capacity of the developing world, the national and regional planning of practical projects and uses for resources, together with the population and its other needs, have all increased. What could have been a brilliant, historic, developmental achievement of the last decades of this century seems to be turning into a Sargasso Sea of wrecked hopes, frustration, mutual recrimination and despair.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF FOREIGN AID

All too few Americans are aware of this global grinding to a halt. Even fewer would point an accusing finger at the United States. In this field, particularly, we subscribe uncritically and arrogantly to a mythology that has less and less resemblance to facts.

The first myth is that we are giving either just enough or too much aid. (A 1965 poll showed only 6 per cent of Americans favoring an increase.) Actually we are fast approaching an annual gross national product of $795 billion. Each year's increase exceeds the total combined product of all but seven developing nations. We can take a special lack of pride in seeing our aid percentage of GNP decrease from 2.5 percent in the Marshall Plan era to less than three-tenths of 1 per cent today.

In absolute terms we are spending far less today on our entire overseas development programs than when we were one-third as wealthy and helping only our white Christian neighbors in Europe. Aid accounts for less than 2 per cent of the national budget. Our balance of payments ledger shows the overseas aid expenditures have been cut from nearly a billion dollars in 1961 to less than $250 million in 1965—a small fraction of our net deficit.

In 1966, Congress, after the usual dreary debate, cut the President's "bare bones" aid request by 13 per cent to the lowest level since 1958. And this year the prospect is even more dismal, with the President's reportedly seeking even less for aid than he requested last year—and from a more hostile Congress.

Where we are heading is crystal clear. Our average yearly per capita income is $3,000. That of the 80 developing countries that are members of the World Bank is $120. Our growth is 5 per cent a year, theirs is 1 per cent. By the year 2000, our average per capita income will have risen by $1,500 and theirs by $50. The gap will have widened by a ratio of 30 to 1. In 15 years, according to Hugo Fisher of the Resources Agency of California, the U.S. will have 9.5 per cent of the total population and will be using 83 per cent of the world's natural resources. He adds that the understatement that the rest of the world will take a "dim view" of such consumption (*The New York Times*, March 20, 1966).

A second myth is that we are the only nation giving substantial aid. In fact the countries of Europe, Canada and Japan have already given more to the developing world than they received under the Marshall Plan. The U.S. is not first, but fifth, in the size of its aid program in relation to its income. Others give a larger proportion of outright grants, send more experts and teachers overseas and make loans on more generous terms. Indeed, as the Western world's top aid policy-makers were meeting in Washington last summer, Canada announced its new policy of making interest-free development loans, while the U.S. Senate sought to increase our interest rate for the third time in recent years.

Another myth holds that U.S. aid is poorly planned and administered. In fact, nearly two decades of aid activities (and particularly the last four years under the leadership of David E. Bell) have seen continued improvement in administration, planning, the delicate linkage between external aid and internal efforts and discipline, inspection and follow-up.

Rare indeed are the bloopers that made the headlines a decade ago (but which immortally retread the stairs like Jacob Marley's ghost). And somehow a cadre of development experts—who are the envy of the aid ministries of Europe but prophets without honor at home—has been attracted to and stuck with this program, both in Washington and overseas.

Perhaps the myth most dangerous to our ability to assist in this historic task of development with grace and effectiveness is that we expect more "progress" in remote places and alien cultures, for our money, than we do at home. When we fight juvenile delinquency, crime, narcotics addiction, mental illness, poverty and racial discrimination, we know that success will come slowly, that failures will often outnumber successes, and that a great deal of effort and funds will thus be "wasted." Not so with foreign aid. If the countries we try to help do not respond immediately with gratitude, political support, competent planning, internal discipline and social justice, we are all too ready to abandon the effort. We are not content to do God's work. We want to play God.

OUR "CONSCIENCE GAP"

If there is a widening gap between the rich and the poor, between supply and demand, there is an equally serious "conscience gap," a gap that represents an erosion of spirit and a moral hardening of the arteries of the American people—and their cousins in Europe. It represents a missed opportunity for the modernized world. And it represents a Pilate-like abdication by the Christian Church at what is, for better or worse, a watershed in history.

So far in this two-decade-old adventure in helping other peoples, the Christian establishment can take little credit for what has been done. I exempt from this harsh observation the quiet, steady, effective work that has been done by the numerous Catholic, Protestant and Jewish service agencies, together with their corps of keen and dedicated officials, that have been active in the developing countries. But the "Church" as a center of contemporary doctrine, understanding, education and inspiration applicable to this historic demand on our breadth of view and depth of concern might just as well not have existed.

Resounding resolutions, well-drafted testimony for Congressional committees, participation in conferences and last-minute lobbying with other internationally-minded groups to stave off disaster in Congress have not been lacking. There has been cooperative fellowship but no creative leadership. There has been no sustained or effective effort by top church bodies to relate our development aid effort to Christian doctrine. Their headquarters are woefully lacking in staff equipped to collect, analyze and present facts.

The result has been that an administration or Congress can and does slash aid requests and appropriations, raise interest rates, shorten periods of repayment, attach self-defeating conditions and restrictions to aid, cut personnel and limit the number of countries assisted, without any danger of hearing from the Church or its constituency.

The President, a few dedicated officials and a small and dwindling stable of weary Congressional workhorses have had to sponsor and defend aid policy without the assistance of strong voices from the Church or an effective aid constituency. Any church pronouncment on the need for greater, more sustained or more effective assistance is likely to be such a melange of factual error or inadequacy and sweeping generality that it cannot be expected to influence the levers of power.

At the grass roots, priests, pastors and rabbis all too often exhibit either indifference or a lack of grasp that emasculates their effectiveness in helping to find the link between religious tradition and this most contemporary challenge to it. Congregations respond generously to concrete, specific opportunities but not to the overriding challenge to national commitment. They will rally generously to support a family in Chile or a mission school in the Philippines; they will listen with warm hearts to a returning church worker, government employee or Peace Corps volunteer. But when national policy and programs of assisting other peoples are discussed, Christians are just as ill-informed, unconcerned and hostile as anyone else.

There are signs of change. As a result of Vatican II, there is burgeoning cooperation between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the aid field. The National Council of Churches (NCC) has created an Advisory Committee on Peace with the needs of developing countries as one of the concerns. And the World Council of Churches' Conference on Church and Society set forth the problem in clear, unmistakable terms.

More recently there was the action of the NCC in Miami that gave prominent recognition to the development challenge in its peace program. But the most concrete evidence of good intentions lies in the action of the United Church of Christ, whose Council for Christian Social Action opened a Washington office on Jan. 3, under the direction of Rev. L. Maynard Catchings, to promote substantially increased government and private spending on international development. The Council hopes that representatives of other denominations will soon join the staff.

THE CHURCH AS CATALYST

Notwithstanding these straws in the wind, I sense a blandness, a proclivity to phrase general propositions, an avoidance of any program smacking of action. Barbara Ward closed her eloquent call to action in the Feb. 8, 1966, issue of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS with the question: "What shall we do?" It seems to me that we begin by doing what we have power to do—and not by issuing ringing pronouncements. The crying need is for the soil of Christian spirit to be tilled at home and abroad. This is a humble but doable task if the Church is so minded.

The specific tasks start with the development of Christian doctrine consistent with the task ahead and the setting of its priority. The work should continue with equipping the Church with headquarters and field staff to collect, analyze and present facts and issues, while developing training programs and materials for its clerical and lay leaders. At the same time the Church should strive to be a catalyst for a truly national, broadly representative, nongovernmental, continuing effort to stimulate and sustain understanding and support of this dimension of national policy. Finally, there should be a joining of forces with the Christian and Jewish communities abroad, toward the end of revitalizing the conscience of the rich.

It may well be that the task is too big. But failure is less to be feared than striving. For while this is a crisis for the times, it is also a crisis for the Church.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business, which the clerk will state.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D., 88th Cong., second sess.).

The Senate proceeded to consider the convention.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum; and I ask unanimous consent that the time for the quorum call be charged against the time allotted to the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The pending question is on the adoption of Reservation No. 1, offered by the Senator from South Dakota, to the resolution of ratification. Debate is limited to 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

RECESS UNTIL 1:30 P.M. TODAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 1:30 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TALMADGE in the chair.) Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until 1:30 o'clock p.m., the same day.

At 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m., the Senate reassembled, and was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. TALMADGE in the chair).

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D., 88th Cong., second sess.).

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask that the time be taken out of both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield myself 20 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, before getting into a discussion of the reservation which is now before us, Executive Reservation No. 1, I should like to read into the RECORD two statements which have come to my office today.

Yesterday, during the colloquy introduced by the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], during the discussion led by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], some interesting observations were made in connection with the rather surprising fact that none of the national pollsters had taken polls, or at least had not reported them generally in the press, on this very important and difficult question now before us.

Early last evening I received a telephone call from a Mr. Jim Nicholls, of KDAY, a radio station in Tacoma, Wash., who operates a program called "Partyline." He said that this radio station in the State of Washington had been conducting a poll for several days on this particular topic. I said:

> That is interesting. Why don't you send me a telegram and tell me what is in it, and I will be glad to read it into the RECORD?

A telegram from him came this morning. I shall read it into the RECORD. I should add I shall be pleased to place into the RECORD any other authentic polls which can be secured from radio stations, newspapers, or the famous pollsters, George Gallup and Louis Harris, both of whom have apparently overlooked taking a poll in connection with this question, to see how those who are interested have expressed themselves on this subject. I reaffirm what I said yesterday. I think on issues of this kind, when we should hear and heed, as I think we do, the hopes and prayers of people everywhere for an early conclusion of this war, that at least their expressions should be heard by Members of the Senate.

The telegram reads:

Senator KARL MUNDT,
The Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

> In a Phonein writein poll on the Consular Treaty on my radio program covering the greater Tacoma area thirteen hundred ten opposed and one favorable. This sampling appears indicative of how the average citizen feels . . .

Then follow some compliments about my efforts here, which it might be immodest for me to recite. However, I shall have to put them into the RECORD because they are a part of the telegram, but that part will appear in the RECORD without my reading it.

I ask unanimous consent that the telegram be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TACOMA, WASH.,
March 14, 1967.

Senator KARL MUNDT,
The Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

> In a Phonein writein poll on the Consular Treaty on my radio program covering the greater Tacoma area thirteen hundred ten opposed and one favorable. This sampling appears indicative of how the average citizen feels. Many thank God for your courageous leadership in opposing the chief suppliers of arms killing American boys in Viet Nam.

JIM NICHOLLS,
"Partyline," KDAY.

Mr. MUNDT. Second, this morning I had a group call at my office representing the Military Order of the World Wars, the District of Columbia Chapter, and they asked me to present to the Senate the judgment and the recommendations of their order, which is comprised solely, of course, of distinguished officers and soldiers who have fought for our colors in previous wars.

Their resolution is dated March 10, and reads as follows:

> Resolution relative to the Consular Convention between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics now pending before the United States Senate:
>
> The District of Columbia Chapter, the Military Order of the World Wars held its usual luncheon meeting at Noon, Thursday 9 March 1967; at which the members present unanimously adopted the following Resolution;
>
> Resolved, That the District of Columbia Chapter petition the United States Senate not to ratify the Consular Convention pending between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
>
> Attest:
>
> HUGH H. HARTLEY,
> *Adjutant.*

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the Military Order of the World Wars be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Military Order of the World Wars, District of Columbia Chapter]

> Resolution relative to the Consular Convention between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics now pending before the United States Senate:
>
> The District of Columbia Chapter, the Military Order of the World Wars held its usual luncheon meeting at Noon, Thursday 9 March 1967; at which the members present unanimously adopted the following Resolution;
>
> Resolved, That the District of Columbia Chapter petition the United States Senate not to ratify the Consular Convention pending between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
>
> Attest:
>
> HUGH H. HARTLEY,
> *Adjutant.*

Mr. MUNDT. Now, Mr. President, so that Senators who are not present, and who may have occasion to reflect upon what is being debated this afternoon when they read the RECORD tomorrow morning—unhappily, after they have voted—and also so that those who study the RECORD back home, and historians who may comment upon the decisions we are about to make may have ready access to the focus upon which this debate hinges, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the full text of Executive Reservation No. 1.

There being no objection, the reservation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of the convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States until the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have agreed (1) to permit the distribution to the Soviet press or any segment thereof by United States diplomatic and consular officers of announcements of United States public policy, both foreign and domestic, and answers to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press, and (2) not to impose or enforce any limitation on the number of United States citizens permitted to be in the Soviet Union at any time as representatives of the United States press which would effectively reduce them below the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States, or to impose upon them any conditions of travel or objective reporting which do not prevail for Soviet press representatives within the United States."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as I see the decision which we are about to make by a rollcall vote sometime this afternoon, two major questions are involved; and the same two questions will be involved when we vote on a much more significant and far-reaching proposed reservation which I have proposed sometime late tomorrow afternoon.

The first of these considerations, it seems to me, is the question of whether or not the U.S. Senate still has the right—and I believe the responsibility—to exercise its full constitutional prerogative of both advising and consenting on the matter of international treaties.

The second consideration is, of course, the desirability, the usefulness, and the wisdom of the specific reservations being discussed.

I propose to discuss first, Mr. President, what I consider to be the continuing responsibility of Senators, all of whom took the oath, as they entered the Chamber for the first time, to support the Constitution of the United States. I think that oath carries with it the constitutional responsibility of facing up to the responsibility of advising the Executive on treatymaking, as well as registering their dissent or assent.

Lest anyone may have forgotten the exact language in the Constitution, it is found in article II, section 2, clause 2 of our hallowed Constitution; and in discussing the powers of the President and the powers of the Congress, I refer to that constitutional language, which reads——

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator will suspend until the Senate is in order.

The Senator from South Dakota may proceed.

Mr. MUNDT. The language reads as follows, under the heading "Powers of the President":

> He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

In that connection, Mr. President, I was both impressed and intrigued by what I found in reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which arrived in our offices this morning, because there on pages 6406 and 6407 the majority leader had placed the texts of letters received, in the first instance, by the chairman of our Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], and signed by the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk; in the second instance, by our honored and respected majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD], and signed by the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, William B. Macomber, Jr., who has only very recently succeeded to that task, since his predecessor, Doug MacArthur, has gone off to assume ambassadorial duties; and in the third instance, another letter received by the majority leader, also signed by William B. Macomber, Jr.

The sum and substance of those letters is to the effect that the U.S. Senate should not, at this late hour, engage in its advisory function. The sum and substance is that if we were to offer advice, and it were adopted now, it would delay the ratification of the treaty, or perhaps jeopardize it altogether.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Surely.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I am sure that the administration would be delighted to receive any advice from the Senate. It has received it quite often from the distinguished Senator from South Dakota as well as from the Senator from Montana now speaking, and also from other Members of this body.

But the Senator from South Dakota must keep in mind—and I am sure he does—that this convention was initiated by the United States. It was initiated because we thought it was in our best interests to have such a convention. It is not a question of setting up consulates, because the President already has the authority to set up consulates.

Mr. MUNDT. I agree.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is a question primarily of furnishing protection to the 18,000 Americans who now visit the Soviet Union every year. If reservations are attached, it is my belief that the convention will not be ratified by the Soviet Union. That means that Americans who visit the Soviet Union will continue to be subject to Soviet law, just as Soviet citizens—tourists, that is—who visit the United States—and they number under 900 a year—are now subject to American law which includes the rights guaranteed every person in this country under the Constitution, which insure that Soviet citizens receive prompt and speedy attention to their situation.

If the convention is not ratified, because of reservations and other matters which prevent its ratification by the Soviet Union, the 18,000 or more Americans who travel in the Soviet Union will remain subject to the laws of the U.S.S.R. They can now be held incommunicado for nine months or more, and our ambassadorial staffs can have great difficulty in gaining access to them and furnishing all assistance possible to them.

Advice is one thing, but attaching reservations is another. I would hope that the Senator from South Dakota and the Senate as a whole will keep these factors I have mentioned in mind.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from Montana has correctly expressed the consensus of the purport of the letters in the RECORD, to which I have just invited attention. He is precisely correct in emphasizing, once again, as it is emphasized in the letters, that the main purpose of the convention is to protect Americans who may be traveling in Russia.

But the Senator does not come to grips with the question: Of what conceivable use is it for the Senate, with respect to any treaty, to offer advice, if it is not in terms of a reservation or in terms of an amendment? It is the world's greatest exercise in futility to offer advice concerning what may happen under a treaty. The terms of a treaty determine what will happen, and it is not possible to create legislative history even to alter that, as can be done with respect to an ordinary legislative matter. Our advice must be incorporated in the treaty by reservation or amendment or it is both futile and meaningless.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Surely.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there are different kinds of advice; and I believe that I can recognize advice which is intended to kill a treaty.

It is my belief—I may be mistaken—that the Senator from South Dakota is opposed to this convention in practically any form in which it could be ratified—perhaps not in any form, although I am unable to conceive of any at the moment. If he could have reservations attached, he could go home to the folks in Huron and Winner and say, "This is what I did: I strengthened the treaty."

Mr. MUNDT. That is what I want to do.

Mr. MANSFIELD. But he would have to tell them also that there was no treaty; that his reservations had killed it.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a speculation which the Senator from Montana has a right to engage in.

It will be the burden of my argument to say that this is a good-faith amendment to test the good faith of the Soviets from the standpoint of wanting a rapprochement, in which case I think they would be happy to accept the reservation.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator has been diligent in his opposition to this treaty. I know his motives are sincere. I know that he feels as he does because of his convictions. But I point out that while the Senate has the right to give advice, and should, we ought to take into consideration the responsibility of the executive branch.

The work which has gone into this convention began, may I say, under Eisenhower, and I believe the genesis can be found in the kitchen debate between Khrushchev and Nixon in Moscow; it was carried forward by Kennedy and is now being brought before the Senate by President Johnson.

In the last session, I was worried about bringing this treaty to the floor of the Senate. And while there are organizations in this country which claim credit for stopping such action last year, the fact is that the majority leader, the Senator from Montana, personally was disinclined to bring the convention before the Senate because of what he feared might be the ultimate result. Perhaps it was a mistake in judgment on my part.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the judgment of the Senator was excellent.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is open to question, but at least this year we will face up to it, win, lose, or draw.

I hope—and the Senator has been most cooperative—that we can bring this matter to a head this week. I have asked every Democratic Senator to come back and stay until this matter is finished, and I assume that the same thing has been done on the Republican side.

The Senator has kindly consented to a limitation on debate on his reservations, for which I am deeply grateful, and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] has kindly consented to a limitation on her executive understanding.

I would hope that this matter could be faced up to and that we can make our arguments and explain our differences on the floor and that, in some way, the final issue could be met and that this matter, which has been before us for 3 years now could be settled this week.

Mr. MUNDT. As the Senator knows—and I have told him privately, and I do not mind stating it publicly—the Senator from South Dakota has no intention of engaging in dilatory tactics.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is always accommodating and I know that he has no such intention.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from South Dakota has no intention of filibustering and no intention of upsetting any program that the leadership has for a reasonable amount of debate and for fixing a time certain for this momentous and historic vote which will accommodate as many Senators as possible.

I am glad that the majority leader recognizes, with the Senator from South Dakota, that we have responsibilities as Senators to offer advice. Let us then be practical about this.

If that is a constitutional right, if that is a constitutional duty, when and where can the Senate offer any meaningful advice except when the treaty is before it, unless we accept the followup fact that this is the time and now is the hour to offer whatever advice we feel is meaningful and significant?

We would otherwise have to accept the fact that by precedent this constitutional prerogative has been eliminated. I do not think it should be, and I do not think it has been.

On numerous occasions in the past, earlier Senators, who were perhaps sturdier than our generation of Senators, have written in reservations, have written into treaties their advice at the time the treaty was up for consideration.

That does not mean that they killed the treaty. If the reservations are obnoxious to the other side and are upsetting to the purposes of the other side, there might have to be renegotiation. However, if they are acceptable, if they are good-faith amendments—as this one is—and are incorporated in the treaty by negotiations, there would perhaps just be acquiescence on the part of the other parties to the treaty.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, as far as this Senator is concerned, my mind is not closed. I could vote either way on the reservation or the treaty. I believe the same thing would be true with respect to the present Presiding Officer, the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], who offered an amendment the other day to try to clear up the thing that troubled him the most about the treaty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for an additional 15 minutes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, as the Senator well knows, there is a very popular television program entitled "The FBI." On every second or third televised program of that show, the general theme is that there are Soviet agents in our country that are engaged in an espionage program and have murdered people and have tried to carry out their devious schemes.

We are told that the program is based upon actual facts and that such facts have actually happened in this country.

Mr. MUNDT. At least 28 times in the last several years we have had to send Russian agents in their diplomatic service back to Russia because they were caught in espionage activities.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. If some Russian happened to be working in a consulate in this country and kidnaped or murdered someone, it would be very difficult for me, having voted for the treaty, to explain to the people in Louisiana why I voted to allow that fellow to go around killing Americans and be punished by being sent home with nothing more than the accolade of the Russian people.

I think the amendment would probably carry if enough Senators were present to hear the debate. I am told that there is no such provision in any treaty with any other country.

We were told in committee that this was a much better deal for us than for the Soviet Union. I cannot understand what our interest is in going around murdering their citizens, but if the committee thinks it is a better deal for us than it is for the Soviets, then I would assume that it is in this treaty because our Government asked for it. And if that is what it is doing here, I should think the Russians would be happy to have it taken out.

Mr. MUNDT. May I clear up for the Senator exactly how this immunity clause crept into the treaty.

What the Senator from Montana said is correct. This treaty had its genesis and suggestion from the Eisenhower administration. But I call attention to two important documented facts of history.

In the first place, when the Eisenhower administration made that suggestion to Russia, we were not at war in Vietnam, and the Russians were not supplying every sophisticated weapon that was killing every American boy killed by such devices in the entire war in Vietnam. So we are in an altogether different climate now. There is no relationship now to that earlier situation.

The other fact is—and no member of the committee will dispute this, because it is in black and white in the hearings—that the Eisenhower proposal was for the establishment of consulates and the working out of confrontation and notification, with no reference whatsoever to this entirely unprecedented concession of immunity.

The Soviets, according to the testimony in the record, insisted on this total inmmunity clause as a condition precedent, before they signed the treaty. Let us not be deluded about that. Whether it works to their benefit or to ours can be a matter of debate, but there is no question that the immunity clause was written in because the Soviets said it had to go in or there would be no treaty. What the Senator says is correct, because the Soviets have put it in.

If the janitor in the consular office established in Chicago—assuming that they establish one there—murders the President's wife, all you can do, as the distinguished present occupant of the Chair, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], said the other day, is to bid him a fond farewell as you ship him back to the U.S.S.R.—not for punishment, but perhaps for praise.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. As I understand, nothing in this treaty would give the 10,000 or 20,000 Americans visiting the Soviet Union any right to murder somebody there and come back home scot free.

Mr. MUNDT. All it does is to give our consular officers the right to commit murder, with the same immunity. We do not send them there with murderous intentions, nor are they sent there as trained spies.

Secretary of State Rusk has said that we can discuss this treaty with the understanding that every Soviet consular official coming here will be a trained member of the KGB, their secret police system. He was not trying to delude us.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I believe I can anticipate what the Senator is going to say.

Secretary Rusk said—and J. Edgar Hoover agreed—that we can cope with that situation given the necessary FBI agents.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does the Senator from South Dakota, if he follows his argument to its logical conclusion, assume that all the Americans in the U.S. consulate in the Soviet Union will be diplomats?

Mr. MUNDT. If history has the unhappy habit of repeating itself, which it frequently does, I am afraid that a surprisingly large number of them will be diplomats, untrained in the kind of activities in which the KGB officers will engage in America.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do not wish to engage in an argument on this particular phase of the subject, but I am sure that the Senator is well aware of what I mean.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Frankly, I would like to vote for the treaty, provided some of the doubts I have about this matter could be cleared up. If not, I might be compelled to vote against ratification of the treaty.

If what we are told on television is correct, the FBI authorizes the programs about the FBI, in which Russian agents go around murdering American citizens and kidnaping people and engaging in all sorts of acts of extortion to force patriotic citizens to yield security information to Soviet spies. Would the Senator not find it a rather high price to pay for a small amount of expanded tourist service in the Soviet Union, the first time they murder a dignified and outstanding American citizen, without any recourse against the murderer?

Mr. MUNDT. I am sure that the Senator from Louisiana must be as curious as I am as to why we acquiesced to this immunity clause. The record stands eloquently silent, with respect to witnesses from the State Department, as to why that clause is in the treaty and what possible good it can do for the United States.

On pages 6406 and 6407 of yesterday's RECORD are printed the letters from the State Department, in support of the treaty. Not one sentence can be found in those letters in which the immunity clause is mentioned. They say the purpose of the treaty is to protect American travelers. However, American travelers do not get any protection whatsoever from the immunity clause. It does not apply to them; only to consular officers. Actually, these travelers get very little protection of any kind.

All they get is the right to have the consular office notified that they are in jail. Then, within a limited number of days, they have a right to talk to a consular officer, who comes in to verify the fact they are in jail and who attempts to find out why. Nothing beyond that. Nothing about guaranteeing the American a free trial. Nothing at all guaranteeing him his release.

A treaty to protect Americans? That is what an American wants when he is in trouble. When he is in trouble, he wants to talk to a lawyer and to have a free trial and a fair trial, and a chance to express himself. He is not so much concerned about having a conversation through the bars of a prison cage with a consular officer, but that is all he gets by this treaty.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. Does the Senator mean to tell the Senate that that man could still be held for 9 months, pending the completion of the investigation of the charges made against him?

Mr. MUNDT. I mean to tell the Senate that that man could be held for 9 years, if it is in conformity with Russian law. Anyone who reads this provision will be as astounded as I was. This is all they promise; this is what they say we will get: the right to be notified and the right to converse with a consular officer. Only that and nothing more.

It would have been a much more significant treaty and one much easier to vote for if they had gone a step further and said that an American citizen in Russia shall have a right to a fair trial. But it does not say that. This point should be established in the RECORD. Even a quick reading of the wording of the treaty establishes that.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. May I say to the Senator from Louisiana that I propose to vote for the pending reservation, but I must be fair about this. I wish to express my view on the point that the Senator from Louisiana has raised.

If, for example, a murder should be committed by one of their consular officials in this country, and if he should return to Russia without anything but a goodby from us, my guess would be that we might well decide to call off the establishment of any more consulates and to close those already established.

Mr. MUNDT. It would take 6 months to do so.

Mr. MILLER. It is too bad that one person must die in order for that to be done, but that need not be repeated.

On the other hand, if one of our citizens in Russia is involved in a similar situation, nothing in the present Russian scheme of doing business, as I understand, would prevent them from charging our citizen with a trumped-up murder charge; and in their jurisprudential system it is difficult to say what would happen. But the American citizen could be put away for a long time.

So, with a view to preventing that from happening to our own citizens, I understand the immunity clause was put in.

I recognize that arguments can be made on both sides of this matter, but I desired to respond to the Senator from Louisiana and to tell him how I have evaluated this part of this treaty.

Mr. MUNDT. The immunity clause was put in for the protection of Russian consular officials. If the Russians decide to pick up, on a trumped-up charge, one of these 18,000 Americans traveling for pleasure or for profit, they can hold him forever. All they need do is agree to let him have a conversation now and then with his consular officer. The immunity does not run to the average citizen. It runs only to the consular officials of the two countries.

Mr. MILLER. I accept the interpretation of the Senator from South Dakota. The Senator is correct.

But if one of our consular officers in Russia is involved, he is assured that there will not be trumped-up charges made against him which might cause him to serve a long time in a Soviet prison. I believe that a degree of assurance is provided to our potential consular officials on this point.

I should like to return to the point made by the distinguished majority leader, when he stated that it is his opinion that if this reservation were adopted, the treaty would not be ratified by the Soviet Union. As the Senator from South Dakota has pointed out, everybody is entitled to his opinion. But I wish the Senator from Montana would give us the benefit of the reasons why he is of that opinion.

I do not necessarily share that opinion. Perhaps other Senators do not share it. I should like to know what reasons the Senator from Montana has for the opinion that if this reservation is adopted, the treaty is gone. I do not know why that would necessarily follow.

This is, in fact, an open-skies reservation. Why should we prejudge the leaders of the Soviet Union by saying because we would like to have an open-skies policy adopted, therefore we ratify this treaty subject to that understanding. If the Soviet Union is not going to agree to this because they do not want an open-skies policy, a question is raised as to whether or not this is the time to ratify this particular treaty.

I believe that most of us in the Senate have long favored an open-sky policy. This policy goes back to the Eisenhower days. We are saying we ratify the treaty but that it would not take effect until we have an open-sky policy over there. If I were to vote against the convention I would, perhaps, be subject to criticism for abandoning an open-sky policy which has long been supported as the policy of our country.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I would be happy to yield. However, I would like to have a little lend-lease arrangement in order to get additional time. I am going to run out of time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Surely.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do not know what the Senator from Iowa means when he refers to the pending reservation as an open-sky reservation. That has nothing to do with it. He asked for my opinion about this convention.

I am for it because it is in the interest of the United States far more than it is in the interest of the Soviet Union. I am for it because this convention was undertaken at our initiative, and, may I say to my friend from Iowa, under a Republican President whom we revere and respect.

I am for it because it gives added protection to Americans who may be traveling in the Soviet Union. Had we had a convention like this, perhaps Mr. Newcomb Mott might be alive today, and perhaps other Americans would not have had to go through the travail which was theirs because they had no protection, no access to a consular or diplomatic official and, therefore, were in effect helpless; certainly so in comparison with the rights which we, under our laws and our Constitution, give Soviet citizens in this country who are not in the diplomatic corps.

Those are the reasons why I am in favor of this convention: I am interested in protecting Americans who travel in a closed society. For the life of me I cannot understand why every Member of this body is not interested in giving those Americans the kind of protection which this convention will allow.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator from South Dakota has the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has been advised that the time has been allotted.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we yield 15 minutes from the time on this side.

Mr. MILLER. I understand the reasons for the treaty having been proposed. In fact, during his brief absence I pointed out to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] one of the very reasons which the Senator from Montana has just pointed out. I pointed it out because I am in support of the reservation pending and I felt at the same time I should give the Senator from Louisiana the benefit of my reason for the treaty with respect to his problem.

My real question was not the reason of the Senator from Montana for being in favor of the treaty, but the reasons why he felt that if this reservation were adopted the treaty would not be ratified by the Soviet Union. The Senator expressed his opinion on that. Many Senators feel that way. I am not sure I feel that way.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does the Senator mean to say that he is not in favor of protecting Americans in a closed society?

Mr. MILLER. No. The Senate is not sure he shares the opinion of the Senator from Montana that the mere adoption of the reservation would be the end of the treaty. The Senator from Montana so stated.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. As far as I am concerned, if any citizen of the State of Montana travels in the Soviet Union for any purpose whatever, I want him to be given every possible protection that this convention calls for; and not only citizens of Montana, but every citizen of the United States. That is what this convention basically would do.

It does not call for the creation of consulates because consulates can be created now by the President. Basically this treaty calls for the protection of American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union, in that closed society.

The Senator does not want our people to be subject to Soviet law, to be held incommunicado for 9 months or more, and not to have access to our diplomatic personnel. Of course he does not, and neither do I.

Returning to the question raised by my distinguished friend from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] I wish to read, with the permission of the Senator from South Dakota, a letter which I received today from the Secretary of State relative to this particular reservation.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, March 14, 1967.

Hon. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: In response to your inquiry, I am pleased to give my views regarding a reservation proposed to the US-USSR Consular Convention now before the Senate.

This reservation would provide that American consular officers in the Soviet Union should have the "same right to free expression" in Russia as a Soviet consular officer would have in the United States. In addition, it would stipulate that there would be "no limit on the number of American newsmen" in Russia.

The Consular Convention is an instrument regulating the status and functions of consular personnel. It would destroy its usefulness for that important purpose if we attempted to use it as a vehicle for re-making Soviet society, however desirable it seems to us that steps should be taken in the USSR to make it a free society. I share the concern for reducing and eliminating barriers to the free expression and circulation of ideas. However, it is my strongly held judgment that this cannot be done by means of reservations to the Consular Convention. The immediate consequence of an effort to do so in this way would be to kill the Convention.

Please do not hesitate to call on me if I can provide any further information or assistance.

Sincerely,

DEAN RUSK.

I wish to point out that today, in the Soviet Union, there are 21 accredited American correspondents, and I understand that there will soon be a 22d. Conversely, in the United States today, there are 22 accredited Soviet correspondents. Are we going to tell the Soviet Union how many American correspondents they must take into their country, and, in return, is the Soviet Union going to tell us? Of course not.

Mr. MUNDT. I wish to comment a little bit in response to this latest letter from the Secretary of State.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I have more, too.

Mr. MUNDT. I would not doubt it. We have had a blizzard of them lately. I live in blizzard country, as does the Senator from Montana, and we know how to operate in a blizzard. One must move early so as not to get smothered by a blizzard. I believe the letters are now four in number.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Speaking of letters, this is not the first blizzard of letters encountered during this treaty's consideration.

Mr. MUNDT. No, but it is one of the biggest. I must say that.

I shall comment on what the Secretary of State said. I admire him greatly. The record will show that I have done a better job in supporting his policies from this side of the aisle than have some of the colleagues of the distinguished majority leader from his side of the aisle. I speak about him as one who listened to his logic and who has supported him when I thought he was correct.

The first statement he makes is that there should not be incorporated any reservations in this treaty which would tend to direct activities of consular officials or tend to make a free society from a closed society. We have already incorporated something that is significant and unprecedented in that connection when we incorporated the immunity provision. That has never been there before, and if we are going to go that far and acquiesce and appease the Russians, I see no reason why we should not get a little bit of something incorporated in the treaty which will protect the rights, the authority, and the functioning of our consular officers who go there not to commit murder, but to try to show the American picture to the Soviet populace.

We are asked to give them this unprecedented freedom with immunity which includes espionage, rape, murder, and sabotage. Our consular officers should have the right to express themselves publicly just as the Soviet ambassadorial people in consular offices have the right to express themselves in this country.

The second phase of the Secretary's letter—and I do not blame the Secretary of State for this, and probably letter No. 5 will correct it—but he dealt with the wrong copy of the reservation. I suspect that is not his fault, but mine.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is probably mine, but——

Mr. MUNDT. No, it is in his letter, but I plead guilty. I think he has been so busy writing letters that he has not had time to read the RECORD.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Not at all. This was in response to an inquiry from me. I was under the impression that the Senator was offering his free press reservation, or whatever he calls it.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct, but let me say it was an error on my part. The first printed version of my reservation did not contain the final clause. The Senate now has before it the corrected and complete version, to which the Secretary's letter did not relate.

The first clause of the reservation is now before us, and reads as follows:

> . . . not to impose or enforce any limitation on the number of United States citizens permitted to be in the Soviet Union at any time as representatives of the United States press which would effectively reduce it below the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States.

He ignored, however, the second clause—and I do not criticize him for that because, as I say, there was an error in the language in the first reservation. However, he avoided entirely the most significant part of the reservation now before us which reads as follows:

> Or to impose upon them any conditions of travel or objective reporting which do not prevail for Soviet press representatives within the United States.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield right there?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH in the chair). Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. MUNDT. I think the Senator will agree that the Secretary's letter does not respond to that clause in the reservation.

Of course I am now happy to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Am I to understand from what the Senator seems to imply, that representatives of the Soviet press in this country have "carte blanche" to travel to any part of this country?

Mr. MUNDT. I did not say that. I said that we should have the same right to travel over there that they have to travel here. While it is not "carte blanche," there is a whale of a lot of latitude as to what Russian journalists enjoy here.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It seems to me I recall that some of our press representatives have traveled to various parts of Asiatic Russia. They have traveled to places such as Alma-Ata. They have traveled in the maritime provinces, although not, in recent years, to Vladivostok. They have traveled in the areas which used to be known as Russian Turkestan. They have gone down into some of the Asiatic emirates such as Bukhara and Samarkand, along the southern rim of Asiatic Russia.

Mr. MUNDT. So far as I know—and I desire to be corrected by the majority leader if I am wrong—if he has the facts to correct me, the Soviet press has the complete right to go anywhere in this country which does not involve areas connected with our national security.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I have a statement here which I should like to read, with the Senator's permission.

Mr. MUNDT. Surely. I would be happy to listen to it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. We impose travel restrictions and controls on Soviet press representatives which are comparable to those placed on our press representatives in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes, we put them on as a quid pro quo, as a protest, but not because we originated them here.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does not the Senator think that we should operate on a quid pro quo basis?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes, and it should be incorporated in the reservation, so that it will be determined not by the Russian formula, but by the American formula.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does not the Senator think that the formula is being determined by the Department of State in this respect?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not. I think that the Russians have moved in and said that certain areas over there are offbounds, and then, as a belated protest, we make some manifestation of the same kind over here.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do not think that it is always so one sided. I think there are occasions when we have undertaken the initiative and the Russians have reacted in kind. I think, although I cannot state this accurately, that the Russians have done so more often than we have.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that is right.

Mr. President, I invite the attention of my Republican colleagues in the Senate to the fact that a curious phenomenon presents itself to me, as I am sure it must to them. I allude to the fact that whenever the present administration has a real, sticky problem where it is not quite sure of itself and feels it is running contrary to the cross-currents of American public opinion, this administration asserts, "This thing originated under the Eisenhower administration."

Mr. MANSFIELD. It did.

Mr. MUNDT. For a long time they tried to say that our war in Vietnam originated under the Eisenhower administration. Finally, Mr. Eisenhower spoke out and said, that at the time he left office, that there were less than 500 Americans in Vietnam, that none of them was engaged in any belligerent activities, that there were only two casualties in Vietnam during the entire Eisenhower administration, and both were caused by traffic accidents.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. MUNDT. In just a second. Thus, I point out that, rightfully or wrongfully—and I have supported President Johnson in his war efforts—I think it is a little bit unfortunate that whenever the administration gets itself into a real, tough situation, they try to put the blame on Eisenhower.

As I pointed out earlier, when we did initiate these consular conversations, they were initiated under Eisenhower. They were initiated during the time we were not at war, we were not involved in fighting in Vietnam. Certainly, our boys were not being killed then by weapons being supplied by the Soviet Union, whom we are now asked to embrace in this treaty. I think these are undisputable facts which should be placed in the record.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator does not mean to imply that the Senator from Montana, who now is addressing him, ever made any such remark about President Eisenhower, implicating him in our present difficulties——

Mr. MUNDT. No, sir, I do not, but I point out that it has been made by members of the administration, of which the distinguished Senator from Montana is an important member. However, he cannot be held responsible for every statement made by every member of his administration.

Mr. MANSFIELD. But the Senator from Montana does say and does reiterate, and the Senator from South Dakota agrees with the statement, that President Eisenhower and his Vice President, Richard Nixon, were both responsible for the initiation of this convention now before us. I think that is a matter of fact and I believe they should be given credit.

Mr. MUNDT. There is no argument about that, but let us put the whole story in the record. That was done before the war—a war which we are now fighting and in which we are deeply involved, and the ramifications of which, in relationship to this treaty, comprise the main reason why the Senator from South Dakota is opposing the treaty so vigorously.

It should also be said—and the Senator from Montana will not dispute this because I think he was in the committee room when the Secretary of State testified to this effect—that the immunity provisions were not included in the Eisenhower proposal. They came at the insistence of the Soviets, long after the conversations had been negotiated and when they were moving toward finality.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would not deny that. As a matter of fact, we agreed to do what the Soviets requested. They did not insist. So far as the immunity provisions are concerned, we agreed because we thought it was in our interest, too; but may I now get back to something else, so long as President Eisenhower's name has been brought in. If the Senator will turn to page 134 of the hearings on the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union, he will find there a statement made by President Eisenhower, dated February 2, 1967, which reads as follows:

> Replying to questions concerning my opinion as to the value of a Consular Convention with the U.S.S.R., I cite these items from the record:
>
> At the Geneva Summit Conference in 1955 I pointed out to the Soviet Leaders that there existed unnecessary restrictions on the flow between us of ideas and I suggest that the barriers which now impede opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world for peaceful, friendly purposes, be lowered.
>
> In July of 1959 Vice President Nixon touched on this subject with Mr. Kozloz, Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, and suggested that the United States establish a consulate in Leningrad wtih the Soviets establishing one in New York.
>
> When Chairman Khrushchev visited me at Camp David in September 1959, Secretary of State Herter renewed this proposal to Foreign Minister Gromyko and also suggested that a Consular Convention be negotiated. Such a convention was complete and signed in 1964.
>
> I have not changed my belief that such a convention is in our national interest; that it will not impair our national security; that it should enlarge our opportunities to learn more about the Soviet people, and that it is necessary to assure better protection for the many thousands of Americans who visit the Soviet Union each year.

I believe that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] was the one who raised the question and brought it to the attention of the committee. I do not know whether the distinguished Senator from South Dakota was in the room at that time or not. I was not there, because I had to be elsewhere.

Mr. MUNDT. I was not present at the time either, but I read the hearings. One of the witnesses I could bring into this Chamber—if I could—would be Mr. Dwight Eisenhower, who said he believed it was necessary to remove some restrictions on the flow of ideas. My free-press, free-movement, good-faith reservation, as it is involved in executive reservation No. 1, is a step which moves in that direction.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. I am a little uncertain as to the meaning or effectiveness of the first provision in the Senator's proposal. It states, "To permit the distribution to the Soviet press," and so on and so forth. We recognized that the Soviet Union is a closed society. It also has a censored press. It will accept press releases which it wishes to accept, and it will ignore others. It seems to me that there is no requirement in this first provision that this must be carried out.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct. There are no guarantees that any of these provisions will be complied with. That is why I say it is a good-faith reservation. If the Soviets comply with them, well and good. If they do not, if they insist on having one set of rules for us and another for them, and insist on a double standard of morality, we can, if we consider the provocation serious enough, take action to abrogate the treaty.

This certainly should be inherent in any good-faith treaty involving consular officers. We think they should have the same right of access to information and the same right of expression in one country as in another. The Senator from South Dakota is just plumb tired of further appeasement, and of just giving in to the Russians every time on the basis that, if we do not do this, they will not go along.

Mr. PROUTY. I wanted to clarify the matter.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I started to make a statement, but it looks as though I am giving it bit by bit. Part of the statement was that we already distribute to the Soviet press, through our embassy in that country, press releases which contain announcements of U.S. policy. We distribute such announcements in Moscow, and the Soviet Embassy distributes such announcements in Washington. Distribution, of course, does not guarantee publication, but the reservation proposed by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota does not represent its publication but only its distribution.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. If that is the right of the embassy, it should be the same right for consular officers. How in the world does the Senator logically argue that what we are asking for, which is something which is provided in the diplomatic relations, would kill the treaty if extended to the consular officers?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Because this is only part of the reservation offered by the distinguished Senator, and he knows it.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct, and the other part is more significant.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I must return to a committee which has been meeting all day.

Mr. MUNDT. Does the Senator rise to ask a question or to make a statement? I want to know whether he is for or against the reservation, so I can know who should yield the Senator time.

Mr. COOPER. I am against the reservation.

Mr. MUNDT. Without losing the floor, I yield so the Senator from Montana may yield time to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 5 minutes or such additional time as the Senator may need.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I wanted an opportunity to speak against the proposed reservations before I return to a committee which is sitting, and of which I am a member.

First, I should like to say to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] that the adoption of either of his reservations would change the contractual relationship which has been established by this convention and would require its renegotiation.

Before these reservations were proposed, the debate thus far has been directed to the merits of the convention before us. Objections to the convention, such as the fear of espionage, the immunity provision, the most-favored-nation clause, are upon the merits of the convention. I have spoken on these issues in support of the convention.

But the Senator's reservations introduce new propositions, which have nothing to do with the substance or purposes of the Consular Convention.

The first reservation which we will vote on goes, as the Secretary of State stated in his letter to the distinguished majority leader, to a subject which is beyond the scope of the Consular Convention and opens up an entirely new field for negotiation.

We approve the proposition that the United States representatives of the press in the Soviet Union be equal in number to the Soviet press representation in the United States. We desire that they shall have as free access to areas of the parts of the Soviet Union as Soviet representatives have here. But the reservation deals with the question of information which would be properly the subject of new negotiations with the Soviet Union. The reservation simply sidesteps the subject matter and the merits of the convention before us—a convention which I believe is beneficial to our country—and is an indirect way of striking down the convention.

I may not have an opportunity to speak again on the second reservation proposed by the senior Senator from South Dakota, but the same principle is involved.

The second reservation proposes that the Consular Convention will not come into effect until the war in Vietnam is over. Now every one of us wants an end to the war——

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, because he is speaking about my reservation, it says until the war there is over or until the Commander in Chief, President Johnson, can advise the Senate that it is not being prolonged solely because the Soviets are supplying arms.

Mr. COOPER. I accept the correction: either that the war is over or that the Soviet Union has ceased to supply arms. I was speaking to the purpose of his reservation.

That the war may be brought to an honorable end is the hope of all of us, and the hope of the American people. But the real question is whether the adoption of the reservation would have any effect at all upon bringing the war to a close or shortening it. I do not think so, and I do not believe that the Senate thinks so.

Neither do I believe that the ratification of the convention will lessen Soviet assistance. Then shall we say from emotion, that we will forever foreclose agreements with the Soviet Union of value to the United States and not affecting our security? Or shall we undertake steps which in time may help avoid the kind of confrontation that we have now in Vietnam?

I would not be so optimistic as to say that this convention will have any immediate influence on the Soviet Union. But the second reservation, based on emotions, could be asserted against any kind of negotiations with the Soviet Union. A function of foreign policy, whether initiated by the Executive or by the advice of the Senate, is to explore, to find out if steps can be taken to lessen tensions, which inexorably, over the years, have brought us into confrontation with the Soviet Union.

This Consular Convention is a small step, but it is a step helpful to the United States.

I simply wish to state again the reasons which lead me to oppose the reservations: First, because they have nothing at all to do with the merits of the convention; second, because I believe they are a method of indirectly killing this convention; and, third, because I think they appeal solely to emotion and have no possible effect on ending the war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, could we have an accounting from the chronicler as to how the time has elapsed so far?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota has 79 minutes, and the Senator from Arkansas has 73 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Remaining, or exhausted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Remaining.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I have promised to yield to some of the others who support the reservation and oppose the treaty, but I do wish to wrap up one phase of this argument before yielding.

As I said at the beginning, on the matter of these reservations we have two issues before us. The first is, Does the Senate really believe that it should have the constitutional power today, so frequently exercised by our great predecessors in the past, to advise before we consent to a treaty?

The second issue is, Do these particular reservations have merit? Do they express the sentiment of the Senate? Do they comport with the convictions of a majority of Senators, or do they not?

I have not started to discuss the second aspect, the merits of the reservation, because I should like to establish, at least from the standpoint and position of the Senator from South Dakota, that the Senate has altogether too frequently in recent years neglected its power of advice; and that if we accept the statements on pages 6406 and 6407, contained in the first flurry of letters which we have received from the Department of State on the subject—three of them, all nestled there together—then we accept the doctrine of this administration, that they do not believe that Senators should ever tinker with a treaty. They can talk about it, they can write letters, they can give advice, but may not incorporate their advice in a reservation or an amendment.

Every Senator, and I believe every schoolchild, for that matter, knows that this is the only kind of advice we can give which is meaningful, which is significant, which is effective. I submit that we should consider that fact long and hard, as this generation of Senators, with responsibility for maintaining the constitutional prerogatives of this august body, before we knuckle under to the argument that—

> In treaty making, all the Senate can do is consent or dissent; that advice constitutional provision was for the historians. They just put that in as sort of extra verbiage at the writing of the Constitution in Philadelphia.

Mr. President, many, many times in our history the Senate has exercised this prerogative of meaningful advice fearlessly, unaffected by arm twisting or importunity, or blizzards of letters. Senators have stood on their own rights, in their constitutional capacity, and have said, "We have the right to advise, and we will write our advice in the treaty, where it counts."

Think of the Connally reservation, and the reservation involving the World Court. Those seven little words that Tom Connally of Texas insisted that we put into that reservation remain there today. It must have served America well, because it has never been removed. It was written by a Senate that had the stamina to act on its own constitutional rights, instead of yielding to the seductive call:

> You can say anything you want to, you can pass advice resolutions, you can have expressions of the sense of the Senate, but don't put your advice where it counts—in the treaty as a reservation or as an amendment.

I submit that the Senate ought to decide whether we have some advice function in connection with treatymaking, or whether we do not. Either we are going to timidly and weakly foresake our constitutional prerogative, or we are going to stand up and exercise it.

Whether specific reservations are wise or unwise is a matter of debate. There, certainly, we have a right to disagree; but we should not disagree about our right to offer them, and to have a vote on them, and to have them adopted, and we should not be frightened away from our responsibility by people whose guess—no better than ours—is that if we make a reservation, we kill the treaty. That is one man's individual speculation, Mr. President, and it seems to me it is a great confession of failure on the part of the State Department to say:

> Look, if you put a reservation in, we cannot argue very well; we go in half beaten when we start. We have been playing the part of appeasers so long we cannot now function as successful advocates. Do not charge us with another job; we know in advance we are going to fail.

I wish we had a State Department that had more confidence in its advocacy and its abilities than that. I submit that it is unconscionable to say that we should not consider reservations because the State Department indicates that they have not the ability or the aptitude to carry out the wishes of the Senate and the people of America, in trying to bring about a new meeting of minds on treaty issues which are in controversy.

Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN] would like to have me yield him some time, or is it the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA]?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from South Dakota yields 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. I thank the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. President, the pending reservation to the counselor treaty with the Soviet Union provides that there will be no exchange of instruments—in other words, that the treaty will not take effect—until the Soviet Union has agreed to two conditions, namely:

First, that the United States be allowed to distribute to the Soviet press announcements of U.S. public policy, both foreign and domestic, and answers to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press; and,

Second, that the Soviet Union remove restrictions on the number of U.S. press representatives permitted in that country so long as that number does not exceed the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States; further, that there shall be no restriction of expression or movement imposed upon our American press corps representatives in Russia which do not prevail for Russian press representatives in the United States.

It will thus be seen that adoption of this reservation will not require renegotiation of the treaty with the Soviet Union, as would be the case of an amendment to the treaty, and that the only thing affected would be the time the treaty would become operative. Once the Soviet Union agrees to the two actions specified, the treaty would go into effect.

The net effect of such an agreement by the Soviet Union would be that the open skies policy advanced by President Eisenhower would be substantially achieved. It is true that the agreement to merely permit distribution of press announcements to the Soviet press would not necessarily mean that they would be printed for the peoples of the Soviet Union to read or hear. However, if there were a calculated effort by the Soviet Union to suppress such press announcements, there would be ways and means found to let the peoples of the Soviet Union know that the announcements had been furnished the Soviet press and that these announcements had been suppressed. Naturally this would cause the peoples to become suspicious of the Soviet press—as some of them already are—and, in the long run, the government would find itself losing support of the peoples who want to read these announcements. It is, therefore, more likely that a substantial number of these press announcements would, in fact, be published.

I do not know of anyone in the Senate who does not wish to see better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, the tensions which have existed between our two governments have been perpetuated because of the failure of the government of the Soviet Union to open its skies so that its peoples may know the facts—all of the facts, and not just those facts or distortions which some government censor sees fit to have printed. It was this realization which prompted advancement of the open-skies policy.

Implementation of that policy has been too long delayed. Now, with the proposal for the United States and the Soviet Union to enter for the first time in recent history into a bilateral treaty, it would seem that now is the time to obtain some action in pursuance of that policy. The Consular Treaty, as now drafted, does not even scratch the surface as far as this policy is concerned. It has been heralded as a step in easing tensions between our two Governments, but even assuming that it is in fact such a step, the step is so minute as to make it questionable when one considers the negative aspects of the treaty. The limited nuclear test ban treaty was heralded as a step in easing tensions, but the record, since its ratification, indicates that the tensions have increased, rather than decreased. Moreover, the test ban treaty was multilateral, not bilateral.

The leaders of the Soviet Union are quite aware that their agreement to the two points of this reservation would ease tensions between our Governments. Accordingly, if they are indeed interested in easing tensions, there should be no difficulty in their making such an agreement. In short, what this reservation would do would be to really test out the intentions of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union meets the test, then we can proclaim that the treaty has served as a meaningful step in the easing of tensions. If the test is not met, then we should not delude ourselves into thinking that the treaty will serve to ease tensions. If anything, it could promote more tensions by causing the leaders of the Soviet Union to conclude that the United States is not particularly interested in pressing for an open-skies policy.

In other words, Mr. President, let those who vote on this pending reservation be under no misimpression. A "No" vote will be a repudiation of our open-skies policy. It will be so interpreted by the leaders of the Soviet Union. My colleagues who are thinking of voting against this reservation may console themselves by saying they have no such intention; but their intentions are not going to govern the thinking of the leaders of the Soviet Union, nor the propaganda which will pour out if this reservation is rejected.

I say to my colleagues: "Are you for an open-skies policy? If you are, then your aye vote is essential. If you are not, then vote no, and do not again be heard if the Government of the United States finds its positions distorted or misrepresented in the Soviet press."

Many people who have visited the Soviet Union report that the average person living in the Soviet Union is not a member of the Communist Party, is hardworking, peaceloving, and inclined to be friendly toward the people of the United States. These people in the Soviet Union crave accurate, factual information about the United States. If their Government would agree to the points in this reservation, the opportunities for improved relations with the people themselves would be immeasurably enhanced. Most of us in the Senate have from time to time approved people-to-people programs which bring our people into contact with these people, and it would seem to follow that those who have approved such a policy would support this reservation, so that such a policy would be given an even greater opportunity to become effective.

I hope that this reservation will be supported, and I shall most certainly vote for it.

I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator from Iowa for his very informative and persuasive contribution.

I now yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Iowa for pointing out the effect that this measure would have on the open-skies policy.

I have listened to the debate for many days. It seems from time to time that we get far afield from the actual facts involved, when we talk in terms of a free press.

It is within the recollection of this Senator that was one of the original conditions agreed to by President Roosevelt when he first recognized the Soviet Government. That condition, along with other conditions—most of which were never carried out—were agreed to.

We are now talking in terms of how free the press is in Russia and how much the people there are permitted to know. I can tell the Senator that I know something about the original cultural exchange.

We sent to Russia a motion picture which they selected. It was called "Grapes of Wrath." That picture depicted, as we know, the unfortunate stories of people in the Dust Bowl. The Russians selected this picture as one of the first that they would like to show.

They then wrote their own foreword in which they said that the Grapes of Wrather depicted the highest scale in the social system in America. This was obviously an attempt to propagandize dishonestly. I recognize that happened a number of years ago.

I am told from time to time that the character, and conditions have changed. However, every time I look for concrete solid ground to convince myself that there has been change, I do not find it.

I wonder really how much change there has been?

A few moments ago the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] said: "What result will this have on the war in Vietnam?

I will tell the Senator what effect it will have on the war in Vietnam. The United States made it crystal clear at the very outset that we were going to pursue a firm policy designed to preserve a policy of self-determination as laid down by President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and now President Johnson. I think that possibly the war in Vietnam might never have occurred if it had not been for the Russians. The nations in southeast Asia were afraid. They are weak nations. They stood alone, and until we came in in force, we had been advertised by China as a "paper tiger."

The countries of southeast Asia were told, "America will not answer aggression; they will not defend you." Many doubted whether we would. And our counterpropaganda, for some reason or other never seemed to get our story over.

The result of our firm stand is evident. We heard this story spelled out by the valiant President of the Philippines when he was in this country. He pointed out to us that when the people of southeast Asia realized that America was serious about protecting the small nations from aggression, from being overrun, and from having this atheistic ideology imposed upon them, they began to take heart, to have new hope.

If you look deeply enough into our international problem in France, you will find that one of the basic reasons for this problem was stated by Charles de Gaulle many years ago:

> My valiant friends the Americans have suggested a knife with which I may defend myself, that has neither a handle nor a blade.

Why? Because he felt left out of the control of the use of atomic weapons; and he did not believe that, if the necessity arose, we would come to the protection of France. He doubted our pledge. This was the basis of the problem, going back some years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. The Senator from Kentucky has said that the ratification of this treaty will have no effect on the war. On the contrary. Many fail to comprehend why we are contracting with Russian when at this very moment, the Russians supply North Vietnam with the tools of war used against our forces. I am afraid that the gains and advances that have been made in the last year and a half or 2 years will be for naught. The tensions that we speak of in the Senate will be nothing as compared with the tensions that will build up through southeast Asia—in Pakistan, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Indonesia, and clear across to the Philippines, if our commitment is not clear. That is why the President of the Philippines came to this country. He is concerned.

We are the beacon and defender of freedom. We are in a position now to deal not from the standpoint of appeasement. We have done so, in my memory, for 30 years, and it seems that our troubles increase. The more we accommodate, the more the opposition demands and asks for.

I say that this is the time—I believe this truly, and I agree completely with the Senator from South Dakota—when America should say that for once we will make the conditions. We will say that this agreement will be a completely two-way street—and please God that it does turn out to be a two-way street. But it must be on quid pro quo; it must be on an even basis. And we must not under any circumstances allow our valiant allies in southeast Asia to suspect for one moment that we have changed our determination, as expressed time and time again by the President of the United States, to resist aggression and to preserve the right of self-determination.

This is a poker game, you might say, but it is a very important one, and at the present time we should stand pat.

The suggestion of the distinguished Senator from South Dakota is a good one. It will strengthen this treaty and make it more palatable, and certainly will continue to give hope to our valiant allies that America has not changed its policy, that we are still determined that the free nations of the world shall have the right to determine their own policy for the future.

I thank the distinguished Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator from California for his very helpful remarks, for his valiant support, and especially for moving this debate back on target, which was essential because of the colloquy engaged in by the Senator from Kentucky, who spoke about espionage, immunities, and the number of consulates.

As anyone who has followed this debate in the RECORD or in the newspapers must by now realize, the main focus of opposition on the part of those of us opposing ratification of the treaty has to do with the protection of Americans. But we believe that we should give more heed to the protection of 500,000 Americans in South Vietnam than to the 9 Americans, on the average, who get into trouble while visiting Russia. It is a rather startling comparison.

If 18,000 people are fortunate enough to have the wherewithal, the means, and the time to travel in Russia—and I am glad they can do so—and if 9 of them get in trouble, we should try to protect them. You can read the letters from the State Department in the RECORD and you can see that that is all that is contemplated—to try to protect those who get in trouble. The fellow who does not get in trouble does not have to be protected. Nine of them get in trouble annually, so we are going to protect them—a curious kind of protection, by the way, which provides that they can notify their relatives and the State Department that they are in the hoosegow, and the consular officer can come in for a visit.

However, when it can be demonstrated, as I for one believe, that by doing that you lessen the protection of 500,000 young Americans who are not traveling in Vietnam for pleasure or profit—who do not have the good fortune to visit Russia but have the misfortune to be up to their navels in the slime and the mud of the boondocks of Vietnam, fighting for freedom—you have to balance in your own mind, before you vote, just which group of Americans you are interested in protecting, because there is a contradiction there. When you enhance this protection for the one group, you reduce it for the other.

We had better examine the relationship of this treaty to East-West trade and the rest of the program, before we finally vote.

Mr. President, I am happy to yield such time as he may desire to the distinguished Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. HANSEN. I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from South Dakota in permitting me the opportunity to speak briefly on this subject.

I am deeply concerned about the consular treaty, because, in my judgment, it represents one of the most important votes that I will cast in the Senate. I hope that I may arrive at the correct decision. It will be a difficult decision to come to, because I realize that on both sides of the aisle are Senators equally as sincere as am I, who are examining their consciences and attempting to determine how best to advance the interests of our great country and to protect its citizens.

Much has been said about our concern for the 18,000 Americans in the Soviet Union and our interest in attempting to protect them. The Senator from South Dakota has pointed out that all of the 18,000 Americans who were in Russia last year were there of their own volition. Undoubtedly, a number were members of the business community, who were attempting to advance their own personal economic interests. Nevertheless, I subscribe to the opinion, held almost universally in this country, that we should protect our citizens wherever they may be. However, I do not believe that we can separate, on the one hand, a consideration of the ratification of the consular treaty with, on the other hand, the overall impact such ratification may have on the war in Vietnam.

In this context, I should like to read from the January 16, 1967, issue of Barron's magazine:

> Last October the President held out the prospect of a whole network of bridges to the Red countries, including the Soviet Union: "Our task is to achieve a reconciliation with the East—a shift from coexistence to peaceful engagement. We seek healthy economic and cultural relations with the Communist states." Specifically, he announced: 1) clearance for the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits for Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria; 2) the Bank's readiness to finance export of American equipment to a large Soviet auto plant which Italian Fiat will build; 3) imminent decontrol of certain commodities for sale to East Europe.
>
> Six days later some 400 items previously barred from export to the Soviet bloc without special license—including metal manufactures, machinery and chemical products—were expunged from the Commerce Department's Commodity Control List.

We all know that only a few years ago, 47 percent of the labor force of Soviet Russia was tied down on the farms of that country to provide the food and fiber required by the Soviet people. Compare that with the situation in our country. At that same time, only 8 percent of our labor force was involved in providing what we required in this country. Eight percent of our American labor force not only did this job; they produced more than we could consume, adding to our surpluses.

I contend that if we assign the proper priorities to this treaty consideration, which I think is our first responsibility as Senators, it must be to consider it in the light of our overall world involvement at the present time. To my mind, there can be no question that the early conclusion of the war in Vietnam is our number one concern.

I submit that anything we do which will strengthen Soviet Russia will make that country better able to supply war materiel to the Vietcong and to the North Vietnamese people, and will militate against the best interests of this country.

I believe we cannot ignore the fact that if we make it safer and make it more easy for Americans to travel in the Soviet Union, we may reasonably expect more businessmen from the United States to go to Soviet Russia, and to other satellite countries, as well, to enter into business contracts with those nations to provide the people behind the Iron Curtain with goods and services and products that will relieve them of the responsibility they presently have, and enable them, thereby, to make a greater contribution to our enemy in Vietnam.

I am concerned about the 18,000 Americans in Soviet Russia. I am concerned, despite the fact that they have gone there of their own choice. But I am more concerned with the fact that we have between 415,000 and 500,000 Americans in Vietnam who, for the most part, are not there of their own volition, but are there to protect our country and to support our flag.

That we should consider the care and better protection of 18,000 American tourists, when that effort runs counter to more complete protection of our servicemen in Vietnam, goes against my grain.

Mr. President, I do not know yet how I shall vote on all of the reservations, on all of the understandings, or on the consular treaty itself, but I must say that if I can judge the temper of the people of my State correctly—and I came through a campaign there only last fall—I am certain of one thing: The people of Wyoming are more interested in bringing the war in Vietnam to a satisfactory conclusion as quickly as possible than they are in anything else. I hope that the time will soon come when that conflict has been resolved satisfactorily in the interests of this country; that we may then further display our good intentions to all of the world, including Soviet Russia, to say to them, "We will build these bridges, we will demonstrate our concern for humanity wherever it may be; we will try to contribute to the reasonable realization of the aspirations of peace everywhere, and we will work for peace." But I cannot believe on the basis of what I now know that the ratification of this treaty by the Senate, and the attendant acts that are sure to follow will advance the interests of this country. Rather, I think they will make more difficult our task in Vietnam.

I thank the Senator.

(At this point Mr. HOLLINGS took the chair.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HANSON. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, first I wish to congratulate the Senator on a powerful presentation of the basic issues involved in this discussion.

Certainly the Senator's argument is sound and persuasive with respect to the 18,000 Americans traveling annually in Russia voluntarily, because of their good fortune or ample means, so that seeking pleasure or seeking profit they are privileged to be there; and to compare them in this fifth year of the war, as he has done, with the 500,000 Americans in Vietnam, who are there not because they prefer to be there, who are not there because of pleasure or profit, and who are not there because they have the wherewithal to be there, but because it is their responsibility as men in uniform to go where the Commander in Chief sends them. I would hope that we might compare another statistic.

If we accept the word of the State Department, between 8½ and 9 percent of those who go to Russia annually get in trouble. Let us say that the figure is nine out of 18,000. The figure speaks well for the good behavior of Americans, and it does not speak too badly for the attitude of the Russians in arresting people unnecessarily. I suspect that a larger proportion of American tourists traveling in the States would get in trouble. Let us, however, use the figure of nine.

We are asked to take this venture into the deep blue yonder with an unprecedented treaty to give the nine people what some believe to be protection, which to me is not protection at all since it does not go to the cause of release or freedom, but simply goes to the right of notification and consultation.

We should be aware of the fact that against those nine who get in trouble in Russia every year, more than nine American boys are dying in Vietnam every day solely because of the arms supplied by Soviet Russia. Perhaps we do not think enough about that statistic. Perhaps we do not think about that comparison. Maybe we should now be thinking about those servicemen we should be trying to protect instead of spending weeks, and almost months, debating a treaty which, at best, cannot do much for many. We might be better off, in my opinion, debating various alternatives confronting us and trying to bring this war to a quicker end successfully, instead of doing something which in his heart every Senator knows is but to give encouragement and a greater opportunity to the Soviets to send their torrents of arms, as they are now doing, to Vietnam to prolong the war.

I salute the Senator from Wyoming for bringing this point to our attention so graphically.

I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, a coauthor of the pending reservation.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, it was with much interest that I listened to the majority leader advance his position regarding the scope of the powers and duties of the Senate with respect to treatymaking.

Advice and consent, according to the Macomber letter, is, apparently, "Yes" or "No." That does not comport with the history of the Senate in its consideration of treaties. Nor was this limited area for action ever contemplated to be the Senate role. In fact, until the last few days before the Constitution was agreed upon, it was proposed that the Senate would enter into treaties; the President was to have carried them out.

That is borne out by the history of the treatymaking power, section 2, clause 2, of article II of the Constitution, dealing with the executive department. I refer to volume 39 of the Constitution of the United States of America annotated. Clause 2 reads:

> He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provide two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

No one disputes the fact that it is for the President to negotiate treaties. The negotiation of treaties is an Executive monopoly.

But the Senate has several options available in performing the functions delegated it by the Constitution. It may consent unconditionally to a proposed treaty, it may refuse its consent, or it may stipulate the conditions in the form of amendments to the treaty or of reservations to the act of ratification. The distinction between these last two alternatives is simply that an amendment, if accepted by the President and the other party or parties to the treaty, change it for all parties, while reservations limit only the obligations of the United States thereunder.

The act of ratification for the United States is the President's act, but he may not ratify unless the Senate has consented to it by the required two-thirds of the Senators present, which signifies two-thirds of a quorum. Otherwise the consent rendered would not be that of the Senate as organized under the Constitution to do business.

Conversely, the President may decide to abandon the negotiation, if dissatisfied with amendments affixed by the Senate to a proposed treaty or with the reservations stipulated by it to ratification. He is entirely free to do so.

Most of what I have just said is set forth in Volume 39 of the Constitution of the United States annotated. A number of authorities are cited there to support that interpretation and description of the practice.

The statement of any member of the Department of State that the adoption of any particular reservation would result in killing the convention is a speculation to which he is entitled, if he so chooses. However, it is an area for his speculation only. It is not his province to advise or consent. We can also imagine that Members of this body should be somewhat constrained regarding the wisdom of entering into a treaty which, in their solemn judgment, they think would be harmful and detrimental to the position of this country and to the safety and freedom of its citizens.

The Senator from South Dakota has stated the premise very well. When we get emotional about 18,000 people traveling in the Soviet Union and say that we want to extend them every protection possible, we should also have some consideration for the 500,000 boys who will shortly, or before the end of this war, very likely be engaged in battle in Vietnam, the continuance of which is made possible by the other party, on the enemy side, contributing weapons to the war; namely, the U.S.S.R.

Accordingly, I believe that in that context, what we are doing here is proper. Certainly, the reservation is good.

It is quite an observation to make, in the letter from Mr. Macomber, that this reservation would destroy the Consular Convention. His letter parallels the letter signed by the Secretary of State which was read on the floor this afternoon for the first time, that—

> The Consular Convention is an instrument regulating the status and functions of consular personnel. It would destroy its usefulness for that important purpose if we attempted to use it as a vehicle for remaking Soviet society, however desirable it seems to us that steps should be taken in the USSR to make it a free society.

So, what are we to do? Must we cast the treaty in such a fashion that the Soviet Union will want it? We are charged with making concessions. We are told that we are supposed to accommodate. We must refrain from provocative actions and give a monopoly on all of these actions to the other side.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield at that point?

Mr. HRUSKA. I do not believe in it.

I do not believe that we should let this opportunity go by without speaking up for the substance of the reservation which the Senator from South Dakota has drafted and which he now advocates.

I am happy to yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is a distinguished lawyer and a constitutional student. He is also a member of the Committee on the Judiciary. I am, therefore, happy indeed to listen to his analysis of the constitutional function of the Senate as intended by our constitutional fathers in connection with treatymaking.

If we accept the doctrine contained in the three State Department letters, it would be applicable to any treaty, at any time, and would mean that from here on in, treatymaking would be exclusively an executive function, that the Senate could assent or dissent but, from the standpoint of providing meaningful advice, that constitutional right would be denied to us.

I think that the Senator has read into the RECORD some important documentation in that connection, and I thank him for it.

Let me ask this question about the point to which he alluded at the end, when he quoted from the Macomber letter, to the effect that the treaty deals with the functioning of consular offices. What could deal more directly with the functioning of consular offices than the proposed reservation in which the distinguished Senator from Nebraska and I have joined, which would guarantee on both sides of the water the same rights of action, movement, contact, and reporting, and which would guarantee to their press attachés and other representatives of the press the same freedom of movement, the same freedom of expression, the same freedom from being banished from the country if they said something which the government did not like, on both sides of the water?

It seems to me that if we are going to extend the unprecedented function of the right to murder, steal, and sabotage with complete immunity, it certainly is not novel or startling that we should also ask for these normal procedures incorporated in our reservation to be incorporated in the treaty which would guarantee reciprocal action on both sides of the water.

Mr HRUSKA. If it is true, as has been said, that there is reciprocity as to the number of press representatives we have in the Soviet Union as compared with those who are here, and if it is true that there are no greater restrictions on travel on the part of our press representatives there than there is on their press representatives here; if this is all true, would not adoption of this reservation be a reasonable ground for the Soviet Union to say, "We want no part of it. It is true that we are granting reciprocity in numbers and travel but you have put it in the reservation and, therefore, we do not want any part of the Consular Treaty"?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator states the issue very well. It is incomprehensible to me how the State Department can have it both ways, arguing in the one instance that we are going to get this now and the Soviet Union has just got to operate on that basis; and arguing on the other hand that if we put this reservation in the treaty, if it is insisted upon, it will be a device for killing the treaty and that the Soviet Union will then reject the whole treaty. The Department of State is perfectly proper in arguing one point or the other, but when it constantly contradicts itself in its viewpoints, it seems to me it simply demonstrates the flimsiness of the whole attack upon our reservation. Obviously the State Department cannot have it both ways.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I have not been able to listen to all the arguments made on behalf of the reservation. Do I correctly understand that the purpose of the reservation is to establish an agreement under which the freedom of the press that will be allowed Russian newsmen and diplomatic attachés in the United States must also be given to our newsmen and our attachés in our consular offices in the Soviet Union?

Mr. MUNDT. Precisely. No more and no less; just as the provisions of the Consular Treaty provide an exact quid pro quo in the consular offices under both flags. We see no reason to treat newsmen any differently from the rest of our Americans over there.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The rest of the reservation provides that while the United States will allow Russian newsmen and attachés in consular offices all the freedom allowed in the United States as to written and oral expressions, the United States should also be given that same right within Russia; is that not correct?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is exactly correct. We have granted those permissions, and I am sure will continue to grant them, to the Russians over here. We simply cannot see why the Department of State insists on having a different standard of morality for our people over there, when we can put that provision in this treaty, where it will fit like a glove fits a hand. This is particularly so when we are cranking into other parts of the treaty, for the first time in American history, complete immunity.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In other words, unless the reservation is adopted, we are saying to Russia, "You can come to the United States with your consular officers and enjoy all the freedoms of the press and speech," while we will be yielding to restrictions in the exercise of those qualities of speaking and writing.

Mr. MUNDT. Not only that, but the Senate is now being called upon, in a roll call vote, to extend this advice, and the State Department will also be saying that we are advising that no reciprocity be created on these matters between the two countries. So we will be accessories to an agreement of appeasement if we accept this Consular Convention without reservation.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The next is a simple question, and it may answer itself as I put the question. What is the justice and propriety of allowing the attachés and publicity agents of the Russian consular offices in the United States to exercise full freedom of speech and writing while we agree to be restricted by the practices of the Communist dictatorship in Russia in what our consular attachés and publicity men might say to the Russian people?

Mr. MUNDT. Certainly, I can see no justice in it. I do not know how it occurred. I suspect that our negotiators at the treaty negotiating table simply did not have the determination and the drive and the positive convictions to insist upon this quid pro quo; on the basis, as the writing in the letters which have been referred to has shown, that we do not have the capacity or persuasive power to get the Soviet Union to agree. I gather this is what must have occurred at the conference table earlier, from what they send us in their letter writing now.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The reservation offered by Senators MUNDT, DOMINICK, and HRUSKA provides that the treaty shall be approved subject to the understanding that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall agree:

> (1) to permit the distribution thereof to the Soviet press or any segment thereof by United States diplomatic and consular officers of announcements of United States public policy, both foreign and domestic, and answers to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press.

Is that the first condition?

Mr. MUNDT. That is exactly the first clause of our reservation.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In other words, the authors of the reservation ask that the U.S. officers be permitted to tell the Russian people our position at the same time that the Russians are permitted to use the privilege of free speech and free press in the United States to either condemn our policies or attempt to destroy them?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is exactly right. It calls for complete reciprocity on both sides of the water.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It is more than reciprocity. It is equality of the application of the right of free speech.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that is a better word—equality of rights and privileges on both sides of the water.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The second condition of the reservation is that the Russians shall agree "not to impose or enforce any limitation on the number of U.S. citizens permitted to be in the Soviet Union at any time as representatives of the U.S. press which would effectively reduce them below the number of Soviet press representatives entering the United States."

Is it the purpose of this second condition to establish an equality in the right of sending press representatives to Russia by the United States and by Russia to the United States?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. Of course, the Senator did not conclude the clause, which also contains the words "or to impose upon them any conditions of travel or objective reporting which do not prevail for Soviet press representatives within the United States."

Mr. LAUSCHE. That is the last clause.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That it shall also

agree to objective reporting, and not impose on them conditions which do not prevail for Soviet press representatives within the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The substance of what the three Senators whose names I have mentioned are trying to do is give the United States the same opportunity, through free press and free speech, to reach the Russian people, in telling them of our economy and our social progress, as we give to the Russians, through our constitutional rights, the right to tell our people what they have done and allow them to tell what is wrong with our system of government.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator summarizes the purpose of our reservation with complete and total cogency. He is totally right.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Free speech has been the primary argument in most of the cases that have gone to the Supreme Court. Free speech is blessed above every other right in the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The reservation offered by Senators Mundt, Dominick, and Hruska deals with free speech, and nothing else. Am I correct?

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct—free speech and free movement.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It is anomalous that we talk about the right of free speech as being the primary right under our Constitution, and yet when we attempt to ask the Russians to give our attachés and diplomats the right of free speech, just as we give it to their representatives, in this country a howl is raised against the proposal.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator very much for a significant and helpful contribution.

Mr. President, I should like first to inquire how much time remains, and then ask for the attention of the majority leader to see whether we are nearing the end of the debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota has 22 minutes remaining; the Senator from Arkansas has 63 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. I reserve the remainder of my time, because we have consumed most of our time. I shall wait until we hear what the other side has to say.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse].

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, first?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, how much time does the Senator have left?

Mr. MUNDT. Twenty-two minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does the Senator intend to use all his time?

Mr. MUNDT. Depending on what the other side says, we are prepared to summarize in 10 or 15 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. After we hear from the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Pennsylvania, I think we shall be prepared to yield back the time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is a possibility.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as we consider reservations to the Consular Convention, I would like to call the attention of Members of the Senate to an editorial in the March 10 New York Times and point particularly to three points made in the editorial.

The first point made by the Times editorial is that—

> When the Senate adds amendments or reservations to a treaty, it is unilaterally changing the terms of a settled bargain. The practical effect of such action is really to reopen the negotiations and force the other party or parties to re-examine their previously offered approval.

Throughout this debate there has been the implication that Russia is very anxious for the consummation of this treaty. That is not the case. This treaty is the result of U.S. initiatives. Russia will take the position that she entered into a bargain with our negotiators, and she is willing to go through with that bargain, but if we want to attempt to rewrite the treaty, that is the end of the bargain; we will be the losers, and not Russia.

The second point, made succinctly and directly in the Times, is that—

> The reservations proposed by the treaty's foes are irrelevant and unquestionably offered in hopes of making that agreement unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

Finally, the Times editorial observes that—

> The Consular Convention, which would benefit this country much more than it would Russia, deserves approval or defeat on its own merits. It should not be sandbagged by parliamentary trickery.

I think the use of the word "trickery" in the editorial is most unfortunate. I think the statement would have been true if they had said "parliamentary tactics," But, Mr. President, one never knows what motivations are; you have to be clairvoyant to know motivations.

However, the editorial is correct with respect to the fact that there is a great deal of parliamentary tactic involved in the offering of these reservations.

I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of the Times editorial, entitled "Treaties and the Senate," inserted in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Treaties and the Senate

Proposals in the Senate this week that reservations be attached to both the space treaty and the Soviet-American consular convention resurrect an old, recurrent and destructive constitutional problem.

It was George Washington who first had to wrestle with the dilemma created for a President when the Senate approved a treaty conditionally. Amendments and reservations added during Senate consideration of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919–20 played a key role in Woodrow Wilson's great defeat on the League of Nations.

A treaty is a contract negotiated by the executive branch with the government of one or more other countries. In the process there is normally hard bargaining and the final result usually represents a compromise in which everyone has made concessions. Thus when the Senate adds amendments or reservations to a treaty, it is unilaterally changing the terms of a settled bargain. The practical effect of such action is really to reopen the negotiations and force the other party or parties to re-examine their previously offered approval.

Every time the Senate exercises this privilege, it necessarily casts doubt upon the credibility of the President and his representatives, and weakens the bargaining power of the United States in the international arena. The Senate's power to do this is unquestioned, but it is equally unquestionable that this power is best used only to express the gravest of concerns, especially in a period of crisis such as is posed by the Vietnam war and efforts to end it.

Senator Gore's complaints about the fuzziness of some of the space treaty's language have considerable warrant, but the problems involved are scarcely weighty enough to endanger the treaty itself—and the historic benefits it promises—through the adoption of formal Senate reservations.

On the consular convention, the reservations proposed by the treaty's foes are irrelevant and unquestionably offered in hopes of making that agreement unacceptable to the Soviet Union. The tactics Senator Mundt and his allies are adopting amount to confession that they cannot halt two-thirds approval of the convention as it stands, and must therefore resort to subterfuges.

A victory for this maneuver would give Moscow an opportunity to accuse the United States of bad faith and thus cast a dark shadow over the negotiations now in progress on other imperative issues. The consular convention, which would benefit this country much more than it would Russia, deserves approval or defeat on its own merits. It should not be sandbagged by parliamentary trickery. Yesterday's initial votes on the treaty provided basis for optimism that it will not be.

Mr. MORSE. I shall also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record three other stories from the Washington Post.

The first is a column by Marquis Childs which appeared in the March 13 issue of the newspaper, entitled "Treaty Fight Threatens Détente." Mr. Childs observes that—

> Implied in the Mundt reservation, if the intent is sincere and not merely a maneuver to kill the treaty, is the belief that it can be a lever to compel the Soviets to stop their aid to North Vietnam and get the North Vietnamese to the peace table. It could under no circumstances have that result.

The second Washington Post story to be included in the Record appeared in the March 12 issue under the headline: "United States, Russian Moves Show 'Mutual Restraint'." The article is by Murrey Marder. He notes that by allowing Buel Ray Wortham to leave the Soviet Union the Soviets have broken a precedent and have thus shown a willingness to follow a policy of what might be called mutual example, mutual prudence or mutual restraint designed, as is the consular convention we are considering, to dispose of unnecessary irritations and to avoid confrontation on minor disputes.

The third story I would like to insert in the Record is from the March 13 issue of the Washington Post. It needs no explanation, for the headline tells the whole story in one sentence: "Rightwing Triggers Paper Blizzard To Smother Consular Pact."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, at the conclusion of my remarks, the three stories from the March 12 and 13, 1967, issues of the Washington Post to which I have referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibits 1, 2, and 3.)

Mr. MORSE. The articles I have just asked to have printed in the RECORD, constitute, in broad outline, the framework of my opposition to the reservations and my support of the treaty. Throughout this debate there has run, on the part of the proponents of the reservations, and particularly of the one now pending, an irrelevant argument; namely, the argument that "We ought to adopt this reservation because Russia is aiding the North Vietnamese in South Vietnam."

If there was ever an irrelevancy, that is it. Does anyone really think that our turning down this treaty, or adopting a reservation that will assure its nonacceptability, will save the life of one single American boy in Vietnam?

Mr. President, I thought that what we were trying to do, in part, outside of any connection with this treaty, was to try to work out a basis for negotiation, eventually, with the Russians and other countries, so that we can finally reach a negotiated settlement of the shocking, unjustifiable war into which we have sent, without the slightest justification, these American boys to be killed.

They would not be killed if we did not have them over there. If we are really interested in saving those boys—and I am—I say, "Bring them home." But it is inaccurate to assume, or imply, that the negotiation of this treaty is going to kill more of them. I submit there is no cause-to-effect relationship for that argument whatsoever.

Mr. President, we are following a course of American occupation in Southeast Asia, and continuing to follow a course of American escalation of the war, although the President is trying to tell us he is not escalating it. We are escalating it today; and every day and every hour of the escalation, we are killing increasing numbers of American boys, on the theory, I suppose, that we will continue to do that until we kill enough of the enemy so that finally we may force a surrender, if China and Russia do not come in.

I thought, Mr. President, that what we were sincerely trying to do was to explore all the possibilities of finding a basis for negotiation, in order to bring to an end this war. But if we think we are going to do it, and have peace, on the basis of American bilateral negotiations, we could not be more mistaken. For when peace is established over there, it will be a peace established through multilateral intervention, not unilateral dictation by the United States to the enemy. Truce, yes. Surrender, yes. I think we can force those two things. But that will not give us any peace. It will only mean that we are going to kill American boys in Asia, in my judgment on a much larger scale, when it breaks out again in 10, 15, or 25 years.

So I say that if we are really interested in trying to establish a world order where we shall have some chance of working out negotiable arrangements with Russia in the future, we should not vote to add a provision to a treaty with Russia on a consular matter, which has nothing to do with the war, making it inoperative until Russia stops giving any aid to North Vietnam and the Vietcong. Anyone who thinks that is going to stop the aid could not be more mistaken. In fact, as we drive ourselves further from Russia, and isolate ourselves further, we shall increase the tensions and misunderstandings, and we will end up killing more American boys rather than saving them, as we continue to defend the inexcusable war activity of the United States in an area of the world where we never should have been involved in the first place.

So, Mr. President, in the interest of our trying to improve the chances of reaching a negotiable relationship with Russia, I shall vote against the reservation of the Senator from South Dakota. The main argument that is used over and over again, which he has tried to bring into this debate—the argument that if we approve of this treaty on the basis that it is being presented, we are letting down the boys in South Vietnam, is completely irrelevant.

I again say most respectfully, respecting the sincere views of those who hold views contrary to mine, that the American boys are being killed because we are furnishing the money to the President and supporting a wrong foreign policy. That is what kills them.

If we stop giving the money to the President, he will have to stop the killing.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 13, 1967]

TREATY FIGHT THREATENS DÉTENTE

(By Marquis Childs)

It is entirely possible that the first small steps toward a slackening of the cold war can be blocked. Powerful forces motivated by fear, suspicion, the built-in interests of the arms makers and a genuine concern that any move toward closer relations with the Communist bloc can help to undermine American forces in Vietnam are hard at work.

One of these steps is the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union. That a step so small can raise even the slightest doubt and suspicion, however generated by the professional cold-war warriors, is an indicator of the trouble ahead for more meaningful steps in the future. For the treaty which provides a framework for enlarging at some future date the diplomatic exchange between the two powers has a symbolic rather than a real value.

That is the point Sen. Thruston Morton (R-Ky.) has consistently hammered away at in his determined effort to line up at least two thirds of the 36 Republicans in the Senate. He has been confident of perhaps 26 or 28 votes for ratification, which would have provided the necessary margin. The prediction was for a comfortable total of 67 or 66, which with some absentees would have been enough.

But there are more ways than one to skin a cat and kill a treaty. Sensing defeat on an outright vote, the diehards are trying to gain their end by the amendment and reservation route.

Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) calls for a reservation providing that the treaty shall not come into effect until one or both of two conditions are met; first, that the President advise Congress that there is no longer a need for United States forces in Vietnam; second, that the Senate be assured that furnishing war materiel to North Vietnam is not delaying or preventing the return of American troops from Vietnam.

This ties the treaty to the deeply emotional issue of a half-million Americans pinned down in Vietnam and the fact that Red China and the Soviet Union provides the sinews of war. It was designed to look like an out for those who might want to vote for ratification and yet get in the clear on Vietnam.

But again Morton has been unequivocal. A vote for such a reservation—really for any substantive reservation or amendment—is a vote to kill the treaty. It would have to be renegotiated and this the Soviets would refuse to do. The United States had delayed action for nearly three years since the treaty was first agreed to.

In this first small effort at bridge-building with Eastern Europe there are many contradictions. Implied in the Mundt reservation, if the intent is sincere and not merely a maneuver to kill the treaty, is the belief that it can be a lever to compel the Soviets to stop their aid to North Vietnam and get the North Vietnamese to the peace table. It could under no circumstances have that result.

Morton and others who have worked so hard for ratification see this as putting the cart before the horse. If small steps such as the Consular Treaty can be taken, in coming months Moscow will be more willing to help bring about a settlement in Vietnam. There is no guarantee of this, yet it is at least a probability.

Much of the opposition to the treaty in the debate in the Senate has been a rehash of past frictions and old quarrels. Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) went back to the coldest days of the cold war in 1948 to retell the case of Madame Oksana Kosenkina who defected from the Soviet consulate in New York and was gravely injured when she leaped from a window to escape her captors. While Dodd's office insists that only his own staffers helped prepare the speech, it has the stamp of Julien Sourwine of the Internal Security subcommittee, which is Dodd's private preserve.

As with all such international obligations self-interest must be the primary consideration. The hope of stopping yet another and fantastically costly round in the nuclear arms race is the self-interest in this instance. And time is running out. For the Soviet Union the obvious self-interest is to strengthen ties with the West as the threat of conflict with Red China grows.

The blame if failure overwhelms this first step will be widely disputed. Morton and other Republicans who have worked hard for ratification believe the Johnson Administration has not done nearly enough to bring around the waverers on the Democratic side. But, however murky the areas of blame, the consequences will be clear enough. Doom for this symbolic action will spell doom for the other and larger measures that can abate the spiraling arms race.

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 12, 1967]

UNITED STATES, RUSSIAN MOVES SHOW "MUTUAL RESTRAINT"

(By Murrey Marder)

Within 24 hours the United States and the Soviet Union have displayed the dual policy of restraint that cushions their tensions in the Vietnamese war.

Washington passed up an opportunity it would have leaped upon with zest just a few years back:

To parade the defecting daughter of dictator Josef Stalin in the citadel of capitalism as a prize acquisition of the Cold War.

Instead, with diplomatic delicacy, Svetlana Stalina has been turned over to the most discreet hosts for political asylum, neutral Switzerland.

Unless the Soviet Union for reasons not now discernible to American officials chooses to make a major international incident of her case, the United States intends to treat it with discretion.

Moscow has demonstrated its own restraint in a lesser affair that had its own quotient of international irritability. By allowing Buel Ray Wortham of North Little Rock, Ark., to go free with a $5555 fine instead of a three-year labor camp sentence, the Soviet Union broke a precedent too.

Speculation abroad that there was a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the two cases was totally dismissed by American officials. They pointed out that Wortham's release has been "in the cards" for weeks, if not months before Miss Stalina's appearance.

But what does tie together these two cases and others like them, is that they do represent a very significant, but unwritten, policy being carried out on an ad hoc basis by the two nations.

The Russians, back in the day of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, named it "a policy of mutual example." Secretary of State Dean Rusk sometimes calls it a policy of "mutual prudence," or "mutual restraint."

No one, in Moscow or Washington, knows what the actual limits are on this imprecise policy, nor how long it will last—or even exactly when it will work and when it will not work.

It could blow apart tomorrow. In fact, just as the United States and the Soviet Union were each showing unusual courtesy to each other's interests in the Svetlana and Wortham cases, each probably had a wary eye on what was happening just then in Vietnam.

The United States was engaged in a round of air attacks on North Vietnam's biggest steel fabricating plant. North Vietnam, highly dependent on the Soviet Union for its sophisticated war equipment, is likely to invoke those attacks as greater justification for the Kremlin to supply it with more powerful weapons of defense.

The Soviet Union, as the most powerful Communist nation in the world, cannot, even if it wanted to do so, easily shrug off such demands from a fellow Marxist nation and still maintain its claim to Communist leadership. At its heels, Communist China is constantly challenging that claim.

At any stage of the upward spiral of war in Vietnam, there is the danger, despite the most exceptional restraint on either side, of a miscalculation. United States experts can never be absolutely certain just what acts of military intensification on their side may precipitate more direct Soviet involvement in the war. The Russians can never be sure what the United States may do next to entangle Soviet prestige inextricably in the consequences, intentionally or accidentally.

In groping through this dilemma, somewhat like two blind men trying to find their way across an unmarked minefield, Washington and Moscow have each eased into an unprecedented, although irregular, level of restraint in their non-Vietnamese relationships.

It is not a matter of total trust, or the end of suspicion, or anything of that sort, but simply self-interest on both sides. As one ranking American official put it symbolically last week, "We know that if the Russians see any gold nuggets lying around, they're going to pick them up."

What he meant was that the Russians, in continuing East-West competition, will take any golden targets of opportunity it finds. So, undoubtedly, will the United States, he might have added.

But what Moscow and Washington are doing is disposing of unnecessary irritations, avoiding confrontations on minor disputes. Each nation is making its international points, where it chooses, but without extra inflammation. The United States, did so just last week when it arrested and prosecuted the skipper of a Soviet fishing vessel for entering U.S. territorial waters off Alaska, but let him off with a $5,000 fine.

If the United States had chosen to parade Stalin's daughter as an East-West prize, for example, it might easily have risked freezing up the international atmosphere. The U.S.-Soviet Consular Treaty is pending on the Senate floor; the Outer Space Treaty is just behind it; a treaty to ban the spread of nuclear weapons is dangling in Geneva, and possible U.S.-Soviet negotiations to limit the arms race are at stake.

By American diplomatic reckoning, the required course of action pointed unmistakably toward restraint. President Johnson readily agreed.

Exhibit 3

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 13, 1967]

Rightwing Triggers Paper Blizzard To Smother Consular Pact

(By J. Y. Smith)

If the Senate ratifies the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty this week, it will do so despite one of the largest and most vehement rightwing mail campaigns in recent years.

A defeat of the pact would mark virtually the only major success of the lobbyists of the far right in blocking efforts to improve Soviet-American relations.

The treaty's proponents are cautiously optimistic. Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said in a telephone interview that "it is unconceivable to me that we would be so petty as to turn this treaty down."

The crunch may come by Wednesday, when a "reservation" to the treaty proposed by Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) is expected to come up for a vote. The reservation says that the treaty would go into effect only when the President advises Congress that American troops are no longer needed in Vietnam, or that their return to the United States no longer is being hindered by Soviet aid to the Vietnamese Communists.

WOULD KILL THE TREATY

If passed, the Mundt proposal would effectively kill the pact. It is almost inconceivable that the Soviets would ratify it with that proviso.

Opposition to the treaty in the Senate derives from the traditionally conservative and isolationist South and Midwest. It also comes from Southern California and cities such as Detroit and Chicago which have large populations with close ties to the so-called "captive" nations of Eastern Europe.

Sen. Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky has been one of the principal movers and shakers in rounding up Republican support for the treaty. Other backers include Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Senate Minority Leader, and Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.).

Thus the foes of the pact include Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.), Sen. Frank J. Lausche (D-Ohio) and Sen. Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.).

Despite the appeal of the Mundt reservation, though, observers noted that a similar blocking rider offered last week by Talmadge was defeated 53 to 26.

The campaign against the treaty has been led by the Washington-based Liberty Lobby, an organization set up in 1955 "for the purpose of reversing the dangerous trend toward socialization internally and to defeat the insidious effort to weaken our resistance to international communism."

Others are the Manion Forum, the Dan Smoot Report, the United Republicans of America, the National Review and the Mothers of American Servicemen of South Pasadena, Calif.

The Liberty Lobby's techniques for generating mail to Congress are direct in the way a T-54 tank is direct, but some of the most obvious forms of propaganda are avoided. For example, the Lobby eschews mimeographed form letters on the ground they lack credibility.

HOOVER IN A WHITE SUIT

On the other hand, it has made progress in the anti-consular campaign with a 16-panel comic strip entitled "The Communists Next Door." J. Edgar Hoover, a critic of the pact, is depicted in a white suit. A mustachioed State Department supporter of the treaty wears his hair plastered down with greasy kid stuff.

An earnest young legislative assistant in the cartoon tells it to his Senator this way:

"The most obvious danger from the treaty is provision for 'diplomatic immunity.' Treaty opponents point out that to give Soviet personnel complete immunity from arrest is to invite an increase in Red espionage . . . even sabotage . . . since the treaty forbids inspection of any baggage or equipment brought in as 'diplomatic pouch.' "

The impact of this on Liberty Lobby's mailing list—the organization claims 170,000 members—can be seen in the following letter to a Senator who is one of the treaty's main supporters:

"The most obvious danger from the treaty is provision for 'diplomatic immunity.' Treaty opponents point out that to give Soviet personnel complete immunity from arrest is to invite an increase in Red espionage . . . even sabotage . . ."

The writer is identified by his letterhead as the president of a machinery company in Green Bay, Wis.

The comic strip tries to make a sabotage case by saying that "atomic demolition munitions" could be smuggled into American cities in Soviet diplomatic pouches. It does not mention the fact that the almost 500 Soviet diplomats already stationed in the United States theoretically could do the same thing.

Neither does it touch on the fact that U.S. consular personnel in the Soviet Union also would have diplomatic immunity and also would be immune from arrest.

Despite all this, according to one leading Senate Democratic supporter of the pact, the mail campaign has had almost no measurable effect except among those lawmakers who were opposed to the treaty anyway.

Morton has been threatened by one writer with the delivery of one live rattlesnake if he votes for the consular pact. Another writer said: "If we are ten to one against the treaty, then we—not you—are at fault if you vote against it."

Morton's mail has been running 100 to 1 against the agreement. The Senator says he'll ignore the mail and vote for it anyway.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Alabama.

While I agree with the analysis of the reservation just made by the Senator from Oregon and enjoyed what he said, I should like to confine my comments to the subject matter of the reservation which has a certain tone of plausibility about it. It is that we should not ratify this treaty until the Soviet Union permits the distribution to the Soviet press of announcements concerning the U.S. public policy and the answer to any criticism of such policy contained in the Soviet press, and it would further require the Soviet Union to refrain from limiting the number of representatives of the U.S.

press who go to Russia to write about conditions there.

The purpose of the reservation, in other words, is to impose freedom of the press upon the Soviet Union. This seems to me to be somewhat silly. We are not going to have the slightest impact on establishing in the Soviet Union the Bill of Rights contained in the first 10 amendments of the Constitution of the United States, and it is ridiculous to think that we ever could.

We are dealing with a closed society. We do not like a closed society merely because it is closed. However, we live in a world of reality and not in a dream world.

It is difficult for me to believe that grown and mature men with some understanding of the facts of international life today would be so naive as to suggest that we can persuade the Soviet Union to establish freedom of the press within the boundaries of their own country by proposing such a matter in this treaty.

This is so naive that one is almost impelled to speculate on the motivation of those who propose this unduly naive amendment.

I am not in the business of speculating on the motivation of my colleagues, and I do not intend to do so this afternoon.

All I will say is that the inevitable effect of passing this reservation would be to kill the treaty and perhaps, just perhaps, that is what the proponents of the reservation would like to see done.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 8 minutes to the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah is recognized for 8 minutes.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, it is unquestionably in our national interest to ratify the Consular Treaty. The U.S. Senate should take this action, and we should take it without reservations or understandings.

What is at issue is a more stable world. The treaty presents an opportunity to improve the machinery through which we handle certain official business with the Soviet Union. We can grasp this opportunity without endangering our own future or our own security. It would be foolish to pass it by. It could help propel us toward peace.

Primarily, we need the treaty to give greater protection to Americans traveling in the Soviet Union. At the present time, an American can be held incommunicado up to 9 months during an investigation of criminal charges lodged against him, and the Soviet Union does not have to notify U.S. authorities. If the treaty were in effect, the Soviet Union would have to notify U.S. authorities immediately, and these officials would have the right to visit the American citizen being held within 4 days of his arrest, and on a continuing basis thereafter. The small number of Soviet citizens now traveling in the United States already have such protection under our democratic system, but the more than 18,000 Americans who now go to the Soviet Union annually have no such protection.

We learned recently what the absence of a Consular Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States meant when two young Americans, Craddock M. Gilmore, of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Buel Ray Wortham, of Little Rock, Ark., were arrested on charges of currency black marketing, with the additional charge of the theft of a souvenir bear from a Russian hotel against Wortham.

The men were arrested on October 1 of last year. It was 6 days before the U.S. Embassy in Moscow was notified that the Americans were being detained, and where. It was 5 days later before the first U.S. consular officer was allowed to visit them. A second visit was not permitted until October 28, and even then representatives of the U.S. Embassy could not talk with either of the two—they were in solitary confinement—about the charges against them.

It will take too much time to chronicle each request for a visit to the boys, and the various denials. Nor will I go through the details of the trials of both, and of the release and fining of Gilmore following the December trial, and the final release and fining of Wortham only last week.

The point of the matter is that the boys and their families and the communities and States in which they live were subject to great tensions and anxieties because of the uncertainty surrounding the treatment of the American citizens under Soviet law, and that some of this could have been alleviated had the Consular Treaty been in effect. As more and more American citizens go to the Soviet Union in the years ahead to try to get a better understanding of the people and their philosophy and to see how they live, there are likely to be other incidents, and we must be sure that we have done what we could to give our citizens all the protection possible.

The convention itself is not needed to provide for the opening of new consulates. That can already be done. This treaty contemplates possibly one additional consulate to be established in each country, and some 10 or 15 additional Soviet personnel to be admitted in addition to the 400 already in this country with diplomatic immunity, but it does guarantee rights for Americans in the U.S.S.R. Some of the mail I have received has insisted this would make it possible for Soviet consular officials to bring small atomic weapons in the United States—that, to use the exact phrase in one of my letters, "atomic bombs up to one-half kiloton in size" could be smuggled in through "diplomatic pouch." I can only point out that Soviet diplomatic officials in this country have had the privilege of diplomatic immunity since the opening of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in 1934, and there is no evidence that they have ever misused these privileges to bring into this country weapons detrimental to the national security of the United States.

Now, I am not presuming to say that no Soviet consular official brought into this country under this treaty, or under any other agreement with the Soviet Union, will never become a security problem to us. But we can cancel the Consular Treaty any time on a month's notice. And we can expel any Soviet employee who is guilty of offensive conduct. And we have in the Federal Bureau of Investigation the best internal security agency in the world. Surely, a handful of additional Soviet citizens would not strain too greatly the vast and well organized facilities of the FBI.

I have been chagrined, as I know many of my colleagues have, by the blitz of frenzied mail against this treaty inspired by several of our rightwing lobbies. I regret that some of our sincere and patriotic citizens have been led to believe that ratification of this treaty would admit a horde of Soviet spies with suitcases filled with bombs. I regret that these citizens have had an opportunity to read and hear only one side of the argument on the treaty—that they have had no way of getting perspective on it. I wish we had a better system of getting all the facts to our people.

Mr. President, this treaty has actually been in the making for many years. It was talked about in 1933, when we first reestablished relations with Russia, and President Eisenhower proposed at the 1955 Geneva Summit Conference that "concrete steps" be taken to lower the barriers which now impede the opportunities for people to travel anywhere in the world. Secretary of State Christian Herter discussed the treaty in 1959 at Camp David with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Formal negotiations began in Moscow in 1963, and after 8 months of hard negotiations, the convention was signed on June 1, 1964, and submitted to the Senate by President Johnson on June 12, 1964. The Committee on Foreign Relations has twice held hearings on it, and reported it to this Congress by a favorable vote of 15 to 4. It has now been debated in the Senate for almost a week.

We have examined it carefully in all of its aspects. I am sure that any possible adverse effect to our national interest has been thoroughly explored and aired. The benefits far outweigh any dangers. We should ratify it now without further delay and put it into effect immediately.

The proposed reservations or even the understanding would, in my opinion, kill the treaty. Therefore, I will vote against reservations or understandings, and I will vote for the treaty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I request the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie].

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, in a newsletter to my constituents dated March 4, 1967, I stated the reasons why I will support ratification of the Consular Treaty.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of that newsletter be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> Dear Friends: While we wrestle with the problem of Vietnam, we should try to avoid becoming so involved in the debate over the conflict that we ignore or distort the opportunities for more peaceful forms of competi-

tion with Communist countries. Nowhere has this danger been more apparent than in the debate over the Consular Treaty between the United States and Russia.

In the past few weeks, what should have been a relatively innocuous policy decision—initiated, incidentally, by President Eisenhower—has become a major issue in the Senate.

Judging from my mail, many Americans misunderstand the Treaty. Their major objection seems to be a fear of increased espionage by members of Russian consulates in this country.

The fact is that the Treaty would not require the opening of a single consulate here or in Russia.

What the Treaty would do is enable members of our Moscow Embassy staff to give comfort and encouragement to touring Americans arrested or detained by Russian authorities. It also would set protective ground rules for an exchange of consulates if at some time in the future, we decide it is to our advantage to do so.

The Treaty would require the Russians to notify our Embassy personnel within three days of the detention of an American, and would enable Embassy personnel to visit the American within four days of the arrest, and visit with him on a regular basis thereafter.

Presently under Soviet law, any tourist or Russian citizen can be arrested and held for nine months, and sometimes longer, for investigation. In the cases involving Americans, our Embassy frequently is not notified of the detentions for weeks, if ever. Even when we are notified, we have no rights of visitation.

What this means to a detained American is prolonged isolation in a Russian prison with neither hope of seeing another American nor knowledge that his country knows or care of his imprisonment.

The importance of the Treaty grows each year as more Americans visit Russia. From 1962 to 1966, the number of Americans traveling in Russia increased 50 percent to 18,000. Since 1964, more than 20 Americans have been arrested or detained in Russia. One, Newcomb Mott, died mysteriously at Russian hands under these circumstances.

Russian tourists in America, numbering about 900 a year, already have the Treaty's protections in our open society without the Treaty.

With the Treaty, Americans in the Soviet Union would have more rights than any Russian citizen now possesses in his homeland.

The notification and visitation provisions of the Treaty are its most compelling features. However, its ground rules for consular exchanges also are important because the opening of a single consulate in each country is contemplated, even though no formal proposals have been made or are under consideration.

Under the Treaty, the exchange of consulates would be the subject of careful negotiation on a strict quid-pro-quo basis. For instance, if an American consulate in Russia had a staff of 10 persons, the Soviets would be limited to the same number for their consulate here.

Normally, a consulate would have 10 to 15 officers, and neither Attorney General Ramsey Clark nor FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover regard this number as a problem which the FBI could not deal with effectively and efficiently. There are now 452 Russian diplomatic personnel in the United States.

The Treaty provides additional limitations and safeguards:

1. We would have the right to screen Russian personnel before agreeing to their assignment to our country;

2. We could prohibit Russian consular officers from traveling to sensitive areas in the United States;

3. We could expel the Russian officers if they proved undesirable;

4. We could close a Soviet consulate whenever we wished; and

5. We could cancel the Treaty on six months' notice.

Clearly, the Treaty represents concessions by the Russian Government which we have sought and which are regarded as being to our advantage.

For these reasons, I have supported Senate approval of the Treaty. It is another step in our search for a detente in the Cold War. It is one justifiable means of neutralizing the strains in American-Russian relations caused by the hot war in Vietnam. It is a small but important step in search of a lasting peace.

And when I think of these small but sometimes difficult steps, I remember President Kennedy speaking at the Convocation at the University of Maine in October, 1963:

"While the road to . . . peace is long and hard, and full of traps and pitfalls, that is no reason not to take each step we can safely take."

Sincerely,

EDMUND S. MUSKIE.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the first question which confronts us is this: Is the treaty in its present form, as developed in negotiations extending over several years, in our national interest?

I believe it is, for the reasons stated in my newsletter.

I believe the proposed commitments on our part are limited, acceptable, and properly safeguarded.

I believe the proposed commitments on the part of the Soviet Union are advantages and protections of substance to American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union.

I believe that the treaty in its present form is in the national interest, notwithstanding the fact that other differences and disputes between the United States and the Soviet Union are not resolved by it.

The second question which confronts us is this: Is it realistic to expect that the Soviet Union would agree to additional commitments on her part involving no additional commitments on our part? Or to agree to a reduction in our commitments without reductions or compensating advantages to her?

An affirmative answer would have to be based upon an assumption that the treaty, in its present form, holds greater advantages to the Soviet Union than for us and the further assumption that she would concede the first assumption. Neither assumption is valid.

At best, therefore, we could expect not acquiescence, but the opening up of an enlarged area of disagreement, moving us away from the limited agreement we are considering, and with pretty dim prospects for an enlarged agreement.

The history of negotiations with the Soviet Union since World War II is that agreements come slowly, that they are limited, and that progress, when it is achieved at all, comes with small steps, not large ones.

Mr. President, each of us can suggest other problems we would like to see resolved by the treaty. Each of us could wish that this one document might wipe away all the tensions, the frustrations, and the dangers of the cold war. Each of us, I am sure, knows that no such single step is possible.

And so, Mr. President, we have the question whether, confronted by that reality, we should, in the words of President Kennedy, "Take each step we can safely take."

I think we should. I think this treaty is such a step. I think that to insist on a greater step as our price for agreement will endanger the prospect for the limited agreement represented by this treaty.

On October 19, 1963, Mr. President, in an address at the University of Maine, President Kennedy spoke on "The meaning of the test ban treaty." His advice on that occasion is appropriate to the decision before us. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from that address be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

One year ago this coming week, the United States and the world were gripped with a somber prospect of a military confrontation between the two great nuclear powers. The American people have good reason to recall with pride their conduct throughout that harrowing week. For they neither dissolved in panic nor rushed headlong into reckless belligerence. Well aware of the risks of resistance, they nevertheless refused to tolerate the Soviets' attempt to place nuclear weapons in this hemisphere, but recognized at the same time that our preparations for the use of force necessarily require a simultaneous search for fair and peaceful solutions. . . .

A year ago it would have been easy to assume that all-out war was inevitable, that any agreement with the Soviets was impossible, and that an unlimited arms race was unavoidable. Today it is equally easy for some to assume that the Cold War is over, that all outstanding issues between the Soviets and our country can be quickly and satisfactorily settled, and that we shall now have, in the words of the Psalmist, an "abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth."

The fact of the matter is, of course, that neither view is correct. We have, it is true, made some progress on a long journey. We have achieved new opportunities which we cannot afford to waste. We have concluded with the Soviets a few limited, enforceable agreements or arrangements of mutual benefit to both sides and to the world.

But a change in the atmosphere and in emphasis is not a reversal of purpose. Mr. Khrushchev himself has said that there can be no coexistence in the field of ideology. In addition, there are still major areas of tension and conflict, from Berlin to Cuba to Southeast Asia. The United States and the Soviet Union still have wholly different concepts of the world, its freedom, its future. We still have wholly different views on the so-called wars of liberation and the use of subversion. And so long as these basic differences continue, they cannot and should not be concealed. They set limits to the possibilities of agreements; and they will give rise to further crises, large and small, in the months and years ahead, both in the areas of direct confrontation—Germany and the Caribbean—and in areas where events beyond our control could involve us both—areas such as Africa and Asia and the Middle East.

In times such as these, therefore, there is nothing inconsistent in signing an atmospheric nuclear test ban, on the one hand, and testing underground on the other; about being willing to sell to the Soviets our surplus wheat while refusing to sell strategic items; about probing their interest in a joint lunar landing while making a major effort to master this new environment; or about exploring the possibilities of disarmament while maintaining our stockpile of arms. For all of these moves, and all of these elements of American policy and Allied policy toward the Soviet Union, are directed at a single, comprehensive goal—namely, convincing the Soviet leaders that it is dangerous for them to engage in direct or indirect aggression, futile for them to attempt to impose their will and their system on other unwilling people, and beneficial to them, as well as to the world, to join in the achievement of a genuine and enforceable peace.

Historians report that in 1914, with most of the world already plunged in war, Prince Bulow, the former German Chancellor, said to the then Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, "How did it all happen?" And Bethmann-Hollweg replied, "Ah, if only one knew." My fellow Americans, if this planet is ever ravaged by nuclear war, if 300 million Americans, Russians and Europeans are wiped out by a sixty-minute nuclear exchange, if the pitiable survivors of that devastation can then endure the ensuing fire, poison, chaos and catastrophe, I do not want one of those survivors to ask another, "How did it all happen?" and to receive the incredible reply, "Ah, if only one knew."

Therefore, while maintaining our readiness for war, let us exhaust every avenue for peace. Let us always make clear our willingness to talk, if talk will help, and our readiness to fight, if fight we must. Let us resolve to be the masters, not the victims, of our history, controlling our own destiny without giving way to blind suspicion and emotion. . . .

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MUSKIE. I should like to read the following excerpt from that address:

In times such as these, therefore, there is nothing inconsistent in signing an atmospheric nuclear test ban, on the one hand, and testing underground on the other; about being willing to sell to the Soviets our surplus wheat while refusing to sell strategic items; about probing their interest in a joint lunar landing while making a major effort to master this new environment; or about exploring the possibilities of disarmament while maintaining our stockpile of arms. For all of these moves, and all of these elements of American policy and Allied policy toward the Soviet Union, are directed at a single, comprehensive goal—namely, convincing the Soviet leaders that it is dangerous for them to engage in direct or indirect aggression, futile for them to attempt to impose their will and their system on other unwilling people, and beneficial to them, as well as to the world, to join in the achievement of a genuine and enforceable peace.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I wish to spend a little time on this matter. I believe I can do it in 5 minutes. Thereafter I shall be happy to discuss with the majority leader the yielding back of time so that we can get on with the vote.

I wish to devote a little time to the second issue which I mentioned when we started the debate this afternoon. The first issue was: Is the Senate still prepared to exercise, when an occasion demands it, its power of advice in treatymaking or are we going to accept the thrust of the three letters which have been put in by the State Department representatives, exhibits I, II, and III, on pages 6406 and 6407 of the RECORD, which are to the effect that if the Senate tampers with the treaty or exercises its advice in a meaningful way that means the treaty is automatically killed?

For the Senate to accept that doctrine would mean that we are simply out of the treatymaking business. If we accept that doctrine, why does the State Department and the President send us a treaty at all if we cannot act on it and offer our advice? Why not just route it through the arm-twisting machine at the other end of the avenue and get an automatic, computerized, instantaneous assent and consent?

I submit that we should not contribute to the further decrease of senatorial dignity, power, and responsibility by accepting such a hypothesis, which the Senate has no constitutional right to adopt.

The second argument goes to the merits of reservation No. 1. It is clear-cut. It is cogent and direct, and easy to understand. If we are going to exercise our function to advise, do we want to advise the State Department that we feel our consular officers and representatives of the press should have on the Russian side exactly the same rights, privileges and protections their people have on the American side? If we believe that, we should vote "yes," and if we do not believe that, we should vote "no."

If we believe that the Senate can exercise the right to advise, we vote yes; if we do not believe it and accept the philosophy that we are here only to assent, we can vote no.

The question to decide is: Is it important that at long last we move in the direction of complete reciprocity in our dealings with Soviet Russia? If there is a detente they should accept this without argument. If there is this growing reproachment, this amity between the two countries that we all hope and pray for, they can accept this and do it with alacrity. It need not delay the ratification of the treaty by Russia for 1 minute.

Secondarily is the question of the reservations we are called upon to consider. The Soviets will consider this treaty secondarily. They do not have to reconvene the conference. It simply would require acquiescence on their part with this good faith amendment, this rule of fair play, this complete reciprocity of the rights of nationals of both countries in both areas.

For that reason I recommend the adoption of executive reservation No. 1.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the Consular Treaty should be ratified without reservation. I intend to oppose the reservation to the pact as introduced by the Senator from South Dakota. It would be a serious mistake to tie the proposed treaty in any way to Vietnam. Not only would this confuse issues, it would work to the disadvantage of the United States. Twenty years of cold war should have taught us by now that there are many, many variables at work on the national interests of the United States in many, many parts of the world. What becomes an effective tactic in one part of the world does not necessarily work in another. Since the breakup of the Communist monolith a few years ago, it is no longer wise or practical to cope with a potential Communist aggression with a single policy. Soviet Communists respond to one set of pressures; Chinese Communists, to yet a different type of pressures; and Ho Chi Minh Communists to still another.

A fundamental objective—perhaps the fundamental objective—in American foreign policy is to preserve a favorable balance of power in the world. This requires preventing aggression, whether in the East or in the West. How we best achieve that objective depends upon the particular crisis at hand. In Europe, for example, Soviet aggression was successfully stopped long ago, at least as far back as the critical test in Berlin in 1948.

Ever since then, time has been on the side of the free world as far as Europe is concerned. Each year has witnessed the erosion of a bit more of the so-called Iron Curtain lowered across Eastern Europe by the Russians during and after World War II. By trade, tourism, and diplomacy, new bridges have been built into the East. We have an opportunity now to penetrate that curtain in still another way; namely, through the pending Consular Treaty.

It is in our national interest to ratify the treaty, not because it helps the Soviets but rather because it helps us. It helps us in two ways. First, in the additional protection it affords individual Americans traveling in the Soviet Union; second, by easing East-West tensions in Europe. The easing of those tensions can only redound to the advantage of the West. We should not forget that the Iron Curtain was lowered to protect the Russians against contact with the West. Each breach in that protective curtain becomes more difficult for the Russians to live with than it does for the rest of us. Thus, building bridges to the East ought to remain as a constant objective of American foreign policy.

In Asia, on the other hand, the easing of the cold war is at a much lower stage of development. For example, American national interest was constantly in jeopardy as long as China and Russia synchronized their policies and their goals. With Peking and Moscow marching in unison, there could be no easing of the American concern in the Pacific. Therefore, a constant priority of American Far Eastern policy must continue to be one of encouraging and sharpening cleavages between the Chinese and the Russians. As deeply as we are involved in southeast Asia, that commitment is still not so serious as would be a united Sino-Soviet alliance in eastern Asia.

While Vietnam represents a direct consequence of our concern about the balance of power in Asia, it nonetheless has come to affect also the relations between the two largest Communist governments in the world. Even as our first priority in southeast Asia must remain that of thwarting an act of aggression, we should not lose sight of its secondary ramifications as a strain upon the relations between Moscow and Peking. Most students of international politics would tend to agree that the Russian presence in the form of assistance to North Vietnam is motivated more by her rivalry with China than by her rivalry with the United States. It is imperative that we keep this circumstance in the proper order of our policy priorities.

Consistent with preventing North Vietnam from taking South Vietnam by force of arms, we should likewise avoid any act which would tend to drive the Russians closer to the Chinese. For this reason, we should not confuse or mix up our national objectives by entwining our diplomatic offensive in Eastern Europe with our military offensive in eastern Asia.

This brings us back, then, to the beginning of these remarks; namely, that the fundamental basic in American policy around the world is to curb the use of force in the settlement of international disputes—in short, to stop aggression. Tangent to that objective is the secondary goal of loosening the grip which potential aggressors may have on satellite areas. It is as much in our interest to assault this frontier in the West by signing the Consular Treaty as it is to avoid crowding the Soviets back toward Peking in the East by aggravating our relations with them elsewhere.

In sum, our overall strategy must remain a constant in power politics but our tactics must be flexible enough to take the fullest advantage of each variable on the international stage. It would be sheer folly to do otherwise. For this reason, the United States should not lace itself into a self-imposed straitjacket by tying the war in Vietnam to our diplomacy in Eastern Europe. To do so would only tie our own hands; inhibit our own freedom of action.

I shall vote against the reservation proposed by Senator Mundt and urge that the Senate of the United States reject it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently held hearings concerning the so-called Consular Treaty. There has been much misinformation and misunderstanding concerning this treaty.

I should like to point out that we are not giving anything away that we are not getting back. The treaty will be of tremendous advantage to Americans abroad. It will represent part of a new rapprochement, in economic terms, with the Soviet Union. This is good. I think that events throughout the world suggest that our position with respect to the Soviet Union is improving and their position with Red China is in serious trouble.

Recently, an editorial was published in the Trenton Times endorsing ratification of this treaty. The editorial points out:

> This is a time of bridge-building in Europe—east to west, to east—and it seems to us a shortsighted policy for the United States to remain aloof. . . . The moment, then, is one of change. Advocating a more liberal Consular Treaty doesn't mean opening Cape Kennedy to the Russians. The government should indeed be prepared for closest surveillance to guard against espionage. But it seems to us the safeguards and the affirmative advantages noted make U.S. Senate ratification of the treaty a sound course.

Mr. President, this is a very thought-provoking editorial, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Record, and commend it to the attention of all Senators.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Times, Feb. 16, 1967]

THE CONSULAR TREATY

A proposed new United States-Soviet Russia treaty on consular relations has become a matter of sharp controversy in the new Congress. The agreement was signed in 1964, needs a two-thirds vote of the Senate for ratification, and is opposed vigorously on the ground that any increase in Soviet diplomatic representation here only adds to the problem of meeting Communist espionage.

Given the history of Soviet espionage all over the world these last 50 years, no one can say this opposition argument is mere fancy.

But it seems to us the stronger argument favors ratification.

First of all, the treaty would not automatically set up new consulates—the authority is a permissive one and the details would be worked out by the two governments. President Johnson, quoting FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, holds that no insuperable espionage problem would be created if a consulate were opened to add perhaps 10 consular officers to the 450 Soviet representatives now in this country. Proliferation beyond this would increase the problem, to be sure.

But you can be quite certain that neither kings, Presidents nor Soviet commissars would keep Mr. Hoover quiet if he thought the problem could get out of hand.

Granted that doctrinaire Marxism still makes world revolution the Communist goal, and that Chairman Mao would move out with guns blazing tomorrow if he were able to pursue that goal, it seems only realistic to note that practical changes have occurred in world Communism.

Most importantly the reasonable ground that long existed as to whether the Moscow-Peking split was for real is now non-existent. The two are daily at each other's throats. It is true that if Mao were eliminated, a Chinese leader ready for rapproachement with Moscow conceivably could come to power. But it does not appear likely today.

Similarly, Communism within Moscow's own eastern European sphere has changed. No longer are Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and even Czechoslovakia so chained to the Kremlin that they cannot make their own trade and diplomatic arrangements with the west—and this they are doing increasingly with France, West Germany, Italy, Britain.

This is a time of bridge-building in Europe—east to west, to east—and it seems to us a shortsighted policy for the United States to remain aloof from what is happening. The most solid evidence of detente has come in the closer arrangement worked out only this week by Premier Kosygin and Prime Minister Harold Wilson. It is hardly irrelevant that Mr. Kosygin apparently tried earnestly in recent days to get Hanoi to make limited concessions in return for a longer U.S. bombing pause in North Vietnam.

The moment, then, is one of change. Advocating a more liberal consular treaty doesn't mean opening Cape Kennedy to the Russians. The government should indeed be prepared for closest surveillance to guard against espionage. But it seems to us the safeguards and the affirmative advantages noted make U.S. Senate ratification of the treaty a sound course.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I wish to inquire of my good friend, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman], whether he thinks that we should start to yield back our time or continue the debate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am in favor not only of starting to yield back time, but I am ready to yield back the remainder of our time completely.

Mr. MUNDT. So am I. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption or rejection of executive reservation No. 1 proposed by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] and other Senators.

The yeas and nays have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. On this vote I have a live pair with my senior colleague from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Jordan], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Talmadge], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Jordan], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd] is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph].

If present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "yea" and the Senator from West Virginia would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr.

Brooke] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke]. If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado would vote "yea" and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 65, as follows:

[No. 59 Ex.]

YEAS—22

Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Gruening
Hansen
Hill
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
McClellan
Miller
Mundt
Murphy
Russell
Stennis
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.

NAYS—65

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Ellender
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—13

Bible
Brooke
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Dirksen
Dominick
Jordan, N.C.
Randolph
Scott
Smathers
Talmadge
Tydings
Yarborough

So Mr. Mundt's executive reservation No. 1 was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Montoya in the chair). The pending business, according to the unanimous-consent agreement entered into last week, is executive reservation No. 2, which the Chair lays before the Senate, and which will be read.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read executive reservation No. 2.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that executive reservation No. 2 be considered as read and that it be printed in the Record.

The reservation is as follows:

> Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "Subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this Convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force until the President determines and reports to the Congress that (1) it is no longer necessary to assign members of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam or (2) the removal of members of the Armed Forces of the United States from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the distinguished senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], whose reservation No. 2 is now pending, intends to speak for approximately a half hour this evening, and that a half hour will then be occupied on this side of the aisle, perhaps not in response, but the time will be used anyway.

Following that, it is the intention of the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] to speak. I ask unanimous consent that when he speaks, his remarks be apart from the time limitations already agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Who yields time?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I shall not take the full half hour at this time, but I shall take time enough to announce to the Senate that at approximately this time tomorrow afternoon, or possibly a little later, we should be having a rollcall vote on executive reservation No. 2, which, as I announced at the time I offered the two reservations bearing my name, and reiterated again today, is, in the opinion of the senior Senator from South Dakota, by all odds the more important of the two reservations which I have offered to the treaty.

While the first reservation, on which we have just voted, deals with the matter of trying to provide equality of treatment and reciprocity of expression for consular officials and representatives of the press on both sides of the water, as between the two signatory powers, executive reservation No. 2, which has been printed in the Record, deals with our good faith as Members of Congress in bringing under the protective mantle of which we speak so much those boys who are fighting for freedom in Vietnam while we proclaim the protection needed by Americans traveling overseas.

I point out to Senators that it is not the Senator from South Dakota, nor is it anyone who is in opposition to this treaty, who has endeavored to link together the Consular Treaty and the problem of East-West trade. I point out that the President of the United States, in his state of the Union address stated this. After having listed a number of steps or bridgebuilding devices to which he alluded, he summarized his discussion of Soviet-American relationships with this sentence:

> So tonight I ask and urge the Congress to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West Trade Bill and approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union.

I submit that this single sentence, tied together with only a conjunctive, makes it very clear that the President is presenting in this treaty a suggestion for ratifying the Consular Treaty in respect to which is related the important attachment of the problem of East-West trade. That is fact No. 1.

This brings us to the moment of truth as to whether or not we are to concern ourselves solely with Americans traveling in Europe when they reach Russia or whether we should do something to protect the boys fighting under the flag of freedom in Vietnam.

I ask that my reservation No. 2 be printed in full at this point in the Record as we shall be voting on it in a rollcall vote tomorrow.

That reservation reads:

> Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this Convention should be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force, until the President determines and reports to the Congress that (1) it is no longer necessary to assign members of the Armed Forces of the United States to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam or (2) the removal of members of the Armed Forces of the United States from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union."

It stands now as a demonstrable fact that it is the Soviet Union which is enabling the North Vietnamese to continue this war and to prolong and enhance our casualty lists, which induces them arrogantly to disclaim any invitation to the negotiating table, and that those weapons come today, in modern form, exclusively from the Soviet Union. Nobody will dispute that fact. And that is fact No. 2.

The third fact is that the State Department, in its presentation to our committee and the country, has linked together East-West trade and the consular treaty.

The fourth fact is that the great American newspaper, which functions either to applaud the policies of the State Department or to conceive them—and I am never sure which—the New York Times, made it clear in a lead editorial that the consular treaty and the expansion of American exports to Russia are irrevocably connected.

I do not want Senators, therefore, to make the mistake of thinking we can close our eyes and vote for the consular treaty as though we lived in a world of make believe, where there was no war, where there were not 500,000 Americans called away from home and fighting for freedom, where the slaughter did not continue day after day at an accelerating rate, and where the deaths and the maiming and the injury of soldiers were not created by the weapons of the country with which we are now being asked to sign a consular treaty to the end that more American trade can be provided to the Soviets to crank into their industrial machinery, which today is spewing out flood torrents of arms to permit Hanoi to perpetuate the war.

The vote we shall cast tomorrow, therefore, will be on a reservation which simply says:

> We ratify the treaty. We are making no amendment to it. We make no change of the treaty. We simply say it shall not go into effect so long as you are compelling us to draft and send to Vietnam American boys to continue the conflict.

Or—we give the President a second choice—

> When you notify Congress in writing that the return of our boys from Vietnam is neither being prevented, nor delayed by virtue of the fact that the Soviets are supplying the arms to be used by North Vietnam in continuing the war.

There is not going to be much confusion about this. Senators are not going to have to search their consciences very long to decide where they stand on an issue as plain and as clear and, for some Americans, as brutal as this.

Tomorrow we shall discuss the reservation at some length. We have 6 hours in which to discuss what I consider to be one of the most important decisions the Senate will have to make in the 28 years that I have been around Washington.

I think, in fact, it is going to be one of the most important votes we are going to take concerning the outcome of the war and whether it drags on and on and on, fed by Russian arms, which our exports to Russia now help them provide, or whether, in fact, we are going to take action here designed to shorten the war, to reduce the capacity of the Russian war machine to supply arms to prolong the war. This reservation will provide an opportunity to do what that magnificent constitutional provision provides—that the Senate has a right and a duty to advise before it consents.

We shall have an opportunity to direct to the attention of this administration our desires in that connection.

Do we really think it good, for the first time in American history, for our country to help provide the wherewithal enabling the enemy to get his guns, via Russia, to prolong the war? If we do, I suspect we can ratify this convention. I suspect we should not write in a reservation, then. We can simply say, "Let her go."

But if we actually honestly believe as does this Senator from South Dakota that it is a prudent and proper public policy, in time of war, to follow the example of every previous American President in history—which is to shut off the armaments to your enemy, if you can, when they are using them to kill the troops that we draft from the shops, the homes, and the farms of this country—let us remember that those are the issues we will be deciding. Because we are going to vote on this matter, as we properly should. And to those who say that we ought to quit the bombing, we ought to press forward for negotiations at the negotiating table, we ought to take whatever steps we can to shorten the war, I say, "You are not going to have a better chance, in the Senate, to vote to shorten the war than by your vote on this reservation and on this treaty, where you can vote not to put the key in the lock of the door that opens up for Russian use the exports to Hanoi that continue the war."

To those of my fellow Senators who say, "We ought to win the war quickly, we ought to enhance the bombing, we ought to take some more chances, we ought to bomb the harbor at Haiphong, we ought to blockade the ships that are bringing in the supplies from the Communist countries—and, unhappily, from a few countries of the free world—to prolong this war so monotonously and drastically."

I reply, "If you really want to win the war, as I am sure you do, can anybody think of a better way to end a war, in modern history, than to shut off the supplies required by your enemy to fight it?"

Is that too simple to be understood at the other end of the avenue, Mr. President? It is not too simple to be understood by the mothers and fathers of America.

How do we shut it off, Mr. President? We shut it off by trying to induce the country which supplies virtually all of the petroleum enabling the Hanoi government to continue the war, and all of the sophisticated weapons used by the Communists against our soldiers over there, to curtail or to curb those shipments so deeply stained in human blood.

How do we do that, Mr. President? Does any Senator really believe, in his heart, that we can do it by kowtowing to that country, by embracing it in a consular treaty which is designed to expand the trade?

The Consular Treaty itself, in its own language, says one of the functions of the consular officers shall be to get additional trade.

There is no mystery about that. The State Department does not write about it, when they write this blizzard of letters down here. They talk about whether or not we could have a consular office without this convention. They talk about whether complete immunity is good or bad. They talk about espionage and counterespionage.

They refuse to face up to the fact that this is not a world living at peace. Somebody has got to show a little concern about what is going on in terms of war. If increasing the armament of those fighting against us is the shortcut to peace, Mr. President, every American President in history except Lyndon B. Johnson has been totally and completely in error; because he is the first to propose it.

How can we use this treaty to help shorten the war? By amending it with a reservation, or by rejecting its ratification. How can we use this as a diplomatic tool, to help protect the thousands of Americans in uniform while worrying about the nine or 10 Americans, each year, who get in trouble flitting around Russia for their own pleasure or profit?

I will tell you how. We can do it simply by enabling the State Department to say to the Russians, if we add this reservation: "Look, Mr. Kosygin, we did our best. We tried to sell it to the country. We tried to sell it to Congress. We tried to sell it to the Senate. We argued and importuned, telephoned, armtwisted, wrote letters, and did everything we could. But the Senate just simply could not be seduced to the point of going along, because they do not like and the country does not like the fact that you alone are solely responsible for the fact that the war is not over, over there in Vietnam. It is being continued by your war supplies, and they know it."

Perhaps they want this treaty and perhaps they do not, but I think I know something they do want. They really want and need those exports from America, the 400 items which were made available to them without license or restriction on October 12, by the Executive order of President Johnson, and I listed them starting on page 6262 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of last Friday, March 10. The Russians want these shipments from America to continue to shore up their awkward, stumbling, bureaucratic, backward economy; they need them because they have been able to produce so few automobiles in Russia that there are only eight garages and eight filling stations in the whole city of Moscow—a city many times larger than Washington—and we have eight garages or eight filling stations on almost every street that angles through our community—they really want that help; they want those machine tools, that is one of the things we send them, they want that iron ore, and we are sending them that, although somebody ought to have a few nostalgic wakeful moments in the middle of the night, wondering who authorized that one, if he can remember back to Pearl Harbor, when our exporting of the same kind of materiel helped equip the Japanese war machines to wage an undeclared war on us at Pearl Harbor. Would you not think at least we would have learned enough so that we would not have included that one in the 400 items? Would you not think history should have left some imprint on the people making up that list?

The Russians need those exports from us, Mr. President. They have a consumer economy which is seething all over the place, because the people are denied so many of the consumer goods that people receive everywhere else around the world. They built a wall through Berlin high enough so that the people could not see what the free world produces and makes available; but their people climbed up on the wall and into the high buildings and looked over to the west side of Berlin, and saw automobiles bumper to bumper up and down the avenues, as we have them here on Constitution and Independence Avenues. They saw stores filled with consumer goods. They saw people living in a free country, enjoying the creature comforts which people have in our country and in the rest of the free world; and it is hard for any government, no matter how tyrannical, to hold down the people once they have had their appetites whetted for consumer goods—once they see them and learn about them, and sample a few of them, and then find they are denied them by a government so busy concentrating on the manufacture of war supplies, munitions, and antiballistic defense systems that they do not have material and manpower and machinery enough left to produce consumer goods.

So, they get those goods badly needed from us and we take the pressure off their war-oriented economy. And every time we ship them anything, it tends to relieve the pressure on that many members of the labor force who can go to making military hardware to be shipped off to Hanoi, because they are not needed for making consumer goods for Russians any more.

Our export actions take the pressure off that much machinery with which to relieve production lines in those large equipment plants from making consumer goods so that they can go to making military hardware with which to kill American boys in Hanoi.

If that is not what it is for, why does somebody from the State Department not say so? Why does somebody from the White House not say so? Why does somebody from the military not say so? They do not say so because it is true that that is what they are asking us to embrace and endorse in this Consular Treaty.

The Russians, of course, want these supplies. So, we do have a diplomatic tool. We can say to them: "We are sorry. We cannot accept this treaty now, and we probably cannot send you these supplies any more unless you curtail or curb your shipment of death-dealing merchandise to Vietnam to be used in escalating a casualty list that is already more than half a hundred thousand members strong."

It is those things that we should think about in this moment of truth tomorrow. I am sure that every Senator wants to shorten the war. I am sure that when the facts are made clear, as they have been made clear, that there is this direct relationship between the trade and the treaty, that many Senators, before deciding which group of Americans they want to protect the most, will pay a little attention to the 500,000 Americans in Vietnam who have no chance to visit Russia. They are busily engaged in Vietnam because Uncle Sam has said: "You fight and fight and fight in Vietnam in a war which is beginning to appear interminable." I suspect it will pretty much approach interminability if we persist in sending the enemy directly or indirectly everything it requires with which to continue the fighting.

That is not a good way by which to shorten the war, whether one is a dove or a hawk or an owl, in between, or an eagle.

I urge Senators to think about that before they cast their votes on this reservation tomorrow.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, how much time was used by the Senator from South Dakota?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota used 22 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I make two comments on the speech of the Senator from South Dakota.

The Senator has argued several times this afternoon about the fact that there is a trade provision and trade language in the Consular Treaty.

There is nothing new about that. It is my understanding that this is the standard provision that has prevailed for a long time in other consular treaties.

The provision in the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union relating to trade, article 7, sub 2, is found on page 286 of the hearings. It is not an unusual provision. It is the standard provision in consular conventions.

It is identical to article 5(b) of the Vienna Consular Convention, found on page 301 of the hearings, and identical in substance to article 4(f) of one Consular Convention with Korea and article 17(5) of the Consular Convention with Japan.

These are the two most recent consular conventions ratified by the United States. This is standard language in consular treaties, Mr. President, and I wanted to make that statement because I am afraid that the impression may have been created in the minds of some that it is singular in connection with this proposed Consular Treaty with Russia.

My friend, the Senator from South Dakota, stressed another argument several times this afternoon which would be applicable, if sound, to his present reservation. I think it is completely unsound. That is the argument he makes that the Secretary of State in the letter he sent to our majority leader, the Senator from Montana, is really saying that the Senate may only consent, but not advise, in the case of a treaty; that the Senate must take all treaties as they are and not amend them or attach reservations or understandings to resolutions ratifying them.

It seems to me that the Secretary of State is saying something quite different from what the Senator from South Dakota attributes to him.

There are certainly treaties that would be ratified by the other party or parties even if the Senate did attach reservations to them or to the resolution of ratification. But in the letter to the majority leader I respectfully submit that the Secretary of State is simply saying that it seems to him that in this particular case, as far as this particular treaty is concerned, if we do attach a reservation in our resolution of ratification, our action could lead to either of two undesirable consequences—consequences that the Secretary of State then proceeds to spell out in the letter.

The Secretary of State was asked for his judgment concerning the advisability and feasibility of amendments, reservations, or understandings in this proposed Consular Treaty with Russia. He has given his judgment.

That is what the letter says. He was not asked to comment on the advisability and feasibility of amendments, reservations, or understandings to treaties in general, and he has not commented upon that general question. But he has restricted himself to the Convention we are now considering, and he has said to us:

> If in this case you attach reservations, then, in effect, you are going to kill the treaty.

I do not think we should criticize him for an answer that he has not gvien to a question that he was not asked.

The Secretary of State was not asked whether he thinks the Senate should accept all treaties without reservations. That is not what he said. In fact, we can just take judicial notice that the Secretary of State knows his constitutional law in regard to treaties. He knows that the Senate has the right to attach reservations and has the duty to attach reservations, if in the opinion of the Senate reservations should be attached. However, the question that was put to him was a question as to the advisability of attaching any reservations to this particular treaty, and on that he gave us a forthright answer in which he said in effect—and I agree with him: "a reservation to this treaty will kill it."

That is why some of us have argued earlier this afternoon that in our judgment that is what is planned by this series of reservations that have been offered.

It would have been much better for the opponents of the treaty to say, "We are against the treaty, kill it," rather than to try what I think is in effect a parliamentary scuttling approach to the treaty.

MISPERCEPTION OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

Mr. President, the first 1967 issue of the Journal of International Affairs carries an article by Ralph White entitled: "Misperception of Aggression in Vietnam."

Professor White is a professor of psychology and a member of the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies at George Washington University. His article is a useful contribution to the question of what we are doing in Vietnam, and why.

I ask unanimous consent as in legislative session that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Journal of International Affairs, vol. XXI, No. 1—1967]

MISPERCEPTION OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

(By Ralph K. White)

(NOTE.—Ralph K. White is professor of psychology and a member of the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies at George Washington University. He is the co-author of *Autocracy and Democracy: An Experimental Inquiry*. His study of "Images in the Context of International Conflict: Soviet Perceptions of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R." appeared in a recently published volume, *International Behavior*.)

In the Vietnam war each side declares that it has to fight because of obvious, self-evident "aggression" by the other side. On each side there are images of a Hitler-like enemy, brutally, calculatingly bent on conquest. On each side there is a feeling that it would be weak and cowardly to let the enemy's aggression be rewarded by success; each side feels: "If we are men we cannot let this aggression go unpunished."

The thesis of this article is that both are wrong. There has been no aggression on either side—at least not in the sense of a coldblooded, Hitler-like act of conquest. The analogies of Hitler's march into Prague, Stalin's takeover of Eastern Europe, and the North Korean attack on South Korea are false analogies. There is a better analogy in the outbreak of World War I, when, as historical scholarship has shown, both sides stumbled and staggered into the war in a spirit of self-defense (or defense of national pride against "intolerable humiliation") rather than in a spirit of deliberate conquest. In Vietnam each side, though by no means free from moral guilt, is far from being as diabolical as its enemies picture it, since both believe that whatever crimes they may commit are justified by the magnitude of the emergency. Each knows that it has not "willed" this war. On each side ordinary human beings have become gradually entangled, hating the war and all the suffering associated with it, honestly believing that their manhood requires them to resist the "aggression" of the enemy. But the enemy's "aggression," in the sense which it has been assumed to exist, has not existed.[1]

For reasons that will be discussed, it follows that the only honorable peace would be a compromise peace in which each side could feel it had held out against the aggressor's onslaught and had managed to preserve at least the bare essentials of what it was fighting to defend.

CAN THEY BELIEVE IT WHEN THEY CALL US "AGGRESSORS?"

President Johnson has said, "The first reality is that North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam. Its object is total conquest. . . . Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to the conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then in another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied."[2] Secretary McNamara has said, "The prime aggressor is North Vietnam."[3] Secretary Rusk has repeatedly declared that the whole purpose of our intervention would disappear the moment the North Vietnamese decided to "let their neighbors alone."

The great majority of the American people do not seriously doubt these statements; even among those who doubt the wisdom of our attempting to resist aggression in Southeast Asia there are many who do not doubt that Communist aggression has occurred. Those who do feel that it is our responsibility to resist the aggression that they regard as self-evident are likely to have ready answers to what they suppose to be the arguments against this belief. They may ask: "Can you deny that North Vietnam has sent troops and weapons to the South? Can you deny that the Viet Cong cadres are Communists, controlled by other Communists in Hanoi and perhaps in Peking? Can you deny that war by assassination in the villages is aggression, in principle, as much as is war by invasion of troops across a border?" And when they find that their opponents, while making certain qualifications (e.g., with regard to the completeness of the control of the Viet Cong by Hanoi), do not try to deny the essential truth of any of these things, they are likely to feel that their case is well established and that communist aggression is indeed self-evident.

A visitor from Mars would be struck by the close parallel between all of this and the attitudes that are continually expressed on the other side. According to Ho Chi Minh, "It is crystal clear that the United States is the aggressor who is trampling under foot the Vietamese soil."[4] According to Chou En-lai, "America is rapidly escalating the war in an attempt to subdue the Vietnamese people by armed force."[5] And according to Leonid Brezhnev, "Normalization of our relations [with the U.S.] is incompatible with the armed aggression of American imperialism against a fraternal Socialist country—Vietnam."[6] To the extent that they mean what they say, aggression by us seems as obvious to them as aggression by them seems to us.

That, then, is the essential question: to what extent do they mean what they say?

To most Americans, probably, the charge that *we* are aggressors seems like outrageous nonsense, so transparently false that honest men all over the world must put it down immediately as a propaganda trick by the Communists to cover up their own aggression. The thief is crying "Stop thief" and must be doing it simply to distract attention from his own crime.

It is precisely here, though that the perceptions of most Americans are, in my judgment, basically mistaken. The charge that we have been aggressors—inadvertent aggressors, without for a moment intending to be—is not outrageous nonsense. It is not more false than our charge that the Communists have been aggressors. Both charges are psychologically false, since neither side has committed conscious, deliberate, Hitler-like aggression. But both charges are in a less essential sense true, since both sides, in the belief that they have been defending themselves, have engaged in certain actions which the other side, seeing them within a radically different frame of reference, could easily perceive as aggressive.

That this is true on the American side needs no demonstration. Certain actions of the Communists, notably the campaign of assassination in the villages and the sending of troops from the North to the South, have seemed to most Americans, interpreting them within an American frame of reference, to be flagrantly, self-evidently aggressive. What most Americans have almost wholly failed to realize is that we too have done things which, when perceived within the Communists' radically different frame of reference, have probably seemed to them to be just as flagrantly and self-evidently aggressive. This failure to see how our own actions are perceived by the Communists is the essence of our misperception.

Most of the rest of this article will be devoted to an exploration of the reasons for believing that the Communists do see our behavior as aggressive. The argument is twofold. (1) There are at least eight important kernels of truth in the Communist case against us—eight types of evidence that, when strongly focused upon by a Communist mind and interpreted within a Communist frame of reference, could seem to substantiate his charge of American aggression. (2) There is ample reason to believe that the lenses through which the Communists see reality have a high enough degree of refraction to do the rest of the job. They are quite capable of focusing strongly on these kernels of truth, interpreting them solely within a Communist frame of reference, failing to realize that we see them within a quite different frame of reference, ignoring or misinterpreting all the kernels of truth on our side, and therefore coming up with a black-and-white picture in which their role is wholly defensive and ours is aggressive. The chief reason to think they are capable of this much distortion lies in the fact that most American minds—presumably less dogmatic, more evidence-oriented—have been capable of a similar degree of distortion in the opposite direction. The very fact that so many Americans have denied, misinterpreted, soft-pedaled or simply ignored these eight important kernels of truth on the Communist side is sufficient evidence that the capacity to misperceive in this way is not inherently Communist. It is human. In other situations the Communists have, on the whole, shown much more of it than we have, but in the case of Vietnam the amount of distortion that apparently exists in Communist minds, i.e., the amount of it that they would need in order to believe most of what they say, is no greater than the amount in the minds of most Americans.

What is needed, then, is a careful examination of the "eight kernels of truth." We can hardly understand either the sincerity of Communist thinking or the distortions and blind spots in our own until we focus steadily on the facts that to them seem decisively important.

THREE REASONS WHY THEY THINK SOUTH VIETNAM "BELONGS" TO THEM

The usage of the term "aggression" in the Communists' discourse suggests that in their minds, as in ours, it is applied when either or both of two conditions exist: (1) when they believe, rightly or wrongly, that country A is using force to take land that "belongs" to country B; and (2) when they believe, rightly or wrongly, that most of the people on that land want to be part of Country B. The "eight kernels of truth" mentioned above include three types of evidence that, in my judgment, actually do tend to support their claim that South Vietnam "belongs" to them (reasons other than the belief that the people are on their side) and five types of evidence supporting their claim that most of the people are on their side.

Perhaps it should be repeated: this is not an argument that South Vietnam *does* "belong" to them, or that most of the people *are* on their side. It seems to me that the first of these propositions, when closely analyzed, is largely meaningless, and that the second, though very meaningful, cannot be clearly answered on an empirical basis and is probably somewhat less than half true, since most people in South Vietnam probably do not want to be ruled either by Hanoi or Saigon. This is simply an argument that the facts are complex and ambiguous enough to disprove completely our prevailing American assumption that there has been deliberate, unequivocal Communist aggression, and to make it highly probable that the Communists *think* South Vietnam belongs to them and the people are on their side.[7]

What does "belonging" mean, psychologically? On what grounds does any group come to feel that a certain piece of land obviously "belongs" to it and not to someone else? Though at first glance the concept seems simple, on closer examination it turns out to be extraordinarily complex and elusive. Such an examination is needed, too, in view of the fact that an endless amount of bad blood and of violent conflict has been generated at the places in the world where two or more groups have had conflicting assumptions about what belongs to whom: the Thirteen Colonies, the Confederate States, Cuba, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, the Sudetenland, the Polish Corridor, Danzig, the Baltic states, Taiwan, Quemoy, Tibet, the Sino-Indian border, Indochina, Algeria, Kashmir, Cyprus, Israel. When the territorial self-image of one country overlaps with the territorial self-image of another, trouble seems to be almost inevitable, and such overlapping is hard to avoid because nations differ in their criteria of what constitutes ownership or "belonging." Sometimes, as in our American feeling about the Revolutionary War and the Southern feeling about the Civil War, the criterion is a belief about what most of the people in the area want. Sometimes, as in the British feeling about our Revolutionary War and the Northern feeling about the Civil War, it is a compound of habit, respect for tradition and legality, national pride, beliefs (which may be very deeply held) about what is best for all concerned, including minority groups such as the slaves in the American South or the Catholics in South Vietnam, and perhaps anxiety about what may happen elsewhere if violent attacks on the legally established order are allowed to succeed. There is always a tendency to accept whatever definition of "belonging" makes a given piece of land clearly belong to one's own nation or to an ally.

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[1] A much more detailed and documented presentation of this thesis is contained in Ralph K. White, "Misperception and the Vietnam War," *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. XXII, No. 3 (1966), pp. 1–167.

[2] Johns Hopkins speech, Apr. 7, 1965.

[3] Speech before the National Security Industrial Assn., Mar. 26, 1964.

[4] Interview with Felix Greene, quoted in *The Washington Post,* Dec. 14, 1965, pp. A 1, A 16.

[5] Speech in Peking, reported in *The New York Times,* May 1, 1966, p. 4.

[6] Speech to the Central Committee of the CPSU, reported in *The Washington Post,* Sept. 30, 1965, A 16.

[7] For a more balanced picture of the evidence on both sides, see White, *op. cit.,* especially pp. 19–44, 46–50, 89–90, and 106–16.

If we ask ourselves why most Americans assume that South Vietnam belongs to the Saigon Government and does not belong to the Viet Cong or to the Communist Government in the North, perhaps the best single answer would be that since 1954 we have regarded this as an established, accepted fact. Since 1954 we have had a mental image of Vietnam as having been divided, as Korea was, between a Communist North and a southern portion that was still part of the free world—perhaps precariously so, but for that reason all the more in need of being shored up and defended. Probably in the minds of most well-informed Americans there has been no belief that most of the people in South Vietnam want the kind of government they have had in Saigon. On that score there have been embarrassing doubts. But the doubts have usually been fairly well resolved in various ways, e.g., by the belief that most of the people in South Vietnam belong to a large, politically apathetic middle group that only wants peace and would glady go along with whichever side seems likely to be the winner—from which many infer that there is no popular will which needs to be considered, and that we are therefore free to decide the matter on other grounds. Or the doubts may be resolved by the belief that in the long run a government sponsored by us would permit a genuine development of democracy and national independence, whereas no Communist government would do so; or by the belief that permitting a Communist use of force to succeed in South Vietnam would encourage the "wars of liberation" favored by Communist China and therefore endanger both peace and freedom throughout the world. But all of these points also encounter controversy, and when tired of such controversy many Americans, including Dean Rusk, fall back on the solid, simple, and (they feel)) unanswerable proposition that there are Communist soldiers fighting on land that does not "belong" to them. "We will stay until they decide to let their neighbors alone." And the seeming obviousness of this "belonging," since it cannot be based on assumptions about what the people want, is probably based primarily on the fact that for at least twelve years there has been, on our maps and in our minds, a division between the Communist North and the non-Communist South. We see this as the established, accepted, natural order of things.

In doing so we ignore three facts that in Communist minds are much more important than the division of the country that occurred in 1954.

1. *The division of the country has its only legal basis in the Geneva Conference of 1954, and at that conference it was explicitly agreed that it would last only two years.* The Communist-led Viet Minh stopped fighting on the basis of what seemed to be a firm agreement that there would be an all-Vietnamese vote in 1956 (which they fully expected to win) that would unify the country, establishing both unity and full independence without further bloodshed. According to the respected French historian Philippe Devillers, "The demarcation line was to be purely provisional; the principle of Vietnamese unity was not questioned, and the idea of partition was officially rejected with indignation by both sides. When military forces were regrouped and administrative divisions laid down, national unity would be restored by free general elections."[8]

Informed Americans are now embarrassingly aware (though a great many reasonably well-informed Americans were not clearly aware of it until perhaps two or three years ago) that in 1956 Diem, apparently with American backing, refused to permit the elections that had been provided for by the Geneva Agreement. To be sure, neither he nor we had signed those agreements, and there were other persuasive reasons for not permitting the elections at that time or at any time since then. But that is not the present point at issue; the point is that, having in effect rejected the Geneva Agreement by not carrying out one of its key provisions, Diem and the United States deprived themselves of any right to invoke the Geneva Agreement as a legal or moral sanction for the division of the country. With Diem's decision not to press for a plebiscite under international supervision even in "his own" southern part of the country, he forfeited—at least in Communist eyes—not only all claim to the kind of legitimacy that genuine popular endorsement would have provided, but also all claim to invoke the Geneva Conference's endorsement of the 17th Parallel as a basis for his own rule in the South. In effect he proclaimed *de facto* control—"possession is nine-tenths of the law"—as his sole basis of legitimacy.

In the same year—and this is a fact that very few Americans know, though it is of great importance to the villagers in South Vietnam who became members of the Viet Cong—Diem abolished the fine old semi-democratic Vietnamese system of electing village councils and mayors, which had survived even during the period of French rule. Both of these actions by Diem must have seemed to the Communists to be flagrantly anti-democratic, anti-Vietnamese, and a violation of the agreement on the basis of which they had laid down their arms: It was *after* both had occurred, in 1957, that the Viet Cong began their campaign of assassination of government-appointed officials in the villages. From their standpoint, the decisive acts of armed aggression against them occurred in 1956, and anything they have done since then has only been defensive.

2. *In the years between 1950 and 1954, when the United States was supplying money and arms on a large scale to the French, the French were fighting against a clear majority of the Vietnamese people.*

The years before 1954 represent another major blind spot in the thinking of most Americans, though they are probably ever present in the thinking of the Vietnamese Communists. For them those years were as terrible and as heroic as the years of World War II were for the Communists in the Soviet Union.

Few Americans realize that in 1945 and 1946, when the postwar world was settling down to its present division between East and West, Vietnam was not so divided. Instead, it was enjoying the first flush of what seemed to be independence from the rule of France, under Ho Chi Minh's leadership. Since he was a Communist, this meant that the boundary between the two worlds was at that time the boundary of Vietnam itself. Vietnam as a whole had in a sense "gone Communist" when it accepted Ho's leadership. It was, then, the West that stepped over the boundary and used force on the far side of it. France began then, and continued until 1954—with massive American financial help after 1950—to try to reimpose her rule. Although there was talk of a new autonomous role for the three states of Indochina within the French Union, the anti-French majority of the Vietnamese could be forgiven for regarding this war as naked aggression on the part of France, aided greatly by the United States. The term "imperialist," which sounds so strange in American ears when applied to ourselves, does not sound so strange in the ears of Vietnamese who regarded French rule as imperialist and had much reason to associate alien intruding Frenchmen with alien intruding Americans. As for the word "aggressor," it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, by any definition of the term, we were committing aggression in Vietnam from 1950 to 1954. We were financing the use of force on land that did not "belong" to us—or to the French—by any criterion that we would now accept, and we were doing it against what now clearly seems to have been a majority of the people.

On this last point we have the testimony of many people, including President Eisenhower. As he put it in a much-quoted passage, "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 per cent of the populace would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State Bao Dai."[9]

Since President Eisenhower's statement has often been misinterpreted it should be noted that he did not say that Ho Chi Minh would probably have won by 80 per cent in the elections that Diem refused to hold in 1956. He said "possibly;" he carefully said "had elections been held as of the time of the fighting," i.e., in 1954 or earlier, not in 1956, when Diem's prospect of victory would have been much brighter; and he specified as Ho's hypothetical opponent Bao Dai, who was generally regarded as a weak French stooge, rather than Diem, who at that time was regarded even by many of his enemies as an honest man and a staunch anti-French patriot. But on the point that is now at issue—whether the help we gave to the French was in effect a use of force against a majority of the Vietnamese people—President Eisenhower's statement would seem to be decisive.

Why did we do it? Our reasons were understandable if not valid. In 1950 the Communists had just won in China; they were starting the Korean war, and it looked as if desperate measures were necessary in order to keep all of East and Southeast Asia from succumbing to the Communist juggernaut. Perhaps President Truman was honest enough to say to himself that even aggression against the Vietnamese was justified by the magnitude of the emergency. If present-day Americans are able to be equally honest and to remember clearly the situation as it was then, it will help them to understand how present-day Vietnamese Communists could really regard us as aggressors.

3. *The Communist-led majority of the Vietnamese people had actually won their war for independence in 1954.*

Though they were supported to some extent by arms from China, the arms their enemies gained from the United States and from France were far more formidable. Consequently, one of the clearest indications that a large majority of the Vietnamese people did support Ho lies in the fact that his ragged, relatively poorly armed troops did finally win. The battle of Dienbienphu was decisive, and it was generally agreed at the time that if the Viet Minh had wanted to fight a few months more they could have had the whole country.

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[8] Philippe Devillers, "The Struggle for Unification of Vietnam," *China Quarterly*, No. 9 (1962), pp. 2–23.

[9] Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1963), p. 372.

This is an important part of the psychological background of the Geneva Agreements, and of everything that has happened since. In this respect the situation was very different from the situation in Korea in 1945, when the boundary at the 38th Parallel was first established, or in Korea in 1953, when a military stalemate finally led to a new and roughly similar truce line. In 1953 there was a military stalemate in Korea and the Communists had no basis at all for setting their hearts on unifying the country on their terms. In Vietnam they did. The Vietnamese Communists and the many non-Communists who fought with them had every reason to feel that the prize for which they had struggled and sacrificed through nine heartbreaking years of war was finally theirs: a unified, independent country. Then, by what must have seemed to them a form of chicanery, with the face of America appearing where the face of France had been, and with both Diem and John Foster Dulles blandly claiming that they were not bound by the decisions made at Geneva, a full half of the prize they felt they had fairly won was snatched from them.

Apart from any question of what the people want, then, the Vietnamese Communists have three additional reasons for feeling that South Vietnam "belongs" to them and not to the government established and maintained by us in Saigon: the artificial division of the country at the 17th Parallel was legally and morally invalid after 1956; their war for independence was supported by a large majority of the people; they won that war.

FIVE REASONS WHY THEY THINK THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM ARE ON THEIR SIDE

Since Communists have repeatedly said that any people has a right to fight a "war of liberation" against colonial overlords, no matter how much the rule of the overlords may be sanctioned by tradition and legality, it is clear that their decisive criterion of "aggression" (if they are consistent with their official statements) must be whether "the people" oppose it or not. The following five types of evidence, of which they are probably much more aware than the average American, are therefore relevant to the question of their sincerity on this point.

1. *There are many reasons to think that Vietnamese nationalism is now mobilized, and has been mobilized for some twenty years, much more in favor of Ho Chi Minh than in favor of the French-backed or American-backed government in Saigon.*

In Vietnam, perhaps more than in any other developing country, the Communists have apparently succeeded in fusing Communism with nationalism, and especially with the cause of national unity. The long and finally victorious struggle against the French was conducted primarily under Communist leadership by peasants who regarded their leaders more as patriots than as Communists.[10] President Eisenhower's statement, quoted above, is very relevant here.[11]

It should be noted too that the more and more conspicuous role of America on the Saigon Government side since 1960 has been such as to mobilize the xenophobic nationalism of the Vietnamese in a new way. Since 1960 American aid to Saigon has become far greater and more obvious, while Chinese aid to the Communists has been on a much smaller scale. There are many big-nosed white faces now on the Government side of the war, while those on the Viet Cong side are authentically Vietnamese, even though now a considerable and very potent fraction of them have come down from the North. The Viet Cong guerrillas have been helped by their own countrymen, while the Government has incurred what is probably a much greater stigma by accepting massive help from white foreigners who cannot even speak Vietnamese.

2. *The peasants want land, and many of them have had land taken away from them by the Government.*

Although there is a village-centered peasant nationalism, it may well be that another motive—hunger—is even more basic in the typical peasant's make-up. He wants to safeguard the bowl of rice that represents his next meal, and the rice field that represents next year's meals for himself, his wife, and his children. From the standpoint of many peasants in the southern part of South Vietnam, especially the Mekong Delta, their rice and their rice fields have been under attack not only by the crop-destroying chemicals that have been dropped (in some areas) by Government planes, but also by the absentee landlords who have in many instances demanded between thirty and fifty per cent of the crop. This fact of absentee landlordism in the South is little known in the United States. It has been estimated that in South Vietnam proper (Cochin China, roughly the southern one-third of the country) only two per cent of the people owned forty-five per cent of the land before 1945.[12] Land reform since then has not greatly changed the situation. Some has occurred under Diem and his successors, but it was preceded by a drastic reclaiming of land that the Viet Minh, when it was in control of large areas in South Vietnam, had given to the peasants outright. Land reform by the present government has been a pale imitation of land reform under the Communist-led Viet Minh.

3. *Probably much more physical suffering has been imposed on the peasants by the Government and its American allies than by the Viet Cong.*

On this point Americans have had misperceptions of two quite different kinds. On the one hand there is the misperception of those Americans who, shocked by occasional television pictures of weeping mothers, roughly handled prisoners, and deliberately burned villages, have failed to realize that the atrocities of the Viet Cong, less accessible to Western photographers and less vividly depicted, are just as real. Public disembowelment of "enemies of the people" and of their wives and children is only one of the revolting procedures employed by them, and it has seldom found its way to our American newspaper pages or television screens. On the other hand, there is the misperception of those Americans who, focusing primarily on the widely discussed Viet Cong assassinations of teachers, health workers, and Government-appointed village officials, have often remained ignorant of the highly probable fact that, because of the nature of guerrilla and counter-guerrilla war, the sheer volume of suffering inflicted by the Government has been considerably greater than that inflicted by the Viet Cong.

There are two reasons for this. The more familiar one is that the present process of using American firepower and mobility to break the back of the Viet Cong has meant—despite genuine efforts to minimize it—a large amount of killing, maiming, and sometimes napalming of villages who, whether "innocent" from our point of view or not, certainly regard themselves as innocent.[13] In a culture that values family loyalty as much as the Vietnamese culture does, this deeply affects not only those who have suffered from it themselves but also those who have seen a parent or other relative suffer or die.

The less familiar reason for it is that, in the conduct of counter-guerrilla operations, it is urgently necessary to obtain intelligence about the identity of the guerrilla fighters and where they are hiding. South Vietnamese soldiers have interpreted this as justifying a large-scale use of torture to obtain information not only from captured Viet Cong prisoners themselves but also from wives and relatives of men suspected of being in the Viet Cong. There is the water torture, the electric-current torture, the wire-cage torture—all widely used—and there are other kinds even less well-known in the United States (perhaps chiefly because of unofficial self-censorship by most of our information gatherers in Saigon) but well documented by observers such as Bernard Fall, Malcolm Browne, and Robin Moore.[14]

The ignorance and apathy of the great majority of the American public with regard to this ugliest aspect of the war represent in themselves a puzzling and very disturbing psychological phenomenon. Bernard Fall in 1965 spoke about "the universally callous attitude taken by almost everybody toward the crass and constant violations of the rules of war that have been taking place. . . . To me the moral problem which arises in Vietnam is that of torture and needless brutality to combatants and civilians alike."[15] But the fact of widely used torture has not been cited here as an accusation against the United States. As we have seen, some of the Viet Cong atrocities have been at least as bad. The direct participants in the torture have as a rule been South Vietnamese, not Americans, and during the past year (partly as a result of the article by Bernard Fall quoted above) the American military authorities have provided American troops with clear instructions not only as to the applicability of the 1949 Convention on the humane treatment of prisoners but also as to the long-run counterproductive character of the torturing of prisoners and their relatives. The fact is cited here because it provides such an emotionally compelling kernel of truth in the Communist case against the Saigon Government, as well as for the Communist thesis that the common people *must* hate that government. Simply by focusing on this and ignoring similar atrocities on the Communist side a Communist could arrive at that conclusion.

4. *There has been a great deal of inefficiency and corruption on the part of the local officials appointed by the Saigon Government.*

The tradition of exploitation and cheating of the peasants by Government-appointed officials is perhaps no worse than in a number of other Asian countries, including pre-Communist China; but it is very bad,[16] and it does contrast with the Viet Cong's tradition of comparative honesty and concern with the welfare of the rank-and-file peasants.[17] Inefficiency is also clearly very common, in contrast with the quite extraordinary efficiency (in some ways) of the Viet Cong; and in many relatively inaccessible villages the choice is not between the Viet Cong type of village government and that of the Saigon officials, but between Viet Cong government and virtually no government at all. In these villages the Viet Cong cadres fill a political vacuum and provide an alternative to anarchy. To be sure, they themselves have helped to produce the anarchy by assassinating Government-appointed village leaders. But their tactics have not been the only cause of anarchy, and they themselves are probably more aware, indeed inordinately aware, of their own comparative honesty and efficiency, which "must" bring the peasants over to their side.

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[10] Bernard Fall, *The Two Vietnams* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 104–29; Ellen Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954); Jean Lacouture, *Vietnam Between Two Truces* (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 5, 8, and 32.

[11] On the importance and nature of Vietnamese nationalism, see George A. Carver, Jr., "The Real Revolution in South Viet Nam," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (1965), especially pp. 399 and 403.

[12] Fall, *op. cit.*, pp. 308–11.

[13] Major-General Edward G. Lansdale, "Viet Nam: Do We Understand Revolution?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1 (1964), p. 81.

[14] Bernard Fall, "Vietnam Blitz: A Report on the Impersonal War," *The New Republic*, Oct. 9, 1965, pp. 18–21; Malcolm W. Browne, *The New Face of War* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), pp. 114–18; Robin Moore, *The Green Berets* (New York: Avon Books, 1965), pp. 46–50.

[15] Fall, *ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

[16] M. Mok, "In They Go—To the Reality of This War," *Life*, Nov. 26, 1965, p. 71.

None of this, it may be noted, is incompatible with the fact, now well documented, that in the years since 1963 the Viet Cong's high-handed methods of taxation and recruitment among the peasants have become more and more burdensome. The comparative honesty and efficiency of Viet Cong functionaries are linked with an essentially authoritarian attitude and a willingness to subordinate peasant welfare to the progress of the war. But *in their minds* the peasant's resentment of such tactics is probably underestimated, while his appreciation of their more positive contributions is probably overestimated.

5. The Viet Cong has a record of remarkable military success against enormous obstacles, and it seems unlikely that such success could have been achieved without widespread popular support.

Americans sometimes forget or underestimate the great advantage that the anti-Communist forces have enjoyed from the standpoint of weapons, especially since America began in 1950 to give large-scale material help to the French. The total amount of such help has clearly been much greater than the material help the Viet Cong has received from the North. Moreover, few Americans realize that the rebellion did not begin in the part of South Vietnam near Laos and the Ho Chi Minh Trail, where an appreciable amount of help from the North might have been possible. It began primarily in the far South, in the Mekong Delta, where it was necessary to use mainly homemade or captured weapons. The rebels therefore had to make up in organization, dedication, and extent of popular support for the Government's great advantage in material equipment.[18] Still another fact frequently forgotten in America (or never learned) is that the rebellion began to a significant extent in 1957,[19] at least three years before its surprising success—with little outside help—led the Communist authorities in the North to give it a significant amount of material help.

It is true that one major compensating advantage possessed by the Viet Cong has been the tactical advantage of concealment and surprise that has led to the conventional estimate that counter-guerrilla forces must have a ten-to-one numerical superiority over guerrilla forces in order to defeat them. But what is sometimes forgotten is that the guerrillas' tactical advantage exists to this high degree only when they have the active support of most of the people (which they could hardly get by intimidation alone) in helping them to conceal themselves, in helping to supply them with the intelligence they need in order to have the full advantage of surprise, and in denying to the counter-guerrilla forces the same kind of intelligence.

Here too there are important counterarguments on the anti-Communist side. In particular the use of intimidation by the Viet Cong to clinch their hold on the peasants must account for much of the peasant cooperation that has occurred. But here again it is important to note that the Communists themselves are probably overinclined to discount or ignore those counterarguments. The military successes of the Viet Cong against far better armed opponents have been remarkable enough to enable Communists to say to themselves: "The people *must* be on our side."

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There are at least five reasons, then, to think that the Communists believe most of the people are on their side: nationalistic resentment of intrusion by white Americans, land hunger, resentment of torture and other physical suffering caused by the Government, the corruption of officials, and the military success of the Viet Cong against great material odds.

Together with the three additional reasons reviewed earlier for thinking they feel that South Vietnam is part of "their" country, these five seem quite adequate to make it probable that doctrinaire Communists, already predisposed against the United States, do believe it when they call us "aggressors." However mistaken this proposition may be (and I happen to think it is largely mistaken, on the basis of evidence that has hardly been touched upon here), the Communists probably *believe* it is true.[20]

A SENSIBLE AND HONORABLE COMPROMISE

The preceding discussion is a diagnosis of the problem, not a prescription for its solution. In the light of this diagnosis, though, my own feeling is that the most sensible and honorable policy for the United States is to seek a compromise peace. It is the only kind of peace that would allow *both* sides to feel that they had preserved from the aggressor's grasp the bare essentials of what they were fighting to defend.

It could take various forms. One is a coalition government, with efforts by other countries to keep the coalition from being dominated by the organized, dedicated Communist minority within it. Such a coalition could be the outcome of negotiations, if genuine negotiations become possible, or it might conceivably be set up by our side unilaterally, with a real effort to give the Viet Cong and all other elements of the population power commensurate with their actual strength. Or it could take the form of a partition of the South along lines reflecting the balance of military power at the time the partition occurs. This too could be done with negotiations if possible but without negotiations if necessary—unilaterally, by a decision to concentrate our military strength on consolidating non-Communist control of large contiguous areas (not small "enclaves") while withdrawing from overexposed, hard-to-hold areas elsewhere. Free migration into and out of each area might follow, as it did in the partition that followed the 1954 agreement.

As to the relative merits of different types of compromise peace there are complex pro's and con's, and this is not the place to discuss them. What is argued here is that a search for *some* feasible form of compromise peace is the only sensible and honorable policy for the United States.

When each side believes the other to be the aggressor, both are sure to regard any compromise as unsatisfactory, since each will see a compromise as granting to the aggressor some part of his ill-gotten gains. Each wants to ensure that the aggressor is not rewarded by any expansion whatsoever. In this case, for instance, we Americans and our Vietnamese allies would hate to accept a compromise that we defined as granting to the Communists any expansion of power, either by gaining some land south of the 17th Parallel or by gaining some power in a coalition government. The Communists would similarly regard with dismay a compromise peace that left the American "aggressors" still firmly ensconced on Vietnamese soil and still (as they would see it) ruling a large part of the country through their lackeys in Saigon. To them it would seem like a bitter and futile end to their twenty years of struggle to drive the alien white intruders into the sea.

As long as both sides rigidly adhere to this principle, a compromise is clearly impossible. However, *if* there is no clear break in the present military stalemate and the bloody, inhuman war continues with no end in sight, each side may lower its sights and begin to consider seriously whether some form of compromise would necessarily be cowardly and dishonorable. Probably both sides would even then be grimly determined never to surrender. "Surrender is unthinkable." But each side might become aware that it had a hierarchy of preferences. Three choices might emerge instead of only two: surrender (unthinkable), a compromise peace, and unending war, instead of surrender (unthinkable) and victory. Among these three choices a compromise peace might then seem the least intolerable.

What are the bare essentials of what each side is fighting to defend? Are they incompatible? Or would it be possible for both sides simultaneously to preserve what they care about most?

On our side, it seems to me, there are two things that a large majority of the American people regard as essential: to avoid a significant "domino" process in other parts of the world, and to preserve a tolerable life for our anti-Communist friends in Vietnam. The first of these is believed to be a matter of defending both freedom and peace: the freedom of other countries that are vulnerable to the Chinese strategy of takeover by "wars of liberation," and the peace that would be endangered elsewhere if a Communist victory in Vietnam led Communists everywhere to be more aggressive. The second is more a matter of honor and commitment. We feel that our words and actions have established a commitment to our anti-Communist allies, and that if we abandoned them to the untender mercies of the Viet Cong we would be doing a shameful thing. The validity of these two points will not be debated here; it is necessary only to recognize that most of the Americans who would be involved in the decision do care about both of them, and care deeply.

On the Communist side there are as yet no verbal indications of a hierarchy of preferences. On the surface there is only a fervent, monolithic insistence that the American aggressors must be wholly eliminated from the scene; and since we feel that any complete withdrawal by us would both accentuate the domino process and leave our anti-Communist friends helpless in the face of the organized, dedicated, vengeful Viet Cong, there is little chance of a compromise on this basis. It seems likely, though, that beneath the surface they do have a hierarchy of preferences. Perhaps, if convinced that the alternative is not victory but unending war, they would prefer peace with undisturbed control of some large fraction (say a

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[17] Malcolm Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–28; Viet Cong Soldiers' Diaries, quoted in *The Vietnam Reader*, ed. by M. G. Raskin and Bernard Fall (New York: Random House. 1965), p. 227.

[18] Fall, *The Two Vietnams*, p. 317; Lacouture, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–23.

[19] Carver, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

[20] Douglas Pike, *Viet Cong* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 378. Although Pike is very skeptical of the proposition that most of the people support the Viet Cong, he speaks of the party's "mystic belief in the power *and loyalty* of the people." Italics added.

> half) of the population of South Vietnam. This would mean that they could stay alive, go back to the increasingly urgent business of cultivating their rice paddies, and preserve the way of life in which they have invested so much effort and sacrifice. The Communists in the North would be spared further bombing and the danger of a wider war, and although they would have failed in their great objective of unifying the country under their own control, they could salvage some pride in the thought that they had held their own against a much more powerful aggressor.
>
> On each side, then, a compromise peace might be interpreted as salvaging the bare essentials of what that side was fighting to defend. It therefore seems psychologically feasible if we pursue it intelligently and persistently.
>
> It also seems more honorable than any other alternative. By keeping the American flag flying in South Vietnam and stubbornly refusing to retreat from our present power position we would be balancing the power of Communist China on its periphery and fulfilling our obligation to the small non-Communist countries that are threatened by Communist takeover. We would also be fulfilling our obligation to preserve the life and livelihood of our non-Communist friends in Vietnam itself. But if we attempted by force of arms to conquer the parts of South Vietnam in which most of the people regard us as alien aggressors—and the evidence suggests that a very large proportion of the people in certain areas see us in that light—we would be in conflict with the principle of self-determination. It is not in the American tradition to impose abject surrender on brave men who believe, rightly or wrongly, that they are defending their homeland against aggression by us.

Mr. MORSE. I find no relevancy in the argument of the Senator from South Dakota and other Senators that a reservation should be attached to this treaty because American boys are being killed in South Vietnam. As I said earlier this afternoon, our rejection of the treaty will not stop the killing. In my judgment, it will make the situation in foreign policy much more tense. What we should be concerned about is whether or not we are going to continue such a wrongful course in Vietnam that we finally end up with China and Russia coming into the war, and increasing thousands of American boys being killed.

You are not going to protect the boys in Vietnam by turning your back to Russia and walking the other way because she is aiding the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. We do not like to face up to it. She has every right to aid them, because we have moved over there with over 400,000 American troops. We are infiltrating every week, intensifying the escalation, and we are drawing the issue with the Communist world. For us to say they will have to do what we say, rather than taking the position that you have to work out a negotiated settlement and stop your killing and stop your escalating—that is the question with which we have to deal.

For us to say, "Russia, you have to stop aiding North Vietnam and the Vietcong, but we, the United States, with our holier-than-thou attitude, have the right to infiltrate and to aggress and to send over there increasing numbers of American boys to be slaughtered," is a shocking, hypocritical attitude, as history will record against us.

Well, I am proud that it has never been done with my vote, and it is not going to be done with my vote, because I am not going to have the blood of those American boys on my hands.

We should change our course of action, stop the escalating, and attempt to work out a multilateral arrangement with the other countries of the world, to find a basis for a negotiated settlement.

I close by saying that whoever manages to attach a reservation or an understanding to this convention will indeed have a place in history. He will be known as the killer of the Consular Convention, and this is a place in history not to be sought lightly.

We have a job of statesmanship to do in connection with this treaty, so that the finger never can be pointed at us, that in this critical time of world history we decided to walk in the opposite direction from Russia, when what is needed is to increase the intercourse of diplomacy with Russia, to the end that we can find some way, with honor, to bring about a multilateral negotiation for the settlement of the war in South Vietnam which is so unjustifiably killing increasing numbers of American boys week by week.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] has used 22 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And we have used 12 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fourteen minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In order that we may start off evenly tomorrow, I yield back 8 minutes, to give us the same amount of time tomorrow.

Mr. President, I believe that under the previous unanimous-consent request, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] is entitled to speak for such time as he desires. I understand that the Senator will not speak on the treaty, and the time is not to be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

PIECEMEAL APPROACH TO UNITED STATES-SOVIET RELATIONS

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, recently in remarks in this Chamber, I pointed out the fallacies in a piecemeal approach to the treaties and legislation which deal intimately with our entire posture in relations with the Communist bloc. Currently we can anticipate that the Consular Treaty, the Open Space Treaty, and East-West trade legislation will be coming before us this session. Even a cursory glance at the scope of these three items indicates the far-reaching effect which this package will have on our foreign policy. While each of us can applaud the concept of "building bridges" between the nations of the world, prudence would seem to require that before even the first stone is laid in the foundation of this bridge we must insure that the completed structure will accommodate two-way traffic. If all of the benefit is to flow in one direction only—that is, to Russia—we must know before we authorize the construction.

In an effort to aid in placing this dialog in the proper context, I would like to examine in some detail the underlying premise of the "bridge builders." The entire underpinnings of their structure are resting on their belief that there is a new outlook within the Soviet Union. I feel that a closer look at the facts is indicated.

This year marks the 50th anniversary year of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Despite the general conviction that the Bolsheviks of 1917 were "crackpots" who would soon succumb to the realities of power, and who would soon become sober when faced with the responsibilities of creating a viable government, communism has expanded radically in the half century since the revolution. For these 50 years there have been alternating currents of optimism and pessimism in the West concerning the future course of the Soviet Union. A brief look at history reveals these currents:

In 1921, after 3 years of a futile attempt to put into practice the principles of communism as an operational scheme, the Communists announced a "New Economic Policy"—NEP. Under the new economic policy, the Soviet Union sought a retrenchment, and returned to a limited form of private enterprise. The reaction in the West was one of optimism; American businessmen, perceiving substantial commercial opportunities under this new Soviet attitude, immediately plunged into competition to secure those markets. The new economic policy lasted for 7 years, and was followed by a sudden return to collectivism, accompanied by terrorism of the most extreme form. The early optimism of most Western observers clearly was not justified by the events that followed. The transition from NEP to the period of collectivization was viewed by some in the West as a "necessary adjustment after a period of severe economic and social dislocation." Some rationalized the mass extinction of the million of wealthy peasants and businessmen which had been created as a result of the new economic policy, arguing that the West should attempt to understand the peculiar conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union as it sought to create its own industrial revolution.

Then, in 1935, as the Communists officially adopted a policy of cooperation with others under the general heading of the "united front," a fresh wave of optimism swept through the West. It was assumed that, since the Communists had decided to drop the barriers of isolation which they themselves had created, they would, through prolonged contact with non-Communists, eventually find their ideological fervor diluted when confronted with political reality. The united front, of course, turned out to be nothing more than a breathing space for the Communists, who saw in the growth of fascism in Western Europe a distinct threat to their future. The period of the united front included the alliance with Hitler which was subsequently broken by the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, and extended through

World War II, paying important dividends for the Communists. Assuming that the Soviet Union would join in efforts to create a peaceful and constructive world order, many in the United States felt that there were real possibilities for East-West cooperation. The opposite soon proved to be true, as the cold war began on the heels of the armistice in Europe and Asia.

For 8 years following World War II, until the death of Stalin in 1953, the Soviet Union intensified its cold war policies and stressed the differences separating Communist and non-Communist societies. With the rise to power of Khrushchev, optimism again became the order of the day. Khrushchev, a Ukrainian peasant, was judged to be a pragmatist and not a revolutionary, a man with whom "one could do business." The wave of optimism was significantly strengthened by Khrushchev's famous de-Stalinization" speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in February 1956. It was reinforced by still other waves of optimism arising from the "Spirit of Geneva," and the "Spirit of Camp David." Punctuated only by such unpleasant events as the series of threats to free Berlin, the suppression of the East German, Polish, and Hungarian revolutions, the spirit of optimism prevailed.

In 1963, optimism reached its highest peak, with the signing of the limited test ban treaty and the beginning of the "relaxation of tensions," or detente.

The analysis of these events proves at least two things: First, the optimists have nearly always been wrong concerning Soviet intentions; and second, the threat has not diminished, but has been successively intensified—politically, economically, and now militarily. That is to say, the threat has intensified strategically—the overall threat has become greater, not less.

But the most fundamental change in our attitude toward the Communist movement has come in the last 4 years, with the development of what has been called the detente. The events of the detente have produced what one may call a detente mentality. This has become a dominant mentality, one which influences the bulk of research and writing on the "relaxation of tensions" that has developed between the United States and the Soviet Union. In brief, the detente mentality is a state of mind which places above all other considerations the desire to resolve our differences with the Soviet Union, even if this should require that fundamental concessions must be made on our part to achieve that goal. There is, for example, a body of opinion which now holds that any measures the United States takes to strengthen its own security interests will serve to damage the further progress of the detente with the Soviet Union, and will therefore tend to encourage so-called hardline leaders in the Kremlin. Thus, even in the field of national security, the United States should refrain from taking actions which would "upset" the current "moderate" Soviet leadership.

Numerous reasons have been given for the development of the detente. They can be analyzed by examining the six major arguments:

First. It is alleged that the Soviet Union, faced with increasing difficulties in its relations with Communist China, and seeing in Communist China a distinct threat to its own security, has been forced to turn westward to seek aid in managing the Chinese problem.

It would certainly be imprudent if one were not to recognize that fundamental difficulties do affect Sino-Soviet relations, but the Sino-Soviet split cannot be said to be irreparable. Already there are signs that, should Mao Tse-tung and his allies be deposed, a more practical and sensible regime may come to power in China, thereby increasing the chances of a rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

Second. It is alleged that the Soviet Union, as a result of its retreat during the Cuban missile crisis, realized that it could no longer hope to match the strategic power of the United States. It is further alleged that this admission forced the Soviet Union to "come to terms" with the United States.

Third. It is alleged that the disappointments which Communists have encountered in attempting to increase revolutionary activity throughout the world have demonstrated clearly that Communist ideology is no longer workable and that it will not yield dividends. As a result, this argument holds that the Soviets have returned to realpolitik in world affairs. This means that the Soviet Union will henceforth begin to conduct its relations with others in terms of enlightened self-interest, and not on the basis of revolutionary demands imposed by Communist ideology. At the same time, the transition to realpolitik is taken to mean that ideology has been discarded as an influential component of policymaking. Only Communist China any longer needs the demands of ideology. The logical conclusion to be drawn from this theory is that the Soviet Union no longer believes in the feasibility of achieving worldwide rule, and will now settle back into the conventional patterns of international politics observed by traditional nation states.

Fourth. It is alleged that the Soviet Union sought the detente in order to meet rising demands from its citizens. The satisfaction of these demands was to be accomplished through an expansion of consumer goods production. It is also alleged that the new emphasis of Soviet production upon consumer goods has brought about a sort of "economic rationalism" in the Soviet economy, and has forced the Soviet Union to adopt certain capitalist techniques. The persistence and integration of capitalist techniques is further alleged to have had a significant impact upon the overall thinking of Communist planners. Some have predicted that the techniques and practices are here to stay, and will eventually force the Soviet Union more and more toward acceptance of a form of capitalism. As the Soviet Union embarks upon a capitalist path, it is argued that it will perceive to an even greater extent that external aggression and revolution are incompatible with the goal of satisfying the wants and needs of the Soviet people.

Fifth. It is alleged that the growing independence of the Eastern European Communist countries has convinced the Soviet Union that it cannot maintain an empire in which its own power is the final determinant. Polycentricism, as the loosening process is known, has had a powerful feedback effect upon the Soviet Union, forcing the Soviet leadership to place less stress upon revolution and more stress upon evolution toward well-being and self-sufficiency. If this trend persists, it is argued, the countries of Eastern Europe will gradually slip closer to the West and possibly will eventually be in a position to detach themselves completely from Soviet influence. This will, it is argued, make for a more peaceful world.

Sixth. It is alleged that, following the many years of Stalinist terror, "liberalization" is the only path which the Soviet leadership can now follow. This is also said to be true with respect to Eastern Europe, where definite signs of a slackening of arbitrary police terror have been apparent for some time. Oddly enough, Rumania, often alleged to be the prime example of liberalization, remains one of the strictest totalitarian Communist states in the entire bloc.

Proponents of the detente hold that these "important developments" within the world Communist movement called for new U.S. policy initiatives. Accordingly, following the Cuban missile crisis certain new assumptions were made concerning the future course of United States-Soviet relations. The assumptions, which became the basis for new policies, were: First, the motivating principle of U.S.-Soviet relations should be one of interdependence. Interdependence between the United States and the Soviet Union is understood to mean the creation of common interests shared by both countries and stress by each upon these interests held in common as opposed to stress upon the differences between the two systems. If a period of interdependence could be sufficiently protracted, it was felt, reality would compel both countries to pursue a course of active convergence; second, simply stated, convergence is taken to mean that the Soviet Union will gradually drift—more or less steadily—toward capitalism, while the United States will drift—more or less steadily—toward communism. At some future point, as yet undetermined, the two societies will come to share common goals and values. On this basis, the two nations will perceive a clear need for, and, therefore, a compulsion to, joint action to insure world peace and the betterment of mankind.

According to the proponents of the theories of interdependence and convergence, the Soviet Union must have continual reassurance from the United States concerning its intentions. Specifically, the United States must give assurance that its intentions are peaceful, and that it does not in fact intend to engage in aggressive activities against the Soviet Union. Some extreme proponents of this point of view go so far as to argue that the United States must not engage in "provocative actions," which would only serve as a deterrent to the further development of peaceful and proper relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. "Provocative actions" are understood to include such items as an increase in U.S. strategic superiority, and the building of an antiballistic missile system. This latter, a question of critical importance in current and projected U.S. policymaking, has become the subject of heated debate here in the Congress, within the executive branch and in certain journalistic circles. Opponents of an ABM system who consider it to be provocative include the journalist Walter Lippmann, the scientist Jerome Wiesner, former science adviser to President Kennedy, and Roswell Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

According to the proponents of these theories, Soviet intentions are centered on the declaration that the Soviet Union wishes to live in "peaceful coexistence" with the rest of the world, principally with the United States and its Western allies. The crux of the argument, however, rests on an understanding of the term "peaceful coexistence." If peaceful coexistence is understood by both sides to be a desired state of affairs in which the principle of noninterference in the affairs of others is strictly observed, then the possibilities for a settlement of the cold war and an ensuing period of peace are indeed great. However, the record of experience, and particularly the experience of the past six years, indicates clearly that the Soviets and their allies place a quite different construction on the meaning of "peaceful coexistence." In short, for them it represents a complex strategic doctrine designed to further the deterioration of Western strength and influences, and to augment the strength of the Communist bloc.

The net intention of the peaceful coexistence strategy is to provide an "umbrella" which allows for all actions short of direct conflict or nuclear war between the two super powers and/or their allies, while at the same time providing ample opportunity for all forms of sublimited warfare in an effort to steadily erode the will and the capability of the West to resist the inevitable tide of history; that is, the "world revolution" which Communists have so long proclaimed as their principal goal. The "world revolution," of course, involves the complete destruction—not necessarily in the physical sense—of non-Communist governments everywhere. Those who disagree with this interpretation feel that the Soviet Union has honestly expressed its desire for peaceful coexistence on a live-and-let-live basis, and that over a prolonged period of time, the Soviet Union will gradually settle down and accept the status quo without attempting to alter boundaries, upset and subvert other governments, and increase its strategic strength with the aim of intimidating or actually seeking to defeat the West.

The argument, therefore, hinges on two radically different interpretations of Soviet strategy under conditions of "peaceful coexistence." An interesting guideline in the debate on the nature of Soviet peaceful coexistence strategy in the definition provided by former Premier Nikita Khrushchev in the famous January 6, 1961, speech, in which he declared peaceful coexistence to be "a form of intense economic, political, and ideological struggle—against the aggressive forces of imperialism in the international arena." This doctrine has not been altered since the removal of Khrushchev from power, but, on the contrary, has been reaffirmed in every major pronouncement made by the present Soviet leadership of Brezhnev and Kosygin.

In this connection, we should take note that the Soviet Union and its allies in the world Communist movement place heavy stress upon the Declaration of the Twelve Communist and Workers Parties of 1957 and the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties of 1960, documents of major importance which define the strategy and tactics of the "present epoch." The Soviets have repeatedly insisted—most noticeably in recent months—on the continuing validity of these documents, despite the fact that they were written at the direction of Khrushchev and that a considerable period of time has elapsed since their publication. It would be most instructive for policymakers, both in the Congress and the Executive, and for others who study Communist affairs today to review these two major documents which, it should be noted, were signed by Communist China. The interpretation of both documents has become the subject of numerous disputes in the ideological polemics between the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Finally, it should be noted that under conditions of peaceful coexistence, the bulk of the Communist movement—that is, today, the overwhelming majority of Communist Parties, which support the Soviet line as opposed to the Chinese line—constantly predicts that it will "win." It views the tide of history as running in favor of the Communist movement and directly counter to the interests of the United States and other Western "imperialists," and feels that the inevitable force of history will "sweep upon the rubbish heap" all forms of opposition to communism. Whether Communists actually believe that there is a tide of history carrying them to "victory" is a matter of dispute among students of international communism. However, since public pronouncements, declarations, speeches, and other documents are more often than not a reliable index of the intentions of nations, it behooves the West not to dismiss lightly what may at first glance appear to be mere propagandistic declarations of the Communists.

Having described in some detail the principal theories and assumptions concerning the detente, it is now legitimate to ask: Are these theories and assumptions valid? What, in fact, has happened as a result of the détente?

First, the proponents of the detente in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations—as well as their academic advisers—have felt that if the detente is stretched out for a sufficiently long period of time, their assumptions will have been validated, and the Soviet Union will have embarked upon a path of meaningful, constructive, and progressive change.

In fact, the experience of the detente indicates precisely the contrary. The Soviet Union has traditionally mixed policies of aggression with peaceful declarations. In this instance, it followed a policy of relaxation vis-a-vis Western Europe and the United States, but at the same time stepped up subversion and assistance to revolutionary activity in the underdeveloped world—most noticeably in Vietnam. The Soviet Union and its allies have sought to utilize the detente not to satisfy consumer needs, and not simply to develop a better form of life for the Soviet people, but to build up the power sectors of their economics. That is to say, they have used the detente to build up their strategic strength. The antiballistic system now being deployed in certain areas of the Soviet Union is a case in point, and demonstrates the validity of the thesis that from the very beginning the Soviets looked upon the detente as a "breathing space" during which they could compensate for their strategic inferiority to the United States.

In the process of enhancing its overall strategic strength, the Soviet Union has sought to enlist the West to help them perform this task through increased trade, financed principally by long-term credits. The Soviet Union has vigorously expanded and modernized its merchant fleet to a point where, within 5 years, it could be in a position of superiority on the high seas. The same applies to the development of the Soviet submarine fleet, which is acknowledged to be a potential threat of the first magnitude to free world superiority on the high seas. At the same time, the Soviet Union has radically expanded its scheduled and nonscheduled air operations, principally to Africa, and other underdeveloped regions of the world. The intention is to establish a firm "commercial" foothold in the underdeveloped world, which could at a later date serve as an important means of access to regions which have experienced civil, religious, and tribal warfare and in which there are signs of more not less, instability and backsliding.

With respect to the international Communist movement, the Soviet Union has suffered somewhat by a general loosening and relaxation of discipline within the ranks. There can be no doubt that the differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China are indeed real, but it cannot now be assumed—especially with the current upheaval in China—that the Soviet Union and Communist China will never be able to repair their outstanding differences. Certainly, the international Communist movement will never be the same as it was in the days of Stalin, if only because prevailing conditions have forced the alteration of the structure and hierarchy in the movement.

Polycentricism does not mean the breakup and demise of the entire Communist movement. It does not make sense to assume that since the Communist movement is divided into pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet factions, its overall strength and effectiveness are automatically impaired. In point of fact, Sino-Soviet differences may well serve to increase demands upon U.S. strategy, if only because we would be forced to deal with two radically different strategies, each pursued with equal vigor by its respective proponents. It is important to keep in mind that there are now over 90 Communist Parties operating in the world with a claimed membership of 50 million, and with only a few exceptions membership in the Communist Party organizations has steadily increased in recent years. Most of the Communist Parties of the world support Moscow, and this support is reflected by across-the-board agreement with the dominant Soviet line.

Even faced with a major split with the Chinese, the Soviets have brought about a remarkable degree of consolidation in the ranks of its own supporters. Outstanding evidence supporting this thesis is the recently established tricontinental movement, the result of a meeting in Havana in January 1966. It is useful to recall that the many resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference were agreed upon by both Chinese and Soviet representatives.

Without a doubt, the Soviet Union still has as a primary objective the dissolution of allied unity, principally through the breakup of NATO and the expansion of bilateral contacts. In the past, the Soviets have always preferred individual diplomatic relations over group diplomacy, realizing that single countries are more vulnerable to persuasive argumentation than would be the case if the Western partners presented a united front. The rationale is quite simple: it is easier to "pick off" countries on a one-by-one basis.

What problems will face the United States in the immediate and long-range future? This Senator argues here that the Communist threat to the free world has become greater and not less; that the increased threat is not just military, or political, or economic, but all of these—a strategic threat.

There is, of course, the important issue of our own defense capabilities and the apparent Soviet advances in antiballistic missile defense. Opponents of the construction of a U.S. ABM defense system to offset that which the Soviets are now deploying argue that the Soviet decision to go ahead with the ABM represents a continuation of "traditional" Soviet emphasis of defensive strategy. They argue that, should the United States now attempt to develop and deploy its own system, another useless and wasteful upward spiral in the arms race will inevitably follow. They further argue that the United States, through increased efforts in its own offensive capabilities, can compensate for the Soviet ABM system, which will still allow the United States to maintain the initiative by possessing an effective deterrent.

But few have considered the other side of the coin; if the Soviet system now being deployed is in fact effective, then it is not just "defensive." On the contrary, it assumes a most important offensive character because of its psychological and strategic significance, and on the basis of our past experience we can be sure that the Soviets will exploit every psychological advantage accruing to it from an ABM system. Imagine, if you will, a repetition of the Cuban missile crisis, and a decisive threat to U.S. security interests. How credible would be our crisis threat to devastate the Soviet Union if the Soviet Union has what it considered to be an effective defense against anything we might send their way? What if our own planners actually believed that the Soviet defense were at least partially effective, and therefore presented an acceptable risk to Soviet leaders? Up to now, we have calculated that nuclear war is both unlikely and unthinkable, but this calculation would have to be discarded if we were led to believe that war would become acceptable to the enemy under certain circumstances.

Linked to the question of Soviet military capabilities on the one side, and to the issue of increased wars of national liberation on the other, is the subject of expanded East-West trade.

We know that the Soviet economy has demonstrated a remarkable capacity for being inefficient. There is no doubt that Soviet economic techniques and productive capabilities are getting better, but inefficiency remains very much a characteristic of the Soviet system. It takes the Soviet Union from 2 to 20 times the amount of resources to produce many items which we produce. To the extent that the Soviet Union and its allies are able to procure from us items for which cost to them is substantially greater, to that extent they are able to reallocate their limited resources. The basic question becomes: How are these resources reallocated? The proponents of the detente argue that the Soviet Union seeks only to reallocate resources to strengthen its industrial base, primarily for the purpose of making life more tolerable for Soviet citizens. The opposing argument is that the Soviet Union reallocates its resources under the detente for the purpose of increasing defense spending—that is to say, to increase the power sector of the economy—and for the purpose of research and development on other more advanced weapons systems. Again, the record of experience clearly supports the argument that resource reallocation is made to strengthen above all the power sector of the Soviet economy.

It seems relatively clear that what a small number of students of Communist affairs were predicting 3 years ago—that is, that the Soviet Union would use the detente for the purpose of increasing its military strength—has now happened. Several years ago, as the first steps in the detente were taken, it was extremely unpopular to speak of ignoble Soviet intentions. If it is true that the Soviets have, in fact, used the detente to increase their strength vis-a-vis the West, then the assumptions of the past two administrations concerning Soviet intentions have been wrong. The proof is in the concrete evidence available to us today.

The conclusion seems unmistakable: by expanding trade with the Soviet Union and with Eastern Europe, the West helps to reinforce the enemy's strategic power, and in the short term is freeing the resources of the Soviet Union for the continued production and deployment of an ABM system, and for work on other and more advanced weapons systems.

Strong arguments are advanced for the expansion of East-West trade, and these must be considered on their merits. Behind the move to expand such trade is a conviction that highly industrialized and sophisticated and affluent societies do not tend to act aggressively. This assumes that the basis for conflict can be found principally in the material conditions of life, and that once those material conditions are adequately secured, the temptation to engage in adventuristic foreign moves and the promotion of revolution loses its significance and appeal. As one British spokesman put it, "fat Communists are less dangerous than lean ones." The notion that affluent societies do not act aggressively is unsupported by the example of Nazi Germany. It was Germany which, although it possessed a high standard of living, launched a war because its ideology and its Fuehrer demanded war.

The proponents of expanded trade also argue that trade increases Soviet and East European dependence upon the West. If the Soviets and other Communist countries can be made dependent upon American sources of supply, they say, we will then be in a position to achieve certain political considerations as conditions for the continuation of that trade. It is felt that the value of the trade will far outweigh the gains to the Soviet Union which might accrue from increased revolutionary activity abroad, and that in order to assure the continuation of the trade Communists will tend to relax such activity.

Moreover, expanded East-West trade is alleged to be a means of demonstrating good will. Since, it is argued, there exists in present American-Soviet relations an extraordinary amount of distrust and mutual suspicion, the vehicle of trade will tend to break down these undesirable characteristics, and a clearer understanding of the true motives of the United States can be made apparent to the Soviet leadership. That we have on countless occasions in the past made concrete demonstrations of our own good will toward the Soviet Union is a fact which goes largely ignored by the proponents of East-West trade. To date, for example, the Soviets have underscored their own unwillingness to make good on $11 billion worth of wartime lend-lease. Too, our own generous offer to the Soviet Union and East European Communist countries to participate on an equal basis in the Marshall plan following World War II was rejected as a "device" to trick the Communist countries into some form of dependence on "Western imperialism." What the proponents of expanded East-West trade often ignore is that, in order for relations to be put on a mutually advantageous basis, good will must be demonstrated by both sides. Since our own foreign policy goals are based upon intrinsic good will toward all countries, there seems to be little reason in the argument that good will will be the by-product of more trade. There are other areas in which good will could be demonstrated by the other side as a concrete expression of willingness to cooperate in making the world more secure. Far from manifesting good will, the Communists repeatedly underscore their own desire to "win" over us, to defeat us thoroughly, and to see us "buried." The latter statement has been rationalized by those who share the detente mentality as a misunderstanding on our part, or a slip of the tongue by its author, Khrushchev. That such is not the case is clearly indicated by the mountains of evidence which have accumulated in Communist documents and other Communist sources over the past years.

It is also argued that the trade which the Soviet Union wants and needs pertains strictly to "peaceful goods," that is to say, they are more interested in nonstrategic items as opposed to strategic items. Trade in the area of nonstrategic items, it is alleged, can only have a beneficial effect upon our own current balance-of-payments problems, and will at the same time serve to reduce the gold supply of the Soviet Union. It is on this crucial problem that opinions concerning East-West trade differ most radically. To some, there is a clear dividing line between what is strategic and what is nonstrategic, and trade in the latter area is beneficial and essentially harmless to U.S. national security interests. Therefore, the opposing argument holds that whatever a totalitarian and conflict-oriented economy such as that of the Soviet Union wants and needs is ipso facto strategic, and hence, harms our long-range security interests. Therefore, for those who assume that the Soviet Union has in fact changed and has embarked upon a protracted period of peaceful activity throughout the world, the decision to trade makes sense. On the other hand, those who rely on past experience to form judgments concerning the utility of East-West trade hold that all trade with the Soviet Union serves to strengthen only the power sector of the economy and is therefore in direct contradiction to the security interests of the free world.

Perhaps the most important of all arguments advanced in support of expanded East-West trade is that trade will become a vehicle to assist us in achieving certain political goals vis-a-vis the Communist nations. The Johnson administration maintains that, through its policy of building bridges to the Eastern European countries and to the Soviet Union itself, a lasting solution of cold war conflict may become a reality. It argues that, should the Congress of the United States refuse to allow the administration to pursue its political goals through the medium of trade with the Communist nations, then the causes of the cold war cannot easily be eliminated. In fact, it is argued that the refusal to grant long-term credits to the Soviet Union and to abolish certain key items on the restricted list of items to be traded with the Communist nations seriously impedes the "final solution" of the cold war. Certain administration spokesmen have therefore branded those who criticize the administration's decision to expand trade as "irresponsible," "reactionary," and "pigheaded." When the debate degenerates to unreasonable polemics of this kind, the real issues involved tend to become obscured.

If we were in fact prepared to pursue, in the most consistent and dynamic fashion certain political objectives vis-a-vis Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in return for expanded East-West trade, then a very strong case could be made for a cautious and systematic expansion of the trade pattern with those nations. Thus, if we are prepared to make certain precise demands upon those countries which want and need our trade and the credits necessary to support that trade, then our objectives should be clearly spelled out to the Congress of the United States and to the American people. Mere expansion of trade without accompanying concrete political goals will come to nought. Only the interests of the Communists will be served if we are not in fact able to achieve the political objectives which the Administration currently promises. The record clearly shows, however, that since 1961 the administrations have used the argument that political objectives can be achieved by means of East-West trade, but never actually executed the necessary maneuvers to achieve the goals stated and used as a rationale for the expansion of trade. Today, these arguments persist, and the administration charges those who oppose the expansion with being "backward." Once the political goals are carefully spelled out and announced to all concerned, then the issue of expanded trade becomes a live one worthy of consideration. As long as the goals are not announced, there is no point in simply continuing the efforts to expand the productive capabilities of the Soviet Union and the Communist countries while receiving nothing in return.

To achieve political goals by means of expanded East-West trade requires hard decisions; these decisions have, to date, not been made. There is no escaping the fact that the attempt to achieve concrete political goals by way of expanded trade means simply to engage in economic warfare, using our most powerful and most potent weapon—our unmatched economic strength. The thought that political and economic goals should be completely integrated is abhorrent to some; there are those who feel that politics and economics should not be mixed. However, political and economic strength are integral parts of an overall strategy, and as long as both are executed in isolation and without close coordination, the overall strategy of the United States will be ineffectual. There is nothing immoral, illogical, or "reactionary" in linking closely these key elements of our national strength. In fact, it can be said that one on the principal strategic shortcomings in the past has been our unwillingness and/or inability to mesh the vital elements which, taken together, make up an overall dynamic and forward-looking strategy. Only when the basic ingredients of a strategy are coordinated and simultaneously implemented can political objectives be attained.

It should be the approach of those who oppose East-West trade on strategic and national security grounds to point out the necessity of recognizing the basic facts of international life. Power in itself is not evil; the exercise of power must be judged according to goals and means. In the past, our exercise of national power has been for the interests of mankind, and not for selfish and "imperialistic" interests dominated by any one group. On the other side, the economic and political power of the Soviet Union has always been closely coordinated to achieve goals which are directly contrary not only to the security of free men, but to the accepted norms of a civilized way of life.

In a much more subtle manner, the expansion of East-West trade could possibly jeopardize the security of the United States with respect to our ability to combat wars of "national liberation," particularly that in Vietnam being prosecuted by the Communists today. It is important for us to realize that the "national liberation movement" is something quite special to the Communists, and that today they are doing everything they can to utilize the "national liberation movement" for their own special purposes.

Trade, which will inevitably help to make the Soviet Union stronger, will also allow her to support wars of national liberation on a much greater scale. Vietnam is a war of national liberation, and that we will have other Vietnams and other wars of national liberation seems quite likely. Of late, we have heard that "Vietnam is a key test of the strategy of national liberation wars. If we defeat it there, we will have proved our superiority and the Communists will abandon such wars as an instrument of policy." There is a peculiar optimism in this position, an optimism which does not seem entirely justified. If we were to win in Vietnam, we may not assume that there will never be another war of national liberation instigated and fought by the Communists. Indeed, the experience of Vietnam seems to have reinforced the validity of the Communist view that wars of national liberation are an ideal means to secure certain goals which they have set for themselves. At a very small cost to themselves, and fighting basically by means of proxy warfare, the Communists have every reason to conclude that wars of national liberation can, in the long run, pay even greater dividends.

For just a moment, let us look at it from the point of view of Moscow and Peking. To the Communists, wars of national liberation like that in Vietnam weaken us, increase our distaste for such wars, keep us occupied and bogged down, affect our capability to act effectively and with dispatch in other parts of the world, drain our resources, and—psychologically—injure our credibility as the world's greatest power. Looking at it from their point of view: Why should they change the strategy now, when the wars of national liberation pay such concrete dividends

It seems quite likely that there will be more wars of national liberation. The Communists have indicated on more than one occasion their intention to coordinate the entire "national liberation movement" in an effort to combine the latent and genuine forces of nationalism now beginning to stir in the underdeveloped world with the goals of the "Socialist camp," to achieve unity against "Western imperialism." Most significant evidence of the Communist intention to rely more on wars of national liberation in the future is the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3 to 15, 1966. At the Tricontinental, 82 countries were represented by nearly 600 delegates. While certain "nationalist" parties participated side by side with delegations from Communist countries, the entire meeting was Communist controlled. The Tricontinental Conference represented the largest and most important meeting in the Communist world since the 81-party meeting in 1960—which resulted in Khrushchev's famous January 6, 1961, speech. Many people do not know what the Tricontinental Conference is, since they were unable to read much about it in their newspapers. However, in the year since the first Tricontinental Conference was held, there is concrete evidence that the decisions and resolutions reached there have already begun to be put into practice. The main items on the agenda of the first Tricontinental Conference are of considerable interest:

> I. Fight against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism:
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> 3. Intensification of all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle of the peoples of the three continents against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism led by North American imperialism.
>
> 4. Support to the just struggle of the Cuban people against North American imperialism and for the defense of national sovereignty. Support to the patriotic fight of Latin American peoples against imperialism and its instruments, such as the OAS.
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> * * * * *
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> 8. Ways and means to help the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America in general and specifically the armed struggle for liberation.
>
> II. Urgent problems of the anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of the three continents and particularly in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the Portuguese colonies, South Rhodesia, Southern Arabia and Palestine, Laos, Cambodia, South Africa, Korea, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, Cyprus, Panama, South West Africa, and North Kalimantan.
>
> III. Anti-imperialist solidarity among the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples in the economic, social and cultural aspects.
>
> IV. Political unification and Organizations of the African, Asian and Latin American efforts in their common struggle for national liberation.

The Tricontinental movement now has permanent organs, including the recent establishment of new training schools for training political and military cadres. Eventually, there are to be a dozen such schools in various Communist countries, all with the purpose of indoctrination and military training of "students" from the underdeveloped countries. A report of the Organization of American States on the First Tricontinental Conference was released on November 28, 1966. Unfortunately, the leading newspapers and other media of communication in the United States chose not to give major coverage to the report, a 500-page document which goes a long way toward proving that the Communists have decided to place more reliance upon national liberation warfare.

Wars of national liberation are frequently instigated at times and places not of our own choosing. Whether new wars of national liberation will occur in Africa, Latin America, or Asia depends largely upon our own ability to assist in countering their effectiveness wherever they may occur. It is not implied here that the Communists are free to do whatever they want, whenever they want. They are not superhuman, and they make more than their share of errors. But as violence, subversion, and terrorism seem to be on the increase in certain areas of the underdeveloped world—as in Venezuela during December 1966 and January 1967—we must be more realistic in analyzing the role of the international Communist movement in each and every one of these occurrences. It will not do to argue that the Soviet Union has exhibited restraint in recent years in Africa, Latin America, and Asia; that Communists are active in revolutionary movements throughout the underdeveloped world is a fact which can and must be documented. It cannot be officially ignored. If it is ignored, it should be made plain to the American people that the facts are not being presented correctly. It is rumored that the United States has no interest in "embarrassing" the Soviet Union at a time when agreements are being sought in other areas. But at the same time, the Communists spare no efforts to embarrass us at every turn, and a mere exhibition of our inability or unwillingness to condemn them for their revolutionary activities in the underdeveloped world does not increase the influence and the prestige of the United States.

Basically, the entire matter boils down to how one views the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement today. If the Soviet Union is truly undergoing a period of deep and profound change, and if it is now charting a course of cooperation with emphasis on peace rather than on conflict, then those who argue in the spirit of the "detente mentality" for "restraint" on the part of the United States and for expanded East-West trade are entirely correct. If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union has not undergone a meaningful change in terms of its long-range goals vis-a-vis the world, and if it persists in declaring that its ultimate goal is victory over the United States and other non-Communist countries, then the decisions made in the spirit of the detente and in such important matters as expanded East-West trade are wrong and, therefore, endanger in a most meaningful way our national security.

In this battle of assumptions, those who hold that the Soviet Union has not changed and has not marked a new departure on its path of worldwide revolutionary activity, hold the advantage, because historical experience is on their side. They are not "reactionaries" who actively promote a return to the tense days of the cold war's earlier phase. They are not motivated by ideological considerations and cliches, or by wishful thinking. They are honest people who "call the shots as they see them." They advance their arguments forthrightly, and frequently find themselves dragged into polemics concerning the modernity of their political views. Because they insist on using historical experience as a guide to present policy, and because they do not share the vision of the detente idealists, one cannot simply dismiss them from the public debate.

Mr. President, I wish to again reiterate the purpose of this somewhat extended statement. It is my belief that these are questions which are of the highest importance to not only the United States but the entire free world. The posture which we adopt will directly affect the posture of the rest of the world. We cannot and must not work this change on a piecemeal basis without taking a comprehensive look at the overall picture.

I am taking this opportunity to urge my colleagues in the Senate to consider this issue in its broad perspective and to request that we be given the opportunity to consider the administration's bridge-building efforts in their entirety, rather than on a brick-by-brick basis, not knowing what the final product will look like until it is completed.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

THE WAR ON POVERTY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Chair, as in legislative session, lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States on poverty. Without objection, it will be printed in the RECORD, and without being read, appropriately referred.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I. THE CHALLENGE

> The slum is as old as civilization. Civilization implies a race to get ahead. In a race there are usually some who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far in the rear they lose hope and ambition, and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources, they are the victims, not the masters, of their environment; and it is a bad master. . . . The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation.

These are the words of Jacob Riis, the Danish immigrant and American reformer, written in 1902. We may wish that those words applied only to the America of 1902—but clearly they apply to the America of the 1960's as well. They describe conditions in parts of every large American city and in pockets of poverty throughout rural America where 43 percent of the Nation's poor live.

It was years after Jacob Riis spoke before Americans realized that poverty was an urgent public dilemma—from which the only escape was to change the basic conditions of human life.

Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt in their times, began the necessary process of change:

The Children's Bureau, proposed in 1909 and established in 1912, spearheaded broad efforts to improve maternal and infant care and to provide better services and protection for our youth.

The public housing program, begun in 1934, today affords more than 2 million low-income Americans decent housing.

The benefits of the Social Security Act of 1935 will provide $25.8 billion in old age, disability, and survivorship benefits in fiscal 1968, if my recommendations are adopted by the Congress.

The federally aided public assistance programs, authorized in 1935, will provide $5 billion in Federal, State, and local aid to more than 7 million needy individuals in fiscal 1968.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, enacted in 1938, now provides minimum wage and hour protection for some 40 million workers.

A STRATEGY AGAINST POVERTY

In the 1960's, we have begun to devise a total strategy against poverty. We have recognized that public housing, minimum wages and welfare services could not, standing alone, change the bleak environment of deprivation for millions of poor families.

A successful strategy requires a breakthrough on many fronts: education, health, jobs and job training, housing, public assistance, transportation, recreation, clean air, and adequate water supplies. The basic conditions of life for the poor must, and can, be changed.

We must deal with a wide range of physical and human needs. On the human side alone, the strategy must respond to a variety of problems.

Some of the poor—the aged and the hopelessly disabled—are unable to make their own way in this world because of conditions beyond their control. For them, social security, veterans pensions and public assistance can assure a life at minimum levels of human decency and dignity.

Others in our society are working at very low wages or are unemployed. But they are capable of helping themselves if given an opportunity to do so. To launch them on the road to a self-sufficient life, special education, training, and employment opportunities will be necessary.

Our strategy requires programs that respond to the human needs of each of these groups. And we have proposed such programs:

To give disadvantaged children healthy bodies and the chance to learn.

To give the teenagers in our ghettos and pockets of rural poverty the training and skills they need to get jobs.

To give our young the chance to develop their minds in college, through Federal grants and loans.

To give the old and the disabled, who are incapable of helping themselves, increases in social security and the personal security of being able to see a doctor or obtain hospital care, without losing their entire life savings.

We also must have programs to improve the surroundings in which the disadvantaged live—the physical and social environment of America which has too long entrapped the poor. We have made proposals for—

Model cities, to rebuild entire blighted neighborhoods in cities, large and small.

Rent supplements, to bring the genius of private industry and private capital to the problem of housing the poor decently.

Civil rights legislation, to remove arbitrary barriers of discrimination which prevent a man otherwise qualified from getting a job or a home because of his race.

Our strategy against poverty relies on:

The private initiative of every citizen and on the self-help efforts of the poor themselves.

The resources of city, county, State, and metropolitan agencies.

Federal programs to supplement private and local activities and often to supply the vital thrust of innovation.

We have made substantial gains. But we have also come to see how profound are the problems that confront us, how deeply ingrained are the customs and practices that must be changed, how stubbornly the heritage of poverty persists from generation to generation.

Many of our early efforts have revealed the dimensions of the work that remains to be done. For some, this has inspired a pessimism that challenges both the value of what has been accomplished and the capacity of our Federal democracy to complete the task. For others, it has inspired a sober determination to carry through with programs that show great promise, to improve their administration and to seek still more effective instruments of change.

I have already submitted to the Congress my budget recommendations for fiscal 1968.

I have recommended $25.6 billion for the programs directly aiding the poor—a $3.6 billion increase over fiscal 1967.

Many of the programs underlying these budget recommendations have been discussed in previous messages to the Congress this year—on education and health, children and youth, older Americans, crime in America, and equal justice. The programs described in this message are part of our strategy to change the depressing conditions of poverty now facing millions of our fellow men.

II. POVERTY AND OPPORTUNITY

Few undertakings in our time have generated as much hope, produced as many immediate and beneficial results, or excited as much controversy, as the antipoverty program I first submitted to the Congress on March 16, 1964.

The controversy was inevitable: what is being attempted is a fundamental change in the way Government responds to the needs of the poor.

That there would be some confusion and mistakes was inevitable. The need was for action. America could not wait for a decade of studies which might not even show precisely what should be attempted. New programs had to begin in our cities and rural communities, in small towns and in migrant labor camps. America had to pull the drowning man out of the water and talk about it later.

This experience has led to progress and great accomplishment. We have learned more than some of the most enthusiastic supporters of the antipoverty program had hoped.

Greater opportunities for millions of Americans depend on how we build on our experience: On enlarged resources for the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen and expand programs that have shown great promise and to continue the development of new and better techniques; on tightened administration of those programs so that the poor receive the maximum benefits, at the lowest cost to the American taxpayer.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1967

I recommend that the Economic Opportunity Act be amended:

First. To help local community action agencies define their purpose more precisely and improve their planning, auditing, and personnel systems.

The purpose and functions of community action agencies should be made more explicit: in their relationship to State, county, and municipal authorities, in planning, coordinating and providing services, and in community involvement and innovation.

Strict rules should be established to govern the pay, selection, and accountability of community action personnel. Personnel systems should embody merit features and set the highest standards of conduct and efficiency.

The provisions in existing law prohibiting partisan political activities should be retained and strengthened wherever possible.

Auditing requirements now in the law should be expanded and improved.

Second. To give public officials and other interested groups in the community voice in forming policy for community action agencies.

There should be a requirement for representation of local public agencies on community action boards, as well as representation for the neighborhood groups to be served.

Standards should be set specifically defining the powers and duties of community action boards.

The responsibility of the boards for policy formulation and control of community action programs should be made explicit.

Third. To strengthen the role of the States, especially in rural areas.

States should be encouraged to assist in establishing regional community action agencies in rural areas.

The joint funding of antipoverty programs by Federal and State agencies should be encouraged.

Federal funds should be provided so that States may give increased planning assistance to rural communities.

Fourth. To encourage more participation by private enterprise.

The obligation of community action agencies to design and conduct programs with full participation by the private sector should be made explicit.

A closer relationship should be developed between employers, unions and the new work-training programs, with more individual attention to trainees in on-the-job training programs.

Fifth. To use the Economic Opportunity Act to encourage welfare recipients to become self-sufficient.

Job Corpsmen, Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen, and others engaged in work and training under this Act should be given greater incentives to work, by allowing them to earn more without a corresponding loss of welfare assistance to their families.

Sixth. To give new direction and momentum to the programs in rural areas.

A new position of Assistant Director for Rural Affairs should be established to coordinate and strengthen programs affecting the rural poor.

Seventh. To strengthen the Economic Opportunity Council in the coordination of antipoverty activities of Federal agencies.

The Council's role in helping to improve coordination among Federal programs related to the antipoverty effort should be more clearly spelled out.

These changes will make the administration of the program more effective. But improved administration is not enough. More people must be reached. The gap between promise and real opportunity is still broad. Additional funds must be provided if we are to make genuine progress in attending to our unfinished business.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate $2.06 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity for fiscal 1968—a 25-percent increase over fiscal 1967.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The purpose of community action is to encourage those who need help to help themselves.

A community action agency should provide a voice in planning programs to mayors, local business and labor leaders, the citizens to be helped, teachers, lawyers, physicians—all those who give their time and efforts to relieve poverty in their communities and who know well the needs of their neighbors. It may be established as a private, nonprofit corporation or created by local government. Each agency analyzes the problems its community faces and develops a strategy for its antipoverty, self-help effort. This strategy may include any combination of Federal, State, and local programs which will assist the poor in their fight against poverty.

Community action agencies should devote their energies to self-help measures and new initiatives that will advance their communities in the war against poverty. To be effective, it is essential that they be nonpartisan and totally disengaged from any partisan political activity. This administration, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity and, I am confident, the Congress, will be constantly alert to the danger of partisan political activity and will take the necessary steps to see that it does not occur.

LEGAL SERVICES

To be poor is to be without an advocate—in dealing with a landlord, a creditor, or a government bureaucrat. It is to be subjected to the hostility or indifference of society, without redress. It is to be exposed to frustration and delay, without relief.

The legal services program offers free legal assistance in civil matters to people who otherwise could not afford an attorney. The program provides—in ghettos, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps, and in rural counties—lawyers for the poor in eviction and consumer credit cases, in administrative actions and in hundreds of other encounters involving their legal rights.

The program has the wholehearted endorsement of the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association, and the National Trial Lawyers Association. With the help of these associations, legal services are now being provided in 44 of the Nation's 50 largest cities and in some rural areas.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen these efforts and to expand the services available to smaller towns and rural areas.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

MULTISERVICE CENTERS

To be poor in a city is to spend long hours and precious dollars for carfare in search of assistance. The employment service may be in one part of town, the social security office in another, welfare offices, veterans assistance, adult literacy training, medical care or housing aid in others.

To be poor in a rural area is to travel many miles in hope of finding assistance—often fruitlessly. The services needed are too often in another county or only in a big city.

The fragmentation—and the unavailability—of services imposes great hardship upon the poor. Often it denies them the comprehensive help that can provide security, and the chance to stand on their own two feet before their fellow men.

We are trying a variety of methods for providing these services more effectively. Hundreds of neighborhood centers have been created: some are referral agencies, others house a complex of services drawn from existing programs. In rural areas centers have been established to serve multicounty areas. Our goal is to develop within each community the most effective means to deliver the services so desperately needed at the lowest cost to the taxpayer.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and other Federal departments, to expand and strengthen the development of neighborhood multiservice and multicounty centers in the coming fiscal year. These centers have become the focal point of many local efforts in their attack on poverty, and I expect that local communities will seek some $120 million for them in fiscal 1968.

HEALTH CENTERS

To be poor is to be without adequate medical care:

One-half of all women who have their babies in public hospitals have received no prenatal care at all.

More than 60 percent of poor children with disabling handicaps are not receiving any medical care.

Sixty percent of all poor children never see a dentist.

The chance of a child dying before the age of 1 is 50 percent higher for the poor.

The chance of dying before reaching the age of 35 is four times greater for the poor.

The poor man, making $2,000 a year or less—in many cases because of previous illness—will lose twice as many working days from illness as the man who makes $7,000 or more.

In health centers, located where the poor live, medical care can be effectively provided for those who need it most. Where appropriate, the health centers are linked to neighborhood multiservice centers so that the individual citizen can obtain in one place a wide range of needed services.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will encourage local communities to establish additional health centers in the coming fiscal year, so that up to 50 will be in operation by the end of fiscal 1968.

UPWARD BOUND

When a child's potential for success in life is lost, the Nation as well as the child is the loser. When a bright mind is dimmed by successive failures in school, and the despair failure brings, the community suffers as much as the student himself.

Upward Bound seeks out poor rural and urban youngsters whose talents are undeveloped. They are given intensive individual attention and the best training our education system can offer so that they can develop their talents to the full reach of their individual capacity.

Two hundred and twenty-four public and private universities and private secondary schools are taking part in Upward Bound this year. More than 20,000 poor young men and women are today headed for high school graduation and college study through Upward Bound. We estimate that 78 percent of these youngsters—as compared to 8 percent of poor youth generally—will go on to college.

Applications for Upward Bound far exceed the funds presently available. Those funds must be increased—for America needs the trained and competent citizens these poor children can become.

My budget includes sufficient funds for Upward Bound to benefit more than 30,000 young men and women in fiscal 1968.

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

Children in orphanages and homes for the retarded need the patient care of older men and women. Older Americans need the sense of usefulness that a child's dependence can bring.

The foster grandparents program meets these needs for more than 2,000 older Americans and 5,000 children. These foster grandparents are given training and relatively substantial increases in their incomes for visiting, teaching, and caring for children who need them.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will expand this program next year.

HEADSTART AND HEADSTART FOLLOWTHROUGH

I have already submitted to the Congress my recommendations to improve educational opportunities for children who need them most of all—the children of the poor.

For thousands of children in ghettos and pockets of rural poverty, in migrant labor camps and on Indian reservations, the Headstart program has "replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success." This fiscal year, Headstart will provide summer opportunities for about 500,000 children and a full-year program for nearly 200,000 children.

We must not lose the precious momentum children gain from Headstart by returning them to substandard schools. We must provide the followthrough necessary to vitalize the first years of their grade school experience. We must involve more parents and increase the services of teachers, teachers' aids, doctors, and counselors for disadvantaged children in the early grades.

For this reason, I have recommended the Headstart followthrough program. My budget recommendations to the Congress include $472 million for Headstart, including funds for the new Headstart followthrough program to sustain the progress Headstart has made.

With these funds, we will strengthen the year-round Headstart program and begin to plan and operate Headstart followthrough programs for up to 200,000 children coming into the first grades.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

At a critical period in their lives, the Neighborhood Youth Corps has given some 800,000 young men and women from both rural and urban America a chance to succeed as adults. It has helped them work their way through school, return to school, or prepare for useful employment.

My budget recommendations provide $321 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in fiscal 1968 to:

Give 195,000 young people the chance to stay in school.

Help 90,000 young people return to school or prepare for jobs.

Provide summer jobs for 190,000 young people.

JOB CORPS

If the attack on poverty is to mean anything, it must reach all the poor—including those whose educational experience and past behavior make them difficult to teach, motivate, and discipline.

The Job Corps is a response to that moral imperative. Its success must be measured against the difficulties of its task.

There are 113 Job Corps centers in America. More than 60,000 youths have passed through them in the last 2 years.

For some, the Job Corps experience was too short to matter significantly. For others, there was only time enough to have a physical examination, or to learn to read a little or to add a column of figures. But even this was a gain for the young who, on the average, enter the Job Corps at a fourth grade reading level and have never seen a doctor or dentist.

For most, the Job Corps has meant a chance to be a productive—and taxpaying—citizen: 26,000 hold jobs earning an average of $1.71 per hour; 4,500 are back in school to complete an education they have been motivated to seek; 3,500 are in the armed services. Many of them had been previously rejected because they failed to meet medical or educational standards.

The Job Corps does not benefit only those it serves. It has developed educational materials now being used by 84 schools across America. Its volunteers have worked on conservation and beautification projects, and public facility improvements. The Job Corps youths, who are themselves poor, send more than $1 million home to their families each month.

While the Job Corps has used the best talents of industry and of universities to design the program and operate the centers, many problems remain. Costs must be reduced and discipline improved. In fiscal 1968, the estimated full-year cost for a Job Corpsman in established centers will be about $6,700—down from an average cost of about $8,400 during the last half of fiscal 1966. This sum will cover food, clothing, transportation, medical and dental care, pay and allowances, as well as the cost of training and education.

The experience we have gained thus far will permit tighter cost controls, firmer discipline, and more effective recruitment and placement. The Job Corps in fiscal 1968 will be even more effective in reaching those young people for whom the road to productive and responsible lives is the longest and hardest.

My budget recommendations include $295 million for the Job Corps program in fiscal 1968—to educate, train, and renew the hopes of some 50,000 young men and women.

VISTA

By this June, more than 4,000 Volunteers in Service to America—VISTA volunteers—will be in the field. They will be living and working in the hollows of Appalachia, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps and city slums—to teach skills, care for the sick and help people to help themselves.

My budget recommendations for fiscal 1968 include $31 million for the VISTA program.

No matter how dedicated or skillful, 4,000 volunteers cannot accomplish the thousands of tasks that require attention in America's poor neighborhoods. Neither can a massive flow of dollars and new programs. We will continue to search for ways to enlist still more Americans in part- and full-time service to their fellowman.

OPERATION GREEN THUMB

Hundreds of older unemployed and retired farmers and rural workers have gained in income and in dignity, while contributing to the safety and beautification of State highways, schools, parks, and rural towns through projects like Operation Green Thumb. They have assisted their disadvantaged neighbors to improve their homes and have added their skills to enhance neighboring communities.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in cooperation with the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture, to expand this activity and to develop new ways to provide meaningful public service opportunities for the elderly in rural areas.

RURAL LOAN PROGRAM

The special rural loan program of the Office of Economic Opportunity will assist 13,000 families this year to improve their farms and carry on small businesses. Hundreds of other poor families will be helped to increase their production and marketing capacity by loans made to rural cooperative associations.

My budget recommendations provide for $32 million in loans under this program in fiscal 1968.

A CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

A thriving national economy is critical to our antipoverty effort. Through private initiative and wise economic policy, our economy is meeting its fundamental test of producing revenue and employment.

It has not always been so. In the period from 1957 to 1959, 1.9 million Americans, new to the job market, sought work. One million of them could not find jobs. Despite prosperity, unemployment increased.

In the last 3 years, 4 million Americans joined the work force for the first time; 5.25 million jobs were added to the economy. Unemployment was reduced by 1.25 million.

But economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not reached thousands of men and women who live in the Nation's slums. The Secretary of Labor has investigated the unemployment situation in slums and found that:

Unemployment rates in the slums are three times the national average.

Large numbers of people work a few hours of the week, unable to find the full-time work they seek.

Large numbers work full time at poverty wage levels.

Nearly one-third of those who should be employed at self-supporting wages are not.

Neither a high performance economy nor traditional training and employment services have been able to reach these men and women. Some need special counseling and training. Others need special health and educational assistance. All need followup assistance until they are permanently placed in a stable job. Even after that, they may need special attention during their first weeks of employment.

I have directed the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, with the assistance of other Federal agencies, to begin immediately a special program using all available resources to provide concentrated assistance to those with the greatest need.

This program will enlist the active

support and cooperation of business and labor organizations at the local level; provide a wide range of counseling, health, education and training services on an individual basis; provide the follow-up assistance necessary to insure that a job once obtained will not quickly be lost; use local community action agencies as the focal point wherever practicable.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate $135 million under the Economic Opportunity Act to support this program to train and put to work up to 100,000 slum residents next year. These funds, together with existing programs, will enable us to provide the special counseling and personal attention necessary to reach these impoverished Americans.

This will be a tough objective to meet. But we pledge to make every effort to achieve it.

WAGE GARNISHMENT

Hundreds of workers among the poor lose their jobs or most of their wages each year as a result of garnishment proceedings. In many cases, wages are garnished by unscrupulous merchants and lenders whose practices trap the unwitting workers.

I am directing the Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to make a comprehensive study of the problems of wage garnishment and to recommend the steps that should be taken to protect the hard-earned wages and the jobs of those who need the income most.

PERSEVERANCE

Poverty cannot be eliminated overnight. It takes time, hard work, money, and perseverance.

It has been only 2 years and 3 months since we decided to embark upon a concentrated attack on poverty. We have made progress. But victory over poverty will not quickly or cheaply be won.

We do not have all the answers. But we have given a great many people—very young children, restless teenagers, men without skills, mothers without proper health care for themselves or their babies, old men and women without a purpose to fill their later years—the opportunity they needed, when they needed it, in a way that called on them to give the best of themselves.

Millions more Americans need—and deserve—that opportunity. The aim of this administration is, and will be, that they shall have it.

I urge the Congress to examine these programs carefully, to evaluate their accomplishments, and then to support them fully with the funds necessary to do the job.

III. IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF URBAN LIFE

The needs for jobs and job training, for special education and health care, for legal assistance, are all urgent in the life of the poor. Most often they exist together in the urban slum—isolated from the city of which they are a part.

I shall not elaborate on these conditions. They are familiar to everyone who has looked candidly at the American city. So are some of the things that should be done about them.

In the past few years, we have made a heavy investment in improving the conditions of life in the cities. Federal aid to cities and their citizens has been steadily rising—from grants and direct loans of $3.9 billion in 1961 to $10.3 billion in 1968.

But some of the most promising urban programs are today only authorizations on the statute books. The 89th Congress made them law. It remains for the 90th Congress to give them life.

MODEL CITIES

The model cities program, enacted last year, is an attempt to focus a variety of aids—physical and social—on the problems of the slums and to enlist private and local support to rebuild the blighted areas of America's cities.

It is a comprehensive approach to human problems—involving jobs, education, health facilities, housing.

Fulfilling the purpose Congress proclaimed last year is a necessity. We have inspired the hopes of large and small cities in every State. We have generated in local communities a commitment to excellence as they plan for the future.

I strongly urge the Congress to appropriate the full amount it has authorized for model cities in fiscal 1968: $12 million for additional planning grants; $400 million for supplemental grants to be used in carrying out local model city programs; $250 million for urban renewal projects in the model cities.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

The 89th Congress authorized the rent supplement program to enable poor families to live in decent, privately owned housing.

Only families whose incomes are so low that they are eligible for publicly owned housing can receive rent supplements—and then only if they are displaced from their homes by governmental action or a disaster, are elderly or physically handicapped, or occupy substandard housing.

With low-rent housing in short supply, it is more important than ever to stimulate construction by private enterprise and nonprofit organizations. The rent supplement program authorizes payments that make the construction of low-rent units attractive for builders.

Last year the Congress provided funds to get this program underway. This year it must be expanded.

I urge the authorization of an additional $40 million for the rent supplement program in fiscal 1968.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

For many American families, homeownership is a source of pride and satisfaction, of commitment to community life.

Some families with low but steady incomes have become the owners of decent, modest homes. Their well-maintained homes are often in the midst of slum areas. They are frequently surrounded by substandard homes owned by absentee landlords, where poor families pay rent in amounts much higher than would have been required for ownership of a modest home.

We must learn how best to help low-income families own their own homes.

I have directed the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to carry out, within existing authority, a low-income housing-ownership pilot program, so that these lessons may be learned and converted to public policy on a broad scale.

I am authorizing the Federal National Mortgage Association to use $20 million of its funds to support this program.

The program will—

Identify low-income families with the potential to build an ownership equity in a home.

Provide guidelines to assure the economic soundness of their investment.

Explore a program to insure low-income families against mortgage defaults and foreclosures that result from loss of health or economic recession.

Encourage ownership equity to be acquired through self-help in the construction of homes.

New and rehabilitated housing, single-family homes and apartment structures should be included in the program. All forms of ownership should be explored—single-family homes, cooperative, and individual apartments.

PROTECTING THE SLUM CHILD

The knowledge that many children in the world's most affluent nation are attacked, maimed, and even killed by rats should fill every American with shame. Yet this is an everyday occurrence in the slums of our cities.

There is no excuse for this national disgrace. The rats' food supply can be eliminated. Garbage can be collected. Harborages can be eliminated. Buildings can be made ratproof. As this can be done, it must be done.

To help America's cities wipe out this threat to their people's health and safety, I recommend the Rat Extermination Act of 1967, to launch a major program of rat control and eradication. I will ask the Congress to provide $20 million to initiate this effort in fiscal 1968.

Under this act, as part of the broader program of community development, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, will help cities: Establish house-by-house, block-by-block extermination programs in rat-infested neighborhoods, provide special concentrated code enforcement assistance to eliminate rats from city slums, provide public education campaigns for residents of slum areas, help provide better garbage collection, eliminate harborages, and take on the necessary self-help measures to protect against rats; build on the experiences in Chicago and Detroit, where slum residents were trained, mobilized and given the tools to conduct a major attack on rats in their infested tenements.

URBAN HOUSING REHABILITATION

Franklin D. Roosevelt said long ago what is still true today:

> American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had.

Rehabilitation is the key to many of our successful urban renewal programs.

It is crucial to the success of the model cities program.

I intend to call together an outstanding group of private citizens from across the country—from business and labor, government, and the building industry—to examine every possible means of establishing the institutions to encourage the development of a large-scale efficient rehabilitation industry.

I will ask this group of outstanding Americans to find the best ways to tap the enormous market that exists in rebuilding our cities and to bring the most modern systems and the most advanced technology to this urgent task.

GRANTS FOR METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

Unless metropolitan development is orderly, the public's money will be wasted on public facilities—schools, hospitals, police and fire stations—that are obsolete before they are even completed.

Last year the Congress authorized a new program of 20-percent grants to support orderly development by local communities, working cooperatively in metropolitan areas. These Federal incentive grants supplement 10 other Federal grant-in-aid programs that help finance transportation facilities, water and sewer facilities, recreational and other open space areas, libraries, and hospitals.

I urge the Congress to provide $30 million in fiscal 1968 for this essential program.

URBAN TRANSPORTATION

The life of a city depends on an adequate transportation system.

Inefficient transportation increases the costs of local industry, and the prices paid by consumers in local stores. It robs the community's citizens of their leisure time and comfort. It penalizes the physically handicapped and those too poor to own a car.

I recommend that the Congress provide $230 million in advance funds for fiscal 1969 for the construction and improvement of urban mass transportation systems.

To improve public transportation systems and to reduce traffic congestion, I recommend legislation to authorize the Secretary of Transportation, under the Federal highway program, to participate in the cost of acquiring land and developing public parking facilities on the outskirts of large cities. This authority would enable the Secretary to promote the multipurpose use of space over and under expressways and to develop areas alongside of highways for parking terminals.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Less than one-tenth of 1 percent of our total research and development expenditures in Government have been devoted to the field of housing and urban affairs. Yet, 70 percent of our citizens live in urban areas.

This failure to apply scientific resources and methods to an area of such vital importance to American life cannot be permitted to continue.

Today, we can give only partial, insufficient answers to such basic questions as how to build better housing at lower cost, but how to move people more rapidly at less cost in congested urban areas.

This year, I ask that we move to build a basic foundation of urban knowledge—in three ways:

First, I recommend legislation to authorize a new Assistant Secretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development for research, technology, and engineering.

Under the new Assistant Secretary, an Office for Urban Research, Technology, and Engineering will be established along lines that have proven successful in other agencies of Government. The new Office will also serve as a source of information for State and local governments and for private industry.

Second, I am asking the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to encourage the establishment of an Institute of Urban Development as a separate and distinct organization. Such an organization would look beyond immediate problems and immediate concerns to future urban requirements, and engage in basic inquiries as to how they may be solved.

Third, I recommend: $20 million in fiscal 1968 in funds appropriated to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for general research; an increase from $13 to $18 million for other studies and experimentation in the fields of housing, urban development, and urban transportation.

IV. PROGRAMS FOR THE RURAL POOR

Men have argued the merits of providing jobs in rural areas to stem the flow of people into the cities, as against providing jobs and training on arrival or training for jobs prior to departure. Whatever the "correct" answer may be to this argument, it seems clear to me that conditions of impoverishment in rural America continue to exist and must be relieved to the extent we know how to relieve them.

We have taken a number of actions that will, in time, produce effective results:

A National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has been established and will submit its report and recommendations to me at the end of the year.

I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to review all existing Federal programs to insure that rural areas receive an equitable share of their benefits.

The Secretary of Agriculture has been given responsibility to identify development problems in rural areas which require the cooperation of various Federal departments, so that these programs may be better coordinated and duplication eliminated.

But much more needs to be done.

PLANNING AIDS FOR MULTICOUNTY AREAS

This is no longer a nation of small towns and communities which can develop independently. Improved transportation and modern communications have created a larger concept of community. Its boundaries are not marked by any arbitrary political lines, but by the commuting distance to available jobs.

Many States have recognized this, and have established multicounty planning and development areas. Others are doing so. In many cases, rural community action agencies—organized on a multicounty basis—serve the same purpose.

But many rural communities lack the means to form multicounty development districts. Many lack the personnel trained in planning broad social and economic programs. Others lack the resources to enable them to plan effectively.

I recommend that the Congress amend the Housing Act of 1954 and authorize $20 million to provide:

Grants to States by the Department of Housing and Urban Development of up to two-thirds of the cost of technical assistance to and comprehensive planning by official multicounty planning agencies in nonmetropolitan areas, including multicounty community action agencies.

Technical assistance to the multicounty planning agencies by the Department of Agriculture.

INCREASING OUR PUBLIC INVESTMENT

For many rural areas, a relatively small public investment will return substantial increases in opportunity for the local people.

I recommend legislation to remove the annual ceiling on insured loan authority for rural community water and waste disposal systems.

Eliminating the existing $450 million limitation on lending authority for this program will permit more rapid completion of the water and waste disposal systems rural America needs for economic development.

I also recommend legislation to expand the provisions of the existing loan programs to permit farmowners or their tenants to shift the entire use of farmland with adequate recreation potential from agricultural production to income-producing recreation enterprises, as part of comprehensive land-use plans for rural and neighboring urban areas.

This program would permit better use of scarce land resources, provide better opportunities for some farmers now using poor farmland for crop purposes, and furnish urgently needed recreation facilities for our population.

MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

Migrant farmworkers are among the forgotten Americans. Their wages are low, their employment uncertain, and their housing and working conditions deplorable. Though their needs are great, they often find it impossible to obtain social services available to other poverty-stricken Americans.

Because of residency requirements, migratory farmworkers are barred in many States from receiving public assistance, vocational rehabilitation, and other welfare services. Disabled workers and their families are often not served—even when otherwise eligible—because of their relatively brief period within a State.

I recommend a five-point program for these forgotten Americans:

First. Legislation to provide 90-percent Federal reimbursement for vocational rehabilitation services for disabled migratory farmworkers. The Secretary of Labor will develop a system for identifying migratory farmworkers who would be considered for benefits under this program.

Second. Amendments of the public assistance law to authorize pilot projects to provide temporary public assistance and other welfare services for migratory farmworkers and their families, who are now barred by residence requirements from receiving these services.

Third. A 25-percent increase—from $28 to $35 million—in funds to provide: Special educational services for more than 170,000 migrant children; health services for about 280,000 migratory workers and their families; an expanded self-help housing program for the construction of 2,000 housing units.

Fourth. Amendment of the unemployment insurance laws to provide benefits for workers employed on large commercial farms.

Fifth. Extension of social security benefits to 500,000 farmworkers by reducing from $150 to $50 the amount which must be earned from a single employer each year.

V. FINISHING THE NATION'S BUSINESS

It is difficult for most Americans to understand what it is to be desperately poor in today's affluent America. More than half our population was born after 1940. Less than half can remember the depression on the farms of the twenties, or the breadlines of the thirties. "The Grapes of Wrath" is ancient literature—not a living record—to most Americans.

Yet for more than 31 million Americans, poverty is neither remote in time, nor removed in space. It is cruel and present reality. It makes choices for them. It determines their future prospects—despite our hope and belief that in America, opportunity has no bounds for any man.

Poverty was universally tolerated until a century or so ago. But like disease, war and famine, it gained nothing in acceptability because it was prevalent. As soon as men saw that they might escape it, they fought and died to escape it.

Poverty denies to most of those born into it a fair chance to be themselves, to be happy in life. Federal funds or services, and the opportunities they provide, cannot permanently free a man from the trap of poverty if he does not want to be free. He must use the ladders that circumstance, native ability, and his Nation may create.

Let it be said that in our time, we pursued a strategy against poverty so that each man had a chance to be himself.

Let it be said that in our time, we offered him the means to become a free man—for his sake, and for our own.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 14, 1967.*

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Sargent Shriver is a remarkable man. Through salesmanship unequaled in Washington, in my judgment, he got the Peace Corps going and did much to assure the program's success. With the Peace Corps in solid shape he took on the responsibility of leading the war on poverty as the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. For many months he held both positions—a demanding task but not beyond Shriver's capabilities. He occasionally ran out of time, I am told, but never out of talent.

As the war on poverty has become the massive task that is required to remove this cancer from our society, Shriver has concentrated on this effort—and with considerable success. Better direction and tighter administration is being brought to the antipoverty program by the day.

President Johnson's continued high confidence in Shriver's ability and capacity was never better illustrated than in his recent message to the Congress on America's unfinished business—urban and rural poverty. In addition to the further challenge given OEO, just take a look at the associated assignment given Shriver as Director:

To work with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the further development of neighborhood centers for the poor;

To work with the Secretary of HUD, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and with the Attorney General to promote better and greater job opportunities and placement for the poor;

To work with the Secretary of Labor and the Attorney General to study the problems of wage garnishment as they affect the poor;

To work with the Secretary of HUD in the development of a pilot program of rat control and eradication—a serious and terrifying problem in the slums of our cities;

To work with the Secretary of Agriculture in the development of new services for the rural poor; and

To consult with the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of HEW to study the feasibility of a nonprofit Migrant Manpower Corporation to serve the needs of migrant laborers.

The fight against poverty demands a massive attack, of course, and this is a massive load for one man. But I have no fears that Sargent Shriver is the man for the job, and I wish him well.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, President Johnson has today challenged all thoughtful Americans in forwarding to the Congress his message outlining a strategy against poverty. As a conservationist, I look upon this important message as the single most significant conservation message of this generation. President Johnson has identified the needs to and the means for the wise use of some of our material resources in order to benefit our most precious resource—human beings. How can we do less than what the President has requested?

I am especially heartened to note the recognition that we must try to do more, for example, with the Job Corps program. In doing more, we must strive to find ways to be more effective for less per trainee cost. I believe we can do this.

This message goes to the heart of urgent people needs. Young people. Older people. Rural people. Urban people. It is significant because it recognizes the need for us to build on the already tested concepts of the past and to look for research and development of new systems for the future.

This message is a landmark challenge to private enterprise and government at all levels to join forces in combining talents, tools and thinking to solve mutually held problems.

I look forward to joining forces with Members of the Congress in helping fulfill the promises of earlier legislation in applying and extending these ideas and programs as embodied in the President's thoughtful and timely message.

URBAN AND RURAL POVERTY

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I rise to endorse President Johnson's request to the Congress for a continued, strong attack on the evil forces of poverty in our society. In his message on America's unfinished business: urban and rural poverty the President makes an impressive case for an even greater effort than has been made to date through the Office of Economic Opportunity and its programs.

I was pleased particularly with the President's emphasis on the Headstart program, and his recommendation of followthrough efforts, as well as the attention given in his talk to the problems of rural poverty.

As the President pointed out, more than 500,000 preschool children from poverty areas and depressing home conditions will benefit this year from Headstart projects set up to give them the early training, attention, and health care they need to start school on the same foot with their classmates. Some 200,000 young children will participate in similar programs the year around.

Last summer—you will recall—more than 500,000 young, disadvantaged children benefited from Headstart. For those—and for those who will participate this year—President Johnson has asked the Congress for a followthrough program which will insure that the early accomplishments of Headstart are maintained.

In urging a followthrough program the President said:

> We must not lose the precious momentum children gain from Head Start by returning them to substandard schools.

His recommendations in this area—as well as his other proposals—deserve our prompt and sympathetic consideration.

The President's call for an increase in State technical and planning assistance to rural areas will make it possible for more counties and cities to unite in regional action against the causes of poverty. His recommendation of an Assistant Director of OEO for Rural Affairs focuses new attention on the poverty problems in these areas.

The task is great and difficult—but we must, as the President has asked, get on with the job.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, today the President of the United States has made an urgent request of Congress. He has asked the Congress to reaffirm by continuing and strengthening the war on poverty, its historic commitment not only to the poor among us, but also to the social health of the entire Nation.

The entire Nation deserves and needs this continuing congressional commitment and its support.

Today the war on poverty is at a crossroads. One road points in the direction of disillusionment and despair. To travel this road by cutting back on programs that symbolize the growing expectations of those Americans who have never before had a fair chance in life, is to invite a dangerous national reaction.

Inevitably, mistakes have been made during the 2 years of the war on poverty, but the successes have been many, varied, and effective. The underlying concepts are sound.

This program is not paternalistic, it is independent. It is not the dole, nor the handout. It stands for self-help.

It is not based on abstract social formulas; it is rooted in local creativity and decisions; in the individualism that we prize as our American birthright.

This is a pragmatic, tough-minded program, and its gets concrete results.

Mr. President, I urge this body to give its unstinting support to the war on poverty in this crucial time of national decision.

On a related subject, yesterday it was my privilege to attend an impressive ceremony at the White House, relating to the Headstart program.

I ask unanimous consent to have included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks some excerpts from the noteworthy and excellent remarks made upon that occasion by Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM THE REMARKS OF SARGENT SHRIVER, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, HEADSTART CEREMONIES, THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 13, 1967

We are here this morning for two reasons:—to celebrate a significant victory in the "war against poverty" and to launch a new campaign for America's children.

The significant victory we celebrate is, of course, "Head Start." The new campaign is to extend the benefits of "Head Start" to all poor children and to their parents:—three million poor children of whom 50% probably have never even heard of "Head Start."

The task is formidable. But our past victories give us every reason to hope for future success.

It was only two years and two months ago that we launched "Head Start" in this same room under the inspirational guidance and sponsorship of our gracious hostess, Mrs. Johnson. We had big ideas. We hoped to enroll 100,000 children in an unprecedented summer program.

Most of the "experts" on children said it couldn't be done. There was too little time, too few teachers, too little space, too few books and teaching materials, and too few doctors, too few nurses.

The "experts" advised us to try for 10,000, not 100,000 children.

And you all know what happened—

We ended up with 561,000 Head Start children that first summer. And since then 1,488,000 children have joined "Head Start."

Why? How could this have happened—so fast? No one was forced into "Head Start"—No one drafted.

There was, of course, Dr. Julius Richmond's brilliant direction of the program. There was Mrs. Johnson's energetic, far-sighted leadership as Honorary National Chairman. And there were hundreds of skillful administrators and managers. But, are these unique? Is Head Start the only program so favored? Obviously *not*. Then what is the answer?

I suggest the answer is simple:—

We let the American people do it themselves!

Washington paid for it—but the people ran it. And I don't mean educators, doctors, lawyers, merchants or chiefs—I mean the people, plain, ordinary American citizens.

Today, for example, 55% of all Head Start children are attending classes in private, non-profit institutions. They are not in public or parochial schools.

The American Optometric Association—Luci Baines Nugent's "Volunteers for Vision," gave more than 100,000 free optical exams.

The American Academy of Pediatrics supplied more than 200 pediatricians as Consultants.

The American Dental Association mobilized its members, helped to write the guidelines and prepare special materials for dentists.

More than 250,000 private citizens worked for "Head Start" free-of-charge.

And the accomplishments are breathtaking:

98,000 children with eye defects discovered and treated.

90,000 children with bone and joint disorders discovered and treated.

7,400 children mentally retarded discovered and referred for special handling.

2,200 active cases of TB discovered and treated.

900,000 dental cases discovered with an average of 5 cavities per child.

740,000 children discovered without vaccinations against polio and then immunized by "Head Start."

More than *1,000,000*—not vaccinated against measles, and then immunized by "Head Start."

Forty per cent of these children are *white*, English-speaking—20% are white Spanish-speaking—40% are Negro. Which proves another significant point:—

Poverty is color blind.—a lesson of special meaning in the Deep South.

In Mississippi we shall have 33,000 children in "Head Start" come June 30th—all of them in biracial programs—the first biracial activities in Mississippi history. The "experts" said that, too, could not be achieved. But Mississippi leaders, white and black, have done it,—working together, through new, private, not-for-profit groups.

What's the point of it all? To take care of a million or two million children? Yes—but much more than that.

The point is to prove once again to the American people that they can accomplish miracles—if they work together—poor and rich—educated and unlettered—amateurs and professionals.

That's what we mean by local Community Action—the national program of which "Head Start" is a part.

500,000 parents have participated in "Head Start" along with their children—right in the classrooms. That may be the largest adult education program in the country. At the very least it's a new PTA—the PPTA—the "Poor Parents" teachers' association.

And as a further result of this newly awakened community interest we have new recruits in the "war against poverty." The University of Louisville has 154 students studying child development this year as against 17 last year! A New York State university has 1,200 applicants for 200 openings. Even four states have inaugurated kindergarten for all.

Where is all this activity leading us? It is taking us toward an America where no one will see what I saw last summer in Colorado Springs in the basement of the Congregational Church.

A birthday party for a new 5-year-old Head Start recruit—where the teachers baked the cake and the little child couldn't eat it . . . because his teeth hurt so much he couldn't bite.

Is it too much to ask the richest nation in history to make sure that every child can eat his own birthday cake?

I think not. You think not. But our job is to convince all Americans, or at least 51% of them.

This wonderful movie "Pancho" will help us tell our story. But you—every one of you in this room—must work to get this movie distributed and shown. We need to reach at least 10,000,000 people with Pancho's message.

We are pleased that four or five states will soon start kindergarten. But there are still twenty-three states with no kindergarten classes.

We are pleased that our new Neighborhood Health Centers will soon be bringing medical care to thousands of poor people heretofore unreached. But still millions of American women will bear children this year without any prenatal or post natal care—their children will receive no visits from pediatricians. America's infant mortality rate will continue higher and deadlier than Sweden's or England's or Belgium's, or Switzerland's, or Germany's. Why should "they" be ahead of us?

By the year 2000—ten thousand or more astronauts may well fly through outer space—but 30 billion human beings will make the 9-month inner space voyage through the womb. Yet we spend more on the technology of space than on the technology of birth. We know more about outer space than inner space. Over the years we have spent more research money on pregnant cows than on pregnant women. So, as a nation we have no grounds for complacency. We have lots still to do. But we can do it—as long as we work not as specialists but as humanists, not as professionals but as amateurs—lovers, that is, of mankind.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, President Johnson has presented a compassionate and intelligent message on our major social problems—both in the city and on the farm.

The President has dramatized these problems in poignant and human terms, and he deserves the support of Congress and all Americans in carrying out this program.

His request for a concentrated effort at training and employing up to 100,000 slum residents deserves particular support and attention because jobs—not handouts—are what the men and women of the slums need and want most.

Both this concept and others that appear in the President's message—such as the Institute for Urban Development, homeownership for lower-income families, public service employment, and an urban rat control program—were discussed last year during hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization. The President's endorsement of the proposals is striking evidence that the public interest is best served when a spirit of cooperation and communication exists between the executive branch and the Congress.

President Johnson has requested full funding for the model cities program. Certainly, this is the least we can do, and his request deserves the full support of Congress.

He has also requested legislation to establish a new Assistant Secretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development for Research, Technology, and Engineering. A nation undergoing rapid urbanization requires a substantial investment in research and development in man's most basic need: housing and a decent environment. This research and technology effort should be funded this year, and the Institute of Urban Development should be established as quickly as possible.

The President's message is a responsible response to our current problems. But we are a rapidly changing society, and it will take many years of commitment and action to achieve our long-range goal: a decent environment and full opportunity for all our citizens.

The President has pointed the way—he has begun the process. We in the Congress must follow through.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, as in legislative session, the message from the President of the United States on poverty be jointly referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMORROW AT 11 O'CLOCK A.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order of March 9, 1967, that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock a.m. tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 24 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 15, 1967, at 11 o'clock a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 14, 1967:

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Richard B. Smith, of New York, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the remainder of the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1967, vice Byron D. Woodside.

Richard B. Smith, of New York, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1972.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for you are the salt of the earth.—Matthew 5: 12, 13.

O God and Father of mankind, who art above us yet within us, far off yet very near—nearer than breathing and closer than hands and feet—we bow in Thy presence with hearts filled with gratitude because Thou hast been so wonderfully good to us.

We are what we are and we have what we have not because we deserve them, but because Thy goodness hast blessed our days, and Thy spirit hast led us along the way.

We thank Thee for these men and women who are giving themselves in real and deep devotion to our country, who are seeking to put justice above injustice, good will above ill will, principle above prejudice and liberty above license. May they continue to have the courage of their convictions and in these crucial days fail not man nor Thee.

Bless our Nation with Thy favor and these leaders with Thy spirit. Together may we be channels for peace and for prosperity in our world. In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1177. An act to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation in Montana;

S. 1191. An act to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation in Colorado; and

S.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to provide for the administration and development of Pennsylvania Avenue as a national historic site.

APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL COUNSEL PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 376

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that he has, pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 376, appointed, as special counsel, Hon. Bruce Bromley, of New York.

The Chair might add, parenthetically, that this appointment meets with the unanimous approval of all Members who were named as defendants in the legal proceedings.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION—PERMISSION TO SIT DURING DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on the Library of Congress of the Committee on House Administration be permitted to sit during debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION—PERMISSION TO SIT DURING DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Accounts of the Committee on House Administration may be permitted to sit during debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of making an announcement regarding the program.

Mr. Speaker, we announced last week that the Committee on Ways and Means would call up today sundry bills and resolutions which had been unanimously reported from that committee and had passed the House also, I believe, last year. I have been advised by the committee that the distinguished chairman of that committee must appear before the Committee on Rules at this time. He has two important bills pending which we hope to call up later in the week, the so-called interest equalization bill and the investment credit bill. As a result we may not be able to call up the unanimous-consent bills today. If not, they will be called up at a later date.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to make the further announcement that I have information that perhaps the message on the Economic Opportunity Act may be up today. Since there is no legislation, we may be on special orders at the time, but if the message does come up, I should like to advise the Members, so they will know that even though special orders are commenced, we may read the message and have it properly referred at that time.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I will be glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, this comes as quite a shock to some of us who did our homework last night. I have here 21 bills, which have been studied, annotated, and are ready. Does the gentleman mean to imply that the Committee on Rules is meeting now, while the House is in session?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that, of course, the House grants that committee the privilege to meet while the House is in session. They have numerous important measures before them, and I believe it is not uncommon that they should meet at this time. I believe it would expedite the business of the House to let the committee proceed with the consideration of very important bills by that committee, because these other bills are bills which can be brought up at a later date, and they will be brought up in the near future if postponed today.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, the emphasis on "very important" bills is relative to one's point of view, of course. Does the gentleman, the majority leader of the House, expect to bring the investment tax credit bill on the floor tomorrow, to program it if, indeed, a rule is granted by the Committee on Rules?

Mr. ALBERT. We hope that we can announce tomorrow that that bill will be ready for floor consideration; and with the cooperation which we will, of course, have, if he is ready, from the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, we may have that bill up Thursday or later this week. We do hope to do that.

I say to the gentleman, all of these unanimous-consent bills are important bills, and I am sure that any preparation the gentleman has made with respect to them, since he is one of the most attentive Members in the House, will be just as available to the House later this week or next week.

Mr. HALL. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I assure the gentleman I will keep my powder dry.

Mr. ALBERT. I know the gentleman will.

Mr. HALL. In the meantime, it poses quite a dilemma. One hates to be tossed from horn to horn, as to whether to break up the meeting of the Rules Committee or allow it to progress on the one hand, or whether to have another one of these oft-messaged releases from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue come down and reserve the rollcall for then. Obviously we do not have a quorum present. This is, indeed, a dilemma.

Mr. ALBERT. I state to the gentleman that if the message gets here—I do not know whether it will or not—before we are ready to adjourn, we will read it. The gentleman certainly would be within his rights at that time to call for a quorum. That is why I am notifying the House.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS TO SIT WHILE HOUSE IS IN SESSION TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs may sit while the House is in session today, during debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE CERTAIN REPORTS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS TO FILE REPORTS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, if the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means desires to do so, I ask unanimous consent that for his committee he may have until midnight tomorrow night to file reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT BILLS FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I see that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and the distinguished ranking member of that committee have come to the floor and they advise that they are ready to present these bills now notwithstanding my earlier remarks. I also see the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] here.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT BILLS FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time in order to advise the Members of the House that all of the bills that will be called up today are bills that were reported from the Committee on Ways and Means during the last Congress by unanimous consent, as well as in this Congress.

In addition thereto, Mr. Speaker, all of these bills which we propose to call up for consideration today, with the exception of some minor changes, changes which the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] and I will discuss and explain, were passed by the House of Representatives by unanimous consent during the last Congress, and that applies to all of them.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished chairman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I shall be glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Arkansas has previously stated, there has been no change in the substance of any of the bills from the substance and the manner in which they passed the House last year.

Mr. MILLS. Yes, I agree with the gentleman's statement.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND ON BEHALF OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, THE RANKING MINORITY MEMBER, THE AUTHORS OF CERTAIN BILLS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] and I, plus the author of each bill, be permitted to extend remarks in connection with the passage of each of the bills considered today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

DUTY-FREE TREATMENT OF DICYANDIAMIDE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 286) to permit duty-free treatment of dicyandiamide pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 286

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for purposes of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, sections 201(b)(1) (relating to limit on decrease in duty) and 253 (relating to staging requirements) of such Act shall not apply with respect to dicyandiamide provided for in item 425.40 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 286 is to authorize the President to eliminate the duty on imports of dicyandiamide pursuant to his trade agreement authority. The bill, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Louisiana, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, is identical to H.R. 16077 of the 89th Congress as passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means is advised that dicyandiamide is used mostly to make melamine, which in turn is reacted with formaldehyde to make plastics used principally in the manufacture of moldings—mainly tableware—laminates, and coatings. Dicyandiamide is not produced in the United States, but is obtained principally from a Canadian plant which is the only producer of this product in North America. Most of our imports of this product come from Canada, Japan, and Norway.

There is presently imposed on imports of dicyandiamide a rate of duty of 10½ percent ad valorem, and the maximum that the rate of duty on dicyandiamide could be reduced by the President pursuant to his trade agreement authority under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 would be 5 percent ad valorem in gradual stages over a period of 4 years.

The bill provides that section 201(b) (1)—relating to limit on decrease in duty—and section 253—relating to staging requirements—of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 shall be inapplicable with respect to dicyandiamide provided for in item 425.40 of the tariff schedules of the United States. In essence, this authorizes the elimination of the duty—or reduction to a rate under 50 percent of the July 1, 1962, rate—without staging. However, no such agreement could be made before the requirements of chapter 3—relating to requirements concerning negotiations—title II of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, have been met.

Favorable reports on H.R. 286 were received by the committee from the Departments of Treasury, State, Commerce, and Labor, as well as an informative report from the U.S. Tariff Commission, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 286, a bill to permit duty free treatment of dicyandiamide pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears on pages 28566–28567 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 286.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY ON CERTAIN NONMALLEABLE IRON CASTINGS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 653) to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings, which was reported unanimously to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 653

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) schedule 6, part 4, subpart A of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended by striking out item 662.20 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“ 662.18	Other: Cast iron (except malleable cast iron) parts, not alloyed and not advanced beyond cleaning or normalizing by heat treatment, and machined only for the removal of fins, gates, sprues, and risers, or for the determination of the porosity of the casting, or to permit location in finishing machinery, or painted only for protection from oxidation........	3% ad val.	10% ad val.	
662.20	Other..............	11.5% ad val.	35% ad val.	”

(b) Item 674.51 of such schedules is amended by inserting before the comma immediately after “cleaning” the words “or normalizing by heat treatment” and by striking out “or to permit location in finishing machinery” and inserting in lieu thereof, “or for the determination of the porosity of the casting, or to permit location in finishing machinery, or painted only for protection from oxidation”.

SEC. 2. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) Upon request therefor filed with the collector of customs concerned on or before the 120th day after the date of the enactment of this Act, the entry or withdrawal of any article—

(1) which was made after August 30, 1963, and before the day after the date of the enactment of this Act, and

(2) with respect to which the amount of duty would be smaller if the amendments made by the first section of this Act applied to such entry or withdrawal, shall, notwithstanding the provisions of section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930 or any other provision of law, be liquidated or reliquidated as though such entry or withdrawal had been made on the day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

“That (a) schedule 6, part 4, subpart A of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202) is amended by striking out item 662.20 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“ 662.18	Other: Cast iron (except malleable cast iron) parts, not alloyed and not advanced beyond cleaning or normalizing by heat treatment, and machined only for the removal of fins, gates, sprues, and risers, or for the determination of the porosity of the casting, or to permit location in finishing machinery, or painted only for protection from oxidation	3% ad val.	10% ad val.	
662.20	Other............	11.5% ad val.	35% ad val.	”

(b) Item 674.51 of such schedules is amended by inserting before the comma immediately after “cleaning” the words “or normalizing by heat treatment” and by striking out “or to permit location in finishing machinery” and inserting in lieu thereof “, or for the determination of the porosity of the casting, or to permit location in finishing machinery, or painted only for protection from oxidation”.

SEC. 2. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) Upon request therefor filed with the collector of customs concerned on or before the 120th day after the date of the enactment of this Act, the entry or withdrawal of any article—

(1) which was made after August 30, 1963, and before the day after the date of the enactment of this Act, and

(2) with respect to which the amount of duty would be smaller if the amendments made by the first section of this Act applied to such entry or withdrawal,

shall, notwithstanding the provisions of section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930 or any other provision of law, be liquidated or reliquidated as though such entry or withdrawal had been made on the day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. MILLS (during the reading of the committee amendment). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the committee amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to restore to certain unfinished nonmalleable cast-iron machine parts the tariff rate which was applicable to such parts immediately prior to the effective date of the Tariff Schedules of the United States; that is, August 31, 1963. H.R. 653 as reported to the House is identical to H.R. 13116 of the 89th Congress as passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

Unfinished nonmalleable cast-iron parts were dutiable under a general provision of the Tariff Act of 1930 at the rate of 3 percent ad valorem. The general provision for cast iron castings was not continued in the tariff schedules of the United States because it was ambiguous in certain respects. In the tariff classification study preceding the adoption of the tariff schedules, the Tariff Commission made a survey to determine the major imports which were being afforded the 3-percent tariff treatment, and created special provisions for such cast-iron products in order to continue the substance of the past tariff treatment. No special provision was created to cover the aforementioned unfinished parts. Moreover, the special provision for unfinished nonmalleable parts for machine tools excludes such parts as are advanced by normalizing by heat treatment. Such unfinished cast-iron parts are dutiable under TSUS item 674.52 or 674.53, at 20 or 14 percent ad valorem, respectively.

The Committee on Ways and Means has been informed that significant imports of articles falling within this tariff classification description and the expanded tariff classification description were made prior to August 31, 1963, the effective date of the tariff schedules of the United States, and were subject to a 3-percent duty. Testimony before the committee indicated that there is now a substantial amount of import trade in such articles.

The Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that the 3-percent tariff rate should be restored to the products covered by H.R. 653, which was introduced by our colleague on the committee, the Honorable MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, of Michigan, and the committee is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 653, a bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28570, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 653.

The bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY TREATMENT OF BAGPIPES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 664) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that bagpipes and parts thereof shall be admitted free of duty, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 664

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 (Tariff Schedules of the United States; 28 F.R., part II, page 359, Aug. 17, 1963) is amended by striking out item 725.24 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“

	Wood-wind instruments:		
725.24	Bagpipes…………	Free	40% ad val.
725.25	Other…………	15% ad val.	40% ad val.

”

(b) Title I of such Act (Tariff Schedules of the United States; 28 F.R., part II, page 360, Aug. 17, 1963) is amended by striking out item 726.70 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

‘

	Parts of wood-wind instruments:		
726.70	Parts of bagpipes…	Free	40% ad val.
726.72	Other…………	15% ad val.	40% ad val.

”

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply only with respect to articles which are entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 664 is to amend the tariff schedules of the United States to make duty free the importation of bagpipes and parts thereof. The bill, which was introduced by the Honorable CHARLES A. GUBSER, of California, is identical to H.R. 1035 of the 89th Congress, as passed by the House on October 11, 1966.

The bagpipe is a reed musical instrument of great antiquity. It is said to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans, and its use and development spread to Scotland and Ireland, where it became identified with the life of the people, particularly the residents of the Scottish Highlands. In recent years, the bagpipe has become increasingly popular in the United States, where numerous bagpipe bands have been organized in various parts of the country.

Bagpipes are presently dutiable under the provision for woodwind instruments in item 725.24 of the tariff schedules. Parts of bagpipes are provided for under item 726.70. The column 1—most-favored-nation—rate for both bagpipes and parts thereof is presently 15 percent ad valorem. The column 2—statutory—rate is 40 percent ad valorem. The bill does not affect the column 2 rate.

The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised by the U.S. Tariff Commission and the Department of Commerce that there is no known commercial production of bagpipes in the United States.

Favorable reports on H.R. 664 were received by the committee from the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce and Labor, as well as an informative report from the Tariff Commission. The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending enactment of the bill.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 664, a bill to provide for the duty-free admission of bagpipes into the country. Bagpipes are musical instruments that are becoming increasingly popular in the United States. They are being used more and more by school and college bands, as well as many other groups in our society.

Although the U.S. Tariff Commission and the Department of Commerce have advised the committee that they know of no commercial production of bagpipes in the United States, the present tariff schedule imposes minimum duty of 15% ad valorem on bagpipes coming into this country. The committee has received favorable reports from the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce and Labor on this legislation. The bill is unanimously recommended by the Ways and Means Committee.

In order to make more readily available to groups interested in using bagpipes, I recommend passage of this legislation.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the bagpipe is a very ancient instrument, said to have been introduced by the Romans in England. From England the instrument was introduced into Ireland and Scotland. Through the centuries the sounds of bagpipes have accompanied feuds on the Scottish heath, marching revolutionaries in Ireland, and marching bands in parades and celebrations in those countries as well as here in America. The unforgettable sight of the kilted bagpipers marching has added color and excitement to countless festive occasions in this country. The haunting, indescribable sound of the bagpipes playing summons in each of us a sense of the mystery of antiquity. We know, when the bagpipes have passed, that we have lived through a few moments of history, preserved for us in its purest essence.

With the increase in leisure time in recent years, interest in bagpipe playing has grown to sizable proportions. Since bagpipes are not manufactured in this country, the 15 percent ad valorem tariff on bagpipes protects no one and places an unfair burden on the growing number of bagpipe players here. Because the removal of the tariff on bagpipes can cause no economic harm, and in the hope that more Americans might enjoy the blood-stirring music of the bagpipes, I give my firm support to the removal of the tariff.

Last year the House of Representatives passed a similar bill to remove the tariff on bagpipes. The bill was being considered in the Senate when the session ended, but we have again today the opportunity to express our good will to the bagpipers of this country by rectifying a situation which is unnecessary at best.

I urge the passage of H.R. 664 to achieve this end.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TAX-FREE WITHDRAWAL OF WINE UNFIT FOR BEVERAGE USE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 1282) to provide for the withdrawal of wine from bonded wine cellars without payment of tax, when rendered unfit for beverage use, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1282

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That section 5362 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to removal of wine from bonded wine cellars), as amended, is further amended by adding at the end thereof, the following:

"(d) Withdrawal Free of Tax of Wine and Wine Products Unfit for Beverage Use.—Under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may deem necessary to protect the revenue, wine, or wine products made from wine, when rendered unfit for beverage use, on which the tax has not been paid or determined, may be withdrawn from bonded wine cellars free of tax. The wine or wine products to be so withdrawn may be treated with methods or materials which render such wine or wine products suitable for their intended use. No wine or wine products so withdrawn shall contain more than 21 percent of alcohol by volume, or be used in the compounding of distilled spirits or wine for beverage use or in the manufacture of any product intended to be used in such compounding."

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, beginning in line 4, strike out ", as" and all that follows down through line 6, and insert: "is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:"

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to provide for the tax-free withdrawal from bonded wine cellars of wine and wine products, when rendered unfit for beverage use. As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, H.R. 1282, which was introduced by the Honorable B. F. Sisk, of California, is identical to H.R. 6413 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 7, 1966.

Present law imposes an excise tax on the withdrawal of wine from a bonded wine cellar at rates varying with the alcoholic content of the wine and based on the natural or artificial carbonation of the wine. However, wine may also be withdrawn from bonded wine cellars free of tax for use in the production of vinegar and for certain other limited purposes. Present law permits a drawback of all but $1 of tax per gallon in the case of distilled spirits where they are rendered unfit for beverage use, but no comparable provision is provided under present law in the case of wines.

H.R. 1282 will permit the use of wines withdrawn tax free in nonbeverage products, such as food flavoring, and will alleviate economic problems in some cases by helping to dispose of fruit surpluses.

To guard against evasion of the alcoholic beverage taxes, the bill provides that wines withdrawn tax free must be rendered unfit for beverage use before their withdrawal. "Unfit for beverage use" in this case means the same as when that term is used in the Internal Revenue Code in the case of drawbacks of tax on distilled spirits.

The bill excludes from coverage wines containing more than 21 percent alcohol. This is provided because it is believed that the inclusion of higher alcohol content wines might result in attempted diversion for beverage use and, additionally, because it is felt that a tax exemption of these higher alcohol content wines might, because of their resemblance to distilled spirits, place persons now using distilled spirits in nonbeverage products at a competitive disadvantage.

The Treasury Department has indicated no objection to this legislation, and it is expected that only a negligible revenue loss will result from its enactment.

The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending the passage of H.R. 1282.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to speak on behalf of my bill, H.R. 1282, which would provide for the withdrawal of wine from bonded wine cellars without payment of tax, when rendered unfit for beverage use. I would first of all like to express my appreciation to the members of the Ways and Means Committee, especially the chairman, for their fine work and cooperation.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, our present laws do not contain any provision for use of wine for nonbeverage purposes. Provisions similar to those proposed in H.R. 1282 are now effective for industrial alcohol and distilled spirits. This bill proposes that wine that is denatured and rendered unfit for beverage use be permitted to be withdrawn tax free. If this is allowed, it will open new markets for wine throughout the country in food, pharmaceuticals, livestock food, and other fields. Such a provision would not involve any loss of revenue.

Our entire grape industry is seriously in need of new markets. This is being gradually accomplished in the case of raisins and other grape products, through extensive research and market development in new fields. Such market development is seriously hampered, and I think unnecessarily and unreasonably so, in the case of wine grapes, because of the existing tax structure. I can see no reason, either from the viewpoint of public policy in regulation and control, or from the tax revenue viewpoint, why this serious obstacle should not be eliminated under proper and careful regulations as are proposed in H.R. 1282.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully solicit my colleagues' support for this legislation.

The bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXCISE TAX ON SHELLS AND CARTRIDGES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 1326) to amend section 4181 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the excise tax on shells and cartridges, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1326

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 4181 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the excise tax on shells and cartridges) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For purposes of this part, the term 'shells' and the term 'cartridges' shall not include shells or other devices that contain delayed-action explosives and that are chiefly used for frightening or herding birds without injuring them."

(b) The amendment made by this Act shall apply to articles sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 1326 is to amend section 4181 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt from the manufacturer's excise tax the sale of shells and cartridge shells and other devices which contain delayed-action explosives and are chiefly used for frightening or herding birds without injuring them. The bill, which was introduced by the Honorable Burt L. Talcott, of California, is, except for a minor clarifying change, identical to H.R. 9280 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

Present law imposes an 11-percent excise tax on the sale by the manufacturer, producer, or importer of shells and cartridges. The pending bill would exempt from this excise tax bird-scaring-type shells and cartridges which are used by farmers and others to protect growing crops from wild birds, for herding wild birds into State and Federal bird sanctuaries, for frightening birds from airports, and for other similar purposes. An example of the type shell which this bill would exempt is a shotgun shell primed with black powder which contains a firecracker rather than steel pellets in its projectile tube. When fired from a gun, the firecracker is propelled a predetermined distance and explodes with a loud report. Obviously, such a shell is useful only in frightening game and would not be used in hunting.

The Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that devices of the type described were not intended to be included under the excise tax imposed on ordinary shells and cartridges.

The Treasury Department has raised no objection to this legislation, and the Internal Revenue Service has advised that no significant administrative problems are likely to arise from its enactment. It is believed that the revenue loss resulting from the bill will be negligible.

The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending enactment of H.R. 1326.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND THE TARIFF SCHEDULES OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF CHINESE GOOSEBERRIES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2155) to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the classification of Chinese gooseberries, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2155

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That schedule 1, part 9, subpart B of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended (1) by striking out "Fresh" in item 149.50 and inserting in lieu thereof "Other fruits, fresh", and (2) by inserting immediately before such item the following new item:

"149.48	Chinese gooseberries (Actinida Chinensis Planch.), fresh...	0.75¢ per lb.	1.25¢ per lb. "

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, on or after the thirtieth day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 2155, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable AL ULLMAN, of Oregon, is to make fresh Chinese gooseberries subject to the tariff rate equivalent to the general tariff level applied to berries rather than the tariff level applied to "other" fruits. Specifically, the bill would change the tariff rate from 17.5 percent ad valorem to 0.75 cents per pound. This bill is identical to H.R. 16160 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

The fresh Chinese gooseberries covered by the bill, which are unlike the common American gooseberry in physical appearance, were historically traded as berries, and they are botanically classified as berries. Such berries are believed to have originated in China as is suggested by their botanical name, *Actinidia Chinensis*. Imports of the berries, which are now primarily from New Zealand, are small in volume, are relatively high in price, and do not directly compete with any domestic product.

In recent years Chinese gooseberries have been exported from New Zealand under the designation "Kiwi fruit," in order to associate the product with New Zealand. Because of this appellation, there has developed a trade acceptance of the Chinese gooseberries as fruit rather than as berries, and they have been held technically classifiable for tariff purposes as nonenumerated fresh fruit. The Committee on Ways and Means believes that the tariff rate applicable to Chinese gooseberries should be more in line with those rates generally applicable to fresh berries than the rates generally applicable to fresh fruit, and is unanimous in recommending enactment of H.R. 2155 to accomplish this purpose.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 TO ALLOW A FARMER AN AMORTIZED DEDUCTION FROM GROSS INCOME FOR ASSESSMENTS FOR DEPRECIABLE PROPERTY LEVIED BY SOIL OR WATER CONSERVATION OR DRAINAGE DISTRICTS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2767) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a farmer an amortized deduction from gross income for assessments for depreciable property levied by soil or water conservation or drainage districts, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2767

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 175(c)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to soil and water conservation expenditures) is amended by striking out the third sentence and by inserting in lieu thereof the following new sentences:

"Notwithstanding the preceding sentences, such term also includes any amount, not otherwise allowable as a deduction, paid or incurred to satisfy any part of an assessment levied by a soil or water conservation or drainage district to defray expenditures made by such district (i) which, if paid or incurred by the taxpayer, would without regard to this sentence constitute expenditures deductible under this section, or (ii) for property of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation provided in section 167 and used in the soil or water conservation or drainage district's business as such (to the extent that the taxpayer's share of the assessment levied on the members of the district for such property does not exceed 10 percent of such assessment). For purposes of this section, in the case of any property described in clause (ii) of the preceding sentence, any amount paid or incurred by the taxpayer during the taxable year and attributable to such property shall be treated as paid or incurred ratably over the taxable year and each of the 9 succeeding taxable years."

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to assessments levied after the date of the enactment of this Act in taxable years ending after such date.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 2767 provides that if a farmer pays an assessment levied by a soil or water conservation or drainage district, which is attributable to the acquisition by the district of depreciable property, the amount paid can be deducted for income tax purposes on an amortized basis over a 10-year period. Under existing law, such payments are not deductible but must be capitalized and added to the cost of the farmer's land in respect of which the assessment is paid.

Under present law, a farmer can deduct assessments levied by soil or water conservation or drainage districts to the extent the assessment covers expenditures made by the district which the taxpayer could have deducted if he had incurred them himself. Thus, if the assessment is for digging an irrigation or drainage ditch, then the assessment paid by the farmer would be deductible but, as already stated, if part of the assessment covers the cost of acquiring depreciable property by the district, that part is not deductible since a farmer himself could not deduct—except through depreciation allowances—the cost of acquiring depreciable property. As a result, the farmer in a soil and water conservation district is treated less favorably under existing law from a tax standpoint than a farmer who undertakes soil and water conservation activities for himself.

H.R. 2767, by allowing a deduction over a 10-year period for assessments attributable to the acquisition of depreciable property by the district, will provide the farmer with a deduction roughly comparable with what is allowed through depreciation when the farmer himself buys the depreciable property. The bill, which was introduced by our colleague in the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Montana, the Honorable JAMES F. BATTIN, is identical with H.R. 7030 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 21, 1966. The Treasury Department has stated that it does not object to the bill, and the committee is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RELATING TO THE INCOME TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN DISTRIBUTIONS PURSUANT TO THE BANK HOLDING COMPANY ACT OF 1956, AS AMENDED

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4765) relating to the income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, as amended, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4765

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That section 1102 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to special rules for income tax treatment of distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) CERTAIN BANK HOLDING COMPANIES.—This part shall apply in respect of any company which becomes a bank holding company as a result of the enactment of the Act entitled 'An Act to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956', approved July 1, 1966 (Public Law 89–485), with the following modifications:

"(1) Subsections (a)(3) and (b)(3) of section 1101 shall not apply.

"(2) Subsections (a) (1) and (2) and (b) (1) and (2) of section 1101 shall apply in respect of distributions to shareholders of the distributing bank holding corporation only if all distributions to each class of shareholders which are made—

"(A) after April 12, 1965, and

"(B) on or before the date on which the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System makes its final certification under section 1101(e),

are pro rata. For purposes of the preceding sentence, any redemption of stock made in whole or in part with property other than money shall be treated as a distribution.

"(3) In applying subsections (c) and (d) of section 1101 and subsection (b) of section 1103, the date 'April 12, 1965' shall be substituted for the date 'May 15, 1955'.

"(4) In applying subsection (d)(3) of section 1101, the date of the enactment of this subsection shall be treated as being the date of the enactment of this part.

"(5) In applying subsection (b)(2)(A) of section 1103, the reference to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 shall be treated as referring to such Act as amended by Public Law 89–485."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4765 provides that in the case of a company which became a bank holding company as a result of the 1966 amendments to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, the bank holding company can distribute either its banking or nonbanking interests to its shareholders without the imposition of a tax on the shareholders. The bill, which was introduced by the Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, is identical with H.R. 11257 of the 89th Congress as passed by the House on October 7, 1966.

The Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 made certain corporations bank holding companies. In general, bank holding companies are corporations which own more than 25 percent of the stock of two or more banks. In 1956, these corporations were compelled by law to distribute either their banking properties or their nonbanking properties. Because they were required to make these distributions, Congress at that time permitted those distributions to be tax free to the shareholders. Accordingly, sections 1101 to 1103 of the Internal Revenue Code, inclusive, were then enacted, granting such tax-free treatment. The tax-free treatment applied only if the property distributed was acquired before May 15, 1955.

Under the 1956 act, a special exception was made for a corporation registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940 or affiliated with a corporation so registered. Under this exception, such a company was not considered a bank holding company even though it held 25 percent or more of the voting shares of two or more banks so long as it held these interests indirectly. This exception is removed by the 1966 amendments.

As a result, at least one corporation, Financial General Corp.—an affiliate of the Equity Corp., which is a registered investment company—is now a bank holding company and must dispose of either its banking or nonbanking assets. However, a substantial part of Financial General's property was acquired after May 15, 1955, but before April 12, 1965, the date of the introduction of the bill which led to the 1966 amendments.

The Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that it is appropriate to extend essentially the same type of tax-free treatment to corporations which become bank holding companies by virtue of the 1966 legislation as was originally extended to corporations which became bank holding companies because of the 1956 legislation.

The relief granted by the bill is also consistent with the treatment Congress has provided elsewhere when a divestiture was compelled by law as, for instance, in the case of distributions required to effectuate the policies of the Federal Communications Commission or the Securities and Exchange Commission.

As stated above, H.R. 4765 extends the tax-free treatment originally provided with respect to distributions required by the 1956 act to distributions required for the first time by the 1966 amendments. The property to be distributed tax free must have been acquired before April 12, 1965. However, to be sure that no opportunity for tax manipulation is created, the tax-free treatment is made available only if all of the distributions made in kind—that is, other than in money—are made on a pro rata basis to all shareholders.

The Treasury Department has indicated that it does not object to this legislation, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO EXTEND THE TIME WITHIN WHICH CERTAIN REQUESTS MAY BE FILED UNDER THE TARIFF SCHEDULES TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1965

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4880) to extend the time within which certain requests may be filed under the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4880

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (b) of section 2 of the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965 (Public Law 89–241; 79 Stat. 933) is amended by striking out "on or before the 120th day after the date of the enactment of this Act," and inserting in lieu thereof "on or before June 30, 1967,".

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 4880 is to continue from February 4, 1966, until the close of June 30, 1967, the time in which importers may request reclassification of imports under certain lower tariff-rate provisions provided by the Technical Amendments Act of 1965. The bill is similar to H.R. 13363 of the 89th Congress as passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

After the tariff schedules of the United States were put into effect on August 31, 1963, certain inadvertent rate increases were discovered in the schedules which had resulted either from misinformation or the lack of appropriate information upon which the tariff classification rates were based. The Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965—Public Law 89–241—approved October 7, 1965, provided for the restoration of the lower rates of duty with respect to articles covered by such tariff descriptions. Section 2(b) of that act provided that the changes in rates would be retroactive to August 30, 1963, with regard to many articles classifiable under such tariff descriptions, if such articles were entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after that date and if the importer would file with the appropriate customs officer a request for such changed tariff treatment within 120 days after the act was approved by the President. The last date for applying for this treatment was February 4, 1966.

Numerous complaints have been received by the Committee on Ways and Means from importers stating that the 120-day period for requesting reliquidation of entries covering imports subject to the retroactive tariff reductions was not sufficient for them to process all of their entries. The Department of the Treasury, in its favorable report on this legislation of February 24, 1967, advised the committee that it anticipates no unusual administrative problems should the period be extended until the close of June 30, 1967, as would be provided in H.R. 4880, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable CECIL R. KING, of California.

The Committee on Ways and Means believes that such an extension of the filing period is fully justified in this instance, and is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4880, a bill to extend the time within which certain requests may be filed under the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the Congressional Record, volume 112, part 21, page 28565, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 4880.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO ESTABLISH A WORKING CAPITAL FUND FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4890) to establish a working capital fund for the Department of the Treasury, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4890

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established a working capital fund for the Department of the Treasury, which shall be available, without fiscal year limitation, for expenses and equipment necessary for maintenance and operation of such administrative services as the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, determines may be performed more advantageously and more economically as central services. The capital of the fund shall not exceed $1,000,000 and shall consist of the amount of the fair and reasonable value of such supply inventories, equipment, and other assets and inventories on order, pertaining to the services to be carried on by the fund, as the Secretary of the Treasury may transfer to the fund, less the related liabilities and unpaid obligations, together with any appropriations made for the purpose of providing capital. The fund shall be reimbursed, or credited with advance payments, from applicable appropriations and funds of the Department of the Treasury, other Federal agencies, and other sources authorized by law, for supplies and services at rates which will recover the expense of operations, including accrual of annual leave and depreciation of plant and equipment of the fund. The fund shall also be credited with other receipts from sale or exchange of property or in payment for loss or damage to property held by the fund. There shall be transferred into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts, as of the close of each fiscal year, earnings which the Secretary of the Treasury determines to be excess to the needs of the fund. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to provide capital for the fund.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, at the present time, a working capital fund method of financing for centralized services is used by a number of agencies of the Government, including the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education, and Welfare, Interior, Labor, State, and the new Department of Transportation. The experience of those Departments with the working capital fund method of financing has demonstrated the value of this method of managing and financing for services.

Presently, the Department of the Treasury is performing through its salary and expenses appropriation for the Office of the Secretary various centralized services which benefit a number of Treasury bureaus financed by separate appropriations.

The Committee on Ways and Means believes that the working capital fund established by this bill would bring the financing, managing, and accounting operations of the Treasury Department in line with the operation of the other Departments. The fund established by the bill would consolidate the Treasury Department's operations, place them on a more systematic and businesslike basis, and assist the Department in presenting a more accurate cost-based budget.

The working capital fund, which would be a revolving fund, would finance the central buying of materials, supplies, labor, and other services, the holding and issuing of material and supplies, and the processing of materials into other forms for use. It would also provide a means for accumulating reserves to cover the cost of repairing and replacing equipment and the stocking of supplies under the most advantageous conditions.

So that the Committee on Ways and Means and the Appropriations Committee may be kept informed of the activities of the fund, an annual business-type budget would be prepared by the Treasury Department for submission to the Congress and would be included in the President's budget. The bill also places a limitation of $1 million on the capital in the working fund.

The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending enactment of H.R. 4890.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4890, a bill to establish a working capital fund for the Department of the Treasury. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the Congressional Record, volume 112, part 21, page 28565, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 4890.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 TO PROVIDE RULES RELATING TO THE DEDUCTION FOR PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS FOR CHILDREN OF PARENTS WHO ARE DIVORCED OR SEPARATED

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 6056) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide rules relating to the deduction for personal exemptions for children of parents who are divorced or separated, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6056

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 152 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) Support Test in Case of Child of Divorced Parents, etc.—

"(1) General rule.—If—

"(A) a child (as defined in section 151(e)(3)) receives over half of his support during the calendar year from his parents who are divorced or legally separated under a decree of divorce or separate maintenance, or who are separated under a written separation agreement to which section 71(a)(2) applies, and

"(B) such child is in the custody of one or both of his parents for more than one-half of the calendar year,

such child shall be treated, for purposes of subsection (a), as receiving over half of his support during the calendar year from the parent having custody for a greater portion of the calendar year unless he is treated, under the provisions of paragraph (2), as having received over half of his support for such year from the other parent (referred to in this subsection as the parent not having custody).

"(2) Special rule.—The child of parents described in paragraph (1) shall be treated as having received over half of his support during the calendar year from the parent not having custody if—

"(A)(i) the decree of divorce or of separate maintenance, or a written agreement between the parents applicable to the taxable year beginning in such calendar year, provides that the parent not having custody shall be entitled to any deduction allowable under section 151 for such child, and

"(ii) such parent not having custody provides at least $600 for the support of such child during the calendar year, or

"(B)(i) the parent not having custody provides $1,200 or more for the support of such child (or if there is more than one such child, $1,200 or more for all of such children) for the calendar year, and

"(ii) the parent having custody of such child does not clearly establish that he provided more for the support of such child during the calendar year than the parent not having custody.

For the purposes of this paragraph, amounts expended for the support of a child or children shall be treated as received from the parent not having custody to the extent that such parent provided amounts for such support.

"(3) Itemized statement required.—If a taxpayer claims that paragraph (2)(B) applies with respect to a child for a calendar year and the other parent claims that paragraph (2)(B)(i) is not satisfied or claims to have provided more for the support of such child during such calendar year than the taxpayer, each parent shall be entitled to receive, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, an itemized statement of the expenditures upon which the other parent's claim of support is based.

"(4) Exception for multiple-support agreement.—The provisions of this subsection shall not apply in any case where over half of the support of the child is treated as having been received from a taxpayer under the provisions of subsection (c).

"(5) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this subsection."

(b) Subsection (a) of such section 152 is amended by striking out "subsection (c)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsection (c) or (e)".

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1965.

The **SPEAKER**. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 4, line 19, strike out "1965" and insert "1966".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. **MILLS**. Mr. Speaker, as reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, H.R. 6056 amends the provision of the Internal Revenue Code relating to the $600 deduction for dependents as it applies with respect to the children of divorced or separated parents. The determination, under present law, of which parent is entitled to the deduction in these cases has become a source of constant irritation to taxpayers and an acute administrative burden to the Internal Revenue Service.

H.R. 6056 is, except for an amendment moving the effective date forward 1 year, identical to H.R. 14363 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House during the second session of that Congress and favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Finance on October 18, 1966.

Under present law, the parent who contributes more than one-half of the support of a child for a year is entitled to the deduction for the child. The problem arises from the difficulties encountered in establishing which of the divorced or separated parents meets this requirement. In many cases, each parent honestly believes that he has contributed more than one-half of the support. The problem is compounded because of the ill will which sometimes exists between divorced or separated parents. In these cases the Internal Revenue Service finds itself in the position of an unwilling arbiter between the contending parents. In addition, the handling of these cases is hampered by the provisions of present law which prohibit disclosure to either parent by the Service of information as to the nature and amount of support the other claims to have furnished.

The frequency with which cases involving this issue arise each year is surprisingly great. The Internal Revenue Service has estimated that during a recent year 5 percent of all income tax cases handled at the informal conference level of the administrative process involved this issue as the principal issue.

H.R. 6056, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, provides rules under which this issue may be resolved on a more satisfactory basis. Under these rules, the parent having custody of a child for the greater period of time during the year generally would be entitled to the exemption for that year. The bill provides exceptions to this general rule, under which the parent not having custody—or having custody for the lesser period of time—becomes entitled to the exemption. Under these exceptions the noncustodial parent is entitled to the exemption—

First, if he contributes at least $600 toward the support of the child and the decree of divorce or separate maintenance, or a written agreement between the parents, provides that he is to receive the deduction; or

Second, if he provides more than $1,200 of child support and the parent having custody for the longer period does not clearly establish that he provided a greater amount of support.

In determining the amount of support provided by each parent for purposes of these exceptions, amounts expended for child support are to be considered as received from the parent not having custody to the extent he provides amounts for this purpose.

In cases where the parent not having custody contributes more than $1,200 of support and claims the deduction with respect to the child, or children, and the parent having custody claims that such support was not furnished or claims to have provided a greater amount of support, the bill provides that each parent is entitled to receive an itemized statement of the expenditures upon which the other bases his claim.

The bill is applicable with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1966.

The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 TO PROVIDE FOR ROUNDING THE AMOUNT OF STATE AND LOCAL TAXES FOR PURPOSES OF COMPUTING TAX ON CIGARS

Mr. **MILLS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 6058) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for rounding the amount of State and local taxes for purposes of computing tax on cigars, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6058

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 5701(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to rate of tax on cigars) is amended by adding after the penultimate sentence the following new sentence: "For purposes of the preceding sentence, the amount of State or local tax excluded from the retail price shall be the actual tax imposed; except that, if the combined taxes result in a numerical figure ending in a fraction of a cent, the amount so excluded shall be rounded to the next highest full cent unless such rounding would result in a tax lower than the tax which would be imposed in the absence of State or local tax."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to the removal of cigars on or after the first day of the first calendar quarter which begins more than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. **MILLS**. Mr. Speaker, this bill, H.R. 6058, concerns the way State and local taxes are to be treated when the Federal excise tax on a cigar is determined. This bill is identical to H.R. 8244 which was passed unanimously by the House on October 21, 1966. The 89th Congress adjourned, however, before the Senate could take action on the bill.

As the Members are aware, the Federal excise tax on cigars is determined under a bracket system in which the rate of tax varies with the retail price of a cigar. For example, the tax is $2.50 per thousand for cigars which are manufactured to retail for not more than 2½ cents each. The tax is $3 per thousand on cigars which retail at more than 2½ cents each but not more than 4 cents. The tax reaches a top rate of $20 per thousand for cigars which retail for over 20 cents each.

It is obviously very important for Federal excise tax purposes to determine the retail price of a cigar in its principal market. At one time, this retail price was considered to include any State taxes that were imposed on cigars. This practice had some unfortunate effects. A cigar whose principal market was in a State that imposed a tax on cigars could be pushed into the next higher Federal excise tax bracket while a similar cigar whose principal market was in a State with no tax or a lower tax continued to be taxed at the lower Federal rate. In 1960, Congress sought to end this source of competitive disadvantage by providing that the retail price for the purpose of computing the Federal excise tax was not to include the amount of a State or local tax imposed upon cigars as a commodity.

It now appears that the discrimination we attempted to eliminate in 1960 still remains in some cases. This discrimination occurs when the State tax on a cigar involves a fraction of a cent. When a State imposes a fractional cent tax, the retailer cannot increase the price of the cigar by a fraction of a cent and so he raises the price to the next highest full cent. This may place the cigar in a higher Federal tax bracket. For example, on a cigar manufactured to sell for 6 cents the Federal excise tax is normally $4 per thousand. But if, as a result of a one-half-cent State tax, the retail price is increased to 7 cents, then the price of the cigar excluding the tax is 6½ cents and the Federal excise tax is increased to $7 per thousand. This is true even though the retailer keeps the additional half cent and the manufacturer continues to receive the same amount for the cigar.

This bill completes the action taken

in 1960 by providing that when a State or local tax in a cigar's principal market ends in a fraction of a cent, the amount of tax that can be excluded is to be rounded up to the next full cent. In this way, the Federal excise tax will not depend upon the rates at which States or localities choose to tax cigars.

This rule will not be applied, however, if rounding would result in reducing the Federal excise tax to a level below that which would be imposed in the absence of any State or local tax. The provision is to be effective with respect to removals of cigars made on or after the first day of the first calendar quarter which begins more than 30 days after this bill is enacted.

The Treasury Department has expressed no opposition to this bill, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable SYDNEY HERLONG, of Florida, and the committee is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 6058, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide for rounding the amount of State and local taxes for purposes of computing the tax on cigars. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28565, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 6058.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RELATING TO THE INCOME TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN CASUALTY LOSSES ATTRIBUTABLE TO MAJOR DISASTERS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 6097) relating to the income tax treatment of certain casualty losses attributable to major disasters, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6097

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 1231(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In the case of any involuntary conversion of property (subject to the provisions of this subsection but for this sentence) which is attributable to a storm, flood, fire, or other casualty designated by the President of the United States as a major disaster for the purposes of the Act of September 30, 1950, as amended, entitled 'An Act to authorize Federal assistance to States and local governments in major disasters, and for other purposes' (42 U.S.C. 1855–1855g), this subsection shall not apply to such involuntary conversion (whether resulting in gain or loss) if, during the taxable year, the recognized losses from such conversions exceed the recognized gains from such conversions."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years ending after November 30, 1964.

SEC. 2. (a) Paragraph (2) of section 1231 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by inserting after "losses" the first place it appears "(including losses not compensated for by insurance or otherwise)".

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply in respect of losses sustained after the data of the enactment of this Act in taxable years ending after such date.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 6097 is to amend the provisions of existing law relating to the income tax treatment of casualty losses sustained in a major disaster. The bill, which was introduced by our colleague in the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Oregon, the Honorable AL ULLMAN, provides that if property is destroyed or damaged by a storm, flood, or other casualty which is designated by the President of the United States as a major disaster, then, if the losses exceed the gains, both the losses and the gains will be treated as ordinary for tax purposes.

Under present law, uninsured business losses—or those from property held for the production of income—arising from a fire or other casualty are treated as ordinary losses without regard to any gains the taxpayer may have. This rule is not changed by H.R. 6097. In the case of major disasters, the pending bill supplements this rule of existing law to provide substantially similar loss treatment for partially insured business property—or property held for the production of income. This loss treatment also is provided in the case of major disasters for losses of personal assets held for over 6 months—such as a personal residence—whether or not it is covered by any insurance.

In addition, a technical amendment makes it clear that uninsured losses arising from the destruction—in whole or in part—theft, or seizure, or requisition or condemnation of property—used in the trade or business or capital assets held more than 6 months—are to be offset against gains otherwise treated as capital gains except to the extent they are specifically excluded from the provision.

The bill is identical with the bill, H.R. 7502, as passed by the House during the 89th Congress. That bill was reported, with unrelated amendments, by the Senate Finance Committee on October 21, 1966, but the Congress adjourned without the Senate having taken any action on the reported bill.

The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending enactment of H.R. 6097.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, may I proceed for 1 minute to make a statement with reference to seven bills that I am about to call up?

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, there are seven bills that were passed last year by unanimous consent that would still have to be passed by the Congress in order to provide the relief contemplated, even though we did in the last Congress approve the Florence agreement, because these matters arose before the effective date provided for by the Florence agreement.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF CARILLON FOR NORTHFIELD AND MOUNT HERMON SCHOOLS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 1566), to provide for the free entry of a four-octave carillon for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Mass., which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1566

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty a four octave carillon for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Massachusetts.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 7, immediately after "entry", insert "of the article described in the first section of this Act".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to provide for the free entry of a four-octave carillon for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Mass. The bill further provides that if liquidation of the entry has become final, such entry is to be reliquidated and appropriate refund of duty made.

As reported to the House, H.R. 1566, which was introduced by the Honorable SILVIO CONTE, of Massachusetts, is identical to H.R. 13190 of the 89th Congress, as passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

It is the understanding of the Committee on Ways and Means that the carillon being imported for the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools is being cast in France, a portion of the bronze for the bells having been obtained from eight bells which were shipped from Northfield to France for recasting. In the absence of legislation, the carillon would be classified under the provisions of item 725.38 of the tariff schedules of the United States and dutiable at the rate of 6.5 percent ad valorem.

The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that there is no domestic production of carillon bells and that domestic firms contracting for installations of carillons are dependent on imports of tuned bells to be used in such installations. The Tariff Commission, in reporting to the Committee on Ways and Means on H.R. 1566, stated that the information available to it indicates that "carillon bells are not produced in the United States."

The Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 1566, a bill to provide for the free entry of a four-octave carillon for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Mass. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28561, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 1566.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, among the bills before the House today, having been reported by unanimous consent from the distinguished Committee on Ways and Means, is my own proposal for the free entry of a four-octave carillon for use by the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts.

I have the very great honor to represent the First District, and the Northfield-Mount Hermon Schools in this body and I should like to offer some brief remarks pertinent to the bill, H.R. 1566, before us today.

Our action today represents the culmination of an effort begun last year to remedy a situation that would have imposed a costly burden on the Northfield-Mount Hermon Schools. This bill was first introduced in the 89th Congress on March 1, 1966. It was reported late in the year by the distinguished Committee on Ways and Means and was passed by the House on October 21, 1966. Unfortunately, our action came too late to permit similar action by the other body and the bill failed to pass before final adjournment of the 89th Congress.

I want to extend my compliments to the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee for bringing this bill to the floor so early in the present session. I am most optimistic that the Senate will indeed have time to act on H.R. 1566.

The carillon imported by the Northfield-Mount Hermon Schools was cast in France. A portion of the bronze used in the bells was obtained from some eight bells which were shipped from Northfield to France expressly for this purpose. Unless the Congress approves this legislation, the finished carillon will remain classified under provisions of item 725.38 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States and dutiable at 6.5 percent ad valorem.

Justification for waiver of the duty is made on grounds that, at the present time, there is no domestic production of carillon bells. All firms in the United States presently engaged in installation of carillon bells must depend entirely on imported tuned bells. The U.S. Tariff Commission itself confirms that no carillon bells have been cast in this country since 1950.

Northfield-Mount Hermon Schools are private institutions operating in picturesque surroundings in Northfield, Mass. Under directions of their distinguished president and my very good friend, Dr. Howard L. Jones, these companion institutions have already established an international reputation for leadership and enlightenment, both in classroom presentations and in the general field of education administration.

I had the very great pleasure of working with Dr. Jones on the independent schools talent search program, presently funded under the Office of Economic Opportunity, which has accomplished such significant strides in breaching the barriers of ignorance and illiteracy among the impoverished ghettos and neighborhoods throughout the country.

Truly, this institution is most deserving of the suspension of duties on their carillon which this bill affords them. The carillon has been installed by now, and its sound has already become an integral part of the tradition and heritage of the Northfield area.

The bill, of course, provides for reliquidation of the entry and the refunding of the duty made, inasmuch as the bells have already been imported.

Again, may I compliment the distinguished committee chairman and my very good friend for the prompt and favorable action of his committee. I respectfully urge my colleagues to approve H.R. 1566 without delay so that we may encourage similar favorable action by the other body as soon as possible.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF MASS SPECTROMETER AND RHEOGONIOMETER FOR PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 1886), to provide for the free entry of certain articles for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1886

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty one mass spectrometer and one rheogoniometer imported for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

(b) Section (a) of this bill shall apply to the articles described therein whether such articles were entered before the date of enactment of this bill, or are entered on or after such date. If the liquidation of the entry of any article described in section (a) has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

With the following committee amendment:

Beginning on page 1, strike out line 7 and all that follows through line 2 on page 2 and insert:

"(b) If the liquidation of the entry of any article described in subsection (a) has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending legislation is to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer and one rheogoniometer for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. The bill also provides for reliquidation with an appropriate refund of duty should the articles be covered by an entry the liquidation of which has become final. As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, H.R. 1886, which was introduced by the Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, JR., of New Jersey, is identical to H.R. 14388 of the 89th Congress, as passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

The Weissenberg rheogoniometer is a unique instrument for measuring fluid viscosity. The instrument purchased by Princeton University is a Weissenberg Model R 16 rheogoniometer manufactured by Farol Research Engineers, Ltd., of England. The Department of Commerce advised the Committee on Ways and Means in its report that it knows of "no other commercial instrument, manufactured in the United States or elsewhere, that is capable of meeting the university's requirements for which the British instrument was purchased."

A mass spectrometer is a scientific device used to provide chemical analyses, measurements, and other research features. Ordinarily, they are built to specifications to meet the particular requirements of the user. In the use of this instrument, the material to be studied is subjected to an ionizing process after which the ions formed are physically separated according to mass by electromagnetic means so that a mass spectrum is produced. The mass spectrometer purchased by Princeton University is an A.E.I. Model MS 9 mass spectrometer made in England. The Committee on Ways and Means is advised that the British instrument can perform a number of research functions that cannot be duplicated by domestically produced mass spectrometers of this type.

The Committee on Ways and Means is informed that the subject instruments were imported prior to February 1, 1967, and, therefore, Public Law 89-651, the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials Importation Act of 1966, which became effective on that date, would not be applicable. The committee is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 1886, a bill to provide for the free entry of certain articles for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28562, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 1886.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF RHEOGONIOMETER FOR TUFTS UNIVERSITY

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 2470) to provide for the free entry of one rheogoniometer for the use of Tufts University, Boston, Mass., which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2470

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty one rheogoniometer (including all accompanying equipment, parts, accessories, and appurtenances) for the use of Tufts University, Boston, Massachusetts.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of any article described in the first section of this Act has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 2470 is to permit the free entry of one rheogoniometer—including all accompanying equipment, parts, accessories, and appurtenances—for the use of Tufts University of Boston, Mass. The bill further provides that if liquidation of the entry has become final, the entry is to be reliquidated and appropriate refund of duty made.

The bill, which was introduced by the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, is identical to H.R. 12197 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

Rheogoniometers are high-precision devices originally developed by a research engineering concern in England. The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that this instrument is not commercially produced in the United States. In this connection, the Department of Commerce has informed the committee that Tufts University tried without success to purchase the instrument from domestic suppliers.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, I would observe that the subject instrument was imported prior to February 1, 1967, and, therefore, Public Law 89-651, the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials Importation Act of 1966, which became effective on that date, would not be applicable.

In the circumstances, the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF SHIP MODEL FOR LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE COVENANT, MAPLE HEIGHTS, OHIO

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 3029) to provide for the free entry of one ship model for the use of the Lutheran Church of the Covenant, Maple Heights, Ohio, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3029

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty one ship model imported for the use of the Lutheran Church of the Covenant, Maple Heights, Ohio, which was entered on November 30, 1965. pursuant to Consumption Entry 5096.

(b) If the liquidation of the entry of the article described in subsection (a) of this section has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriated refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 3029 is to provide for the free entry of one ship model for the use of the Lutheran Church of the Covenant, Maple Heights, Ohio. The bill further provides that if the liquidation of the entry of the article has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and appropriate refund of duty made.

The bill, which was introduced by the Honorable WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, of Ohio, is identical to H.R. 12110 of the 89th Congress, which passed the House on October 21, 1966.

The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that the ship model, which was made in Denmark, is a replica, approximately 53 by 40 inches in size, of the German ship *Olbers* which in 1839 brought from Europe a group of immigrants who established the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church. The model is to be hung in the nave of the church and is intended to serve as a memorial to these founders. The Committee on Ways and Means was further advised that the model was given to the church by its pastor and that the pastor had attempted without success to have a model of this particular ship made in the United States.

In the circumstances, the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3029, a bill to provide for the free entry of one ship model for the use of the Lutheran Church of the Covenant, Maple Heights, Ohio. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28560, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 3029.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF CARILLON FOR UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 3737), to provide for the free entry of a carillon for the use of the University of California at Riverside, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3737

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty a carillon imported May 16, 1966 (entry number 66-271902), for the use of the University of California at Riverside, California.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of the article described in the first section of this Act has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 3737 is to provide for the free entry of a carillon imported for the use of the University of California at Riverside, Calif. The bill further provides for the reliquidation of the entry and appropriate refund of duty in the event liquidation of the entry has become final.

The bill, which was introduced by the Honorable JOHN V. TUNNEY, of California, is identical to H.R. 15888 of the 89th Congress, as passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

The Committee on Ways and Means is advised that the carillon, which was purchased from Les Fils de Georges Paccard in France, will serve as the esthetic focal point of the University of California at Riverside campus, and will also be used for educational purposes by the music department of the university. In the absence of legislation, the carillon would be classifiable under the provisions of item 725.38 of the tariff schedules of the

United States and dutiable at the rate of 6.5 percent ad valorem.

In its report on H.R. 3737, the Tariff Commission advised the Committee on Ways and Means that "carillon bells are not produced in the United States."

In the circumstances, the committee is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3737, a bill to provide for the free entry of a carillon for the use of the University of California at Riverside. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28564, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 3737.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF MASS SPECTROMETER FOR INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 4934), to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Indiana University, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4934

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty one mass spectrometer for the use of Indiana University.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of any article described in this Act has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 4934 is to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Indiana University. This bill, which was introduced by the Honorable WILLIAM BRAY, of Indiana, would direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty a mass spectrometer for Indiana University. The bill also provides that, if liquidation of the entry has become final, the entry is to be reliquidated and appropriate refund of duty made.

H.R. 4934 is identical to H.R. 11753 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

A mass spectrometer is a scientific device used to provide chemical analyses, measurements, and other research features. The mass spectrometer purchased by Indiana University is made in England by Associated Electronic Industries. The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that the British instrument can perform a number of research functions that cannot be duplicated by domestically produced mass spectrometers of this type. In this connection, the Department of Commerce advised the committee that no domestically produced instrument of equivalent scientific value to such instrument was available.

I would also observe, Mr. Speaker, that the committee is informed that the subject instrument was imported prior to February 1, 1967, and, therefore, Public Law 89-651, the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials Importation Act of 1966, which became effective on that date, would not be applicable.

In the circumstances, the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4934, a bill to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Indiana University. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28559, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 4934.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF TRIAXIAL APPARATUS AND RHEOGONIOMETER FOR NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 4977), to provide for the free entry of a triaxial apparatus and rheogoniometer for the use of Northwestern University, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4977

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty a Norwegian triaxial apparatus and a Weissenberg rheogoniometer (including all accompanying equipment, parts, accessories, and appurtenances), imported for the use of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, which were entered during July and September 1965 pursuant to consumption entries numbered 1816 and 53568, respectively.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of any article described in the first section of this Act has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 4977 is to provide for the free entry of a triaxial apparatus and rheogoniometer for the use of Northwestern University of Evanston, Ill.

H.R. 4977, which was introduced by the Honorable DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois, would direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty a Norwegian triaxial apparatus and a Weissenberg rheogoniometer—including all accompanying equipment, parts, accessories, and appurtenances—imported for the use of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. The bill further provides that if liquidation of the entry of any of the articles concerned has become final, the entry is to be reliquidated and appropriate refund of duty made.

The bill is identical to H.R. 13035 of the 89th Congress, which was passed by the House on October 21, 1966.

The rheogoniometer purchased by Northwestern University is manufactured by Farol Research Engineers, Ltd., of England. The Department of Commerce advised the Committee on Ways and means that it "knows of no other commercial instrument, manufactured in the United States or elsewhere, that is capable of meeting the university's requirements for which the British instrument was purchased."

The triaxial apparatus purchased by the university is a Norwegian instrument used for soil testing. The Committee on Ways and Means was advised that there is no known soil-testing apparatus produced in the United States which has the required characteristics.

I would also like to observe, Mr. Speaker, that the subject instruments were imported prior to February 1, 1967, and, therefore, Public Law 89-651, the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials Importation Act of 1966, which became effective on that date, would not be applicable.

In the circumstances, the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that this legislation is meritorious and consistent with prior legislation of this nature, and unanimously recommends its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4977, a bill to provide for the free entry of a triaxial apparatus and rheogoniometer for the use of Northwestern University. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28561, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 4977.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE TREATMENT OF LIMESTONE FOR CEMENT

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 1141) to permit duty-free treatment of limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I should merely like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and others interested if we could not by unanimous consent—and, before I state the proposition, I shall say that it is very simple and has been cleared with all concerned—in line 7, after the word "cement," add "chemical and industrial lime."

It seems, Mr. Speaker, that in the great western areas where cement is made, they do have to import limestone, with which we are blessed in the Ozark hills at home, and, of course, we have many plants, including the Ashgrove Lime & Portland Cement Co. They, like the Ideal Cement Co., which I believe introduced the intent of this bill, import limestone from Texada Island in the Bay of British Columbia. In addition to that, so does the Portland, Oreg., plant of the Ashgrove Lime & Portland Cement Co.

This would be, as near as I have been able to check it out—and I did not know that this bill was coming up until late last night—a great favor to the industry. There would be no objection to it, and it would simply require the insertion after the word "cement" the words "chemical and industrial lime."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished chairman.

Mr. MILLS. It is my recollection—and I shall try to elicit the attention of my good friend from Wisconsin on this point; if I am incorrect, he can correct me—it is my recollection that initially, when we had this matter of the importation of limestone free of duty before the Committee on Ways and Means back in the days when our former colleague from Michigan, Mr. Knox, was on the committee, that the legislation was then introduced to carry out the purpose suggested by our friend from Missouri. However, at that time there was objection to the inclusion of the language "chemical and industrial lime." In those days the objections came from interests along the Canadian border, as I remember.

It may have been that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY] initially introduced his bill providing for a broader importation so far as use is concerned than that contained in the legislation. It seems to me that I am correct at least with respect to the first part of it. I may be correct with respect to the way he initially introduced his bill. But there was objection registered with the committee, and I am satisfied that, if we accepted such an amendment to the bill now, it would run into that same objection, and Mr. PELLY's purpose would be, quite frankly, impeded.

I therefore suggest to my friend from Missouri that he follow the procedure of introducing a separate bill which would carry out the purpose that he has in mind, and let us analyze it in the light of present-day circumstances to see if there continues to be the objection that I think existed in the past to such a proposal. If not, we could pass it by unanimous consent.

Mr. HALL. I would be the first to agree that this is not the way to write legislation on the floor by unanimous consent. I will follow the advice because, furthermore, I have not had a chance to clear this or coordinate it with the author of the bill, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY].

With that explanation I would be glad to withdraw my reservation.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 1141 is to authorize the President to eliminate the duty on certain limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, pursuant to his trade-agreement authority.

This bill is similar to H.R. 5950 of the 89th Congress as passed by the House on October 21, 1966. However, H.R. 1141 is more narrow in application since it applies only to limestone chips and spalls, and crushed and ground limestone, imported under item 513.34 of the tariff schedules of the United States. It does not apply to crude limestone imported under item 514.11 of the tariff schedules, as was provided in H.R. 5950.

Mr. Speaker, the limestone covered by this bill is a commodity of relatively low unit value and the cost of transportation restricts its movement to short distances. At the present time, imports of this type of limestone are localized along the Canadian border, principally in the region of the Great Lakes and the State of Washington, and do not move in significant quantities any great distance inland.

Presently, limestone imported to be used in the manufacture of cement or for any other purpose, with certain exceptions, is dutiable under tariff schedules of the United States, item 513.34 or 514.11, depending on the form in which it is imported. The pending bill, which was introduced by the Honorable THOMAS M. PELLY, of Washington, would make section 201(b)(1)—relating to limit on decrease in duty—and section 253—relating to staging requirements—of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 inapplicable with respect to limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, provided for in item 513.34 of the tariff schedules of the United States. This, in essence, would authorize the elimination of the duty—or reduction to a rate under 50 percent of the July 1, 1962, rate—without staging. However, no such agreement could be made before the requirements of chapter 3—relating to requirements concerning negotiations—title II of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 have been met.

The Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending enactment of H.R. 1141.

Before concluding, permit me to correct a printing error which appears in the purpose section of the committee report on this bill. The item number 513.34 was incorrectly printed as "513.14."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1141

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for purposes of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, sections 201(b)(1) (relating to limit on decrease in duty) and 253 (relating to staging requirements) of such Act shall not apply with respect to limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, provided for in item 513.34 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 1141, a bill to permit duty-free treatment of limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Although I urge favorable action on this measure, I will not make any statement at this time. When similar legislation was before the House last fall, I made a statement which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 21, page 28569, and this statement is equally applicable to H.R. 1141.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THE RISE IN THE COST OF LIVING AS RELATED TO THE TREATMENT OF VETERANS IN STATE VETERANS HOMES

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned over the rise in the cost of living, the rise of prices generally, and its effect on the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes, and I have today introduced a bill increasing the per diem allowance rate to States for the care of veterans.

In 1960, I introduced legislation to change the method of payment of Federal aid to State homes for the support of veterans and set the per diem rate at $2.50 for each veteran. In 1964, Public Law 88–450 was enacted setting the per diem rate for hospitalization or domiciliary care in a State home at $2.50 and the per diem rate for nursing home care at $3.50. These rates are clearly inadequate today. My bill would increase the per diem rate for domiciliary care to $3.50, for nursing home care to $5, and for hospital care to $10. The bill would also extend the $5 million annual authorization for an additional 5 years through fiscal year 1974.

With more and more veterans seeking admission to veterans' homes and with the increased costs of services and facilities, the need for such legislation as I propose is evident. I urge prompt consideration and speedy approval of my bill.

I also include in support of this legislation a letter from Col. Robert J. Beckwith, commandant of the Veterans' Home and Hospital of the State of Connecticut, at Rocky Hill, Conn.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
VETERANS HOME AND HOSPITAL,
Rocky Hill, Conn., February 8, 1967.
Hon. JOHN S. MONAGAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: The National Association of State Veterans Homes with a 29 state membership throughout the nation, including the Connecticut Home at Rocky Hill, effects a continuing study of Federal Legislation affecting veterans' facilities operated at state levels.

One of the more important areas of study relates to Veterans Administration reimbursement under Federal Law to the States to cover a part of their costs for operating facilities for the exclusive benefit of veterans. As you know we operate the Veterans Home and Hospital at Rocky Hill (capacity of 1215 beds) which provides hospital and domiciliary care. Our Veterans Administration reimbursement is limited to 50% of operating costs not to exceed $2.50 per patient (member) day. Many years ago this amount was sufficient, however, it is no longer the case. Costs have risen considerably up to and over $6.00 per patient day and are still rising. Instead of a 50% factor toward reimbursement, we find that the ratio is 42% Federal and 58% State.

There is also the possibility that we may enlarge to a Nursing Home status to handle patients which the Veterans Administration is now assigning to convalescent homes. The Veterans Administration reimburses such operations at a 50% operating cost not to exceed $3.50 per patient day. This is far below our contemplated operating cost.

(It is therefore obvious that the Federal Law is behind in recognizing that the cost of veterans' care has moved up sharply from the time of original legislation.) What with more Korean and Vietnam veterans seeking admission, some relief should be afforded the States to more equitably distribute costs. To do so will require certain amendments to Title 38-United States Code.

I would appreciate your looking at this proposed legislation, possibly if you concur with our thoughts, you could introduce similar legislation along the lines of this request. We would appreciate your support of any necessary legislation regarding this issue.

My best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. BECKWITH,
Colonel,
Commandant.

MARYLAND'S ROLE AS A MARITIME STATE

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, this month marks the 333d anniversary of the founding of Maryland, on March 25, 1634. In celebrating Maryland Day, we are paying tribute to the men and women of the Free State who, over more than three centuries, have built a remarkable record of achievement in every field of endeavor and in every sphere of local, State, and National activity.

Today I would like to emphasize Maryland's role as a great maritime State and a consistent national leader on the seas, in commerce, and in American naval history. A fitting symbol of this leadership is the U.S. frigate *Constellation,* the first warship of the Navy to reach the seas, and now the oldest ship in the world which has been continuously afloat.

Maryland-built, Maryland-manned, and now Maryland-berthed, the *Constellation* has played a prominent role in every chapter of our naval history since her launching on September 7, 1797. In time of war, on diplomatic missions, and in humanitarian service, her work has exemplified the best in our Navy and in our entire maritime tradition. It is our task now to be true to that tradition, by restoring the *Constellation* to full grandeur and guaranteeing that she will endure as a symbol of the early and continuing strength of Maryland and the Nation on the seas.

One of the first three American ships of war to be constructed, the *Constellation* in 1799 scored the first important American naval victory when, under Capt. Thomas Truxton, she captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente* in the Caribbean. A year later, she scored a second triumph by defeating the French man-of-war *La Vengeance* in the West Indies. After seeing action against the Barbary pirates and during the War of 1812, she was stationed off South America, in the Mediterranean, and again in the West Indies until the 1840's, when she became the flagship of Commodore Lawrence Kearny and began a long voyage around the world. In 1842 she became the first American ship of war to enter the inland waters of China.

After active service in the Mediterranean and on the gulf coast during the Civil War, the *Constellation* became a training ship at the Naval Academy in 1871. During the latter part of the 19th century, her most renowned achievement was transporting food to Ireland during the famine of 1880. After 1894, the ship was berthed at Newport, R.I., and remained there, except for a few brief cruises, until 1945.

In 1940, in a dramatic invocation of naval history, President Roosevelt ordered the *Constellation* recommissioned at Newport as the flagship of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet and a symbol of American naval strength.

Since World War II, however, the *Constellation* has been preserved primarily by private energies. In 1953 title to the ship was transferred from the Navy to the Star-Spangled Banner Flag House Association of Baltimore, and in 1955 she was returned to Baltimore where she is now berthed at Pier 4, Pratt Street. Since 1955, the Constellation Restoration Committee has maintained the ship, conducted tours, and raised funds for her complete restoration. In 1964 she was declared a National Historic Landmark.

A bill which I have introduced—H.R. 854—with Congressman EDWARD GARMATZ would establish a permanent berth for the *Constellation* next to Fort McHenry, and would guarantee Federal support to supplement the efforts of the dedicated citizens who have preserved her and begun the great task of restoration of this historic ship.

THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a new bill—H.R. 7201—to develop the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal at once as a pilot project for the entire Potomac River Basin.

This bill would provide the authority and funds for necessary, modest expansion of the canal, to make possible the restoration of its historic features, the development of its vast recreational potential, and the active conservation of its scenic assets. Equally important, the bill would establish overall policies of cooperation, creativity and care to guide and direct this development along the paths which best promote both the general public interest in the historic canal, and the particular interests of the people, groups and governments directly involved.

For over 2 years, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, a Federal interagency task force has been shaping proposals to implement the President's pledge to make the Potomac a model of scenic beauty and recreational opportunities. The details of these comprehensive plans have not yet been released for public scrutiny. It is apparent, however, that we have not yet achieved areawide agreement on many major points, including the extent, management and means of development of any large park along both banks of the Potomac. Because these questions are not resolved, it is likely that congressional approval of any such proposals will be slow. It is also likely that Federal funding will be slower, since only very limited amounts of money are available for any park projects at the present time.

Yet such delays could be extremely damaging. Throughout the Potomac Basin there is great interest in sensible conservation, and a tremendous amount of energy and experience waiting to be put to work. The longer that proposals drift, unimplemented and often undefined, the more this good will is going to be eroded by disappointment, skepticism, and suspicion. The longer that action is postponed, the more difficult action will become.

I am convinced that the Federal Government should start exerting strong, responsible leadership now in the Potomac Basin. Further, I am convinced that the place to start is on the property which the Federal Government already owns: the C. & O. Canal. Part of the canal has already been designated a national monument, but for too many years it has been a monument to Federal neglect. It is past time to take down the barriers and the "No Trespassing" signs, and to start opening up, cleaning up, restoring and developing the canal for public enjoyment. It is past time to restore the confidence of all the people of the basin, by demonstrating that a national park can be a great community asset, and not just an exclusive preserve for other people from somewhere else.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I have introduced today is not a final answer, but it is a beginning. It provides the framework for a program of the size we can afford, and of the scope which we are ready for. It emphasizes constructive cooperation among all the individuals, clubs, organizations, and public agencies committed to conservation and development of the canal. It sets forth clear policies to meet the difficult problems, including access rights and determination of land titles and boundaries, which have proved so troublesome in the past. Finally, it rechristens the entire canal as the "Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park," to symbolize the change from passive maintenance to active management.

A program to improve, and open up the C. & O. Canal is extremely valuable in its own right. As a model program for the model river, its importance is potentially immense. I believe that this legislation advances the objectives and promotes the interests of the canal's neighbors and the Potomac's friends. I hope that they will join me in seeking prompt congressional consideration of H.R. 7201.

I would like to include at this point the following section-by-section description of H.R. 7201:

A Section-by-Section Description of H.R. 7201

TITLE AND DEFINITIONS

Section 1 of H.R. 7201 entitles the bill the "Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Development Act."

Section 2 sets forth the definitions used throughout the bill. For example, "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior, who is legally assigned all of the responsibilities which in fact are carried out by his subordinates, including the Director of the National Park Service and the Superintendent of the C & O Canal.

Two definitions deserve special notice:

1) "Person" is defined to include not only individuals, partnerships and corporations, but also non-profit organizations and clubs. This provision recognizes the very active and constructive role taken in the Potomac Basin by conservation groups, civic organizations, historical societies, sportsmen's clubs, scouting groups and others, and provides for their full participation as partners in the Canal's development.

2) The bill recognizes and seeks to reduce the very complex and persistent problems which often delay negotiations and agreements in the many cases where public or private titles to lands, or the boundaries of particular properties, are vague or conflicting. Thus for purposes of the title searches and surveys in section 4 of the bill, and the cooperative agreements in section 5, subsection 2(g) defines "landowner" as "any person, local government, or State owning, or on reasonable grounds professing to own, lands or interests in lands adjacent to or in the vicinity of the Park."

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARK

Section 3 establishes the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park for the dual purposes of (a) preserving, restoring and interpreting the historic and scenic features of the Canal, and (b) developing its recreational potential.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park as so established would embrace the entire length of the Canal, from its lower end at Rock Creek in the District of Columbia to its upper end in Cumberland, Maryland. The Park would also include the Canal appurtenances, such as dam abutments, located across the Potomac at certain points in West Virginia.

In addition to the Canal property now in Federal ownership, subsection 3(b) authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire additional lands of interests in lands for restoration of historic and engineering features of the Canal, protection of scenic values, and development of public recreational facilities. The means of acquisition authorized are expressly limited to donation, purchase, easement, lease for up to fifty years, or exchange. Acquisition by condemnation is not authorized. The acreage to be acquired by purchase is limited to 1000 acres, while no limit is placed on acreage which may be donated, leased or exchanged.

TITLES AND BOUNDARIES

Section 4 of H.R. 7201 is intended to resolve most of the title and boundary problems which now exist along the Canal, without placing undue burdens on individual landowners.

Subsection 4(a) thus directs the Secretary of the Interior to begin as soon as practical a comprehensive title search and field survey to determine the boundaries of the Federal lands comprising the Canal property. After this work has been completed, the Secretary shall print the results of the survey, with detailed maps, and distribute them free of charge to all area landowners and interested state and local governments for their comments and questions. Interested parties shall have at least 120 days to question and discuss any part of the survey before it is filed with the General Services Administration, the agency which maintains official records of all Federal real property.

The bill expressly states that this survey is not intended to prohibit later negotiations about specific boundary conflicts, but rather is designed simply to define, much more accurately and completely than ever before, the precise boundaries of these Federal lands.

Subsection 4(b) relieves individuals, non-profit organizations and clubs of the expenses too often required to establish clear land titles and boundaries in the Potomac Valley. This provision requires that the Secretary of the Interior shall pay all reasonable costs of title searches or surveys required to establish ownership or boundaries of lands which individuals, organizations or clubs own or profess to own. The provision would apply when searches or surveys are required (a) before a land purchase or other agreement can be completed, or (b) to resolve conflicts raised by the comprehensive survey of Federal lands described above.

COOPERATIVE ACTION

Section 5, one of the most important sections in the bill, provides for a wide range of cooperative efforts involving all public and private interests to promote historic restoration and interpretation, public recreation, conservation, preservation of scenic values, and the other purposes of H.R. 7201.

Subsection 5(a) sets the foundations for a new, flexible and creative partnership between the Federal government and the owners of lands adjacent to the Canal. Under this subsection, the Secretary is authorized to reach contracts and agreements with these landowners for a wide range of projects to assist these landowners, extend the benefits of the Canal and enhance its value. For example, through this program the National Park Service could contract share recreational facilities with a neighboring county or city park. Under another individual agreement, a landowner could agree to permit public use of a trail across his land, in return for Interior Department clearing and maintenance of the trail. Under a third kind of agreement, the Interior Department could give technical assistance and personnel services to a landowner who agrees to maintain an attractive woodland for a specified number of years.

Subsection 5(b) provides in general terms for cooperation among the Interior Department, other Federal agencies, state and local governments, and all interested private parties in programs which could include soil conservation, wildlife propagation, historic restoration, and recreation.

One crucial element in cooperation among public agencies is Federal recognition of local and state initiatives in land use and recreational planning. Section 5(c) of H.R. 7201 provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall take such state and local plans into account wherever they affect lands near the Canal, and as much as possible shall develop the Park in ways which harmonize with state and local efforts.

ACCESS

Access problems have been perhaps the greatest single source of difficulty on the Canal in the past. H.R. 7201 would minimize these problems in the future by providing, for the first time, a statement of general principles applying not to Federal properties in general, but specifically to the Canal property.

Section 6 thus sets forth the basic considerations determining access rights, and also describes two specific types of situations in which individual crossings of Canal property are guaranteed. Subsection 6(a) declares that the enactment of H.R. 7201 would not affect adversely any valid existing rights or permits relating to Canal lands, insuring that previously negotiated agreements would be continued. In addition, subsection 6(b) allows the Interior Department to approve under permit additional uses of Park lands, and crossings for highways, railways, water and sewer lines, and other utilities in addition to those presently approved.

To supplement those general provisions, two types of crossings are specifically assured:

(a) Where privately-owned lands lie between the Canal and the Potomac River, the owners of those lands shall have access across the Canal for agricultural purposes, subject only to any restrictions found absolutely essential to preserve the Park. This provision, in subsection 6(c), is not intended to suggest that access to such lands for any other purposes shall be limited, but rather simply states that access for this particular purpose shall be insured.

(b) Under subsection 6(d), sportsmen are granted authority to cross the Park at any point by foot and by the most direct route to gain access to the Potomac River or to non-Federal lands for hunting, provided only that while these individuals are on Park lands their firearms are unloaded, bows are unstrung, and dogs are on leash.

FEES

Section 7 declares that no fees shall be charged for public day use of the Park for recreational purposes, insuring that it will remain available to all the people for their enjoyment without cost.

ADVISORY COMMISSION

Section 8 establishes the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission, an advisory commission which would give representatives of area residents a formal voice in the management of the Park and the establishment of Park policies.

The Commission would be composed of 19 members, appointed for five-year terms. Eight members would represent the four Maryland counties (Montgomery, Frederick, Washington and Allegany) through which the Canal runs, with two members being appointed by the county council or board of commissioners of each of these four counties. Eight other members would represent the States of Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia and the District of Columbia, with two members being appointed by the Governor of each of these three states and an additional two members being appointed by the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Three members, including the Chairman of the Commission, would be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and at least two of these three would represent regularly constituted conservation organizations.

Members of the Commission would serve without compensation, but would be reimbursed for reasonable expenditures.

The Secretary of the Interior is required to meet and consult with the Commission at least once a year on general and specific Park policies. He is specifically required to consult the Commission before establishing any general rules or regulations concerning access rights.

FUNDS

Section 9 of H.R. 7201 provides that any funds available for administration of the Canal property shall be used for the purposes of the Park. In addition, the appropriation of $3 million is authorized during the first three fiscal years to carry out the specific purposes of this Act, plus such sums as may prove necessary in subsequent years.

POSTAL RATES FOR THE BLIND AND PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Mr. **CORBETT**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. **CORBETT**. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill relating to postal rates on certain materials for blind persons and for persons unable to use or read regular printed matter because of a physical impairment.

In recent years, Mr. Speaker, I have become increasingly interested and actively concerned in furthering the cause of men and women with visual and other physical impairments.

It has been my privilege to sponsor legislation to establish a music scores library for the blind in the Library of Congress—and it has been very satisfying to me that my proposal, as Federal law, is enhancing the vocational, cultural, and recreational opportunities of blind persons interested in music.

Then, too, Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to introduce a measure to proclaim, annually, by Presidential proclamation, October 15 as White Cane Safety Day, in order that the presence of blind persons traveling alone upon the streets and highways of the Nation might be widely advertised and publicized—and it has been very satisfying for me to believe that blind people do travel with greater safety upon the Nation's streets and highways because the attention of motor vehicle drivers is directed to the meaning of a person with a white cane, that such a person is a blind person, by the publicity given each year by the Presidential proclamation of October 15 as White Cane Safety Day.

Also, Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to sponsor legislation making it possible to increase the employment of able and qualified blind persons in the Federal civil service—and I am pleased to know that because of my bill, additional blind men and women are constructively and gainfully employed in the service of our Federal Government.

In the 89th Congress, Mr. Speaker, because I believed the Federal books for the blind law needed to be improved and strengthened, because I believed that persons not blind but still unable to use or read regular printed matter should be included in the Federal books for the blind law and program, I supported legislation for this purpose—and it is very satisfying to me that now, persons formerly denied the chance to read because of physical disabilities, are able to read, have reading matter also available to them.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would alter and amend the postal laws for the benefit of blind persons, for the benefit of persons unable to use or read regular printed matter because of a physical impairment.

A detailed analysis of my bill, Mr. Speaker, with a full explanation of the issues raised by it and the arguments in support of its proposals follows:

MEMORANDUM RE BILL RELATING TO POSTAL RATES ON CERTAIN MATERIALS FOR BLIND AND OTHER HANDICAPPED PERSONS

Chapter 69 of title 39, U.S.C., would be amended by striking out sections 4653 and 4654 thereof and inserting in lieu thereof new sections 4653 and 4654, which would do the following:

1. Extend the free mailing privilege, presently available only to the blind, to other persons who cannot use or read conventionally printed material because of a physical impairment;

2. Materials covered by the free mailing privilege would be only those which are for the use of blind and handicapped persons, and made available to such persons without any charge at all, or, if there is a charge, when the charge made is not in excess of the cost of production;

3. The matter mailed postage free could be opened for inspection by the Postmaster General, and would have to conform in size and weight limitations prescribed by him;

4. The free mailing privilege would be extended to: Reading matter, musical scores, and sound reproductions; paper, records, tapes, and other materials for the production of reading matter, musical scores, and sound reproductions; sound reproducers or parts thereof; braille writers, typewriters, educational or other materials or devices, or parts thereof, used for writing by, or specifically designed or adapted for use of blind or physically handicapped persons;

5. The free mailing privilege would also be extended to unsealed letters sent by blind or physically handicapped persons, and written in braille, in sight-saving-size type, or recorded on tapes or discs;

6. To qualify for the free mailing privilege, mailed matter would have to bear the words "Free Matter for the Blind or Handicapped" (or similar words determined upon by the Postmaster General) in the upper right-hand corner.

A 1-cent-a-pound postage rate is presently charged on braille, recorded, and large type reading matter sold to blind persons or to organizations for the use of blind persons, or available on a rental basis, or for magazines for which a subscription price is charged.

Under the bill, such reading matter, not only for the blind, but for physically handicapped persons unable, because of their impairment, to use or read regular printed matter, could be mailed free of postage so long as the price charged, whether sale price, rental, subscription or similar fee, is not greater than the cost of production.

Standard and large-type typewriters, and other aids and devices used by blind and physically handicapped persons to offset, reduce, or entirely eliminate the restrictions of their disabilities, presently go through the mail at the regular rates charged for packages of the same type.

Under the bill, the articles and devices above listed would be included in the free mailing privilege.

Agency control to prevent abuse of this free mailing privilege is provided in the bill by authorzing the Postmaster General to open such free-mail packages for inspection, and the Postmaster General is also authorized to specify the size and weight limitations for packages mailed without postage.

The bill also provides that unsealed letters, written in braille, large print, or recorded on discs or tapes, sent by a blind or physically handicapped person, could be mailed postage free.

Since taped letters have increasingly become a standard method of correspondence employed by blind persons, and a reel of tape is considerably more costly to mail than a typed or handwritten letter, this provision of the bill would be particularly beneficial to blind persons, by allowing them to mail such tapes without postage.

It would be beneficial to the partially sighted, too, who must cover more than the usual number of pages with their large handwriting, or large sightsaving-size print typewriting.

By providing that all matter coming under the free mailing privilege must be marked in a designated place and in accordance with a prescribed form, the bill provides a means of administrative control of the free mailing privilege.

TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SUPPORTS OUR TROOPS AND POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. **EVERETT**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. **EVERETT**. Mr. Speaker, the Tennessee General Assembly, which is now in session, adopted on March 2, 1967, an outstanding resolution supporting our troops and policy in southeast Asia.

I would certainly like to bring this to the attention of the Congress. The resolution follows:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 15

Resolution in support of the President, the Congress and our troops and policy in Southeast Asia

Whereas, The foreign policy of the United States of America in the Far East has remained constant for many years and through several administrations, receiving bipartisan support under several different presidents; and

Whereas, Our country is now engaged in a vicious war in support of this policy, striving, on one hand, to give the people of South Viet Nam the right to determine their own future, while at the same time attempting to keep the conflict confined to the smallest area possible; and

Whereas, The Congress has and is supporting, by a substantial majority, the policies enunciated by our President and his predecessors; and

Whereas, We believe the policy followed in Southeast Asia by the various presidents during the past two decades has been sound, designed to serve the best interests of our country and its people as well as the best interests of the people and countries of the whole world; and

Whereas, In support of this policy the United States of America has committed its young men, its honor, its materials, its will, and its wealth; and

Whereas, It is the belief of the members of this Assembly that a majority of the citizens of America back the foreign policy of our country in Southeast Asia and are prepared to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to support their sons in the field as they fight day by day to sustain this policy: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives of the eighty-fifth general assembly (the senate concurring), That by this Resolution we affirm our support of our country's policies in Southeast Asia and give our backing to the President and the Congress as they plan and carry out this policy; and be it further

Resolved, That we salute our servicemen in Southeast Asia for the wonderful job they are doing under adverse conditions, saying to them "we believe in you—we will not fail you at home while you risk your lives to preserve freedom and our way of life,"; and be it further

Resolved, That we condemn those among us who seek to divide, to avoid their duties as citizens under the law, to undermine those patriotic beliefs that have made this country great and have given our state its nickname "The Volunteer State," to hinder our troops' movements and to take other steps which are not included under the recognized and guaranteed right of protest; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be sent by the Chief Engrossing Clerk of the House of Representatives to the President of the United States and to each member of the Congressional Delegation from the State of Tennessee.

Adopted: March 2, 1967.

JAMES H. CUMMINGS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

——— ———,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved:

BUFORD ELLINGTON,
Governor.

GUN LEGISLATION PACKAGE, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, we of the 90th Congress again are faced with the problem of providing an equitable answer to a perplexing question—how do we safeguard our citizenry from danger and death at the hands of the gun-wielding criminal while preserving the "right to bear arms" for a wide segment of our populace which pursues the wholesome and peaceful use of guns and handles them responsibly?

Certainly it is a difficult question, one which in recent months has been somewhat blurred by emotional outcry.

Today, I am introducing legislation which I feel is a sane, deliberate answer to the gun-control problem. It seeks to deter the irresponsible and criminal elements from easily obtaining concealable weapons while preserving the sense of the guarantees provided by the second amendment to the Constitution.

Incidents have been spotlighted in recent months which draw attention to a new danger. Crimes are being committed with weapons such as antitank rifles, rocket launchers and mortars, equipment which in no sense of the word can be called "sporting."

I read recently of a young boy being discovered by police while blasting transformers from utility poles with a rocket-launcher, or as it is more commonly called, a bazooka.

A safe which was thought impenetrable in an upstate New York community was pentrated by burglars using a high-powered antitank gun. The weapon had been obtained with comparative ease at a store not far from this Capitol Building.

An attempt was made to sabotage the United Nations Building with a bazooka.

The traffic in these destructive devices, designed for use as weapons of war, cannot be allowed to continue. And I know that the gun hobbyists and gun collectors of this Nation would be the first to rally to support legislation to curb the easy access to them by irresponsible or criminal persons.

The mighty arsenal of weapons which this Nation has amassed to defend itself should not be made so easily available to the criminal element.

Therefore, I am introducing an amendment to the National Firearms Act of 1934 which would prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of such death-dealing weapons as bazookas, mortars, and antitank rifles. The bill has been written to prohibit interstate transport of any weapon over .78 caliber, thus preserving for gun collectors and hobbyists the right to buy and sell the famous weapons of our Nation's heritage—the flintlock and muzzle-loading pistols and rifles which were of a larger bore size than today's sophisticated, high-velocity weapons.

Another purpose of the legislation I introduce today is to deal with the traffic and use of less sophisticated but equally fatal weapons. In amending the Federal Firearms Act of 1938, my bill would seek to do the following things:

First. Prohibit the sale of firearms, through shipment in interstate commerce, to any person under indictment for, or convicted of, a felony crime.

Second. See to it that persons under 18 cannot obtain handguns. These provisions are included in my bill because my research has revealed that mail-order gun firms are a major source of handguns for juveniles, felons, narcotic addicts, and mental defectives.

Third. It would insure that the above provisions would be complied with by requiring the person who orders the firearm to provide the dealer or manufacturer with a statement of his age and criminal record. This provision cannot deter the sportsman, hunter, or collector from obtaining the firearms he desires, but it will certainly hold down the gun traffic with the criminal element.

Fourth. The bill would seek to keep local crime-control agencies abreast of the gun traffic in their communities by providing that local law enforcement officers be named in the above affidavit. The dealer, upon sending the ordered weapon, would furnish police with a description of the weapon.

Fifth. My legislation would provide higher license fees for interstate gun-dealers and pawnbrokers. Manufacturers and pawnbrokers would pay an annual $50 fee, while gun dealers would pay $10 for a yearly license.

I believe this is an equitable bill, effective in its approach to a problem which no longer can be ignored.

This bill is proof that we can keep dangerous weapons out of the hands of the irresponsible and criminal element, while safeguarding the pursuit of a laudable and wholesome sport and hobby.

As the most eloquent spokesman for the sportsman, the National Rifle Association must be praised for recognizing the clear need for legislation in this area, and cooperating with lawmakers seeking an equitable solution.

The NRA support the approach made by my bill to curbing the free traffic in destructive devices. It will keep the public safe from these death-dealing weapons while preserving the right of collectors to buy, sell and trade the large-bore weapons of our history.

I was pleased to have the support of the National Rifle Association for my bill controlling mail-order sales when I first introduced it in the first session of the 89th Congress.

At that time, the NRA called my bill a "sound and reasonable approach" to the matter of mail-order sales and called it "legislation which meets the legitimate needs of both governmental and private interests."

This is the purpose of the bill which I submit today. There is a clear and present need for this type of legislation. I sincerely hope that this is the Congress which passes it.

INTELLIGENCE BRIEFINGS ON VIETNAM

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, this morning the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, the chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, made available a briefing given by the Defense Department for the benefit of all the Members of the House and Senate.

I understand that 50 or 60 Members of the House attended the briefing this morning.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from South Carolina is to be highly commended for making these intelligence briefings available to the Members of the House, but I submit that still more should be done. The intelligence briefing and photographs contained therein should be declassified and shown to the American public because they reveal, Mr. Speaker, very dramatically what the North Vietnamese did during the bombing lull in the first part of February. They give us good reason to believe that the Communist world wants a cessation of bombing in the future in order to build up further in South Vietnam. In view of the doubt apparently existing in the minds of some Americans whether our bombing should be continued and as to whether our bombing is effective I again call upon the Department of Defense to declassify the photographs used in the briefing. Our bombing must be continued in order to protect our American servicemen in South Vietnam, a cessation of bombing would undoubtedly cost the lives of additional large numbers of America's servicemen.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to insert in the body of the RECORD at this point a letter dated March 10, 1967, which I wrote to Mr. Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, requesting that the photographs be declassified and shown to the American public.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The letter referred to follows:

MARCH 10, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA,
The Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Last Wednesday the House Committee on Armed Services received a DOD intelligence briefing on the North Vietnamese build-up of ammunition, material, supplies, and equipment during the three-day cessation of bombing the first part of February. The intelligence photographs shown in the briefing revealed that the North Vietnamese were loaded and waiting for the cessation to move thousands of tons of materials during the three-day period. No doubt, part of that ammunition has already found its way into the bodies of our men who are now or were fighting in Vietnam.

It is my understanding that Chairman Rivers has arranged that this briefing be shown to all Members of Congress next Tuesday. This, I think is very commendable, but I submit that still more should be done. Last Wednesday in a speech on the floor of the House I stated that the photographs should be declassified and shown to the American public. That such be done, I submit, is imperative in view of the serious doubt in the minds of many Americans that the bombing should be continued.

The purpose of this letter is to formally request that the photographs be declassified and shown to the American public.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD H. ICHORD,
Member of Congress.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and include an article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection?

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday marked the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution. This is not the Bolshevik revolution so well known to the world. It is, unfortunately, ignored both in Russia and in the free world. The revolution that occurred on that day was an attempt to establish democracy in Russia. This true revolution was short-lived. It was destroyed by the Communists after a few months. It is often thought that the Communists took power from the Czar. This is not true. They took power from democracy just as they try to do today.

An excellent article describing the events of 1917 in Russia by Eugene Lyons of the North American Newspaper Alliance was printed in the Washington Star of March 12, 1967. I compliment Mr. Lyons on this article, and submit it for printing in the RECORD at this point:

FREEDOM CAME TO RUSSIANS ON THIS DAY 50 YEARS AGO

(This year the Soviets are celebrating the 50th anniversary of their revolution. Lost in the ballyhoo is the fact that the Communists overthrew not a tsarist dictatorship but the only democracy Russia ever knew. The author of this article wrote "Assignment in Utopia" (an account of his six-year UPI assignment in Moscow, 1928–34), "The Red Decade" (a history of Communist penetration in the U.S.), "Our Secret Allies" (the anti-Communist forces in the Soviet Union) and is now at work on an appraisal of 50 years of Soviet communism.)

(By Eugene Lyons)

NEW YORK.—Fifty years ago, on Monday, March 12, 1917, the long-suffering Russian people made their first bid for political freedom. Because of the 13-day difference in the Orthodox Russian calendar, the date locally was February 27 and the upheaval is often referred to as the "February Revolution."

This was the authentic Russian revolution, climax of a century of struggle, education, preparation and heroism. It was the revolution that toppled the Romanoff autocracy, brought freedom, civil liberties and the prospect of ordered democracy.

Unhappily for the country and the world, it was fated to be extinguished less than eight months later by the Communists—then known as the Bolsheviks—who imposed a new and more odious autocracy, deeply committed to world revolution.

The collapse of the Russian monarchy was greeted jubilantly by free men everywhere. But few grasped the magnitude of the problems faced by the succession regime and the importance, for all mankind, of its survival.

RIOTS AND STRIKES

As so often happens in history, the revolution exploded in Russia when few inside or outside expected it. Driven by sheer hunger, the people in Petrograd early in March staged bread riots, demonstrations, followed by an epidemic of strikes.

Such disorders were not new in the capital and the tsar's government at first had little doubt it could suppress and contain the angry masses.

But this time there was a new, unexpected element in the equation. The soldiers, ordered to disperse the crowds, including the dread Cossack forces, showed little appetite for the job. Within a few days, more and more of them not only refused to shoot but began to fraternize with the people. Neither in Petrograd nor at the fronts—the Russo-German war was still under way—could troops be found to defend the government.

March 12th was the climactic day. That afternoon the Preobrazhensky and Volynsky regiments, pride of the monarchy, and other military formations marched to the Duma (parliament) to declare their allegiance to a new government that did not yet formally exist.

They were greeted with joy by Alexander Kerensky and other democratic Duma leaders, who informed them that they had just formed a provisional committee to rule the country.

Events moved faster than the most sanguine enemies of the monarchy had dreamed. On Thursday, March 15, Nicholas II abdicated in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael, who in turn abdicated the following day. The ancient Romanoff dynasty was no more, leaving a nation in virtual collapse.

BOLSHEVIKS SURPRISED

As for the Bolsheviks, they were caught entirely by surprise. They did not play even a minor role in the popular revolution. Lenin, Zinoviev and other leaders learned of the rebellion from the newspapers in Switzerland, Trotsky and Bukharin from the newspapers in New York. Stalin was among the lesser Bolshevik figures in exile colonies in Russia.

Lenin and a group of disciples reached Petrograd on April 15, having been conveyed across Germany in a sealed train by the Kaiser's government—a calculated injection of poison into the Russian bloodstream for purely military reasons. They came well supplied with German funds. Trotsky joined them in May, others straggled in from foreign exile and remote corners of Russia.

MINORITY FACTION

They represented the smallest of the Russian radical movements. Launched at the turn of the century as a minority faction in the Social Democratic Party, it was barely known to the radical masses. In the Putilov factory in Petrograd, a hotbed of revolutionary sentiment, there were only 30 Bolsheviks in mid-1917.

But theirs was a movement that scoffed at numbers. In Lenin's concept, revolution was not a popular surge in the old tradition but a swift, deadly blow by a small, disciplined organization of "professional revolutionaries."

The second or Bolshevik revolution, on November 7—known in communist history as the "October Revolution" because of the difference in dates—was not a revolution at all in any normal sense. The Bolsheviks pulled off a coup d'etat, a putsch, and since it was directed against the new revolutionary regime, plainly a counter-revolution.

This is not semantic quibbling. It is a fact indispensable to keeping the historic events in focus. The successful grab for power by Lenin, Trotsky and their small following was a deed plotted in secrecy, a private cabal, with the masses so much raw stuff to be terrorized and processed.

The Bolsheviks did not overthrow the monarchy. They overthrew the first democratic society in Russian history. They did not liberate the people—the people liberated them. Lenin himself had called Russia, before he hijacked control of it, "the freest country in the world."

But to return to the first and true revolution. Kerensky, a great orator and passionate defender of democracy, before long emerged as premier. For nearly half a century he has been abused for failing to crush the bolshevik threat by arresting and executing its leaders.

But the reproof makes little logic. The mood of the time, with its emphasis on freedom, democracy and humanism, called for the kind of man Kerensky was. Had he been capable of blood-letting and high-handed illegality, he would not have risen to the top. Whatever the blame, it rests not on Kerensky but on the nature of the first revolution.

The power was increasingly divided between the government and the Soviets, which was a further source of weakness. The Leninists saw their opportunity in the dual authority. They raised the slogan, "all power to the Soviets," at a time when they were still a minority in that institution. For them it offered a convenient "front," to be used as communists the world over would soon be using false-fronts to achieve their purposes.

Everybody promised land and peace. But the moderates under Kerensky promised it for tomorrow, when an elected parliament would lay down the rules. Lenin and his cohorts outbid them. They urged the peasants to take the land now, the workers to take over the factories at once, the soldiers to desert the fronts.

Most important, they gave no hint of the one-party dictatorship they had in view. On the contrary, they posed as champions of the fullest democracy. Lenin fumed at enemies who charged that he planned to abolish private property and impose Communism. A more complete record of deceit can hardly be found in the annals of demagogy.

In his first weeks after the putsch, Lenin did not feel himself strong enough to renege on his earlier support of a Constituent Assembly—a democratic parliament to draw up a democratic constitution. What if the voting went against the Communists? They piously had pledged to abide by the popular will.

The balloting took place between November 25 and December 9, 1917. Although in most of the larger cities the elections were conducted under bolshevik auspices, the Communists drew only about 25 percent of the 36 million votes cast—less than half as many as the only other organized party, Kerensky's social revolutionaries.

But Lenin and Trotsky had no intention of permitting the freely chosen constituent assembly to live. When the elected deputies met on January 18, 1918, Lenin's police and soldiers disrupted the proceedings, then sealed the doors of the Tauride Palace where the meeting was held. The first session was the last. The hope born on March 12 was dead.

The titanic resistance that had been touched off by the communist coup d'etat was raised to fever pitch by the murder of the constituent assembly. A civil war, one of the bloodiest in all history, was under way. Virtually all the clashing guerrilla formations and armies were anti-communist. But they were so divided by mutual hatreds that the bolshevik forces—whipped into a Red Army by the genius of Leon Trotsky—would triumph in the end.

The free Russia that might have been was no more. A force fiercely dedicated to the demolition of the world of freedom now had the resources of a great country at its disposal.

THE 28TH ANNIVERSARY OF SLOVAK INDEPENDENCE

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today is the 28th anniversary of Slovak Independence Day.

Unfortunately, high-ranking officials in the Roosevelt administration, especially in the pre-World War II period and during the diplomatic negotiations with the Soviets in the latter days of the war, failed to understand the aspirations of the Slovak people for independence.

This tragic policy, based on misunderstanding the Communistic Soviet Russian diplomatic moves, is still plaguing us as we find the Johnson administration committing our troops to a no-win war in Vietnam while embracing the Communist government of Czechoslovakia.

As a result of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations' diplomatic blunders the brave Slovak people, along with other nations behind the Iron Curtain, are now suffering under the dread oppression of communism. I certainly hope and pray that the Slovak people's courageous spirit and love of freedom will be maintained until the day when they regain their national independence. Surely they will be freed from Communist persecution and achieve their rightful place in the community of free nations.

NEW BEDFORD STANDARD-TIMES WRITER WINS SAFETY AWARD

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Keith] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, as long as human beings drive machines that injure, maim, and kill other human beings, the public must be reminded repeatedly of their destructive potential.

Recently the American Trucking Association held a competition for newspaper safety writing. Top winner was Everett S. Allen, of the New Bedford Standard-Times. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I should like to submit an article from the Standard-Times of March 6, 1967:

STANDARD-TIMES WRITER WINS TOP SAFETY AWARD

Washington.—Everett S. Allen, assistant to the editor of The Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., is the winner of the first-place award of $1,000 in the editorial-page category of the 12th annual newspaper safety writing competition sponsored by the American Trucking Association, it was announced here today.

Mr. Allen, author of a Sunday Standard-Times column entitled The Present Tense, won the award for a single column that was published last March 27, headed, "Empty Seat in the Classroom." It was written in the aftermath of area auto accidents that took the lives of two teen-agers, and was based on interviews with their classmates.

Nearly 400 entries were submitted in the competition by newspapers across the nation. The ATA award ceremonies will be held April 6 in Washington.

First-place award winners in other categories included Thomas J. Wertenbaker, the Albuquerque News, Albuquerque, N.M., and Phyllis Cobbs and Harcourt Tynes Jr., the Patent Trader, Mt. Kisco, N.Y. Mr. Wertenbaker, a former resident of New Bedford, in 1948 was manager of Station WFMR, when it operated a separate program schedule, and later, assistant manager of Stations WNBH-WFMR.

Second-place winners were Dennis Hoover, the Dallas Morning News, Dallas, Tex.; and C. B. Daniel Jr., the Gainesville Sun, Gainesville, Fla.

Third-place awards went to Thomas F. Darcy, the Houston Post, Houston, Tex., now with the Philadelphia Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa.; Francis Poirier, the Jersey Journal, Jersey City, N.J., and V. L. Bubbett Jr., the Dothan Eagle, Dothan, Ala.

A newspaper, the Record, of Hackensack, N.J., won a special plaque for the most outstanding and effective over-all traffic safety campaign last year.

In part, Mr. Allen's winning column read:

"In the newspaper of the night before, they all had seen the Page 1 picture of the wrecked automobile, twisted junk slammed against a tree, and they knew precisely how long the police said the black skid marks were, the final signature he had made in the last seconds of life . . .

"They thought probably the last bad second was before he was hurt at all, when the rear end started to swing, and the rubber was squealing, when the heap leaned into a sickening roll, and he knew this time it wasn't going to come back up, and the big thick trees, dark and ugly, were almost in his face.

"They looked at the empty classroom seat once more, and walked slowly down the corridor."

FEDERAL TAX-SHARING BILL

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Langen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me that the present Federal aid system can be correctly characterized as a vast administrative jungle fraught with confusion and wasteful spending. That is why I am today introducing a Federal revenue-sharing bill designed to return 5 percent of the Federal personal income taxes to the States without strings attached.

There is way too much redtape and overlap involved in the 200-plus grant-in-aid programs now administered in Washington. More often than not, the Federal-aid bureaucrats distort and give low priority to State and local needs, while using every means at their disposal to increase Federal control. Accordingly, my bill is aimed at restoring proper balance to the Federal-State relationship.

The Langen revenue-sharing bill would, first, return 5 percent of the Federal personal income taxes to the States primarily on a population basis; and, second, reduce or replace existing specialized Federal aid programs that are not functioning efficiently or effectively.

Let me emphasize that the tax-sharing concept in my bill is for the purpose of replacing unnecessary or wasteful Federal aid programs that are no longer worthy of continuance.

Just a quick glance at the multiple grant-in-aid programs tells us the extent to which the present system is in need of reform—over 170 Federal aid programs, administered by over 21 Federal departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus, and over 400 regional offices scattered across the country, plus more than 75 different planning assistance programs, many of which are also duplicative.

Is it any surprise that local communities are often required to deal with so many Federal agencies that insist on receiving 20 to 30 copies of every long, detailed application? Certainly this country is capable of finding better ways of providing the needed assistance to solve compelling State and local problems.

Thus I express the hope that comprehensive congressional hearings can be held on my bill and other revenue-sharing proposals early this session, as there is growing public support for the "tax back" principle and the constructive impact it will have in the effort to build and preserve what is best for our Nation.

NO SUCH THING AS FEDERAL MONEY

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Kuykendall] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Record I would like to include the text of an advertisement by the Warner & Swasey Co. which appeared in several national magazines this week.

The important point made in this ad is that there is no such thing as Federal money. Too long we have labored under the delusion that all good things come from Washington. Too many people have been led to believe that Federal aid is a gift from some great benefactor at the head of the Government. The Johnson administration has outdone all its Democrat predecessors of the past 33 years in selling the idea that L.B.J. is the personal donor of funds for all Federal programs.

The truth is the Federal Government has no money of its own. It can only return to the people what it first takes from them in the form of taxes. And it can return far less than it takes in because of the cost of bureaucratic redtape through which the peoples' money goes on its roundtrip to Washington and back to the States.

Is it not about time we stop this masquerade and allow the people to keep more of their own money at home where they can initiate local projects and pay for them with 100 percent of the tax dollars collected? The Warner & Swasey advertisement is food for thought. The copy follows:

Robbing St. Petersburg to Pay St. Paul

Why should I expect *you* to pay my bills? Yet this is what "Federal" funds mean.

It may be all very well for Florida, for example, in its generosity to give St. Paul a new Auditorium or some shiny transit system. But don't call it *Federal* money because it isn't—there *is* no Federal money. It all comes from Florida and New York and California—*and St. Paul* which sends its taxes to Washington where 2 million Federal employees must take out their "handling charges", and send back what's left, cluttered and hamstrung with Federal restrictions.

If St. Paul (and every city and state) would meet its own needs by paying its own bills under its own management, those bills would be far lower, and the money would be better spent.

FEDERAL HIGHWAY FUNDS FOR RIGHTS-OF-WAY

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Cleveland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to reduce Federal highway construction costs and, at the same time, alleviate inconveniences now suffered by property owners whose land is to be taken for highway purposes.

This bill is similar to, although not identical to, bills I have introduced in both the 88th and 89th Congresses. It would authorize a program to assist States to acquire rights-of-way at the earliest possible time once proposed highway routes are finalized.

It would enable States to acquire property to be eventually needed for rights-of-way at comparatively low cost and at a time when the actual arrival of improved roads has not yet drastically inflated real estate values. It would give a break to property owners, a badly needed and long-overdue one.

The bill authorizes the Secretary of Transportation to advance Federal-aid highway funds to any State for early right-of-way acquisition. The funds would be advanced free of interest charges and would not be charged against current Federal aid apportionments, but would be repaid by the State when actual construction on the right-of-way is authorized, or on September 30, 1972, whichever occurs first. The total amount outstanding at any one time would not be permitted to exceed $300 million.

The November 23, 1966, cutback of the Federal-aid-highway program has many long-range serious detrimental effects that have been felt and will be felt in the future. The 1972 target date for the completion of the Interstate System will be set back and construction costs will inevitably be increased. The bill I have introduced today would reduce in a very real way the cost of future highway construction. Advance purchase of rights-of-way would not only result in the saving of money but relieve to a great degree the human suffering caused by lengthy delays between the announcement of a route and the actual purchase of rights-of-way.

The financial savings that could be realized by the enactment of this bill would be substantial. On May 2, 1963, when I first introduced similar legislation, I explained how this concept has been tried and proven successful:

> The State of California, in 1953, established a $30 million revolving . . . by using this fund for the advance acquisition of rights-of-way, the State had saved approximately $250 million during the 8 years since creation of the fund.

The "1965 Interstate System Cost Estimate"—89th Congress, first session, House Document No. 42—states that as of January 1, 1964, the total expense for the rights-of-way for the Interstate System alone would cost $3,290,617,000 and since that date the cost has increased rather than decreased.

The November 1966 cutback of Federal highway funds was, according to administration witnesses at recent joint hearings by the Senate and House Public Works Committees, an attempt to slow the inflationary increase in highway construction costs. If this was the administration's primary intention for the cutback, the frozen funds could and should be used for the highway purposes they were collected for. The frozen funds could be used to buy rights-of-way at a more accelerated rate, thereby reducing the eventual cost to both the States and the highway trust fund without beginning actual construction.

In addition to decreasing highway construction costs my bill would be most valuable in attempting to minimize the hardship imposed upon those whose land will be taken for rights-of-way. Those persons who know that their homes or businesses lie within the route of a proposed road would not be subjected to the hardships imposed upon them under the present system. As the situation exists now, a man can neither get his money out of nor make improvements on his property once it becomes within a right-of-way. He is told his property will be taken, some day, but this does not happen and he does not receive his payment until it suits the Government's convenience. This matter of advance right-of-way is not only important to the Government, but it is deeply important to thousands of individual citizens in this country.

In the hearings before the joint House-Senate Public Works Committees, Secretary of Transportation Boyd firmly backed this proposal. In response to a question he stated:

> I am hopeful that there will be legislation introduced for action in this session of the Congress to resolve this problem.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation to deal with this problem Secretary Boyd was discussing. A plan for prompt and just compensation for those who will lose their property for the construction of a new highway is one that deserves immediate and favorable action.

SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, there is an all too common tendency to accept the continued success of a particular program or effort as the natural course of events. In doing so we overlook the most important fact and that is the maintenance of this success is wholly dependent upon continued effort.

I think this is true in the case of the

school safety patrols, a program first instituted 51 years ago in one particular area and adopted nationally 45 years ago.

A mark of the great success of this program can be found in the statistics which reveal the traffic death rate of schoolchildren has been cut almost in half over the years while the death rate of other age groups has doubled.

Therefore, I feel it appropriate that we pay tribute, annual tribute, to the school safety patrols.

We can do this by designating the second week of May each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

It will serve the purpose of not only recognizing the continued and successful efforts of the more than 900,000 safety patrol members by renewing the resolve each motorist has to exercise extraordinary care in traveling through school areas.

I might add that as part of the tribute paid the boys and girls each year, the American Automobile Association coordinates a parade down Constitution Avenue. This year over 20,000 participants will go down the avenue on May 13.

I am happy that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will be among those 22 States represented and that there will be a group of 200 patrol members from Concord.

The Concord group, with Sgt. James Hanley in charge, is sponsored by the Massachusetts Safety Officers' League.

I hope my colleagues will join with me in introducing similar resolutions, so that this continually successful program will continue to be successful and that the boys and girls who give so unselfishly of their time may receive their proper due.

The text of my resolution follows:

H.J. RES. 432

Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week"

Whereas more than an estimated fifty-two thousand Americans died in traffic accidents on the Nation's highways during the year 1966 and the prevention of such accidents has become a problem of major concern; and

Whereas the school safety patrols, since their organization on a national scale in the early 1920's, have played an important role in the reduction of highway accidents involving school-age children; and

Whereas more than nine hundred thousand safety patrol members are now serving forty thousand schools in all fifty States, protecting nineteen million children; and

Whereas the school safety patrols are a cooperative program sponsored jointly by American Automobile Association motor clubs, local schools, and police; and

Whereas more than sixteen million Americans have served as safety patrol members during the more than forty years since the program was established; and

Whereas the traffic death rate of school-age children since 1922 has dropped nearly one-half while the death rate of all other age groups has doubled and the efforts of the school safety patrols have been a contributing factor in this reduction; and

Whereas the lifesaving efforts of the school safety patrols play an increasingly important role in the nationwide campaign to reduce traffic accidents and this program should receive public attention and citizen support; and

Whereas the second week of May of each year provides an opportunity for due recognition of the foregoing achievements, accomplishments, and needs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the second week of May of each year is hereby designated as "National School Safety Patrol Week" and the President is requested to issue a proclamation calling upon all people of the United States for the observance of such a week with appropriate proceedings and ceremonies.

LOWELL: TEXTILE CITY ON PAINFUL ROAD BACK

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the problem of economic diversification in an industrial community found a unique laboratory in my home city of Lowell, Mass. Reliance on the textile industry as the chief source of economic well-being led to disaster in the years of the depression and the trend toward movement of textile plants elsewhere in the country. For those of us who remember the dread depression years when 45 percent of the work force in Lowell was unemployed, the recent strides toward diversification and development are most heartening. In the Sunday edition of the Boston Globe, Jeremiah V. Murphy reports on the economic progress now underway in the city. I have unanimous consent to include his article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

LOWELL: TEXTILE CITY ON PAINFUL ROAD BACK

(By Jeremiah V. Murphy)

LOWELL.—High over the famous Boott Mills complex in this dreary mill city on the polluted Merrimack River stands a steeple, its white paint faded and peeling.

At the top of the steeple is a unique weathervane—it has been there since the 1870's—in the shape of a textile shuttle. It is symbolic of the city's long history as a textile center.

"A textile museum has its eye on that weathervane," explained John R. Dickson, president of Boott Mills. "They want it for an exhibit."

The museum may not have long to wait, for there remains only one major textile mill—Wannalancit Textile Co.—in this old industrial city some 25 miles northwest of Boston.

Textiles are going in Lowell, but the city is well on its way along a slow and painful road towards economic diversification.

Lowell reached its textile peak in 1924. Since then it has been downhill in this city of scores of red brick mills and tenement houses.

In 1935, for example, at the bottom of the Great Depression, 45 percent of the population was on relief.

When the Lowell textile industry gradually moved to the South, it left a legacy here of high level of unemployment despite national and state prosperity, and a need for more industry.

Lowell's population is 86,000, down some 26,000 from the 1912 high, although the surrounding towns, Billerica, Tewksbury, Chelmsford and Dracut, have shown substantial population growths.

John Griffin, supervising office manager of the State Division of Employment Security in Lowell, said the unemployment rate for the Lowell area was 7.4 percent of the total work force for January. The statewide average for the same period was 4.2.

In Lowell itself, where the work force is estimated at 45,000, the unemployment rate for January is estimated at slightly higher. But figures are not kept for the city alone.

Lowell's unemployment figure has improved slightly over the last five years, but it remains one of the highest in the nation. Griffin said the situation here is not as bleak as it appears on paper.

"There is a great deal of work done of a contract basis here," he said. "It causes peaks and slow seasons. When things are slow, the number of claims jump substantially."

He added, "The economic picture in Lowell is gradually improving."

There are other reasons for the high unemployment rate, a visitor here is told over and over by industry officials. Many men, particularly those with larger families, receive as much for unemployment payments as they would be paid for a full work week.

"If anyone really wants to work in Lowell," one mill executive said, "there is a job here for him." A full page of "help wanted" advertisements in the Lowell Sun supports this view.

In the old, Gothic style city hall, Lowell's young and energetic mayor, Edward Early Jr., said, "We haven't been getting the new industries we need. It is as simple as that."

But most city officials, including City Manager Charles A. Gallagher and acting City Planner Jack Tavares, agreed that progress has been made.

They point to "incubator" industries, some employing as few as 10 or 15 persons. They include electronic, paper and plastic firms. Their total number grows each year.

Textile, thanks to Wannalancit Mills, and allied industries, remains as the city's biggest industry, but it is a matter of time before paper products or printing takes over that top spot.

But there are bright spots in the Lowell picture. For example, the Boott Mills complex, all 17 buildings, is composed of some 40 firms, with only one—a dye company—still engaged in the textile industry.

There are 2600 persons employed in the complex, the same number working there in the mid 1920's when textile was Lowell's bread and butter.

"Lowell is fairly well off today," said Dickson, head of Boott Mills. "Diversification has come gradually. But it definitely is here."

Newly completed Route 495—a superhighway running east and west of Lowell—is expected to play a key role in the city's comeback. But, according to Mayor Early, a major need is a connector highway linking the superhighway with downtown Lowell.

That project is still in the "planning stage."

The city's urban redevelopment program has completed the Church st. project and the 95-acre Northern Canal project is underway. In recent years, several schools, shopping centers and an industrial park have been built. Lowell Technological Institute, which is internationally known, has grown substantially. New dormitories to house 660 more students are under construction.

After a 50-year lag, new buildings have been constructed in the downtown Lowell area.

Economic progress here has not been as rapid as has been hoped, but the city that began as a company town is looking again to the future. They have a favorite word here—diversification.

You hear it over and over, for Lowell is determined to never again put all its economic eggs in one basket, especially a cloth (textile) basket.

HIGHWAYS FOR LATIN AMERICA, BUT NONE FOR OHIO

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARSHA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, last week I took the floor to call to the attention of the House the numbers game being played by the Johnson administration with respect to urgently needed Federal-aid highway construction. Today, I rise again to point out the administration's continuing inconsistency in the administration of our Nation's Federal-aid highway programs.

Last November 23, the President ordered a cutback in Federal-aid highway construction which amounted to $1.1 billion, or 25 percent of the $4.4 billion of new construction work that could be commenced during fiscal year 1967 without exceeding the estimated receipts of the highway trust fund. The cutback applied to the all-important National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, as well as the primary and secondary extensions and their urban extensions.

No other public works program was cut as drastically as was the Federal-aid highway program. No other transportation system has its funds frozen anywhere near the extent of the Federal-aid highway program's funds.

The cutback was ordered supposedly "in recognition of the need for reducing nonmilitary Federal expenditures as a contribution to the Vietnam effort and the resultant program to reduce inflationary pressure." It appears, however, after all the facts have been made available to the Congress, that the cutback in the highway construction program was another budget shenanigan of the administration—Johnson juggling—with the American taxpayers' money being tossed carelessly around. The administration witnesses at joint hearings of the Subcommittees on Roads of the House and Senate Committees on Public Works assured the members that funds would be restored as soon as the administration's brand of national economics so warranted. Unfortunately, it looks like this is not going to happen. The funds frozen by the administration have yet to be fully restored.

On Thursday, March 2, I called to the attention of the House the fact that the Federal Reserve Board was, in effect, releasing some $850 million to be pumped into the economy. Surely this will not "reduce inflationary pressure." While the Federal Government was thereby pumping $850 million into the economy, the administration did not release one single cent for urgently needed highway construction.

To make matters even worse, yesterday—March 13—the President of the United States sent a message to Congress on Latin American development, within which he called for an additional $150 million authorization over the next 3 years for the construction of roads, bridges, and the development of communication and river systems throughout Latin America. That $150 million will be paid for by the taxpayers of the United States—the same taxpayers who are being told by the Johnson administration that it would be too great of an expenditure to build highways which are needed to reduce congestion, inconvenience, traffic deaths and injuries, and property damage.

According to the President's message, approximately $150 million over a 3-year period will be provided to "help finance preinvestment studies and a portion of the cost of new multinational projects," including the construction of roads "to link the nations and people of Latin America" and the construction of bridges "to carry the fruits of commerce over river barriers."

The President's message goes on to state that the administration will request congressional authorization to provide this $150 million extra together with our regular $250 million annual contribution to the Inter-America Bank's Fund for Special Operations from which come the funds for the financing of these road and bridge projects. Thus, in effect, we will have $900 million of U.S. taxpayers' dollars over the next 3 years going into such projects in Latin America.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the President is more concerned with linking the people of Latin America than he is in linking the people of his own Nation—the people he was elected by to represent their best interests. The cutback will slow down the construction of federally aided highways in the United States substantially, resulting in hundreds of highway traffic deaths, thousands of injuries, and millions of dollars in property damage. I suggest that it is in our citizens' best interests to construct highways in the United States before we accelerate U.S.-aided highway and related bridge construction in Latin America. Yet the President asks for hundreds of millions for highway construction in Latin America and still holds back on funds for urgently needed highway construction in the United States. That just does not make sense. Roads for Latin America, but none for Ohio or the United States.

I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that the American people are being forced to endure congestion, inconvenience, and increased travel costs in the future because the President is more willing to give highway construction money to Latin America than he is to release highway construction funds—funds which he arbitrarily froze—in the United States.

Before any additional sums are appropriated or expended for highways in foreign nations, the administration should release highway construction funds in the United States.

EULOGY ON AMBROSE KENNEDY, A FORMER CONGRESSMAN FROM WOONSOCKET, R.I.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. ST GERMAIN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, 44 years ago the voice of Ambrose Kennedy was heard in the House by such notable men as Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., W. Brooke Cockrane and Sam Rayburn. On March 9, the voice of this former Representative from Woonsocket, R.I., was eternally silenced.

Ambrose Kennedy was the second man from Woonsocket to be elected to the Congress and, as his successor from this fine city, I would like to make known before this House, which he served so well for 10 years, the exemplary accomplishments embodied in the life of this great man.

His was a most extraordinary life—one which reached out to encompass many avenues, but all of which marked the way passed by a man devoted to public service and the betterment of mankind.

He was an educator, serving as the first high-school principal and superintendent of schools in Blackstone, Mass.; a lawyer, whose late career was marked by early success; an author, with two books to his credit; a father, who was loved by his family; a scholar, whose degrees included a doctor of philosophy; a military aide to Governor Pothier, of Rhode Island, which earned him the title of colonel; a devoted layman, who was honored by his faith; a State representative, who was honored by his colleagues to be their Speaker; and a Member of this House, which he so admirably served from 1913 to 1923.

Life for Ambrose Kennedy began almost a full century ago in Blackstone, Mass.—which is contiguous to Woonsocket, R.I.—on the first day of December in the year 1875.

He attended school in Blackstone, the town of his birth, which also is where I was born, and later studied in Canada before beginning his studies at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Mass. At the age of 22, he was awarded a bachelor of arts degree and 3 years later, a master of arts degree. His alma mater further honored him with the bestowal of a doctor of philosophy degree in 1918.

After college, he turned his efforts towards the education of others, teaching French, Latin, Greek, English, physics, and math from 1 year prior to the turn of the century to 4 years into the 20th century.

While teaching school in Blackstone, his interest turned towards a legal career, and he enrolled at Boston University, where I also had the privilege of preparing for my legal career. In his usual manner of academic achievement, he completed the three year course in 2 years and received the coveted honor of being class orator at commencement exercises. His oratory ability would soon become well known in the Congress as it had been known to his classmates at Boston University and the House of Representatives in Rhode Island where he served from 1910 to 1912.

Prior to being elected to the Rhode Island House of Representatives, he served as military aide to Gov. Aram J. Pothier. Soon after becoming a member of the Rhode Island House, his eloquence and outstanding characteristics were easily recognized by his colleagues who chose him to be their speaker.

In 1912, Colonel Kennedy's popularity and achievements won him a seat in the Congress, the only Republican to win a seat in the Congress during the elections of that year. Standing with him when he was sworn in was the beloved, late Sam Rayburn, whose distinguished career in this House is so well known to all of us.

These were uneasy times and the role of the House Foreign Affairs Committee assumed even greater significance. One of its members was the eloquent member from Woonsocket, R.I., the Honorable Ambrose Kennedy.

The gentleman from Rhode Island was well received and acclaimed by his colleagues. When his term came to a close in 1923, he declined to run again after having served the people of the then Third District from Rhode Island in a most exemplary manner for a full decade.

The entire State of Rhode Island is deeply indebted to the unselfish efforts of this extraordinary man but the people of the city of Woonsocket owe particular homage to Colonel Kennedy, for he brought great honor to them.

In the city of Woonsocket we are proud that such a man as he was one of us. His many accomplishments and exemplary ways shall serve as a great inspiration. For those who wish to give of themselves that others may live a little better, his life will serve as a guide.

HALPERN BILL PROVIDES BUSINESS LOANS AND JOB TRAINING FOR COLD WAR VETS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Halpern] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, during the past year, the Congress has moved in a number of ways toward providing pensions and readjustment assistance for veterans of previous wars, widows and dependents.

Last year, the cold war GI bill was approved by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, of which I am proud to be a member, and it was enacted. This year, we have seen the introduction of many bills, including my own, to expand educational opportunities, increase pensions and provide benefits for veterans, widows, and dependents of the Vietnam hostilities since August 5, 1964.

But, in all this spate of new legislation, enacted and proposed, there is still a gaping hole. There is still no provision for small business loans for veterans of the cold war since Korea. There is no provision for on-the-job and on-the-farm training for these "peacetime" fighting men after they return from the wars.

During the period when the Committee on Veterans' Affairs was discussing and holding hearings on the cold war GI bill, I received many letters from veterans and men still on active duty indicating intense interest in this kind of readjustment assistance.

Many veterans, and spokesmen for all the major veterans organizations, stopped into my office, or buttonholed me in public places in my district, and made it clear that they considered small-business loans as important as any kind of assistance we have ever provided.

They pointed out that, especially as a result of the cold war draft, many men are called to active duty after completing their educations, and require special help to bridge the gap and reestablish themselves in their home communities.

Others, having interrupted their educations for military service, found they were forced to drop plans for entering professions, and instead to move toward the business and industrial world. They certainly are deserving of help from their grateful Nation.

In my own bill for cold war veterans' benefits, I included provision for small business loans, and I sought to amend the committee bill accordingly. Though my amendment fell one vote short of committee adoption, enough support was shown—and has been shown during the past year—to warrant separate legislation to this end.

This is especially so in the light of the fact that about a quarter of a million small-business loans were processed under prior readjustment acts, and we have a remarkable record of success in these ventures.

Today, I am making another effort to fill the gap left in our cold war bill by introducing an amendment to provide for small-business loans. The same reasons which make small-business loans a worthy assistance project, also prove the need of on-the-job and on-the-farm training for veterans of the cold war. My amendment would also make those provisions.

It is not reasonable to help only those who would go back to school to learn. Many people can learn the skills which will do them most good in their future lives right at the machines, behind the desks, and in the fields in businesses, industries and on farms.

Mr. Speaker, it is only fair to give our cold war GI's the same opportunities for reestablishing themselves as we gave our veterans of previous wars.

What is more, it is only fair to recognize the fact that thousands of our American men were called upon for hazardous duty in many parts of the world after the end of the Korean war, and before the Gulf of Tonkin incident in Vietnam, August 5, 1964.

As I pointed out before a Veterans' Affairs' Subcommittee last week, none of our currently proposed veterans' benefit bills, nor any existing laws, provide for the veterans, the widows, and the dependents of this period.

For that purpose, I have introduced a second amendment today to expand all of the cold war benefits to those who fought at the wrong time, in the wrong place, to qualify under existing and pending legislation.

Included among these would be the 14,000 Americans sent to Lebanon and the Navy men who convoyed Nationalist troops toward Quemoy and Matsu in 1958. Also included would be the 15,000 "advisers" in Vietnam before August 5, 1964, the pilots sent to the Congo in 1961, the thousands deployed to the Dominican Republic in 1965, and perhaps others.

All of these have earned the gratitude of the Nation. I urge speedy action to fill the gaps in our GI legislation.

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, hundreds of Members of the House of Representatives have a stake, and a very important one, in a bill on which the Committee on Agriculture will be holding hearings tomorrow, Thursday, and Friday. This bill is H.R. 1318, a bill I have introduced for the administration for the continuation and expansion of the food stamp program. Unless this bill is passed this spring, many of the food stamp projects now in operation will have to be terminated on July 1 and proposed new food stamp projects will not be able to start. This is because the food stamp law passed in 1964, while being permanent legislation, contains authorizations for appropriations only through the current fiscal year. A new authorization section must be written into the 1964 act. I am placing in the Congressional Record an extensive report on the food stamp plan, listing all of the congressional districts which will be affected. I urge every Member to read this material tomorrow to see how the failure to pass H.R. 1318 would affect his district. Only a few Members are scheduled to testify on this bill this week. I would think Members would want to make sure that the Committee on Agriculture knows of the importance of this legislation to their congressional districts.

FIFTY THOUSAND VISIT SS "HOPE" IN 2 DAYS AT MIAMI

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, last month the SS *Hope* visited Miami en route to Colombia and her sixth medical teaching-treatment mission. The reception for this famed white hospital ship was overwhelming as more than 50,000 residents turned out to greet her in the two days she was moored at Dodge Island Seaport.

The interest and enthusiasm for *Hope* shown in Miami underscores the warm respect this symbol of good will holds in the American people. Now in its seventh year, this ship time and time again has proven to be one of our country's most effective efforts in carrying knowledge and understanding to less fortunate nations.

Fred Shaw wrote of Project Hope in his column in the Miami Herald and illustrated some of the reasons why *Hope* has been so successful. I know my colleagues will share my interest in Mr. Shaw's remarks and I ask unanimous consent that his column be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Miami Herald, Feb. 12, 1967]

OF PROJECT HOPE: THE PEOPLE WHO WALK ON WATER

(By Fred Shaw)

Trailing after the news, as I occasionally must, has its disadvantages. By the time you read this column, news and editorial writers will have told you that the SS Hope is here to dedicate the port of Miami, and that for the first time in the history of the project, a city has been permitted to tour the hospital ship.

Writing well before the beginning of the news barrage, I can only guess that the directors are honoring Miami because of the contributions of its doctors, dentists, and nurses and the devotion of the 400 members of the Dade County Women's Committee for Project Hope.

Several years ago, I became interested in Project Hope when a doctor friend, a gifted young surgeon who can recognize the phony as far as he can smell it, served a two-month turn and came back refreshed in mind and spirit.

Project Hope is a living idea that the A.M.A. can unite on—the right and left wings and all those physicians in between who are tired of being tarred with the brush of reaction. Nor do the rest of us escape. No matter how innocent our motives or how good our works, in many areas of the world we are looked on as fat and indifferent. Our halo has slipped; the Communists have attempted to equate change with progress and capture them both.

Dr. William B. Walsh, founder and president of Project Hope, and those who work with him are playing for big stakes. They are taking the best in American medicine to places where it's needed most. They are setting up training programs for nurses, technicians, and physical therapists and they are establishing blood banks and other supporting organizations so that medical care can continue to improve.

Without intending to, doctors and nurses have also become some of the most effective fighters in the cold war. Dr. Walsh has told the thrilling story in two books. The first was A Ship Called Hope (1964); the new one is Yanqui, Come Back (Dutton, $4.95), the story of the work in Peru.

Conditions in Peru were all but impossible. All over Latin America, the people were demanding a change; and as Dr. Walsh says, "Why not? If existing conditions assured the average citizens of only 30 years of life, wouldn't any change from the status quo be an improvement?"

A peon could live a lifetime without a bath. As many as five thousand people depended on a single water tap. Garbage and excrement piled up in the streets. The puffed bellies and skinny legs of thousands of children could mean only one thing—protein starvation. Many native doctors were suspicious or jealous. And always the propagandist pulled out the same old stops: Beware of the Yankee warmongers. Communists si, yanqui no.

GOOD WILL AND PROTEIN

The Americans tried not to talk back. They treated the sick, built clinics, and started their training programs. They answered no to political expediency and to the caste system; the haciendada waited with the Indians and Mestizos. They took along for the poor "the best kind of package deal from a democracy: good will and protein simultaneously." Here and there "all the objectives of Project Hope" were realized: "self-help, partnership, and a response to Yankee initiative."

Once when the Americans planned a mass immunization, the Communists spread the word that the Yankee imperialists were trying to find and experiment on deformities resulting from their nuclear mistakes.

As the Americans approached the clinic on what was to be the big day, they thought no one had come; but when they turned the final corner, they saw a tremendous crowd of scrubbed children and well-dressed parents. A roar went up from the crowd: "Hopie Hopie, Hopie!" As one doctor said, "They thought we could walk on water."

CONGRESSMAN CLAUDE PEPPER INTRODUCES LEGISLATION IN SUPPORT OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES' RECLASSIFICATION

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, once again my concern for our postal service has prompted me to action. This time that action takes the form of legislation that will provide more pay to our postal employees by reclassifying certain key positions ranging from carrier and clerk to the postmaster himself. This action is timely, it is essential, and, it is logical.

For many years I have watched the workload of our public servants increase, and on numerous occasions I have introduced and fought for appropriate remedial legislation. The workload has increased in all of our executive departments—including Agriculture, Health, Education, and Welfare, Commerce, and Labor—and it will continue.

But the work demanded of our postal employees has increased beyond the horizons of our imaginations and it will continue to typify and exceed the tempo of our Nation's social and economic advancement. As each of our executive agencies becomes more effective in reaching the farmer, the sixth-grade teacher, the custodian, the electronic technician, and the banker, the postal service must carry more responsibility.

Increased responsibility necessitates reward—not as a prize, but as frankly commercial acknowledgment of services rendered. No dreamy philosopher's compliments to the public servant can compensate adequately for the personal satisfaction an employee derives from his position's paycheck enabling him to advance his own social and economic status.

Our Nation cannot afford to allow a lag in any sector; our progress must continue and the advancement of our Postal Service is crucial.

Let us look at this crucial advancement from the economic angle: According to the President's 1967 economic report, our gross national product has grown 50 percent in 6 years. In constant prices, the President has computed the gain to average 5½ percent a year; and has observed that the physical output of our factories and mines is up more than 50 percent.

This economic advancement obviously affects our communications system. In 1965, the Postal Service carried 72 billion pieces of mail. Estimates for 1970, just 3 years away, are set at 90 billion.

This 90-billion-pieces-of-mail estimate, however, should neither awe nor inhibit us. The estimate represents a document of faith in our economic progress; it is a challenge to us.

Last fall we saw an example of what can happen to us when our communication system falters when the well-respected Chicago Post Office employees suddenly discovered they were being submerged in an unprecedented avalanche of mail. Due to population increases and the economic boom, postal authorities had predicted an autumn increase of 4 percent for the Chicago mail volume. Instead, the main post office found itself responsible for twice that increase, and reports show that the increase might have been 28 percent higher than that of the previous year at some points.

As a result of this unexpected volume, one department store claimed a $2 million loss because their sales flyers were logjammed; and other business enterprises as well as the public were doubtlessly penalized to a similarly oppressive degree.

Until regulations could be altered in Washington, about 500 postal workers had volunteered to stay on the job on their days off in dedicated service to move the mountains and keep the correspondence from continuing its spilling momentum.

Certainly these postal workers and their counterparts throughout the country are performing vital services, and I am convinced that the time for meaningful action has arrived. Reclassification for certain key positions in the postal field service is essential, and it is a logical step toward enabling our communication system to maintain its contemporary tempo.

Mr. Speaker, in this session I have previously introduced legislation to assist and upgrade the level and salary of our postal employees. My proposal embodied in H.R. 6992 and introduced March 9 was intended to include and assist as many of our public servants in the postal service as possible. After becoming more concerned about the needs of our clerks and carriers who actually make up the vast majority of our postal employees and perform a vital function, I introduced H.R. 7103 on March 13 as an additional form of assistance.

The legislation I have introduced is far reaching. In order to assist as many of our employees as possible, I have devised a grade-level reclassification that will provide more meaningful recognition and a salary more commensurate with the responsibilities carried by the clerk and carrier as well as the postmaster charged with keeping the mails running smoothly in Chicago or in our villages and towns scattered throughout our vast land.

We must recall that in addition to the reliance we place on our own local mailman in city or country, we must also rely on the large post offices and the services they perform for every rural route and hamlet resident. It has been brought to my attention that the postmaster of our largest first-class office maintains responsibility for approximately 18,000 employees and boasts 3,000 carrier routes within his jurisdiction.

Clearly, this is big business.

It is this sprawling, vast, and vital communication network that gives us such an awesome challenge to keep current in the face of a booming economy, increasing population, and surging correspondence. It is a business that cannot fail, and a business that cannot allow its employees to work without pride and satisfaction. Every employee—clerk and carrier as well as supervisor—must be dedicated and capable. In the words of an old but perceptive slogan every chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

These proposals seek to strengthen every link. It provides an up-to-date reclassification for key postal employees' positions at various levels. It gives the questionable position the positive slant rather than downgrading it, and computes the amount of work transacted in each office in a more realistic manner. Most important to the individual employee, it gives him greater compensation in recognition of his rapidly increasing letter and package burdens.

I am convinced that enactment of this legislation is a logical, essential, and timely step forward.

AMERICANISM

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, by the kindness of the Right Worshipful J. Milton Brown, secretary of Riverview Lodge No. 306 F. & A.M., Jacksonville, Fla., I have been advised that on February 6, 1967, Riverside Lodge observed Americanism Night. On this occasion, the Rainbow Girls and the DeMolay boys presented and read essays on Americanism which had been prepared for this occasion. All of the essays presented were excellent, but three were adjudged the best of all. One was entitled "America: the Land of Giants," by Toni Donaldson, 2685 Sandra Lane, Jacksonville, Fla., and won first prize. Another, entitled "Americanism," by Brenda Duane, 6933 Cartier Circle, Jacksonville, Fla., won second prize. The third, entitled "Americanism," by Helen Carver of 9164 12th Avenue, Jacksonville, Fla., a student in the eighth grade of Ribault Junior High School, won third prize.

These essays are movingly eloquent and patriotic by these bright young Americans of whom we are very proud.

Mr. Speaker, I commend them to my colleagues and to my countrymen.

AMERICA: THE LAND OF GIANTS

(By Toni Donaldson, Jacksonville, Fla.)

Joe Margarac, hero of the steel industry; John Henery, towering Negro steeldriver, whom tradition has credited with the building of the Big Ben Tunnel. Paul Bunyan, a giant of a man; a hard-working, unpretentious, "ordinary man." John Luther Jones, who became a giant of a legend bearing a pseudonym derived from the name of his home town of Caycee, Tennessee. He was a man of courage and integrity. We remember him as Casey Jones. Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, giants of words, thoughts, and deeds—their memories are perpetuated in the granite of Mount Rushmore. An inhabitant of Bedloe's Island (now known as Liberty Island) in New York Harbor, is our greatest lady giant. She is a citizen of the world given birth in the copper foundries of France and transported to America as a gift-symbol of freedom.

Together they comprise a veritable army of colorful personalities whose collective character is representative of the American image—eager, free-wheeling, inventively creative, self-determining, freedom-loving—fashioned of clay, born out of wanderlust and colonialism, fired in the battles of a revolution for independence, aged and mellowed by the blessing of a common cause: conquest of the vast frontiers. These are persons symbolic of a mighty nation, a nation with mighty good ways.

A *mighty nation?* I do not know. When I look around me and see the status of our local government; when I realize that the majority of our voters, who are deciding the fate of our nation, are unconcerned, uninformed, and disinterested; when I see democracy being overrun by Socialism; when I see our only touch with God, namely prayer, taken from our schools; and the majority suffering because of these few who find it necessary to *protest* against protesting, then I find no alternative but to doubt the greatness of our "mighty nation."

When we speak of America, we generally have visions of a land with majestic mountains, crystal lakes and golden flowered meadows. We think of Americanism as no more than a sophisticated word for patriotism. We think and we visualize, but we do not do and see. Stand up! Be counted! How long has it been since you have sung our national anthem, or saluted Old Glory as it unfurled against the sky? Can you remember the last Independence Day that was celebrated with patriotic songs, cheering, fireworks and speeches?

Remember, ours is a land of plenty, we share our treasures with the rich and poor alike. Ours is a land of beauty, with green valleys and mountains high. Ours is a land of strength! When talking about the Statue of Liberty someone once said:

"This lady is 151 feet tall and weighs 225 tons. Her strength is beyond belief. If you can imagine 186 million people hand in hand all pulling together, that's just how strong she is."

We are all proud to be able to walk beside the great figures of our history. Men and Women who have made our nation a Land of Giants. Now let our children and those of the generations to come have this same pride. Dig deep, get that old Stars and Stripes patriotism! Stand up! Look the world in the eye and say:

"I am an American!"

AMERICANISM

(By Brenda Duane, Jacksonville, Fla.)

"I am an American!" We should be proud to say that. Why? Because to make that little sentence mean anything, took hard work and determination. You should be glad you are an American. I know I am! Because I am an American I have many rights and freedoms people from other countries don't have.

It took many hard fought battles, many innocent peoples' lives, to give me this grand heritage. I am sure that many other battles will be fought and more lives will be taken in preserving this heritage for the generations to come. It is my responsibility to help in every way I can to keep our heritage something to be proud of.

As an American I have more than the people of some other countries can dare dream to have. But they can if they have the courage and determination the early Americans had to get our country started, and the same that the Americans of today have to have to keep it going.

I like to think about the early Americans, the brave men and women who got our country started. It was these men and women who won the respect of the foreign nations for our new nation by their honesty, dignity and determination to make for themselves a new home in a new country. Our nation was born on July 4, 1776. It took hard work, a hunger for freedom and the love and strong belief in God.

One man everyone remembers is George Washington, first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen. It was George Washington, who was honest, kind, trustworthy and who loved and protected his country, that was chosen to be our first president.

If everyone loved and defended the United States the way George Washington and many other Americans did, think of all the problems that we would not have today. We should all try to be like these early pioneers in our feeling toward the United States.

Stephen Decatur, a naval hero in the early 1800's once said in a toast which he is remembered for:

"Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right, but *Our Country, right* or *wrong!*"

To me this best describes how to be a proud American. Decatur said we should be proud of our country and defend her when she is right, and when she is wrong, to be honest and to still be proud because, *"You are an American!"*

AMERICANISM

(By Helen Carver, Jacksonville, Fla.)

The dictionary defines Americanism as an attachment or allegiance to the traditions, interests or ideals of the United States.

The attachment Americans by birth have for their country comes mostly through the teachings of their adult relatives and friends. In school we learn American History. We learn about heroes, frontiersmen, and statesmen. Here we learn to love and appreciate what they have given us. When we get out of school we experience some of the things we have learned.

People who come from other countries usually come to America for our freedom. They have probably learned about our country and the rights we have in America. They too would like the privilege of saying, I am an American. Often in other countries they have to work for something and then allow the government to take it away. Americans can work to improve themselves, in business and in social life without fear of the government interfering.

Americans have freedoms or traditions. The freedom of religion was the first and most important one. This is what the Pilgrims were looking for. Freedom of speech is another. We have the freedom to say what we desire. We may contradict the laws if we wish. Freedom of the press allows us to find out about our elected officials. Freedom of justice is another important one. In America we have laws to protect us and law officers to enforce these laws.

In America, Americans have an interest for each other. The government cares. They have established such things as Medicare and Welfare for older people. Many people care and that is one of the things that makes this country so great.

The Preamble to the Constitution states: We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United

States of America." This is the most important document of the American people and I think it shows true Americanism.

KEY TO AFRICA

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House before it became my privilege to serve on the House Rules Committee, and as an officer and director of a savings and loan association organized during the period between my Senate and House service, I have always been deeply interested in the potential of savings and loan associations for the development of better housing and greater homeownership.

The success of the savings and loan industry in our company is reflected in the high level of individual homeownership among the American people. This is, I believe, the major factor in the stability of our economy and of our democratic society.

I have been anxious to encourage the development of similar savings and loan associations in the underdeveloped countries of the world. During the Easter recess of the Congress I plan to attend an International Conference of Savings and Loan Institutions in Buenos Aires. I have attended similar conferences in the past and I know they contribute very meaningfully to the development of these associations, especially in Latin America.

I was pleased to read, therefore, a very informative article by Mr. Norman VanderClute, Director of the Office of Private Enterprise, the African Bureau of the Agency for International Development which appeared in the March issue of the Journal of the National League of Insured Savings Associations, in which Mr. VanderClute points out the progress which is being made in the development of savings and loan associations in Africa. In order that all of my colleagues may have an opportunity to read this article I request permission to insert it in the Congressional Record as follows:

Key to Africa

(By Norman VanderClute, Director, Office of Private Enterprise, Africa Bureau, A.I.D.)

One of the major concerns of local governments in the developing countries of Africa, is the lack of adequate housing, particularly in the urban areas. Because mortgage funds are generally unavailable in the private market, the expanding population and rural migration to the cities has forced these countries to use scarce government funds to finance home construction and long-term mortgages.

Many of the families that receive mortgage money from the government represent a segment of the middle class (professionals, government employees, skilled workers and entrepreneurs) that would qualify for private enterprise loans, if such sources existed.

AID's Housing Guaranty Program in Africa is an example of one attempt to introduce modern construction techniques which would result in a limited number of homes being built but it is not a long range solution to the housing needs of these countries. Some of the shortcomings of the Housing Guaranty Program are:

1. It does not develop long-term financial institutions to help meet the housing needs for the future;

2. It has a negative short-term effect on the United States balance of payments due to the lack of United States procurement provisions. In fact, procurement of construction materials can and is often being made from third countries benefiting neither the United States nor the underdeveloped countries concerned.

3. The program has an adverse effect on the host country's balance of payments due to the high commercial interest rates, lack of any principal grace period, and the cost of the guarantee fee.

The purpose of this paper is to outline a concept presently under consideration at A.I.D. on the establishment of thrift institutions, modeled after U.S. savings and loan associations, which will mobilize local private capital for construction loans and mortgage financing.

Housing schemes by themselves often result in a drain on the foreign currencies available to governments of developing countries because of the imports required for construction.

However, the large-scale investment by these proposed savings and loans in home mortgage financing will give rise to a peripheral construction industry which, in turn, will contribute to a more favorable net balance of payments by producing items previously imported.

Furthermore, by substituting private savings for government expenditures, the local government will have additional funds available for higher priority economic development projects. Experience in Africa and Latin America has proven that thrift institutions can attract capital for residential construction which would not otherwise be available for productive use.

The private sector's approach to home financing has also found favor with the governments of the countries concerned—a significant change from the government-financed, government-owned, and government-operated approach taken by many African nations just after independence.

A recent conference on housing and house financing held in Lagos, Nigeria, and attended by delegates from some ten African countries, adopted the following policies:

1. Only minimal-standard housing for low-income families should be a concern of government.

2. The governments should eliminate any unnecessary restrictions pertaining to the attraction and mobilization of private capital for housing.

3. Thrift and home-financing institutions of the savings and loan or building society types are the most desirable institutions for the collection of capital which may be used for financing housing for the growing middle-class. In the long run, most of the funds for housing must come from private sources and these institutions seem to be best adapted to the accumulation of such funds for housing. In addition, the education of the public and the desirability of thrift and prudent money management will be of long-range benefit to the populaces.

The Congress of the United States has also recognized the substantial contribution savings and loan type organizations can make. In Section 601 of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended, the Congress declared that:

"It is the policy of the United States to encourage the development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations."

The alternative to establishing mortgage type financial institutions would be to utilize the existing commercial banks or building societies. The problem of using commercial banks for this purpose is that the laws in many of these countries do not provide for commercial banks to make long-term investments in mortgage loans.

Also, most commercial banks are not interested in long-term mortgage loans since consumer and commercial loans are more lucrative.

To reach the maximum level of operations for a new association at the earliest possible date and to insure the success of these newly formed savings and loan associations, A.I.D. wishes to transplant the knowledge and know-how of the savings and loan industry in the U.S. and to enlist their support and technical assistance. To do this, A.I.D. may offer the opportunity to form stock type savings and loan associations or mutuals, if one prefers, with maximum profit incentives and freedom of operations.

A.I.D. recognizes the fact that competent and imaginative management is the key issue in establishing a lasting institution provided that reasonable amount of seed capital is available in the early years.

To provide the catalyst for savings and loan associations, A.I.D. would participate in making seed capital loans/deposits to the proposed associations on a ratable basis in conjunction with the host governments.

The A.I.D. participation which would require correspondent tied procurement with respect to house construction may take the form of a two step loan, utilizing a letter of credit with either the use of a central home loan bank or a direct loan to the individual associations with an agency of the host government to control and regulate the activities of the savings and loan associations.

The possibility of forming and backing a central bank would depend greatly upon the size and market conditions of the country in question.

Without trying to define the exact mechanics of each individual case, the general idea would be to disburse approximately 1 million dollars as the initial contribution of seed capital, with a maximum capital of 3 million dollars as a total contribution from both countries in phase one.

The U.S. share would be sufficient to cover U.S. foreign exchange cost.

Phase two, would be a combined contribution of a maximum of 3 million dollars contingent upon a percentage of capital being attracted by the local savings and loan associations. The first phase of 3 million dollars should easily amortize organization expenses and net operating losses within a period of three years (one year start-up plus two-year operations). The second phase would make available additional U.S.-host government loans/deposits at a set ratio to new private deposits.

In the 1930's the U.S. fostered the establishment and build-up of savings and loan associations by offering a three-to-one ratio of government deposits to private deposits. This, or a similar ratio, could be used by A.I.D. to increase its total participation in any one institution to a limit of 3 million dollars.

To assure continued and orderly growth, to provide for loan flexibility, and to increase confidence among the local depositors, A.I.D. should require that the host government both agree to guaranty all deposits up to a fixed amount (such as the average individual mortgage as is presently the practice in the U.S.) and to provide a stand-by line of credit up to 50% of the savings and loan's total deposits (as is provided in the U.S. by the Federal Home Loan Bank).

These provisions are particularly necessary in Africa because of the unknown and often undeveloped debt-repayment habits and attitudes of the local nationals.

Consistent with A.I.D. purposes and interests, low gross interest spreads should be encouraged so that competitive rates may be paid on deposits and the lowest-possible mortgage rates can be offered to prospective homeowners.

The average U.S. interest spread of 1½%-1¾% for savings and loan institutions is inappropriate for several reasons.

First, the total deposits of the savings and loan would be much smaller in Africa than in the U.S. simply due to the much lower incomes of prospective depositors and homeowners. Expenses are also increased, by the fact that it would take at least five times as many local savings accounts to support a mortgage loan in Africa than in the U.S., and at least three times as many mortgages to produce the income of one U.S. mortgage.

Figures for Peru indicate it takes twenty savings accounts to support one loan versus four accounts in the U.S. and two to three mortgages in Peru to equal one U.S. mortgage. Savings and loan officials in the U.S. believe an even higher ratio would result in Africa.

Organization expenses are also higher and the efficiencies of computers and other labor saving devices are either unavailable or inappropriate.

In actual practice in Latin America, new savings and loan associations operating at a 6% spread have required three years in which to amortize organization expenses, absorb beginning operating losses and arrive at break-even operations.

When these associations accumulated seven or eight million dollars in capital, they were generally able to operate with a spread of 4% or less.

The U.S. Home Loan Bank during the 1930's actually encouraged what today we classify as a conflict of interest.

Builders, real estate brokers, insurance brokers, etc., were the only ones interested in the savings and loan associations and we would anticipate that this would be the case presently in the developing African countries.

Although freedom of operations and the profit incentive are prime prerequisites for inducing U.S. sponsors to invest, A.I.D. would insist on reasonable controls. One of these would be to insure an "arms length relationship" between the association and the U.S. sponsor in the event that the sponsor also owns stock in a company applying for construction loans.

In any event A.I.D. would have to assure itself that the management of the savings and loans was both competent and committed. To enforce this, A.I.D. would require its approval of the investor's management plans as a condition precedent to loan disbursement.

Assuming that the U.S. sponsor did plan to invest in construction or if the organizers were host nationals, A.I.D. would insist on a management contract with an organization experienced in running savings and loans in the U.S. This organization would be required to demonstrate both a depth of personnel talent and sufficient back-stopping ability to perform work in a professional manner over a continued period.

As a means of assessing this ability, A.I.D. could ask for submission of tentative plans by the management organization of such items as how it intended to attract savings, assure efficient operations and train local employees.

A.I.D. is looking to the American savings and loan community for advice as to whether the concept presently under consideration makes sense; which elements of the concept need revision, or removal, and also what considerations have been overlooked. Having developed a program with the help of the American savings and loan community, we are hopeful that members of this community will wish to join with us in assisting in the development of a savings and loan organization in Africa. A.I.D. is particularly hopeful that the American savings and loan institutions will be willing to assist in the provision of management to the newly formed savings and loan organizations in Africa, and that the industry will wish to participate in the ownership of these savings and loan organizations.

CONTRIBUTION TO DEMOCRATIC PARTY FUND

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on February 28, 1967, I received a letter from a fellow by the name of John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, requesting funds for support of the Democratic Party.

The letter referred to follows:

Democratic National Committee,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1967.

Silvio O. Conte,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Fellow-American: Will you back your political beliefs with money?

Fifteen weeks ago, when some great Democratic candidates went down to defeat, some of your more deeply-felt political beliefs were probably beaten down, too. Many people whose candidate did not win were shaken by that loss. Some, who had devoted much effort to the campaign, still feel it quite personally.

You cannot alter the verdict of the November elections of 1966, but you can do something, starting now, to begin setting matters right.

You surely know that a key part in any political battle is played by the countless citizens who work for the candidate they believe in . . . and for the party they believe in.

If the Conte name was among the Democratic supporters last November, I offer you our thanks. Your help contributes to the good health of our country's political system, for public-spirited support is the very life blood of our party organization.

That is why the Democratic Party needs your support now, to strengthen its activities at a time when the opposition (which outspent us nationally $7 to $4) would like to surge into the lead. We cannot draw on the "wealth in depth" that is available to the GOP. Instead, we must ask for a few dollars from the many—from sensitive, loyal Americans like you.

If you believe in the Party of the People, you can support its ideals by enrolling as a Sustaining Member now. Please mail your contribution today in the enclosed pre-addressed envelope. Your gift will strengthen the voice of the Democratic Party. If that's where your political beliefs lie, Fellow-American, I hope you'll back them now.

Sincerely,

John M. Bailey,
Chairman.

This day I answered Mr. Bailey as follows:

Mr. John M. Bailey,
Chairman, Democratic National Committee,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bailey: I want to express my sincere gratitude for the high honor and flattering opportunity you have accorded me by inviting me to contribute to the Democratic Party campaign fund. I am deeply impressed that you have apparently read some of my speeches over the years in which I have stressed the vital importance of a sound, well balanced, two party system in the United States.

I have shown your letter to a number of my fellow Republicans and they, too, are highly impressed. One of the more visionary of our number even went so far as to suggest that your letter may represent the humble beginnings of a new era of political ecumenism in America. To which the rest of us could only add a solemn, "Amen."

On the balance, however, after reviewing our relationship over the years, I find I must respectfully and regretfully decline your gracious invitation. In all candor, I find that, in spite of my commitment to a sound two party system, the Democratic Party has been somewhat niggardly in rendering financial assistance to me in my own campaigns. As a matter of fact, outside of a handful of cheap cigars which I was able to cadge several years ago from a Democratic ward chairman who didn't know that I was a Republican, I cannot recall a single instance in which the Democratic Party has offered material support of any kind.

Nevertheless, I am deeply grateful for your thoughtfulness and generosity in offering me this opportunity. With sincere best wishes and highest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Silvio O. Conte,
Member of Congress.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONTE. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I have heard two or three of my Republican friends comment on the floor about receiving a letter. I enjoyed very much their comments because many months ago I received a letter from the chairman of the Republican National Committee. I knew he made a mistake. I felt highly honored. I was almost inclined to send him a dollar—I was—not in any derogatory sense, but appreciating the humor of it, and appreciating that mistakes might be made, and because of my profound respect for the two-party system.

The purpose of my observation on this occasion is to call attention to the fact that letters were received by Democrats from the chairman of the Republican National Committee. I was one of them. As I have heretofore stated, I felt pleased. I realized that it was a mistake, and I did not take the floor and make any comment about it.

Mr. CONTE. If the honorable Speaker will permit me, I stated in my opening remarks—and I echo every word the Speaker has said—that I feel highly honored also at the flattering opportunity. Unfortunately, I just do not have the funds to spread out to the Democratic National Party. Knowing the Speaker and his great wealth—not only his great material wealth, but his great wealth of wisdom and understanding—I believe it was very wise of the Republicans to write to the distinguished Speaker for a contribution from his ample resources in both categories.

Mr. McCORMACK. Might I say, Mr. Speaker, the most pertinent part of my few observations was that I did not take the floor to make any comment about it.

Mr CONTE. Well, Mr. Speaker, it was a very slow day and I thought I would occupy a few minutes in the hope that the President's message will come in. I was trying to cooperate.

Mr. McCORMACK. It was all done in good humor?

Mr. CONTE. It was all certainly intended in good humor, as far as I am concerned, and I had no other purpose or motive.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONTE. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I believe the gentleman from Massachusetts and the Speaker both made a mistake. I will be glad to provide a dollar just so we can keep the gentleman's name on the list so that we can see what is going on all the time.

CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. HECKLER], is recognized for 30 minutes.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of this special order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. As a new Member of this body, Mr. Speaker, and very junior in status, I would be reluctant to speak out on the national issues requiring subtle judgment until I absorbed more of the great tutelage available in the House of Representatives. However, there are issues of national significance which are so compelling in themselves and by the force of public opinion behind them that even the most junior among us can speak out, and must, should the occasion arise.

It is in this regard that I wish to speak today, not as the author of complex legislation. This I will gladly relieve myself of, and rather allow the opportunity for that, the authorship of legislation, to be the prerogative of those more experienced than I.

However, Mr. Speaker, I come before the House today in the role of a spur to necessary legislation which this Congress should enact—the passage of legislation regarding congressional ethics.

It is my sincere belief that there is no more important issue before this Congress than the one we are now discussing. That issue is the laying down of the highest standards of behavior for the membership of Congress, the continuing enforcement of these standards by consistent and objective methods, and the resulting growth in confidence and trust on the part of a concerned citizenry and a watching world.

For how can a people place unqualified reliance on this body to deal with the hard questions of national order, and the harder questions of international disorder, when the Congress appears reluctant or even hostile to dealing with the question of disciplining itself?

How can we summon our youth—and many members of that group are present in the Chamber today—to the uncertainties of fighting today's battles—how can we call our people to the insecurity of meeting tomorrow's challenges—when we are less than resolute ourselves in answering the summons of a battle for integrity, or in hearing the call of a challenge to our honor?

And honor is the key, Mr. Speaker, honor is the key. The very legislative forum in which we now exchange our views, is many times referred to as "this honorable body." And indeed it is honorable—honor in its traditions has been earned—honor in its membership—and honor in its expectations. Why then is this honor not reflected in the image of Congress that is growing in our land?

No literate person can ignore the increasing number of editorials, columns and cartoons that bespeak—and in none too subtle a way—disillusionment with, if not contempt for, the conduct of the Congress itself in the area of ethical standards.

No Member of Congress can afford to ignore this growing disenchantment of our people with their national legislature. At a time when public confidence in the Nation's leadership can hardly be described as overwhelming, it is more than disconcerting to find a spreading popular cynicism about the Congress itself.

Here in this House of Congress are those elected participants in Federal affairs who are closest to the people and most truly attuned to their needs and representative of their interests.

What is the greatest public need, Mr. Speaker? It is the need of our people to stand at the foot of the Capitol and to know that, although its aging dome may crumble into dust, the honor of those beneath it is not likewise decaying.

What is the public interest, Mr. Speaker? It is the interest of our people in relying on a Congress which, composed of individual humans with particular strengths and weaknesses, is strong enough to legislate leadership.

For how else can our people trust the Congress with the security of the country? How else can a world look to the Congress to help guarantee the survival of civilization?

The people do not expect unreasonably. If they did, there are surely more than a few of us who would not be eligible to participate here today. Members of Congress are people, chosen from among the ranks of the people themselves. But the point is, Mr. Speaker, we have been chosen—and that places special demands on us—and imposes sacred trusts. These are reasonable demands—and they must be reasonably met.

The people do not expect miracles. Congress, because it is of, by and for the people, can never be a fraternity of angelic spirits. Nor, from the shortage of distaff members alone can it expect to become a sorority of Caesar's wives—all above reproach.

But the Congress can and must be the repository of national trust and the receptacle of national confidence. How can that faith in Congress be developed among the people?

All that the country is asking from the Congress is that its Members acknowledge the special responsibilities of public trust. Their private acts within the area of public responsibility should be open to inquiry and inspection.

In short, Members of Congress could go on being "people" and not "goldfish in a bowl"—at least no more "goldfish" than they have already chosen to be by entering the aquarium of politics.

It is said, Mr. Speaker, that giving the conduct of the Members of Congress such a public nature will open the way to the calling of a witch hunt. And yet I can think of no more effective way to thwart the hunters than to open one's broom closet to full inspection.

Mr. Speaker, there are only 535 Members in the House of this Congress. But they speak with the voice of 200 million. It is us, then, Members of Congress, to whom the honor has been given. They expect honor from those whom they have elected to this honorable body. Let us, by the stern demands of our collective conscience, and the uncompromising adherence of our own individual integrity, add honor in our service to the honor that is already ours.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I wish to yield to the distinguished ranking minority member on the Committee on Government Operations and my leader on that committee, the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER].

Mrs. DWYER. I thank the gentlewoman from Massachusetts for yielding to me at this time.

Mr. Speaker, although the House has now voted to exclude our former colleague, as punishment for his official misconduct, the House has not—as some have suggested—"redeemed itself."

It would be self-deception of the worst kind if we allowed ourselves to believe that by depriving one man of his seat in Congress we have guaranteed the integrity of this body or restored the faith of the American people in representative government. And if, by failing to take additional and more effective steps toward the objective of enforceable ethical standards, we give the impression that these are now unnecessary, then we should be guilty of trying to deceive the people we represent.

Neither form of deception, Mr. Speaker, would befit us—whether collectively as a lawmaking body of unexcelled authority, or individually as public officials who have sought and accepted the public trust and responsibility with all its consequences. In our own best interests and those of the people we represent and the institution of which we are a part, we have no alternative but to move ahead and enact the kind of reforms that will make us fully accountable. It is too late for gestures or for half-measures. We must do the job right, or not at all.

In this respect, Mr. Speaker, I believe it is important to place in proper perspective the action of the House last Wednesday in approving funds for the Committee on House Administration. Although this action was widely interpreted as indicating that the House had decided to rely on the committee as presently constituted as its agent in the field of ethics, rather than to establish a select committee and adopt related proposals for this purpose, I do not think the record supports this interpretation.

The resolution adopted by the House

was completely routine. It simply provided the funds necessary for the conduct of investigations, studies, and other activities which already come within the jurisdiction of the committee. It conferred no new jurisdiction on the Committee on House Administration. It did not, in any way, inhibit the Committee on Rules from considering legislation to create a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct and recommending to the House whatever combination of jurisdiction and powers it believes is necessary. Nor did it preclude the House from determining, in the final analysis, and for itself, just what it wants to do in this area.

On the other hand, by establishing a new subcommittee—or renaming an old one—on ethics and contracts, the Committee on House Administration undoubtedly signaled its intention to bid for at least a part of whatever new authority in the field of ethics the House may see fit to assign. If this was, in fact, the committee's intention, it acted clearly within its right. The committee presently has jurisdiction, under the Rules of the House, over several matters of direct relevance to the conduct of Members: appropriations from and expenditures of the contingent fund; the auditing of accounts charged to the contingent fund and measures relating to accounts of the House generally; the employment of persons by Members and committees; and the measures relating to the travel of Members.

In my own judgment, Mr. Speaker, this area of jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration not only should be retained but should be strengthened and expanded. Since recent experience demonstrates that part of the ethical problem confronting the Congress involves the misuse of funds in one or more of the accounts maintained for the House: stationery, clerk-hire, committee payrolls, travel, and the like, it would seem to me that the House should take steps to assure that the jurisdiction of its Committee on House Administration is broad enough to require regular, independent audits of all the accounts and expenditures of the official funds of the House. The Comptroller General, presumably, would be in the best position to do the actual auditing subject to the direction and supervision of the committee.

This is just one of the things the House should do, Mr. Speaker, in its effort to restore public confidence in the integrity of the legislative branch. There are many others. In common with many of our colleagues, I have long been convinced of the need for systematic, enforceable standards and procedures which can equip this body to deal with any misconduct in its midst. I testified to this effect before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, and I shared the disappointment of many when that committee limited its recommendations in this area to the single proposal that the House establish a Committee on Standards and Conduct.

Late in the 89th Congress, as our colleagues recall, the House did establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. But the committee was not given the time, the resources or the authority to do an effective job. Indeed, the committee found it impossible even to conclude its one assigned responsibility: to recommend additional rules or regulations to insure proper standards of conduct. To date, of course, the select committee has not been reconstituted by the 90th Congress.

Since the beginning of the year, Mr. Speaker, I have conducted an intensive restudy of this entire field—reviewing the existing inadequate statutes, analyzing past proposals for reform, and contrasting the conflict-of-interest regulations and standards of ethical conduct which govern officials of the executive branch with the virtual absence of effective standards and regulations governing the Congress.

As a result of this review, I am more convinced than ever that any ethics program which the House might adopt will be deficient unless it includes three main features:

First, it must provide for full disclosure, so that Congress and the people will have access to the facts of what is being dône and how its money is being used.

Second, it must establish specific standards of behavior and prohibit the violation of these standards.

And third, it must be enforceable, on a regular, continuing, and systematic basis.

Each of these features, Mr. Speaker, will reinforce the others. Without any one of them, the whole will be inadequate. Disclosure alone, for example, may lead nowhere unless there are standards against which to measure the facts which are disclosed. Likewise, standards by themselves can be meaningless unless we have the capacity to determine when they are being abused. And, finally, unless there is assurance that punitive action of some kind will follow from proven violations, then the restraining influence of both standards and disclosure will be gravely weakened.

Acting on these assumptions, I have prepared an ethics program which I believe will go a long way toward establishing the procedures, standards, and conditions under which the House can exercise effective supervision of the behavior of its own Members—a responsibility which it cannot delegate to others and which it must not refuse.

The principal elements in my program, Mr. Speaker, include the following:

First. Public disclosure of all income, including identification of sources, gifts of more than nominal value, assets, liabilities, and transactions in real and personal property and commodities by all Members of the House and Senate, candidates for the House and Senate, top congressional staff employees and higher-ranking officials of the executive branch, in annual reports filed with the Comptroller General which shall be available to the public and the press.

Second. Public disclosure, as part of the published record of each case, of all communications or contacts with administrative agencies by Members of Congress or others outside the agency in connection with contract awards, licenses, grants of authority, et cetera.

Third. Public disclosure, through audits conducted by the Comptroller General under the supervision of the Committee on House Administration, of all spending of appropriated funds by Members, committees, and officers of the House from all accounts maintained by the House including those for salaries, expenses, travel, clerk-hire, et cetera.

Fourth. Adoption of an interim code of ethics for the guidance of Members, officers and employees of the House pending approval of a more comprehensive code.

Fifth. Establishment of a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct composed of 10 members which shall have authority to (a) investigate allegations of improper conduct, (b) recommend disciplinary action to the House, (c) report violations of law to appropriate Federal and State authorities, (d) recommend to the House changes or additions to its rules and regulations with respect to standards of conduct, (e) render advisory opinions on ethical questions upon request, (f) conduct a thorough study of existing conflict-of-interest statutes applicable to the legislative branch and determine how they should be strengthened, and (g) recommend a comprehensive, specific, and enforceable code of ethics.

Sixth. Provision of stricter controls over expenditures by Members of Congress or employees traveling outside the United States.

Seventh. Prohibition of the use of contributions to Members of Congress for personal purposes.

Eighth. Prohibition of the employment of relatives on congressional payrolls and the requirement that all employees regularly attend and perform the duties for which they were employed.

Ninth. Provision of appropriate penalties for violations of the above.

I recognize, Mr. Speaker, that not all our colleagues will agree that all the provisions I have mentioned are necessary. There will be disagreement about the ways and means of accomplishing what I hope is the common objective of all of us, the revival of confidence in the Congress. I for one shall welcome such debate—so long as we can be assured effective action will follow.

We cannot go on much longer as though we were oblivious to the mounting criticism of Congress, to the loss of prestige, to the periodic scandals that reach out and touch us all, and to the demands from every side that we put this House in order.

I am amazed that our people have been so patient, Mr. Speaker. They are, after all, the ones to whom we must account, the source of our funds and our authority. The Congress has given them too many reasons to wonder and doubt; we have stretched their patience to the breaking point. We would be wise, I suggest, if we get about our business.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentlewoman from New Jersey for giving us the benefit of her very penetrating analysis of the need for present legislation, and her specific reform measure. It is obvious from her distinguished career in the House of Representatives that her proposals carry the weight of experience.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentlewoman from the State of Washington, our distinguished expert on the Committee on Agriculture [Mrs. MAY].

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts [Mrs. HECKLER]. I also commend her for taking this time to discuss what I agree is a tremendously important national issue.

Mr. Speaker, I would commend both of my colleagues who have spoken previously for a well presented and well articulated presentation of all of the facets of this issue. I would just rise to indicate my agreement with their remarks, and to go on record in support of the pending resolutions before the Committee on Rules which would reestablish a select committee of the House of Representatives to be known as the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

Mr. Speaker, my bill, House Resolution 71, was introduced the opening day of the new Congress, January 10, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, I would say, as we have all pointed out here so far today, public office is a public trust. I am sure that most Members of Congress recognize this by maintaining the highest standards of personal conduct. They recognize that the office a public servant holds belongs not to that individual but to the Nation, or to their State, as the case may be.

One of the greatest concerns which we all share is the damage done to the public image of the Congress by the questionable practices, intentional or unintentional, of a few. These actions of the few have quite understandably resulted in a great public indignation, and if we neglect what I consider to be the real problem—a need to tighten up congressional standards and procedures out of which abuse of public office tends to grow—the public would have the right to be even more indignant.

Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER], has commented that a committee similar to the one proposed in the pending resolutions was created in the waning days of the last Congress. I was privileged to have been appointed to serve on that select committee which, as we all know, was able to hold only two meetings. It was recognized during the discussion in those two meetings that the creation of that select committee came far too late in the year to make time sufficient to carry out the responsibilities with which it was charged.

However, I would like to comment that in those two meetings we held, and in which I was privileged to participate, we discussed many of the things that have been discussed on this floor today—how best to set up an objective, efficient, and really judicious committee, and what fields we should go into.

Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Massachusetts did in her remarks refer to the fact that there have been some fears expressed about this committee becoming a body to foster a witch hunt. I would like to carry her thinking and her criticism a little further. There is a very important other side to this coin. This committee could also have as one of its very important functions that of protection of the honest people against malicious, irresponsible charges that might be brought in an attempt to embarrass them or to distort the picture. I think it is just as important in this way that the Members of this distinguished body be protected from those individuals or groups who might use a technique of an irresponsible charge in an attempt to influence the outcome of an election or the honesty or the integrity of one of our colleagues.

I have high hope, Mr. Speaker, that this new legislation to create a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct will meet with swift approval. It may not be as much as we should do, but certainly it is the least we can do in these times.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. HECKLER], for yielding me this time.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentlewoman from the State of Washington [Mrs. MAY] for her very penetrating comments. Her remarks certainly reach the heart of the problem. I feel she has made a very important contribution as a result of the experience she has had as a member of the committee in the previous Congress which only held two sessions on the subject of ethical conduct.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentlewoman from the State of Illinois [Mrs. REID] who is a member of the Committee on Appropriations and in whom I have great confidence and hope since she, together with others, controls the "purse strings" of the Congress.

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join with my colleagues in the House in this discussion on the need for adequate standards of conduct and ethics for Members of Congress and I would like, at this time to commend the gentlewoman from Massachusetts for the positive stand which she has taken on this issue.

Certainly the events of the past year, and particularly those of the past few months, have focused much nationwide attention on the public image of Congress; and this is a matter which for good reason should cause all of us a great deal of concern. When we talk about the public image of Congress, it seems to me that there are three broad areas to be considered—the structural organization of the House and Senate, their combined functions as a legislative body, and the ethical practices of those who make up these two Houses.

During the past several years, a great deal of worthwhile study has been devoted to the first two areas—the structural organzation and functions of Congress. As we know, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress has conducted exhaustive studies in the field, the House Minority Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing has submitted its proposals, and there have also been excellent studies made by various groups in the academic world. Last Tuesday, the Senate overwhelmingly passed the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967, which is tangible evidence of the progress being made toward remedying some of the inadequacies and reforming some of the outdated procedures in the Congress which have been the subject of public criticism for some time.

To, me however, no matter how much we modernize the Congress—no matter how much we reorganize to expedite the legislative process to make it more responsive to the plethora of public problems which confront each session—the public image of Congress will continue to suffer until we forthrightly face the question of ethics and standards. By our own inaction in this important area, Members of both Houses tacitly condone unethical conduct, however infrequent, which may occur among our membership—and such inaction can only serve to continue to cast suspicion on the integrity of all Members and adversely affect the vital quality of public confidence in the people's representatives.

Let me say here and now that I honestly and sincerely think that the great majority of the Members of this Congress are as honorable men and women as you can find. I have no patience with those who decry the prevalence of dishonesty and graft on Capitol Hill because I sincerely believe this is not true. The point I want to make, however, is that in my judgment the public will never be satisfied that the overwhelming majority are honest and decent unless we are willing to prescribe realistic rules to deal with unethical behavior among the very few colleagues involved. Not only will the public not be satisfied to settle for less, they have a right to expect as much.

For this reason, on January 19 I introduced House Resolution 162 to establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct in the House of Representatives. My bill provides for a select committee having a bipartisan membership of six majority and six minority Members to be appointed by the Speaker. It would be the duty of the committee to recommend to the House appropriate rules and regulations to insure proper standards of conduct by Members, officers, and employees of this body in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities. Furthermore, the committee would have the authority to report by a majority vote, violations of any law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

Such a select committee would also have the power to investigate any violations by Members, officers, or employees of the House of any standards of conduct established by the House or already in effect. This investigation would be made upon receipt by the committee of a complaint, in writing and under oath, made by or submitted to a Member of the House and transmitted to the committee by such Member. Upon the completion of the investigation, the committee may recommend appropriate resolutions of censure for its consideration and action thereon.

I would be the first to concede that my bill may not provide the perfect panacea to deal with this problem, but I feel that all the various legislative proposals introduced thus far, even though they may differ in content and approach, have one outstanding feature in common—

they propose action—and this I think is what the public wants. Furthermore, I feel that an established select committee, if properly constituted and administered, would inspire far greater public confidence than a continuation of the policy of appointing an ad hoc committee to investigate improper activities by any Member as the need arises. We cannot escape the fact that under the Constitution, the House has the specific responsibility of judging the qualifications of Members to sit in this body—and by the same token, I believe we have the corresponding responsibility for insisting upon the highest standards of conduct in the exercise of their official duties after they are seated. Unless we do this, we find ourselves in the untennable position of demanding higher standards from others in Government than from the people's representatives themselves. We are in effect setting up a double standard—and under these circumstances, public indignation is readily understandable. Standards of conduct should apply equally to the executive and legislative branches—and the very existence of a Select Committee on Conduct and Standards would have a salutory effect on the public image of Congress. If this image is deteriorating, as some contend, then we who serve in this body have only ourselves to blame for the absence of remedial action.

In this context, it was most encouraging that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 which passed the Senate recently does provide for the establishment of a Select Committee on Conduct and Standards for the House of Representatives. It is encouraging, too, that the Committee on Rules has initiated hearings on the many bills already pending in the House to authorize such a committee. It is my hope that this important issue can be resolved in the near future.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. I wish to thank the gentlewoman from the State of Illinois for her very important and specific contribution to our proposals today. The Congresswomen who have joined with me—the distinguished Congresswomen from New Jersey and from the State of Washington, and our last speaker, the Congresswoman from Illinois—have been very gracious in joining me to underscore our commitment to integrity in public office.

I have acted merely as their spur. They have offered the substance from the proposals in the legislation which they have suggested based upon their experience in Congress, and it is a distinct privilege for me to join with them in underscoring our commitment to this important public cause.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I should like to comment that it is very obvious the distaff side of the Republican Members of Congress have really organized and are moving in the right direction. I wish to compliment them.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. I thank the gentleman for his gracious compliment.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the remainder of my time.

SECURITY COUNCIL IS AT FAULT OVER RHODESIAN ISSUE

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. YOUNGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the publication, "Rhodesian Commentary" has two articles which are very enlightening relative to the compulsory sanctions which the United Nations Security Council is imposing on Rhodesia. It does seem as though the Security Council has violated one of its basic precepts in taking action against an organization without giving them an opportunity to be heard.

The first article is in regard to the hearing and the second article relates to the lost telegram which the U.N. says they never received from Rhodesia, asking for a hearing.

It is extremely unfortunate that we find our Government being a party to this kind of undemocratic procedure.

The two articles follow:

THE STORY OF THE LOST TELEGRAM

The perfidy of the U.N. Secretariat General is revealed in its performance over the request from the Rhodesian Government to be heard by the Security Council.

Only when it was found necessary for the British Foreign Secretary himself to blame the inefficiency of the U.N. Secretariat for an untruthful reply given by his fellow Minister, Mrs. Eirene White, to a question raised in the House of Commons, did the Secretariat consider it advisable to process the telegrams received from Rhodesia.

The telegrams were not in fact the beginning of the story.

Rhodesia's efforts to be heard by the Security Council began in April, 1966, when its telegrams to New York were acknowledged by U Thant by presenting copies to the Security Council and informing the Members that he did not intend to reply to them.

On June 15, 1966, Rhodesia addressed respectful letters to the Secretary General, the President and each member of the Security Council in which a well-documented case was presented of Rhodesia's right to be heard.

REQUEST RENEWED

On December 7, 1966, and prior to the opening of the Security Council debate on Rhodesia, telegrams were addressed to the same addressees drawing attention to the earlier written communication of June 15 and renewing the request to be heard. Proof has been obtained that the telegram to the President of the Council was received at 6.12 p.m. on December 7.

On December 19, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. E. White, replied to a question in the House of Commons: "Neither the President of the Security Council nor the U.N. Secretariat have received a request for a representative of the Smith regime to participate in the Council's current discussions on Rhodesia. The question of how the Council should deal with any such request has therefore, not arisen".

The conspicuous falseness of this statement has provoked the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. George Brown, to write, inter alia, on January 30:—

"Mrs. White's reply on December 19 reproduced the information available to us on that date, after the Mission in New York had, at our request, made enquiries in the U.N.

"We, too, were surprised that neither the President of the Council nor the Secretary General had by their own account received this telegram, of whose existence we were aware, and the Mission were therefore instructed to pursue their inquiries.

TELEGRAM FOUND

"On December 29 the U.N. Secretariat informed our Mission that they had found the telegram, which had evidently been mislaid in the Secretariat, and that they were putting it before the President of the Security Council (the Uruguayan Permanent Representative).

"On December 30, the latter circulated the telegram to all Members of the Security Council under cover of a note which explained that owing to a regrettable misunderstanding, the telegram had only been made available to the Office of the President of the Council on December 29, when it was at once brought to the attention of the President."

On January 31, a U.N. spokesman admitted in a Press statement that a Rhodesian request to be heard by the Security Council when it discussed sanctions against the "Ian Smith regime last December had simply been mislaid".

He also admitted the telegram had been delivered to the individual members of the Council directly by the commercial cable company, at the time it was first received by the Secretariat.

"Only the original addressed to the President of the Council had been misplaced he added, and the Council Members were told on December 29 that its circulation by the U.N. had "inadvertently been delayed".

A RIGHT

So rests at present Rhodesia's endeavours to seek the simple and fundamental right of any individual, let alone a community of over four million, to be heard—a right to ably expressed by U Thant himself when Communist China and North Vietnam were under discussion by the Security Council.

On that occasison he observed: "Of course my attitude regarding Security Council involvement is guided by one single consideration: if the Security Council has to take any action on any dispute, the first prerequisite is that it must be in a position to hear both sides of the question: this is a must".

SECURITY COUNCIL IS AT FAULT OVER RHODESIAN ISSUE—CONDEMNED WITHOUT HEARING

One of the aspects of Britain's action in submitting the Rhodesian case to the United Nations which is becoming increasingly clear to people throughout the world, is that Rhodesia was condemned by the Security Council without having a hearing, in spite of the fact that under the U.N. Charter it was obligatory on the Security Council to give Rhodesia a hearing.

The Security Council should have gone through the process of attempting to reconcile the differences between Britain and Rhodesia before applying mandatory sanctions.

Great play has been made of the fact that Rhodesia's application for a hearing did not reach the Security Council in time. This is disputed by Rhodesia, but whatever the merits of the case, it is clear that there was a responsibility on the Security Council to invite Rhodesia to present its case, whether or not it had received an application from Rhodesia to do so.

Last year Rhodesia sent a document to all members of the U.N., setting out Rhodesia's claim for a hearing, and this document has been released by the Ministry of External Affairs.

OVERRULED

The document points out that at the time of the Netherlands dispute with Indonesia, while the Netherlands, U.K. and France opposed the proposal that Indonesia should be given a hearing on the grounds that it was not a full sovereign state, they were overruled and the motion to invite the Indonesian Republic representatives to the Security Council was carried despite the votes against by the U.K., France and Belgium.

Some of the points made by delegates during the discussion which took place on the Indonesian case are given.

Australia's U.N. delegate, Col. Hodgson, said: "There is no provision in the Charter stipulating that, in order to appear before the Council a State must be sovereign . . . this is a case where we have to act with a sense of fair play.

"We have heard one side of the case, surely we are entitled to hear the other."

Mr. Johnson, the U.S. delegate, said: "I find no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the representatives of Indonesia should be invited to the Council table . . . Article 32 referred to States but the plain intent of that Article and of the authors of the Charter was that justice should be done to both parties to a dispute by ensuring that, in cases where more than one State, or one group, or one interest is involved, both parties to the dispute . . . should have a chance to present their views . . ."

Mr. Gromyko, the Russian delegate, said: "I think the Council would be acting unjustly if it refused the legitimate request of the Government of the Indonesian Republic and if it did not allow (their) . . . representatives . . . to participate in our discussion."

TRADITION AND PRACTICE

At the time of the Korean conflict, Mr. Malik, the Russian delegate, when, expressly stating that he was acting under Article 32, said: "When considering questions of peaceful settlement, it is the practice of the Council as a rule to invite both parties involved in the hostilities to participate in the consideration and discussion of such questions; that is the tradition and the practice established in the Council.

"It was followed in the consideration of the Palestine question, the question of Indonesia and a number of others.

"Moreover, as is known, both parties were invited regardless of whether or not they were members of the U.N. and whether or not they have been recognised by all members of the Council.

"There have been cases where representatives of parties that are neither governments, nor states, were invited to participate in consideration of such questions . . ."

The document issued in Rhodesia says it would appear that Rhodesia *must* be invited to attend as clearly the "opposite number" in the dispute with the U.K., and it quotes precedence to establish that Rhodesia should not even have had to apply for a hearing by the Security Council.

It points out that during the discussion of the Corfu Channel dispute between the U.K. and Albania, the President of the Council, the Australian delegate, said: ". . . there would seem to be an obligation on the Council to invite Albania to participate in the discussion . . ."

He later commented: "The Council has invited the Albanian Government to participate in the discussion of the complaint brought against it; that is only fair and it is a procedure which is enjoyed by the Charter. The obligation of the Council . . . as required by the dictates of common justice, is to issue the invitation and give the Albanian Government a reasonable opportunity to be represented."

During the discussion of the Indonesian dispute, the Syrian President of the Council said, with reference to Article 32: "There is no necessity for a special application to be made by the nation which is not a Member if it is a party to the dispute under consideration. The Security Council is bound to invite such a State to participate, even if it does not apply for participation."

During the discusion of the Vietnam dispute the American delegate, Mr. Stevenson, said quoting Article 32: ". . . I should think it necessary to observe that if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam wishes to take part in the meetings of the Security Council, it will be the obligation—I repeat, the obligation—of the Council, in accordance with the Article I have just quoted, to invite forthwith representatives of that country at once, to take part in the Council's work."

The French representative, M. Seydoux, agreed.

The Rhodesian document claims that Britain could not veto Rhodesia's representation at the Council, because this was a procedural matter on which the veto could not be used.

In another article in this issue which deals with the "lost" telegram, it is pointed out that U Thant himself had clearly established Rhodesia's right to be heard when he commented on the Vietnam dispute. He said that if the Security Council has to take any action on any dispute, the first *prima facie* is that it must be in a position to hear both sides of the question.

BUILDING CODE REFORM

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, a little over a year ago the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations made a series of recommendations to the Federal, State, and local governments for modernizing and updating building codes. The Commission's report, "Building Codes: A Program for Intergovernmental Reform," has focused upon some of the critical problem areas in the field of building codes and has stimulated a good deal of discussion among public officials and leaders in the building industry.

Last summer I called my colleagues' attention to the policy statements adopted by two major organizations of public officials—the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Association of Counties—concerning building code reform.

More recently, a number of articles dealing with the Commission's recommendations have been published. An excellent appraisal of some of the Commission's recommendations appeared in the November 24, 1966, issue of the Engineering News-Record. The editors of this publication have performed a public service in bringing their expert opinion of the building code situation to the attention of their readers.

The text of the editorial follows:

ARCHAIC, CHAOTIC BUILDING CODES IMPEDE CONSTRUCTION TECHNOLOGY

In a thick volume entitled 1967 State Legislative Program, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), has made several controversial recommendations designed to accelerate building code modernization, to encourage uniformity, and to improve the quality of building department personnel. ACIR urges the drafting of a model national building code and promulgation of state and model codes, based insofar as possible, on the national model code. To strengthen construction's perennially weakest link, inspection, ACIR recommends state licensing of inspectors.

As a high-level group comprising representatives from federal, state, and local governments, ACIR is considered important enough to cause concern among opponents of its proposals. Early this year the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, prodded by members who produce building materials, began mobilizing its dormant Construction Industry Advisory Committee to fight the national code proposal and other "threats" in the ACIR report.

IN DIVERSITY, STRENGTH?

Some of the familar protests greeting these proposals come, of course, from the various owners of oxen that might be gored. Dissenters on the ACIR itself raise the specter of dictation by higher governmental authority—city officials fearing domination by state government, state officials fearing domination by the federal government. There are also less partisan objections, conservative views that, whatever shortcomings exist in our present system, things will get worse if the ACIR's proposals are accepted.

The idea of a national building code inspires the most fear and suspicion among ACIR's opponents. The specter of a "federal takeover," a central government dictation to states and municipalities, lurks behind this suspicion. If we have a national building code, promulgated for voluntary adoption by state and local governments, we risk—these opponents claim—anything from totalitarian control to stultification of building technology.

Some opponents press the argument that code diversity promotes free enterprise; that the myriad code-writing bodies, by sharpening competition, somehow help the manufacturers contending for approval of products. They claim that code chaos at least precludes the rule of one strike and you're out.

Transplanted to major-league baseball, this argument would have the suppliers of baseball equipment supporting individual rules for each city instead of uniform league rules. Each manufacturer could then compete more vigorously for acceptance of his products by the hometown club and the umpires. In Dodger Stadium the regulations might permit plank-sized bats, and baskets for outfielders.

THE PRICE OF CHAOS

Building codes, of course, are only one obstacle to technological progress in building, but they are basic and insidious. The more obviously ridiculous provisions that needlessly raise costs, generate red tape, and harass designers and builders are only the visible handicaps. But the potential innovations that die premature deaths in the minds of designers, contractors or manufacturers who are discouraged from trying them are incalculable. If we could focus efforts largely dissipated in repetitive investigations endlessly reenacted by individual city, state and even national code-writing bodies into a concentrated national effort, we could make great improvements in our codes.

Notwithstanding the disclaimers by defenders of the status quo, the costs of archaic codes are undoubtedly tremendous. In residential construction, generally agreed to be the worst hampered by code obsolescence, a HOUSE & HOME study of a conventional house priced at $16,500 indicated an additional $1,000 was squandered in needless expense required by perhaps a majority of communities.

A 1963 survey by the National Association of Home Builders revealed that, for example, nearly half of the 1,200 surveyed communities prohibited concrete post and grade beam foundation walls.

Archaic codes are not confined to small cities or to residential construction. New York City's existing code, last revised in 1938, is basically a relic of the late Nineteenth Century. Estimated savings that might be realized by enactment of the city's newly written code range from $10 million to $100 million a year, depending on whether they are computed at 1% or 10% of the city's annual $1-billion-plus building bill.

The established modern building techniques banned under the existing New York code range from dry-wall gypsum partitions to precast, prestressed concrete. Sharing in this negative distinction of banning prestressed concrete is Boston, and until last year, when it lost a four-year court battle, Chicago stubbornly fought to deny the benefits of this long-proven material.

One of the materials most handicapped by archaic building codes is masonry. Under the existing bearing-wall provisions of U.S.A. Standards Institute (formerly the American Standards Association), the basis for most U.S. building codes, masonry bearing-wall design has been frozen in the horse-and-buggy era. As a consequence, a structurally sound design permitting 8-in. bearing walls for a 25-story building designed to conform with Canada's National Building Code would have to have 20-in.-thick walls for the first eight stories in most U.S. communities. Until the battle is won to get the Structural Clay Products Institute's new recommended building requirements accepted by all the major code-writing bodies, and by the many localities that don't accept these code authorities, brick bearing-wall construction will continue laboring under severe, needless handicaps.

In some communities the ultraconservative provisions in the building codes spring from willful exercise of local power as well as professional incompetence and timidity in their building officials and inertia in their legislative councils. Among other ludicrously conservative provisions imposed by the building code in Parma, Ohio, for example, is a ban on 2x4 roof trusses at 24-in. centers. An Ohio court, however, upheld the right of Parma to impose its archaic code in a decision against builders who sought to have the questionable provisions nullified as arbitrary and capricious.

SYSTEMS BUILDING LAGS

If codes are a drag on the present, they can be a virtually insurmountable barrier against the future. Lack of uniformity alone impedes the modest move toward prefabrication that has taken place to date. In comparing code standards for floor construction in 12 of his market areas, a home manufacturer cited in the ACIR report found that design live loads varied by 33%, and span limits by 32 in., for the same floor joists, and plywood subfloor thickness by ¼ in.—from ⅜ to ⅝ in. To exploit the benefits of standardization, the fabricator must design components to meet the highest standard, at additional material cost and overhead administrative expense required merely to unravel the added red tape.

Prefabrication techniques that are becoming commonplace in industrialized building systems of Europe would run into difficulty in most U.S. communities. Connections of precast concrete wall-and-slab panel construction, which is helping dent the Europeans' housing shortage, pose an obstacle in this country.

Evaluation and approval of complete building systems for use throughout the nation is one future benefit promised by a national model code commission, according to the ACIR. Central approval by a prestigious national commission could accelerate progress by giving any builder, designer or manufacturer a convincing argument to present to a city council or building official.

Perhaps the complacent members of the construction industry could profit from some words from A. Allen Bates, chief of the Building Research Division of the National Bureau of Standards. With the construction volume of decades now equal to the volume of past centuries, the tremendous demands on the construction industry can't be met by traditional methods. All other industrial nations are moving toward adoption of a single building code, and the United States can hardly follow a unique course, says Bates. For a variety of reasons, the U.S. is lagging in industrialized construction. Building code modernization and uniformity would remove a formidable obstacle.

Several of the Advisory Commission's recommendations emphasize the need for cooperation between the building industry and public officials. A new group called the Committee for Code Improvement has just been organized to encourage adoption of uniform modern building codes by localities and States in the New England area. Jon Robison, a staff writer for the Hartford Times, describes the significance of this new organization's program in a recent article. Mr. Robison points out that the committee is represented by many segments in the construction field who often have been bitter enemies in the building code battleground.

The text of the story from the Times follows:

ALLIANCE SEEKS UNIFORM BUILDING CODE FOR NORTHEAST

(By Jon Robison)

AUBURN, MASS.—An alliance for a common purpose has been formed by often bitter enemies in the construction field—the wood, steel, concrete and plastics industries, architects, engineers, builders, public officials and the carpenters' union.

The new group, called the Committee for Code Improvement (CCI) met this week in Auburn, Mass. and heard a federal expert support its efforts for uniform modernized building codes for New England.

The group feels that if a 10 inch thick foundation or plastic pipe is adequate for a building in, say, West Hartford, it should be adequate for the same building in East Hartford, Simsbury, New Haven or Voluntown.

Connecticut, like most states, has a model building code which any town can adopt—and many have. The code is based on the one drafted by the Building Officials Conference of America (BOCA).

But any town can tack on any added restrictions to the state code, and many do. These restrictions are usually the product of intensive lobbying by various groups.

No town can afford to do its own research; few towns can afford to hire scientists and engineers capable of analyzing the research performed by the U.S. Government, BOCA, or one of the other national groups.

So, a town's restrictions, in the opinion of the CCI, are often decided by who has the best lawyer, or the best local political connections.

Many in the new group have no stake in the building materials industry. They just want to get rid of restrictions they think are arbitrary and which retard construction and make it more expensive.

CCI members said they didn't care which of the national codes (there are four major ones) was the basis for state laws in New England.

The BOCA code is commonest, but CCI members said there were no significant differences between it and the others.

BOCA is a conference at which most of the different sides in the buildings materials industry are present to argue for their products. There is an apparent tendency for the influence of each side to equalize and leave the decision in the hands of the disinterested parties present.

The BOCA code is an extremely cumbersome instrument, far too large to be digested by any individual town official.

The BOCA code booklet itself is 464 pages long, and the entire code is a library. The BOCA code refers to hundreds of other books, pamphlets, manuals, and other documents. For example, its standards for a certain type of paint would be another book, often published by the U.S. Bureau of Standards. Some of the "referents" used in the BOCA code are a few pages long, others are thick volumes.

Maurice Roddy, Greenwich town director of buildings, said that the CCI was not posing to prohibit towns from writing their building codes as they saw fit. But the group was proposing a bill which would make it easier and cheaper for towns to adopt the state law without changes, and make it more difficult for a town to adopt its own rules.

But the government expert addressing the CCI called for more radical new laws.

He was James Pickford, senior advisor for the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a presidential commission of various government leaders and private citizens which includes Gov. Dempsey and New Haven Mayor Richard Lee.

He advocated a state law giving a state building code agency the right to overrule any modification of the state code within a town. Pickford also would establish a state board of appeals against any administrative decision by a town.

Pickford also advocated laws facilitating the modernization every year of the state and local codes. The BOCA code is changed every year, after vigorous arguments and extensive experimentation to weigh technological innovations.

Pickford proposed as well state licensing of a town's chief building inspector, and states laws to encourage smaller towns to share the services of technical specialists.

Those at the CCI meeting greeted Pickford's suggestions warmly, except for some Rhode Island and Massachusetts building inspectors, who objected strongly to the licensing suggestion.

The role of the States in building code reform is an extremely important one. I understand that the State of California is presently removing conflicts among building construction standards used by a number of its agencies. Editor James McCawley of the American Roofer & Building Improvement Contractor presents a convincing argument for State action in the December 1966 issue of this magazine.

Mr. McCawley's editorial follows:

BUILDING CODES/PERFORMANCE OR SPECIFICATION

(By James McCawley)

The Government of the United States thinks there are too many building codes, and building material manufacturers are in total agreement with the Government, but that is where agreement ends, for these manufacturers prefer to live unhappily with local building codes rather than have the Government draft a building code that would cover the entire nation.

At a recent meeting of the Building Research Advisory Board (a unit of the National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council) a brief discussion of building codes made it seem apparent that if the building industry did not originate a national building code, the U.S. Government would.

In 1965 President Johnson asked Congress to initiate an investigation of building codes, and the fire thus lit flamed into a $1,500,000 appropriation for a study by the Housing and Urban Development Department, despite the fact that the agency head, Secretary Robert Weaver claims that no federal building code is contemplated.

There is in fact a national building code drafted by the Building Officials Conference of America, which could be adopted tomorrow says BOCA. Not so—says the International Conference of Building Officials, the Southern Building Code Conference and the American Insurance Association, all of whom make similar claims for their codes, and incidentally all four have done an excellent job of code drafting.

Building codes can be divided largely into two types—Specification codes and Performance codes. The former is beloved of politicians who have used them to reward their friends and punish their enemies by finding loopholes for approval of a non-listed specification, or disapproval of an improvement on a listed specification. The late Sewell Avery of U.S.G. countered a Chicago politician's offer of aid for a fee in connection with a product by a strident—"Not a cent for tribute". Chicago has since adopted a Performance Code, under which products old and new adhere to a certain standard, rather than a specified number of plies.

Across the nation there are literally thousands of city building codes. To eliminate an estimated $100,000,000 added to building costs by conflicting codes in California, the State is drafting a Uniform Building Code, which has been favorably received by all cities except San Francisco. It is our opinion that State Codes offer the best opportunity to the building industry to aid in the drafting of modern performance codes.

Finally, the Advisory Commission has pointed out that modernization of building codes will be meaningless unless States and localities take steps to improve code administration and employ competent building officials who can deal with an increasingly wide variety of building practices and materials. The following article by Paul E. Steiger, staff reporter for the Wall Street Journal, discusses the serious problem of dishonest inspection practices:

NEW YORK, LOS ANGELES STRIVE TO HALT PAYOFFS TO BUILDING INSPECTORS—INVESTIGATORS TAIL, PHOTOGRAPH SUSPECTED OFFICIALS; GRAFT FLOURISHES IN SOME CITIES

(By Paul E. Steiger)

LOS ANGELES.—Who watches the city building inspector while he watches contractors and landlords?

In most cities, probably nobody—a fact that for years has helped produce great temptations for building inspectors to take graft. Although most city inspectors are no doubt honest, law enforcement officials strongly suspect that more than a few around the country have long been collecting fat payoffs from contractors and building owners.

In Los Angeles and New York City, however, accepting bribes has become a risky proposition. D. O. Woodward, the genial chief investigator for Los Angeles' department of building and safety has 19 undercover men available to keep a close watch on any city inspector suspected of graft.

Charles G. Moerdler, New York City's commissioner of buildings, won't reveal how many secret agents he has tailing the city's 900 inspectors. But there is no secret about the results Mr. Moerdler's men have achieved in the 11 months they have been on the job.

Their work has led to suspensions and grand jury investigations of inspectors charged with taking bribes in all five of New York's boroughs. In Manhattan alone, 10 inspectors have been charged with graft.

SHADOWING CITY INSPECTORS

New York investigators sometimes pose as landlords or contractors to catch crooked inspectors. Often they gather evidence simply by shadowing inspectors. In October a grand jury indicted three city painting inspectors for allegedly taking $400,000 in bribes over a nine-year period.

A few weeks earlier, 12 of the New York fire department's 13 electrical inspectors were suspended after being charged with soliciting bribes. Investigators found the fire inspectors were receiving "tips" ranging from $5 to $150 for their inspections. "I've been in the department for 18 years, and this was going on before I got here," one of the suspended fire inspectors told investigators.

Besides spotting grafters, Mr. Moerdler's men have uncovered a number of gold brickers in the inspectors' ranks. One investigator tailed five inspectors to the beach, where they spent the day, and followed another to a New York race track.

To nab dishonest Los Angeles inspectors, Mr. Woodward's men sometimes rely on hidden microphones and long-range photographs. As an example, Mr. Woodward recalls what happened after one Los Angeles building owner reported that an inspector had demanded money.

Just before the inspector made his rounds again, Mr. Woodward equipped the landlord with a microphone concealed in a tie clasp and connected to a pocket tape recorder. Knowing that courts often won't consider evidence gathered by "bugging," Mr. Woodward also had a team of his agents hiding inside a bakery truck to photograph the payoff. The inspector was convicted on bribery charges.

New York and Los Angeles officials also have tightened up procedures in their building departments and streamlined paperwork involved in reporting building violations to reduce opportunities for graft. But in many other cities bribing inspectors is an expensive way of life for building owners and contractors—or so say some who concede they have made such payoffs.

KEEPING BRIBES "SMALL ENOUGH"

No one is certain how much money building inspectors gather illicitly but there are indications the sum is substantial indeed. One newly retired contractor who now lives in San Francisco says he has paid off inspectors in Boston, New York, New Orleans and Cape Kennedy. The bite ran as high as 10% of the cost of a construction project, he says, although it usually was 5% or less. A bribe is "always just small enough that it won't inflate bids way out of line," when the contractor passes the cost of graft along to taxpayers and customers by adding the payoff to the project's estimated cost, says the retired builder.

There is a great temptation to offer an inspector payola. His decisions can halt work on construction jobs and may mean the difference between profit and loss for a contractor. A friendly inspector sometimes will even make inspections at night and on weekends to help a builder speed completion of a project.

"You've got to get along with an inspector just to get the same breaks the competition is getting," claims a San Francisco builder. "Sometimes it's either bribe him or go over his head, and usually it's easier to bribe him." Joseph Pass, general manager of Pioneer Builders in Los Angeles, says an inspector recently slowed one of his projects by a week when he ordered work stopped on a house until four vents required by building codes were installed.

Mr. Pass didn't try to bribe the inspector, and he says the official "was within his rights." But Mr. Pass believes "if we'd had a better relationship and he had been familiar with the quality of our work, he could just as easily have let us go ahead with other work while we were having the vents put in."

Another Los Angeles builder, however, boasts of his success in going over the head of an inspector who couldn't be bought. The builder had a sizable contract to repair a building damaged during the Watts riots. "I figured out a way to cut a few corners and turn a real nice profit on this thing," says the builder. But "the inspector, a young guy, didn't want to give me a permit until I had the plans okayed by the engineering department. I tried having lunch with him, to let him know there would be something in it for him if he went along, but it was no go."

So the contractor says he went to see a private consultant who has friends in the city engineering department. For $150 the consultant told a city official, "this guy's all right," and got permission to start on the project before it was formally approved, says the contractor.

To establish friendly relations, most contractors rely on occasional lunches for inspectors they deal with regularly. Christmas presents, typically gift-wrapped bottles of liquor, are standard procedure. "Who can be bought for a bottle of booze?" asks the owner of a Chicago remodeling firm. "It's just a way of trying to be nice, that's all." But inspectors also have been known to receive more valuable gifts, including color television sets and free weekends at expensive vacation resorts.

CROSSING THE LINE

Whatever the value of the gifts involved, "sooner or later the contractor begins to feel the inspector is his man, and the inspector begins to feel he is owed these presents," says Arnold G. Fraiman, New York City commissioner of investigation. When that happens, the line between friendship and bribery has been crossed, says Mr. Fraiman.

Los Angeles forbids its inspectors to accept gratuities of any kind, including lunch, from contractors or landlords. The city sends letters each winter to remind builders and owners that acceptance of any gift by an inspector "could affect the objective judgment of the recipient and would definitely impair public confidence" in his integrity. "If you're doing a good job and he wants to show his appreciation, let him write you a letter of commendation," Mr. Woodward tells inspectors. San Francisco allows inspectors to accept lunch, but not gifts, from contractors.

Sometimes there isn't even a pretext of friendship involved. A site superintendent at an industrial development in Southern California says an inspector recently informed him he expected a bottle of bourbon each week when he visited the project. About 20 miles away, a contractor says several building inspectors have told him recently that "some other inspector they know of is getting this or that from other contractors." He says, the inspectors haven't asked for brides, "but you know what they're hinting at. If you play dumb and don't come across, they start showing up a week late" to make their inspections.

A PUMP PROBLEM

A homebuilder in suburban Chicago tells of a recent incident in one village where housing codes allow the building commissioner to decide whether a new house must have a sump pump in its basement. On sites where good drainage and adequate sewers make flooded basements unlikely, the pumps presumably aren't needed.

But when the commissioner inspected 21 new houses the Illinois contractor was putting up on high ground, he told the builder, as the builder remembers his words: "It will cost you $100 a house to put in the pumps. For $50 a house, you don't have to put them in. Take it or leave it." The builder adds: "I took it. If you don't play ball, he'll be back the next day citing you for faulty soil grading or something like that."

Contractors say that if they report a shakedown attempt they expect retaliation from friends of the crooked inspector. "If you turn a man in, odds are his friends are going to make life pretty rough for you for awhile," says a West Coast builder.

It is often tough for a city inspector to turn in a contractor or landlord who offers him a bribe. A Los Angeles city official tells of an electrical contractor who took an inspector to lunch at a posh restaurant and gave him an expensive bottle of whisky. Later the contractor offered the inspector $100 to ignore defects in five neon signs the contractor had installed. The inspector reported the attempted bribe and was suspended for several weeks without pay for accepting the whisky and free lunch. But the contractor wasn't prosecuted, says the official, because the "district attorney's office thought our case wasn't strong enough."

The Advisory Commission's recommendation that States establish professional qualifications for building inspectors and license candidates as to their fitness for employment generally would upgrade inspection practices and discourage such activities as described by Mr. Steiger. I am pleased to advise my colleagues that the Board of Building and Safety Commissioners of the city of Los Angeles has urged the State of California to establish qualifying criteria and to license construction inspectors under the business and professional code. While we should recognize that professionalization means more than requiring qualifying examinations and certifications, building technology in the future undoubtedly will require increasing technical competence on the part of building inspectors. I commend the board for its interest and vital concern for improved methods of building inspection.

The resolution of the board follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Board of Building and Safety Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles are continually considering methods to improve service in the construction field; and

Whereas, the field of construction inspection is of vital concern to the public and industry alike; and

Whereas, it is their desire to create a greater unity in code enforcement and construction inspection; and

Whereas, the professionalizing of construction inspectors would be of great benefit to all; and

Whereas, the establishment of a licensing criteria would guarantee qualified people in the inspection field,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Board of Building and Safety Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles hereby recommend legislation at the State level to establish qualifying criteria, and license construction inspectors under the Business and Professional Code of the State of California.

ROBERT FENTON CRAIG,
President.
ROY G. LEWIS,
Vice President.
MIKE HOLLANDER,
Member.
ROBERT J. LEE,
Member.
EARLE R. VAUGHAN,
Member.

SENATOR HARRISON WILLIAMS CHAMPIONS SENIOR CITIZENS' CAUSE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the junior Senator from New Jersey, the Honorable HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., has been associated with, and the author of, many innovative, groundbreaking laws that serve to protect and aid our ill-housed, ill-cared-for, and forgotten senior citizens. Prominent among these accomplishments is his pioneering legislation in the field of effective regulation over mail order land sales that would protect the financial investment of senior citizens who seek an adequate, esthetic homestead to fulfill their retirement dreams. This deserving legislation is now included in the President's 1967 legislative program, and I am proud to add my name to those who desire to see this much-needed protection become the law of the land.

The older Americans community service program offers but another example of legislation for older Americans for which Senator WILLIAMS and I are working cooperatively and tirelessly.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a forthright and deserved appraisal of Senator WILLIAMS' legislative courage contained in an editorial from the March 9 issue of the Nutley Sun, a fine weekly newspaper published in Nutley, N.J.:

WILLIAMS ACTS TO PROTECT SENIOR CITIZENS

Demonstrating more patience than is usually credited to public officials, New Jersey's junior United States Senator Harrison Williams has been engaged in a three-year effort to reduce the risks of senior citizens falling prey to real estate promoters palming off unusable land through mail order promotions on the $10 down, $10 per month gimmick.

Williams is chairman of a U.S. Senate subcommittee which has held public hearings throughout the country eliciting evidence indicating real estate in the middle of a swamp, a desert, a flood control area, the side of a mountain or a remote arid plateau has been sold to gullible citizens through misrepresentation, misleading advertising and outright fraud.

Last week Senator Williams presided over open hearings in Washington on the proposed Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act, legislation required to establish effective authority over mail order land sales to protect both the buyer and the legitimate seller against financial loss.

State laws are inadequate to protect the elderly person looking for an idyllic retirement home who is beguiled by the blandishments contained in misleading advertisements. They must be protected from the sleazy real estate operator interested in a fast buck and promising a paradise in the southern climes only to end up with a piece of inaccessible land or swampy wilderness.

It is not new for Williams to champion seemingly lost or politically unrewarding causes. It was Senator Williams who originally focused the public spotlight upon the deplorable living conditions of the migrant worker—espousing a cause to upgrade the living standard of non-voting workers, and since the migrant can't and doesn't vote, it is obvious Senator Williams' only interest was strictly humanitarian.

Senator Williams, a Democrat, continues to discharge the duties and responsibilities of his office as an American, unmindful of party labels, in much the same manner as our senior Senator, Clifford P. Case.

New Jersey is most fortunate to be represented in the United States Senate by men of the stature, dedication, and ability of Case and Williams.—F.A.O.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL: TIME FOR ACTION IS RUNNING OUT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, evidence continues to mount on the deadly menace of air pollution. Warnings of climactic conditions conducive to development of dangerous pollution situations are increasingly frequent. We can well fear that one of these days an alert will precede a genuine crisis, for we live in an ocean of air we must breathe, polluted or not.

All levels of government must now act. The study and evaluation time is past. Much depends, of course, on the Federal Government, through aid under the Clean Air Act and the establishment and enforcement of regional standards of control. But there is also an essential role for the individual States. In New Jersey action is awaited on legislation that would give the State powers to deal effectively and rapidly with the sources of pollution. The Newark Star-Ledger, in an editorial on March 13, stressed the urgency of action now, and I place the editorial in the RECORD together with my remarks:

LESS TALK, PLEASE

New Jersey's air pollution problem has been minutely reviewed and studied; it has been talked about and discussed interminably. There is virtually little ground that has not been covered in these areas; it should be clear to anyone intimately involved with this affliction to the public health that the time has arrived for action.

The current hearings on air contamination disclose that the same topics, the same concern, the same demands for governmental action are being spread on the record with deadly repetitiveness.

The statutory sinews for direct, forceful action are now available in the packet of five bills before the Legislature. The provisions are geared to the realities of the dire situation of a poisoned atmosphere: The creation of a clean air agency within the State Health Department, fines of up to $25,000 per day for code violators, and investing of power in the governor's office to close down polluters during an emergency.

This is a meaningful start in Trenton, the realization that the state government must act expeditiously on vigorous enforcement against continued pollution of the air. The federal government must continue to exercise a watchdog vigilance on a regional basis, the overall jurisdiction involving New Jersey and New York; the Interstate Sanitation

Commission also has a vital responsibility in this sector with its new powers in curbing air pollution.

THE BURDEN OF LEADERSHIP

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I recently was fortunate enough to receive a copy of an extremely lucid and moving address which was delivered December 5, 1966, by Dr. John A. Hunter, president of Louisiana State University. Dr. Hunter made his remarks, entitled "The Burden of Leadership," at a meeting of Boyd Ewing Post No. 58 of the American Legion.

Dr. Hunter, one of our Nation's leading educators, spoke not as a hawk, not as a dove on the situation in Vietnam. He spoke with the cool reflection of an educator of an American. He offers us some intelligent advice on how to face the pivotal years which lie ahead for Americans, for mankind.

Boyd Ewing Post No. 58 approved a resolution in which it adopted Dr. Hunter's address as an affirmation of the post's position.

The post commander, J. H. Jones, Jr., has been kind enough to send me copies of the post's resolution and Dr. Hunter's address and I am inserting them in the RECORD for the benefit of all of us here today:

A RESOLUTION, JANUARY 9, 1967

Whereas, this country is engaged in a difficult and complex test of free-world leadership in opposition to the thrust of communism on many fronts throughout the world and

whereas, United States opposition to that thrust in Viet Nam has generated adverse commentary by individuals and groups both in this country and abroad and

whereas, Boyd Ewing Post #58 of the American Legion supports the basic policy of the United States in opposing Communism, including opposition by armed force in Viet Nam,

be it therefore resolved, that Boyd Ewing Post #58 of the American Legion hereby adopts, as a clear affirmation and statement of this Post's position, the address made to the Post by President John Hunter titled "The Burden of Leadership" on December 5th, 1966.

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution and President Hunter's address be formally transmitted to President Lyndon Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, the House and Senate of the U.S. Congress, the National Commander of the American Legion, the State Commander, other Louisiana Posts, the *American Legion* magazine, and other national and state news media.

J. H. JONES, Jr.,
Commander, Boyd Ewing Post No. 58, American Legion, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

THE BURDEN OF LEADERSHIP

(By President John A. Hunter)

Public speakers these days are enjoying what appears to be a period of unprecedented oratorical prosperity. Behind every tree and beneath every rock can be found a likely subject for a public address.

A casual look at contemporary society will give you an idea of what I mean. Among the more popular topics of public discussion in recent months have been the intricate problems of inflation, the shrinking dollar and rising costs at the supermarket. To these we might add the heightening challenges of overpopulation, automation, civil rights and the bomb.

And, finally, we come to the continuing dilemma of Viet Nam. It is a dilemma that has come to be very real to all of us, just as real as the rising cost of bread and milk. It is, unfortunately, a dilemma that in recent months has become a serious, divisive force in the affairs of our nation. Because of the war in Viet Nam, America has become, in many respects, not a nation united, but a nation divided—split asunder into two irreconcilable groups.

On the one hand are the hawks, those who are not yet embarrassed to use the word "victory" in polite company. The hawks view escalation, not as an evil, but as a meaningful military tactic, a tactic that the current situation in Viet Nam clearly calls for. On the other hand are the doves, the Vietniks and the Peaceniks, the apologists of victory, the champions of peace at any price.

I do not presume to be an authority on this or any other war. Nor do I consider myself one of those highly vocal individuals who claims to have the final answers to this most critical problem of our time. I do believe, however, that this seemingly interminable conflict has made apparent a few facts of life which Americans must somehow face. These facts of life are the inescapable burdens of twentieth century leadership.

I speak to you today, not as a hawk, nor as a dove, but as an American—a tired and indignant American. I am tired of the endless attacks that are being made upon the integrity of our nation. And I am indignant that they should come at a time of such crisis, when the stakes may be our very survival.

It is vexing enough that these attacks arise from nations whose ambitions and objectives are at cross purposes with our own. But as you know, such attacks upon the moral character of American government have arisen from within our borders as well, even in the halls of Congress. Let me make it clear that I do not for a moment question the sincerity nor the patriotism of these American voices of dissent. But I do believe that we must challenge their wisdom and their ability—or, rather, their inability—to learn from the lessons of the past.

I, for one, do not regard my government as an international bully that is blindly determined to enforce its will upon the rest of the world. I, for one, do not regard my President as a trigger-happy gunman who by whim and caprice insists upon prosecuting a barbarous war. I, for one, regard my country as one of the few—the woefully few—nations that is willing to take a stand in this time of peril and crisis, that is willing to assume the awesome burdens of leadership.

You and I, gentlemen, have seen the face of battle and the horrors of war. You and I have experienced the uncertainties of impending armed conflict. We have learned—from that dear teacher, experience—of the unspeakable destruction that is unleashed when one nation takes up arms against another.

But we also know—and the world knows—the sheer folly of peace at any price, the utter futility of attempting to appease an aggressor that can never really be appeased.

America today occupies a most unique position, one that perhaps has never before been conferred upon any other world power. On the one hand, America is *the* leading power, the world leader in a hundred different fields of human endeavor. In terms of national prosperity, in terms of individual productivity, in terms of international philanthropy and commitment, in terms of concrete contributions to the advancement of mankind the world over, we stand alone, unmatched, unrivaled by the achievements or the capability of any other nation.

But to that story there is a parallel. In our determination to protect the national interests of South Viet Nam, we also stand virtually alone. A mere handful of the world's free nations have stepped forward with tangible and moral support. And what of the rest of the world? They have chosen to follow one of two courses: the politically safe course of neutrality or the easy course of outright opposition.

This, I believe, constitutes a vivid example of the burden of modern-day leadership, an example of the price our nation has paid and can expect to pay in the future as the voice of the free world.

If our goal is popularity, if our overriding objective is to be loved the world over, then it is certainly time to reassess our policies and actions. But as the leader of free nations, we cannot afford the dubious luxury of allowing our policies to be guided by the vagaries of world opinion. There is a higher, more meaningful test to which American policy must be subjected—the test of freedom versus its alternative, the test of right versus wrong.

I firmly believe that in recent months, through our involvement in Viet Nam, one fact of life has been confirmed in spades. It is simply this: If American foreign policy is, in fact, to help protect the interests of smaller nations around the globe, then we should steel ourselves now for what is certain to be an era of perpetual conflict, a lengthy period in which the full burden of international leadership will rest squarely upon our shoulders.

If, as a matter of national policy, we have elected to draw a line of demarcation across the globe, a line which aggressors are forbidden to breach, then we must expect to devote a large measure of our national resources and energies to maintaining that policy, regardless of whether we are joined by a dozen allies or whether we stand alone.

As President Johnson has reaffirmed time and again, *that is our policy.* The President has declared without compromise, without equivocation, that the interests of our sister nations among the world's community of free nations are, indeed, synonymous with the interests of America.

Thus, in regard to Viet Nam, our responsibility seems unmistakably clear. Let us resolve to get on with the task at hand, to brace our shoulders, tighten our belts and do what must be done to bring peace with honor to that part of the globe.

We can talk of negotiation. We can talk of appeasement. We can shuffle our feet and drag our heels in the hope that by some miracle the aggressor will change his spots, forgo his plan of conquest and agree to peace. But that hope, gentlemen, is merely an illusion, a mirage, a false hope inspired by false prophets.

We have among us in this critical age more than a fair share of false prophets. What America so desperately needs today is a fair share of true citizens who by word and deed indicate a willingness—and a determination—to place national security above international popularity, to prefer the rigors of steadfastness above the ease of retreat.

I refer not to those who would preach a radical brand of patriotism, nor to those who delight in rattling the saber, nor to those whose only thought is to wave a tattered olive branch and spout apologies for America. I speak instead of citizenry whose resolve to pursue and achieve a just and lasting peace is matched only by their love of country.

When future generations reflect upon these times of crisis, they well may wonder where did you and I stand. Not long ago there was a popular comedy making the rounds in movie theaters entitled, "What Did You Do In the War, Daddy?" As Legionnaires, we might ask ourselves a similar question today. Where do we stand? How are we contributing to America's determination to do what must be done?

I believe that Legionnaires possess an influential voice that, in these critical times, could well be decisive. Legionnaires command a unique position of leadership, a position from which their voices can become effective instruments in molding public opinion, in reuniting our nation and in restoring the term "victory" to our national vocabulary.

Before I leave this subject, there is one other point that I feel must be made. If we divide the nations of the world according to their political persuasions—with separate categories for the neutrals, the communists and the free world—we find that America belongs to a distinct minority group. We are far outnumbered by our adversaries.

We cannot hope, for example, to match man-for-man Red China's horde of some 750 million people, a majority of whom regularly undergo some form of military training. If, then, we cannot *outnumber* them, there is but one alternative: We must *outthink* them. We must make more effective use of our intellectual capabilities. We must use to maximum advantage the vast educational resources at our command.

In this age of perpetual crisis and continuous upheaval, there are few doctrines upon which mankind can, with absolute certainty, rely. One of these is the unlimited power of education. Personally, I have no doubt—none whatsoever—that during the challenging years ahead, the very survival of our nation will depend in large measure upon the priorities we assign to education and the extent to which we support it, develop it and use it.

This means that universities such as LSU must redouble their efforts during the pivotal years ahead. We must pursue more diligently than ever before the elusive goal of true educational excellence. We must effectively combine educational quantity with educational quality. We must train and educate more people than ever before, far better than ever before.

This educational challenge represents one of the foremost examples of the burden of leadership that has been placed in America's hands. How effectively we meet this educational challenge could well determine how long that leadership will remain secure in America's hands.

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW—XXXII

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, universal military training is suitable only for an age of mass armies, and not, to a complex and technical age, wherein our defenses are associated with rockets, supersonic aircraft, and atomic weapons. The effectiveness and readiness of our military services would be greatly impaired by the tremendous training burden and the constant turnover. Men under training for a year would just begin to be of usefulness when they would be discharged. Universal military training, then, would only create a partly trained reserve. In addition, our Military Establishment does not need the millions of young Americans that would receive such training.

No one knows what universal military training would cost. Estimates run from $3 to $6 billion a year. At the outset, General Eisenhower estimates that the costs would be even greater, due to the building and equipping of many new military camps. Wrote Hanson W. Baldwin:

> In short, universal military training might provide military quantity at a price; it would not provide quality.

Furthermore, while supporters of universal military training contend that it is intended and designed to strengthen freedom's defenses, universal military training can carry within itself the very seeds of freedom's destruction. Universal military training etches the pattern to a military state. It tends to emphasize the influence of a purely military power in an age when economic, industrial, technological, and moral powers are even more major elements of national power.

Historically, militarism has no roots in this Nation. De Tocqueville observed, during his travels through the young American Nation, that the American people lacked the militaristic spirit that was so prevalent on the European Continent. He wrote:

> The ever-increasing numbers of men of property who are lovers of peace, the growth of personal wealth which war so rapidly consumes, the mildness of manners, the gentleness of heart, those tendencies to pity which are produced by the equality of conditions, that coolness of understanding which renders men comparatively insensible to the violent and poetical excitement of arms—all these causes concur to quench the military spirit.

Let us also recall that many of our ancestors sought refuge in America to escape the arrogance of European militarism.

Fifteen years ago, on March 4, 1952, the House defeated a bill that would have established universal military training. During the floor debate, the words of our first President, urging his fellow countrymen to "avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty," were heard echoing throughout this Chamber. Washington's warnings are as relevant today, as when he first made them.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing this resolution to extend the congratulations of this body to the Canadian Parliament on the occasion of the Canadian Centennial.

As chairman of the House delegation to the annual Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, I can unhesitatingly attest to the numerous and close ties between the United States and Canada. The many official and unofficial relations between our two countries are evident on the national as well as individual level. The more than 5,000 miles of undefended frontier between the two countries is as much an example of mutual trust as it is of mutual understanding. And while this may sound like a well-worn cliché, how many other countries in the world can make a similar claim?

Moreover, the unity that is exemplified by the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group is not only a symbol, but a manifestation of the growing harmony that defines our relationship. This is to be seen in our mutually beneficial trade patterns as well as the obligation we share in the defense of North America through the combined command known as NORAD.

So, it is well that we should take time out of our busy days—days when every decision made seems to be a decision which will bring us closer to peace in the world—to recognize the peaceful and harmonious relations that have existed between the United States and Canada since 1867 when the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united and formed the nucleus for present-day Canada.

I would hope that everyone in the House will vote for this resolution, and that our Canadian counterparts to the north will be reminded of the esteem and respect in which we hold them and their beautiful country.

TO PROHIBIT NONRESIDENT TAXATION

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, there has grown up throughout the United States during the last half century a discriminatory and inherently inequitable system of taxation by many of the States. I refer to the tax laws of some 29 States which permit the State to tax the income or salary of a person who is neither a resident or domiciliary of that State, but who only performs some service in that State for which he receives some compensation. This has come to be commonly know as nonresident taxation.

To alleviate the unfairness that has surrounded this taxation procedure in the past, I have today introduced legislation to prohibit the States, or any political subdivision thereof, from levying an income tax on persons not residents of or domiciled in that State.

The problem of nonresident taxation is particularly acute in areas surrounding large metropolitan centers. The best example I can think of is the situation in the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut area, where every day approximately 200,000 people commute from outside the State into New York City to work. New York imposes a nonresident income tax on commuters from New Jersey and Connecticut, and, in fact, from any other State who work and earn their living in New York. The main justification relied on by those who support this tax is that New York State provides certain services to the commuter—part of the cost of which, they feel, should be borne by the commuter.

The statistics, however, tend to discredit this theory. For example, a recent study breaks down the general expenditures of all States and local governments. This study showed that the only expenditure of funds which is substantially used by commuters is for highways and transportation which constitute only 19.3 percent of the total expenditures. On the other hand, commuters do not benefit at all from education, public welfare and health, and hospital expenditures which total 51.3 percent of the overall amount. For the remaining 29.4 percent of the general expenditures—fire, police, sanitation, and so forth—the commuter benefits to some extent, but substantially less than residents. Therefore, in approximately 80.7 percent of the expenditures, the nonresident benefits either not at all, or to only a relatively small extent.

In addition, the nonresident while working in another State will generally pay other taxes—sales taxes, entertainment taxes, gasoline taxes, cigarette taxes—and these all go to pay for the general expenditures of the State.

Therefore, it seems to me that by imposing such a tax, the State requires the nonresident to pay for his equal share—equal to the residents—of the services and benefits derived from this tax revenue, while in actuality he receives little more than 20 percent of the benefits. To require a nonresident to contribute to the expenses of a State in which he happens to earn money is to require him to pay something which in public policy and according to right and justice he does not owe.

It should be recognized that travelers going from State to State are not taxed for the highways they use, other than gasoline taxes, and they are not charged for the fire and police protection or sewer and water facilities they use while in the State. Why, then, should nonresidents working in a State be charged for these same services?

Of equal importance, the nonresident tax violates one of the very basic precepts upon which our Government was founded and which drove the early colonists to rebel—taxation without representation.

A nonresident, by his very status, has no recourse to the State legislative body for he is not a qualified voter of the State. As a result, he has no voice in the taxation policy of the State, much less any voice in other legislative decisions concerning benefits which he is alleged to be receiving and for which he is paying.

The Congress has ample power derived from the commerce clause of the Constitution to enact this legislation. The nonresidents who travel across State lines are certainly considered to be in interstate commerce. Additionally, most of the businesses in which they are employed are interstate in nature.

The fact that the Supreme Court upheld nonresident taxation some 40 years ago does not mean that the Federal Government may not now preempt the States in this area. Times have changed since 1920. At the time of the Supreme Court decision only a very few States had any income tax in any form. There was no problem requiring congressional action. The decision bears neither relevance nor relation to the power of Congress to act in this area.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that the Congress will act this year to remove this inequity of unequal taxation. As long as it continues, a great number of our citizens will suffer discrimination and economic deprivation without justification.

RELATION OF NEW JERSEY'S WAR ON POVERTY TO RISING WELFARE COSTS AND CASELOADS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the January 31 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix, a comment on the progress of the war against poverty in New Jersey, and, more particularly, its effect in reducing welfare costs. The comment is based upon an article which appeared in the Newark Sunday News of January 29. The material which I am about to commend to my colleagues is not intended as an apologia of the news story. Rather, it is an effort to place that article in proper perspective. The following comment has been prepared by the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity:

THE RELATION OF NEW JERSEY'S WAR ON POVERTY TO RISING WELFARE COSTS AND CASELOADS

An article in the January 29th edition of the *Newark Sunday News* examined the "steady rise in welfare rolls across the state" despite "more than $77 million worth" of anti-poverty programs. Although the article documents this premise with statistics, the suggestion that a causal relationship exists between the total amount of anti-poverty dollars invested in New Jersey and the rising welfare costs and caseloads needs further analysis and clarification.

To begin with, the article draws an illogical and unfair comparison of unlike factors—the total amount of anti-poverty money committed in New Jersey versus the total number of persons on the welfare rolls.

The total amount of anti-poverty dollars invested in New Jersey since 1964 did, in fact, amount to some $77 million; but only some $10 million of that total was devoted to work experience and training programs. Under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act (including 1966 amendments), these programs provide constructive work experience and job training for needy persons unable to support themselves or their families. Such projects are designed to help them develop skills which may assist them in finding jobs. This includes unemployed heads of families on welfare, farm families with less than $1,200 net family income and other needy persons.

Indeed, if any valid measure of the effect of anti-poverty programs on the welfare rolls is to be drawn, only those anti-poverty programs directly related to manpower training and its related services, namely, Title V programs, should be taken into account. The alternative approach—to include some $60 million in other anti-poverty programs, like Head Start or the Neighborhood Youth Corps which are long range in scope—misuses the general to prove the particular; mixes, so to speak, apples and oranges, and is very misleading.

A more equitable approach would be to measure the effect of this $10 million in anti-poverty work experience and job training programs, which have been in operation since the war on poverty was launched in New Jersey in October of 1964. At present, there are seven Title V Work Experience programs operating in New Jersey. The State itself operates one project in Passaic County and the cities of Newark and Trenton have been conducting programs for the last two years. In addition, Camden, Union, Monmouth and Bergen Counties have Title V projects.

In all, however, these seven projects—utilizing a sum total of some $10 million in anti-poverty funds—have reached approximately 3,300 welfare recipients from August 1965, when the program began, through December 31, 1966. Of these, some 820 have found permanent employment and either no longer receive welfare payments or have had their payments sharply reduced; 1,200 are still in training; and about 1,100 are still unemployed after having received training. It is this latter group which is difficult to place in jobs due to a multitude of education, cultural and environmental reasons.

It is misleading and unfair, therefore, to expect seven work experience programs with just $10 million to reach any more than the 3,300 welfare recipients they were designed to reach. Yet, the article points out that "in spite of all this spending, the number of persons collecting welfare in New Jersey rose from 158,550 in December, 1964, to 187,668 in December, 1966. Total payments rose from $101 to $125 million, not counting administrative costs." Such a comparison lacks perspective.

Secondly, it should be noted that only a small number of the 187,668 welfare recipients in New Jersey—comprising just 2.6 per cent of the State's population of nearly seven million—are employable; that is, capable of being trained and educated so they may eventually support themselves and their families and leave the welfare rolls. A careful examination of the welfare rolls will demonstrate why.

In the first place, the State welfare rolls are comprised of several different kinds of categories, including: old age assistance for those elderly citizens too old or incapacitated to hold jobs to support themselves and whose social security payments, pensions, or other income are insufficient for their minimum requirements; disability assistance for those New Jerseyites under age 65 who are unable to work because of permanent and totally disabling conditions; blind assistance for financially needy persons who are classified as legally blind and unable to support themselves as a result; medical aid for the aged whose other sources of income cannot cover the costs of major medical expenses; assistance to families with dependent children, if one of the parents is missing from the home or is incapacitated for employment; and general assistance for those people who are either awaiting categorical assistance through one of the above categories or are unemployed, underemployed or temporarily incapacitated through sickness, lay-off, etc.

Of the approximately 187,000 welfare recipients in New Jersey, some 32,000 or about 16 per cent receive welfare assistance in one of the first four categories, namely, old age assistance, disability aid, blind assistance, or medical aid for the aged. Certainly these recipients should not be included in determining the effectiveness of anti-poverty work training programs in reducing the welfare rolls. For surely no amount of anti-poverty money or programs can ever reduce the number of aged, the number of disabled or handicapped or the number of blind; nor can such programs reduce to any significant extent the number of such persons who are financially needy.

Of the remaining two categories, some 122,000 recipients or 67 per cent of the total number of welfare recipients receive Assistance for Dependent Children. This category provides monetary aid for families with children, if one parent—usually the father—is missing from the home or is incapacitated for employment.

It is important to note, however, that of the 122,070 A.D.C. recipients during November, 1966, some 92,995 or three-fourths (75 per cent) were children; only 29,175 (25 per cent) were adults.

This is significant because only the adults are potential members of the labor force; and for every adult that can be trained to hold a job, two or three times as many children will be removed from the relief rolls.

The question, then, is how many of these nearly 30,000 adults are employable? The answer, unfortunately, is very few. To begin with, 90 per cent of them are mothers; the remaining 10 per cent cover cases where the mother is not in the home and where the children are living with other relatives.

The last "characteristic study" of Assistance for Dependent Children recipients was made in 1961 by the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, under the auspices of the federal government. Although the study is now more than five years old, much of its result could be safely applied to the present statistics.

According to that study, approximately two-thirds—65 per cent—of all A.D.C. mothers were classified as needed in the home to care for small children, a disabled husband or some similar reason and, therefore, were unable to work; about eight per cent were already employed, but had earnings insufficient to meet family needs; three per cent had no marketable skills; nine per cent were physically or mentally unable to work; six per cent were actively seeking employment but could not find it; and the remaining nine per cent were unclassified in the survey.

Using those percentages in relation to the 30,000 A.D.C. adults in November of 1966, we will see that some 22,500 were needed in the home and hence unable to work; 2,400 were working but not earning enough to support their families; another 2,400 were physically or mentally unable to work; 900 had no marketable skills and the remaining 1,800 sought but could not find employment.

This is extremely significant: that of 122,000 A.D.C. recipients, only 30,000 are adults, and that of these, only 2,700 were unemployed simple because they could not or would not work.

It is also significant that although the number of A.D.C. recipients increased from 102,218 in November of 1964 (when the antipoverty program began) to 112,835 in November of 1965 and then to 122,170 in November of 1966, the rate of increase or growth is steadily *decreasing*. From 1964–65, the rate of increase amounted to 10 percent; from 1965–66, the rate of increase amounted to eight per cent. This indicates a drop of two per cent in the rate of increase between 1964 and 1966. The same drop in the rate of increase was apparent in the Essex County figures for A.D.C. assistance.

This trend is a salient point, for the increase in numbers corresponds with the increases in population and the increases in welfare costs are in line with rises in the cost of living. The article made no mention of either of these factors.

The last welfare category is General Assistance. A breakdown of this category shows that as of October, 1966, there were some 29,000 persons receiving this kind of welfare aid, distributed through the local municipalities throughout the state.

According to State Division of Public Welfare Statistics, the 29,000 persons aided in October, 1966, represented some 9,762 cases. Of all cases opened in 1966, less than 25 per cent were opened because of unemployment, and less than 10 per cent were opened because of underemployment. Applying these percentages to the October 1966 caseload of 9,672 general assistance cases, less than one third were opened because of unemployed or underemployed people. The great bulk—about 75 per cent—were opened for other reasons, such as pending categorical aid (22.2 per cent), physical or mental disability (33.3 per cent), insufficient income or resources (6.5 per cent) and domestic problems (5.9 per cent).

Further, the Division of Public Welfare Statistics report points out that there was "less case activity in fiscal year 1966 than in the preceding year, with 1,212 fewer cases opened and 601 fewer cases closed. Case closings exceeded case openings by less than one per cent (36,837 closings and 36,534 openings) and the net case load decreased by 303 cases. In contrast, in the preceding year, case openings exceeded case closings by a net of 308 cases (37,746 openings and 37,438 closings)."

The statistics also point out that of all the case closings for FY 1966, employment factors account for the largest percentage. Of all those general assistance cases during FY 1966, 23 per cent were closed due to "return to employment", six per cent due to "increase in employment income" and two per cent due to "receipt of unemployment compensation benefits." "Combined, the three reasons account for 31.81 per cent of the total, about four percentage points less than the corresponding year," the report adds.

I think this careful scrutiny of the welfare rolls gives raw statistics a new meaning and perspective. As has been shown, only a small portion of the 187,000 welfare recipients are actually potential workers, and as such able to be reached, so to speak, by antipoverty or any other kind of work training programs.

Whatever the causes, however, the antipoverty program must not be regarded as a short term solution to problems that have taken decades to emerge. There are no quick answers, no easy solutions, no cure-alls for all of society ills. It is hardly practical or even feasible to measure the effect of 10 million dollars worth of anti-poverty programs in just two short years. All new programs, especially those of the war on poverty which embrace new and sometimes radical approaches to solve these problems, must be judged by their long-term effect on the problems they were created to combat.

There is no way to estimate the sum total of disadvantaged who may have been on the welfare rolls today were it not for some form of anti-poverty assistance provided somewhere along the way. Who is to judge whether the welfare rolls might have been larger yet, whether the rate of increase might have spiraled upward, instead of downward, were it not for anti-poverty projects that are preventive, rather than corrective in nature? These issues cannot and should not be answered now. Only time will tell.

During the two short years since the Economic Opportunity Act was enacted, the Federal Government has taken a new look at family planning as a potential weapon against increasing welfare rolls. The country has witnessed a full cycle—from President Eisenhower's disavowal of any government participation in family planning, to President Johnson's endorsement of such proposals—without coercion—in both antipoverty and welfare programs. In time, New Jersey and the other states may find in this a partial solution to the size of the dependent population.

In his recent Economic Report to the Congress of the United States, President Johnson reaffirmed this country's commitment to "end poverty within its borders." But he added: "Yet, with old weapons and new, the war on poverty will not be won in 1967—or 1968. There is no wonder drug which can suddenly conquer this ancient scourage of man. It will be a long and continuing struggle, which will challenge our imagination, our patience, our knowledge and our resources for years to come. Our capacity to stay with the task will be a test of our maturity as a people."

But this is only the beginning. Much remains to be done. There is need for better coordination of federal money, for streamlining the costly investigative procedure of welfare eligibility, for new and innovative ways to reach those mothers of dependent children whose husbands are not at home, and for providing increased job opportunities for persons presently frustrated in their quests for employment. And finally, there is the need to recognize that, even with all these programs and more, the problems of unemployment will not be eliminated overnight.

A November 7, 1966 edition of *Newsweek* puts it clearly: "But the depth of the problem is a dimension seldom faced squarely either by its victims or its would-be solvers: the fact that most of the hard-core unemployed are, by traditional economic definitions, unemployable. They are, in brief, persons with records of defeat and consequent emotional problems, with few skills and little or no independent interest in acquiring them, and often with a low motivation to do a good job even if a job comes their way."

VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Americans—and particularly young Americans—are not selfish people. Most stand ready to help their neighbors, whether they live next door or in another country. All that many need to make a real contribution to the needs of others is opportunity—a way to channel their energies and interest in the proper direction. The Peace Corps provided such a way for service in foreign countries and the response was tremendous and gratifying.

Now VISTA offers a similar opportunity to serve the poor in this country and people young and old are meeting the challenge. By summer it is expected that more than 4,000 VISTA volunteers will be teaching and helping organize community action in places as different as city slums and Appalachian hollows.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has called for even greater efforts to permit more full and part-time volunteers to be of service as this struggle goes on to help the poor help themselves.

VISTA volunteers have helped hundreds of communities and neighborhoods participate in the programs set up for them, and take action to help themselves.

VISTA volunteers live and work amidst poverty conditions. Their unusual position enables them to reach people and motivate them, to help them to change their attitudes. They are spokesmen and advocates for communities which often have no other effective spokesman.

In many of the 400 urban and rural communities where they serve under local antipoverty agencies, VISTA volunteers have helped to bring about change.

They have helped residents to form community and block organizations that give them a new voice in the community.

They have persuaded tens of thousands of people to discard apathy and make a fight for opportunity.

They have informed the poor where opportunities and services could be found. They have put them in touch with health, education, employment, and legal services.

They have helped the poor develop and run self-help programs.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the 3,300 VISTA volunteers now in service, more than 1,000 have finished a year of service and left the Corps. These VISTA volunteers have shown there is no substitute for a worker who lives in the slum and shares the problems—such as dysentery from drinking polluted water, rats and cockroaches, and uncollected garbage.

VISTA recently launched an exciting new effort to enlist 100,000 part-time volunteers in the war on poverty. This Citizens Corps is a major broadening of VISTA to include those students, professional people, and others who want to serve 10 or 15 hours a week in their hometown or campus. Local agencies operate Citizens Corps projects in cooperation with VISTA. Selected VISTA volunteers are assigned to coordinate and set up these part-time programs under the local agencies.

This new corps is expected to infuse much-needed manpower into poverty areas where help is needed most.

Eventually, the program is expected to need 1 million part-time volunteers.

Mr. Speaker, VISTA has become one of the most important programs in the antipoverty effort, and I am delighted that the President has given it such a prominent place in his message on America's unfinished business.

MRS. JOHNSON VISITS CHARLESTON, W. VA.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Slack] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, March 13, the citizens of West Virginia and particularly those from my own district of Charleston, had the distinct honor to welcome into our community the wife of the President of the United States, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. The First Lady visited Charleston as part of her "adventure in learning" tour which is designed to observe first-hand some of the accomplishments that our citizens have made in the field of education with the assistance of Federal programs, such as those sponsored by the office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Health, Education, and Welfare.

One of these programs that Mrs. Johnson had the opportunity to visit was the Women's Job Corps Center in Charleston. The 300 young women who are enrolled at the center greeted the First Lady with a warm and friendly welcome that particularly delighted her. She had the chance to meet each girl personally and exchange a few words; something that will long be remembered by the Job Corps women. Most of the girls at the center come from deprived and broken homes and it was heartening for Mrs. Johnson to learn that the Job Corps women have developed a nursery school which they use in their spare time to care for some of the children of needy families in the Charleston area.

Mrs. Johnson visited other educational centers in Charleston, including Glenwood and Woodrow Wilson Junior High Schools. Everywhere she was received with the cordiality and cheerfulness that is extended to a true friend, and one who happens to be the wife of our President.

Like her husband, Mrs. Johnson has a deep and abiding commitment to the principles of improving educational advantages to all of our citizens, ranging from the Headstart program, to the Job Corps, and efforts in the field of higher education.

On behalf of the citizens of Charleston, I wish to acknowledge our deepest gratitude to the First Lady for her visit to our community and extend our fondest hope that she will visit us again very soon.

A MODEL VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Fraser] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Hubert Humphrey has done an outstanding job in every public office to which he has been elected. I first entered Minnesota politics in the 1940's in support of Hubert, and I have never ceased to admire him.

Last week President Johnson recognized the outstanding contribution Hubert Humphrey is making to American public life, and the Washington Post praised him as the "model Vice President." I join in the approval of the Vice President, and include the Washington Post editorial with my remarks:

A Model Vice President

It is good to know that President Johnson appreciates the qualities of Vice President Hubert Humphrey as a public servant. His kind remarks about the Vice President at the press conference on Thursday certainly are deserved. It would be dismaying indeed if the President did not hold these views.

The Vice President has brilliantly succeeded in an office that presents the greatest difficulty to a man of his temperament and genius. Congress has given him two special tasks to which he devotes great attention—outer space and undersea exploration. The President has showered him with special duties and missions. He has dealt with all of them competently and quietly. History will have to disclose how valuable he has been in the inside councils of the Administration but there is reason to believe he has been very useful there.

The most important legacy that he will leave the country will be a concept of the Vice Presidency that fits both its subordinate position in the Executive Branch and the necessities of modern administration. Not for an instant has he allowed himself a word or a deed that would indicate any confusion about the place where there resides the constitutional duty and power to speak for the Government of the United States. He has rightly said, and repeatedly said, that there can be only one authoritative voice—and that is the voice of the President. He has been the President's echo on every public policy discussion of the Administration. And whenever the Vice President, under our system, tries to be anything other than that, "the trumpet maketh an uncertain sound."

No wonder the President admires his public service. The thoughtful citizens of this country also admire it and understand it. He is, in truth, the very model of a model Vice President.

PATENT REFORM ACT HEARINGS

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Willis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection?

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on the Judiciary, through its Patents, Trademarks, and Copyright Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, has scheduled public hearings on H.R. 5924, the Patent Reform Act of 1967, and companion measures. The hearings will begin on Monday, April 17, 1967, at 10 a.m. Transmitted by the President and introduced by our subcommittee colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin, Bob Kastenmeier, this important legislation is designed to aid America's economic growth by strengthening the U.S. patent system.

The patent system is as old as our Nation. It has not been substantially revised since 1836. Meanwhile, major developments have radically altered our technology, placing great strains on the patent system and affecting its functioning. In this context, the President, by Executive Order No. 11215, dated April 8, 1965, established a Commission on the Patent System and directed its activities toward, first, ascertaining the degree to which our patent system currently serves our national needs and international goals; second, identifying any aspects of the system which may need change; third, devising possible improvements in the system; and fourth, recommending any legislation deemed essential to strengthen the U.S. patent system. The Commission transmitted its report to the President on November 17, 1966, unanimously agreeing that a patent system today is capable of continuing to provide an incentive to research, development, and innovation. The report contains 35 major recommendations designed to improve and modernize the system.

H.R. 5924 is based in substantial part upon the Commission's report. Its purposes are threefold:

First, to raise the quality and reliability of U.S. patents; second, to reduce the time and expense of obtaining and protecting a patent; and third, to speed public disclosure of scientific and technological information.

These changes are also expected to bring the U.S. patent system into closer harmony with those of other countries.

I have requested Congressman Kastenmeier to preside over the subcommittee's hearings on his bill and he has agreed to do so.

The subcommittee wishes to afford all interested persons the opportunity of submitting their views on this vital legislation.

Persons desiring to testify or to submit written statements relative to the measure should address themselves to Mr. Herbert Fuchs, subcommittee counsel, room 2137, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE COMMISSION BILL PASSES THE SENATE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bingham] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to note that the Senate yesterday passed legislation to establish a statutory Pennsylvania Avenue Commission to oversee formulation of plans for development of this beautiful and historic boulevard, subject always to congressional approval. The bill passed yesterday is almost identical to House Joint Resolution 115, which I introduced early in the session.

This legislation stemmed from President Kennedy's keen interest in our city of Washington and in particular in the proper treatment of our major ceremonial avenue. He appointed the temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, and President Johnson has warmly endorsed its continuation by statute in his District of Columbia message. Last year, the distinguished Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held extensive hearings on the same bill and reported it out favorably. Unfortunately, the House was unable to take final action.

I would hope that now, in light of these developments, this measure will be reported out once again by the Interior Committee and approved in the House. It will, in my judgment, provide statutory sanction and continuing congressional oversight for the important work of making the Pennsylvania Avenue area what it ought to be, contributing greatly to the beauty and stateliness of our Capital City.

NATIONAL FOREST RECREATION AREAS BOOST ECONOMY OF RURAL AMERICA

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Johnson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, because of the submission today to the Congress of the President's message on urban and rural poverty, I would like to discuss the effect of the Department of Agriculture's outdoor recreation program on the economy of rural areas.

Sometime this spring, summer, or fall it is likely that we all will have an opportunity to spend some time in the magnificent American outdoors. Many of us will spend that time in one of the outstanding national forest recreation areas across the land, which are provided us by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service.

I wonder if we realize what a boost these recreation areas are to the economies of our rural communities.

Last year, there were more than 170 million visitor days of recreation use on the national forests. These visitors came to picnic areas, camp grounds, lakes, and trails. They came to ski, collect rocks, view the scenery or do anything else people enjoy doing out of doors.

Many of these people came a long way. Most came by car. They had tremendous impact on local business. They bought gas, groceries, meals, film, camping supplies, and souvenirs. They hired guides, rented boats or horses, and paid for lodging. This brought millions of dollars to rural people—many of whom rely on recreation as their entire source of income.

National forest recreation helps support rural Americans in yet another way.

The Forest Service manages about 13,000 recreation sites. These have to be operated, cleaned after each day's use, repaired and maintained throughout the season. This is done by local people. This means wages and a healthful livelihood.

The Forest Service invariably turns to rural craftsmen, too, when it comes to constructing new recreation sites. Over 500 new areas are being built each year. Often they are constructed in the "off" season—and this helps provide year-round job opportunities.

I want to commend the Forest Service for the work it is doing to revitalize rural America. When I visit a national forest campground this year, I know I will enjoy the finest recreation opportunities available on some of our finest Federal recreation lands. But it is good to know, too, that my visit, along with Forest Service efforts in helping me enjoy it, will help rural Americans be a vital force in the American economy.

HEADSTART

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Gibbons] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had the opportunity to visit the White House, at the invitation of Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, to participate in a significant ceremony concerning Headstart. Mrs. Johnson has given the country far-sighted leadership as the Honorary National Chairman of Headstart.

The occasion marked the premiere of a film called "Pancho," the dramatic story of a little boy in California who participates in Headstart. His experience probably has been duplicated around the country thousands of times. The star of the movie, Pancho Mansera, was actually present along with his parents, his Headstart teacher, and others who had participated in this very moving event that revolved around Pancho's life. In the short space of 1 year, Pancho grew 5½ inches; he progressed both mentally and physically from the state of a 2-year-old to that of a 5-year-old. The dramatic film shows how Headstart tackled Pancho's problem at the right time and in the right way, giving him not only a "head" start, but a "good" start in life.

After viewing the film, it is not difficult to understand the support behind the President's proposal to extend the program to 3-year-olds, and to have a "follow through" of the program in the early grades of school.

At the premiere, Mrs. Johnson said:

> Headstart is many things. It is a child looking for a chance to be somebody. It is his parents determined that he shall have that chance. It is a teacher and a teacher's aid, trained and caring, guiding the child's first step on the road to knowledge; a doctor and a nurse, making sure his body is sturdy; a social worker showing the parents and child to sources of help.

It is a pleasure to insert in the Record all of Mrs. Johnson's excellent remarks telling about the premiere, and her 3-day three-State tour of new schools and educational programs in Appalachia.

Following Mrs. Johnson's remarks, I also would like to place in the Record, excerpts from Sargent Shriver's remarks at the ceremony. I am sure all of the Members of the House will be interested in Mr. Shriver's hard-hitting facts as to the worth of Headstart.

The articles follow:

Remarks of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at Beginning of "Adventure in Learning" Trip and Showing of "Pancho" Film, the White House

Friends: Today is an important one for me: important because of the premiere we will soon be seeing. But it is important also because it marks the beginning of a journey I am taking to some of the schoolrooms of this country—a journey that will take me during the next three days to West Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The map shows that this area—Appalachia—lies deep in the heart of the nation. It is no less deep in the heart and the thoughts of the President.

The map shows that Appalachia is 1200 miles long and 250 miles wide and some call it poor, but it should be measured, not in its shortage of material goods, but in its wealth of promise for the nation.

No one knows that promise better than the teachers of Appalachia for the great transformation of the region is taking place in their schoolrooms. Schools don't close their doors at 3:30 any more. Late into the night they are beaconlights to the community—teaching and enriching the lives of the people of all ages.

In visiting some of the classrooms of these three states, I will be glimpsing classrooms in every state where we are attacking old problems in new ways.

There is a great new fever for learning in this country, and a greater commitment by government to wipe out illiteracy than ever before. When you read the statistics in Washington, they are too hard to comprehend. By visiting the classroom, I can better understand the impact of one overwhelming statistic: one third of our people are in school.

Our journey starts in this room this morning with one small boy. His name is Pancho and he is a movie star. He has come all the way from California to be here.

Pancho Mansera is six years old. You will see in this film, as the President and I have seen, that Pancho is more than a movie star. He is one of thousands of children, who, because of Head Start, are getting a *fair* start in school, instead of being daily dulled by problems too big for a child to master alone.

You in this room are literally the producers of this show. With thousands of other Head Start workers and volunteers, you have made the dramatic success story possible.

No one more than you who work in the 10,000 Head Start Centers throughout the country better understands the deeper meaning of this program for pre-school children. You have made the difference between what is and what might have been.

As you have discovered, Head Start is many things. It is a child looking for a chance to be somebody. It is his parents determined that he shall have that chance. It is a teacher and a teacher's aide, trained and caring, guiding the child's first steps on the road to knowledge; a doctor and a nurse, making sure his body is sturdy; a social worker showing the parents and child to sources of help.

Head Start is a crusade of individuals and organizations with special skills, and very special dedication, and we pay tribute to them all for all they have done. They will have the satisfaction of seeing the results of their efforts as demonstrated by one dramatic Head Start story.

It shows that Head Start tackles the problem at the most crucial age—when the difference for good or ill can be made, when the most can be done, when the investment in time and money brings the most telling results. Ideally, we would hope that Head Start could be applied for longer and to more children. That is why the President has proposed that the programs be extended to three-year-olds and that there must be "follow-through" in the early grades of school. But because you can't do everything, would you do nothing? I don't think Pancho would agree.

Pancho, thank you for coming to the White House to see a movie called "Pancho." To have a movie named for you is quite an honor even for a movie star, you know. I have never heard of a movie called "Spencer," or "Marlon," or "Kirk." But I think you especially deserve the honor for, as a star, you cast a bright light of promise for us all.

EXCERPTS FROM THE REMARKS OF SARGENT SHRIVER, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, HEADSTART CEREMONIES, THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 13, 1967

We are gathered here this morning for two reasons:—to celebrate a significant victory in the "war against poverty" and to launch a new campaign for America's children.

The significant victory we celebrate is, of course, "Head Start." The new campaign is to extend the benefits of "Head Start" to all poor children and to their parents:—three million poor children of whom 50% probably have never even heard of "Head Start."

The task is formidable. But our past victories give us every reason to hope for future success.

It was only two years and two months ago that we launched "Head Start" in this same room under the inspirational guidance and sponsorship of our gracious hostess, Mrs. Johnson. We had big ideas. We hoped to enroll 100,000 children in an unprecedented summer program.

Most of the "experts" on children said it couldn't be done. There was too little time, too few teachers, too little space, too few books and teaching materials, and too few doctors, too few nurses.

The "experts" advised us to try for 10,000, not 100,000 children.

And you all know what happened—

We ended up with 561,000 Head Start children that first summer. And since then 1,438,000 children have joined "Head Start."

Why? How could this have happened—so fast? No one was forced into "Head Start"—No one drafted.

There was, of course, Dr. Julius Richmond's brilliant direction of the program. There was Mrs. Johnson's energetic, far-sighted leadership as Honorary National Chairman. And there were hundreds of skillful administrators and managers. But, are these unique? Is Head Start the only program so favored? Obviously *not*. Then what is the answer?

I suggest the answer is simple: We let the American people do it themselves.

Washington paid for it—but the people ran it. And I don't mean educators, doctors, lawyers, merchants or chiefs—I mean the people, plain, ordinary American citizens.

Today, for example, 70% of all Head Start children are attending classes in private, non-profit institutions. They are not in public or parochial schools.

The American Optometric Association—Luci Baines Nugent's "Volunteers for Vision," gave more than 100,000 free optical exams.

The American Academy of Pediatrics supplied more than 200 pediatricians as Consultants.

The Americal Dental Association mobilized its members, helped to write the guidelines and prepare special materials for dentists.

More than 250,000 private citizens worked for "Head Start" free-of-charge.

And the accomplishments are breathtaking: 98,000 children with eye defects discovered and treated; 90,000 children with bone and joint disorders discovered and treated; 7,400 children mentally retarded discovered and referred for special handling; 2,200 active cases of TB discovered and treated; 900,000 dental cases discovered with an average of 5 cavities per child; 740,000 children discovered without vaccinations against polio and then immunized by "Head Start"; more than 1,000-000-not vaccinated against measles, and then immunized by "Head Start".

Forty per cent of these children are *white*, English-speaking—20% are white Spanish-speaking—40% are Negro. Which proves another significant point:

Poverty is color blind—a lesson of special meaning in the Deep South.

In Mississippi we shall have 33,000 children in "Head Start" come June 30th—all of them in biracial programs—the first biracial activities in Mississippi history. The "experts" said that, too, could not be achieved But Mississippi leaders, white and black, have done it—working together, through new, private, not-for-profit groups.

What's the point of it all? To take care of a million or two million children? Yes—but much more than that.

The point is to prove once again to the American people that they can accomplish miracles—if they work together—poor and rich—educated and unlettered—amateurs and professionals.

That's what we mean by local Community Action—the national program of which "Head Start" is a part.

500,000 parents have participated in "Head Start" along with their children—right in the classrooms. That may be the largest adult education program in the country. At the very least it's a new PTA—the PPTA—the "Poor Parents" teachers' association.

And as a further result of this newly awakened community interest we have new recruits in the "war against poverty." The University of Louisville has 154 students studying child development this year as against 17 last year! A New York State university has 1,200 applicants for 200 openings. Even four states have inaugurated kindergarten for all.

Where is all this activity leading us? It is taking us toward an America where no one will see what I saw last summer in Colorado Springs in the basement of the Congregational Church.

A birthday party for a new 5-year-old Head Start recruit—where the teachers baked the cake and the little child couldn't eat it . . . . because his teeth hurt so much he couldn't bite.

Is it too much to ask the richest nation in history to make sure that every child can eat his own birthday cake?

I think not. You think not. But our job is to convince all Americans, or at least 51% of them.

This wonderful movie "Pancho" will help us tell our story. But you—every one of you in this room—must work to get this movie distributed and shown. We need to reach at least 10,000,000 people with Pancho's message.

We are pleased that four or five states will soon start kindergarten. But there are still twenty-three states with no kindergarten classes.

We are pleased that our new Neighborhood Health Centers will soon be bringing medical care to thousands of poor people heretofore unreached. But still millions of American women will bear children this year without any prenatal or postnatal care—their children will receive no visits from pediatricians. America's infant mortality rate will continue higher and deadlier than Sweden's or England's or Belgium's, or Switzerland's, or Germany's. Why should "they" be ahead of us?

By the year 2000—ten thousand or more astronauts may well fly through outer space—but 30 billion human beings will make the 9-month inner voyage through the womb. Yet we spend more on the technology of space than on the technology of birth. We know more about outer space than inner space. Over the years we have spent more research money on pregnant cows than on pregnant women. So, as a nation we have no grounds for complacency. We have lots still to do. But we can do it—as long as we work not as specialists but as humanists, not as professionals but as amateurs—lovers, that is, of mankind.

WILL THE REAL ROBERT McNAMARA PLEASE STAND UP?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the March 5, 1967, edition of Parade magazine carried a feature article in some depth on Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. I believe that Mr. Lloyd Shearer's article on the Secretary of Defense gives the American people a better insight and sounder understanding of the enormous responsibilities and pressures that the Secretary must face continuously. No one with feet of clay or faint heart would ever be able to perform in the arena in which Secretary McNamara has over the past 6 years, the longest period for any of our Secretaries of Defense since the Department of Defense was established two decades ago. In order that more Americans can read this excellent article, I include it today as part of my remarks.

The aforementioned article follows:

WILL THE REAL ROBERT McNAMARA PLEASE STAND UP?

(By Lloyd Shearer)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Bob McNamara is the greatest Secretary of Defense this country has ever had."—Lyndon Johnson.

"He [McNamara] is a one-man disaster who threatens disaster for us all. The list of charges that may be brought against him is as long as his term in office and as current as the morning's headlines."—Barry Goldwater.

"I used to go out with Bob McNamara when we both attended Piedmont High School. Later, when he was at Cal, he used to drive down to Stanford in his Ford convertible to see me. He was one of the most gay, fun-loving, adventurous, intelligent young men I have ever dated. And what a dancer!"—Mrs. Clifton Fadiman.

"There's something about Mr. McNamara. Maybe it's those rimless eyeglasses he wears. But whenever I was called into his office for dictation, I used to shake. My knees actually rattled. It got so bad, they had to transfer me out."—A Pentagon secretary.

At age 50 Robert Strange McNamara has become one of America's most publicized and controversial figures. Since the Defense Department was founded in 1947, there have been eight secretaries, only one of whom, Charles Wilson (1953–57), lasted as long as four years, McNamara, a man of incredible stamina, has already survived six.

In that time he has won the high praise and unflagging support of two shrewd, demanding, pragmatic U.S. Presidents, Kennedy and Johnson, and the almost constant censure of some generals, admirals and congressmen, who are convinced that he is little more than a transplanted cost accountant whose approach to every problem is statistical and whose solutions are frequently wrong.

His public image is equally cloudy and controversial. As regards Vietnam, people don't know whether he's a hawk or a dove. On one hand they hear it was he who talked President Johnson into the first prolonged bombing halt in Vietnam in 1965 and the subsequent worldwide peace offensive. On the other they are told, "This is McNamara's war," and it is his policy which is killing noncombatants in North Vietnam.

Ask the man on the street (as Parade has in a random sampling) what impression he has of Robert McNamara, and you get such adjectives and answers as: "Cold and remote. . . . He looks like a square to me. . . . Stiff and self-righteous. . . . His hair is laid out like a public park. . . . A walking computer. . . . He gives the impression of listening faster than one can talk to him. . . . There's something very unyielding about that man. . . . I'm convinced he's the most brilliant, erudite man in the government today. . . . In front of those senators he's always so well-prepared. But tell me, does he have a heart? . . . I'm a woman, and my womanly intuition tells me that he's the kind of man who's never cried. . . . I get the feeling that he's never enjoyed the exquisite luxury of wasting a few spare minutes. . . .He gives the impression of strength, decisiveness and cold steel. But I don't know what the hell our objective is in Vietnam, and, frankly, I wonder if he does either."

THE TRUTH

What is the truth about Robert McNamara, Defense Secretary, and Robert McNamara, man?

Surely this tall, lean, 165-pound southpaw is the strongest, most effective, most forceful and possibly the most brilliant Defense Secretary we've ever had. Many reporters who have covered the regimes of his Pentagon predecessors—James Forrestal, Louis Johnson, Gen. George Marshall, Robert Lovett, Charles Wilson, Neil McElroy, Thomas Gates—generally agree on that.

A few resent his personal manner, which they equate with a posture of kingly omnipotence, his didactic briefings, the air of certitude and overwhelming confidence he generates, "the way he comes on like gangbusters," but even they concede: "He works like a Trojan. . . . He's the first Secretary to run the service chiefs instead of vice versa. . . . He's the first guy with the know-how to establish control over Pentagon money and communications. . . . He doesn't mind revealing facts and figures, telling the nation how many nuclear bombs we've got and how we stand vis-a-vis Russia and China. . . . He doesn't wait for problems to develop. He believes in taking an active role in heading them off. . . . Most people who manage and administer well are not particularly profound men. McNamara is both a manager and a philosopher."

What McNamara has done as Defense Secretary among other things is to apply the best management techniques of industry to a sprawling department long characterized by permissiveness, autonomy and now charged with the awesome responsibility of spending $73 billion of the nation's money in one year.

"The principles of administration here," he says, "are not really very much different than anyplace else. I've often thought the administration of any large organization—whether it be the Catholic Church or Harvard University or the Ford Motor Company—has very, very much in common."

McNamara declares that he acts primarily on one principle: "And that's to advance the national interest, and I have no hesitancy in sweeping out of my way ideas that don't appear to support that objective or people that get in the way. That's the single principle I follow, and I would submit to you that I have met with some success in following that principle in six years."

What have the past six years done to McNamara? Is he, as Washington rumor recurrently has it, on the verge of resigning?

A little more than a year ago he was sounded out on taking over the presidency of the Ford Foundation but quickly negated the suggestion. According to a friend, "Bob is not about to quit the Defense job until he sees this Vietnamese war through or is replaced as Secretary by another person. He simply is not the type of man who walks away when the going gets tough." The Ford Foundation position was subsequently offered to McGeorge Bundy, who resigned his White House job to accept it.

McNamara describes his tenure in Washington thus far as "an exciting and stimulating and on the whole a very satisfying experience." When asked, however, "Would you do it again?", he laughingly replied, "Not immediately." And when the reporter inquired if the job was wearing him thin, he laughed again, conceded, "Well, it's not a job that one would continue for life."

The Defense Secretary has long had the reputation of suffering fools badly. Asked if his tolerance quotient had increased over the years, he replied quickly, "I hope not. I don't believe suffering fools is a desirable quality."

And yet even those senators who still are suspect of the McNamara emphasis on "methodology" believe time and environment have made him more diplomatic, gentle and tolerant.

Last year McNamara testified before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee that a particular South American country possessed a certain number of tanks. This number, he pointed out, was "80 percent of the total tank strength of Bulgaria." Next day one of the senators asked him what was relevant about the number of tanks in Bulgaria.

"In the old days," the senator says, "Mac would have gotten sore or at least peeved at the question. This time he merely smiled and shrugged. I've gotten to like him as an individual because he seems to have grown more patient with us, but whenever he's trying to sell us something, he's always got his chart and pointer. The kind of case he and the White House have got to make—I'd prefer if they'd make it without a chart and pointer. He gives me the feeling that his commitment to methodology is total; that if you would just give him enough time with computers and statistics, he'd be able to come up with the right answer on anything. And that, of course, hasn't been the case, especially with Vietnam.

"But as regards McNamara personally," the senator continues, "He's a sincere man, an honest man. He doesn't have a mean bone in his body. He hasn't become velvet gloved over the years, not by any means. He just seems a little more mild, a little more mortal. You must remember, of course, that this poor guy has one of the most thankless jobs in the world."

One person who rarely loses sight of McNamara's almost impossible job is his secretary, Peggy Stroud. "When Mr. McNamara first came to the Pentagon," she recalls, "he had that very appealing boyish look, so much of that boyish laughter which reflects his true personality. But you can't work around the clock the way he does, from 7 or 7:30 in the morning until late at night, you can't face all the pressures he does, those very difficult decisions he has to make, and still come out looking boyish.

"The job has aged him. No doubt about it. He's so preoccupied most of the time. They've thrown so many projects at him over the years that I really can't understand how he maintains his composure. He is the most polite and patient man I've ever worked for. I don't know how he does it. And he hasn't lost his sense of humor, either. It doesn't take very much to make him laugh. But this isn't the kind of job, let's face it, where there's very much to laugh about unless you think beating Orville Freeman in a game of squash is laughable."

RESPECT AND ADMIRATION

Another McNamara supporter—there are few people who having worked with the Defense Secretary do not respect and admire him—points out that the public image of the Defense Secretary—cold, positive, automatonlike—has no basis in fact but has become reinforced "because McNamara is involved in what is probably the most unpopular war the U.S. has fought in modern times, the mess in Vietnam."

"People don't understand this war," one pro-McNamara informant explains. "They're frustrated by it. 'How did we ever get into this mess? . . . Why are we there? . . . Are the Vietnamese worth fighting for? . . . Why can't the mightiest nation on earth wipe those pesty little guys off the map?' These are some of the questions they ask. They've heard that McNamara is a big brain. Many people are convinced that he's more knowledgeable, more cultured, better informed, better educated than the President. 'Why doesn't he set old Lyndon on the right path? . . . Why doesn't he solve this mess?' They need some target for their resentment, for their frustration, and in many cases they've chosen McNamara.

"But this isn't McNamara's war. He doesn't make foreign policy, and he didn't get us into it. His main job is combat readiness, and I submit to you that he's done one helluva job. We've put close to 500,000 men in Southeast Asia in a very short period of time, and we've supplied them, and their morale is excellent. And we've got enough left of everything to take care of both Russia and China if we have to.

"To my way of thinking, Bob McNamara is a godsend. Sure, he's made mistakes. Who hasn't? But I'd hate to think what position this country would now be in if we had some other people I could mention—but won't—in his job. Take my word for it, the adjectives which best describe him are superior, dedicated, honest. The best thing Jack Kennedy ever did was to get Bob McNamara as his Defense Secretary."

McNamara declares that he's neither interested nor worried about his image. "I'm concerned about the national interest and about acting in accordance with it, and that's enough for one to worry about. But I might say in passing that I have a most advantageous position and almost a unique position in respect to many others here. By the grace of good fortune I don't have to worry about what I'm doing when I leave. And, therefore, what my image is (is frankly of no consequence to me, because the image would only affect what I do hereafter, and I'm not concerned about what I do hereafter. I'm just concerned about the present."

HIS VIEW ON VIETNAM

His present major concern, of course, is Vietnam, and his view on that war can possibly best be gleaned from the following dialogue:

Reporter: "You've been a great systems-analysis man, a great cost-effectiveness man, a great innovator and introducer of management techniques into government. But the sum total of all this at the moment is that we are now involved in a war which seems without system. . . . It seems that we are now playing it by ear, so here is Bob McNamara on one side, the great systems man, and here is the war that he's fighting on the other side, which seems to be almost systemless. . . . The feeling of the public is that we don't know where we're going, and that no one else does. Would you comment on that?"

McNamara: "Oh, I think we know where we're going. The first thing that people misunderstand is the objective. We have a very, very limited objective."

Reporter: "What would that be?"

McNamara: "It's not to destroy the country of North Vietnam. It's not to destroy the government of North Vietnam. It's certainly not to find a base for subsequent military operations against Red China. It isn't even to tie the South Vietnamese to a western military alliance.

"In contrast to any of those, our objective is limited to preserving for the South Vietnamese the right to shape their own destiny and choose general and political and economic institutions as an independent sovereign power.

"Now, there's a great failure to understand that. Some of our own people don't understand it, and many of our allies don't understand it. But if you start with this as the objective, then you ask what kind of military strategy should be adopted, and it becomes quite clear that an element of that strategy need not be the destruction by air bombardment, for example, of North Vietnam. That's not part of our objective.

"Our objective is to achieve this limited objective and, I should have added, to achieve it at the lowest possible cost in human life to ourselves and in human life to our enemies. And therefore, it's inconsistent with that objective to carry out an unlimited bombing campaign in North Vietnam.

"Achievement of the objective requires that we show North Vietnam that its aggression against the south cannot be won, that they cannot subvert and destroy the political institutions of the south. Now that must be shown by action in the south primarily, and the campaign against the north is to increase the cost to their effort to subvert and destroy the institutions of the south, thereby putting additional pressure on them to terminate those efforts.

"But it was never thought, for example, that the campaign of air bombardment in the north would by itself terminate aggression in the south. We never thought it would be a substitute for effective action in the south to prevent the success of the guerrilla and main-force units in the south. So understanding what we're doing starts with understanding what the objective is, and from that develops an understanding of the military strategy and the tactics of day-to-day operations."

Robert Strange McNamara was born in San Francisco on June 9, 1916. His mother, the former Clara Nell Strange, was a delightfully loquacious Billie Burkeish type of character, of Protestant Scottish-English ancestry. His father, Robert James McNamara, 25 years older than Mrs. McNamara, was a nonpracticing Catholic of Irish ancestry, in charge of sales for Buckingham & Hecht, a wholesale shoe company.

According to people who worked with him, the elder McNamara was endowed with a sharp intelligence, an outstanding memory and an innate sense of dignity, three characteristics he passed on to his son.

In addition to Robert, the McNamaras were blessed with a daughter, Margaret, three years younger than her brother. Today she is Mrs. Arthur Slaymore of Stamford, Conn., the wife of a vice-president of the American Bank Note Company. She states, "Bob and I came from a very normal, middle-class California home, and we both enjoyed a very normal youth. Stories that there was a generation gap between us and our father, that he didn't understand us, are nonsense. We had a very happy homelife. The only thing nontypical about it was Bob. Even as a little boy my brother was terrific. He was something special. All of us knew he'd grow up to be something special, and I believe he has."

Bob McNamara was raised in Oakland, Calif., then in Piedmont, a nearby suburb, where at the local high school he consistently earned A's, became editor of the school annual, president of the French Club, sang off key in the glee club, was head of the student government, still found time to date local belles like Hallie Booth and Annalee Whitmore.

"Good grades were terribly important to him and his parents," says one old schoolmate, "and he never disappointed them. His folks bought him a black Ford convertible with green wire wheels in his senior year, and he learned to drive it well and carefully. Even as a youngster his judgment was sound and mature."

HE LOATHES PHONIES

Annalee Whitmore, a former Time-Life correspondent in the Pacific who coauthored *Thunder out of China* with Theodore White many years ago and is now Mrs. Clifton Fadiman of Los Angeles, remembers McNamara as "one of the best dancers in Piedmont. He has natural rhythm, a ready sense of humor, high standards, a great intelligence—he was real fun with spontaneous wit and gaiety. He and Vernon Goodin, now a lawyer in San Francisco, used to drive down to Palo Alto to visit me in Stanford. They were always broke and used to come by some circuitous route through Alviso to avoid the 25-cent toll bridge—and I must say we had nothing but fun. People who think Bob McNamara's stuffy or self-righteous just don't know him. He loathes phonies, stuffed shirts, status symbols, gladhanders.

"He's a very secure person, and if you're secure, you don't have to spend your life getting people to like you or improving your image. What Bob has is integrity, intelligence, industry and great self-discipline. His virtues are so numerous that people can't identify with him. I'll tell you this: If I had the choice of one public servant to decide the future of this country, I'd choose Bob McNamara, because he makes decisions on the basis of knowledge and humanity."

In the course of researching McNamara for this article, I interviewed at least a dozen persons who'd gone to school with him at Piedmont High, the University of California and the Harvard School of Business Administration, where he did his graduate work. Each pointed out to me that the image the public holds of Robert McNamara is completely wrong, that he is warm, friendly, informal, polite, responsive, compassionate, loving, understanding, humorous but with a strong sense of what is right. Three women used the adjective "romantic" to describe him. When I asked an old buddy of his to comment on that, he said, "It doesn't surprise me one bit. When Bob and I were at Berkeley, we would wonder like most college boys do, what the future held in store for us. Bob used to say that, if through some streak of great luck he could amass a fortune of $10,000, he would spend the rest of his days in Tahiti just fishing, fooling around with the girls and living on the interest. That's the kind of dreams we used to dream.

"Bob was never interested in money, and I honestly think that the only reason he joined the Ford Motor Company along with the other so-called "whiz kids" was that at the end of World War II, his wife, Margey, came down with polio. They both did, but his wasn't a serious case, and he recovered quickly. Not Margey. It looked like a long siege of illness for her, and Bob didn't want her being looked after by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. He wanted to pay for it himself. And who had any money after being in the service? He didn't. I think he was in debt. But if it hadn't been for Margey's polio, I'm inclined to believe he would have returned to teaching at Harvard. Money is not what motivates McNamara."

Margaret Carter, 25, the McNamaras' oldest daughter—they have two other children: Kathleen, 24, studying anthropology in Greece, and Robert Craig, 16, at St. Paul's—believes, "Service is what drives both my parents. They believe very strongly that in a democracy people must take an active part in government, or the government is going to be in trouble.

"Before my father accepted the Defense job, he phoned me. I was away in school at the time [Stanford], and he asked my opinion. He's very considerate. If he took the job it meant giving up our house in Ann Arbor, a change of environment, a certain loss of privacy.

"I said, 'Whatever you and mother decide will be right.' I knew he'd take the job, because he's a man who likes to serve, to use himself up, to broaden himself. He doesn't consider government service a sacrifice, not for him, maybe for his family, but not for him.

"They tried to keep him out of the service in World War II because of his eyesight, but he got in anyway. I couldn't ask for a better father, or mother either. The relationship Kathy and I and Craig have with them, well, it's just marvelous. We love and respect them, and that's the way they feel about us."

The Defense Secretary has been married 26 years to the former Margaret Craig of Alameda, Calif. They were classmates at the University of California but never dated until McNamara returned from his graduate stint at the Harvard School of Business Administration. They were married in 1940, sailed through the Panama Canal on their honeymoon (McNamara was by then an experienced seaman, having worked on passenger ships during summer vacations) and started married life in Cambridge on very little money.

Theirs has been a full, rich, eventful, exciting, successful marriage, largely because they are both intelligent, active, tolerant, athletic (skiing, tennis, mountain climbing), sensitive, loving, artistic, children-blessed, literate people with similar or complementary value judgments.

They are both avid readers of fiction, nonfiction and poetry. I counted 14 books on their night tables plus copies of the *New York Review of Books*, the *Sunday Times of London* and the *New Yorker*. On the Defense Secretary's desk I spotted two poetry anthologies; *The Arrogance of Power* by Senator Fulbright; *Markings* by Dag Hammarskjold; *Hell Is a Small Place* by Bernard Fall; *Report to Greco* by Kazantzakis, and Pike's book on the Viet Cong.

SOPHISTICATED TASTE

The McNamara home, on a side street off "Embassy Row" in Washington, D.C., is quietly and sedately decorated. The art, abstract and expressionistic, except for a 1962 portrait of President Kennedy by C. J. Fox, reflects a sophisticated taste. McNamara's gift to his wife this past Christmas was an exquisite piece of sculpture. She, in turn, has gifted him with a Giacometti and other works of art.

How much longer the McNamaras can afford financially to live in Washington, D.C., is a subject frequently hushed about in government circles. In 1960 when McNamara relinquished the presidency of the Ford Motor Company to become Defense Secretary at $25,000 per year, he relinquished 24,250 shares of Ford stock, all his stock in the Scott Paper Company of whose board he was a member, some $350,000 in salary and an option on 30,000 additional shares of Ford stock which would have earned him an estimated $3½ million. He placed some of his Ford shares in a family foundation and the proceeds from the sale of his other stock in a trust fund invested in nondefense corporations. He also had in his deferred payment account at Ford $618,730 in bonuses earned between 1957 and 1960. It is on this deferred money the McNamaras have been living these past six years.

As Defense Secretary, Robert McNamara was sailing full speed ahead until he ran into the Vietnamese storm. Since then he has been condemned, criticized, belittled, damned, lampooned, mocked, denounced, denigrated, castigated and vilified. He has become the target of Viet Cong assassins, the object of contumely by both hawks and doves, the disappointment of academicians, who feel that, along with his phenomenal memory and wizardlike calculating ability, he somehow in his 50 years should have acquired enough wisdom in international affairs to end the war quickly.

Instead the war has dragged on, and Robert McNamara has become part of the American dilemma. Is he a hero or a "heavy"? Is he a hawk or a dove—or both? Is he a Republican or a Democrat? A Secretary or a statesman? Are his great contributions to the country to be obscured by his failure to find a quick answer to Vietnam?

"All I can tell you," one senator bravely risked when I asked his opinion, "is that Robert McNamara is either the rightest or wrongest Defense Secretary we've ever had. He is no halfway guy. If he can get us out of Vietnam this year, and of late there have been peace feelers, someone is sure to suggest that he'd make a great President or a great running mate for Bobby Kennedy—you know, the Bobsey twins. If he doesn't, then they'll say he belongs back at Ford turning out Edsels."

A TALL TEXAN

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. de la Garza] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. de la GARZA. Mr. Speaker, although I do not know this from having been here at the time, I am reliably informed that 30 years ago Tex Easley came to Washington from his native Texas to cover Congress for the Associated Press.

I do not doubt that this happened. I only find cause for wonder that the Tex Easley we see every day in the Press Gallery and our offices and the corridors of the Capitol should have been able to sit up to a typewriter three decades ago. However, it must be true.

For 30 years, then, our friend Tex has been building his reputation as an outstanding reporter—an accurate, fair, and painstaking newsman who does credit to the great organization he serves. And he is not alone a good reporter; he is a wonderful human being as well, a man who attracts friendship because he is himself friendly.

I am proud to join in saluting Tex on this anniversary of his entrance on the Washington scene, and I heartily wish him well as he starts on his second 30 years of covering the Congress.

DEATH OF A WARRIOR—THE LATE HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks, I include a splendid editorial, "Death of a Warrior" appearing in the March 1967 issue of the American Journal of Psychiatry, the official publication of the American Psychiatric Association, in relation to our late beloved friend and colleague, John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island.

The editorial well presents the dedication of our late friend to the advancement of knowledge about people's health and welfare, and "the respect and affection which scientists in all medical disciplines had for him was earned by his dedication, firm purpose, vision, and courage."

As the editorial further says, "Dr. John," as he was called affectionately, "will be sadly missed." Also, "He was a warrior for the common good, and fearless in the performance of his duties. We mark his passing with the greatest regret and realize that sick people and those charged with their care are the better for his having lived."

DEATH OF A WARRIOR

It was always an interesting and exciting experience to testify before John Fogarty, Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare. Such testimony required careful preparation, for he stood for no cant; one realized that he was interested, knowledgeable, and alert and had a prodigious memory. Representatives of the American Psychiatric Association appeared before him annually in support of the NIMH budget after officials of NIMH had testified and the problems had been fairly set forth. Of late years, in a show of desirable symbiosis, the APA spokesman and the executive director of the National Committee Against Mental Illness appeared together. The latter was major-domo of the occasion and both defended the same "citizens' budget," which was usually higher than that presented by NIMH because representatives of that government agency were hemmed in by Presidential edict.

Some of our colleagues may not realize the contributions to medical science in general and psychiatry in particular that have been made by Chairman Fogarty and his delightful and distinguished colleague, Senator Lister Hill, because they do not recall how things were before these congressmen took up the cudgels in our behalf. Psychiatry was the stepchild as far as government support was concerned and, except for a few foundations, as far as most people and physicians were concerned. We have said before, and repeat now, that were it not for the NIMH support of research and training over the past two decades, our discipline would now be in chaos. Training in the Veterans Administration hospitals and the few other institutions that could afford it helped, but they could not have carried the entire burden.

There is no need for us to enumerate in detail the advances made under their aegis and sometimes under their prodding—the advances are too numerous and too all-encompassing to evaluate here. The interesting thing was to see John Fogarty "build up the record." He knew after listening to various experts what was lacking and what was needed; he sought further informed opinion before he made up his own mind; then he would drive toward the accomplishment of his purpose. The last thing we recall was his insistence that the NIMH pay particular attention to alcoholism and its ravages.

While the hearings were on, the Chairman listened intently and untiringly to representatives of all the medical specialties, day after day for weeks at a time. Sometimes a whispered word to a clerk brought documents from previous years, and it was apparent that everything was checked carefully. Witnesses were sometimes brought up short as testimony from previous years was recalled to them.

The advancement of knowledge about people's health and welfare was—next to his family—his whole life, and he defended his budget against all opponents, the Bureau of the Budget and, to our knowledge, four Presidents. He curried no favors; the respect and affection which scientists in all medical disciplines had for him was earned by his dedication, firm purpose, vision, and courage.

This man, who carried a Bricklayers' union card, made an immeasurable contribution to the welfare of people. He was honored by many scientific groups and was an honorary member of our own Association. He had been in Congress for 26 years. Had he desired, he could have been a governor, senator, or a member of any large committee, but he chose to stay in his subcommittee post and take care of his friends—sick people—and to give medical men the wherewithal to work for them.

"Dr. John," as his friends called him affectionately, will be sadly missed. The House hearings won't be the same without him. Perhaps a new champion will arise—hopefully one will—but one goes about preparation for this year's testimony with a heavy heart.

Dedicated legislator, far-sighted gentleman, he was embattled when it came to health legislation. He was a warrior for the common good and fearless in the performance of his duties. We mark his passing with the greatest regret and realize that sick people and those charged with their care are the better for his having lived.

F.J.B.

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. DELANEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, March 12 marked the 20th anniversary of the now famous Truman doctrine, whereby the Congress, responding to the President's request, made available $400 million in military and economic assistance to help Greece and Turkey combat Communist aggression.

It may be recalled, Mr. Speaker, that the President in his momentous address to the Congress declared that "America could not, and should not, let these free countries stand unaided." For, as he pointed out, the alternative would be "the loss of Greece, and the extension of the Iron Curtain across the eastern Mediterranean."

As the world knows, Congress responded to the President's request, and the great Greek people, accepting our hand of friendship, worked vigorously to rebuild their ports, highways, farms, and industries. More importantly, this timely support by the United States revitalized the Greek National Army, permitting it to defeat the once powerful Communist guerrilla force. As a result of this joint effort, the tide of Soviet influence at the Greek and Turkish borders was repulsed, and both countries resumed their places as independent states in the community of nations.

It is important to note, too, Mr. Speaker, that Greece has never forgotten this crucial assistance by the United States. She has long been our stanch ally in the NATO alliance, and the Greek battalion was one of the most outstanding fighting units allied with us in the Korean war.

The Truman doctrine was the starting point for a dramatic new foreign policy of the United States which, as Mr. Truman later wrote, "declared that wherever aggression direct or indirect, threatened the peace, the security of the United States was involved." Pointing up the relativity of the Truman doctrine today, the distinguished New York Times correspondent, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, observed on March 10 in that paper:

> Twenty years after, it is easy to understand the lessons of the audacious Truman Doctrine in Greece; twenty years hence it may be similarly interesting to learn what really was taking place right now in Vietnam.

MAN, EARTH, AND WATER

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, although it is natural and logical that the problem which looms the largest in our minds these days is the conflict in Vietnam, there are other basic issues which we must, nevertheless, still face.

Our distinguished colleague, the Honorable JIM WRIGHT, of Fort Worth, has stated these basic problems succinctly in addressing the Texas Water Conservation Association in Austin, Tex., on Monday, March 13.

My colleagues, I wish to share Congressman WRIGHT's remarks on "Man, Earth, and Water" and invite your close attention to them, as follows:

MAN, EARTH AND WATER

(Remarks of Congressman JIM WRIGHT before the Texas Water Conservation Association, Austin, Tex., Mar. 13, 1967)

Our most impelling problem in the final one-third of the Twentieth Century may not be the atom bomb after all, but something much older and equally as devastating. The problem may be famine, and how to avoid it. The central question may be whether man is wise enough to husband the earth's resources and coax from them enough continuing sustenance for the world's growing population.

If widespread famine is to be avoided, we must cultivate an entirely new and enlightened relationship to the earth and its provender.

Through all the countless centuries of our mortal struggle from the dust to the stars, earth has been to man provider and sustainer, bounteous and presumably inexhaustible. In our time, man must be to earth not only exploiter but protector. This is the new imperative in the interest of both earth and man.

PEOPLE, LAND AND FOOD

Already the stark statistics of population growth contain in their overtones a prophecy of world famine. Already, in spite of our pockets of affluence, we see a preview of this prophecy on the subcontinent of India. At the beginning of the Christian era, there were only some 250 million people on the entire earth. Within our generation, we shall have more than that right here in the U.S.—on about seven percent of the world's land area.

It took mankind 3,000 years to achieve a population of three billion people. Demographers forecast that we shall double this in 30 years. In three decades, if the present trend continues, we shall add to the living total as many as our progenitors added in three millennia.

The same amount of land and air and water and mineral resources, then, must be made to serve more and ever more people. In our own country, where every year we have a population growth equivalent to a new state of Maryland, we must think entirely anew.

No longer will agricultural surpluses be our problem. Instead, we approach the time when we shall need millions of additional acres in production if we are merely to feed our own people—let alone the famine-bent billions of a hungry world.

Every drop of water that can be conserved, every inch of top soil that can be saved, every field and forest we can renew, every ore and mineral we can develop and conserve, and every stream we can cleanse of pollution will be our greatest possible gifts to future generations. This is why the work of your association is so extremely important.

BELATED AWAKENING

As a nation we have become aware of this age old problem and its approaching crisis only in the present generation. Until our time there were always new frontiers. Land was cheap. The fertile valleys and billowing prairies stretched like a never-ending sea before the path of the westward migration. There was water enough, and the rivers cleansed themselves.

Then, almost suddenly, it began to dawn upon us that we had been living in a fool's paradise. The frontier was gone. The rapacious hand of man had despoiled countless thousands of acres of our most precious heritage. Land was no longer cheap. Our search for minerals had devastated great hunks of earth. Lumbering had laid waste the hillsides. Overgrazing had denuded the prairies. Billions of tons of life-giving top soil had been forever and irretrievably lost. Our streams were befouled.

Here in our country, the past generation has witnessed a prodigious effort at reclamation. Deserts have blossomed to the flow of irrigation ditches. In 1909, the West had a mere 8,000 acres of irrigated cotton. Today, it is almost three million acres. Irrigation today is our most voracious consumer of water. Its product, of course, is the food and fibre that keeps us going.

But the subterranean water tables are falling precipitately in many areas, as we regularly withdraw more than nature supplies. An outstanding example can be seen on the South Plains of Texas. And as the irrigation waters reclaim much of the hitherto forgotten land of America, traditional farmlands in areas where the rainfall once was relied upon to produce the crops are turning to pasture, and pastures unwatered and overgrazed, have historically turned to desert.

During the past thirty years, 14 million acres of badlands have been claimed for cultivating, but in the process 48 million acres which formerly grew crops for the nation have been retired from the cultivator's blade. This represents a withdrawal from crop harvesting of some 75 thousand square miles, a total area larger than the State of Oklahoma.

HISTORIC CYCLE

Much of this withdrawn land now is in pasture. Presumably we are wise enough to prevent its progression in the historic cycle from pasture to overgrazing to desert. Let us hope so. But today a motorist traveling along highways of our southwestern states can witness, in countless square miles of mesquite groves, a tragic modern reenactment of an often performed drama. Many of the mesquite groves stand on land which was cultivated by the Pueblo and Hohokam Indian civilizations before a 23 year drought utterly destroyed their form of society. Only two generations ago the land provided lush pasture. Today these miles of mesquite pronounce a silent indictment upon the folly of overgrazing.

History holds stark lessons of other civilizations which found—too late—that they could not halt the cycle which plagued the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, killed off the great Maya civilization that reached its cultural stride about 1000 A.D., spelled eventual doom to the Egyptians and Babylonians and the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest.

Shelley tells of the statue of the tyrant Ozymandias, which stands crumbling in the desert, with its boastful inscription: "Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair." Even for Ozymandias, the water ran out:

"Round the decay
"Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
"The lone and level sands stretch far away."

OUR MOST INDISPENSABLE COMMODITY

The United States of America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, is running out of its most indispensable commodity—clear, usable water.

This nation used about *40 billion* gallons of water a day in *1900*. We will use *almost 400* billion gallons daily in *1967*. The rate of consumption will continue to go up steadily. Increased uses for industry and irrigation couple with the shiny appurtenances of our affluent society. Automatic dishwashers, lawn sprinklers, the instant carwash, the laundromat, backyard swimming pools and massive household demands for electric energy all represent new and growing uses. This is our way of life. We sweat to pay for it. We've not about to give it up.

There is no more water on the earth today than there was in the time of Adam. And despite the fact that our demands on the supply are infinitely greater than they ever have been, *the amount is sufficient* to sustain us—*if* we can learn to use it and reuse it properly. On an average day in the United States a volume of almost five trillion gallons of water splashes on our land in the form of rain, hail, dew, snow or sleet. Three-fourths of this rises again by evaporation, unused, into the heavens whence it came. The rest either settles into the earth or runs with our rivers.

POLLUTION'S TOLL

At least 20 billion gallons of water a day are being wasted in this country by pollution. This is water that could be used and reused, if treated properly. Ravaged water, a menace to the health of everyone who has contact with it, this 20 billion gallon volume flows uselessly past water-hungry communities on its way to an indifferent sea.

This wasted water amounts to only about six percent of the total needs of the nation. It is a very significant six percent, however, since it constitutes *better than* one-fourth of the country's *pure* water needs, and its loss adversely affects the lives, the economy, the health and the pleasure of far more than half of our population.

How dangerous is a contaminated stream? Recently a cupful of water taken at random from the Connecticut River near Hartford was found to contain 26 different infectious bacteria, including typhoid, paratyphoid, cholera, salmonellosis, tuberculosis, anthrax, tetanus and all the known viruses, including polio.

The broad Hudson River, which runs sluggishly through New York City, could have saved the Northeast from the 1965 drought. But it could not be used. Its waters were too foul to drink. Every major stream in America is contaminated to an alarming degree.

Even underground water tables are subject to pollution. Largely unknown to the public, an epidemic in Riverside, California, in the summer of 1965 afflicted *18,000 citizens* with violent attacks of vomiting and extremely high temperatures. At least a few died as a result. Ultimately, bacteriologists traced the source to the city's water supply, which for 75 years had been safe and pure since it comes from 30 deep wells. Suddenly, due to a subterranean contamination, death and debilitating disease lurked in the water taps of the city.

OUR COUNTERATTACK

Belatedly, we've made an assault upon this problem. During the first eight years of our national Anti-Pollution Program, it had directly encouraged the building of 5,994 modern purification plants in communities throughout the country. Approximately $500 million in Federal grants had stimulated *local* investments of more than $3 billion in water purity.

Impressive as this is, it still isn't enough. The rapid proliferation of increasing spoliation of our streams has been halted, but, from the standpoint of the pollution level, we are just about standing still. The infection has ceased to spread dangerously throughout the body of our nation's rivers, but the *degree* of infection is just about the same. While we were eradicating old sources of pollution, new sources were springing up through the growth of industry and population density. We may have begun to hold our own. Until now, we have not been making appreciable headway on a national basis.

Last year, the Congress enacted the most massive pollution abatement program in the history of any nation. The federal authorization for matching grants to control the contamination of our water will accelerate from their present level of $150 million annually to a figure of $1.25 billion in 1971—or exactly 25 times as much money as was provided for the pilot program ten years ago. That it is an idea whose time has fully come is seen in the fact that not a single member of either House or Senate voted against the 1966 bill.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION

A real part of our problem is the transformation that has taken place in our country since World War II. We now are predominately a nation of city dwellers. The Bureau of the Census tells us that two-thirds of all Americans today live in "urban" areas. While the remaining one-third still reside in "rural" areas, even this does not mean that they are "down on the farm." Almost two-thirds of these are living in towns too small to be listed as "urban." Today only about 15 million people, or less than 8 percent of our population, actually live "on the land."

As the farm population decreases, the amount of arable land also decreases. On the outskirts of every city in the United States, trees are being felled and meadows are being leveled to accommodate new housing developments, new industrial complexes, new shopping centers. With each new development, the water balance of the nation shifts a little.

There is no turning back. The civilization we have set in motion rolls over the land at an ever-accelerating pace. There are, altogether, 1,903,800,000 acres in the United States. Already a full one-tenth—194 million acres—strains under the weight of cities, towns and highways. This figure is increasing daily. Nearly 2 million more acres annually are absorbed into urban uses as the concrete and blacktop invasion pours across America. In the next forty years, an additional 80 million acres will be cut from woodland and pasture to make way for homes and factories to serve our mushrooming population.

SEDIMENTATION

Not the least of the problems of this urban transformation is the growing problem of sedimentation. Around our sprawling cities literally millions of tons of silt run off the scraped-clean countryside, where the sound of building-project hammers never cease, into our rivers and reservoirs.

Each year more than 380 million cubic yards of sediment—eroded earth—must be dredged out of our nation's harbors and waterways simply to keep them from choking to death. This is more earth than was excavated to build the Panama Canal.

Even though it costs about $125 million a year to dredge out the sediment, this represents only part of the financial loss. Every cubic yard that is dug up was usable elsewhere upstream; it is soil that was torn from its original location by flood waters and then sent careening on its downhill course, causing damage every foot of the way to its ultimate destination.

The long-range effects of sedimentation on precious storage space in our reservoirs was too long overlooked. We are becoming increasingly dependent on these reservoirs for hydroelectric power, and for our agricultural, municipal and industrial water supply. This dependency is growing so swiftly that the nation shall need an estimated additional 228 million acre-feet of water storage in reservoirs to meet our ordinary requirements in 1980.

SHRINKING RESERVOIRS

We don't know exactly how much our total reservoir capacity is being robbed by sediment each year, but the most conservative estimates place that loss in the neighborhood of 1½ billion cubic yards. If we put the average cost of developing reservoir storage at a hundred dollars per acre-foot (a not excessive estimate), the cost of this largely preventable depreciation comes to $100 million a year.

This, in turn, poses a still thornier problem. All the best sites for our major reservoirs already are being utilized. If these reservoirs continue to fill up with silt until they become useless, we shall have to build new ones. Where will we build the new dams?

UPSTREAM WATERSHEDS

The pity of it is that most of this could be prevented. But we must attack the problem at the source—in the upstream watersheds, where 70 percent of the sediment damage occurs and an even higher percentage of the flood damage.

The problem is urgent. The next fifteen years could be decisive. Our population is growing at an accelerating pace and our rate of urban expansion is approaching fantastic proportions. The cost of construction is growing with each passing year.

We should attack the upstream watershed problem boldly and with vision now, before it is too late. If we do this, we shall be able to preserve enough water to keep many areas of the country secure from drought, and we shall be able to save billions of dollars in unnecessary waste throughout the country.

WHAT WE MUST DO

Can America solve its water crisis before it becomes a widespread irreversible famine? Yes—if we act with bold imagination, determined resolution and a sufficient sense of urgency.

The very first requisite of an adequate national water policy will be *a change in the public attitude.* The problem in its full dimensions needs to be recognized and understood. No longer is it good enough simply to know the cost of water-resource developments, unless we have a real appreciation for their *value.*

The old, cynical tongue-in-cheek attitude which looks upon land and water development programs as so much boondoggling will have to go. It has long since outlived its time—if it ever had a time.

There are certain tired or unimaginative journalists in our country who never can refer to the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors development bills of Congress—or to the annual Public Works appropriations—without trotting out again that weargy, old, shopworn cliche, "pork barrel." The term is both inappropriate and misleading.

Water developments pay for themselves many times over. The first $3.5 billion worth of Congressionally sanctioned flood-control works, performed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, already have saved calculable damages of more than $11 billion which would have occurred had they not been in place. An equally dramatic ratio will apply to the upstream work of the Soil Conservation Service.

A new reservoir above Denver remained largely unfilled during two years of sparse rainfall. The critics hooted in glee. "Look what a waste the stupid government has committed with our tax dollars!" they scoffed. But *one rain* filled it up, bequeathing the city a store of water whose worth, at the going residential rates, comes to more than the cost of the dam. And from that one rain, the dam prevented measurable property damages far in excess of its costs.

Then, too, we need *a greater sense of administrative urgency* than has heretofore characterized the slow, gradual development of our rivers and streams. On our Corps of Engineers projects, the *average* time lapse between the passage of the survey resolution by Congress and the actual turning of the first spade of dirt, is an almost insufferable ten years and eight months.

The White House needs to recognize that the *Upstream Watershed Program* as practiced for the past twelve years, is a veritable model in smoothly efficient legislative-executive cooperation. In no remote sense whatever does it constitute an infringement on the executive power, as recently claimed by some in the Bureau of the Budget. The program needs to be expanded, not hampered by specious argument.

Navigation, one of the earliest recognized goals of the American government, must not be sacrificed to the pagan god of false economy. In 1848, Abraham Lincoln delivered on the floor of the U. S. House of Representatives a homiletic proving that a waterway in Illinois was an economic benefit to both New Orleans and Buffalo, New York. Last year some 300 new industries sprang up on the banks of our nation's navigable streams. If we are to have a growing economy and provide the 3 million new jobs every year which are required to avoid unemployment, this nation must not slack in the development of its navigable waterways.

We need an extra head of steam behind the *desalination* program and intensified inquiry into the scientific possibilities of *weather modification* as a means of tapping the oceans of usable water which float above us, and past us, in the form of clouds. And we need to be giving far more attention to *oceanography*.

Lastly, it is time to start planning in earnest on the best ways to facilitate *long distance water transport*. We have the clear water in cascading volumes going to waste. With just a little foresight we can be ready for the time when necessity will require us to move it by aqueducts and pipelines from the sections of chronic overabundance to the areas of scarcity where, within a few years, it will be desperately needed. The NAWAPA plan, ambitious as it seems, merits sympathetic consideration.

NATURE'S ENDOWMENT AND MAN'S CHOICE

The amount of water in the world is constant—unvarying and abundant. The total quantity has been precisely the same since the very beginning when, as the book of Genesis relates: ". . . God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

An unending cosmic rotation steadily moves man's lifegiving liquid by gravity through the gentle and incessant flow of streams to the great reservoirs of our oceans, then draws it skyward by the sun's attraction to be purified anew, conveys it by cloud and wind, and returns it by rain to refresh the thirsty earth and renew man's lease on life . . . *ad infinitium*. It is an ever-recurring miracle, the most wondrous natural marvel of a wondrous universe.

Science can comprehend it, but never quite duplicate it. Man cannot change it. He can locally and temporarily befoul the process, and bring death. Or he can form a sort of divine partnership with nature, help it along—and preserve life. This is his choice.

Twentieth-century America, like the prodigal son, has drawn heavily upon the bank account of its native endowment and squandered the substance in riotous misuse. More bountifully endowed than any nation in history, we've adopted the rather casual assumption that Providence protects America. We've extracted the riches of our natural legacy, exploited them to build a shining society, and wasted them in copious quantities.

Wasted! How this word runs like a refrain through the course of our national history—just a few seconds in the day of mankind, mere inches on the yardstick of Western civilization. In this brief span we've thrown away and destroyed more resources than most nations ever had. Most nations could live quite well on what we daily discard.

In the depth of New York City's water crisis in 1965, after four years of drought, it still could be reliably estimated that Gotham's eight million residents were *wasting*—through carelessness, leaking systems, and a legacy of irresponsible water management—almost as much of the vital fluid each day as London's seven million were *using*.

We recall that other civilizations, also blessed with a spark of greatness, have strutted across the stage of world eminence only to fade and wane, their brief, bright promise unfulfilled. In the uncomprehending sand and heat of arid desert waste, their monuments lie buried.

Let no future archaeologist tell the story for us. We have the knowledge to tell it ourselves—if we have the wisdom. There is *enough* water to serve our needs for future time, if we learn to use and reuse it well. And there is *enough* time to do what we must. But there's not much of either to spare.

ADMINISTRATION'S REDWOOD PLAN DISAPPOINTING

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most important conservation issue before the 90th Congress is the proposal to establish a Redwood National Park.

There can be no question that the California coast redwood is one of our great and unique natural resources. There also can be little question that if we do not act promptly, during this Congress, there may never be a Redwood National Park.

Cast in this perspective, I believe the administration's plan for a Redwood National Park, sent to Congress this last weekend, is most disappointing. Yesterday I made a statement commenting on this plan and I include it in the RECORD at this point for the consideration of all Members.

The statement follows:

I am very disappointed in the Administration's proposal for a Redwood National Park. I believe it is far from the best park plan we could achieve even with limited resources. It certainly falls far short of what should be done if any truly meaningful stands of redwoods are to be preserved and displayed in a national park setting for the education and enjoyment of future generations of Americans.

I agree with the Secretary of the Interior that we must act now if there is ever going to be a Redwood National Park. In fact, I question whether there will ever be a Redwood National Park if we do not authorize one in this 90th Congress.

But it is just as important, in my judgment, to establish a great national park in the right place as it is to establish it at all.

Two weeks ago I made an inspection of the Mill Creek area, recommended as a park site by the Administration this weekend, and also the Redwood Creek area, which I have recommended along with more than 35 Members of the House and 20 Members of the Senate be the basis for a park.

I feel it would be desirable, in the general area recommended by the Administration, to add to the present Jedediah Smith State Park the some five to seven thousand acres of privately owned superlative redwood stands that extend along its southern boundary. I would favor making a compensatory payment to the lumber company operating there in order to insure adequate watershed protection in the entire Mill Creek Drainage. I believe, taken together, that this would make a very desirable Northern Unit for a Redwood National Park.

But I do not see how we can virtually ignore, as the Administration does, the Redwood Creek and Lost Man Creek Drainages which the National Park Service itself, in its landmark 1964 report on the redwoods, declared contained the largest and most significant block of uncut virgin redwoods. Added to Skunk Cabbage Creek and the existing Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park, this would form the basis for a most impressive Southern Unit of a Redwood National Park. It definitely should be part of any national park plan.

The Administration has suggested that this latter area could be acquired by means of donated funds. But this is clearly not very hopeful or realistic. Neither is the Administration's proposal to establish a 1,600 acre unit around the Tall Trees in the heart of Redwood Creek Valley. For once the surrounding valley slopes are logged off, as they inevitably would be without protection, the tall trees would be exposed to the wind and flood and soil erosion that would quickly number their years.

If we are faced with the problem of limited financial resources, and the $60 million figure included in the Administration's plan would indicate that we are, then our problem is one of priorities. The Administration is offering a plan which, in its present form, would put our resources to a second best use. It is not the best Redwood National Park that could be purchased for that amount of money.

I hope that as the House and Senate consider this proposal, a more equitable distribution of existing resources can be achieved and that significant parts of Redwood Creek Valley and the Lost Man Creek Drainages will be included in any final Redwood National Park plan passed by the Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. GATHINGS and to include extraneous material.

Mrs. SULLIVAN.

Mr. PUCINSKI.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. HARRISON.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH.

Mr. SHRIVER.

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT.

Mr. DENNEY.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. RUPPE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SCHERLE.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan.

Mr. ARENDS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD.

Mr. RARICK.

Mr. MURPHY of New York.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1177. An act to provide for the disposition of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation in Montana; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1191. An act to provide for the disposion of a judgment against the United States recovered by the Southern Ute Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation of Colorado; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to provide for the administration and development of Pennsylvania Avenue as a national historic site; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 17 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 15, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

527. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1966, Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture (H. Doc. No. 85); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

528. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of certain aspects of social security benefit overpayments, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; to the Committee on Government Operations.

529. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a report of all claims paid under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, for the period January 1 to December 31, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 88-558; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

530. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated October 21, 1966, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a letter report on Tugaloo River, Savannah River Basin, Ga., and S.C., requested by resolutions of the Committees on Public Works, U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, adopted March 10 and August 14, 1959; to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2513. A bill relating to national observances and holidays, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 120). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2518. A bill to amend sections 337 and 338 of the Bankruptcy Act and to add new section 339 (Rept. No. 121). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2519. A bill to amend sections 334, 355, 367, and 369 of the Bankruptcy Act (Rept. No. 122). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 2517. A bill to amend sections 64a, 238, 378, and 483 of the Bankruptcy Act and to repeal sections 354 and 459 of the act (Rept. No. 123). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. WILLIS: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 5876. A bill to amend titles 5, 14, and 37, United States Code, to codify recent law, and to improve the Code; with amendments (Rept. No. 124). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WILLIS: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 5357. A bill to amend section 552 of title 5, United States Code, to codify the provisions of Public Law 89-487 (Rept. No. 125). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 384. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 6098, a bill to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 126). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7140. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 7141. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 7142. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. NEDZI:

H.R. 7143. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7144. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 7145. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 7146. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 7147. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guaranty Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 7148. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to classify as wilderness the national forest lands known as the Lincoln Back Country, and parts of the Lewis and Clark and Lolo National Forests, in Montana, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BERRY:

H.R. 7149. A bill to amend chapter 39 of title 18 of the United States Code relating to the transportation of explosives and other dangerous articles; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BUTTON:

H.R. 7150. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create the Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CABELL:

H.R. 7151. A bill to amend part III of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for the recording of trust agreements and other evidences of equipment indebtedness of water carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 7152. A bill to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extension of credit; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7153. A bill to provide certain free mailing privileges with respect to books, periodicals, and other reading matter mailed between libraries and other nonprofit organizations and persons confined by illness or disability to their places of abode; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7154. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7155. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the income tax treatment of business development corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 7156. A bill to authorize a special study by the Small Business Administration of ways in which small business concerns may best protect themselves against robbery, burglary, shoplifting, vandalism, and other criminal acts; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7157. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide a new system of overtime compensation for postal field service employees, to eliminate compensatory time in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7158. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide additional group life insurance and accidental death and dismemberment insurance for Federal employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7159. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CULVER:

H.R. 7160. A bill relating to the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers from civil service registers; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 7161. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase (to $100 a month in the case of a primary benefit) the minimum amount of all monthly insurance benefits payable thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7162. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a woman otherwise qualified may become entitled to receive widow's insurance benefits, specially reduced, at age 50, with full benefits at age 60; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7163. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide an increase in the special monthly benefits which are payable to certain individuals (lacking regular insured status) who have attained age 72; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7164. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that an individual may elect to have any employment or self-employment performed by him after attaining age 65 excluded (for both tax and benefit purposes) from coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOWNING:

H.R. 7165. A bill to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to consolidate certain provisions assuring the safety and effectiveness of new animal drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FALLON:

H.R. 7166. A bill to amend section 501(c) (14) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt from income taxation certain nonprofit corporations and associations organized to provide reserve funds for domestic building and loan associations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:

H.R. 7167. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a 20-percent, across-the-board benefit increase (with a minimum retirement annuity of $70 a month) and subsequent increases based on rises in the cost of living, and to finance the cost of these changes out of the general revenues; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7168. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enlarge and improve the research facility near Bruceton, Pa., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 7169. A bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 7170. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to provide additional readjustment assistance for veterans of service after January 31, 1955, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 7171. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to authorize on-the-job training programs, on-the-farm training programs, and guaranteed business loans for veterans of service after January 31, 1955; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 7172. A bill to designate the locks and dams on the Ohio River, in the States of Kentucky and Ohio, known as the Greenup locks and dam as the Paul G. Blazer locks and dam; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 7173. A bill to amend the Federal Firearms Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7174. A bill to amend the National Firearms Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LAIRD:

H.R. 7175. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LANGEN:

H.R. 7176. A bill to provide appropriations for sharing of Federal taxes with States out of funds derived from a cutback in projected new expansion of grant-in-aid programs and as a substitute for portions of existing grant-in-aid expenditures; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. MAY (by request):

H.R. 7177. A bill relating to the individual rights of members of tribal organizations; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 7178. A bill to amend the act of August 9, 1946 (60 Stat. 968), providing for the preparation of a membership roll of the Indians of the Yakima Reservation; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H.R. 7179. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 7180. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to provide health insurance to the disabled, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the health of children, to revise the income tax treatment of the aged, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 7181. A bill for the establishment of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. SCOTT:

H.R. 7182. A bill to provide compensation to survivors of local law enforcement officers killed while apprehending persons for committing Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAFFORD:

H.R. 7183. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WAMPLER:

H.R. 7184. A bill to amend section 9 of the Administrative Procedure Act of June 11, 1946 (60 Stat. 238), to clarify and protect the right of the public to fair and impartial agency practices, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 7185. A bill to authorize the disposal of bauxite from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 7186. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual American education programs, and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 7187. A bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in order to establish a southwestern human development program; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 7188. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7189. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7190. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide a new system of overtime compensation for the postal field service employees, to eliminate compensatory time in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H.R. 7191. A bill to amend section 124 of title 23, United States Code, to provide for the financing of advance acquisition of rights-of-way for the Federal-aid highway systems; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 7192. A bill relating to rates of postage on certain matter for blind and other handicapped persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DANIELS:

H.R. 7193. A bill to prohibit any State from levying income taxes on nonresidents of the State; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDMONDSON (by request):

H.R. 7194. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the central Arizona project, Arizona-New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:

H.R. 7195. A bill to amend the act of October 24, 1951, in order to insure that the salaries of the police for the National Zoological Park shall equal those of members of the U.S. Park Police having comparable duties; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.R. 7196. A bill to prohibit any State from levying income taxes on nonresidents of the State; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. GREEN of Oregon:

H.R. 7197. A bill to provide compensation in the case in which a law enforcement officer or firefighter is killed or disabled in the course of his duties; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7198. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT:

H.R. 7199. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase to $30,000 the maximum servicemen's group life insurance which may be provided members of the uniformed services on active duty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 7200. A bill to extend the U.S. Fishing Fleet Improvement Act and to increase the annual authorization for such act; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland:

H.R. 7201. A bill to establish and develop the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 7202. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from 13 to 16 the maximum age of a dependent child with respect to whom the deduction for child-care expenses may be allowed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 7203. A bill to prohibit any State from levying income taxes on nonresidents of the State; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAYLOR (by request):

H.R. 7204. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the central Arizona project, Arizona-New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. YOUNGER:

H.R. 7205. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, in order to make unlawful, an unreasonable and unjust discrimination against, and an undue burden upon interstate commerce, certain property tax assessments of common carrier property, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GATHINGS:

H.J. Res. 430. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts:

H.J. Res. 431. Joint resolution designating the last Sunday in April of each year as "Shut-In's Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts:

H.J. Res. 432. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.J. Res. 433. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the last week in October of each year as "National Water Awareness Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H. Con. Res. 278. Concurrent resolution relative to the cutback order of the highway fund; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DAWSON:

H. Con. Res. 279. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the committee print entitled "Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism"; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H. Con. Res. 280. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress on the occasion of the centennial of the confederation of Canada; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GATHINGS:

H. Res. 385. Resolution expressing the sense of the House with respect to the resignation of the present Commissioner of Education; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. Res. 386. Resolution concerning an investigation in connection with development lending in Africa of those agencies in which the United States participates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H. Res. 387. Resolution relating to the pay of certain clerical assistants; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

66. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, relative to the extension of the 12-mile limit of fishing control, which was referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 7206. A bill for the relief of Mehmet Adil Ozkaptan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 7207. A bill for the relief of Elvira Maria Bruno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EVERETT:

H.R. 7208. A bill for the relief of Cathie Lee Clark; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 7209. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Rocco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 7210. A bill for the relief of the Rochester Iron & Metal Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'KONSKI:

H.R. 7211. A bill for the relief of Dr. Muthu S. Udayamurthy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7212. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Court of Claims to reopen and continue case No. 66-55; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Nels Anton Pearson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas has produced many distinguished leaders in a variety of fields. Many Kansans have left the State to achieve prominence in the theater, art, journalism, and so forth. However, Nels Anton Pearson earned international distinction without leaving his beloved Kansas.

He was born on May 23, 1892, at Lund, Sweden, and arrived in the United States in 1912. He made his home in Lindsborg, Kans., in 1915. Mr. Pearson graduated from Bethany College in Lindsborg 3 years later. He served his country in World War I.

Nels Anton Pearson won international recognization as a woodcarver, stonecutter, and painter. His particular field was miniature wood carvings. His studio and workshop became a popular tourist attraction in Lindsborg.

The talent and energy of Nels Anton Pearson have been stilled by death. He passed away on March 5, 1967, in the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Kansas City, Mo., at age 74. Kansas and the Nation have lost an accomplished artist who contributed significantly to the beauty and appreciation of the world about us.

We express our heartfelt sympathy to his beloved wife, Grace, his daughter, Mrs. Norman Malm, and others in his family.

WSU-O Represents Wisconsin at NAIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin State University at Oshkosh basketball team this week invades Kansas City representing Wisconsin in the annual NAIA basketball tournament. Oshkosh, the Sixth Congressional District, and Wisconsin are proud of this fine team made up of:

Coach Bob White, Assistant Coach Russ Tiedemann, players Tom Witasek, Dale Race, John Lallensack, Ron Hayek, Bruce Miller, Dick Bourbonnais, Mike Malone, Pat Simon, Mark Christensen, Ken Wyatt, Dan Buhr, Rick Rehm, Gary Van Cuyk, Ray Berhoefer, Steve Durtschi, and Manager Pat Simon.

I join Wisconsin residents in wishing our representatives at Kansas City the best of luck in their endeavor to capture the NAIA crown.

Warrant Officer Dewey E. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, I take great honor and pride in announcing that one of my constituents, WO Dewey E. Jones, of Laramie, Wyo., has received the Navy Commendation Medal with Combat Distinguishing Device.

During ceremonies which were held on February 28, 1967, Warrant Officer Jones was awarded the Navy Commendation Medal for meritorious service while serving as communications chief of Howtar Battery, 1st Battalion, 12th Marines and as assistant combat intelligence officer with Headquarters, 3d Marine Division, from November 28, 1965, to November 20, 1966, in connection with operations against insurgent Communist forces in the Republic of Vietnam.

This soldier is a personification of ingenuity, professional competence, and dedication to duty. It is with the utmost pride that I commend WO Dewey E. Jones for upholding the finest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the U.S. naval service.

We are deeply indebted to the valiant efforts of Warrant Officer Jones and many others like him; through their unceasing perseverance, the safety and welfare of America is being preserved.

Impact of Resource Conservation and Development Projects in Low-Income Rural Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the submission today to the Congress of the President's message on urban and rural poor, I would like to point out that the Department of Agriculture's resource conservation and development projects are proving to be one of the most effective programs for assisting people in rural areas to overcome economic decline.

This program, authorized under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 and administered by the USDA's Soil Conservation Service, has been underway for slightly more than 3 years.

In that short period, thousands of rural people in areas of economic unrest have, through their own initiative and leadership, been able to create new jobs and increased income through more efficient use of the natural resources available to them. There are presently 20 projects in the operations stage and six in the planning stage covering more than 70 million acres of land in 27 States.

In just the first 10 project areas more than $71 million of increased income and 10,000 new jobs are expected to result from the activities planned and under development.

In addition to stepped-up programs of soil and water management, the projects include plans to develop recreation areas, processing and marketing facilities for locally grown crops, vocational training, attractive sites for industrial development, rural water and sanitary systems, and other measures designed to strengthen the economy of rural communities.

This approach in helping rural people help themselves has been effective because the people themselves actually run the program. They must initiate the projects, sponsor them, help build and pay for them. The response on the part of local people has been tremendous. More than 48 applications for planning assistance have been received to date by the Department of Agriculture.

These are long-range projects designed to establish a firmer foundation for lasting economic growth in the countryside. Congress can be proud of the role it has played in its support of resource conservation and development project activities.

Weight Watchers International, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the problem of obesity is one that is of constant and profound concern to the medical profession and to the general public. It is common knowledge that overweight persons are more susceptible to disease than those of normal weight. Indeed, emotional problems, too, can often be traced to excessive poundage.

In our health-conscious society, the medical profession has worked tirelessly to impart to the public the perils of obesity and the importance of maintaining a proper weight. These efforts have been directed, significantly, to people of all age groups.

In addition, a number of organizations have emerged in recent years that have sought to combat the obesity problem. But I believe that none is more dedicated, nor more eminently successful in improving the health and emotional outlook of its membership than Weight Watchers International, Inc.

The Weight Watchers International, Inc., now celebrating its fourth anniversary, has enjoyed phenomenal success in this brief period of time, and justifiably so. Its objective is simple: to have its members lose weight, without gaining it back and without undergoing needless and often dangerous starvation diets.

The extraordinary accomplishments of Weight Watchers International, Inc., which now has branches in 16 States and in Israel and Great Britain and has a membership estimated in the hundreds of thousands, is due in great measure to the efforts of its dynamic and energetic founder, Mrs. Jean Nidetch.

Mrs. Nidetch fought the problem of obesity since childhood. But the turning point did not come until a few years ago when she enrolled in the obesity clinic of the New York City Department of Health. When she first registered, she weighed 214 pounds; at the end of one year her weight stood at 142.

Heartened by a newfound youthfulness and personal happiness, Mrs. Nidetch began to convey her enthusiasm to others who were experiencing similar weight problems and began asking questions about her achievement. In doing so she was laying the groundwork for the creation of Weight Watchers International, Inc.

The initial meeting of this organization took place in Mrs. Nidetch's home, with an attendance of six women. However, word of the members' unusual success—by following the diet prescribed by the obesity clinic—spread rapidly, and today Weight Watchers International, Inc., is an organization that has won national, and, indeed, international acclaim. The praise has come from all segments of the community, and, most notably, from many respected members of the medical profession.

Americans are a weight-conscious people. In fact, an estimated 79 million adults are overweight, and of these, approximately 9 million are dieting. The statistics reflect the seriousness and the scope of the situation, and the fervent desire on the part of vast numbers of people to solve their weight problem.

On March 21, Mrs. Nidetch will be the principal speaker at a Weight Watchers' Founder's Night at Hunter College in New York City. More than 2,000 people, including those who have won, and those who would like to win, the battle against obesity, will attend this event—an important milestone in the history of this fine organization.

Working with Mrs. Nidetch are several former weight watchers who are devoting their full energies to helping overweight people combat the problems that beset them throughout the world. Her associates in the organization are her husband, Mortimer, a 69-pound loser, and Felice and Albert Lippert, who have lost 46 and 50 pounds, respectively.

Mrs. Nidetch, a homemaker, and a mother of two young sons, has made an important contribution to better health for tens of thousands of people through the development of Weight Watchers International, Inc., and I submit that her observation that—the more you lose, the more you win—is one that merits the attention of all those who are interested in losing weight, safely and lastingly.

Impact of Small Watershed Program on Low-Income Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the President today has submitted to Congress his message on poverty conditions in urban and rural areas, I would like to comment on the economic stimulus which is being provided to rural communities through the program of small watershed projects. This program is administered by the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service.

Starting with the basic concept of protecting rural areas from devastating floods, the small watershed program has been broadened as its potentials have been recognized. The Congress has amended the Watershed Protection and Flood Protection Act several times to increase Federal assistance on this important job of resource development. It has added assistance in development of fish and wildlife, recreation, and municipal and industrial water supply. At the same time, Congress has always recognized that the local people must initiate the projects and that projects must fit local needs. The Federal Government assists local sponsors technically and financially.

The program has proved its worth in physical planning and developing of resources. It has proved its worth in boosting the welfare of people and their communities.

Not only has the installation of the projects—the construction and services needed to carry out project plans—generated jobs in the community, but continuing jobs have also been created. In fact, the first 635 projects have brought to their communities more than 500 new businesses and industries and created nearly 10,000 new jobs.

In addition to the new enterprises and new jobs, many other businesses have expanded and created about 11,000 jobs. Add these to the nearly 30,000 man-years of employment generated by actual construction of the projects, and there can be no doubt about the value of a small watershed project in a community.

Protection of land from the damages of floods and sedimentation, assurance of a supply of water for domestic and industrial use and development of recreation facilities for the use of the people all enhance a community's opportunity to grow by bringing in new dollars.

More than 2,500 watershed communities have applied for Department of Agriculture help to carry out projects. People in 122 of these watersheds have completed their projects and are enjoying the benefits. Another 691 projects are being installed and the Soil Conservation Service hopes eventually to be able to act on all of the qualified applications which are pending.

The Food Stamp Program—Congressional Districts in Which It Operates—And the Need for New Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Agriculture is holding hearings this week, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, on H.R. 1318, the administration bill which I have introduced to continue, and to expand, the highly successful food stamp program. There are now more than 650 food stamp projects operating, and they are located in so many congressional districts that I am sure every Member of the House who has such a project in his district, or who expects to have it, will want to make sure the necessary legislation is passed to keep the program going.

When we enacted the Food Stamp Act of 1964, Public Law 88-525, it was intended to be, and was, permanent legislation. However, the original law authorized appropriations only for the first 3 fiscal years, requiring Congress to take a new look at the program before June 30, 1967, to determine if it should be changed in any important respects before additional appropriations can be made.

At the time we passed the law in final form, there were some misgivings expressed here about some of the amendments added in the Senate, but the Department of Agriculture felt it could live with those amendments without serious difficulty and was afraid of what might come out of conference if an attempt were made at that time to try to knock out the Senate amendments. Consequently, the bill did not go to conference. Instead, the House agreed to the Senate amendments, and the bill went directly to the White House for signature.

SECRETARY FREEMAN SEES NO NEED FOR SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN LAW

Last year, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, who initiated the first pilot food stamp projects early in the Kennedy administration, and who has taken great pride in the accomplishments of the food stamp program ever since, sent the House the text of a bill which would amend Public Law 88-525 by merely changing the language on appropriation authorizations for the fiscal years after 1967, and making no other changes in the law. Before introducing that bill last year, however, I wanted assurance from the Secretary that the law is working satisfactorily and requires no changes of a substantive nature. I received such assurance in the following letter from Secretary Freeman:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., August 24, 1966.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: As I indicated to you in my letter of July 22, the Department has submitted a draft bill to provide appropriation authorities for the Food Stamp Program for fiscal years beyond 1967.

I know you are aware of the importance of completing this action during this session of the Congress if we are to avoid unnecessary disruptions in the orderly expansion of the program. If, in January, there is no firm assurance that the program funds will be available after June 30, 1967, we are certain that many localities will then hesitate to come into the program. As well, the lack of appropriation authorities could present problems in the processing of our 1968 budget requests through the Appropriation Committees.

We have carefully reviewed all of the provisions of the Food Stamp Act and conclude that this is the only amendment that is necessary at this time. As sponsor of the Food Stamp Bill, you know the provisions of the Act are flexible enough to meet special local problems and situations. As we and the States gain additional operating experience, this flexibility permits revisions and adjustments in program procedures where they appear to be necessary.

The Food Stamp Program continues to receive widespread support and approval. We want, therefore, to obtain the firm legislative base needed for continuing, orderly and progressive expansion in the latter part of fiscal 1967 and subsequent years.

Sincerely yours,
ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

There was not sufficient time in the legislative schedule of the Congress last year, Mr. Speaker, to take up the food stamp bill before adjournment. Hence, I reintroduced the bill again this year, after again obtaining assurances from the Department of Agriculture that no changes other than in the language on appropriations would be necessary.

EARLY DIFFICULTIES IN PILOT PROJECTS

Mr. Speaker, we have had the food stamp program in operation in my city of St. Louis since January 2, 1963—initially as one of the early experimental pilot projects which gave to the Department of Agriculture and to the Congress sufficient data and experience to justify passage of the law in 1964 establishing authority for a nationwide program. From a modest beginning of pilot projects—costing altogether about $25 million a year—the food stamp program has grown to a level approaching 10 times that amount. The 1968 budget calls for $250 million.

I am frank to say that in the early stages of the pilot project in St. Louis, the food stamp plan was a continuing battleground over the regulations and the food stamp purchase requirements. Recipients must buy the food stamps each month, or semimonthly, out of that percentage of their net income which they would normally be expected to spend for food.

Many families which had received free surplus food under the direct distribution program previously in effect did not join up for the food stamp program, at least at first. There were various reasons. One was that the certification of eligibles for the free food had been so lax—as it has been in most areas—that thousands of families which had been receiving free surplus food just were not eligible for the much more strictly administered food stamp program and knew it, and never bothered to apply. Another important reason was the feeling on the part of many eligible families that while free food was fine—allowing them to use their limited incomes for other purposes—if they had to pay a specified percentage of their income each month for foodstamps, a good diet just was not worth it to them. The fact is that the original purchase requirements were so high, in many cases, compared to the actual amount poor people in St. Louis were spending for food, that it was just impossible for many families which wanted to do so to participate. To give just one illustration, families on public assistance receiving $65 a month, and paying the minimum of $47 a month for rent in a public housing unit, were nevertheless being called upon to spend $20 a month for food stamps. How could they?

PROGRAM NOW A SUCCESS

Eventually, these bureaucratic problems were overcome, through congressional intervention, newspaper and radio-TV interest, and the expanding awareness of welfare officials and Department of Agriculture specialists to the legitimacy of public complaints.

On the whole, the food stamp program in St. Louis, and in most of the hundreds of other cities and counties in which it is operating, has been a resounding success. The people who participate are deeply grateful for it and want it to continue; the stores find it workable and profitable to them; and the local authorities overwhelmingly prefer it to the program it replaces of direct distribution of surplus food to the needy, particularly since the food stamp program is singularly free of the cheating and abuses which so often have characterized the free food giveaway program. More than half the Members of the House have food stamp projects operating in their districts.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN WHICH FOOD STAMP PLANS ARE IN OPERATION

Following, Mr. Speaker, is a list of all of the food stamp projects now in operation, including the date on which they were begun and the congressional district or districts in which each is located:

[From U.S. Department of Agriculture Consumer and Marketing Service, Washington, D.C.]

FOOD STAMP PROJECTS AND DATE OF OPERATION AS OF FEBRUARY 1967

ALABAMA (3)

Rep. Nichols (4th District); Rep. Selden (5th District); Rep. Buchanan (6th District), Jefferson County, March 11, 1963.

Rep. Selden (5th District), Greene County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Bevill (7th District), Walker County, May 6, 1963.

ALASKA (1)

Rep. Pollock (At Large): Nome Area, December 1, 1965, Brevig Mission, City of Nome, City of Teller).

ARKANSAS (21)

Rep. Gathings (1st District): Craighead County, November 15, 1966; Crittenden County, May 4, 1966; Cross County, February 8 1967; Lee County, November 16, 1966; Mississippi County, May 3, 1966; Monroe County, November 5, 1965; Phillips County, May 4, 1965; Poinsett County, February 7, 1967; St. Francis County, June 1, 1966.

Rep. Mills (2d District): Arkansas County, April 5, 1966; Conway County, November 3, 1965; Faulkner County, November 5, 1965; *Independence County, April 2, 1963; Izard County, December 22, 1966; Lonoke County, December 1, 1965; Perry County, November 2, 1965; Prairie County, December 2, 1965; Pulaski County, March 2, 1965.

Rep. Pryor (4th District): Bradley County November 17, 1966; Jefferson County, December 20, 1966; Lincoln County, December 22, 1966.

CALIFORNIA (4)

Rep. Clausen (1st District); *Humboldt County, 3/1/63.

Rep. Burton (5th District); San Francisco County, 9/1/66.

Rep. Mailliard (6th District); San Francisco County, 9/1/66.

Rep. Waldie (14th District); Contra Costa County, 12/1/65.

Rep. King (17th District), Rep. Holifield (19th District), Rep. Smith (20th District), Rep. Hawkins (21st District), Rep. Corman (22nd District), Rep. Clawson (23rd District), Rep. Lipscomb (24th District), Rep. Wiggins (25th District), Rep. Rees (26th District), Rep. Reinecke (27th District), Rep. Bell (28th District), Rep. Brown (29th District), Rep. Roybal (30th District), Rep. Wilson (31st District), Rep. Hosmer (32nd District); Los Angeles County, 12/16/65.

COLORADO (26)

Rep. Rogers (1st District); Denver County, 3/2/65.

Rep. Brotzman (2nd District): Adams County, 5/4/65, Arapahoe County, 2/1/66, Boulder County, 12/16/66, Clear Creek County, 5/6/65, Gilpin County, 5/7/65, Jefferson County, 5/5/65.

Rep. Evans (3rd District); Bent County, 2/8/67, Costilla County, 5/4/66, Crawley County, 12/20/66, Custer County, 1/4/67, Elbert County, 12/5/66, Huerfano County, 12/1/65, Las Animas County, 12/2/65, Otero County, 12/9/66, Prowers County, 2/10/67, Pueblo County, 12/7/65, Washington County, 2/7/67.

Rep. Aspinall (4th District): Alamosa County, 5/3/66, Conejos County, 5/5/66, Larimer County, 1/11/67, Logan County, 2/2/67, Mesa County, 1/6/67, Mineral County, 6/7/66[1], Phillips County, 2/2/67, Rio Grande County, 11/2/65, Weld County, 1/12/67.

CONNECTICUT (1)

Rep. Monagan (5th District): Waterbury District, June 1, 1965.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (1)

July 1, 1965.

GEORGIA (18)

Rep. Hagan (1st District): Burke County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. O'Neal (2nd District): Mitchell County, April 1, 1966, Thomas County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. Brinkley (3rd District): Houston County, January 3, 1967, Pulaski County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Flynt (6th District): Bibb County, November 1, 1965.

Rep. Stuckey (8th District): Charlton County, May 2, 1966, Clinch County, May 2, 1966, Echols County, May 2, 1966, Lowndes County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. Landrum (9th District): Hall County, July 1, 1965, Lumpkin County, October 1, 1965, Rabun County, April 1, 1965, Stephens County, April 1, 1965.

Rep. Stephens (10th District): Hancock County, January 5, 1967, Richmond County, January 5, 1967, Taliaferro County, January 3, 1967, Washington County, January 3, 1967.

HAWAII (3)

Rep. Matsunaga (AL).

Rep. Mink (AL): Honolulu County, April 12, 1966, Kauai County, November 1, 1966, Maui County, November 2, 1966.

ILLINOIS (53)

Rep. Dawson (1st District), Rep. O'Hara (2nd District), Rep. Murphy (3rd District), Rep. Derwinski (4th District), Rep. Kluczynski (5th District), Rep. Ronan (6th District), Rep. Annunzio (7th District), Rep. Rostenkowski (8th District), Rep. Yates (9th District), Rep. Collier (10th District), Rep. Pucinski (11th District), Rep. Rumsfeld (13th District): Cook County, April 1, 1965.

Rep. Arends (17th District): Iroquois County, February 10, 1967, Vermilion County, February 27, 1967.

Rep. Findley (20th District): Calhoun County, January 5, 1967, Greene County, January 10, 1967, Jersey County, January 12, 1967.

Rep. Gray (21st District): Alexander County, May 3, 1966, Edwards County, January 10, 1967, *Franklin County, July 10, 1961, Gallatin County, June 8, 1966, Hamilton County, June 9, 1966, Hardin County, June 10, 1966, Jackson County, May 11, 1966, Jefferson County, May 11, 1966, Johnson County, May 11, 1966, Massac County, May 17, 1966, Monroe County, January 19, 1967, Perry County, January 19, 1967, Pope County, May 20, 1966, Pulaski County, May 23, 1966, Randolph County, January 23, 1967, Saline County, December 21, 1965, Union County, May 25, 1966, Wabash County, January 26, 1967, Washington County, January 27, 1967, Wayne County, January 27, 1967, White County, May 27, 1966, Williamson County, December 28, 1965.

Rep. Springer (22nd District): Champaign County, 2/6/67, Clark County, 2/6/67, Coles County, 2/6/67, Cumberland County, 2/6/67, De Witt County, 2/7/67, Douglas County, 2/7/67, Edgar County, 2/8/67, Macon County, 2/15/67, Moultrie County, 2/20/67, Platt County, 2/20/67.

Rep. Shipley (23rd District): Bond County, 1/4/67, Clay County, 1/6/67, Clinton County, 1/6/67, Crawford County, 1/6/67, Effingham County, 2/8/67, Fayette County, 1/10/67, Jasper County, 1/12/67, Lawrence County, 1/16/67, Macoupin County, 1/17/67, Madison County, 12/16/65, Marion County, 1/18/67, Montgomery County, 1/19/67, Richland County, 1/23/67, Shelby County, 2/24/67.

Rep. Price (24th District): Madison County, 12/16/65, St. Clair County, 12/3/65.

INDIANA (17)

Rep. Madden (1st District), Rep. Halleck (2nd District): Lake County, 6/1/66.

Rep. Roush (5th District): Madison County, 1/3/67.

Rep. Bray (6th District): Marion County, 5/2/66.

Rep. Myers (7th District): Putnam County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Zion (8th District): Floyd County, May 2, 1966; Gibson County, November 1, 1965; Harrison County, March 1, 1965; Knox County, May 2, 1966; Perry County, March 1, 1965; Pike County, November 1, 1965; Posey County, April 1, 1965; Spencer County, March 1, 1965; Vanderburgh County, April 1, 1963; Warrick County, November 1, 1965.

Rep. Hamilton (9th District): Bartholomew County, December 1, 1966; Switzerland County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Roudebush (10th District): Marion County, May 2, 1966; Tipton County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Jacobs (11th District): Marion County, May 2, 1966.

IOWA (42)

Rep. Schwengel (1st District): Des Moines County, January 9, 1967; Henry County, January 13, 1967; Johnson County, December 6, 1966; Lee County, January 11, 1967; Scott County, December 5, 1966; Van Buren County, April 5, 1966; Washington County, January 10, 1967.

Rep. Culver (2nd District): Dubuque County, April 1, 1966.

Rep. Gross (3rd District): Butler County, December 19, 1966; Cerro Gordo County, December 15, 1966; Franklin County, December 5, 1966; Grundy County, December 14, 1966; Hamilton County, December 5, 1966; Hardin County, February 6, 1967.

Rep. Kyl (4th District): Appanoose County, December 6, 1965, Benton County, January 9, 1967, Clarke County, November 7, 1966, Davis County, November 7, 1966, Decatur County, April 6, 1966, Jasper County, December 12, 1966, Lucas County, December 2, 1965, Marshall County, December 5, 1966, Tama County, January 10, 1967, Union County, January 17, 1967, Wapello County, November 7, 1966, Warren County, January 3, 1967, Wayne County, December 6, 1965.

Rep. Mayne (6th District): Calhoun County, November 7, 1966, Ida County, November 8, 1966, O'Brien County, April 4, 1966, Plymouth County, November 15, 1966, Sioux County, November 9, 1966, Woodbury County, April 4, 1966.

Rep. Scherle (7th District): Adams County, January 5, 1967, Dallas County, December 12, 1966, Greene County, December 6, 1966, Guthrie County, December 5, 1966, Harrison County, January 4, 1967, Madison County, December 5, 1966, Monona County, November 9, 1966, Pottawattamie County, February 6, 1967, Taylor County, January 5, 1967.

See footnotes at end of speech.

KANSAS (6)

Rep. Skubitz (5th District): Bourbon County, May 4, 1965, Cherokee County, May 6, 1965, Crawford County, April 1, 1965, Labette County, April 5, 1966, Wilson County, December 2, 1966.

KENTUCKY (44)

Rep. Stubblefield (1st District): Logan County, 12/1/66, Muhlenberg County, 12/1/66, Todd County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Natcher (2nd District): Simpson County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Cowger (3rd District): Jefferson County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Snyder (4th District): Campbell County, 12/1/66, Jefferson County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Carter (5th District): Adair County, 12/1/66, Bell County, 3/7/66, Casey County, 11/1/66, Clay County, March 7, 1966, Clinton County, November 1, 1966, Cumberland County, December 1, 1966, Estill County, November 1, 1966, Harlan County, November 8, 1965, Jackson County, May 2, 1966, Knox County, May 2, 1966, Laurel County, December 1, 1966, Leslie County, March 1, 1965, Lincoln County, November 1, 1966, McCreary County, December 1, 1966, Owsley County, February 1, 1965, Pulaski County, December 1, 1966, Rockcastle County, May 2, 1966, Russell County, November 1, 1966, Wayne County, November 7, 1966, Whitley County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Watts (6th District): Clark County, November 1, 1966, Montgomery County, November 1, 1966.

Rep. Perkins (7th District): Bath County, November 1, 1966; Breathitt County, February 1, 1965; Carter County, November 1, 1966; Elliott County, April 1, 1966; *Floyd County, June 1, 1961; Johnson County, February 1, 1965; *Knott County, December 3, 1962; Lee County, October 4, 1965; Letcher County, March 1, 1965; Magoffin County, March 1, 1965; Martin County, February 1, 1965; Menifee County, March 7, 1966; Morgan County, October 4, 1965; *Perry County, March 4, 1963; Pike County, November 8, 1965; Wolfe County, October 4, 1965.

LOUISIANA (22)

Rep. Boggs (2nd District): St. James Parish, March 1, 1966; St. John the Baptist Parish, June 1, 1966.

Rep. Willis (3rd District): Assumption Parish, November 2, 1965; Iberia Parish, May 3, 1966; Lafayette Parish, December 1, 1965; St. Martin Parish, May 4, 1965; Vermilion Parish, May 4, 1965.

Rep. Waggonner (4th District): Red River Parish, January 10, 1967.

Rep. Passman (5th District): Caldwell Parish, April 5, 1966; Franklin Parish, December 7, 1966; Richland Parish, December 7, 1966.

Rep. Rarick (6th District): East Baton Rouge Parish, January 11, 1967; Iberville Parish, April 6, 1966; Pointe Coupee Parish, March 4, 1965.

Rep. Edwards (7th District): Acadia Parish February 2, 1965, Calcasieu Parish, December 1, 1965, *Evangeline Parish, January 7, 1963, Jefferson Davis Parish, May 4, 1966, St. Landry Parish, March 2, 1965.

Rep. Long (8th District): *Avoyelles Parish, March 1, 1963, Natchitoches Parish, April 6, 1965, Winn Parish, April 6, 1965.

MAINE (1)

Rep. Hathaway (2nd District): Androscoggin County, June 17, 1966.

MARYLAND (10)

Rep. Morton (1st District): Anne Arundel County, February 7, 1966, Caroline County, January 12, 1967, Dorchester County, July 12, 1965, Queen Annes County, November 16, 1965, Talbot County, October 13, 1966.

Rep. Garmatz (3rd District): Anne Arundel County, February 7, 1966, Baltimore County, July 11, 1966.

Rep. Fallon (4th District): Baltimore County, July 11, 1966.

Rep. Machen (5th District): Charles County, December 12, 1966, Prince Georges County, February 14, 1967.

Rep. Mathias (6th District): Allegany County, June 7, 1966, Garrett County, June 10, 1966.

Rep. Friedel (7th District): Baltimore County, July 11, 1966.

Rep. Gude (8th District): Anne Arundel County, February 7, 1966.

MICHIGAN (6)

Rep. Conyers (1st District), Rep. Esch (2nd District): Wayne County, 7/1/65.[2]

Rep. Harvey (8th District): St. Clair County, 12/1/65.

Rep. Ruppe (11th District): Gogebic County, 5/17/65, Houghton County, 6/3/65.

Rep. O'Hara (12th District): Macomb County, 12/1/65, Wayne County, 7/1/65.[2]

Rep. Diggs (13th District), Rep. Nedzi (14th District), Rep. William Ford (15th District), Rep. Dingell (16th District), Rep. Griffiths (17th District): Wayne County, July 1, 1965.[2]

Rep. Broomfield (18th District): Oakland County, December 1, 1965.

Rep. McDonald (19th District): Oakland County, December 1, 1965, Wayne County, July 1, 1965.[2]

MINNESOTA (29)

Rep. Quie (1st District): Dakota County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Nelsen (2nd District): Pipestone County, January 4, 1967.

Rep. MacGregor (3rd District): Anoka County, January 3, 1967, Hennepin County, August 2, 1966.

Rep. Karth (4th District): Ramsey County, July 1, 1965, Washington County, January 5, 1967.

Rep. Fraser (5th District): Ramsey County, July 1, 1965.

Rep. Zwach (6th District): Benton County, January 4, 1967, Big Stone County, June 2, 1966, Chippewa County, December 2, 1966, Crow Wing County, June 1, 1966, Kandiyohi County, May 2, 1966, Lac qui Parle County, May 2, 1966, Renville County, January 4, 1967, Stearns County, January 3, 1966, Swift County, June 2, 1966, Wright County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Langen (7th District): Becker County, May 2, 1966, Beltrami County, December 1, 1965, Hubbard County, May 2, 1966, Otter Tail County, January 5, 1967, Polk County, January 6, 1967, Roseau County, January 9, 1967.

Rep. Blatnik (8th District): Aitkin County, December 5, 1965, *Carlton County, March 4, 1963, *Itasca County, June 7, 1961, Koochiching County, April 1, 1965, Lake County, April 1, 1965, Pine County, December 5, 1966, *St. Louis County, June 5, 1961.

MISSISSIPPI (20)

Rep. Abernethy (1st District): Attala County, January 3, 1967, Chickasaw County, September 1, 1965, Clay County, July 5, 1966, Leflore County, February 1, 1967, Lowndes County, September 1, 1965.

Rep. Whitten (2nd District): Coahoma County, November 1, 1965, De Soto County, February 1, 1967, Lee County, January 3, 1967, Panola County, January 3, 1967, Quitman County, February 1, 1967, Tallahatchie County, February 1, 1967, Yalobusha County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Williams (3rd District): Pike County, January 3, 1967, Warren County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Montgomery (4th District): Madison County, October 1, 1965, Yazoo County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Colmer (5th District): Forrest County, April 4, 1966, Harrison County, July 1, 1965, Jones County, July 1, 1965, Marion County, January 3, 1967.

MISSOURI (1)

Rep. Karsten (1st District), Rep. Curtis (2nd District), Rep. Sullivan (3rd District): *City of St. Louis, January 2, 1963.

MONTANA (3)

Rep. Olsen (1st District): Deer Lodge County, April 1, 1966, *Silver Bow County, June 1, 1961.

Rep. Battin (2nd District): Cascade County, December 1, 1965.

NEBRASKA (22)

Rep. Denney (1st District); Cuming County, February, 7, 1967, Dakota County, February 7, 1967, Gage County, December 7, 1966, Lancaster County, June 1, 1965, Nemaha County, November 1, 1966, Saunders County, November 1, 1965, York County, November 1, 1966.

Rep. Cunningham (2nd District): Douglas County, January 3, 1967, Sarpy County, April 4, 1966.

Rep. Martin (3rd District): Banner County, May 2, 1966,[3] Boone County, December 7, 1966, Boyd County, February 15, 1967, Buffalo County, December 5, 1966, Clay County, January 12, 1967, Custer County, November 1, 1966, Franklin County, January 13, 1967, Hall County, December 5, 1966, Holt County, December 29, 1966, Keith County, November 1, 1966, Morrill County, June 1, 1966, Rock County, February 28, 1967, Scotts Bluff County, May 2, 1966,[3] Sheridan County, May 2, 1966.

NEW JERSEY (4)

Rep. Hunt (1st District): Camden County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Sandman (2nd District): Salem County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Thompson (4th District): Mercer County, June 1, 1966.

Rep. Widnall (7th District): Bergen County, February 1, 1967.

NEW MEXICO (17)

Rep. Morris (AL), Rep. Walker (AL): Chaves County, April 1, 1966, Colfax County, December 1, 1965, Curry County, June 1, 1966, Eddy County, May 2, 1966, Guadalupe County, February 1, 1967, Harding County, November 2, 1965, Lea County, May 2, 1966, *Mora County, June 3, 1963, Quay County, November 2, 1965, Rio Arriba County, March 2, 1965, Roosevelt County, June 1, 1966, Sandoval County, April 1, 1965, *San Miguel County, June 5, 1961, *Santa Fe County, June 3, 1963, Taos County, March 3, 1965, Torrance County, February 1, 1967, Union County, December 1, 1965.

NEW YORK (1)

Rep. McCarthy (39th District), Rep. Dulski (41st District): Erie County Welfare District, February 1, 1966.

NORTH CAROLINA (22)

Rep. Jones (1st District): Bertie County, November 1, 1965; Chowan County, November 1, 1965; Dare County, November 15, 1965; Martin County, March 1, 1965; Northampton County, March 1, 1965.

Rep. Fountain (2nd District): Franklin County, March 4, 1966; Granville County, April 1, 1966; Halifax County, March 1, 1965.

Rep. Henderson (3rd District): Harnett County, January 3, 1967; Lee County, April 1, 1966.

Rep. Gardner (4th District): Chatham County, May 16, 1966; Moore County, April 1, 1966; *Nash County, November 1, 1962; Orange County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. Galifianakis (5th District): Durham County, December 1, 1966; Forsyth County, March 1, 1965; Person County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. Lennon (7th District): New Hanover County, December 1, 1966; Scotland County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Broyhill (9th District): Cabarrus County, December 12, 1966; Surry County, March 1, 1965.

See footnotes at end of table.

Rep. Whitener (10th District): Cleveland County, January 3, 1967.

NORTH DAKOTA (1)

Rep. Kleppe (2nd District): Morton County, December 1, 1966.

OHIO (33)

Rep. Taft (1st District) Rep. Clancy (2nd District): Hamilton County, 4/1/65.

Rep. Whalen (3rd District): Montgomery County, 6/1/66.

Rep. McCulloch (4th District): Allen County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Harsha (6th District): Clermont County, 12/1/65, Scioto County, 6/3/66.

Rep. Brown (7th District): Clark County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Betts (8th District): Richland County, 11/1/66.

Rep. Ashley (9th District): *Lucas County, 12/3/62.

Rep. Miller (10th District): Athens County, 11/1/66, Lawrence County, 11/1/66, Morgan County, 11/1/66, Washington County, 1/3/67.

Rep. Stanton (11th District): Lake County, 11/1/66, Summit County, 5/2/66.

Rep. Devine (12th District): Franklin County, 1/3/66.

Rep. Mosher (13th District): Lorain County, 12/1/66.

Rep. Ayres (14th District): Summit County, 5/2/66.

Rep. Wylie (15th District): Franklin County, 1/3/66.

Rep. Bow (16th District): Carroll County, February 1, 1967, Mahoning County, May 2, 1966, Stark County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. Ashbrook (17th District): Ashland County, January 3, 1967, Coshocton County, February 1, 1967, Guernsey County, February 6, 1967, Holmes County, December 1, 1966, Knox County, February 1, 1967, Wayne County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Hays (18th District): Belmont County, February 1, 1967, Columbiana County, December 1, 1966, Harrison County, December 1, 1966, Monroe County, February 1, 1967, Jefferson County, December 1, 1966, Tuscarawas County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Kirwan (19th District): Trumbull County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Feighan (20th District), Rep. Vanik (21st District), Rep. Bolton (22nd District), Rep. Minshall (23rd District): *Cuyahoga County, May 1, 1963.

Rep. Lukens (24th District): Montgomery County, June 1, 1966.

OREGON (1)

Rep. Green (3rd District): *Multnomah County, December 3, 1962.

PENNSYLVANIA (29)

Rep. Barrett (1st District), Rep. Nix (2nd District), Rep. Byrne (3rd District), Rep. Eilberg (4th District), Rep. Green (5th District: Philadelphia County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. McDade (10th District): Bradford County, June 1, 1966, Lackawanna County, April 1, 1966, Sullivan County, January 3, 1967, Susquehanna County, January 3, 1967, Tioga County, June 1, 1966, Wyoming County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Flood (11th District): *Luzerne County, October 1, 1962.

Rep. Whalley (12th District): Blair County, February 1, 1967, Huntingdon County, April 1, 1966, Mifflin County, June 1, 1966, Somerset County, May 3, 1965.

Rep. Moorhead (14th District): Allegheny County, April 1, 1965.[4]

Rep. Schneebeli (17th District): Dauphin County, January 3, 1967, Northumberland County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Corbett (18th District), Rep. Holland (20th District): Allegheny County, April 1, 1965.[4]

Rep. Saylor (22nd District): Armstrong County, February 1, 1967, *Cambria County, March 1, 1963, Clarion County, February 1, 1967, Indiana County, May 3, 1965, Jefferson County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Johnson (23rd District): Clearfield County, May 3, 1965, Clinton County, January 3, 1967, McKean County, June 1, 1966, Potter County, June 1, 1966, Venango County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Vigorito (24th District): Crawford County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Morgan (26th District): *Fayette County, June 1, 1961, Greene County, May 3, 1965, Washington County, June 1, 1966.

Rep. Fulton (27th District): Allegheny County, April 1, 1965.[4]

RHODE ISLAND (4)

Rep. St Germain (1st District): City of Central Falls, September 1, 1966, City of Pawtucket, September 1, 1966, City of Providence, November 16, 1965, City of Woonsocket, September 1, 1966.

Rep. Fogarty (2nd District): City of Providence, November 16, 1965.

SOUTH CAROLINA (8)

Rep. Rivers (1st District): Beaufort County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Dorn (3rd District): Edgefield County, November 15, 1966, McCormick County, March 15, 1966.

Rep. Gettys (5th District): Cherokee County, January 4, 1966, York County, December 13, 1965.

Rep. McMillan (6th District): Dillon County, June 1, 1965, Lee County, April 1, 1966, Williamsburg County, April 1, 1966.

TENNESSEE (38)

Rep. Quillen (1st District): Cocke County, November 1, 1966, Hancock County, April 7, 1966, Sevier County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Duncan (2nd District): Anderson County, May 2, 1966, Campbell County, February 1, 1965, Claiborne County, February 1, 1965, Knox County, December 1, 1966, Morgan County, November 1, 1966, Scott County, February 1, 1965.

Rep. Brock (3rd District): Bledsoe County, November 1, 1966, *Grundy County, June 10, 1963, *Hamilton County, June 10, 1963, *Marion County, June 10, 1963, Meigs County, November 1, 1966, *Sequatchie County, June 10, 1963.

Rep. Evins (4th District): Cannon County, November 1, 1966, Fentress County, December 1, 1966, Pickett County, November 1, 1966, Rutherford County, November 1, 1966, Smith County, November 1, 1966, Wilson County, November 1, 1966.

Rep. Anderson (6th District): Lawrence County, November 7, 1966, Macon County, November 1, 1966, Sumner County, November 1, 1966, Trousdale County, November 1, 1966.

Rep. Blanton (7th District): Chester County, November 1, 1966, Fayette County, April 1, 1965, Hardeman County, May 17, 1965, Hardin County, December 1, 1966, McNairy County, May 2, 1966, Shelby County, February 1, 1966.

Rep. Everett (8th District): Dyer County, November 1, 1965; Haywood County, April 1, 1965; Henry County, November 1, 1966; Lake County, May 2, 1966; Lauderdale County, November 1, 1965; Shelby County, February 1, 1966; Tipton County, April 1, 1966; Weakley County, November 1, 1966.

Rep. Kuykendall (9th District): Shelby County, February 1, 1966.

TEXAS (2)

Rep. Teague (6th District), Rep. Wright (12th District): Tarrant County, October 1, 1965.

Rep. White (16th District): El Paso County, December 6, 1966.

UTAH (20)

Rep. Burton (1st District): Box Elder County, November 1, 1965; Cache County, December 1, 1965; Carbon County, June 2, 1966; Davis County, January 3, 1966; Emery County, June 2, 1966; Garfield County, November 1, 1966; Kane County, November 1, 1966; Morgan County, November 9, 1965; Piute County, November 1, 1965; Rich County, December 1, 1965; Sanpete County, December 1, 1966; Sevier County, January 3, 1967; Utah County, June 1, 1966; Wayne County, January 3, 1967; Weber County, June 1, 1965.

Rep. Lloyd (2nd District): Beaver County, February 3, 1967; Iron County, February 7, 1967; Juab County, December 1, 1966; Millard County, December 1, 1966; Washington County, February 3, 1967.

VERMONT (1)

Rep. Stafford (AL): St. Albans Welfare District, November 1, 1965; Franklin County, Grand Isle County, Lamoille County.

VIRGINIA (7)

Rep. Downing (1st District): Chesapeake City, November 15, 1966.

Rep. Hardy (2nd District): City of Norfolk, April 11, 1966.

Rep. Tuck (5th District): City of Danville, June 1, 1966.

Rep. Wampler (9th District): City of Bristol, March 4, 1966; *Dickenson County, March 4, 1963; *Lee County, March 5, 1963; *Wise County, February 1, 1963.

WASHINGTON (23)

Rep. Meeds (2nd District): Clallam County, December 1, 1966, Jefferson County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Hansen (3rd District): Clark County, November 1, 1966, Cowlitz County, December 1, 1966, *Grays Harbor County, September 3, 1963, Lewis County, November 1, 1966, Mason County, December 1, 1966, Pacific County, November 1, 1965, Skamania County, November 1, 1966, Thurston County, November 2, 1965, Wahkiakum County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. May (4th District): Adams County, January 3, 1967, Asotin County, January 3, 1967, Benton County, April 1, 1966, Columbia County, January 3, 1967, Franklin County, April 1, 1966, Garfield County, January 3, 1967, Klickitat County, November 1, 1966, Walla Walla County, January 3, 1967, Whitman County, January 3, 1967, Yakima County, April 1, 1966.

Rep. Foley (5th District): Lincoln County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Hicks (6th District): Kitsap County, December 1, 1966.

WEST VIRGINIA (40)

Rep. Moore (1st District): Braxton County, May 2, 1966, Calhoun County, January 3, 1967, Doddridge County, January 3, 1967, Gilmer County, January 3, 1967, Harrison County, January 3, 1967, Lewis County January 3, 1967, Marion County, January 3, 1967, Taylor County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Staggers (2nd District): Barbour County, January 3, 1967; Greenbrier County, May 2, 1966; Monongalia County, January 3, 1967; Pendleton County, January 3, 1967; Pocahontas County, January 3, 1967; Preston County, January 3, 1967; Randolph County, January 3, 1967; Tucker County, January 3, 1967; Upshur County, January 3, 1967; Webster County, November 1, 1965.

Rep. Slack (3rd District): Boone County, October 1, 1965; Clay County, November 1, 1965; Kanawha County, November 1, 1965; Nicholas County, May 2, 1966; Raleigh County, October 1, 1965.

Rep. Hechler (4th District): Cabell County, January 3, 1967; Jackson County, January 3, 1967; Lincoln County, November 1, 1965; *Logan County, November 1, 1962; Mason County, January 3, 1967; Putnam County, January 3, 1967; Roane County, January 3, 1967; *Wayne County, November 1, 1962; Wirt County, January 3, 1967; Wood County, January 3, 1967.

Rep. Kee (5th District): Fayette County, October 1, 1965; *McDowell County, May 29,

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See footnotes at end of speech.

1961; Mercer County, May 2, 1966; *Mingo County, November 1, 1962; Monroe County, May 2, 1966; Summers County, May 2, 1966; Wyoming County, May 2, 1966.

WISCONSIN (18)

Rep. Thomson (3rd District): Crawford County, December 6, 1965; Grant County, December 1, 1965; Lafayette County, December 1, 1965; Pepin County, May 2, 1966; Pierce County, May 2, 1966; Vernon County, December 1, 1966.

Rep. Zablocki (4th District): Rep. Reuss (5th District); Milwaukee County, January 3, 1966.

Rep. Laird (7th District); Langlade County, March 1, 1965.

Rep. Byrnes (8th District); Door County, February 3, 1967; Kewaunee County, February 1, 1967.

Rep. Davis (9th District): Milwaukee County, January 3, 1966; Waukesha County, May 2, 1966.

Rep. O'Konski (10th District): Burnett County, May 2, 1966; *Douglas County, November 1, 1962; Dunn County, May 2, 1966; *Iron County, March 1, 1963; Price County, March 1, 1965; Rusk County, December 5, 1966; St. Croix County, December 5, 1966.

WYOMING (23)

Rep. Harrison (AL): Albany County, January 3, 1967; Big Horn County, March 1, 1966; Campbell County, April 20, 1965; Carbon County, December 1, 1965; Converse County, December 1, 1966; Crook County, November 1, 1966; Fremont County, April 20, 1965; Goshen County, December 1, 1966; Hot Springs County, November 1, 1966; Johnson County, April 20, 1965; Laramie County, January 3, 1967; Lincoln County, April 20, 1965; Natrona County, November 1, 1965; Niobrara County, December 1, 1966; Park County, November 1, 1966; Platte County, January 3, 1967; Sheridan County, March 1, 1966; Sublette County, April 20, 1965; Sweetwater County, April 1, 1966; Teton County, April 20, 1965; Uinta County, April 1, 1966; Washakie County, November 1, 1966; Weston County, April 20, 1965.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN WHICH NEW FOOD STAMP PROJECTS ARE TO START

Next, Mr. Speaker, I submit a list of the areas, including congressional districts, in which new food stamp projects are to start in the near future:

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM—DESIGNATED AREAS NOT YET IN OPERATION AS OF FEBRUARY 28, 1967

ALABAMA

Bullock County: 3rd District, Representative Andrews.

Dallas County: 4th District, Representative Nichols.

Lamar County: 7th District, Representative Bevill.

ARKANSAS

Boone County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Dallas County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Drew County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Greene County: 1st District, Representative Gathings.

Johnson County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Marion County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Ouachita County, 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Saline County, 4th District, Representative Pryor.

CALIFORNIA

Modoc County: 2nd District, Representative Johnson.

Riverside County, 38th District, Representative Tunney.

San Mateo County, 11th District, Representative Younger.

Santa Clara County: 9th District, Representative Edwards; 10th District, Representative Gubser.

Sonoma County: 1st District, Representative Clausen.

COLORADO

Archuleta County, 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Delta County: 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Dolores County, 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Garfield County, 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Gunnison County, 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Hinsdale County: 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Morgan County, 4th District, Representative Aspinall.

Yuma County: 3rd District, Representative Evans.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford Welfare District: 1st District, Representative Daddario; 6th District, Representative Meskill.

Middletown Welfare District: 2nd District, Representative St. Onge.

New Haven Welfare District: 3rd District, Representative Giaimo; 5th District, Representative Monagan.

GEORGIA

Berrien County: 8th District, Representative Stuckey.

Clay County: 2nd District, Representative O'Neal.

Colquitt County: 2nd District, Representative O'Neal.

Coweta County: 6th District, Representative Flynt.

Dougherty County: 2nd District, Representative O'Neal.

Grady County: 2nd District, Representative O'Neal.

Greene County: 10th District, Representative Stephens.

HAWAII

Hawaii County: At Large, Representative Matsunaga and Representative Mink.

ILLINOIS

Adams County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Brown County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Cass County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Christian County: 23rd District, Representative Shipley.

Hancock County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Logan County: 22nd District, Representative Springer.

Mason County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

McDonough County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Menard County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Morgan County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Pike County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Sangamon County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Schuyler County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

Scott County: 20th District, Representative Findley.

INDIANA

Daviess County: 7th District, Representative Myers.

Orange County: 9th District, Representative Hamilton.

IOWA

Buena Vista County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Clay County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Dickinson County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Emmet County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Humboldt County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Jefferson County: 1st District, Representative Schwengel.

Kossuth County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Linn County: 2nd District, Representative Culver.

Montgomery County: 7th District, Representative Scherle.

Palo Alto County: 6th District, Representative Mayne.

Ringgold County: 4th District, Representative Kyl.

Story County: 5th District, Representative Smith.

KENTUCKY

Allen County: 2nd District, Representative Natcher.

Butler County: 1st District, Representative Stubblefield.

Fleming County: 7th District, Representative Perkins.

Grant County: 4th District, Representative Snyder.

Greenup County: 7th District, Representative Perkins.

Hickman County: 1st District, Representative Stubblefield.

Kenton County: 4th District, Representative Snyder.

Powell County: 6th District, Representative Watts.

Rowan County: 7th District, Representative Perkins.

Shelby County: 6th District, Representative Watts.

LOUISIANA

Allen Parish: 8th District, Representative Long.

Beauregard Parish: 8th District, Representative Long.

Cameron Parish: 7th District, Representative Edwards.

Concordia Parish: 5th District, Representative Passman.

Tensas Parish: 5th District, Representative Passman.

West Carroll Parish: 5th District, Representative Passman.

MAINE

City of Bangor: 2nd District, Representative Hathaway.

City of Portland: 1st District, Representative Kyros.

City of Waterville: 1st District, Representative Kyros.

Washington County: 2nd District, Representative Hathaway.

MARYLAND

Baltimore City: 3rd District, Representative Garmatz; 4th District, Representative Fallon; 5th District, Representative Machen; 7th District, Representative Friedel.

MASSACHUSETTS

Areas to be specified.

MICHIGAN

Berrien County: 4th District, Representative Hutchinson.

Crawford County: 10th District, Representative Cederberg.

Gratiot County: 10th District, Representative Cederberg.

Ingham County: 6th District, Representative Chamberlain.

Iron County: 11th District, Representative Ruppe.

Jackson County: 6th District, Representative Chamberlain.

Kalamazoo County: 3rd District, Representative Brown.

See footnotes at end of speech.

Kent County: 5th District, Representative Ford.

Keweenaw County: 11th District, Representative Ruppe.

Lake County: 11th District, Representative Ruppe.

Lapeer County: 7th District, Representative Riegle.

Mackinac County: 11th District, Representative Ruppe.

Midland County: 10th District, Representative Cederberg.

Monroe County: 2nd District, Representative Esch.

Ontonagon County: 11th District, Representative Ruppe.

Van Buren County: 4th District, Representative Hutchinson.

Washtenaw County: 2nd District, Representative Esch.

MINNESOTA

Blue Earth County: 2nd District, Representative Nelsen.

Carver County: 2nd District, Representative Nelsen.

Cass County: 7th District, Representative Langen.

Chisago County: 8th District, Representative Blatnik.

Yellow Medicine County: 6th District, Representative Zwach.

MISSISSIPPI

Bolivar County: 1st District, Representative Abernethy.

Claiborne County: 3rd District, Representative Williams.

Covington County: 5th District, Representative Colmer.

Grenada County: 2nd District, Representative Whitten.

Hinds County: 3rd District, Representative Williams.

Holmes County: 4th District, Representative Montgomery.

Jackson County: 5th District, Representative Colmer.

Jefferson Davis County: 5th District, Representative Colmer.

Lamar County: 5th District, Representative Colmer.

Lawrence County: 5th District, Representative Colmer.

Lincoln County: 3rd District, Representative Williams.

Marshall County: 2nd District, Representative Whitten.

Monroe County: 1st District, Representative Abernethy.

Oktibbeha County: 1st District, Representative Abernethy.

Scott County: 4th District, Representative Montgomery.

Sunflower County: 1st District, Representative Abernethy.

Tunica County: 2nd District, Representative Whitten.

Washington County: 1st District, Representative Abernethy.

NEBRASKA

Antelope County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

Arthur County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

Butler County: 1st District, Representative Denney.

Dawson County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

Kearney County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

Adams County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

Cedar County: 1st District, Representative Denney.

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic County: 2nd District, Representative Sandman.

Ocean County: 3rd District, Representative Howard; 6th District, Representative Cahill.

Passaic County: 8th District, Representative Joelson.

Union County: 12th District, Representative Dwyer; 13th District, Representative Gallagher.

NEW MEXICO

DeBaca County, Lincoln County, Otero County: At Large, Representatives Morris and Walker.

NEW YORK

Cattaraugus County: 38th District, Representative Goodell.

Chautauqua County, City of Jamestown: 38th District, Representative Goodell.

Clinton County: 30th District, Representative King.

Essex County: 30th District, Representative King.

Franklin County: 31st District, Representative McEwen.

Genesee County: 37th District, Representative Conable.

Monroe County: 36th District, Representative Horton; 37th District, Representative Conable.

Niagara County: 40th District, Representative Smith.

Ontario County: 35th District, Representative Stratton.

Orleans County: 37th District, Representative Conable.

St. Lawrence County: 31st District, Representative McEwen.

Wayne County: 36th District, Representative Horton.

Wyoming County: 37th District, Representative Conable.

NORTH CAROLINA

Clay County: 11th District, Representative Taylor.

Rowan County: 9th District, Representative Broyhill.

NORTH DAKOTA

Cavalier County: 1st District, Representative Andrews.

Emmons County: 2nd District, Representative Kleppe.

Oliver County: 2nd District, Representative Kleppe.

Pierce County: 1st District, Representative Andrews.

Towner County: 1st District, Representative Andrews.

OHIO

Muskingum County: 17th District, Representative Ashbrook.

PENNSYLVANIA

Beaver County: 25th District, Representative Clark.

Carbon County: 11th District, Representative Flood.

Columbia County: 11th District, Representative Flood.

Erie County: 24th District, Representative Vigorito.

Juniata County: 12th District, Representative Whalley.

Lawrence County: 25th District, Representative Clark.

Lycoming County: 17th District, Representative Schneebeli.

Mercer County: 24th District, Representative Vigorito.

Montour County: 17th District, Representative Schneebeli.

Perry County: 12th District, Representative Whalley.

Wayne County: 10th District, Representative McDade.

Westmoreland County: 21st District, Representative Dent.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Abbeville County: 3rd District, Representative Dorn.

Allendale County: 1st District, Representative Rivers.

Jasper County: 1st District, Representative Rivers.

Kershaw County: 5th District, Representative Gettys.

Laurens County: 4th District, Representative Ashmore.

Union County: 5th District, Representative Gettys.

TENNESSEE

Clay County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Coffee County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

DeKalb County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Grainger County: 1st District, Representative Quillen.

Hickman County: 6th District, Representative Anderson.

Jackson County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Loudon County: 3rd District, Representative Brock.

McMinn County: 3rd District, Representative Brock.

Obion County: 8th District, Representative Everett.

Overton County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Putnam County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Van Buren County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Wayne County: 6th District, Representative Anderson.

TEXAS

Brewster County: 16th District, Representative White.

Culberson County: 16th District, Representative White.

Hudspeth County: 16th District, Representative White.

Jeff Davis County: 16th District, Representative White.

Pecos County: 16th District, Representative White.

Presidio County: 16th District, Representative White.

Red River County: 1st District, Representative Patman.

Terrell County: 16th District, Representative White.

UTAH

Duchesne County: 1st District, Representative Burton.

Grand County: 1st District, Representative Burton.

Summit County: 1st District, Representative Burton.

Tooele County: 2nd District, Representative Lloyd.

Uintah County: 1st District, Representative Burton.

Wasatch County: 1st District, Representative Burton.

VERMONT

St. Johnsbury Welfare District (Caledonia, Essex and Orleans Counties): At Large, Representative Stafford.

WASHINGTON

Chelan County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

Douglas County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

Ferry County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

Grant County: 4th District, Representative May.

Island County: 2nd District, Representative Meeds.

Kittitas County: 4th District, Representative May.

Okanogan County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

Pend Oreille County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

San Juan County: 2nd District, Representative Meeds.

Skagit County: 2nd District, Representative Meeds.

Snohomish County: 2nd District, Representative Meeds.

Stevens County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

Whatcom County: 2nd District, Representative Meeds.

WEST VIRGINIA

Brooke County: 1st District, Representative Moore.

Hancock County: 1st District, Representative Moore.

Marshal County: 1st District, Representative Moore.

Ohio County: 1st District, Representative Moore.

Pleasants County: 4th District, Representative Hechler.

Ritchie County: 4th District, Representative Hechler.

Tyler County: 4th District, Representative Hechler.

Wetzel County: 1st District, Representative Moore.

WISCONSIN

Adams County: 7th District, Representative Laird.

Forest County: 7th District, Representative Laird.

Marinette County: 8th District, Representative Byrnes.

Oneida County: 10th District, Representative O'Konski.

Trempealeau County: 3rd District, Representative Thomson.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN WHICH ADDITIONAL FOOD STAMP PROJECTS ARE BEING ASKED

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I list below all of the areas in each congressional district seeking to be designated for inclusion in the food stamp program, but whose chances for inclusion will depend upon the appropriation of substantially more funds than so far have been authorized for the program:

REQUESTS FOR FOOD STAMP PROGRAM AS OF FEBRUARY 24, 1967

ARKANSAS

Chicot County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Ashley County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Logan County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Desha County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Pope County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Columbia County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Sharp County: 2nd District, Representative Mills.

Stone County: 2nd District, Representative Mills.

Little River County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Crawford County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Washington County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Randolph County: 2nd District, Representative Mills.

Lawrence County: 2nd District, Representative Mills.

Grant County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Union County: 4th District, Representative Pryor.

Jackson County: 1st District, Representative Gathings.

Benton County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Sebastian County: 3rd District, Representative Hammerschmidt.

Miller County: 4th District, Representative, Pryor.

GEORGIA

Carroll County: 6th District, Representative Flynt.

Chatham County: 1st District, Representative Hagan.

White County: 9th District, Representative Landrum.

Banks County: 10th District, Representative Stephens.

Whitfield County: 7th District, Representative Davis.

Taylor County: 3rd District, Representative Brinkley.

ILLINOIS

Fulton County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Knox County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Peoria County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Tazewell County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Woodford County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Marshall County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Stark County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Bureau County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

Putnam County: 18th District, Representative Michel.

McLean County: 17th District, Representative Arends.

Warren County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Mercer County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Whiteside County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Rock Island County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Henry County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

Henderson County: 19th District, Representative Railsback.

LaSalle County: 15th District, Representative Reid.

Will County: 14th District, Representative Erlenborn.

Kankakee County: 17th District, Representative Arends.

Kane County: 15th District, Representative Reid.

Livingston County: 17th District, Representative Arends.

Grundy County: 15th District, Representative Reid.

Ford County: 17th District, Representative Arends.

Carroll County: 16th District, Representative Anderson .

Jo Daviess County: 16th District, Representative Anderson.

Lee County: 16th District, Representative Anderson.

McHenry County: 12th District, Representative McClory.

Winnebago County: 16th District, Representative Anderson.

Ogle County: 16th District, Representative Anderson.

Stephenson County: 16th District, Representative Anderson.

Boone County: 16th District, Representative Anderson.

DeKalb County: 15th District, Representative Reid.

Lake County: 12th District, Representative McClory.

Du Page County: 14th District, Representative Erlenborn.

Kendall County: 15th District, Representative Reid.

KANSAS

Marion County: 4th District, Representative Shriver.

KENTUCKY

McLean County: 1st District, Representative Stubblefield.

Metcalfe County: 5th District, Representative Carter.

LOUISIANA

Madison Parish: 5th District, Representative Passman.

Orleans Parish: 1st District, Representative Hébert.

Orleans Parish: 2nd District, Representative Boggs.

St. Helena Parish: 6th District, Representative Rarick.

MARYLAND

Frederick County: 6th District, Representative Mathias.

MASSACHUSETTS

New Bedford: 12th District, Representative Keith.

Boston: 8th District, Representative O'Neill.

Boston: 9th District, Representative McCormack.

Boston: 11th District, Representative Burke.

Gloucester: 6th District, Representative Bates.

Cambridge: 8th District, Representative O'Neill.

Somerville: 8th District, Representative O'Neill.

MINNESOTA

Murray County: 2nd District, Representative Nelsen.

NEBRASKA

Merrick County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

Howard County: 3rd District, Representative Martin.

NEW JERSEY

Warren County: 4th District, Representative Thompson.

Hudson County: 13th District, Representative Gallagher.

Hudson County: 14th District, Representative Daniels.

NEW YORK

New York City: 6th District, Representative Halpern.

New York City: 7th District, Representative Addabbo.

New York City: 8th District, Representative Rosenthal.

New York City: 10th District, Representative Celler.

New York City: 11th District, Representative Brasco.

New York City: 12th District, Representative Kelly.

New York City: 13th District, Representative Multer.

New York City: 14th District, Representative Rooney.

New York City: 15th District, Representative Carey.

New York City: 16th District, Representative Murphy.

New York City: 17th District, Representative Kupferman.

New York City: 18th District, Representative Powell.

New York City: 19th District, Representative Farbstein.

New York City: 20th District, Representative Ryan.

New York City: 21st District, Representative Scheuer.

New York City: 22nd District, Representative Gilbert.

New York City: 23rd District, Representative Bingham.

New York City: 24th District, Representative Fino.

NORTH CAROLINA

Guilford County: 6th District, Representative Kornegay.

Warren County: 2nd District, Representative Fountain.

NORTH DAKOTA

Foster County: 1st District, Representative Andrews.

Richland County: 1st District, Representative Andrews.

OHIO

Adams County: 6th District, Representative Harsha.

Marion County: 8th District, Representative Betts.

Miami County: 4th District, Representative McCulloch.

Huron County: 13th District, Representative Mosher.

Wood County: 5th District, Representative Latta.

Erie County: 13th District, Representative Mosher.

Crawford County: 8th District, Representative Betts.

Logan County: 7th District, Representative Brown.

Medina County: 14th District, Representative Ayres.

Champaign County: 7th District, Representative Brown.

Sandusky County: 13th District, Representative Mosher.

PENNSYLVANIA

Union County: 17th District, Representative Schneebeli.

Snyder County: 17th District, Representative Schneebeli.

Adams County: 19th District, Representative Goodling.

Monroe County: 15th District, Representative Rooney.

York County: 19th District, Representative Goodling.

Centre County: 23rd District, Representative Johnson.

Northampton County: 15th District, Representative Rooney.

Berks County: 6th District, Representative Rhodes.

Butler County: 25th District, Representative Clark.

Delaware County: 7th District, Representative Williams.

Elk County: 23rd District, Representative Johnson.

Cameron County: 23rd District, Representative Johnson.

Franklin County: 12th District, Representative Whalley.

Lancaster County: 16th District, Representative Eshleman.

Pike County: 10th District, Representative McDade.

Forest County: 23rd District, Representative Johnson.

Warren County: 23rd District, Representative Johnson.

Chester County: 9th District, Representative Watkins.

Cumberland County: 19th District, Representative Goodling.

Lebanon County: 16th District, Representative Eshleman.

Lehigh County: 8th and 15th Districts, Representatives Rooney and Biester.

Bucks County: 8th District, Representative Biester.

Montgomery County: 13th District, Representative Schweiker.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Marion County: 6th District, Representative McMillan.

Darlington County: 6th District, Representative McMillan.

TENNESSEE

Union County: 2nd District, Representative Duncan.

Bedford County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Roane County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Hawkins County: 1st District, Representative Quillen.

Blount County: 2nd District, Representative Duncan.

Cumberland County: 4th District, Representative Evins.

Polk County: 3rd District, Representative Brock.

TEXAS

Dickens County: 13th District, Representative Purcell.

Garza County: 19th District, Representative Mahon.

UTAH

Salt Lake County: 2nd District, Representative Lloyd.

WASHINGTON

Pierce County: 6th District, Representative Hicks.

Spokane County: 5th District, Representative Foley.

King County: 1st District, Representative Pelly; 2nd District, Representative Meeds; 6th District, Representative Hicks; 7th District, Representative Adams.

WEST VIRGINIA

Mineral County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

Berkeley County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

Grant County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

Hampshire County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

Hardy County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

Jefferson County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

Morgan County: 2nd District, Representative Staggers.

WISCONSIN

Sheboygan County: 6th District, Representative Steiger.

Columbia County: 2nd District, Representative Kastenmeier.

FOOD STAMP PLAN WOULD HAVE TO BE CURTAILED IF H.R. 1318 DOES NOT BECOME LAW BEFORE JULY 1

Mr. Speaker, all of the areas I have included in the three separate listings I have submitted to be printed as part of my remarks have a common interest in the passage of H.R. 1318 and in the appropriation thereafter of sufficient funds to finance these existing and proposed projects.

If legislation is not passed this spring, some of the existing food stamp projects could be continued through the use of section 32 funds but they would be subject to whatever regulations the Department of Agriculture wished to impose without regard to the requirements of the food stamp law we passed in 1964. Under that law, we included such things as coffee, tea, and bananas, which was not true under the pilot programs prior to the passage of the 1964 act. The Department, in fact, could limit the program merely to food items in surplus, which would cut down drastically on the almost unlimited variety of foods now purchasable through food stamps.

Furthermore, many of the existing projects would have to be dropped entirely and certainly no new ones could start.

So, all in all, and in view of the success of the program, as attested to by so many Members of the House who are familiar with the projects operating in their own districts, I am sure there will be great interest among the Members in expressing to the Committee on Agriculture their support for H.R. 1318 and in asking for early action to report and pass the bill as introduced.

HOW THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM OPERATES IN ST. LOUIS

Mr. Speaker, I think it would be helpful to the Members in whose congressional districts the food stamp plan is soon to start to know the mechanics of how it operates, and, for that reason, I am giving some of the details of the program as it functions in the city of St. Louis.

Eligibility is based on family size and income, and also on the family's liquid assets, as shown in the following table:

State of Missouri food stamp program—eligibility standards for nonassistance household

TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND LIQUID ASSET[1] MAXIMUMS

Number of persons in household	Maximum monthly income	Maximum liquid assets[1]
1	$140	$750
2	190	1,500
3	230	1,500
4	270	1,500
5	310	1,500
6	350	1,500
7	390	1,500
8	430	1,500
9	470	1,500
10	510	1,500

[1] Liquid assets are defined as: Cash on hand or in a safety deposit box, checking and savings accounts, building and loan stocks, bonds, etc. Equity in a home is not considered part of the liquid assets.

1. For families consisting of more than 10 persons, add $40.00 for each additional person on monthly income; the maximum liquid assets cannot exceed $1500.

2. The maximum as stated in the above Table will be applied only to the non-assistance households as defined in Item IV-C of the Plan of Operation; they will not be applied to the assistance households as defined in Item IV-B of this Plan.

3. Monthly income is defined as gross income exclusive of all mandatory deductions, such as Federal and State withholding taxes, City Earnings Tax, OASDI deductions, union dues, retirement or pension contribution, health insurance and hospitalization payments.

(a) Where income is received from self-employment or business enterprises, deductions may be made for the cost of producing such income.

TYPICAL PURCHASE REQUIREMENTS AND BONUS STAMPS ISSUED

There is a definite schedule of stamp purchase requirements each month—or semimonthly—for each participating individual or family, depending upon income and family size. Families already on some form of public assistance in Missouri are automatically eligible, and the stamp purchase requirements for them are a little different from those for nonassistance households.

The nonassistance households which apply must be screened by the welfare department to establish income eligibility, and are periodically reexamined—every 3 months—to determine continued eligibility before recertification.

Although the monthly or semimonthly purchase requirements change from family to family according to such special considerations as very high shelter costs, regular medical expenses, and so forth, the normal stamp purchase requirements for a family of four would be as follows:

Missouri food stamp program—Net income basis of coupon issuance

4-PERSON HOUSEHOLD

Monthly net income	Monthly			Semimonthly			Monthly net income	Monthly			Semimonthly		
	Purchase	Bonus	Total	Purchase	Bonus	Total		Purchase	Bonus	Total	Purchase	Bonus	Total
0 to $19.99	$8	$44	$52	$4	$22	$26	$100 to $109.99	$44	$34	$78	$22	$17	$39
$20 to $29.99	10	42	52	5	21	26	$110 to $119.99	48	34	82	24	17	41
$30 to $39.99	14	42	56	7	21	28	$120 to $139.99	52	32	84	26	16	42
$40 to $49.99	20	40	60	10	20	30	$140 to $159.99	56	30	86	28	15	43
$50 to $59.99	24	40	64	12	20	32	$160 to $179.99	60	28	88	30	14	44
$60 to $69.99	28	38	66	14	19	33	$180 to $199.99	64	26	90	32	13	45
$70 to $79.99	32	38	70	16	19	35	$200 to $219.99	68	24	92	34	12	46
$80 to $89.99	36	36	72	18	18	36	$220 to $239.99	72	24	96	36	12	48
$90 to $99.99	40	36	76	20	18	38	$240 to $269.99	76	24	100	38	12	50

SOME OTHER EXAMPLES

For a single individual, or a two-person household the purchase requirements are as listed in the following table:

Missouri food stamp program—Net income basis of coupon issuance

1-PERSON HOUSEHOLD

Monthly net income	Monthly			Semimonthly			Monthly net income	Monthly			Semimonthly		
	Purchase	Bonus	Total	Purchase	Bonus	Total		Purchase	Bonus	Total	Purchase	Bonus	Total
0 to $19.99	$4	$10	$14	$2	$5	$7	$50 to $59.99	$14	$8	$22	$7	$4	$11
$20 to $29.99	8	8	16	4	4	8	$60 to $79.99	16	6	22	8	3	11
$30 to $39.99	10	8	18	5	4	9	$80 to $99.99	18	6	24	9	3	12
$40 to $49.99	12	8	20	6	4	10	$100 and over	20	6	26	10	3	13

2-PERSON HOUSEHOLD

0 to $19.99	$4	$20	$24	$2	$10	$12	$70 to $79.99	$24	$16	$40	$12	$8	$20
$20 to $29.99	8	20	28	4	10	14	$80 to $99.99	28	16	44	14	8	22
$30 to $39.99	12	18	30	6	9	15	$100 to $119.99	32	16	48	16	8	24
$40 to $49.99	16	18	34	8	9	17	$120 to $139.99	36	14	50	18	7	25
$50 to $59.99	18	18	36	9	9	18	$140 and over	40	12	52	20	6	26
$60 to $69.99	20	18	38	10	9	19							

And for a family of seven, this is the table which is used:

Missouri food stamp program—Net income basis of coupon issuance

7-PERSON HOUSEHOLD

[Monthly net income	Monthly			Semimonthly			Monthly net income	Monthly			Semimonthly		
	Purchase	Bonus	Total	Purchase	Bonus	Total		Purchase	Bonus	Total	Purchase	Bonus	Total
0 to $39.99	$14	$64	$78	$7	$32	$39	$150 to $159.99	$68	$46	$114	$34	$23	$57
$40 to $49.99	20	62	82	10	31	41	$160 to $179.99	72	46	118	36	23	59
$50 to $59.99	24	62	86	12	31	43	$180 to $199.99	76	44	120	38	22	60
$60 to $69.99	30	60	90	15	30	45	$200 to $219.99	80	42	122	40	21	61
$70 to $79.99	34	60	94	17	30	47	$220 to $239.99	84	40	124	42	20	62
$80 to $89.99	40	58	98	20	29	49	$240 to $259.99	88	38	126	44	19	63
$90 to $99.99	44	58	102	22	29	51	$260 to $279.99	92	36	128	46	18	64
$100 to $109.99	50	56	106	25	28	53	$280 to $299.99	96	36	132	48	18	66
$110 to $119.99	54	54	108	27	27	54	$300 to $319.99	100	36	136	50	18	68
$120 to $129.99	58	52	110	29	26	55	$320 to $339.99	104	36	140	52	18	70
$130 to $139.99	62	50	112	31	25	56	$340 to $359.99	108	36	144	54	18	72
$140 to $149.99	66	48	114	33	24	57	$360 to $389.99	112	36	148	56	18	74

PROGRAM WORKS WELL, BUT NEW AUTHORIZATION IS NEEDED

The program works, and works well, Mr. Speaker, as the many letters I have received from grateful constituents certainly attest. To me, it is a shame that the State of Missouri has not yet taken the steps necessary to enable localities other than the city of St. Louis to participate. I hope my State will soon make the necessary arrangements. The needy people in St. Louis County, who do not have this program available, are understandably envious of the good diets enjoyed by people living in the city who have the same incomes but also have the advantage of the food stamp program.

Many elderly couples, with little cash and small pensions, find the food stamp program a godsend. They suffer no loss of dignity such as old people do elsewhere in having to stand in long lines for free food handouts. Instead, they buy their food in the nearby grocery store, paying a major share of the cost themselves.

Low income families of large size are the greatest beneficiaries of the program. Their children can obtain the good, nutritious, fresh foods growing boys and girls require.

All in all, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have been the initiator in the Congress of the food stamp program, and I am sure that every Member who has a part in the enactment of H.R. 1318 to continue and to expand the program will find that action a source of future pride and satisfaction.

DEPARTMENTAL REPORT ON NEED FOR NEW LEGISLATION

The 1968 fiscal year budget submitted to the Congress by the President in January contained a notation, Mr. Speaker, that the food stamp program is to be financed next year entirely out of section 32 funds. The original pilot projects were financed in that manner, but at one-tenth the cost of the program budgeted for next year. Hence, I inquired if this proposed method of financing in any way obviated the necessity for passage this year of H.R. 1318. Frankly, I doubt very much that Congress would ever earmark $250 million of section 32 funds for this one program, but, assuming it agreed to do so for next year, I asked if the food stamp program could continue to operate as it is now operating without new authorization legislation.

Following is the report I received on this matter from Administrator S. R. Smith of the Consumer and Marketing Service of the Department of Agriculture:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE,
Washington, February 16, 1967.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: This is in reply to your requests for certain advice concerning the status of the Food Stamp Act of 1964.

Our advice was requested as to whether an amendment to the Food Stamp Act was necessary at this time. Specifically, the question was raised as to whether this Department could continue to operate the current Food Stamp Program under the general authority of Section 32 of the Act of August 24, 1935, as amended, in view of the fact that the President's Budget Message to the Congress proposes to finance the 1968 Food Stamp Program with Section 32 funds.

The President's Budget proposes to finance the program authorized by the Food Stamp Act by a transfer of a portion of the funds appropriated under Section 32. This transfer must be approved by the Congress in the 1968 Appropriation Act for the Department. Such approval would simply make Section 32 funds available to carry out the provisions of the Food Stamp Act of 1964; it would not alter such provisions.

The Food Stamp Act of 1964 is continuing legislation; it has no termination date. Section 16 of the Act calls for further action by the Agricultural Committees of Congress; that section placed specific limitations on the dollar amount which could be appropriated to carry out the provisions of the Act for the 1965, 1966, and 1967 fiscal years. For fiscal year 1968 and all subsequent years, Section 16 states that the annual appropriation shall be "not in excess of such sum as may hereafter be *authorized* by Congress." (Underscoring supplied.) The history of this section appears to indicate that the phrase "not in excess of such sum as may hereafter be authorized" was intended as a limitation requiring subsequent basic legislation to support an appropriation rather than intended as an authorization supporting appropriations in such sum as the Congress might determine. Failure to amend this section could give rise to a question of point of order with respect to any provision for funds by the appropriations committee for the Food Stamp Program.

Failure of the Congress to extend the authorization for appropriations under the Food Stamp Act of 1964 to carry out the provision of the Act for 1968 and subsequent fiscal years would mean that this Department would not have the authority to continue to operate the present Food Stamp Program under the provisions of that Act after June 30, 1967.

While Section 32 provides broad authority and appropriations to the Department of Agriculture to operate programs for the general purpose of encouraging domestic consumption of agricultural commodities and products thereof among low-income groups, such funds could not be utilized to carry out a program under the Food Stamp Act in the absence of Congressional action making Section 32 funds specifically available to carry out the Food Stamp Act. However, some type of a limited food stamp program could be established and operated under Section 32 in lieu of the present stamp program.

Over and above the strictly legal questions, we want to point out that the success of the present Food Stamp Program, in large part, is due to the specific provisions of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, which were established only after a careful three-year test of the program. The Act now spells out detailed Federal-State administrative relationships and places specific responsibility for certification of eligible households in the State public assistance agency and its local counterpart offices. It also provides guidelines for the equitable treatment of States in applying for participation on behalf of their political subdivisions.

As you know, the Act provides legal penalties against anyone who uses or acquires food coupons in any manner not authorized by the Act. Also, it provides specific safeguards to retailers and wholesalers so that they may be assured of an opportunity to present information before there is an administrative action to disqualify them from participation. Finally, in this connection, the Act sets forth rights of retailers and wholesalers for a judicial review of such administrative actions.

We would conclude, therefore, that legislation similar to that proposed in your bill is essential to the continuation of the program now being carried on under the Food Stamp Act of 1964.

Sincerely yours,
S. R. SMITH, *Administrator.*

MEMBERS INTERESTED IN CONTINUING FOOD STAMP PROGRAM SHOULD EVIDENCE INTEREST

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that all of the Members in whose congressional districts food stamp projects are operating effectively and successfully, or who soon expect to have food stamp projects initiated in their districts, will make sure this week that the Committee on Agriculture knows of their interest in H.R. 1318.

It was a surprise to me to discover that 16 of the 35 members of the committee which has responsibility for the food stamp legislation represent districts in which no food stamp project is operating. That includes eight of the 20 Democrats and eight of the 15 Republicans. Even more surprising, all but three of those 16 would still not have any food stamp projects in their districts if all of the areas which are scheduled to come in, or which have asked to come in, are eventually included.

This is not to say that six of the 20 Democrats and seven of the 15 Republicans on the Committee on Agriculture are all automatically against the food stamp program because their districts do not participate and presently do not plan to participate; rather, what I am pointing out is that a substantial minority of this committee consists of Members having no firsthand experience with the food stamp program in projects in their own districts.

To me, this indicates a need for a good deal of educational work on both sides of the aisle with friends on the Committee on Agriculture. I hope many of the Members will join me in that effort this week.

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*Pilot Projects.

[1] Combined with Rio Grande County.

[2] Includes City of Detroit Pilot Projects (July 5, 1961).

[3] Banner and Scotts Bluff Combined.

[4] Includes City of Pittsburgh Pilot Project (Mar. 1, 1963).

Foster Grandparents Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, no phase of the war on poverty touches the heartstrings more than the foster grandparents program. By bringing older men and women to the assistance of young children in orphanages and homes for the retarded, two very important things are accomplished: the elderly, many of whom still have many useful years ahead of them, are given new meaning for their lives; and the children who need it most are getting the kind of attention that brings hope to their future.

I was pleased, therefore, to hear President Johnson's call for an expansion of this compassionate and needed program in his recent message to the Congress on the challenge of poverty which confronts this country.

In the foster grandparents program, 2,500 older people are administering tender loving care to 4,500 children in 27 States. Each "grandparent" works approximately 20 hours a week with two children, ranging in age from infants to teenagers, and receive a minimum salary of $1.25 an hour. This salary augments their pension or social security payments, without exceeding the allowable earned income.

The money is important, but the psychological benefit of being needed again—not just feeling that they are being put out to pasture—is even greater. For these older Americans have a lot of love left, and they desperately need to share it. Most of the children that they tend have never known it. The alliance was a brilliant stroke; a happy match. It needs to be expanded.

President Johnson's Message on Poverty Reflects Wisdom and Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's message on poverty in our cities reflects wisdom, courage, and a deep sense of humanity. The message made clear that our city slums are a caricature of our Nation's material progress and an outrage to our system of values. Improving the lives of those men, women, and children living in our cities is, therefore, one of the most important tasks facing us today.

The President properly emphasized in his message the importance of providing job opportunities and training for the people in our cities. Survey after survey, and report after report have, summer after summer, made clear that too many people for too long have been unable to work.

Our statistics show that despite our strides in reducing the unemployment rate nationally, the unemployment rate in our cities remains two to three times higher. This dire situation is further aggravated because our unemployment statistics generally overlook the people who have been denied opportunities so often or so long that they have given up even searching for work.

Mr. Speaker, this is a large Nation which possesses great resources. It is, therefore, absolutely vital, not only in terms of adding to the lives of the countless thousands of men, women, and children who live in the cities, but also for the overall economic health of the Nation that we begin today in our efforts to alleviate poverty in our cities.

The President's message is a blueprint. But as in the carrying out of all plans, work and energy are required. I, for one, wager that the people of the Nation will stand behind this effort and give to it every ounce of energy and idealism they possess.

The Problem—Unequal Justice Under Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, the general lack of respect for law and order, and the rapidly crime rate, is our major domestic problem.

There are many reasons for this, and there are many things that need be done to effectuate a solution.

The forgotten man in all these discussions is the victim of crime. There has been all too little attention given to the rights of society.

In this connection I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an editorial which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of March 12, entitled "The Problem—Unequal Justice Under Law."

I am also inserting my weekly newsletter of March 2 to the newspapers of my district presenting my views on the Crime Commission Report.

THE PROBLEM—UNEQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

The inscription carved in bold letters over the imposing entrance to the Supreme Court building suggests that the nation's highest tribunal is dedicated to the concept of Equal Justice Under Law. The fact is that the court, in major rulings in criminal cases in recent years, has been dispensing a brand of justice that is deplorably unequal. And this is what the shooting has been about this past week in the hearings before Senator McClellan's subcommittee.

Assuming that law-abiding people have rights, and we think they have or should have, these rights have been recklessly disregarded by a majority of the court. The President has often spoken of the right of the people to be secure in their homes, on the streets and in their places of business. Each day brings new evidence, however, that this is rhetoric and nothing more. For the people are not secure anywhere. And this insecurity is due in considerable part to the extreme lengths to which a five-man majority of the court has gone in enlarging and protecting the rights of criminals. Reading such opinions as those in the Escobedo and Miranda cases, one might think that the court majority has never heard of the rights of the public—and couldn't care less. Certainly it does not subscribe to the view expressed by Justice White in his dissent in the Miranda case that "the most basic function of government is to provide for the security of the individual and his property."

This process of shielding the criminal at the expense of the public safety grew out of a laudable purpose to erect safeguards against criminal convictions based on coerced or involuntary confessions. There was ample reason for this some 25 or 30 years ago. For the third degree, even in those relatively recent days, had not disappeared from the law-enforcement scene. And a coerced confession is both offensive to one's sense of justice and unreliable as an item of evidence.

The trouble is that the court has not known where to stop, has lost all sense of keeping the scales in balance. The notion that the purpose of our system of criminal justice is to convict the guilty and absolve the innocent is out the window. The commendable effort to erect greater safeguards against involuntary confessions has been carried to such lengths that entirely voluntary confessions are now in jeopardy. In fact, Justice White has said that the court majority seems to be moving in the direction of barring all confessions. He could very well be right.

The hearings which Senator McClellan has been holding have moved along two main lines. One effort has been to find a way to reverse or at least to minimize the pernicious effect on law-enforcement of the court's 5 to 4 rulings with respect to confessions. The other has been to work out legislation to strengthen the hand of those whose duty it is to enforce the law.

This second undertaking, largely concerned with legislation to permit the use of wiretap evidence and electronic bugs, presents few problems. Congress will get no help in this from the President or the Department of Justice. Still, at least as of this time, there seems to be no constitutional barrier to such legislation.

The subcommittee received a very strong statement on these matters from Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Lumbard was especially concerned with the problem of organized crime. It is, he said, almost impossible to curb it under existing restrictions on enforcement agencies.

Opponents of wiretapping sometimes misrepresent the "dirty business" comment by Justice Holmes in support of their stand. In a reference to this, Judge Lumbard said: "There is no dirtier business today than the business of organized crime; it rules by violence and terror; it victimizes the public and corrupts public officials. Every possible resource of government should be used to expose and destroy it."

He meant that he thought Congress should move without delay to sanction the use of wiretaps and electronic devices, under suitable controls, and we heartily agree.

The question of what to do about the unreasonable and unneeded obstacles which the court has erected against the use of voluntary confessions is a tougher question. For the five-man majority wrapped its Escobedo and Miranda rulings in constitutional interpretations. And this, through the interpretations were gross distortions of what the Constitution says, makes it difficult for Congress to remedy the rulings.

Senator Ervin, himself a former judge, would take two approaches. First, he would amend the Constitution to overcome the effect of the court's rulings on confessions. Second, with the support of 19 other senators, he has introduced a bill which would strip the Supreme Court and other Federal appellate courts of jurisdiction to make such rulings as those in Escobedo and Miranda.

What he is trying to do, and it is a worthy objective, is to get back to the decades-old state of the law in which the test of a confession was whether it had been made voluntarily or not. If voluntary, it would be admissible. And the Supreme Court would not be permitted to throw out a voluntary confession by reading something into the Constitution that was never before thought to be there.

The constitutional amendment route is long and difficult. And while Congress, under Article III of the Constitution, apparently has authority to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, this would be a drastic remedy. One must hope that some other way can be found—even assuming that Congress would accept the Ervin proposal.

A somewhat different approach is being urged by Senator McClellan. He, too, would re-establish the admissibility of voluntary confessions. But he would do this by having Congress spell out the meaning of voluntariness and set up standards by which a trial judge and jury would make the judgment on this question. Should this be tried, the Supreme Court might say that the new law is unconstitutional under its own rulings. But the senator hopes that at least one member of the majority, upon further reflection, might change his mind.

Various other recommendations have been laid before the McClellan subcommittee, including a strong statement from Senator Bible urging rectification of the notorious Mallory rule. And we hope that Congress, which for years has been marching up and down the crime-remedy hill, will at last be moved to take effective action.

Still, even though nothing finally emerges in this session, time will not have been wasted. For these hearings and the strong statements by most of the witnesses are a reflection of the mood, not of a few men on Capitol Hill, but of the overwhelming majority of the American people. A President or a Supreme Court justice may be personally remote from contact with crime. But the people are not; they live in its shadow every day and every night. And they are sick and tired of unequal justice. The volume of crime is going to continue its upward climb, and sooner or later the people will make themselves heard.

A final word: Some people think it is almost subversive to criticize the Supreme Court, and that any criticism must spring from ignorance or malice. Let them read the dissenting opinions of Justices Harlan, Clark, Stewart and White. No more severe condemnations of the majority rulings can be found than those which appear in these dissents. And if the five members in the majority will not heed even the protests of their own brethren, they will have no one but themselves to blame as the Supreme Court and, still worse, the law itself, falls into disrepute.

CRIME COMMISSION REPORT

We have read with more than ordinary care the 308 page report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The book is quite properly entitled "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society".

We consider the rapidly rising crime rate, and the general lack of respect for law and order, to be our major domestic problem. And we will frankly say that we have given more attention to this particular report than we have to most others submitted to the Congress on various aspects of our national life.

On the whole the Crime Commission's report is excellent. There is much in it that is informative and constructive. It makes some recommendations of real merit. There is also much in the report that is well known but all too long known and ignored. But we are obliged to say, with all due respect to the imposing list of notable names in the appendix of persons who served as "consultants and advisers", that the report has a major deficiency.

The tone and emphasis of the report leaves one with the impression that most of the consulting was with professors on leave from their university classes in sociology, political science or law. It is only in the "dissents" of some of the Commissioners that there is any indication that the cop on the street, the precinct captain and the practicing prosecuting attorney may have been consulted.

There is no denying that poverty and slums breed crimes, and that society has an obligation to effectuate a remedy for these conditions. There is no denying also that the individual has basic rights that must be protected. But what is being overlooked is that society also has rights and that certainty of punishment can also be an effective weapon in a war against crime.

The Crime Commission's report more than adequately deals with the long-range aspects of the crime problem. It is deficient in that it contributes little, if anything, (except in the "supplementary statement" filed by seven of the 19 Commissioners) with respect to our immediate problem of unsafe streets. In many respects, victims of crime are the forgotten people of our society. The deficiency in the Crime Commission's report is its apparent failure to recognize that until crime is up-rooted by long-range programs the prevention and control of crime depends in large part upon effective law enforcement.

Effective law enforcement has been hampered by Court decisions. This accounts in large part for the extensive crime in the District of Columbia. The Congress has sought to enact legislation to give the Washington law enforcement authorities proper means to do their job. Regretfully, the President vetoed such a bill passed last year. We are urging the District of Columbia Committee to report a similar bill at the earliest possible date. It is something we can do now toward the prevention and control of crime where the Congress has directed jurisdiction while, in the meantime, we proceed with the long-range aspects in the field of housing, education and job opportunities, both in the District and on a national basis.

Nebraska's Pioneering Efforts in ETV Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, the result of the Carnegie Commission report, the Ford Foundation satellite proposal, and increasing interest in educational television on the part of the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government, the spotlight of attention is focusing more and more upon educational television at the national level. With 15 years of commendable experience and because of the keen potentials inherent in the educational use of this important communications medium, such serious attention is indeed merited.

But the wise and meaningful use of educational television in these United States must be built upon strong educational television development at the State and local level. I am pleased to call the attention of this august body to educational television developments in Nebraska, and to the pioneering and leadership role my State has exerted on behalf of our country.

From preschool to adult and professional programs, the complete spectrum of educational television services exists in Nebraska. The variety of program services offered is significant both in terms of its quantity and its quality. Your attention is directed to the important role assumed by the University of Nebraska in developing educational television for the State. With assistance from local commercial broadcasters, this progressive institution of higher learning activated the seventh oldest of the 128 educational television stations now operative. From production studios on campus, the university broadcasts via a modern full-powered transmitter to students and home viewers throughout the eastern section of Nebraska. In addition, two of the university's three campuses are linked together by a closed-circuit television distribution system used regularly by the various faculties for resident instruction for host of multiple class sections. Through two-way closed-circuit television, the College of Medicine has interconnected with a State hospital and achieved national prominence for its pioneering efforts in psychiatric treatment and biomedical communications.

With the strong support of the entire Nebraska educational community, a variety of formal instructional programs are broadcast for every educational level. The Legislature of the State of Nebraska at an early date recognized the potentials inherent in educational television, and enacted in 1963 the Nebraska Educational Television Act which authorized a statewide educational television service. Succeeding legislatures have developed additional supportive legislation, until today a 13-member Nebraska Educational Television Commission administers a statewide educational television network whose five stations stretch from the Missouri River border on the east some 410 miles to the sandhills border in the west.

From 7 a.m. through 11 p.m. 6 days a week, the Nebraska educational television network broadcasts over 90 hours of informational, educational and cultural programing. The sixth and seventh stations, currently under construction, will when completed bring this impressive and varied educational television service to virtually every classroom and home in our State.

The Nebraska Council for Educational Television, Inc., composed of school administrators representative of user schools, directs the 34 telecourses currently provided via the network to elementary and secondary schoolrooms throughout the State. A variety of inservice programs keep teachers in their classrooms abreast of the latest curricular developments in various subject matter areas. A parallel educational compact, the Metropolitan Omaha Educational Broadcasting Association, Inc., provides instruction for our State's largest city.

Nebraska has the distinction of having this Nation's first statewide collegiate instructional television compact. The Nebraska Educational Television Council for Higher Education, Inc. joins all the colleges and universities, public and private, in Nebraska and pools higher educational resources through television for the benefit of all Nebraska college students.

Through the facilities of the network, the Nebraska Television Council for Nursing Education enables hospital schools of nursing throughout the State to bring substantive instruction to hundreds of nurses in training. In addition, as the result of the statewide ETV network, professional people in every section of the State now have the opportunity economically and conveniently in their homes or offices, to continue with post-graduate education. From Omaha to Alliance, pharmacists are by television receiving the latest information on certain drugs and pharmaceutical practices from the university's college of pharmacy. Medical doctors and nurses similarly are kept abreast of the latest developments in these rapidly advancing fields.

The faculty at the University of Nebraska have distinguished themselves and their State through their pioneering efforts, their educational television research and their productions. Currently, one of our university faculty serves as president of the Department of Audio-Visual Instruction of the National Education Association; another serves as chairman of the board of the Educational Television Stations Division of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. National research by the University of Nebraska on behalf of the U.S. Office of Education led to the establishment of the Great Plains Instructional Television Library at Lincoln. This facility, the largest of its type in the world, this school year provides over 7,500 instructional units of excellence to schools, colleges, closed-circuit TV systems, and ETV systems throughout the United States. Seventy-seven courses with accompanying teachers guides and materials are distributed from Lincoln for incorporation in local instructional programs. The library has pioneered in the transfer and distribtuion of video tape lessons, and can claim one of the largest and most experienced television video duplication centers in this country.

Nebraska home viewers of all ages have a wide variety of informational and cultural programs available. The excellent offerings of National Educational Television, including the current national interconnection specials are provided the people of Nebraska through the Nebraska ETV network. With a mobile television unit, the network is originating considerable programing from our State capitol and bringing the deliberations of the unicameral legislature directly into the homes of the citizens it serves. Nebraska truly has been able to take a leadership role in the development of educational television for our country.

As impressive as have been Nebraska ETV developments over the past 15 years, the potential for future service is even more significant. Federal moneys have joined with State funds through the Federal Educational Television Facilities Act in an excellent example of Federal-State partnership. Nebraska has already profitably employed its maximum allocation under Public Law 87–447. However, with potential for future program services to Nebraska citizens so great, much additional development remains. The Nebraska Legislature is currently considering a State telecommunications center to house our ETV commission, network control, the various ETV program agencies and the University of Nebraska's television enterprises. In another illustration of progressive leadership, Nebraska is currently developing a consolidated State communication agency system which will ultimately enable additional distribution channels hospitals, plants, and offices. With additional assistance, with vigorous and enerfor Nebraska's schools, colleges, homes, getic hard work, with dedicated and skilled personnel, and with a keen sense for harnessing technology to specific educational purpose, through television the people of Nebraska enter the second century of statehood with a vision and foresight which redound to the credit of this entire Nation.

Reds in Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a shocking discovery came out of the recent Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities when a tax-paid community worker in the Louisiana War on Poverty was identified as a Communist, active in recruitment with the Spartacist League, identified as a Trotskyite splinter organization.

This was front page news in Louisiana, yet for some unexplained reason or motive was not considered worthy of public reading by the wire services—who suppressed the story.

As a report of what our taxpayers are receiving for their dollars, I am including the full news release as it appeared on the front page of the Daily Advertiser of Lafayette, La., on March 9, 1967, including the letter from the Office of the U.S. Attorney General, brother-in-law of the National Director, Mr. Shriver, to Dr. James Dombrowski, in the Record:

Poverty Worker Identified as Red—Orleans Women Tabbed By Agent

An undercover agent surfaced at a legislative committee hearing in Lafayette this morning to identify Virginia Y. Collins as a Communist who received $4,200 a year as a community worker in the Louisiana War On Poverty.

The climax to the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities two-day probe which ended this morning into possible subversive elements in the anti-poverty program came when committee attorney Jack N. Rogers called Joseph P. Henry to the stand as the first witness.

Attorney Rogers said that the Lafayette meeting identified Mrs. Collins as a Communist for the first time. He also said that this marked the first public exposure of a known Communist in the Louisiana poverty program.

Champ Baker, director of the state OEO program, had Mrs. Collins fired from her job in 1966 after the Joint Legislative committee established her identity.

Henry identified himself as a private investigator who has worked for the state committee in New Orleans, Bogalusa and the Lafayette area.

The 24-year-old Negro also said that he has known John Zippert as a CORE field worker and a worker in the Sweet Potato Alert program. Asked by Rogers who were Zippert's associates here, Henry said that they included Marion Overton White, Charles Bryant and Rev. Robert Prahiniski. He also revealed that he'd met White and Bryant when they came to Bogalusa to try to set up a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Henry said that they did not know that an NAACP charter had already been applied for.

Henry told the committee that White and Zippert during a meeting he attended in St. Landry allegedly said that a state should be set up separate from the rest of the people.

The private investigator said that he knew the Collins woman personally in New Orleans as an employee of a poverty agency called "Social Welfare Planning Council." He also revealed that she is the same Mrs. Collins who is a special assistant to James Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Education Fund. Dombrowski is a Communist and SCEF a Communist-front.

Henry said that Mrs. Collins was a Marxist-Leninist who tried to recruit him into the Spartacist League, a Trotskyite splinter organization.

RUSSIAN SYSTEM

The undercover agent said that Mrs. Collins, a Negro, participated in a debate on social revolution and that she favored the Russian system. The October, 1966, meeting held in New Orleans was sponsored by the Spartacist League. Anne Braden, another identified Communist active in SCEF, introduced Mrs. Collins and also participated in the discussion.

Mrs. Braden is also editor of SCEF's subversive newspaper, The Southern Patriot. A representative of the paper and Mrs. Collins were both in Lafayette Wednesday morning when the 2-day probe opened.

The committee was told that Robert F. Kennedy wrote the director of the controversial Southern Conference Education Fund sometime after Nov. 14, 1962, and asked his help in establishing a national service corps.

Jack Rogers, attorney for the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, testified that the letter from Kennedy, then attorney general, helped "initiate interest in using federal funds for civil rights activity."

Rogers introduced into the record a letter from the attorney general's office bearing Kennedy's signature. There was no date on the letter. It was addressed to Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF director, then at New Orleans. Rogers testified that the organization has been identified as a Communist-front by congressional committees and by the Louisiana committee.

"Office of the Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

"Dr. James A. Dombrowski,
Director, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

"Dear Dr. Dombrowski: On November 14, 1962, the President of the United States appointed a committee to assess the feasibility of a national service corps so that more citizens may serve their country in addressing pressing human problems.

"The feasibility study will primarily concern the Government's possible role in this undertaking.

"In view of your organization's experience, you are in a position to offer needed advice. We would welcome and appreciate your immediate response to the general outline and questionnaire which accompanies this letter.

"Should the study ultimately determine a national service corps to be prudent, we shall then request more specific suggestions.

"Sincerely yours,
"Robert F. Kennedy,
"Attorney General."

SERVICE CORPS

The Kennedy letter noted that on Nov. 14, 1962, the White House had set up a committee to study the feasibility of a national service corps.

"In view of your organization's experience, you are in a position to offer needed advice," the letter said. "We would appreciate your immediate response to the general outline and questionnaire which accompanies this letter."

Rogers testified the letter had been seized from SCEF files more than three years ago under a search warrant that was obtained from authorities in New Orleans.

"It's very difficult to see how he (Kennedy) should not know about the organization," Rogers testified. "The FBI records would have immediately identified the organization."

A. Edgar Thomas, Baton Rouge certified public accountant, said in Lafayette Wednesday that he'd "never in 20 years' experience read a more critical, more powerfully stated, more carefully written document" than the comments of a New Orleans auditing firm on bookkeeping procedures of Southern Consumers Educational Foundation.

The CPA's testimony was given during the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities probe of the poverty program. The auditing firm of Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Company had been engaged by the local anti-poverty delegate agency following a heated meeting of Acadiana Neuf that called for selection of an integrated firm of certified public accountants. The New Orleans company submitted a narrative report and Thomas reduced it to layman's language at the legislative hearing.

"Good accounting procedures and rules of internal financial control are not followed." Thomas said of the Southern Consumers Educational Foundation. "Rules and regulations promulgated by the manuals 'Guide to Grantee Accounting' and the 'Community Action Program Guide Volume II' have been disregarded," he said. Thomas warned, "By implication the door is wide open for misappropriation or fraud, even though no mention is specifically made of these possibilities."

THREE WEAKNESSES

Three basic weaknesses in Southern Consumers' accounting were reviewed:

1. "Incomplete documentation in support of transactions."

2. Singular control over transactions from origination to recording in the books of account; and

3. Clerical inaccuracies.

Thomas told the legislative committee that "the writer's comments indicate a complete ignorance or disregard for state and federal payroll recording procedures. Further, payrolls were not properly documented and possibly inaccurate."

He added that Southern Consumers had exhibited a disregard for rules and regulations pertaining to the travel expense program, and that Office of Economic Opportunity rules had been disregarded on accounting for property records.

A complete unreliability of records was reported, and that even when journals were used they were incorrectly used. Thomas also said that no bank reconciliations had been prepared since inception of programs in June to time of the audit in October. "The comments also indicate that when reconciliations were made, errors of omission and commission existed," Thomas explained.

School teacher's lunch money collected in August was not deposited until October, and one check had never been recorded or deposited. Thomas said there was doubt that all cash paid for lunches was received by the program.

During his testimony Thomas charged that Southern Consumers had "violated every concept of internal control" and added later that "there was no accounting control whatsoever."

A field captain of Sweet Potato Alert, John Zippert, received $1,000 for three months travel allowance for 10,956 miles, the committee investigation revealed. Thomas said that four people traveled to Baltimore for Southern Consumers without purchase orders, documentation or explanation of purpose of the trip.

The accountant said that a private corporation could not exist if its books were maintained in the same manner as the Southern Consumers Educational Foundation, and that a bank wouldn't have any money left if it followed similar procedures.

He said that records available to him indicate that Acadiana Neuf books were in similar condition in 1965 prior to the time that Roland Hebert assumed the directorship of the 6-parish antipoverty agency.

MILLSPAUGH CRITICISM

Opelousas attorney Richard Millspaugh told the committee that there were instances of "technical dishonesty" by some of the agencies waging the poverty war in the St. Landry area. He gave as an example the expenditure of money for jobs done before the poverty programs were funded.

Millspaugh, a director of Acadiana Neuf and former head of several remedial reading projects in St. Landry, reported that one group had threatened him with a beating.

The attorney claimed that the war on poverty program had not been able to function properly because of what he called "an inter-play between the two groups." He said this reduced the director of Acadiana Neuf to a "glorified office boy" status.

Millspaugh said that 65 field workers were employed without proper orientation and opined that Zippert was not qualified to orient the groups. He ventured the opinion that a plan drawn for a sweet potato program was Zippert's "wording." Millspaugh also told of a spirited exchange of letters he had with Rev. Albert McKnight, founder of Southern Consumers and Acadiana Neuf treasurer. He said that Father McKnight was the "guiding genius" behind the educational foundation that was the major delegate agency of Acadiana Neuf.

He felt that there was a conflict of interest between the private Southern Consumers Cooperative and the public Southern Consumers Educational Foundation, Millspaugh asserted. He said the cooperative was designed to earn a profit, while the foundation was a poverty agency. He charged that OEO rules were not adhered to and added that while much had been said about helping the poor not much had actually been done.

Millspaugh felt that the program should be continued for the benefit of the poor but with adherence to OEO regulations.

Asked by committee counsel Jack Rogers about a $5,000 check paid to CORE by Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Cooperative, Millspaugh doubted that it was repayment of a loan because he said CORE was unable to meet its payroll in June, July and August.

He said that he'd first heard of Zippert when the New Yorker joined a picket line in Opelousas. Millspaugh opined that while Zippert was an organizer familiar with group dynamics, he did not have the background for training rural people in cooperatives. He thought that removal of Zippert and his associates from the antipoverty program and reorganization of the Acadiana Neuf board would be steps towards salvaging the program.

Marion Overton White, another Opelousas attorney-Acadiana Neuf board member, refused to testify under oath before the committee at Wednesday's hearing. White claimed he wasn't certain that his constitutional rights would be observed. Senator Jesse Knowles assured the attorney that his rights would be protected but stopped him from making a lengthy statement unless he took the oath.

White, Acadiana Neuf President James Oliver, Zippert and Rev. McKnight were invited to testify before the committee, but Rogers said that none of the war on poverty leaders had accepted the invitation by Wednesday.

LIFT: A Unique Proposal To Improve Housing for Low-Income Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in recent months members of both parties have begun a long-overdue appraisal of the housing problems in our cities and of our urban programs which have often failed to live up to expectations. As Senators CHARLES PERCY, JACOB JAVITS, and others in the Congress have pointed out: What is clearly needed is a fresh approach, some new catalyst by which we can benefit our cities and assist our low-income citizens by bringing them into a position of economic self-sufficiency.

In the last survey of housing in this country, in 1960, we had a total of 58.2 million units of housing.

The shocking fact was discovered that 10,952,000 of these units were classed as substandard, as defined by the Public Housing Administration. It was further noted that 826,259 owner-occupied units were classed as dilapidated, and that 501,352 units classed as dilapidated were standing vacant. The need for action in this field is clearly evident.

Last year citizens of Kalamazoo, Mich., recognized this need and implemented a plan to improve housing conditions for the less fortunate through a unique organization called LIFT—Loan Improvement Fund Today.

Conceived by John Milroy, a Kalamazoo bank executive and president of the city school board, LIFT is designed to fill the void which exists between low-income families and the normal commercial lending institutions. A private nonprofit organization, LIFT makes low interest home improvement loans to families who are turned away as "high risks" by the major lending institutions. Money for these loans now comes from the voluntary contributions of Kalamazoo County churchgoers. However, more substantial funding is anticipated from foundations and other interested groups as the program develops.

The first "LIFT Sunday" appeal in Kalamazoo County churches realized nearly $16,000. And LIFT "lifted" its first family a few weeks ago by providing the money for a Kalamazoo couple, unable to borrow elsewhere, to remodel the inside of their aged home. Since then, two other nonprofit groups—the Kalamazoo Housing Improvement Corp. and the Northside Development Association—have merged their efforts with LIFT to meet the housing needs for low-income families.

The combined forces of these organizations, with the support of the Kalamazoo County Council of Churches, are now staging another "LIFT Sunday" appeal, March 19, to accomplish their unified objectives.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend the citizens of Kalamazoo who have reached into their hearts to help some of the community's struggling families, and to urge everyone in the Kalamazoo area to again participate in this worthy cause.

For although this effort is presently small in scale and not a final answer to the need, it is refreshing to see a sound, workable program bring appreciable progress in eliminating urban blight without massive Federal spending.

It is also refreshing to see a program which puts the primary responsibility for better housing squarely where it belongs—on the shoulders of the community and in the hands of its concerned citizenry.

But more than this, Mr. Speaker, I hope that LIFT, and other programs like it, will focus attention on this pressing problem, and prompt my colleagues to bring out of this 90th Congress an effective and efficient housing proposal for low-income families that will lessen the burden of government, combat community deterioration, and provide the motivation to achieve greater human dignity and self-respect.

Meat Imports—Agriculture's Millstone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, on January 23, 1967, the Secretary of Agriculture, addressing a group of farm leaders, said:

> With farm prices weakening, costs rising, and agriculture in general still a long way from parity of income, the Department of Agriculture will make full use of "a wide range of measures" to strengthen farm prices and maintain income in 1967.

As I look at farm price statistics and talk to farmers in Iowa and elsewhere it becomes more obvious to me every day that what this administration says and what it does are two very different things.

One of the many problems in agriculture today which needs the immediate attention of the Johnson administration is that of meat imports. About a month ago, the Department of Agriculture announced that on January 1 there were about 11.3 million head of cattle and calves on feed in 39 States—unexpectedly up 7 percent from a year ago. Faced with an unexpectedly large supply of domestic-fed beef, it would seem that we ought to be able to hold down foreign imports. But, with our present laws, we are, instead, going to be faced with an even larger volume of such imports. The Meat Import Act of 1964 provides that the quantity of fresh chilled or frozen cattle meat and meat of goats and sheep, other than lamb, which may be imported in any calendar year after 1964 should not exceed 725 million pounds. Except—with this adjustment—that this quantity shall be increased or decreased for any year by the same percentage that estimated average annual domestic production of these products in that year and the two preceding years increases or decreases in comparison with our average production during the base years 1959 through 1963, inclusive. In other words, when our production goes up, the amount which can be imported goes up by the same percentage.

Under the law, if yearly imports are estimated to equal or exceed 110 percent of an adjusted base quota, the Presi- is to invoke the quota on meat imports. The adjusted base quota for 1967 is 904.6 million pounds. The level of estimated imports which would trigger the imposition of the quota is 995 million pounds. At the outset, what this approach means is that if outsiders are careful enough in the shipments of meat to the United States, they can send in more than 90 million pounds in excess of the base quota without its ever having been invoked.

As of December 23, 1966, the Department of Agriculture estimated that meat imports into the United States during 1967 would be about 960 million pounds, which is 55 million pounds above the quota, but 35 million pounds below the figure it would take to bring the quota into effect.

The Department of Agriculture predicts that meat imports will rise to a point just below the trigger level at which an import quota would become effective. While this keeps down the level of imports, it is certainly no guarantee that U.S. beef producers will not be faced with lower prices, for no one can draw a magic line and say "If imports stay below this level, American farmers will not be hurt." Depending on conditions, even a small amount of imports at the wrong time can send farm prices plummeting. We are going to have to keep a close eye on this whole situation if we hope to prevent a price disaster like that of 3 years ago.

Imports of beef, veal, mutton, cheese and eggs are substantially higher than the levels of a year ago. Imports of meat subject to the 1964 quota law, for example, were almost 40 percent higher during the first 10 months of 1966 than they were during the same period in 1965.

It seems to me that unless the rising tide of agricultural imports is checked, U.S. farm income may take a serious drop this year.

Mr. Speaker, those of us from the Nation's agricultural areas know the country must import. We must take a little bitter with the sweet. But this does not mean we must continue to live with an unrealistically high level of imports in a particular agricultural commodity.

The present law does not do the job of protecting the American beef producer and some changes need to be made.

First. The formula by which the quota is derived is discretionary and too liberal. It has not solved the problem of depressed farm prices and it does not sufficiently discourage imports. If we are going to continue to operate under this law, the quota itself should be reduced. Since the enactment of the present law, we have not imposed the quota.

Second. If we are going to continue to use the trigger method of invoking the quota, then we must improve our estimating abilities. Since the Meat Import Act became effective, we have been very inaccurate, being too high in 1965 and too low in 1966.

Third. The use of the trigger concept, where the trigger level is well above the actual quota, enables our principal foreign suppliers to subvert the intent of Congress. For example: New Zealand and Australia are the principal residual suppliers. In New Zealand, the meat board apparently has tight control over how much meat, or what types, is routed to particular markets. The Australian Meat Board is reported to have acquired, through recent legislation, the authority for firmer control over exports than it has had in the past. Except in the case of severe herd reduction, it is assumed that these countries will route just enough meat to the high priced U.S. market to keep import levels about as high as permitted.

So, what we have is an area of 90 million pounds this year which these carefully self-controlled suppliers can put on our markets so long as the Secretary of Agriculture does not estimate that the amount will be more than 90 million pounds over the quota.

The trigger concept works to the advantage of our importers, not our producers.

Fourth. Another sizable loophole in the present law is the fact that canned, cured, and cooked meats are specifically exempted from the law. This means that countries exporting meats here can switch over to these categories once their fresh, chilled, and frozen meat volume reaches the level imposed by the quota law. In 1966, for example, on top of the 824 million pounds of imports covered by the meat import law, other nations shipped to this country an additional 130 million pounds of canned and cured meats.

To the extent that the quantity of these items in our American market affects the price the farmer gets for his products, they should be included in the quota also.

Fifth. Finally, the present law is that the President does not have to invoke the quota even if the trigger level is reached because the law gives him a convenient "out," by which he can increase or suspend the quota. He may suspend the quota for "national security interests," for "economic interests," because subsequent trade agreements insure the carrying out of the import law's policy, or if supply of products involved "will be inadequate to meet domestic demand at reasonable prices."

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that this is a loophole large enough to drive a truck through. This is particularly so with this administration's record in the export-import field.

What we really need is some way of greatly reducing imports when beef is under pressure here. The present quota law clearly does not provide much help for our cattle feeders at the present time. An adjustment of our existing law is definitely in order. Livestock producers are asking immediate attention.

Impact of Cutbacks on Arkansas' Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate being given the opportunity to speak on the effects of the cutback in highway construction funds as applies to Arkansas.

After attending the public hearings of the joint Senate and House Public Works Committees, I wanted to express my views of these cutbacks, and I wanted to be sure that Arkansas' plight was well illustrated in the report of the committee hearings.

I am opposed to the cutbacks that were made in the highway construction funds. I question their validity in light of the language Congress has repeatedly used regarding the intent of the legislation that established and enabled this construction program.

I find my opposition to the cutbacks is also based on a sincere doubt that this procedure has actually worked to accomplish the economic goals they sought. It appears that these economic goals may have come about coincidentally to the action on the highway construction program, not necessarily as a direct result. This opposition is also strengthened by the fact that additional programs of Federal spending have been started or suggested, and that other programs have been expanded.

As I said, my interest also rests with Arkansas. Arkansas has been one of the few States that has met the intended progress of the highway construction program, so I am told. As a result, Arkansas has been more severely hurt by the cutbacks, and this has come as a strange reward for a "job well done."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to outline some of the specific problems that have been created in Arkansas as a result of the cutbacks. However, please note that the effects Arkansas has felt are not solely peculiar to Arkansas. Other States have suffered in a like manner, and others may soon begin to experience these same consequences.

From my point of view, one of the most serious repercussions of the cutbacks has been the strain they have placed on the Federal-State relationship. The concept of cooperative federalism had been partially built as a result of the establishment of the highway users trust fund. The existence of this fund caused many States to make significant increases in their highway construction programs; they added people, money, and emphasis to the building of highways.

The action to cut back on the allocation of highway construction funds has been received by some State officials as a betrayal of trust. These same officials had been encouraged to increase their State's participation in this program, and then, in a matter of hours, the program was knocked out from under them without warning. The State officials were not given sufficient time to plan for the delays in the program. Had they had ample warning, a schedule of priorities could have been established which would have reduced the impact of the cutbacks. Furthermore, as recently as the President's signing of the 1964 Highway Authorization Act, these State officials had been reassured of the importance of this program.

This sentiment is seen as you read letters from some of the State officials of our highway department. For example, Mr. Ward Goodman, director of the Arkansas Highway Department, said on February 23, 1967:

> We certainly cannot pace ourselves for the future because we don't know what the future holds. Frankly, we can't depend on what we thought were firm commitments.

Reduced highway safety is another important aspect of the cutbacks. Mr. Speaker, you are well aware of the problem of safety on our highways and the Nation's concern with this problem. In fact, it is my understanding that Congress has encouraged the completion of the highway program as a result of its concern with highway safety, as well as other considerations.

The economic effect of the cutback has been serious to Arkansas. The State highway department anticipates that unemployment, resulting solely from delayed projects, will amount to about 3,000 layoffs for a year. This is equal to 10,000 men being out of work for 14 weeks. Arkansas' economic condition is not likely to be able to provide these men with other jobs. As a result, many of them may eventually be forced to depend on various types of public assistance. It seems quite ironic to force men out of work, and then assume the cost of supporting them through public assistance programs.

A corollary to the increase in unemployment will be a decrease in production capacity to meet the construction schedules that will occur when the cutbacks are restored. We are all aware that it took the construction industry several years to "tool-up" to the current capacity of work. If this cutback is not ended immediately, the construction industry will not be able to build the roads as fast as they are needed once the funds are fully restored.

The cutback problem will also be complicated by the fact that many smaller companies may be forced out of existence as a result of the cutbacks. Larger companies will be forced to sell materials and machines in which they have invested in the past few years. This is all illustrated by the fact that new equipment purchases have fallen off drastically, and repossessions of equipment have increased.

The cutback has also had a disorganizing effect on the Arkansas Highway Department. A great deal of planning and coordinating had gone into getting the Arkansas program to where it was. The cutback has meant the scrapping of some project programing and has instilled an uncertainty that makes it hard to plan for the future. As a result of the announcement of the cutbacks, the Arkansas Highway Department has delayed 25 projects involving over 65 miles of primary roads, and 42 projects involving 185 miles in secondary roads.

Arkansas has also been distressed by the fact that the effects of the cutbacks have been more severe on our State than on others. Arkansas had anticipated Federal funds for fiscal year 1967 of $40 million. The cutback reduced this amount to $29 million. But, in addition to this was the fact that Arkansas had purposely accumulated $12 million in previous obligation authority. Part of the $12 million had been reserved to handle paving projects. As a result, a great deal of preliminary grading work is now exposed to the elements, and is being eroded since it is not topped with pavement. The Arkansas highway director, Ward Goodman, estimated it will cost $500,000 to restore these graded sections of roadbeds. Part of the $12 million was to have been used as Arkansas' $23 million share of building a bridge at Memphis. This project has been postponed indefinitely.

It is clear that Arkansas has already suffered detrimental effects. In January of 1967, no projects were let by the Arkansas Highway Department. In February and March, lettings did not involve any Federal highway construction funds.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to summarize the effects on Arkansas. First, Arkansas had $13,528,891 remaining in fiscal year 1966 funds. The fiscal year 1967 fund supply was $39,689,081. In other words, Arkansas had a total fiscal year 1967 allocation of $53,217,072 which could have been obligated. Subtract from this amount the cutback limitation, less the February 28 restoration; the remainder is $31,368,000, which means Arkansas has only 59 percent of its original obligation authority to work with in fiscal year 1967. Arkansas effect under the cutback has amounted to near 41 percent, not the 17 percent, 20 percent, or 25 percent that has often been referred to as the amount of the cutback.

Of course, some may say that all of this money would not have been used had it been available. I would ask that you look at Arkansas history of using its funds. In the past, the funds have been used almost as rapidly as possible. The department had purposely saved part of its 1966 allotments so that special applications of these moneys could be made in 1967—paving and the Memphis bridge. But, even if all the fiscal year 1967 allotment had not been used, the effect would still have exceeded 25 percent.

In conclusion, I feel the administration's decision to cut back on the highway construction program was not responsible. The cutbacks should have been made in areas that may have had the intended effects on the economy, but would not have injured so many people and had such longrun effects. By the time the program is returned to its full capacity, many fewer contractors will be available to bid on projects, much work will have to be redone, suppliers of materials and money will have to recover losses caused by the cutbacks and, as a result, the future cost of construction will probably increase. In the long run, I feel the highway program will be seriously hurt by the fiscal policy that has been used by the administration. The decelerating effects on the economy, in my view, will not cease as soon as the program is returned to its normal schedule.

Lastly, I hope the Public Works Committees of both Houses will watch the administration's behavior on this question and on the projected future releases of cutback funds. If the progress we have been assured of is not made, I feel we should reconvene the hearings and take steps necessary to restore this program to its full capacity. I must also say that I seriously doubt the wisdom of curtailing the hearings in the middle of their 4-day schedule. The administration was heard, but the public was not.

All of these economic effects would be tolerable to the people of Arkansas if they were really convinced they were needed. In other words, we in Arkansas are completely willing to tighten our belts for the war effort. But when the administration insists on expanding other programs that are not truly essential to the war effort, and even starting others, we do not feel a program like the highway construction program should be cut back. To Arkansas, this cutback will have a long-term effect on our growth.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to make these comments, and I thank you for the consideration you may give my views.

American Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, what serves as American diplomacy these days is difficult to understand. The events of the past few days concerning Stalin's daughter is a case in point.

A high-level decision passed upon by

the President and Secretary of State denied Svetlana Stalin asylum in the United States.

By some logic the administration concluded her admission to the United States would have embarrassed the Soviet Union at a delicate time in our relations with Communist nations, and harmed current arms control negotiations and the Consular Treaty debate in the Senate.

This is absurd. Communist Russia is supplying 80 percent of the arms and munitions used by the North Vietnamese aggressors in southeast Asia. Russian weapons are spilling American blood, and we worry about embarrassing her at this delicate time.

I submit the failure to admit Stalin's daughter as a political refugee to the United States is an unprecedented blunder.

This shocking decision to deny admission to America of the most prized defector of the century plays into the Communist hands and could not have been handled better insofar as the Soviets are concerned if the details had been worked out in Moscow.

The President is guilty of either monumental poor judgment or incredibly bad advice in not immediately throwing open every conceivable door to Svetlana Stalin.

The Voice of America should have been turned on full blast, 24 hours a day proclaiming to the world that the daughter of the most infamous Communist in history had made a free choice to live in the United States, not under the despotism of her native land.

This is another glaring example of the no-win policy of our State Department which refuses to seize any initiative in the struggle against communism. While our men and boys are asked to serve and die in Vietnam, the administration and the State Department here at home continue the charade that Russia is not responsible for every American battlefield death we are sustaining.

The biggest victory in diplomatic history is handed the United States on a silver platter and our leadership tosses it away. The person or persons responsible for this decision at the policymaking level in the State Department should be brought to full account before the American people.

Our State Department is so conditioned to agreeing to every Russian demand that they fail to react and exploit the opening when they have a chance to score a victory for America.

Every Communist, pro-Communist and fellow-traveler in the world has no trouble traveling in and out of the United States at will, thanks to the State Department and the Supreme Court, but let some strong anti-Communist such as Ian Smith, of Rhodesia, Tshombe of the Congo, or Stalin's own daughter seek refuge or an audience here and the door is slammed in their faces.

Something is wrong in our State Department, and it must be corrected. During the 87th and the 88th Congresses, I introduced legislation calling for a complete investigation of the State Department personnel from top to bottom, together with its policymaking procedures, but this was bottled up successfully in committee.

When these decisions are made constantly that do harm to the United States, and enhance and increase the aims and purposes of the Communist world, we must conclude that the faceless persons in the State Department making these decisions are incompetent, naive, or worse.

I am certain the vast majority of Americans would welcome Stalin's daughter to our way of life, and show once again that America is the home of the brave and the land of the free. Tragically, the State Department image of America is the land of the gutless and the home of the spineless.

The rationale that by admitting Stalin's daughter we offend Russia is an insult to the American people who are at this very moment being called upon to sacrifice their sons in a war against communism in Vietnam.

Have we reached such a low level that we send our young men to die against an enemy we refuse to acknowledge and cater to with cringing fear and apprehension?

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Right Reverend Protopresbyter Nikolaj Lapitzki, of the Whiteruthenian Greek Orthodox Church, South River, N.J., offered the following prayer:

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

O, Almighty God, and our Father, the source of justice, on this day commemorating the anniversary of independence of Byelorussia, we humbly bow our heads and pray, that Byelorussia, and all other captive nations may soon receive a new birth of freedom.

O, all generous God, the source of kindness, bless and instruct the leaders and legislators of the United States of America, so that they would arrive at the decisions, which would lead to peace and freedom for all mankind.

O, all generous God, the source of love, shorten the days of misunderstanding among nations, and give peace and your blessings to all the people on the earth.

Thou are the Saviour and Protector, and we glorify Thy name today and shall forever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

PROPOSAL TO CHANGE NAME OF SEABEE COMBAT TRAINING AREA AT DAVISVILLE, R.I., TO CAMP FOGARTY

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Military Construction Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, I am very pleased indeed to be advised that the Navy proposes to change the name of the Seabee Combat Training area at Davisville, R.I., to Camp Fogarty. This is in honor of the late Congressman, John E. Fogarty, one of Rhode Island's most distinguished sons. Mr. Fogarty was a Seabee during World War II, and he maintained a close personal interest in the work of this great branch of the service throughout the remainder of his life. I am sure that my colleagues in the House will welcome this action and enthusiastically endorse it.

The question of a memorial to Mr. Fogarty of this nature was raised during the hearings on the supplemental military construction appropriation bill earlier this year. I enclose a copy of a letter to me on the subject from Rear Adm. A. C. Husband, the very able commander of the Naval Facilities Engineering Command:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, NAVAL FACILITIES ENGINEERING COMMAND,
Washington, D.C., March 10, 1967.

Hon. BOB SIKES,
Chairman, Military Construction Subcommittee, House Appropriations Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: With regard to your recent suggestion at the House Appropriation Committee MILCON Hearing that the Navy consider honoring our former Seabee Congressman John Fogarty. I am happy to inform you that we are proposing to name the Seabee Combat Training area at Davisville *Camp Fogarty*, in memory of the Congressman.

I have discussed this matter with the Chief of Naval Operations who expressed his wholehearted support of the idea. Therefore, I have initiated the appropriate action, through the Command chain, to effect the designation noted above. I will advise you further as to the scheduling of appropriate commemorating ceremonies when we have completed these formalities.

Sincerely,

A. C. HUSBAND,
Rear Admiral, CEC, U.S. Navy, Commander.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON ANTI-POVERTY

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, the President sent to the Congress a message dealing with poverty. I would like to say at this time that I generally support the program he is advocating this year. It is an extremely modest program, in keeping with the problems which we have overseas and those in other areas of our economy.

I want to call attention, Mr. Speaker, to the emphasis that the President is putting on early childhood education and urge all Members to take an interest in this legislation this year.

SHOWING OF SLIDES ON NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIETCONG ACTIVITIES

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time in order to make an announcement concerning the slides on the activities of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong during the lunar lull when we called off our activities. We had a large crowd one day this week. The room was full to watch this. I understand that there are others desiring to see these pictures produced by the Defense Intelligence Department. So tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock we will have the same sort of pictures. I think we will have some new ones along with the old ones to show to those who are interested in them. This will be at 9 o'clock in the Vinson Room, which is the main room of the Committee on Armed Services, on the first floor of the Rayburn Building.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. RIVERS. If I have the time, I would like to yield to the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has a few moments remaining.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, may I commend the gentleman from South Carolina for making these intelligence briefings available to the Members. I know they were shown to 50 or 60 Members last Tuesday. I am sure they were eye opening, because I understand some of the Members who voted for a cessation of bombing last week had the opportunity to view these photographs. I was hopeful that some of them might comment upon the intelligence briefing, but I would like to ask the gentleman from South Carolina if he does not feel that the Department of Defense should go even further than making these photographs available to the Members and that they should also be declassified and made available to the American public.

Mr. RIVERS. I think the American public comprises the only people denied the opportunity of knowing what is going on. I cannot see any reason why these pictures should be classified and, Mr. Speaker, I have urged the Department of Defense to declassify these pictures, which I believe should not have been classified in the first place.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I will be glad to yield if I have any time left.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 10 seconds remaining.

Mr. POLLOCK. Will you again state when and where these pictures will be shown?

Mr. RIVERS. In the main hearing room of the Committee on Armed Services, which is the Vinson Room, on the first floor of the Rayburn Building, at 9 a.m. tomorrow morning. All Members are welcome.

VACATING SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my special order previously entered into for today be vacated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

THE BROKEN TRUCE

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday I was privileged to see the air reconnaissance photographs taken during the lunar truce in Vietnam. After viewing these photographs, I think that two things are evident. First we should congratulate the North Vietnamese and their Soviet allies for their negotiating skill and their diplomatic procedure in imposing upon us this truce. Second, I think we should congratulate the North Vietnamese and their Soviet allies for the dispatch and skill with which they dispersed their supplies into the southern area of North Vietnam and into South Vietnam during this lunar truce.

It was absolutely appalling to me to see these warmaking supplies flowing in these unprecedented numbers south as they did. Now our fighting men in Vietnam are experiencing the effects of this truce. For 2 weeks in a row we have suffered new records in casualties in Vietnam. Only yesterday Danang was struck with Soviet-made rockets. A week or so ago Soviet-made rockets also struck Danang civilian areas, killing and maiming many citizens in Danang.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is time for those who have been advocating the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam to have an opportunity to view these photographs, for certainly while they are classified they will not give any information to the Soviets and North Vietnamese which they do not presently have.

PERMISSION TO COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE A PRIVILEGED REPORT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file a privileged report.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs may sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS OF COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on accounts of the Committee on House Administration may sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it so ordered.

There was no objection.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we expect today to receive President Johnson's message on the Economic Opportunity Act.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks immediately following the message of the President and also that other Members may have the same privilege.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS—PERMISSION TO FILE A REPORT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs may have until midnight tonight to file a report.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the remarks of the majority leader, and in view of the 21-page message, which involves rent supplements as well as $20 million for rodent control and other questionable requests, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 35]

Adair
Anderson,
  Tenn.
Ashley
Bevill
Bow
Button
Cahill
Casey
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Conyers
Corman
Cramer
Daddario
Dawson
Denney
Dent
Diggs
Dorn
Edwards, La.
Fallon
Ford,
  William D.
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Hawkins
Goodell
Hawkins
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Jacobs
Kluczynski
Leggett
McEwen
McFall
Martin
Miller, Calif.
Ottinger
Passman
Pelly
Pepper
Pirnie
Pool
Riegle
Rivers
Scott
Shipley
Stratton
Taft
Teague, Tex.
Williams, Miss.
Willis

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 389 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

DR. RUFUS JUDSON PEARSON, JR.

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues, a man who serves this Congress with quiet dedication.

Dr. Rufus Judson Pearson, Jr., attending physician, has been responsible for many worthwhile innovations in his office over the past year. Calling on his immense store of knowledge and experience, Dr. Pearson has added an additional internist, updated the pharmacy and laboratory services, and improved the record system and maintenance. All these have greatly enhanced Dr. Pearson's program for comprehensive physical examinations for Members on the premises, as well as many other normal functions and tests formerly done at Bethesda and Walter Reed hospitals.

Needless to say, these innovations are instrumental in conserving the time and energy of the Members, as well as in early detection of potentially dangerous disorders.

Born in Atlanta, Ga., in 1915, Dr. Pearson attended the University of Florida and received his doctor of medicine degree from Emory University in 1938. He entered the Navy in 1942 and resumed his civilian practice in Florida in 1945.

Returning to the Navy in 1950, Dr. Pearson served as chief of cardiology at the U.S. Naval Hospital at Bethesda from 1955 to 1961.

Dr. Pearson's distinguished career includes training in cardiovascular disease under Dr. Paul Dudley White at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

Dr. Pearson's two children are carrying on the family tradition of public service—his daughter, Virginia, served as a Peace Corps nurse for 2 years in the Dominican Republic and is currently an American Red Cross staff nurse.

Lt. Rufus J. Pearson III is a Naval Academy graduate of the class of 1963.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to call attention to the wonderful job that I personally know this former Georgian is doing and I am sure that all Members of the House share my feeling.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAGAN. I yield to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman. I am happy that he has brought this matter to our attention. We are fortunate to have this distinguished physician and cardiologist as our Capitol physician.

Mr. HAGAN. I thank the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAGAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, may I join the gentleman from Georgia in complimenting Dr. Pearson on his good service and accomplishments. I hope Dr. Pearson will work further to get better medical facilities for the House of Representatives and the U.S. Capitol. The House of Representatives certainly needs a first-aid room right off this Chamber, adjacent to the Chamber. I hope this recommendation will be considered.

Mr. HAGAN. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAGAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate our colleague in calling our attention to the excellent work that Dr. Rufus Judson Pearson, Jr., is doing and would like to join in this tribute to Dr. Pearson.

I think one of the great innovations instituted by him is the laminated record of a Member's cardiogram that each Member can carry in his pocket. I think this should be a national practice. I hope that every citizen in America would be encouraged to carry his own cardiograph record so that in case of an emergency, those administering aid would know their patient's past history.

I congratulate my colleague for taking this time to do honor to Dr. Pearson.

Mr. HAGAN. I thank my colleague very much.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday last, March 9, it was necessary for me to be absent on official business and I missed rollcall No. 32 and rollcall No. 33.

Mr. Speaker, I would like the RECORD to show that had I been present, on rollcall No. 32 I would have voted "yea," and on rollcall No. 33 I would likewise have voted "yea."

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT—A CHALLENGE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 88)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States:

To the Congress of the United States:

I. THE CHALLENGE

The slum is as old as civilization. Civilization implies a race to get ahead. In a race there are usually some who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far behind in the rear they lose hope and ambition, and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources, they are the victims, not the masters, of their environment; and it is a bad master. . . . The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation.

These are the words of Jacob Riis, the Danish immigrant and American reformer, written in 1902. We may wish that those words applied only to the America of 1902—but clearly they apply to the America of the 1960's as well. They describe conditions in parts of every large American city and in pockets of poverty throughout rural America where 43 percent of the Nation's poor live.

It was years after Jacob Riis spoke before Americans realized that poverty was an urgent public dilemma—from which the only escape was to change the basic conditions of human life.

Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt in their times, began the necessary process of change:

The Children's Bureau, proposed in 1909 and established in 1912, spearheaded broad efforts to improve maternal and infant care and to provide better services and protection for our youth.

The public housing program, begun in 1934, today affords more than 2 million low-income Americans decent housing.

The benefits of the Social Security Act of 1935 will provide $25.8 billion in old age, disability, and survivorship benefits in fiscal 1968, if my recommendations are adopted by the Congress.

The federally aided public assistance programs, authorized in 1935, will provide $5 billion in Federal, State, and local aid to more than 7 million needy individuals in fiscal 1968.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, enacted in 1938, now provides minimum wage and hour protection for some 40 million workers.

A STRATEGY AGAINST POVERTY

In the 1960's, we have begun to devise a total strategy against poverty. We have recognized that public housing, minimum wages, and welfare services could not, standing alone, change the bleak environment of deprivation for millions of poor families.

A successful strategy requires a breakthrough on many fronts: education, health, jobs and job training, housing, public assistance, transportation, recreation, clean air, and adequate water supplies. The basic conditions of life for the poor must, and can, be changed.

We must deal with a wide range of physical and human needs. On the human side alone, the strategy must respond to a variety of problems.

Some of the poor—the aged and the hopelessly disabled—are unable to make their own way in this world because of conditions beyond their control. For them, social security, veterans' pensions, and public assistance can assure a life at minimum levels of human decency and dignity.

Others in our society are working at very low wages or are unemployed. But they are capable of helping themselves if given an opportunity to do so. To launch them on the road to a self-sufficient life, special education, training and employment opportunities will be necessary.

Our strategy requires programs that respond to the human needs of each of these groups. And we have proposed such programs:

To give disadvantaged children healthy bodies and the chance to learn.

To give the teenagers in our ghettos and pockets of rural poverty the training and skills they need to get jobs.

To give our young the chance to develop their minds in college, through Federal grants and loans.

To give the old and the disabled, who are incapable of helping themselves, increases in social security and the personal security of being able to see a doctor or obtain hospital care, without losing their entire life savings.

We also must have programs to improve the surroundings in which the disadvantaged live—the physical and social environment of America which has too long entrapped the poor. We have made proposals for—

Model cities, to rebuild entire blighted neighborhoods in cities, large and small.

Rent supplements, to bring the genius of private industry and private capital to the problem of housing the poor decently.

Civil rights legislation, to remove arbitrary barriers of discrimination which prevent a man otherwise qualified from getting a job or a home because of his race.

Our strategy against poverty relies on—

The private initiative of every citizen and on the self-help efforts of the poor themselves.

The resources of city, county, State, and metropolitan agencies.

Federal programs to supplement private and local activities and often to supply the vital thrust of innovation.

We have made substantial gains. But we have also come to see how profound are the problems that confront us, how deeply ingrained are the customs and practices that must be changed, how stubbornly the heritage of poverty persists from generation to generation.

Many of our early efforts have revealed the dimensions of the work that remains to be done. For some, this has inspired a pessimism that challenges both the value of what has been accomplished and the capacity of our Federal democracy to complete the task. For others, it has inspired a sober determination to carry through with programs that show great promise, to improve their administration and to seek still more effective instruments of change.

I have already submitted to the Congress my budget recommendations for fiscal 1968.

I have recommended $25.6 million for the programs directly aiding the poor—a $3.6 billion increase over fiscal 1967.

Many of the programs underlying these budget recommendations have been discussed in previous messages to the Congress this year—on education and health, children and youth, older Americans, crime in America, and equal justice. The programs described in this message are part of our strategy to change the depressing conditions of poverty now facing millions of our fellow men.

II. POVERTY AND OPPORTUNITY

Few undertakings in our time have generated as much hope, produced as many immediate and beneficial results, or excited as much controversy, as the antipoverty program I first submitted to the Congress on March 16, 1964.

The controversy was inevitable: what is being attempted is a fundamental change in the way government responds to the needs of the poor.

That there would be some confusion and mistakes was inevitable. The need was for action. America could not wait for a decade of studies which might not even show precisely what should be attempted. New programs had to begin in our cities and rural communities, in small towns and in migrant labor camps. America had to pull the drowning man out of the water and talk about it later.

This experience has led to progress and great accomplishment. We have learned more than some of the most enthusiastic supporters of the antipoverty program had hoped.

Greater opportunities for millions of Americans depend on how we build on our experience:

On enlarged resources for the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen and expand programs that have shown great promise and to continue the development of new and better techniques.

On tightened administration of those programs so that the poor receive the maximum benefits, at the lowest cost to the American taxpayer.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1967

I recommend that the Economic Opportunity Act be amended:

1. To help local community action agencies define their purpose more precisely and improve their planning, auditing, and personnel systems.

The purpose and functions of community action agencies should be made more explicit: in their relationship to State, county, and municipal authorities, in planning, coordinating, and providing services, and in community involvement and innovation.

Strict rules should be established to govern the pay, selection, and accountability of community action personnel. Personnel systems should embody merit features and set the highest standards of conduct and efficiency.

The provisions in existing law prohibiting partisan political activities should be retained and strengthened wherever possible.

Auditing requirements now in the law should be expanded and improved.

2. To give public officials and other interested groups in the community voice in forming policy for community action agencies.

There should be a requirement for representation of local public agencies on community action boards, as well as representation for the neighborhood groups to be served.

Standards should be set specifically defining the powers and duties of community action boards.

The responsibility of the boards for policy formulation and control of community action programs should be made explicit.

3. To strengthen the role of the States, especially in rural areas.

States should be encouraged to assist in establishing regional community action agencies in rural areas.

The joint funding of antipoverty programs by Federal and State agencies should be encouraged.

Federal funds should be provided so that States may give increased planning assistance to rural communities.

4. To encourage more participation by private enterprise.

The obligation of community action agencies to design and conduct programs with full participation by the private sector should be made explicit.

A closer relationship should be developed between employers, unions, and the new work-training programs, with more individual attention to trainees in on-the-job training programs.

5. To use the Economic Opportunity Act to encourage welfare recipients to become self-sufficient.

Job Corpsmen, Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen, and others engaged in work and training under this act should be given greater incentives to work, by allowing them to earn more without a corresponding loss of welfare assistance to their families.

6. To give new direction and momentum to the programs in rural areas.

A new position of Assistant Director for rural affairs should be established to coordinate and strengthen programs affecting the rural poor.

7. To strengthen the Economic Opportunity Council in the coordination of antipoverty activities of Federal agencies.

The Council's role in helping to improve coordination among Federal programs related to the antipoverty effort should be more clearly spelled out.

These changes will make the administration of the program more effective. But improved administration is not enough. More people must be reached. The gap between promise and real opportunity is still broad. Additional funds must be provided if we are to make genuine progress in attending to our unfinished business.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate $2.06 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity for fiscal 1968—a 25-percent increase over fiscal 1967.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The purpose of community action is to encourage those who need help to help themselves.

A community action agency should provide a voice in planning programs to mayors, local business and labor leaders, the citizens to be helped, teachers, lawyers, physicians—all those who give their time and efforts to relieve poverty in their communities and who know well the needs of their neighbors. It may be established as a private, nonprofit corporation or created by local government. Each agency analyzes the problems its community faces and develops a strategy for its antipoverty, self-help effort. This strategy may include any combination of Federal, State, and local programs which will assist the poor in their fight against poverty.

Community action agencies should devote their energies to self-help measures and new initiatives that will advance their communities in the war against poverty. To be effective, it is essential that they be nonpartisan and totally disengaged from any partisan political activity. The administration, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity and, I am confident, the Congress, will be constantly alert to the danger of partisan political activity and will take the necessary steps to see that it does not occur.

LEGAL SERVICES

To be poor is to be without an advocate—in dealing with a landlord, a creditor, or a Government bureaucrat. It is to be subjected to the hostility or indifference of society, without redress. It is to be exposed to frustration and delay, without relief.

The legal services program offers free legal assistance in civil matters to people who otherwise could not afford an attorney. The program provides—in ghettos, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps and in rural counties—lawyers for the poor in eviction and consumer credit cases, in administrative actions and in hundreds of other encounters involving their legal rights.

The program has the wholehearted endorsement of the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association, and the National Trial Lawyers Association. With the help of these associations, legal services are now being provided in 44 of the Nation's 50 largest cities and in some rural areas.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen these efforts and to expand the services available to smaller towns and rural areas.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

MULTISERVICE CENTERS

To be poor in a city is to spend long hours and precious dollars for carfare in search of assistance. The employment service may be in one part of town, the social security office in another, welfare offices, veterans' assistance, adult literacy training, medical care, or housing aid in others.

To be poor in a rural area is to travel many miles in hope of finding assistance—often fruitlessly. The services needed are too often in another county or only in a big city.

The fragmentation—and the unavailability—of services imposes great hardship upon the poor. Often it denies them the comprehensive help that can provide security, and the chance to stand on their own two feet before their fellow men.

We are trying a variety of methods for providing these services more effectively. Hundreds of neighborhood centers have been created: some are referral agencies, others house a complex of services drawn from existing programs. In rural areas centers have been established to serve multicounty areas. Our goal is to develop within each community the most effective means to deliver the services so desperately needed at the lowest cost to the taxpayer.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and other Federal departments, to expand and strengthen the development of neighborhood multiservice and multicounty centers in the coming fiscal year. These centers have become the focal point of many local efforts in their attack on poverty, and I expect that local communities will seek some $120 million for them in fiscal 1968.

HEALTH CENTERS

To be poor is to be without adequate medical care:

One-half of all women who have their babies in public hospitals have received no prenatal care at all.

More than 60 percent of poor children with disabling handicaps are not receiving any medical care.

Sixty percent of all poor children never see a dentist.

The chance of a child dying before the age of 1 is 50 percent higher for the poor.

The chance of dying before reaching the age of 35 is four times greater for the poor.

The poor man, making $2,000 a year or less—in many cases because of previous illness—will lose twice as many working days from illness as the man who makes $7,000 or more.

In health centers, located where the poor live, medical care can be effectively provided for those who need it most. Where appropriate, the health centers are linked to neighborhood multiservice centers so that the individual citizen can obtain in one place a wide range of needed services.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will encourage local communities to establish additional health centers in the coming fiscal year, so that up to 50 will be in operation by the end of fiscal 1968.

UPWARD BOUND

When a child's potential for success in life is lost, the Nation as well as the child is the loser. When a bright mind is dimmed by successive failures in school, and the despair failure brings, the community suffers as much as the student himself.

Upward Bound seeks out poor rural and urban youngsters whose talents are undeveloped. They are given intensive individual attention and the best training our education system can offer so that they can develop their talents to the full reach of their individual capacity.

Two hundred and twenty-four public and private universities and private secondary schools are taking part in Upward Bound this year. More than 20,000 poor young men and women are today headed for high school graduation and college study through Upward Bound. We estimate that 78 percent of these youngsters—as compared to 8 percent of poor youth generally—will go on to college.

Applications for Upward Bound far exceed the funds presently available. Those funds must be increased—for America needs the trained and competent citizens these poor children can become.

My budget includes sufficient funds for Upward Bound to benefit more than 30,000 young men and women in fiscal 1968.

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

Children in orphanages and homes for the retarded need the patient care of older men and women. Older Americans need the sense of usefulness that a child's dependence can bring.

The foster grandparents program meets these needs for more than 2,000 older Americans and 5,000 children. These foster grandparents are given training and relatively substantial increases in their incomes for visiting, teaching, and caring for children who need them.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will expand this program next year.

HEADSTART AND HEADSTART FOLLOWTHROUGH

I have already submitted to the Congress my recommendations to improve educational opportunities for children who need them most of all—the children of the poor.

For thousands of children in ghettos and pockets of rural poverty, in migrant labor camps and on Indian reservations, the Headstart program has "replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success." This fiscal year, Headstart will provide summer opportunities for about 500,000 children and a full-year program for nearly 200,000 children.

We must not lose the precious momentum children gain from Headstart by returning them to substandard schools. We must provide the followthrough necessary to vitalize the first years of their grade school experience. We must involve more parents and increase the services of teachers, teachers aids, doctors, and counselors for disadvantaged children in the early grades.

For this reason, I have recommended the Headstart followthrough program. My budget recommendations to the Congress include $472 million for Headstart, including funds for the new Headstart followthrough program to sustain the progress Headstart has made.

With these funds, we will strengthen the year-round Headstart program and begin to plan and operate Headstart followthrough programs for up to 200,000 children coming into the first grades.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

At a critical period in their lives, the Neighborhood Youth Corps has given some 800,000 young men and women from both rural and urban America a chance to succeed as adults. It has helped them work their way through school, return to school, or prepare for useful employment.

My budget recommendations provide $321 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in fiscal 1968 to:

Give 195,000 young people the chance to stay in school.

Help 90,000 young people return to school or prepare for jobs.

Provide summer jobs for 190,000 young people.

JOB CORPS

If the attack on poverty is to mean anything, it must reach all the poor—including those whose educational experience and past behavior make them difficult to teach, motivate, and discipline.

The Job Corps is a response to that moral imperative. Its success must be measured against the difficulties of its task.

There are 113 Job Corps centers in America. More than 60,000 youths have passed through them in the last 2 years.

For some, the Job Corps experience was too short to matter significantly. For others, there was only time enough to have a physical examination, or to learn to read a little or to add a column of figures. But even this was a gain for the young who, on the average, enter the Job Corps at a fourth grade reading level and have never seen a doctor or dentist.

For most, the Job Corps has meant a chance to be a productive—and taxpaying—citizen: 26,000 hold jobs earning an average of $1.71 per hour; 4,500 are back in school to complete an education they have been motivated to seek; 3,500 are in the armed services. Many of them had been previously rejected because they failed to meet medical or educational standards.

The Job Corps does not benefit only those it serves. It has developed educational materials now being used by 84 schools across America. Its volunteers have worked on conservation and beautification projects, and public facility improvements. The Job Corps youths, who are themselves poor, send more than $1 million home to their families each month.

While the Job Corps has used the best talents of industry and of universities to design the program and operate the centers, many problems remain. Costs must be reduced and discipline improved. In fiscal 1968, the estimated full-year cost for a Job Corpsman in established centers will be about $6,700—down from an average cost of about $8,400 during the last half of fiscal 1966. This sum will cover food, clothing, transportation, medical and dental care, pay and allowances, as well as the cost of training and education.

The experience we have gained thus far will permit tighter cost controls, firmer discipline, and more effective recruitment and placement. The Job Corps in fiscal 1968 will be even more effective in reaching those young people for whom the road to productive and responsible lives is the longest and hardest.

My budget recommendations include $295 million for the Job Corps program in fiscal 1968—to educate, train, and renew the hopes of some 50,000 young men and women.

VISTA

By this June, more than 4,000 Volunteers in Service to America—VISTA volunteers—will be in the field. They will be living and working in the hollows of Appalachia, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps and city slums—to teach skills, care for the sick, and help people to help themselves.

My budget recommendations for fiscal 1968 include $31 million for the VISTA program.

No matter how dedicated or skillful, 4,000 volunteers cannot accomplish the thousands of tasks that require attention in America's poor neighborhoods. Neither can a massive flow of dollars and new programs. We will continue to search for ways to enlist still more Americans in part- and full-time service to their fellow man.

OPERATION GREEN THUMB

Hundreds of older unemployed and retired farmers and rural workers have gained in income and in dignity, while contributing to the safety and beautification of State highways, schools, parks, and rural towns through projects like Operation Green Thumb. They have assisted their disadvantaged neighbors to improve their homes and have added their skills to enhance neighboring communities.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in cooperation with the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture, to expand this activity and to develop new ways to provide meaningful public service opportunities for the elderly in rural areas.

RURAL LOAN PROGRAM

The special rural loan program of the Office of Economic Opportunity will assist 13,000 families this year to improve their farms and carry on small businesses. Hundreds of other poor families will be helped to increase their production and marketing capacity by loans made to rural cooperative associations.

My budget recommendations provide for $32 million in loans under this program in fiscal 1968.

A CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

A thriving national economy is critical to our antipoverty effort. Through private initiative and wise economic policy, our economy is meeting its fundamental test of producing revenue and employment.

It has not always been so. In the period from 1957 to 1959, 1.9 million Americans, new to the job market, sought work. One million of them could not find jobs. Despite prosperity, unemployment increased.

In the last 3 years, 4 million Americans joined the work force for the first time; 5.25 million jobs were added to the economy; unemployment was reduced by 1.25 million.

But economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not reached thousands of men and women who live in the Nation's slums. The Secretary of Labor has investigated the unemployment situation in slums and found that:

Unemployment rates in the slums are three times the national average.

Large numbers of people work a few hours of the week, unable to find the full-time work they seek.

Large numbers work full time at poverty wage levels.

Nearly one-third of those who should be employed at self-supporting wages are not.

Neither a high-performance economy nor traditional training and employment services have been able to reach these men and women. Some need special counseling and training. Others need special health and educational assistance. All need followup assistance until they are permanently placed in a stable job. Even after that, they may need special attention during their first weeks of employment.

I have directed the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, with the assistance of other Federal agencies, to begin immediately a special program using all available resources to provide concentrated assistance to those with the greatest need.

This program will—

Enlist the active support and cooperation of business and labor organizations at the local level.

Provide a wide range of counseling, health, education and training services on an individual basis.

Provide the followup assistance necessary to insure that a job once obtained will not quickly be lost.

Use local community action agencies as the focal point wherever practicable.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate $135 million under the Economic Opportunity Act to support this program to train and put to work up to 100,000 slum residents next year. These funds, together with existing programs, will enable us to provide the special counseling and personal attention necessary to reach these impoverished Americans.

This will be a tough objective to meet. But we pledge to make every effort to achieve it.

WAGE GARNISHMENT

Hundreds of workers among the poor lose their jobs or most of their wages each year as a result of garnishment proceedings. In many cases, wages are garnished by unscrupulous merchants and lenders whose practices trap the unwitting workers.

I am directing the Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to make a comprehensive study of the problems of wage garnishment and to recommend the steps that should be taken to protect the hard-earned wages and the jobs of those who need the income most.

PERSEVERANCE

Poverty cannot be eliminated overnight. It takes time, hard work, money, and perseverance.

It has been only 2 years and 3 months since we decided to embark upon a concentrated attack on poverty. We have made progress. But victory over poverty will not quickly or cheaply be won.

We do not have all the answers. But we have given a great many people—very young children, restless teenagers, men without skills, mothers without proper health care for themselves or their babies, old men and women without a purpose to fill their later years—the opportunity they needed, when they needed it, in a way that called on them to give the best of themselves.

Millions more Americans need—and deserve—that opportunity. The aim of this administration is, and will be, that they shall have it.

I urge the Congress to examine these programs carefully, to evaluate their accomplishments, and then to support them fully with the funds necessary to do the job.

III. IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF URBAN LIFE

The needs for jobs and job training, for special education and health care, for legal assistance, are all urgent in the life of the poor. Most often they exist together in the urban slum—isolated from the city of which they are a part.

I shall not elaborate on these conditions. They are familiar to everyone who has looked candidly at the American city. So are some of the things that should be done about them.

In the past few years, we have made a heavy investment in improving the conditions of life in the cities. Federal aid to cities and their citizens has been steadily rising—from grants and direct loans of $3.9 billion in 1961 to $10.3 billion in 1968.

But some of the most promising urban programs are today only authorizations on the statute books. The 89th Congress made them law. It remains for the 90th Congress to give them life.

MODEL CITIES

The model cities program, enacted last year, is an attempt to focus a variety of aids—physical and social—on the problems of the slums and to enlist private and local support to rebuild the blighted areas of America's cities.

It is a comprehensive approach to human problems—involving jobs, education, health facilities, housing.

Fulfilling the purpose Congress proclaimed last year is a necessity. We have inspired the hopes of large and small cities in every State. We have generated in local communities a commitment to excellence as they plan for the future.

I strongly urge the Congress to appropriate the full amount it has authorized for model cities in fiscal 1968: $12 million for additional planning grants; $400 million for supplemental grants to be used in carrying out local model city programs; $250 million for urban renewal projects in the model cities.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

The 89th Congress authorized the rent supplement program to enable poor families to live in decent, privately owned housing.

Only families whose incomes are so low that they are eligible for publicly owned housing can receive rent supplements—and then only if they are displaced from their homes by governmental action or a disaster, are elderly or physically handicapped, or occupy substandard housing.

With low-rent housing in short supply, it is more important than ever to stimulate construction by private enterprise and nonprofit organizations. The rent supplement program authorizes payments that make the construction of low-rent units attractive for builders.

Last year the Congress provided funds to get this program underway. This year it must be expanded.

I urge the authorization of an additional $40 million for the rent supplement program in fiscal 1968.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

For many American families, homeownership is a source of pride and satisfaction, of commitment to community life.

Some families with low but steady incomes have become the owners of decent, modest homes. Their well-maintained homes are often in the midst of slum areas. They are frequently surrounded by substandard homes owned by absentee landlords, where poor families pay rent in amounts much higher than would have been required for ownership of a modest home.

We must learn how best to help low-income families own their own homes.

I have directed the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to carry out, within existing authority, a low-income housing-ownership pilot program, so that these lessons may be learned and converted to public policy on a broad scale.

I am authorizing the Federal National Mortgage Association to use $20 million of its funds to support this program.

The program will—

Identify low-income families with the potential to build an ownership equity in a home.

Provide guidelines to assure the economic soundness of their investment.

Explore a program to insure low-income families against mortgage defaults and foreclosures that result from loss of health or economic recession.

Encourage ownership equity to be acquired through self-help in the construction of homes.

New and rehabilitated housing, single-family homes and apartment structures should be included in the program. All forms of ownership should be explored—single-family homes, cooperative and individual apartments.

PROTECTING THE SLUM CHILD

The knowledge that many children in the world's most affluent nation are attacked, maimed and even killed by rats should fill every American with shame. Yet, this is an everyday occurrence in the slums of our cities.

There is no excuse for this national disgrace. The rats' food supply can be eliminated. Garbage can be collected. Harborages can be eliminated. Buildings can be made ratproof. As this can be done, it must be done.

To help America's cities wipe out this threat to their people's health and safety, I recommend the Rat Extermination Act of 1967, to launch a major program of rat control and eradication. I will ask the Congress to provide $20 million to initiate this effort in fiscal 1968.

Under this act, as part of the broader program of community development, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, will help cities:

Establish house-by-house, block-by-block extermination programs in rat-infested neighborhoods.

Provide special concentrated code enforcement assistance to eliminate rats from city slums.

Provide public education campaigns for residents of slum areas.

Help provide better garbage collection, eliminate harborages, and take on the necessary self-help measures to protect against rats.

Build on the experiences in Chicago and Detroit, where slum residents were trained, mobilized and given the tools to conduct a major attack on rats in their infested tenements.

URBAN HOUSING REHABILITATION

Franklin D. Roosevelt said long ago what is still true today:

> American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had.

Rehabilitation is the key to many of our successful urban renewal programs. It is crucial to the success of the model cities program.

I intend to call together an outstanding group of private citizens from across the country—from business and labor, government and the building industry—to examine every possible means of establishing the institutions to encourage the development of a large-scale efficient rehabilitation industry.

I will ask this group of outstanding Americans to find the best ways to tap the enormous market that exists in rebuilding our cities and to bring the most modern systems and the most advanced technology to this urgent task.

GRANTS FOR METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

Unless metropolitan development is orderly, the public's money will be wasted on public facilities—schools, hospitals, police and fire stations—that are obsolete before they are even completed.

Last year the Congress authorized a new program of 20-percent grants to support orderly development by local communities, working cooperatively in metropolitan areas. These Federal incentive grants supplement 10 other Federal grant-in-aid programs that help finance transportation facilities, water and sewer facilities, recreational and other open space areas, libraries and hospitals.

I urge the Congress to provide $30 million in fiscal 1968 for this essential program.

URBAN TRANSPORTATION

The life of a city depends on an adequate transportation system.

Inefficient transportation increases the costs of local industry, and the prices paid by consumers in local stores. It robs the community's citizens of their leisure time and comfort. It penalizes the physically handicapped and those too poor to own a car.

I recommend that the Congress provide $230 million in advance funds for fiscal 1969 for the construction and improvement of urban mass transportation systems.

To improve public transportation systems and to reduce traffic congestion, I recommend legislation to authorize the Secretary of Transportation under the Federal highway program, to participate in the cost of acquiring land and developing public parking facilities on the outskirts of large cities. This authority would enable the Secretary to promote the multipurpose use of space over and under expressways and to develop areas alongside of highways for parking terminals.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Less than one-tenth of 1 percent of our total research and development expenditures in Government have been devoted to the field of housing and urban affairs. Yet, 70 percent of our citizens live in urban areas.

This failure to apply scientific resources and methods to an area of such vital importance to American life cannot be permitted to continue.

Today, we can give only partial, insufficient answers to such basic questions as how to build better housing at lower cost, how to move people more rapidly at less cost in congested urban areas.

This year, I ask that we move to build a basic foundation of urban knowledge—in three ways:

First, I recommend legislation to authorize a new Assistant Secretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development for research, technology, and engineering.

Under the new Assistant Secretary, an office for urban research, technology, and engineering will be established along lines that have proven successful in other agencies of Government. The new office will also serve as a source of information for State and local governments and for private industry.

Second, I am asking the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to encourage the establishment of an Institute of Urban Development, as a separate and distinct organization. Such an organization would look beyond immediate problems and immediate concerns to future urban requirements, and engage in basic inquiries as to how they may be solved.

Third, I recommend: $20 million in fiscal 1968 in funds appropriated to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for general research; an increase from $13 to $18 million for other studies and experimentation in the fields of housing, urban development, and urban transportation.

IV. PROGRAMS FOR THE RURAL POOR

Men have argued the merits of providing jobs in rural areas to stem the flow of people into the cities, as against providing jobs and training on arrival or training for jobs prior to departure. Whatever the "correct" answer may be to this argument, it seems clear to me that conditions of impoverishment in rural America continue to exist and must be relieved to the extent we know how to relieve them.

We have taken a number of actions that will, in time, produce effective results:

A National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has been established and will submit its report and recommendations to me at the end of the year.

I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to review all existing Federal programs to insure that rural areas receive an equitable share of their benefits.

The Secretary of Agriculture has been given responsibility to identify development problems in rural areas which require the cooperation of various Federal departments, so that these programs may be better coordinated and duplication eliminated.

But much more needs to be done.

PLANNING AIDS FOR MULTICOUNTY AREAS

This is no longer a Nation of small towns and communities which can develop independently. Improved transportation and modern communications have created a larger concept of community. Its boundaries are not marked by any arbitrary political lines, but by the commuting distance to available jobs.

Many States have recognized this, and have established multicounty planning and development areas. Others are doing so. In many cases, rural community action agencies—organized on a multicounty basis—serve the same purpose.

But many rural communites lack the means to form multicounty development districts. Many lack the personnel trained in planning broad social and economic programs. Others lack the resources to enable them to plan effectively.

I recommend that the Congress amend the Housing Act of 1954 and authorize $20 million to provide:

Grants to States by the Department of Housing and Urban Development of up to two-thirds of the cost of technical assistance and to comprehensive planning, by official multicounty planning agencies in nonmetropolitan areas, including multicounty community action agencies.

Technical assistance to the multicounty planning agencies by the Department of Agriculture.

INCREASING OUR PUBLIC INVESTMENT

For many rural areas, a relatively small public investment will return substantial increases in opportunity for the local people.

I recommend legislation to remove the annual ceiling on insured loan authority for rural community water and waste disposal systems.

Eliminating the existing $450 million limitation on lending authority for this program will permit more rapid completion of the water and waste disposal systems rural America needs for economic development.

I also recommend legislation to expand the provisions of the existing loan programs to permit farmowners or their tenants to shift the entire use of farmland with adequate recreation potential from agricultural production to income-producing recreation enterprises, as part of comprehensive land-use plans for rural and neighboring urban areas.

This program would permit better use of scarce land resources, provide better opportunities for some farmers now using poor farmland for crop purposes and furnish urgently needed recreation facilities for our population.

MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

Migrant farmworkers are among the forgotten Americans. Their wages are low, their employment uncertain, and their housing and working conditions deplorable. Though their needs are great, they often find it impossible to obtain social services available to other poverty-stricken Americans.

Because of residency requirements, migratory farmworkers are barred in many States from receiving public assistance, vocational rehabilitation, and other welfare services. Disabled workers and their families are often not served—even when otherwise eligible—because of their relatively brief period within a State.

I recommend a five-point program for these forgotten Americans:

1. Legislation to provide 90-percent Federal reimbursement for vocational rehabilitation services for disabled migratory farmworkers. The Secretary of Labor will develop a system for identifying migratory farmworkers who would be considered for benefits under this program.

2. Amendments of the public assistance law to authorize pilot projects to provide temporary public assistance and other welfare services for migratory farmworkers and their families, who are now barred by residence requirements from receiving these services.

3. A 25-percent increase—from $28 to $35 million—in funds to provide:

Special educational services for more than 170,000 migrant children.

Health services for about 280,000 migratory workers and their families.

An expanded self-help housing program for the construction of 2,000 housing units.

4. Amendment of the Unemployment Insurance laws to provide benefits for workers employed on large commercial farms.

5. Extension of social security benefits to 500,000 farmworkers by reducing from $150 to $50 the amount which must be earned from a single employer each year.

V. FINISHING THE NATION'S BUSINESS

It is difficult for most Americans to understand what it is to be desperately poor in today's affluent America. More than half our population was born after 1940. Less than half can remember the depression on the farms of the twenties, or the breadlines of the thirties. "The Grapes of Wrath" is ancient literature—not a living record—to most Americans.

Yet for more than 31 million Americans, poverty is neither remote in time, nor removed in space. It is cruel and present reality. It makes choices for them. It determines their future prospects—despite our hope and belief that in America, opportunity has no bounds for any man.

Poverty was universally tolerated until a century or so ago. But like disease, war and famine, it gained nothing in acceptability because it was prevalent. As soon as men saw that they might escape it, they fought and died to escape it.

Poverty denies to most of those born into it a fair chance to be themselves, to be happy in life. Federal funds or services, and the opportunities they provide, cannot permanently free a man from the trap of poverty if he does not want to be free. He must use the ladders that circumstance, native ability and his Nation may create.

Let it be said that in our time, we pursued a strategy against poverty so that each man had a chance to be himself.

Let it be said that in our time, we offered him the means to become a free man—for his sake, and for our own.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 14, 1967*.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Without objection the message will be referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson, in a new and impressive plea on behalf of the poor, has called on the Congress for continued support in moving the Nation's fight against poverty forward. He deserves the help of this body—not as a reflection of political support, but as a significant sign to the poor that the hope they have been given for economic opportunity is not to be dashed on the rocks of timidity or stubbornness.

I urge the Members of this House, in their study of the President's message on America's unfinished business, to do what he has done: take the poverty package apart program by program—take a look at the individual and innovative efforts of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

You will find—as the President has noted in his message—a variety of positive programs which are helping the poor to help themselves in almost every county and city of our country. It is important that the war on poverty be viewed in this context—not as some vague utopian dream but as a coordinated effort to provide the education, training, health services, legal assistance, and counseling necessary if the poor are to enjoy the economic opportunity available to more affluent Americans.

When we talk about the antipoverty program we talk about—

Headstart and the educational, environmental, and health services provided needy youngsters from poverty areas;

Headstart followthrough, a program recommended by the President to insure that the accomplishments of Headstart are maintained;

Legal services to bring the poor within the reach of the justice they deserve;

Neighborhood centers and the health services, legal assistance, job counseling and other services which they bring to the poor at a point the poor can approach;

Community action involving a variety of these programs in a common, local effort against the poverty that exists in the community;

The foster grandparents program which brings the help and love of older persons to children in orphanages and homes for the crippled and the retarded in a meaningful association for both;

Educational and health services for migrant laborers and their families;

The Neighborhood Youth Corps and the change it makes in the lives of young people who are kept in school through the program or who are provided valuable work experience and training if they are out of school;

Upward Bound and the economic possibilities it creates for lagging students through a college-administered program designed to motivate them in the direction of higher education;

A broad variety of necessary services for the Indian population through community action on the reservations;

The Job Corps and the opportunity it makes available to young men and women through the basic education, vocational training, and health care its centers provide; and

VISTA and the opportunity it offers idealistic Americans of all ages to Volunteer in Service to America for work with the needy in poverty areas.

Here, then, are where the important advances are being made in the attack on the causes of poverty. And it is good to remember, before we criticize the war on poverty generally, what we are criticizing specifically. If the popularity of a package is to be determined by what it contains, the poverty package is popular indeed.

Because some parts of the program have not pleased all the people does not mean that anyone objects to many of the programs that are helping take boys and girls out of the streets and put them in school rooms. I am positive that every American recognizes the need to advance the hopelessly underprivileged even though he may point to particular programs in his own community which are not to his liking.

This is not Washington's fight, of course. The Office of Economic Opportunity, under the able leadership and deep dedication of Sargent Shriver, is encouraging action, channeling assistance, and stimulating innovation in approaches to the problems of the poor and deserves the support of this Congress, but the effort and direction for the program is coming at the local level.

In my State practically the entire program, though primarily financed with Federal funds, is administered under the supervision of the Governor. Although our Governor for the past 4 years was a Republican and our present new Governor is a Republican, and although they have appointed the State coordinator of these programs, I as a Democrat have joined the overwhelming majority of my party in voting the funds and in endeavoring to improve this program and to make it work as intended by the Congress.

It is not an easy fight. President Johnson pulls no punches in his message to the Congress. He points out that mistakes have been made—that they were inevitable in view of the urgency of the problem.

This is definitely not to say, however, that nothing has been done—or that there is little hope for progress in the future. Much has been done and much remains to be done on the basis of what we have learned to date.

The poverty program being recommended to the Congress this session represents an almost complete rewrite of previous legislation. It will propose no radical new approach but it will propose a better description of the program generally and more detail about structure of individual programs and it will incorporate the congressional advice that has been received and the wisdom of the lessons that have been learned.

The bill will reflect—in brief—the new face that has been put on the antipoverty effort in 2 short years of what obviously must be a long-term campaign.

The program can point to its accomplishments through the impact it has made on almost every poverty area in the Nation and the acceptance it has received from every segment of our society—the rich and the poor, labor, and business, churches, and State and local governments.

It can point to the innovations it has stimulated and their acceptance by other programs and institutions.

It can point to the massive role that is being played by local groups and volunteers by showing the decentralization of almost every aspect of its operation.

It can show, already, an economic return that will grow and grow as poor Americans are moved from the welfare rolls to the ranks of the employed.

And its record of administrative efficiency—despite the difficulties presented by the broadness of the program and the diversity of the decisionmaking—has brought respect throughout government.

People across this Nation are doing an outstanding job implementing poverty programs and they deserve our encouragement and support. We should remember, in this connection, President Johnson's concluding comment on the poor:

> Let it be said that in our time we offered him the means to become a free man—for his sake as for our own.

The commitment is ours—and it must be kept.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the fight against poverty, in the challenging words of President Johnson, is America's unfinished business. The President has asked the Congress to join him in getting on with the job. He needs—and deserves—our help in this significant drive to bring economic opportunity to the poor.

It is important, as we study the proposals the President has made for a continuation and the strengthening of the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, that we know exactly what we are being asked to do.

We are not being asked to approve a handout to anyone.

We are not being asked to create make-work for anyone.

We are not being asked to cast OEO—or Washington—in the role of one with all the answers to the problems.

We are not being asked to compel anyone to do anything.

Instead, the President has asked for the strengthening of the unprecedented program, initiated by his administration, to help the poor help themselves out of poverty and into the mainstream of economic opportunity in America.

It is an entirely voluntary program; no one is forced to participate.

It is an educational program—for adults who need education to increase their employability, and for the young who need education to escape the cycle of poverty that holds so many families in its grip.

It is a training program to increase the job skills of men and women who want to work but cannot find work they are capable of doing.

It is a local program, manned and run by groups from all segments of society in more than 1,000 community action agencies across the country.

It provides medical care for those health could well be a bar to their employment; and legal assistance for those who find themselves barred from justice because of their background and environment.

In short, the antipoverty effort is a drive to bring people together with jobs—to more men and women, through education, training, and other services, from the welfare rolls to the ranks of the employed and into the productive segment of society.

Much has been done in 2 short years of the poverty program but much remains to be done. Success will serve the poor—but it will serve the Nation more in reduced public assistance costs and increased revenue from the newly employed.

I urge the House to consider the President's message in this context. Together there is much we can do, through this program, to reduce the burden—financially and in human misery—for all Americans.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has today restated the great unfinished business before us—the lifting of poverty from the backs and minds of our less fortunate countrymen.

I am grateful to the President for his determination to carry on his work for the poor people of the country, notwithstanding the heavy burden he must bear in the conduct of our external relations and the search for peace in the world.

The President has made a decision and I think the country supports him. He believes that this Nation is strong enough and rich enough to maintain its posture of leadership in the world, while at the same time working toward the end that all of our people can share in the bounty and the promise of America.

I congratulate him for his resolve.

In his message, he has reviewed some of the steps taken by the American people through their Government in the past to assist those in need. Among those steps were:

The establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912 to improve maternal and child care and to protect and serve the youth of the Nation.

The start of the public housing program in 1934 to provide decent homes for needy Americans.

The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 to provide old-age and disability benefits.

The authorization of a public assistance program in 1935.

The passage of wage and hour legislation in 1938.

Then, in this decade, the approval of the Area Redevelopment Act; the Manpower Development and Training Act; and the strengthening of public welfare programs to feature self-help.

This effort continues today toward new objectives—objectives which, I am sure, are desired by every Member of this Congress. Whatever differences we may have in this respect arise not from the goals, but in the means of achieving them.

Through programs established within the Office of Economic Opportunity, we are attacking the root causes of poverty: the lack of education, the lack of training and skills, the lack of motivation, the lack of opportunity, and perhaps the most deadly of all, the lack of hope.

I am happy to see, Mr. Speaker, that the quality of hope is not dead in the American poor.

Through such activities as the community action programs the poor are glimpsing the good life that is attainable for all Americans, they are finding their voices, and they are charting their own courses.

Each community action program is a local unit; it is not an arm of the Federal Government. And within the limits set by budgetary restrictions, the local citizens decide for themselves which programs will best help their own poor.

More than 1,000 local action programs have been established, and they offer a wide variety of services, including compensatory education, manpower training, housing, health, and family services. These are some of the specific programs included:

Upward Bound: More than 20,000 economically poor and academically average high school students voluntarily enroll in a year-round intensive educational program to prepare themselves for college. Upward Bound includes, in most instances, a 6- to 8-week residential summer program on a college campus. Medical and dental care are provided as are intensive academic, cultural, recreational, special counseling, and other activities. The success of this program is demonstrated by the fact that more than 75 percent of all Upward Bound students are actually going on to college, compared to a previous level of 8 percent for all poverty-level teenagers.

Legal services: This activity seeks to balance the scales of justice by providing the poor with competent legal assistance. In its first year, Legal Services funded 157 programs at a cost in excess of $27 million. When a poor man has a competent lawyer at his side, the law no longer appears in the role of tyrant, but as protector.

In the foster grandparent program, some 2,500 older persons are giving kindly care to 4,500 institutionalized children who are dependent, neglected, emotionally disturbed, or physically handicapped. Each "grandparent" works approximately 20 hours a week and receives a minimum salary of $1.25 an hour, which supplements pensions or social security payments without exceeding the allowable earned income. In the cities where this program is presently operating, Foster Grandparents has become a clear success.

Migrant opportunities: Unskilled workers, bound to the hard tasks of planting and reaping, away from home many months of the year, are ineligible for State welfare programs where residency requirements must be met. Their situation had been virtually ignored until 1964. Since then the OEO has spent about $50 million for programs of education, housing, day care, and sanitation, specifically designed to meet the needs of these migratory citizens.

The major emphasis of the migrant program is on education, and this accounts for 70 percent of the funds expended. A major innovation is the establishment of an adult education program where migrant and seasonal farm workers receive stipends while attending classes for skilled job training.

Neighborhood multiservice centers constitute a flexible approach to solving the problems of the poor. A wide variety of self-improvement programs can be organized and coordinated. These programs are selected by the people involved, the people who live in the affected neighborhoods, the people who are going to benefit from the success. This, I think, is one of the most important phases of the community action programs.

Indian reservation projects are a mixture of community action programs—all of them designed to help these first Americans help themselves upward to a fuller life. These programs include Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, Headstart, remedial education, credit unions, health and home improvement, technical assistance, and Ranger Corps training programs. Some $12 million was allocated to Indian reservation programs in fiscal year 1966, in an effort to abate the economic misery and stark poverty of the American Indian.

Health service centers will treat the total patient and all members of the family at one facility, coordinating care and payment systems. This facility provides preventive medicine, diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation, dental care, drugs and appliances, mental health services and family planning. This is a new concept, for in earlier days poor patients relying on charity clinics have been shunted to different clinics, possibly at different locations for separate tests and treatments for the same illness. This is a fine new experiment, and from it is evolving a new approach toward medicine and medical care on the part of the poor.

Headstart, certainly one of the most popular of the OEO programs, seeks to take disadvantaged children, while they are still very young, and give them the experience of a healthy, vigorous jump into the school that will play such an important part in their lives. It really is a head start. This program attempts to expose these little children—poor children—to the advantages and experiences available to most middle-class children at home, but which have previously been denied to the children of the poor.

In addition, Headstart seeks to locate and identify medical and dental problems of these children, and correct them early, before they have a chance to hamper the children's development.

The Job Corps: We have come to realize that there is only a grim and bleak future ahead of the teenager who drops out of school these days. Without a job, without money, without school to occupy even part of his time, here is a youngster who is in for problems—both for himself and for society. Job Corps gives these youngsters a chance. In cooperation with private industry, educational institutions and social agencies, 113 new communities have been established across the land. These Job Corps centers train young people for jobs, and in the process give them three wholesome meals a day, clothing and bed linens. The centers provide guidance, basic education, hard work and a chance to succeed. And I am happy to report that it is a chance which many thousands of young men and women are grasping and carrying forward.

VISTA: To the Volunteers in Service to America, VISTA means long hours, hard work, low pay, but some satisfaction and some rewards. For 1 year, these dedicated people volunteer their service to the Nation by helping others to help themselves. From the slums of our eastern cities to the hills of my home State of Kentucky, in migrant labor camps and on Indian reservations, the volunteers live and work with the people they seek to serve.

Neighborhood Youth Corps is a program for providing full- or part-time work experience and training for boys and girls 16 through 21, enabling them to stay in school or return to school. Sponsors of these projects include community action agencies, schools, labor unions, hospitals, and forestry agencies.

Work experience programs provide constructive work experience for previously unemployable heads of families. These are the hard core unemployed which we have tried so hard to reach in previous efforts, but have had only limited success until the work experience and training program came along. This program seeks to move able bodied but unskilled and previously jobless men into the labor market through a comprehensive regimen which includes adult basic education, vocational instruction, medical care and social services for the participant and his family. It has been the salvation of many hundreds of families in my area this winter.

Rural loans combine credit, improved skills, and personal initiative to open the way for a better life for thousands of once neglected poor families in rural America. The program includes loans to individual borrowers and cooperatives. They develop small nonfarm enterprises or buy tools necessary to earn more income with the skills they have.

These programs, Mr. Speaker, have been operated with uncommon efficiency and enthusiasm by an able young administrator, Mr. Sargent Shriver. It is a great accomplishment to have done so much so well so soon.

These are the tools we have forged to help the poor of America as they make their way upward into the fullness of American life and society.

There may be better tools, and I anticipate that the search for them will continue. That is our way in this country. But there is not argument, I think, about the need to tackle the job.

The country has already made that decision. It is for us to press on with the work.

Mr. **ANDERSON** of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to endorse the President's proposal in his message today on urban and rural poverty to provide funds for multicounty planning in nonmetropolitan areas.

I only hope it is not too little nor too late to keep America from being transformed into a land of gigantic, sprawling strip cities, and barren idle countryside.

Within our lifetime, we have seen America change from a rural to an urban nation.

Today, 140 million Americans—seven out of 10 of us—are crowded onto just 1 percent of our land.

If we allow present trends to continue unchecked, by the year 2000 most Americans will be crammed into five super-strip cities. One will stretch from Boston south to Washington, D.C., and will be home, if you can call it that, to 56 million people.

I leave it to your imagination what this will mean in terms of increased crowding and strife, in the ballooning of city problems as the poor move in and the rich move out, with the changed citizenry demanding more welfare payments, more free health services, more police protection, and paying ever less in taxes. The Potomac River bridges leading from the Virginia suburbs to the Nation's Capital already are known as the world's longest parking lots. But if we permit the envisioned strip cities to develop—that so-called "parking lot" of stalled traffic will stretch much further than the bridge and its approaches. It will reach back into the outermost limits of today's suburbs. And as for the increased smog and pollution from this concentration of people, traffic, and businesses—well, I leave that too to your imagination.

But it need not be.

There are thousands of county governing bodies and local community development organizations trying to bring an end to this population madness. They are trying to make smaller communities better places to live, work, and play in order that people may choose—without financial sacrifice—whether to pursue a career in city or countryside.

By creating new jobs and upgrading community services, they hope to stop the flow of humanity to our cities—a flow that often hurts both the towns these people leave behind and the cities that receive them.

But to be truly successful, these groups need the comprehensive planning aid offered by the President's proposal. Many of the frustrations and pitfalls that local groups encounter in their community development efforts stem from the lack of comprehensive planning and from inadequately prepared applications for whatever Federal assistance they need.

They also need to pool their resources on a multi-county base to obtain a resource footing of sufficient size for solid economic advance.

I urge that we pass this bill—pass it quickly. Then the people themselves can get on with the job of revitalizing Smalltown, USA—a task that also will ease the population pressures on our cities.

Mr. **JONES** of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, because the President today submitted to Congress his message on rural and urban poverty, I believe it is appropriate to comment on the role being played by the Department of Agriculture's Rural Electrification Administration in the antipovery programs.

In measuring the contributions of REA toward the eradication of rural poverty, it is well that we evaluate three kinds of activities:

First. The extension of electric and telephone service into rural areas, to serve rich and poor alike.

Second. Rural areas development activities into which the 1,000 rural electric systems and the more than 800 rural telephone organizations put leadership and financial resources.

When we consider the extension of electric and telephone service into the rural areas of America, we should recognize that the REA-financed systems are serving areas which others did not wish to serve. Until REA help became available, people in these areas could not get electric service because prospects for profit were poor, or the areas were too isolated.

The REA-financed electric systems serve some 5½ million consumers—more than 20 million people. The REA-financed telephone systems serve some 2.1 million subscriber families, businesses, schools, and so forth. It has always been the policy of these systems to serve all the people who wished service; there have been very, very few complaints of any discrimination in these rural electric and telephone programs.

Moving into the second area of activities, REA-financed systems have taken the leadership in helping rural industries and businesses get started and grow. They provide technical assistance and help locate financing for such projects, and, as a last resort, supply part of the financing themselves.

There are many instances throughout

this Nation where REA assistance has both been directly and indirectly involved in creating antipoverty programs. But more important are the results which have been obtained by assisting in locating recreational facilities, industry and other installations which combat poverty in a permanent and effective manner.

These examples serve to effectively demonstrate that the REA programs are not only continuing their successes in bringing the blessings of electricity and telephone service to the countryside, but are as well playing a significant role in our fight to eradicate poverty.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the President submitted to Congress his message on poverty in urban and rural areas, I wish to call to the attention of the House that since 1961 the Rural Electrification Administration has been making determined efforts to create more nonfarm jobs in rural areas.

This activity is a part of what the Department of Agriculture calls, for want of a better term, its rural industrialization program. Actually the enterprises being created include many kinds of small businesses and commercial recreation enterprises as well as what we ordinarily think of as industries. Must of these are homegrown.

The REA has called upon the 1,800 rural electric and telephone organizations which have loans under the Rural Electrification Act to take the lead in this rural industrialization work.

These rural electric cooperatives and other REA-financed systems provide service in more than 2,700 of the Nation's 3,100 counties. A great many of them happen to be located in precisely those rural areas where there is the greatest need for economic development and more jobs.

Working with other local civic and business leaders, the REA-financed electric and telephone systems helped establish 443 separate job-producing projects through their rural development activities in the last fiscal year alone. The additional employment resulting from these efforts brings to 182,000 the estimated total number of jobs created with the help of REA borrowers since the launching, in mid-1961, of organized technical assistance by REA.

One example is a carpet mill in Oklahoma which was started with help from the local rural electric cooperative as well as from SBA and EDA. It now employs 400 and plans soon to hire 300 more. Most of the workers are local low-income Indians, Negroes, and ex-migrant agricultural workers.

REA maintains a small staff to provide credit-finding and other specialized assistance through its borrowers in order to support economic development and help eradicate poverty in rural areas.

Now we know that, given local leadership and adequate resources, the job can be done in almost all rural areas. Given a national commitment of resources and local planning and work, the job will be done. Agencies of the Federal Government, working hand in hand with States and local communities, can change the population trend lines which forecast a grim future for rural areas and cities alike. In this way, the American people can shape the trends, and not be prisoners of those bars on the charts.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the message of the President, on "America's Unfinished Business: Urban and Rural Poverty," sets a framework for the most exciting opportunity that has ever confronted any generation of Americans.

For this generation has the opportunity to complete that unfinished business.

We have the opportunity to wipe out the decay in our cities and urban areas that has made so many the virtual prisoners of poverty, and congestion and pollution. We have the opportunity to bring intelligence into the chaotic spreading and sprawling across vast metropolitan areas.

That is paramount among the Nation's unfinished urban tasks. And it will not be finished either easily, or quickly, or inexpensively.

But we are the first generation of Americans to have not only the will to do it, but the resources and the knowledge as well.

Therefore, because we can do it, we must do it.

As a nation, we have steadily increased our investment in improving the cities and urban communities.

Yet, as the President said, some of the most promising urban programs remain mute and silent authorizations upon the statute books.

The unfinished business of this 90th Congress is to give life to those promising programs that earlier Congresses made law.

At the top of this wide-ranging agenda stands the model cities program which has, as the President observed, inspired the hopes of cities and towns of all sizes in every State.

It has stirred them to a new commitment to excellence as they see at last an opportunity to focus upon their worst neighborhoods a variety of aids—social and physical, public and private, old and new—to provide jobs, to build housing, to improve schools, to reduce disease.

This program must now have the funds to get it going.

It has raised new hopes. Those hopes must not be dashed.

The Nation stands at the beginning of a new strategy for urban rebuilding that will call upon many programs and many efforts. The rent supplements program is vital to it, in the President's words, "to bring the genius of private industry and private capital to the problem of housing the poor decently."

The President has recognized as well that home ownership is the American dream. And that is as true for the poor as for others. Therefore, the President is proposing a new and exciting effort to help low-income families become homeowners. It would focus upon finding the families who can build an equity, insuring the families against defaults and foreclosures because of ill health or job losses, and finally, encouraging self-help in building their own homes.

This Nation can, and must, end the shame of children attacked and maimed and killed by rats. This program can wipe out the threat to the slum child's health and safety. This is a program that decency demands.

Rehabilitation is a key to much of the new urban strategy. It can preserve neighborhoods. And it can also create a new market and a new industry for business and labor. The President's program would bring them together to find the most efficient, the most intelligent, and the most modern techniques for doing it.

Metropolitan regions have long complained of aimless sprawl. This Congress has the opportunity to do something about it by a supplemental grant program to support orderly development of transportation, water and sewer facilities, recreational facilities, libraries, and hospitals.

Similarly, the new program offers rural communities the chance to join multicounty planning units, so that they can combine their resources, and afford the trained personnel to carry on effective planning.

And it offers communities, whether urban or rural, the chance to provide neighborhood centers where the poor can find in one place—close to where they live—such services as employment, welfare, veterans assistance, adult training, medical care, housing aid.

But perhaps the most important new thrust of the President's message is its call for a research and development program that befits the importance of rebuilding the areas where most Americans now live. We are spending now less than one-tenth of 1 percent of all our research and development effort on housing and urban affairs—at a time when 70 percent of our people live in urban areas. And the population experts know that the figures will leap upward in the years ahead.

We must have a systematic, intelligent research program. And we need it now, more than ever, when we are on the brink of new and major programs that demand the genius of science, and technology and engineering.

The President's program is bold. It is urgent. It is rational. It is, in fact, the agenda of unfinished business before this Nation and this Congress.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the President's message on the war on poverty, and I hope that this House can very soon get down to work on translating its suggestions into reality. I join with much that has been said this afternoon regarding the war on poverty, and I am looking forward to getting to grips with the needed legislation that must be enacted in the very near future.

I would like to address myself particularly to one aspect of the program to which the President has called attention in his message. I refer to the Job Corps.

I doubt that "instant education" is numbered among the attainable goals of our time, but new techniques to promote faster learning are being developed in Job Corps centers across the country. Young men and women who, because of their failure to get, or the community's failure to provide schooling and training, do not have the skills necessary to find productive employment, are benefiting from this very important approach to the root problem of poverty.

In his message calling on the Congress and the Nation to get on with the vital business of eliminating the causes of poverty, President Johnson called attention to the prompt progress that is being made in providing basic education for Job Corps enrollees. These enrollees are learning to read 25 percent faster than the national school norm, and more than twice as fast as in their own previous experience. They are learning mathematics twice as fast as the national school average, and four times faster than they were able to learn it themselves before.

This is, of course, a basic mission of the Job Corps: to take young people who face a lifetime of poverty, and to provide them with basic education and with skills training to let them qualify for useful and dignified employment upon graduation. I am proud of the attention the President has given to this needed program in his message to the Congress—though I am not surprised by it. A man like Lyndon Johnson, who began his working life in a one-room schoolhouse and who served as an official with the National Youth Administration would know better than most what is needed to let young men and women who are born into poverty know that there is hope. I am sure that this program is close to President Johnson's heart, and I certainly know it is close to mine.

We have been told, Mr. Speaker, that the Job Corps is expensive. Sure it is. But it is not half as expensive as continuing to let whole generations of young people be wasted because we have not the vision to know what to do with them, or the courage to do it, when we find out. It is costing us more money now to eliminate poverty than it would have cost a generation ago. But for years we have thought we would never have to face the reckoning or pay the bills for neglect and the scandalous discrimination—not all of it racial—we have shown the deprived segment of our Nation.

It has been said, Mr. Speaker, that this country is not one Nation but several; that there is an America for the comfortable majority, and another America altogether for the hopelessly poor. I think some of use who have served in the 88th and 89th Congresses and those who serve in the 90th may not live to see the day when poverty is eliminated altogether and this country is, in the words of an old Irish song, "A Nation Once Again." But we can be deeply proud that we were there when the effort began.

Mr. Speaker, I offer my full support to the enactment of whatever legislation is needed to prosecute the war on poverty, this year, next year, and as long as it takes to win.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, many exceptionally effective and enthusiastically supported local antipoverty projects have fallen victim to the highly unfortunate restrictions and cuts which became part of last year's economic opportunity amendments. One such project apparently faces a "phasing out" in Richmond, Calif.—the "new careerists" program, which has put former welfare recipients to work in nonprofessional but career-oriented jobs "with the Richmond schools, the police department, the probation department, the University of California, and several community organizations."

Mr. Speaker, Jim Wood described the amazing success of the "new careerists" project in an article appearing in the Oakland Tribune on February 2. OEO has recently refunded the project through the end of this fiscal year, but it appears that Federal support may be exhausted by that date. This project should be eligible for a full year's funding, and it is to be regretted that extreme fiscal constraints imposed upon locally developed community action programs by last year's amendments preclude such support. I feel that Mr. Wood's article, entitled "The Poor Find New Careers in Startling Eastbay Program," should be of substantial interest to many of my distinguished colleagues, and with permission, I, therefore, insert it at this point in the RECORD:

THE POOR FIND NEW CAREERS IN STARTLING EASTBAY PROGRAM

(By Jim Wood)

Public agencies can do a lot for poor people, but what can poor people do for public agencies?

To find out, a federally financed anti-poverty project hired some 20 aides, many of them welfare recipients, and put them to work two years ago pioneering new jobs.

Paid just under $5,000 a year, these "new careerists" reported for jobs with the Richmond schools, the police department, the probation department, the University of California and several community organizations.

The startling results are being studied in Washington:

1—The suspension rate at a Richmond school dropped 60 per cent after careerists established an "emotional first-aid clinic";

2—The Richmond police department, using new careerists, was able to recruit teenagers for shockingly frank talks with police officers ("You know that cop who got killed?" one teenager asked. "I think the guy who did it was cool.") As a result, the police are reaching a new rapport with troubled teenagers.

3—Poor people for the first time are getting easily understood statistical information—the kind they need to deal on an equal basis with professionals—thanks to a new careerist.

4—Community organizations of low-income groups are getting full time staffers and finding that they can make big gains in dealing with governmental agencies like the Richmond Housing Authority.

The full impact of the new-careerists program won't be known until it is fully assessed by professionals running the parent agency, the Richmond Community Development Demonstration Project.

But one indication is that most of the careerists are expected to be hired by the agency they worked for after the Richmond project terminates.

The careerists' jobs vary, depending on the agencies for whom they work. In general they serve as a bridge between the agencies and the low-income community; they are in a sense cultural ambassadors. A good example is the kind of work done by the project's five school aides.

The aides visit homes in the low-income community, explaining school policies to the parents of children who are having trouble. And, equally important, the project believes, the aides also explain the parents' problems to school officials.

Careerists have learned why some parents shun teacher conferences (one mother was deaf), have helped teachers learn not to talk down to or above low-income families and have given children a feeling they have an ally at school.

At one school, the presence of community aides in the classrooms has cut down disciplinary problems because the students don't want to let down their friend, the aide.

Formerly, when a child misbehaved, he was first admonished, and if the bad conduct continued, given corporal punishment. The third time he misbehaved he was suspended. With the school aides program in operation, the children are now sent to an office where they can explain their difficulties to someone from their own neighborhood, someone they know they can trust.

This "emotional first-aid" station helped cut suspensions 60 per cent at one school, according to project director Anatole Shaffer.

The experimental project had been planned to last three years, but with fund cuts nationally and the success of the careerists locally, anti-poverty officials cut the program to two years, hoping that careerists could be "picked up" by the agencies for whom they worked.

The difficulty, however, is that although the project ends Feb. 28, most agencies can't put new job classifications into their budgets until July 1, the start of the new fiscal year.

As a result, many of the aides may face a four-month return to the poverty from which they hoped they had escaped. It is a prospect they dread.

"Why is it that they start a program and when it's helpful, cut it off?" asked Floyd McGee who has served as part of the project's school community program. "They put you out there and they say you're doing a great job and then. . . ."

McGee was unable to finish his sentence. Without a regular job for 10 years ("and that's a long, long time") before joining the project, he has a deep emotional commitment to his new role as breadwinner, to being the head of his family.

Like the other community workers, McGee is determined to maintain his new position as a person capable of helping himself and others.

In a letter to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C., the careerists explained it this way:

"Although uncertainty is a way of life with the poor, this program has given the 23 new careerists here a lot of hope, expectation and self-confidence and we no longer want to live with uncertainty, nor do we feel the OEO should ask us to."

The careerists requested that OEO extend their program four months until their jobs could be taken over by the agencies for whom they work.

Their request, which has the support of school, police and community officials, has been favorably received in Washington, but so far there has been no formal commitment.

Meanwhile, at least until Feb. 28, the new careerists will continue their pioneering project.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's message on poverty and the city is a most profound document and fully warrants careful study.

I heartily favor the urban slum employment project outlined in this message. The logic of its proposal is clear, and its strategy practical. In essence, this program is designed to attack human waste in our society where it is most extreme. While growth in our economy has resulted in low average unemployment nationally, these improvements have not reached everyone, especially those in the slum where unemployment can be three times the national average rate. One does not, however, need statistics to recognize this fact.

The idle, the unemployed, and the underemployed are all too visible in our urban slums for the eyes and hearts to overlook.

We know that long-term unemployment is the root cause of poverty. We know that the welfare system fails to improve—and perhaps worsens—the unemployment situation in the slum, but the rehabilitation of the chronically unemployed and hopeless resident of the slum, as provided for in this program, is, to my mind, the correct and effective way to meet this problem.

This program would not only help lift the entire economic structure from our disadvantaged, but it would also effectively reduce the welfare now straining State and local budgets. Further, its effectiveness will be enhanced, because it concentrates its resources for a maximum impact on the most difficult problem areas.

In doing so, Mr. Speaker, it holds great promise to alleviate other costly social ills in the slum, such as narcotic addiction, crime, and breakdown in family structure and moral codes.

Mr. Speaker, this is one of the really exciting proposals to be developed in this Nation's attack on waste of human resources. I solidly endorse it and predict it will have a major impact on our efforts to alleviate poverty.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the President's proposal, embodied in his message on urban and rural poverty, to provide planning funds for rural planning is designed to provide assistance to metropolitan and farm areas alike.

Someone—I cannot recall the author—made what I consider a penetrating summation of the interrelationship of the big city and rural poverty problems:

> The urban poor who today are overwhelming our cities—

He said—

> are the rural poor of yesterday, and the rural poor of today, and their children, will be the urban poor of tomorrow.

An unflattering but incisive bit of social commentary.

The rural poor of today and their children will become the urban poor of tomorrow:

If we sit idly by and permit the senseless and wanton depopulation of our countryside to continue by economic default.

If we permit ourselves to be lulled into a do-nothing attitude by the popular mental platitude that you so often hear today—the idea that our small towns are doomed to wither and die and our big cities are fated to grow bigger.

I hope our cities will continue to grow and prosper, but in a planned and progressive direction that will permit them to offer the "good life" that Plato envisioned centuries ago—that they will grow and prosper without having to cope with the problems that some rural people bring with them when they are driven from a countryside barren of opportunity.

One way to make it possible is to enact this legislation to provide our towns and small cities with the planning capability and resource base they need to create jobs and improve their communities.

In that way they can make it possible for people to choose, without economic consideration, whether to live, work, and play in countryside or city. They can stop the forced migration to our cities—the depopulation of our countryside.

City and county officials, community development organizations, and other civic groups are already at work trying to upgrade public services and attract new jobs to their communities.

This bill would permit small cities with potential for further growth to join with the people in the towns and counties within easy commuting distance and hire professional planners. Federal funds would be provided to help pay this staff.

The planners would develop a comprehensive growth plan for the entire larger community. They would work hand-in-glove with city and county officials, advising them of the assistance available from Federal, State, and private sources to help implement this plan. They would help them file accurate, well-documented applications that would promote prompt funding of projects.

In this way, local leaders could revitalize hundreds of existing small towns and build hundreds of new planned communities that would provide their own sources of employment, their own modern schools and nearby colleges, that would boast a medical center and cultural and entertainment centers.

When this happens—when there is true parity of opportunity in city and countryside—we will be well on the way to providing a more civilized and enjoyable life for all Americans.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am heartened and encouraged by the President's message to the Congress on rural and urban poverty. President Johnson has specified the needs of the poor and recommendations as to what action Congress should take to combat these problems and needs.

I am particularly heartened by the President's expressed intention to strengthen poverty programs in rural areas, and to appoint an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for Rural Affairs.

The Office of Economic Opportunity's community action program has already made significant inroads against rural poverty.

For the first time in the history of east Texas, for instance, people of all walks and persuasions of life have as a result of the OEO's community action program come together in a common cause to uproot rural poverty.

The promising development of such community action agencies as the Bowie County Economic Advancement Corp. in Texarkana, the Rusk-Cherokee community action program in Henderson County, and the Harrison-Panola Community Action Association come to mind. The last-named community action agency, for instance, is now the base for a large Neighborhood Youth Corps project which embraces eight other counties.

In his message, the President gives other rural areas increased hope. It is vital to the Nation that this hope should increase and that it must not die.

Earlier this month, Mr. Speaker, I told the House of the fine, pioneering work that community action agencies and VISTA volunteers, both sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, are doing with the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions. The development of credit unions are essential to the war on poverty. I told Sargent Shriver this in 1964, and now this type of consumer education and training is a cornerstone of this national effort.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, in relation to the work of the credit unions that the harder it is to seek out a person who needs training, the more he needs training. It seems to me that this is at the core of the President's message—in his comments about manpower, in his comments about rural poverty, in his comments about community action and the creative federalism of the local communities working in cooperation with the Office of Economic Opportunity to devise a hard-hitting attack against the complex and deep-rooted poverty that afflicts every community in the United States, he stresses that poverty is a local problem requiring local action.

The problem is local, but as it afflicts communities throughout the Nation, it is also national. We need to mobilize even more effectively all resources—private and public, local, State, and National—to overcome it. The President is asking the Congress to mobilize those resources. Let us give him what he asks and the country what it needs. It will cost money, but not nearly as much as poverty and its attendant evils and pains.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the inspiring message of the President to the Congress on the needs of the poor and the challenges those needs present to America. President Johnson's words are eloquent: The needs he enumerates are real and immediate, and the program he proposes to surmount them is at once dedicated and toughminded. In this general program he has my support, and I confidently predict that he will have the support of an overwhelming majority of Americans.

The experience that has been gained in the first 2 years of the war on poverty has been invaluable. When the President comments on this experience, he shows great wisdom in focusing on "enlarged resources for the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen and expand programs that have shown great promise and to continue the development of new and better techniques; and, at the same time, on tightened administration of those programs."

Mistakes, as the President also says, have inevitably occurred. A little more than 2 years ago the war on poverty was not only a new program: It was a new idea. Its basic method—a combination of close coordination and local initiative—had never been tried before.

But the mistakes have been far outweighed by the war on poverty's astonishing successes. One of the most significant successes is the increasing participation of private industry, with its vast resources and know-how. The Gary Job Corps Center in my congressional district, for instance, is run by the newly established Texas Education Foundation under the direction of a college president, a bank president, and a leading contractor. And another new organization, Opportunities, Inc., has been set up by 50 leading industries in Texas, including IBM, Litton, and Texas Industries, to contribute massively to the curriculum and training offered by the Gary Center to the thousands of dropouts who are now getting there what they need to be constructive, taxpaying, motivated members of American society.

If the Congress enacts the President's requests, the programs of community action agencies, founded as they are on local initiative and the involvement of the community poor themselves, will be significantly strengthened. The Human Opportunities Council of Travis County, serving the needs of Austin and the surrounding area, has already achieved success, particularly in its neighborhood youth center and legal services programs. If Congress supports the administration's program, the Human Opportunities Council and a thousand other community action agencies throughout the Nation will in turn give stronger support to the attack on local poverty and stronger incentive to local community development and initiative.

Mr. Speaker, I do feel, however, that a proper emphasis should be made by local committees. Ofttimes people criticize the antipoverty program as "the big giveaway," or "socialistic grab bag." These criticisms come from people who do not want to go across the tracks and feel and see the plight of poor people. The cries of some of the critics have been so loud and often that the American people somehow think that the poverty program is the very example of big government spending, when in truth we do not spend quite 2 cents of our Federal dollar on the poverty program.

But the fact that we do spend 2 cents or less of our tax dollars on poverty is an admission that something is wrong with our system when we have to direct specific attention to one disadvantaged segment of our society; and it is a recognition that there is a problem there that will not go away by wishing it away. We have got to do something about it—in a positive, constructive way. It is the best investment we can make in our free enterprise system.

It ought to be made more clear that the communities throughout the land want this help. We are not the big Federal Government forcing these programs upon the local communities. We are a Federal Government which wants to help those communities who want to help themselves. But the request for this help—through the antipoverty program—must come from the local communities. As one Member of Congress, I want to hear from the community as a whole. I want the people to say that they need and want the programs. It is a local problem, in most instances, and all we should do, federally, is to try to help them, with funds and policy as best we can. I, for one, want the people to realize what is being done in these programs—and then for the leaders and the people as a whole express themselves to us. If the people of a community do not want the programs—or need them—then it is best for us not to push for a program which is not deemed worthy of support by local leaders.

It is time that local leaders tell the people and Congress what they are doing—and whether this kind of help is desired on a local level. Let us reverse the emphasis. Let us hear from local citizens.

Mr. Speaker, America cannot falter on this new march of progress, the President's message, based on the experience of all of us over the last 2 years, shows us the way toward tremendous achievements in the future. Within the means possible, we should support this program.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in firm support of the President's call for action in dealing with America's unfinished business. The recommendations contained in today's message will enable us to honor our solemn commitment to our disadvantaged fellow citizens and to the future of our Nation. The President's message presents a modest, responsible, constructive program—a program which is "conservative" in the finest sense of the word, in that it will assure the security of the best of our institutions and traditions, while permitting us to make absolutely necessary progress against the forces of poverty, ignorance, hopelessness and blight which threaten our common future.

I am especially heartened by the President's emphasis upon the economic opportunity programs of the war on poverty, and particularly the community action program. For community action—in over 1,000 American communities, rural and urban, small and large—is providing locally developed and locally directed efforts to help the poor help themselves out of poverty. It is not a welfare program. There are no handouts. It is a handup program for those who want to help themselves—through compensatory education and training, job preparation, family strengthening and coordinated community services. Motivation is the key to community action, and through a vast array of local projects, individuals, families, neighborhoods and entire communities have developed the crucial spark of motivation which lights the way to opportunity and responsible citizenship.

Some ask "What is community action?" The answer is not difficult to find, but it takes as many different forms as the countless thousands of ways, tangible and intangible, in which American citizens, rich and poor, have joined together to win the war on poverty at the local level. Community action is the impoverished mother who finds her first job—and first sense of dignity—as a subprofessional aid, working in a neighborhood day care center, Headstart program, or health clinic. It is the unemployed and socially hostile school dropout who finds in a neighborhood services center people who really care about his need for remedial education and job placement. It is the unemployed father in a remote Appalachian hollow who is sought out for a decent job in a community beautification project. It is a wealthy banker sitting down with a poor resident of a target neighborhood to plan together, in cooperation with a local clergyman, a representative of municipal government, and other fellow citizens of all backgrounds, the projects most needed to fight poverty in their community. Community action is over 3,000 previously unemployed adults who are now at work in good jobs because of the opportunities industrialization center in Philadelphia. Community action is all these things and many more—an elderly and poor widow who finds new joy and new meaning in life as a foster grandparent; a teenager from a poor family, whose potential for success is being overlooked in high school until the doors to opportunity are opened by upward bound; a poor family threatened with eviction by an overbearing landlord until a neighborhood legal services attorney places a phone call; a poor mother, desperate with fears for her sick child, who suddenly learns in a neighborhood health center that expert medical care is not a privilege reserved to the rich; an Indian youth for whom compensatory education makes American citizenship as meaningful as tribal citizenship; a migrant farmworker who gains, through job training, the opportunity to choose a permanent home for his family and a productive trade outside the migrant stream; or the little Headstart child whose remarkable transformation inspires a whole family to take advantage of other self-help community action projects.

Beyond all these things, community action is the extraordinary source of hope and aspiration which has made the war on poverty mean so very much to millions of poor Americans, and to the thousands of civic leaders, State and local officials, clergymen, educators, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, and distinguished private groups who for the past several months have been so earnestly addressing us in behalf of this program. Community action is Americans working together for a better America. It has become an absolutely vital force in our national life and holds immense promise for our future, and I am, therefore, greatly pleased that the President has seen fit to devote so much attention in his message to community action and its crucial role in the war on poverty.

The expansion and strengthening of community action by this session of Congress will make a tremendous contribution to successfully resolving the unfinished business facing our Nation. I ask that all of my distinguished colleagues join me in support of the community action program.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise to applaud this model cities message, and to pledge it my support.

This bill proposes the next logical action which all Americans—regardless of politics, or race, or faith, or geographic origins—instinctively know America must take, if we are to be true to our creed of an ever-better life for all of our people, and ever-better cities in which they can live those lives.

It provides a fundamental means for meeting our duty to our forebears, and to those not yet born.

I applaud this message for the reason that the mechanism it proposes goes to the heart of urban problems.

What is proposed here will provide the tools for getting at problems of steel and concrete, and for simultaneously getting at the host of problems that grip the poor who live huddled within their gates.

It is a many-sided program—it proffers hope to those on the verge of hopelessness; it provides those who now stand at the brink of anarchy with the means for constructive action; it gives to all concrete evidence that, at long last, the Nation is deeply concerned with the welfare of its underprivileged, and with the quality of lives which their children must live.

The greatest strength of the program is that it does not propose doing something for the poor. It proposes doing something in partnership with the poor. That is the first vitally necessary step in making it possible for the poor to do for themselves. That is a devastating attack on the whole fabric of public welfare. This bill is not concerned with piecemeal efforts. Its broad-range use of programs is designed to meet the varied and intertwined needs of cities large and small.

It will bring sharply focused social services of every sort into direct action against human problems in "model cities" areas. The needy will have an actual hand in planning the future shape of their neighborhoods, and in determining the range of public services which they will need. More than that, they will find sources of employment in actual building that must be done. I might pause here to remind the cost conscious that every such employment dollar will cancel out dollars now being distributed through welfare agencies. "Model cities" areas will benefit from community action programs that will provide such basic assistance as Operation Headstart for children—and from the Operation Catchup quality of the aggregated social services. For entire range of physical and mental health services will be available. Batteries of counseling services will be assembled in these areas—bringing to their inhabitants expert assistance in fitting present work skills to existing work situations; in directing others into training situations and in assisting community efforts at vocational and on-the-job training.

It is a program that will, at the same time it razes a slum or rebuilds a solid old home, rip out of the cancer of despair and near anarchy before it reaches hopeless proportions. In the finest sense of what is American, it says to the needy and to the aged, "here is our hand. Let us work together." It justifies their long trust and nurtures the hope from which motivation and incentive are born.

It is the most practical reply yet devised to a problem which will not wait patiently for solution.

I can do no less than support this bill with every energy. I urge on you that same support.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the antipoverty program initiated by President Johnson and now being carried forward by the Office of Economic Opportunity under the direction of Sargent Shriver has always envisioned the full and vigorous cooperation of public and State officials, private enterprise, and labor.

It was still encouraging to me, however, to see the great emphasis put on this phase of the program by President Johnson in his message to the Congress on America's unfinished business—the elimination of urban and rural poverty.

President Johnson is calling on the Congress to give public officials—both State and local—and business and labor groups a new and specific voice in the development of policy at the community level for the elimination of the causes of poverty wherever it may exist.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has had, in the past, a very close relationship with these groups through such bodies as the Public Officials Advisory Council, the Labor Advisory Council, and the Business Leadership Advisory Council.

The Public Officials Advisory Council is comprised of five Governors, 11 mayors, five city managers and five county officials. Its task is to review operations of OEO as representatives of the Nation's antipoverty program. The Labor Advisory Council's purpose is to advise OEO Director Sargent Shriver particularly on such matters as employment and training. The Business Leadership Advisory Council, comprised of distinguished leaders of the business community, was established to act as a catalyst between the Government and the business community in advancing the agency's programs.

Locally, these groups have been represented on boards of the community action agencies, providing their valuable knowledge and experience to the war on poverty. If this vital program is to succeed, it must have the involvement of the total community, and I was gratified, therefore, to note President Johnson's emphasis on such involvement.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, in weighing the President's new message on our vital need to wage the war on poverty with new momentum and greater sophistication, I was particularly impressed with his advocacy of self-help as the key to both community action and individual triumph over economic disadvantage.

Self-help appeals to me, naturally, as a Texan, but I know it to be a broadly American characteristic.

And along with the President's noting of this ingredient, I am also encouraged in reviewing poverty programs launched by the Office of Economic Opportunity to see just how much self-help has been a factor in its planning.

Let me preface these remarks by saying my own travels and experience convince me that too many people think there is no difference between the goals of the war on poverty and traditional public welfare assistance.

In truth, antipoverty programs are at the other end of the pole. The war on poverty carried through to victory would do away with welfare handouts and I do not think this can be stressed too much.

It is the dynamic of self-help that is at the foundation of antipoverty efforts.

I have seen poor children enter Headstart. They leave homes where the parents, through no fault of their own, neither read nor are interested in the stimulating cultural values of our turbulent, exciting society. They come to these Headstart classes, shy, frightened, often not used to toys, music, games, books, things other tots take for granted and are thus entering an entirely new world.

With skilled and sympathetic Headstart instructors to motivate them, they begin to have an idea of a larger, more hopeful world than the grim, impoverished slum hovels or farm shanties they are born in' can ever suggest.

This seems an important first step toward self-reliance. When I read data that reports half a million poor children participated in Headstart this past year, I like to think that it means a number of young minds have been opened to a world full of promise.

I submit that when you show a youngster the possibilities of his future, you've pushed him a long way toward self-fulfillment.

Our Job Corps youth leave the farms and slums and if they stick it out in training camp, all evidence shows that they do not slide back into the poverty the corps has helped them escape. They go on to wage-earning status. Having been given the means to help themselves, they seize that means and make the most of it.

We know that when a small farmer who must maintain himself and family off his meager land is able to secure a small farm loan under one or another of our rural antipoverty programs, that farmer can build on that first helping hand. He is not going to fall back in a life style of want and deprivation.

It is this aspect of the war on poverty that I want to see stressed.

It is gratifying to see the Office of Economic Opportunity sharpen its focus on the concept of self-help.

In our great cities, manpower programs train the poor not only in useful job-holding skills but in attitudes that will give them the strength and self-pride to never ease back into a life where the welfare dole is the crutch.

I want to see the Office of Economic Opportunity move forward with programs that wean people away from the terribly burdensome public welfare concept and motivate them to help themselves out of poverty by their individual initiative.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the President is to be highly commended for many facets of his thoughtful, farsighted, and constructive message on poverty. On the issue of credit, it contains several praiseworthy suggestions for further reducing the credit gap that stifles progress and contributes to poverty in rural areas.

His message proposes to eliminate a ceiling of $450 million a year that now applies collectively to several of the most important insured loan programs administered by the Farmers Home Administration.

Grouped under this ceiling at the present time are all of that agency's insurance of loans for developing rural community water and sewer systems and recreation facilities.

No such arbitrary limit should exist to curtail these programs.

Many thousands of rural communities in the United States have yet to modernize their water and sewer services, which is vital to lifting up the living standards and prosperity level of their people. They are now presented with an opportunity to bring this about, employing private capital to build systems that will pay their own way, under the insured loan program administered by the Farmers Home Administration.

The President also has asked for the removal of another restriction that prevents the Farmers Home Administration from insuring loans to transfer whole farms into recreation enterprises, when good opportunities present themselves to convert whole farm tracts to this new use.

I commend these proposals, especially, as actions the Congress can take to lift restrictions on opportunity for rural people to help themselves, and launch a broader attack on community problems that contribute to rural poverty.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my strong support of the President's budget requests for urban programs this year.

The present administration has made unprecedented progress in developing workable programs to help meet the critical problems facing our cities. Continued progress in such urban programs is in our best national interests. Moreover, adequate funds must be made available to implement recently approved legislation in this field, such as the rent supplement program, which encourages private enterprise and private lenders to provide adequate housing for the poor, and the concept of model cities, which would provide practical solutions to the very practical problems facing our urban areas today.

By attacking poverty and its attendant crises on a broad scale we can alleviate the tense conditions that now prevail in so many of the large metropolitan areas. Coordinating the piecemeal approach into a unified attack covering whole neighborhoods will renew hope and instill confidence for the slum dweller who has known only frustration.

Unless the neighborhoods of our cities improve, our cities will not improve. A thriving downtown is no good if a cancerous ghetto sits nearby ready to erupt at a moment's notice. Clean, comfortable housing is of little value if the transportation system is strangled by a series of ever-lengthening traffic jams.

The phenomenal success of urban renewal argues well for the model cities approach, for the renewal of large areas will be the foundation for providing other services so desperately needed.

The President's message calls for full funding of the authorization for model cities. I second that call.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, in his memorable inaugural address, President Kennedy, you will recall, told the country:

> If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

President Kennedy was talking specifically at that time of our efforts to help needy nations around the world, but his challenging words apply just as forcefully to the task we have undertaken as a nation in the war on poverty.

The responsibility we bear as fortunate citizens to help those who are less fortunate should be borne in mind as we review and digest President Johnson's message to the Congress on America's unfinished business—the elimination of urban and rural poverty. If we will think for awhile what government is all about in a free society, we will not be surprised to learn that the President's budget for 1968 calls for more than $25 billion for programs directly relating to the poor.

Our form of government is not devoted, we must remember, to representation of the affluent. We come together in government to find ways of meeting the needs of all citizens. No domestic need demands higher priority at the present time than the problem of poverty faced by more than 30 million of our fellow citizens.

President Johnson has set challenging but attainable goals. The Office of Economic Opportunity, under Sargent Shriver, has given, and will continue to give, leadership to the effort that is being made on so many fronts to root out and eliminate the causes of poverty.

The goals set by the President deserve the attention of this Congress.

It must be borne in mind that so challenging an undertaking as eradicating poverty requires active support and commitment from all areas of the public and private sectors.

OEO is the innovative agency of Government charged with responsibility for overall planning and direction, as well as major administrative responsibilities, but there are important roles in the war on poverty for many other Government departments and agencies to fulfill as well.

And those Federal agencies are cooperating to an unprecedented degree, this teamwork is evident not only at the Federal level but with State and local governments as well.

The Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Farmers Home Administration, which administer delegated antipoverty programs, enjoy the most effective working relations with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

And I am gratified to see that these delegated programs are getting outstanding results.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, delegated to the Department of Labor, has done a fine job in providing work and training to more than 500,000 young people. That adds up to one-half a million of our youth from the poorest families in the 50 States and the territories who now know, through their own direct experience, that if they want to help themselves out of poverty, there are programs such as the Youth Corps to give them that all important first boost. As my own survey of the NYC results convinces me, most of these young people from the very poorest rural and urban neighborhoods need only to know someone cares.

They have the strength, wit, and heart enough to improve their condition. But that first push, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps offers, makes the difference between productive citizens and wasted Americans.

The manpower programs created by the so-called Kennedy-Javits and Nelson-Scheuer amendments have also been delegated to the Department of Labor.

Poor adults are also being helped to take their place as contributing Americans through the work experience program delegated to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which this year will put more than 46,000 of the hard-core poor into jobs.

In our rural areas, thus far in fiscal year 1967, some 13,135 poor farm families have been able to improve their lives through special rural opportunity loans administered by the Farmers Home Administration. These funds have often meant the difference between opportunity and continued privation for those Americans who know the curse of rural poverty.

FHA has also pioneered in the group solution to rural poverty by encouraging and funding farmers' cooperatives. Cooperatives have proven their worth in our dairy and grain States and this same idea supported by FHA loans has seen 400 such community organizations launched this year, were the co-op concept had not previously been regarded as an instrument for raising both the incomes and dignity of the poor farmer, who has until now been bypassed in the surge of agricultural mechanization.

This coordination of effort on the part of OEO and associated Federal agencies and is vital to winning the war on poverty.

The funds allocated to the total attack on poverty in the President's new budget add up to over $25 billion. The Office of Economic Opportunity accounts for only $2 billion. The war on poverty includes social security, wage and hour legislation, medicare, the Appalachian regional development program, the Economic Development Administration, the new Federal programs for elementary and secondary schools which are directed to helping underprivileged children get a better education and a better start in life, and it includes, too, the full-employment economic policies of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

The crucial role being played by OEO and the Federal departments associated with it in the war on poverty has become the crux of our overall national effort, and it is up to us to see to it that this coordinated and cooperative Federal effort continues to move forward.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, in his message to the Congress, calling for a vigorous, continued effort by this Nation to eliminate the causes of poverty in our society, President Johnson pulled no punches. For that he deserves our praise and our continued respect.

The President made clear that the antipoverty task is not an easy one. He explained that it involves experimentation—trial and, in some cases, error—fast action rather than prolonged study. Confusion and mistakes, he told the Congress, were inevitable.

We should not stop there, however, in responding to the challenge he has left with the Congress to get on with the war on poverty. We must remember that we have learned much from the program. For example, it is now clear—and this is at the heart of the Office of Economic Opportunity effort—that locally initiated programs, responding to special needs, can often be more effective than Federal projects imposed from Washington.

We have also learned, the President noted, that Americans are ready to respond voluntarily to help their neighbors, once given the direction of that help. President Johnson pointed out that in the last 2 years more than 325,000 volunteers have worked in the antipoverty program—a point that should not be lost on Members of this House.

From those lessons that have come from the early days of the program, much has been gained. Administration of all programs has been tightened, more effective funding of programs has developed, and new ways have been devised to more fully utilize all the resources—human and otherwise—available to this Nation in the search for ways to help the poor help themselves.

Headstart programs have been upgraded to provide more services to youngsters. The concept of the neighborhood health center has been developed out of OEO's experiences. The need for public education on the law and research into the hitherto almost unexplored field of poverty law has been undertaken.

The theory that neighborhood people can function as effective workers in their neighborhoods has been validated in one community action agency after another.

Community action agencies have been able to mobilize other resources in the war on poverty, so that OEO funds are having a multiplier effect.

These are only a few of the improvements that have been made in the program, and when listed against all that had to be learned, these constitute an impressive record.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly encouraged by President Johnson's call for the expansion and strengthening of neighborhood centers under the community action program, in his challenging message on the need for even greater effort in the war on poverty. I agree fully with the President that neighborhood centers offer a focal point for strong community action in attacking the causes of poverty. They bring help to the poor at a point the poor can reach.

Neighborhood centers are now serving almost 2 million poor people, and more than 200 communities have received community action program grants to develop neighborhood centers within the areas where the greatest need of coordinated family services exists. Expecting a poor person with young children, lacking resources for baby sitters or transportation, and the know-how to obtain needed information, to locate through a bureaucratic maze the several different agencies that may be needed to solve separate problems, is really expecting much too much.

The neighborhood center brings together under one roof all the services that are needed to mount a coordinated attack on the interrelated problems of poverty. This assistance includes health care, family planning, prenatal and well-child clinics, legal services, homemaker services, youth centers offering recreational facilities and tutorial aid, adult education classes, credit unions, and immediate help for such emergencies as eviction from a home or total lack of such essentials as food.

But even more important than the services being brought to the poor, the center is becoming the focus of the poor community, giving the poor a voice in their affairs and acting as a cohesive force for change.

Through neighborhood advisory councils and community aids trained by the center, the poor are being given the tools to launch a coordinated multifronted attack on their mutual problems. They are gaining an identity and community pride. The center is becoming the impetus for multiplying projects, many not financed by the Federal Government. And the poor are coming to the realization that it is possible for them to do something about their own plight.

The net effect is that we are getting much more for our money than we bargained for.

Take, for example, a small rural area in West Virginia like Mingo County. A very small community center was set up through a grant from OEO, and unemployed fathers were sought for a training program. These men recruited others and together they decided to try to do something with some old abandoned shacks left by a mining company. They disassembled the shacks and with the salvagable lumber, built 70 homes for welfare families, at practically no cost to the Federal Government. They have also repaired and put back into working order a swimming pool also abandoned by the mining company when it left the area. These men are regaining their self-respect by learning that they can perform useful functions for the community.

The neighborhood center has the potential for resolving hopeless situations. Another example in a large metropolitan area points up the value of linking all the various sources of aid within one central base. Through such a center, a coordinated approach to the many problems facing one family was worked through to solutions. A Puerto Rican mother of five, pregnant with her sixth child, separated from her husband, went to a neighborhood center for help. A mental health aid from the community, who spoke Spanish, determined the scope of the problems, and brought together the various health and welfare resources that would be needed to help. The family lived in extremely poor slum conditions, with inadequate furniture or household equipment. The mother was unable to take care of the physical or emotional needs of her other children. Three of the children were presumed deaf by school authorities: in reality they were socially underdeveloped. The oldest child, a boy of nine, was about to be suspended from school.

The aid first appealed to the welfare department to assign a Spanish speaking caseworker who could actually aid the family. A health consultant at the center is teaching the women basic hygiene for her family, and a homemaker aid is teaching her how to prepare meals, buy food economically and how to care for the home. The building superintendent was talked into making necessary repairs on the apartment. Three of the children have been sent to a speech and hearing center for therapy, and a male tutor has been found for the boy to provide a father image and some respect for discipline. The mother is receiving prenatal care along with family planning information.

Services are thus oriented to resolving the problems of the entire family, rather than trying to fit fragmented pieces of the multiple problems into splintered agencies, each following a separate pattern of service.

As these examples help to illustrate, the development of neighborhood centers is one of the most promising signs in the war on poverty, and provides a strong ground for hope that the war can be won.

Mr. Speaker, I emphatically endorse the President's call for an expanded network of comprehensive neighborhood centers in target poverty areas.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the research provisions of President Johnson's message on "America's Unfinished Business: Urban and Rural Poverty" command attention.

Cities are the areas that could benefit most from the application of science and technology. As a matter of fact, with a small appropriation, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has been showing us how much could be achieved if we put some money into the research and development bank.

For example, it now has 41 projects in execution in its low-income housing demonstration program. These are demonstrations sponsored by HUD to discover new ways of providing decent homes for poor families. In New York City two very productive experiments in rehabilitating slum tenements for poor families are going forward. New technology and new materials are resulting in some spectacular gains in low-income housing.

In Milwaukee, HUD has sponsored a housing information center and clinic operated by the Milwaukee Urban League. Here homeowners can obtain information on upgrading their properties, and would-be home buyers can get the guidance they need in making this important purchase.

In Washington, D.C., the demonstration through which the local housing authority was enabled to lease 50 homes for oversized poor families has been so successful that the local authority is expanding the program to 450 homes.

If we appropriate funds of a size commensurate to the urban problem, should we not also authorize the machinery to go with it? The President has recommended legislation to authorize within HUD a new Assistant Secretary for Research, Technology, and Engineering. This would centralize HUD efforts, but also be a sole point of contact for private industry and the State and city officials seeking such information. There is no such single point as of now.

President Johnson has also recommended establishment of an Institute of Urban Development. We have been so concerned with the day-to-day labor of trying to solve today's problems that we have not had time to ask, "What of the future?" In an era that has seen science and technology bound forward, we act as though we can safely take a day-by-day approach.

We ought to have some mechanism whereby we channel our research and development in urban activities into an understandable whole, a mechanism by which we could plan for tomorrow as well as today. This is what the Institute of Urban Development could provide.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on one of the proposals in the message on urban and rural poor which the President sent to the Congress today.

This is the proposal that would lift the ceiling on the amount of insured loans that can be made for rural community water and sewer systems.

This is a step in the right direction.

There are thousands of rural communities that are standing still today because they lack a modern water system. There are thousands of rural communities today in which the health of the people is endangered because of a lack of a modern waste disposal system.

Far too many years we have turned our backs on our rural communities. As a result, all of the talented young people, all of the skilled people, and many of the unskilled, have left their home communities, their towns, and their villages and migrated to the urban centers.

Sometimes for the talented this has worked out well.

Usually for the unskilled it has meant a place on an urban welfare roll.

In all cases this migration has spelled disaster for rural America.

If we can equip our rural communities with modern water and sewer systems just as we equipped them with electricity we will soon have a renaissance in rural America.

Industries will be attracted to rural sites.

Young people will decide to make their living in the community they were born and raised in. A better balance will develop between our urban and rural areas.

This is a sound proposal, Mr. Speaker, and I want to commend the President and the Secretary of Agriculture for making the recommendation to lift the ceiling on insured loans.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks, and include extraneous material, in connection with the President's message on poverty.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 6098

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 384 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 384

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 6098) to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed four hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill shall be considered as having been read for amendment. No amendment shall be in order to said bill except amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, and said amendments shall be in order, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding. Amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means may be offered to any section of the bill at the conclusion of the general debate, but said amendments shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume, and at the conclusion of my remarks I yield one-half hour to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON.]

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 384 provides a closed rule with 4 hours of general debate for the consideration of H.R. 6098, a bill to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes.

H.R. 6098 extends the interest equalization tax for 2 more years—from July 31, 1967, to July 31, 1969—and provides closely circumscribed discretionary authority for the President to vary the tax within a range established by the present rate and a rate 50 percent higher. The present interest equalization tax, in effect, provides the equivalent of a 1 percentage point per annum rise in interest costs for foreigners obtaining capital from U.S. sources either from the sale of stock or from the sale of debt obligations with a maturity of 1 year or more. The discretionary authority provided the President will enable him to vary this tax to an interest equivalent of up to 1½ percent per annum should he find this necessary in order to carry out national balance-of-payments objectives.

The interest equalization tax, first made effective in the middle of 1963 and used in conjunction with the voluntary limitations on extensions of credit and direct investments abroad, has lessened considerably our balance-of-payments problems. However, the balance of payments of the United States continues to represent a serious problem requiring the further extension of the interest equalization tax. The balance of payments has been in a deficit position in every year save one since 1949. These persistent deficits have resulted in a significant drain on U.S. gold supplies. The stock of gold held by the United States fell by $11,328 million in the years 1950 through 1966. Thus, there is necessity for the bill.

H.R. 6098 makes a series of minor modifications in the existing provisions of the tax, which I shall not go into at this time since they will be discussed fully during debate.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 384 in order that H.R. 6098 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Massachusetts has just said, this is a closed rule which provides for 4 hours of general debate.

I believe it was the 88th Congress in 1963 that was first asked by the Kennedy administration to enact this legislation on a stopgap or temporary basis to buy time because of the outflow of long-term capital, which was threatening in 1963 to show an increase by some 75 percent over what it had been in 1961. This was labeled a temporary measure. I voted for this bill, as I recall it, when it came before the House in 1963.

In 1965 we were asked to extend this for an additional 2-year period. At that time I elected, along with some other Members of the House, to oppose it on the grounds that 2 years was long enough for the administration to find other and better means of dealing with the balance-of-payments problems. Now here we are 2 years later, in 1967, and once again we are being called upon to extend what was originally—4 years ago—labeled as a temporary tax or a temporary measure.

I suppose, if this proves nothing else, it serves to illustrate that in Government parlance there is nothing quite so permanent as a temporary tax. Certainly we found that out last year when we had occasion to learn that the administration could not carry through on its promised reduction of so-called temporary wartime excise taxes; and those taxes were continued.

I should like to point out to the House that the bill in at least one very important respect does differ from those bills to which I have referred, enacted in the 88th and 89th Congresses, in that it would give the President discretionary authority to increase from 1 percent to 1½ percent the effective rate of the interest equalization tax.

I view this with some concern in view of the fact that previous administrations have wanted the authority to tinker on some kind of discretionary basis with the tax structure of this country. We have been assured in the hearings and in the report and I believe in a statement from the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, that this particular discretionary authority is strictly limited and that it will not be argued in the future that it constitutes any precedent for discretionary authority exercised by the executive branch in other areas of our tax structure.

In conclusion I should point out to the Members of the House that the bill comes to us with concurring views from members of the Republican minority of the Ways and Means Committee. There are also separate views and supplemental views, which I believe in very excellent fashion outline some of the objections I personally have voiced on the floor today. Basically, the chief objection is that this is an unsatisfactory manner in which to deal with what is certainly a very real and grave problem, the imbalance in our international balance of payments.

Once again we we are being treated to the spectacle of being told that we are buying time, that we need more time to deal with this problem on some more legitimate basis, on some more permanent basis.

I very much feel that if we take the action today requested—namely, that of extending this law—it will only have the effect of bringing us to the floor 2 years hence to consider the extension of what was all along supposed to be only a temporary tax.

The current law provides, in effect, for a tax of 1 percent per annum in interest costs to foreigners obtaining capital from U.S. sources either by the sale of stock or of debt obligations with a maturity of over 1 year. This is to offset the outflow of American capital to foreign markets where interest rates for borrowers are traditionally higher. By imposing the tax, the desirability of using the American capital market is reduced.

The measure has been somewhat successful in slowing down the investment of American capital abroad. In February 1965, the President exercised discretionary authority in the act to apply its provisions to bank loans with a maturity of over 1 year. This was to slow to the same extent the capital outflow which had been somewhat shifted in source to avoid the tax.

The current bill has several amendments, one of which is of major importance. Discretionary authority is granted to the President; it permits him to vary the rate from 1 percent up to 1½ percent per annum if he finds it necessary to carry out the objectives of our balance-of-payments policy. The report makes it clear that the committee does not view this as a precedent with respect to our domestic tax system. A letter from Secretary Fowler also states this position to be that of the Treasury Department.

The committee report states that the extension is necessary to continue the improvement of our balance-of-payments position, and points to the improvement of our position. There is no doubt that the tax has been effective in slowing the increased movement of U.S. capital abroad.

The committee points out that failure to extend the tax would again open the American capital market to heavy demands from abroad, particularly if our interest rates continue to fall. It emphasizes that the 2-year extension is meant to show that the tax is temporary in nature and not a permanent solution to the problem of our balance of payments. The report points out that the reason for granting the President discretionary authority to increase the effective tax rate from 1 to 1½ percent is to take into account the falling U.S. interest rates and insure that the differential between our rate and those abroad does not become so far apart as to make our capital market attractive in spite of a 1-percent tax. The committee does not believe that the differential will exceed 1½ percent.

There are three separate views filed. Messrs. BYRNES of Wisconsin, SCHNEEBELI, COLLIER, BROYHILL of Virginia, CONABLE, and BUSH support passage of the bill, but they point out that this is the second extension of a temporary solution; no permanent solution has yet been suggested by the administration.

Messrs. CURTIS, UTT, BETTS, and BATTIN oppose passage of the bill. They believe that such action only hides the real cause of the problem; excessive Government spending abroad. They point out that Vietnam is not the problem; we have a deficit of over $3 billion per year exclusive of southeast Asia. Total current liabilities against our Government are about $18.8 billion—far exceeding our gold reserves of some $13 billion.

They point out that the Common Market countries have urged us not to cut our excessive foreign spending, much of which goes to them, but to increase domestic interest rates and limit foreign investment, actions that they would find helpful. This would not serve our national interests; only theirs.

They also note that the temporary solution adopted in July 1963 is now almost 4 years old with no permanent solution even proposed as yet by the administration. It sings the same old song of curbing American tourists, expanding exports, and attracting foreign investment to America. The Members point out that these solutions, the only ones suggested by the administration, have not been successful as long-range answers. During this same time our favorable balance of trade in the exchange of goods has averaged about $2.6 billion per year, except for 1966 when it was wiped out, due primarily to rising prices for American goods caused by our domestic inflationary policies.

The Members also suggest that we should reexamine our policy of trade concessions to Japan and the European Community as they become increasingly protectionist in their trade policy.

Mr. CURTIS has also filed his own supplemental views. He points out that the tax was not nearly as effective in curbing U.S. foreign investment as is claimed by the administration. Between 1962–65 its total increased from about $60 to $80.9 billion. The reason is simply that the U.S. businessmen are using different methods, avoiding the tax, to invest in foreign operations.

Finally, Mr. CURTIS points out that while the private sector of our economy has traditionally shown a positive balance of payments averaging over $2 billion per year, the Government has traditionally shown a large deficit. Since 1960 this deficit has totaled $25.1 billion. The burden is so clearly on the Government to reduce its spending abroad that he opposes extension of the act to force the administration to face the problem it has created.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am in an unusual position here today of opposing a rule. Almost invariably I favor a rule even though I am against a bill. I happen to be against this bill, too.

There are a number of bases upon which one can oppose a rule, but the one which to me is most paramount involves the question: Has the committee which has been given the responsibility to study the matter and to make recommendations to the House done its homework?

In my judgment, this fine committee, on which I serve—and I mean that—has not done its homework. We have neglected some very crucial and important areas that bear on this interest equalization bill and, in my judgment, really we are not in a position to make recommendations to the House until we have done our homework.

I set that out in my supplemental views, which appear on page 47, of the committee report and I point out:

> This supplemental statement relates the interest equalization tax (IET) to the other two Government programs controlling private capital outflows, in order that the IET can be seen in its larger context.

The first of these is that it controls U.S. investment in foreign equity issues or U.S. portfolio investments. This program is implemented by the interest equalization tax.

The second program, though, is the voluntary program directed to private foreign investments of U.S. business. This is administered by means of guidelines set up by the Department of Commerce under which 722 firms agree voluntarily, and put that in quotes, to restrain foreign capital expenditures and report the effects of their operations on our balance of payments.

The third is a program to control foreign lending by U.S. banks. This program is implemented by the Federal Reserve Board under a series of guidelines.

The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], I am sure recalls that during the hearings I said we ought to call the Secretary of Commerce and a representative of the Federal Reserve Board so that we could find out what was going on here. Well, I said, in lieu of calling them, at least we should have statements from them. I know that the chairman has perhaps not seen this, but I have, and I resent it very deeply. The material that was supposed to have been provided by the Department of Commerce and the Federal Reserve Board amounted to two press releases by these two institutions of our Government. Now, I do not happen to regard a press release as a very informative type of report that this committee needs.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I am glad to yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. MILLS. I want to join the gentleman in expressing amazement or whatever term he wants to use at the Department of Commerce sending over a press release in response to a request that we had relayed to them for a letter divulging information that we wanted to include in our report.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the gentleman. I know the gentleman feels that way.

Mr. MILLS. I do not appreciate it any more than the gentleman from Missouri does.

Mr. CURTIS. It is hard for me, let me say to the gentleman, to express my admiration for the way in which he conducts the committee, which makes it doubly difficult for me to make these statements that are in the nature of criticism which I know he knows are not personal in any sense of the word. I say this because this is the situation here, and we do not have this data. It was important data to our understanding of this issue before us.

Now, there is a third big area—and probably this is even more important—that we did not look into. Yet it is the burden of the minority views that I joined in and helped to write back in 1963 and again in 1965 and again in 1967; namely, what is going on in the Government sector that affects our balance of payments—what is going on in the AID programs and in our loan programs. This is the real villain, I would argue.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Here is a real problem in this area. As I have pointed out, as they restrict private investment, Government investment takes its place. I am not at all sure some of the people in this administration do not want it that way. This use of the balance-of-payments deficit, which is a serious one, as a method to achieve these questionable ends is something that all of us need to look into. These are allegations that I have made. I do not know for sure that this is so, but I know our committee should have been looking into this area of foreign governmental investments.

Let me go on now to a fourth area, if I may. I suspect what was happening—and I have argued this and the figures now show it, and I have put the reference in my supplemental views. It is the table on page 48—what has happened to foreign investments is this: In 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965, the last year we had the figures for, this interest equalization measure has really amounted to a Berlin wall. I said that is what it attempted to be. It was to try to keep investment from flowing to freer climates. I said that just as the Berlin wall cannot keep people from moving to freer climates, neither can this kind of a wall keep money from moving to freer climates.

Because, Mr. Speaker, they will find ways of getting under it and going around it. And, indeed, Mr. Speaker, they have done this.

Mr. Speaker, the figures show that this has happened. Therefore, the net result has been that what they have done is to force the private investments to go into different channels of investment until these too are closed up.

Mr. Speaker, the figures show for 1961, $74 billion—this is Government and private—in 1962, $80 billion, an increase of $6 billion; and in 1963, which is the year in which the investment credit was in effect for about 6 months, it goes not to $6 billion, but to $8 billion. And, then, the next year, 1964, when it had been in effect for the full year—just hold your hats—it goes up to $11 billion.

Then, Mr. Speaker, the next year, 1965, we do see a decline to $7 billion. But still ahead of the first year to which we refer when the tax did not apply it.

And, Mr. Speaker, I will suggest that where this money now is coming from is probably from retained earnings, in the failure to repatriate some of the earnings. In other words, Mr. Speaker, retained earnings, which, of course, hurts our balance of payments just as much as new investment.

Mr. Speaker, I now have some data—data which we did not dig for—which appears in the monthly letter of the First National City Bank of New York, published in March 1967, wherein there is stated on page 24 thereof:

> Reversal and short-term fund flows by far the most important factor behind the private short-term capital inflows last year was a $2.5 billion rise in Eurodollar funds borrowed by American banks from their branches overseas to compensate, in part, for reduced availability of domestic sources of loanable funds.

Mr. Speaker, this is one of the effects of this bill, but represents an area that we need to study. It is not too clear.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to interrogate the people who present this data. One of the things that is happening, obviously, is that our balances in the private investments field exceeds all the liabilities and investments here, which now is about $47 billion, and this is being cut into.

Mr. Speaker, permit me to read from the bulletin of the First National Bank of Chicago, its Business and Economic Review for February 1967 letter where there is pointed out the fact that "U.S.-owned assets abroad at the end of 1965, only $29.6 billion—or 58 percent—of the $59 billion of U.S. liabilities to foreigners was owed to Western Europeans. Thus, while total U.S. assets abroad exceeded our liabilities to foreigners by $47 billion, the situation of Western Europe was reversed—our liabilities exceeding assets by $4.5 billion."

Mr. Speaker, the point at which I am getting—an area into which our committee has not looked—represents these investments of billions of dollars abroad, both private and Government, to determine what has happened in this area.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from Missouri has again expired.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, this is all a part of one of the most serious issues that face our Nation; the loss of gold, the continuing deficit in international payments represent one of our most serious problems.

Mr. Speaker, we have extended this temporary device, which the administration recognizes is damaging in the long run, and I argue that it is creating a great damage in the short run as well. But, here, we are going to extend it again, without the Committee on Ways and Means being able to get the full information as to the full impact.

Hence, Mr. Speaker, I am against the rule because we are not really in a position to debate this matter in the depth with which it should be debated.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE AN EXTENSION OF THE INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 6098) to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes.

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 6098, with Mr. RESNICK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Under the rule, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], will be recognized for 2 hours, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] will be recognized for 2 hours.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 19 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the comments made by my colleague and my friend, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] to the effect that he did not believe that we had done our homework, is a little hard for me to agree to. I believe my friend from Missouri will admit, and I hope he will, that there is no group of men in the House of Representatives who work any harder at the job of trying to do their homework and know what they are talking about than do all of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means.

I am sure that perhaps part of the reason for his statement in that respect was due to the ire that was stimulated in his breast over the way some of the departments responded to our requests for information, and not from the fact that the membership of the committee was not striving to get the information and to understand all the points involved in this legislation.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. I certainly believe that the whole committee, under the chairmanship of the gentleman from Arkansas, does make these attempts, and there is always going to be disagreement over what areas it is necessary to go into, and our disagreement can be kept on that level.

But one could easily say "why do we want to get this data in those areas? Is it really necessary in order to understand the issue?"

My judgment is that it is, of course—and the chairman may disagree and think that it is not——

Mr. MILLS. No; I am not disagreeing with my friend, but I was just going to say that we may disagree amongst ourselves as to what information is needed by the committee in making a determination, but there is never any disagreement within the committee that any member of the committee is entitled to receive from the executive departments that information he deems necessary from his point of view in order for him to reach a satisfactory conclusion.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MILLS. Yes; I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I might say that this is an issue that is coming up in other hearings when the administration in its initial presentation to the committee, in stating its viewpoint, fails to include material that is, at least in my judgment, clearly relevant. In fact, Mr. Chairman, it is not really a good substitute for them to supply material for the record later, because we lose the opportunity of cross-examining them in detail on the material. I believe increasingly the executive department witnesses are not doing their homework in presenting the matters to the committee in the kind of fashion where we can dig into these issues.

So I think our committee may have to send these people back to their offices and then they can return to the committee with the kind of information and presentation we need to cross-examine them in public on these issues.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. MILLS. I appreciate the gentleman's concern because I do always have a desire to obtain sufficient information from the departments of government to enable us to reach a satisfactory conclusion as to what legislation is required.

So far as I am concerned, I did get sufficient information for me to believe it would be most unwise for this Congress not to extend the interest equalization tax for this additional 2-year period which is involved in the bill, H.R. 6098.

The interest equalization tax is a measure designed to moderate foreign demands for U.S. capital. It raises the costs to foreigners of obtaining capital in the United States to levels which are roughly equivalent to the costs they would have to pay to raise the amounts in their own countries. That is, the tax is imposed on purchases of foreign securities and foreign debt obligations at rates which are roughly equivalent to 1-percent increase in the rate of interest foreigners must pay to obtain funds here.

This bill, H.R. 6098, contains two major provisions regarding the interest equalization tax. First, it extends the life of the tax for 2 more years, from July 31, 1967, to July 31, 1969. Second, it provides for the eventuality that the differential between interest rates here and abroad may widen to the point where the present tax rates become ineffective. It provides for this possibility by permitting the President to raise the rate of tax if he finds that such an increase is necessary to limit the amount of capital raised here by foreign borrowers to a level consistent with the balance-of-payments objectives of the United States. For this purpose, rates may be raised under the bill to an interest rate equivalent to 1½ percent, as opposed to the present interest rate equivalent of 1 percent.

THE TAX IS EFFECTIVE

I regret, as I am sure we all do, that it was necessary to impose the interest equalization tax in 1963 and I regret that it is necessary now to extend its life. But I supported enactment of the tax in 1963 and I support its further extension now because it is the best way that I can see to meet the problem of our persistent balance-of-payments deficits. As a result of the tax and related measures, the balance-of-payments deficit has been reduced over the past several years and gold losses have been cut. More important, progress toward the elimination of the deficit has been made without the necessity for actions that would depress the domestic economy or jeopardize international monetary stability.

The interest equalization tax has strengthened the balance-of-payments position of this country by moderating foreign demands for U.S. capital. In the period immediately preceding the effective date of the tax, July 19, 1963, there was a very sharp increase in the amount of private long-term capital that flowed out of this country and into the hands of foreign investors, particularly foreigners in the industrialized countries of Western Europe. In the first 6 months of 1963 private long-term capital outflows rose to a level of about $4.5 billion, nearly $2 billion above the 1961 level and $1 billion above the level of the preceding year.

The tax was immediately effective. Sales of new foreign securities to U.S. residents fell from nearly a billion dollars in the first half of 1963 to about $250 million in the second half of the year. Sales of foreign securities have since remained at roughly the 1962 level. In the first half of 1963, just prior to the introduction of the tax, such sales were proceeding at a rate equal to twice that level.

The tax has a'so moderated purchases by U.S. citizens of outstanding securities held by foreigners. Before the tax, U.S. residents bought more of these securities from foreigners than foreigners bought from them. Since the tax, the situation has been reversed. Foreigners have purchased more of these securities from Americans than they have sold to Americans.

When the tax was enacted in 1963, provision was made for the application of the tax to bank loans to foreigners. While the tax was not originally imposed on such loans, the President was given the authority to do so if it became clear that loans were being substituted for the sale of securities and debt obligations. On February 10, 1965, the President exercised that authority after such a determination was made. Since that time, as a result of a combination of the application of the tax, the voluntary program to limit increases in loans to foreigners, and tight money conditions, the volume of bank claims against foreigners, both long term and short term, has actually fallen.

The results obtained under the tax have strengthened the balance of payments without shutting off American overseas investment. The rate of such investment has merely been moderated. Thus, the amount of overseas investment has continued to increase and with it the earnings from such investment. The income from the overseas investment of U.S. individuals and corporations in the first three quarters of last year totaled $5.7 billion on an annual rate basis. This was nearly twice the 1960 earnings on such investments.

THE TAX MUST BE EXTENDED

The tax must be extended because the problem that it helps to meet is still with us. The balance-of-payments deficit has been reduced but not eliminated. And the deficit would increase again if the tax were lifted now.

Interest rates in U.S. capital markets are still significantly below interest rates in other developed countries. Furthermore, while the tax has encouraged the development of capital markets abroad, the U.S. market is still more efficient and more effectively organized. If the tax were allowed to expire on July 31 of this year, we would again experience a sharp increase in the sale of foreign securities and debt obligations.

The tax is also important to the success of the other measures that have been undertaken to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit. In particular, it supports the program of voluntary cooperation that was inaugurated in 1965. Under the program, U.S. corporations operating abroad and U.S. banks and financial institutions are cooperating to moderate the outflow of funds in connection with direct investments overseas. The tax helps to reduce the pressure that the voluntary program has to withstand. It also assures the participants in the program that they are not the only ones who are being asked to help support our balance of payments.

These, then, are the reasons that the tax must be extended. Let me assure my colleagues, however, that the committee continues to view the tax as a transitional measure and not as a permanent feature of the tax law. For this reason the tax has been extended for only 2 years. I hope that it will not then be necessary to extend the tax further and I assure you that I will urge that it be repealed as soon as the state of the balance of payments permits.

THE RATE OF TAX

Extension of the interest equalization tax will only be effective, however, if the rate of tax continues to equate the cost of obtaining funds in this country with the costs of obtaining them abroad as far as foreign investors are concerned. In their appearances before the Ways and Means Committee, representatives of the Treasury Department pointed out that there is a very real possibility that the existing tax rates may not remain high enough to do this job during the next 2 years.

While interest rates rose sharply in this country in the last year, they also went up abroad. In some cases, they went up even more sharply than they did here. As a result, the differential between the interest rates in the industrialized countries of Western Europe and interest rates in the United States actually widened. In some cases the differential has opened up substantially. Evidence of this is contained in tables 6 and 7 of the committee report. They show that the difference between this country and Western Europe in the yield on Government long-term bonds increased from less than 1 percentage point in June 1963 to about 1½ percentage points in December 1966. The differential on German Government bonds widened from slightly over 2 percent to over 3 percent. The differentials between yields on Government bonds are important because many foreign governments and foreign government agencies would borrow here if they could realize substantial savings. The yield differential on new issues of corporate bonds between the United States and European markets has also widened.

Last year monetary conditions in this country were so tight that interest rate differentials probably had little effect on the outflow of U.S. funds. But as monetary conditions ease in this country—as we all want them to—capital flows will become more responsive to interest rate differences. That makes it all the more important that we make sure that the interest equalization tax rates are high enough to equalize relative borrowing costs here and abroad for foreigners. For this reason the bill makes provision for a possible increase in the rate of tax up to 50 percent above current rates. That is, under the bill the interest equalization tax rates may be increased from an interest rate equivalent of 1 percent to one of 1½ percent.

RATE INCREASES WILL BE AT THE DISCRETION OF THE PRESIDENT

The bill provides that these higher rates may be imposed by the President whenever he finds that they are necessary in order to limit total acquisitions of foreign stock and debt obligations by U.S. persons to an amount consistent with the balance-of-payments objectives of the Nation. Once the President exercises the discretionary authority granted him to raise the rates of tax, he can then reduce them when conditions warrant. He will not be able, however, to reduce them below the 1-percent equivalent level that was originally set in 1963, was extended in 1965, and will be further extended under this bill.

The necessity of granting the President limited discretionary authority stems from the regulatory nature of this tax. If the tax is to continue to moderate private capital outflows and to make its most effective contribution to the balance of payments, it must contain an element of flexibility so that it can be promptly adapted to changing circumstances.

The need for flexibility is particularly acute at this time. Efforts are being made, quite rightly, I believe, to bring domestic interest rates down. We do not want these efforts checked by concern over the possibility of what will happen if foreign interest does not fall as rapidly and the rate differential widens beyond 1 percent. Granting the President the discretion to raise the rate of tax, in other words, insures that steps can be taken to reduce domestic interest rates free of worries about the possible impact on the balance of payments.

GRANT OF DISCRETION NOT A PRECEDENT

Let no one mistake the action taken in this bill as a precedent for similar action in other areas of the tax law. The discretionary authority granted the President in this bill has no bearing on whether or not discretionary authority should be granted to him in other areas. The report of the committee makes this clear. The testimony of the Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs of the Treasury makes this clear. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, which is included in the committee report, makes this clear.

This tax is a regulatory measure and not a part of the revenue system. It is also related to the exercise of monetary rather than fiscal authority since it is really a method of raising the interest rates foreign borrowers must pay. Finally, similar discretionary authority has already been granted the President under the terms of the interest equalization tax for the same purpose as this additional authority is granted.

TAX RATES DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

While the bill continues the 1-percent rate of tax and simply gives the President the authority to raise that rate, it is necessary to impose the maximum rate during a transitional period. The transitional period extends from the day after the administration announced its interest equalization tax proposals, January 26, 1967, to 30 days after the date this bill is enacted. The maximum tax rates have to be imposed during this transitional period to prevent a speculative outflow of private capital. If current rates were continued during this period, speculators would remove funds from this country to take advantage of a subsequent increase in the tax.

OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

The six remaining provisions of the bill are technical in nature and, generally, either make minor modifications in present exemptions or extend the existing exemptions to situations similar to those now exempt.

The bill provides an exemption from the tax for debt obligations acquired by an American in connection with the sale of foreign real estate which he has owned since before the inception of the interest equalization tax. Sales of this type of real estate generate income which usually is repatriated to the United States and, thus, favorably affects our balance of payments. It is sometimes necessary for the American seller to provide the foreign purchaser with financing in order to make the sale. This exemption is similar to that presently provided for obligations arising out of the sale of tangible property located abroad which the seller has held for his personal use.

The second minor provision allows aliens who become residents of the United States to purchase foreign securities free of the tax during their first 90 days of residency. At present these aliens are subject to the tax as of the first day they become a resident. It is often difficult to determine precisely when this change in status occurs. Moreover, aliens in the process of becoming U.S. residents are likely to be unfamiliar with the interest equalization tax. The 90-day period has been provided to alleviate these problems.

Present law contains an exemption from the tax for foreign debt obligations arising out of certain sales of ores or minerals by Americans, in situations where the Americans obtain the ores or minerals pursuant to supply contracts entered into before the inception of the interest equalization tax. Your committee's bill provides that this exemption will apply even though the earlier supply contracts have had to be canceled and substitute contracts entered into, if the substitute contracts were entered into prior to January 26, 1967. The requirement that the supply contracts had to be entered into prior to the inception of the interest equalization tax was placed in the law to prevent contracts from being entered into merely to provide a basis for acquiring foreign debt obligations. Substituting a more recent date, which is still a past date, does not present opportunities for avoidance of this type. The bill further provides that the amount of debt obligations which may be excluded from tax on the basis of the substitute supply contracts cannot exceed the amount which could have been excluded on the basis of the earlier contracts.

The fourth minor amendment concerns the exclusion for newly issued Canadian stock or debt obligations. At present, a failure to timely file certain information regarding an acquisition before October 10, 1965, of new Canadian issues results in a complete loss of the exclusion. Since October 9, 1965, a failure to file the information results in a much more limited penalty: for each month the required filing is late, the exclusion is reduced by 5 percent up to a maximum of 25 percent. The bill provides that this limited penalty will replace the unnecessarily severe penalty now applicable to Canadian acquisitions made prior to October 10, 1965.

Under present law, U.S. dealers in foreign debt obligations may obtain a credit or refund of the interest equalization tax they pay on foreign acquisitions, if they sell to another U.S. dealer who, in turn, resells to a foreign person on the same or next business day. The bill extends the 1-day period in which the second U.S. dealer must resell to 30 days. This extension is needed to provide a period of sufficient duration so that U.S. dealers may participate in sales of foreign securities abroad. At the same time, the period is limited enough that U.S. dealers will not be able to increase their inventories of foreign debt obligations to the extent of having any appreciable effect on the balance of payments.

Your committee's bill also contains a provision under which a U.S. corporation engaged in the lending and finance business abroad, where the loans are made to the public generally and are derived from foreign sources, may elect to be exempt from the interest equalization tax. This exemption will not adversely affect our balance of payments, since the loans will be financed out of foreign funds. In addition, the exemption will allow these small loan and finance businesses to be treated in a manner similar to foreign branches of the U.S. banks which are presently accorded a similar exemption.

CONCLUSION

It is essential that we continue the efforts that are being taken to reduce the Nation's balance-of-payments deficit. The interest equalization tax is a major element in this program. Approval of this bill to extend the tax and to make it more effective is therefore essential. I urge the Members of the House to vote for this legislation.

As the gentleman from Missouri points out, we have actually created a situation wherein, if an American business wants to locate a plant in France, we do not now advance the moneys from domestic banks to a foreign subsidiary of a U.S. company without the imposition of this tax. The money is not leaving the United States. What happens? The company goes to the people in Europe, who have these vast amounts of claims against our gold, and says, "If you want our company here, or if you want us to expand, you lend us the money required to establish this plant."

For the life of me, I do not see anything wrong with it. Do the Members? Whatever profits are going to be made in the long run by this American company are going to be brought back to the United States for the benefit of the stockholders anyway. The only thing we have asked them to do is to moderate the capital it takes outside the United States and places in a foreign country where it becomes a claim against our gold. We say they should go to European banks, if they are going to put a plant in France, and let them finance the development of the plant. Do not ask us to extend the funds we loan abroad when we do not have enough at home and when this increases the imbalance in our own balance of payments. We ask them to do that for just that period of time while we have the heavy drain on our balance of payments because of the combination of large military expenditures abroad, because of Vietnam, because of the large expenditures for troops abroad, and because of the Government grants or Government loans for the benefit of some of these countries. We cannot solve these problems today on the floor of the House of Representatives.

All we can do today is to extend for another 2-year period this device that has been used in the 89th Congress and in the 88th Congress in a successful manner.

As I said before, there is one provision that differs from those of the past bills. This is the provision which enables the President, upon a finding that it is in our own national interest from the standpoint of our balance-of-payments objectives, to increase this interest equalization tax, from what is the equivalent of 1 percent in an interest rate to 1½ percent.

I know there is no Member in this House who has served with me for any length of time who does not know I have been unalterably opposed during the years I have been in Congress to any grant of discretionary authority to anybody outside Congress to tinker with or dabble with the rates of taxation.

All of the Members know that.

I do not view this as a tax matter, though it is called a tax. This is a regulatory matter.

Why do we give this discretion in this instance and disown it as any possible precedent for an extension over into what are normally taxes? We do it because we do not know how far our rates of interest will drop here in the next few months compared to how far the rates of interest will drop in some of these foreign countries. If we want the tax to be effective we must equate that difference in their charges and our charges. It would be useless to call it an interest equalization measure if it did not give assurance that the cost to foreigners of borrowing here is as high as their cost of borrowing abroad.

I would hope that the House would decide that this is a proposition we should extend for an additional 2 years in the manner suggested by the Committee on Ways and Means in its bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman asked what was wrong with having French money support some of the expansion of our enterprises.

Mr. MILLS. Enterprises that help build France.

Mr. CURTIS. That is right. The answer is "nothing."

Mr. MILLS. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. In fact, I wish that were so. The question is, is that really the way our business enterprises are financing their growth?

Mr. MILLS. In most instances, today.

Mr. CURTIS. No. I do not think so. This is what I want to call to the gentleman's attention. We did not look into this problem. I know that is what the Treasury said.

Mr. MILLS. No. We have the figures on the funds flowing abroad.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, the figures I have here indicate a $2½ billion rise in Euro-dollar funds.

Mr. MILLS. What are Euro-dollars? They are not dollars which have just gone abroad. They are dollars which have been held in Europe.

Mr. CURTIS. Very well.

Mr. MILLS. That is the very point.

Mr. CURTIS. The point is that the gentleman knows that much of this is really short-term money—funds which are not counted in the balance of payments. As the gentleman well knows this is one of the "gimmicks" which face us in trying to understand the balance-of-payments picture.

Mr. MILLS. I do not agree with the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS. This was agreed.

Mr. MILLS. My point is this: If an American industry decides to establish its plant in France and it borrows dollars in France, owned by a European bank, there is nothing in the world that should concern us about it. We should not deplore it. We really should be proud of that fact.

It is my information that this is how most of this expansion, which the gentleman knows is going on now at an even greater rate than formerly, is being provided.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Arkansas has again expired.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Except to a very moderate extent, it is not going on with dollars currently leaving America. It is going on with the dollar credits previously built up in these countries where these plants are being located.

It is not contrary to our best interest that these funds are used in this manner. It is in our best interest for that to take place.

Mr. CURTIS. I want to get this debate clear.

Mr. MILLS. I thought it was clear.

Mr. CURTIS. I would agree with the gentleman, if I thought that was what is happening.

Mr. MILLS. That is certainly my understanding of what is happening.

Mr. CURTIS. Our point of difference lies in whether this is actually what has happened. I am maintaining that the figures I am presenting indicate much more accurately that more funds are going abroad.

Mr. MILLS. Let me reason it out with the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS. We need this data, and we do not have it.

Mr. MILLS. My friend does not need more data. He has a keen mind. Let us reason it out based on the information in the committee report.

Mr. CURTIS. I cannot reason it out without sufficient data.

Mr. MILLS. Let us reason it out.

What is the number of dollars that is going out of the United States in the form of bank loans?

Table 3 of the committee report indicates that bank claims have changed from a negative to a positive factor in our balance of payments. Also the flow of long-term claims is not as unfavorable as it was. Yet the gentleman suggests that American investment in plants and equipment abroad is greater than it was in the previous year. It can only be greater because that American company is borrowing what credit it needs in the area where that plant was located. Certainly the facts are clear that we do not have that much money going out from American banks or American sources to carry out the financing the gentleman refers to in addition to the other uses of our funds abroad. The gentleman can reason that out.

Mr. CURTIS. How do you account for $2½ billion increase in Euro-dollars.

Mr. MILLS. You reason it out from the figures I have given you.

Mr. CURTIS. I cannot do it without facts.

Mr. MILLS. You can do it better than I can.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Chairman, to get to another part of your statement, during the executive session consideration of the bill this is something I expressed some concern about. This is the authority of the President to raise or lower the interest.

Mr. MILLS. The gentleman and I are both concerned with the initial discretion requested to go from an interest rate equivalent to from zero to 2 percent.

Mr. BATTIN. Just to make legislative history here, on pages 13 and 14 of the report is a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury. I think it spells out rather succinctly that he does not consider this a grant of authority that would be used as far as the domestic tax situation is concerned, but does look at it, as the gentleman does, as a regulatory matter in the movement of capital in the world.

Mr. MILLS. Yes, and in addition, my friend from Montana, I am sure, will agree with me the amount of discretion left in this bill is small—one-quarter of what was originally requested of from zero to 2 percent. Here it is from 1 to 1½ percent.

Mr. BATTIN. I appreciate the chairman's statement of a minute ago that he is not wedded to the past but he takes this as an indication that any yielding as far as the taxing authority is concerned is not final.

Mr. MILLS. Absolutely not.

Mr. BATTIN. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is significant that this debate is taking place about 2 days after the President of the United States has sent this Congress a message asking for us to allot an additional $5 billion for the Alliance for Progress. In other words, this bill is designed to curb private investment abroad, but note there is no inclination on the part of the administration even to discussion let alone to do anything about curbing Government investment abroad. I say this as one who has been in favor of and is in favor of the basic theory of foreign aid. I have been arguing for years that it is at too high a level, though. I have developed a theory I refer to as the Curtis corollary to Gresham's law. Gresham's law is that bad money drives out good. The Curtis corollary to that is that Government money drives out private money. This corollary has been operating in the foreign area. This is a very bad and dangerous thing, because private investment abroad is invested much more carefully then Government. There are real assets that are back of this investment. There is a real annual return from earnings. Throughout all of these years before the interest equalization and during it, our returns from our private capital investments abroad have exceeded our new capital outlays.

There are two strengths in the international balance of payments. Both of those strengths are in the private sector; namely, our balance of trade and our return on private capital investment. It is these strengths that provide the money that the Government can either spend or have in the nature of capital investment abroad, but when the Government seeks to exceed these amounts, these pluses that the private sector produces, we create international deficits.

And, Mr. Chairman, when we continue along this road of our governmental spending exceeding our private spending over a period of time, we accumulate these deficits and, indeed, we have accumulated these deficits.

Mr. Chairman, to those who went along—what was it, 4 years ago or 5 years ago—4 years ago with this interest equalization, we were told that this was to buy time. I argued against it then, because I said that the people who were asking us to buy time had no intention—and, indeed, I now say—no understanding of what was creating and continues to aggravate the basic problem of the deficits in our balance of international payments.

Mr. Chairman, buying time should mean we would then utilize it, to hit at the cause of the disease. We have reacted in a state of complacency thinking we are dealing with the balance-of-payments problem through this palliative. But we have not done anything about correcting the basic disease, certainly not through this interest equalization tax. We are now worse off than before we bought the time.

Mr. Chairman, the administration recognizes that this measure was not hitting at the disease, that it was a palliative with which to buy time until we could meet the basic problem.

Now, Mr. Chairman, when we opposed this measure in our minority views back in 1963, we set this out, and under permission that I have been previously granted, I shall insert this information in the RECORD at this point—the separate views of the Republicans on H.R. 8000:

V. SEPARATE VIEWS OF REPUBLICANS ON H.R. 8000

GENERAL STATEMENT

H.R. 8000 is intended to restrict the flow of U.S. private investment capital abroad as a means of alleviating the balance of payments problem. As such, it is misdirected. The deficit in our balance of payments, which has persisted for the past several years, is not attributable to private investment abroad. In fact, in the private sector the amounts repatriated, either as a return on prior investment or as a repayment of prior loans, exceed the amounts reinvested.

The United States necessarily depends to a large degree upon private investment abroad, with the offsetting flow of funds to the United States as a return on that investment, or as a payment of prior advances, to provide a favorable balance in its foreign exchange accounts. In recognition of this, there was widespread opposition to the concept embodied in the bill on the part of the banking and business community. Even the Secretary of the Treasury was forced to admit that the long-term effect of this legislation will be adverse to our balance of payments. In fact, this was cited as the reason for making this legislation "temporary."

While H.R. 8000 is proposed as a "temporary" measure, there is no assurance that the administration will undertake to deal with the underlying causes which have brought about the deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. In fact, there is little likelihood that these basic causes will be remedied prior to December 31, 1965, which is the stated expiration date of H.R. 8000. For that reason it is wholly unrealistic to consider the bill as "temporary." If enacted, H.R. 8000 will become a permanent tax or penalty on certain types of U.S. private investment abroad, the threat of which will be used as a means of exercising control over all such investment.

We are not unmindful of the strain placed upon our balance of payments by foreign borrowers seeking advantageous U.S. long-term interest rates. However, the bill is not specifically directed at that type of transaction. The bill adopts a "shotgun" approach, with "built in" loopholes for "favored" U.S. lenders or foreign borrowers. In the final analysis, the Treasury is relying primarily upon so-called voluntary restraints rather than upon the legislation itself. While disclaiming any intention to invoke direct exchange controls, the results sought to be achieved by this bill depend more upon a "control" over the transactions which are exempt, than upon a tax on the transactions which are nonexempt. The Congress is in fact being called upon to enact this bill as a "club" for the Treasury to hold over certain segments of the financial community, both at home and abroad, in order to obtain from those who are exempt from the tax voluntary compliance with a program of control over capital outflow which will be left to the sole discretion of the President and the Treasury Department.

Since the bill is relied upon largely for its "psychological" effect—for the induced controls over investment abroad—there has been no effort made on the part of the administration to press for the speedy enactment of this legislation. On the contrary, because of the threat of retroactivity in the bill, the Treasury has had almost absolute control over all U.S. investments and loans abroad since July 18, 1963. In the interim, there has been a sharp reduction in the outflow of U.S. capital. This should not be relied upon as an indication of what will happen when the bill becomes law. The uncertainty which exists today is a greater deterrent than the tax itself. Since the legislation was proposed on July 18, 1963, the only major transactions being consummated are those for which there have been reliable assurances of exemption. Once the bill becomes law, there may well be a substantial demand for U.S. capital abroad on the part of borrowers who will be willing, if necessary, to absorb the interest equalization tax.

DISCUSSION

H.R. 8000 is more significant for the transactions it exempts than for the transactions it purports to tax.

The Ways and Means Committee was advised by the Secretary of the Treasury that the immediate need for this legislation was the strain placed upon our balance of payments by foreign borrowers seeking to take advantage of the low long-term interest rates in the United States. For that reason, the proposed bill was entitled an "interest equalization tax" bill. Yet we find that the bill exempts much of the long-term borrowing which supposedly created the problem and, at the same time, in the guise of an "interest equalization tax," taxes investment in foreign equity securities where there is no interest factor and no balance-of-payments problem.

In the course of the consideration of this bill, the Treasury Department submitted a schedule showing the outflow of private U.S. capital for the years 1960 to 1962, inclusive, and for three calendar quarters of the year 1963.

TABLE 1.—*Outflow of private U.S. capital to abroad after deducting inflow of private U.S. capital from abroad, 1960 to 3d quarter 1963*

[In millions of dollars; negative figures indicate excess of outflow over inflow]

	1960	1961	1962	1963[1]			Total[3]
				I	II[2]	III[2]	
Direct foreign investments, net	−1,694	−1,598	−1,557	−501	−452	−161	−5,963
Short-term capital, net	−1,348	−1,541	−507	61	−508	123	−3,720
Long-term foreign loans by institutions	−200	−258	−248	−11	−131	−115	−963
New foreign bonds, after deducting redemptions	−459	−364	−832	−450	−461	−134	−2,700
Outstanding foreign bonds, U.S. purchases less sales	−102	−27	−29	−49	−47	34	−220
New foreign stocks	−14	−36	−74	−25	−7	−21	−177
Outstanding foreign stocks, U.S. purchases less sales	−75	−326	−26	1	−5	17	−414
Total	−3,892	−4,150	−3,273	−974	−1,611	−257	−14,157
Of which long-term portfolio capital (all above items except direct foreign investments and short-term capital)	−850	−1,011	−1,209	−534	−651	−219	−4,474

[1] Not seasonally adjusted; 2d quarter unrevised.
[2] Preliminary.
[3] 45 months.

Source: Treasury Department, Dec. 4, 1963.

It will be noted from the above table that there were substantial increases in the first and second quarters of the year 1963 in long-term foreign loans and new foreign bonds purchased in the United States. Other types of foreign investments do not reflect any appreciable increase. Nevertheless, H.R. 8000 purports to exempt a substantial portion of both long-term foreign loans and foreign bonds sales.

TABLE 2.—*New issues of foreign securities purchased by U.S. residents, 1961 to 3d quarter 1963*[1]

[In millions of dollars]

	Total, 1961	1962					1963		
		I	II	III	IV	Total	I	II[2]	III[3]
Canada	237	10	112	41	294	457	368	264	79
Western Europe	57	35	138	15	7	195	65	154	14
Japan	61	11	17	48	25	101	42	65	52
Latin American Republics	18	(4)	19	(4)	[5] 83	[5] 102	12		23
Other developed countries	43	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	60		17	
Other less-developed countries	95	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	77	19	17	11
International institutions and unallocated	12	80	1	3		84			
Total, new issues	523	170	312	133	461	1,076	506	518	179

[1] Not seasonally adjusted.
[2] Revised.
[3] Preliminary.
[4] Less than $500,000.
[5] Includes $75,000,000 issue by Inter-American Development Bank.
[6] Not available.

Source: Survey of Current Business and Department of Commerce, as supplied by Treasury Department, Dec. 3, 1963.

First, pursuant to the terms of H.R. 8000, direct foreign investments, amountng to a net outflow of $1.557 billion for the year 1962, will be exempt. In addition, special exemptions have been provided for investments which did not qualify under the exemption for "direct" foreign investments. Unquestionably, an undetermined amount of the long-term foreign loans will fall within these special exemptions.

Secondly, H.R. 8000 exempts all loans for a term of less than 3 years. This provision will serve to exempt short-term capital outflow, which amounted to a net of $507 million in the year 1962, together with an undetermined amount which might have been borrowed for a longer term, but will be placed on a shorter term exempt basis.

Thirdly, H.R. 8000 exempts all bank loans irrespective of term. It is understood that approximately one-half of the long-term foreign loans by institutions, amounting to $248 million for the year 1962, will fall within this exemption. In addition, a substantial amount of the loans, which might otherwise be represented by foreign bonds, may be placed with the banks free of tax. In fact, since the announcements of the proposed tax on July 18, 1963, it is reported that the city of Vienna changed its plan for financing in the United States, from a proposed bond issue to a direct loan from the banks.

Finally, irrespective of category, an exemption has been granted to Canada. Approximately one-half of the foreign securities purchased by U.S. residents come from Canada.

Accordingly, on its face, H.R. 8000 will accomplish very little. The exceptions provided for in the bill serve to exclude from tax the major areas of capital outflow, taxing only relatively insignificant transactions, such as the purchase of foreign stocks and the purchase of new foreign bonds (other than Canadian) where the borrower is precluded from obtaining the funds from a bank. Since most lending abroad, and for the most part foreign bonds, are purchased by institutional investors such as banks, insurance companies, and the like, the net effect is to permit the bank to lend money abroad tax free, but to deny to the other institutional investors the same right. The foreign borrower is "funneled" into the bank loan route.

In accounting for the seemingly lack of scope of the bill, the Secretary of the Treasury was forced to disclose the real effect of the bill—not as a tax—but as a regulatory measure. Recognizing that the bill exempts much more than it taxes, the Secretary nevertheless stated that the Treasury does not anticipate any problem with respect to the exempt transactions. Why? Because, according to the Secretary, Canada will cooperate to limit the amount of the exemption which is to be granted for Canadian borrowings. And, what is more significant, the U.S. banks will "cooperate" so as to limit the amount loaned abroad by these banks. Thus, while the bank loan exemption admittedly constitutes a possible "loophole," the threat of taking away the exemption will be counted on to prevent the U.S. banks and the foreign borrowers from taking advantage of that loophole without the consent of the Treasury.

H.R. 8000 deals with a symptom, not the underlying causes of a balance-of-payments problem.

Unquestionably, there has been an accelerated outflow of U.S. private capital in the form of long-term foreign loans and the purchase of foreign bonds. However, the bill is not specifically directed at these transactions, and actually exempts a substantial portion of foreign borrowing. The real purpose of the bill is to exert pressure against all forms of U.S. investment abroad. This ignores the underlying causes of the balance-of-payments problem.

There has been a growing lack of confidence in the ability of the United States to continue military and other foreign aid at existing levels. The United States has undertaken to guarantee, practically singlehandedly, not only the security of Western Europe but containment of the expansion of 700 million Communist Chinese. In addition to this tremendous burden, we may ultimately be faced with even greater financial burdens in Latin America. Our expenditures abroad for both military and nonmilitary aid have been running at the rate of about $4 billion annually. Unless and until we find a means of reducing this outflow of $4 billion annually, we will never solve the balance-of-payments problem.

TABLE 3.—*U.S. balance of payments, 1960 to 2d quarter 1963*

[In millions of dollars]

	1960	1961	1962	1963[1]	
				1st quarter	2d quarter
Commercial trade balance	2,817	3,179	1,989	420	502
Commercial services balance	1,458	2,130	2,322	614	486
Balance on commercial goods and services [2]	4,275	5,309	4,311	1,034	988
Military expenditures	−3,048	−2,934	−3,028	−748	−717
Military cash receipts [3]	336	393	673	184	199
Government grants and capital-dollar payments to foreign countries and international institutions	−1,107	−1,116	−1,070	−235	−261
Government capital receipts excluding debt prepayments, borrowings, and fundings [4]	538	533	513	104	121
Remittances and pensions	−671	−705	−736	−212	−207
Private capital:					
Long term	−2,114	−2,143	−2,495	−1,022	−895
Short term	−1,438	−1,475	−716	58	−577
Unrecorded transactions	−683	−905	−1,025	−122	68
Balance on regular transactions	−3,913	−3,043	−3,573	−959	−1,281
Special Government transactions [5]	32	673	1,387	458	171
Overall deficit	−3,881	−2,370	−2,186	−501	−1,110

[1] Seasonally adjusted.

[2] Nonmilitary merchandise and service transactions less those financed by Government grants and capital.

[3] Excluding advances on military exports.

[4] Includes small changes in miscellaneous Government nonliquid liabilities.

[5] Not seasonally adjusted. Includes nonscheduled receipts on Government loans, advances on military exports, and sales of nonmarketable medium-term securities, including $350,000,000 of nonmarketable medium-term convertible securities in the 1st quarter of 1963, and $152,000,000 in the 2d quarter of 1963.

Source: Survey of Current Business, as supplied by Treasury Department, Dec. 3, 1963.

For the past 2 years, the administration attempted to conceal the seriousness of the problem through a series of "gimmicks." For the first time, in the consideration of this bill, the administration has set out separately these so-called special Government transactions in table 3 above.

These so-called special Government transactions were a temporary expedient—just as is H.R. 8000—designed to "buy time," and thereby to avoid facing the problem. First, the Western European nations were called upon to anticipate the payment of their debt obligations to the United States and to pay an advance for military supplies purchased from the United States. While these transactions resulted in a decrease in the net balance of payments, the underlying causes of the deficit were ignored. Secondly, when the possibility for advance payments from the Western European nations was exhausted, another expedient was resorted to to bring about an "improvement" on paper in our balance of payments. The Treasury borrowed funds abroad which, at the option of the lenders, were repayable at a fixed rate of exchange in the foreign currency. It is reported that approximately $500 million of these obligations were issued during the 6 months ending June 30, 1963. This form of financing solved nothing.

There is unquestionably a "tight" world money market. Any action taken to restrict funds in the United States from going into that market in particular types of transactions will necessarily be reflected in offsetting pressures elsewhere. For example, the sale abroad of U.S. Government obligations (either repayable in foreign funds or convertible into such funds) was resorted to as a means of offsetting the demand against U.S. gold stocks. The withdrawal of such capital by the United States was immediately offset by an increase in long-term borrowing by foreign borrowers in the U.S. capital market. From the standpoint of our balance of payments, the net result was the same as if the Treasury had not resorted to these bonds as a substitute for meeting the demands on the U.S. gold.

Faced with this dilemma, the Treasury proposes to establish independent capital markets outside of the United States. The committee was told that the U.S. capital market—headquartered in New York City—could no longer meet the world needs for capital. Therefore, it was hoped that the effect of this legislation might lead to the establishment of competing capital markets elsewhere. We challenge the desirability of that result, even if it could be achieved—which we doubt. It is isolationism on the part of a nation which has undertaken as a major objective the promotion of free trade. The result will be detrimental to the position of the United States as leader of the free world in the economic struggle against the Communist bloc. Instead of compromising our position to financial leadership of the free world by curtailing private outflow of capital, we should reappraise our governmental expenditures abroad. Governmental expenditures should be reduced before private investment.

H.R. 8000 will adversely affect balance of payments by restricting U.S. investment abroad.

In proposing to control or tax U.S. investment abroad as a means of improving the balance-of-payments deficit, the administration has elected to sacrifice the long-range benefits which flow from such investment in order to gain a dubious short-range advantage. In fact, any advantage is predicated upon the doubtful assumptions (1) that there will not be an offsetting decrease in foreign investment in the United States and foreign purchases of U.S. products, and (2) that the curtailment of U.S. investment abroad will be "temporary." The administration claims that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and the pending tax reduction bill ultimately will bring about a sufficient increase in exports to offset the existing deficit in our balance of payments. These assumptions completely overlook the changes which are taking place in the world about us.

All of the nations are today striving toward industrialization. Canada proposes to put severe restrictions on the imports of automotive parts from the United States to be used in the assembly of automobiles in Canada. Similar restrictions have been imposed by other nations where U.S. automotive manufacturers have assembly plants. India seeks U.S. aid in order to expand its capacity for steelmaking. The U.S. commercial trade balance cannot achieve any long-range growth in the face of such pressures. In fact, as compared with the 1960–61 average, this balance shows a decline of more than $1 billion in the calendar year 1962 and promises a similar decline in the calendar year 1963. The only real "bright spot" in our balance of payments is reflected in the growth of private investment income. Private investment income has increased from approximately $2.9 billion for the year 1960 to an estimated $4 billion for the calendar year 1963. A breakdown of the items making up the commercial surplus in our balance of payments is set forth in the table which follows:

TABLE 4.—*U.S. balance of payments—Commercial surplus on goods and services, 1960 to June 1963*

[In millions of dollars]

	1960	1961	1962	Change, 1960–62 (improvement +)	January to June 1963, seasonally adjusted
1. Nonmilitary merchandise exports	+19,459	+19,913	+20,479	+1,020	+10,454
2. Less exports financed by Government grants and capital	+1,919	+2,237	+2,345	+426	+1,427
3. Commercial merchandise exports (1−2)	+17,540	+17,676	+18,134	+594	+9,027
4. Nonmilitary merchandise imports	−14,723	−14,497	−16,145	−1,422	−8,105
5. Commercial trade balance	+2,817	+3,179	+1,989	−828	+922
6. Private investment income	+2,873	+3,464	+3,850	+977	+2,006
7. Other nonmilitary service receipts	+4,307	+4,532	+4,801	+494	+2,490
8. Less services financed by Government grants and capital	+288	+430	+538	+250	+339
9. Commercial service exports (6+7−8)	+6,892	+7,566	+8,133	+1,221	+4,156
10. Nonmilitary service imports	−5,434	−5,436	−5,791	−357	−3,056
11. Commercial services balance	+1,458	+2,130	+2,322	+862	+1,100
12. Commercial surplus	+4,275	+5,309	+4,311	+36	+2,022

Source: Treasury Department, Dec. 3, 1963.

Commercial goods and services sold abroad already produce a favorable trade balance. Unquestionably, some exports can be increased. Such increases will, however, be slow and hard won. The industrial capacity of our major world customers to supply themselves has been expanded, largely with U.S. aid. Our former customers all strive towards self-sufficiency. Every nation, no matter how small or how weak economically, seeks to establish productive facilities in order to avoid having to import steel, chemicals, oil, and even manufactured goods such as automobiles and parts, and household appliances. This trend will make difficult any dramatic expansion of U.S. exports.

The tax rate reductions in the proposed Revenue Act of 1963, now pending before the Senate Finance Committee, are relied upon to bring about a substantial increase in consumer purchasing power in the United States. Such an increase will inevitably result in a corresponding increase in merchandise imports (table 4, item 4). Tax reduction will produce no offsetting increase in merchandise exports (table 4, item 3). As a net result, the U.S. commercial trade balance may be reduced. To counteract this effect it is necessary to encourage investment abroad, with the accompanying increased return on such investment. This bill is a backward step toward the solution of the problem. Instead, we should be striving to increase U.S. ownership of foreign income-producing assets.

CONCLUSION

For the reasons stated, the undersigned Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee are opposed to the enactment of this legislation.

H.R. 8000 is another effort to "cover up" the underlying causes which have brought about recurring deficits in our balance of payments. Even its proponents concede that the legislation is undesirable as a long-term measure. On the other hand, we have seen no program advanced by the administration which would serve permanently to meet the problem. In fact, the recent reduction by the Congress in foreign aid appropriations was bitterly opposed by the administration spokesmen.

No one should be deceived by this bill. The administration disclaims any desire to control foreign exchange. Except for its induced effect as a "control" on all U.S. investment abroad, the bill would accomplish little. We would be opposed to direct control over U.S. investment abroad, and are equally opposed to the attempt by this bill to achieve that result indirectly.

If the United States is to maintain its position as leader of the free world in the cold war with the Communist bloc, and particularly in the economic confrontation, we must maintain our position as the financial leader of the free world. That position can be maintained only so long as we provide a free capital market. Our position of leadership imposes upon us that burden. Indeed, to be banker to the world is a profitable occupation. This bill would seek to destroy that position. It reflects a "defeatist" attitude which we cannot accept.

JOHN W. BYRNES.
THOMAS B. CURTIS.
VICTOR A. KNOX.
JAMES B. UTT.
JACKSON E. BETTS.
BRUCE ALGER.
STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, among other things that we pointed out was the fact that this temporary measure was clearly not really temporary, for the very reasons which I have discussed.

Then, Mr. Chairman, again in 1965 there are the separate views of myself and some of my other colleagues who serve on the Committee on Ways and Means, accompanying the extension of the interest equalization tax in 1965, where we again pointed out among other things the fiction of its being temporary, which I shall place in the RECORD at this point:

SEPARATE VIEWS OF MESSRS. CURTIS, UTT, BETTS, AND BROYHILL OF VIRGINIA ON H.R. 4750

Whether the interest equalization tax should be broadened and extended depends upon an analysis of short-term gains compared to the long-term damage the tax does to the U.S. and world economies. The administration has ignored the damaging effects of its capital restraints program. Its defense of the program consists of calling attention to the value of buying time to bring our payments position into balance.

The question is whether the administration has used the time it has bought—and at such high cost—to find a permanent and fundamental solution to the balance-of-payments problem. We do not believe it has. Furthermore, we have little confidence that extension of the IET will spur the administration on to making the basic efforts that are needed to eliminate the deficit, including a reappraisal of U.S. foreign miltary expenditures overseas, the avoidance of inflation at home, and the development of a more realistic domestic structure of interest rates as well as moderation of the rate of increase in money and credit in the U.S. economy.

Indeed, continued reliance on palliatives and measures which buy time permits the administration to avoid making the hard choices that are needed to restore fundamental equilibrium to the U.S. balance of payments. On these general grounds, we must oppose not only extension of the IET, but also the so-called voluntary program of controls.

As has been reported in the press, the balance of payments will show a small surplus in the second quarter. This arises, however, not so much from the restraints on capital outflows as from the higher than usual level of exports in that quarter because of the dock strike in the first quarter. The first and second quarters together should show a deficit of about $500 million. For the year as a whole, it is likely that the deficit will run between $1 billion and $1.5 billion, a considerable improvement over recent years, but still sizable. A large part of the ground gained by the administration's program is expected to be lost by higher U.S. imports.

Much of the drop in capital outflows in the second quarter is due to factors other than the administration's program, although that has contributed as well. For one thing, during the first quarter the seasonally adjusted outflows for direct investment overseas and for long-term bank loans were unusually high ($1 billion and $488 million, respectively). Partly this was due to anticipation of controls to come and was clearly too large to sustain. Even without the capital controls, a drop in captial outflows during the second quarter was to be expected.

Even with the capital controls program, however, the outflow on direct investment should be somewhat larger this year than last, when it was $2.4 billion. The increase, however, should be slight. As for new issues of foreign securities—a prime target of the interest equalization tax—the outflow was rising sharply at the end of 1964 and seems now to be running at an annual rate of over $1 billion a year, or about at the levels of the previous 3 years.

More specifically, we oppose extension of the IET on the following grounds:

1. Controls have a way of breeding more controls and of moving the world even further away from the U.S. goal of a more open and expanding international economy. Since the IET was first requested in June 1963, it has been broadened to cover bank loans of over 1 year; it has been supplemented by a so-called voluntary capital controls program; and now the administration seeks to apply the tax to lending activities of nonbank financial institutions.

Aside from the broadening of controls at home, the IET and other U.S. capital controls invite retaliation by foreign governments. It would be too much to expect other nations with balance-of-payments difficulties to refrain from imposing capital controls when the world's leading financial power and the traditional champion of freedom of international trade and payments has itself adopted such expedient measures.

In its annual report issued June 14, 1965, the Bank for International Settlements noted that control over flows of capital funds "is a retreat from convertibility which holds dangers of its own." The Bank, which is composed of the world's leading central bankers, went on to comment as follows:

"It would be unfortunate if the policymakers in both the deficit and the surplus countries should wholly succumb to this easy way out, instead of experimenting more daringly with mixture of fiscal and monetary policy that the logic of convertibility calls for. There is a true equilibrium for a market economy, and national policies cannot be considered successful unless they are providing the incentives to market forces to move toward it."

2. The administration's program to restrict capital outflows is likely to worsen our long-run balance-of-payments position. It could do so in the following ways:

(*a*) Investment abroad is inextricably tied to U.S. exports. Any reduction in U.S. capital flows abroad will lead to a reduction in U.S. exports, while an increase in such flows leads to an increase in the exports of the capital-exporting country.

The loss of an export order, no matter what the cause, may not be a one-shot affair. A foreign importer who would have bought from the United States may develop another source of supply. The business ties developed in this fashion may continue long after restraints on U.S. capital outflows are lifted. This will work to the permanent detriment of our export position.

U.S. exports will also be affected by the slowdown in economic activity in Western Europe and other areas which the decline in needed investment funds will tend to bring about. As economic activity abroad slows U.S. exports are certain to drop. As Dr. Charles P. Kindleberger, professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee recently, "* * * when we try to draw up this excess of dollars, what we are going to do is put pressure on European interest rates at longterm, cut European investment, and possibly push Europe further into a depression * * *." Professor Kindleberger went on to express his concern that if we are accelerating a recession in Europe, it "will have repercussions on ourselves."

(*b*) Restrictions on U.S. investment overseas will reduce investment income in the future and thus contribute to continued balance-of-payment weakness. One of the strongest items in our balance of payments is the return flow of interest, dividends, and repatriated profits arising from previous investments. Income on private investment overseas in 1964 totaled $4.7 billion, or an increase of almost $700 million over the 1963 level. Netting out the income earned by foreigners on their investments in the United States, the United States still had a plus of over $3.8 billion on its overseas investments. This was only $200 million less than the net U.S. outflow for direct and long-term portfolio investment abroad in 1964.

(*c*) The IET and other capital restraints will lead to mounting pressures within the United States to send capital abroad. The administration's emphasis on restricting transfers of funds overseas has raised fears among businessmen and investors that even more stringent controls would follow. The expectation of further controls has increased the outflow of funds beyond levels that would have occurred in the absence of the administration's programs. The abandonment of controls would reverse these expectations and lead to a marked reduction in the outflow and, perhaps, even to an inflow. As Fritz Machlup, professor of economics and international finance at Princeton University, recently told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee:

"To reverse these fears we ought to tell every businessman that he should use his funds wherever business interests indicate. If we could possibly assure businessmen that there would be neither direct controls or restrictions nor any moral suasion, neither any obligation to make reports on foreign transactions nor any publicity about nonconformance with official directives, we would soon see a flow of funds returning from abroad."

Another fundamental weakness in the administration's approach is that it tends to widen the already large gap in interest rates between the United States and Europe, thus contributing to the pressures leading to capital outflows. The high level of liquidity in the American economy rising from the rapid expansion of money and credit in recent years, inevitably puts downward pressure on U.S. interest rates which, combined with higher rates in Europe and a brisk demand for funds, creates strong pressures leading to capital outflows. By restricting such outflows, the administration puts further downward pressure on U.S. rates and upward pressure on European rates, thus intensifying one of our basic problems.

In addition, the inevitable result is further inflationary strains at home at a time when the pressure on price stability is already growing severe. This can only weaken our cost-price structure and made more difficult the job of improving our trade surplus. Therefore, both from the standpoint of the domestic economy and our international position, a reduction of liquidity within the U.S. economy and a reduction in the rate of expansion in money and credit would be desirable.

3. The administration's capital controls have weakened the position of the United States as an international financial center and has led to the development of competing capital markets abroad. Indeed, the strengthening of European capital markets is a stated goal of administration policy. The fact is that not only has an important segment of American business, which was successfully supplying overseas demand for capital, been seriously weakened, but U.S. prestige and power as the free world's major financial center has also been diminished.

As a result of the success of the administration's efforts to strengthen European capital markets, however, it is now possible to relax the capital restraints. With the development of capital markets in Europe, it is unlikely that foreign borrowers will feel the need to tap the U.S. financial market to the same extent as they did prior to the introduction of the IET.

4. The IET and other capital controls undermine the U.S. objectives of encouraging foreign investment in the United States. As G. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, told the Ways and Means Committee, foreigners were net sellers of outstanding U.S. securities in 1964 for the first time in over 15 years. Net sales of domestic stocks by foreigners in 1964 totaled $350 million, compared to sizable net purchases in the previous 5 years. In part, this reflected a belief by foreigners that the tax was only a first step toward further restrictions on the international flow of funds. It also reflected the fact that, as Mr. Funston noted, foreign brokers and dealers who cannot sell their securities in the United States are far less receptive to the efforts of U.S. brokers and dealers to sell U.S. securities abroad.

THOMAS B. CURTIS.
JAMES B. UTT.
JACKSON E. BETTS.
JOEL T. BROYHILL.

Mr. CURTIS. Then, Mr. Chairman, I wish also to place in the RECORD the separate views of Messrs. CURTIS, UTT, BETTS, and BATTIN on H.R. 6098 as well as my supplemental views to which I have already referred during the debate on the rule; and I might even put into the RECORD the concurring views of my colleagues, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHNEEBELI], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER], the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL], the gentleman from New York [Mr. CONABLE], and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUSH].

The matters referred to follow:

VI. CONCURRING VIEWS OF MESSRS. BYRNES OF WISCONSIN, SCHNEEBELI, COLLIER, BROYHILL OF VIRGINIA, CONABLE, AND BUSH ON H.R. 6098

We fully agree with the separate views of our Republican colleagues that the administration has failed to adopt appropriate measures to meet the balance-of-payments problem. The interest equalization tax—and voluntary restraints over private investment abroad—are but temporary measures, and do not meet the problem. On the other hand, in recognition of the seriousness of this problem, we believe that even temporary measures may be preferable to taking no action. It may well be that after another 2 years, the administration will be no nearer to a constructive solution than at present. That responsibility must rest upon the administration.

JOHN W. BYRNES.
HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI.
HAROLD R. COLLIER.
JOEL T. BROYHILL.
BARBER B. CONABLE.
GEORGE BUSH.

VII. SEPARATE VIEWS OF MESSRS. CURTIS, UTT, BETTS, AND BATTIN ON H.R. 6098

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

The undersigned Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee are opposed to the enactment of H.R. 6098, a bill to extend the interest equalization tax for an additional 2 years to June 30, 1969, and to increase the rate of tax. This bill is the continuation of a so-called temporary remedy which merely serves to becloud the real problem—excessive Government spending abroad.

During the past 20 years, the United States has made overseas grants and loans (net of repayment of principal and interest) in excess of $70 billion. Our governmental expenditures produce a deficit in our balance of more than $3 billion per year, exclusive of Vietnam. If we are to cure the deficit in our balance of payments, we must first recognize the cause of that deficit. We will never meet the problem so long as the administration persists in confusing the issues. The private sector of our economy does not give rise to the problem. It is a governmental problem, requiring governmental restraint rather than restraint on the private sector.

TABLE 1.—*Private and Government sectors in the U.S. balance of payments, 1960–66* [1]

[In billions of dollars]

	1960-61 (average)		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966 [2]	
	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government
Exports	17.6	2.4	18.2	3.0	19.3	3.5	22.5	3.6	23.6	3.6	25.6	3.8
Income on investments	3.3	.4	4.1	.5	4.2	.5	5.0	.5	5.0	.5	5.7	.6
Other service receipts	4.0	.2	4.4	.2	4.7	.2	5.2	.3	5.6	.3	6.1	.3
Long-term capital inflows	.5	----------	.4	----------	.3	----------	.1	----------	−.2	----------	1.8	----------
Repayments to U.S. Government [3]	----------	.6	----------	.6	----------	.6	----------	.6	----------	.7	----------	.8
Government liabilities [4]	----------	.1	----------	.6	----------	.4	----------	.5	----------	.2	----------	.2
Total receipts	25.4	3.7	27.1	4.9	28.5	5.2	32.8	5.5	34.6	5.3	39.2	5.7
Imports	−14.6	----------	−16.2	----------	−17.0	----------	−18.6	----------	−21.5	----------	−25.5	----------
Services	−5.2	−.9	−5.6	−1.0	−6.2	−1.1	−6.6	−1.3	−7.2	−1.4	−7.4	−1.4
Private long-term investments	−2.6	----------	−2.9	----------	−3.7	----------	−4.4	----------	−4.3	----------	−3.4	----------
Military cash outflows	----------	−3.0	----------	−3.1	----------	−2.9	----------	−2.8	----------	−2.8	----------	−3.6
Government grants and loans	----------	−3.7	----------	−4.3	----------	−4.6	----------	4.3	----------	−4.3	----------	−4.6
Total payments	−22.4	−7.6	−24.6	−8.4	−26.9	−8.6	−29.6	−8.4	−33.0	−8.5	36.3	9.6
Basic position	3.0	−3.9	2.5	−3.5	1.6	−3.4	3.2	−2.9	1.6	−3.2	2.9	−3.9
Short-term capital outflows	−1.5	----------	−.5	----------	−.8	----------	−2.1	----------	.7	----------	−.1	----------
Unrecorded outflows	−1.0	----------	−1.2	----------	−.4	----------	−1.2	----------	−.4	----------	−.3	----------
Balance	.5	−3.9	.8	−3.5	.2	−3.4	−.1	−2.9	1.9	−3.2	2.5	−3.9

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[1] "Interest Equalization Tax Extension Hearings," Committee on Ways and Means, Feb. 15–16, 1967, p. 152, table 3.

[2] Annual rate for 1st 3 quarters.

[3] Excludes debt prepayments of $53,000,000 in 1960, $696,000,000 in 1961, $681,000,000 in 1962, $326,000,000 in 1963, $122,000,000 in 1964, $221,000,000 in 1965, and $236,000,000 during the 1st 3 quarters of 1966.

[4] Excludes sale of medium-term Government securities to foreign governments which totaled $251,000,000 in 1962, $642,000,000 in 1963, $547,000,000 in 1964, and $252,000,000 in 1965. During 1966, $997,000,000 of these securities matured and were not renewed.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), June 1965, p. 12; December 1965, pp. 18, 20; March 1966, pp. 18–22; December 1966, pp. 21–31.

ADMINISTRATION POLICY DOES NOT SERVE U.S. INTEREST

The United States had had a deficit in its balance of payments every year since 1950 with the exception of 1957. Excluding the abnormal "backflow" of funds in 1966, the total deficit amounts to about $40 billion. About $12 billion of this deficit has been offset by the withdrawal of gold reserves. The balance has largely gone into "liquid" claims or assets, which easily can be converted into a demand on the remaining U.S. gold reserves.

Short-term liabilities to foreigners, reported by U.S. banks, have increased from $7.6 billion at the end of 1949 to $31.4 billion at the end of 1966. In addition, the Treasury Department has borrowed directly from foreign central banks, and from the International Monetary Fund in order to meet claims on the dollar. Official holdings by foreign countries of short-term liabilities or claims total $13.4 billion. An additional $5.4 billion of these liabilities are held by international financial institutions, bringing the total current liabilities to $18.8 billion. As a result, the potential demands outstanding against the United States—our current liabilities—exceed the current assets—our gold reserves—available to meet those demands. This in turn exerts pressure on the policy decisions which are made by the administration.

Why did the administration tie itself to the so-called interest equalization tax and "voluntary" controls?

The European creditor nations have been urging the United States to reduce the deficits in its balance of payments by higher domestic interest rates and by curtailing long-term foreign investments. This has consistently been the position of the European Economic Community and the Common Market.[1] In order to reduce the deficit, we are called upon, not to reduce the "giveaway" programs on which we realize no return, but to cut back on loans and investments abroad which carry with them an obligation of repayment. These measures may better serve the interest of our European creditors than would the unequivocal demand for payments to offset the capital flow of $2 billion a year attributable to the maintenance of troops abroad. From their standpoint, it certainly is preferable to our insistence that the Common Market open its doors to our imports in the same manner that we have opened our doors to their exports. It does not serve the best interests of the United States.

DEFICIT NOT ATTRIBUTABLE TO VEITNAM

The administration is telling the Congress and the American people that if it had not been for the war in Vietnam we would have a balanced budget and our balance of payments would be "in equilibrium." These statements have no foundation in fact. So long as the administration persists in its refusal to recognize the real nature of the problem, we will never achieve a solution.

Contrary to the statements made by the administration, the war in Vietnam has not accentuated the problem. While expenditures in Vietnam undoubtedly contributed to an adverse balance of payments, equally abnormal conditions more than offset of the Vietnam war.

Offsetting the cost of the war in Vietnam during the year 1966, there was an abnormal net "backflow" of funds into the United States amounting to $2 billion. Of this amount $1.1 billion apparently was "induced" by the administration.[2] The German Government was offered an inducement to make an advance payment on account of its indebtedness, in lieu of an obligation to purchase arms in the United States as a part of a so-called offset agreement.[3] That is the agreement whereby Germany is supposed to buy arms in the United States of a value sufficient to offset the cost of maintaining U.S. troops in Germany. In addition, participation certificates bearing a high rate of interest were sold to foreign governmental financial institutions and foreign funds were invested in high interest bearing certificates of deposit having a maturity of more than 1 year.[4] This more than offset any drain caused by the war in Vietnam. If neither is taken into account, it becomes apparent that our situation not only failed to improve, but actually worsened.

AFTER 4 YEARS—ADMINISTRATION NO NEARER A SOLUTION

The interest equalization tax was proposed as a "temporary" measure, in order to alleviate the pressure on our balance of payments by the outflow of investment funds until the administration could adopt more permanent measures designed to meet the real problem. Almost 4 years have elapsed, and the Congress is now asked to extend the interest equalization tax for another 2 years and to provide for an increase in the rate of tax. The administration concedes that it sees no solution within the period of the extension.[5] Before enacting an extension, we believe that the Congress should examine what has been accomplished during the period the tax has been in effect, and what the administration proposes to accomplish if the Congress should extend the tax. Have we made any progress? If not, an extension of the tax merely postpones the day of reckoning when we must ultimately face up to the problem.

What is proposed by the administration to reduce the deficit in our balance of payments? We see no intention on the part of the administration to curtail or cut back on Government expenditures abroad. On the contrary, the administration directs its attention to the expansion of exports, the attraction of foreign investment into the United States, and the encouragement of tourism in the United States. There is nothing new in these suggestions. They were first proposed by President Kennedy in a message to the Congress on February 6, 1961 (H. Doc. 84, 87th Con., 1st sess.). Six years later, in spite of the fact that our trade balance has deteriorated and that our tourist gap with Western Europe has worsened, the administration is still advancing these proposals as a long-range solution to the problem.

PRIVATE SECTOR IS OVERBURDENED

During the past 5 years the administration has been directing its efforts either to restrain the private sector in the case of outgoing investments—or to stimulate the private sector in the case of incoming investments and outgoing trade—in order that the private sector could carry a bigger load. The trade expansion bill, the investment credit, the tax reduction bill, the interest equalization tax bill, the foreign investors bill, the United States-Canadian automobile treaty bill, and almost every other bill sent to the Committee on Ways and Means was prefaced with the statement that the legislation was needed to meet our balance of payments problem. The Congress has enacted all of this legislation, but the problem remains—and we are no nearer a solution today. We believe that it is time the administration directed its attention to Government spending abroad. The private sector cannot carry the full burden of those expenditures.

TRADE AND TRAVEL POLICIES NEED REAPPRAISAL

If we exclude Government-financed exports—the goods that we give away—our favorable trade balance in the exchange of goods during the period from 1962 to 1965 amounted to $10.3 billion. On the average, exports exceeded imports by about $2.6 billion each year. In 1966, this favorable balance was wiped out.[6] Exports must increase by at least $2.6 billion, in excess of imports, to get back to where we were when the Congress enacted the interest equalization tax.

If we are to regain our trade surplus, we must first restore price stability at home. The inflationary policies of this administration amount to nothing less than a hidden "tax" on our exports, and a "bonus" for imports. We must also reexamine the policy of extending trade concessions to the European Community and to Japan, while they ever increasingly adopt "protectionist" policies to restrict imports from the United States. We cannot continue to encourage imports from abroad, in the face of a growing effort on the part of the other major industrial nations to close their doors to American exports.

Expenditures by Americans traveling outside of the United States exceed expenditures by persons from abroad traveling in the United States by approximately $1.2 billion. However, a broad-gaged program to close the travel gap oversimplifies the issue. The problem does not relate to tourism as a whole, but only to the difference between expenditures by Europeans in the United States and expenditures by Americans in Europe. Of the total of approximately $1.4 billion spent in the United States by visitors from foreign countries, 60 percent represented expenditures by travelers from Canada and Mexico. Another 10 to 15 percent represented expenditures by travelers from Latin America. All of these countries have unfavorable trade balances with the United States. We cannot solve our problem, which stems from an imbalance with the European Community, by creating further problems in the Western Hemisphere.

This was conceded by the administration.[7]

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[1] "The U.S. Balance of Payments," International Economic Policy Association (1966) pp. 6–8.

[2] The Secretary of the Treasury, before the Joint Economic Committee on Feb. 6, 1967, said:

"The spectacular change, however, in the capital accounts last year was on the receipts side. Long-term capital receipts included:

"Investments of over $400 million by international lending institutions in long-term CD's and in U.S. agency issues, and

"Investments of over $700 million by foreign official agencies in long-term CD's.

"Some of the latter investment was made out of large dollar accruals to certain countries from our military spending abroad. Some represented shifts out of foreign official liquid dollar holdings in response to the high rates of return on time certificates of deposit and Federal agency securities" (Joint Economic Committee hearing on the President's Economic Report, Feb. 6, 1967).

[3] "Interest Equalization Tax Extension Hearings," Committee on Ways and Means, Feb. 15–16, 1967 pp. 114–115.

[4] Id., at pp. 112–113.

[5] Id., at p. 19.

[6] Refer to table 1.

[7] In the hearings before the committee, Congessman Byrnes (Wisconsin) and the Secretary of the Treasury engaged in the following colloquy:

"Mr. Byrnes. If you look to travel, you have to look to the individual country, don't you, as far as the travel problem is concerned? Isn't the drain resulting basically from the American travel in Europe and the lack of European travel in this country?

"Secretary Fowler. That is the big factor.

"Mr. Byrnes. When you encourage travel by Latin Americans you are just creating a situation in Latin America that we will have to go in and finance.

"If it is in Canada, we must look to the Canadian problem of the trade back and forth. There is not any point talking about increasing travel from Canada.

Yet, the administration did not even offer figures to show the comparative amount spent by Americans traveling in Europe and by European travelers in the United States.

It is indeed foolish to suppose that our balance-of-payments problem can be materially improved by promoting travel in the United States. Out of every travel dollar spent in the United States, only about one-fourth comes from Europe. The balance comes from our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, who look to the United States for assistance in meeting their balance-of-payments problem.

CONCLUSION

The Republicans on the committee opposed the original interest equalization tax bill (H.R. 8000). Nothing has transpired in the interim to change our views. The interest equalization tax was—and still is—nothing more than a "club" which the administration holds over certain segments of business and the financial community, both at home and abroad, to obtain voluntary compliance with a program of control over capital outflow within the sole discretion of the President and the Treasury Department. Rather than attack the real causes of the deficit in our balance of payments, the administration has resorted to statistical legerdemain—fancy bookkeeping—to conceal the fact that not only has there been no improvement in the situation, but it has worsened. Unless we take away this "club," and allow the normal forces of the marketplace to function, we will be no nearer a solution to the problem.

THOMAS B. CURTIS.
JAMES B. UTT.
JACKSON E. BETTS.
JAMES F. BATTIN.

VIII. SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS OF MR. CURTIS

I have subscribed to the Republican views opposing further extension of the interest, equalization tax.

This supplemental statement relates the interest equalization tax (IET) to the other two Government programs controlling private capital outflows, in order that the IET can be seen in its larger context. The absence of an administration effort to do so during the committee's examination of the question of renewal and amendment of the interest equalization tax was a major omission in the administration approach to this legislation.

It is important to emphasize that the administration's investment control programs are threefold. First, there are controls on U.S. investment in foreign equity issues, or U.S. portfolio investment. This program is implemented by the interest equalization tax.

Second is the program to control "voluntarily" the direct private foreign investments of U.S. businesses in overseas facilities. This program is administered by means of guidelines set by the Commerce Department under which 722 firms agree to restrain foreign capital expenditures and report quarterly the effects of their operations on the balance of payments.

Third is the program to control foreign lending by U.S. banks. This program is implemented by the Federal Reserve Board under a series of guidelines.

THE EVOLUTION OF U.S. PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT CONTROL PROGRAMS

The interest equalization tax was first proposed by President Kennedy on July 18, 1963, became law on September 2, 1964, and was made retroactive by 13 months to July 18, 1963. The IET was proposed as an interim measure to "buy time" for the administration to solve the more fundamental problems causing continuing payments imbalances. In 1965 it was renewed by Congress for 19 months to July 31, 1967, according to Secretary Fowler, as a "temporary excise tax" (hearings, H.R. 4750, 89th Cong., p. 9). By Executive order of February 10, 1965, the President used authority given him in the initial legislation and applied the IET to U.S. commercial banks' foreign loans of over 1 year. It had been found that bank loans were being substituted for other methods of financing investments abroad which were subject to the interest equalization tax.

Between 1963 and 1964 the total amount of U.S. private foreign investment increased from $66.5 billion to $75.8 billion, an increase much greater than that from 1962 to 1963 of about $6.5 billion. The greatest amount of this rise came from increases of short- and long-term claims of U.S. banks, which resulted in the Executive order under the initial IET referred to above. (See table on p. 48.)

Another result of the large private investment outflow in 1964 was the imposition, early in 1965, of the "voluntary" programs for direct private foreign investments by firms, and for commercial banking and nonbank institutions. The effect on the private account of the balance of payments and on financing of overseas operations was immediate. The voluntary controls reduced the outflow of private investment funds but did not reduce the growth of total private foreign investment. It merely altered the manner in which the investment was financed.

Thus, by the end of 1965 the total private investment outflow was down to $4.2 billion and the inflow of U.S. investment income was about $5.5 billion. In 1966 (annual projection on the basis of the first three quarters) private capital outflows were $3.3 billion and income inflows were about $5.3 billion. The total value of U.S. private foreign investment continued to increase by pre-1964 rates of about $5 billion a year. In 1965 the total increased from $75.8 billion to $80.9 billion, and a similar increase is expected to be shown by final 1966 data. The reason for the continued increase in the total of private foreign investment is simply that U.S. businessmen have employed retained earnings and ingenious methods of obtaining capital from foreign capital markets to finance continued growth. A table showing the increasing total private foreign investment follows:

U.S. assets and investments abroad, 1961–65 [1]

[In millions of dollars; value outstanding at end of each period]

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965 [2]
U.S. assets and investments abroad, total	74,014	80,343	88,301	99,119	106,065
Private investments	55,513	60,025	66,513	75,820	80,942
Long term	49,008	52,732	58,330	64,919	70,801
Direct	34,664	37,226	40,686	44,386	49,217
Foreign dollar bonds	5,405	6,348	7,335	8,219	9,128
Other foreign bonds [3]	5,602	806	819	978	1,050
Foreign corporate stocks		4,714	5,145	5,270	5,046
Banking claims	3,332	1,960	2,830	4,085	4,317
Other		1,678	1,515	[4] 1,982	[4] 2,043
Short-term assets and claims	6,510	7,293	8,183	10,901	10,141
Reported by banks	(5)	5,101	5,887	7,957	7,728
Other	(5)	2,192	2,296	2,944	2,413
U.S. Government credits and claims	19,501	20,318	21,788	23,299	25,123
Long-term credits [6]	14,749	16,042	17,149	18,777	20,318
Repayable in dollars [7]	(5)	(5)	13,162	13,974	14,968
Repayable in foreign currencies, etc.[8]	(5)	(5)	3,987	4,803	5,350
Foreign currencies and short-term claims	2,946	3,113	3,392	3,321	3,161
IMF gold tranche position and monetary authorities' holdings of convertible currencies	1,806	1,163	1,247	1,201	1,644

[1] Data on U.S. investments abroad differ from data used to calculate capital movements in the balance of payments because the investment data include portfolio valuation adjustments and reinvested earnings of foreign affiliates, which are not included in the balance of payments.

[2] Preliminary.

[3] Consists primarily of securities payable in foreign currencies, but includes some dollar obligations including prior to 1963 participations in loans made by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Effective 1963, participations in IBRD loans are included under banking claims and "other" long term, according to country of obligor.

[4] Includes $254,000,000 loaned to Canada in connection with Columbia River power development.

[5] Not available.

[6] Excludes World War I debts that are not currently being serviced.

[7] Includes indebtedness repayable in U.S. dollars, or optionally in foreign currencies when option rests with U.S. Government.

[8] Includes indebtedness which the borrower may contractually, or at its option, repay with its currency, with a 3d country's currency, or by delivery of materials or transfer of services.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

EFFECTS OF CONTROL PROGRAMS

The above data show the effect of the combination of the three investment control programs on distorting the means of financing U.S. private foreign investment. But it is much more difficult to determine accurately the adverse effects of these programs on the plus side of the balance of payments. This should be the subject to an intensive congressional review.

During the hearings the New York Stock Exchange witness documented the adverse effect of the interest equalization tax on receipts from sales to foreigners of U.S. equity issues (p. 127, passim). Even after assuming that all the British liquidation was due to Government action, transactions in U.S. equities outside Great Britain resulted in more sales of U.S. securities than purchases of U.S. securities after the interest equalization tax. Before the tax, there had been more purchases than sales for 15 years. Congress-

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"Secretary FOWLER. I would agree.

"Mr BYRNES. Because that is just going to create some new problems that you are going to have to look to. So fundamentally, it is your European travel.

"Secretary FOWLER. European travel.

"Mr. BYRNES. We would just distort the picture, if we talk about travel as a whole.

"Secretary FOWLER. That is right. And the focus in our thinking is on the oversea travel from Europe to the United States. That is the principal area of promotion that we should have in mind" (pp. 98 and 99).

man Watts in the hearings on H.R. 3813, page 135, pointed out that the interest equalization tax is discouraging foreign purchases of U.S. securities, and runs directly counter to legislation, passed in the second session of the 89th Congress, to make such investments more attractive by changing the taxation of their profits.

In the area of restraints on U.S. direct investment, there is certainly good evidence, described by a former Commerce Department official, Jack N. Behrman, in an article on page 59 of the hearings, to suggest that U.S. direct outflows are very quick to repay themselves through the repatriation of earnings. This suggestion that the "payout" period is much shorter than previous official estimates is challenged by the Treasury Department on page 67 of the hearings, but there is certainly no definitive evidence to convince one that direct investments are a net drain even over the relatively short period of 4 or 5 years. There is also a positive influence from U.S. exports overseas, and it should be determined to what extent the recent slowing in the rate of increase of exports can be ascribed to the investment restraint.

Without being able to explore these programs exhaustively here, my conclusion is that U.S. investment control programs are actually reducing credit items in the payments accounts.

LACK OF COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC REVIEW

But the fundamental point I wish to make here is that the Congress itself is unable to assess and decide the total effects of these programs. There are several reasons. First, the "voluntary" investment and banking controls are not imposed through legislation and therefore there is no ready forum or lever for Congress to use in evaluating them. Congress has not itself taken the initiative that is required to review the program. Second, there is a distinct unwillingness on the part of the administration to present, even in the Ways and Means Committee, a comprehensive picture of the entire investment control program. I am dismayed that, after asking Treasury Under Secretary Deming on page 56 to request the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board "to show what they have been attempting to do and what the statistics show has been accomplished," the Federal Reserve's response was to reprint in the record a brief press release. The same response was given by the Secretary of Commerce to the chairman's and my own request for full information on the Commerce Department investment program. Press releases cannot substitute for substantive issue analysis, let alone can they be the basis for cross-examination in a public committee hearing.

The Congress is asked here only to renew and alter existing legislation. But this legislation is intimately related to a broader program that is not in our immediate legislative grasp. This does not absolve us from an obligation to understand these programs in their entirety and to relate them to the broader problem of the balance of payments, a matter of intense national and international concern. We have not done so.

FUNDAMENTAL SOLUTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN FOUND

Ultimately the effect of the three investment control programs has been designed, as the minority points out, to "buy time." The administration has promised us that this bought time, totaling 4 years this July, would be used to address the more fundamental underlying causes of the balance-of-payments deficit.

What has been accomplished? In spite of gross interference by Government altering the type but not the total of private U.S. investment, the Government account remains even further out of balance. U.S. Government loans increased by $1.5 billion in 1963, $1.5 in 1964, and $1.9 in 1965. Direct dollar outflows in 1966 from U.S. Government military and aid expenditures overseas totaled $3.4 billion deficit.

From the point of view merely of the capital account of the balance of payments, there is evidence that in every recent year but 1964 private inflows have exceeded outflows. Also, there is evidence, particularly in the table on page 152 of the hearings, that the private sector of the accounts has been in surplus every year except 1964 when it was in deficit only $100 million. The Government account was in deficit $3.9 billion in 1960 and 1961, $3.9 billion in 1962, 3.4 billion in 1963, $2.9 billion in 1964, $3.2 billion in 1965, and about $3.9 billion in 1966.

Clearly the burden is on Government to undertake searching reevaluations of every area of its international commitments in order to eliminate obligations that are not urgently important. If the war in Vietnam is given priority, then other objectives must be reexamined. There seems to be a great reluctance to do so. Public policy goals have been given priority to the detriment of private activities which themselves are the base of the pluses and can make fundamental contributions to solving the Government deficits.

A TENUOUS IMPROVEMENT

The balance of payments in 1966 was in deficit $568 million by the "official transactions" measurement, half of the deficit by the same measure in 1965. The improvement in 1966 was in large measure the result of a change in flows of capital seeking in part to take advantage of high U.S. interest rates. Given a rapidly changing monetary picture in this country these flows could turn to our disfavor, producing a large outflow in the present year.

The prognosis for the immediate future of the balance of payments is not good. Efforts to "manage" the balance of payments by manipulation of specific items is a relatively new effort, and a most difficult one; the balance of payments is not like the inventory of a grocery store that can be rearranged daily to meet changing demands. It is an imprecise measurement at best and our experience with attempts to adjust various of its items has not been good. The IET can be accurately seen as one of these post hoc balance of payments management items and no more. It should be reviewed and decided on by this House as part of the broader problem of achieving a fundamental adjustment of U.S. international payments and receipts.

Clearly the interest equalization act should be permitted to expire along with the two other programs of restraint and our attentions should be directed toward getting the Federal Government's expenditures, both capital and current, into balance with our international earnings.

Mr. CURTIS. And, Mr. Chairman, let me say, in all due respect to my colleagues, what is necessary is for you to come along and tell the administration that we cannot pursue a policy which you say in your concurring views is wrong. Do not come along and say, "Yes, we agree with the Republicans on the committee who point out these basic facts but we will support the administration in pursuing its bad habits."

Mr. Chairman, for the life of me, I cannot understand how anyone can concur in our views and then support this bill. The dissenting views point out the fact that the interest equalization tax has not achieved its purpose and that it has done really nothing, fortunately, overall in curbing private investment. Private enterprise has figured out all sorts of ways of getting around this "Berlin Wall." However, this legislation has created serious problems in the flexibility of private enterprise in investing abroad and how to use the most efficacious form of investment.

Now, Mr. Chairman, they have come to this new "dodge." My good chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills], is not willing to admit that it is a "dodge," but I want to say that the administration is going to try to figure out how it can put some machineguns on these areas where investment is escaping through the "Berlin Wall."

However, Mr. Chairman, I can state to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union this afternoon that insofar as the balance of payments is concerned—if this is a true statement—and I feel it probably is, although we have not had an opportunity of discussing this question with administration representatives—"$2½ billion rise in Eurodollar funds borrowed by American banks from their branches overseas to compensate, in part, for reduced availability of domestic sources of loanable funds" has come about.

What is going on here? These Government statisticians as well as our good friends in the private enterprise sector know how we compile our international balance-of-payments statistics. They know we do not include, in one of the new methods of computation which we have, which is a pretty good method, short-term money, money that is borrowed with maturity less than 1 year. And that is right, because that money can be withdrawn just like that. Some of this short-term money is only over here because of high interest rates we had in 1966. There are other reasons too. But short-term money should not be counted as easing our problems in this picture—the balance of payments—because it is fast money. It can go out tomorrow. So if you make your loan for a year and two months the amount is not counted as a U.S. deficit in the balance of payments—this $2.5 billion, you see.

On the surface this looks like it is an easing of the international balance of payments, but let me assure you that that money can be pulled out of the United States so fast that it would make our heads swim. It really is not an easing of the balance of payments. In fact, it creates a very dangerous sense of security—a false sense.

Now, our international bankers—and we have some very good ones in this country—have been pointing out for the past few months that the seeming ease is unreal. Incidentally, we did not really ease the balance of payments even on the figures. Not counting these maturities of almost a year, we are still over $1 billion in deficits again this year. But the arrival of these sums should not be regarded as hitting at the basic problem in the international balance of payments. They are still claims against the United States and against the U.S. gold.

Mr. Chairman, I have put all this data in the Record. I want to refer to some data I put in the Record on February

20, 1967, at page 3868. This was the testimony of Dr. N. R. Danielian, president of the International Economic Policy Association before the House Committee on Ways and Means on the proposed extension of the interest equalization tax on February 16.

Dr. Danielian presented a splendid paper spelling out in considerable detail this serious problem of the balance, or the relationship of private investment and Government investment abroad.

Thus, as is regrettably so often the case, the news media lost interest in the testimony before the committee. As soon as the Government witnesses had presented their opening remarks they left. They did not even wait to hear the cross examination of the Government witnesses. They certainly were not around to hear the testimony of others including Mr. Danielian who might have differing viewpoints.

I put this testimony in the Congressional Record hoping that more of my colleagues—because we all rely to a certain extent on the news media for information concerning the activities of committees on which we do not serve—so I put this in for their evaluation of this material, and I wish to refer the reader of these remarks to that testimony.

I am also going to refer with just a few comments to the 1966 yearend review of the Alliance for Progress, a copy of which was sent to all of us—I guess it was sent to all of us by the Department of State, Agency for International Development. The forwarding letter was signed by Mr. Braunheim, Deputy Consulting Coordinator. Well, this kind of document, as far as giving information, is not worth the powder to blow it up. It is rhetoric. It does not have meaningful figures. When you try to zero in on some of the statistics that are set out you end up with just words. They talk about modernization, expansion, a few disappointments, in one instance about reform, but you cannot find any meaning in the material. It is powder in the eyes.

A few years ago I tried to find out just a simple thing about the Alliance for Progress.

Over a period of 10 years' investment in South America was to be increased by $20 billion. This was the Alliance for Progress.

I tried to find out how much of this investment was to be private and how much Government. Well, the record shows that the figures vary, depending upon which Government witness is talking and in which year he happens to make his comments. I still do not know what the breakdown really is and neither does the administration. But it demonstrates that the Alliance for Progress is just a catch phrase. It is propaganda, not reality. Talk about truth in lending and truth in packaging—we need a truth in labeling some of these programs in order to find out what they really are. We need to have the figures in the Alliance for Progress of how much the non-Latin governments including the United States are to put in and how much the governments of the South American countries are to put in. How much do the private investors in South America put in in their own country. Then what do we expect from private investors here? You cannot pin it down. Yet this is a crucial point involved in the debate here.

Are we going to try to shackle private investment at the same time that Government investments continue to go unshackled? Increase Government investment by $5 billion as the President requests the very week he asks us to further impede private investment abroad.

I see here the gentleman fom Iowa who serves on the Committee on Foreign Affairs—I see him present and I am glad because I have remarked in my opening statement that here we are debating this bill to restrict private investment abroad at a time when the President just 2 days ago, I think it was, asked this Congress to give him $5 billion more for the Government to invest abroad, without any relation in his message to this problem of the international balance of payments.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding and I regret that I was not here when the gentleman spoke previously.

We held hearings—yesterday and today—in the Foreign Affairs Committee on a resolution—that a greenback-wrapped carrot that the House is supposed to give to the President to take down to Punta del Este on April 12.

This resolution is a virtually open-ended financial commitment. We have no more idea at this hour, after 2 days of hearings, of how this additional money is to be spent than the man in the moon. We are asked to make a commitment—a moral commitment to underwrite just about anything the administration wants for the Alliance for Progress in the future.

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask the gentleman from Iowa this question?

Did the Government witnesses give to your committee any information of the impact of this request on the problem of international payments?

Mr. GROSS. I asked them to supply it for the record when time ran out today—I asked them to supply for the record whether there were any problems of balance of payments insofar as the Latin American countries are concerned. The witnesses could not answer the question today.

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask the gentleman: Did the Government witnesses come in in their prepared statements with any reference to the international balance-of-payments problem?

Mr. GROSS. No, they did not. There was no mention of it of any real consequence in their prepared statements.

Mr. CURTIS. I might say to the gentleman, I have been developing with the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means before, the matter of this increasingly bad habit of executive witnesses to not include in their original presentations data that obviously is important if the Congress or the committee involved is to adequately consider a matter. There is a difference between coming in with this data as part of your original statement so that you can be cross-examined on it—and this business of supplying it for the record later as we on the committees are frequently forced to employ, just to get it in the record of the hearings. So, as I understand the gentleman, the best he can hope to get in the way of information on the impact of the $5 billion request on the international balance of payments is through what they might supply for the record. I hope you are not as unfortunate as I was in the hearings on this particular bill to have them supply for the record two press releases that the Department of Commerce and the Federal Reserve Board has issued instead of the data and report which I was asking for to get the information I felt the committee and the Congress needed.

Mr. GROSS. I would say that the best we can hope for is that this information will be made available before the resolution comes up—probably next week.

I thoroughly agree with the gentleman that this is a poor way to run a railroad when Government witnesses do not come before committees with answers to questions that they know will be asked.

I will say to the gentleman that when the Alliance for Progress was made effective it was the hope—h-o-p-e—that American investors would go to Latin America and invest at the rate of about $300 million a year. The facts are—and I cannot give you the figures for all the years since the Alliance for Progress has been made effective—but I can tell you that Secretary Rusk yesterday agreed that in the years 1962 and 1963 American private investments for all of Latin America ran at the average of $23 million for each of those years. He also said—and I do not remember the year to which it referred—that we had a minus investment in Latin America.

Mr. CURTIS. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. So this program has in some respects worked in reverse. I think the top figure was $170 million of investments in one year by private investors in Latin America as compared with the $300 million which we were told would be the annual rate.

Mr. CURTIS. I will give the gentleman another interesting statistic that came up somewhat accidentally in our committee about 2 years ago. I believe the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Schneebeli] was interrogating the Secretary of the Treasury in respect to the certificates of deposit. We had a lot of foreign investments coming into the United States. I think that particular year the figure was $1.3 billion in certificates of deposits. I picked up on the development of my good friend from Pennsylvania, for I wanted to be sure of what was said. I said, "The bulk of that, of course, is from Western Europe?" And the Secretary of the Treasury said, "No, as a matter of fact, very little of it."

I said, "Let us find out where it is from. Let us start with Latin America."

I want to tell the gentleman from Iowa that over $1 billion was from Latin America. In other words, these people were not even investing in their own economy. They were sending vast sums and investing in the United States, instead. And I guess they were investing in the banks in Geneva, also.

Let us start talking facts. If we want to help these nations abroad, first, we should understand what government investment can do in the way of driving out private investment; second, if we do not even get the peoples of the countries involved to invest in their own economies, obviously something is going wrong over there.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I think it would be most interesting if we were able to find, with any degree of accuracy, what the gold holdings of the Latin American countries are these days.

I want to say another thing. I have had a bad taste in my mouth for a long time as a result of this Alliance for Progress business. We went down there and made a substantial loan to one of the South American countries and that government promptly turned around and went to Communist East Germany for the purchase of some 80 locomotives. They did not even bother to spend the money in this country for the locomotives that they got.

Mr. CURTIS. Last year or the year before, when we had the Inter-American Development Bank measure, I voted for that and for the Asiatic Development Bank, because frankly, I thought that the bank device, this mechanism for using Government money, was superior to governmental grants and many of the so-called loans. I again emphasize that I favor the theory of foreign aid. Indeed I do. My criticisms have been directed as to the total amount of foreign aid and particularly to the manner in which the money is spent or invested because, in my judgment, it has been grossly misspent and invested. This has created enemies instead of friends. It has not truly assisted these developing nations in increased per capita gross national product or in increased foreign purchasing power. It has not developed the private sector in these societies—only kept oligarchs and dictators on the backs of people.

I know the gentleman from Iowa did not vote for the Asian Development Bank. Many others did not, and I respect their views. But I only emphasize this point for the benefit of those who might read the RECORD and who may be concerned about this issue. There are many people who are very much concerned about our international operations and who want to see these developing countries developed and want to have good programs to help them do it. All I am seeking to do is to try to get some sense into these programs. We surely have not had much good sense in them.

One other thing. My good friends on the Democratic side of the aisle who have resented in the political campaigns the use of the words "rubberstamp Congress" can bear witness to what is going on here today. I know of no issue that is more serious to the welfare of this country, which involves our society's future and which relates to the issues of war and peace, than this, this piece of legislation. Members can dispute as to whether or not the Ways and Means Committee did the adequate study necessary for this House to consider this matter. I only wish they would show enough concern to engage in such a debate.

The attendance here today is about as usual. I cannot blame our colleagues too much. It is a technical matter, but it is not beyond our competence to discuss or debate it. However, I do point it up. There are people who might disagree with words that might be said here, the theories, the statistics, the context. People who might disagree with me, but they are not here to take the floor and contest anything.

This constitutes a rubberstamp Congress.

This is what this Congress, under the Democrat leadership, has brought representative government to. We do not debate these bills. Our committees are not doing the adequate study necessary to conduct an intelligent debate. We just go along, because the Executive, who makes these decisions behind closed doors, tells the Congress to, without anybody knowing what data or what evidence is adduced. There is no cross-examination, because no one even knows the names of the expert witnesses, if indeed there are any witnesses. This is the definition of a rubberstamp Congress. I hope I would have the courage to say the same thing—and I am sure I would—if this kind of operation were run by Republicans. This involves the integrity of our institution, the U.S. Congress. This, to me, is a more crucial issue than the bill before us, important and crucial as it is.

It is a painful thing to spend time researching these things and studying, and knowing full well—and I knew it before I took the floor—that there was not going to be a debate here, because we are a rubberstamp Congress. I hope the people in 1968 will return a Congress that is going to do its homework and will debate these issues honestly, under open rules, and will hold its hearings in public and not behind closed doors and will insist that the Executive do the same.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate my colleague from Missouri yielding.

I have been a little bit "gun shy" of these attempts to balance our international trade by legislation, ever since the fateful day in 1962 when there was slipped through the Congress the so-called Reciprocal Trade and Tariff Treaty of that year, and the Congress thereby yielded some of its constitutional power to the Executive.

The gentleman will recall—and I am sure he does—that bill gave the President power to vary the protective tariff within a range of 50 percent without coming back to the Congress. Many people think, rightly or wrongly, that this has led to the formation of the European Common Market, but also it has led at least to some of the loss of our export markets abroad. Be that as it may, I am gun shy.

I notice in the report and in this bill that authority is granted the Chief Executive under "closely circumscribed discretionary authority," power to vary the present rates by 50 percent or higher. Does this actually mean five-tenths of 1 percent, or does it mean that the President in his wisdom could, as in the case of the Reciprocal Trade and Tariff Treaty, change it by 50 percent without coming back to the Congress?

If it does mean that, are we not indeed again being a rubberstamp Congress, and yielding to the Executive that which is in truth the power granted to the Congress, especially the peoples personally elected Representatives?

Mr. CURTIS. What the gentleman states is indeed the case. This is a power granted to the President. He does not have to come back to the Congress.

The gentleman from Arkansas said this was not a tax measure, that this was a regulatory measure. Evidently we have forgotten the old constitutional arguments that used to be made by those who were free traders, for example, who said that the protective tariff was a violation of the Constitution, because it was using tax for a purpose other than contemplated in the Constitution, and those who were advocating a "protective tariff"—and we must put it in quotes—would always deny that that is what they were really doing because they felt that this was a proper constitutional argument. They kept up the pretense that the tariffs were for revenue. Now we come to the point where openly a tax law is presented as being regulatory and not for revenue purposes. In my judgment it is clearly unconstitutional.

No one cares about that any more, I guess. I do. I care deeply.

The gentleman is pointing up another aspect of the Congress giving away power in the field of taxes.

I can defend the other side of the Reciprocal Trade Act. As the gentleman knows, I happen to have been one of those who favored the Reciprocal Trade Act. Let me say that if anyone examines carefully that Act, rather than the propaganda of those who were promoting it—and I almost abandoned my support of it because of the rotten propaganda used in that regard—he will see why. Certainly some of the promoters did not know what was in the bill. The Reciprocal Trade Act has some very close guidelines, within which the Executive must act and gives Congress some real control to follow through in the trade negotiations. We established a lot of machinery to protect the powers of Congress.

Here there is an area for debate, because I recognize the legitimacy of the question the gentleman raises as to whether we did give the Executive that kind of restrained power.

These are proper questions. They

should have been asked in the debate on the Reciprocal Trade Act. I was prepared to debate them at that time, but the questions were not asked.

Mr. HALL. Certainly everyone on this floor and every member of the Committee on Ways and Means knows well the gentleman has been at the GATT conferences and, only recently, the so-called Kennedy Round in Geneva as a result of this problem. He always argues well.

I realize that the gentleman has fought as a constitutionalist, believing that the genius of that document is that it can be properly changed from within, rather than to have the law relegated to the executive branch, or to have government by man instead of by law.

I know the gentleman need not take off his hat to anyone in respect to his position.

I also know that the gentleman has served on the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress, along with others of us, for the past 2½ years.

I should like to say, before I conclude my remarks, I am not in favor of delegating to any administration any more of the legislative powers of the Congress of the United States, because we, in fact, remain the people's personal elected Representatives, and the Constitution does say that trade, tax, tariff, and levies will originate in this body.

Mr. CURTIS. I will say to the gentleman that the key to this issue—and this is a very important thing, because it is under attack right now—are the various so-called independent agencies which the Congress creates to carry forward its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce. These agencies are arms of the Congress—not executive tribunals.

The Tariff Commission is an arm of the Congress. Yet we have had another Presidential message, which came down only a few days ago, in which the President is seeking to reorganize the Tariff Commission. Let me say here and now that the President has no power to touch the Tariff Commission. That is not an executive agency, nor is the SEC, nor is the Federal Trade Commission, nor is the ICC or any of the other independent regulatory bodies—and that includes the Federal Reserve Board.

The power of appointment which was given to the President for these arms of Congress was simply a convenience, in the same way as the power of appointment of Federal judges is given to the Executive.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has again expired.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

It is a convenience, because clearly the judiciary branch of the Government is not part of the Executive.

We gave the power of the appointment of the Comptroller General to the Executive as a convenience. His term is 14 years just as the terms of the members of the board of the other regulatory agencies are longer than the term of the President.

This is very important and very serious, because the rubberstamp Congresses can lose this power and they are losing it. In previous reorganization bills which came up in recent years the President sought through the Reorganization Act to restructure these independent agencies, these arms of the Congress, and they went through this Congress without a whimper.

Well, there were a few whimpers. I whimpered, and a few others did.

That is the basic point I feel is involved.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I shall vote against this bill, as I did before for all of these and other reasons—especially the lack of control of our own Government's wasteful and uncontrolled spending overseas in many times the amount of the private sector.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to develop just one other point and then I will button it up and get off, and let other Members worry about what they want to worry about.

One of the very serious problems in the international economic picture of course, is the decline in our exports over our imports last year. I have been trying to point out for some time the importance of the tie-in between private investment abroad and our exports.

This is a close tie-in. You cannot cut back on investments abroad and not have an impact, and a deleterious impact, on exports. If the measures to impede private investment abroad had really been successful instead of costly aggravations, our exports would have really fallen off.

On the Government side of the ledger in this same matter, the AID organization has been promoting a gross public misunderstanding over a period of years in talking about the tie-in of foreign aid with American exports. The reason why I say it is promoting a misunderstanding is because the actual figures are right if they are properly related but not to what the AID people are talking about. Most people, when they hear the argument that foreign aid is tied in 80 percent with American exports, think that on the particular AID project, whether it is building a road or building a school or building some housing, or whatever, that 80 percent of the money spent on the project is spent in the United States for materials and so forth. No. That is untrue. Yet this is the popular conception here in the Congress and among the people.

Actually, the tie-in in that respect is probably less than 15 percent. I say that because, of course, in these kinds of projects—and they should form the bulk of them—the materials are local and the bulk of the money goes for wages. What AID is talking about is the fact that when, for example, India takes on $1 billion of foreign aid, and let us say that India has been buying $800 million worth of material here in the United States, then AID comes along and says, "Well, we are going to insist that if we give you $1 billion, that $800 million of the foreign currencies or foreign purchasing power created by our gift or loan shall be used to buy in the United States." Well, that is counting the same thing twice. That is assuming that there was no private trade going on. That India had no foreign purchasing power. As a matter of fact, this kind of tie-in, far from increasing U.S. exports, actually has a dampening effect, because it puts the Government bureaucrats right in this business of economic decision making.

I do think it is important that we try the best we can to blow out of the water this falsehood that the AID organization has promoted. I must say now that they are intentionally promoting it, because I have written to them often enough about the inaccuracies of it and have said that if my criticisms are in error, then let me hear your reply. I receive no reply only a reiteration of the false propaganda. I think I have it pinned down now to the point where AID must admit in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation that this is what they have been doing.

Now let me say this further. This business of impeding private investments abroad is sure hitting right at the heart of this problem of international balance of payments, the wrong way. It is making our deficits worse. I hope that the House will vote this bill down. I know this is a forlorn hope.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to close now just as I said at the beginning. Regrettably this is a rubberstamp Congress. There is no debate on this issue—no debate at all.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri has consumed 35 minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I now yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL], a member of the committee.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I voted against the original enactment of the interest equalization tax and opposed its extension in the 89th Congress. I am changing my vote today—and will vote for the further extension of this tax—but I do so—not because I have changed my opinion in regards to this tax—but in spite of that opinion.

I am still convinced that this tax does not meet our balance-of-payments problem, but merely attempts to cover it up. Foreign investment does not give rise to the problem. Without foreign investment, we would be in more serious difficulty.

Actually, the interest equalization tax is only a part of a program adopted by the administration to curtail investment abroad, while enjoying the income from investments made in prior years, thereby temporarily making the situation look better. In addition to the tax, the administration has held a heavy "club" over banks and corporations doing business abroad to restrain the amount of money which they might loan or invest in foreign countries, and to compel them to borrow money abroad for those investments. Further restrictions on American investment abroad—after 4 years—will inevitably show up in reduced income from abroad and in a slower growth of exports. This was recognized by the original proponents of the interest equalization tax.

Sooner or later, the administration is going to have to face up to the real problem—excessive Government spending abroad. The private sector of our economy cannot earn enough abroad, in terms of European currencies, to pay for the maintenance of our troops abroad and for the aid which sooner or later is converted into claims against the American dollar. Until we cut back on these expenditures, we will never be any closer to a solution of the problem.

Notwithstanding my opposition to the tax, I am for the first time supporting the bill because of the urgency of the situation. Not only has the situation failed to improve since the Congress first enacted this tax 4 years ago, but it has worsened.

Our travel accounts produce a substantial deficit. American tourists spend about $1.8 billion more outside of the United States than foreign visitors spend in the United States.

At one time we had a favorable trade balance. Private exports—excluding any "giveaway" programs—exceeded imports by about $2½ to $3½ billion per year. This balance has disappeared. If we exclude the goods that were exported under various governmental aid programs, exports and imports for the calendar year 1966 just about balanced each other out. There was no trade surplus that could be called upon to finance other Government expenditures abroad.

When you come right down to it, the only thing that keeps us going is the income that we receive from foreign investments. If Americans had not invested heavily abroad in prior years, and we did not have this income flowing into the United States, we would have reached the breaking point long ago.

For the short term, the interest equalization tax—and the voluntary control over direct investment abroad will produce a greater surplus from investment. New investment is curtailed, without cutting back on the inflow from investments made in earlier years. Unquestionably, the administration can get away with this for awhile. I do not think the administration can do this very much longer.

I support the bill not because I see in it any solution to the problem. On the contrary, the bill merely buys additional time to get our house in order. We have already given the administration 4 years to do this without results. Since, however, in those 4 years our situation not only has failed to improve, but has worsened, I would be even more concerned over the consequences if the Congress failed to enact this legislation.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUSH], a member of the committee.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Chairman, I am going to support this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, our assets and investments abroad include U.S. Government credits and claims repayable in foreign currencies of $5,350 million. In just 2 years this account has increased from $3,987 billion, a $1,363 billion deterioration in our balance of payments in just 2 years.

The IET at best is a stopgap measure, but it is fighting private investment abroad. This is a skirmish—the real battle on the balance-of-payments problems should be fought, not in the arena of the private sector, but in the arena of the public sector.

It is wrong to make the dollar a captive in this one private area, but then let some Government agencies blow in these amounts and many more dollars in deals which result in a real deterioration in our balance of payments.

As a longrun measure, the IET is bad policy. It inhibits private investment. What is needed is a hard-nosed Government policy on Government expenditures. Until this is accomplished, the problem will be with us.

One additional word—I draw a distinct difference between debt and equity. In my opinion, common stock ownership should be totally exempt from the IET. Our losses on balance in equities are not large—in fact, some figures show there is no loss at all.

If we cut off our citizens from investing abroad, is it not understandable that foreign brokers will be less willing to have their customers invest in American business.

As Europe becomes more profitable, given few artificial barriers, we can attract foreign investment to America. We have the glamour companies, the great consumer goods companies, strong international companies and the small investor abroad will more and more want to buy a few shares in our great system. He will be less apt to do this if we do not let our people invest in foreign markets.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. FINO].

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the proposed extension of the Interest Equalization Tax Act. This to my mind is a poorly conceived program. It is a stopgap policy which is becoming institutionalized.

For one thing, the interest equalization tax has so many loopholes in it that it is not even very effective as a weapon in our balance-of-payments struggle.

It does not apply to direct U.S. investments overseas.

It does not apply to many commercial bank loans.

It does not apply to some new Japanese securities issues or all new Canadian securities issues.

In short, it does not apply to nearly everything that counts. Its principal effect has been to discourage Western Europe and Japan from raising capital in the United States. Such fundraising has declined from over $300 million in 1962 to an estimated $29 million in 1966. Lest anybody think this is an achievement, the privileged new issues of Canada, which are exempt from the tax, have risen from $457 million in 1962 to $898 million in 1966. I ask this House to consider carefully the stark and glaring fact that $1.1 billion worth of new-issue foreign securities were purchased by U.S. residents in 1966, as compared with $50 million fewer in 1962, before the interest equalization tax. So much for the tax. It has too many loopholes—and Canadian exemption is the biggest—to be effective in our balance-of-payments struggle. All it does is disrupt the flow of investment capital between Europe and the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I am not in favor of pumping money into Europe, but I have an alternative solution. Let us scrap the interest equalization tax and also bring home four of our six divisions stationed in Europe. Europe does not need our troops. They cost us billions of dollars a year—and this affects our balance of payments. The money Europe saves by not having to protect itself is used to build up European industry, strengthening foreign exports and currencies to the detriment of the dollar. We would be better off letting investment capital flow freely between the United States and Europe, while bringing home most of our troops, than continuing in the absurd position of saying to Europe that we can afford to protect you at a cost of billions, but we cannot afford to let you raise dollars with your securities issues.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINO. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, in addition to the expenditures for the maintenance of our troops in Europe and the cost of removing them, since De Gaulle has thrown them out of France, does the gentleman have any idea as to how many billions of dollars that is going to cost?

Mr. FINO. There is no question but what it is going to cost additional billions, I will say to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

I do not expect that this House will see fit to terminate the interest equalization tax. This administration is wedded to the economics of opportunism. That is why the President will propose a cut in the school milk program while he proposes to throw away billions on the poverty program. The same psychology, it seems to me, must be at the root of using balance-of-payments arguments to justify the interest equalization tax while wasting billions on protecting a fat and flush Europe and dispensing foreign aid all over the world.

Mr. Chairman, another weakness of the tax is the exclusion of new Canadian issues. Canada's sale of new securities in the United States has doubled since 1962 from $450 million to $900 million. This Canadian exclusion makes the tax a paper tiger. Frankly, I am not so sure that Canada is sufficiently well disposed toward American investments to justify giving Canada the benefit of exemption from the interest equalization tax.

At present, new Canadian securities issues are exempt from the tax under section 4917 of the interest equalization tax which provides that the President can exempt new securities issues of foreign countries when necessary to maintain international monetary stability. In practice, this exemption only applies to Canada. Needless to say, this exemption is a real boon to the Canadian economy.

Back in 1964, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, made this point in discussing the proposal with Treasury Secretary Dillon during the Senate hearings. The Senator told Secretary Dillon that it was hard to understand why we were doing Canada such a favor while the Canadians were doing their best to think up ways to disrupt our investment and trade. In the words of Senator Douglas, Canada's exemption was a "concession" to the Canadians. He was so right. All Secretary Dillon could say was that the interest equalization tax would really shake up the Canadians should it be extended to them. He told how the threat of such an extension had created a panic on the Canadian stock exchanges.

Frankly, I think it is time that somebody shook the Canadians up a little bit. They are using anti-Americanism to keep their French and English populations from fighting among themselves. I suggest to the Members of this House that they read the newspaper reports on the proposals of the Royal Tax Commission in Canada. It is a bunch of "sock-the-United States" tax proposals. I suggest to this House that they read about the way that the Canadians are bound and determined to chase our one U.S.-owned bank out of Canada, notwithstanding the fact that of all the nations in the world, Canada does the biggest banking business in the United States.

As a member of the House Banking Committee, I have sponsored legislation that would introduce the principle of reciprocity into U.S. regulation of foreign banking activity in this country. That is the only way we will curb Canada's growing economic nationalism with respect to banking and finance. I regret to say that I think we have to reemphasize the reciprocity provisions of the Interest Equalization Tax Act.

If Canada were faced with the chance of having its $900 million a year fundraising in this country put under the interest equalization tax, perhaps the Canadians would not talk so big.

When Congress extended the interest equalization tax in 1965, we added a new section to the bill which provides that the President "may" consider any restraints on U.S. investments which run contrary to treaties in considering whether or not to exempt new securities issues of given nations from the interest equalization tax. The law only says that the President "may" consider the unfriendly attitude of the foreign country. I think that this House ought to urge the President to consider what Canada proposes to do to us. Canada is getting carried away with economic nationalism. To date, the President has not considered the unfriendly acts of Canada in considering whether to exempt new Canadian securities issues from the interest equalization tax. I believe that Congress ought to speak its mind.

I do not say all this lightly, but the Canadians seem determined to go for our financial jugular. Let me quote from a New York Times article describing their recent Royal Tax Commission report:

> The changes, in general, would make the investment in a Canadian company more attractive to a Canadian than to a nonresident. The Commission said that this would mean that more Canadians would invest in Canadian securities with the result that prices would rise and make such investment less attractive to foreigners.

This is what the Canadians are up to. I think the President ought to consider this sort of thing in deciding whether or not to continue exempting new Canadian securities issues. As I noted earlier, the Canadians are not pikers. Since 1962, they have doubled their fundraising in U.S. markets to $900 million a year in 1966. Think about this a minute. If the Canadians were not sopping up this money, it could have helped U.S. homebuilding last year by keeping mortgage rates down. After all, many studies last year showed that securities purchases were hitting savings banks harder than certificates of deposit. I do not want Canadian securities helping to create and continue tight money in the United States, particularly when the Canadians are doing their best to think up tax structures which will hurt U.S. investment in Canada.

As it now stands, the interest equalization tax is largely a gimmick. It does not really do anything for our balance of payments. I urge this House to reject it. But assuming we pass it, I think we ought to tell the President to reconsider Canada's exemption. Canada needs to be taught that economic nationalism does not pay.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time on this side.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the bill is considered as having been read for amendment.

Under the rule, no amendments are in order except amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means.

The bill is as follows:

H.R. 6096

A bill to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE, ET CETERA

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967".

(b) AMENDMENT OF 1954 CODE.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this Act an amendment is expressed in terms of an amendment to a section or other provision, the reference is to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX

Section 4911(d) is amended by striking out "July 31, 1967" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 31, 1969".

SEC. 3. IMPROVEMENT OF TAX

(a) AMOUNT OF TAX.—Section 4911(b) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) AMOUNT OF TAX.—

"(1) RATES OF TAX.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3)—

"(A) STOCK.—The tax imposed by subsection (a) on the acquisition of stock shall be equal to 15 per centum of the actual value of the stock.

"(B) DEBT OBLIGATIONS.—The tax imposed by subsection (a) on the acquisition of a debt obligation shall be equal to a percentage of the actual value of the debt obligation measured by the period remaining to its maturity and determined under column II(A) of the following table:

"I	II	
"If the period remaining to maturity is—	The tax, as a percentage of actual value, is—	
	(A)	(B)
At least 1 year, but less than 1¼ years	1.05	1.58
At least 1¼ years, but less than 1½ years	1.30	1.95
At least 1½ years, but less than 1¾ years	1.50	2.25
At least 1¾ years, but less than 2¼ years	1.85	2.78
At least 2¼ years, but less than 2¾ years	2.30	3.45
At least 2¾ years, but less than 3½ years	2.75	4.13
At least 3½ years, but less than 4½ years	3.55	5.33
At least 4½ years, but less than 5½ years	4.35	6.53
At least 5½ years, but less than 6½ years	5.10	7.65
At least 6½ years, but less than 7½ years	5.80	8.70
At least 7½ years, but less than 8½ years	6.50	9.75
At least 8½ years, but less than 9½ years	7.10	10.65
At least 9½ years, but less than 10½ years	7.70	11.55
At least 10½ years, but less than 11½ years	8.30	12.45
At least 11½ years, but less than 13½ years	9.10	13.65
At least 13½ years, but less than 16½ years	10.30	15.45
At least 16½ years, but less than 18½ years	11.35	17.03
At least 18½ years, but less than 21½ years	12.25	18.38
At least 21½ years, but less than 23½ years	13.05	19.58
At least 23½ years, but less than 26½ years	13.75	20.63
At least 26½ years, but less than 28½ years	14.35	21.53
28½ years or more	15.00	22.50

"(2) MODIFICATION OF TAX RATES BY EXECUTIVE ORDER.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—If the President of the United States determines that the rates of tax imposed by paragraph (1), or provided in any prior Executive order issued pursuant to this paragraph, are lower or higher than the rates of tax necessary to limit the total acquisitions by United States persons of stock of foreign issuers and debt obligations of foreign obligors within a range consistent with the balance-of-payments objectives of the United States, he may by Executive order (effective as provided in subparagraph (C)(ii)) increase or decrease such rates of tax.

"(B) MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM RATES.—No change in the rates of tax which is prescribed in an Executive order issued under subparagraph (A) shall (i) cause the rate applicable to the acquisition of stock to be higher than 22.5 percent or lower than 15 percent, or (ii) cause the rates applicable to debt obligations to be higher than the rates set forth in column II(B) of the table in paragraph (1)(B) of this subsection or lower than the rates set forth in column II(A) of such table.

"(C) Application of executive orders.—

"(i) Each increase and each decrease in the rates of tax which is prescribed in an Executive order issued under subparagraph (A) shall provide for the same proportionate increase or decrease in each rate of tax, except that any such rate may be rounded to the nearest 0.01 percent.

"(ii) Any Executive order issued under subparagraph (A) shall apply with respect to acquisitions made after the date on which such order is issued (or, if later, after the 29th day following the date of the enactment of this paragraph); except that in the case of any such order which increases the rates of tax (as in effect without regard to such order), to the extent specified in such order, rules similar to the rules prescribed by paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of section 3(c) of the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967 shall apply.

"(3) Rates during interim period.—In the case of acquisitions of stock and debt obligations made after January 25, 1967, and before the thirtieth day after the date of the enactment of this paragraph, the tax imposed by subsection (a) shall be 2.5 percent in the case of acquisition of stock, and shall be determined under column II(B) (rather than column II(A)) of the table in paragraph (1)(B) in the case of acquisition of a debt obligation.

"(4) Regulations.—The Secretary or his delegate may prescribe such regulations (not inconsistent with the provisions of this section or of any Executive order issued and in effect under this section) as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section."

(b) Application of Executive Order 11198, etc.—

(1) The table in section 4931(c) (relating to debt obligations with maturity from 1 to 3 years) is amended to read as follows:

"If the period remaining to maturity is:	The tax, as a percentage of actual value, is:
At least 1 year, but less than 1¼ years	1.58 percent
At least 1¼ years, but less than 1½ years	1.95 percent
At least 1½ years, but less than 1¾ years	2.25 percent
At least 1¾ years, but less than 2¼ years	2.78 percent
At least 2¼ years, but less than 2¾ years	3.45 percent
At least 2¾ years, but less than 3 years	4.13 percent."

(2) Section 3(e)(1)(A) of the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"(A) by striking out subsection (c) (as amended by the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967) and redesignating subsections (d) and (e) as subsections (c) and (d), respectively;".

(c) Effective Date and Special Rules.—

(1) General rule.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to acquisitions of stock or debt obligations made after January 25, 1967. The amendment made by paragraph (1) of subsection (b) shall apply only with respect to acquisitions of debt obligations made after January 25, 1967, and before February 21, 1967 (the date on which the amendments made by section 3(e)(1) of the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1965 became effective.)

(2) Preexisting commitments.—Such amendments shall not apply to an acquisition—

(A) made pursuant to an obligation to acquire which on January 25, 1967—

(i) was unconditional, or

(ii) was subject only to conditions contained in a formal contract under which partial performance had occurred; or

(B) as to which on or before January 25, 1967, the acquiring United States person (or, in a case where two or more United States persons are making acquisitions as part of a single transaction, a majority in interest of such persons) had taken every action to signify approval of the acquisition under the procedures ordinarily employed by such person (or persons) in similar transactions and had sent or deposited for delivery to the foreign persons from whom the acquisition was made written evidence of such approval in the form of a commitment letter, memorandum of terms, draft purchase contract, or other document setting forth, or referring to a document sent by the foreign person from whom the acquisition was made which set forth, the principal terms of such acquisition, subject only to the execution of formal documents evidencing the acquisition and to customary closing conditions.

(3) Public offerings.—Such amendments shall not apply to an acquisition made on or before March 27, 1967, if—

(A) a registration statement (within the meaning of the Securities Act of 1933) was in effect with respect to the stock or debt obligation acquired at the time of its acquisition;

(B) the registration statement was first filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission on January 25, 1967, or within 90 days before that date; and

(C) no amendment was filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission after January 25, 1967, and before the acquisition which had the effect of increasing the number of shares of stock or the aggregate face amount of the debt obligations covered by the registration statement.

(4) Options, foreclosures, and conversions.—Such amendments shall not apply to an acquisition—

(A) of stock pursuant to the exercise of an option or similar right (or a right to convert a debt obligation into stock), if such option or right was held on January 25, 1967, by the person making the acquisition or by a decedent from whom such person acquired the right to exercise such option or right by bequest or inheritance or by reason of such decedent's death, or

(B) of stock or debt obligations as a result of a foreclosure by a creditor pursuant to the terms of an instrument held by such creditor on January 25, 1967.

(d) Returns.—If, by reason of the enactment of this Act, a person incurs additional liability for interest equalization tax with respect to acquisitions of stock or debt obligations made after January 25, 1967, for which a return has been filed under section 6011(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 before the date of the enactment of this Act, such person shall make an amended return showing such additional liability. If liability for interest equalization tax with respect to such acquisitions is initially created by reason of the enactment of this section, the person incurring such liability shall make a return. The returns required to be made by this paragraph shall be filed on or before the last day of the month following the close of the calendar quarter in which the date of the enactment of this Act occurs or at such later time as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe.

Sec. 4. Other Amendments.

(a) Exclusion of Acquisitions Arising Out of Sales of Certain Foreign Real Property.—

(1) Section 4914(b)(14) is amended to read as follows:

"(14) Foreign property.—Of debt obligations arising out of the sale of—

"(A) tangible property located outside the United States which was held by the person acquiring such obligation for his personal use, or

"(B) real property (other than property to which subparagraph (A) applies) located outside the United States and owned, on July 18, 1963, by the person acquiring such obligation."

(2) The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply only with respect to acquisitions made on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) Exclusion of Certain Acquisitions by Residents Not Citizens.—

(1) Section 4914(b) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(15) Certain acquisitions by residents not citizens.—Of stock or debt obligations by an individual who is a resident but not a citizen of the United States, during the ninety-day period beginning on the date such individual first became a resident of the United States."

(2) Section 4914(j)(2) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For purposes of this chapter, if, after February 27, 1967, a United States person sells or otherwise disposes of stock or a debt obligation to the acquisition of which subsection (b)(15) applied, such person shall not, with respect to that stock or debt obligation, be considered a United States person."

(3) The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to acquisitions made after July 18, 1963.

(c) Certain Sales of Ores or Minerals by United States Persons.—

(1) Section 4914(c)(5) is amended by adding at the end thereof (after and below subparagraph (B)) the following new sentence:

"For purposes of clause (iii) of subparagraph (A) (and for purposes of determining whether a debt obligation arises out of a loan described in subparagraph (B) in a case where the ores, minerals, or derivatives involved are obtained under a contract described in such clause), a contract shall be deemed to have been entered into on or before July 18, 1963, if it is entered into after such date and before January 26, 1967, and is a substitute for a contract, which has been canceled or terminated, between the same parties which was entered into on or before July 18, 1963; except that the total amount of the acquisitions excluded by this paragraph on the basis of a contract entered into after July 18, 1963, which is deemed by this sentence to have been entered into on or before such date shall not exceed the total amount of the acquisitions which could have been excluded by this paragraph on the basis of the earlier contract for which such contract was substituted."

(2) The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to acquisitions made on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) International Monetary Stability Exclusion.—

(1) Section 4917(d) is amended by striking out "after the date of the enactment of the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1965".

(2) The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to acquisitions made after July 18, 1963.

(3) No interest shall be paid with respect to any credit or refund allowed or made by reason of the application of this subsection.

(e) Resales of Debt Obligations by United States Dealers.—

(1) Sections 4919(a)(2)(A)(ii) and 4919(a)(2)(B)(ii) are each amended by striking out "on the same or the next business day" and inserting in lieu thereof "within thirty days after the day of purchase".

(2) Section 4919 (b)(3) is amended—

(A) by striking out in subparagraph (A)(ii) "on the day of purchase or the next business day" and inserting in lieu thereof "within thirty days after the day of purchase";

(B) by striking out in the sentence following subparagraph (A)(ii) "on the day on which it was purchased or the next business day" and inserting in lieu thereof "within 30 days after the day of purchase";

(C) by striking out "or" at the end of subparagraph (B)(i);

(D) by striking out "or debt obligation" in subparagraph (B)(ii) and by adding "or" at the end of such subparagraph:

(E) by adding after subparagraph (B)(ii) the following:

"(iii) purchased a debt obligation which he resold within 30 days after the day of purchase to a person other than a United States person,"; and

(F) by striking out in the matter following subparagraph (B)(iii) (as added by subparagraph (E) of this paragraph) "on the day of purchase or the next business day" and by inserting before the period at the end of subparagraph (B) the following: "on the day of purchase or the next business day in the case of stock, or within 30 days after the day of purchase in the case of a debt obligation".

(3) The amendments made by this subsection shall apply only with respect to an acquisition by a dealer of a debt obligation which is resold by such dealer to another dealer (whether such acquisition by the former dealer occurs before or after such resale) after January 25, 1967.

(f) FOREIGN LENDING AND FINANCE BUSINESSES.—

(1) Section 4920(a)(3) is amended by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "; or", and by adding after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

"(C) a domestic corporation which together with its subsidiaries (if any)—

"(i) is primarily engaged in the lending or finance business through offices located outside the United States, and

"(ii) holds itself out, in the course of such business outside the United States, as lending money to the public generally,

and which elects to be treated as a foreign issuer or obligor for purposes of this chapter. The election under the preceding sentence shall be made on or before the 60th day after the date of the enactment of this subparagraph or the 60th day after the organization of the corporation, whichever is later, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate. Any such election shall be effective as of January 26, 1967, or the date of the organization of the corporation, whichever is later, and shall remain in effect until revoked. If, at the close of any succeeding calendar quarter, the corporation ceases to meet the requirement of clause (i), the election shall thereupon (with respect to quarters after such calendar quarter) be deemed revoked. When an election is revoked no further election may be made."

(2) Section 4920(a) is further amended by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

"(3A) For purposes of paragraph (3)(C)—

"(A) the term 'lending or finance business' has the meaning given it by section 542 (d)(1); except that for such purposes the term '60 months' appearing in subparagraph (B)(i) of such section shall be deemed to read '48 months', and the subsequent portion of such subparagraph (B)(i) shall be disregarded;

"(B) a corporation shall be considered a 'subsidiary' of another corporation only if stock possessing at least 50 percent of the voting power of all classes of its stock is directly or indirectly owned by such other corporation and the two corporations are affiliated with each other; and

"(C) a corporation primarily engaged in lending money to one or more other corporations each of which is affiliated with it and satisfies the requirements of clauses (i) and (ii) of paragraph (3)(C) shall itself be deemed to satisfy such requirements. For purposes of this paragraph, two corporations are 'affiliated' with each other if they are members (or would be members if they were both domestic corporations) of the same affiliated group (within the meaning of section 1504)."

(3) Section 4920(a)(4)(C) is amended by striking out "paragraph (3)(B)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (3)".

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any committee amendments?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, there are three committee amendments, one of which is a technical amendment.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MILLS

Mr. Chairman, I offer the first amendment on page 13, after line 10.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment offered by Mr. MILLS: On page 13, after line 10, insert the following:

"(3) If, with respect to an acquisition after July 18, 1963, and before the date of enactment of this Act, by a State or political subdivision, or by any agency or instrumentality thereof, of stock or a debt obligation which is all or part of an original or new issue to which an Executive order issued under section 4917(a) is applicable (other that an Executive order which is applicable to a limited aggregate amount of such issues), the notice of acquisition required by section 4917(a) is filed on or before the 60th day after the date of enactment of this Act, such notice shall be considered as filed on or before the last day specified in the regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate under section 4917(a)."

On page 13, line 11, strike out "(3)" and insert "(4)".

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, the first committee amendment concerns the exclusion for new issues of Canadian stock or debt obligations. It has come to your committee's attention that some State governments have made Canadian acquisitions for their pension funds, but have inadvertently not filed the required notice of acquisition. This has occurred because the State agencies are not accustomed to having to concern themselves with Federal tax matters. This amendment provides States with a grace period of 60 days after the enactment of the bill in which to file a notice concerning past acquisitions and, thus, not be penalized.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Is this the technical amendment which the gentleman was speaking of?

Mr. MILLS. No, the technical amendment will come up last.

Mr. GROSS. This amendment is not germane to this bill?

Mr. MILLS. This amendment is absolutely germane.

Mr. GROSS. It is germane to this bill?

Mr. MILLS. Quite germane.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. It is germane to the bill, in my judgment, and it is certainly true that the staff of both the Treasury and our committee went over it. It seeks to accomplish a desirable result.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MILLS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment offered by Mr. MILLS: On page 17, after line 15, add the following:

"(g) CERTAIN EXPORT-RELATED TRANSACTIONS.—

"(1) Section 4920(a)(3) is amended by striking out 'or' at the end of subparagraph (B) and the period at the end of subparagraph (C) (as added by subsection (f)(1) of this section), by inserting in lieu of such period '; or', and by adding after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:

"'(D) a domestic corporation if—

"'(i) substantially all of the business of such corporation consists of the acquisition from foreign obligors of debt obligations, arising out of loans made to such obligors, all of the proceeds of which are to be used by such obligors to pay part or all of the purchase price in sales to such obligors of tangible property or property described in section 4914(c)(3)(A) or services (or any combination thereof) by one or more includible corporations in an affiliated group, as defined in section 1504, of which such corporation is a member,

"'(ii) at least 15 percent of the purchase price of each such sale is attributable to the sale of property manufactured, produced, grown, or extracted in the United States by one or more such includible corporations, or to the performance of services by one or more such includible corporations, or to both,

"'(iii) such corporation establishes that such debt obligations are acquired solely out of the proceeds of the sale by such corporation (or by a domestic corporation described in section 4912(b)(3) which owns all of the stock of such corporation) of debt obligations of such corporation (or such other domestic corporation) to persons other than United States persons (including such a sale in a transaction described in section 4919(a)(1)),

"'(iv) the actual value and period remaining to maturity of the debt obligations acquired by such corporation do not exceed at any time the actual value and period remaining to maturity of the debt obligations the proceeds of the sale of which are established, in accordance with clause (iii), to have been used to make such acquisitions,

"'(v) such corporation does not acquire any stock or debt obligations of foreign issuers or obligors (other than debt obligations described in clause (i)) which would have been subject to the tax imposed by section 4911 had such corporation not elected to be treated as a foreign issuer or obligor under clause (vii),

"'(vi) such corporation maintains, in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary or his delegate, such records and accounts as may be necessary to establish that the requirements of the foregoing clauses have been met, and

"'(vii) such corporation elects to be treated as a foreign issuer or obligor for purposes of this chapter.

The election under clause (vii) shall be made on or before the 60th day after the date of the enactment of this subparagraph or the 60th day after the organization of the corporation, whichever is later, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate. Any such election shall be effective as of the date thereof and shall remain in effect until revoked. If, at any time, the corporation ceases to meet any requirement of clause (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), or (vi), the election shall thereupon be deemed revoked. When an election is revoked, no further election may be made. If an election is revoked, the corporation shall incur liability at the time of such revocation for the tax imposed by section 4911 with respect to all debt obligations described in clause (i) (and all stock and debt obligations described in clause (v)) which were acquired by it during the period for which the election was in effect and which are held by it at the time of such revocation; and the amount of such tax shall be equal to the amount of tax for which the corporation would be liable under such section if it had acquired such stock or debt obligations immedaitely after such revocation. For purposes of sections 4912 and 4915, a corporation which has made an election under clause (vii) shall, during the period for which such election is in effect, be treated, with respect to acquisitions from such corporation, as a foreign corporation which is not formed or availed of for the principal purpose described in section 4915 (c)(1).'

"(2) Section 4920(a)(4)(C) (as amended by subsection (f)(3) of this section) is amended by striking out 'subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (3)" and by inserting in lieu thereof 'subparagraph (B), (C), or (D) of paragraph (3)'."

Mr. MILLS (interrupting the reading of the amendment). Mr. Chairman, the amendment consists of 4½ or 5 pages. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD at this point, in view of the fact that we will take time to explain it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, the amendment provides that a U.S. financing subsidiary of a domestic manufacturing concern which borrows money overseas and uses that money to finance its parent's sales abroad, that is, the American company's sales abroad, may elect to be exempt from the interest equalization tax. Since the funds used to make these loans will come from foreign sources, not American sources, this arrangement will not have an adverse effect on our balance of payments. Moreover, it will make it possible for U.S. concerns to bid competitively on foreign projects, inasmuch as they will be able to provide the financing which the foreign purchaser often insists on.

Mr. Chairman, this matter was called to the attention of the committee during the consideration of the bill in executive session, but at a point in our consideration where the committee itself did not have an opportunity to develop language to carry out the objective before the bill was reported. We instructed our staffs and the staff of the Treasury to look into the matter and to develop language and come back to us, if the bill had not been considered by the House, with an appropriate amendment that could be offered as a committee amendment. We followed that procedure here.

The amendment does have the support of the Treasury and I think it was received on its merit without any objection in the committee.

I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I simply confirm what the gentleman has said.

Mr. MILLS. It is the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from Arkansas.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MILLS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Committee amendment offered by Mr. MILLS: On page 16, line 7, after "clause (i)" insert "or clause (ii)".

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is the one that corrects a technical error in the provision of the committee bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from Arkansas.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. RESNICK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 6098) Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967, pursuant to House Resolution 384, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. CURTIS. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. CURTIS of Missouri moves to recommit the bill H.R. 6098 to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 261, nays 138, not voting 33, as follows:

[Roll No. 36]

YEAS—261

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Bell
Bennett
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Carey
Carter
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Culver
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Gubser
Gude
Hagan
Halleck
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Irwin
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kornegay
Kyros
Landrum
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Montgomery
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Poff
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Railsback
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roush
Roybal
Ruppe
Ryan
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Snyder
Stafford
Staggers
Steed
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer

Thompson, N.J.
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Wampler
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright
Wyatt
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—138

Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Baring
Battin
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Blackburn
Bolton
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Conte
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edwards, Ala.
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Gardner
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Heckler, Mass.
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson, Pa.
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McEwen
MacGregor
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pettis
Pollock
Price, Tex.
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Robison
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Schwengel
Scott
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Springer
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Utt
Walker
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wydler
Wylie
Younger
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—33

Adair
Anderson, Tenn.
Bow
Button
Cahill
Casey
Clancy
Cramer
Daddario
Dawson
Dent
Diggs
Dorn
Fallon
Ford, William D.
Fulton, Tenn.
Goodell
Hawkins
Hébert
Herlong
Jacobs
Kluczynski
Passman
Pelly
Pirnie
Pool
Riegle
Rivers
Scherle
Shipley
Stratton
Williams, Miss.
Willis

So the bill (H.R. 6098) was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Passman with Mr. Clancy.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Goodell.

Mr. Williams of Mississippi with Mr. Pool.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. Cramer.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Adair.

Mr. Diggs with Mr. Kluczynski.

Mr. Daddario with Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Scherle.

Mr. Stratton with Mr. Button.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Pelly.

Mr. Rivers with Mr. Pirnie.

Mr. William D. Ford with Mr. Riegle.

Mr. Shipley with Mr. Cahill.

Mr. Dorn with Mr. Casey.

Mr. Dawson with Mr. Jacobs.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Members participating in the general debate on this bill may have permission to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the remainder of the week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority leader yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the program as announced is still on the schedule. We will take up H.R. 7123, the supplemental defense appropriation bill, and H.R. 5277, the bill continuing civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific tomorrow, and we are adding H.R. 6950, the investment tax credit bill, on which a 4-hour closed rule has been granted today. Otherwise there is not to my knowledge any change in the program.

HOUR OF MEETING ON THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that we do have three bills, all of which are relatively important, on the schedule for tomorrow, and since we have added one, although we did advise the Members that we might add one, we would like to finish tomorrow if we can. For that reason, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOGGS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The objection is heard.

PRESIDENT'S FIRST REPORT TO THE CONGRESS ON MARINE RESOURCES AND ENGINEERING DEVELOPMENT

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am enthused and encouraged by the President's first report to the Congress on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. The report, titled "Marine Science Affairs: A Year of Transition," is a lucid examination and explanation of the state of marine science in America today.

The report itself represents the keen role the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development intends to play in this phase of our national endeavors.

The Council, appointed by the President and ably headed by the Vice President, has wasted no time in getting into its work. The Council has already organized and met in a relatively short time—yet the report itself indicates that the field of marine science will be given a proper emphasis by the various departments in our Government.

The description of the current and proposed programs within the scope of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act and the rationale and funding requirements gives us an outline of the progress already made by the Council.

The Vice President should be commended, along with the effective executive secretary, Dr. Edward Wenk, Jr., for their exhaustive work on the report.

Also connected with the report as members of the Council, and who should also be commended, are Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State; Paul H. Nitze, the Secretary of the Navy; Stewart L. Udall, the Secretary of the Interior; Alexander B. Trowbridge, Acting Secretary of Commerce; John W. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Alan S. Boyd, the Secretary of Transportation; Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and Leland J. Haworth, Director of the National Science Foundation.

The potential of marine science to the people of the United States and the free people of the world is infinite.

As the report aptly explains, the science and industry of oceanology has only come to the fore in the past 6 years. Since then this child among the sciences has developed and attracted the attention of all aspects of the American spectrum.

Yet while we now set about on a journey that will reap great rewards for all mankind, we are reminded that these rewards are so bountiful that we cannot afford to tarry on this journey.

We have waited too long to begin. Now we see marine science as the answer to many of the world's food problems, a source of mineral wealth and a great aid to knowledge of things around us.

So inclusive is this field that it cannot fail to touch on every facet of our lives.

I might only add that I feel the attention given ocean science, while now laudable, is still not parallel to the benefits we will receive. Although there is an increase in Federal expenditures for this field, I do not feel that it is commensurate to the true value which we will receive.

As sponsor or cosponsor of much of the

legislation mentioned in the report, I am greatly pleased by the recognition now given this area of development.

But I would quote from the report on the present state of affairs and just how they came to be:

> The President's budget proposals for fiscal year 1968 and his activating the Marine Sciences Council respond to the legislative mandate of 1966.
>
> Both are responses to observations of the President's Science Advisory Committee that important Federal functions had received inadequate attention in the past: that there was need at a central point in Government for the formulation of national marine science policies that would foster exploration, development, and use of the oceans.

We cannot afford to further neglect this area. I hope this report will be given proper attention by all Members of this Congress.

THE CHILDREN'S ASTHMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND HOSPITAL

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous material.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, at Denver there is a hospital and research center—the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital. It is a free, privately operated establishment which has contributed greatly to research in the fields of asthma and, equal significance, it is giving new life to hundreds of children.

The work of the center is favorably known throughout the Nation, and among its sponsors have been such outstanding figures as the Honorable Harry R. Sheppard, former Congressman, from California. I am pleased to note that the Saturday Evening Post of February 25 tells the story of the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital under the title "Kids Who Conquer Asthma." It is a very heartwarming story which deserves reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 25, 1967]

KIDS WHO CONQUER ASTHMA

(By Steven M. Spencer)

Hidden in a pile of stones on top of Mount Morrison, in the Rockies west of Denver, sits a gallon jar containing a list of names—Stanton Chew, of San Francisco; William Heinig, of Chicago; Jack Lazar, of Windsor, Ontario; Mike Gallagher, of Henrietta, N.Y., and some 30 more. Each summer the list lengthens as new groups of hikers toil up the trail, lift a few rocks off the cairn, reopen the jar and proudly add their signatures.

Thousands of youngsters climb mountains every year; and except for the sense of achievement that surges through them there is nothing very remarkable about it. But the kids who planted their names on Mount Morrison did so to mark a crucial turning point in their lives—lives which often had been swathed in the soft, cottony wrappings of caution and overprotectiveness. Some of them, before coming to Denver, had never walked to school alone much less climbed a mountain. Most had lived in panicky fear of the penalties of overexertion. All of them carried, though concealed now like spare socks in their rucksacks, the label of chronic, severe and intracable asthma.

The hikers were resident patients of the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital (shortened to C.A.R.I.H.), a free, privately operated establishment in Denver. For many years it was known as the Jewish National Home for Asthmatic Children, but it is nonsectarian. In its cluster of small buff-brick buildings on a 17½-acre campus it houses and treats, for periods of one and a half to two years, 165 of the most difficult asthma patients (ages 6 to 16) encountered by doctors all over the United States and in many foreign countries. A hand-lettered sign outside one residence cottage room reads: No budy here only Moshe Frankel, Haifa, Israel.

The cairn on Mount Morrison is not the only symbol these youngsters have raised in triumph over near-invalidism. Most of them participate in C.A.R.I.H.'s full sports program, which includes competition with healthy children from Denver's public schools and community centers. Last summer the "Asthmatic Nine," mostly fifth- and sixty-graders, won the league baseball championship.

The team's youngest member was eight-year-old Mark Campbell, of Orange, Calif. Allergic from birth and racked by asthma from the age of one and a half, Mark had never been able to play ball at home. Yet a few months after arriving at C.A.R.I.H. he was displaying his new-found talents at secone base and in the outfield. In a 33-to-3 walkaway over the Jewish Community Center Dodgers last August, just before his ninth birthday, Mark chalked up four runs and, in his own words, "stoled from first base all the way home."

Such records are genuine miracles for youngsters whose lives had previously been ruled by a steady stream of such maternal admonitions as:

"Don't play too hard."

"Don't get too hot."

"Don't get excited."

These warnings have not all been without justification. The asthmatic child teeters on a precarious ledge. A few grains of pollen, a nibble of chocolate, a single peanut, a romp with a dog, a family argument over neglected homework—any of these may pitch him into a dangerous bout of wheezing and gasping for breath. His face turns blue, and in panic he cries out for help. Usually he can be brought around with a few puffs of bronchodilator medicine from a nebulizer, one or more adrenalin injections, or, if those don't work, a mad dash to the hospital. But each year in this country 5,000 such asthmatic attacks end in death.

Asthma affects some 5,400,000 persons in the United States, of whom more than three million are children up to 16. And the problem continues to grow. A Boston allergist has reported that children's hospital admissions for acute asthma have doubled there and in several other cities since 1960. Allergies are involved in a majority of cases, and many patients have both hay fever and asthma. As in other allergic conditions there is a strong hereditary tendency. Polluted air, infections and emotional disturbances are major contributing causes. But the psychological factors are so difficult to weigh, and all the troublesome ingredients are so subtly intermixed, that much of asthma is a mystery and each patient is an individual puzzle.

The symptoms are produced by a sudden narrowing of the smaller bronchial tubes in the lungs. This narrowing may result from muscle spasm, from swelling of the tissues, from mucus plugs or from all three. The victim struggles with all his strength to draw his breath in and force it out. The National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, which allocates over nine million dollars a year to research in allergy and related immunology, warns that repeated asthmatic attacks may eventually cause a stretched-lung condition known as emphysema and may place an extra load on the heart.

The majority of asthmatic children are kept under fair control by bronchodilator medicines, by avoidance of allergenic foods and by injection of pollen and dust extracts to reduce their sensitivity. But about 10 percent are so seriously afflicted that they gain little help from any therapy. These are the refractory or intractable cases—about 300,000 in this country—from which C.A.R.I.H. and 13 smaller homes in the United States and Canada draw their 625 patients.

Nearly all chronic diseases disrupt family life, but a few can match asthma in its demand on the patience and resources of the parents. They drag the sick child from doctor to doctor, try one medicine after another, move to what they've been told is a more favorable climate, exhaust their savings and run up debts, resent the fruitless expenditure of money and then feel guilty about feeling resentful. The youngsters miss weeks or months of school. ("I missed all of the fifth grade, half of the eighth and half of the ninth," a 14-year-old California boy told me.) Frequent respiratory illnesses and sharply restricted diets leave many children frail and scrawny. About one in five of those on prolonged therapy with cortisone and related hormone products is severely stunted in growth by these drugs. Frustrated by their inability to keep pace and by their exclusion from normal fun and games, the asthmatic children become irritable and tense, and their emotional episodes touch off more attacks of asthma.

How to break this cycle is the challenge being taken up by the residential research and treatment centers, among which C.A.R.I.H. is the pioneer and world's largest, and the one to which many of the most stubborn cases are brought. In Tucson, Ariz., 13-year-old Connie Swanick, a sweet, poised, freckle-faced child who aspires to be a ballerina, had been fighting asthma since she was three. Her family had been advised to move from their old home to a new house in a supposedly more dust-and-pollen-free suburb, but Connie did not improve. She was so chronically short of breath that she attended school only half days and spent the afternoons in her air-conditioned home. Excitement, contact with animals, being away from home and suddenly finding she'd forgotten her medicine—any of these situations would throw Connie into an asthmatic attack. On family outings—she is one of eight children—she was often left at home for her own protection.

Finally, early last year, Connie was brought to Denver. "I was homesick at first," she said later, "but now I love it." Connie now plays freely and goes on hikes. Her hopes about ballet, dimmed at home because asthma prevented her from taking lessons, have revived. "And if I can't become a professional ballet dancer—after all, thirteen is pretty old to start—I'd like to take it just for fun, and study to be a doctor," she says.

Just what happened in Denver to quiet Connie's asthma? How does C.A.R.I.H. transform intractable "cases" into healthy, vigorous, near-normal youngsters? First, the doctors appreciate the complexity of the disease. They know that a child is seldom allergic to just one thing but is explosively reactive to many elements of his environment. He suffers, as a New York psychiatrist once put it, from an "allergy to life." One secret of C.A.R.I.H.'s success is that so many aspects of the child's life are changed all at once. Suddenly, he is free of the old household allergens and family frictions. "We've jokingly said the rate of improvement seems proportional to the distance traveled," observed C.A.R.I.H.'s medical director, Dr. Constantine J. Falliers.

Although all the pateints have long histories of severe asthma, and 90 percent are on cortisone-type drugs when they arrive, the vast majority of the whole group—about 80 percent—are rehabilitated at Denver. Fewer than 25 percent continue to require corticosteroids and are classed as "steroid dependent," and even for them the dosage levels are usually tapered down. About 40 percent can be controlled with milder forms of medication. And what is most astonishing, 30 percent of the arriving patients—the so-called "rapid remitters"—begin to improve the moment they step off the plane and stay well with almost no medication for the rest of their residence period.

"It may, of course, be partly the change in climate," Dr. Falliers says. "Denver is five thousand feet high and the air is fairly clear and dry, although recently it has become smoggier and this may be why the proportion of 'rapid remitters' has declined somewhat."

However, Dr. Falliers knows that questions cannot be left half-answered if the improvements the child makes in Denver are to be maintained when he goes home. Although the word "cure" isn't used, follow-up studies are continued for at least two years after the children return home from C.A.R.I.H. and show that 80 percent maintain a remarkable degree of improvement, and many never suffer another asthmatic episode.

In dealing with a disease that fluctuates notoriously from hour to hour, day to day and season to season, the C.A.R.I.H. doctors find it esential to observe everything. The large and closely organized staff includes 8 full-time pediatricians and allergists, 7 psychologists, 17 nurses, 20 house parents, 5 night attendants, a dietitian and her helpers and a number of research chemists and laboratory technicians. These skilled observers note the way the young patient eats and plays and sleeps. Some of them are making a study of dreams as a possible trigger of night attacks. They watch how a child reacts to exercise and games and other children. A program is under way to monitor several hours of his daily routine with microphones that pick up his conversation and his breath sounds. Are asthma symptoms more often touched off by anger and aggression, the doctors ask, or by anxiety and withdrawal?

The research tasks are endless. Just the symptoms alone may present a confusing combination of factors. "A child may eat eggs in the winter without bad effects," Dr. Falliers points out, "but if he eats an egg during the August ragweed season, he may have trouble. He may have even more trouble if at the same time he gets into an argument with his parents about why he can't go swimming. By feeding all the data into computers, we can detect the interplay of many factors. We can see the variations in biological rhythms, the daily, weekly or monthly changes that may, for example, suggest that medication is more effective at one hour of the cycle than at another."

The total environment at C.A.R.I.H. provides a kind of instant therapy. The new arrival, previously alone in his terrifying battle for breath, is immediately sustained and encouraged by 164 other youngsters who have successfully faced the same threat, and whose lives are obviously now freer of restrictions than his own has been.

Everything is at hand to cope with an emergency, and the young patients know it. At the first hint of trouble the child may leave a baseball game, run to the hospital in the center of the grounds, take a few deep breaths from a "neb" (a bronchodilator nebulizer), rest for several minutes and then dash back to the game. Even the severe night attack, which at home often meant a terrified child, a distraught family, a struggle for breath during the long ride to the hospital and an oxygen tent, is here dealt with simply and calmly. The child who feels his symptoms coming on climbs out of bed, pushes a button near the dormitory door to flash a light alerting the nurses, and walks with his house parent the few steps to the hospital.

Nor is there panic in class. C.A.R.I.H. children attend public schools—and their teachers know all about asthma and have medication on hand.

At times familiarity breeds a youthful contempt for the common enemy, an almost reckless disregard that calls for adult measures of caution. This is true especially of the boys, who predominate here in a ratio of 2½ to 1, about usual for asthma.

"I've watched these kids at ball games," a nurse said. "Sometimes they'll turn blue and almost fall on their faces before they'll ask for help."

A typical C.A.R.I.H. experience was that of Howard Kipnes, a slender 15-year-old with an engaging grin, who returned home to the Bronx last summer after 20 months in Denver, six inches taller and a lot healthier.

"Howard had never really known anyone with asthma before he went out there," explained his mother, Mrs. Irving Kipnes. "And when he saw boys who had been worse off than he, but who were able to do so many things without having attacks, that made a lot of difference in his attitude."

In Denver, Howard played baseball and basketball, swam and went on camping trips. "We weren't coddled out there," he said. "If you coddle kids too much they don't get enough exercise, and exercise is what helps us. It's what improves our breathing capacity."

Mrs. Kipnes smiled. "Yes, but there were times when you had to be coddled. When you were about six years old you asked me one day—you were having a terrible time getting your breath—whether you were going to die."

Although it costs $6,000 a year to house and treat a child at C.A.R.I.H., the parents are not charged. They supply only $20 or $30 a month for clothing and spending allowances. The institution's support comes almost entirely from private contributions, including about half a million dollars a year raised by a nationwide network of 140 women's auxiliary chapters.

A happy discovery most patients make as they settle into the life at C.A.R.I.H. is that they aren't allergic to as many things as they thought. On the wall of the big, sunny kitchen is a blackboard where Mrs. Jo Ann Peguee, a dietitian, keeps an up-to-date list of who can't eat what.

"Usually when a child first comes in he has a whole list of things he is allergic to," she said. "Then as the doctors test and study him the list narrows down to two or three items.

"No one here gets peanuts or peanut butter. But next to that there are more fish and egg allergies than anything else. We've had as many as thirty children sensitive to fish at one time."

Few threads in the puzzling skein of allergic asthma are so snarled in notions, unproved theories and rampant controversy as this business of food. At C.A.R.I.H. the task of straightening out the tangle has been assigned to a brisk, outspoken young pediatrician named Edwin Bronsky.

"Some doctors say all intractable asthma is due to food allergy," he told me. "Others believe that forty percent is directly caused by food and forty percent has some connnection with food. And a few doctors are positive asthma is *never* caused by food. All of them get together at conventions and argue. So we are trying here to find out just what part food does play."

In an effort to get an exact picture, Dr. Bronsky is placing a few children at a time on a program in which he knows the ingredients of every bite of food each consumes. He can then watch closely to see what symptoms or measured differences in breathing follow.

Virtually all species of family pets, with the possible exception of goldfish and turtles, are assumed allergically guilty until proven otherwise. But so strong are personal attachments for a dog or cat that parents will sometimes refuse to give it up, or will deny its existence when filling out an application for a child's admission to the treatment center. One family replied "none" to the dog-or-cat question, only to be found out later when their son, discussing with a C.A.R.I.H. doctor the parents' forthcoming visit, asked, "Can they bring Spot with them?"

Parent-child relationships have long been the favorite hunting ground of the psychologists and psychiatrists. Many have discussed the effect, in asthma, of a type of "smother-love" that originally flows from concern about the youngster's health but eventually expresses itself in oversolicitous or overrestrictive behavior. Some parents, on the other hand, have been described as resentful of the burden that the child's asthma places on them, or as holding an ambivalent attitude of love and rejection.

Today's debate often focuses on whether the emotional tensions between parent and child are primary causes of asthma or are only secondary effects which then enter into the cycle that aggravates and perpetuates the condition. The C.A.R.I.H. physicians and psychologists believe asthma is a heterogeneous symptom, and that it is important to identify for the individual patient which factors are primary and which secondary. They don't see parent-child emotional conflicts in every case, but in many families the evidence is so clear that they recommend psychological counseling for parents and child.

A youngster from the Midwest illustrates the common theme of the child whipsawed between conflicting parental attitudes toward him. The father was a violent, overbearing and demanding man, and insisted on high academic marks. The mother was clinging and overprotective. Neither parent would admit his own faults, and each blamed the other for the child's problems. "Donald is afraid of his father," the mother told a psychiatric interviewer. "No wonder he wheezes and gasps." Said the father, "I'm sure I've had nothing to do with his symptoms. But my wife simply spoils the boy, and that's why his asthma doesn't get better." Donald, timid, shy and in the middle, was made to feel guilty because his asthma caused so much parental wrangling, and yet the only way he could stop the painful accusatory quarreling was to bring on asthmatic attacks to divert their attention.

The fact that so many children suddenly improve when separated from their parents is seen by some observers as proof that family stresses and conflicts are, indeed, a major causative element. "Our ultimate goal," says Dr. Falliers, "is the happy and healthy reunion of child and family. But we believe that temporary separation is helpful to the parents as well as to the child. Most parents need a rest. And getting the child away does relieve tensions and permit the family to settle down, take a fresh look at things and perhaps develop a calmer atmosphere for the child to come home to."

Searching for helpful leads in the parent-child relationship, a C.A.R.I.H. psychologist, Dr. Kenneth Purcell, compared the parents of the "rapid remitters," with parents of the "steroid dependent" youngsters, those who continued to require medication. He discovered that the parents of the "rapid remitters"—those who get better as soon as they leave home—were more apt to be authoritarian and restrictive in their ideas on child-rearing.

A high proportion of the parents of the "rapid remitters" expressed agreement with such concepts as:

"It is sometimes necessary for the parents to break the child's will."

"A good spanking is often the only way to convince children you mean it when you tell them to go to sleep."

Such an approach is hardly recommended, even for the infant under 18 months, but, says Doctor Purcell, if continued as the child grows and strives for independence, it can cause trouble.

"It is during this period of early childhood stress," the psychologist concludes, "that the child may be highly motivated to learn to use asthma as a neurotic response to cope with neurotic conflict and anxiety." He may do this subconsciously or deliberately. Several children, talking with C.A.R.I.H. psychologists about what seemed to turn their wheezing on and off, frankly admitted they had been able to bring it on at home by breathing hard, coughing or running. Why did they do it? Usually, they said, to get out of something they didn't want to do. It was encouraging, though, Dr. Purcell commented, to find that some youngsters who were once adept at producing ashmatic attacks were later, after some months at Denver, unable to do so.

Asthma specialists have always wondered why so many of the attacks come at night. Now Dr. William Hahn, a young psychologist and physiologist at C.A.R.I.H., is looking into the possible role of dreams.

He told of a girl of about 12 who reported that she had a recurring dream of falling into a monster's mouth. She would then wake up in an asthmatic attack. "By her account the dream caused the attack," said Dr. Hahn. "But did it? Or did the discomfort of the asthma cause the nightmare?"

To help Dr. Hahn find the answers, teenage patients volunteer to sleep in his laboratory. Electrodes are taped to the patients' head to record brainwaves, which indicate the various depths of sleep. Wires from the eyelids record the rapid eye movements that accompany dreams, and chest leads measure respiration and signal the onset of wheezing.

Eventually the dream project and other research studies may lead to better ways of managing this vicious affliction. And in the meantime C.A.R.I.H.'s calm and thoroughgoing approach, with its emphasis on frequent medical consultation, has proved that the disease can be controlled—even conquered. For the fortunate youngsters at Denver, asthma has finally lost its terror.

PANCHO GIVES HEADSTART A BOOST

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of joining a young man from my district—a very young man—on Capitol Hill and at the White House Monday morning. He was Pancho Mansera, now 7 years old. No doubt you have all seen pictures of Pancho. He is the little boy in the fireman's hat who is on many Headstart posters and booklets.

Pancho is a delightful little boy, but that is not why he was chosen to be a cover boy and a movie star. He is representative of an important fringe benefit of Headstart—giving deprived youngsters medical examinations and dental care, often for the first time in their lives. For instance, Headstart helped to find cavities in the teeth of 900,000 youngsters, an average of five cavities each.

When Pancho was enrolled in Headstart, he was a tiny little fellow among the 4- and 5-year-olds who towered above him. Mentally he was as tiny as he looked—about 2 years old. The doctor who examined Pancho found that he had a severe glandular condition that if not corrected would have ultimately left him a freek, a midget, and probably a lifetime public charge, if he had lived to adulthood.

Glandular treatments were begun by his pediatrician, Dr. William J. Tibbs, while his Headstart teacher, Henry Grennan, began the careful schedule of attention that turned this tiny, retarded mite into the attentive, eager, curious boy he is today.

The story of Pancho's growth, physically 5½ inches that first year, and mentally to match, is told in a film which was previewed for us at the White House Monday morning. In the afternoon I invited Pancho, his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Simon Mansera, his doctor, his teacher, and his Headstart nurse, Mrs. Marie Burt—and others, 12 in all—up here to Capitol Hill to see me and tour the Halls of the Congress. I was very proud to be their host. They met the Speaker and other Members of the House who were instrumental in the Headstart program.

Pancho's story is a little special, but he is not unique. That first summer more than half a million youngsters were enrolled in Headstart and were introduced to the wonders of hot cereal, cold milk, color crayons, and medical and personal attention. That was the struggling beginning for Headstart. Altogether, a million and a half youngsters have been enrolled, and this summer will see another round of programs, dental care, eye examinations, and innoculations. For instance, more than a million children received measles inoculations and 740,000 were vaccinated against polio. In the process of the medical checkups, 2,200 cases of active tuberculosis were discovered, cases which in another year would have been 2,200 sources of infection, or worse, for their first-grade classmates.

Statistics cannot begin to tell the real story of Pancho or of Headstart. Pancho makes the Headstart program come alive, because Pancho is a real person, a young boy on his way to normal adulthood and meaningful citizenship. Headstart is a program for people, little people who have been disadvantaged culturally, educationally, medically, nutritionally. This is a film that millions of Americans should see. Headstart officials are planning to make copies available later this spring, and congressional offices will be advised at that time how to arrange for showings of the film.

FARMERS' LOANS

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to a proposal made in the message sent to us by the President.

This proposal would enable the Farmers Home Administration to make a loan to a farmer so that the farmer could turn his whole farm into a profitmaking recreation area.

At the present time the law compels the farmer to continue farming when he borrows funds to develop a recreation area on his farm.

This has prevented thousands of farmers from developing income-producing recreation sites.

True, a man can add a fishpond, or a few campsites to his farm and make a little extra money from those enterprises and continue to farm the rest of his property.

But if he wants to become involved in the recreation business, in a substantial way, he simply does not have the time to continue farming. Providing recreation facilities for the public is a full-time job.

Our Nation needs more recreation areas.

There are thousands of farmers whose farms are far better suited for hunting preserves, fishing, camping, and the like than for farming.

Let us make it possible for these farmers to develop their property in the most productive way.

The development of rural recreation areas serves rural and urban people alike.

The sites attract industrial development in rural areas and encourage people to remain in, or move to, our rural areas.

In addition recreation areas offer urban people a chance to get close to nature, get away from the smog, find a place where they can unwind from the tensions of urban living.

We have made a good start in developing rural recreation areas with funds provided through the Farmers Home Administration.

Within a short time there will be 1,000 such areas either developed or under construction.

Let us now move on to make the program really effective.

With our population growing at its current rate, we need all the recreation space we can provide.

CONTROL INTERNATIONAL EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the tightening of our economy and the increased demand for workers have brought to a new peak the importation of foreign labor to this country and is creating serious problems.

With this stepped-up immigration, the international employment agency has taken on a role of increasing importance and this role has been misplayed in such a way that our Government should thoroughly examine this whole matter. Unfortunately, responsible performance by these agencies has not accompanied their new activity. Doubtful practices of many sorts and consequent injury to unwary citizens are becoming common in this highly lucrative field of operation. In the area of domestic service, for example, agencies charge fat fees from both the alien and the prospective employer but their selection process, their supervision, and their acceptance of responsibility for their obligations too often do not correspond to the fees which they exact.

This field of domestic service has been a particularly fertile ground for these international operators. With the increasing shortage of native domestic help, the homemaker has frantically cast about for means of filling this critical need and therefore the glowing and optimistic representations of the international employment agency have appeared to be the heaven-sent answer to her problem. Too frequently these hopes have been rudely dashed with consequent disillusionment, financial loss, and domestic disruption, and the agency which has collected its fees, has washed its hands of the whole matter and has maintained that its only responsibility is to deliver a body to the doorstep of a prospective employer.

There is no legal control over the activities or standards of these international agencies and, in my judgment, it is high time that qualifications and responsibility were set up in legal form to control these freewheeling operators. We should do in the international labor field what we have done here at home in the various States.

The aching need of American housewives and mothers of small children for home helpers has made them victims of the cynicism and arrogance of prospective aliens who are using the present system as a cover for entering the United States where they promptly ditch the domestic employer and shift to the high paying and cushy jobs for which they originally came to this country but for which they could not have obtained a visa. Often these machinations involve misrepresentation and fraud, and some cases in this area are presently headed for criminal action. However, the majority escape censure or prosecution and their defiance of our statutes is rewarded by employment in a position for which they could not have obtained entry in the first place. They thus flout the laws set up to protect our domestic workers. The agency is a substantial factor.

Because this is a delicate field, however, and touches on the point of involuntary servitude and compulsion to work, immigration authorities have been skittish about revoking a visa when once issued and have backed away from requiring aliens to fulfill the terms of their contracts. Of course a lawsuit for damages is possible, but performance and not compensation is what is desired.

I believe that the innocent public is entitled to protection from these unscrupulous agencies, as well as these conniving aliens, and I am today introducing a bill which seeks to set up standards and safeguards to help employers in the same way that stock market investors are protected by Securities and Exchange legislation.

Under this bill, international employment agencies are required to register with the Secretary of Labor and to obtain a certificate of registration from him. The Secretary of Labor must set up standards for such agencies and may withhold or withdraw any certificate. In addition, it is provided that the alien shall not become a permanent resident immediately but shall be given a certificate of admission which may be converted to permanent residence after the expiration of 1 year, provided the alien has reasonably complied with the terms of admission in the meantime.

With the Secretary of Labor and the Immigration Service working together under clear standards with uniform application, it will be possible to cut down on the sharpies and the phonies and clear the way for the honest and the reliable. In this manner a signal service will be performed for the housewives and other employers in the United States.

OUR MOROCCAN ALLIES

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, it has recently been disclosed that the distinguished ambassador of Morocco, Dr. Ahmed Laraki, will soon be departing for a new assignment. He will be missed in Washington, for during his tour of duty here he did much to strengthen the longstanding bonds of friendship between our countries.

Last month, I had the pleasure of meeting his majesty King Hassan II, when he was here in Washington. Earlier this month some of my colleagues recorded their congratulations to the King and the Moroccan people on the Moroccan national holiday known as the "Feast of the Throne," which occurs on March 3 and which this year marked the sixth anniversary of King Hassan's reign.

I endorsed these congratulations then and am prompted to do so again now on learning of the important speech from the throne which his majesty made on that occasion. This annual report to the Moroccan nation is the equivalent of our state of the Union address. In it the King not only underlined the themes of peace, economic development and democracy as his foremost aims for his country, but, in speaking of his recent visit to the United States, stressed the deep bonds of friendship uniting our two countries.

I am sure I can speak for my colleagues in applauding the King's renewed determination to pursue goals which we share with Morocco and all free nations. I certainly also want to take this occasion to reciprocate the expression of friendship which his majesty so generously directed toward the American people.

We remember, of course, that an illustrious ancestor of King Hassan gave us support in the earliest days of our independence. We remember that American and Moroccan troops fought side by side in two world wars. We remember the warm welcome extended to us on Moroccan soil during World War II by the King's late father and the Moroccan people. We rejoice that today our two countries are cooperating more closely than ever in the pursuit of peace, prosperity, and the democratic freedoms.

This spirit of cooperation, working together for matters of common interest has been the hallmark of Ambassador Laraki's functions here in the United States. I salute the Ambassador for his dedicated service to his country and to international understanding. As he leaves, we extend through him to King Hassan and to the Moroccan people our sincere best wishes for the bright future they deserve.

SELLING ARMS TO SINGAPORE

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, last week I addressed the House on the question of selling the sophisticated M-16 automatic rifle or its civilian counterpart, the AR-15 to neutralist Singapore, when American and Allied troops are obviously in grave need of them in Vietnam. Consequently, the administration has replied through the public press that "American units were not being denied the rifles."

However, in my own district in Louisiana, it was reported by the Shreveport Times—

> Fort Polk's Third Training Brigade has become the first Vietnam-oriented advanced infantry training unit to become fully equipped with the M-16 rifle.

If the M-16 automatic rifle is the best weapon available for our troops in Vietnam, why was the sale of its civilian counterpart approved by the administration back in October, when there evidently were not enough of them available to properly supply our training centers? If this is the most superior rifle, and if we are supplying military hardware to our allies fighting in Vietnam, why do we sell nearly a month's production to a neutralist nation?

Following the shock and dismay voiced by Members of the Congress and by the Government of South Korea, the Pentagon announced that Korean and South Vietnamese troops will get approximately 30,000 of the M-16 rifles; when, the Pentagon did not say.

Increasingly, Mr. Speaker, I am concluding that the administration is being penny wise and pound foolish in southeast Asia. To save the relatively few dollars the most modern automatic rifles would cost, are we costing America the lives of our young men in Vietnam? When has America ever held material resources to be more important than human resources?

Furthermore, according to the press, our military commander in Vietnam has said that he wanted every man under his command to have the new lightweight M-16 rifle. Is every fighting man in our forces in Vietnam armed with the M-16? This is a straight question, and I think the American people and the Congress deserve a straight answer.

If only one of these civilian rifles sold to Singapore finds its devious way into the hands of the North Vietnamese or the Vietcong, then our boys fighting in Vietnam are betrayed, and I shall not become a party to that betrayal. I personally resent the sale of such strategic weapons to Singapore or to any other neutralist nation, and I cannot let it pass without protesting in the strongest terms.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION WHICH OPPOSES A NEW YORK CITY TAX ON COMMUTERS

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that New York City should not impose any income tax upon persons who do not reside in the city but who commute there in order to work.

This so-called commuter tax is manifestly unjust to the thousands of commuters who work in New York City, particularly those who live in New Jersey and Connecticut. These commuters, since they are nonresidents, receive no benefits from such a tax. They cannot send their children to New York City schools. They cannot take advantage of health and welfare services.

The facilities the commuters most use—the transportation facilities—are substandard. If the tax was used solely to improve the city's commuter facilities, there might be some justification for the tax; but the money is not so designated. It is to be used to provide public services for residents of New York City.

New Jersey commuters are rightly outraged at the imposition of this unjust tax. They already aid New York City fiscally by spending money in the city for lunches, shopping, entertainment and other items. Everything the commuter buys has a whopping 5 percent sales tax added to it. Now he is being further squeezed by an income tax which is piled upon other State, local, and Federal taxes.

Is there no end to the financial burden that the salaried person must bear? Commuters are generally extremely productive and self-sufficient citizens. They are taxed to the hilt but usually require fewer public services than less affluent citizens.

Manhattan would be a ghost town without being able to draw upon the highly educated and skilled body of workers who live outside the city limits. Yet the city is, in effect, penalizing these workers for bringing their skills and talents to the city.

It is unfortunate that New York City could think of no better way to solve its financial problems than levying this tax. It is unfortunate also that New York and other cities are resorting to such measures. Opposition to taxation without representation is rooted deeply in our American heritage. Surely we should resist the uprooting of this cherished principle.

Although the fiscal problems of New York City and other cities certainly deserve our concern, I suggest that a little municipal belt tightening may be in order. The New York Temporary Commission on City Finances found that the city provides some unusual and costly services and seek to maintain unusually high service standards in some areas. New York spent nearly $7.50 per capita on higher education in 1963-64, while other local governments spent less than $2.50 per capita on this function. New York provides 40 percent of the hospital beds in the city compared to 20 percent in most communities. Pensions and other fringe benefits for city employees tend to be higher in New York than elsewhere. Furthermore, the percentage of direct participation by the city government in pension programs is higher than in other places. Local employee pensions usually tend to be a State responsibility. These are some of the reasons why governmental services are high in New York City.

Municipal services must constantly be reevaluated in order to determine not only if they are necessary but if they are being properly managed. Federal grants-in-aid, which the local citizen is financing through his Federal income tax, should also be utilized to augment meager municipal coffers.

The fiscal problems of the cities must be solved through an exploration of all facets involved. They cannot be solved through a continuing escalation of the tax burdens placed upon the shoulders of a certain segment of the working population. The commuters are rebelling against these unjust burdens, and they are justified in their rebellion.

I hope that the other Members of the House will join with me in opposing this new form of taxation without representation.

WILL PRESIDENT USE THE MILITARY TO SEAT POWELL?

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, while driving to the Capitol this morning, I heard a newscaster reporting on the possible turn of events should the Court hold that Adam Clayton Powell is entitled to and must be seated in this body. Among other speculations, I was shocked to hear the reporter say it had been suggested that the President might be called upon to make use of the military to enforce such an order. This was based on the fact that the military had been used by the Chief Executive to enforce other orders of the Court.

Mr. Speaker, now I have heard everything. In a way this report does not surprise me, shocking though it is. During my service in this body I have seen the Congress give up its constitutional position of equality with the executive and judicial branches of our Government. I have seen it recoil and withdraw in the presence of the executive and run over by the judicial. As a result, I have seen it lose its position of equality, respect, and standing with the people of our country.

A year or so ago when the politically minded gentlemen across the street who wear the black robes stepped out of their domain and unconstitutionally assumed responsibility for the judiciary to lay out the boundaries of our respective congressional districts, I was terribly shocked, upset, and concerned. But Mr. Speaker, I was more disturbed when the House sat supinely by and failed to tell the High Court to just plain step to.

I have observed other instances, Mr. Speaker, when the Congress has miserably failed to stand up for and retain its position of equality along with the executive and judicial branches. No wonder our position is now so low with the people of this great land as is revealed by various polls from time to time. Why, Mr. Speaker, we do not have to examine the polls to learn where we stand. Our mail reflects as much day in and day out. So often our constituents inquire just when the Congress is going to stand firmly on its own legs and resume its position of equality with the executive and judicial branches.

I do not know the source of the speculation that the President might make use of the military to seat Powell if the Court should attempt to tell the House to do so. But I know one thing, Mr. Speaker, when considered in the light of the recoiling record of the Congress in recent years, I am not surprised that someone has so speculated.

I feel confident the President would not attempt to so use the military. He has already announced that the Powell matter was one for the House to decide, and he was so right. It is not for me to suggest what statements the President should or should not issue; but it just might be well that he restate his position and put to rest this crazy speculation that he might intervene and make use of the military in this matter. Maybe the nine men across the street will be listening, although at times they make as if they are terribly deaf.

REPRESENTATIVE ROONEY OF PENNSYLVANIA STRONGLY ENDORSES PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CALL TO RESTORE THE 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT AND ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION FOR BUILDINGS

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to express my strong endorsement for President Johnson's call of last week to restore the 7-percent investment tax credit, as well as the use of accelerated depreciation for buildings.

I firmly believe this action is vital to stimulate continued industrial growth, and to maintain the strong economy which has been indicative of the administration of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Despite the great scare campaign which was waged last fall, we have seen our Nation's economy recover its strength with relatively little discomfort.

Construction once more is surging. Interest rates are dropping. Tight credit has eased. And in my own district—the 15th of Pennsylvania—every indicator points to a construction boom for many months to come.

Although I did support some of the actions taken by Congress last fall to bolster the economy, I could not, in good conscience, endorse the suspension of the investment tax credit. But I certainly can and do endorse its restoration.

Hopefully, in restoring this credit, the Congress will see fit to make the restoration effective retroactive to the day the credit was suspended—October 10, 1966. There are some very compelling reasons why this should be done, and I believe Mr. Edmund F. Martin, chairman of the board of Bethlehem Steel Corp., has clearly and logically outlined these reasons in a letter to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Arkansas, Chairman Mills, of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully include a copy of Mr. Martin's letter in the Record:

Bethlehem Steel Corp.,
Bethlehem, Pa., March 10, 1967.

Hon. Wilbur D. Mills,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Mills: I heartily endorse the President's recommendation that the investment tax credit and the use of accelerated depreciation for buildings be restored. I hope that your Committee and the Congress will promptly take favorable action on the matter.

I wish to urge strongly that the restoration of the credit and the accelerated depreciation provided for in HR 6950 be effective as of October 10, 1966, the date on which the suspension started, rather than on March 9, 1967, as now provided in the bill. I do not know of any other way of avoiding the complexity of administering the suspension statute and of achieving equality of treatment between taxpayers who have been carrying on projects during the suspension period because they were "economically" committed to do so and taxpayers who have been carrying on projects pursuant to a commitment which qualifies them for a specific exception from the suspension statute.

My proposal is appropriate, I think, because, as President Johnson has stated, the temporary suspension legislation (P.L. 89–800) "has already effectively done the job" and no important Federal revenue should be lost if my proposal were adopted.

In view of those facts, it would, it seems to me, be most unfortunate if the suspension were left in effect for only five months. The tremendous expenditure of time and effort by taxpayers and by the officials and staff of the Treasury Department that would be required in the administration of the suspension statute could, I submit, be better employed elsewhere.

The exceptions in the suspension statute relating to binding contracts, beginning of construction, parts and components on hand, equipped buildings, plant facilities, etc., are susceptible to endless arguments between taxpayers and the Internal Revenue Service on audit. The statute is difficult to apply and both large and small companies will have onerous recordkeeping requirements and will face difficult problems in satisfying Internal Revenue Agents as to their right to an exception. Meeting the problem of adequate proof may be almost impossible in the case of the smaller company with limited tax and accounting advice. In the case of the larger company, the resolution of problems will keep their accountants and lawyers busy for years to come.

It seems probable to me that the Treasury and the Internal Revenue Service must be equally concerned by the likelihood of protracted controversy with taxpayers before the problems posed by the suspension statute can be resolved. The entire matter is further complicated by the fact that portions of the statute expressly require implementation by Treasury regulations, and the statute poses difficult interpretative problems which will require treatment in the regulations. Regulations have not yet been issued, and many taxpayers will have to file their income tax returns for 1966 without the benefit of regulations.

At the time the bill suspending the investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation for buildings was being considered by the Congress last fall, it was recognized that taxpayers "committed" to proceed with a project should be exempt from the suspension. The problem was how to determine when a taxpayer was committed. The decision was made that a commitment would have to be evidenced either by a legal contract with a third party or by action by the taxpayer which physically evidenced the commitment—the actual start of construction or the actual acquisition of a significant portion of an entire project.

Many taxpayers in steel and other industries argued unsuccessfully that they were "economically" committed to carry on certain projects and should be exempt from the suspension of the credit even though their commitment did not meet any legal or physical tests. It is my definite impression that the rejection of the argument by the Treasury and the Congress was greatly influenced by the belief that it would be difficult to prove whether or not a taxpayer really intended to go ahead with a project to which he was merely "economically" committed.

At the time the suspension statute was enacted, Bethlehem was "economically", and to some extent contractually, committed to proceed with installing basic steelmaking facilities at its Burns Harbor Plant in Indiana. The plans for doing so had been made some time prior to October 10, 1966, and grading work and work on the harbor on Lake Michigan had begun but construction of production facilities had not started and the placement of orders for such facilities had barely begun. The basic steelmaking facilities involved a five-year program to provide a battery of coke ovens, a blast furnace, two basic oxygen furnaces, a slabbing mill and a bar mill and other additional finishing facilities. These facilities were the final steps in the development of a new, integrated steel plant designed to produce steel products at the lowest competitive costs. At the time the suspension was enacted, the Burns Harbor Plant had, and still has, only certain steel finishing facilities supplied by rail with semi-finished steel from other basic steelmaking facilities of Bethlehem.

The objective of the program adopted by Bethlehem prior to October 10, 1966, and to which it was then "economically" committed, was and is to have basic steelmaking facilities in operation at Burns Harbor by 1969–1970. That objective was set in view of market and other considerations and in light of the fact that the Burns Waterway Harbor on which the State of Indiana commenced work in July, 1966, will be ready for use by Bethlehem and others about 1969.

In order to meet the 1969–1970 completion date for the Burns Harbor steelmaking facilities, Bethlehem has been required to place orders since October 10, 1966, for delivery in the period 1968 through 1970 of various component parts of the basic steelmaking facilities, notwithstanding that by delaying such orders until 1968 the equipment to be delivered in 1968–1970 would have qualified for the credit. The long lead times involved in securing the equipment (in many cases preparation of engineering drawings takes 8–12 months) made this action necessary.

Bethlehem and other taxpayers who have been required to go ahead with long-range expansion plans during the five-month period during which the suspension would be in effect under HR 6950 certainly have proved their "commitment" on October 10, 1966, to proceed with a project to the same extent as taxpayers who have gone ahead with their plans and had actually begun physical construction or placed binding contracts on October 10, 1966. Equality of treatment of all taxpayers similarly situated is a desirable objective of any tax law and I respectfully urge that in order to achieve this equality of treatment, as well as to avoid the unproductive administrative complexities to which I have referred, the effective date of the restoration of the investment tax credit and of the accelerated depreciation for buildings should be October 10, 1966, the effective date of the suspension act (P.L. 89–800).

Very truly yours,

Edmund F. Martin,
Chairman.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN VIEWS THE GREAT SOCIETY

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Robert Lekachman, chairman of the Economics Department of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and author of "The Age of Keynes," recently commented upon the successes and failures of the Great Society in the January 1967 edition of Commentary magazine. He wrote a provocative article which indicates how far we have to go in order to establish a truly great society.

I include Professor Lekachman's analysis at this point in the Record.

DEATH OF A SLOGAN—THE GREAT SOCIETY, 1967

(By Robert Lekachman)

(Note.—Robert Lekachman's most recent book is *The Age of Keynes*, published last June by Random House. Mr. Lekachman, a frequent contributor, is chairman of the economics department of the State University of New York at Stony Brook.)

A viable political consensus rests upon an expectation of benefits by all members of the coalition. Any actual payoff, of course, gives rather more reward to some than to others, but in spite of their inevitable inequities, consensual arrangements often persist, since those whose share is scantiest either assent to the larger share of others, feel powerless to improve their relative situation, or sense that any alternative feasible political commitment would be still less advantageous. There is also a final requirement for a continuing consensus: those who profit the most must be willing to grant at least something to their partners.

Even before the dramatic Republican resurgence in November, it was evident that Lyndon Johnson's odd coalition of big businessmen, trade unions, liberal intellectuals, white ethnic minorities, and Negroes had begun to disintegrate. What had previously held these strangely assorted groups together was the common belief that progress was being made simultaneously toward all their disparate goals. Some of the sturdiest defenders of the new faith were to be found, for instance, in the business community, whose more enlightened members had at length perceived that the kind of economic expansion generated by conservative, Keynesian-style fiscal policy could really lengthen business booms, increase profits, and even improve the prestige of American business at home and abroad. Slow to learn, these business leaders ultimately embraced the New Economics of tax reduction with the enthusiasm of converts—even when such reduction flagrantly violated older budget-balancing taboos. (That the New Economics also altered income distribution in the direction of the propertied classes was more easily forgiven.)

The trade unions did conspicuously less well with the Johnsonian consensus. Throughout the six-year upsurge, the real incomes of factory workers lagged far behind the improvements in profits signalized by the reports on earnings for each quarter. Worse still, the President failed to deliver on such key legislative pledges as the repeal of Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley and the enactment of federal standards for state unemployment compensation programs. Adding insult to these injuries, Mr. Johnson irritated good trade unionists by his reiterated endorsement of the bruised wage-price guideposts. Since labor had no place to go, union leaders took what comfort they could from the decline in unemployment, gratifying quantities of overtime, and the realization that the President's bark was considerably more fearsome than his bite. In the summer of 1966, airline workers and General Electric employees revised the 3.2 per cent guideposts upward. Their 5 per cent settlements have been tacitly accepted by the President and his advisers as the new ceiling on contract gains.

There was probably never a time when liberal intellectuals precisely admired Lyndon Johnson, although the more politically involved, like J. K. Galbraith and Walter Heller, took some pains to maintain a public manner of respectful comment upon, rather than open criticism of, the administration's economic and foreign misadventures. The glamor of the Kennedy style and the Kennedy court—no doubt exaggerated in lengthening retrospect—was in itself sufficient to delay any easy transference of personal allegiances; Texas hyperbole will never ring pleasantly in ears accustomed to New England understatement. All the same, so long as the President proposed, and Congress accommodatingly enacted, a flood of education, medical, anti-poverty, and regional-development programs, even carping intellectuals could not entirely withhold the credit that was the due to the Texas prestidigitator.

As for Negroes and their leaders, to their astonishment they found themselves living with the most militant advocate of civil rights ever to occupy the Presidential office. In 1964 and 1965, two major civil-rights acts promised at last to commit the national government to voting rights, effective integration of schools, and fair employment practices. For a while, Martin Luther King was as welcome in the White House as he was in Stockholm, where he received his Nobel Peace Prize.

It is of some historical interest to identify the favorable circumstances which conspired to release this surge of Presidential and congressional activity. To begin with, some important measures were already far advanced in the legislative pipeline at the time of President Kennedy's assassination. In all probability, the tax cut and the first civil-rights measure would have become law early in 1964 even if Mr. Kennedy had lived. The issue of general aid to education dates back to church-state and federal-local wrangles during the Eisenhower years, and Medicare's legislative history can be traced back at the least to the Truman administration. Even the War on Poverty, billed as the first original Johnson program, had been prepared in the Kennedy Council of Economic Advisers and the Kennedy Department of Labor. All this is a way of saying that the first session of the 89th Congress looked so impressive for precisely the same reason that a hill in Kansas looms like a mountain: the surrounding terrain was exceedingly flat.

To be sure, even these moderate achievements required for their completion the assistance of Barry Goldwater. His inept campaign presented Mr. Johnson with the first liberal Congress in a generation and quite possibly the last one for another period of similar length. Nor would the President have been able to push his program through Congress were it not for the general climate of prosperity. Between 1960 and 1965, this prosperity—which bestowed its greatest benefits on proprietors, businessmen, and the professional classes—and the policies of two Democratic Presidents cooperated to raise corporate profits 52 per cent before taxes and 67 per cent after taxes. Dividend payments to stockholders rose no less than 43 per cent. By contrast, the take-home pay of factory workers increased only 21 per cent, or in real terms, 13 per cent. The fact is that at present levels of Gross National Product, taxes are running $20 billion lower at the federal level than they were before passage of the Kennedy-Johnson tax measure in February 1964. The appropriate contrast here is with the total cost of the welfare measures enacted in the last three years. These are budgeted at $6.2 billion for the current fiscal year, less than a third of the tax slashes. Medicare—not included in this computation—is financed by highly regressive social-security taxes, the heaviest burdens of which fall upon the neediest prospective recipients of assistance.

As it stands, this comparison is striking evidence of just how much Americans have preferred private disposable income to social improvements. Indeed, this preference is even more striking than the crude figures might imply, particularly if one takes into consideration those whom the tax and welfare measures were meant to assist. No doubt a trifling percentage of the tax-cuts improved the situation of the poor, but it is most certain that the bulk of the "welfare" expenditures flowed to the middle and upper income classes in the form of subsidies to college dormitories, libraries and laboratories, scholarships and fellowships, and relief from a portion of the local tax burdens imposed by the support of public elementary and secondary schools. In a period of economic expansion, the managers of the Great Society found themselves able to finance generous tax reductions and modest increases in social spending out of large annual increases in national output.

This political idyll ended because it proved impossible to accommodate both Vietnam and the race issue within the terms of Johnsonian consensus.

II

As 1966 began, the President was faced with some unpleasant economic facts. Completing an unprecedented fifth consecutive year of business expansion, the country at length gave signs of incipient inflation. The continuing investment boom was being stimulated by generous tax concessions. Consumers were spending with nearly equal enthusiasm. And above all, there was escalation in Vietnam. Like everything else about the war in Vietnam, its costs are obscure. It is possible that at the start of 1966 they were running at about $1–1.5 billion per month. It is likely that at year's end they had risen to $2–2.5 billion each month. Yet even if we take the highest of these figures, our expenditures in Vietnam still add up to less than 3 per cent of Gross National Product. Moreover, total defense spending in 1966 turned out to be a mere 8.2 per cent of GNP, less than 1 per cent higher than the mid-1965 figure. A Council of Economic Advisers possessed of this information, assured by the Department of Defense that the Vietnam war would be liquidated by June 30, 1967, faced by a 4 per cent rate of unemployment (still high by European comparisons), and briefed by a President openly uneager to increase taxes, might well conclude that no tax hikes were essential.

Such arguments perhaps seemed plausible last January; by the end of 1966, they had lost all credibility. Prices had indeed bestirred themselves, doubling their general rate of advance and ascending still more rapidly in the politically sensitive food sector. One response—originating in Denver and then spreading East and West—was the militant supermarket boycotts organized by discontented housewives. In Vietnam, the military spoke amiably of a need for 600,000 or 700,000 men, presumably for purposes other than those of witnessing North Vietnam's signature to a June 30, 1967 treaty of peace and amity. Moreover, defense spending was taking on a critical significance far beyond that indicated by simple numbers and percentages. Thus, in the third quarter of 1966, a rise of $4.2 billion in defense spending amounted to nearly one-third the total increase in GNP. For the year as a whole, defense productivity probably approximated 25 per cent of the rise in durable goods shipped and 29 per cent of the increases in capital investment. In the last twelve months, the armed forces have inducted 40 per cent of the total increase in the labor force. What counts in an expansion is the source of new gains. These gains are more and more substantially traceable to Vietnam.

It is possible that the President did not himself foresee the scale of Vietnam expenditures. Conceivably, he hoped that the peace offensive in the spring would result, if not in a truce, at least in de-escalation. But certainly he would not have welcomed the suggestion that taxes be raised. Indeed, almost any purely fiscal response would have endangered his consensus: tax increases large enough to be effective would inevitably displease prosperous corporations and individuals. Practitioners of the New Economics might argue to their heart's content that the tax cuts of 1964 and 1965, far from being intended as favors to the unneedy, were designed as technical devices to stimulate a lagging economy; but while they might convince themselves and their students, the economists were unlikely to persuade the ordinary citizen, who had comfortably adjusted to lower taxes, that now was the time to surrender his privileges. Any President contemplating higher taxes could scarcely remain unmindful of the electoral fate of those governors who had raised taxes within their own constituencies. True, the electorate could not retaliate against Mr. Johnson until 1968, but it could certainly decimate the Democratic congressional majority.

The fiscal alternative to higher taxes is reduced public spending, but this too is easier stated than achieved. The fact is that the bulk of public spending at the federal level is set by the requirements of defense and foreign policy, interest service of the national debt, or the needs of politically potent client groups—veterans, farmers, shipowners, and congressmen whose re-election may hinge on the construction of new post offices, bridges, harbors, and the like. After these needs have been met, precious little money remains for all the other programs of social spending. Yet social spending is just about the only convenient candidate for reduction which still remains. Programs in this sphere are the newest and the least protected by bureaucratic and congressional interest. Some portion of the funds disbursed assist social and economic groups whose influence is slight and whose turnout in elections is small. Even so, it is still far from easy to save money. The education programs are dear to the hearts of the middle classes. The poverty programs are the pride and joy of liberal intellectuals and the civil-rights establishment. Their sacrifice could not have been painless to that side of Lyndon Johnson which takes populist pleasure in social improvement.

Even a less expert politician than the President would have sought to blur the issues. Mr. Johnson's actual budget represented an attempt to temper the financial trend by restricting the expected growth of poverty, education, and housing programs, and by making a series of cuts in more established activities. The Presidential strategy emerged clearly in the course of the testimony offered by the Budget Director, Dr. Charles Schultze, to the House Committee on Appropriations last January. At the request of the Committee Chairman, Congressman Mahon, Dr. Schultze set forth an extensive list of budget reductions. It is a politically illuminating list, worth the trouble of excavation and reproduction:*

"(1) Grants for schools in federal impacted areas: NOA (New Obligational Authority) down from $397 million for 1966 to $206 million for 1967.

"(2) Grants to land-grant colleges: NOA down from $12 million for 1966 to none for 1967.

"(3) Grants for airports: NOA down from $75 million in 1966 to $50 million for 1967.

"(4) REA telephone loan program level in 1967 reduced to $85 million from $101 million in 1966.

"(5) School lunch program: NOA down from $202 million for 1966 to $183 million for 1967.

"(6) Special milk program: NOA down from $103 million for 1966 to $21 million for 1967.

"(7) New construction starts:

"(a) Watershed protection: 80 new construction starts in 1966, 35 in 1967.

"(b) Corps of Engineers: 66 new construction starts in 1966 (41 proposed, 25 added by Congress), 25 in 1967.

"(c) Bureau of Reclamation: 12 new construction starts in 1966 (10 proposed, 2 added by Congress), 4 in 1967.

"(8) Agricultural research cutbacks: Grants to the agricultural experiment stations are being reduced by $8.5 million for research and $2 million for facilities. Certain pest control and disease programs are being curtailed or eliminated. Research facilities are being closed or cutbacks undertaken in 69 locations.

"(9) Ship construction subsidies: NOA down from $132 million in 1966 to $85 million for 1967.

"(10) Economic development facilities grants: NOA is down from $203 million in 1966 to $175 million for 1967.

"(11) FNMA (Federal National Mortgage Authority): No new commitments are planned to purchase single-family mortgages in urban renewal and armed services housing programs—expenditures down by $47 million in 1967.

"(12) NASA research and development: NOA down from $4,503 million for 1966 to $4,247 million for 1967.

"(13) AEC:

"(a) Weapons program: Operating costs are down $53 million to $639 million in 1967.

"(b) Experimental gas-cooled reactor is being terminated.

"(c) Medium power reactor experiment is being terminated.

"(d) Project Rover: Operating funds are down from $84 million in 1966 to $78 million in 1967.

"(14) VA hospital and domiciliary facilities construction: NOA is down from $91 million for 1966 to $52 million for 1967.

"(15) Military construction and family housing: Expenditures are down by $325 million in 1967 because of deferral of projects not vital to the military effort in Vietnam."

One noteworthy element of this shopping-list was the inclusion of a number of cuts in programs venerated by many congressmen. These included grants for schools in the federally impacted areas, the school lunch program and the special milk program, as well as the porkbarrel items lumped together as New Construction Starts. More than one congressman suspected the President of having cunningly included these economies rather more to enhance his own reputation for fiscal prudence than because he genuinely anticipated that Congress would allow the slashes to pass unchallenged. At any rate, the official administration line became clear when Dr. Schultze informed the Committee that the Bureau of the Budget and the President had between them shaved $9 billion off the amounts requested by the civilian agencies of the national government. The President was simply enacting another episode in the ongoing competition between Presidents and Congress to see which one can cut public spending the more decisively. Altogether, it was a poor atmosphere for the flowering of Great Society programs, especially the more controversial novelties like job camps, rent supplements, and assaults upon urban ghettos.

One supposes, nevertheless, that the outcome could have been still worse. Congress extended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act until 1968, authorized $6.2 billion for fiscal 1967 and fiscal 1968, and, incidentally, substantially expanded the President's request for assistance to the impacted areas. If anything, Congress was still more enthusiastic in its devotion to higher education. It added a billion dollars to the administration's National Defense Education Act proposal, approved a student loan program which Mr. Johnson had sought to eliminate, and continued NDEA pretty much in its present form. Slightly older legislation of promise, such as the Community Mental Health Centers Act—enacted during the Kennedy administration—was expanded and adequately funded.

Also on the credit side, Congress approved several regulatory measures which, although rather mild, have at least established the principle of federal responsibility and may some day, in a happier legislative climate, serve as useful precedents for genuinely effective regulation. Aided immeasurably by the stupidity of the automobile industry, which first denied any responsibility for the safety of its products and then set detectives on the trail of Ralph Nader, Congress actually strengthened the weak, discretionary measure that the administration had advocated and passed a statute requiring the Secretary of Commerce to draw up mandatory safety standards for all new motor vehicles by January 31, 1967 and to improve them twelve months later. Congress increased funds for checking water pollution to $3.6 billion over the next five years, and slightly liberalized the grant formulae in favor of the cities. Truth in Packaging—Senator Hart's administration-backed bill—fared less well. The bill sought clear and accurate labeling of packages, elimination of deceptive practices, and mandatory standards of weights and measures. Congress, responsive to the delicate attentions of food processing and supermarket lobbyists, gutted the labeling and the weights-and-measures provisions and authorized the Secretary of Commerce—at no time a militant defender of the consumer interest—only to seek voluntary weight and size standards. Although Senator Hart courageously professed himself pleased with the new law, few outsiders (least of all members of the food industry) were able to see wherein lay the source of his pleasure.

In short, if the 89th Congress took pains to avoid giving serious offense to any major industry, it did write some legislation which is susceptible of future expansion. That is the best that can be said of this Congress. Its real failures were in the sphere of imagination and innovation.

III

Despite the inexorable escalation of the Vietnam war, it is possible that Congress might have broken some genuinely new ground in 1966, had it not been for one thing: the race issue. In this regard, the November elections merely registered what liberal and moderate politicians had sensed much earlier. In retrospect, it seems depressingly obvious that middle-class white society was willing to support Negro aspirations just so long as they were gradualist, peaceful, and directly imitative of white, middle-class models. All it took was a few riots, some signs of dissatisfaction with white styles of life, and a slight indication of "overreaching" for the white community to react in fear, rage, and thwarted righteousness. When a Pat Brown in California retreats from an open-occupancy measure (and loses the governorship all the same), when a decent, liberal congressman like Seymour Halpern opposes New York's civilian review board, when a primitive like Lester Maddox can defeat an Ellis Arnall, and when a Lurleen Wallace becomes the governor of a sovereign state, then clearly the uneasy, tentative, frightened white acceptance of civil-rights legislation and of genuine improvement in the Negro situation has broken down—rather more spectacularly in the morally "superior" North than in the benighted South.

This mood of retreat had predictable effects upon the congressional agenda. Although it did not imperil education measures whose benefits were spread widely throughout society, the racial issue was responsible for such unedifying diversions as the harrying of Henry Howe, the new Commissioner of Education, for the sole reason that he took seriously the desegregation guidelines which in fact only reflected the intent of Congress at the time the education bills had been passed and which, for that matter, followed the practically prehistoric directive of *Brown vs. Board of Education*. Again, although the new mood did not interfere with the funding of medical research projects so treasured by elderly congressmen, Congress did its best to soften the enforcement of desegregation in hospitals. One episode in particular was symbolic. Of the many responsibilities lodged in the office of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, one entails the supervision of integration in federally assisted hospitals. The Department's current regulation "allows persons to be placed in segregated rooms upon certification by their physician that it would be detrimental to the person's physical or mental health to require placement in integrated quarters." Presumably, this provision protects the lives of violent segregationists hospitalized with heart ailments. At the same time, however, HEW checked regularly to ascertain whether in fact the certification procedure was being used to mask patterns of consistent segregation. If the Department's investigators found such patterns, then the Secretary might actually withhold federal funds, pending assurance of compliance. In the last Congress, Senator Stennis all but got his colleagues to prohibit HEW from imposing "any requirement of accountability" on hospitals or medical facilities once certification had been made. HEW was to be prohibited from penetrating beneath the appearances to the realities. The segregationists did not win this battle outright, but they did impose a certain caution upon public officials responsible for health and education programs.

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* Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 89th Congress, Second Session, p. 65.

The white backlash had its largest impact upon the poverty program and the new housing proposals. As far as the poverty program is concerned, the figures tell a tale all by themselves. The President initially requested $1.75 billion, much less than the program's administrators and clients had hoped for. Congress actually appropriated $1.6 billion—a 10 per cent cut in a new program which normally would have received very substantial increments, particularly for such successful programs as Head Start. Possibly the cuts themselves were less damaging than the assorted restrictions which Congress wrote into the law. The net effect of these restrictions was to prevent Sargent Shriver from shifting funds among programs; the specific targets were the community-action and job-training programs—the most controversial and yet the most promising innovations in OEO's history.

As of now, the future of OEO seems very much up in the air. The old-line agencies which from the first viewed it hungrily now seem ready to gobble up the dismembered fragments. Legal services to the poor may migrate to Justice; Head Start to Health, Education and Welfare; the Job Corps to the Labor Department; and so. The prospect contains a moral: in an era of backlash, the War on Poverty looks suspiciously like a Negro-aid program, and is therefore ripe for destruction.

Two new departures in housing bills have also been suspected of giving excessive aid to urban Negro populations. The rent-supplement program received a ludicrous $12 million and may expire this coming year. As for the Demonstration Cities program, it very nearly perished before its legislative birth, but it just possibly may turn out—if it, too, is not starved to death in the new session—to have been the most important act of the 89th Congress. As is obvious to everyone by now, the most frequent effect of urban renewal has been to destroy housing accommodation for the poor while providing inadequate substitute housing. Also, urban renewal has visited upon New York such monstrosities as Robert Moses's Coliseum. It has not even so much as nibbled at the central problem of urban ghettos in New York and other major Northern cities. As the fate of New York's civilian-dominated police review board and the outcome of the Douglas-Percy, High-Kirk, and Reagan-Brown races demonstrate, there is probably a large white-middle-class majority which opposes any substantial Negro breakout from these ghettos. Hence, it is hardly astonishing that the Demonstration Cities program survived Congress only after the bill's language was altered to make certain that the measure would not be used to promote housing integration. Fears of this sort explain why Congress reduced what was originally a $2.3 billion authorization for a five-year period to a $1.2 billion authorization for a two-year period, and why a mere $11 million was appropriated for planning purposes. What will come of Demonstration Cities depends upon the shape of urban politics over the next three or four years. Just conceivably, President Johnson may be right, and the new approach may promise the "rebirth of urban America." If, however, the Act is distorted into familiar porkbarrel shape, it may come much closer to Senator Dirksen's amiable judgment that "it has all the prospects . . . of becoming one of the greatest boondoggles that this country has ever witnessed."

In today's political climate it seems grimly probable that the only urban demonstration projects that stand a chance are those which leave racial housing patterns substantially undisturbed. Are better ghettos preferable to worse ones? Presumably they are. A few improved ghettos are probably the most we can anticipate from Demonstration Cities until white attitudes alter sufficiently to accept the fact that the only meaningful desegregation will take place right next door, all over the country.

IV

How, then, is the Great Society likely to fare in the two years before the next Presidential election? Not very well. Even so unpopular a war as Vietnam diverts resources from peaceful uses and arouses emotions hostile to social improvement. Although we may count ourselves fortunate that none of the more ferocious hawks won contested congressional seats, further escalation may well heat up the atmosphere, and will inevitably intensify the pressure to curtail domestic spending. Inflationary signals and rising war costs are likely to force a choice between really substantial tax increases and severe expenditure limitations. If we are fortunate, such programs as Community Action, Head Start, job camps, rent supplements, and Demonstration Cities will suffer only from malnutrition. If we are less lucky, they will perish.

In the period we are about to enter, those programs which are strongest—because they do most for the prosperous and least for Negroes and the poor generally—will become increasingly consolidated. The education acts will be preserved and their benefits enlarged, for as every member of the middle class knows, in a meritocracy it is the academic degree that counts. Medical programs will also receive generous appropriations. As usual, after some initial resistance the prosperous will come to appreciate just how readily social spending can be converted to the advantage of those who need it least.

Possibly Mr. Johnson went just about as far as a conservative politician in a conservative, racist country could have gone. The Great Society has distributed the nation's income even less equally than it was distributed before 1960. It has enlarged the prestige and influence of the business community. It has lost its token bouts with racism and poverty. The Great Society, never a giant step beyond the New Deal which was President Johnson's youthful inspiration, has grounded to a halt far short of a massive attack on urban blight, far short of the full integration of Negroes into American society, and far short of a genuine assault upon poverty and deprivation. These are the unfulfilled aims of a true effort to realize a Great Society.

ETHICS

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote part of a sentence contained in legislation which I have today introduced—"to insure proper standards of conduct by Members of the House, and by officers or employees of the House, in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities."

Mr. Speaker, I am not at all pleased to find myself behooved to echo what has been said previously in this Chamber. But, with your indulgence, it bears repeating.

There is deep concern and disillusionment across our Nation because there is trouble right here in our Potomac River city. Trouble, the impact of which some of us are closing our eyes to. Trouble, the reaction to which some of us do not fully comprehend.

This House needs a permanent Standing Committee on Standards and Conduct and it needs it today. The House has already bravely taken steps to punish the most flagrant violator in its midst for his improper conduct because his improprieties were so obvious.

The honest, wholesome people across our Nation have taken some heart from this action. But many still sneer that it only proves that others are guilty too. And tragically, some do a disservice to this House and to our Nation by seeing our first and most dramatic effort to clean house as merely an act of racial injustice.

While I would still like to feel that it is unnecessary for Members elected to this body to be policed and that we are all persons of such character that we observe rules of proper conduct without the necessity of writing them down, I fear we have passed that point. We must immediately demonstrate to 190 million Americans that we are willing and able to represent them in a manner that meets the highest possible standards of ethics and professionalism.

In light of recent events, the American Nation may have good reason to wonder—if not about the conduct of us as their Representatives and as a body—then at least about why we have failed to more firmly establish a criteria that would be our guide and to keep our house clean according to that criteria.

A permanent standing committee of the House of Representatives is the most effective means we can undertake to establish those criteria, to police ourselves, to regain our own pride, and to justify the respect of a nation which may be in danger of becoming hardened to misbehavior in high places.

TRADE WITH THE SOVIETS

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, according to recent polls, the attitude of the American people toward the Soviet Union seems to be softening. Of course, there are a number of reasons for this development, including the present upheaval in Red China which has resulted in a worsening of Sino-Soviet relations. And the administration seems to think that now is the time to educate the American people about the advantages of East-West trade. President Johnson clearly put the weight of the administration behind an expansion of trade with the Communist bloc countries in his state of the Union message.

While I would not question the sincerity of purpose by the administration in building bridges of trade between this country and the Soviet Union and its satellites, I seriously question the propriety of such a move in light of the war in Vietnam. To expand trade with Communist nations when 400,000 Americans are fighting communism this very hour in Vietnam is an affront to their efforts to secure peace in Southeast Asia. Moreover, it would be a sad commentary to the memory of thousands of Americans who have already paid the supreme sacrifice in that part of the world in defense of freedom.

Let us make no mistake about just who is supplying North Vietnam with the brunt of its war capability. Although some would argue that moral support comes from Red China, the great majority of strategic materials being used to perpetuate the Communist invasion of South Vietnam are coming from nations other than Red China. In fact, the Soviet Union and its Eastern satellites are providing more than 80 percent of the strategic war materials to North Vietnam. We can point an accusing finger at Red China for inflaming the war, but the real culprits at this time are the Eastern Communist bloc nations.

There are many supporters of increased East-West trade who argue that such a move would tend to isolate the satellite nations from Russian economic domination. Supposedly, this would make these nations more economically independent and would increase their dependence on the United States. This is, of course, an academic argument but, even if we were to assume that the satellite countries would attain a measure of economic independence as a result of increased commerce with the United States, there is still no guarantee that these nations will move from the Soviet sphere of political influence. As long as these nations adhere to a Marxist doctrine, they will continue to reflect the Soviet attitude in regard to this Nation and its institutions, and for us to entertain any impression to the contrary is an invitation to disaster. In the final analysis, the Communist nations of Eastern Europe will act as one in their efforts to achieve a Communist takeover in South Vietnam. These nations hold the key to peace and, as long as they promote the war effort, there should be no benefits accrued to them from an expansion of trade with the United States.

In addition, American exports to these nations would—just as American exports to Japan prior to Pearl Harbor—eventually take the form of strategic war materials. For instance, the Department of Commerce lists some 400 commodities that formerly have been restricted to Communist nations but which are now available. They include such "nonstrategic" items as computers and diesel engines.

This is certainly not the time to increase trade with Communist nations. I am appalled that we would even consider trading with the Communist bloc when these nations are assisting the North Vietnamese and Vietcong in killing Americans in Vietnam. We have a moral obligation to our fighting men to do everything possible to decrease the effectiveness of the enemy. Trading with the enemy would be a slap in the face of every American fighting man in Vietnam.

I am therefore introducing a Sense of Congress resolution today that would halt all further considerations of increased trade with Communist nations until they cease providing the enemy of the United States with war materials. This is the very least that we can do for our servicemen in Vietnam.

THE LATE REAR ADM. HOWARD A. YEAGER

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, in the loss of Rear Adm. Howard A. Yeager in the tragic fire which struck his quarters at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, the Navy lost a leader whose rare abilities were exhibited in wartime, peacetime, and cold war confrontations. One of the most well liked of naval officers, Admiral Yeager combined great diplomatic skill with the knowledge of a top professional fighting man.

Howard A. Yeager was a native midwesterner, born in Salina, Kans., and it was to the Midwest that he had returned to what would have been his final command before retirement, Commandant of the Ninth Naval District.

Howard A. Yeager graduated from the Naval Academy in 1927 and spent the early years of his naval career aboard a variety of ships, including destroyers, a destroyer tender, and the battleships *Arizona* and *Nevada*. He served on the U.S.S. *Tuscaloosa* in 1940 when that ship took President Roosevelt on a tour of lend-lease bases acquired from Britain.

Admiral Yeager's brilliant record of World War II service included sea duty at the time of the Normandy landing where he gave the order which commenced the naval bombardment preceding that mighty landing. He received the Bronze Star for heroic service during that invasion at a time when his ship was under constant fire and operating in mine-infested waters.

In 1945, he received a Gold Star in lieu of a second Bronze Star Medal for his services as executive officer and evaluator of the Combat Information Center of the U.S.S. *Nevada* during operations against the Japanese in the invasion of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He was "in large measure responsible for the exceptionally high standard of training, morale, and combat readiness of the ship's personnel."

His duty following World War II included a variety of staff and command assignments, including a tour as aid to Chief of Naval Operations. At the start of the Korean war, he held command of a destroyer squadron operating in Korean waters and later served as chief of staff for Cruiser Division 4. He graduated from the National War College in 1953 following which he served as commanding officer of the U.S.S. *Des Moines*.

Admiral Yeager served as Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Personnel for Personnel Control, and was Commander Amphibious Training Command, U.S. Atlantic Fleet before returning to sea as commander of Amphibious Group 4. It was while holding the latter command that he received the Legion of Merit for his skillful command during the Lebanon crisis of 1958.

The citation accompanying this medal reads:

> For exceptionally meritorious conduct . . . as Commander Amphibious Forces, Specified Command, Middle East, during the Lebanon Operation from July 14 to October 4, 1958. A dynamic leader and skilled diplomat, Rear Admiral Yeager was eminently successful in carrying out his responsibilities during this period. Under his direction, Marine Landing Forces executed timely and efficient landings in the Beirut area of Lebanon with a minimum of advance warning. Exercising a wide knowledge of the tactics and techniques of amphibious operations, (he) skillfully directed the rapid unloading of units and materials, thereby ensuring the expeditious build-up of forces at a critical stage of the operations in Lebanon. In addition, he fostered friendly relations with Lebanese civil and military officials during a period of great tension and potential danger. From July 16 to September 21, 1958, (he) was responsible for the control of all air operations in the amphibious area. Under his guidance and supervision, aircraft of the U.S. Navy, U.S. Air Force and United Kingdom were effectively controlled and coordinated with a minimum of interference with local commercial air traffic. Simultaneously with his other assigned tasks, he also served in the capacity of Senior Officer Present Afloat (For Administrative Purpose). When the order to withdraw was given, Rear Admiral Yeager expertly directed the re-embarkation of Marine units and a large volume of supplies. Through his marked professional ability and inspiring devotion to duty, he contributed materially to the success of a vital operation.

In July 1960, he was nominated and confirmed as a vice admiral and assumed command of the Amphibious Forces, U.S. Pacific Fleet. In March 1963, he was appointed Commander of the Ninth Naval District with headquarters at Great Lakes.

Admiral Yeager's son is carrying on the tradition of his father. Lt. Howard B. Yeager, Naval Academy class of 1959, is serving in the Supply Corps of the U.S. Navy.

SVETLANA STALIN DENIED REFUGE IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, one of our finest national monuments stands at the gateway to New York Harbor. The Statue of Liberty has been a symbol of freedom in America and epitomizes the principles of individual liberty and dignity she represents to all the world now for over 80 years. During the years of great immigration from other less fortunate countries, the statue stood as a beacon welcoming those, rejected by their homelands, who sought refuge and a new life in a country strange to them but full of promise and hope. This week, however, the hope seems gone for one refugee. The Johnson administration, in a case of pure political expediency, has denied entrance to Svetlana Stalin, daughter of the late Russian dictator.

On the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty is carved the famous poem by Emma Lazarus:

The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name,
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome, her mild eyes command
The Air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.

The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

While immigration was curtailed in the twenties and put on a national quota basis, the golden door was still ajar. Time and time again refugees came to the United States over and above that allowed by the immigration law. The Hungarian revolution gave us thousands of new citizens. Later, Cuban refugees and Chinese fleeing to Hong Kong were admitted as permanent residents. Recently the national origin system was scrapped and the immigration laws liberalized. While not perfect, this country still held out hope for refugees. The door has apparently now been closed.

Joseph Stalin was one of the world's bloodiest tyrants. No American, however, believes that children are guilty of the sins of their fathers. Svetlana Stalin has been accused of no crimes. She has not engaged in political activity. She has simply requested asylum in a country that proclaims to be the homeland of exiles. What shame it is to deny her a haven. Are we, in the name of detente, stooping to the point of destroying the means of our own monuments and principles? All of this is carried on for the sake of good relations with a country sworn to destroy us, a nation we have opposed for 20 years so that at least part of the world could remain free.

I cannot believe that granting asylum to this woman would bring down on our heads the East-West bridges the administration is working so diligently to build. We have endured the imprisonment and death of our citizens in the Soviet Union without a whisper. It is long past the time to placate Russia at the cost of our principles.

I urge the administration to reverse this unwise decision and to open our doors to this lone refugee.

MASTER KEYS FOR MOTOR VEHICLES

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to join with my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CUNNINGHAM] by introducing legislation dealing with the sale of master keys for motor vehicles. I have seen several advertisements which advertise sets of these master keys for as little as $4. The ads proudly proclaim that the keys will fit ignitions, doors, and even trunks on cars and trucks of major companies manufactured since 1947. Personally, I cannot think of a better way to encourage criminal activity in the theft of automobiles.

I have been contacted by residents of my congressional district who are very much concerned about the sale of these keys. One of my constituents is a motel owner who was astonished to receive a solicitation for his order. Only $10, said the advertisement, would buy keys for all Ford, Chrysler, and General Motor products.

I, too, have been concerned about this situation, and from my contacts with the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Post Office Department, I have been advised that at the present time there is no law which prohibits the indiscriminate sale of master keys. I feel strongly that this situation could well be a factor in the high rate of automobile thefts, which as we all know is constantly increasing.

The bill I am introducing would make it a criminal offense to knowingly introduce, or manufacture for introduction, into interstate commerce or transport, or distribute in interstate commerce, any motor vehicle master key. Exceptions are provided for Government agencies and other individuals who have an obvious and legitimate need for such keys. The penalty for violating the provisions of such an act are a fine of $2,000, imprisonment for 5 years, or both.

In this day when the crime rate is increasing alarmingly, I feel that every reasonable and equitable step should be taken to fight crime. It is my hope that this bill will be of material help in the war on lawlessness.

HON. RAMSEY CLARK

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, the elevation of the Honorable Ramsey Clark to the position of Attorney General of the United States, and the resignation of his father, Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark from the High Court, lest there be any conflict of interest, adds luster to the already great name of Mr. Justice Clark, a man whose essential sense of fairplay and devotion to the public good would not permit him to participate in any judicial action where his objectivity would be open to question. We frankly doubt whether the fact of his son's serving as Attorney General would threaten the impartiality of Mr. Justice Clark, but it is typical of this great public servant that he would rather step down than have a situation of this kind occur. Men like Tom C. Clark are rare in the public life of this Nation, and all Members of the Congress wish him well in his retirement years. It can be truly said that we will not soon see his like again.

In promoting Ramsey Clark from the staff of the Justice Department, President Johnson has shown his dedication to the principle that among the men in the ranks of the Federal service are to be found those who are often most worthy of promotion. President Johnson has done much in raising morale among the rank and file Government employees by this wise selection.

To Mr. Clark, I cannot wish him anything but the best as he assumes the task of Attorney General for the Nation. I know that he is well worthy of the trust bestowed upon him by our President.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD, a very thoughtful editorial from the Tampa, Fla., Tribune of March 2, 1967, which, I think, expresses the feelings which we all share. The editorial follows:

Nation's Gain, Nation's Loss

The elevation of Ramsey Clark to the position of Attorney General is a gain for both the Cabinet and the nation; the retirement of his father, Tom C. Clark, as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court is both the Court's and the nation's loss.

Yet it is the very circumspection of Justice Clark that made him such an asset to the Court that dictated his retirement. Although he did not say so outright, he made it plain that he is leaving the court at age 67, still in his prime, to avoid any appearance of impropriety in dealing with cases involving the U.S. Department of Justice which his son will head.

It is to be hoped but it is by no means certain, that his successor on the Supreme Court will be a man who, like Clark, defies easy categorization. His record has been more conservative than liberal, yet he was quite often the Court's "swing man," the Justice who might side first with the liberal bloc, then with the conservative.

His loss will be felt in another way, too. He was acknowledged as the Court's clearest, most succinct, writer of decisions. The talent has more merit to it than simply literary style—an easily understood majority opinion reduces the amount of future litigation on the same legal point, where an obscure rendering invites further cases.

Even so, his son is such a rarity in the Washington bureaucracy that his promotion can help the nation if his example can be followed elsewhere in government.

It is not just the fact that there is much to be said for promoting to Cabinet rank men from within the departmental organization. It is that Ramsey Clark is a non-empire builder.

As Assistant Attorney General in charge of the lands division he accomplished the virtually unheard-of feat of *turning back to the Treasury* part of his budget. After several years of underspending his $3.5 million allocation by $300,000, he finally asked Congress to *reduce* both his staff and his annual budget.

Two other traits commend him for the job. He has shown considerable courage as Acting Attorney General in pushing cases, notably in the anti-trust field, which some of his predecessors approached gingerly, if at all. And he is on record as regarding his function as non-political, in contrast to the highly partisan activities of many who have held the job in the past.

So the nation's gain in having Ramsey Clark as Attorney General is apparent. The nation's loss in Justice Clark is also clear, although the magnitude of the loss hinges heavily upon whom Lyndon Johnson names to succeed him.

LEGISLATION TO RELIEVE PLIGHT OF AGED

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the legislation which I offer today is designed to relieve the plight of a large and deserving segment of our population—our older people.

There are now approximately 19 million American citizens 65 years of age or over. Many of these people are in dire financial straits. They are caught between the jaws of a steadily closing vice. On the one hand, they are subjected to the mushrooming pressures of inflation caused by irresponsible Federal fiscal policies. On the other hand, they must subsist on income limited by law yet constantly reduced by rising taxes.

The economic position of many of our older citizens, when compared with other age groups in our society, proves to be inadequate. Figures issued by the Census Bureau show that, in 1965, one-third of the aged families had an income of less than $2,500. For individuals over 65, the situation was even worse. Almost three out of four had incomes under $2,000.

For many of these people, the sole source of income is the social security program. Yet, the merciless price spiral of inflation has made a mockery of the protection intended by social security. The pension dollar which, in 1939, had a purchasing power of 100 cents will today buy only 42 cents worth of goods and services. The prospects are for a further decline in purchasing power. Despite our obvious need of a stable dollar, the administration seems bent on continuing a policy of multibillion-dollar deficit spending, waste, and extravagance, which feeds the fires of inflation. Social security comprises one area in which the Federal Government can and should act with dispatch to give older people more equitable treatment.

For this reason, I propose to make four changes in the social security program—changes which I believe to be absolutely necessary under the circumstances. The bill which I offer would, first, raise the minimum benefit from $44 per month to $70 per month; second, provide for an automatic cost-of-living increase in benefit payments; third, amend the retirement test requirements to allow up to $3,300 in combined benefits and outside earnings; fourth, provide benefits to disabled widows regardless of age.

Social security is not designed to meet all the needs of its recipients, but rather to provide a floor against total want. Even so, I think it is obvious to all that today's minimum benefit of $44 per month is not sufficient to provide this basic floor of protection against destitution. I believe this amount must be raised to a minimum of $70. We must consider the fact that the person receiving this minimum is probably the person who has had the least chance to accumulate other resources to supplement his social security. He is the one who really needs help, and that help should be forthcoming.

The second proposal is identical to one which I introduced in the last Congress. It requires an automatic increase in social security benefits of 3 percent whenever the cost of living goes up 3 percent. This would have the effect of sustaining the purchasing power of the pension dollar. Perhaps more important, it would tend to remove benefit increases from political whims of a moment by providing for immediate response to problems created by inflation.

The third part of my bill is designed to encourage and reward those older persons who are able and willing to continue gainful employment. I do not believe that a worker who has contributed to social security during his most productive years should be unduly penalized for his willingness and ability to earn. The present $1,500 earnings limit is too restrictive. It seems to me ridiculous to force some of our older workers to subsist on incomes far below the poverty level, which the Government has set at $3,000—yet that is exactly what the law does when it limits outside earnings to $1,500.

The case for benefits to disabled widows regardless of age is self-supporting. No one can deny that these are the people who are least able to help themselves and therefore the most deserving of our special attention.

In drafting this legislation, I tried hard to balance benefits with burdens. We must help our older people, but we cannot tax our young people into ruin in the process. I wish to point out—and make quite clear—that the proposals which I have advanced can be put into effect without adding one extra cent in taxes. They can be financed out of the current surplus in the social security fund. They represent, I think, the most judicious use of that surplus, in that they are aimed at helping those people who are most in need of help. I ask that careful consideration be given to this bill. There is an urgent need for such changes in the law.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE PAUL FINDLEY UPON THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced two bills regarding the social security program. The first bill would provide for an automatic cost of living increase in the insurance benefits payable from the social security accounts. The second bill would permit social security recipients to earn up to $3,000 annually without suffering the penalty of reductions in their regular cash benefits.

Before stating the case for enactment of these two bills, I should like to make a few comments regarding the social security program.

Today almost 22 million Americans are receiving social security cash benefits each month under the OASI program. The system at the present time pays out more than $1.5 billion in cash benefits each month to these 22 million people. When the law was enacted, it provided retirement coverage for workers only. Today, through various expansions of the legislation, it provides coverage to 14.7 million workers and their dependents, survivors' benefits to 5.3 million widows and orphans, disability benefits to nearly 2 million disabled workers and their dependents and medicare benefits to almost all retired persons over 65, regardless of their eligibility for social security cash benefits.

Over the years a great number of changes have occurred in the system. In 1950, only about one-fourth of the populations aged 65 and over were covered by social security. Now 86 percent are covered and, if those covered by civil service and railroad retirement systems are included then 91 percent are covered. Of those who reached 65 during 1966, 95 percent were covered by one of these Federal retirement systems. By 1985, it will be 98 percent.

Social security was never designed to replace private retirement insurance. It was designed to replace, in part, earnings and income loss caused by retirement by providing a subsistence level. In this respect social security is more a pension system than insurance. Today it is questionable whether it is furnishing that level. The Social Security Administration estimates that about 5 million persons aged 65 and over are living in poverty and another 5.5 million are kept out of poverty by their social security benefits. But, 1964 figures indicate that 40 percent of the aged couples in the Nation had incomes less than $3,000. Twenty-five percent had incomes less than $2,000. The U.S. Department of Labor budget for a minimum but adequate living for an elderly retired couple is about $3,000 a year in a large city and $2,500 in a smaller community. Thus it would appear at first glance that the subsistence level is being met. But this is only part of the story. Consider, for example, the plight of aged widows. According to a 1962 Government study, 70 percent of the aged widows were living in poverty. In 1966, average social security payments to the 2.5 million aged widows receiving them were only $74 a month. This is one-third less than the average weekly earnings of workers still on the job.

Only one in four persons over 65 is employed and few of the remaining have supplemental sources of income. Though about 30 percent of the labor force are currently in jobs covered by private pension plans, only about 15 percent of those over 65 are receiving private pension payments. Social security is the sole retirement system for the remaining 85 percent of the population over age 65. It will be another 15 to 20 years before this figure drops as low as 70 percent and, for the foreseeable future, social security will be the only retirement income for a majority of the retired population.

Even more indicative of the problem are those statistics that show the plight of the aged. Letters from constituents back home reflect the loneliness of their isolation. Many of them live alone, with no method of transportation, the bleakness of their average day being broken only by the postman delivering their mail. For those who do not live on a mail route—and there are many in my district—they must depend upon friends to deliver the mail from town.

Though expanded and improved over the years, social security's biggest single defect is lack of adequate benefits. Improper and unbusinesslike financing is another.

Discussing first the adequacy of benefits, we discover that cash benefits have been increased only twice during the 12-year period, 1954–66. The 7½-percent increase in 1958 did not restore the 1954 buying power of cash benefits and the 7-percent increase in 1965 fell short of restoring the 1958 purchasing power of benefits. During the interval between 1958 and 1964, inflation cost social security pensioners approximately $1.4 billion in loss of purchasing power. Benefits which fall behind the cost of living do little but keep poverty levels current. My bill, which would tie social security benefit increase to the rise in the consumer price index would meet this problem of loss of purchasing power.

I am concerned, however, not only by the need for action to help our older citizens to meet the burden of rising living costs, but by the fact that the present limitation serves to rob these citizens of the initiative to better their own circumstances. Many citizens, who could otherwise attain a higher standard of living by augmenting their social security incomes, hesitate to do so because of the penalty of reduced benefits.

To finance the cost-of-living increase I have proposed that payment be made from general revenues. From its inception in 1935, the social security program has been financed entirely by contributions shared equally by employer and employee. This creates special problems. Since the social security contribution rate is uniform and does not apply at all to higher levels of earnings, considered solely as a tax it is regressive. That is, workers with low earnings pay a larger percentage of their total incomes than higher paid employees, thus it burdens those least able to pay the tax. However, this regression is offset somewhat by the benefit formula which is weighed in favor of those with lower earnings. But the fact remains that an increasing number of low-income families are paying more in social security taxes than income taxes. Clearly the point is nearing where it will be difficult to tax low-paid workers at much higher rates. Sooner or later the principle that payroll taxes shall be the sole source of funding should be modified or goals must be lowered to the less than adequate improvements that can be financed this way. This leaves only one alternative: Government contribution through general revenues.

A Government contribution for social security is common practice in many foreign countries. At the present time almost every West European government makes a contribution to social security from general revenue. The countries that make such contributions are the Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Belgium, West Germany, and Italy. There is no reason why presently covered workers should pay for the amounts the early beneficiaries received. Instead, this financial burden should be financed from general revenue sources to which all taxpayers contribute. Why is this so? Because of the savings in welfare cost resulting from the establishment of the social security system. For example, since 1950 the percentage of the older population receiving welfare payments through old-age assistance has decreased from 22 to 11 percent, a reduction of one-half. The social security system has helped lift this burden from State and local governments and in turn from individual taxpayers who might otherwise have had to contribute through regressive local real estate and sales taxes—not to mention progressive income taxes—to finance additional public assistance costs. A raise in social security taxes is out of the question. The only other alternative is to raise the base, but this is not sufficient to increase benefits significantly. For example, a $9,000 wage base would permit only a 4.5 percent across-the-board benefit increase. Deciding on an eventual $15,000 base with an immediate rise to $9,000 would produce about 8 percent. Even taxing all wages would mean a rise of only about 9.4 percent.

There are many myths concerning social security. Among them is the concept that social security is insurance. Clearly it is not insurance in the generally accepted meaning of that term. It might be described as "social insurance" to achieve a social objective, but it is not general insurance based on a concept of risk sharing.

Social security and private insurance, though similar in some respects, are not really comparable and the two should not be confused. Social security stresses a social need and goal as well as individual equity. Private insurance is concerned exclusively with the latter. Without social security, society would have to care for those in need and higher taxes would be required.

I have touched on just a few of the basic issues in the social security program in my remarks today. But there are many other basic policy questions that must be considered by the Congress. Among these are:

First. What constitutes an adequate level of income for retired persons?

Second. What part in attaining an adequate level of income should be played by governmental programs and what by voluntary group action and individual effort?

Third. Of the public segment, what share should be financed through payroll taxes and what through general revenues?

Fourth. What are the consequences—to the economy as well as the aged individual—to tax exemptions and various other subsidies that recognize the inadequacy of income without providing a direct increase in retirement benefits or other income?

Fifth. What improvements in income can be expected for future generations of aged persons?

In addition to these more technical points there is the larger question of restraining inflation in order to prevent the erosion of dollars set aside in pension plans, private savings accounts, stock investments as well as social security trust funds. Since social security benefits represent only a portion of income loss through retirement, we must not become so obsessed with social security operations that we overlook the necessary tax adjustments to strengthen and encourage private pension plans, which are after all, designed to carry the major load of the loss in earnings. We must face also the problem of age discrimination in employment and the adequacy of housing programs for the elderly.

STATEMENT ON FEDERAL-STATE PROBLEMS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Richard B. Ogilvie, president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, presented an excellent statement of Federal-State problems on February 27, to the National Legislative Conference of the National Association of Counties. In it he challenged State and local units to greater initiative or face greater Federal takeover. His remarks follow:

Cook County is the center of one of the most important urban areas in the entire world. It contains within it boundaries practically every problem which would affect municipalities or counties in any part of this country.

America's urban areas are in a state of crisis today, beset by a host of problems—financial, political and environmental. With 70% of all Americans now living in cities or suburbs, this crisis is the most serious of our times.

Historian Richard Hofstadter has stated: "America was born in the country and grew up in the city."

But there still exists to a degree a sort of fundamental American bias against urban life, as somehow less pure, virtuous, and ennobling than life on the farm. The nostalgia for the life of Tom Sawyer is probably unquenchable, but this psychological barrier must be overcome if we are to solve contemporary urban problems.

Our national life has changed dramatically as America flocks to the cities. During the 60's, two trends have been especially noteworthy:

First, the Federal Government, via the grant-in-aid, has become involved in many functions formerly performed either by state or local government if in fact at all. One Congressman has described it this way:

"There are 400 federal aid appropriations for over 170 separate aid programs, administered by 21 federal departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out federal tax dollars."

The Bureau of the Budget has estimated that for fiscal 1968, total federal aids to state and local governments will increase by $2.1 billion over 1967 to $17.4 billion. This represents more than a threefold increase in the last decade.

Many of our ailing urban areas are pleading for massive doses of federal aid as a panacea, arguing they have insufficient resources to solve their own problems.

Unrestrained federal aid, however, often produces an atrophy of local self-reliance. Many communities have found to their sorrow that termination of a specific program has left them bereft of their initiative and totally incapable of meeting the resulting emergency.

Unrestrained federal aid also leads to a distortion in allocation of local resources on a sound priority basis. There is a great temptation to concentrate local spending on projects for which federal grants are available, regardless of need.

The second trend of the 60's is that state and local governments have been increasing their activities, outlays, and payrolls at a record pace.

In Cook County, for example, budget requests for fiscal 1967 were approximately $22 million over fiscal 1966 expenditures. Inflationary pressures on Cook County's budget have more than wiped out any immediate benefits. We have witnessed a continuing spiral in demands for additional salary increases and fringe benefits by employees—coupled with threat of strikes to compel the acquiescence of the government. This process can only lead to eventual bankruptcy, not only of the local government, but of the people who must support it.

Thus, it is apparent that an obsolete revenue structure lies at the heart of our urban problems in Cook County. Local government is overly dependent on the property tax as a source of revenue—the same basic revenue source of 200 years ago.

If the federal government sincerely wants to assist urban areas in meeting their *own* problems, then state and local governments *must* be provided with a realistic tax break. I strongly recommend serious consideration be given to a solution pending in the Congress, calling for a *return* to state and local governments of sums necessary to finance services best administered locally. Such rebates could be distributed to the states with no strings attached on a per capita basis.

These funds should then be allocated to counties and cities for use in urban areas—wherever such a plan is feasible.

In sum, the question remains, what should be the proper role of the federal government in solving the problems of the urban complex?

First, urban problems must be solved at the urban level. Federal agencies such as Housing and Urban Development should lend financial assistance only in those areas meeting basic criteria, the most important being that an honest local effort has failed. Straight substitution of federal programs for local programs is wrong.

Second, when need has been determined, federal assistance programs must be viewed as a corollary to local efforts, and they certainly demand meaningful national coordination. Widespread confusion has been generated by the new grant programs of the 89th Congress.

Third, if the urban area is to be rebuilt, the basic means lies in private investment. While government should provide some money and act as a coordinator, private enterprise should assume the major responsibility. Senator Percy's proposal to create a National Home Ownership Foundation well fits this criterion.

Finally, local government can only assume its proper role in the federal system if a program of tax sharing were initiated.

Unless state and local governments awaken to the political realities of our time, and unless the federal government fully recognizes the necessity of a properly balanced federal system, the final result will be a much wider assertion of direct federal action and control than has ever been experienced heretofore.

NATO AND ABM DEFENSE

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the crucial relationship between antimissile defense and the future of the Atlantic Alliance is discussed ably in a recent column by the noted correspondent Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Here is the text of Mr. Mowrer's statement:

U.S. ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE WOULD GIVE NATO A NEW LIFE

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Next only to Russo-American togetherness, the main reason for the decay of NATO is the Europeans' growing disbelief in the United States' willingness to risk nuclear war to defend their countries. Unless we are ready to junk NATO altogether, possibly in favor of "convergence" with the Soviet Union on nuclear policy, to the exclusion of "lesser" countries, the restoration of our "credibility" should be a major aim of any American Administration.

Almost a year ago, at the University of Pennsylvania, I heard Edward Teller, the "father of the H-bomb," make a moving plea not only for an immediate start on a program of shelters and anti-missile missiles at home, but in West Europe as well.

Teller argued, wisely, I thought, that the more Americans made themselves immune to missile attack, the more likely they would be to risk nuclear war to defend Europe. Furthermore, the more defense our European allies enjoyed, the readier they would be to participate in a serious anti-communist policy. Even the French, though Teller did not say so specifically, would be less eager to build bridges to Moscow and Peking at the expense of NATO if they had some protection against a Soviet missile attack.

FRANCE VULNERABLE

Today the French are completely vulnerable, their only deterrent their own plane-carried A-bombs and the "hope" that the United States would deter any sort of attack on West Europe by its readiness to unleash "massive nuclear retaliation."

Whether Teller's plea made any impression on Secretary of Defense McNamara and his all-knowing Whiz Kids is doubtful. But since then, the Administration has reluctantly admitted that the Soviet have placed anti-missile missiles around Moscow and possibly other cities. Thereby they unleashed an American debate, with McNamara, the Whiz Kids and the peaceniks in the Senate on one side, the professional soldiers including the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the other.

Behind McNamara are of course the leftover Kennedy-ites who have staked their all upon "creating substantial cross-national diffusion of interest and, ultimately, of power," with the Soviet Union. Any recrudescence of the arms race might put a crimp in this.

But the Joint Chiefs have another powerful supporter. In a letter to the N.Y. Times, physicist Eugene P. Wigner, Nobel Prize winner in physics and co-creator of the A-bomb, warns that "if the leaders of the USSR believe in the possibility of protecting their people and are willing to spend vast sums in their defense, they may have sound reasons."

DIFFER ON PERCENTAGE

McNamara and company have argued that even the best anti-missile defense would save only forty or fifty million Americans, leaving the others exposed to instant or later death. Wigner writes: "A study sponsored by the Academy of Sciences, in which more than fifty natural and social scientists participated, concluded that whole-hearted civil defense measures alone could protect the lives of 80 per cent of our people from a nuclear attack directed against the population. A well-conceived anti-missile program could further improve the protection even against an increased capability of the enemy."

If this be true, and the burden of refuting it lies on McNamara and the Whiz Kids, then, in view of the restorative effect on our European allies' belief in the United States which it would have, the case for embarking immediately, not merely upon a small "anti-Chinese" anti-missile program, but of going all out to surpass anything Moscow can devise, seems irresistible.

REMARKS OF GOV. JOHN A. VOLPE

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. KEITH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, a little more than a week ago, the distinguished Governor of Massachusetts, John A. Volpe addressed the graduating class at the Massachusetts Maritime Academy in my district. I include the Governor's remarks in the RECORD.

The Massachusetts Maritime Academy is one of the oldest and finest institutions of its kind in the Nation. Its graduates have served their country well in peace and in war. Under its new president, Arthur S. Limouze, the academy is preparing leaders to meet both the age-old challenges of the sea and the fast-developing challenges of the nuclear age. President Limouze's service with the Navy and with the Army Air Force in the China-India-Burma theater together with his experience as dean of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point make him a most excellent leader for the Massachusetts Maritime Academy in these trying, changing times.

The occasion for Governor Volpe's address was unusual. The academy normally holds its commencement exercises in the balmy sunshine of mid-June. But this year's class was leaving more than 3 months ahead of its usual schedule—in the bleak, gray light of New England winter. The cause of this change—a crisis in our merchant navy: these men are needed now to keep our efforts in Vietnam from grinding to a halt for want of seaborne supplies.

Governor Volpe pointed out to the graduates that the critical need for merchant officers which foreshortened their education is part of a larger crisis. The American merchant fleet has declined to such a point that American-flag vessels can scarcely support our military commitment in Vietnam. The need for American merchant officers is part of the larger crisis which hangs over American shipping and the American shipbuilding industry.

Governor Volpe proposed that we should embark on a massive shipbuilding program to avert this crisis. Few men are as well qualified as John Volpe to make such a proposal.

John Volpe is a builder. In the depths of the depression, he cashed in his only asset, an insurance policy, and started the John A. Volpe Construction Co., now one of the largest building contractors in the world.

John Volpe knows how to face a problem. He served the late Christian Herter as Massachusetts' Commissioner of Public Works when Herter was Governor. In 1956 President Eisenhower chose Volpe to be the first Administrator of the Federal Interstate and Defense Highway program. Our Interstate Highway System is a monument to John Volpe's initiative.

Now in his third term as Governor of Massachusetts, Volpe has faced the hard problems of providing more and better State services and the even harder problem of raising the money to pay for these services.

In his remarks to the Massachusetts Maritime Academy, Governor Volpe asked the graduates to join him in facing up to the problems of our shipbuilding program—I ask the Congress to join with John Volpe and these graduates in facing up to and resolving these problems.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR JOHN A. VOLPE AT MASSACHUSETTS MARITIME ACADEMY GRADUATING CLASS

This 125th graduation of the Massachusetts Maritime Academy has . . . as every one here knows . . . been accelerated by nearly four months at the request of the Federal Government.

A most serious need for licensed ships' officers brought about this request . . . general commercial shipping . . . and particularly ships supplying American servicemen in Vietnam . . . were being delayed or threatened with delay because of a shortage of required officers.

Furthermore . . . careful studies by Government and industry indicate that the need will be a long-time one.

A recent study by the National Academy of Sciences predicts a net decrease in the officer work force size in excess of 5 percent per year.

It is partly in recognition of this need that I am here today.

It is my pleasure to congratulate these young men upon the completion of their course of studies at the Massachusetts Maritime Academy and to salute them as they embark upon their vitally important careers.

That they will prosper and succeed . . . we can be sure.

Their success at the Academy promises success in the maritime field.

They have learned that hard work . . . persistence . . . and faithfulness to their ideals are the necessary ingredients to academic success.

They will soon know that these same ingredients will spell success for them as they rise in their profession.

Now this is a theme that could be expanded for some twenty minutes into a conventional graduation address. . . . During which I could paint the conventional picture of success American college graduates all too often hear.

But that is a kind of speech heard throughout the land in June. And we are assembled here . . . not in June . . . but in March.

March weather is not June weather . . . and the problems facing these young men in March are the problems of March . . . not those of a mild and pleasant June.

These graduates are going into a profession in which learning cannot cease.

As they strive to advance in their profession . . . they must also face and solve the problems confronting that profession . . . for a successful solution to the ills plaguing the maritime industry which we as a Nation have misunderstood . . . ignored . . . or neglected throughout much of our history.

We have often had cause to regret this misunderstanding or neglect . . . but we have not done much to prevent the continuation of a lack of an adequate maritime policy.

We have . . . in short . . . never developed and enforced a consistent national policy for our merchant marine.

Surely . . . it is high time we did so.

I do not think that those of us who are in public office in the United States should wait for these young men to take the lead in formulating a consistent and viable policy.

But I think it is our national responsibility to provide such a policy and to turn over to the graduates of the various academies the task of making the policy operable.

The difficulties to be overcome in establishing our merchant marine on a proper footing are great.

They have seemed to some to be insurmountable . . . as young officers of the caliber here today enter the industry . . . the insurmountable will . . . I believe . . . be surmounted.

What are some of these major problems? In one short afternoon I could not begin to name them all.

First of all . . . and fundamental . . . there is the problem of where the merchant marine fits into the structure of American society.

Is it a branch of our commerce . . . or is it a vital arm of our national defense . . . or is it both at once?

At least one other nation . . . the Soviet Union . . . holds that a strong merchant marine is important both for commerce and for defense.

As long ago as 1960 and as recently as 1966, American students of maritime affairs have commented on the Soviet Union's objectives in building a strong merchant fleet.

In the proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute in 1960 . . . Commander Bernard Kassell commented on the apparent fact that foreign trade was considered by the Soviets to be an integral part of foreign policy.

"Once the trade deal is signed . . ." he wrote . . . "the Soviet merchant ship becomes the active agent of that policy."

And in a recent issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD . . . Congressmen KEITH of Massachusetts and ROGERS of Florida issued a report on the increased strength of the Russian merchant fleet . . . pointing out that . . . "they are using their strengthened maritime position to further their strategic objectives . . . particularly with respect to the lesser developed nations of Africa and Asia."

This last report points out also that in 1965 the Soviet Union accepted delivery of 100 merchant ships . . . while the United States took delivery of only 16 . . . that we had on order 41 merchant ships of over 1,000 tons and the Russians had 464.

Clearly . . . the Russian emphasis on building a strong fleet to foster its foreign polices would justify grave concern on our part that we are not keeping abreast of the times.

Commerce or defense? It seems that the merchant marine is both . . . and that we need a nationally-determined policy to support our merchant fleet for both reasons.

Once this fundamental policy has been decided upon we can look for changes for the better in all phases of the industry.

At present . . . in spite of promised pronouncements . . . no clear policy presents itself.

On one hand the Federal Government asks the Academy to graduate early to meet a real need.

As Alan S. Boyd . . . then Under Secretary of Commerce . . . Now Secretary of Transportation . . . wrote . . . "The State academies' . . . graduates . . . fed into the fleet during the early months of 1967 . . . will make the difference to a large extent between ships sailing on time to Viet Nam . . . and ships waiting loaded at the piers."

Secretary Boyd was speaking for the same administration that allows 90 percent of our general cargo to be carried in foreign ships . . . and the same administration that sees nearly 100 percent of our aluminum ore imported in ships not flying the American flag.

This is the same administration whose Secretary of the Navy was quoted as favoring an increased budget . . . "because we need a strong Navy to keep the sea lanes open." I am tempted to ask . . . open for what?

American shipbuilding and shipyard capabilities have been neglected since the end of the Korean war or before.

An administration urging early graduation of officers and recommissioning of WW II victory ships is also proposing to de-commission the only nuclear merchant ship in the world . . . the N.S. Savannah.

If you can determine a policy behind these contradictions . . . young men . . . you are wise indeed.

It escapes me . . . and it appears to escape those leaders of the maritime industry who are most concerned.

Here we are . . . the richest and most powerful Nation the world has ever known . . . and we find ourselves involved in what has been called a very minor brush war some 10,000 miles away.

This should cause no major pressures on us in our great strength. But what do we find? Our "friendly" neighbors . . . willing to trade with us in any form . . . having had a chance to pick over our laid-up fleet of WW II ships and choose the best . . . these neighbors are not willing to carry cargo to our men in Vietnam.

We . . . the most powerful people today . . . are forced to bring out of mothballs ships built 20 to 25 years ago.

Ships that could have been recommissioned for $100,000 in 1947 and will cost up to $500,000 today. No better . . . just older . . . as someone remarked.

If our effort in Vietnam can so strain our maritime facilities . . . We have far too small a margin of safety.

This is a lesson we should have learned from both the World Wars. It has been proposed that American shipping firms be allowed to build abroad in foreign yards where labor costs are lower than our own.

Now . . . if shipping were solely a part of commerce . . . not of defense . . . this might be feasible.

But shipping is not solely commerce. Our own shipyards . . . if foreign building were to be encouraged . . . would deteriorate still further.

Our skilled workmen would drift away to other industries . . . and we would have no defense capability left.

Another time . . . can we be sure there will be an England to buy us the time we needed in the 1940's to develop our shipbuilding capacities?

To risk the chance is not policy . . . but absence of policy.

In 1946 there were 76 shipyards in the United States. Today there are perhaps 11.

In the first 180 days of WW II . . . 57 German submarines sank 519 United States vessels. Our merchant fleet today is about 1,000 vessels.

One major power today has an estimated 500 submarines. We have . . . I repeat . . . 11 shipyards.

Four years ago the Secretary of Defense acknowledged the importance of naval power but said that planes would be relied on to transport men and materials.

Ships would be needed only to provide back-up supplies and heavy equipment.

Recent reports indicate that 2% (chiefly personnel) of the total effort in Vietnam is carried by plane . . . 98% is still carried by ship.

This . . . it might be observed . . . is a 2% improvement on the situation during the Spanish American War 69 years ago.

But these are the problems of the present. What are the challenges of the future?

There will be bigger ships. A 500,000 ton tanker has been designed in Britain, more than twice as large as anything now afloat. There will be faster ships.

The 22-knot nuclear powered Savannah could be replaced by 30-knot nuclear ships if a bill before Congress is passed.

Containerization of cargo has caught on. The Army's experience with containerization for Vietnam has been most successful . . . and general commercial shipping is catching on.

Automation of ships is already with us and will advance rapidly.

In these areas you young men graduating today will make your careers.

It is up to us as a people to give you a stable and workable merchant marine policy so that you can see to the technical progress.

So far we have not much to offer. We have . . . to be sure . . . done something.

Three States . . . Maine, California, and Texas . . . have followed the lead of New York and Massachusetts and have established State-supported maritime academies.

The Federal Maritime Administration furnishes each school with a training ship . . . provides a direct payment to the State . . . maintains the vessel . . . and subsidizes each student for a part of his expenses.

The Federal Government also allots funds to underwrite new construction of ships . . . $85,000,000 in the last budget . . . as contrasted with $820,000,000 to construct a vehicle to travel on the surface of the moon.

But what should we establish for our new and badly needed policy?

For a start . . . let us live up to the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 . . . which called for a merchant marine capable of handling all our domestic and much of our foreign water-borne commerce in American built ships . . . manned by American seamen.

Provisions for subsidy and administration were included in the law.

Then let us review the needs of our shipyards so that the best and most economical construction methods can be applied.

Japan . . . whose entire maritime industry was devastated in WWII . . . has . . . by developing new and efficient methods . . . become the leader in ship construction. Her shipyards are the most modern in the world today.

We won a war . . . but we are losing some battles.

Let us invest in research with some shadow . . . at least . . . of the effort we spend on space travel so that the ships we build will be up to date . . . not out of date.

And let us train the finest corps of merchant marine officers the world has known.

Only the best men can be trusted with the finest ships. And only the best should be sent abroad as the unofficial representatives of our great Nation.

Like it or not . . . all of us are to some degree judged by other nations by the kind of merchant marine officer who represents us.

The modern ship . . . conventional . . . nuclear . . . or automated . . . is one of the most complex pieces of machinery devised by man.

Such ships require officers skilled in all the intricacies of modern technology.

If Massachusetts and the Nation are to keep pace with the times . . . we must provide the training needed . . . not only for today's ships . . . but for tomorrow's.

Our young men must go out as professionals of the highest order . . . respected by all whom they meet for their knowledge and ability.

We have great faith in you . . . the graduates of 1967.

Let us hope that you can have faith in us. . . .

For it is up to the American people to recognize the importance marine transportation plays in our economy and in our security . . . and it is up to us to determine the course we shall ask you to steer in the future.

CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Reid] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, events of the recent past have cast into grave doubt, in the minds of many Americans, the manner in which we in the House and the Members of the other body have borne the mantle of public trust with which we have been invested.

We are at a critical juncture. In a democratic and representative society, the people have the right to demand of their representatives a standard of conduct above that of the marketplace, a standard of conduct that betrays no breach of their public trust. Public confidence in our care of this sacred trust is seriously shaken in our land today.

I am introducing a unified package of six bills today which, in my judgment, can help to turn the tide. The bills would provide for:

First. Full disclosure of income, gifts, real estate holdings, creditors, and business enterprises in which Members own stocks, bonds, or other securities, or are otherwise associated;

Second. Establishment of a permanent House-Senate committee on ethics and conduct;

Third. Formulation of a comprehensive code of ethics for the Congress, including rigorous conflict-of-interest provisions; and

Fourth. Substantial increases in Congressional pay and allowances. The distinguished Committee on Rules of the House has been engaged for the past several weeks in hearings regarding the establishment of an Ethics Committee. While I support strongly the establishment of such a committee, it is imperative, in my judgment, that we not defer unnecessarily or perhaps totally sidetrack legislation on full disclosure in the debate over an Ethics Committee.

Full disclosure is the most effective vehicle for guarding against conflicts of interest in Government service. The American public is not unaware of our repeated failure to meet this problem head on. Refusal now to act decisively and with despatch would constitute a serious dereliction of our public trust.

Mr. Speaker, my bills cover a broad range of subjects. In a framework of full disclosure and a uniform code of ethics, substantial increases in salary and allowances should relieve Members of reliance on outside sources of income and permit full attention to what is already a 12-month-a-year job. No American should be denied the opportunity to serve in Congress for want of financial means. But once elected, he must be free to devote virtually his full time and energies to the exercise of that paramount responsibility.

I should also add that to meet fully our responsibilities in this area we should undertake to reform the present state of the law with regard to campaign contributions and their disclosure. I hope to introduce legislation in this regard later this session.

In essence, my bills would provide the following:

The pay and allowance bills would provide for annual salaries of $50,000 for Members of Congress, an increase in travel allowances to permit reimbursement for 52 trips, on official business, per fiscal year to the Member's home district or State instead of the present four, and the creation of a housing allowance for those Members who maintain a second residence in the Washington, D.C., area. Salaries of top executive employees, including Cabinet officers and Ambassadors, and members of the Federal judiciary would also be increased accordingly.

With regard to conflict of interest, in my judgment we have perpetuated an indefensible double standard by enacting comprehensive conflict-of-interest legislation applicable to the executive branch and yet failing to erect comparable standards to test our own conduct. My bill would mandate a Joint Committee on Ethics and Conduct to draft provisions—including criminal statutes if necessary—concerning congressional conflicts of interest.

During the formulation of these provisions, a broad conflict-of-interest standard would apply to all Members of Congress, prohibiting them from participating in matters in which official duties have or appear to have "a direct and predictable effect upon a private interest, as distinct from the public interest" of such Member, his immediate family, or business enterprises with which he is associated.

Under my disclosure bills, Members of Congress and officers or employees of Congress earning more than $15,000 per year would file public statements revealing gifts, real estate holdings, creditors, and business enterprises in which they own stock, bonds, or other securities, or are otherwise associated. In the case of Members of Congress, these statements would also be published in hometown newspapers.

A complete statement of income, including dividends and interest, would also be filed with the joint committee, which would be charged with enforcing the code of ethics. To the extent that partnership income is reported, all income of the partnership would be disclosed even though the Member did not share in the partnership's entire income.

Any American citizen or Member, officer, or employee of the Congress could file charges of misconduct with the joint committee. Counsel to the joint committee, who must be an attorney who has distinguished himself in public service, would recommend action to the committee in each case before it and could render advisory opinions on questions of ethics and conduct to Members and their aides. In my judgment, every American should be assured a sound forum for presenting allegations of misconduct of a serious nature.

Mr. Speaker, I have submitted copies of these bills to Russell Niles, president of the association of the bar of the city of New York and have urged that Mr. Niles take up with his executive board the possibility of the association undertaking a study of the legislation and of the entire problem of conflict of interest in the Congress. Mr. Niles has indicated he would do so.

The city bar association made an invaluable contribution to our legislative process when it prepared a study of conflict of interest in the executive branch several years ago. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will once again have the benefit of its thinking and guidance in this equally important field.

A DIALOG ON THE HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to receive last month a letter from Mr. Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, enclosing for my examination a copy of a statement issued by the CWA opposing the proposed Human Investment Act. I have responded to Mr. Beirne and commented on the points he has raised. Because his statement undoubtedly has received wide circulation, and because there are over 130 Congressmen endorsing this proposal, I have taken the liberty of placing Mr. Beirne's letter and the CWA statement in the RECORD at this point, together with my response to him.

The subject of manpower training and retraining in our society is vast and comprehensive. These statements are certainly not the last word. Indeed, I hope that they are only the beginning of a dialog with the labor movement on this issue, and I would be most pleased to insert in the RECORD whatever response Mr. Beirne, or anyone else, may care to make.

The material follows:

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
Washington, D.C., February 16, 1967.

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. CURTIS: Because you are a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, I thought you would be particularly interested in the views of the Communications Workers of America concerning the need for an investigation of our Federal tax system, and why we are opposed to the Human Investment Act.

Statements by the CWA Executive Board on these two matters are enclosed.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH A. BEIRNE, *President.*

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: A LONG-TERM APPROACH

The proposed Human Investment Act has been lauded by a number of Congressmen as an attempt to encourage industry to expand its training and retraining programs, under an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code which would allow employers to take credit against their income taxes for the expenses of providing training programs for employees and prospective employees. The act is modeled after the 7% tax credit for investment in business machinery and equipment which was embodied in the Revenue Act of 1962—and which was suspended by the Congress in September of 1966, on the recommendation of President Johnson, as a curb on inflationary pressures in the economy.

Proponents of the Human Investment Act argue that it is: (1) the outgrowth of concern over structural unemployment, which has expressed itself in persistently serious and relatively high levels of unemployment among non-whites, teenagers, and the unskilled—in spite of the fact that the economy has been in a period of expansion for 73 months; and (2) that it reflects dissatisfaction with government-sponsored, institutional-type training programs like those under MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act) and the Office of Equal Opportunity.

The Communications Workers of America is convinced that the 7% tax credit proposed in the Act represents little more than a lavish and uncalled-for tax subsidy to the business community. We are of the opinion that those who insist that there exists a large body of persons who would remain unemployed at any level of aggregate demand are confusing supply factors with demand factors. It is true that a given supply of workers may not match the skills and talents desired by industry; however, when aggregate demand is adequate, sufficient stimulus will be generated to achieve the adjustments in labor skills required by industry.

Our experience during World War II lends support to this view, i.e., that the private sector, in coordination with government-sponsored training programs, can prevent serious bottlenecks from developing which slow down production—without the additional incentive financial support proposed by the Human Investment Act. Under both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, financial aid is given both for payment of weekly allowances to people selected for training, and for the operation of training programs. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 has greatly extended the technical training program at the subcollege level. The War on Poverty legislation, administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, provides for a wide range of manpower development measures. The Job Corps is preparing youth for employment. The Work Training Programs are also designed to provide useful work experience opportunities for young people. There are Community Action Programs which assist the poor in employment, job training, vocational rehabilitation, adult education, etc.

Many feel that these programs are not sufficient and represent but a small step in the right direction. Public statements indicate that the proponents of the Human Investment Act envision this as a substitute for the institutional programs they criticize. This is a giant step backwards. A sizeable across-the-board business subsidy of this kind, written into the tax structure as a permanent feature, would, in fact, compound—rather than solve—the serious problems which are presented by structural unemployment.

We acknowledge that MDTA and similar programs are not reaching the most seriously disadvantaged in all cases. But it is also crystal clear that a tax subsidy will not motivate business to attack these "human investment" problems.

The business world is motivated primarily by demand and profit factors. If the demand is there business will hire—and train if need be—but they will recruit wherever possible from the "cream" of the unemployed; as a matter of efficiency and minimizing costs, they will not scrape the barrel in search of the neediest. In other words, business will hire the best of those lacking in skills and training—but only when forced to do so by aggregate demand factors. At best, a subsidy in the form of tax forgiveness, as proposed by the Human Investment Act, would be only a secondary consideration.

But—and this is the critical point—such an approach would leave untouched those most desperately in need of "human investment"—the illiterate, the slum dweller, the street gang member. We need a community-wide—indeed a society-wide—program to lift these citizens up to the skill level at which they can take advantage of the on-the-job and related training projects contemplated by this Act.

We very much need the cooperation and participation of the business community in such endeavors. We submit, however, that a 7% tax windfall, as proposed by the Human Investment Act, is one of the ways least likely to provide the kind of meaningful solution to "hard-core" unemployment which the Act purports to tackle.

MARCH 8, 1967.

Mr. JOSEPH A. BEIRNE,
President,
Communications Workers of America,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BEIRNE: I was sincerely pleased that the Communications Workers of America have prepared a statement expressing their views on the proposed Human Investment Act of 1967. Certainly I am disappointed by the fact that you are in opposition to the bill, but your letter reflects concern for the overall manpower training problem facing us and a willingness to examine alternative programs.

I am taking the liberty of placing your letter and statement in the Congressional Record, just as I am doing with this reply, to the end that further dialogue can be advanced on this issue. I will be most willing to make a matter of public record in the same fashion and further comments or statements you may care to make.

Your criticism seems to center around three major points: (1) that it is in error to proceed, as proponents of the bill do, on the theory that unemployment in our economy is "structural", and that unemployment should rather be treated as a result of "inadequate aggregate demand"; (2) that a tax credit approach is primarily a "windfall" to business which shouldn't be written into the tax code; and (3) that the Human Investment Act will not benefit the "hard-core" unemployed, and that therefore it cannot be billed as a "substitute to the institutional programs".

It has been the theme of the so-called "New-Economics" that unemployment, lack of growth in the economy, and other economic ills, can be cured by an increase in aggregate demand through governmental spending, particularly deficit spending. If lack of aggregate demand is the ill then, indeed, some of these ills can be treated by this method. This macro-economic device of course fails to recognize and treat the various structural and frictional factors which frequently lie behind unemployment and slow economic growth. Today there is no lack of aggregate demand, government spending and federal government deficits. Your statement that "when aggregate demand is adequate, sufficient stimulus will be generated to achieve the adjustments in labor skills required by industry" is untenable. An examination of any newspapers' want ads sections, or several recent news articles, or what statistical data is available should provide empirical proof that great demand for skills by employers is insufficient to generate the large amount of training and retraining needed in our society.

Parenthetically, it would be of great benefit to our dialogue if we could examine statistics compiled on the various jobs which are vacant and needed to be filled. Unfortunately, the Administration, pressured primarily by the national leaders of the AFL–CIO, has blocked the necessary—but relatively small—appropriations needed to develop the job vacancy statistics called for in the Manpower Training and Development Act of 1962. The Joint Economic Committee conducted an inquiry into this matter last year and with the exception of the testimony of Mr. Goldfinger speaking in behalf of the AFL–CIO all of the expert witnesses argued that these statistics were badly needed and well within our competence to provide.

A further and I think most interesting source for arguing against the "aggregate demand" theory comes from its original "New Economics" proponents—the Administration itself. I am pleased to note that they are beginning to recognize the problem of structural unemployment. The Economic Report of the President, transmitted to Congress in January 1967, reads as follows on page 103:

"Much of unemployment during the years 1957 through 1965 was the result of inadequate total demand for goods and services. This is sometimes referred to as cyclical unemployment; but since a large part of it persisted through the post recession expansions of 1958–60 and 1961–65, the cyclical label is clearly unsatisfactory.

"With the virtual elimination of cyclical unemployment in 1966, most of that which remains can usefully be described as either 'frictional' or 'structural'."

In addition, on page 108, the President's report continues with the statement:

"A concentrated attack on the causes of 'structural unemployment' is obviously essential if we are to move toward continually lower unemployment while maintaining reasonable stability of prices."

These statements in the President's Economic Report of 1967 led me to remark on the floor of the House on February 2, 1967, the date of introduction of the bill by 122 Members:

"I might interpolate that I am happy many of our Democratic colleagues are understanding the basic merits of this measure. If I read the President's economic report accurately, he does not use the term 'Human Investment Act' in his recommendations, but I think that the gist of what he is recommending amounts to the Human Investment Act. I am hopeful therefore that with the belated support of the Administration and the Democratic members of Congress, this bill actually will become legislation this year."

Your statement that the Human Investment Act represents "a lavish and uncalled for tax subsidy of the business community," might have some justification if the Investment Credit Act had not been put on the books in 1962 giving a subsidy to the business community for investing in new machinery. The problem more precisely stated is this, would the tax credit in fact stimulate further business investment in training and retraining, or would it, as you presume, represent a "windfall" to the amount of the credit for those who are already doing training?

Those of us involved with the drafting of the legislation were concerned with the possibility which you raised and considered writing "maintenance of effort" language into the bill. In other words, it was suggested that the bill be drafted so that a credit be given for only the net increase in the amount of the training over the amount of training already being done by that firm.

A provision for this purpose was rejected for several reasons, all of which should be subject to re-examination when the bill is considered in depth in committee hearings. First, the 1962 investment credit on machinery, which was *not* based on any maintenance of effort approach, is generally conceded to have stimulated a significant portion of the increased investment in new machinery and equipment since 1962. Second, although on one hand maintenance of effort language would seem to avoid a "windfall" to firms already doing training, viewing this from another perspective it would in a sense penalize them for having the foresight and initiative for proceeding on their own to effectuate the purposes of the Act. Thirdly, such a provision would involve costly accounting problems and thus increase greatly administrative expenses and contradict the philosophy of the Act.

These then are a rough sketch of the reasons why no provision was written into the bill which would provide a credit for only incremental training expenses. However, even if we assume that this credit for training and retraining expenses does result in some windfall to those firms already doing some training, this bill must be viewed alongside of the 1962 Investment Credit if we are to equalize the capital investment in training manpower with the benefit for capital investment in new machinery already given. The 1962 Investment Tax Credit was, in my judgment, and is unsound for many economic reasons but primarily because it promoted investment in machinery and ignored investment in our human capital. Frictional and structural unemployment was aggravated by subsidizing automation and was particularly inappropriate in an economy where the pace of automation was already in a state of increased acceleration.

Thus, one very important purpose of the Human Investment Act is to remove this imbalance in our tax code which favors machinery over human beings. The 1962 Tax Credit on machinery has been suspended temporarily for entirely different reasons—but will undoubtedly be restored instead of being permanently removed and allowing the orderly process of keeping our depreciation schedules for capital machinery up to date through recognizing the incidence of obsolescence in useful life in a realistic way.

The revised version of the Human Investment Act provides for a 10% credit for training expenses. This is in contrast to the 7% for machinery provided for in the Investment Credit Act of 1962. The reason for this apparent disparity stems from the fact that an employer who invests in machines retains title to that machinery while an employer who invests in employee training has no title over the employee and may lose his investment to another firm. This risk requires some differential. I am only concerned least a 3% additional be insufficient.

You raised the point that the Human Investment Act should not be promoted as an alternative to the institutionalized government programs. I would say that government programs should never be instituted unless it is impossible, highly inefficient, or against other policy considerations for the private sector to accomplish the social and economic goals.

The Human Investment Act may amount to a substitute for other government programs although it was not so conceived or designed. I say that as one who assisted in the conception and the design of the Manpower Training and Development Act. The premise of the Human Investment Act is that private industry perforce knows better than government what jobs are available and how to best train individuals for these jobs and will be more efficient in handling the overall operation of training and retraining. This philosophy argues that as much training as possible be transferred from the public to the private sector of our economy.

The Human Investment Act encourages employers to invest in training in skills that they need which includes all the rungs in the ladder of skills. Perhaps those employees receiving the most direct benefit will be those already employed who are seeking to move up and improve their talents. This would, I submit, include the vast majority of the members of your own union.

However, those now unemployed with no marketable skills will be *indirect* beneficiaries of this upgrading of skills throughout the economy. They will be recruited to take the place of those whose training allowed them to take higher positions. Furthermore, some of this recruitment will come from among those receiving training in basic skills at government run institutions. Because of this "trickle up" more jobs will be available and the job of the poverty program will be facilitated by the partial removal of one of their greatest barriers—the placement of workers.

As I said at the outset, I would be pleased to have any further comments you may care to offer. This measure should never be looked upon as a partisan proposal. Its premise is that business and labor, working together, can construct programs necessary to provide for the great demands for skilled labor in the economy. Your interest in examining the matter is appreciated.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE URGES THE ENACTMENT OF THE HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT OF 1967

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in order to meet the growing need for a new approach to the problem of unemployment and underemployment in the United States, we urge the immediate consideration of the Human Investment Act of 1967. This Republican-sponsored legislation would encourage American business to invest in our number one resource—the American working man and woman. For it would stimulate the initiation and expansion of job training and retraining programs by providing a tax credit for certain expenses of such programs.

The Republican Members of Congress have long been interested in establishing a sound program that would solve this Nation's manpower problems by upgrading and developing the skills of our labor force. The Republican effort in this area began with Operation Employment in 1961–62. In this study by the Republican policy committee, leading authorities in the fields of education and on-the-job training were contacted for their comments and recommendations. The results of this study were incorporated into the Republican proposed Manpower and Development Training Act of 1962, which was adopted in great part and enacted into law by the 87th Congress. This act has proven to be an important step in a greatly expanded war on unemployment and underemployment.

Despite the efforts that have been made under the Manpower and Development Training Act there remain today an estimated 2.7 million Americans who are chronically unemployed and hundreds of thousands of others who are underemployed. It is apparent that to break this chain of despair, a new and more fundamental approach must be devised. For the most part, these individuals need only additional training to become employable. At the same time there are many skills in serious demand, thousands of jobs are going unfilled, and the shortage of skilled workers is delaying many business operations. We believe that the necessary training can be furnished to these unemployed and underemployed individuals if the Human Investment Act is adopted.

The basic approach of the Human Investment Act is very simple. It is premised upon the proven fact that the most effective job trainer in the Nation is private enterprise. Employers and employees working together have conceived and developed many sound training programs. Our rapidly advancing technology requires many additional programs of training and retraining. To meet this need, business must expand its formal as well as informal training capability. Classes must be held during business hours or after work in plants, offices, and nearby classrooms. The skilled supervisors and the acknowledged experts employed by the various companies as well as full-time teachers must be utilized to provide the required instruction.

The Human Investment Act is designed to encourage on-the-job training by private industry and skill development by individuals just as the investment tax credit encourages the purchase of job-creating plant equipment and machinery. It would offer a tax credit toward certain specified expenses of programs designed to train prospective employees and to retrain current employees for more demanding jobs. This credit would be in addition to credits provided for by other sections of the tax code and in addition to the regular trade or business expense deduction.

The following training expenses would be allowed under the Republican Human Investment Act:

First, wages and salaries of registered apprentices;

Second, wages and salaries of enrollees in on-the-job training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act;

Third, wages and salaries of employees participating in cooperative education programs;

Fourth, tuition paid by an employer to a college, business, trade or vocational school or for a home study course;

Fifth, expenses of in-plant job training programs; and

Sixth, expenses of job training programs conducted by a trade association, joint labor-management apprenticeship committee or other similar group.

The Human Investment Act of 1967 has been sponsored and introduced by 149 Republican Members of Congress and has been endorsed by the Republican coordinating committee. It provides a thoughtful and effective method to meet the chronic unemployment and underemployment problem that is posed by the uneducated, unskilled, untrained worker. We urge its immediate consideration.

THE SLOW PAYING SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. ESCH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply distressed at the long delay experienced by so many elderly persons in my congressional district in the processing of their social security payments. My files are full of letters from elderly people who have had to wait for 3 months, 6 months, even more than a year, for the normal processing of their claims.

These people need the money now. Bills come due each month. Rent and utilities must be paid, food must be purchased for the table. Promises repeatedly given that "your check should be here soon" does not meet the immediate needs of our elderly citizens. Some are lucky enough to have savings and are forced to use them up while waiting for bureaucratic redtape to be cut. Others depend on their children to tide them over the rough time. Others, with no outside assistance, find it almost impossible to live, and may even be evicted from their homes because promised payments did not come.

Social security is a retirement system to which the individuals have contributed all their lives. No privately owned company would work so slowly in paying the legitimate claims before it. There is no excuse for the delay in social security.

I urge the Government Operations Committee to conduct an immediate investigation into the operations of the Social Security Administration. It is our responsibility to insure that our retired citizens not face hardship because of governmental failure to operate efficiently.

I have included portions of some letters which have reached my desk in the past couple of months:

> I am having trouble with my social security like a good many people in the State of Michigan. My husband passed away September 19, 1966 and I applied for my social security about two weeks later. The funeral director went with me to see that all the papers were filled out properly. I also signed to get the amount due on burial expenses.
>
> Since then every month I receive my husband's check which I am not allowed to cash because that would be forgery according to the law. I have never received one check made payable to me. All of those six checks have been returned along with letter that I wrote and yellow cards that were filled out that come with the checks telling that my husband has died.
>
> I wish you could listen to some of the

> pathetic stories you hear from these people that are in the same predicament. They wait from month to month hoping that each month will bring their checks. If it weren't for the help from their children they don't know what they would do. One couple received their check 1 month and now it has been 3 months since they received any money. What a Christmas they had without any money! He's called the office, driven up there and you get no satisfaction. I have been up to see the social security men several times, written them and all they say is that the trouble is in the division of disbursement in Chicago, Illinois.
>
> When I hear on radio and television and read in newspaper and social security pamphlet "Go to your nearest social security office and they will help you", that is a big joke. All those would be assistants are being paid a good salary each month only to be able to tell you that it isn't their fault, the trouble is in Chicago.
>
> You know all this double talk does not pay the bills that come due each month or put food on the table. It's about time that something is done for the people that are hoping that each month their check will come only to have another month to wait and hope and pray.
>
> Now I've waited through six months and I wonder how many more.
>
> I talked to the funeral director this morning again and he has twelve cases right now waiting for the people to receive their money for burial expenses.

Another man wrote to me in January:

> I am writing this letter to you to see if you can help me get my disability social security which I have applied for. I made application in March and so far I haven't heard anything from it or received any social security benefits.
>
> I am unable to work and I need it badly. Could you investigate and find out why I am not receiving any social security benefits.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN AND MRS. GLENN CUNNINGHAM AND CHILDREN

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CUNNINGHAM] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it has always been my sincere belief that the people of this country have every right to know all of the facts about their Government and about the men they have elected to represent them in the Congress of the United States. I believe the people of Nebraska's Second Congressional District are entitled to such information.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to include in the RECORD a full disclosure of my total assets and liabilities as of February 28, 1967:

Financial statement of Congressman and Mrs. Glenn Cunningham as of Feb. 28, 1967

Cash in savings and checking accounts		$4,275
Stock (2 shares Pepco common)		40
Cash surrender value of insurance		1,725
Real and household property	$43,830	
Less mortgage and unpaid balance on home improvements	19,210	
		24,620
Automobiles (1961 Corvair and 1964 Rambler)		1,250
Total		31,910

Figures do not include amount of equity paid into Federal Employees Retirement Fund. Includes combined net worth of Congressman and Mrs. Glenn Cunningham and minor children. Total income is derived from salary as a Member of the United States House of Representatives.

LEBANON HIGH SCHOOL'S ACCOMPLISHMENT

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention today to the recent feat of the basketball team representing Lebanon High School, in my Second Congressional District, in winning the New Hampshire class I State basketball championship.

For many years, Lebanon has been known as the ski capital of New England. It has produced many national championship skiers, Olympic team members, and, most recently, C. Allison Merrill, who went from its high school coaching staff to become Dartmouth College and U.S. Olympic team coach. Its high school skiing team once won seven consecutive New England scholastic championships.

For most of this time, basketball activity at Lebanon was nearly dormant. Not since 1944 had Lebanon last won a State championship. As a matter of fact, in the fall of 1964, when a young man from Alstead, N.H., named Langdon Metcalf was appointed coach, Lebanon had not enjoyed a winning season nor qualified for the State championship playoffs in 10 years.

Since that time, the record of Mr. Metcalf and his team has been outstanding. In the 1964–65 season, his first, the team won 14 of its 18 games and qualified for the playoffs, only to lose in the first round. During 1965–66, the team did even better. It won 15 of its 18 games and advanced to the State championship finals, only to lose there to a fine team from Bishop Brady High School, Concord.

This year, the team was back again, determined to capture its first State championship in 23 long years. And it did. After a fine regular season record, in which Lebanon won 17 of its 20 games, the team won three consecutive playoff games to gain the long-awaited recognition as State champions.

The accolades and plaudits which have come their way since the triumph have been richly deserved. Mr. Metcalf, his assistant coach, Kenneth Lipporto, and their squad of players—George Burttram, Thomas King, David Faulkner, James A. Lane, Timothy Cantlin, Paul Vanier, Lawrence Vanier, James Thibodeau, John F. O'Connell, Jr., John Dutille, and Kenneth Hough—are to be congratulated for their fine play on the court, their exemplary conduct off the court and their perseverance in the face of past defeats. I take great pleasure in calling their achievements to the attention of my colleagues.

TRIBUTE TO A BRAVE MAN

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, Rear Adm. Howard A. Yeager, who served his country with distinction both during war and peace, died as he had lived, a brave man to the very end of his career. It was typical of the admiral, who had spent a lifetime in the service of the Nation, that he made the supreme sacrifice while endeavoring to remove his invalid wife from their burning residence.

Two young members of the WAVES, Laura Jean Martin, of Port Charlotte, Fla., and Laura Mae Garrett, of Los Alamos, N. Mex., also lost their lives in a vain attempt to save Mrs. Yeager. The admiral managed to put her in her wheel chair and take her from the second floor to the first floor by elevator, after which he collapsed. Mrs. Yeager, who was later rescued by firemen, told them that her husband had saved her life.

In an editorial entitled "Loss to the Nation," the Chicago Tribune of March 14, paid tribute to the heroism of Admiral Yeager. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this editorial, together with the Tribune's news account of March 13:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 14, 1967]

LOSS TO THE NATION

Rear Adm. Howard A. Yeager was a hero even in death. The commandant of the 9th naval district died in a fire in his residence at Great Lakes Naval Training station while bringing his invalid wife thru the smoke and flames. He was found beside her wheelchair after bringing her down the elevator. Mrs. Yeager, after being carried from the house, told nurses: "Don't bother with me. Take care of him. He saved my life."

Adm. Yeager's last act of sacrifice was a final example of inspiring devotion. An officer who wore the decorations of his own country and two others, whose order as executive officer of the U.S.S. Nevada launched the bombardment which started the Normandy landing, he yielded one of his stars to come to Chicago so that he might care for his wife. For more than 12 years she had been a victim of multiple sclerosis.

The admiral would have retired in three weeks, reverting to his permanent rank as vice admiral. The day of his retirement had been proclaimed as Adm. Yeager day and he had been made an honorary citizen of Illinois.

This recognition was merited, for all his friends and associates considered Adm. Yeager one of the finest men they had known. His outgoing personality made it easy for him to form lasting friendships. He was unsparing in keeping speaking engagements in the service of his country and in the cause of youth—no fewer than 267 in the last year.

The country has suffered a great loss. Its sympathy extends also to the families of two WAVES who perished in the fire.

NAVY PROBES ADMIRAL YEAGER FIRE DEATH

Navy fire experts from Washington were expected yesterday at the Great Lakes Naval Training center to investigate the fire that caused the deaths of Rear Adm. Howard A. Yeager, 61, commandant of the 9th naval district, and two WAVES.

Adm. Yeager and the WAVES, Laura Jean Martin, 21, of Port Charlotte, Fla., and Laura Mae Garret, 25, of Los Alamos, N.M., died of apparent smoke inhalation as fire virtually destroyed the admiral's 20-room navy home on a bluff overlooking Lake Michigan at Great Lakes.

RESCUE INVALID WIFE

Four firemen who entered the burning, smoke filled house rescued the admiral's invalid wife, 60, after they reached out blindly and felt her wheel chair on the first floor just outside the door of an elevator that led from the second floor living quarters.

Adm. Yeager's body was found on the floor beside his wife's wheel chair. A navy spokesman said that the admiral, upon discovering that the house was afire, apparently got his wife out of bed, placed her in the wheel chair, and took the elevator to the first floor, where he collapsed after pushing her wheel chair from the elevator.

In the emergency room at the base hospital, Mrs. Yeager, who has suffered from multiple sclerosis for more than 12 years, told nurses:

"Don't both with me, Take care of him. He saved my life."

The two WAVES, who lived in the house to take care of Mrs. Yeager, apparently had been awakened by fire and smoke and had made their way from their second floor quarters toward Mrs. Yeager's bedroom in an attempt to save her.

TRAPPED IN FLAMES

Their bodies were found on the second floor of a two-deck sunroom near the elevator. After the fire was discovered about 3 a.m. it was believed they had escaped from the building. It was not until a search was made of their barracks that it was determined they had been trapped in the burning residence.

Two stewards, Rudolfo Fabiculanan, 23, and Jose Salamanca, 22, who lived in a basement apartment, were awakened by smoke but were unable to get to the second floor because of heavy smoke.

"I ran up to the pantry and called the fire department. I tried to get upstairs but I couldn't. I ran down to the basement and went out the door there. Then I ran around to the front, but the smoke there was so heavy I couldn't get in," Fabiculanan said.

Adm. Yeager also turned in a fire alarm, a navy spokesman said.

Mrs. Yeager, who is in Great Lakes hospital, suffered smoke inhalation and burns on the back, arms, and legs.

The Yeager's son, Lt. Howard Bailey Yeager, a naval supply officer at Washington flew to Great Lakes as soon as he was informed of the tragedy.

A Navy spokesman said there was no suspicion that the fire started from anything but accidental causes. Damage to the 50-year-old residence was reported as more than $20,000. The spokesman said, however, "it will probably be cheaper to tear it down."

IN HONOR OF ST. PATRICK'S DAY

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, many speeches have been made in this historic Chamber about the loss of freedom that has been suffered by the countries behind the Iron Curtain, especially in the nations that have for many years been submerged by the Soviet Empire, such as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Today, on the eve of St. Patrick's Day, it is a happy and welcome contrast to be able to salute a nation that regained its independence after centuries of oppression by an alien power. With due respect to those who are Irish by birth, most everyone "becomes Irish" one day of each year, on March 17. It is at this time they share with the true Irish and the synthetic Irish the love of independence and freedom that stimulates and invigorates the wearers of the green.

While Americans and other lovers of liberty throughout the world rejoice because Ireland is a member in good standing of the family of free nations, their joy is tempered by the realization that, while there is only one Ireland in spirit, there are two Irelands politically. The six counties that comprise Northern Ireland are still under the thumb of London.

During the last generation we have seen the British Empire, which once comprised a fifth of the world's area and ruled over a fourth of its population, melt away to the status of a secondary power. Its various colonies have either left the empire completely or retained very insubstantial ties to London through the Crown.

While Great Britain has acquiesced with haste to the dismemberment of her empire in Africa, Asia, Australia, North America, South America, and the islands of the seas, she has clung tenaciously to Northern Ireland. If the other parts of the British Empire deserve to be free, why should not the people of the six northern counties of Ireland be granted independence from England?

Our English friends may, at this point, be asking, "And just what business is it of the United States whether or not Her Britannic Majesty's Government chooses to retain possession of the northern counties of Ireland?" Mr. Speaker, I would be glad to answer this question if it were directed to me.

Twice during my lifetime the United States of America has gone to the aid of Great Britain, first during World War I, then during World War II. Since the end of the latter conflict we have furnished her with $9,045 million in aid, not to mention the help we have furnished the many new nations that emerged from the disintegration of colonialism of the British Empire. The astronomical sums that we have poured out for foreign aid have supposedly been spent to promote and maintain freedom and independence. Should not the people of Northern Ireland share in such freedom and independence?

How is Great Britain showing her gratitude for all that we have done for her? While America's young men are fighting against the forces of communism in Vietnam, Great Britain is trading with Communist North Vietnam, as well as with Communist China, one of North Vietnam's sponsors. While the forces of communism are entrenched in Cuba, 90 miles from our shores, poised to strike at us whenever it is to their advantage to do so, Great Britain is trading with Communist Cuba. Last year, when the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization voted on a resolution which was designed to expel Nationalist China from the organization and seat Communist China in its place, Great Britain voted for it.

While Great Britain has, through the years, played "footsie" with the Red countries, Communists have been as scarce in Ireland as snakes. The following words from the beautiful song, "Galway Bay," by Arthur Colahan, could well be applied to the futility of efforts by the Communists to seduce the Irish:

> . . . the women in the uplands diggin' praties,
> Speak a language that the strangers do not know.
> For the strangers came and tried to teach us their way,
> They scorn'd us just for being what we are,
> But they might as well go chasing after moonbeams,
> Or light a penny candle from a star.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that anyone can utter Communist propaganda with an Irish brogue.

As the United States helps to maintain independence among the new countries of Africa, Asia, and elsewhere throughout the world, and as it urges the restoration of freedom to the nations behind the Iron Curtain, for the sake of consistency it ought to insist that Great Britain hold free elections to permit the people of Northern Ireland to decide their own future. Those who live in the northern counties ought to be given the opportunity to choose whether or not they want to dissolve the political bands that have connected them with Great Britain and join the southern counties to form a united Ireland.

Let no Iron Curtain separate our Irish friends from each other. Let those sons and daughters of Erin who dwell in the northern part of the Emerald Isle be given the opportunity to tear down, through the peaceful means of free elections, the wall that has for all too long placed a profane and unnatural barrier across the Land of the Shamrock.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, one of Chicago's outstanding executives is Ward L. Quaal, the president of WGN Continental Broadcasting Co., Inc. His record of achievement was recognized last year when the University of Michigan gave him the Alumni Distinguished Service Award. On January 21, 1967, Mr. Quaal, who was the midyear commencement speaker at Northern Michigan University, received an honorary degree of doctor of laws from that institution.

In his address, which he entitled "The New Majority," he pointed out that—

> By 1970 over 50 percent of the population of the United States will consist of people twenty-five years of age and under.

This means that we will have over 100 million boys and girls and young men and young women in a total population of 200 million. This majority will inevitably have a tremendous influence on our Nation and the direction in which it will move during the next few decades.

Mr. Quaal's commencement address contains some excellent advice to the men and women of tomorrow and deserves a wider audience. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this speech:

The New Majority

(By Ward L. Quaal, president, WGN Continental Broadcasting Co.)

Suddenly everyone is becoming aware of young people.

This isn't only because some of them grow their hair longer, sing protest songs, burn draft cards, experiment with LSD, or indulge in tribal dances. It's because of The Statistic.

It is one of the most intriguing statistics, if not *the* most intriguing, in the history of our free nation: by 1970 over 50 percent of the population of the United States will consist of people twenty-five years of age and under.

Horrors! That's only three years away. Some of you people here will be a part of that statistic.

No wonder Bobby Kennedy is wearing his hair bouffant, climbing mountains, and duffing on skis. The meek are indeed inheriting the earth—or at least that part of it representing the world's greatest bastion of freedom, America.

This imminent catastrophe has ruffled the smoke at the council campfires of the elders. Secretary of Defense McNamara has urged universal military conscription for service. Secretary of Labor Wirtz has proposed an absolutely unbelievable program of establishing local "opportunity boards" where all youths, male and female, would register at the age of 18, be examined, and consigned to certain vocational or educational futures—all on a voluntary basis that would appear to be about as optional as taxes.

No youth would be compelled to go to college or join the Peace Corps or accept any other specific recommendation of his opportunity board . . . but he would have to accept one of the several opportunities offered. This scheme echoes in a chilling way the concepts of other Youth Corps in other nations at other times.

But there's even more. How delightful to be young! The National Commission of Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, established by Congress in 1964, made its report early in 1966 to the President.

What did it recommend? Simply that the government would guarantee to everybody, regardless of whether or not he worked, could work, or resisted the whole idea, a minimum income. This would be an absolute guarantee—enforced, it is suggested, by "essentially a new principle of jurisprudence."

Henry Hazlitt, the economist, commenting on this proposal, suggests a situation in which the minimum per family guarantee would be $3,130 per year. If you made $2,500, therefore, the government would send you an annual check for $630 to bring you up to the guarantee. Those making over $3,130 would be paying the chit, of course.

Now in such a dunderheaded economy, who would work $2,500 worth to get $630 when he could get $3,130 for not working at all? And have plenty of time to blow it at the races, go hunting and fishing, and sit at the window watching his nutty neighbors drudge off to work!

Well, my youthful friends, everything is coming up roses. There's just one baffling problem; if nobody's working, nobody's producing! And if nobody's producing there is nothing to tax—production or income or sales—and there's no guaranteed revenue to pay the guaranteed income to the guaranteed loafers and free loaders. No wonder the French economist Bastiat said, "The State is the great fiction by which everybody tries to live at the expense of everybody else."

I'm rather glad to see the young people coming into the ascendancy. Certainly your elders, or some of them, need to be rescued before they bottle themselves up in an economic vacuum where progress will be suspended for all time.

Nothing is more provocative of this notion than the War on Poverty. "The big money is in poverty", some wag recently observed.

The local poverty organization in Washington, D.C., the United Planning Organization, was launched with a staff of 676 people. One of seven of these—or 97 employes—were paid $10,000 a year or more. Forty of the 676 had police records of one sort or another.

In Jamestown, Rhode Island, seven youngsters were paid $1.25 an hour by the Neighborhood Youth Corps to teach sailing. The youngsters or their parents owned the boats.

In Boston one-third of the 600 teen-agers employed by the Neighborhood Youth Corps a summer ago received Federal income tax W–2 forms showing more income than they actually received.

In Johnstown, Rhode Island, investigators found that 73 out of the 83 parents whose sons and daughters were enrolled in and paid by the poverty program were taxpayers who owned 58 homes and 113 cars.

An unemployed Detroit auto worker, Ozie Bulock, who once took home $104 on his most productive work weeks, reported that since losing his job he clears $106.23 a week, tax free, from two Federal antipoverty programs.

According to Robert G. Wingerter, president of Rockwell Standard Corporation, in a recent speech, among the first 16 group leaders hired under Philadelphia's antipoverty program to work with youngsters in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, 13 were found on investigation to have arrest records which included larceny, assault and battery, and morals counts involving minors.

This gives you some idea of the mounting domestic problems you will inherit when you take over the majority. We seem to be breaking out in reform movements like kids with the measles.

Take this poverty program, for example. One gets the impression that no thought had been given to the problems of the poor until the last few decades of the Square Deal (Theodore Roosevelt), the New Freedom (Woodrow Wilson), the New Deal (FDR), the Fair Deal (Harry Truman), the New Frontier (John Kennedy), and the Great Society of contemporary times.

There were "poor laws" in England before the time of Queen Elizabeth. A statute in 1536 provided for the voluntary collection of funds to assist those unable to work. As a matter of fact, a dozen years later this voluntary process became compulsory by law throughout England.

There's a short cut to fighting poverty, but it's a hard way to go. Those among our progenitors who came to this country when it was a wilderness knew this way. It took fortitude, strength, faith, determination, and a free spirit to conquer adversity then. Yes, and a good axe too—to cut the timber and hew it for homesteads.

The cure for poverty is work—or, to put it another way, production. This is the casual factor in a chain of events which has distinguished the United States among the nations of the world. We have produced. Our people have been industrious. Our people have been rewarded for working at all levels of endeavor. Occupying six percent of the land area of the world and with less than six percent of the population, we account for one-third of the world's gross national product.

It was Capitalism that induced the Industrial Revolution. It is pure political pap to contend that Capitalism has not erased poverty in vast areas of our nation in a manner unmatched by any other socio-government system known in the world today. And you can take that survey from the starving people of India and China through the Soviet states to the sophisticated realms of the French and the English.

What has our system done for us—all of us? Let's look at it from the standpoint both of the employer and the wage earner. In 1950 profits were 10.3 percent of the national income. By 1965 they had dropped to eight percent. In 1950 wages were 64.1 percent, and in 1965 they rose to 70.3 percent. Furthermore, while the wage earners' share has grown about ten percent, his purchasing power has grown about 33 percent, despite inflation. And this is the situation despite the Viet Nam war, extraordinary and sometimes questionable foreign aid expenditures, and endless social reform programs here at home.

Capitalism has worked in this nation. The question we face now is whether or not, in our zeal, we are going to overwork it and see it disintegrate. Witness the destruction of the system that guarantees the greatest social and material benefits of any ever known at any time in the history of the world.

Can it happen here?

It happens, usually, when the people relinquish control . . . and we may be in the process of doing just that on the false assumption that we are owed something more than an opportunity.

A major newspaper organization in America (Copley Press of California) recently reported the results of an interesting survey. There are now 2,400 Federal departments, bureaus and agencies concerned with regulating our national economy. Forty-two separate agencies are involved in education programs. One dollar out of every five and one job out of every eight flow from the Federal government, not counting local and State governments. In 30 of our 50 States there are more civilian employes on the Federal payroll than are employed by the State.

Actually, our unemployment rate in this country now is about four percent—and yet we are constantly engaging more and more of our resources, money, and manpower in the creation and operation of government-sponsored programs designed to make work. But try to find someone to wash the car, mow the lawn, clean the windows, or, in many cases, fill attractive junior executive jobs. If you have a work record, you know, the welfare payments are in jeopardy. To some, then, work can be a threat to security.

There's plenty of work. Our problem is that we are driving the workers from the fields to the fireplaces.

Our social reformers—and these are not the first in the generations of man—presume that the economy will continue sound whatever the cost of their pet projects. They assume that the delicate balance of production and consumption will be maintained in the absence of incentives. This, as The Freeman says, is a patent flight from reality, Our system works because the energy of man is fed into it. When that feeding halts, the machinery stops.

The carburetor of our system is profits. Consumer behavior determines the success of business—and that's why we constantly see shifts of ownership from the less efficient to the more efficient. The consumer controls the profit system. The consumer cannot control a non-profit system, for non-profit institutions—such as government—are sovereign unto themselves in a system where there is no freedom of choice.

One is reminded of the fable of Alexander the Great when he became, virtually, ruler of the world. He came upon a philosopher who was lying upon his back in a meadow and meditating. Having become powerful, Alexander had also become a patron of the arts and the intellectuals. He stood before the philosopher and said: "Name your wish. It will be granted. I am a patron of culture and will gladly underwrite any project which you may select."

The philosopher thought a moment and responded: "You may do one thing for me, Your Highness. Please step aside—you are standing between me and the sun."

Do not let power, which may come to you in the masquerade of beneficence, stand between you and the sun.

In the disposition of your lives henceforth you will have the choice to make that has been the historic lot of man: whether you would live as an individualist or a collectivist. We have an individualistic society, based upon freedoms which are safeguarded against usurpation. But do not be deluded that collectivism is the privately patented condition of non-democratic lands alone. We are in constant struggle against collectivist programs here at home—tempting programs contrived to lure us from the way of free action.

The Reverend Dr. Sollitt, Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Midland, Michigan, put it this way: "Ours is a philosophy of freedom that says a man ought to be free to do as he pleases up to the point where what he pleases interferes with his neighbor's equal rights. However, for some thirty-five years now another entirely different philosophy of freedom has been evolving—the philosophy that freedom is no longer for something like 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' but freedom from almost everything, like 'want, worry, and war' and work too, if possible."

And, as Dr. Sollitt also has said, we should be doing more talking about justice than equality. We are equal before the law, but the nature of our equality depends upon what we do with our opportunities, given equal chances. Justice is indeed utterly disregarded when the relationship between effort and reward is obliterated, or reversed, "as when under the banner of 'equality' the man who works is robbed to pay the bills of another who won't."

James Russell Lowell put it this way: "Being forced to work and forced to do your best, will breed in you tolerance, self-control, diligence, strength of will, content and a hundred other virtues which the idle will never know."

Our welfare bill today is $52 annually for every man, woman, and child in the United States. By 1970, when there will be more of you than there will be of the rest of us, that will be $103 if the recommendations of Economist Leon Keyserling are followed.

That means that some of you here will be working and paying the bill while some others of you will be going fishing. Unless somebody-sometime-somehow stops all this nonsense!

Friends, there is no conceivable way that you can be unemployed for very long after you leave this institution if you *want* to be employed—and I except those who might be drafted for other duty.

Never has there been greater opportunity. But you face one barrier to enterprise—one terrible temptation. It was clearly described in an example given by Thomas J. Shelly, who was for thirty-five years a teacher of economics and history. He told a Yonkers High School class: "John, you made a grade of 95; and yours Dick, was 55. I shall now take 20 points from you, John, and give them to Dick. Thus, each of you has 75, adequate for passing.

"Here I have applied the socialist-communist principle set forth by Karl Marx: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.'

"Now, let us examine this in practice. You, John, won't work because you have had your incentive removed. And you, Dick, won't work because you are getting something for nothing.

"We can't exist unless we work or produce. Thus, in order to get the work done, we'll need someone with a whip or a gun. Socialism must lead to authoritarian controls."

This example illustrates an economic and social plan of life so far removed from the original blueprint for America that it is almost unbelievable that we should have embraced any of its concepts.

The Jeffersons and Franklins and Masons did not say, "We will have a free enterprise system." They said, "We will provide for the *freedom of men.*" It was the men themselves, thus liberated, who created enterprise in this nation through exercise of their own freedom.

And Government didn't have much to do with this, except to stand by and be properly representative of the people—and to pass and administer appropriate laws, and to levy taxes to support itself, and to provide for the defense!

Government had so little to do with the wellsprings of the free enterprise plan in this country that, for example, it was unheeding, except for the rescinding of procedures, when Charles Goodyear learned how to vulcanize rubber, when Oliver Evans was talking about a road vehicle that would run under its own power, and when John B. Dunlop, the Scottish veterinary surgeon, developed an idea for an air-filled rubber tire.

And Government knew not a thing at the time about the first oil well ever brought in—at Titusville, Pennsylvania in 1859 by Colonel E. L. Drake.

The free enterprise program rolled along, gathering momentum, and every now and then Government yawned and expressed mild surprise, as in 1844 when Henry Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, said in his annual report:

". . . the advancement of the arts from year to year taxes our credulity and seems to presage the arrival of that period when human improvement must end."

Progress has been the product of labor at all levels of endeavor. If labor stops, enterprise stops; if the desire to work is smothered by the removal of initiative, the lights of a free America are beginning to flicker and fail.

We may have been many things as this country was growing up which were looked upon with skepticism by others—brash, boastful, and perhaps a little rough around the edges when it came to the social amenities. But we were one thing for sure—industrious; and all the world admired us for it. It has been one of our greatest truths as a people.

As Abraham Lincoln said to the Workingman's Association of New York—how long has it been since one of our Presidents said something like this to a labor union: "Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built, I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good."

If in your present temper as a graduating senior you find reference to our predecessors as something less than "cool", remember that what you will be doing throughout your lifetimes—hopefully—will become the pattern of reference for future generations. Please try to be diligent—to be honest—to be industrious—to be decently proud—to be charitable to the needful—to be faithful—to believe in something. Please remember your greatest heritage of freedom and clasp it closely, guard it jealously, for yourselves and for all who follow you.

And work. Do your part. Do more than your part if health and aspiration bless you. Remember: the difference between the world's greatest miler and the second best is measured in feet and fractions.

You don't need to appear before an "opportunity board" to find out where you are going. Let your heart and your mind tell you; there's nothing to stop you, and never will be unless you build the barriers yourself.

Just before Adlai Stevenson died he was in New York prior to embarking for Geneva. On his bedside table was found a printed page which he had marked. It was entitled *Desiderata* and was found in Old St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, dated 1692.

I can think of nothing more appropriate for you of this generation, three centuries later, than this passage from *Desiderata:*

"Go placidly amid the noise and the haste and learn what peace there may be in silence . . . Speak your truth quietly and clearly; and listen to others, even the dull and ignorant; they too have their story . . . If you compare yourself with others you may become vain and bitter; for always there will be greater and lesser persons than yourself.

"Enjoy your achievements as well as your plans. Keep interested in your career, however humble; it is a real possession in the changing fortunes of time. Exercise caution in your business affairs; for the world is full of trickery. But let this not blind you to what virtue there is; many persons strive for high ideals; and everywhere life is full of heroism.

"Be yourself. Especially do not feign affection. Neither be cynical about love; for in the face of all aridity and disenchantment it is as perennial as the grass. Take kindly the counsel of the years, gracefully surrendering the things of youth. Nurture strength of spirit to shield you in sudden misfortune. But do not distress yourself with imaginings. Many fears are born of fatigue and loneliness. Beyond a wholesome discipline, be gentle with yourself. You are a child of the universe no less than the trees and the stars; you have a right to be here. And whether or not it is clear to you no doubt the universe is unfolding as it should.

"Therefore be at peace with God, whatever you conceive him to be. And whatever your labors and aspirations in the noisy confusion of life keep peace with your soul. With all its sham, drudgery and broken dreams, it is still a beautiful world."

THE NEED FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS AND CONDUCT IS OBVIOUS

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. McClure] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact that we have a government of laws, not men. And yet, throughout the Powell debate and throughout the discussion of funding the House Administration Committee, I was continually struck by the thought that unless a bona fide select committee is established to devise a code of ethics, our conduct will be governed by men, rather than law.

Further, one of the major arguments made during the Powell debate was that we must not judge past conduct by newly adopted standards. If this reasoning were to continue, we would never get to the point where we could discipline the misconduct that has been ignored or successfully hidden over a long period of time. Again, the need for a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct is obvious.

I become more convinced every day that the House acted correctly in excluding Mr. Powell. This feeling was strongly reinforced by a poll conducted by the Seattle Times of Washington State high school students as to whether or not they approved our handling of this matter. Among those responding were three Negroes. I include their replies as a part of my remarks:

Linda Basselle, 17. Some Negroes think that Adam Clayton Powell was being picked on, but he's just like everyone else in Congress and should have to pay for the things he does wrong. . . There aren't too many Negroes in Congress, so some people have been bitter about it. . . I don't care whether a man's skin is black, white, blue or green—if he does something illegal in Congress he should be kicked out. . . We're supposed to have complete faith in congressmen—if they violate the rules, they should be punished just like any other lawbreaker. . .

Vernon Russell, 18. Most young people don't know too much about the workings of Congress or other legislative bodies, and our opinion of them only gets worse when we read about some of the lawbreaking and scandals that have happened lately. . . As far as Adam Clayton Powell goes, I feel that he had gained too much power in Congress. He's been made into an example, but there are probably a lot of others who should be investigated, too. . . In a way, I think they should have a code of ethics for all legislative groups. . .

Jerry Heliton, 18. I look at it like this: If they come up with a code of ethics, everybody will be very happy with them at first. But after awhile, if somebody wants to do something unethical or illegal, they'll do it—code or no code. . . As far as Adam Clayton Powell goes, I think he was just stupid enough to try something and get caught—I don't think he was selected to make an example of . . . Powell should be thrown out because his actions have really hurt the image of Congress. . .

These thought-provoking statements were made by young people who recognize the fact that misconduct is in itself wrong and not subject to racial considerations. If these young Negroes were not hesitant about passing judgment on Mr. Powell, then certainly we as Congressmen should be ready to face up to our responsibility and make the needed corrections.

TO ENLARGE THE FISHERIES ZONE OF THE UNITED STATES

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. Albert). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. Pollock], is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **POLLOCK**. Mr. Speaker, the United States has, in recent years, fallen behind other nations in utilizing the resources of the sea. Despite our technological superiority in the world, despite our wealth and despite our vast fisheries resources, nations such as Japan, Peru, the Soviet Union, and even Red China have surpassed us in reaping this rich harvest. What is ironic about this situation is that much of the harvest of other nations is being taken off American shores above our Continental Shelf.

The United States claims the resources of the Continental Shelf as its own. This includes not only minerals but creatures of the shelf such as king crab. It is foolish to draw a line dividing the creatures who swim from those who crawl. All of these should be our property subject to utilization only by our own fishermen. I am, therefore introducing a bill to amend the Twelve-Mile Fishing Zone Act to provide for an exclusive zone in the waters of the Continental Shelf to a depth of 100 fathoms. The bill provides recognition of historical fishing rights by foreign nations but prevents any expansion, thus preserving large areas of the sea for our own fishermen. Our people deserve nothing less.

In addition, my own State of Alaska has four bays that have historically been fished almost exclusively by American fishermen. These bays—Bristol Bay, Norton Sound, Kotzebue Sound, and Kuskokwim Bay—have been subject to encroachment by foreign fleets. Our American fishermen have considered these bays to be American fishing grounds. Protection is thus needed. For this purpose I am introducing legislation declaring these four bays to be within the exclusive fisheries zone because of their historic status.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for printing in the Record copies of the bills to which I have referred.

H.R. 7313

A bill to establish fishing zones of the United States beyond its territorial seas, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a contiguous fishery zone beyond the territorial sea of the United States" approved October 14, 1966 (16 U.S.C. 1092), is amended by striking out all after the words "Seward boundary" and substituting therefore the following: "lines drawn following the one hundred fathom depth contour except that the lines shall be drawn so that each point on such lines is at least nine nautical miles from the nearest point of the inner boundary."

Sec. 2. Such Act is amended by adding section 5 to read as follows:

"Sec. 5. Where traditional fishing rights have been recognized by the United States as provided in section 2 the Secretary of State, in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior, and in consultation with the affected foreign countries, shall ascertain the extent and manner, including the annual catch, in which foreign fisheries have been conducted in the zone. Fishing exercised by foreign nations under traditional rights shall not differ in extent or manner and shall not exceed the amount as determined by the Secretary."

H.R. 7314

A bill to enlarge the fisheries zone of the United States to include certain waters contiguous to the territorial sea off the coast of Alaska

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That waters of Bristol Bay, Norton Sound, Kotzebue Sound, and Kuskokwim Bay are and have been historically considered by American fishermen to be exclusive fishing grounds and should, therefore, be declared inland and historic waters for such purposes.

Sec. 2. Section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a contiguous fishery zone beyond the territorial sea of the United States", approved October 14, 1966 (16 U.S.C. 1092), is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: "; except that in the case of certain waters contiguous to the territorial sea off the coast of Alaska, the seaward boundary of such zone shall be a line drawn so that each point on the line is twelve nautical miles from the nearest point on a line drawn between Point Hope, Alaska, and Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska; between Cape Rodney, Alaska, and Cape Romanzof, Alaska; between Cape Avinof, Alaska, and Cape Newenham, Alaska; and between Cape Newenham, Alaska and Port Moller, Alaska".

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. **FOLEY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. **FOLEY**. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent on official business on Thursday, March 2. Had I been present on that day, on rollcall No. 28 I would have voted "nay."

Mr. Speaker, I also was unavoidably absent on Thursday, March 9, on official business. Had I been present on that day, on rollcall No. 32 I would have voted "nay."

INCREASING VOLUME OF BEEF AND VEAL IMPORTS

Mr. **NELSEN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include a paper prepared by the Honorable William J. Scherle.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. **NELSEN**. Mr. Speaker, the increasing volume of beef and veal imports has resulted in great hardships for American livestock producers and has caused the loss of thousands of jobs in this vital agricultural industry.

I have noted that the most recent Agriculture Department statistics disclosed that total red meat imports through November 1966 were up 30 percent from a year earlier due to higher U.S. beef prices. Beef and veal product imports totaled 796,846,000 pounds from July 1, 1965 to July 1, 1966. This was an increase of 131,423,000 pounds or 20 percent over the previous 12-month period.

Meat imports in 1967 are expected to be larger again, than 1966. Beef and veal imports for 1967 are expected to total about 960 million pounds.

This volume is larger than the quota level set under Public Law 88-482, but below the volume which would direct the President to proclaim meat import quotas.

Under this legislation the unadjusted base import quantity is 725.4 million pounds, approximately the average annual imports of 1959 to 1963. The level of beef and veal imports for 1967 is expected to be 24.7 percent above this level, but the legislation specifies that estimated imports for the year must equal or exceed 110 percent of the base quota or 995 million pounds, before quotas can be proclaimed.

It is important that we recognize that the base quota is adjusted according to the level of American production. This results in increased maximum import quotas when domestic production is up. When our domestic supply is high, there is a price-depressing effect. This problem is then compounded by a concomitantly high import quota.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to direct the attention of the House to a fine paper prepared by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHERLE] on this crucial area of meat imports:

MEAT IMPORTS—AGRICULTURE'S MILESTONE

(BY WILLIAM J. SCHERLE)

On January 23, 1967, the Secretary of Agriculture addressing a group of farm leaders said, "With farm prices weakening, costs rising, and agriculture in general still a long way from parity of income, the Department of Agriculture will make full use of 'a wide range of measures' to strengthen farm prices and maintain income in 1967."

As I look at farm price statistics and talk to farmers in Iowa and elsewhere it becomes more obvious to me every day that what this administration says and what it does are two very different things.

One of the many problems in agriculture today which needs the immediate attention of the Johnson Administration is that of meat imports. About a month ago, the Department of Agriculture announced that on January 1st there were about 11.3 million head of cattle and calves on feed in 39 states—unexpectedly up 7 percent from a year ago. Faced with an unexpectedly large supply of domestic-fed beef, it would seem that we ought to be able to hold down foreign imports. But, with our present laws, we are instead, going to be faced with an even larger volume of such imports. The Meat Import Act of 1964 provides that the quantity of fresh chilled or frozen cattle meat and meat of goats and sheep, other than lamb, which may be imported in any calendar year after 1964 should not exceed 725 million pounds. Except—with this adjustment—that this quantity shall be increased or decreased for any year by the same percentage that estimated average annual domestic production of these products in that year and the two preceding years increases or decreases in comparison with our average production during the base years 1959 through 1963, inclusive. In other words, when our production goes up, the amount which can be imported goes up by the same percentage.

Under the law, if yearly imports are estimated to equal or exceed 110 percent of an adjusted base quota, the President is to invoke the quota on meat imports. The adjusted base quota for 1967 is 904.6 million pounds. The level of estimated imports which would trigger the imposition of the quota is 995 million pounds. At the outset, what this approach means is that if outsiders are careful enough in the shipments of meat to the U. S., they can send in more than 90 million pounds in excess of the base quota without its ever having been invoked.

As of December 23rd, 1966, the Department of Agriculture estimated that meat imports into the United States during 1967 would be about 960 million pounds, which is 55 million pounds above the quota, but 35 million pounds below the figure it would take to bring the quota into effect.

The Department of Agriculture predicts that meat imports will rise to a point just below the trigger level at which an import quota would become effective. While this keeps down the level of imports, it is certainly no guarantee that U.S. beef producers will not be faced with lower prices, for no one can draw a magic line and say "If imports stay below this level, American farmers will not be hurt." Depending on conditions, even a small amount of imports at the wrong time can send farm prices plummeting. We are going to have to keep a close eye on this whole situation if we hope to prevent a price disaster like that of three years ago.

Imports of beef, veal, mutton, cheese and eggs are substantially higher than the levels of a year ago. Imports of meat subject to the 1964 quota law, for example, were almost 40 percent higher during the first ten months of 1966 than they were during the same period in 1965.

It seems to me that unless the rising tide of agricultural imports is checked, U.S. farm income may take a serious drop this year.

Those of us from the nation's agricultural areas know the country must import. We must take a little bitter with the sweet. But this does not mean we must continue to live with an unrealistically high level of imports in a particular agricultural commodity.

The present law does not do the job of protecting the American beef producer and some changes need to be made.

First. The formula by which the quota is derived is discretionary and too liberal. It has not solved the problem of depressed farm prices and it does not sufficiently discourage imports. If we are going to continue to operate under this law, the quota itself should be reduced. Since the enactment of the present law, we have not imposed the quota.

Second. If we are going to continue to use the trigger method of invoking the quota, then we must improve our estimating abilities. Since the Meat Import Act became effective, we have been very inaccurate, being too high in 1965 and too low in 1966.

Third. The use of the trigger concept, where the trigger level is well above the actual quota, enables our principal foreign suppliers to subvert the intent of Congress. For example: New Zealand and Australia are the principal residual suppliers. In New Zealand, the meat board apparently has tight control over how much meat, or what types, is routed to particular markets. The Australian Meat Board is reported to have acquired, through recent legislation, the authority for firmer control over exports than it has had in the past. Except in the case of severe herd reduction, it is assumed that these countries will route just enough meat to the high priced U.S. market to keep import levels about as high as permitted.

So, what we have is an area of 90 million pounds this year which these carefully self-controlled suppliers can put on our markets so long as the Secretary of Agriculture does not estimate that the amount will be more than 90 million pounds over the quota.

The trigger concept works to the advantage of our importers, not our producers.

Fourth. Another sizable loophole in the present law is the fact that canned, cured and cooked meats are specifically exempted from the law. This means that countries exporting meats here can switch over to these categories once their fresh, chilled and frozen meat volume reaches the level imposed by the quota law. In 1966, for example, on top of the 824 million pounds of imports covered by the meat import law, other nations shipped to this country an additional 130 million pounds of canned and cured meats.

To the extent that the quantity of these items in our American market affects the price the farmer gets for his products, they should be included in the quota also.

Fifth. Finally, the present law is that the President does not have to invoke the quota even if the trigger level is reached because the law gives him a convenient "out", by which he can increase or suspend the quota. He may suspend the quota for "National Security Interests",—for "Economic Interests",— because subsequent trade agreements ensure the carrying out of the import law's policy, or if supply of products involved "will be inadequate to meet domestic demand at reasonable prices".

It seems to me that this is a loophole large enough to drive a truck through. This is particularly so with this Administration's record in the export-import field.

What we really need is some way of greatly reducing imports when beef is under pressure here. The present quota law clearly does not provide much help for our cattle feeders at the present time. An adjustment of our existing law is definitely in order. Livestock producers are asking immediate attention.

PROPOSED INCREASE IN REIMBURSEMENTS TO STATES FOR COMPREHENSIVE MASS TRANSIT IMPROVEMENTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN], is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to amend the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act, to provide for an increase in the authorization of funds and reimbursement to States which have undertaken comprehensive mass transit improvements.

Joining me as sponsors of the legislation are: the gentleman from New York, Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER and Representative JONATHAN B. BINGHAM.

This bill will be referred to the Banking and Currency Committee on which all of us serve. It is our hope that the committee will give prompt and thorough consideration to the proposed amendment.

On previous occasions, I have spoken here at length about the growing transportation problems confronting the Nation's largest cities. Without a comprehensive modernization of urban public transport, we can hardly expect to arrest the processes of decay which are developing the urban metropolises.

For transportation, or the means of securing access to and from the central city, is the lifeblood of every metropolitan community. During the past decades, urban inhabitants have been coping with the steady deterioration in available public transportation. On the Federal level, the Congress has created an imbalance by pouring millions of dollars annually into highway construction; in order to take advantage of Federal funds, the States have hastened to expand urban freeway systems.

But there has been no commensurate flow of Federal funds into ailing city transit systems. Compared to most means of commutation, the private vehicle is an expensive and impractical conveyor. During peak hours, cars carry an average of only 1.3 to 1.5 occupants to and from places of business in urban areas. But their bulk is clogging urban roads and making access impossible. And in turn pressure mounts from outraged citizens to widen the arteries and build more roads, which will become jammed just as soon as they are opened for use.

It is a vicious cycle. The cost of constructing urban freeways has risen to almost prohibitive levels. The urban freeway mile averages about $3,700,000 in cost; in Boston, 1½ miles of freeway through a downtown area amounted to $40 million. Some persons have estimated that a crosstown artery in Manhattan would cost $100 million per mile. In comparison, San Francisco's modern rapid transit plan cost $13 million per mile. San Francisco's system has a rush-hour capacity of 30,000 seated passengers. A modern, eight-lane highway can only accommodate approximately 8,000 cars during a peak hour, averaging about 10,000 commuters.

The high cost and inefficiency of the private automobile, as a means of commutation, has not deterred the States from promoting its increased use. The States, in conjunction with the Federal Government, have encouraged automobile travel by their ambitious road construction plans.

This is not to say that I am opposed to highway expansion. Certainly New York City, as well as other areas, stands in great need of more and better arterial routes. But such a policy should not be undertaken without a comprehensive local and Federal effort to improve mass transportation.

The modern expressway systems, however congested, contrast sharply with the degeneration of public transport during the past decades. It is this persistent imbalance which is threatening our cities with strangulation. Expenditures for public carriers declined from $2 to $1.5 million nationally between 1956 and 1963. Between the years 1940–62, the total volume of transit riding declined 34 percent. While suffering a steady drop in commutation, the industry has simultaneously faced a continuing rise in operating costs.

Ironically, although the private car is still the status way to travel, it is fast losing any legitimate claim to either speed or reliability. It is convenient, even prestigious, in that you don't have a timetable to meet, and you don't have to mingle with humanity. But the image of the automobile as a promoter of America-on-the-go is illusory, at least in New York City.

In New York, highway construction is simply unable to keep abreast of the avalanche of cars attracted to newly paved expressways. The daily commuting from the suburbs into the city has become a wrenching nightmare.

In 1965, the New York Legislature created the Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority to strengthen and improve commuter facilities in the New York City metropolitan area. The MCTA purchased the Long Island Railroad and has initiated a $200 million modernization program. It has programed electrification extensions, high-level platforms, and new high-speed commuter cars to bring more comfortable and faster service to thousands of Long Island commuters. Presently, there is pending at the Department of Housing and Urban Development a grant application totaling $30,262,866 to help finance the electrification improvements.

If approved by the legislature, New Yorkers will be asked to vote a $2.5 billion bond issue to finance highway construction, mass transportation, and aviation programs. The Governor intends to earmark $1 billion of these funds toward modernizing New York City's transit systems, coordinating rail and bus services, establishing rail facilities in large upstate communities, improving commuter transportation to New York City from Nassau, Suffolk, and Queens Counties, and modernizing the New Haven and New York Central commuter runs.

An inherent feature of this program is the realization that more and better roads within the urban complex is not the answer to traffic congestion. Indeed, experience teaches us that this road construction, undertaken without improvement in public transport facilities, will aggravate the problem by attracting more passenger cars to downtown streets, where the general chaos has already immobilized any and all forms of surface conveyance.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon city planners to make public transport an integral part of all urban development. More important, all means of transportation must be coordinated to avoid the serious congestion which stems from competing jurisdictions and the disproportionate sources of limited public funds.

The annual authorizations of $150 million, provided under the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act, are woefully insufficient. For this reason, the bill we are introducing authorizes $300 million yearly for a 5-year period. Additionally, States and local governments which are already undertaking costly transit improvements should not be penalized because their plans materialize before adequate Federal funds are provided. Therefore, the bill permits the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to approve grants on a reimbursable basis.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must move swiftly and meaningfully to help the States meet the crisis in urban transportation. The legislation we introduce today is aimed at accomplishing this objective. Efficient means of commuter service is a major factor in making our large cities inhabitable and accessible. The Federal Government must, as it has in other important areas of urban life, assume a larger and more responsible role.

Mr. Speaker, for the RECORD, I include a copy of the bill at this point, introduced today by Representatives ABRAHAM J. MULTER, JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, and myself.

H.R. 7263

A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to increase the amounts authorized for grants thereunder, and to make it clear that assistance may be provided for projects already underway if they meet the requirements for such assistance

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first sentence of section 4(b) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and $150,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1967, 1968, and 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$150,000,000 for fiscal year 1967; and $300,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972".

SEC. 2. The first sentence of section 3(a) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: "(including grants or loans with respect to projects commenced prior to application for assistance under this Act, if and to the extent that they would have been approved for such assistance had application therefor been made in advance)".

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have today joined with several of my New York colleagues on the Banking and Currency Committee in introducing legislation designed to make the Federal Mass Transit Act better able to meet the needs of the people in metropolitan areas such as New York City. This legislation was prepared in consultation with the steering committee representing all the House Members and the two Senators from New York in this Congress.

This is a very modest proposal when measured against the needs of the metropolitan areas and the assistance given to other modes of transportation. Existing aid to mass transit amounts to only about 3 percent of the sums given for highway construction and is not nearly of the relative magnitude of the aid given the airlines and the maritime industries during periods of economic difficulty.

This proposal provides a small increase in the amount available under the Federal program for grants. It also permits States to advance money to localities for mass transit against the ultimate Federal contribution. This feature is particularly important to New York. Our State government could, if this bill is enacted, assist New York City with funding of capital improvements for its mass transit system and then recoup its advances when applications from the city are finally approved by the Housing and Urban Development Department and as Federal appropriations permit. This would not increase the total amount available from the Federal Government, but would make large projects more feasible, since they would not be limited by the relatively small annual appropriations. With the kind of assurance of recoupment provided by this bill, New York State could in effect enable New York City to proceed more rapidly with needed transit improvements.

In 1965 I introduced a bill which would permit use of Federal highway user tax funds for mass transit where, in the judgment of localities, such diversion is required to develop and maintain a viable and balanced transportation system. I also introduced legislation to permit much more extensive aid to mass transit without the restriction that operating costs be paid exclusively out of fares. This is conditioned on the development of a program which will put the recipient system in optimum operating condition within 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, I am more than ever convinced of the need and the justice of more imaginative and expanded Federal aid for mass transit. At the same time, I am aware of the difficulties involved in achieving this goal. My cosponsorship of the legislation introduced today is testimony to my desire to make some advance in this area. It does not reflect any diminution of my commitment to make the Federal Government aid more adequate to the needs.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all sponsors of this legislation and all other Members of the House be permitted to extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD on this subject.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATION FOR LIBERALIZATION OF INCOME LIMITS UNDER VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION PENSION PROGRAM

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to introduce a bill which will keep the veterans' pension program current with changes in the standard of living in this country.

As you are aware, the amount of annual income of a veteran determines the amount of non-service-connected pension which he receives. The current earnings limitations in the law have remained unchanged since 1959. During this period there have been substantial increases in both wages and prices, and the figure established 8 years ago can hardly be considered realistic. During this 8-year period, in comparison, the earning limitations—retirement test—in social security has been liberalized three times and now is 25-percent higher than it was in 1959. I suggest similar treatment for veterans' pensions.

This bill amends the annual income schedule which determines the amount of non-service-connected disability of veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict and their widows and children. The increase provided in the schedule is about 20 percent. For instance, a single veteran would be able to have an income of $720 a year or less and still be entitled to a $100 a month pension. Under existing law, the pension is reduced when his income exceeds $600 a year. Similar changes are made in the other limits provided in the law.

My bill will take care of a distressing situation which has plagued every congressional office. As you are aware, the increase in social security benefits provided by Congress last year has had the effect of reducing the VA benefits of some 30,000 veterans and widows. On two occasions last year the Senate passed an amendment which would have exempted the social security increases for VA pension income purposes. This would have meant that these veterans would have gotten their social security benefit increase without any loss of pension payments. The Veterans' Affairs Committee on both occasions objected to the Senate legislation. Chairman TEAGUE pointed out that this approach was discriminatory in that it exempted income from only this one source and that it ignored the legislation passed in 1964 which exempted 10 percent of private and public retirement income for VA pension purposes. You will recall that the 1964 legislation was in anticipation of the social security benefit increase of that year, but the social security bill died in conference late in the session. Mr. TEAGUE explained on the floor:

> The first thing that is evident in this allegation of some pensioners that they have been mistreated is that the 10-percent exclusion is greater than the 7-percent increase.
>
> The second thing that need be said is that most of the people who are complaining today about having to take a reduction in their Veterans' Administration pension as a result of moving from one income bracket to another have enjoyed a higher rate of pension for 9 months, higher than they would have received had the Congress not enacted Public Law 88–664.
>
> Other additional factors need to be made crystal clear at this time. These are that in comparing 1964 with 1965: Every person gets more pension; everyone gets more social security; a few, approximately 1½ percent, got an additional windfall; everyone continues to get more pension and more social security than they got in 1964; everyone in 1966 will get more pension than he did in 1964.
>
> The amendment added by the Senate would protect forever this discriminatory windfall for these favored few 30,000 pensioners.
>
> It has been the consistent policy of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to recommend to the House, and I am glad to say that the Congress has followed this policy, of endeavoring to make uniform all of the benefits applicable under the pension and compensation programs. We pay these benefits on the basis of proven need and proven disability. If this amendment should be written into law it would be grossly unfair, in my opinion, to the thousands of others who are on the pension rolls who are receiving civil service retirement; railroad retirement; city, state, or county retirement; retirement from a teaching position; or retirement from one of the corporations that has its own retirement program. These programs are, as we all know, increased from time to time. Inevitably such change makes a man who is receiving a pension under the Veterans' Administration pension system move from one bracket to another automatically when a change in his income occurs with the resultant reduction in most instances of his Veterans' Administration pension because of increased income from other sources.
>
> It is the policy of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to periodically review changing economic conditions as they affect both pension and compensation. The bill which we are considering today can be said to have resulted in many of its provisions from changing economic conditions. Pension bills have been enacted such as the existing basic law on this subject. Public Law 86–211 in an effort to modernize this system and bring it up to date based on the economic factors of life. This has been reviewed in the immediate past through the enactment of Public Law 88–664, and in the 2d session of the 89th Congress, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs will review the pension program again. However, I am sure that when this review takes place the committee will follow its historic policy in regard to widows and veterans of seeing that any new limitations which may be enacted apply to one and all on an equal basis. It is inconceivable to me that after reviewing such a program that the committee would recommend preference to a few. Rather it will make recommendations to treat every body in similar circumstances in the same way.

Since this was not done in the 89th Congress, my bill, I believe, will break this parliamentary impasse. It is consistent, I believe, with the criteria handed down by Chairman TEAGUE in that it is nondiscriminatory—treating all veterans and all types of income alike—and is justifiable on the basis of the economic facts of life. On the other hand, it will avoid the reduction of the VA benefits of some 30,000 people which, perhaps justifiable in theory, is almost impossible to explain to them.

I urge early consideration of my legislation.

LEGISLATION TO AID IN THE MAXIMUM UTILIZATION OF FREE ENTERPRISE IN URBAN PLANNING

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill, which amends the preamble of the Housing Act of 1949 and section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954. My purpose in introducing these proposed changes in language are twofold. In the case of amending the preamble of the 1949 act, I wish to emphasize the necessity for private assistance in meeting all phases of the Nation's housing needs.

I frequently feel that when we deal with legislation concerning the vast problems of housing and urban development, we tend to emphasize the governmental role to such great extent that we overlook the nongovernmental resources that can make a significant and constructive contribution in meeting these needs. I hope that this clarification will cause those who administer various housing and urban programs, on the Federal, State, and local level to make greater use, where appropriate, of private resources, including, but not limited to, such sources as private planners, engineers, architects, and so forth.

My second objective in this bill is to clarify the utilization of private planning consultants under the urban planning provisions of section 701 of the 1954 act. At present, this section states that it has as one of its objectives "to encourage such governments to establish and improve planning staffs."

I have researched this matter and am convinced that the Congress intended that section 701 was enacted to encourage, through Federal assistance, planning activities on the part of local government and it was not Congress' intention to limit such planning functions to "staffs" only, but to broaden planning activities in ways deemed appropriate by the local government. However, it has been brought to my attention that a strict interpretation of the present language has resulted in many instances of section 701 funds being granted only to applicants that were performing planning activities by their own planning staffs. This has served to adversely affect those section 701 applicants, which, because of their own special situations, desire to have urban planning services performed by outside professional planning consultants.

There are numerous reasons why a community may not wish to develop a regular planning staff or to perform all of the planning functions with its own staff because of various problems arising therefrom. In such instances they would prefer to work on a contractual basis with an outside consulting expert and in those situations I feel the community should not be denied the opportunity to utilize such professional services because of a narrow and erroneous interpretation of what Congress intended when it passed the Housing Act of 1954.

I hope that my bill will be favorably considered by the Committee on Banking and Currency and that Congress during this session will make clear the intentions of maximum utilization of free enterprise in meeting the Nation's housing and urban needs and in making a greater use, where appropriate, of private planning consultants under the section 701 program.

AMBASSADOR KNAPPSTEIN SAYS NEO-NAZIS CANNOT SUCCEED IN TODAY'S GERMANY

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on March 5, 1967, His Excellency Heinrich Knappstein, Ambassador to the United States from West Germany, spoke at the Washington Hebrew Congregation.

The following news story and the text of the Ambassador's remarks appeared in the Jewish Week, published here in Washington, on March 9, 1967.

The Ambassador's remarks should help reduce the fears of non-Germans about the apparent increase in Nazi activity in Germany.

The news article and the Ambassador's remarks follow:

GERMAN ENVOY SAYS NEO-NAZIS CAN'T SUCCEED

(By Barry Polsky)

Germany is not going Nazi again and its government will do everything it can, including banning the National Democratic Party (NPD), to see that it doesn't, the West German ambassador said Sunday in Washington.

Ambassador Heinrich Knappstein said there is legitimate concern inside and outside Germany as a result of what he termed "alarming" election successes by the right-wing NPD in Hesse and Bavaria. He said Germans tend generally to underestimate the danger of a return of totalitarianism while persons outside Germany tend to overestimate it.

Knappstein said the government has rejected the idea of banning the NPD because it wants to restrict such an action to cases of "grave danger to democratic freedom." But he assured his audience at Washington Hebrew Congregation that if German democracy was threatened by the NPD, the government would call on the Supreme Court to investigate and, if necessary, ban the party as a last resort.

ELECTORAL REFORM

In the meantime, he said, Germany has been alerted to the resurgence of right-wing nationalism in the country and actions could be and were being taken to halt it.

Knappstein said the new government is watching the NPD carefully to be sure it doesn't threaten German democracy. "Germany . . . is absolutely determined not to tolerate" a return of Nazi totalitarianism, he said.

The ambassador said his government is determined to carry out election reform to replace proportional representation in state parliaments with a system modeled after that in America and England, where a party's seats are won in individual elections rather than by a percentage of total votes.

The old parties will have to review their political activity and education and get closer to the people, Knappstein said. He noted that the three old parties have begun new education programs to win back right-wing voters.

SEES FARM ISSUE AIDING NPD

Knappstein predicted that farmers in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony may vote for the NPD in the next election there because of reductions in government farm subsidies, but said this didn't make them Nazis.

In answer to a question of how a former Nazi party member, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, could have been chosen to head the new government, Knappstein said that in German eyes, Kiesinger was never a Nazi.

"Our concept of 'Nazi' is different from yours," the ambassador said. "In our concept, one who actively and recklessly promotes Nazi party aims is a Nazi, but a man who just joins the party is a 'party member.' "

Knappstein said questions as to why ex-Nazi war criminals receive seemingly lenient sentences "worry" him, but he can only answer that there is not enough evidence to support stiffer penalties.

Most witnesses were killed in the concentration camps, Knappstein said, so the courts must rely largely on circumstantial evidence. This type of evidence usually isn't strong enough to warrant the highest penalties, he said.

TEXT OF TALK BY GERMAN AMBASSADOR

The following is taken from remarks Sunday on Washington Hebrew Congregation by Ambassador Heinrich Knappstein of West Germany.

. . ., your good rabbi has put before me a question which is more than a 64,000-dollar question: Is Germany going Nazi again? Out of my deepest conviction the answer is no, but I am sure you want to hear my reasons for this No.

Since the revival of democratic life in Germany after World War II and especially after the foundation of the Federal Republic in 1949 there has always been a fringe of small nationalistic splinter groups in Germany's political life. These groups were established as parties, split again, merged with other small groups, but remained altogether negligible because they never reached more than a few per cent of the total vote and, due to a certain provision in the German Constitution, practically never got a seat in the national Parliament. We have been used through the years to allow propaganda on their part, but we did not take them seriously because the voters never followed their slogans. This changed for the first time last year when the so-called National Democratic Party or NPD jumped the five per cent-clause in two German States, in Hesse and Bavaria, and polled 7.4 and 7.9 per cent, respectively, thereby getting six and 15 seats in the Hessian and Bavarian Parliaments. This was alarming to both ourselves and to other countries. Understandably the question came up: Is Germany going Nazi again? The first reaction was concern and anxiety both inside the country and outside. I believe that, in the beginning, at home we have underestimated the danger of the new group, whereas abroad it was widely over-estimated and even exaggerated, so as if Hitler himself were already standing "ante portas". The first thing we did at home was a careful study and analysis of the NPD, of the composition of their voters, of their ideologies and slogans and of the reasons and motifs which led to the growing number of votes gathered by the NPD. No doubt, the former nationalistic splinter parties increased by almost one hundred per cent from 4 to 8 per cent, but still 8 per cent of the total electorate is a very small figure, because 92 per cent of the voters remained faithful to the old, reliable democratic parties. And 92 per cent, after all, is an overwhelming majority and a strong protection for a democratic system. I believe we in Germany, that is both the government and the political parties, must not minimize or underestimate the danger of a new nationalistic group, but on the other hand our friends abroad must not be overly alarmed as if Germany were going Nazi again.

I would like to give you now some information about the results of our thorough investigation into the sociological structure of the new group, into the reasons and motifs that induced people to vote for that party and about the remedies with which we are proposing to meet the danger they really represent.

It would be wrong to assume that the NPD was a pure neo-Nazi group consisting of old Nazis who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. There certainly is a considerable portion of their voters who have been incurable old Nazis, who think that this new party is the best political haven for them, but they are not even a majority within the NPD. The majority without doubt consists of conservative nationalists who have not even been Nazis during the Nazi time. Among them, for instance, the two leaders of the party: Herr von Thadden and Herr Thiele. They are pure nationalists, "Germany-firsters", "right-wingers", as you have them in almost every country. They are against any foreign influence, be it West or East, against European integration, against NATO-Alliance and for an independent Germany relying only on herself and taking her fate into her own hands. I have no doubt that this group has been strongly influenced by the right-wing nationalism which has grown successfully in neighboring France. Interestingly enough both groups, the old Nazis and the conservative nationalists, are mostly elderly people who are not satisfied with the traditional parties, who have lost wealth and influence and who are trying to regain both in what they believe is a new way.

A third element in the NPD, partly identical with the two groups I have described, is what Foreign Minister Willy Brandt called a Poujadist element, another loan from our

French neighbor. You remember the Poujadists were a very active and radical group in France, consisting of small businessmen and small farmers, who for one reason or another could not participate in the affluence of the society in recent years. In Germany they are so to say the backlash of the so-called German economic miracle. They were the stepchildren of the recent German prosperity and the first ones to be hit by a certain economic recession we have in Germany today. So they looked for a forum to protest loudly and found it in the NPD.

A fourth group within the NPD cannot be overlooked: the expellees and refugees. After the war no less than 12 to 15 million people have been expelled from their homesteads in East Germany or fled westward before the Soviet troops arrived. Their number grew further when more and more people escaped from the Soviet occupied Zone of Germany—which finally resulted as you know in the erection of the Wall between East and West Germany. The overwhelming majority of all these people succeeded in accommodating themselves to their new situation, that is, they found new jobs and new homesteads in West Germany. But besides the millions that were successful in their adjustment—there were some thousands who did not succeed to adjust themselves to their new life—for one reason or another they remained in a state of homesickness and they finally joined the other discontented in the NPD—after they had been members of the different Refugee parties for years which also did not fulfill the unrealistic hopes of the refugees and expellees. Now there is a strong element of them in the new NPD.

The four groups I have described, the old Nazis, the conservative nationalist, the "Poujadists" and elements of the refugees from the East, form the nucleus of the NPD. By using certain nationalistic slogans they have in addition attracted quite a number of voters from all walks of life. The political situation, in the fall of last year, was very favorable for them. The German government could not harvest much success in its foreign policy. Many endeavors to reach certain political goals dear to our hearts seemed futile. The NATO-Alliance was weakened by the decision of France to withdraw from its integrated organization. The relations with France were deteriorating. Even the relations with the United States were disturbed by the so-called offset-question and other problems. The integration of Europe and the Common Market did not make the hoped-for progress and, more than anything else, the reunification of the divided country seemed to be farther away than ever. All this led to a widespread feeling of frustration. In such a precarious situation many Germans are inclined not to react in a rational way, but in an emotional way. So the vehement nationalistic slogans proclaimed by the NPD resulted in many new applications for membership in that party. In addition to all that we had in the weeks before the two elections in Hesse and Bavaria a long lasting federal government crisis after Chancellor Erhard had lost the majority in Parliament, but was not ready to resign. During that time the feeling of frustration spread over the whole country inducing many voters to express their protest against "Bonn" by voting for the NPD.

It is no doubt that also quite a number of young voters were attracted by the nationalistic slogans of the NPD. Due to their former abuse during the Nazi regime, certain good words like "Fatherland", "honor", "tradition", "national interest" and "patriotism" had been, so to say, banned from the political vocabulary of the political parties. Now the NPD rediscovered them and used them frequently, thereby appealing to the natural desire for national pride and self-esteem among the younger voters. But still it is interesting that the percentage of younger voters between 20 and 30 years of age in the NPD is much smaller than the percentage of those young people is among the entire population. In other words, the NPD has won the German youth to a much lesser degree than their percentage in the other political parties would lead *one to expect*. On the other side, young people, university students, apprentices and young workers have staged hundreds of vehement protest demonstrations against the NPD showing that an overwhelming majority of the younger generation does not go with this nationalistic group.

Two more facts about the NPD which were revealed by the government investigation are significant. One is that they have not developed a high-calibre national leadership, but are divided among themselves, and secondly that they have not been able to develop a platform which would go beyond commonplaces and cliches such as honor, dignity, integrity and others.

One important question you are going to ask me: What are the Germans themselves doing to keep this nationalistic group from growing further and from becoming a real danger for democracy and peace?

Well, the first step has been taken already. Thorough investigations are under way to analyze the new group and to derive from that analysis ways and means to counteract their further development. It has been suggested that the government should ban the NPD the same way as the communist party and a former nationalist group, the Deutsche Reichspartei, were banned. The German government has rejected this idea because political freedom is such an important part of the democratic way of life that we want to restrict it only in case of grave danger for democratic freedom itself. Besides that, not the government but only the Supreme Court would be able to ban a political party on the grounds that it was actively destroying the democratic basis of the Republic. We do not want to force them underground in order to be able to maintain a rigid surveillance of their activities. So number one of our countermeasures is to watch them carefully and thereby keep them under public control.

The second measure is the result of the wholesome shock the old traditional parties have suffered through the success of the NPD. They were awakened from the comfortable sleep of routine. These parties will have to review their methods of political activity and of their political education. They will have to get closer to the people to win all those voters back who left them because they had the impression that the old parties did not care for them. The old parties, for instance, made the mistake never to go to the meetings of the NPD and to start discussions with them. Had they done so during the campaigns many people would not have fallen prey to the nationalist slogans of the NPD. I have been informed now that all three old parties have started educational programs to inform the people about the NPD and its dangerous goals in order to win them back for themselves.

Another event has worked like a countermeasure against the NPD, even though it was not meant to be one. I am speaking of the creation of the Grand Coalition in Bonn under Chancellor Kiesinger. Since December, Germany after months of frustration has a strong government again based on a very broad majority in Parliament. The new government has had considerable success already in the few weeks of its activities. The national budget has been balanced by cutting it down by 4.5 billion Marks. Diplomatic relations with Romania have been established. Diplomatic relations with Jordan have been re-established. The Treaty of Friendship with France has been revived and promising talks are under way with the United States to settle the off-set and the troop questions. More than anything else it was a success that the Social Democratic Party, for the first time since the foundation of the Republic, is sharing the power and responsibility of the government.

All this has fundamentally changed the public mood since the elections in Hesse and Bavaria took place. I was in Germany myself at the beginning of January and found that an entirely new atmosphere is prevailing there, that much of the frustration of last fall has vanished and that the new government and both its Chancellor and its Vice Chancellor have a great appeal to the people. I am sure that the new government and its actions, in the long run, will take the wind out of the sails of NPD.

It might very well happen that in the next State elections in the States of Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony the NPD again may win some percentages of votes, due to the fact that the government has cut the subsidies for farmers by about half a billion marks. So many a farmer may be angry and in protest may vote NPD. I cannot predict whether this will be the case or not. If they increase their percentage I would not consider it an increased danger because the farmers, who would protest the reduction of government subsidies, do not become Nazis thereby.

Of course, I do not know at all whether the NPD in future months will grow or fall apart. Of one thing, of course, you may be sure: We will be watchful and if I say we, I mean 92 per cent of the German people who are backing the democratic political parties. If the NPD really should become dangerous and a threat to democracy and peace, the government certainly will call on the Supreme Court to start an investigation and if sufficient evidence is found to ban the NPD altogether from the political scene of Germany. But that can only be a last resort.

When I mentioned recently that the NPD had polled only less than 8 per cent of the total vote and that 92 per cent of the voters were good democrats, somebody said to me that Hitler had started too with only 7 to 8 per cent of the voters and finally had taken over the whole country. I told this gentleman that the 8 per cent and the nationalistic phrases were the only thing the Nazis and the NPD had in common, but the circumstances and the situation of 1967 was 100 per cent different from the situation in 1930 to 1932, when all of Germany was in a desperate economic crisis with 6 million unemployed, a weak democracy, split up in 36 different splinter parties and no experience with a totalitarian or fascist regime. So all the chances of success Hitler had at that time, the NPD does *not* have. Germany still lives in high prosperity, even though we notice a certain slow-down in our economic life, we have a consolidated and wholesome democracy which has outlived the Weimar Republic already by four years. We have strong and reliable democratic parties and a strong and determined democratic leadership. And finally, I told this gentleman that a totalitarian or fascist or Nazi regime is like a contagious disease, like the smallpox. Once a nation has gone through such a disease, it becomes immune of it, at least for some generations. Germany has gone through the totalitarian disease of Nazism to the bitter end. It survived the disease and is absolutely determined not to tolerate its coming back.

Another countermeasure under consideration against a growing NPD is an amendment to the constitution, by which the election system in Germany would be changed. If we had had last fall the American or British election system, there would not be a single deputy of that party in any German Parliament today and nobody would be worried about the rise of that party. If there are six deputies of the NPD now in the diet of

Hesse and 15 in Bavarian Parlament it is due to the fact that we have a system of proportional representation. In other words, if there had been, let us say, 8 per cent of the total votes cast for the NPD, then they must have about 8 per cent of the deputies in the respective parliament, even though they have not won a single seat in one of the congressional districts. Long before the NPD came up, a strong movement represented by the "German Voters Association" has been striving for a change of the election rules in favor of the British or American systems. The new government is determined to carry this amendment through because we think it is generally a better system. If a candidate in his congressional district gets the majority of the votes he is elected and the minority votes are counted but do not count, whereas in Germany they do count and lead to a proportional representation of any splinter minority in Parliament. The introduction of the British-American majority system instead of the proportional representation would strike a decisive blow against a splinter party like the NPD. An amendment can be introduced by a two-thirds majority of the Bundestag. At the time being, the government commands a much bigger majority than two-thirds and so it would not be too difficult to pass the amendment.

I should not fail to mention one more countermeasure against the NPD or any other nationalistic tendency we have taken in Germany—that is education. There was a time, I admit, where we have not done enough in this respect, especially by teaching the younger generation the history of Nazism. I do believe though that in the meantime we have caught up and are doing a lot in that respect. It is just no longer true that the younger generation is not informed about Nazi crimes and German history between 1933 and 1945. I have good witnesses to prove my point. Some weeks ago four rabbis have been travelling in Germany teaching in German schools about Jews and Judaism as a religion. Upon their return one of them wrote a report about their experiences. Let me quote from that report a few sentences: "While one cannot generalize about any group of youths anywhere in the world, it seemed to us that the young people we found in Germany were not too different from other youths. Many, perhaps the majority, are apathetic and indifferent, concerned with job security and pleasure just as American youth is, but German youth too has its avant garde. This group is truly different from its predecessor generation. The vast majority of the academically interested young people have no similarity to their pre-Hitler counterparts. Today's university and Gymnasia students are fundamentally 'anti-nationalistic, anti-militaristic, non-conformists, pro-Israel and philo-Semitic'. Many are open and unprejudiced, resentful of their parents' generation. They are informed about the Third Reich. The mass media, radio, television, newspapers, books and educational materials bring the holocaust before them every week of the year. One might wish that our own Jewish youngsters knew as much about Fascism and Nazism as German youth seems to know. They are prepared to accept the responsibility of history. They realize that as members of the nation, they cannot divorce themselves from its past, but they refuse to be afflicted with guilt feelings. They are unwilling to bear the burden of collective guilt for what their parents and grandparents did. As one young person said to us: 'For the older generation the Third Reich is a moral matter. For us, it is a historical one from which we are preparied to learn but for which we refuse to bear personal guilt.' "

So far the report of the four rabbis and I have nothing to add to it.

Let me come to a conclusion now:

The answer to the question Rabbi Gerstenfeld has put to me: Is Germany going Nazi again? is No, as I said before. I believe that I have given you some insights into the German situation which perhaps cannot serve as legal evidence that my No is correct, but which might help you to see that my answer may be right.

Through Nazism we Germans have learned that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. I assure you we will be most vigilant!

INDUSTRY'S INTEREST IN MODEL CITIES

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Multer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, today the President has sent to us his message with his recommendations for continuing the war on poverty. Let me add my voice to those who have expressed their support for this message.

I am especially attracted to the hard commonsense possibilities which it expresses and to the very real avenues of private participation which it develops, participation which I believe is mandatory to the success of our efforts to eliminate urban poverty.

The model cities program proposal of areawide action is very sensible when measured against efforts which would merely continue to nibble at the physical fringes of urban problems.

There should be no question in any of our minds, by now, that we are not going to mend our cities with finger-in-the-dike approaches. The logic of the one and the illogic of the other is obvious.

Of the challenges and opportunities which this program presents one of the most significant is the demand created for a new technology, for the development of an entirely new industry, new materials, new techniques for using those materials, and for relating labor use in new and rehabilitation construction so that seasonal layoffs are compensated for and annual contracts become realistic objectives.

The sheer size of the model cities program commands the attention of the construction and building materials industries of the Nation. This new market is billion-dollar size. It will exercise demand over many years beyond the present emergency, a demand which must be supplied. That, Mr. Speaker, is a basic commitment of our American economy.

Industry's interest is already explicit in some areas. Experimental programs by U.S. Gypsum, U.S. Plywood, Armstrong Cork, and others have already developed new technology and have pointed in new directions. These industries are now concerning themselves with developing cost control techniques.

Industry's interest is also implicit in other areas. It is, for example, concerned with the possibilities of contracting and of subcontracting the work of rehabilitation to the people living in model cities areas. Such action would bring a new and needed viability to the residents living in these areas.

This is the most vitally important ingredient of the program. In sum, private industry and the people themselves become the two parts of the machinery for getting the job done. This is not new. This is the partnership that built America—railroads, miners, airlines, homesteaders. There is no reason not to continue in this same fine tradition.

CIA DEFENDERS SUPPORT METHODS OF COMMUNISTS

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following editorial to my colleagues. Our great strength is our society's differences in method—let us not dilute our freedoms by emulating the systems we have so long opposed. If public support is required, let us unashamedly publicly give it.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sacramento Bee, Mar. 7, 1967]

CIA Defenders Support Methods of Communists

Almost as dismal as the hitherto secret subsidizing of the National Student Association and other groups by the Central Intelligence Agency is the fatuous efforts of some to justify this policy.

No one contends that making propaganda front runners of students will destroy the independence of American education, although it has done it no good.

The revelation of the CIA's covert operations, however, has led to a loss of confidence, at least, for the moment in the avowed purposes of many groups. At a time when lack of confidence is identified as the "credibility gap" this further exposure of crypto enterprises simply widens the gap and calls for a burdensome house cleaning.

Apologists for the CIA point out that Russia uses students to spread the gospel according to St. Marx. It is a self-defeating defense. It is not a question of what America wants its image to be before the world; it is a question of what this nation wants its image to be before itself.

The fact Russia does it once would have been the best reason for the United States not to do it. The US is proud of the content of its propaganda as the supporter of freedom. This propaganda could have been openly acclaimed and been more effective.

Moreover, the CIA's subsidies were bound to be exposed sooner or later with a backlash that would make the world suspect Americans always talk with "forked tongues". As couriers of information amateurs are out of their field. No one should know this better than the CIA.

Those who defend the hidden use of students and other amateurs must find it difficult to explain the instant revulsion of the public and press. If the CIA's subsidizing activities are as proper as the defenders say, why did the NSA immediately announce it was rejecting further subventions? Why did the American Newspaper Guild immediately disclaim knowledge that $1 million dollars of its funds had come from the CIA.

Let the apologists cry that the CIA was right in subverting so much of American life, but let them take note that all the amateur spies are coming in out of the cold in droves.

TAX RELIEF FOR THE FORGOTTEN AMERICAN—THE MIDDLE-INCOME FAMILY

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing six bills to correct the glaring inequities in our Federal income tax law.

The first measure—H.R. 7240—would increase the exemption for certain dependents from the present $600 to a fairer and more realistic $1,200. This new increase would apply to dependent children under 16 and students under 22; to mentally or physically incapacitated dependents and to dependents over the age of 65.

The second measure—H.R. 7295—would correct a serious inequity that hurts working mothers and single heads of households, such as widows and widowers, who must provide adequate care and supervision for dependent children while they work. It provides that these taxpayers may deduct the full cost of child care up to $1,200 for one child and a total of $3,600 for three or more children in any tax year, when the care is necessary to free the taxpayer to earn a living.

The third measure—H.R. 7297—I am introducing would alleviate the inequitable tax burden on single persons by permitting them to utilize the more liberal head of household method of computing their taxes.

The fourth measure—H.R. 7298—would permit students and their families to deduct the expenses of higher education.

The fifth measure—H.R. 7296—would, to a large extent, offset revenue losses that might result from the other four measures by recapturing for the Treasury literally billions of dollars that now escape through the depletion allowance.

CUT PROPOSED

These five measures will, if enacted, correct some of the inequities in our tax laws—particularly those that weigh heavily upon those forgotten Americans, the middle-income family. However, any realistic analysis of our jerry-built tax structure reveals that it is so complex, so riddled with special interest provisions and discriminatory loopholes, that it can no longer be corrected by legislative patchwork. That is why I am introducing still another measure—H.J. Resolution 438—calling for the establishment of a commission to review the direction, purpose, and effect of our tax laws and to overhaul the entire Rube Goldberg structure.

Mr. Speaker, I caution the administration and my colleagues not to dismiss lightly the rising tide of protest against our internal revenue system. This is not an expression of irritation from people who do not want to pay their fair share of the costs of government. It is a genuine protest by a growing number of people who are sick and tired of paying considerably more than their share.

And they are right.

The most recent complete analysis of individual income tax returns for 1964 shows that middle-income Americans account for one-third of all taxpayers, but pay two-thirds of the Nation's taxes. The burden falls most heavily upon those who earn between $10,000 and $15,000. This group accounts for 10 percent of the Nation's taxpayers, but they pay more than 20 percent of the total individual income tax—$1 in every $5 that is collected.

THE PRIVILEGED FEW

At the other end of the spectrum, that same analysis shows that 19 people with annual incomes in excess of $1 million paid no tax whatsoever in 1964—and did so in strict conformance to the Internal Revenue Code. Reportedly, the ranks of these fortunate millionaires swelled to 50 last year. All told in 1964, 455 people reported incomes of more than $100,000 and legally paid no tax.

As disturbing as the statistics are, they give an incomplete picture of legal tax dodges and loopholes that thrust such an unfair burden of taxes on the average taxpayer.

A very substantial amount of income never shows up on tax returns. For example, not too long ago, a real estate firm in New York could report in its financial statement that it had a net cash return of over $5 million available for tax distribution to stockholders, yet this same firm not only paid no income tax, its income tax return showed a loss of over $1,750,000—legally.

Again, one of the Nation's richer women put a $56 million legacy into tax-free bonds and was in the enviable position of enjoying a yearly income of more than $1.5 million without even having to report it on her income tax return. Under existing law, this was and still is entirely proper.

OVERHAUL NEEDED

It has been estimated by tax experts that legal loopholes cost the U.S. Treasury more than $40 billion annually. I believe that to be a conservative estimate.

We must have a complete overhaul of the Nation's income tax structure. It must be a thorough study which takes into account the serious impact that the growing burden of State and local taxation is imposing on the American family. It must also consider the changes that have taken place in our economy and our way of living. Most important of all, it must not be a vehicle for perpetuation of special privilege and vested interest windfalls.

My sixth bill, establishing a Commission on Unequal Taxation, will accomplish this, but it will take time. In the meantime, there are very onerous inequities that can and must be removed and there are also several particularly flagrant loopholes that can be closed to make up for any loss of revenue that might result.

REALISTIC EXEMPTIONS

Mr. Speaker, the increase in the dependent exemptions that I propose are long overdue.

Everybody knows that $600 simply does not represent anything like the cost today of raising a child, of maintaining a student, or of caring for a disabled dependent or an aging parent. The Federal Government budgeted $1,000 a year for Cuban refugee children. The Social Security Administration budgets up to twice as much for child care as IRS allows the taxpayer to exempt. How can the taxpayer be expected to have confidence in a tax structure based on such a delusive fantasy as the $600 dependent exemption.

This exemption was set in 1948, almost 20 years ago. Since that time, the consumer price index shows that the costs of the basic goods and services—the costs that this exemption was supposed to take into account—have soared. Such basic items as rent, clothes, and personal services have risen more than 50 percent. Medical expenses jumped more than 90 percent. Yet in the five major revisions since 1948, the $600 exemption has remained the same and the average American has not benefited from any compensatory liberalization.

By failing to take into account the rising cost of living and the generally expanding standard of living of the American family, this tax policy is not only burdensome and unfair, it also tends to defeat the very national goals and objectives that the revenue is used to further.

If this grossly inadequate exemption imposes an unfair burden on the middle-income group, it is disastrous for lower income families.

Let me take one example: A family of three living on $10,000 per year gets an exemption of $1,800. Assuming that they claim the standard deduction, they are paying income tax on $7,200 or approximately $1,228.

Now let us take a family of three earning $6,000. They get an exemption of $1,800 as well, and claiming the standard deduction, pay a tax of $552 on $3,600.

According to the consumer price index the $1,800 falls at least 50 percent, or $900, short of the actual cost.

The $10,000 family is overpaying its tax by $171, or 16 percent. The $6,000 family is overpaying its tax by $250 or 45 percent.

There is something seriously out of balance in a system that spends billions to conquer poverty and at the same time imposes poverty on hard-working, middle-income American families through repressive and discriminatory taxation.

We can afford to change this. In fact, we cannot afford not to. I urge my colleagues to join now to correct this long-standing wrong.

WORKING MOTHERS HELP

Another grossly unfair aspect of our tax law is the way we treat the problem of the working mother and single persons with dependents, such as widows and widowers.

Today, if a working mother makes less than $6,000 annually, she may deduct up to $600 of the cost of caring for her child while she works. If she has more than one child, she may deduct a grand total of $900. For every dollar over $6,000 that the working mother earns she forfeits $1 of deduction. Thus, the single mother of three who earns $6,899 may deduct $1.

The actual cost of providing child care may range from $800 to $1,200 per child.

President Johnson has called for an expanded new program to provide child care. Not only does this demonstrate the crying need of our working mothers for proper care and supervision of their children, it also presents a strange conflict in Federal policy. We are using tax dollars to provide services which our tax laws will not permit the taxpayers to provide for themseves.

I will support the President's request for expanded child care centers. They are needed by many of our working mothers who do not earn enough to pay for services, whether they get a deduction or not. They also provide a constructive alternative to relief for many mothers prevented from working by inability to arrange for child care, and they provide for vital preparation of underprivileged children for school which may well prevent their becoming future delinquents and burdens on the State. But I will also fight to see that the working mother who can pay for the care of her own children will not be barred from doing so by absurdly restrictive laws.

NATION WILL BENEFIT

This deduction I am proposing will help millions of mothers who have no choice but to work to win their own individual war on poverty without assistance. It will also benefit the Nation uniquely.

Every day we hear of the desperate need for teachers, nurses, social workers, medical technicians, and the like. We have a national deficit of over 150,000 teachers, 125,000 nurses, and 100,000 social workers.

Paradoxically, there are today considerably more than 3.5 million college-trained women in this country, many of whom are not working because of the way our restrictive tax laws discriminate against working mothers. The reform that I am proposing would make it possible for us to draw upon the Nation's largest untapped reservoir of able and mature professional talent. It would help our schools, hospitals, and social agencies to make badly needed improvement and expansion in their services. In addition, these jobs will create new tax revenue.

This is no special tax privilege that I am advocating. We allow our businessmen and our professional people to deduct costs incurred so that they may do their jobs. It is appropriate to treat a working mother's legitimate expenses of doing business in the same way. I urge immediate action to authorize this.

ROB PETER TO PAY FOR PETER

The treatment of educational expenses is another strange paradox of our tax law.

Our increasingly complex and expanding society needs all the talented and highly educated young people that we can produce. The Federal Government has allocated $4.232 billion to meet the needs of higher education in this Nation and it is generally agreed that this is inadequate to meet the challenge of the future. Our States are budgeting greater and greater sums to support colleges and broaden student scholarship programs.

I suggest that education is, in many respects, a tool of trade. Young people who graduate from college earn at least $140,000 more in their lifetime than those who only graduate from high school. Not only do they contribute more to our society, they generate greater buying power and more revenue for our treasury, as well.

Oddly enough, our tax laws recognize this in certain situations.

We permit the businessman, the doctor, and the teacher—who are established wage earners—to deduct certain costs of continuing education, however, we do not permit the student, who needs help most, to take such a deduction.

Is it not also paradoxical that a wealthy man who gives a large sum of money to a college may deduct the gift, but a student who is struggling simply to get his own education may not deduct the cost of paying for it?

To continue to appropriate greater sums for aid to higher education while denying the taxpayer who puts up the money to deduct the costs of education is not even robbing Peter to pay Paul. It is robbing Peter to pay for Peter.

As our tax laws work now, simply to allow the student or his family to take a deduction would benefit the wealthier students and families who are in high tax brackets most but would be of little help to the vast majority of our young people who are struggling through college.

HELP WHERE NEEDED

My bill meets this problem in four ways.

First, it applies a graduated formula for computing the deduction, assuring that maximum benefit will go to those who need it most. This is the way the formula works: The taxpayer applies his tax rate to his expenses and subtracts the result from the claimed expense. The remainder is his deduction. Thus, a taxpayer in the 20-percent bracket may deduct 80 percent of his expense but the taxpayer in the 40-percent bracket may deduct only 60 percent of his expense.

Second, student taxpayers making less than $4,000 or students who are claimed as dependents by taxpayers who make less than $12,000 are exempted from the limitation and may claim the entire expense.

Third, taxpayer students making less than $4,000 or students claimed as dependents by taxpayers making less than $12,000 may deduct reasonable and necessary costs of living and transportation in addition to the purely educational expenses.

Fourth, a taxpayer who does not have enough taxable income to take advantage of the benefit, may carry the deduction over to a year in which he can take advantage of it.

These provisions will permit the student or his family with inadequate resources to make suitable financing arrangements to pay for education. They provide a reasonable procedure for enabling the student to discharge his obligation in the future, when he is reaping the benefits of his education and earning a living and they will prevent the deduction from being converted into still another windfall for the privileged few.

SINGLE PERSONS' AID

One class of taxpayer has been singled out over the years for general discrimination—the single taxpayer without dependents.

Since 1948, we have had three separate rate schedules for our taxpayers. One is for married couples, another for heads of household and, a third for the single person without exemptions.

In order to get an idea how this discrimination works, look at the differing rates for three different taxpayers reporting $7,000.

All other things being equal, the married man filing a joint return pays an actual rate slightly in excess of 15 percent while the head of household pays slightly more than 16 percent. The single person, however, is paying 20 percent.

My proposal will permit single persons who otherwise would not qualify for the head of household schedule, to use that schedule after the age of 30.

This will not wipe away all the inequity, but it will approach a more perfect justice and I urge action on this as well.

CAPTURING LOST REVENUE

Whenever you propose tax reform to help the middle-income taxpayer, the immediate response is an expression of horror at the projected loss in revenue. I have received a number of estimates of the cost of the various reforms that I am suggesting. They range up to as much as $5 billion. Frankly, I doubt them. I am reminded of the comment of Commissioner Charles Ross of the Federal Power Commission expressing doubt about a very high estimate received from a utility regarding the cost of putting a powerline underground:

> Too often when a utility doesn't wish to do something, it becomes prohibitively expensive.

I suspect that this is a failing of our tax men too.

When the 7-percent investment tax credit was first proposed, opponents warned that it would cost the Treasury at least $1.7 billion in revenue. Later, when the credit was adopted as an administration proposal these objections, predictably, disappeared and were replaced by the argument that the credit would produce more than 500,000 new jobs creating in turn more than $2.5 billion in new taxable income. This, in conjunction with the increased sales, profits, and related business activity, was expected to more than offset any revenue losses. The second interpretation proved to be correct and I believe that the same arguments can be applied with equal validity to the reforms I am proposing.

I am, however, prepared to take this complaint at face value and meet the challenge with new revenue-producing measures. If it will, in fact, cost so very much to give our citizens equal treatment, then I believe that the loss can be more than made up by closing the legal loopholes and special interest provisions which give such unequal advantage to the very few and cost our Treasury so very much—some authorities say as much as $40 billion annually.

Actually, these loopholes should be closed in any event. Equity demands it. Last June, I wrote the President pointing out that more effective treatment of oil and gas depletion allowance, personal holding companies and tax-free cooperatives, could recapture more than $3 billion a year.

DEPLETING THE TREASURY

The depletion allowance is the best known and, perhaps, the most abused of the special privileges allowed under our tax laws. As an indication of the way revenue can be recaptured for the Treasury, I have today introduced a measure which would permit an allowance that is wholly adequate to our Nation's need to develop natural resources and yet will recapture for the Treasury at least $3 billion from this source alone.

My measure proposes to reduce all depletion allowances—in series of graduated steps—to 7½ percent. Only vital minerals and ores in short supply would be exempted and then only as long as the proceeds are used by the taxpayer to develop new resources.

My distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. TENZER], has pointed out how these allowances have been abused and what a tremendous loss to the Treasury has resulted.

In a recent speech in the House, he pointed out that the largest oil companies pay a smaller percentage of their net incomes than the very poorest taxpayer. The man in the lowest bracket—below the level of poverty set by the administration—pays 14 percent of his adjusted gross income. The 20 largest oil companies last year paid only 6.3 percent, less than half the lowest rate.

Little wonder that four oil companies rank among the top 10 industries in the United States.

The oil and gas industry, however, are not the only industries that have benefited from these allowances. Some are rather puzzling. We now permit producers of clay a 23-percent allowance, while vermiculite and clamshell users get 15 percent. My bill will reduce all allowances to a more realistic 7½ percent.

Industry is by no means the only beneficiary of special tax advantage. Our policy governing the tax treatment of personal holding companies, the exemption of income from certain bonds and some of our tax-exempt foundations needs substantial reconsideration.

I urge action on House Joint Resolution 438 to provide for this reconsideration and to provide Congress with a broad coordinated program of reform to restore equality and integrity to our antiquated tax laws.

PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL FOR STRENGTHENING HEADSTART PROGRAM

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in this Nation's efforts to eliminate the causes of poverty and make economic opportunity available to every American, there is room for a variety of programs. President Johnson, in his message to Congress on America's unfinished business—urban and rural poverty, called for a strengthening of those programs which are now in operation and which are stimulating the efforts of citizen groups and volunteers in every State in this important struggle.

Nothing the President said, however, is likely to have more appeal than his call for the strengthening of the Headstart program, and the introduction of a followthrough program in the early elementary grades to insure that the accomplishments of Headstart are maintained.

Since the inception of Headstart in the summer of 1965, more than 1.4 million children—most of them from ghettos and pockets of rural poverty, migrant labor camps, and Indian reservations—have participated in the program.

During 1966 alone, a total of 733,000 children were enrolled: 160,000 in full-year programs, 573,000 in the 8-week summer program.

Plans in 1967 call for an enrollment in full-year programs of 200,000 children, with 500,000 in the coming summer program. This year, the average length of the full-year program has been increased from 4½ months to 9 or 10 months. Many communities are finding it possible to give more of their children the benefit of the longer program over the shorter, summer session.

As an important result of this nationally successful program, hundreds of thousands of parents from poverty environments have been given their first opportunity to share, with the professionals, in their children's early development. They have been offered and accepted, the responsibility of helping to plan and administer the hundreds of centers throughout the country. They have learned, many of them for the first time, how to cook, to sew, to budget, to speak the English language, to purchase low-cost foods, to care more efficiently for their children.

The early years of childhood are the most critical in the poverty cycle. Headstart has shown that an effective beginning in breaking that cycle can be made with these children.

LIFE MAGAZINE EDITORIAL SUPPORTS THE TEACHER CORPS

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the current issue of Life magazine endorsing the Teacher Corps as "the best bargain in the Federal education program."

Mr. Speaker, I would not want to engage in debate as to which Federal educational program is the most worthwhile. Yet the high praise of the Teacher Corps which Life magazine voices is well deserved—if we can judge by the testimony of the educators from all over the country who have so enthusiastically supported the Teacher Corps during the current hearings of the House Education and Labor Committee.

As the Life editorial points out, Teacher Corps members, both experienced teachers and teacher interns, go into poor urban and rural schools all over the country—but only at the invitation of the local school authorities. Even with the modest financial support which it now enjoys, the Teacher Corps has reached a quarter of a million children with new teaching methods and enthusiastic teachers.

Mr. Speaker, we need many, many more teachers in our schools, particularly in poor urban and rural schools. Thus far, 80 percent of the Teacher Corps members have indicated that "they want to stay on in slum schools." I urge my colleagues to show these dedicated teachers that we intend to stand behind their badly needed efforts by fully supporting both a supplemental appropriation and an extension of the Teacher Corps.

Under unanimous consent, I include the text of the Life editorial at this point in the RECORD:

AN EDUCATIONAL BARGAIN WORTH KEEPING

While the draft gets plenty of attention in Congress, a small, valuable, but little-known program may die of congressional inattention. It is the National Teacher Corps.

The Teacher Corps serves in the combat areas of American education—in the schools of the slums and the rural poor. In 29 states, its 1,200 corpsmen pay special attention to "culturally deprived" children, whose schooling must provide values and training that their homes do not. Teacher Corps teams—each consisting of a veteran of about five years' experience in slum schools, aided by from three to 10 young teacher interns—go into these schools by invitation only. *They work under the close supervision of community school officials, who can fire or transfer them on a day's notice. There are plenty of safeguards, in short, against federal government meddling in local schools.*

But because it lacks any effective lobby on Capitol Hill, the Teacher Corps' budget was shrunk to $7.5 million, which runs out this June. With that modest amount, the corps has been able to reach a quarter of a million children with a variety of unorthodox teaching techniques. Corpsmen make frequent home visits to encourage parents, whose previous dealings with school officials too often have been only to hear complaints. Rock 'n' roll songs may be played in class with the hope that these often uncommunicative youngsters will learn to express themselves by explaining what they think the lyrics mean. Their reading assignments can be on their special folk heroes, such as prizefighters, and they learn mathematics by computing gas mileage for the hotrods they so admire.

The Teacher Corps interns who conduct such classes are also studying parttime at

> universities nearby. In two years, with the federal government paying their tuition, they can earn masters' degrees in education. Eighty percent of them have said they want to stay on in slum schools, whose greatest problem is a chronic shortage of qualified teachers.
>
> Outside of Congress, the Teacher Corps has won impressive support from the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. Practically every school which has corpsmen this year wants more of them next year. The Teacher Corps needs a supplemental stopgap appropriation of $12.5 million by the middle of April to set up summer training programs for the 2,400 new interns the Administration has recommended, and an additional $36.5 million to carry the corps through the full fiscal year. *At these prices, it remains the best bargain in the federal education program.*

MRS. ESTHER PETERSON

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of regret that I wish to note the departure of Mrs. Esther Peterson, our Nation's foremost champion of the consumer, from her position as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs. Mrs. Peterson was the first person ever to hold this position, and while I am sure her replacement, Miss Betty Furness, will do an excellent job, Esther Peterson will be long remembered by consumers and her work long appreciated.

Mrs. Peterson is returning to her duties as Assistant Secretary of Labor full time after 3 years of also serving as the President's consumer adviser. This is right and proper, for no person can carry on two such arduous assignments indefinitely. Yet Mrs. Peterson deserves recognition for all she has done for the consumer.

Mrs. Peterson's talents and energies were ideally suited to the job she had and they enabled her to probe into the many subject areas of her responsibility with skill. She became an expert on consumer problems of the marketplace, and she spoke out honestly on such problems as packaging in the supermarkets, the wise use of credit, product safety, the quality of repair service, and advertising.

To both friends and critics, Mrs. Peterson articulated the thoughts and feelings of many millions of people who never before felt that they truly had a friend in Washington. She is one of those rare people with an extreme sensitivity to the needs of others who is able to translate her concern into action. To industry and Government, she addressed the consumer point of view. To consumers, she said frankly how she believed they and the business world could and should communicate better with each other.

It was largely through the magnetism of her personality that the President's Committee on Consumer Interests, of which she was Chairman, was able to achieve a rapport with many segments of the business world and to accomplish tasks which 3 years ago seemed insurmountable.

I am sure that Miss Betty Furness, who succeeds Mrs. Peterson, will continue this valuable work and also expand the Committee's working relationship with business.

May I express my thanks to Mrs. Peterson, in behalf of the consumers of my district, for her valuable contribution to the improvement of the quality of our national life.

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW—XXXIII

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the concept of universal national service for all young men, and possibly even for young women, has potentially great appeal. It would provide for the continuation of peacetime conscription, take a lot of youngsters off the streets and give them discipline and training and permit the enlistment of educated youth for social welfare activities.

A definition of national service which emerged from a National Service Conference of May 1966 reads as follows:

> National Service as a concept embraces the belief that an opportunity should be given each young person to serve his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation—recognizing national defense as the first priority—and consistent with the education and interests of those participating, without infringing on the personal or economic welfare of others but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all.

The concept of national service, although several generations old, gained national attention when Secretary of Defense McNamara, in a speech in Montreal, Canada, on May 18, 1966, said:

> It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity [that the present Selective Service System draws on only a minority of eligible young men] by asking every young person in the United States to give 2 years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad.

McNamara went on to answer the criticism that such a plan is inappropriate while the United States is engaged in a shooting war:

> It is more appropriate now than ever. For it would underscore what our whole purpose is in Vietnam—and indeed anywhere in the world where coercion, injustice, or lack of decent opportunity still hold sway. It would make meaningful the central concept of security: a world of decency and development—where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

Supporters of national service, then, view such a proposal as a way of resolving the profound dilemmas associated with selective service, for it would reduce or eliminate draft inequities. The program, however, would also provide manpower for urgent nonmilitary pursuits, afford millions of young men now rejected for the Armed Forces because they are undereducated or in bad health opportunities for education and physical improvement, and give all young men a sense of self-worth, of civic pride, of having done their share for their country. Margaret Mead believes that—

> Universal national service would provide an opportunity for young adults to establish an identity and a sense of self respect and responsibility as individuals before making career choices or establishing homes.

As to how national service would work, there are a variety of proposals, which at the present moment, need detailed study before any such system can be implemented. But, generally speaking, all young men would elect to serve either in the military or in a nonmilitary alternative. The needs of the military, of course, would be paramount. The young men who selected a nonmilitary service could choose their field and would be accepted if qualified. Otherwise, other choices would be available. The relatively uneducated or unskilled who were rejected by the selective service would be placed in training corps, similar to those of the Job Corps where they would receive some remedial training and education. This program would make the best possible use of the talent, energy and imagination of the American youth.

But, while many of the proponents of national service speak of it in terms of a voluntary program, they are, in effect, actually describing one which is not voluntary, but compulsory. Despite the high sense of idealism which motivates many of these individuals, they completely fail to grasp the concept that national service, when compulsory, contains the very germs of a totalitarian state.

NEED FOR A POSTAL PAY INCREASE

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, throughout my years in Congress I have always given support to measures to improve salaries and working conditions for our career postal employees. Unfortunately, there is no automatic way by which our dedicated letter carriers can receive needed increases in salaries. Yet the need is certainly here again, and I believe Congress should act now if we are to assure fair and realistic levels of pay for postal workers.

H.R. 7 is the bill which will accomplish this objective, and I have been pleased to introduce a companion bill, H.R. 7111. Two fine weekly newspapers in my district, the Glen Ridge Paper, of Glen Ridge, and the Independent Press, of Bloomfield, both published by Mr. Charles Moreau, carried in their March

9 issue an excellent editorial in support of this legislation. I insert them in the RECORD at this point following my remarks:

[Editorial from the Glen Ridge Paper and the Independent Press, Mar. 9, 1967]

SUPPORT YOUR MAILMEN

Without the weapons of strikes or pickets to aid their cause, the local letter carriers are hard put to press their case for long overdue pay raises. Specifically they are trying to drum up support for House Bill HR–7 now being considered. The bill would give the mailmen $365 to $698 annual wage increases and enable them to reach maximum pay in 15 years instead of the present 21 years.

We are happy to support their cause and urge all citizens to write their Congressman asking for his support of the pay increase measure. It's all well and good to brag about the carriers going about their appointed tasks through hail and sleet and snow. But it gives them healthy appetites and they have the same added family expenses caused by increased cost of living that afflict the rest of us. So let's do whatever we can to see that the mails go through in the hand of happy satisfied carriers.

THE FEDERAL DATA CENTER AND THE INVASION OF PRIVACY—A PROGRESS REPORT

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, under the direction of the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, the Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy, made up of my distinguished colleagues Congressmen BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, of New York, and FRANK HORTON, of New York, held hearings on the proposed establishment of a National Data Center by the Federal Government in July 1966. On August 18, 1966, I reported to this body some of my thoughts and some of our findings on those hearings.

Since that time, and due at least partially to those hearings, much interest and investigation has been initiated both within the computer industry and within the Federal Government.

Again, as at least a partial result of my subcommittee's hearings into the concept of a data center, the Bureau of the Budget—the focal point of the debate over the National Data Center—has dedicated time and increased interest to a reconsideration of its original plan or blueprint for this National Data Center, and has now presented to me a new and revised conception of the proposed National Data Center. It is in order to familiarize you with that plan that I am addressing you today.

First, however, I would like to indicate to you, however briefly, what has transpired in this area since I last reported to you.

The hearings of the subcommittee entailed a thorough analysis of the proposals then pending before the Bureau of the Budget to establish a National Data Center. Three separate groups of consultants had submitted reports—Ruggles, Dunn, and the second Dunn reports—to the Bureau of the Budget supporting the technical feasibility and desirability of such a plan. The subcommittee felt, however, that none of these studies considered in depth the problems of the invasion of privacy and confidentiality which would arise in the creation of a statistical data center drawing on literally millions of Government forms and files from a long list of Federal agencies.

Although the subcommittee recognized that there might be increased economy and efficiency in having centralized statistics at the Government's fingertips, there also would be many dangers. A Government which, through overzealousness or design, uses a data center for intelligence purposes rather than statistical purposes could enslave a people. The subcommittee concluded that all of the necessary safeguards, whether they be laws, regulations or technological controls, or a combination of all these must be studied and adopted before such a data center becomes a reality.

After the hearings were concluded, the Kaysen committee report, the fourth in a series of reports commissioned by the Bureau of the Budget, was published. This was in November 1966.

It was my considered opinion, after much analysis and investigation of the Kaysen report, that this too represented an insufficient examination of all the problems and potentialities that would arise from the establishment of a National Data Center, and that it should not be considered an acceptable basis for the beginnings of a National Data Center. As such, and since my subcommittee and the Congress were not in session yet, I informed Mr. Charles Schultze, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, that I would be very much disturbed, and I think this reflects the concern of my colleagues, if the Bureau went ahead with the National Data Center using the Kaysen and other reports as the basis and proof of his justification for the need and advisability of this Center.

My arguments were, at that time, that this proposal was one whose ramifications went far beyond the obvious need for more and better organized data within the Federal Government. I reiterated, in my letter to him, the points I raised at my hearings which to my mind had not yet been adequately and thoroughly examined.

These points were the following: whether centralization or decentralization is intrinsically more beneficial on both a cost effectiveness and an invasion of privacy basis; whether the construction of a National Data Center would duplicate what is already being considered in individual agencies and departments; whether the panels and commissions that have so far reported to him are adequately representative of the "public interest"; whether in fact there is a possibility that the Statistical Data Center would wittingly or otherwise be turned into a "Big Brother" dossier center; whether the specification and identification of individuals would be a vital source for the information maintained within the Center; and whether and in what detail the rights of privacy of the individual would be sacrificed to the greater rationalization and centralization of the statistical collection of data by our Government.

Since that time, we on the subcommittee, and, as I have already indicated, those interested parties in the academic world and the computer industry, have intensified our mutual investigations and concerns for the invasion of privacy and how it will or would be affected by the establishment of the proposed National Data Center. From the concern which was fostered by my subcommittee's hearings, and due to the interest demonstrated by the Bureau of the Budget and other Government departments and agencies, and with the cooperation and assistance of the academic community and the computer industry, I can unequivocally and without hesitation state that not only will there be no move toward the establishment of the proposed National Data Center, but additionally, that a climate of concern has evolved within these various communities which will lead us toward both a greater understanding of the uses and abuses of the computer and other statistical centers within the Government but also a greater, more sophisticated understanding of what is meant and involved in the right of privacy as well as how best it can be protected.

Now, however, before I go on to further describe the progress we have made in our subcommittee toward a better understanding of the nature and limits of the right of privacy, I would like, at least briefly, to discuss the nature and problems of the right of privacy in light of the technological and informational revolution.

We have seen, in recent months, a great increase in concern within the Government and the Congress for the protection of the privacy of the individual. The President, the Senate, and we in the House have spared no effort in bringing to the attention of all concerned the great need to protect the right of privacy in any and all of its multifaceted manifestations. Wiretapping and eavesdropping, obscene phone calls, personality testing, FBI computer files, the use of the polygraph test have all figured in the discussion of how best we can deter the prying eyes and ears of the Government from the rightful individuality of the American citizen. In the private sector too we have seen a growing concern and upsurge of protest over such things as credit ratings and credit unions, private detective agencies, the telephone companies, and more.

Yet, throughout all this discussion, we have seen almost totally ignored the most pressing of all threats to the individual, the National Data Center. Today, the greatest hazard to the right of privacy is potentially contained within what probably will be known, in future years, as the greatest rationalization of the American way of life. This new hazard on the horizon is the growing use of the giant computer systems to house all file information on the individual.

Potential data for such a center is practically unlimited. There exists already an impressive amount of information available on each and every individual and open for inspection. Almost all of this information has been supplied by the individual himself. What the individual may not understand is that each of these files generates information for other files. Not only is there no assurance that personal information will be used only for the purpose for which the subject submitted it; there is the opposite possibility that it will pass on and on.

Now, some 20 Federal agencies collect data on individuals. The data stored in these agencies and stored in their records is practically limitless—birth and marriage records, college and school records, census data, auto license applications, military records, passport data, Government and private employment data, banking data, public health and hospital records, civil defense records, loyalty-security clearance records, professional license records, income tax returns, social security returns, behavioral science research data, land and housing records, utility service and billing data, telephone call tabulations, and more.

While the accumulation of all this information in itself presents a dangerous and potentially massive threat to the right of privacy, the computer now makes possible not only a greater efficiency and accuracy in filekeeping; but also it allows for a substantial reduction of time and marginal cost required for the investigation of any one individual.

The most important consequence of this kind of information explosion is not the problem of safeguards and prohibitions, for we have learned that we can legislate safeguards and industry can create technological devices for protection. What looms on the horizon as the most important problem is the need to determine why and for what purposes does our Government need all this information and should we permit it to have it.

The information explosion is the product of a general increase in our desire to know, to predict, and to regulate. Governments believe that they must be more responsible for the safety and affluence of its people. This entails predictability and requires an enormous amount of information. The justification of all this information is found in the Government's desire to draw on an increased and broadened stock of knowledge of the factors and variables with which they must deal.

In order to create more benefits, governments think they need know more about their people. In this press for knowledge, the sector of the private life diminishes. The more the Government knows, the less the individual has left of himself which is his own. The more the Government accumulates data on the individual, the more the Government feels it needs to know. The more it intrudes on the individual by accumulating and correlating information, the less the individual has to decide for himself. His freedom is limited by the good intentions of the Government.

What we are confronted with, and what we must decide sometime in the near future, is whether we want our Government to know all this about us. Is it advisable as well as necessary for us to collect all this information? Are we ready to accept the possibility that with all this information the Government will be better able to make our decisions for us? Certainly this proposed National Data Center is a move toward greater rationalization, but is it really a move toward greater freedom?

The right of privacy as we see it now, in the context of the technological and informational revolutions, is not a new antiscientific slogan, but rather it has been an accepted principle, whether vocally expressed or consciously subsumed, throughout American history, and it has always been one of the fundamental cornerstones of freedom. Privacy is the right to live one's own life in one's own way, to formulate and hold one's own beliefs and to express thoughts and share feelings without fear of observation or publicity beyond that which one seeks or acquiesces in. It is the essence of personal dignity and it is the fundamental aspect of individual freedom and worth. It is the right of each individual to determine for himself in each particular setting or compartment of his life how much of his many faceted beliefs, attitudes and behavior he chooses to disclose. The right of privacy includes the freedom to live in every different role without having one's performance and aspirations in one context placed in another without permission.

Must we give this up for economy and efficiency, and is it worth it?

In this brief sketch I have drawn of the intermeshing and competing forces and principles involved in the projected National Data Center, I have tried to present to you some of the problems which you and I will have to face in legislating for the future. In my brief description of what I see as the major thrust of the technological and informational revolutions I have tried also to give you an idea of the way in which we of the Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy are thinking about these issues. We have reached no conclusion in our hearings, but we have prevented a potentially dangerous instrument from being constructed which could, if established without safeguards, lead us down the road to a police state. As President Kennedy once said, quoting an ancient Chinese proverb:

> On a march of a thousand miles, you have to begin with one step.

This step we have taken in the Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy.

Looking now to the specific problem of the National Data Center, this step was taken when we in the House brought to the surface the proposal for a National Data Center, and moved to forestall its establishment.

It was not ever our intention to prohibit the construction of the National Data Center, for we are not among those who advocate "ban the computer" like banning the bomb, but rather it was our objective to create a climate of concern within the Government over the potential invasion of privacy which was embodied in the unrestricted use of a National Data Center. Recent events have proved that the leadership we in the House of Representatives exercised in this area was not for nought. As I have pointed out this climate of concern which we have successfully created has now spread to all Federal agencies and departments, and to the other branch of the Congress.

As a consequence of this, the Bureau of the Budget has taken upon itself to withhold any and all consideration on the establishment of the National Data Center until a more thorough and intensive investigation into the consequences and problems of such a center has been made.

In order to do this, they have advised me that a panel will be set up to evaluate and investigate all the problems inherent in the establishment of a National Data Center. This panel will be composed of constitutional lawyers, computer experts, business suppliers of information, users of statistical information, and, after my own request, appointed representatives of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House.

What is more, when the panel has thoroughly investigated all aspects of the problem of the computer and the invasion of privacy, and if it reports favorably, or favoring some slight modifications on this proposal, it will then go back to the executive with its findings. If, after that, it is still considered desirable to establish some form of a National Data Center, the Executive would draw up legislation and submit it to the Congress for approval and authorization.

It can be said, then, that our concern over the proposal for a National Data Center is now shared by the Bureau of the Budget. They have demonstrated to me that their concern for the right of the individual and his privacy is valid and thoroughgoing. In addition, I have been assured that this panel will not be predisposed to any point of view or conclusion, and that its findings will be as objective as is humanly possible. I think that this is a start. There is now a climate of concern in our Government and in the various disciplines of our society that did not surface prior to the debate on privacy initiated here in the House of Representatives.

The issue of the National Data Center perhaps has served an even more important purpose than the National Data Center itself. It has brought into focus the need to appraise the role of the law and the role of the Government in the light of the rapidly accelerating discoveries of technology and science and their implications to man and society.

The debate over the National Data Center will go on, but before it is concluded the role of Government, the role of law, and the role of privacy will and must be reexamined in the light of the awareness that we now all share. A balance will be drawn, a balance must be drawn, among these disparate elements. As long as we keep this balance in mind, we will never lose sight of the freedoms for which we fought and for which so many have died. The fight for freedom will and must go on if this freedom is to survive, but now the fight for freedom is in a new dimension. To win this modern struggle for freedom we must know and understand this new, modern dimension and its implications. This is our task for the future. Let us go forth.

THE NEED FOR ANTICRIME LEGISLATION

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. Kelly] may extend her remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the sharp increase in crime throughout the United States and particularly in the city of New York is appalling. Only a few weeks ago, the police commissioner of the city of New York announced statistics which revealed an unbelievable increase in the New York City crime rate. A large number of New York crimes are committed in the Borough of Brooklyn and the Crown Heights area, where I live and which I have the honor to represent in the Congress of the United States.

We cannot sit idly by and watch our neighbors being robbed, mugged, burglarized, and murdered. We must take affirmative steps to wipe out the blight on our society. The question is, How are we to do this?

Perhaps the greatest factor causing this increase in crime is the breakdown of family life. This is reflected by the high percentage of marital failures; illegitimacy; and the lack of parental example, discipline, and authority. This leads to a lack of respect for law and order. To the greatest extent, these causes can only be cured in the home, in our schools, in our places of worship, and by public programs. At the same time, it must be made clear that the expenditure of money alone cannot cure this plague. Self-help is the key. There must be a will and a desire to achieve self-respect by those who require help.

A second significant factor causing increased crime is narcotics. The sale of narcotics is the most heinous and despicable crime. Not only does the use of these drugs destroy the minds and bodies of those who become addicted, but the insatiable craving for these drugs causes addicts to commit crimes of every description to obtain the moneys needed to finance their habits. Narcotic traffic must be stamped out at its source; sellers must be detected and punished by penalties sufficiently severe to deter them.

Another factor contributing to the increase in crime is the laxity displayed by many courts in punishing those who are found guilty of serious crimes. Intertwined with this is the inability, due to judicial rulings, by police agencies to apprehend persons suspected of committing crimes. While I do not advocate the abuse of the civil rights of criminal defendants, there must be a balancing of the rights of those accused of crimes against the right of our society to be protected.

Lastly, I believe that it is necessary to better equip our police in their fight against crime. They must be furnished with every modern means available. They must have better training, better equipment, and better communications between police departments.

To implement these needs, I have introduced three legislative proposals:

First. H.R. 7214, known as the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967, which would assist State and local governments in reducing the incidents of crime, encourage coordinated law enforcement and criminal justice at all levels of government, and stimulate the allocation of new resources and the development of technological advances and other innovations for preventing crime;

Second. H.R. 7215, to establish a Federal Judicial Center which would conduct research and tests in all aspects of Federal judicial administration and conduct programs of continuing education and training for employees of the judicial branch;

Third. H.R. 7213, to establish a U.S. Correction Service to better administer the Federal correction, probation, and parole system.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that these proposals be enacted into law with all haste.

TEACHERS CORPS NEEDS FINANCING

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Burton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, the San Francisco Examiner, a great newspaper, published in my district, on March 2, carried an editorial praising the National Teachers Corps and urging this House to support this most commendable program. I fully agree with the sentiment expressed and would like to share this editorial with my colleagues.

Teachers Corps Needs Financing

The attention of Congress is again being turned to one of the soundest programs devised by the Johnson Administration—the National Teachers' Corps. President Johnson is seeking $48.5 million for the project, and the Congress should give the request prompt and positive support.

The NTC was founded two years ago with the object of training teachers willing to work in the nation's "hard core" poverty areas. In such localities teaching might be said to be a thankless task—schools are often structurally inadequate and poorly equipped, with their students ill-clad, educationally backward and otherwise deprived. These factors emphasize the outstanding dedication of such prospective teachers and the nation owes them encouragement.

Congress, however, has shown so far what can only be termed a largely disinterested and short-sighted attitude toward the program. Only a fraction of the sum sought by the Administration for support of the NTC has been forthcoming. Now the Administration is on Capitol Hill again on behalf of the corps, giving Congress another opportunity to see the vital need for this project and to act accordingly.

OHIO BANKERS ATTEMPT TO WRITE THEIR OWN BANK LAWS

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Patman] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting editorial from the News Journal, Mansfield, Ohio, concerning the State regulation of banking has been called to my attention. This editorial appeared just a few days ago on March 2, 1967. It discusses the strenuous efforts of the Ohio Bankers Association to cut the heart out of a proposed revision of the Ohio banking laws.

The proposals of the Ohio Bankers Association would enact into law the elimination of cumulative voting in the election of bank directors. In addition, and even more serious, is the Ohio Bankers Association proposal to permit trust officers of State banks to vote stock of their own bank held in their trust departments. This latter proposal is made in the face of a recommendation by the Ohio Bank Study Committee which, after long and careful study, has recommended to the Ohio Legislature that it restrict or prohibit the voting of such stock by the banks. As the Mansfield News Journal editorial points out:

> The danger [of the practice of corporations voting their own shares] is obvious: corporate officers could use company funds to buy stock and perpetuate themselves in office.
>
> Similarly, by voting trust stock (which really belongs to the trust donor or beneficiary) bank officers can insulate continuing authority for themselves.

When one looks at the figures in a recent staff study on the bank stock ownership and control published by a subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, a number of major Ohio banks are shown to have large blocks of their own stock held in their trust departments. For example, the largest bank in Ohio and the 18th largest in the country, Cleveland Trust Co., holds in its trust department over 33 percent of its own shares. The value of the Cleveland Trust Co. stock held by the bank's trust department totals over $80 million. One of the leading banks in Cincinnati, the Fifth-Third Union Trust Co., holds over 15 percent of its own shares. And another leading Cincinnati bank, the Provident Bank, holds over 10 percent of its own shares. Similarly, two banks in Toledo, Ohio, hold large blocks of their own shares: the Toledo Trust Co., the largest bank in Toledo, holds in its trust department 46.39 percent of its own shares, the largest percentage of any of the major banks in the country reported on in the study. The Ohio Citizens Trust Co., the third largest bank in Toledo, holds 12 percent of its own shares in its trust department.

Because of these large holdings of their own shares by major Ohio banks, it is not surprising that the Ohio Bankers Association is seeking legal authority to vote these shares so that the management of these banks can perpetuate themselves in office.

As the Mansfield News Journal editorial well states:

> In the name of common sense shouldn't the depositors, the borrowers, the stockholders, and the general public have some say in the new law?
>
> Are we to have a segment of State government of the bankers, by the bankers and for the bankers?

I personally hope very much that the Ohio State Legislature will act in the public interest and will not permit the bank lobby to dictate the revision of its banking laws. But, as we all know, this is a powerful lobby and has on many occasions in the past gotten State legislatures and the U.S. Congress to amend laws for its own benefit. If this situation continues to persist on the State or Federal level, the Congress of the United States will have no other choice but to amend Federal banking laws to protect the public interest.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial of March 2, 1967, from the News Journal, Mansfield, Ohio, be printed in the RECORD:

WHOA! STATE BANKERS WRITE OWN LAWS

Anyone who deposits money in a bank or or obtains a bank loan should be alerted to what is going on down in Columbus.

The Ohio Bankers Assn. has prepared a complete revision of Ohio's banking statutes and the General Assembly is being asked to enact it into law.

An up-dating of Ohio banking law is needed beyond question. But in the name of common sense shouldn't the depositors, the borrowers, the stockholders, and the general public have some say in the new law?

Are we to have a segment of state government of the bankers by the bankers and for the bankers?

If there is to be no organized effort to look after the general public interest in this bank law revision, then individual senators and representatives need to show some spunk.

They don't need to swallow the bankers' package whole!

For one thing: national bank laws and Ohio corporation laws permit a practice called "cumulative voting." This allows small stockholders to mass their votes behind a single candidate for director, for example. It is the only way minorities can hope to get representation on controlling boards.

It is accepted as right by the Federal government. All national banks must do it. But the proposed new banking law carefully screens this out for state banks in Ohio.

In state banks, the big stockholders can exercise complete control through boards of their almost-exclusive choosing.

To compound the evil, the proposed banking laws would permit trust officers of state banks to vote stock in their own banks which they control through trust agreements.

National banks do not do this. Federal law does not permit it. Nor does Ohio law allow corporations to vote their own stock. The danger is obvious: corporate officers could use company funds to buy stock and perpetuate themselves in office.

Similarly, by voting trust stock (which really belongs to the trust donor or beneficiary) bank officials can insulate continuing authority for themselves.

Since trusts usually represent considerable wealth, the practice of voting trust stock can too easily nullify the rights of the small stockholder already crippled by denial of cumulative voting.

There is likely to be one more issue in the bank law revision.

Some banks would like to establish branches outside their home counties, to which present law restricts them. We do not say this change would be all bad. Often smaller counties truly need the services of a large financial institution with a local base.

Yet, obviously, the lifting of limitations favors the growth of branches of bigger banks over the expansion of smaller ones.

There should be, therefore, not a wholesale lifting of the present county-line limitation but rather a cautious broadening of the areas in which banks may put new branches.

And this should only follow enactment of restrictions on the degree to which officers and directors of one bank can have ownership in another, the permitting of cumulative voting, and prohibition against voting stock held in trust.

If Ohio legislators will alter the proposed banking laws in these areas, they will perform an important service for the "little guy" who usually gets no closer to the inside workings of a bank than a teller's window or a loan officer's desk.

As of now, the little guy has nobody looking out for him at all.

PAT DuBOIS, PRESIDENT OF THE 6,500-MEMBER INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, WARNS THAT GROWING CONCENTRATION IN BANKING "BEGETS MONOPOLY CONTROL AND IS HARMFUL TO AMERICA"

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, no man in America is more concerned about the growing threat to millions of America's small farmers and small businessmen than Pat DuBois, retiring president of the Independent Bankers Association and president of the First State Bank of Sauk Centre, Minn.

The huge agricultural, business and banking corporations are rapidly moving toward monopolization of money and credit in the United States. Small bankers, farmers, and businessmen are being squeezed out. Family farms are disappearing at the rate of 100,000 per year.

The Federal Reserve System's refusal to increase bank demand deposits at an adequate rate is preventing small banks from enjoying earnings growth without charging high interest rates to their customers. They cannot compete on equal terms with the constantly expanding big city banks in attracting high cost time deposits. Why, the big international banks operating out of New York—like Chase Manhattan and First National City—go all over the world for deposits and, under present Federal Reserve regulations, do not even have to maintain any reserves at all behind this "hot money."

It is the same old story, Mr. Speaker, the Federal banking agencies worry too much about Wall Street and not enough about Main Street. So, it is up to us in Congress to be sure that fine young men like Pat DuBois get help in their fight to preserve free competition and free enterprise in America.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of the address given on March 3 by Mr. DuBois at the Independent Bankers' 33d annual convention in New Orleans.

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY PAT DuBOIS, PRESIDENT, INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, AND PRESIDENT, FIRST STATE BANK OF SAUK CENTRE, MINN., AT THE ASSOCIATION'S 33D ANNUAL CONVENTION, MARCH 3

It has been my privilege and pleasure during the past year to tell the story of independent banking throughout America. In doing this, I was acting as your representative. I welcome the opportunity to present my thoughts on this vital subject to you here today.

It often is said that this is a complex world. I don't plan the ultimate in folly by attempting to challenge that statement, but I hope it comes as a breath of fresh air, as a shaft of clear light, to consider that independent bankers have a simple and straightforward story to tell in this complex world. Briefly, the premise on which we stand is this:

Unbridled expansion in banking, whether it be by branching, holding companies or mergers, begets monopoly control of money and credit that is harmful to America.

As bankers, you and I know that money and credit are the inseparable twins that infuse lifeblood into our economy. Whoever controls money and credit, therefore, controls the economy.

Our diffused system of banking, which places control of money and credit into the hands of many and keeps it from being concentrated in the hands of a few, must be maintained. This system is as important to the health of our economy as the diffusion of political power is to our democracy. The two go hand in hand.

It's one thing to state an objective; the striving to attain it is another. I wish to examine with you this morning how the Independent Bankers Association works, with the all important cooperation we must have from each one of you, to retain a diffused system of banking in this nation.

Obviously, because banking is such a highly regulated industry, we must work closely with state and federal regulatory agencies. It's obvious, too, that we must see to it that the regulations the agencies enforce, the tools with which they work, are of the kind that do not disadvantage independent banking.

This brings me to our very necessary preoccupation with laws regulating branching—a matter of primary concern and responsibility in the various states—plus our efforts, chiefly on the federal level, to inhibit mergers and bank holding companies.

The states where campaigns are being waged to break down the barriers erected by branch bank laws are numerous and widely scattered. For example, it's more than 1,600 miles from Trenton to Austin, the respective capitals of New Jersey and Texas, but both states have a similar problem, so far as branching is concerned. In each, the governor is endorsing branch banking—expansion of it beyond the confines of county lines in New Jersey, and introduction of it into selected counties of Texas.

Directors of this association are elected every three years by you independent bankers in each state where we operate. These directors are key men in mobilizing sentiment for independent banking in their respective states. I urge you to send us the best people you have. Our national association needs them, and independent banking everywhere needs them.

As a national association, we can offer experienced counsel and other help when various challenges arise, but it is the independent bankers themselves who will determine the fate of proposals that threaten independent banking.

Get to know your state director. Consult with him whenever there is a problem that in your judgment should be of concern to independent bankers in your state. The effectiveness of this association depends on the interest and effort you put into it.

True, we have a competent staff, but they cannot long function effectively without your cooperation. Incidentally, whenever there's anything you believe our Sauk Centre or Washington offices can help you with, don't hesitate to write or call.

It is our good fortune in both New Jersey and Texas to have as directors able and articulate men in key positions to direct the cause of independent banking.

I refer to Frank S. Flowers, chairman, First National Bank & Trust Co., Paulsboro, N.J., and G. R. Crawley, president, First National Bank, Lamesa, Tex.

It happens that Mr. Flowers has a problem in New Jersey that Mr. Crawley does not have in Texas. I refer to the fact that the independents of New Jersey have been fighting for their lives for many years against open and obvious attempts to tip the balance against independent banking. By contrast, this is the first time that branching forces have flexed their muscles to such an evident extent in Texas.

The "battle fatigue" problem in New Jersey exists in a number of other states. Wisconsin, where every session of the legislature brings a hot battle on branching, is one example. Our Wisconsin director, Lowell F. McNeill, president, West Racine Bank, once observed, "We've gotten the troops out so often they're tired."

It's your job and mine to see to it that we "turn out," as Mr. McNeill so aptly puts it, whenever the nature of a challenge warrants a mobilization of our forces. I know this can be done repeatedly and with great effect in each instance, because it has been done in a number of states. Nebraska comes to mind as one example, and Illinois as another. The primary credit in Illinois belongs to the Illinois Bankers Association, whose militance for independent banking is unmatched among state associations.

The policy of our association is to oppose introduction of branching in those states where it is not permitted, and to limit it in those states where it is allowed. There is unceasing effort to expand branching once it starts, so efforts to limit it are difficult—something like trying to halt in midair a fall from a cliff.

Indiana and Pennsylvania provide good current examples of the expansionist tendency of branching. Indiana has had branching within county limits for a long time. In the current session of the legislature, bills for branching across county lines were introduced. Pennsylvania, with cross-county branch banking in effect for a number of years, now has a proposal of a Banking Law Commission for statewide branching by merger.

In both states, I salute the effective efforts by our directors in opposition to the proposals. I refer to William P. Givens, president, Merchants National Bank, Muncie, Ind., and D. Emmert Brumbaugh, chairman, Central Pennsylvania National Bank, Claysburg, who also is a past president of this association.

We know from what has happened in Virginia during the past few years that statewide branching by merger is a good formula for eliminating independent banks from the competitive scene.

Contiguous county branch banking preceded statewide branching by merger in Virginia. When statewide merging was authorized in March of 1962, Virginia had 302 banks; today it has 254, a decline of more than 16% in a few short years. During the same period, the number of branches increased from 320 to 561, a rise of more than 75%.

Quite accurately, a group of Pennsylvania independent banks term the proposal for statewide branching, "completely biased, one-sided and favoring only the large banks in the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh areas."

In addition to the states I already have mentioned, independents have battles on their hands in Georgia, Montana, Missouri, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, Iowa and Illinois. Yes, and the list also includes my home state of Minnesota where, in my role as a state legislator, I have early knowledge of every effort made to foist branch banking on us.

This association opposes branch banking and the spread of it because it is a regressive device so far as the public interest is concerned. I favor retention of a diffused system of banking not because the system has been good to you and me, but because it is the best banking system yet devised, bringing maximum benefits to the public.

I have mentioned some of our state directors by name. We have numerous others, veterans in the battles this association has waged over the years, plus a promising group of younger individuals. All of these men, and one woman—Martha Guy of Newland, N.C.—deserve your thanks for they are selfless volunteers working for the betterment of banking and for the welfare of this association and the public.

MOBILE BRANCHING

Mobile branching is creating problems in a number of states, with Georgia and Florida having the most apparent trouble at the moment. This association is heavily committed to support of a court action in Florida that is attempting to halt operation of a mobile branch by a national bank. A similar situation exists in Georgia.

In both cases, the manner of operation obviously is stretching the intent of a ruling by the Comptroller of the Currency permitting national banks to own and operate armored cars. These cars have "shifted gears" into branch banking of the rolling variety.

Consider this for a moment, if you will:

Say that you are the managing officer of a bank having a banking house with a value of $100,000. You have a considerable investment in the bank's stock. How do you feel when you see a mobile branch set up for business on a regular basis immediately across the street from your shop?

The mobile branch, which costs in the neighborhood of $10,000, is handling the same type of transactions you handle in your $100,000 quarters. How's that for unfair competition?

That sort of thing is going on in Georgia. Efforts are being made to halt this type of "rolling window" branching, and this association is dedicated to doing all it can to see that this situation does not continue.

The mobile branching I have described is the banking counterpart of a $7,000 house trailer that is set up right next to your $47,000 house. The house trailer should not be permitted in the residential neighborhood, just as the mobile branch should not be permitted in the business neighborhood.

So far as the association is concerned, there has been relative quiet on the bank merger and holding company fronts since I took office as your president at the Las Vegas convention last May. These matters are the special concern of our federal legislative committee, and whatever developments are to be noted will be in the report of that committee.

In this connection, I wish to express my thanks to each and every one of the 46 men who served on association standing committees this year. They worked as a team for the benefit of the association in the finest tradition of banking. My congratulations to each and every one of them. Time doesn't permit the mention of each committee member, but I wish to name the chairman of each and single these men out for special thanks:

Agriculture-rural America committee—Bud Gerhart, vice president and cashier, First National Bank, Newman Grove, Nebr.

Bank study committee—W. C. Clary Jr., president, Bank of Toccoa, Ga.

Federal legislative committee—Reed H. Albig, president, McKeesport National Bank, Pa.

Government fiscal policy committee—Milton J. Hayes, vice president, American National Bank, Chicago.

Competing financial institutions committee—Harold L. Hanson, president, First National Bank, Baudette, Minn.

Each of these men will highlight his committee's activities to this convention at business sessions today and tomorrow.

Members of these committees and your officers make up the core of the IBAA. The spirit and effort of this group, sustained by your support, do much to determine the effectiveness of this association.

"BACKERS OF BIGNESS"

The backers of bigness in banking—those who want to extend the operation of the banking giants to every corner of every state—are fond of using an argument about which I wish to caution you. This argument usually is applied as the clincher when there is another move for more branching, merging or expanded holding company activity in banking. It goes like this:

Why fight it? It's going to happen no matter what you do. It's inevitable. Expressed more candidly, the argument would be phrased thus: "Be comfortable—surrender now."

By organization, diligence and hard work for what we believe in, you and I can demonstrate that it is not inevitable. This association and the wonderful people in it have thrown up many roadblocks to monopoly, and will erect many more. It's just a matter of working hard for our convictions.

COMPETITIVE EQUALITY

The fact that membership in our association continues at a high level demonstrates that there are thousands of bankers in this nation who share our resolve to perpetuate our fine American system of banking. Presently, 6,476 banks are affiliated with the IBAA.

It has been our nation's policy for more than 100 years to encourage competition in banking and restrict the forces that would concentrate control of the sources of commercial credit. Also, it has been policy to support and maintain the dual banking system, the essence of which is to place national and state banks on an equal competitive plane.

An important aspect of maintaining this competitive equality is the provision in Federal law specifying that national banks must follow state law in regards to branching. This recognizes that the various states are best able to determine the type of banking structure that best meets their needs.

A Comptroller of the Currency who left office recently set out to establish the supremacy of national over state banks. One aftermath of his tenure in office is that your association finds itself involved in court actions more than ever before. In addition to the Florida case already mentioned, we are supporting, in Montana and Wisconsin, court tests of importance to independent banking.

Independent bankers across the nation are heartened by the landmark United States Supreme Court decision in December which affirmed that national banks are bound by the same branching standards as state banks. The high court's historic ruling was a setback to the program of national bank domination initiated by the former Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon.

The Court ruled unanimously that the Comptroller had violated the law when he granted "de novo" branches to banks in Logan and Ogden, Utah. In effect. Utah law bars "de novo" branching except in Salt Lake City. Branches in other communities may be acquired by merger.

Most directly affected by the decision will be court cases pending in Arkansas, Florida, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Washington and Wisconsin, all of which bear on former Comptroller Saxon's approval of branches. But the decision will be of interest in all of the 16 states which have similar limited branch banking laws.

The decision provides further judicial affirmation of the philosophy that the people in each state are best able to judge the type of banking structure siutable to their economic needs.

The Comptroller had argued that Utah's statute "expressly authorizes" state banks to have branches in their home municipalities. He maintained that the restriction in Utah law limiting branching solely to the taking over of an existing bank is not applicable to national banks. In the Supreme Court decision, Justice Tom C. Clark said "it is a strange argument that permits one to pick and choose what portion of the law binds him," and he continued:

"Indeed, it would fly in the face of the legislative history to hold that national branch banking is not only limited to those states the law of which permits it, but 'only to the extent that state laws permit branch banking.' Utah clearly permits it 'only to the extent' that the proposed branch takes over an existing bank."

Justice Clark said the legislative history of the National Banking Act makes it clear that Congress intended to place national and state banks on a basis of "competitive equality" insofar as branch banking is concerned. This was the way the legislation was characterized by the sponsors of the applicable banking acts, Rep. McFadden and Sen. Glass. Justice Clark said:

"It is not for us to so construe the Acts as to frustrate this clear-cut purpose so forcefully expressed by both friend and foe of the legislation at the time of its adoption. To us it appears beyond question that the Congress was continuing its policy of equalization first adopted in the National Banking Act of 1864."

Our foes press strongly on all sides, and we must not relax our will to resist. Our opponents ask first for a little bit here, a little bit there, for county branching, then contiguous county privilege, then regional, and eventually statewide.

We must not and cannot afford to compromise, to tolerate a little branch banking. Patches of branching grow together like tufts of flaming grass that swiftly generate a prairie fire.

If we yield a bit in one place, and a little in another, we soon see branching expand to the far boundaries of the state. It has been demonstrated clearly and repeatedly how insatiable is this appetite for more and more branching.

Service is used as the siren song, the entering wedge, the foot-in-the-door, but power is the root of the malady. The spread is simply endless when erosion is allowed on even a small, ostensibly harmless scale. Only by united action can independent bankers meet and stand off their adversaries.

My observation of branching is that, basically, it is a conflict between the big and the small. Where branching flourishes, the big get bigger, and the small dwindle and disappear.

The dynamic development of Florida, Illinois and Texas, all unit bank states, certainly indicates that independent banking is a partner in progress with other segments of the economy. The record in these and other states reveals that industrial and commercial expansion can be achieved without having a state's financial structure dominated by large networks of branch banks having their main offices in the largest cities.

DIFFICULT BALANCE

No matter what form of expansion is used, the supervisory authorities must always maintain a difficult balance between more banking outlets and the need for them.

Our association favors the chartering of banks to meet banking needs of expanding communities and their people. Where there are fewer alternative sources of credit, the public actually is served less well when branching or holding company banking takes hold. And when banking concentration exists in any form, there is less chance for the independent bank to survive and grow.

We believe deeply that the independent bank that is of, by and for the community it serves must continue as a vital element in the economy of our nation.

Last September, the IBAA dedicated a new headquarters building in Sauk Centre. This structure is a substantial symbol of our association's determination to provide the best service possible to our member banks.

In connection with the dedication ceremonies, we had the first between-conventions meeting of the executive council since 1962. I recommend that such a meeting be held each year as a means of enhancing the association's effectiveness.

In conclusion, I wish to propose a program of action that will, I believe, greatly enhance the effectiveness of this organization:

My proposal is that the Independent Bankers Association of America sponsor, at least on an alternate year basis, a forum that would be held in Washington. This forum would bring together small farmers, small businessmen and independent bankers, all of whom have a great common cause in advancing the welfare of rural America.

In consultation with key figures in the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government, this forum would lay the groundwork for a joint economic program that would be of great help to rural America.

An obvious reason for such a forum is that there are many organizations telling the Federal Government of the needs of our cities, but there is no broad-based presentation of the needs of rural America.

This forum would focus attention of key people in private enterprise and the government of the special problems of rural America. It would help achieve a balanced view of the needs of the countryside.

The forum would, I believe, be a natural and logical extension of our agriculture-rural America program that has been in effect since 1961. I commend it to your support.

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY NEIGHBORHOOD LEGAL SERVICES, INC.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. CORMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, on September 19, 1965, the San Fernando Valley Neighborhood Legal Services, Inc., opened its offices. This venture was part of the legal services program under the Office of Economic Opportunity, which was initiated in the fall of 1964.

From the date on which the neighborhood legal services program was effected in the San Fernando Valley to this day, in excess of 2,500 people have sought legal assistance and 90 percent have been given effective and positive legal representation. It is significant that 35 percent of these cases were matters of domestic relations where the responsibility, both moral and legal, in support of the issue of a marriage was stressed and clarified. The value of legal counsel in such matters where the welfare of children is in jeopardy is invaluable. Forty-five percent of the cases dealt with financial matters, primarily bankruptcy and collection defense, where the clients have valid defense under the law and were not financially equipped to seek private counsel.

It is indeed most gratifying to note that over 100 attorneys in the San Fernando Valley have agreed to donate not less than 10 hours per man per year to participate in the program. The continuing service that the neighborhood legal services of the San Fernando Valley gives to its clients, to help people lift themselves out of poverty, is impressive and rewarding.

It would be impossible to fight the war on poverty without providing a poor man with a lawyer to speak for him. In a joint statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, representatives of the organized bar said:

> If a man believes that he is oppressed, that he lacks opportunity, that the power of society is both against him and irresistible, and there is not one who is interested in or capable of protecting him from the forces that are holding him down, he will stay forever in the slums in which fortune has deposited him. Such people seem to lack the motivation to pull themselves upward. What then can a legal service accomplish that can alter his situation? The short answer is, of course, that providing him with a belief in the existence of justice will restore the self-reliance, the hope, the ambition that he may have lost in early childhood. Injustice makes men want to tear things down. There is in existence at the present time the greatest awareness of the importance of the service of lawyers for the poor that has ever been witnessed in this country.

There have been questions whether the **legal services program might** erode the traditional lawyer-client relationship and ethical professional standards. But these fears have proven groundless. The Office of Economic Opportunity has insisted that its funds for this program go only to organizations that are independent of the control of social welfare or other agencies with which lawyers for the poor may have to litigate, even though these other agencies may also be funded by it. Legal aid organizations receiving funds from OEO are under the direction and leadership of the legal profession, with strict adherence to professional ethical standards.

Central to these standards is the lawyer's regard for the interest of his individual client. Howard C. Westwood, a practicing lawyer in the District of Columbia, said:

> The Bar's leadership and the judiciary have found that the service provided through the organized legal aid society fully comports with the requirement that the lawyer serve his client faithfully and with fullest adherence to the profession's standards. We know that the poor man who cannot pay for a lawyer's service cannot possible enjoy the rule of the law unless somehow he is provided that service. We also know from decades of sad experience that he cannot be provided that service for even a minute fraction of his need without organized legal aid. Congress has come to know the same thing.

This country is dedicated to the idea that our Government is devoted to the ideal of justice, and the protection of the legal rights of the poor deserves all the provisions of this ideal. The approach of the legal services program recalls "the American dream of a land where every man, and most particularly every child, shall have a fair chance under law."

The San Fernando Valley neighborhood legal services program is devoted to this ideal and to this American dream.

LOWERING THE VOTING AGE

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Tunney] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am today proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting to citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 18 the right to vote.

I firmly believe that young people today are well equipped to vote responsibly. Lowering the voting age will broaden the base of our democracy and encourage a greater number of young people to participate in government and politics.

It is hardly fair to call upon our young people to defend their country and at the same time deny them the right to have a say in their future. We must now act to merge the energy of youth with the wisdom of age. We must act to insure a future America blessed with the idealism, enthusiasm, and imagination of youth yet tempered by the wisdom, compassion, and commonsense of experience and age.

I feel that this constitutional amendment will have a beneficial influence on the conduct of our Government and I hope that the Congress will adopt it in the near future.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY SENIOR SERVICE

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Tunney] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, the senior citizens of this country have many problems unique to them. We have enacted legislation to deal with many of these problems such as health, housing, adequate income, social security, and retirement pensions.

Each year 1.5 million people reach 65 years of age. There are presently over 18 million people 65 or over. In my district in California there are over 45,000 citizens 65 years of age and over. By 1975 there will be some 21 million Americans 65 and over.

I am introducing legislation today which would authorize the Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide funds and technical assistance to nonprofit private organizations, municipalities, counties, and States for community service programs in order to properly utilize the abilities and energy of our senior citizens. When a person reaches age 65 it should not be assumed that he can no longer contribute to society. In this day and age our Nation needs talent and imagination. I do not believe that talent should be categorized or limited by age. Our senior citizens should be given every opportunity to contribute their talents and experience for a better America.

REAPPORTIONMENT

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Tunney] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population.

I believe at this time, that each State should have the right to decide whether historical, economic, social, and cultural criteria should have some influence in the makeup of one house of their State legislature.

There are areas of our Nation that have an economic impact far beyond the size of their population. Riverside and Imperial Counties in California, which I represent, have a combined annual agricultural production of $418,879,000 and an economic impact of $1,591,758,200 on the State of California.

If reapportionment is carried out, adhering strictly to the one-man, one-vote rule, these counties will have little influence in the California State Legislature. I do not believe that this is fair to the people of those two counties. The problems of each area in a State are clearly different and are not easy to understand. They must have adequate representation.

TAX SHARING AND OTHER PROPOSALS FOR ASSISTING STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Fountain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, growing public concern over the need to strengthen the fiscal position of State and local governments is clearly reflected in the increasing number of proposals urging the Congress to come to the assistance of State and local governments through tax-sharing or tax-credit arrangements. As the debate intensifies, it is becoming increasingly apparent that close attention will have to be given to the strengths and weaknesses of these two methods, as well as others, for providing intergovernmental fiscal aid.

As I stated in the House on February 8, helping our hard-pressed State and local governments to meet their ever-growing responsibilities is unquestionably a matter of the highest priority. But many fundamental questions need to be carefully examined and answered before the National Government embarks upon what could become an irreversible arrangement for distributing general-purpose funds to other levels of government. To help provide this information, the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee is undertaking a broad study of the changing patterns, revenue sources, and requirements of governmental programs at the Federal, State, and local levels. There is a great need today to examine the basic principles and practices that govern the balance of policy-making, program administration, and financial resources among the governmental levels in our federal system.

In a recent letter to the editor of the Washington Post, Mr. William G. Colman, executive director of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, analyzed the relative merits of tax sharing and tax credits as means for encouraging greater State use of the personal income tax. I believe his assessment of this issue will be of interest to the Members of Congress. Mr. Colman's letter and the Washington Post editorial to which he refers follow:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 22, 1967]

ON TAX REFORMS

Your recent editorial calling on Congress to share some of its revenue with those states adopting a Federal-type income tax is a new proposal for the consideration of those concerned with strengthening the fiscal position of state and local governments. From the tax sharing advocates, you take the idea that the Federal Government should share some of its revenue with the states with no expenditure strings attached. From the tax credit supporters, you accept the proposition that the interests of federalism are well served by having the national Government encourage the states to make more intensive use of the superior tax source—the income tax.

The Advisory Commission in its 1965 report, *Federal-State Coordination of Personal Income Taxes,* urged the states to move forward on the income tax front and recommend that the Congress facilitate this movement by removing the heavy constraints placed on the states by intensive Federal use of the personal income tax. Representative Ullman of Oregon has translated this policy position into proposed legislation, H.R. 1415, a bill that provides a 40 per cent Federal tax credit for state and local income tax payments.

Your editorial parts company with the Commission's proposal on two grounds—the type of inducement to be used by the national Government and the character of the state income tax. Whereas the Commission recommended the indirect inducement approach (preferential Federal income tax treatment for state and local income tax payments), you urge the direct incentive approach—a share of the Federal tax revenue for those states adopting a Federal-type income tax. Whereas the Commission has recommended that states facilitate taxpayer convenience by confirming to the Federal definition of adjusted gross income (line 9 of the Federal Form 1040), you recommend that states go all the way to the bottom of page one and make their tax a flat percentage of the Federal liability.

Your proposal raises a very basic question—how much state tax discretion should be sacrificed on the altar of taxpayer convenience? In order to minimize taxpayer compliance problems, your proposal would force each state, in effect, to adopt in miniature the steeply progressive Federal rate structure (14–70 percent), all of the Federal deduction provisions (some highly questionable from an equity standpoint), and place the states in a rather vulnerable and embarrassing fiscal position every time Congress reduces the Federal tax. It is not necessary for a state to swallow the Federal Tax Code "hook, line, and sinker", in order to maximize taxpayer convenience. To implement another recommendation of the Advisory Commission, Representative Ullman has introduced H.R. 1414, a bill which would authorize the Internal Revenue Service to collect state income taxes on terms mutually acceptable to IRS and the states.

More important, many taxpayers may view your state income tax inducement strategy as the unkindest cut of all. They could hardly be blamed for taking a rather dim view of a proposition that would earmark a part of their Federal income tax payment as a reward to their state government for increasing its demand on their purse.

In contrast, the tax credit approach provides some balm for taxpayers as they move through our intergovernmental tax Gilead. As their state and local income tax increased, there would be an automatic, albeit partial, reduction in their Federal tax.

While important, these pro and con arguments should not be allowed to obscure the true significance of the current debate on ways and means to strengthen the fiscal position of state and local governments.

The Advisory Commission shares *The Washington Post's* concern about the need to take a hard look at our present arrangements for financing our domestic public needs. In fact, we are making a detailed study of fiscal balance in the American Federal system in order to appraise various proposals for bringing financial responsibility and tax resources into better alignment. Present plans call for the Commission to consider a draft report, including findings and recommendations, sometime this coming summer.

WILLIAM G. COLMAN,
Executive Director, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.
WASHINGTON.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 29, 1967]

NEW KIND OF TAX SHARING

So much is being said about tax sharing these days that the discussion tends to center, not on "whether," but on "how." Advocates of the various plans assume that Congress will do something because the states are urgently in need of more revenue and because the income tax is the fairest and best method yet devised of raising revenue. Both of these points do indeed seem to be irrefutable, but it does not necessarily follow that the states should look to Washington hereafter for collection of a large share of their revenue.

The objective to be sought is more revenue for the states to be raised with less reliance upon regressive property and sales taxes. But there is no special virtue in having the new flow of income-tax revenue routed through Federal channels. Probably the basic principle of all taxation is that the taxes should be laid by the governments which spend the money so that the ultimate control will rest in the people who choose the governments.

Some exceptions to this principle may be made in cases where the Federal Government wishes to aid special functions, such as education or highway building and to even the disparities in tax-paying ability. This is the purpose of Federal grants. It would be a very different matter for Congress to levy a national tax to be turned over to the states for miscellaneous purposes with no strings attached.

Many of the tax-sharing plans that are being offered do have strings attached, and these are open to the grave objection of shifting control over local functions to the Federal bureaucracy. And if bureaucratic controls were to be relaxed under such a system, there would be danger of inviting careless spending by the broad separation of the taxing and spending powers.

Instead of having the increased tax funds flow to Washington and back to state capitals, therefore, it would be better for the states to collect their own income taxes. The tax sharers reply that about one third of the states have no income taxes. In some other states the income taxes are quite inadequate or are not properly graduated on the basis of ability to pay. But these weaknesses can be corrected without a wholesale transfer of responsibility for state taxes to Congress.

We suggest that the best approach is to give the states an incentive to the enactment of sound and progressive income taxes of their own. This could be accomplished by an act of Congress turning over to each state 1 per cent of the receipts from the Federal income tax in its area on condition that the state enact an income tax of its own which would bear on each individual and corporation in the state as a fixed percentage of the Federal tax.

Each state would be free to collect 1, 5 or 10 per cent (or more if necessary) of the Federal tax from its own residents. The arrangement would have the enormous advantage of abolishing complicated state income-tax returns. The taxpayer could make his state return by simply taking the appropriate percentage of his Federal tax. Many millions of hours of labor would be saved and vast quantities of paper.

In addition the states would have new sources of revenue equitably distributed among their own taxpayers. Taxing and spending authority would remain largely in the same hands. And since the incentive would doubtless draw all the states into the plan, the present pull of nonincome-tax states upon people and industry would be minimized. If we are to have tax sharing, these major advantages should not be overlooked.

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. ST GERMAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, each year the Voice of Democracy contest is conducted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary at which time some 35,000 school students participate for prizes which include a $5,000 scholarship.

The theme of this year's contest was, "Democracy—What It means to Me," and the winner from the State of Rhode Island was Miss Donna Jane Brown, a sophomore from Warwick Veterans Memorial High School, West Warwick, R.I.

I believe that Miss Brown's remarks are worthy of the attention of my colleagues. Therefore, at this time, Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD the full text of Miss Brown's theme:

DEMOCRACY, WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

(By Donna Jane Brown)

Democracy is the construction of a way of life which has taken thousands of years to develop. The spiritual beginnings came even before the Greeks, who are credited with establishing it's name. Men, ever since they have come into existence, have struggled and been in search of what Thomas Jefferson expressed in the Declaration of Independence which states: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Many societies have each contributed one or two events which led to the development of democracy. In Athens, Greece, over 2500 years ago, there was a definite break from the noble's rule to the citizen's choice of rule; although this society still maintained a slave state. Some time later, the Emperor Justinian ordered Roman law to be codified so that a Roman citizen knew his rights in the law. The year 1215 A.D. marks another change. The place is Runnymede, England where King John was forced to affix his mark to the now famous Magna Carta, which allowed certain rights to be practiced by nobles and later, by common men. Following this, in 1295 A.D., King Edward I, summoned a "Model Parliament" which was represented by all classes of people. Although the common man did not have an equal say at the meeting, it *was* representation. John Locke, a citizen of England, had to flee the country because his belief in democracy was different from the King's. The King ruled by "Divine Right", or by the belief that the government was to benefit God. Locke's strong belief was in "Natural Rights" that the government should be "*for* the people" and "*by* the people". This was later restated in the Gettysburg Address by Abraham Lincoln. When the House of Burgesses was established at the Virginia colony, it was because of the people's yearning to share in the governing of the colony with England. This feeling soon spread and intensified throughout the colonies which led to the Revolutionary War.

Recently, not in my time, but in the time of my mother and father and their contemporaries, some of their country men and women gave their lives so that their beliefs might live. They did not die to give us freedom that we may sit back and let the world pass by, leaving the cares to the next man, but they died that their beliefs may live on in our work and progress in democracy. This is why it is *my* duty and my responsibility, along with my fellow teenagers, to the early Greeks, the English, the American colonists and, most of all, to myself, to carry on and improve democracy. I must strive to become a capable person, bonded together with other people fighting for a cause.

As a Democratic American, I cannot let a few chosen leaders do the work and thinking for the country. When the Germans submitted to Hitler and the Russians submitted to Lenin and Stalin, they surrendered their freedoms, consequently they ceased to think for themselves. I, along with other teenagers, must do my part, by obtaining as much education as I can, and become a healthy-minded adult. Then my contemporaries and I will deserve our freedoms. We will then, have our equal rights and opportunities with freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition. It is then that each may strive to accomplish as much as he desires and, it is only then, that people may continue to rule themselves, by representation.

As perfectly stated by one of our greatest and strongest Presidents, John F. Kennedy, in his Inaugural Address, "Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by wars, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage . . ." This to me is what democracy means.

THE VALUE OF DISSENT TO THE CONSTITUTED SOCIETY

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest pleasures in having the privilege of representing the 20th Texas District in the House is the satisfying knowledge that it is the birthplace of Texas liberty, site of original Texas history, and the place where Maury Maverick comes from.

The name Maverick has come to epitomize rugged individualism in our language. I cherish the fact that I got to know that great congressional predecessor of mine in the House, Maury Maverick, Sr. He was a really great man, imbued with an indomitable spirit, and a disquieting manner of exposing humbugs and pedants.

Now his son, Maury Maverick, Jr., a constituent, in the footsteps of his great father, has reminded us of this superb tradition. Recently, Mr. Maverick made a speech before the Unitarian congregation in San Antonio. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is too valuable and timely an address not to share with my colleagues. I therefore ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point this speech by Maury Maverick, Jr.:

THE VALUE OF DISSENT TO THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY

(By Maury Maverick, Jr.)

The topic I am to talk on is the value of dissent to the constituted authority.

An equally pertinent topic could be the value of constituted authority to those who would dissent. Professor T. V. Smith put this another way when he wrote:

"It takes radicals to instigate revolutions and to consummate them, but it takes conservatives to found new states and to consolidate them. Hamilton took the independence Jefferson proclaimed and made it into something national and solid; Jefferson took the stability and prosperity which Hamilton engineered and enjoyed the fruits of both."

"What Jefferson really did not see clearly, nor Hamilton either, was that it takes all kinds of motivations to make up the spiritual life. He did not see that it takes one kind of a man to build a polity, to envision justice, to activate the hearts of men and to found a state, and another type of man to effect compromises, to sustain cross purposes in patience, to implement the impulses of creative accommodation . . . ."

This is not to suggest that I think all dissenters are right. As a matter of fact, some are wrong, some are dangerous, and perhaps worst of all—some are bores. Furthermore, dissenters are not the only ones who serve in the vineyard of man. For while society needs people who will raise hell, it also needs people who will haul out the ashes. The imbalance, however, is unfairly against the dissenter who is more important to us than we know; yet, we track him down and destroy or silence him if we can.

Having acknowledged the value of the constituted authority to dissent, I will not dwell on it further. The constituted authority already has more than enough spokesmen who sing its praises at every turn of the road: the newspapers and television stations, chambers of commerce, the usual suburban church, the typical noon day luncheon club—the list is endless. Therefore, let us talk now about the value of dissent to the constituted authority.

As our country becomes more complicated, the threat to liberty comes not so much from the dissenter—be he a Negro reaching out for a better day, or a Bircher, or a Communist, or a Ku Kluxer, or a bearded college boy who throws himself in front of a troop train bound for combat—as it does from those who seek out conformity imposed by the constituted authority at no matter what the price.

The danger, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has pointed it out to be, is not the hard-faced men, but the faceless men, and the threat to liberty comes not so much from those who do not want others to be free as it does from those who do not want to be free themselves. "Conformity," say Schlesinger, "is a greater danger not when it is coerced, but when it is sought."

Let me give you an example of what I mean. It is an example which painfully hurt me at the time it happened and still fills me with despair. During the McCarthy era when I was in the Texas House of Representatives, a bill was introduced to remove all books from state supported libraries critical of religion, the family, American history, and Texas history. A half a dozen of us were leading the fight against the bill and we were making headway, but a day or so before the final vote the professional lobby of the school teachers of Texas laid a press release on the desk of each member of the Texas House to the effect that the school teachers' lobby favored the bill. In the final analysis, we were defeated more by good people I love than by the obvious villain.

In Mississippi or Johannesburg good people look the other way when the Negro is put down. Good people in Texas are indifferent to wage demands of Mexican-American agricultural workers along the Rio Grande. In Israel, good people stood silent when orthodox rabbis caused laws to be passed which bastardize children born of a Christian and Jew, when the marriage ceremony is not performed according to the rites of the Jewish church. Good people told the Irish of Boston not to apply for work. Good people in Germany did nothing when the Jews were carted off to the ovens, and the good people in America are not really having a dialogue regarding the defoliating of crops and forests by chemicals dropped from a plane in an undeclared war.

This is not to suggest that the mass of people are not capable of greatness, but it is to suggest, that it is the dissenter who first protests, and by his protest provides the initial catalyst, which generally expands the visions of mankind.

Christ was an unpopular agitator to the constituted authority—the good people of his time murdered him. In modern times he has been made into something else—a sort of Mr. Good Guy—obviously embarrassed about being a Methodist and secretly longing to be an Episcopalian, since he moved to Terrell Hills from Harlandale, but the truth is he was a contentious radical and an outsider.

Socrates was handed his cup of hemlock by the constituted authority for asking disturbing questions. He described himself, and all dissenters of worth, when he told the jury ordering his death, "I am that gadfly which God has given the State, and all day long and in all places, I am always fastening upon you, arousing, persuading, and reproaching you. . . ."

Two Russian poets, Abram Tertz and Nikolai Arzhak, languish in a Soviet jail because they wrote poetry considered embarrassing by the constituted authority.

Gandhi, as a dissenter, demonstrated the power of love and the strength of communication between dissenters of different generations; for Thoreau talked to Gandhi, who talks to Martin Luther King.

J. Frank Dobie got himself fired from the University of Texas for defending young professors, academic freedom, Dr. Homer Rainey, and student editors against newspaper censorship, but if you visit this dissenter's grave at the state cemetery in Austin, you will sense that his spirit lives on, not because he conformed, but because he stood up to the constituted authority.

John Adams was attorney for the redcoats of the Boston Massacre. Although a revolutionary, he dissented against his brother dissenters, and made the point—a man is entitled to his day in court no matter how unpopular.

On March 31, 1861, a crowd overflowed the courthouse in Brenham, Texas. Sam Houston had been invited to give his reasons for not taking the oath to the Confederacy. "Don't let him speak. Kill him! Kill him!" the spectators cried out.

The old man reminded them of the Battlefield of San Jacinto, and then said:

"The Vox Populi is not always the voice of God, for when the demagogues . . . succeed in arousing public prejudice and stilling the voice of reason, then on every hand can be heard the popular cry, 'Crucify Him, crucify Him'."

"I have heard the hiss of mobs upon the streets," the old man went on, "but the hiss of the mob . . . cannot compel me to take the oath of allegiance to a so-called Confederate Government."

It was dissenters who wrote the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Texas, denouncing the excesses of organized religion and the professional military as; ". . . the eternal enemies of civil liberty, the ever-ready minions of power, and the usual instruments of tyrants . . ." Let those Texans who would impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren, or Hugo Black, or William O. Douglas for comparatively tame language on the subject of separation of church and state, first read their own historic documents.

The Grangers, as a dissenting third political party, attacked unfair railroad rates in the South. The Greenbackers demanded a graduated income tax. The Populists called for the popular election of U.S. Senators. The Socialists opposed child labor and advocated public works, old age systems, and unemployment compensation.

Communism, as a dissenting force, has swept across great portions of the world, and has, numerically speaking, acquired more people under its banner since World War I than Christianity has in over a thousand years. This is a lesson in not listening to the voices of dissent, as the Presbyterians pointed out by resolution on October 21, 1953, when they proclaimed, "Many of the revolutionary forces of our times are in great part the judgment of God upon human selfishness and complacency, and upon man's forgetfulness of man."

Now a final word about dissent in terms of Texas history. Since the time a Texan has occupied the White House, I have received more and more inquiries requesting background information on the Lone Star State.

There is some nonsense in every revolution. The Americans came to Coahuila, Texas talking liberty, but outraged Mexico with their institutions of slavery. On the other hand, the Mexican government denied religious liberty, and as the revolution began to surface, Mexico escalated its military control over Coahuila-Texas, by spending half a million dollars building military posts and garrisoning them with 1,300 troops. Stephen F. Austin, sounding like Fulbright of Arkansas, wrote the following to the Mexican government—

". . . I have informed you many times and I inform you again, that it is impossible to rule Texas by a military system. Upon this subject of military despotism, I have never hesitated to express my opinion, for I consider it the source of all revolutions and of the slavery and ruin of free people."

The Mexicans ignored this plea and with their escalation they largely precipitated their own defeat.

As Americans, the residents of Texas share the glory of the American Revolution, but as Texans they know their people, including Lyndon Johnson's ancestors, walked a second time down the bloody road of revolution—in the face of escalation—past Gonzales, where the first shot was fired. Past the Goliad Massacre, where James Fannin and 342 of his men, prisoners of war, were murdered. Past San Antonio, where 27-year-old attorney at law, Colonel William Barret Travis, Juan Abamillo, Jim Bowie—Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, men from 18 American states, and an immigrant from Denmark, Charles Zanco, first had a fandango to the tunes of former Congressman Davy Crockett's fiddle and big John McGregor's bagpipes—and then, along with a Negro, remembered only as John, entered the walls of the Alamo to die. Finally, there was victory at San Jacinto where Sam Houston, lawyer, protected the civil rights of the hated Santa Anna.*

On March 12, 1836, at Washington on the Brazos, the Republic of Texas gave the world a Declaration of Independence which magnificently demonstrated the right of a people, even unpopular people such as the Texans were, to express their views against the established government. And this they did in the face of Santa Anna's decree; ". . . seran juzgados y castigados como piratas . . ."—The Texans shall be judged and treated like pirates.

Today, the ultimate in the right of dissent by a person, popular or unpopular, is written into the present Constitution of Texas, as contained in Section 2 of Article I of the Bill of Rights. It is an echo of the Texas Revolution, and it reads:

"All political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit. The faith of the people of Texas stands pledged to the preservation of the republican form of government, and, subject to this limitation only, they have at all times the inalienable right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they think expedient."

I conclude now as I began. Let this be a nation of stability, but a stability which provides for the freedom of dissent.

Let us have, as an old friend of mine once put it, "a nation of liberty and groceries". Let us have the groceries which flow from a stable society, but let us also have the liberty which flows from a free people.

"All progress has resulted from people who took unpopular positions", said Adlai Stevenson, himself a dissenter.

Let us then have dissent so that we will not become faceless men and women.

THE TAX INCREASE AND THE FREEDOM SHARES—TWO EXAMPLES OF THE SLOW REFLEXES OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC POLICY

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Hanna] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I read in the paper the other day that Mickey Mantle, the New York Yankee's fabled centerfielder was being relegated to first base because his legs were bad, his reflexes were slowing and his skill as a centerfielder was decidedly on the decline.

In that same newspaper, I found a discussion of two aspects of the administration's economic policy, the proposed 6-percent surcharge, and the proposal by the Treasury Department to begin marketing Freedom Shares bearing an interest rate of 4.74 percent upon maturity.

It struck me that there was a parallel between the miseries of Mantle and his Yankee team and the problems of the administration's economic proposals. In the first place, the administration's proposals like Mantle's skills were—in another time and for another place—sound but may or may not be sound in light of current realities. The administration, like the Yankee hero, appears to have a reflex problem. A problem which finds it responding long after the mallet of necessity has struck.

A LOOK BACKWARD

In appraising the tax increase proposal and the Freedom Shares idea, it is appropriate to look back to the time they were initially proposed. In the late fall of 1965 and early 1966, there was a great deal of talk about increasing taxes and consumer investment. Many leading economists were urging that the new economics required a fiscal policy action involving reduced spending and more taxation as a companion to monetary restraint, less credit, and a lower money supply. Two-thirds of the Nation's leading economists polled in a popular publication reported their support for fiscal policy action in the form of a tax increase to meet the Nation's economic needs.

Similarly, there was a great hue and cry to reduce consumer spending and slow down credit expansion. The idea of making Government bonds more attractive was first suggested as a means for contributing to this end by encouraging conventional and, hopefully, new investors to choose to put their funds into this form of investment.

Such was genesis of these ideas. But we must know more about why and what conditions in the economic climate suggested such moves to the students and informed decisionmakers in the economic community. To find the answer, let us review the economic climate of late 1965 and early 1966. At this time, consumer spending was rising rapidly and was setting records every month. Consumption of durable goods was setting records. Ford had long since sold its millionth Mustang, and 1966 automobile sales seemed headed for an all-time high.

Industrial and commercial expansion was booming. War demands and Government spending were increasing. The consumer price index was moving steadily upward. Housewives were picketing because of high cost of food products. In short, inflation seemed to be a very real and disturbing part of the scene. Other signs were equally upsetting. Employers were beginning to feel a selective shortage of employees and were forced to employing the marginal producer.

The growth in savings was not keeping pace with consumer income indicating the tendency to convert immediate income into goods before price escalation eroded buying power. The increase in private domestic investment failed to keep pace with increases recorded in the previous years.

Corporate profits were at record levels. The Vietnam war, consumers buying mood, and the 7-percent investment credit were continuing to project corporations into a heretofore unparalleled profit position. Corporate expenditures for new plant and equipment were also at a record rate of well over $50 billion per quarter.

Business inventories were large and holding steady. In spite of record expansion in business activity, production and purchasing during 1965, the ratio of nonfarm business inventories to total private domestic investment remained virtually unchanged.

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* Sam Houston is my choice as the greatest Texan of all, past or present. The most readable and exciting book on him is *The Raven*, by Marquis James. The more definitive books on him, also interesting, are: *Sam Houston, the Great Designer*, by Llerena B. Friend and *Sam Houston—American Giant*, by M. K. Wisehart. You won't put *The Raven* down once you start it, and it could lead to the other books. Houston loved Texas, but he loved the United States more, and he is vastly underrated in American history.

A CALL FOR ACTION

It was this highly volatile, very expansionary climate that engendered the dialogue on a tax increase. It was this period of pressure paralleled by a paucity of policy leadership by the administration that encouraged a few of us in Congress to join those economists advising fiscal alternatives to the tangled web of monetary policy into which the administration seemed to be leading our Nation and its economy. We called for a more balanced response as an alternative to the Federal Reserve's tight money tangent. In February of last year, I asked in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for a reassessment of the simple monetary approach in this language:

> The intermix of fiscal and monetary policy seems desirable. The Treasury must put on a bolder front not only in seeking the cooperation of the Federal Reserve, but equally and perhaps more painfully it should counsel the Congress on selective tax increases.

I was not alone in this call. Congressman REUSS and Senator PROXMIRE, among others, joined in calling for what appeared to be clearly indicated action in the face of manifestly obvious economic conditions.

We are not posturing as prophets. Nor am I now assuming the stance of the critic for criticism's sake. What we were doing then, and what I am doing now is to point out that the new economics—which the administration was so willing to practice when a tax cut was indicated—does have two dimensions. To play the Keynesian game called new economics it is necessary to face the sobering reality of a tax increase when indicators point to its need and it was clear to most objective viewers that they did in late 1965 and early 1966.

Likewise, there were many who were willing to go along with efforts to increase savings through devices such as the freedom shares. At that time the fragile condition of the home financing industry had not fully manifested itself. It was not fully apparent at that time the extent to which monetary plays, such as this one, might serve to deprive the housing and homebuilding industry of its lifeblood—a stable, substantial supply of funds for investment in long-term mortgages.

IN RETROSPECT

We can speculate that if the bitter pill of a tax increase had been taken when it was apparently needed, our current problems might not be so acute. An income tax increase in early 1966 would surely have reduced the budget deficit and relieved, if combined with enlightened monetary policy, the pressure on interest rates. But this is past. We may as well forget it.

TODAY'S REALITIES

Through a heavy dose of monetary policy, one which left as its victim a once-vital and thriving housing industry, and a modest measure of fiscal restraint, the administration has brought us to the current situation.

Let us ignore how we arrived at these realities. There is no need to belabor the devisive policies of the Federal Reserve Board. No constructive purpose is served by recalling the need for coordination in the establishment of monetary policy.

Today we have the tax increase proposal that so many thought was needed a year ago. Very soon we will have an effort, through the Freedom Shares program, to increase individual savings.

What do the indexes of today tell us about the efficacy of yesterday's proposals? Let us review the trends to determine if the solutions purportedly appropriate for another time are appropriate in today's setting.

Industrial output has increased only slightly in recent months. Production rose at a 1-percent annual rate in late 1966 as compared with a rate of 7 percent during the period March–August of that same year.

Consumer demand has also flattened out. Auto sales are so sharply off that inventories are reaching near-record proportions and a number of production facilities have been shut down.

The upward pressure on prices has decreased markedly. General wholesale prices have actually declined since August. The consumer price index advanced slightly as to be imperceptible in comparison with the rate of increase during this same period 12 months ago.

Savings are expanding as individuals and corporations coming off of a spending binge seem to be reacting to the prospect of a stable high price level and a possible tax increase.

Interest rates are relaxing as a result of Federal Reserve action as well as the increased inflow of funds from increased savings.

ACTION SUGGESTED

These indicators suggest that Federal economic policy should be directed to restoring the momentum to our Nation's economy. They suggest that steps should be taken with the view toward increasing consumer spending, decreasing unemployment and further the progress toward a restoration of the housing industry to a truly healthy condition.

I doubt very much if the two actions suggested are consistent with our desire to restore the ebbing vitality of our Nation's economic posture. I would suggest that these two proposals are representative of the fact that the administration has seized upon two once worthy economic proposals and is seeking to apply them in what is a wholly dissimilar set of economic conditions.

They have justified these two proposals on patriotic, not economic grounds. They have suggested that the tax increase and of lesser importance the freedom shares are needed to finance the war, and well they may be.

However, I would suggest that these issues are better objectively considered for their full effect on an economy, than subjectively as patriotic gestures. I see nothing patriotic in a proposal which would take desperately needed money from a home building industry. Nor do I detect our Nation's interest in a tax increase which may have far-flung detrimental implications for the total health and prosperity of our Nation's economy.

At the least, these two proposals may slow down our economy. Holding down consumer spending, restricting industrial production and thereby holding back efforts to make continued inroads into the achievement of national goals in terms of employment and economic growth.

At worst, the proposals may be sufficient to propel our precariously balanced economy into a tailspin. In 1962, we learned that a tax decrease could actually increase Federal revenues by so expanding activity as to more than make up for the loss by the growth in income that the increase engendered. Let us not allow 1967 to be the year that we learn that a tax increase can actually reduce Federal revenues. It has already become apparent to some analysts that the revenue estimates projected for this year by the Treasury Department are far too high. Too high because they are based on projections of corporate earning which are unrealistic in light of what we have seen so far this year and can reasonably expect to observe for the balance of 1967. There is one sure way of making those estimates look even worse and that is through a tax increase which would further decelerate consumer spending.

We are of the opinion that further assault upon the consumer dollar which is already being withheld from spending is hardly justified by an argument that consuming must be checked. If our inventory holdings do not unwind, new product activity will not be justified so that both profit and income figures could drop dramatically. Inducing such a decline by a tax restraint would only assure less total take from a heavier tax burden.

THE 48TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, today, March 15, 1967, marks the 48th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion.

Since its inception in 1919, the American Legion has done its utmost to protect the American way of life and the great institutions of freedom, such as the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, that have served as solid foundations on which our country's greatness has been built.

This past year was one in which the American Legion initiated several new programs in its continuing efforts to reawaken the sound patriotic spirit of all Americans. Among these programs was Operation Show Your Colors which included the distribution of more than 15 million American flag lapel pins and cards bearing these words:

> Americans are serving the cause of freedom in Viet Nam. I wear my country's flag to show that I support their efforts.

The maintenance of law and order in our land received special emphasis during the past year as the American Legion sought to impress on all citizens the necessity for civil obedience. The acts of lawlessness committed by Vietnam protesters were particularly censured by the American Legion.

Instead of protests, the Legion wholeheartedly backed President Johnson's policies and emphasized the need for all Americans to support their country's efforts to halt Communist aggression in southeast Asia and to gain freedom and peace in Vietnam.

The national security, the spirit of Americanism, the rehabilitation of our deserving veterans, child welfare, educational opportunities for our youth, specialized services to the disabled and handicapped, adequate housing for veterans and their families, and equal employment opportunities are only a few of the concerns to which the American Legion has devoted itself over the years. Its record of selfless service to all Americans is one of which we are all proud.

I know that under the distinguished leadership of John E. Davis, the newly elected national commander, the American Legion will continue its steadfast and patriotic service to our Nation.

I am happy to congratulate the American Legion on the occasion of its 48th anniversary and to wish the Legionnaires Godspeed in their noble work.

THE BUDGET FOR 1968

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter and tables.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, the printed transcript of the overall hearing held last month by the Committee on Appropriations on the President's budget requests for $158,300 million at this session of Congress was released today. A copy was sent to each Member of the House. Copies are available for anyone who wishes to call at the committee room, H-218, here in the Capitol Building.

The pending budget situation is capsuled in the following letter which I took the liberty of sending to each Member of the House on yesterday. And the major contingencies of the projected deficit for fiscal 1968 are shown in the tabulation which follows the letter.

The material referred to follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
Washington, D.C., March 14, 1967.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: The President has asked Congress to appropriate, at this session, about $158.3 billion in "new obligating authority" (on the traditional "appropriation" basis of counting, the figure is about $163.8 billion). Some $14.3 billion would be for the remainder of the current fiscal year 1967 and the balance, $144.0 billion, relates to the fiscal year 1968 that begins on July 1.

As you know, the President has re-estimated the administrative budget deficit for fiscal 1967 at $9.7 *billion* and has projected a further deficit of $8.1 *billion* for fiscal 1968. Even the $8.1 billion deficit for fiscal 1968 hinges significantly on Congress enacting the 6-percent surtax proposal, a postage increase, an acceleration of corporate tax collections, and approval of $5 billion of participation certificates. The proposed pay increase is in the budget at $1 billion. If just this series of actions is not approved by Congress, for instance, the estimated deficit would be $18.3 billion!

It does look a bit incongruous that at a time when the Gross National Product is estimated to be almost $800 *billion*, and when the war in Vietnam is requiring less than 4 percent of the Gross National Product, that we should be facing a budget deficit of between $8 billion and $18 billion in a single year.

Of course, as the session proceeds, Congress will have many opportunities to take actions on various authorization and spending measures, and on the various revenue proposals, which will affect the magnitude of the deficit. Economic conditions also have a bearing.

I am sure you agree that we ought to look at the budget as a whole—both sides of it—as well as the countless individual items and propositions. The Committee on Appropriations, on February 7th, held a hearing with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget on the overall budget situation. I thought you might like to have a copy of the printed transcript. It contains considerable information on the subject, and I trust you will find it of assistance as the session progresses.

The Committee on Appropriations would welcome every constructive suggestion concerning the spending requests pending before it.

Cordially,

GEORGE MAHON,
Chairman.

Selected major contingencies surrounding the administrative budget for 1968 (a partial list only)

[In millions of dollars]

	Amount
Administrative budget deficit as projected by President	8,096
If proposed 6-percent surtax is not adopted	4,700
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−12,796
If the proposed postage rate increase is not adopted	700
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−13,496
If the proposal to further accelerate corporate tax payments is not enacted	800
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−14,296
If it were not for the offsetting effect of sales of "particpating certificates" shown in the budget for 1968, and treated as offset to expenditures rather than receipts, of	5,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−19,296
On the other hand, if the proposals in the budget for pay raises were not enacted	+1,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be (this is a partial listing only. Other considerations enter)	−18,296

NOTE.—Perhaps the most important single contingency that could affect the tentatively projected budget picture—and it is not tabulated above—would be if the general performance of the economy in calendar 1967 were to vary significantly from the economic assumptions underpinning the budget. And of course, large unforeseen military requirements could introduce some turbulence.

THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH DATE OF PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, today is the 200th anniversary of the birth date of President Andrew Jackson, a North Carolina native, who was one of America's great Presidents and military leaders.

Last week I suggested in a letter to Secretary of Interior Udall and in a speech on the floor that the equestrian statue of General Jackson be taken from Lafayette Square and given a place of honor in the Nation's Capitol.

Subsequent to my remarks on the floor, I received many communications supporting this suggestion. Among the most notable and quotable of these communications is one from Mr. R. F. Jacobsen of Arlington, Va. This letter supports my belief that the memory of General Jackson is not being given proper consideration in Washington, D.C.

But, more than that, Mr. Jacobsen's letter points out that long before the present administration came to Washington—under the Republican administration of another great American general, Dwight David Eisenhower— there existed a credibility gap—I might say, a monumental credibility gap—at the White House.

Mr. Jacobsen's letter, which I have permission to place in the RECORD, makes the existence of this monumental credibility gap—as well as the need to provide General Jackson a place of his own in Washington, D.C.—abundantly clear.

The letter follows:

ARLINGTON, VA.,
March 10, 1967.

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you, Mr. Congressman.

News of your proposal to move the Jackson statue brought pleasant memories to the Jacobsen household. I think you'll find it smile-provoking, too—so let me share our family story with you.

In 1959, my wife and I brought our children on their first trip to Washington. As a remembrance of the trip we purchased some water color paintings of the area. Included in the set was a painting of Lafayette Park with the Jackson statue.

As you'd expect—our six year old was impressed with the horse and rider. He asked, "Who?"—None of us could answer.

His sister, then 11, decided she would write to Mrs. Eisenhower and ask, "Who that?" She did—and—attached is a copy of the letter we pasted to the back of the painting.

It has brought many smiles to us. While it shows Ma and Pa's political preferences we have to admit it also proves, "there was a credibility gap at the White House before, too!"

Sincerely,

R. F. JACOBSEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 24, 1959.
Miss ROBERTA ANN JACOBSEN,
1017 Wisconsin Street,
Stevens Point, Wis.

DEAR ROBERTA: You certainly are a good big sister. *Mrs. Eisenhower is delighted to* have your letter, and she has asked me to answer you for her. The man on the rearing horse in the statue which is across from the White House in Lafayette Square is General Lafayette.

The First Lady appreciates your parents' compliments on the President. The First Family are always warmed by the support offered them by their many friends.

With every good wish for your happiness, always,

Sincerely,
MARY JANE MCCAFFREE,
Secretary to Mrs. Eisenhower.

IMPENDING VISIT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO SOUTH AMERICA

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the impending visit of President Johnson to South America, I think it is fitting and appropriate to reexamine the progress of the partners of the alliance program and the efforts expended in this joint program of human betterment.

As President Johnson noted, in the report of the Second Inter-American Conference of the Partners of the Alliance last September:

> Five years ago, we of the Americas accepted a new challenge to increase the tempo and the magnitude of the change required to help our people live better through their own productive efforts. More than ever before, we are dedicated to meeting this continuing challenge through dedication and work in an environment of freedom, health, and opportunity.

In its relatively short span of life, the Alliance has made great progress and working together with our South American friends, great progress has been made there. But, much remains to be done.

It pleases me, as a Representative of North Carolina, to know that the North Carolina partners program, spearheaded by the North Carolina Jaycees, has been an effective program. North Carolina has been assigned Bolivia as a partner and in just 6 months of its first year's efforts, my home State has provided more than $12,000 worth of financing and equipment for Bolivia. This, I am sure, has helped to improve the Bolivian economy and its way of life. It makes me proud that a good bulk of the aid to the Bolivian people has come from individuals and groups within the Sixth Congressional District, which it is my high honor and privilege to represent. Also a source of pride is the knowledge that a fellow townsman of Greensboro, N.C., Jim Melvin, represented North Carolina at the Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, last fall, and another resident of Greensboro, my hometown, was a keynote speaker at the meeting. He is Bill Suttle, the U.S. Jaycee president. And yet a third constituent, Dave Rawley of High Point, N.C., was another participant in this significant report meeting.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this program to the attention of all Members of this body, for through it we can effect even more progress with and for our neighbors in South America.

AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER TO BE OUR AMBASSADOR IN SAIGON

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has announced today that he intends to nominate Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to be our Ambassador in Saigon.

This appointment will place in our most critical overseas post one of the finest and most capable diplomats in the U.S. Foreign Service.

The President made this announcement during an address today to the Tennessee Legislature. This speech was a forthright declaration of our Nation's determination to meet its commitments to the people of South Vietnam. It should settle, once and for all, the argument over which side truly wants a peaceful and honorable settlement of this conflict.

I commend the President for his firm but reasonable posture in trying to promote peace.

I commend him for his nomination of Ambassador Bunker.

I believe my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will also join with me in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge who returns home after his second tour of duty in Saigon. The Nation owes Ambassador Lodge a debt of gratitude for his long and selfless devotion to peace and stability in the troubled nation of Vietnam.

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. GETTYS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, because of the submission of the President's message on urban and rural poverty, it is appropriate to review efforts of the Farmers Home Administration to assist the rural poor over the past 30 years.

This agency and its predecessors started out in the 1930's with a rehabilitation loan program coupled with a work-grant program that enabled millions of farmers to survive during the worst days of the great depression.

It developed a combination of financial assistance and guidance in farm and home management that enabled the most underpriviledged farm families to make remarkable gains.

In the late 1930's the Congress added to the rehabilitation loan program an activity which enabled tenant farmers to obtain 40-year low interest loans to buy farms of their own. This program was a pace setter, too.

Thousands of the leaders in rural communities today will tell you that they would never have gotten a start if it had not been for their Government loan.

In recent years the Congress has provided the agency with a whole new set of tools to work with and housing loans can now be made to very low-income families for needed home repairs with only a note as security. When necessary, a cosigner can go on the note.

Rental housing can now be built for low-income people in rural areas.

A special mutual self-help housing program is enabling low-income rural people to obtain homes at a remarkably low cost by pooling their labor and constructing their own homes under the guidance of a skilled contractor. The Farmers Home Administration provides loans for the building materials.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, we should recognize that the Department of Agriculture's Farmers Home Administration is administering with effectiveness many solid and worthwhile programs.

AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the comparison between the treatment of American POW's during the Korean war and today in Vietnam demonstrate the utter disregard for human life which is an indispensable part of Communist philosophy the world over. Although not as extensive in nature as during the Korean war, the treatment of American POW's in Vietnam is nevertheless just as brutal.

The Subcommittee on Korean War Atrocities of the U.S. Senate in 1954 investigated the treatment of American soldiers in Communist prison camps and found:

> Evidence before this subcommittee indicated that the inhuman treatment given American prisoners in Communist prisoners-of-war camps was a sequel to the brutalities and indignities suffered by the prisoners on death marches.

One witness testified that during a 7- to 8-month period 1,500 prisoners died of beriberi, dysentery, pellagra, and other diseases as a result of malnutrition at camp No. 5 at Pyoktong. Another witness testified that during a 3-month period at camp No. 1 at Changsong 500 Americans died.

Although the number of POW's involved in the Vietnam conflict are not as large as in Korea, the pattern is the same. Nearly 400 American POW's are now in the hands of the North Vietnamese Communists. Will the fate of these men be made a subject of any truce talks? Will we demand a full accounting of their whereabouts before any truce is negotiated? These are questions which, I am sure, all sincere citizens will want answered.

As there is not much information available on the subject of our POW's in North Vietnam, the article, "POW Detained in Vietnam," by Arturo F. Gonzales, Jr., in the VFW magazine of March 1967, is worthy of wide dissemination, and for this reason I place it in the Record at this point:

POW Detained in Vietnam

(Note.—The exact number of Americans held by the Communists is not known—nor is their condition. What evidence we do have indicates that they have fallen on hard times indeed.)

(By Arturo F. Gonzales, Jr.)

The 1949 Geneva Accord says flatly that in any military conflict, all members of the combatants' armed forces are prisoners of war when they fall into enemy hands and "measures of reprisal against [them] are prohibited." POWs are not to be marched through the streets nor insulted by the populace. Nor are they to be made to work in military targets, used as hostages to prevent air raids from wiping out the installations.

Both the United States and Hanoi signed this agreement, but when North Vietnam finally did so in 1957, it signed with the reservation that captives convicted by them of "war crimes" would no longer be treated as prisoners of war. On this technicality hinges the fate of more than 150 known American POWs and an unknown number of the nearly 400 currently listed as missing.

The United States is doing all in its power to protect these men, legally and physically. On at least two occasions, tear-gas-armed chopper forces have raided suspected POW camps to free the men only to find that they had arrived too late.

To increase America's bargaining power in any future prisoner exchange, U.S. forces in the field are attempting to increase their bag of prisoners. Although all enemy prisoners are technically turned over to the South Vietnamese, many are now being marched to new POW compounds where they remain in American hands as long as possible.

Last year the U.S. captured over 4,000 troops, according to Pentagon figures.

What we know about North Vietnamese handling of prisoners in the past is not encouraging. The experience of the French after Dien Bien Phu at the hands of the Vietnamese Communists was anything but pretty. Most POWs who survived the Communist camps emerged as walking skeletons looking like refugees from Buchenwald or Dachau.

Of course, the most critical moment for every POW is the moment of capture. In the heat of battlefield anger there is always a strong tendency to shoot down the enemy—even one with his hands up.

The first word Americans usually hear from their captors is *Bai* which means walk. The walk away from Dien Bien Phu was like a Bataan Death March for the French POWs a decade ago. One rifleman with mortar fragments in his liver marched for 45 days through the jungle holding his wound together with his turban. Many survivors recall the soldier with both legs amputated, grimly trying to drag himself along on the stumps to keep up with his mates. Only 28.5 percent of all the French POWs captured by the Communists survived.

Prisoners are very often tied up. Tough hempen rope is wound tightly around their biceps, the loose end circled around their necks and made to hang down the middle of their backs. This extra length of rope is like a leash to be held by a guard or to be tied to other prisoners in a human chain. The tight binding forces the prisoner's back into an uncomfortable arch and the loop around his throat chokes him whenever the guard tugs on it.

At night, the Vietnamese often stake out their prisoners, tying their ankles together, strapping their arms across their chests and pinioning them to stakes hammered in the ground. They have also been known to employ wooden stocks on their ankles. Says Grant Wolfkill, NBC cameraman who was a prisoner of the North Vietnamese for a year, "Still with me is the pain in my hips and back that developed from sleeping almost eight months on a stone floor with my legs locked to wooden immobility. I spent two months in a plaster cast to repair the damage, but the pain still returns."

A standard part of the Reds' current treatment seems to be a march of its victims under the glare of automobile headlights and searchlights through the streets of Hanoi and other major cities while the crowds are incited to wrath against them. "Death to the American air pirates!" "Punish the war criminals severely!" the whipped-up mobs shout.

Sometimes the mobs try to attack the prisoners and then the Vietnamese soldiers have to push them off. The POWs are worth far more to Hanoi alive than dead at the hands of a lynch mob. Showing off the hostages helps to buoy its people's morale in the face of the constant air attacks.

No one is quite sure where American POWs are being kept. If the North Vietnamese are maintaining their camps today as they did with the French, the typical prison looks not unlike the villages surrounding it.

Traditionally, the Vietnamese locate their prison camps near a stream, but don't provide any sanitary facilities. The result is a high rate of disease from water-borne causes with the POWs both drinking and defecating in the same source.

Almost inevitably, the POWs will have to live with leeches two or three inches long—brackish blue, slimy, putrid ovals, so tenacious they even stick to the fingers when you try to pluck them off. Then there are the bugs—big, blue flies, hungry for blood, which are horrible for anyone suffering from an open wound.

Dysentery is another common problem. Says one ex-prisoner: "Waves and waves of diarrhea flowed out of me, draining, dehydrating. High fever was followed by icy chills that jelled with sweat on my body; then the fever returned. My stomach bloated with gas and the gas burst out in uncontrollable belches. The diarrhetic cramps continually pumped at my abdomen."

Few American POWs have broken out of North Vietnamese hands but two who succeeded were U.S. Marines James Dodson and Walter Eckes. Dodson was slugged from behind by Communist kidnappers and hustled for several nights through villages. He was tied hand and foot to a bamboo rack when not marching. Eventually he wound up in a small prison camp called "VC Tower" where he was soon joined by Eckes.

The two were in the POW camp for six weeks, fed on rice larded with snake meat, caterpillars and snails. "I used to have a fondness for rice and shrimp," recalls Dodson, "but now I don't think I want to eat rice for quite some time."

Finally, the men were marched off toward another prison camp, and it was during this trek that they made their break. Sitting with their captors, eating rice one evening, Dodson recalls, "I kept looking over there towards the carbines, trying to figure distance—how quick I could jump over there." Finally, he shouted and leaped, coming up with the guns while the Reds scuttled off into the bushes.

"I think the yell scared the VC more than the weapons," recalls Eckes. Finally, after four days, the escaping pair staggered into the arms of their allies not far from Da Nang, only to have a sergeant grunt at them, "You're lucky; my sentry almost shot you."

"And then they gave us some rice," grinned Eckes.

A grimmer story is that of Dieter Dengler, a young Navy lieutenant picked up in the Laotian mountains after escaping from a POW camp and marching south for 23 days. He had been a prisoner for five months and was half starved and suffering from maltreatment and exposure when finally picked up by a Jolly Green Giant rescue helicopter.

During his 150 days as a POW, Dengler had lost more than 50 pounds and endured drastic malnutrition. He and another Yank managed to break away and struggle southward. They moved at night and slept by day. They took no food with them and lived off the land, surviving on roots, berries and leaves. Finally the pursuing Communists closed in. The pilot who was rescued managed to hide in the bushes but his companion was caught and summarily beheaded. When the Navy pilot was pulled aboard the rescue helicopter, all he could say was "thank God, thank God," over and over again.

The vigil for the families of POWs is lonely indeed. The Red Cross says it is forwarding an average of 50 letters a week to U.S. prisoners in North Vietnam. "They do not acknowledge or return the mail. We assume some of it gets through to the prisoners," says a spokesman. In January of 1966 and again in June, a few lucky U.S. families did receive some mail from the prisoners, indicating that the POWs had gotten a few letters from home. But those who are prisoners of the Viet Cong in the South are not so lucky. The Viet Cong has notified the Red Cross that it will not accept any mail for prisoners held by guerrilla bands in the South because delivery is too complicated.

And so it goes for America's loneliest GIs. Their future uncertain, their present miserable, they are the unfortunate pawns in a Cold War grown hot. But American military men have been prisoners before and have created a legend of bravery. It's safe to say there will be more names to add to this roll of honor once the full story of America's POWs in the hands of the Communists is told.

VIETNAM TRUCE TALKS: WE SHOULD PROFIT FROM OUR EXPERIENCE IN KOREA

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, with more and more references to truce talks in Vietnam gracing the headlines these days, the U.S. News & World Report of

March 20 carried a very timely interview with Gen. Mark W. Clark who negotiated with the Reds in Korea in 1953. General Clark's career includes heroic action in World War I, and a dramatic role in North Africa and as U.S. commander in Italy in World War II. He retired last year as president of The Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, and is now active as a congressional adviser.

The editor's note accompanying the article cautioned against undue optimism if truce talks come to pass:

> Next time talk of Vietnam "peace" warms up, there is this to be kept in mind:
>
> Sitting down at a conference table with the Communists doesn't mean the fighting is finished—not by a long shot.
>
> Out of U.S. experience in Korea came some bitter lessons about negotiating with Reds. Killing went on for two years while the enemy maneuvered at Panmunjom for every advantage.

As everyone knows, the Communist Party line regarding talks in Vietnam centers around the cessation of the bombing by the United States. Every peace group which opposes our firm stand in Vietnam is now crying: "Stop the bombing." Pathetically absent from the exhortations of these groups is any plea to the Vietcong to stop the killing of South Vietnamese civilians. As we have learned from Korea and the three cease-fires we have had so far in Vietnam, the Communists would use any cessation of military action to reinforce their positions. As General Clark put it:

> If we do arrange to go to the conference table, I repeat, it should be without having made any commitment at all that we will stop bombing. Otherwise, we would be at a terrific disadvantage, leaving him to continue fighting in the South and building up his forces without hindrance.

Adm. Arleigh Burke, also on the negotiating team in Korea, pointed out in testimony before a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee in 1965 that the harder we hit the Korean Reds in 1953 the nearer they came to agreement:

> For about 3 or 4 months when we were winning on the battlefield, the Communists dreaded to come into the conference tent. We won in the conference. We were winning not much but a little bit all the time; as we put the pressure on them on the battlefield we would win in the conference tent.

Admiral Burke goes on to relate what happened when we softened and how the subsequent threat of increased military action finally brought about the armistice:

> Then one day we got orders to accept the present battlelines as the final line of demarcation, which meant that what we won on the battlefield would be given back to the Communists on the final settlement.
>
> At that time the Communists came in with their spirits up and the negotiations dragged on and on and on, because once having accepted that proposition the pressure of the battlefield was taken off the negotiation and it was not until John Foster Dulles—I don't know what exactly was said through the Indian delegation—suggested that we were going to abrogate the agreement unless the Communists settled the armistice, that the armistice was ever finally settled at all.

General Clark believes that because we did soften in Korea and did not go all out to win, the Soviets and Asian Communists were encouraged to try another adventure. Rather than back down in Vietnam by ceasing the bombing, we should, as General Clark recommends, step up our bombing of airbases, hydroelectric powerplants, antiaircraft defenses, and war plants in North Vietnam. Then Ho Chi Minh will realize that there is a price to pay for the countless innocent people in both North and South Vietnam whom he has murdered since 1954, that his dreams of capturing South Vietnam are going up in smoke, and, as in the case of the Korean Reds, he had better salvage the crumbs at the conference table.

I place the interview with Gen. Mark Clark, entitled "Do Truce Talks Mean Peace?" in the RECORD at this point:

DO TRUCE TALKS MEAN PEACE?—INTERVIEW WITH GEN. MARK W. CLARK, WHO NEGOTIATED WITH THE REDS IN KOREA

(NOTE.—Next time talk of Vietnam "peace" warms up, there is this to be kept in mind:

(Sitting down at a conference table with the Communists doesn't mean the fighting is finished—not by a long shot.

(Out of U.S. experience in Korea came some bitter lessons about negotiating with Reds. Killing went on for two years while the enemy maneuvered at Panmunjom for every advantage.

(The problems are brought into focus by a distinguished soldier who represented America in many diplomatic showdowns. General Clark came to the conference room of "U.S. News & World Report" for this exclusive interview.)

Q. General Clark, do you think that Hanoi now wants to start truce talks in Vietnam?

A. Yes, if it is under their conditions, and for this reason: In any negotiations—as at Panmunjom [Korea] in the past, or in Geneva at present—the Communists find that when they stand fast we tend to become impatient and are apt to give in—make concessions to them.

If the Communists do go to the peace table, they hope to go with a commitment from us that we we will stop the bombing of the North, and perhaps concede a lot of other things.

We would then live up to our commitments and they would not live up to theirs. So, in that respect, there is every advantage for them to go to the conference table.

Q. People the world over assume that truce talks are the same as a cease-fire, an end to the fighting. Is that necessarily so?

A. Not at all. In fact, I'm sure that the Communists would use the peace talks in Vietnam as a cover to build up their military position, to infiltrate forces into the South, and to confront us sooner or later during the negotiations with a position of extreme strength that we would not have.

Q. Were truce talks the same as a cease-fire during the Korean War?

A. Absolutely not. The peace talks at Panmunjom went on for two years, while some of the bloodiest fighting of the war continued. There was no letup.

So peace talks do not mean the end of hostilities at all. They just mean the beginning of conferences with the Communists. We've been unsuccessful in those conferences in the past, while they have gained great advantage and concessions from us.

Q. Exactly where have you dealt with the Communists face to face?

A. As the U.S. commander in chief in Austria after World War II, for two years I sat facing a Russian general, trying to implement the promises that had been made at Potsdam to create of Austria a sovereign, independent, democratic state. I learned the hard way, in trying to get along with the Russians, that they never lived up to their agreements.

Later I went as the deputy to Secretary of State Byrnes to the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London. I met with the Russians there without any success.

Gen. George Marshall, then Secretary of State, asked me to go as his deputy for Austria to Moscow. I went with him. And, as though that wasn't enough, I became the commander in chief the last year and a half of the Korean War.

I know first hand the problems at Panmunjom and, in general, of the difficulties and impossibilities of getting along with the Communists—except where you confront them with forceful action, armed or by determined will.

Q. What lessons did you learn from those experiences?

A. The main lesson is that you must not negotiate with the Communists from a position of weakness; you can't make concessions, and you can't appease them. The Communists by now are accustomed to being appeased, ever since the end of World War II.

I could sit here and relate to you for hours, from Austria on through Korea, where we made concessions. The Communist doesn't give a thing, ever. He stands fast because he knows we're impatient and finally will say: "Well, it doesn't matter. We're so anxious to get peace."

The more you talk peace and constantly reiterate it, as we are doing now, the more certainly the enemy will construe it as a sign of weakness on our part and say: "Let's hit him all the harder."

Q. What, in particular, came out of your Korean experience?

A. I think that we missed the boat in Korea, in our first test of arms with the Communists. We should have defeated them. We had the capacity to do it, mostly by the employment of our air and naval power, without trying to swap man for man on the field of battle.

Talking about lessons—that is a sound one. I learned that you don't want to fight the Communists in a manpower war. We just can't exchange one dead American for 10 or even more dead Communists, because they have the manpower to spare, and are perfectly willing to spend it. They'll lavishly exhaust their men. They have no veterans' bureau. When their men don't come home, they just don't come home.

The American soldier or airman or sailor or marine is a precious commodity. I wasn't willing to exchange him for any number of dead.

We must match the enemy with our technological know-how, with air power and with naval power. I don't think we're doing that to the extent, at the present time, that will impress the other side very much.

Q. Do you think there would have been a war in Vietnam if we had gone on to win in Korea?

A. I do not, I do not.

I think we gave a false impression to the enemy—and I refer to the Soviet Union, because they had their guilty hand in the Korean War and have it in this war—and all the Asian Communists in general. When we made concessions to stop the fighting without victory in Korea, it led the Communists to believe that they could undertake another adventure, which they did.

Now we should go ahead and win this war. We should get a decision and hurt him.

HOW TO WIN IN VIETNAM

Q. What would it take to win the war?

A. If our military commanders were given authority to step out and hit every remunerative military target in the North—air bases, hydroelectric-power plants, their antiaircraft defenses, the war plants—then you'd find the enemy running to the conference table. For the Communists, the conference table is an extension of the battlefield, and that is where he runs when you hurt him badly.

Along with the bombing—and I don't mean atom bombs; we don't need to use those—I think we should stop the flow of war matériel into the port of Haiphong. I just don't understand why we allow it.

Perhaps you think I am a military man who looks only down the sights of a rifle at these problems, but, believe me, I do realize that political considerations must be taken into account. At the same time, what is paramount in a war of this nature is who overwhelms the other side.

Q. Would you send more troops into South Vietnam?

A. I don't think we need more ground troops. Nothing would please the Communists more than for us to try to fight this war on their terms, matching our casualties against theirs. We can do the job with air and naval power and with a minimum of ground forces.

Particularly, I wouldn't want to launch a big amphibious attack of American soldiers against North Vietnam. You would be pitting, for example, 100,000 Americans against probably 200,000 Communists that they could mass against you. You'd have a bloody battle, and I just don't think it's worth the cost, nor necessary.

Q. Suppose the Communists were sufficiently hurt to force them to want to talk. What advice would you give in approaching the negotiating table with them?

A. If we do arrange to go to the conference table, I repeat, it should be without having made any commitment at all that we will stop bombing. Otherwise, we would be at a terrific disadvantage, leaving him to continue fighting in the South and building up his forces without hindrance.

Having succeeded in determining that the bombing would go on until a firm armistice was arranged, I would examine our objectives. How secure do we want to leave Vietnam once a peace treaty is signed and we get out? I would then lay on the conference table a perfectly honest proposal that would not sacrifice our objectives and would not mean a defeat for us.

Then I would say: "Gentlemen, this is it. There are little areas which we can discuss, but the big picture is going to stay firm. We're not going to make concessions of principle."

All this time I would keep up the fighting, keep up the bombing, because that's our main pressure. If we give that up, then we're going to be whipped at the peace table.

A CEASE-FIRE: "RISKY"

Q. Would you consider a cease-fire as a precondition for serious talks?

A. That is risky. Suppose both sides were to say: "All right, we're coming to the conference table, and we'll have a cease-fire, and we'll remain in our present positions. Neither side will build up; neither side will augment, and we'll talk." I wouldn't believe them. I wouldn't believe them at all, because they have never lived up to their word.

Still, I can see a situation where we might have no alternative except to accept it—even though we know full well they're going to cheat.

But to go to the conference table and say: "The only thing that's going to be different is that we'll stop the bombing"—that would be foolhardy.

Q. In other words, you're afraid of continued Communist infiltration, without any opposition at all from the air—

A. Absolutely. And it's exactly what he would do.

Right after we signed the Korean armistice, what do you think he did? Immediately he started to build military airfields—did all kinds of things he was not allowed to under the terms of the armistice.

Q. You were back in Korea about a year ago. How is the armistice working out there?

A. I went as the military adviser to the House Armed Services Committee—I went with members of Congress into the Demilitarized Zone. We went to every unit. Along the southern border of the Demilitarized Zone, we've got 50,000 American troops—fine troops, full battle array, patrolling every night. We've got 300,000 South Koreans equipped by us—good fighters, on full battle alert, deployed to fight at the drop of a hat.

There are probably half a million Communists on the other side. They're patrolling at night, and, as you know, from time to time they kill some of our men. So, it's an uneasy cessation of hostilities.

Now, suppose we do go to the conference table in Vietnam. We have no right to expect that we would get any better deal than we got in Korea, that perhaps there might be an agreement based on the present Vietnamese Demilitarized Zone near the seventeenth parallel. I would be willing to make a little wager that 13 or 14 years from now you'd have 50,000 American troops tied down there, you'd have the bulk of the South Vietnamese Army, and you'd have half a million Communists on the other side—with the same near war as in Korea going on. And a new war would have broken out in Thailand, or Malaysia; the Philippines, or some other place closer to our shores.

MAKING COMMUNISTS TALK

Q. What's the alternative?

A. The alternative is to defeat the enemy. We should have defeated him in Korea, and, having missed the boat there, let's not do it again. Let him feel the might of America. Before long he'd come to the conference table, with us sitting in a position of strength and able to get a better settlement.

Q. General Clark, should a country go into a war if it doesn't have the determination to win?

A. I can't conceive of one doing so, but that's exactly what my country has done.

Q. Why do you think this is so?

A. Because the political considerations more and more overwhelm the military. I think that we're overly disturbed about world opinion, which, to me, is merely an extension of the minority of "doves" and agitators in this country.

I believe that the great majority of the American public would like to see us go in there and win this war, and get a clear-cut decision. A lot of people say: "If we don't want to win, we should get out." But we can't get out, in my opinion, because we'd lose all of Southeast Asia.

Yet we are an impatient people, and Americans who are contributing their sons to this war may finally decide they want to get out—at any cost.

Q. Do you have the feeling that we're coming to this point?

A. It certainly is getting more exasperating. I am chairman of a panel recommending to the House Armed Services Committee changes that we think should be made in the Selective Service law. It's a difficult job, because there are so many directions in which people who want to dodge the draft can jump—and, in many instances, get away with it.

This war isn't popular at all. Many people seem to want to go to any lengths to avoid serving their country. There's no question that there has built up an antipathy on the part of many who think that this is a political war. It is an unpopular war. Korea was an unpopular war, but I'm sure not nearly as much as this.

Q. The United Nations got involved in the Korean War. Do you think they can help end the war in Vietnam?

A. No. They haven't the capability of carrying out any of the high-flown decisions that they make. I was the commander of the U.N. forces in Korea, and I don't recall getting one word—ever—from the United Nations during the entire war. I think at the end, when the armistice had been signed, I got a telegram from the Secretary-General congratulating me.

No, I wouldn't count on the United Nations for anything.

Q. Did the U.N. put you under restrictions, so you could not bomb certain targets?

A. Those directions came from Washington.

Actually, I believe I was given much more leeway in Korea, as the commander, to use my air power, than the commander is being given now in Vietnam. I could hit any target in North Korea, except one hydroelectric plant—the Suiho Dam. It supplied hydroelectric power that maintained the factories, helped supply the munitions that the Communists used to kill our men. Finally—and it took a very long time—I was given permission to attack even the Suiho Dam.

Q. But the Chinese Communist Army had a sanctuary in Manchuria, just across the Yalu River—

A. I should say they did. It was perfectly disgraceful, in my opinion, and I know that most of my commanders felt the same way. Our airmen could go up there and look down over the Yalu and see these air bases chockablock with MIG fighters, see tank parks, see the paraphernalia of war piled high. We were not even permitted to take out the bridges over which they poured their killers into North Korea. It was no way to fight a war at all.

Q. Do the Communists in North Vietnam have a sanctuary in this war?

A. Indeed they do, at least a partial sanctuary. Some important targets in North Vietnam are "off limits" to our bombers. We have created this sanctuary, in large part, out of fear of world opinion. We fear the adverse criticism of some of our allies.

Some people say we aren't bombing more in North Vietnam out of fear that Red China will come into the war. While I was in Korea, it wasn't the fear of the Chinese coming into the war—they already were in the war. It was perhaps the fear of triggering World War III, bringing the Russians in. And I'm sure we are influenced by the same problem now.

"I DON'T FEAR RED CHINESE"

Q. You do not believe that Red China would enter the war now—

A. As far as the Chinese entering the war in Vietnam, I would like to refresh your memories:

When I signed the Korean armistice in July of 1953, I was required to read to the enemy a statement signed by all the Allied nations that contributed troops to that war to the effect that, if there was any further Communist aggression, we would not fight the ensuing war with our hands tied behind us. Instead we would step out and hit the enemy in his bases—which meant Manchuria and North China.

I feel that that statement is perfectly applicable to the situation in Vietnam now, although it referred at the time to Korea. I think the Chinese must know—and I feel sure they've been told by my Government—that if they did intervene militarily in the Vietnamese war, as they did in the Korean War, they could expect to get hit, and hit hard, with attacks on the bases in their country from which they derive the power to maintain their armies in the field.

So I don't fear the Red Chinese—and particularly now that they've got so much internal trouble.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. BUTTON, for 2 days, on account of official business.

Mr. DORN (at the request of Mr. Mc-

CORMACK), for today and the balance of the week, on account of death in the family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. MONTGOMERY, for 1 hour, on March 20, 1967; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 10 minutes, on March 16; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. POLLOCK, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 15 minutes, on March 20; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. SCHWENGEL (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK), for 30 minutes, on March 20; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. WOLFF (at the request of Mr. BRASCO), for 30 minutes, on March 16, 1967; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. JOELSON and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. FINO and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MACHEN.

Mr. MCCARTHY.

Mr. PHILBIN.

Mr. CURTIS to include extraneous matter and tables with his remarks made today in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas and to include an explanation of a veterans' pension bill.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. POLLOCK) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. WATKINS in two instances.

Mr. DEVINE.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BRASCO) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. KEE in two instances.

Mrs. KELLY.

Mr. MEEDS.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 46 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 16, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

531. A letter from the chief scout executive, National Council Boy Scouts of America, transmitting the Annual Report of the Boy Scouts of America for the year 1966, pursuant to the provisions of the act of June 15, 1916 (H. Doc. No. 87); to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

532. A letter from the Chairman, District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, transmitting the annual report of the Agency for fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 79-592; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

533. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting copies of bulletins issued in response to recommendations of the Comptroller General in a report dated February 15, 1967 (B-159072), suggesting cost reduction obtainable through cross-servicing arrangements for motor vehicle fuel and oil; to the Committee on Government Operations.

534. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of certain activities related to administration and enforcement of the reporting and bonding provisions of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, Labor-Management Services Administration, Department of Labor; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas: Committee on Veterans' Administration. H.R. 4717. A bill to authorize the conveyance of certain lands owned by the United States to the State of Tennessee for the use of Memphis State University, Memphis, Tenn. (Rept. No. 127). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MATSUNAGA: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 388. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 5277, a bill to amend the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 128). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BOLLING: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 389. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 6950, a bill to restore the investment credit and the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property (Rept. No. 129). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas: Committee on Veterans' Affairs. H.R. 2068. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase the rates of pension payable to certain veterans and their widows, to provide additional readjustment assistance for veterans of service after January 31, 1955, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 130). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 6950. A bill to restore the investment credit and the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property; with amendment (Rept. No. 131). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 7213. A bill to assist in combating crime by creating the U.S. Corrections Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7214. A bill to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7215. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H.R. 7216. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to require certain new packages of imported articles to be marked to indicate the country of origin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota:

H.R. 7217. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 7218. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 7219. A bill to prohibit the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, into interstate commerce of master keys for motor vehicles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 7220. A bill to establish a National Commission on Public Management, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 7221. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the Illinois Sesquicentennial; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CORMAN

H.R. 7222. A bill to authorize a program of research, development, and demonstration projects for electrically powered vehicles; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DERWINKSI:

H.R. 7223. A bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 7224. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase the rates of pension payable to certain veterans and their widows, to provide additional readjustment assistance for veterans of service after January 31, 1955, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 7225. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit the use of contributions made to Members of Congress for personal purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 7226. A bill to provide for the establishment of one or more national cemeteries in the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7227. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the income tax treatment of business development corporations; to the Committee on ways and Means.

By Mr. HARRISON:

H.R. 7228. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 7229. A bill to establish the Sandy Hook National Seashore in the State of New Jersey, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 7230. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to extend to persons who served in the Armed Forces of the United States on or after August 5, 1964, the date of the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the same range of veterans' benefits heretofore provided veterans of other wars; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HULL:

H.R. 7231. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide disability insurance benefits thereunder for any individual who is blind and has at least six quarters of coverage, and for other purposes; to to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7232. A bill to increase the personal income tax exemption of a taxpayer and the additional exemption for his spouse from $600 to $1,000, and to increase the exemption for a dependent from $600 to $1,000; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7233. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 7234. A bill to provide that plans and regulations established pursuant to section 10 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act for the control of water pollution shall apply to vessels (including boats) and marinas; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 7235. A bill to prohibit any State from levying income taxes on nonresidents of the State; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONAGAN:

H.R. 7236. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 7237. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 7238. A bill to establish a Federal Motor Vehicle Insurance Guarantee Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 7239. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act so as to extend and improve the Federal-State program of child welfare services; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 7240. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase (by providing an additional $600 exemption) the personal income tax exemptions allowable with respect to certain dependents from $600 to $1,200; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 7241. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase the rates of pension payable to certain veterans and their widows, to provide additional readjustment assistance for veterans of service after January 31, 1955, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veteran's Affairs.

H.R. 7242. A bill to amend chapter 34 of title 38 of the United States Code in order to include on-the-job and flight training among the programs available to veterans, and to provide for the paying of reporting fees to educational institutions; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 7243. A bill to amend chapter 15 of title 38, United States Code, in order to increase by 20 percent the income limitations imposed by that chapter on persons entitled to pensions thereunder; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 7244. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that all service in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps shall be creditable toward benefits administered by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 7245. A bill to amend and clarify the declaration of national housing policy in section 2 of the Housing Act of 1949 and the statement of the purposes of urban planning in section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 7246. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in or about the construction of the Panama Canal," approved May 9, 1944, as amended, so as to provide benefits for certain persons not now covered by such act; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. QUIE:

H.R. 7247. A bill to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 7248. A bill to establish a Federal Commission on Alcoholism, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 7249. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7250. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H.R. 7251. A bill to amend section 209 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, so as to require future authorization of funds for certain programs of the Maritime Administration; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 7252. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore to individuals who have attained the age of 65 the right to deduct all expenses for their medical care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 7253. A bill to amend the Export Control Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 7254. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create the Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin:

H.R. 7255. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STUBBLEFIELD:

H.R. 7256. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to authorize the transfer of tobacco acreage allotments and acreage-poundage quotas; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 7257. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide disability insurance benefits thereunder for any individual who is blind and has at least six quarters of coverage, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WALDIE:

H.R. 7258. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 7259. A bill to reclassify certain key positions and increase salaries in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. WATKINS:

H.R. 7260. A bill to provide compensation to survivors of local law enforcement officers killed while apprehending persons for committing Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7261. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.R. 7262. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit travel or use of any facility in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to incite a riot or other violent civil disturbance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 7263. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to increase the amounts authorized for grants thereunder, and to make it clear that assistance may be provided for projects already underway if they meet the requirements for such assistance; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 7264. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to increase the amounts authorized for grants thereunder, and to make it clear that assistance may be provided for projects already underway if they meet the requirements for such assistance; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 7265. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to increase the amounts authorized for grants thereunder, and to make it clear that assistance may be provided for projects already underway if they meet the requirements for such assistance; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 7266. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize aircraft noise abatement regulation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H.R. 7267. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend to employees of public libraries the rules, relating to the tax treatment of employee annuities, which apply to employees of public schools; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 7268. A bill to provide for the establishment of one or more national cemeteries in the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BEVILL:

H.R. 7269. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a woman otherwise qualified may become entitled to receive widow's insurance benefits, specially reduced, at age 35 (while retaining her right to receive regular widow's insurance benefits upon attaining the age presently required therefor); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 7270. A bill to amend the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards to authorize a fire research and safety program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. BROCK:

H.R. 7271. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to increase the minimum amount of the monthly insurance benefits payable thereunder, to provide for cost-of-living increases in such benefits, to provide that disabled widows may become entitled to widow's insurance benefits without regard to their age, and to liberalize the retirement test by providing an alternative method of computing "excess earnings"; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROTZMAN:

H.R. 7272. A bill to establish a program of dairy import regulation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 7273. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to liberalize the age and service requirements for immediate retirement of Government employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 7274. A bill to amend chapter 67 of title 10 of the United States Code in order to liberalize the provisions of that chapter providing for retired pay for nonregular service; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 7275. A bill to amend the Federal Youth Correction Act by changing the terms for commitment thereunder in certain instances, to permit the use of examiners, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 7276. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 7277. A bill to amend chapter 95 of title 39, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FINDLEY:

H.R. 7278. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the Illinois Sesquicentennial; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7279. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase to $3,000 the annual amount individuals are permitted to earn without suffering deduction from the monthly insurance benefits payable to them under such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7280. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide cost-of-living increases in the insurance benefits payable thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 7281. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a deduction for funeral expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 7282. A bill to provide for Federal assistance in the planning and installation of works and measures for the control and prevention of damages resulting from erosion of the roadbeds and rights-of-way of existing State, county, and other rural roads and highways, from erosion of the banks of rivers and streams, and from erosion of unrestored or unrehabilitated surface or strip-mined non-Federal lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 7283. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide financial assistance for the control of rodents in urban areas; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GUDE:

H.R. 7284. A bill to establish and develop the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 7285. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase the rates of pension payable to certain veterans and their widows, to provide additional readjustment assistance for veterans of service after January 31, 1955, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HARRISON:

H.R. 7286. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Polecat Bench area of the Shoshone extensions unit, Missouri River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. JARMAN:

H.R. 7287. A bill to provide for the establishment of a national cemetery in the State of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 7288. A bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to permit continued Federal matching of administrative costs at 75 percent for States which are making reasonable efforts to implement the required services, and to authorize direct vendor payments as an alternative to the direct cash and protective payments presently provided for; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Br. Mr. LANGEN:

H.R. 7289. A bill to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe of Indians on behalf of the Mississippi Bands and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands of Chippewa Indians; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 7290. A bill to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946 to provide for compensation for certain alien employees of the Foreign Service who are imprisoned by a foreign government as a result of their employment by the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 7291. A bill to amend the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 to provide that funds made available to a State by any Federal or State marketing order administrative committee for an approved project, may be deemed funds of the State for matching purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts:

H.R. 7292. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide disability insurance benefits thereunder for any individual who is blind and has at least six quarters of coverage, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MONAGAN:

H.R.7293. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for the regulation of employment agents who for a fee arrange for employment in the United States on behalf of aliens seeking entry into the United States to perform domestic services as live-in maids and to change the status of such aliens to that of nonimmigrants; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 7294. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7295. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the present dollar limits on the amount allowable as a child-care deduction, to eliminate all income limits on eligibility for such deduction, and to increase the maximum age of a dependent child with respect to whom such deduction may be allowed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7296. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to limit the maximum rate of percentage depletion to a rate of 7½ percent, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7297. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to all single persons who have attained age 30; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7298. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit a taxpayer to deduct certain expenses paid by him in connection with his education, or the education of his spouse or any of his dependents at an institution of higher learning, with the right to postpone such deduction and claim it in subsequent taxable years to the extent necessary to obtain the full benefit thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PURCELL:

H.R. 7299. A bill to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the northern district of Texas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 7300. A bill to amend section 72c of title 2 of the United States Code; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 7301. A bill to amend chapter 3, title 2, of the United States Code to provide for reimbursement of transportation expenses for Members of Congress and to provide certain additional allowances; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 7302. A bill to adjust the compensation of certain Federal officers and employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7303. A bill to require the disclosure of gifts, income, certain financial interests, and clerk-hire; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 7304. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SCHNEEBELI:

H.R. 7305. A bill relating to the carryover of net operating losses of certain railroad corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H.R. 7306. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to provide additional sources of financing for the rural electrification and rural telephone programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 7307. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 7308. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ZION:

H.R. 7309. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 7310. A bill to prohibit political influence with respect to appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations in the postal field service, to revise the laws governing the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 7311. A bill to extend rural mail delivery service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. NELSEN:

H.R. 7312. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish the position of Chief Veterinary Officer of the Service and provide for the rank of Assistant Surgeon General for said position; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. POLLOCK:

H.R. 7313. A bill to establish fishing zones of the United States beyond its territorial seas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 7314. A bill to enlarge the fisheries zone of the United States to include certain water contiguous to the territorial sea off the coast of Alaska; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RIVERS:

H.R. 7315. A bill to amend the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H.J. Res. 434. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as National School Safety Patrol Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By BURKE of Florida:

H.J. Res. 435. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution preserving the rights of the States with respect to public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.J. Res. 436. Joint resolution to provide stricter control over expenditures by Members of Congress traveling outside the United States; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.J. Res. 437. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.J. Res. 438. Joint resoluton to establish a commission to review the Federal income tax structure and recommend revisions to redistribute the burden of taxes so as to remove inequities adversely affecting the middle-income family in America, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROTH:

H.J. Res. 439. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on Judiciary.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.J. Res. 440. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting to citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 18 the right to vote; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 441. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DENT:

H. Con. Res. 281. Concurrent resolution providing for the printing of the legislative history of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H. Con. Res. 282. Concurrent resolution to provide early appropriations for Federal educational programs; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H. Con. Res. 283. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the New York City commuter tax; to the Committee on Judiciary.

By Mr. NIX:

H. Con. Res. 284. Concurrent resolution reaffirming the support of the Congress for United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H. Con. Res. 285. Concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Committee on Ethics and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WATSON:

H. Con. Res. 286. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that no further trade take place between the United States and the Soviet Union or its satellites until those Communist nations cease their support of Communist aggression in South Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H. Res. 390. Resolution to create a Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H. Res. 391. Resolution to include the drum and bugle corps under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H. Res. 392. Resolution to establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct in the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MacGREGOR:

H. Res. 393. Resolution directing the Committee on House Administration to file annually a report of audit of certain expenditures; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H. Res. 394. Resolution to establish a standing Committee on Ethics and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

67. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Indiana, relative to the calling of a convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota:

H.R. 7316. A bill for the relief of Albert M. Pepoon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 7317. A bill for the relief of Bianvenida Bautista and Ben Ezra Bautista, Ben Dann Bautista, Dulce Olivia Bautista, Ben Hur Bautista, Ben Mor Bautista and Paisy Belle Bautista; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 7318. A bill for the relief of Gertrude Soriano Mauban; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EVANS of Colorado:

H.R. 7319. A bill for the relief of Tobias Gavino Chuquillangui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 7320. A bill for the relief of Edward V. Golik; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 7321. A bill for the relief of Dimitrios Sambalis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MEEDS:

H.R. 7322. A bill for the relief of Capt. Robert C. Crisp, U.S. Air Force; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 7323. A bill for the relief of Anastasios Alexander Hoidas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEED:

H.R. 7324. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alfredo F. Mendez, doctor of medicine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 7325. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain Federal lands for certain lands owned by Mr. Robert S. Latham, Albany, Oreg.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affaris.

SENATE

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

The Senate met in executive session at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by Hon. Robert C. Byrd, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, retired, the Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and everlasting God, we pause at the beginning of this day to remind ourselves that Thou art our security and strength—in Thy infinite wisdom Thou hast made available to us resources of redemption and recovery. We seek a fresh awareness of Thy majesty and compassion.

We reverently pray that Thou wilt carry this our beloved Nation to a glorious destiny. Grant that neither through arrogance begotten of prosperity nor conceit bred of successful achievement we shall ever forget our dependence upon Thee for daily sustenance.

We pray that Thou wilt give to all who occupy places of leadership in this honorable Senate singleness of purpose and purity of motive. Keep us reverent and humble; openminded and sensitive to Thy will. Grant that what we do here may help to establish peace in the earth and hasten the coming of Thy kingdom among men. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. Senate,
President pro tempore,
Washington, D.C., March 15, 1967.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. Robert C. Byrd, a Senator from the State of West Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

Carl Hayden,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, March 14, 1967, was dispensed with.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AS IN LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, as in legislative session, and that each Senator's statement therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the following committee and subcommittees were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today:

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyright of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The Subcommittee on Labor and the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the Committee on Government Operations.

The Committee on Commerce.

The Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works.

The Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Committee on the District of Columbia.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States, transmitting a nomination, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of John Joseph Gunther, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report on Export-Import Bank Insurance and Guarantees Issued in Connection With U.S. Exports to Yugoslavia

A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees issued in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia, for the month of January 1967; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Report on Progress of Army ROTC Flight Instruction Program

A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on progress of the Army ROTC flight instruction program, for the calendar year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Amendment of Certain Statutes Fixing or Prohibiting the Collection of Fees for Certain Services Under the Navigation Laws

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to repeal and amend certain statutes fixing or prohibiting the collection of fees for certian services under the navigation laws (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Commerce.

Report of Federal Trade Commission

A letter from the Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

Reports of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of certain aspects of social security benefit overpayments, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, dated March 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1966, Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture, dated March 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Revision of Boundary of Grand Canyon National Park

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Establishment of Redwood National Park Calif.

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the establishment of the Redwood National Park in the State of California, to provide economic assistance to local governmental bodies affected thereby, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Prevention of Terminations of Certain Oil and Gas Leases

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to prevent terminations of oil and gas leases in cases where there is a nominal deficiency in the rental payment and to authorize him to reinstate under some conditions oil and gas leases terminated by operation of law for failure to pay rental timely (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Report on Claims Paid Under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims paid by that Department under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Disposition of Executive Papers

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed Mr. Monroney and Mr. Carlson members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

JOINT RESOLUTION OF NEW MEXICO LEGISLATURE

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the Legislature of the State of New Mexico, now in session in Santa Fe, has passed a joint memorial "requesting the Congress of the United States of America to exempt trucks designated as 'farm trucks' by a State from the Federal highway use tax imposed by the Internal Revenue Code."

I ask unanimous consent that the memorial be printed at this point in the Record and that a copy be referred to the appropriate Senate committee.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Joint Memorial Requesting the Congress of the United States of America To Exempt Trucks Designated as "Farm Trucks" by a State From the Federal Highway Use Tax Imposed by the Internal Revenue Code

Whereas, the imposition of the Highway use tax on trucks used in the operation of a farm, ranch or similar agricultural pursuit is a severe financial burden on farmers and stockmen, and prevents their efficient operation by increasing the cost of hay, feed, supplies and marketing; and

Whereas, the welfare and the prosperity of the farmers and stockmen are a vital factor in the continued prosperity and welfare of the nation:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the legislature of the State of New Mexico that the Congress of the United States is requested to enact legislation exempting from the highway use tax imposed under 26 U.S.C. 4481 those trucks designated by state law as "farm trucks"; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this memorial be transmitted to the President of the United States Senate and the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to the New Mexico delegation to the Congress of the United States.

Signed and sealed at the capitol, in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Bruce King,
Speaker of the House.
E. Lee Francis,
President of the Senate.
Ernestine D. Evans,
Secretary of State.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, without amendment:

S. 219. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to sell certain land in Lander, Wyo., and for other purposes (Rept. No. 68).

By Mr. HOLLAND, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, without amendment:

H.J. Res. 273. Joint resolution to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, with respect to the lease and transfer of tobacco acreage allotments (Rept. No. 69).

By Mr. MILLER, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with an amendment.

H.J. Res. 267. Joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India (Rept. No. 70).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted:

By Mr. ELLENDER, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

Paul Arthur Dobson, of California, and Millard F. Dailey, of Minnesota, to be members of the Federal Farm Credit Board, Farm Credit Administration.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. PASTORE:

S. 1295. A bill to provide that judges of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals shall hold office during good behavior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ANDERSON (for himself and Mrs. Smith) (by request):

S. 1296. A bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

(See the remarks of Mr. Anderson when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TALMADGE:

S. 1297. A bill to amend section 218 of the Social Security Act to extend for an additional year the period during which certain State and local employees may be brought under Social Security coverage pursuant to Federal-State agreement; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SPARKMAN (by request):

S. 1298. A bill to establish a graduated system of reserve requirements for all insured banks, to authorize Federal Reserve banks to extend credit to all insured banks, and for other purposes; and

S. 1299. A bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to permit regulation of the amount of credit that may be extended and maintained with respect to securities that are not registered on a national securities exchange; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. Sparkman when he introduced the above bills, which appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

S. 1300. A bill to revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Jackson when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FULBRIGHT (by request):

S. 1301. A bill to authorize the acquisition, transfer, conveyance, lease, and improvement of, and construction on, certain property in the District of Columbia for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States, as sites for governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fulbright when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina:

S. 1302. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mallappa Amravati; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana (for himself, Mr. Nelson, and Mr. Morse):

S. 1303. A bill to assure the orderly, efficient, proper, and economical provision of drugs to individuals entitled thereto under certain programs established by or pursuant to the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. Long of Louisiana when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. METCALF (for himself and Mr. Mansfield):

S. 1304. A bill concerning payment of unemployment taxes by American Indian tribes, bands or communities; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. ALLOTT (for himself, Mr. Dominick, Mr. Fong, Mr. Jordan of Idaho, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Moss, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Prouty, Mr. Scott, Mr. Tower, Mr. Inouye, and Mr. Gruening):

S. 1305. A bill to establish a joint congressional committee to make a continuing study of the programs and operations of the Federal Government relating to science and technology, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Allott when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. COTTON:

S.J. Res. 55. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RESOLUTION

AUTHORIZATION FOR PRINTING OF REPORT ENTITLED "POLICY PLANNING FOR TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER" AS A SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. SMATHERS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 93); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 93

Resolved, That there be printed, with illustrations, as a Senate document, a report of the Subcommittee on Science and Technology of the Select Committee on Small Business, entitled "Policy Planning for Technology Transfer," prepared by the Science Policy Research Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress.

Sec. 2. There shall be printed 4000 additional copies of such document for the use of the Select Committee on Small Business.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith], by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a new bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes. This bill amends S. 781, introduced on January 31, 1967, to reflect the President's decision relative to the technology phase of nuclear rocket activity. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record, together with a letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, requesting the proposed legislation and a sectional analysis of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hollings in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, letter, and section-by-section analysis will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1296) to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Anderson (for himself and Mrs. Smith), by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1296

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration the sum of $5,100,000,000, as follows:

(a) For "Research and development," for the following programs:

(1) Apollo, $2,546,500,000;

(2) Apollo applications, $454,700,000;

(3) Advanced missions, $8,000,000;

(4) Physics and Astronomy, $147,500,000;

(5) Lunar and planetary exploration, $142,000,000;

(6) Voyager, $71,500,000;

(7) Bioscience, $44,300,000;

(8) Space applications, $104,200,000;

(9) Launch vehicle procurement, $165,100,000;

(10) Space vehicle systems, $37,000,000;

(11) Electronics systems, $40,200,000;

(12) Human factor systems, $21,000,000;

(13) Basic research, $23,500,000;

(14) Space power and electric propulsion systems, $45,000,000;

(15) Nuclear rockets, $74,000,000;

(16) Chemical propulsion, $38,000,000;

(17) Aeronautics, $66,800,000;

(18) Tracking and data acquisition, $297,700,000;

(19) Sustaining university program, $20,000,000;

(20) Technology utilization, $5,000,000.

(b) For "Construction of facilities," including land acquisition, as follows:

(1) Ames Research Center, Moffett Field, California, $5,365,000;

(2) Electronics Research Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, $6,220,000;

(3) Goddard Space Flight Center, Greenbelt, Maryland, $565,000;

(4) Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Pasadena, California, $3,125,000;

(5) John F. Kennedy Space Center, NASA Kennedy Space Center, Florida, $24,885,000;

(6) Lewis Research Center, Cleveland and Sandusky, Ohio, $2,115,000;

(7) Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston, Texas, $2,425,000;

(8) George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, Huntsville, Alabama, $870,000;

(9) Michoud Assembly Facility, New Orleans and Slidell, Louisiana, $2,010,000;

(10) Nuclear Rocket Development Station, Nevada, $22,500,000;

(11) Wallops Station, Wallops Island, Virginia, $740,000;

(12) Various locations, $2,880,000;

(13) Facility planning and design not otherwise provided for, $3,000,000.

(c) For "Administrative operations," $671,300,000.

(d) Appropriations for "Research and development" may be used (1) for any items of a capital nature (other than acquisition of land) which may be required for the performance of research and development contracts and (2) for grants to nonprofit institutions of higher education, or to nonprofit organizations whose primary purpose is the conduct of scientific research, for purchase or construction of additional research facilities; and title to such facilities shall be vested in the United States unless the Administrator determines that the national program of aeronautical and space activities will best be served by vesting title in any such grantee institution or organization. Each such grant shall be made under such conditions as the Administrator shall determine to be required to insure that the United states will receive therefrom benefit adequate to justify the making of that grant. None of the funds appropriated for "Research and development" pursuant to this Act may be used for construction of any major facility, the estimated cost of which, including collateral equipment, exceeds $250,000, unless the Administrator or his designee has notified the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate and the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences of the Senate of the nature, location, and estimated cost of such facility.

(e) When so specified in an appropriation Act, (1) any amount appropriated for "Research and development" or for "Construction of facilities" may remain available without fiscal year limitation, and (2) maintenance and operation of facilities, and support services contracts may be entered into under the "Administrative operations" appropriation for periods not in excess of twelve months beginning at any time during the fiscal year.

(f) Appropriations made pursuant to subsection 1(c) may be used, but not to exceed $35,000, for scientific consultations or extraordinary expenses upon the approval or authority of the Administrator and his determination shall be final and conclusive upon the accounting officers of the Government.

(g) No part of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(c) for maintenance, repairs, alterations, and minor construction shall be used for the construction of any new facility the estimated cost of which, including collateral equipment, exceeds $100,000.

Sec. 2. Authorization is hereby granted whereby any of the amounts prescribed in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12) of subsection 1(b) may, in the discretion of the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, be varied upward 5 per centum to meet unusual cost variations, but the total cost of all work authorized under such paragraphs shall not exceed the total of the amounts specified in such paragraphs.

Sec. 3. Not to exceed one-half of 1 per centum of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(a) hereof may be transferred to the "Construction of facilities" appropriation, and, when so transferred, together with $10,000,000 of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(b) hereof (other than funds appropriated pursuant to paragraph (13) of such subsection) shall be available for expenditure to construct, expand, or modify laboratories and other installations at any location (including locations specified in subsection 1(b)), if (1) the Administrator determines such action to be necessary because of changes in the national proram of aeronautical and space activities or new scientific or engineering developments, and (2) he determines that deferral of such action until the enactment of the next authorization Act would be inconsistent with the interest of the Nation in aeronautical and space activities. The funds so made available may be expended to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment. No portion of such sums may be obligated for expenditure or expended to construct, expand, or modify laboratories and other installations unless (A) a period of thirty days has passed after the Administrator or his designee has transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the President of the Senate and to the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences of the Senate a written report containing a full and complete statement concerning (1) the nature of such construction, expansion, or modification, (2) the cost thereof including the cost of any real estate action pertaining thereto, and (3) the reason why such construction, expansion, or modification is necessary in the national interest, or (B) each such committee before the expiration of such period has transmitted to the Administrator written notice to the effect that such committee has no objection to the proposed action.

Sec. 4. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act—

(1) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program deleted by the Congress from requests as originally made to either the House Committee on Science and Astronautics or the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences;

(2) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program in excess of the amount actually authorized for that particular program by sections 1(a) and 1(c); and

(3) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program which has not been presented to or requested of either such committee,

unless (A) a period of thirty days has passed after the receipt by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate and each such committee of notice given by the Administrator or his designee containing a full and complete statement of the action proposed to be taken and the facts and circumstances relied upon in support of such proposed action, or (B) each such committee before the expiration of such period has transmitted to the Administrator written notice to the effect that such committee has no objection to the proposed action.

Sec. 5. It is the sense of Congress that it is in the national interest that consideration be given to geographical distribution of Federal research funds whenever feasible, and that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration should explore ways and means of distributing its research and development funds whenever feasible.

Sec. 6. This Act may be cited as the "National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, 1968."

The letter and sectional analysis presented by Mr. Anderson are as follows:

National Aeronautics and
Space Administration,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: With its letter of January 24, 1967, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration submitted to the President of the Senate a draft of a bill "To authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes," together with a sectional analysis. In substitution for those items there is enclosed an amended draft of the bill, together with a sectional analysis thereof. This is addressed to the President of the Senate pursuant to Rule VII of the standing rules of the Senate.

Included in the budget proposed by the President was the recommendation that the appropriation of $5,050,000,000 be authorized for NASA for the fiscal year 1968. Comprehended within that amount were certain funds for the technology phase of nuclear rocket activity. The President has now determined that the Atomic Energy Commission and NASA should jointly proceed with the development of a flight-rated nuclear rocket engine, NERVA, at a thrust level of 200,000 to 250,000 pounds. NASA is responsible for development of the non-nuclear elements of the engine. The Atomic Energy Commission is responsible for the development of the reactor. NASA's portion of this program will require an additional $27,500,000 of "Research and development" funds and $22,500,000 for "Construction of facilities" funds. A message from the President amending the budget in several respects to reflect his decision has been received by the Congress. It is the purpose of this letter to forward a draft of a bill which would reflect the changes insofar as NASA is concerned so that the authorization required by law may be made available for the appropriation concerned.

The enclosed bill differs in substance from that submitted in January only in that line item "(15) Nuclear rockets" under the "Research and development" appropriation has been increased by $27,500,000 and a new locational line item "(10) Nuclear Rocket Development Station, Nevada, $22,500,000" has been inserted under the "Construction of facilities" appropriation.

The funds included under the "Research and development" appropriation will be used by NASA to support the design and initial development effort on the NERVA nuclear rocket engine. The $22,500,000 for "Construction of facilities" will provide the initial increment of funding for design and the earliest phases of construction on an engine/stage test stand to be used in conducting the development tests of the engine.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration recommends that the fiscal year 1968 NASA Authorization Act be enacted as amended in the enclosed draft bill. The Bureau of the Budget has advised that an enactment in that form would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely yours,

James E. Webb,
Administrator.

Sectional Analysis of a Bill "To Authorize Appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for Research and Development, Construction of Facilities, and Administrative Operations, and for Other Purposes"

SECTION 1

Subsections (*a*), (*b*), *and* (*c*) would authorize to be appropriated to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration the sum of $5,100,000,000, as follows: (a) for "Research and development," a total of twenty program line items aggregating the sum of $4,352,000,000; (b) for "Construction of facilities," a total of eleven locational line items, together with one for various locations and one for facility planning and design, aggregating the sum of $76,700,000; and, (c) for "Administrative operations," $671,300,000.

Subsection 1(*d*) would authorize the use of appropriations for "Research and development" for: (i) items of a capital nature (other than the acquisition of land) required for the performance of research and development contracts; and, (ii) grants to nonprofit institutions of higher education, or to nonprofit organizations whose primary purpose is the conduct of scientific research, for purchase or construction of additional research facilities. Title to such facilities shall be vested in the United States unless the Administrator determines that the national program of aeronautical and space activities will best be served by vesting title in any such grantee institution. Moreover, each such grant shall be made under such conditions as the Administrator shall find necessary to insure that the United States will receive therefrom benefit adequate to justify the making of that grant.

In either case no funds may be used for the construction of a facility the estimated cost of which, including collateral equipment, exceeds $250,000 unless the Administrator notifies the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate and the specified committees of the Congress of the nature, location, and estimated cost of such facility.

Subsection 1(e) would provide that, when so specified in an appropriation Act, (1) any amount appropriated for "Research and development" or for "Construction of facilities" may remain available without fiscal year limitation, and (2) contracts for maintenance and operation of facilities and support services may be entered into under the "Administrative operations" appropriation for periods not in excess of twelve months beginning at any time during the fiscal year.

Subsection 1(f) would authorize the use of not to exceed $35,000 of "Administrative operations" appropriation funds for scientific consultations or extraordinary expenses, including representation and official entertainment expenses, upon the authority of the Administrator, whose determination shall be final and conclusive.

Subsection 1(g) would provide that no funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(c) for maintenance, repair, alteration and minor construction may be used to construct any new facility the estimated cost of which, including collateral equipment, exceeds $100,000.

SECTION 2

Section 2 would authorize the 5% upward variation of any of the sums authorized for the "Construction of facilities" line items (other than facility planning and design) when, in the discretion of the Administrator, this is needed to meet unusual cost variations. However, the total cost of all work authorized under these line items may not exceed the total sum authorized for "Construction of facilities" under subsection 1(b), paragraphs (1) through (12).

SECTION 3

Section 3 would provide that not more than ½% of the funds appropriated for "Research and development" may be transferred to the "Construction of facilities" appropriation and, when so transferred, together with $10,000,000 of the funds appropriated for "Construction of facilities," shall be available for the construction of facilities and land acquisition at any location if (1) the Administrator determines that such action is necessary because of changes in the space program or new scientific or engineering developments, and (2) that deferral of such action until the next authorization Act is enacted would be inconsistent with the interest of the Nation in aeronautical and space activities. However, no such funds may be obligated until 30 days have passed after the Administrator or his designee has transmitted to the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate and the specified committees of Congress a written report containing a description of the project, its cost, and the reason why such project is necessary in the national interest, or each such committee before the expiration of such 30-day period has notified the Administrator that no objection to the proposed action will be made.

SECTION 4

Section 4 would provide that, notwithstanding any other provision of this Act—

(1) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program deleted by the Congress from requests as originally made to either the House Committee on Science and Astronautics or the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences;

(2) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program in excess of the amount actually authorized for that particular program by subsections 1(a) and 1(c); and,

(3) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program which has not been presented to or requested of either such committee, unless (A) a period of 30 days has passed after the receipt by the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate and each such committee of notice given by the Administrator or his designee containing a full and complete statement of the action proposed to be taken and the facts and circumstances relied upon in support of such proposed action, or (B) each such committee before the expiration of such period has transmitted to the Administrator written notice to the effect that such committee has no objection to the proposed action.

SECTION 5

Section 5 would express the sense of the Congress that it is in the national interest that consideration be given to geographical distribution of Federal research funds whenever feasible and that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration should explore ways and means of distributing its research and development funds whenever feasible.

SECTION 6

Section 6 would provide that the Act may be cited as the "National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, 1968."

ESTABLISHMENT OF A GRADUATED SYSTEM OF RESERVE REQUIREMENTS FOR ALL INSURED BANKS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I have received a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System enclosing a draft of a bill to establish a graduated system of reserve requirements for all insured banks, to authorize Federal Reserve banks to extend credit to all insured banks, and for other purposes. This letter states that the Board urges the introduction and enactment of this proposed legislation.

Since it is appropriate that the proposals of the Federal Reserve Board should receive full and careful consideration of the Congress, the banking system, and the public, I have introduced this bill, by request.

In order to give the fullest notice of the purpose and effect of the bill, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of the Federal Reserve Board and the text of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, and letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1298) to establish a graduated system of reserve requirements for all insured banks, to authorize Federal Reserve banks to extend credit to all insured banks, and for other purposes; introduced by Mr. SPARKMAN, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1298

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 19(a) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 461), as amended by the Act of September 21, 1966 (80 Stat. 823), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "For purposes of this section, the terms 'insured bank' and 'noninsured bank' shall have the meanings given those terms by section 3(h) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1813(h))."

SEC. 2. Section 19(b) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 462) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Every insured bank engaged in the business of receiving deposits subject to check shall maintain reserves against its deposits in such ratio or ratios and according to such reasonable basis or bases as shall be determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System within the following limitations:

"(1) The required reserve ratio for deposits other than demand deposits shall be not less than 3 per centum nor more than 10 per centum.

"(2) The required reserve ratio for demand deposits not exceeding $5 million shall be not less than 7 per centum nor more than 14 per centum.

"(3) The required reserve ratio for demand deposits exceeding $5 million and not exceeding $100 million shall be not less than 8 per centum nor more than 20 per centum.

"(4) The required reserve ratio for demand deposits exceeding $100 million shall be not less than 10 per centum nor more than 22 per centum.

"(5) The $5 million figure may be increased by the Board to not more than $10 million or decreased to not less than $2½ million, and the $100 million figure may be increased to not more than $500 million or decreased to not less than $50 million.

"Every insured bank shall make reports concerning its required reserves to the Board of Governors at such time and in such form as the Board may require.

"For every violation of this section by an insured bank, in addition to the penalties that may be authorized by other provisions of law, such bank shall be subject to a penalty not exceeding $1,000 per day for each day during which such violation continues. Such penalty may be assessed by the Board of Governors, in its discretion, and, when so assessed, may be collected by the Federal Reserve Bank by suit or otherwise."

Whenever it shall appear to the Board of Governors that an insured bank has willfully violated or has continued to violate the provisions of this section regarding required reserves or reports with respect thereto, the Board, after having warned the bank to discontinue such violations, may report such facts to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which shall immediately commence proceedings to terminate the status of the bank as an insured bank in accordance with the provisions of section 8(a) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1818(a)).

SEC. 3. Section 19(c) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 462) is amended by changing the words "member bank" to "insured bank".

SEC. 4. The second sentence of section 19(e) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 374) is amended by changing the words "member bank" to "insured bank" and the words "nonmember bank" to "noninsured bank."

SEC. 5. Sections 19(f) and (g) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 464, 465) are amended by changing the words "member bank" and "member banks" wherever they occur therein to "insured bank" and "insured banks", respectively.

SEC. 6. Section 11(e) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 248(e)) is repealed.

SEC. 7. Section 13 of the Federal Reserve Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"Every Federal Reserve Bank is authorized to discount paper for, and make advances to, any insured bank in its district to the same extent and subject to the same limitations as said Federal Reserve Bank is authorized to discount paper for, and make advances to, member banks under the provisions of this Act."

SEC. 8. Section 7 of the Act of September 21, 1966 (80 Stat. 823), is repealed.

The letter presented by Mr. SPARKMAN is as follows:

BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM,
Washington, D.C., March 1, 1967.
Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Board of Governors wishes to recommend legislation establishing a graduated system of reserve requirements against the demand deposits of all federally insured commercial banks and, in conjunction therewith, authorizing the Federal Reserve Banks to extend credit to nonmember insured commercial banks to the same extent such credit is made available to member banks.

Under the provisions of section 19 of the Federal Reserve Act, the Board could establish a graduated system of reserve requirements for member banks. However, the Board's ability to establish the most appropriate graduated system is limited by the outmoded statutory differentiation, for reserve purposes, between reserve city and "country" banks.

The Board believes that the classification of member banks into reserve city and country banks has become increasingly arbitrary and inequitable, as differences in both size and function between country and city banks have lessened. With graduated reserve requirements along the line of the enclosed draft bill, the required reserves of each bank would depend on the size of its demand deposits rather than its location. Moreover, this proposed system would probably lessen changes in total required reserves resulting from shifts in deposits among banks of different size.

The Board also considers that, rationally and equitably, nonmember insured banks should be required to maintain reserves in the same amount and form that are applicable to member banks. Deposits in nonmember banks are part of the country's money supply just as are those in member banks, and accordingly their exemption from federally imposed reserve requirements cannot be justified. In making Federal Reserve requirements applicable to nonmember banks—one of the major "burdens" of Federal Reserve membership—the law should grant such banks access to Federal Reserve discount facilities—one of the major benefits of such membership.

The enclosed draft bill is based upon the foregoing considerations. The Board urges the introduction and enactment of such proposed legislation.

Sincerely yours,
WM. MCC. MARTIN, Jr.

A bill to establish a graduated system of reserve requirement for all insured banks, to authorize Federal Reserve banks to extend credit to all insured banks, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That section 19(a) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 461), as amended by the Act of September 21, 1966 (80 Stat. 823), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "For purposes of this section, the terms 'insured bank' and 'noninsured bank' shall have the meanings given those terms by section 3(h) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1813(h))."

SEC. 2. Section 19(b) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 462) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Every insured bank engaged in the business of receiving deposits subject to check shall maintain reserves against its deposits in such ratio or ratios and according to such reasonable basis or bases as shall be determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System within the following limitations:

"(1) The required reserve ratio for deposits other than demand deposits shall be not less than 3 per centum nor more than 10 per centum.

"(2) The required reserve ratio for demand deposits not exceeding $5 million shall be not less than 7 per centum nor more than 14 per centum.

"(3) The required reserve ratio for demand deposits exceeding $5 million and not exceeding $100 million shall be not less than 8 per centum nor more than 20 per centum.

"(4) The required reserve ratio for demand deposits exceeding $100 million shall be not less than 10 per centum more than 22 per centum.

"(5) The $5 million figure may be increased by the Board to not more than $10 million or decreased to not less than $2½ million, and the $100 million figure may be increased to not more than $500 million or decreased to not less than $50 million.

"Every insured bank shall make reports concerning its required reserves to the Board of Governors at such time and in such form as the Board may require.

"For every violation of this section by an insured bank, in addition to the penalties that may be authorized by other provisions of law, such bank shall be subject to a penalty not exceeding $1,000 per day for each day during which such violation continues. Such penalty may be assessed by the Board of Governors, in its discretion, and, when so assessed, may be collected by the Federal Reserve Bank by suit or otherwise."

Whenever it shall appear to the Board of Governors that an insured bank has willfully violated or has continued to violate the provisions of this section regarding required reserves or reports with respect thereto, the Board, after having warned the bank to discontinue such violations, may report such facts to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which shall immediately commence proceedings to terminate the status of the bank as an insured bank in accordance with the provisions of section 8(a) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1818(a)).

SEC. 3. Section 19(c) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 462) is amended by changing the words "member bank" to "insured bank".

SEC. 4. The second sentence of section 19(e) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 374) is amended by changing the words "member bank" to "insured bank" and the words "nonmember bank" to "noninsured bank".

SEC. 5. Sections 19 (f) and(g) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 464, 465) are amended by changing the words "member bank" and "member banks" wherever they occur to "insured bank" and "insured banks", respectively.

SEC. 6. Section 11(e) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 248(e)) is repealed.

SEC. 7. Section 13 of the Federal Reserve Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"Every Federal Reserve Bank is authorized to discount paper for, and make advances to, any insured bank in its district to the same extent and subject to the same limitations as said Federal Reserve Bank is authorized to discount paper for, and make advances to, member banks under the provisions of this Act."

SEC. 8. Section 7 of the Act of September 21, 1966 (80 Stat. 823), is repealed.

REGULATION OF AMOUNT OF CREDIT EXTENDED TO CERTAIN SECURITIES

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I have received a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System enclosing a draft of a bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to permit regulation of the amount of credit that may be extended and maintained with respect to securities that are not registered on a national securities exchange. I have introduced this by request.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Federal Reserve Board and the accompanying enclosures be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter and accompanying enclosures, were ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1299) to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to permit regulation of the amount of credit that may be extended and maintained with respect to securities that are not registered on a national securities exchange, introduced by Mr. SPARKMAN, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The letter and accompanying enclosures presented by Mr. SPARKMAN are as follows:

BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM,
Washington, D.C., March 1, 1967.
Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Section 7 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78g) authorizes the Board of Governors to regulate (1) credit that brokers and dealers may extend on securities registered on an exchange, and (2) credit that banks (and other lenders) may extend for the purpose of purchasing or carrying securities registered on an exchange. The Act, while prohibiting brokers and dealers from extending credit on securities traded not on exchanges but "over the counter" ("OTC"), allows banks to lend without restriction where the purpose is to buy or carry OTC securities. In other words, while brokers and dealers are prohibited from lending at all on OTC securities, bank credit to buy such securities, and secured thereby, may be extended in uncontrolled amounts. The Board has favored readjustment of the law so that actively-traded OTC securities could be placed more nearly on the same basis, in this respect, as exchange-registered securities (see, for example, the enclosed excerpt from the *Annual Report of the Board of Governors for 1964*).

As reported in Chapter X of the Securities and Exchange Commission's Special Study of the Securities Market, H.R. Doc. No. 95, 88th Cong. (1963), the OTC market has in part developed sufficiently to make it unreasonable to continue the existing difference in the status, for this purpose, of widely-held OTC securities and securities registered on an exchange. In other words, trading in certain OTC securities has become a significant factor in the securities market and their present exclusion from margin-regulation coverage represents a serious gap in the effectiveness of the Board's regulations in preventing excessive use of credit to purchase and carry securities.

The statutory amendments embodied in the enclosed draft bill would not directly affect the present scheme of securities market credit control; they would simply authorize the Federal Reserve Board to encompass OTC securities within the Federal security-credit regulations. If the proposed bill were enacted, present regulations would continue to operate as they do now, and the Board could proceed in an orderly way to bring specified categories of OTC securities under margin requirements to the extent that appears to be appropriate and feasible.

The majority of OTC securities are not actively traded and, therefore, are not suitable for margin regulation. At present, of the 20,000 securities traded over the counter price quotations are disseminated to the public for about 1200 issues. Even within this group, many issues do not have the depth of market, public information, or the investor interest requisite to permit trading in a margin account. Accordingly, if this legislation is adopted, the Board presently contemplates issuance of regulations that would apply only to those securities that (1) are subject to public disclosure requirements under the 1964 Securities Acts Amendments, and (2) are traded in sufficient volume to assure reliable pricing, reasonable liquidity, and substantial investor and dealer interest.

Of course, development of specific objective tests to ascertain which OTC securities meet these standards is one of several problems that would be encountered in the exercise of this new authority. Those problems, the Board believes, could best be handled by regulation, after publication of proposed regulations would elicit the views and criticism of the investing public and the securities industry.

The Securities and Exchange Commission has reviewed this proposal and supports it. The Commission believe that the regulations should be limited, at least initially, to OTC stocks which meet whatever criteria may be established, such as those set out above, and that dealers who maintain inventories and make markets in a particular security should be restricted in their ability to sell such securities on margin because of the conflicts of interest inherent in such situations. The Commission has offered to aid in the development of appropriate regulations.

The Board recommends the introduction and favorable consideration of the enclosed draft bill. Also enclosed is a markup of the present statute, indicating the proposed changes in existing law.

Sincerely yours,

WM. MCC. MARTIN, Jr.

EXCERPT FROM 1964 ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

(p. 207)

Margin requirements for securities transactions. Section 7 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78g) authorizes the Board of Governors to limit the credit that brokers and dealers may extend on securities that are registered on a national securities exchange and to limit the credit that banks (and other lenders) may extend for the purpose of purchasing or carrying equity securities that are so registered. However, with respect to securities that are not traded on exchanges but only "over the counter," that Act forbids brokers and dealers, generally speaking, to extend any credit whatever, and permits banks to extend credit without being subject to any governmentally-imposed margin requirements.

For many years the Board has favored amendment of the law in this area. The present arrangement is inequitable in its contrasting treatment of brokers and banks. In addition it limits the effectiveness of salutary controls over security credit and unnecessarily deprives over-the-counter securities of credit facilities that might appropriately be extended by brokers and dealers. The growth of the over-the-counter securities market has given this problem increased importance, and the Securities and Exchange Commission's *Special Study of Securities Markets,* a report made to Congress in 1963, recommended amendment of the 1934 Act in these respects.

The Board urges enactment of legislation modifying Section 7 of that Act to eliminate this unwarranted difference in the status, for credit purposes, of securities traded on exchanges and securities traded over the counter.

A bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to permit regulation of the amount of credit that may be extended and maintained with respect to securities that are not registered on a national securities exchange

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 7 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78g) is amended—

(1) By striking "registered on a national securities exchange" in subsection (a).

(2) By modifying subsection (c) to read as follows:

"(c) It shall be unlawful for any member of a national securities exchange or any broker or dealer, directly or indirectly to extend or maintain credit or arrange for the extension of maintenance of credit to or for any customer—

"(1) On any security (other than an exempted security), in contravention of the rules and regulations which the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall prescribe under subsections (a) and (b) of this section.

"(2) Without collateral or on any collateral other than securities, except in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System may prescribe (A) to permit under specified conditions and for a limited period any such member, broker, or dealer to maintain a credit initially extended in conformity with the rules and regulations of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and (B) to permit the extension or maintenance of credit in cases where the extension or maintenance of credit is not for the purpose of purchasing or carrying securities or of evading or circumventing the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection."

(3) By striking "registered on a national securities exchange" in the first sentence of subsection (d) and "registered on national securities exchanges" in the second sentence of that subsection.

SECTION 7 OF THE SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT MARKED TO INDICATE CHANGES THAT WOULD BE MADE BY AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

(Stricken matter enclosed in brackets)

Section 7. (a) For the purpose of preventing the excessive use of credit for the purchase or carrying of securities, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall, prior to the effective date of this section and from time to time thereafter, prescribe rules and regulations with respect to the amount of credit that may be initially extended and subsequently maintained on any security (other than an exempted security) [registered on a national securities exchange]. For the initial extension of credit, such rules and regulations shall be based upon the following standard: An amount not greater than whichever is the higher of—

(1) 55 per centum of the current market price of the security, or

(2) 100 per centum of the lowest market price of the security during the preceding thirty-six calendar months, but not more than 75 per centum of the current market price.

Such rules and regulations may make appropriate provision with respect to the carrying of undermargined accounts for limited periods and under specified conditions; the withdrawal of funds or securities; the substitution or additional purchases of securities; the transfer of accounts from one lender to another; special or different margin requirements for delayed deliveries, short sales, arbitrage transactions, and securities to which paragraph (2) of this subsection does not apply; the bases and the methods to be used in calculating loans, and margins and market prices; and similar administrative adjustments and details. For the purposes of paragraph (2) of this subsection, until July 1, 1936, the lowest price at which a security has sold on or after July 1, 1933, shall be considered as the lowest price at which such security has sold during the preceding thirty-six calendar months.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System may, from time to time, with respect to all or specified securities or transactions, or classes of securities, or classes of transactions, by such rules and regulations (1) prescribe such lower margin requirements for the initial extension or maintenance of credit as it deems necessary or appropriate for the accommodation of commerce and industry, having due regard to the general credit situation of the country, and (2) prescribe such higher margin requirements for the initial extension or maintenance of credit as it may deem necessary or appropriate to prevent the excessive use of credit to finance transactions in securities.

(c) It shall be unlawful for any member of a national securities exchange or any broker or dealer [who transacts a business in securities through the medium of any such member], directly or indirectly to extend or maintain credit or arrange for the extension or maintenance of credit to or from any customer—

(1) On any security (other than an exempted security) [registered on a national securities exchange], in contravention of the rules and regulations which the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall prescribe under subsections (a) and (b) of this section.

(2) Without collateral or on any collateral other than [exempted] securities [and/or securities registered upon a national securities exchange], except in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System may prescribe (A) to permit under specified conditions and for a limited period any such member, broker, or dealer to maintain a credit initially extended in conformity with the rules and regulations of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and (B) to permit the extension or maintenance of credit in cases where the extension or maintenance of credit is not for the purpose of purchasing or carrying securities or of evading or circumventing the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(d) It shall be unlawful for any person not subject to subsection (c) of this section to extend or maintain credit or to arrange for the extension or maintenance of credit for the purpose of purchasing or carrying any security [registered on a national securities exchange], in contravention of such rules and regulations as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall prescribe to prevent the excessive use of credit for the purchasing or carrying of or trading in securities in circumvention of the other provisions of this section. Such rules and regulations may impose upon all loans made for the purpose of purchasing or carrying securities [registered on national securities exchanges] limitations similar to those imposed upon members, brokers, or dealers by subsection (c) of this section and the rules and regulations thereunder. This subsection and the rules and regulations thereunder shall not apply (A) to a loan made by a person not in the ordinary course of his business, (B) to a loan on an exempted security, (C) to a loan to a dealer to aid in the financing of the distribution of securities to customers not through the medium of a national securities exchange, (D) to a loan by a bank on a security other than an equity security, or (E) to such other loans as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall, by such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors, exempt, either unconditionally or upon specified terms and conditions or for stated periods, from the operation of this subsection and the rules and regulations thereunder.

(e) The provisions of this section or the rules and regulations thereunder shall not apply on or before July 1, 1937, to any loan or extension of credit made prior to the enactment of this title or to the maintenance, renewal, or extension of any such loan or credit, except to the extent that the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System may by rules and regulations prescribe as necessary to prevent the circumvention of the provisions of this section or the rules and regulations thereunder by means of withdrawals of funds or securities, substitutions of securities, or additional purchases or by any other device.

REVISION OF BOUNDARY OF GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, by request, I introduced, for appropriate reference, a bill submitted and recommended by the Secretary of Interior to revise the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes.

As the Senate is well aware, various proposals are pending before Congress relating to the development of the water resources of the Lower Colorado River Basin which may affect the Grand Canyon National Park in some way. This bill is designed by the administration to protect the integrity of the national park by adjusting its boundaries to add a total of 67,840 acres and eliminate some 200 acres from the park. Since all of the lands involved are publicly owned, no present increase in costs is expected to result from this revision.

Recently the Secretary submitted his own plan for development of the central Arizona project which can be constructed without adding more dams along the Colorado River. The present bill is intended to complete the Secretary's overall recommendation for this area by making significant scenic and spectacular additions to the Grand Canyon National Park which deserve permanent protection.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Secretary of Interior accompanying the legislation, along with the text of the bill, be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1300) to revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JACKSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1300

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to include within the Grand Canyon National Park certain land on the west rim of Marble Canyon eastward to the thread of the Colorado River, and other lands adjacent to the existing south, north, and east boundaries of the park, which possess outstanding scenic grandeur and unique natural and scientific values and which should be preserved and interpreted for the benefit and inspiration of present and future generations, the areas shown as "proposed additions" on the drawing entitled "Proposed Additions to Grand Canyon National Park", numbered LNPSW–1004–GC, and dated March 1967, are, subject to valid existing rights, hereby made a part of Grand Canyon National Park: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Interior may, with the concurrence of the Secretary of Agriculture where national forest lands are involved, revise the boundary of the park along and adjacent to the west rim of Marble Canyon to include sites which the Secretary of the Interior deems necessary or desirable to provide overlooks and related facilities above the canyon rim. Any such revision shall become effective upon publication of notice in the Federal Register. The area shown on such drawing as a "proposed deletion" is hereby excluded from the park and made a part of the Kaibab National Forest. Such drawing shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

SEC. 2. (a) Within the boundary of the park as revised, the Secretary of the Interior may acquire land and interests in land by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange. Any property or interests therein owned by the State of Arizona may be acquired only by donation. National forest land within the revised boundary of the park is hereby excluded from the national forest and transferred to the Secretary of the Interior for administration as part of the park.

(b) In exercising his authority to acquire property by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property within the revised boundary of the park, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction in the State of Arizona which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require.

The letter presented by Mr. JACKSON is as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1967.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed is a draft of a proposed bill "To revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, and for other purposes."

We recommend that the draft bill be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration, and we recommend that it be enacted.

The Grand Canyon, a 1-mile deep and 10-mile wide gorge cut by the action of the Colorado River over thousands of years, was established as a national park by the Act of February 26, 1919 (40 Stat. 1175; 16 U.S.C. 221 *et seq.*). The park, which contains some 673,575 acres, preserves the most spectacular record in the world of the earth's history. Within the park are varied rock layers that represent most of geologic time as we know it. The Grand Canyon National Park attracts more than 1,770,000 visitors per year.

Upon the basis of a recent study of the park boundaries, we recommend the addition to the park of certain spectacular areas on the northern and western boundaries, encompassing additional portions of the Colorado River Gorge, and we also recommend certain minor boundary adjustments. The enclosed bill will revise the park boundaries at three major areas:

1. Kanab Creek addition—adds to the park some 38,500 acres containing the north side of the Grand Canyon itself and the lower seven miles of the spectacular Kanab Creek Canyon, of which 37,330 acres are administered by the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, and 1,170 acres are public lands administered by this Department. In addition, to straighten a portion of the north boundary of the park east of the Kanab Creek area, 400 acres of national forest land will be added to the park and 200 acres will be eliminated from it and added to the national forest.
2. South addition—adds to the southern boundary of the park 640 acres of national forest land needed to protect the South Rim Drive.
3. Marble Canyon addition—adds to the northwestern boundary of the park the western side of the spectacular Marble Canyon Gorge and thereby includes within the park a continuation of the Colorado River Gorge. This addition, which includes 28,300 acres, will extend the park boundary up the Colorado River about 55 miles to the section line above Lee's Ferry, and eastward across the gorge to the thread of the Colorado River where the boundary will adjoin the Navajo Indian Reservation. Included in this addition are 14,336 acres of national forest land, 11,264 acres of public land administered by this Department, and 2,700 additional acres of public land administered by this Department which is withdrawn for the Glen Canyon reservoir project.

The enclosed bill therefore will add to the park a total of 67,840 acres and eliminate 200 acres from its existing boundaries. No increased costs are expected to result from these boundary revisions within the next five years.

The bill authorizes further revisions of the park boundary along the western rim of Marble Canyon in order to provide overlooks and related facilities if later detailed planning discloses a need for them.

This proposed legislation has been discussed with the Secretary of Agriculture and has his approval.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that the presentation of this proposed legislation would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely yours,

STEWART F. UDALL,
Secretary of the Interior.

TO AUTHORIZE ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the acquisition, transfer, conveyance, lease, and improvement of, and construction on, certain property in the District of Columbia for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States, as sites for governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes.

This legislation has been requested by the Secretary of State, and I am introducing the proposed legislation in order that there may be a specific bill to which Members of the Senate and the public may direct their attention and comments.

I reserve my right to support or oppose this bill, as well as any suggested amendments to it, when the matter is considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be printed at this point in the Record, together with the letter from the Assistant Secretary of State to the Vice President in regard to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and letter will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1301) to authorize the acquisition, transfer, conveyance, lease, and improvement of, and construction on, certain property in the District of Columbia for use as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States, as sites for governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Fulbright, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1301

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to facilitate the conduct of foreign relations by the Department of State in Washington, District of Columbia, through the creation of a more propitious atmosphere for the establishment of foreign government and international organization offices and other facilities, the Administrator of General Services is authorized to acquire by purchase, condemnation, donation, exchange, or otherwise, such lands and any buildings and improvements (including property owned by the District of Columbia) thereon within an area in the northwest section of the District of Columbia bounded by the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, Pennsylvania Avenue, L Street, New Hampshire Avenue, 21st Street, N Street, and 22d Street, as the Secretary of State shall determine to be necessary to provide (1) a headquarters building site for the Organization of American States, (2) sites for buildings and supporting facilities for international organizations, (3) sites for buildings and supporting facilities for governments of foreign countries, and to improve any such sites.

Sec. 2(a). The Administrator of General Services is hereby authorized to transfer or convey to the Organization of American States, without consideration, all right, title, and interest to a parcel of land not to exceed 6 acres of the land acquired under section 1 of this Act or otherwise owned by the United States within the area described in section 1 of this Act subject to (1) such terms and conditions as the Secretary of State shall prescribe, and (2) commitment by the Organization of American States to transfer or convey without consideration, all right, title, and interest of the Organization of American States in the buildings and other improvements on the property known as lot 802 in square south of square 147 in the District of Columbia to the United States as soon as the land transferred or conveyed to the Organization of American States is developed for use as a headquarters. The deed to the Organization of American States shall provide that the property transferred or conveyed to it under the authority of this section shall be used as a headquarters site for the Organization of American States.

Sec. 2(b). The Administrator of General Services is hereby authorized to transfer or convey to the Organization of American States, without consideration, all right, title, and interest to the property known as lot 800 in square south of square 173 in the District of Columbia and the buildings and other improvements on the property for use by the Organization of American States.

Sec. 3. If so requested by the Organization of American States, and with funds provided in advance or to be provided as reimbursement from the Organization of American States, the Administrator of General Services is hereby authorized to design, construct, furnish, and equip the headquarters for the Organization of American States to be constructed on the property transferred or conveyed to the Organization of American States pursuant to section 2(a) of this Act.

Sec. 4. (a) The Administrator of General Services is hereby authorized to sell, lease, or otherwise transfer property acquired under section 1 of this Act and other property owned by the United States within the area described in section 1 of this Act to foreign Governments and international organizations, including the Organization of American States, upon such terms and conditions as the Secretary of State, after consultation with the Administrator of General Services, shall prescribe. Every lease, contract of sale, deed, and other document of transfer shall provide (a) that the foreign government shall devote the property transferred to use for legation purposes, as defined under section 1a(c) of the Act of December 24, 1942, as amended (District of Columbia Code, 1961 edition, 47–801(a)(c)), or (b) that the international organization shall devote the property transferred to its official uses, including supporting facilities.

Sec. 4. (b) The Administrator of General Services is also authorized with the concurrence of the Secretary of State to transfer title to or jurisdiction over any property or part thereof acquired pursuant to the first section of this Act to the District of Columbia for public purposes, including, but not limited to, streets.

Sec. 4. (c) The Administrator of General Services will not acquire any property situated within the area described in section 1 of this Act and owned by the District of Columbia without the express consent of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Sec. 4. (d) No lands, buildings or other property shall be acquired unless (1) the Administrator of General Services determines that there is a need therefor to provide for an orderly and economical development of the above-described area; and (2) the Commissioners of the District of Columbia have made for such property the same finding as is required in Sec. 3 of the Act approved October 6, 1964 (78 Stat. 1004; Public Law 88–629).

Sec. 4. (e) Where lands are acquired on which there are buildings or other improvements, any occupants of such property shall be allowed to remain in possession, subject to appropriate contractual arrangements, until the Administrator of General Services determines that the property is needed to meet the development schedule for the area.

Sec. 5. (a) The Act of June 20, 1938 (52 Stat. 802; District of Columbia Code, 1961 edition, 5–413 to 5–428) shall not apply to buildings constructed on property transferred or conveyed pursuant to this Act: *Provided,* That plans showing the location, height, bulk, number of stories, and size of, and the provisions for open space and off-street parking in and around, such buildings shall be approved by the National Capital Planning Commission and plans showing the height and appearance, color, and texture of the materials of exterior construction of such buildings shall be approved by the Commission of Fine Arts prior to the construction thereof.

Sec. 5. (b) The District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency shall provide relocation assistance and relocation payments in accordance with the provisions of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, and as it may be amended, and any regulations promulgated pursuant thereto to any families, individuals, business concerns and nonprofit organizations which may be displaced from real property after the acquisition of such property by the United States in accordance with the provisions of this Act. Families, individuals, busines concerns and nonprofit organizations occupying property determined by the Administrator of General Services to be necessary for acquisition pursuant to Sec. 4(d) of this Act on the date of such determination shall also be eligible for relocation payments provided they do not move until after the date of the findings required in Sec. 4(d) of this Act.

Sec. 5. (c) The Administrator of General Services shall advance necessary funds to the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for the costs of administering the relocation assistance program and for making the relocation payments authorized in section 5(b).

Sec. 5. (d) Individuals and families displaced in accordance with the provisions of this Act shall be given the same preference with respect to vacancies occurring in housing owned or operated within the District of Columbia by Federal or District of Columbia government agencies as is provided in section 8(b) of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 (D.C. Code, sec. 5–707(a)).

Sec. 5. (e) The street, alley and sidewalk closings, constructions, and reconstructions, and the rerouting, relocating, and rebuilding of (1) the public sewers and their appurtenances, (2) the water mains, fire hydrants, and other parts of the public water supply and distribution system, and (3) the fire alarm system, which are occasioned in carrying out the provisions of this Act shall be without cost to the District of Columbia.

Sec. 5. (f) The Administrator of General Services is authorized at the time he transfers or conveys property to the Organization of American States pursuant to section 2 of this Act, or at the time he sells, leases, or otherwise transfers property acquired under section 1 of this Act or sells, leases, or otherwise transfers other property owned by the United States within the area described in section 1 of this Act, to incorporate, with the approval of the Secretary of State, in the document making such transfer or conveyance a covenant requiring the transferee or the grantee to conform to Federal Government standards and codes governing building construction and equipment therein, and requiring said transferee or grantee to conform to Federal Government standards and codes governing building construction and equipment therein, and requiring said transferee or grantee to maintain any building constructed on said property in accordance with said Federal standards and codes.

Sec. 5. (g) The Administrator of General Services is authorized, in coordination and cooperation with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, to construct such roads, walks, sewers, water supply and distribution systems, parking facilities, plazas, and parks as are necessary to provide adequate service to and from the proposed highway system for the high-density embassy, business and residential complex in the northwest portion of the central area of the District of Columbia: *Provided,* That the cost of constructing the necessary roadways to provide such service shall be borne by the District of Columbia, subject to the provisions of title 28, United States Code, and regulations adopted pursuant thereto.

Sec. 6. The authority vested in the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to acquire for public purposes, by purchase, condemnation or otherwise, property within the area described in the first section of this Act may not be exercised without the approval of the Administrator of General Services and the Secretary of State.

Sec. 7. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of State for transfer to the Administrator of General Services such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

The letter presented by Mr. Fulbright is as follows:

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President, U.S. Senate.

Dear Mr. Vice President: In accordance with the President's Special Message to Congress on the District of Columbia of February 27, 1967 relating to the establishment of an international center in Washington, I am pleased to transmit herewith a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the acquisition, transfer and conveyance of properties necessary to create an international center area in the Northwest Section of the District of Columbia which would provide (1) a headquarters site for the Organization of American States, (2) sites for other international organizations, (3) sites for governments of foreign countries and (4) the construction, on a reimbursable or pre-funded basis, of a headquarters building for the O.A.S.

This bill will be a tangible demonstration of the importance the United States Government gives to inter-American relations, a response to already urgent chancery site problems and an accommodation of other evolving space needs of foreign governments and international organizations.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES SITE

Headquarters offices of the Organization of American States are at present located in five buildings in Washington, D.C. in extremely crowded conditions, and requiring an expenditure of almost $450,000 annually for rental of office space.

Providing a satisfactory new headquarters site in Washington for the Organization as quickly as possible would be in keeping with the United States policy of firm support for the Organization of American States and its specialized organizations. It would continue in a significant manner the long and mutually beneficial history of United States cooperation with the Organization of American States.

The proposed legislation provides that the present administration building of the Organization, located at 19th Street and Constitution Avenue, N.W., shall become the property of our Government when vacated by the Organization. The land on which that building is erected is now the property of the United States. The General Services Administration, in a letter dated May 14, 1965, addressed to the Pan American Union, has appraised the fair market value of the building and improvements at $2,500,000.

In addition to the purchase and conveyance of a new site, the proposed bill would also convey to the Organization of American States, without consideration, title to the property on which the main building of the Pan American Union is situated at 17th and C Streets, N.W., together with all interest of the United States in the improvements thereon. Title to that property has been vested in the United States since May 6, 1907. It was paid for with funds appropriated June 30, 1906 in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act "for the purchase of land and the entire contribution of the United States towards the erection of a building to be used as government quarters in the City of Washington by the International Bureau of American Republics." However, it was determined in April 1907 that the International Bureau of American Republics (the predecessor of the Pan American Union) as an unincorporated association was incapable of taking and holding a legal or equitable title. The title deed therefore was drawn so as to vest a valid title to the United States of America. No additional sums were expended by the United States in connection with the construction of the headquarters building, the final cost of which, together with related construction was $930,835, not including the purchase of the land. Since the Pan American Union is capable of taking and holding legal and equitable title, it is felt that this would be a suitable occasion on which to complete the intention of Congress at the time the money was appropriated.

Provision is also made in the proposed bill to authorize the Administrator of General Services to design, construct, furnish and equip the new headquarters for the Organization of American States with funds advanced by or reimbursed by the Organization, if the Organization should so request. This provision would enable the Organization to benefit from General Services Administration expertise should it so desire.

CHANCERY AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION REQUIREMENTS

The passage in 1964 of legislation barring new chancery locations from all residential areas except high density zones has restricted new chancery operations to areas where adequate sites are difficult and costly to acquire. Recent investigations have identified 20 foreign countries presently looking for new chancery locations and 7 countries wishing to expand their present facilities. In virtually all cases these countries have had their chancery problems for a number of years.

In addition the United States' position in world affairs and the increased complexity of foreign relations have resulted in a continuing increase in personnel assigned to foreign missions and a growth in chancery and international organization space requirements.

The proposed legislation would provide a means for accommodating these present and prospective requirements within a planning concept fitting to the overall design for the Nation's Capital. The area acquired under authority of the bill could be sold, leased or otherwise transferred to foreign governments and international organizations upon terms and conditions set by the Secretary of State after consultation with the Administrator of General Services.

Provision is also made for the National Capital Planning Commission to give prior approval to plans showing the location, height, bulk, number of stories, and size of buildings to be constructed on property transferred to the Organization of American States, other international organizations and foreign governments pursuant to the proposed legislation, as well as to provisions for open space and off-street parking.

The Commission of Fine Arts is to approve plans showing height and appearance, color and texture of the materials of exterior construction of buildings to be constructed.

Relocation costs are provided for in accordance with the Housing Act of 1949.

It is hoped that the Congress will be able to take action on this request during the current session.

A similar communication is being sent to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that the enactment of this proposed legislation would be in accord with the President's program.

Sincerely,
William B. Macomber,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

ECONOMICAL PROVISION OF DRUGS TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, last year I offered a bill to require that drugs used in the medicare and welfare programs be provided on the basis of nonproprietary names rather than by trade names. That bill, S. 3614, cosponsored by Senators Nelson and Morse, was intended to dramatize the problem of unnecessary and wasteful expenditure of tax dollars in the purchase of prescribed drugs—a problem which has also been called to the attention of Congress on several occasions by our "watchdog," the General Accounting Office. The legislation I offer today is designed to help solve that problem, and is markedly different from S. 3614.

The provisions of my bill provide the means for assuring that drugs provided under medicare and welfare are of proper quality—and that Federal payments for those drugs are made on the most economical basis consistent with quality. Those drugs now cost some $300 million a year. The figure will, of course, grow larger as the programs continue their rapid expansion.

In preparing this bill it was necessary to develop a mechanism to assure that only drugs of proper quality—trade name or nonproprietary—would be paid for in the public programs. Second, it was necessary to develop a means of assuring that once quality was established, the Government would pay for those drugs on the most economical basis, with emphasis on nonproprietary drug products. I believe both of these problems are effectively dealt with in my bill, including the currently popular bugaboo of "clinical equivalence" of drugs versus "generic equivalence."

To resolve these problems, the bill calls for the creation of a Formulary of the United States which is to be prepared by a committee of distinguished experts; expanded inspection and testing of drug products; a system of registration to weed out drug products of inferior quality; and a means for establishing a sensible price range for Federal reimbursement of the drugs furnished under the medicare and welfare programs.

This bill, if enacted, would enable the entire public to enjoy improved pharmaceutical services at generally lower cost. It would reimburse the pharmacist fairly for his professional services and costs, and he would have far greater independence and bargaining power with respect to the drug manufacturers.

The professional fee which would be added to the actual cost of a drug will be adequate enough to cover all proper costs of a pharmacy's operation plus a fair profit. The pharmacist will not have his net income reduced under this bill and the means for legitimate increases are provided for—particularly in those cases where below-average payments are now being made under welfare programs.

The bill is the product of many months of effort and consultation with persons and organizations—public and private—knowledgeable and expert in the areas of pharmaceutical quality and reimbursement. It represents a solid opportunity for the Congress to apply commonsense and bring about a good measure of economy in the medicare and welfare plans, as well as to improve the quality of the drugs used in those programs. Moreover, this legislation would lead to lower drug prices and improved drug quality for all Americans.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the bill be appropriately referred and printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 1303) to assure the orderly, efficient, proper, and economical provision of drugs to individuals entitled thereto under certain programs established by or pursuant to the Social Security Act, introduced by Mr. Long of Louisiana (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1303

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Quality and Cost Control Standards for Drugs Act".

QUALITY AND COST CONTROL STANDARDS FOR DRUGS

Sec. 2. The Social Security Act is amended by adding after title XIX thereof the following:

"TITLE XX—QUALITY AND COST CONTROL STANDARDS FOR DRUGS

"FORMULARY COMMITTEE

"Sec. 2001. (a) (1) There is hereby established, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a Formulary Committee which shall consist of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, the Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration (who shall be Chairman of the Formulary Committee), the Director of the National Institutes of Health, and the Commissioner of Narcotics, all of whom shall serve ex officio, and of 5 individuals (not otherwise in the employ of the Federal Government) who are of recognized professional standing in the fields of medicine and pharmacy, to be appointed by the Secretary without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service.

"(2) Each appointed member of the Formulary Committee shall hold office for a term of 5 years, except that any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and except that the terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire, as designated by the Secretary at the time of appointment, one at the end of the first year, one at the end of the second year, one at the end of the third year, one at the end of the fourth year, and one at the end of the fifth year, after the date of appointment. A member shall not be eligible to serve continuously for more than two terms.

"(b) Members of the Formulary Committee, while attending meetings or conferences thereof or otherwise serving on business of the Committee, shall be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per day, including traveltime, and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

"(c) (1) The Formulary Committee is authorized to engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out its functions, and the Secretary shall, in addition, make available to the Formulary Committee such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance as the Formulary Committee may require to carry out its functions.

"(2) The Secretary shall furnish to the Formulary Committee such office space, materials, and equipment as may be necessary for the Formulary Committee to carry out its functions.

"FORMULARY OF THE UNITED STATES

"Sec. 2002. (a) (1) The Formulary Committee shall compile, publish, and disseminate among physicians, dentists, pharmacists, hospitals and other health-case institutions, interested public and private agencies, and appropriate individuals, a Formulary of the United States (hereinafter in this title referred to as the 'Formulary').

"(2) The publication in which the Formulary is compiled shall include, in a separate and distinct part thereof, a listing (either individually or by a class or type) of the drugs, biologicals, and drug products which the Formulary Committee has determined to exclude from the Formulary.

"(3) The Formulary Committee shall periodically revise the Formulary and the listing of drugs, biologicals and drug products referred to in paragraph (2) so as to maintain currency in the contents thereof.

"(b) (1) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (2), the Formulary shall consist of drugs and biologicals which are included (or approved for inclusion) in the United States Pharmacopoeia, the National Formulary, or the United States Homeopathic Pharmacopoeia, or in New Drugs or Accepted Dental Remedies (except for any drugs and biologicals unfavorably evaluated therein).

"(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1)—

"(A) there shall not be included in the Formulary (1) any drugs or biologicals which the Formulary Committee determines to be unnecessary or therapeutically duplicative for purposes of diagnosis, cure, mitigation, treatment, or prevention of disease in man, or (2) any drug product which the Formulary Committee determines to be of unacceptable quality.

"(B) there shall (in addition to the drugs and biologicals referred to in paragraph (1)) be included in the Formulary drugs and biologicals and combinations thereof which the Formulary Committee determines to be necessary or proper for such purposes, and

"(C) the Formulary Committee may include in the Formulary (by alphabetic or other suitable classification) drug or combination drug products by trade name (1) if such products have distinct demonstrated therapeutic characteristics not otherwise available, (2) if such products are available at a lower cost than like products available by established name, or (3) if such products, generally available and primarily sold under trade name, are the only such products of a quality acceptable to the Formulary Committee.

"(c) Drugs and biologicals listed in the Formulary shall be listed by their established name (as defined in section 502(e) (2) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act).

"(d) In considering whether (under the authority contained in subsection (b) (2)) a particular drug or biological shall be included in the Formulary, the Formulary Committee is authorized to obtain (upon request therefor) any record pertaining to the characteristics of such drug or biological which is available to any other department, agency, or instrumentality of the Federal Government. If any such record (or any information contained therein) is of a confidential nature, the Formulary Committee shall exercise utmost care in preserving the confidentiality of such record or information and shall limit its usage thereof to the proper exercise of such authority.

"(e) (1) The Formulary Committee shall have authority to cause to be made such tests, and shall establish such procedures, as may be necessary to determine the propriety of the inclusion or exclusion, in the Formulary, of any drug or drug product. The Formulary Committee may enter into agreements with public or private agencies or organizations which the Formulary Committee finds qualified to conduct such tests under which such agencies or organizations will make all or any of such tests for and on behalf of the Formulary Committee.

"(2) The Formulary Committee, prior to making a final determination to exclude from the Formulary any particular drug product, shall afford a reasonable opportunity for a hearing on the matter to any person engaged in manufacturing, preparing, propagating, compounding, or processing such product. Any such person adversely affected by such a determination may appeal such determination in accordance with the provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code.

"(3) Any person engaged in the manufacture, preparation, propagation, compounding, or processing by trade name of any combination drug product which such person believes to possess the requisites to entitle such product to be included in the Formulary pursuant to subsection (b) (2) (C), may, after denial by the Formulary Committee of a request by such person that such product be included in the Formulary, upon request therefor, be afforded a hearing on the matter by the Formulary Committee. The determination of the Formulary Committee, after any such hearing, may be appealed by such person in accordance with the provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code.

"QUALIFIED DRUG

"Sec. 2003. As used in this title, the term 'qualified drug' means—

"(a) a drug or biological which (A) is listed in the Formulary, or (B) is furnished to a patient by a hospital which (i) is accredited by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals, or the American Osteopathic Association, and (ii) utilizes a formulary system established by a pharmacy and therapeutics committee (or equivalent committee) in accordance with standards established by such Commission or Association, and

"(b) is prescribed or furnished in such quantities and under such conditions as are necessary to meet requirements established by the Formulary Committee under regulations designed to assure the orderly, efficient, and proper usage of drugs and biologicals, and

"(c) the label on the package or container of which bears the registration number (assigned under section 510 (e) (1) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act) of the person or establishment which manufactured, prepared, propagated, compounded, or processed such drug as required by section 510 (e) (2) and (3) of such Act (but without regard to the reference in such section 510 (e) (2) to section 512 of such Act).

"REASONABLE COST

"Sec. 2004. (a) (1) The Secretary shall establish (and periodically revise so as to keep current) a guide showing the reasonable cost range of each qualified drug (other than drugs which are qualified drugs solely by reason of the provisions of section 2003 (a) (B)).

"(2) (A) The reasonable cost range of any particular drug shall not exceed the amount or amounts at which such drug is generally and primarily available for sale by its established name, or if lower, by trade name; except that in any case in which a drug is so available and so sold by more than one supplier, the Secretary shall exclude, in determining the cost range for such drug, amounts (at which such drug is so available and so sold) which vary excessively from the amounts at which such drug is so available and so sold by other suppliers thereof. If a particular drug (i) is available from more than one supplier, (ii) is available both by established name and by trade name, and (iii) such drug, as available by trade name, possesses distinct therapeutic advantages (as determined by the Formulary Committee) from such drug as available by established name, then the reasonable cost of such drug, as available by trade name, shall be the price at which it is generally so available.

"(B) The Secretary shall, in establishing the reasonable cost range for any drug, establish such a range for each class or type of dispenser of such drug if the sources from which such drug are available charge different prices therefor to such different classes or types of dispensers.

"(3) In considering (for purposes of establishing a reasonable cost range for any drug) the various sources from which and the varying prices at which such drug is generally available, there shall not be taken into account the price of any drug which does not meet the conditions set forth in section 2003(c).

"(4) For purposes of this subsection, the price at which a particular drug is generally available means the price at which such drug is generally available to each class or type of dispensers of such drug. If a dispenser of any drug is the dispenser which sells the same to the ultimate consumer thereof (or to another on such consumer's behalf) such price shall mean the actual or accounting basis cost of such drug to such dispenser plus a reasonable professional fee (which shall include, but shall not be limited to, costs of overhead and costs of providing professional services in connection with the dispensing thereof) for dispensing such drug.

"(5) (A) Except as is provided in subparagraph (B), the Secretary shall, after consultation with organizations and agencies concerned, establish criteria for determining the amount of the reasonable professional fee for or in connection with the dispensing of any drug.

"(B) The Secretary shall enter into an agreement with any State which has a public agency charged with the duty of establishing reasonable professional fees for the dispensing of drugs in such State under which agreement such agency will (for purposes of this title) determine, in accordance with such criteria, reasonable professional fees for or in connection with the dispensing of drugs in such State, if such agency consults with appropriate organizations representing dispensers of prescribed drugs and other persons concerned with such professional fees within the State, prior to establishing such fees.

"(b) Whenever the Secretary determines that, in a particular State or other geographic area, the price at which a particular drug is generally available varies substantially from the price at which such drug is generally available in other areas, he shall make appropriate adjustments in the reasonable cost range for such drug with respect to such area."

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL FINANCIAL LIABILITY WITH RESPECT TO DRUGS

Sec. 3. (a) Section 3 of the Social Security Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, in determining (for purposes of subsection (a)) the amounts expended as old-age assistance or as medical assistance for the aged by a State under its State plan approved under this title, there shall not be counted, with respect to the cost incurred by the State in providing (directly or indirectly) to any recipient of such assistance any drug under such plan—

"(1) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(2) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

(b) Section 403 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, in determining (for purposes of subsection (a)) the amounts expended as aid to families with dependent children by a State under its State plan approved under this title, there shall not be counted, with respect to the cost incurred by the State in providing (directly or indirectly) to any recipient of such assistance any drug under such plan—

"(1) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(2) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

(c) Section 1003 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, in determining (for purposes of subsection (a)) the amounts expended as aid to the blind by a State under its State plan approved under this title, there shall not be counted, with respect to the cost incurred by the State in providing (directly or indirectly) to any recipient of such aid any drug under such plan—

"(1) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(2) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

(d) Section 1403 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, in determining (for purposes of subsection (a)) the amounts expended as aid to the permanently and totally disabled by a State under its State plan approved under this title, there shall not be counted, with respect to the cost incurred by the State in providing (directly or indirectly) to any recipient of such aid any drug under such plan—

"(1) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(2) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

(e) Section 1603 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, in determining (for purposes of subsection (a)) the amounts expended as aid to the aged, blind, or disabled by a State under its State plan approved under this title, there shall not be counted, with respect to the cost incurred by the State in providing (directly or indirectly) to any recipient or such aid any drug under such plan—

"(1) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(2) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

(f) Section 1861(v) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this subsection, if any services provided under this Act include the furnishing of any drug to an individual, there shall not be counted in determining the cost of such services—

"(A) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(B) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

(g) Section 1903 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, in determining (for purposes of subsection (a)) the amounts expended as medical assistance by a State under its State plan approved under this title, there shall not be counted, with respect to the cost incurred by the State in providing (directly or indirectly) to any recipient of such assistance any drug under such plan—

"(1) so much of the cost of such drug as exceeds the reasonable cost range (as determined under section 2004) of such drug, or

"(2) any part of the cost of such drug if such drug is not a qualified drug (as determined under section 2003)."

REGISTRATION OF DRUG PRODUCERS

Sec. 4. (a) Section 510(e) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act is amended to read as follows:

"(e)(1) The Secretary shall assign a registration number to any person or any establishment registered in accordance with this section.

"(2) Except as is otherwise provided in section 512—

"(A) each person or establishment so registered shall cause the registration number assigned to such person or establishment pursuant to paragraph and the name of such person or establishment (1) to be placed on the label of each package or container containing any drug for human use manufactured, prepared, propagated, compounded, or processed by such person or establishment, and

"(B) if such person or establishment is the final packager of such drug, such person or establishment shall also cause to be placed on the label of each package containing such drug the name and registration number (assigned pursuant to paragraph (1)) of each other person or establishment who manufactured, prepared, propagated, compounded, or processed such drug or any component thereof.

"(3) The Secretary may by regulations provide for the exemption from any or all of the requirements of paragraph (2)(B) in cases where he is satisfied that such exemption will not defeat the purposes for which such requirements were imposed and compliance therewith would be unduly burdensome to the persons upon whom such requirements are imposed by such paragraph; except that no such exemption shall be extended to the manufacturer of the final dosage form of any such drug.

(b) Such Act is further amended by adding after section 511 thereof the following:

"PROHIBITION AGAINST PLACING OF REGISTRATION NUMBER ON DRUG PACKAGE

"Sec. 512. (a) No person or establishment registered as a producer of drugs under section 510 shall cause or permit the registration number assigned to such person or establishment under such section to be placed on the label of any package containing any drug manufactured, prepared, propagated, compounded, or processed by such person or establishment for human use during any period with respect to which such drug is deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of section 501(a)(1)(B) or misbranded within the meaning of section 502(j).

"(b) For purposes of subsection (a), a 'period with respect to which a drug is deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of section 501(a)(1)(B) or misbranded within the meaning of section 502(j)' means a period beginning with the earliest date that such drug is determined by the Secretary to be so adulterated and ending with the date that the Secretary is first satisfied that the conditions or practices giving rise to such drug being so adulterated or misbranded no longer obtains.

"(c) The Secretary shall cause such inspections to be made of the establishments of persons and establishments registered as producers of drugs under section 510, and in conjunction with the Formulary Committee (established by title XX of the Social Security Act) employ such other tests and procedures, as may be necessary to determine, on a current basis, whether any drug manufactured, prepared, propagated, compounded, or processed thereon for human use is deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of section 501(a)(1)(B) or misbranded within the meaning of section 502(j). In conducting such inspections (or any investigation or other proceeding related thereto) the Secretary may exercise any authority conferred upon him under this Act with respect to inspections and other procedures for the enforcement of section 510.

"(d) Any person being engaged in the manufacture, preparation, propagation, compounding, or processing of any drug, may, if such person is directly adversely affected by a determination by the Secretary under this section that a period (referred to in subsections (a) and (b)) has begun with respect to such drug may, upon request therefor to the Secretary, be given reasonable opportunity to present evidence and arguments in his behalf at a hearing on the matter. When, in the opinion of the Secretary, the public interest will not be jeopardized thereby, he may delay the effective date of such a determination until after any such so adversely affected person has had a reasonable opportunity to appear and present evidence and arguments on his behalf."

(c) Section 301 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(r) the placing, causing or permitting to be placed on the label of any package containing any drug the registration number assigned to the producer thereof pursuant to section 510 if such drug is manufactured, prepared, propagated, compounded, or processed during a period with respect to which such drug is deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of section 501(a)(1)(B) or misbranded within the meaning of section 502(j) for purposes of section 512.

"(s) The labeling of any package or container containing any drug in such manner as to indicate or imply that such drug complies with the provisions of section 510(e)(2) (without regard to the reference in 510(e)(2) when in fact such drug does not so comply with such provisions)."

FREEDOM OF CHOICE AMONG COMMUNITY PHARMACISTS

Sec. 5. Section 1902(a) of the Social Security Act is amended (1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (21) thereof, (2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (22) thereof and inserting in lieu of such period a semicolon followed by the word "and", and (3) by adding after such paragraph (22) the following new paragraph:

"(23) provide that any individual eligible to be supplied with prescribed drugs under the State plan shall not be precluded from obtaining such drugs from any community pharmacist if such drugs are supplied by such pharmacist in accordance with such reasonable cost and service requirements as may be established for the orderly administration of the State plan."

EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 6. The amendments made by sections 3 and 5 of this Act shall take effect on July 1, 1969.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE TO MAKE A STUDY OF PROGRAMS RELATING TO SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, about 10 days ago, in connection with the reorganization bill, I offered to that bill an amendment which would have provided for a joint congressional committee to make a continuing study of the programs and operations of the Federal Government relating to science and technology, and later withdrew that amendment, announcing that on this date I would introduce a bill to the same effect.

Therefore, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a bill offered by myself and my colleagues, Mr. Dominick, Mr. Fong, Mr. Jordan of Idaho, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Moss, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Prouty, and Mr. Scott, to establish a joint congressional committee to make a continuing study of the programs and operations of the Federal Government relating to science and technology, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1305) to establish a joint congressional committee to make a continuing study of the programs and operations of the Federal Government relating to science and technology, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Allott (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, in that connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "The Politics of Science," published in the Wall Street Journal of Thursday, March 9, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Politics of Science

No matter how rapidly the Government runs, there will be those who say it isn't going fast or far enough. Certainly that's true of the Federal involvement in science.

The 1968 budget discloses that the Government will spend $17.1 billion on a widening assortment of research and development projects in the year beginning July 1. That's $600 million more than in the current year and nearly five times the figure for a decade ago.

Any effort that has expanded so swiftly and massively is bound to have developed flaws. Several of the problems are touched on in "Technology, Economic Growth and Public Policy," a scholarly volume produced as a joint project by the Rand Corporation and the Brookings Institution, and written by economists Richard R. Nelson, Merton J. Peck and Edward D. Kalachek.

The authors' main concern, however, is not overhaul of the existing effort but still more expansion. Specifically, they would like to see a good deal more Government-financed research in nondefense areas, on projects that will add to the nation's store of industrial technology and further spur economic growth. Naturally, there would be a new Federal agency: A National Institute of Technology "to sponsor research and experimental work in the middle ground between academic science and product development."

In the authors' opinion, the need for this sort of thing arises because private initiative does not support industrial research to the extent that is "socially optimal." Private individuals and firms base their activities on expected profitability while Government of course does not have to be concerned with profits.

For our part, we question whether the nation's store of technology is actually so hopelessly inadequate that there must be a massive Federal effort to supplement it. Certainly our technical knowledge can advance quite a distance beyond where it is now, and it is indeed constantly moving ahead. U.S. technology is, in fact, so advanced as to be the envy of most of the world.

True, there are areas where, for one reason or another, private initiative probably is insufficient; perhaps the supersonic transport is a case in point. In any event, a successful SST surely will come much sooner with Federal help than without it.

In the Rand-Brookings study, though, the authors quite properly urge that any Federal industrial research should proceed slowly and cautiously, and that any project should be quickly killed if experiments indicate it is unlikely to pan out. And the SST program shows just how difficult it is to proceed in such fashion once politics gets involved.

For one thing, the Washington unit immediately concerned, in this case the Federal Aviation Agency, develops a vested interest not merely in pushing the project through but in pushing it as rapidly as possible. The SST is advertised as vital to U.S. prestige and the balance of payments, and presumably critical studies of the plane are suppressed.

In any Federal research program, moreover, Congress becomes interested in a good many things other than science. Government money is flowing into lawmakers' districts and to their constituents. A cut-off of funds, for even the soundest of reasons, is often fought for fear of political consequences.

At the moment the Government supports two-thirds of the nation's research and development, finances 75% of all the research under way in universities. Unquestionably private research is delayed or blocked in some cases not merely by lack of funds or initiative but because of a shortage of people available for something other than Federal work.

As the Federal programs multiply, so do the problems. Nearly four score Federal agencies now are involved in research in one way or another, sometimes even in duplicate projects, with who knows how much waste. As the Rand-Brookings study puts it, "Government policies and programs have grown like Topsy. . . . The policy making and coordinating machinery is tangled and involved."

Improved technology is vital to the nation, and Federal help sometimes is either desirable or unavoidable. But history indicates that the Government's efforts usually should come, not as a matter of bureaucratic routine, but rather as a last resort.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I commend Senator Allott for introducing this very worthwhile measure which will help to organize in a better fashion the Nation's utilization of science and technology for the national welfare. During the late spring of 1965, I conducted hearings on "The Impact of Federal Research and Development Policies Upon Scientific and Technical Manpower." The Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare discovered that roughly $16 billion is being spent on Federal research and development. This has an immense impact upon scientific and technical manpower and employment problems of the Nation.

However, this represents only 70 percent of the total being spent in the entire country. Research and development is now a $21 billion business.

The committee, after conclusion of its hearings, made several recommendations which lend endorsement to the Senator's idea. The recommendations included establishing:

First. A national policy for distribution of research and development funds;

Second. A 10-year plan to redistribute Federal research and development funds;

Third. Broader distribution to educational institutions and to small business;

Fourth. A review of small business procedures to insure that small business is not neglected in the complicated competition for research and development contracts;

Fifth. Regional information centers;

Sixth. Fostering "critical assemblies" of scientific and technological competencies;

Seventh. A national search for research and development competence and talent;

Eighth. Sharing the costs of proposal preparation;

Ninth. Application of scientific manpower to national problems;

Tenth. A national commission in the impact of Federal research and development programs;

Eleventh. A White House Conference on the impact of Federal research and development policies.

I again wish to encourage the Senator in his pursuit to establish a Committee on Science and Technology. The need for this has been adequately demonstrated.

STATEMENT ON FILING 1967 ANNUAL REPORT OF MIGRATORY LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the filing of the annual report by the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor pursuant to Senate Resolution 188, 89th Congress, together with individual views.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 1263) for the incorporation of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], at its next printing, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 913) to amend part III of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for the recording of trust agreements and other evidences of equipment indebtedness of water carriers, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 47) for the establishment of a commission to study and appraise the organization and operation of the executive branch of the Government.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at their next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of the following measures:

S. 538. A bill to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States;

S. 612. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes;

S. 679. A bill to encourage individuals to pursue the career of nursing by financially assisting public and nonprofit hospitals and certain other health facilities in meeting the costs of paying a fair and reasonable wage to nursing personnel employed by them;

S. 681. A bill to promote the replacement and expansion of the United States nonsubsidized merchant and fishing fleets;

S. 682. A bill to provide for the control and prevention of erosion and sediment damage on rivers and streams, and for other purposes;

S. 734. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the construction of facilities to control water and air pollution by allowing a tax credit for expenditures incurred in constructing such facilities and by permitting the deduction, or amortization over a period of 1 to 5 years, of such expenditures;

S. 735. A bill to provide for periodic review of Federal programs of grant-in-aid assistance to the States;

S. 810. A bill to provide for a White House Conference on Indian Affairs;

S. 835. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education;

S. 876. A bill relating to Federal support of education of Indian students in sectarian institutions of higher education;

S. 911. A bill to prohibit certain interstate land sales in violation of State law;

S. 913. A bill to amend part III of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for the recording of trust agreements and other evidences of equipment indebtedness of water carriers, and for other purposes;

S. 945. A bill to abolish the office of U.S. commissioner, to establish in place thereof within the judicial branch of the Government the office of U.S. magistrate, and for other purposes;

S. 950. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the abatement of water and air pollution by permitting the amortization for income tax purposes of the cost of abatement works over a period of 36 months;

S. 1035. A bill to protect the civilian employees of the executive branch of the U.S. Government in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights and to prevent unwarranted governmental invasions of their privacy;

S. 1149. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended; and

S.J. Res. 26. Joint resolution designating February of each year as "American History Month."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] be added as a cosponsor to S. 674, a bill to amend title 18, United States Code, with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 286. An act to permit duty-free treatment of dicyandiamide pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962;

H.R. 653. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings;

H.R. 664. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that bagpipes and parts thereof shall be admitted free of duty;

H.R. 1141. An act to permit duty-free treatment of limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962;

H.R. 1282. An act to provide for the withdrawal of wine from bonded wine cellars without payment of tax, when rendered unfit for beverage use;

H.R. 1326. An act to amend section 4181 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the excise tax on shells and cartridges;

H.R. 1566. An act to provide for the free entry of a four-octave carillon for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Mass.;

H.R. 1886. An act to provide for the free entry of certain articles for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.;

H.R. 2155. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the classification of Chinese gooseberries;

H.R. 2470. An act to provide for the free entry of one rheogoniometer for the use of Tufts University, Boston, Mass.;

H.R. 2767. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a farmer an amortized deduction from gross income for assessments for depreciable property levied by soil or water conservation or drainage districts;

H.R. 3029. An act to provide for the free entry of one ship model for the use of the Lutheran Church of the Covenant, Maple Heights, Ohio;

H.R. 3737. An act to provide for the free entry of a carillon for the use of the University of California at Riverside;

H.R. 4765. An act relating to the income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, as amended;

H.R. 4880. An act to extend the time within which certain requests may be filed under the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965;

H.R. 4890. An act to establish a working capital fund for the Department of the Treasury;

H.R. 4934. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Indiana University;

H.R. 4977. An act to provide for the free entry of a triaxial apparatus and rheogoniometer for the use of Northwestern University;

H.R. 6056. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide rules relating to the deduction for personal exemptions for children of parents who are divorced or separated;

H.R. 6058. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for rounding the amount of State and local taxes for purposes of computing tax on cigars; and

H.R. 6097. An act relating to the income tax treatment of certain casualty losses attributable to major disasters.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Finance:

H.R. 286. An act to permit duty-free treatment of dicyandiamide pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962;

H.R. 653. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings;

H.R. 664. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that bagpipes and parts thereof shall be admitted free of duty;

H.R. 1141. An act to permit duty-free treatment of limestone, when imported to be used in the manufacture of cement, pursuant to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962;

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H.R. 1326. An act to amend section 4181 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the excise tax on shells and cartridges;

H.R. 1566. An act to provide for the free entry of a four octave carillion for the use of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, East Northfield, Mass.;

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H.R. 6097. An act relating to the income tax treatment of certain casualty losses attributable to major disasters.

HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION ON POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN—NO EXCUSE FOR SENATE'S FAILURE TO RATIFY—XXXIX

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Human Rights Convention on the Political Rights of Women was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December of 1952.

It was opened for signature on March of 1953, 14 years ago. As in the case of every Human Rights Convention, the Senate has failed to ratify the Convention on Political Rights of Women. President Kennedy sent this convention to the Senate 4 full years ago. Result: no action by this body.

Why? Certainly the 19th amendment to our Constitution clearly defines and protects the political rights of women in the United States. All that this convention establishes and guarantees are the rights of women: first, to vote; second, to be candidates for office; and, third, to hold office.

There is no conflict with our Constitution and no conflict with our State laws. Yet the Senate has refused to ratify.

The National Council of Women of the United States strongly supports Senate ratification. While recognizing that it is less than a half century since women in the United States have gained full political equality, the council has pointed out that its affiliate organizations in 60 countries face a far different situation. The council urges Senate ratification so that women, the world over, may point proudly to the United States as they wage their own fight for political equality.

Of the 60 affiliates of the International Council of Women, 18 are in nations less than 25 years old. How can the young governments of Burma, Cameroon, Nigeria, Syria, and Gambia—to name a few—be expected to change centuries old traditions without encouragement and prodding?

Any nation which denies full political equality to women denies itself the benefit of a full one-half of its human resources. It took the United States almost a century and a half to recognize this fact. Let us help the younger countries to a quicker awarness of this truth by ratifying the Human Rights Convention on Political Rights of Women.

APPOINTMENT OF ELLSWORTH BUNKER AS AMBASSADOR TO SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I commend the selection of Mr. Ellsworth Bunker by President Johnson to be ambassador to South Vietnam. Mr. Bunker is a man of eminent qualification for that delicate and difficult task, experienced, and possessed of integrity and ability and the necessary recognition to go into this position as a representative of our country. I think it is a wise and a fortuitous choice.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY'S CENTENNIAL AND GEN. OLIVER OTIS HOWARD

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, as Howard University celebrates its centennial this year, it is appropriate to recall the life of the university's principal founder and third president, Gen. Oliver Otis Howard, of Maine.

The general would be proud indeed of the growth and achievements of the university. It has more than vindicated his convictions of a century ago. It is a living tribute to his vision.

General Howard was a national leader in an era of rapid change. The university is a leader in national and academic affairs today, an era of unparalleled change.

General Howard's career is remarkable in its variety and achievement. The university's contribution is as remarkable in its variety as it is rich in distinction.

General Howard worked to establish the university when he was commissioner of the Bureau of Freedmen, following the Civil War.

As commissioner, General Howard believed vocational and normal schools were essential for the former slaves. He also was convinced that there had to be opportunities for Negroes to study the higher disciplines, including law, medicine and theology.

These were essential, he believed, to give inspiration to other Negroes and to convince white persons that freedmen were capable of college work.

He found Federal funds to help support such schools as Hampton Institute, Fisk University, Atlanta University, and Lincoln University. And he envisioned Howard University to be the crown for the program of educating the freedmen.

It is significant to remember that the Andrew Johnson administration was not always sympathetic to General Howard's plans, and that his program frequently was criticized by the North as well as the South.

General Howard was born in the farming community of Leeds, Maine, about 20 miles west of Augusta, the State's capital. If such an environment would have an effect on a growing boy, he would probably have a healthy body, a familiarity with hard work, and a respect for learning and piety. Such a boy was Oliver Otis Howard.

He attended Monmouth Academy and North Yarmouth Academy. In 1850, he was graduated from Bowdoin College near the top of his class, and 4 years later from West Point, ranking fourth of 46.

During the Civil War, he rose from first lieutenant to major general in 2 years, a record at the time. He learned the humiliation of defeat at such famous battles as Fair Oaks, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. He also lost an arm. But he learned from his mistakes, gaining his first partial military success at Gettysburg and then proving his leadership capacity as an officer in the Atlanta and Carolina campaigns. Always, he showed great courage in battle.

He once described his early experiences in the war this way:

> When a lad, a larger boy gave me a drubbing, but I grew in size and strength till he could do it no longer. The war experience of some of us was like that.

He never stopped growing.

Throughout his life, General Howard was a deeply religious man. During and after the war, he was renowned for his concern and kindness for the defeated enemy and the Negroes. It was President Lincoln's personal wish that General Howard administer the Freedman's Bureau at the close of the war.

When the appointment was made, Gen. William T. Sherman, the tough professional soldier, wrote:

> I cannot imagine that matters, that may involve the future of four millions of souls, could be put in more charitable and conscientious hands.

Another contemporary described General Howard as "the true friend of the downtrodden and oppressed of every color and nation of the earth."

General Howard's career had many other facets. He took part in the pacification of the Apaches, and the pursuit of Chief Joseph in the epic campaign of 1877. He commanded the Department of the Platte and later the Department of the East. He returned to West Point as its Superintendent in 1881–82.

After he retired in 1894, he crisscrossed the country and traveled abroad lecturing on his experiences. He wrote voluminously for the periodicals of the day. And he helped found Lincoln Memorial University near Cumberland Gap, Tenn., to educate the poor mountain people of the area.

While a student at Bowdoin, General Howard wrote his mother:

> Education is my first aim. . . . I seek not mere money, but a cultivated and enlightened mind, becoming and corresponding with the age which we live in.

General Howard pursued this goal throughout his life, and he also worked to enable others, less fortunate than he, to do the same.

Nowhere is the fruit of his work more evident than at Howard University. More than 50 percent of Negro doctors, nearly as many Negro engineers and architects, and about 25 percent of Negro lawyers in America have studied at Howard.

Its alumni include Senator Edward W. Brooke, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, Ambassador to Luxembourg Patricia R. Harris, and many other prominent Americans in all fields. The faculty has included such leaders as Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, under secretary of the United Nations and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, and the late Dr. Charles R. Drew, world acclaimed authority on blood plasma.

Howard graduates have been leaders in the work for racial progress.

Abroad, more than 50 percent of the doctors in the West Indies are Howard alumni. In the newly independent nations of Africa, Howard graduates can be found at every echelon. In the Middle East, India, and Iran especially, Howard men and women hold positions of responsibility. One student in seven comes from a foreign country.

Clearly, Howard University has justified the confidence of its founder.

The State of Maine can be proud of General Howard. He made a lasting impact on American culture. His character was molded by the State's environment, and the virtues of his character are still prized by Maine people.

METHODS OF AMERICAN FISHING BOATS CRITICIZED

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I recently received a very interesting letter and a newspaper clipping from a lady in California who criticizes the methods used by American fishing boats in the waters off the west coast of South America.

It is alleged that U.S. fishing boats carry seines which catch everything within a circle 3,600 feet in circumference. The tuna are sorted out, and the rest of the fish, most of them dead by that time, are dumped back into the sea.

If this is true, I do not blame Ecuador and Peru for being concerned about it. Indeed, I think North American conservationists should also be concerned.

Of course, this particular issue is separate from the question of a 3- or 12- or 200-mile limit on territorial waters. As a political matter, the United States is not going to accept a 200-mile limit, but the kind of wasteful fishing which has been described certainly points up the need for a conservation treaty among the United States, Ecuador, Peru, and other interested countries which would protect the legitimate interests of all concerned.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter and newspaper clipping to which I referred be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the letter and the article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Valley Center, Calif.,
February 21, 1967.

Mr. J. W. Fulbright,
Foreign Relations Committee,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: Before we come to a shooting war with Ecuador over the fishing rights, I wanted to be sure you are aware of the circumstances related in this article in one of our recent area newspapers.

It sounds like the Fisherman's Protective Act was at least misguided and misdirected. There is no reason why such underwriting of the misdeeds of our citizens should be assumed by our government.

If America is to remain great she will have to begin by being honest—and at the top level first, preferably. This is an unrealistic dream, probably, but some of us cannot help wishing and praying about it.

Will appreciate your efforts to keep the record straight.

Very truly yours,
Helen V. W. Wood.

[From the San Diego (Calif.) County Independent, Feb. 8, 1967]

Former Fisherman Says: Tuna Boat Owners Fear Navy Escorts—Tars Might Expose Wanton Fish Killing

(By Herbert W. Lockwood)

Kiplingesque boomings in the halls of Congress to send gunboats to South American waters to protect fishing boats are heard with high amusement by tuna fishermen, a former member of that fraternity said this week. It is the last thing in the world they want, he claimed.

"This is the thing owners and captains fear most. They know Navy men would be so disgusted at the way huge purse seiners are cleaning out off-shore fishing grounds of Peru and Ecuador, that they would immediately make those methods public," said "Capt. Nemo," a name given him in this article to protect him and his family from reprisals.

"I am sure the senator and the congressmen are protesting in good faith," he said, "but no one will tell them the real truth. They have run into a wall of lies."

He said a large number of million-dollar vessels carrying seines 600 fathoms in length are being built in West Coast shipyards.

"And that means a circle 3,600 feet in circumference. Everything within this circle," he said, "is caught: tuna, all kinds of other fish, sharks, even small whales. It is heart-rending to hear the squeals of almost-human sounding porpoises as they struggle to get out of the meshes of the net.

"Almost all of the creatures are smothered to death by the time they are dumped on deck," Nemo said.

"Then the tuna are sorted out, and the rest of the dead fish are dumped back into the sea," the former fisherman said. "Is it any wonder that Peruvian and Ecuadorian seamen are furious when they sail through miles of water covered with the bodies of dead fish?

"Do you know what our fishermen call the big purse seiners?" Nemo asked. "They call them 'vacuum cleaners.' And when a vacuum cleaner gets through with an area, there's nothing left."

William Bravo, Ecuadorian consul in San Diego, substantially agreed with these statements.

"Fish is the main natural resource of Ecuador," he said Thursday. "There is so much richness in our waters, and, if we do not defend our riches, they will be gone in a few years."

Bravo added that threats to support seiners with gunboats are driving more and more Latin-American countries into extending their territorial ocean limits to 200 miles.

"I expect Argentina to make such a declaration any day," he predicted.

Bravo said that the declarations of Sen. Thomas Kuchel and local congressmen "are most offensive to Ecuadorians." He added that he believes they do not know the whole truth about the matter.

He said he hoped the matter could be settled at the diplomatic level, so that a dangerous misunderstanding between the two nations can be avoided.

"We must have mutual respect for one another's sovereignty," he added.

"Put yourself in their place," Capt. Nemo said. "How would San Diegans like it if fleets of Russian purse seiners cleaned out everything that swims beyond the 12-mile limit, then dumped hundreds of tons of unwanted dead fish in the water? Well, we're the Russians to the Ecuadorians and Peruvians!"

Both countries license American fishing vessels to fish in their waters, more an attempt to control methods of fishing than to make money, the former fisherman said.

"But many captains won't buy licenses," he said. "They are taking no chances. If they aren't caught, they're ahead the cost of the license. If they are caught, their fines will be repaid from funds authorized by the Fishermen's Protective Act."

William Bravo said each boat must have a "matricula," which costs $200, then a registration for which $12 a ton is charged. He added that the "Sea Pream," recently taken into port by Ecuadorians, had a registration, but it would not have been valid for 24 hours.

Back to Nemo.

"The captains and owners don't give a hoot about conservation," he claimed. "By the time the tuna's wiped out, they'll be retired with nice fat nest eggs. Of course, there are a few inefficient boats that are losing money, or just breaking even, but the big ones are coining it.

"Last year, there were crew members who made more than $20,000. The average is about $10,000, I'd say."

He said there is an international quota on yellowfin tuna, because that fish is being threatened with depletion. "When a boat has caught its limit of yellowfin for the year, it will dump all caught subsequently back into the water," Nemo said. "Of course almost all are dead by then," he added.

In closing, Nemo said he had no wish to hurt the tuna fishing industry, but simply wanted the public to know of the "conservation-be-damned attitude of many boat owners."

HOW WE ENTERED WORLD WAR I

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Mrs. Barbara Tuchman, who has written some of the finest books of our day—"The Proud Tower" and "The Guns of August"—has just published an article on "How We Entered World War I."

This is an outstanding historical account of that great conflict. The lessons she draws from it, which have relevance to our present tragic war, are extremely important. I strongly recommend this article to all Senators, and especially the last part of it. They should consider it most seriously, in view of the tragic conflict in which we are now engaged in southeast Asia.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

How We Entered World War I—The Guns of April, 50 Years Ago

(By Barbara W. Tuchman)

On April 2, 1917, the United States as a new contender entered the tournament of world power from which we have not since, despite wishful attempts, been able to withdraw. Up to then, notwithstanding our hearty belligerence in the Spanish-American War we were not regarded as one of the Great Powers, either by them or, on the whole, by ourselves. American participation in the Great War was the beginning of our majority in the world affairs.

In the half century that has since elapsed, a fundamental shift of the international balance has taken place, with the sites of power spreading outward from Europe to the periphery. The governing seat vacated by the collapse of Britain has been taken—not without kicking and protesting against our fate—by this country. Risen from newcomer to one of the world's two dominant powers in 50 years, we are once again at war, no longer fresh and untrained but an old hand, skilled, practiced, massively equipped, sophisticated in method, yet infirm of purpose, and without a goal that anyone can define. Is this the destiny to which that first experience has led us? How did the United States become involved and had she a choice? "God helping her," said President Wilson on that April 2 50 years ago, "she can do no other." Could we have done other?

The Great War has never been for us so embedded a part of our national tradition as the Civil War or World War II. It is somehow less "ours." The average person thinks of it in terms of air aces who flew in open cockpits, a place called Château-Thierry, a song called "Over There," a form of transport called "40 and 8" and a soldier in leggings who became President Truman—but what it means in our history he could not easily say. When this writer in 1955 proposed to a prospective publisher a book on the Zimmermann telegram, a major factor in precipitating America's involvement, the advice received was to abandon the idea because it was the "wrong war"; the public was interested only in the Civil and the Second. This was in fact a justifiable assessment, much the same as that reached by a historian in 1930 who, a decade after the end of the war, found the American people still "irritated and bewildered" by it.

These words, which describe so aptly our attitude toward the war in Vietnam, establish a link between the two experiences. The first experience was governed by an old illusion, and the present experience by a new one. World War II, on the other hand, with the imperative of Pearl Harbor supplying an understood cause and purpose, did not sow doubt and self-mistrust. It was clear why we had got in and what was the end in view. But as will certainly be the case with Vietnam, so for 20 years after World War I historical controversy raged over how and why we got into it, and the question is still being probed and re-examined.

The revisionists of the nineteen-twenties and thirties, fueled by postwar disillusion, discarded the accepted view of our involvement as the unavoidable consequence of German aggression toward neutral shipping, in favor of conspiracy theories of one kind or another. They discovered the causative factor in British propaganda, capitalist profit and other concealed and sinister forces. Burrowing into statistics of trade and finance, private correspondence and all manner of inner workings, the revisionists brought to light much significant material and fresh insights. But their self-accusatory thesis required a compensatory leaning-over-backward in favor of Germany and, just as they were most vigorously making their case, Germany, returning to the offensive under Hitler, unmade it for them.

Since then, as is the circular fashion of history, counter-revision is leading the way back to what was obvious at the start. The somersaults of revisionists—whether it be that Roosevelt plotted Pearl Harbor or that the Third Reich, as held by England's antic historian, A. J. P. Taylor, was pushed into aggression by the democracies—enjoy the notoriety of the sensational, but the facts roll over them in the end.

On the outbreak of war in 1914 the prevailing American attitude was one of self-congratulation that it was none of our affair; and there was a fixed intention that it should not become so. In classic summary—appropriately from a small town in the heart of the Midwest—The Plain Dealer of Wabash, Ind., stated: "We never appreciated so keenly as now the foresight of our fathers in emigrating from Europe." Newspaper cartoons habitually depicted Uncle Sam separated by a large body of water from a far-off furiously squabbling group of little figures; in one case reminding himself that the chance of his life was to "sit tight, keep his hands in his pockets and his mouth shut"; in another case standing shoulder to shoulder with President Wilson with backs firmly turned on Europe's gore-dripping "barbarians."

The belief in our safe isolation was reinforced by Wilson who, bent on pursuing the New Freedom through domestic reform, was irritated by the threatened interference with his program from overseas. He declared in December, 1914, that the country should not let itself be "thrown off balance" by a war "with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us." (The familiar ring can be traced to a more famous echo 25 years later in Neville Chamberlain's reference to Czechoslovakia as "a far-away country of which we know nothing.")

For Wilson it was justifiable in August, 1914, to ask the American people to be "impartial in thought as well as in action . . . neutral in fact as well as name." But by December when the expectation of a short war had vanished at the Marne and the armies were locked in the deadly stalemate of the trenches, the war was already touching us. Forced to recognize that American business could not be held immobile, Wilson had already in October reversed his earlier ban on loans to belligerents. This was the foundation for the economic tie which thereafter in ever-increasing strength and volume attached the United States to the Allies. By permitting extension of commercial credit it enabled the Allies to buy supplies in America from which the Central Powers, by virtue of Allied control of the seas, were largely cut off. It opened an explosive expansion in American manufacture, trade and foreign investments and bent the national economy to the same side in the war as prevailing popular sentiment.

For the country on the whole was as pro-Allied in sympathy as it was anti-belligerent in wish. The President shared the sentiment. "I found him," wrote Colonel House after the first month of war, "as unsympathetic with the German attitude as is the balance of the country." Counselor Von Haniel of the German Embassy in Washington, trying to disabuse his principals of certain illusions, reminded them that American feeling was the outgrowth of a natural connection with England "in history, blood, speech, society, finance, culture," and that "in the present case commercial instinct and sentiment point in the same direction." He had hit upon the essence of the situation.

At the same time as he lifted the ban on loans, Wilson agreed to permit unrestricted trade in munitions, contrary to an earlier proposal for their embargo. The two measures were not taken in the Allied interest (although they were to work to the Allies' advantage) but in the American interest—for the Administration, no less than Von Haniel, knew the strength of the country's "commercial instinct" and feared that an embargo would turn Allied orders to Canada, Australia and Argentina. To ban loans and embargo munitions would have been to give realistic expression to the isolation that the people and their President believed they enjoyed. But it would have closed off the wealth of unlimited orders and Americans did not wish to suffer for their neutrality. Rather they hoped to make a good thing of it. With these two economic measures taken before the war was three months old, the fact, if not the illusion, of isolation was dead.

In February, 1915, Germany declared a submarine blockade of Britain to be carried out by a policy of "unrestricted" undersea warfare, which meant attack without warning on merchant ships found in the war zone. As a violation of traditional neutral rights to freedom of the seas, this was, said Wilson outraged, "an extraordinary threat to destroy commerce." An American President was obliged to resist it even though a quarrel would heighten the risk of involvement. Quarrels with the British were continuous over their incursions on freedom of the seas in the form of the Declaration of London, the doctrine of continuous voyage, elaboration of contraband, the right of search, Prize Court procedures and other annoyances which together added up to that old conflict between the belligerent's right to blockade and the neutral's right to trade. But Britain's measures, however infuriating to legalists of the State Department, did not threaten life or touch the public mind or seriously hamper the flow of goods, of which by far the major share was directed to the Allies in any case.

By contrast, acquiescence in the role claimed for the U-boat would have meant the end of overseas trade. The explicit threat to neutral civilian lives meant either that Americans must stay off the public highway of the ocean or the American Government must exert enough pressure, without tipping the precarious balance of neutrality into open rupture, to make the Germans draw back. Either way, with this development, the war had not only touched but entangled us.

During the next two years German activities on the seas, in Belgium and in the plots of spies and saboteurs in the United States, operated relentlessly to weaken American neutrality, with results that would have been the same with or without Allied propaganda.

Germany's violation of Belgium's guaranteed neutrality, the opening act of the war, had aroused American indignation and put Germany in the wrong from the start. It established the image of bully in the public mind. This was no sudden reversal, for the image of the kindly German professor personified by Dr. Bhaer, who married Jo in "Little Women," had long since given way, under the influence of Wilhelmine Germany, to the arrogant Prussian officer. Initial American indignation would doubtless have subsided into indifference if, before the first month was out, it had not been re-excited and confirmed by the burning of Louvain and its ancient library. The horror engendered by this act was profound, for the time, it must be remembered, was on the far side of the gulf of 1914–18, when people permitted themselves simple and sentimental reactions and society was believed to be advancing in moral progress.

With the American Minister to Belgium, Brand Whitlock, former reform mayor of Toledo, remaining in Brussels in constant contact between the occupying power and the population, Americans felt a particular concern for Belgium's misfortunes, from the shooting of hostages to the developing starvation that evoked the Hoover Relief Commission. The Bryce Report on atrocities issued by England and signed, not by accident, by the Englishman best known to the United States, the former Ambassador to Washington and author of "The American Commonwealth," fell on prepared ground. It gave rise to many exaggerated atrocity stories, but it was not British propaganda that staged the trial and execution of Edith Cavell. The shooting of a woman, a nurse, a humanitarian, accomplished with the unfailing German affinity for the act that would most successfully outrage world opinion, sealed the concept of the Hun.

Above all, the mass deportations begun in 1916, of ultimately 300,000 Belgians to forced labor inside Germany aroused more anger than anything since the Lusitania. Whether because of sensitivity on the subject of slavery, Americans—at least of that day—found something peculiarly shocking about citizens of a white Western nation being carried off to forced labor. The revulsion, reported Von Haniel, "is general, deep-rooted and genuine."

The sinking in May, 1915, of the Cunard Line's Lusitania which carried, in addition to a full complement of noncombatant passengers, a part-cargo of small-arms ammunition, besides enhancing German "frightfulness," had brought to a head the issue of submarine warfare. Regarded by the Germans as a munitions carrier using its noncombatant status as protection, the ship was sunk without warning; that is, without ordering passengers off in lifeboats before loosing the torpedo. Of the nearly 2,000 persons aboard, 1,195 were lost, including 124 Americans. In the previous week two American ships had been attacked with two American deaths.

Thus the rights of both neutrals and noncombatants were at stake. Tense and protracted negotiations followed in which Wilson's almost impossible task was to force Germany to acknowledge these rights without the ultimate threat of war, which was the last thing he wanted. He had to pick his way along a narrow ridge between the precipice of war on one side and that of abdication of neutral rights, as advocated by his Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, on the other. Representing the pacifist position that no interest was worth defending at the risk of war, Bryan became spokesman of the demand that Americans be warned not to (or, as some insisted, forbidden to) travel on belligerent ships.

In this demand was crystalized a central issue that transcended the matter of American trade or neutral rights. The real issue was our position as a great power. The United States could not allow the U-Boats to keep her nationals off the sea lanes without forfeiting the respect of other nations, the confidence of her own citizens and her prestige before the world. She could not forbid her own people to exercise their rights, Wilson wrote to Senator Stone, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and a leading isolationist, "without conceding her own impotence as a nation." This was the crux, the more so as to concede impotence now would undercut the ambition which the President already had in mind: to mediate the war and save the world from its own wickedness.

Wilson rejected the proposal to keep American citizens off belligerent ships as a gesture "both weak and futile" which by revealing the United States posture to be one of "uneasiness and hedging" would "weaken our whole position fatally." Bryan, finding his insistent and reiterated advice as Secretary of State overridden, accordingly resigned to become thereafter a trumpeting voice of the pacifist wing. While his going relieved Washington's diplomatic dinners from the temperance of grape juice, imposed by the Secretary's edict, it hardly eased matters for Wilson, who had still to make good his stand against the submarine without going to war. The pressure of the dilemma brought forth those memorable words: "There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right. . . . There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight."

Although the speech aroused tirades of disgust by the interventionists at Wilson's "poltroonery," it reasserted the strength of the "sit-tight" sentiment in the nation which the Lusitania had so nearly dissipated.

Wilson, in note after note to Berlin, fencing, countering, reiterating, rejecting, ultimately won his point. After another ship crisis over the sinking of the Arabic in August, 1915, with the loss of 44 lives, including two Americans, he extracted a German promise not to sink without warning. But the whole issue was revived again by the sinking of the Ancona in November and the Sussex in March, 1916, and was only resolved by Germany's renewal of her promise upon the President's notice that without it the United States would have no recourse but to sever relations. In fact, this result was due less to Wilson's firmness than to Germany's recognition that she had too few submarines to sink enough shipping to make the risk of American belligerency worthwhile. Her shipyards meanwhile worked round the clock to correct that inadequacy.

Each time during these months when the torpedo streaked its fatal track, the isolationist cry to keep Americans out of the war zones redoubled. When a resolution to that effect was introduced in Congress by Senator Gore of Oklahoma and Representative McLemore of Texas in February, 1916, Champ Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the House, led a delegation to the White House to inform Wilson that it would pass two to one. After absorbing four and a half million words of debate it was, however, ultimately tabled although not without 175 votes in its favor.

As the war lengthened and hates and sufferings increased, with repercussions across the Atlantic, American public opinion lost its early comfortable cohesion. The hawks and doves of 1916, equivalent to the interventionists and isolationists of the nineteen-thirties, were the preparedness advocates and the pacifists, with the great mass of people in between still stolidly, though not fanatically, opposed to involvement.

The equivalency to the present, however, is inexact because of the sharp ideological reversal in our history that took place after 1945. The attitude of the American people toward foreign conflict in the 20th century has been divided between those who regard the enemy or potential enemy as a threat to American interests and way of life and are therefore interventionists, and those who recognize no such danger and therefore wish us to stay at home and mind our own business. Who belongs to which group is decided by the nature of the enemy. When, as in the years before 1945, the enemy was on the right, our interventionists by and large came from the left. When, as in the years since 1945 the Soviet Union and Communist China replaced the right-wing powers of Germany and Japan as our opponents, American factions switched roles in response. The right has become interventionist and the left isolationist. Former advocates of America First, who used to shriek against engagement outside our frontiers, are now hawks calling for more and bigger intervention (otherwise escalation). Former interventionists who once could not wait to fight the Fascists now find themselves doves in the unaccustomed role of isolationists. It is this regrouping which has made most people over 25 so uncomfortable.

In 1916 ideologies of right and left were less determining. The most vigorously anti-German interventionists came from the upper and educated classes especially on the East Coast where Prussian militarism (the term then in use) was regarded as the ultimate foe of democracy which could not be allowed to triumph. President Emeritus Eliot of Harvard, "the topmost oak of New England," declared the defeat of the Central Powers to be "the only tolerable result of this outrageous war." Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court said, "If I were 30 years younger I would go to Canada to enlist."

Distinguished clergymen like Henry Van Dyke and Lyman Abbott felt no less warmly and the president of the American Historical Association, William Roscoe Thayer, announced in response to Wilson's original advice to be impartial in thought, that only a "moral eunuch" could be neutral in the sense implied by the "malefic dictum" of the President. The new Secretary of State Robert Lansing was convinced that a German victory "would mean the overthrow of democracy in the world" by the forces of military despotism, an opinion shared by his Republican predecessor, Elihu Root, not to mention by the President's closest adviser, Colonel House, and his bitterest despiser, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt.

The opinions of the articulate East, however, were more influential than representative. The rest of the country with its center of gravity a thousand miles from any ocean still bore the stamp, "Keep out of it." Isolationism naturally centered in, although was not confined to, the largely Republican Midwest, with its "hyphenated" settlements of German-Americans in Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis and other cities, its Populist traditions and its agrarian radicals called sons-of-the-wild-jackass. The home states of Congressional isolationist leaders tell the tale: Speaker Champ Clark and Senator

Stone of Missouri, Senators Hitchcock and Norris of Nebraska, La Follette of Wisconsin, Gore of Oklahoma and, from the South, Vardaman of Mississippi and Representative Claude Kitchin, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, from North Carolina.

Ideological divisions cut across the geographical. Progressives and Socialists, though hating the autocracies, were largely (though by no means all) isolationist, partly because they did not want war to interfere with domestic reform and partly from inherited dislike of Europe. They shunned foreign entanglements with the Old World from whose quarrels and standing armies and reactionary regimes their fathers had escaped to the promise of America. Regardless of background or position they all joined in one dominant argument: sentiment for war was manufactured for profit by bankers and businessmen. David Starr Jordan, pacifist president of Stanford, pictured Uncle Sam "throwing his money with Morgan & Co. into the bottomless pit of war," La Follette denounced profiteers as the real promoters of preparedness, and Eugene Debs, leader of the Socialist party, declared he would rather be shot as a traitor than "go to war for Wall Street."

Foreseeing that we might, and believing that we should, enter the war, pro-Allied groups opened a preparedness campaign in 1915. Supported by the Army and Navy Leagues, they formed committees for national security and American rights, organized parades, distributed books, films and leaflets identifying preparedness with patriotism, introduced a bill in Congress to expand the Reserve into a continental army of 400,000 and called for a Congressional appropriation of $500 million to build an "adequate Navy." As the agitation mounted, vociferously led by Theodore Roosevelt, the Administration forces took alarm lest in resisting it, in a die-hard grip on neutrality, they allow a partisan issue to develop in which the Republicans would become the party of patriotism and the Democrats be identified with "weakness."

Wilson accordingly embraced preparedness, marched strawhatted in parades, supported the Army Bill for increasing the Regulars from 80,000 to 140,000 and the Reserves to 400,000, and approved a five-year program of naval construction to provide 10 battleships, 16 cruisers, 50 destroyers and 100 submarines. He undertook a speaking tour through the Midwest on behalf of the Army Bill but failed to persuade the hard core of isolationists of the need for adequate armed forces. This outcome was not surprising since he balanced every eloquent plea to prepare "not for war but for adequate national defense" with an equally eloquent avowal of his and the country's "deep-seated passion for peace."

In the spring of 1916 debate raged in Congress and country over the Army Bill. Progressives thundered against militarism as the spawn of capitalist greed and the destroyer of the American dream. Interventionists insisted America must join in the battle of the democracies against tyranny (a cause embarrassed by the inconvenient alliance of the Czar) if political freedom was to survive anywhere. Preparedness parades grew louder and longer, a mammoth example on Fifth Avenue lasting 12 hours with 125,000 civilian men and women marchers, 200 brass bands and 50 drum corps, thousands of cheering observers on the sidewalks and floodlights on the last squadrons as they marched on into the night. Impervious, a majority of Republican Representatives in the House voted to warn American citizens off armed merchant ships, indicating their firm preference for discretion over neutral rights.

A stunning and unexpected testimony to the depth of pacifist feeling emerged at the Democratic convention at St. Louis in June. Wilson's managers had planned to make patriotism the theme, with bands concentrating on the national anthem instead of "Dixie" and bursts of "spontaneous" enthusiasm for the flag. These demonstrations proved uninspired but the keynote speech of ex-Gov. Martin Glynn of New York, which argued that the American tradition was to stay out of war whatever the provocation, produced a frenzied outburst and a "delirium of delight." Designed to appeal to the peace sentiment, it had been approved in advance by the President who no less than any other practicing politician in search of re-election, was interested in consensus. As Glynn cited each historical precedent, his audience took up the chant, "What did we do? What did we do?" and the speaker roared in reply, "We did not go to war!" Delegates cheered, waved flags, jumped on their seats. When Glynn, becoming somewhat dismayed at what he had aroused, tried to slide over his prepared text, they yelled, "No! No! Go on! Give us more! More! More!" They danced about the aisles, "half mad with joy . . . shouting like schoolboys and screaming like steam sirens."

Glynn had shown that pacifism instead of being something not quite manly, was right, patriotic and American. The effect was "simply electrifying." Convention leaders were appalled. Chairman McCombs hastily scribbled on a sheet of paper, "But we are willing to fight if necessary," signed his name and passed it to Glynn, who nodded and called back, "I'll take care of that." But by now fascinated with his own effect on the crowd, he never did. Political plans were deranged, Wilson's campaign was revised to make peace the main issue; the Republicans, repudiating Roosevelt, nominated Hughes on a platform of "straight and honest neutrality" and lost in November to the slogan promoted by Wilson's managers, "He kept us out of war."

It was this use of the peace sentiment which accomplished the close victory through a notably sectional vote of the Western states in new alliance with the South. It enabled Wilson to recover for the Democratic party what Bryan had three times failed to win, the support of the majority of predominantly agricultural states.

The final four months leading up to U.S. belligerency began with Wilson's concerted effort through December and January to end the war through mediation. His concept of a "peace without victory," although called by Senator La Follette "the greatest message of the century," did not appeal to the belligerents. Since neither side wanted the American President to arrange the terms of a settlement and each was bent on total victory, Wilson's attempt to negotiate a peace failed.

In the meantime Germany, having built up a fleet of 200 submarines, took the decision to risk American hostility for the sake of an all-out effort to end the war her way. On Jan. 31, 1917, she formally notified Washington of intent to resume unrestricted submarine warfare beginning next day. All neutral ships would be "forcibly prevented" from reaching England. A single exception in the form of one U.S. passenger ship a week would be allowed provided that it carry no contraband, dock only at Falmouth and only on a Sunday, be marked by three vertical stripes each a meter wide painted alternately white and red and fly at each mast a large flag checkered white and red.

At the prospect of funnels "striped like a barber's pole and a flag like a kitchen tablecloth," the American historian J. B. McMaster could hardly contain his indignation. The insult implied in such orders addressed to the major neutral indicated that Germany had no doubts of America's answer. "We are counting on the probability of war with the United States," Field Marshal von Hindenburg had said at Supreme Headquarters when the decision was taken, but "things cannot be worse than they are now. The war must be brought to an end by whatever means as soon as possible." Headquarters had convinced itself that in the time before the submarine could knock out the Allies, American military assistance would "amount to nothing." But the civilian Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg believed the entry of America meant *"finis Germaniae."*

In the vortex of the conflict, America had become, willing or not, a major power: as arsenal and bank of the Allies to whose cause our economy no less than our political system was now attached, and as obstacle, so long as we continued to supply the Allies, to any German hope of victory. To yield freedom of the seas now after two years' hard-fought maintenance of the principle was incompatible with first-class status. Wilson was left with no choice but to declare the long-avoided rupture of relations. At once pacifist groups were roused to feverish action in mass meetings to demand that American ships stay out of war zones while interventionists agitated equally loudly for the arming of our ships and the aggressive assertion of American rights.

As ships piled up in home ports, American commerce threatened to come to a standstill affecting the entire national economy. The Cabinet grew seriously alarmed. Although Wilson possessed the executive authority to arm ships, he was reluctant to take the step that would inevitably start the shooting. He preferred to ask Congress for authorization, thus touching off the great debate and filibuster on the Armed Ship Bill. In the midst of it came the revelation of the telegram from German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann inviting Mexico into alliance as a belligerent. As a scheme to keep U.S. forces occupied on their own border, it offered to help Mexico regain her lost territories of Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. Intercepted and decoded by British naval intelligence and made available to this country, the telegram was released to the press on March 1 in the hope of influencing "the little band of willful men" in the Senate. It failed of that purpose but aroused the American public more than anything since the outbreak of war. As a proposed assault on U.S. territory, it convinced Americans of German hostility to this country.

On March 9 Congress adjourned without passing the bill. The President issued the order for arming ships anyway and waited for the "overt act." It came on March 18 in the torpedoing without warning of three American merchant ships with heavy loss of life. Conveniently at this moment the overthrow of the Czar by the preliminary revolution in Russia purified the Allied cause and the advent of the great new convert to democracy under the Kerensky regime brought a glow of enthusiasm to liberal hearts. At the same time the relentlessly mounting toll of the submarine was making a graveyard of the Atlantic and raising a serious prospect of the Allies' defeat.

For two more weeks the President hesitated in his agony, afflicted by his sense, as he had said earlier that month, that "matters outside our life as a nation and over which we had no control . . . despite our wish to keep free of them" were drawing the country into a war it did not want. "If any nation now neutral should be drawn in," he had said in November, "it would know only that it was drawn in by some force it could not resist."

This is as just a statement of the truth as any. We were not artificially maneuvered to a fate that might have been otherwise; what engulfed us were the realities of world conflict. In the latest of a long train of scholars' examinations, Ernest May of Harvard in his "The World War and American Isolation, 1914–17," published in 1959, concluded, "Close analysis cannot find the point at which he [Wilson] might have turned back and taken another road."

On April 2, Wilson went to Congress to ask for its formal acceptance of "the status of belligerent that has been thrust upon it." He put the blame specifically on submarine warfare: "a war against all nations." He said "neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable" when the peace of the world and freedom of its peoples are menaced "by the existence of autocratic governments backed by force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of the people."

The validity of this proposition was somewhat weakened by the fact that he had believed neutrality feasible and eminently desirable in coexistence with these same nations for nearly three years. "A steadfast peace," he now discovered, "can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations." Citing the Zimmermann telegram as evidence of hostile purpose, he said there could be no assured security for the democracies in the presence of Prussian autocracy, "this natural foe of liberty." And so to the final peroration: "The world must be made safe for democracy . . . the right is more precious than peace."

Nothing that Wilson said about the danger to democracy could not have been said all along. For that cause we could have gone to war six months or a year or two years earlier, with incalculable effect on history. Except for the proof of hostility in the resumed submarine campaign and the Zimmermann telegram, our cause would have been as valid, but we would then have been fighting a preventive war—to prevent a victory by German militarism with its potential danger to our way of life—not a war of no choice. Instead, we waited for the overt acts of hostility which brought the war to us.

The experience was repeated in World War II. Prior to Pearl Harbor the threat of Nazism to democracy and the evidence of Japanese hostility to us was sufficiently plain, on a policy level, to make a case for preventive war. But it was not that plain to the American people and we did not fight until we were attacked.

In our wars since then the assumption of responsibility for the direction, even the policing, of world affairs has been almost too eager—as eager as it was formerly reluctant. In what our leaders believe to be a far-sighted apprehension of future danger, and before our own shores or tangible interests have been touched, we launch ourselves on military adventure half a world away with the result that the country, as distinct from the Government, does not feel itself fighting in self-defense. Korea was thoroughly unpopular and Vietnam—where we have gone a step further into a purely preventive war, to contain Chinese Communism—even more so. In the circumstances the instinct of the country is uneasy, consciences troubled and counsels divided.

Two kinds of war, acquisitive and preventive, make hard explaining and the last more so than the first. Although the first might be considered less moral, so far in human experience abstract morality has not notably determined the conduct of states and a good, justifiable reason like need, or irredentism or "manifest destiny," can always be found for taking territory. Besides acquisitive wars tend to be short, sharp and successful and success never needs explaining. But it is never possible to prove a preventive war to have been necessary, for no one can ever tell what would have happened without it. Given the gap in modern power and organized resources between China and ourselves, our exaggerated fear of Chinese Communism, both as threat to us and in its appeal to the rest of Asia, seems unwarranted by a "clear and present danger." In the grip of a new illusion we have not waited, as in World Wars I and II, for the enemy's shot to be aimed at us.

In April, 1917, the illusion of isolation was destroyed. America came to the end of innocence, and of the exuberant freedom of bachelor independence. That the responsibilities of world power have not made us happier is no surprise. To help ourselves manage them we have replaced the illusion of isolation with a new illusion of omnipotence. That screen, too, must fall.

Where once we saw ourselves self-contained and free to stand apart, we now see ourselves as if endowed with some mission to organize the world in our image. Militarily we could knock out Hanoi, and doubtless Peking, too, tomorrow but we cannot raise a clean new democracy on nuclear ashes. The terrible fact for military strategists is that they have acquired a weapon that cannot be used—which is a problem new in history. Whatever our material or political power, it is not enough for omnipotence. We cannot mold the non-Western world to our desires nor require its acceptance of our concepts of political freedom and representative government. It is too late in history to export to the nations of Asia and Africa with unschooled and undernourished populations in the hundreds of millions the democracy that evolved in the West over a thousand years of slow small-scale experience from the Saxon village moot to the Bill of Rights. They have not had time to learn it and history is not going to give them time. Meanwhile, we live on the same globe. The better part of valor is to spend it learning to live with differences, however hostile, unless and until we can find another planet.

STUDENT LEADERS MEET WITH SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, recently in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin an article by Gregory Craig was printed about a report upon a meeting of student leaders with the Secretary of State. I believe this article will be of interest to all Senators, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

My Discouraging Visit With Dean Rusk

(Note.—A Harvard senior reports on a meeting between student leaders and the Secretary of State, and tells why it has deepened his concern over the Johnson Administration's Vietnam policy.)

(By Gregory B. Craig)

I am one of those more moderate college students generally described as "seriously concerned" or "deeply troubled" about our government's policy in Vietnam. Two weeks ago, I met with Secretary of State Dean Rusk as a member of a student delegation to discuss our country's course in Vietnam. The meeting intensified my concern and generated many new misgivings about our future in Vietnam.

This is a report on the letter that led to our meeting with Mr. Rusk, on my reaction to the meeting itself, and on my growing pessimism about the outlook for the future.

Student response to the war in Vietnam has taken many forms, ranging from teach-ins and fasts to burning draft cards and lying down in front of the Secretary of Defense's car. But the most recent (and perhaps most quietly dramatic) reaction to the war rejected the "protest ethic" and took the form of a letter to the President, signed by one hundred student body presidents and college newspaper editors from colleges and universities all over the country.

The letter, reprinted in the New York *Times* of December 30, reported that increasing numbers of America's most loyal and courageous young people—people who are devoted to the Constitution, to the democratic process, and to law and order—are deeply troubled about the posture of our government in Vietnam. The student leaders wrote that for every militant dissenter, there are scores of students who are confused about our basic purpose and policy in Vietnam. The letter then cited a series of questions for the President, expressing the hope that the questions would open up a dialogue between the Administration and the mainstream of American youth about the growing doubts in students' minds concerning our objectives in Vietnam.

The response to this letter from outside the academic community was overwhelmingly favorable. *Time* printed excerpts from the letter in its "Man of the Year" article. The Boston *Globe* ran an editorial entitled "Speak Up, Mr. President," and suggested that the questions in the letter were questions that should be answered not only for the benefit of the students but for the information of the whole country and the rest of the world. By the end of January, an additional hundred student body presidents and editors had endorsed the letter, so that almost every major institution of higher education was represented, from small midwestern state colleges to prestigious Ivy League universities, from Catholic girls' schools to Big Ten multiversities.

On behalf of the President, Secretary Rusk wrote a detailed response, concluding in an invitation to the signatories to meet with him and to continue the dialogue in a more personal and meaningful fashion. Although the Secretary took great pains to answer the questions posed in the students' letter, few signers felt that the Secretary's letter resolved the confusion. In an editorial, the *Crimson* called Mr. Rusk's response "almost pathetic in its reliance on worn-out shells of ideas."

As one of the original drafters of the letter, I began to organize an executive committee of the signers to set up the meeting with the Secretary of State. Bob Powell, President of the Student Body of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was cochairman. After lengthy negotiations with the State Department, the number of people who would speak with the Secretary was limited to 45 and the meeting was scheduled for Tuesday, January 31. The Executive Committee decided to release a response to Secretary Rusk's letter before our meeting with him, in order to focus our questions more clearly and to take the dialogue one step further.

Our second letter focused on our problems in defining Secretary Rusk's description of our government's policy as a "middle course." We felt two alternatives were open to the government: to pursue a negotiated settlement in which neither side seeks victory nor accepts defeat, or to rely on a military solution requiring the surrender of the other side. We feared that although the government's statements publicly committed us to a negotiated settlement, our military actions in Vietnam, combined with contradictory statements by high officials in the administration, served to undermine that objective. We believe that negotiations were impossible until the credibility of our government's desire for a negotiated settlement was unquestionable, and so we urged the government to take tangible and unequivocal steps towards a negotiated settlement.

The letter posed additional questions: What type of negotiated settlement would be acceptable to our government? Were we in fact prepared to accept a settlement less than complete surrender of the other side? The letter also outlined what we considered to be the dangers of increasing reliance on military action. If Hanoi was in fact responsible for supplying and directing the war effort, would not a military solution require the ultimate defeat of Hanoi militarily? And was it possible that both Communist China and the Soviet Union would stand by and allow Hanoi to be beaten without giving significant support to the Northern regime? To seek a military solution, we felt, would risk the dangers of a wider, longer, and more costly war. Our major concerns as we went into the meeting with the Secretary of State were the dangers of such a continuing escalated war and the attitude of our government toward a negotiated settlement.

I felt that the group of students was an impressive delegation—articulate, forthright, and representative of large numbers of American students. The group represented all shades of political belief, all types of colleges, and all parts of the country. Many of the students were Republicans; some had signed petitions in support of the war a year earlier and had voted for Barry Goldwater in 1964. One commented as we walked into the State Department, "The Secretary has only to say a few things, and I'll be persuaded." In short, the students entered the meeting with Mr. Rusk honestly puzzled, eager to talk, and with many wanting to be persuaded. In the course of the interview, the Secretary managed to alienate them all, to a man.

Since the meeting was held off the record with the explicit agreement that we would not quote the Secretary publicly, I can only give my general impressions of the discussion that we had. As chairman of the meeting, I had an advantage in that I could follow up questions without waiting to be called upon, and, because I was sitting next to the Secretary, I could study him more closely as he gave his answers.

The Secretary seemed insufficiently concerned about the possibility of an unlimited war, unlimited both in terms of time and in terms of intensified military action. I was particularly distressed at his reiteration that the other side had to make major concessions before any sort of meaningful negotiations could take place. He had missed our major point. Of course we felt that the Viet Cong should make concessions to match ours, but we were unsure about our own government's willingness to accept a settlement less than victory. We believed that our own good faith had to be demonstrated in tangible ways, before attempts could be made to persuade the opposition to make concessions. Too often, we thought, our expressed desire for a negotiated political settlement had been undercut by our actions, and too often our sincerity had been thrown into doubt by contradictory statements of administration officials. In short, we sought assurances that the administration was prepared to negotiate on a give-and-take basis. We not only did not obtain such assurances, but we left feeling that our government would accept peace only through capitulation of the other side; that the American government was in fact gradually committing itself to a military solution, thereby risking a lengthy and dangerous war.

The group came out of the meeting with the Secretary quite literally stunned. There had been virtually no communication; the Secretary did not seem to understand our questions, and his responses appeared to be superficial and hopelessly rigid. As one member of the group said, "It was like two ships passing in the night." In ninety minutes of discussion, the Secretary had succeeded in disaffecting even the most moderate members of the group. Many of the students were visibly shaken.

It seems clear that both communication and understanding have broken down between a sizable portion of the student population and the Johnson Administration. Unless our government candidly spells out the consequences of our present course in Vietnam and just as candidly presents rational alternatives to that course, student dissatisfaction will quickly become disaffection. And if the Johnson Administration continues to dredge up comfortable new justifications for uncomfortable old policies, passive disaffection could quickly turn into active non-coöperation. Unless this situation is remedied, our country faces the tragic prospect of a great number of its most talented and thoughtful young people becoming increasingly alienated from all aspects of American life, and these same people viewing the notion of a national purpose with growing cynicism and intensified hostility.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PROXMIRE

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on March 5, 1967, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch contained an interesting article concerning our colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin, the Honorable WILLIAM PROXMIRE.

It has been my pleasure to serve with the Senator from Wisconsin on several Senate committees since his first coming to the Senate in 1957. He was an active member of the Select Committee on Small Business and later became chairman of the Subcommittee on Small Business of the Banking and Currency Committee. He has been a conscientious and valuable member of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and the Joint Economic Committee. The Post-Dispatch article refers to his new role as chairman of the Joint Economic Committee.

I believe that this article will be of great interest to the Senate and the public. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR TURNS EDUCATOR ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS—WILLIAM PROXMIRE, OF WISCONSIN, EXPANDS AND GIVES NEW FORCE TO JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

(By Raymond P. Brandt)

WASHINGTON, March 4.—Under the energetic chairmanship of Democratic Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, the Joint Economic Committee has been enlarged, reshuffled and revitalized into a better-equipped forum for congressional and public education.

The committee was established by the 1946 Employment Act, which directed the President to appoint a three-man council of economic advisers to help him prepare an annual economic report to Congress on how the executive and legislative branches should promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power.

The enlarged 20-member committee gives equal representation to the Senate and the House. Missouri is the only state with three members: Senator Stuart Symington of St. Louis and Representative Richard Bolling of Kansas City, Democrats, and Representative Thomas B. Curtis of Webster Groves, Republican. All are influential members of important legislative committees.

The Joint Committee has no authority to report out legislative measures. Its function is to give the congressional answer to the President's economic report and the more-detailed supporting report by the Council of Economic Advisers. It employs seven fulltime professional economists, holds public hearings to obtain the views of high-ranking government officials, prominent businessmen and labor leaders and distinguished academic economists. Throughout the year the committee and subcommittees hold hearings on special topics and issue voluminous studies.

The formal answer to President Lyndon B. Johnson's January report will be made public before March 20. Democratic and Republican members are presently conferring separately to write their partisan drafts. The final document is expected to be mildly critical, with Republican and individual Democratic dissents.

The 51-year-old Proxmire, who succeeded 73-year-old Representative Wright Patman of Texas, has matured since 1959 when he publicly attacked in a series of speeches what he called the dictatorial tactics of the then Senate majority leader, Lyndon B. Johnson.

He has retained his political independence while going up the Senate seniority ladder. He ranks next to the chairman on the Banking and Currency Committee and is a member of the Appropriations Committee. In his new position he has restored a little harmony and some co-operation with Republicans who were irrtated by what they considered Patman's dictatorial ways, his patronage appointments to the committee staff and his selection of special studies.

The new chairman is already on record against some of the Johnsonian budget and economic recommendations. He opposed the proposed surtax, arguing that a sounder result can be obtained by cutting expenditures on the space and public works programs and by withdrawing four to six Army divisions from Europe. He would like to see the Administration set a definite wage-price guidepost figure, perhaps slightly above 5 per cent for wages this year to compensate for an expected 2.5 per cent increase in the cost of living. He says this might prevent higher wage agreements. He and Republican Curtis agree that the Administration should give quarterly reports on budget outlays, especially on military expenditures. They agree also on hiring economic graduate students as committee interns.

Proxmire was elected in 1957 to fill the unexpired term of the late Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. He criticized McCarthy's Senate investigations of alleged Communists in Government and came to Washington as a progressive in the Wisconsin LaFollette tradition. He called for 100 per cent farm price parity, lower taxes on low incomes, higher social security benefits, higher federal pay, stronger anti-monopoly enforcement and lower interest rates. He believed that Majority Leader Johnson kept him off the Finance Committee because Proxmire wanted to wipe out the 27.5 per cent oil depletion tax allowance granted oil producers.

As chairman, Proxmire has named six subcommittees for special studies, making himself head of the one on government economy. He says he is especially pleased with two new Senate members, Symington and Charles H. Percy (Rep.), Illinois, both former businessmen.

Symington is deeply worried about present inflationary pressures and the continuing deficits in the balance of payments. Although Percy formerly headed a photographic company that encountered intense foreign competition, he is an ardent advocate of low international trade barriers.

The committee staff has already started on three timely studies. The first is on the economic consequences of the Vietnam war and plans for the postwar period. The second will be on how to maintain a high employment economy, and the third on the Communist Chinese economy, similar to the valuable study several years ago on the Russian economy.

Proxmire is also considering how the committee can recommend an understandable budget that combines the best features of the administrative, consolidated cash and national income accounts budgets.

He expects substantial results from the subcommittee on urban affairs headed by Representative Bolling, which is likely to hold hearings in the principal cities that have crime, housing and financial problems.

In a reshuffling of the staff, the former executive director, James W. Knowles, a respected economist, has been replaced by John R. Stark, his former deputy. Knowles now has charge of the staff studies and reports. Stark is handling the administrative work involved in a $300,000 annual appropriation and contracts with outside nongovernment research studies by universities, foundations and individuals.

In his first chairmanship, Proxmire can be expected to make the most of his own and the committee's resources. In his earlier Senate years, a few of his senior colleagues called him a maverick, a loner, a political opportunist. None disputed his industry and homework on intricate subjects.

Now his friends praise his fairness and efforts for harmony.

Proxmire has the educational background for the understanding of complex economic subjects. He has a B.A. degree from Yale, master's degrees from Harvard in business and public administration. In World War II he served five years in military intelligence, retiring as a first lieutenant.

His political career attests to his persistence. He served in the Wisconsin State Assembly one term before trying unsuccessfully for the governorship three times. His election to the Senate in 1957 and re-election in 1958 were taken as augurs of the Democratic presidential victory in 1960.

When the joint committee was created, the late Robert A. Taft of Ohio, then Senate Republican leader, considered it so important he named himself the first chairman.

Although the committee has no direct legislative authority, the persistent and industrious Proxmire intends to make it a vital educational force on economic problems, fiscal and monetary, legislative and administrative, national and international.

CLEANER AIR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the recent discussions on eliminating pollution from air have appeared to strike out most strongly at the use of coal as a fuel. We all know the importance of coal and coal mining to the economy of the country and we know of the Federal Government's interest in removing pollutants from stack gases where coal is used.

I submit for review today an article issued jointly by the National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., the National Coal Association, and the United Mine Workers of America.

The article is entitled "Clean Air and Plentiful Fuel—The Nation Must Have Both." It indicates the support by both the coal industry and labor of the national goal of cleaner air.

I ask unanimous consent to have the pamphlet printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the pamphlet was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

Coal Industry and Labor Support National Goal of Cleaner Air

Cleanliness of the air is a national imperative. We share the concern of the American people over air pollution. The various industries making up the industrial federation built around coal—America's most abundant fuel—support the objective of clean air.

Our aim is to see that the goal of cleaner air is attained without jeopardizing the Nation's future fuel supply. This is a real danger if control regulations are imposed before technology is developed to make it possible to meet new standards.

The control of sulfur dioxide emissions from fuel burning, a high priority item in the Nation's air pollution program, points up this danger.

Sulfur oxide emissions can be controlled by barring the use of fuels with more than a trace of sulfur, as has been proposed in several instances.

Under present technology, standards this strict, if widely adopted, as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has proposed, would prohibit the burning of almost all of the Nation's vast coal reserves and most of its heavy industrial fuel oil.

The Director of the U.S. Bureau of Mines has stated: "Regardless of price, there are no significant quantities of coal available which could meet these sulfur limits." He added: "For all practical purposes, these limits would (also) eliminate the use of residual oil." Yet coal today is needed to produce more than half of all the Nation's electricity, and oil is used to generate another 6 per cent.

Thus, it is obvious that general adoption of such rigid limitations on sulfur in fuel at this time would create an even more serious problem than that caused by sulfur oxides in the air—a shortage of fuel and economic chaos in fuel-producing areas and in fuel-using industries.

The better approach is to develop a feasible and practical method of controlling the emissions of sulfur oxides before such far-reaching regulations are imposed. This will permit optimum utilization of our fuel reserves, thus assuring both adequate energy for an expanding industrial economy and clean air.

ALTERNATE SUPPLY OF FUEL NOT AVAILABLE NATIONALLY

Too many people take it for granted that if coal and heavy fuel oil with more than slight amounts of sulfur are barred, replacing them would be simple. Could the Nation meet its spiraling electrical energy demand under such conditions?

The answer is No!

Could nuclear power fill the fuels gap? The Atomic Energy Commission has said that the Nation's known reserves of low-cost uranium—some 145,000 tons—could produce, in present reactors, only the amount of electricity that could be produced from about two billion tons of coal.

If it were possible to force the electric utilities by air pollution regulations to substitute uranium for coal in producing electricity, the known low-cost reserves would be exhausted in eight years.

Even assuming that the lack of low-cost uranium does not create an inhibiting factor, the AEC has frequently stated that for several decades atomic energy will supplement and can not replace coal-produced power. Moreover, construction capacity and safety requirements would preclude any immediate shift over to nuclear power.

How about natural gas? There is not enough gas available, even at a premium price, to replace coal and heavy fuel oil, in major metropolitan areas. Gas industry and Federal Power Commission spokesmen have warned gas reserves are insufficient to permit wide-spread substitution of gas for coal and oil as a pollution control measure.

Thus, it becomes obvious that any long term solution of air pollution must take into account the availability of adequate fuel supplies for the Nation's growing demand for energy.

RESEARCH IS THE KEY TO CLEANER AIR

Research is the key to assuring the Nation of cleaner air without jeopardizing adequate fuel supplies for the future.

An urgent national priority has been assigned to cleaning up the air. At least an equal priority must be assigned to developing the technology to assure clean air without hampering industrial operation and future industrial growth.

The Congress in the Clean Air Act directed the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to pursue research on removal of sulfur from fuels and sulfur oxides from flue gases. Thus far, emphasis by HEW has been on development of standards and regulations. Research has not been assigned the priority Congress intended it should have.

Coal and its consumers, meanwhile, have made many advances through research. With the modern equipment now available, soot and flyash emissions are being eliminated as significant pollution problems. Industry has invested billions of dollars in equipment and facilities such as coal washing plants to achieve progress in elimination of free sulfur and waste from coal. Now it is concentrating on sulfur controls.

The coal and electric utility industries are co-sponsoring a five-year $4.3 million research program to define the physiological effects of sulfur dioxide in the atmosphere, and to find methods of sulfur removal and sulfur oxide control. Much of this work is being done by the coal industry's own research agency, Bituminous Coal Research, Inc., as an extension of its decade-long study of air pollution control. In addition, many private companies and government agencies are engaged in research along these lines.

The coal industry has a long record of cooperation with Federal, state and city air pollution control agencies in formulating technically sound legislation and regulations for pollution abatement.

COAL RECOMMENDS THAT—

1. Research into means of controlling sulfur oxides emissions be greatly expanded and accelerated, with an increased share of Federal research funds. The magnitude of the task demands this type of crash program.
2. Air pollution regulations, at all government levels, recognize the limitations of control technology, fuel availability and the economic impact on industry and the Nation.

As control technology develops, regulations can be progressively tightened to meet the utimate goal of clean air.

ERA OF REALINEMENTS LOOMS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Era of Realinements Looms," which was written by Joseph C. Harsch and published in the Christian Science Monitor of March 13, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Era of Realinement Looms

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

Washington.—Today's diplomat is looking backward for light on what may lie ahead. Major field of interest and reading, right now is the 18th century up to the French Revolution.

That period of history is believed to bear much relation to the present. It was a period of movement among the nations. Old alliances came unstuck. New ones were formed and reformed. Ideology had almost nothing to do with the patterns.

One of the many wars of the period was called "the War of Jenkins' Ear." A British Captain Jenkins had lost an ear, allegedly in a brush with the Spanish Coast Guard. It became one cause of a war between Britain and Spain.

IMPROVEMENTS SOUGHT

The previous 17th century had been dominated by the ideological wars of Roman Catholics against Protestants. The period after, beginning with the French Revolution, was dominated by the ideology of the class struggle. But in between were nearly 90 years of nations interested in national interests and maneuvering among each other for opportunities for improving them.

Typical of the period is that at one time Protestant Britain was allied with Roman Catholic Austria against the equally non-ideological alliance of Catholic France with Protestant Prussia. In the previous century a man knew his enemies by their religion. In the 18th century, religion became incidental to international war and politics.

In a broad sense, the nations now are going through the kind of transition which marked the end of the religious wars of the 17th century.

So far (since World War II) there is no actual case of a Communist country bearing arms against another Communist country in alliance with a capitalist country. But within recent weeks Moscow has informed the Soviet peoples of the possibility of a war with Communist China. And the Soviet Union has sent arms to India to help India defend itself against China.

The outstanding trademark of these immediate times is uncertainty about the lineup of nations in the days just ahead.

Americans talk about the new pro-Russian inclinations of Washington. Moscow accuses Washington of wanting to make a deal with Communist China. And Washington worries whether after all Moscow and Peking may manage to get together again.

DEEP TIES OF INTEREST

West Germany woos Eastern Europe except for East Germany. That unhappy place wistfully reminds its neighbors of the common religion of communism.

Probably, there will be less actual change than the noises of the moment might imply. The United States and Western Europe are bound together by deep ties of interest. France is not leaving the Western community. West Germany is deeply imbedded in that same community. President de Gaulle may decide to keep Britain out of the Common Market again. But Britain's trade with the Common Market countries has been rising faster than its trade with any other economic group.

There is trouble within the Atlantic community over the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. But that trouble is not enough to cause the United States to rush into any withdrawal of its armed forces from Germany.

Among the Communist countries there are ties that bind just as there are differences more openly expressed. The NATO Alliance still exists and so does the important intangible of the Atlantic community.

The NATO alliance and the Warsaw Pact continue to be the main features of security in Europe.

Yet there is fresh thinking going on about a new and very different security system for Europe. Motion in new directions could pick up once the Vietnam war is finished.

The war itself tends to check the rate of movement out of old patterns. So long as it continues it is difficult—some say impossible—for Washington and Moscow to get any closer.

At the moment there is no sign of any progress toward peace. The President of the United States has repeated hardened American terms for an end to the bombing of North Vietnam. North Vietnam has re-hardened its terms. The peace season has been closed.

The White House is believed nearly ready to authorize the mining of Hanoi Harbor. The scale and intensity of the ground fighting has gone up.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, last week the Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures concluded the first in a series of hearings on various bills designed to strengthen the enforcement of our laws and to remedy the debilitating effect of several far-reaching Supreme Court decisions which jeopardize the rights of society while augmenting the rights of the criminal.

I have time and again called attention to the enormity of the crime menace confronting this Nation. Those hearings emphatically underscored the need—the imperative necessity—for providing better protection for all citizens from the lawless elements who now commit heinous crimes with virtual impunity.

The legislative remedies proposed and now under consideration by the subcommittee are complex and complicated. Most of them are highly controversial. The solution to this grave problem will not be easy. The opposing forces to law and order are stronger today than ever before, and are gaining greater strength and power with each passing hour. Statistics and glaring headlines in the daily press give irrefutable evidence of this. Congress must act to stem the tide of lawlessness that is now sweeping across our land.

An excellent editorial in the Sunday edition of the Washington Star of March 12, 1967, entitled "The Problem: Unequal Justice Under Law," focuses clearly on the vital issue. I commend it to all who are concerned with the conditions that now prevail.

The editorial begins:

> The inscription carved in bold letters over the imposing entrance to the Supreme Court Building suggests that the nation's highest tribunal is dedicated to the concept of Equal Justice Under Law. The fact is that the court, in recent years, has been dispensing a brand of justice that is deplorably unequal. And this is what the shooting has been about this past week in the hearings before Senator McClellan's subcommittee.
>
> Assuming that law-abiding people have rights, and we think they have or should have, these rights have been recklessly disregarded by a majority of the court.

Commenting on the subcommittee hearings the editorial concludes:

> Still, even though nothing finally emerges in this session, time will not have been wasted. For these hearings and the strong statements by most of the witnesses are a reflection of the mood, not of a few men on Capitol Hill, but of the overwhelming majority of the American people. A President or a Supreme Court justice may be personally remote from contact with crime. But the people are not; they live in its shadow every day and every night. And they are sick and tired of unequal justice. The volume of crime is going to continue its upward climb, and sooner or later the people will make themselves heard.
>
> A final word: Some people think it is almost subversive to criticize the Supreme Court, and that any criticism must spring from ignorance or malice. Let them read the dissenting opinions of Justice Harlan, Clark, Stewart and White, No more severe condemnations of the majority rulings can be found than those which appear in these dissents. And if the five members in the majority will not heed even the protests of their own brethren, they will have no one but themselves to blame as the Supreme Court and, still worse, the law itself, falls into disrepute.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial may be inserted in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. McCLELLAN. Another editorial appearing in Tuesday's, March 14, edition of the Wall Street Journal comments on the subcommittee's work in a provocative piece entitled, "Crime and Ideology." Commenting on recent Supreme Court decisions which have hampered law enforcement, the editorial states:

> The practical effects of these decisions, several commentators make clear, are ominous. They give the criminal so much leeway even a self-confessed murderer can go free. Beyond that, we're convinced, an analysis of the philosophy the decisions reflect would tell the nation a good deal about its crime problem.

Noting that there was no indication in the recent cases of previous police practice serving to convict innocent persons, the editorial stated:

> Rather than legal precedent or practical justice, the source of the Supreme Court majority's decisions favoring criminals was its own rarefied ideology. This has become so apparent that even a liberal columnist like Joseph Kraft has recently been commenting on "the weakness of the liberal theology as a rationale for judicial determination."
>
> Their connection with this secular theology gives the Court decisions an importance beyond even their great practical effect. For it is the same ideology that holds, in gross exaggeration of several certain truths, that a criminal is an object of sympathy deserving every break, that society sins against the criminal rather than the other way around, that a lawbreaker bears no individual moral responsibility.
>
> By starting with the Supreme Court decisions embodying that ideology so completely, some subcommittee or commission might be able to trace its pervasive effects, and its concomitant dilution of every variety of moral authority.
>
> The exploration would expose one important root of today's troublesome crime problem, a root many ideologists would prefer to keep hidden.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be inserted in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. McCLELLAN. To strengthen law enforcement I have introduced legislation to outlaw wiretapping except by law-enforcement officers in limited categories of crime, and then only under the rigid supervision and control of court orders. The hands of the Federal and State law-enforcement officers are tied by the present statute and decisions by the Supreme Court interpreting this law. Organized crime, however, can tap with little or no risk of conviction under current law.

I am convinced that my bill to outlaw all wiretapping except that done under rigid court supervision is vital in the fight against organized crime. It was encouraging, therefore, to receive a letter signed by all eight of the former U.S. attorneys for the southern district of New York now living, urging immediate clarification of Federal law relating to wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping. Setting forth proposed principles upon which such legislation should be based—which are similar to the thrust of my bill, S. 675—the letter concludes:

> We believe a proper protection of the individual in his privacy and of society against the commission of "modern" crime compels immediate enactment of legislation consonant with these principles.

Mr. President, these eight distinguished men of the law are imminently qualified commentators on the law and I am pleased to have their support in the effort to pass legislation to clarify the existing state of the law on wiretapping.

I ask unanimous consent that their letter addressed to me under date of March 7, 1967, be inserted in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. I shall not take time to read their names, but I have asked to place the letter in the Record. This is not a partisan organization. Of the eight, four are Republicans and four are Democrats, but they are united in their judgment and conclusions in their recommendations for effective tools to bring about better law enforcement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 3.)

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, yesterday's New York Daily News carried a shocking editorial entitled "A City Escort Service." It states that Mayor Lindsay, of New York City, is actively considering establishing "a city escort service"—for women and the elderly to and from church services at night. Think of it, Mr. President, this escort service is for the protection of women and elderly citizens who would like to worship their Maker in a church of their choice. Protection from what? From whom? From violence and injury that would be inflicted on them by, in many instances, confirmed criminals who are roaming the streets because of the failure of law enforcement, which has been seriously handicapped and weakened by court decisions that freed self-confessed murderers, muggers, robbers, and rapists.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Arkansas has expired.

Mr. McCLELLAN. May I have 1 additional minute?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I yield 3 more minutes to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McCLELLAN. As the editorial points out, not only are women and the elderly unsafe on the streets of New York City, but in many cities throughout the Nation, and particularly here in the Nation's Capital. Many who do not come within either of those categories are also "in grave danger whenever they step out on the streets at night."

I ask unanimous consent to insert this editorial in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 4.)

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the hearings just concluded by the subcommittee mark only the beginning. Much remains to be done, and we will hold another series at the earliest possible time. They will be announced as soon as a schedule can be arranged.

Yes, Mr. President, it is time for Congress to act—to rectify by statute, or by constitutional amendment if need be, the "unequal justice" that the Supreme Court has imposed on our society.

I thank my distinguished friend for yielding.

EXHIBIT 1

THE PROBLEM—UNEQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

The inscription carved in bold letters over the imposing entrance to the Supreme Court building suggests that the nation's highest tribunal is dedicated to the concept of Equal Justice Under Law. The fact is that the court, in major rulings in criminal cases in recent years, has been dispensing a brand of justice that is deplorably unequal. And this is what the shooting has been about this past week in the hearings before Senator McClellan's subcommittee.

Assuming that law-abiding people have rights, and we think they have or should have, these rights have been recklessly disregarded by a majority of the court. The President has often spoken of the right of the people to be secure in their homes, on the streets and in their places of business. Each day brings new evidence, however, that this is rhetoric and nothing more. For the people are not secure anywhere. And this insecurity is due in considerable part to the extreme lengths to which a five-man majority of the court has gone in enlarging and protecting the rights of criminals. Reading such opinions as those in the Escobedo and Miranda cases, one might think that the court majority has never heard of the rights of the public—and couldn't care less. Certainly it does not subscribe to the view expressed by Justice White in his dissent in the Miranda case that "the most basic function of government is to provide for the security of the individual and his property."

This process of shielding the criminal at the expense of the public safety grew out of a laudable purpose to erect safeguards against criminal convictions based on coerced or involuntary confessions. There was ample reason for this some 25 or 30 years ago. For the third degree, even in those relatively recent days, had not disappeared from the law-enforcement scene. And a coerced confession is both offensive to one's sense of justice and unreliable as an item of evidence.

The trouble is that the court has not known where to stop, has lost all sense of keeping the scales in balance. The notion that the purpose of our system of criminal justice is to convict the guilty and absolve the innocent is out the window. The commendable effort to erect greater safeguards against involuntary confessions has been carried to such lengths that entirely voluntary confessions are now in jeopardy. In fact, Justice White has said that the court majority seems to be moving in the direction of barring all confessions. He could very well be right.

The hearings which Senator McClellan has been holding have moved along two main lines. One effort has been to find a way to reverse or at least to minimize the pernicious effect on law-enforcement of the court's 5 to 4 rulings with respect to confessions. The other has been to work out legislation to strengthen the hand of those whose duty it is to enforce the laws.

This second undertaking, largely concerned with legislation to permit the use of wiretap evidence and electronic bugs, presents few problems. Congress will get no help in this from the President or the Department of Justice. Still, at least as of this time, there seems to be no constitutional barrier to such legislation.

The subcommittee received a very strong statement on these matters from Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Lumbard was especially concerned with the problem of organized crime. It is, he said, almost impossible to curb it under existing restrictions on enforcement agencies.

Opponents of wiretapping sometimes misrepresent the "dirty business" comment by Justice Holmes in support of their stand. In a reference to this, Judge Lumbard said: "There is no dirtier business today than the business of organized crime; it rules by violence and terror; it victimizes the public and corrupts public officials. Every possible resource of government should be used to expose and destroy it."

He meant that he thought Congress should move without delay to sanction the use of wiretaps and electronic devices, under suitable controls, and we heartily agree.

The question of what to do about the unreasonable and unneeded obstacles which the court has erected against the use of voluntary confessions is a tougher question. For the five-man majority wrapped its Escobedo and Miranda rulings in constitutional interpretations. And this, though the interpretations were gross distortions of what the Constitution says, makes it difficult for Congress to remedy the rulings.

Senator Ervin, himself a former judge, would take two approaches. First, he would amend the Constitution to overcome the effect of the court's rulings on confessions. Second, with the support of 19 other senators, he has introduced a bill which would strip the Supreme Court and other Federal appellate courts of jurisdiction to make such rulings as those in Escobedo and Miranda.

What he is trying to do, and it is a worthy objective, is to get back to the decades-old state of the law in which the test of a confession was whether it had been made voluntarily or not. If voluntary, it would be admissible. And the Supreme Court would not be permitted to throw out a voluntary confession by reading something into the Constitution that was never before thought to be there.

The constitutional amendment route is long and difficult. And while Congress, under Article III of the Constitution, apparently has authority to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, this would be a drastic remedy. One must hope that some other way can be found—even assuming that Congress would accept the Ervin proposal.

A somewhat different approach is being urged by Senator McClellan. He, too, would re-establish the admissibility of voluntary confessions. But he would do this by having Congress spell out the meaning of voluntariness and set up standards by which a trial judge and jury would make the judgment on this question. Should this be tried, the Supreme Court might say that the new law is unconstitutional under its own rulings. But the senator hopes that at least one member of the majority, upon further reflection, might change his mind.

Various other recommendations have been laid before the McClellan subcommittee, including a strong statement from Senator Bible urging rectification of the notorious Mallory rule. And we hope that Congress, which for years has been marching up and down the crime-remedy hill, will at last be moved to take effective action.

Still, even though nothing finally emerges in this session, time will not have been wasted. For these hearings and the strong statements by most of the witnesses are a reflection of the mood, not of a few men on Capitol Hill, but of the overwhelming majority of the American people. A President or a Supreme Court justice may be personally remote from contact with crime. But the people are not; they live in its shadow every day and every night. And they are sick and tired of unequal justice. The volume of crime is going to continue its upward climb, and sooner or later the people will make themselves heard.

A final word: Some people think it is almost subversive to criticize the Supreme Court, and that any criticism must spring from ignorance or malice. Let them read the dissenting opinions of Justices Harlan, Clark, Stewart and White. No more severe condemnations of the majority rulings can be found than those which appear in these dissents. And if the five members in the majority will not heed even the protests of their own brethren, they will have no one but themselves to blame as the Supreme Court and, still worse, the law itself, falls into disrepute.

Exhibit 2

Review and Outlook: Crime and Ideology

Citizens worried about mounting crime can thank a Senate Judiciary subcommittee for taking testimony on how recent Supreme Court decisions have hampered law enforcement, an issue which the Administration's touted anti-crime crusade has pointedly avoided.

The practical effects of these decisions, several commentators make clear, are ominous. They give the criminal so much leeway even a self-confessed murderer can go free. Beyond that, we're convinced, an analysis of the philosophy the decisions reflect would tell the nation a good deal about its crime problem.

The Judiciary subcommittee under Senator McClellan heard Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter testify that the Court's decisions have meant the loss or abandonment of many prosecutions. And Judge J. Edward Lumbard, chief of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, said High Court decisions and other influences have made it so difficult to convict criminals that "it is unthinkable" the nation could allow such a situation to persist.

Similary, a minority statement in the report of the President's Crime Commission pointed out how recent decisions have sharply limited traditional use of confessions and even threaten to preclude police interrogation of suspects. The minority asked if "the scales have tilted in favor of the accused and against law enforcement and the public further than the best interest of the country permits."

The statement concluded the such an imbalance does indeed exist, and called for nothing less than a Constitutional amendment modifying the Bill of Rights. The modifications would insure the police an opportunity for interrogation, permit use of any truly voluntary confessions and allow prosecutors to comment on the silence of the accused.

The minority statement was written by four distinguished attorneys, three of whom are past presidents of the American Bar Association. Three additional members of the panel concurred, meaning the statement was backed by over a third of the Crime Commission. Here is a pivotal issue of law enforement, raised by the most responsible quarters, which demands attention and exploration.

Yet not only was the statement ignored in subsequent Administration proposals, but the majority of the Commission itself managed not to utter one word about the issue in its 300-page report. The reason for the curious silence, we suspect, is much the same as the original reason the decisions were made. That is, to many the doctrines involved are not subjects for rational debate, but articles of faith.

Take the decisions expanding the privilege against self-incrimination. The Crime Commission minority statement noted that among legal scholars, "the question is now being increasingly asked whether the full scope of the privilege, as recently construed and expanded, is justified either by its long and tangled history or by any genuine need in a criminal trial."

Certainly, in none of the instant cases was there much indication that previous police practice had served to convict innocent persons. Rather than legal precedent or practical justice, the source of the Supreme Court majority's decisions favoring criminals was its own rarefied ideology. This has become so apparent that even a liberal columnist like Joseph Kraft has recently been commenting on "the weakness of the liberal theology as a rationale for judicial determination."

Their connection with this secular theology gives the Court decisions an importance beyond even their great practical effect. For it is the same ideology that holds, in gross exaggeration of several certain truths, that a criminal is an object of sympathy deserving every break, that society sins against the criminal rather than the other way around, that a lawbreaker bears no individual moral responsibility.

By starting with the Supreme Court decisions embodying that ideology so completely, some subcommittee or commission might be able to trace its pervasive effects, and its concomitant dilution of every variety of moral authority.

The exploration would expose one important root of today's troublesome crime problem, a root may ideologists would prefer to keep hidden.

Exhibit 3

New York, N.Y., March 7, 1967.

Senator John L. McClellan,
Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedure, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator McClellan: The undersigned being all the former United States Attorneys for the Southern District of New York now living urge on the consideration of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate immediate clarification of Federal law relating to wire tapping and electronic eavesdropping.

The commission of crimes on a national scale and the infiltration of legitimate business by criminal elements are heavily dependent on *telephonic communication.* Without the means of meeting crime effected through such communication, law enforcement officers are handicapped to a point where their proper pursuit of the protection of society is virtually impossible to carry out. At the same time we recognize the importance to society of protecting the individual in his rights to privacy in the use of his telephone. A proper balancing of the two considerations is essential.

Without considering the merits of the individual bills such as S. 634 and S. 675 introduced in January 1967 and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and without presuming to draft specific language, we strongly recommend amendment of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act (48 Stat. 1103, 47 U.S.C. 605 (1934)) in keeping with the following principles:

One: make it unlawful and punishable by a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment of not more than ten years, or both (see Section 1362, Title 18, United States Code), for any person to willfully intercept or attempt to intercept any wire communication, or to electronically listen to or record a conversation without the consent of at least one party to the conversation, unless authorized by a Federal judge on application of the Attorney General, or any Assistant Attorney General of the Department of Justice specially designated by the Attorney General, when such authorized interception or recording may provide evidence of an offense against the laws of the United States. (This procedure would make it possible for a United States Attorney, the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other enforcement arm of the Government through the intervention of the Attorney General's office and court approval to effectively combat the commission of crime in our modern society.)

Two: make appropriate exception to permit the attorney general of any State or the principal prosecuting attorney for any political subdivision, if authorized by statute of that State, to make application on a showing of probable cause to a State court judge for leave to intercept wire communications and electronically listen to or record a conversation when such action may provide evidence of the commission of any crime or conspiracy to commit a crime.

Three: provide for suppression of any evidence obtained by wire interception or electronic eavesdropping except that obtained by authorization of the Federal or State judiciary and to authorize the use of the latter in any court or grand jury proceeding.

Four: provide for method of prompt reporting to the Administrative Office of the United States Courts and to the Attorney General of the United States by any State or Federal judge who has granted or denied leave to intercept or record with the purpose of informing the Congress of the volume of interception and recording which occurs during the period of a year.

We believe a proper protection of the individual in his privacy and of society against the commission of "modern" crime compels immediate enactment of legislation consonant with these principles.

Yours respectfully,
Charles H. Tuttle (1929–30),
1 Chase Manhattan Plaza,
New York, N.Y.
James B. McNally (1944–45),
Appellate Division, First Department,
27 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
John F. X. McGohey (1946–49),
United States Court House,
Foley Square, New York, N.Y.
Irving H. Saypol (1950–51),
Supreme Court, New York County,
60 Centre Street, New York, N.Y.
Myles J. Lane (1952),
19 East 70th Street,
New York, N.Y.
J. Edward Lumbard (1953–54),
United States Court House,
Foley Square, New York, N.Y.
Paul W. Williams (1955–57),
Cahill, Gordon, Sonnett, Reindel
& Ohl, 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.
S. Hazard Gillespie (1959–60),
1 Chase Manhattan Plaza,
New York, N.Y.

Exhibit 4

[From the N.Y. Daily News, Mar. 14, 1967]

A City Escort Service

—for women and the elderly to and from church services and social gatherings at night is being considered by Mayor Lindsay. This is a concession by the Mayor that crime and violence in our streets remain unchecked.

A CITY'S SHAME

The escorts, said the Mayor, might come from the ranks of auxiliary police, or from volunteer youths.

It seems a shame that a city like New York has to resort to such extremes in order to guard its citizens. Also, it would seem that a tremendous amount of manpower would be needed in order to provide bodyguards for our people.

The Mayor specified women and the elderly. Also, in grave danger whenever they step out on our streets at night are many New Yorkers who don't fall into either category.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I commend my distinguished friend from Arkansas for his very timely remarks. I look forward to the day when, in this country, we will afford as much protection for the victims of crime as we do for those people who commit crime.

Mr. McCLELLAN. If the Senator will yield one moment, the Senate is now considering the ratification of a treaty, and it is proper that it be considered. We shall consider much other legislation. But I wish to say, Mr. President, that as soon as legislation in this area of strengthening law enforcement and providing better protection to our citizens can be processed, I think it behooves Congress, and particularly this body, to give attention to such bills as soon as we can get them out here on the floor, because the old saying "Time's a-wasting" applies, conditions are worsening, and I again assert that the time for action by Congress has arrived.

U.S. NAVY UPGRADES ITS OCEANOGRAPHIC PROGRAMS

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, the upgrading of its oceanographic mission by the U.S. Navy is one of the more encouraging developments during this period of growing support for marine science and technology, both in the military and nonmilitary areas.

The management of the entire Navy oceanographic program was restructured late last year and a new office, called the Office of the Oceanographer of the Navy, was created, with Rear Adm. O. D. Waters, Jr., U.S. Navy, as its head.

Under this arrangement, Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze has given Admiral Waters full responsibility for all of the Navy's oceanographic programs.

With three assistant oceanographers assigned to his office, Admiral Waters is taking, in his words, "prompt action to put its own oceanographic house in order."

I commend Secretary Nitze for giving new emphasis and importance to the Navy's oceanographic work and for placing an outstanding Navy officer in charge of this program.

Before becoming the first head of the new Office of Oceanographer of the Navy following the establishment of this new command structure in late 1966, Admiral Waters was Oceanographer of the Navy in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations and Commander of the U.S. Naval Oceanagraphic Office at Suitland, Md. He has served in both wartime and peacetime billets during more than 30 years with the U.S. Navy.

The growing challenge of the seas, to both the Navy and the civilian community, is described by Admiral Waters in an article published in the January 1967, issue of the Navy Management Review. I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Management of Navy Oceanographic Program Starts 'Year of Inner Space'," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MANAGEMENT OF NAVY OCEANOGRAPHIC PROGRAM STARTS "YEAR OF INNER SPACE"

(By Rear Admiral O. D. Waters, Jr., U.S. Navy, Oceanographer of the Navy, Office of the Oceanographer of the Navy, U.S. Department of the Navy)

Perhaps the most significant event of the past year in the field of oceanography was the passage of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act which became law during June 1966 with the President's signature. Statesmanship on both sides of the U.S. Congress pooled a dozen or so pending bills to accelerate such a Federal program into a single bill setting up a policy-making Council "to develop, encourage, and maintain a coordinated, comprehensive, and long-range national program in marine sciences for the benefit of mankind." Chaired by the U.S. Vice President, the Council comprises Cabinet members and agency heads with a major interest in oceanography.

Stressing the urgency of the national defense aspects of oceanography, the President's Science Advisory Committee's Panel on Oceanography issued the following month (July 1966) a book entitled "Effective Use of the Sea." In my opinion, this document will affect the course of Federal oceanography for years to come. Although I have found no one who agrees with it in its entirety, the publication is forthright in its analysis of the problems, broad-gage in its approach, and not hesitant in making startling suggestions. It urges the Navy to give continued support—as a by-product of its defense endeavors—to such non-military programs as those concerned with the development of food and mineral resources, the improvement of recreational facilities, and the reduction of water pollution.

The Navy has taken prompt steps to put its own oceanographic house in order. A whole new structure of command has been established by Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze and seconded by the Chief of Naval Operations. The Oceanographer of the Navy has been made head of the "Office of the Oceanographer of the Navy." While, semantically, the changes appears slight, the difference is considerable.

As head of this new office in the Navy Department, I report directly to the Secretary of the Navy for policy guidance and to the Chief of Naval Operations for operational purposes. The Secretary's new order gives me full responsibility for all of Navy's oceanographic programs including basic and applied research, ocean engineering, and, of course, Fleet support. My chief contact in the Navy Secretary's Office is Dr. Robert Frosch, our Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development.

Members of my staff now meet regularly with the Ocean Science and Technology Advisory Committee of the National Security Industrial Association as well as their Antisubmarine Warfare Advisory Group and marine navigation panels to review mutual problems.

Three Assistant Oceanographers have been assigned to help me manage this program. Rear Admiral John Leydon, USN, Chief of Naval Research, will serve additionally as Assistant Oceanographer for Ocean Sciences. Rear Admiral Frank Pinney, USN, Chief of Naval Development, also will be Assistant Oceanographer for Ocean Engineering. A third assistant, yet to be named, will be responsible for Operational Production and Fleet-oriented work.

ORGANIZED PROGRAM

Under this arrangement, we have pulled together the management of the entire Navy oceanographic program. It ranges from support of basic research and Fleet-support work to ocean engineering projects, including the deep submergence effort, the "Man-in-the-Sea" program, and deep ocean technology.

As Navy Secretary Nitze states: ". . . there is no element of naval strategy or tactics, the success or failure of which is not significantly dependent upon oceanographic knowledge."

Some 30 undersea vehicles designed for depth exploration are in operation or under contract or construction. These undersea research vessels are classified as deep submergence, mid-depth submersible, or continental shelf vehicles. The deep submergence class can descend to depths of 15,000 feet or more. For example, the Trieste, a bathyscaphe is capable of reaching 36,000-foot depths.

The first of a new class of oceanographic survey ships built for the U.S. Navy were launched recently. They are the USNS Silas Bent (AGS-26) and her sister ship, the USNS Kane (AGS-27). Under the technical control of the U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office, Suitland, Maryland, the Silas Bent is civilian-manned and operated by the Navy's Military Sea Transportation Service (MSTS).

The new ship contains the first completely integrated system for gathering vital oceanographic data in both the underway and on-station mode. It can record data systematically in an immediately usable computer form.

Technicians and oceanographers launch "bird cage" type packages of sensitive instruments from the deck of the ship to relay a continuous flow of instrumentation data to the ship's Synoptic Survey System.

The Navy took a major step in the conquest of "inner space" with our "Man-in-the-Sea" project. It is our conviction that the working capabilities of man in self-sustaining environments at greater depths can be developed. Our successes in this field promise a major breakthrough and new importance to oceanography.

ASTRONAUT/AQUANAUT

Illustrating the close relationship between the "outer space" explorations by the "Astronauts" and the "inner space" explorations by the "Aquanauts" is the participation in both programs by Astronaut/Aquanaut M. Scott Carpenter, Commander, USN. On loan from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) program, Commander Carpenter took part in Navy's SEALAB II experiment. It was the "Man-in-the-Sea" Project's second pressurized habitable shelter to be lowered into the sea with Navy aquanauts living and working at depths of over 100 feet.

Teams of 10 aquanauts worked inside and outside the 57-foot long SEALAB II at a depth of 205 feet for a period of 45 days. Among the tasks they successfully completed was the raising of a sunken aircraft filled with polyurethane foam.

NEW "SEALAB" SCHEDULED

America's astronauts and aquanauts are proving that man can exist in an alien environment of either the cold vacuum of air's outer space or the cold depths of the seas' inner space.

A third SEALAB is scheduled for launching later this year. It will extend further the limits of man's endurance and penetration of the ocean depths.

Tools and technology for extended operations on the continental shelves, new submersible vehicles capable of searching the ocean floors, and new rescue systems for submarines are among the many research and development projects aimed at increasing the effectiveness of man beneath the surface.

Nearly every naval weapons system or technique requires extensive oceanographic data to aid in its developmental state. Polaris missiles, homing torpedoes, deep-ranging submarines, and antisubmarine warfare forces depend upon extensive knowledge of the depths to successfully complete their missions.

Military defense, however, is only one of the objectives of the program. Our economic security and that of our allies depend upon freedom of the seas. The U.S. Navy naturally has taken the lead in oceanographic developments. American industry shows ever-increasing signs of interest in the investment potential of underseas operations. Several major corporations are developing unique vehicles for undersea research. A recent international agreement provides each nation full rights to resources in the sea and sea bottom to a depth of 600 feet adjacent to their shores.

A virtually untapped storehouse of food and fresh water supplies, the seas promise to yield to pure science the secret for feeding the world's growing populations. In addition to the fish harvest, experimentation continues in ways to use plankton and the millions of organic creatures living in the depths for food. Oil fields as well as mineral mines, the seas also hold stores of valuable metals waiting for modern technology to develop them.

NEW INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT

With the ever-growing emphasis on oceanography, progress is certain to continue at an accelerated rate. Many spectacular advances can be expected in the next decade. With our new integrated management organization, the Navy now has a powerful tool for careful preparation and vigorous prosecution of a streamlined program in Naval oceanography.

Even if we eventually require several times the funds we now use, this is not a large expenditure in relation to the economic benefits—dollars and cents benefits—that a sound oceanographic program can bring to our nation. It provides, in addition, a vital contribution to our national defense—particularly in the area of antisubmarines warfare. With the advent of nuclear power, fleets of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed submarines followed. Potential enemies can hide them beneath the seas almost indefinitely until they choose to unleash their deadly weapons. Oceanography is the key to detecting and, if required, to destroying this powerful threat. Effective Navy management is essential as America plunges deeper into its comprehensive and far-reaching oceanographic program.

"SEA-GRANT" COLLEGES

An intensive study of present and future needs will be made by a 15-member commission of experts in oceanography just appointed by the President. The development of marine resources will be aided also by a recently approved National Sea Grant College and Program Act which authorizes the National Science Foundation to support educational programs at "sea-grant" colleges, institutes, and laboratories.

As the President of the United States said when he signed the new Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act:

> "Now we must redouble our efforts. In the months ahead, we shall establish our priorities, we shall set our timetables—and we shall follow them just as we have followed an orderly and relentless program for the exploration of space. The frontier of the deep challenges our spirit, and we shall meet that challenge."

THE RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I endorse the President's proposal for funding the rent supplement program with a $40 million appropriation this year.

The future of America is bound up with the future of our cities. In the last half dozen years, we have recognized this by enacting legislation designed to cope with the problems of increasing urbanization.

I am glad to say that the State of Rhode Island has taken advantage of most of these measures and others that preceded them. More than 1,500 units of public housing have been provided for the State's low-income families, and houses for more than 800 have been built under special FHA programs in the past 2 years.

Rhode Island has received grants for urban renewal, urban planning, open space land, urban mass transportation, and water and sewer facilities. I am pleased to report that a rent supplement project is under contract in Providence, one of the first in the Nation.

Our people have been living with increased urban growth for some time, and I believe the rent supplement program offers a solution to one of the more pressing problems—housing the low-income families.

It is the most promising method yet devised for alleviating the living conditions of the disadvantaged among us—the elderly, the handicapped, families unable to lift themselves or their children out of an inheritance of poverty and despair. They inherit the leftovers, the housing no one else will live in, the neighborhoods that the more fortunate people have left behind.

In less than a year since the program was funded, reservations of rent supplement funds have been made that total nearly $15 million. They will enable more than 20,000 families to live in decent housing, many of them for the first time. By the end of the present fiscal year, most of the remaining $32 million authorized for annual contract payments will have been earmarked.

Already the Department of Housing and Urban Development is actually making rent supplement payments to housing owners on behalf of low-income tenants.

The President has asked for the additional $40 million of annual contract authorization for fiscal 1968.

It is unthinkable at this point that we should authorize anything less.

Rent supplements are crucial to the whole thrust at improving life in the cities.

This specific program is at a critical stage. It is beginning to show concrete results and is moving steadily ahead. The need is urgent.

We have said to poor families throughout the country, "Help is on the way." We have said to churches and unions and apartment owners, "Here is the way for private enterprise to do a job that must be done."

We are committed to helping the poor and now we must honor our commitment. Lip service will not house them.

LAKE OAHE

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the South Dakota Legislature has passed a Concurrent Resolution urging that the waters impounded by the Oahe Dam on the Missouri River in South Dakota be named Lake Oahe in honor of the Indian people who once inhabited the Missouri River basin.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record Senate Concurrent Resolution 15 of the South Dakota Legislature to this effect, and urging the enactment of H.R. 2901.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. Con. Res. No. 15

A concurrent resolution, memorializing the Congress of the United States to pass H.R. 2901, designating the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein:

Whereas, the history of the area around the Oahe Reservoir is replete with the culture of the Indian tribes once living in that vicinity; and

Whereas, the Sioux Indian word Oahe means "a foundation" and depicts the present and potential source of the lake for irrigation systems, navigation routes, municipal water supplies, power development, fish and wildlife development and recreation; and

Whereas, the designation of the Oahe Reservoir as Lake Oahe would serve as a fitting honor to the Indian people who once inhabited the great Missouri River Basin and contributed such an important part to its early history: Now, Therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate of the Forty-Second Legislature of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That the Congress of the United States be respectfully urged and requested to adopt H.R. 2901, designating the Oahe Reservoir on the Missouri River in the States of North Dakota and South Dakota as Lake Oahe; be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate of the State of South Dakota transmit copies of this resolution to the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress, to United States Senators Karl Mundt and George McGovern and to United States Congressmen E. Y. Berry and Ben Reifel.

Adopted by the Senate March 1, 1967.

Concurred in by the House of Representatives March 2, 1967.

Lem Overpeck,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

Niels P. Jensen,
Secretary of the Senate.

James D. Jelbert,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

Paul Inman,
Chief Clerk.

NEED FOR GOVERNMENT REFORM CITED

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I wish to make certain comments with reference to the necessity for the enactment of S. 47.

A great American once remarked:

> There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses.

This observation applies to means as well as to ends. The character of a policy is largely determined by the quality of its implementation. Today, many programs, though laudable in aim, are frustrated in fulfillment by archaic administration.

Such waste and inefficiency need not be tolerated. And, indeed, should not be. Challenged at home and abroad by social and political turmoil, in United States simply can no longer afford the luxury of Government waste.

A thorough review of administrative practices is long overdue. On January 11, 1967, I introduced a bill (S. 47) which would provide for just such a study. Cosponsored by 40 Senators, this measure would create a Hoover-type Commission on the Operation of the Executive Branch to study the organization and operation of the bureaucracy and to make appropriate recommendations to Congress.

Such an examination would be particularly timely in light of the passage by the Senate last week of the Legislative Reorganization Act. We have taken an important step in reforming and modernizing our operations. But it is only a start. If the taxpayer is to receive full value for his dollar, a complementary effort must be made to streamline the executive branch.

Mr. President, 12 long years have passed since the second Hoover Commission submitted its report. In this time, a multitude of new Federal programs has been initiated. Unfortunately, duplication and waste have all too often been the result. Though endemic to any large-scale human endeavor, these evils need not be considered necessary, as the results of the previous Hoover Commissions so conclusively demonstrate.

The first Commission made approximately 273 recommendations. Seventy-two percent of these were subsequently adopted. The second Commission proposed 314 changes, of which 77 percent were accepted in whole or part.

Among the many reforms thus enacted were the Military Unification Act of 1949; the establishment of the General Services Agency; and the liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a move which returned $474 million in capital funds to the Treasury.

Mr. President, these and many other efficiency measures saved billions of tax dollars while improving the quality of American Government. Indeed, the gains resulting from the suggestions of the first Hoover Commission alone have been estimated at no less than $7 billion.

The need for a comprehensive review of executive efficiency is certainly as great today as it was in the late 1940's and early 1950's. At present, there are more than 260 Federal poverty programs administered by 16 separate departments and agencies. Five agencies are involved in administering Federal programs for community water supply, sewers, and sewage treatment facilities. Over 70 departments and agencies report directly to the President, a figure far in excess of any reasonable span of executive control. In addition, there are approximately 57 Federal vocational education programs. There are a number of overlapping programs in Government research and Federal grants-in-aid as well.

Mr. President, these and numerous other examples make it evident that serious problems of duplication and diffusion are blunting the thrust of Government programs. These operations are also crippled by that eternal bureaucratic malaise—resistance to innovation. Though many programs are of relatively recent origin, the administrative structures employed to execute them are often outmoded.

New and critical issues are challenging our country. We must discover new methods of treating them if we are to be successful. This study is the first step in that effort.

The enthusiasm for reform created by the Hoover Commissions has waned and complacency has dulled the administrative spirit. As Napoleon remarked:

> The art of government is not to let men grow stale.

By instituting a complete review of bureaucratic practices, both men and institutions will be revitalized. The meritorious will be improved and the obsolete discarded. Time will not be ours forever. Too much of it has already been wasted. We must begin the examination now if we are to act wisely in the future.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CIVILIAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, one of the most emotional issues swirling around the Vietnam conflict is the report of widespread casualties among children.

We have all heard or read about these grisly episodes of Napalm raids that burn children horribly.

I dare say that there has never been a picket line or parade of anti-Vietnam demonstrators that did not harp on this theme.

But, the time is long overdue to ask: What is the truth to these charges that American pilots and infantry have afflicted numerous and grevious injuries on Vietnamese children?

I think we can answer this question truthfully.

Dr. Howard Rusk, one of our Nation's most respected medical authorities who covers the medical world for the New York Times, is now in Vietnam.

Dr. Rusk has written an extremely important report on what he has seen in Vietnam. It appeared in the Times on March 12th.

Dr. Rusk reports that it is simply not true that large numbers of Vietnamese children are being burned by napalm or by other weapons.

It is simply not true that we are carelessly and ruthlessly killing large numbers of civilians. And here I quote Dr. Rusk:

> American and allied forces are causing civilian casualties but these are unpreventable in this type of conflict and are not nearly so great as the killing and wounding of civilians by the Viet Cong.

Yes, the Vietcong have proven to be experts at killing indiscriminately—from children to American troops.

Dr. Rusk reports, among other instances, a recent Vietcong mortar attack against the village of Baclieu.

The mortar fire, he says, was first directed against the dependent's quarters of Vietnamese troops. The next night there were two direct hits on the pediatric ward of the local hospital.

He also saw a beautiful 5-year-old girl who lost both her legs at the knees.

This happened when the Vietcong raided her village and threw hand grenades into the homes.

Dr. Rusk reports:

> These are stories that can be repeated over and over. They happen every day.

I am not saying that U.S. forces have not caused civilian casualties. They have. Such losses are inevitable in war and they are all but impossible to avoid.

The point is that we have never cold-bloodedly attacked civilians in this war.

We have never blown up school buses.

We have never aimed our shells at civilian homes or hospitals.

Obviously, we have never cold-bloodedly murdered tens of thousands of village chiefs and elders.

In an editorial published March 11, the Washington Evening Star declared:

> Since 1957, Viet Cong terrorists have assassinated at least 11,000 civilians in South Vietnam and have abducted 40,000 more—policemen, school teachers, hamlet chiefs, almost anyone who didn't play the communist game. But who cares? No pickets paraded in front of the White House in protest. This slaughter produced no teach-ins, sit-ins or student strikes on our college campuses.

I have not seen any picketers chanting "Ho Chi Minh, how many kids have you done in?"

But they have said such terrible things about President Johnson.

I have not seen many of our leading literary figures call Ho a "child killer."

But this happened last week to our distinguished Vice President.

Let us inject some rational perspective into our discussions on Vietnam.

I do not believe that the United States is always above reproach in every act it takes in Vietnam or elsewhere.

But the plain truth is that neither President Johnson nor our fighting men deserve to be criticized for inhuman acts against Vietnamese civilians.

In fact, our response in this war has been measured, and careful, and calculated to keep civilian losses to a minimum.

Those who are opposed to our commitment to Vietnam should direct their emotional attacks into other areas.

For if truth at all matters to them, they simply cannot charge this Government with deliberately causing civilian casualties to any significant extent.

If butchery and cold-blooded violence are the objects of their frenzied protests—I believe it is time for our demonstrators to turn their attention to the Vietcong.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, Dr. Rusk's article and the aforementioned editorial published in the Evening Star.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times]

Vietnam Tour: Reports of Many Children Burned by American Napalm Are Challenged

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

Saigon, South Vietnam, March 9.—For the last week this writer has been on an intensive tour of 20 Vietnamese civilian hospitals from the 17th Parallel in the North to the Gulf of Siam in the South.

The facilities visited ranged from an isolated dispensary serving the Montagnards in the highlands to large provincial civilian hospitals in the hottest combat areas.

To many Americans, Vietnam is a distant

and devastated country filled with children who have been burned by American napalm bombs.

This picture simply is not true.

The very nature of the fighting in Vietnam has made civilian casualties inevitable.

From the beginning of the struggle, the Vietcong have continuously used terror tactics against civilians.

As the military activities have become intensified the Vietcong have deliberately wiped out villages and mined busy roads.

CAUGHT IN CROSSFIRE

More and more civilians have been inadvertently caught in the crossfire despite the very stringent precautions taken by the United States and Allied forces.

Not even partial statistics on the number of civilian casualties were available until last November when the first nationwide hospital survey was held.

Monthly surveys since indicate that, nationwide, approximately 15 per cent of all hospital admissions are war casualties. The remaining 85 per cent are for disease and accidents.

Certainly there are burned children and adults in Vietnam.

This writer personally saw every burn case in the 20 hospitals he visited. Among them was not a single case of burns due to napalm and but two from phosphorus shells.

There have been cases of severe burns from napalm but the numbers are not large in comparison to burns due to accidents.

Of the scores of American physicians queried many had not seen a single case of burns due to napalm and others had seen but a single case. For every case of burns resulting from war there are scores of cases of burns resulting from gasoline.

Because of inflation the cost of fuel for cooking is very high. As a result, many Vietnamese farmers and villagers pilfer or buy stolen gasoline. They are inexperienced in its use and try to use it like kerosene. The results are tragic.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

The percentage of war casualties in the population of a given hospital depends upon the intensity of military action in that area.

The provincial hospital at Danang is a typical example. This is a 300-bed surgical hospital that had 700 patients at the time of the visit.

The bulk of the surgical care is given by a 26-member team of American physicians, nurses and technicians.

The hospital was particularly busy that morning as the prior weekend the Vietcong had used for the first time their largest mortars of the war, a Russian-made 140-mm. rocket, in an attack on the Danang air base. They missed the base but hit the nearby village of Apdo.

Thirty-two civilians were killed and 60 patients from this one attack had been admitted to the hospital. Most had multiple compound fractures.

The same weekend, a Vietnamese bus had hit a Vietcong land mine, causing 50 additional hospital admissions.

The latter is an almost daily occurrence in this war-torn country.

For the month of February the medical and surgical hospitals in Danang had 1,661 admissions of whom 468 were war casualties.

Of these, 248 were presumed to have been caused by the Vietcong since they resulted from grenades, mortars, mines and booby traps, which are used by the Vietcong.

Seventy-four of the casualties were presumed to have been caused by United States, Vietnamese and allied action since they resulted from bombings, air strikes and artillery.

Small arms fire, which could have originated from either side, caused the remaining 146 casualties.

At a visit farther south the next day the picture was somewhat different as United States, Vietnamese and allied troops were on the offensive.

The city was Quinohn, where the 400-bed hospital was being aided by a medical team from New Zealand. The hospital had 600 patients for its 400 beds.

One-third, or 200, were casualties. Here the figures were reversed.

For the month of February, the Vietcong were presumed to have caused 59 casualties and the allies 102 with the remainder of undetermined origin. Significantly, however, of the 200 casualties only 20 were children.

The next day among the stops was the resort city of Dalat, the former summer capital, in a mountain setting reminiscent of North Carolina.

Since there has been no fighting in Dalat, traditionally, there was not a single casualty in the hospital. But at Tayninh in the III Corps area just farther south the following day the situation was again different. The provincial hospital had 300 beds but 600 patients.

At the time of the visit 17 fresh casualties arrived as a result of a bus hitting a Vietcong land mine.

Nine Vietnamese civilians were killed, and a 6-year-old child, one of the 17 casualties taken to the hospital, died as we entered the emergency room.

Despite this tragic incident casualties constituted only 10 per cent of the patient load.

With the present level of United States and allied medical assistance, Vietnam is barely able to cope with its noncasualty medical problems.

It cannot give prompt, modern, lifesaving services to all of its casualties. Within its resources and with the aid of the United States and allied teams it does remarkably well.

Vietnam needs and welcomes all of the medical assistance it can get from any source.

The increased tempo of the allied military action has caused increased casualties. It has resulted in increased terroristic attacks by the Vietcong.

Last weekend the town of Baclieu in the delta was hit by 30 rounds of mortar shells one night and 40 the following night.

The first night the Vietcong fire was directed toward the dependents' quarters of Vietnamese troops. The second night the firing was indiscriminate. That night there were two direct hits on the pediatric ward of the hospital.

One child was killed and several others critically wounded.

In another ward at Cantho there was a beautiful 5-year-old girl who had lost both legs at the knees. When the Vietcong raided her village the men fled and the women and children hid in their homes. As the Vietcong left the village they threw grenades into the homes.

These are stories that can be repeated over and over and over. They happen every day.

CARE FOR CASUALTIES

Care for the overwhelming majority of these casualties should be and must be given with our help in Vietnam.

As the Committee of Responsibility has proposed, some of the extremely difficult long-term cases requiring extensive plastic reconstructive surgery can be brought to the United States. From observations on this mission their numbers fortunately are not large.

Of the burns cases this writer saw no more than 5 per cent require plastic surgery. The aid of nearby non-Communist countries can be sought in meeting some of the problems.

After seeing for himself and talking with innumerable Vietnamese, American and allied medical specialists this writer has come to five major conclusions.

First, the load of casualties superimposed on the already overburdened Vietnamese hospitals is unbelievable. The entire system would have collapsed had it not been for the assistance of the United States and other non-Communist nations. Under the present system the Vietnamese cannot meet the additional load of increased casualties.

Second, this growing burden can be met only by increased United States and allied assistance, most of which could be given on the spot in Vietnam.

Third, Vietnam should and does welcome assistance in meeting its casualty problems from any source.

Fourth, the picture that has been painted by some in the United States of large numbers of children burned by napalm in Vietnam is grossly exaggerated. The major problems are severe orthopedic injuries, compound fractures and the complications of infections.

Fifth, the American and Allied forces are causing civilian casualties but these are unpreventable in this type of conflict and are not nearly so great as the killing and wounding of civilians by the Vietcong.

All wars are cruel, but this war is especially so. Unfortunately, in spite of all that we do to avoid civilian casualties, they do occur.

Also unfortunately the Vietcong use the tactics of terror on the civilian population.

There is one thing, however, that we in the United States can do. We can supply whatever it takes to provide the services necessary to heal the wounds, however inflicted.

[From the Evening Star, Mar. 11, 1967]

MASSACRE AT AP RACH DIA

Not many months ago, when American troops used nausea-inducing gas to clear tunnels and bunkers in Viet Cong territory, the reaction was a blend of horror and dismay.

In this country the ever-ready pickets turned out with their placards, bitterly condemning this "inhuman" treatment of inoffensive people. The Americans were denounced around the world as a race of barbarians. And the Communists, falsely accusing us of using poison gas, made the most of their propaganda innings.

For a while at least, as a result of this phony uproar, we stopped using gas, even tear gas. Instead, the cleanup job was left to the "tunnel rats"—soldiers who were sent into the Viet Cong labyrinths to clear them. No gas. Let the "rats" take their chances with an ingenious variety of booby traps, not to mention poisonous snakes left behind by the Viet Cong to receive these American intruders.

This background provides a setting of sorts for one of the most singular anomalies of the vicious war in Vietnam—the almost automatic reaction by people who should know better to excesses (and there have been excesses) by troops on our side—and the indifference of these same people to atrocities by the Communists.

Since 1957 Viet Cong terrorists have assassinated at least 11,000 civilians in South Vietnam and have abducted 40,000 more—policemen, school teachers, hamlet chiefs, almost anyone who didn't play the Communist game. But who cares? No pickets paraded in front of the White House in protest. This slaughter produced no teach-ins, sit-ins or student strikes on our college campuses. Perhaps the enormity of the Viet Cong outrages was too much for the peacenik mind to take in. If so, the recent massacre near Ap Rach Dia, a South Vietnamese hamlet, may open some eyes.

This massacre, in the larger frame of reference, was a minor affair. The Viet Cong were holding 12 civilian prisoners, 11 men and a woman. They were chained together.

When a South Vietnamese Ranger unit came near, the Viet Cong, unable to remove the prisoners, tried to kill them. Ten, including the woman, died of slashed throats. One man, shot and with his throat cut from ear-to-ear, will survive, but he can't talk. Only a farmer, Vo Van Hiep, with one of his lungs punctured by a gaping Viet Cong knife wound, has lived to tell the story. And as he tells it, this was murder, pure and simple.

Angry protests? There haven't been any. Why not? Because, we suppose, 10 murders piled on top of the 11,000 murders do not count for a great deal.

Still, if this can be thought of as a small thing, it is nevertheless an incident which unmasks the real face of the enemy. And it may be that the significance, the brutishness, of the senseless killing of these 10 helpless prisoners will be easier for the American people to comprehend than the slaughter of 11,000.

SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT PROGRAM

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, we hear a great deal of talk nowadays about partnerships. The Federal Government has embarked on far-ranging, constructive, and meaningful programs of partnership with State and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and others, to accomplish many useful tasks.

One of the most intriguing partnerships of this type which I am aware of is the unique Federal-private partnership which is found in the small business investment program. Under this program, administered by the Small Business Administration, private investors team up with the Federal Government in providing venture capital to small businesses, through the medium of privately owned and operated small business investment companies, or SBIC's.

The SBIC program was established by the Federal Government to stimulate private investors to help fill the financial gap which prevented venture capital from flowing into worthy small businesses. Since the inception of this program in 1953, about $1 billion has been made available to small businesses under the program. There have been some real problems in the program, but there is good reason to be optimistic about its future.

At present, the SBIC program is run under the direction of two men who represent, to my way of thinking, the very highest level of administrative competence which our Nation can produce. SBA Administrator Bernard Boutin, and Associate Administrator for Investment Howard Greenberg, have in the few months since they have been in office, applied imaginative and resourceful changes to the SBIC program. Their legislative proposals in this area, which I understand will be sent up to the Hill shortly, provide, as I understand, a comprehensive reappraisal of the incentives needed to bring about even closer cooperation with private investors in this important area.

The virtues of the SBIC program are highlighted in an article which was written by Dennis Campbell, business editor of the Tri-City Herald of Pasco, Kennewick, and Richland, Wash., which received the first annual Financial Writers Award in the competition sponsored by the American Business Capital Foundation.

The article presents the SBIC program in its most dramatic aspect, the making of successful loans which other lenders would consider impossible.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Impossible Loans Create SBIC's" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Tri-City Herald, Pasco, Kennewick, Richland (Wash.), Oct. 30, 1966]

"IMPOSSIBLE" LOANS CREATE SBICs

(By Dennis Campbell)

"Impossible" business loans are possible.

A small manufacturer desperately needs $220,000 for heavy-equipment financing to capitalize on a growing market for his product; the only collateral he can offer is a mortgage on the equipment.

A building contractor requires $15,000 to buy out his partners; the money is available from local banks but it is impossible for the builder to amortize the loan over the three-year term they offer.

An innovator needs $60,000 working capital to implement a new food processing method; other than enthusiasm and experience in the field, the only "guarantee" he can provide is a share of his corporation's common stock.

Each solved his financing problem by turning to a Small Business Investment Company.

The small manufacturer was loaned $220,000 for equipment on the machinery.

BUILDER GAINS 20-YEAR TERM

The building contractor received a 20-year repayment term when an SBIC provided him $150,000 to buy out his partners.

And the food processor not only obtained $60,000 in an exchange for common stock but the SBIC subordinated its debenture to clear the way for additional borrowing from other lenders.

In each instance, the cost of financing was competitive with bank rates.

There are more than 500 active members of the SBIC industry, each making a business of providing financing to people like the manufacturer, the contractor, and the food processor.

As Bill Strong, treasurer of Washington Capital Corp. of Walla Walla and president of the Northwest Regional Association of SBICs, explains:

The purpose of the SBIC is to finance ventures "more exotic in nature" than do the more conventional and better-known sources of business capital.

That "purpose" was defined when the industry was created in 1958 by the Small Business Investment Act, which authorizes the Small Business Administration to license, regulate, and help finance SBICs.

Prior to 1958, there were few sources of capital available to the small-businessman after he had exhausted his credit from banks, the SBA, and friends and relatives.

The situation changed radically with the advent of the SBIC program, and in the past seven years the industry has placed nearly $1-billion in equity or venture capitalization and long-term loans.

Government funding has been a prime factor in the spread of the industry. An SBIC with a minimum private investment of $300,000 may receive federal loans up to $600,000.

Maximum federal participation in the 2–1 formula is $4.7-million, and there is no limit to the amount of private capital that can be used to form an SBIC.

SBICs invest in all types of manufacturing and service industries and a wide variety of other businesses for an equally-wide variety of purposes.

Strong's portfolio reveals advances of $10,000 to a shoe store for remodeling, $18,500 to an automobile dealer for expansion, $20,900 to a restaurant for working capital, $60,000 to a real estate development for subdivision improvements, and $160,000 to a trucking firm for extending maturities.

Many investment companies seek out small businesses offering new products or services because these ventures often have a growth potential attractive to SBICs.

FIRMS OFFER MANAGEMENT AID

Most SBICs also offer their portfolio companies some degree of management assistance and guidance. The emphasis on management aid can vary from the specialized consulting teams used by larger SBICs to only occasional, informal pointers from investment companies which concentrate on well-secured loans.

But every SBIC relies heavily on management skill, experience, and personal ability and integrity as key elements in assessing its loan applicants.

The impact of the SBIC program on small businesses has been dramatic.

It has assisted as many as 15,000 small businesses and has outstanding loans and investments of more than $500-million. The National Association of Small Business Investment Companies estimates that SBIC loans have increased employment by 9,000 jobs among 269 portfolio firms.

SBIC profits climbed sharply during fiscal 1966. For the first time, combined net income from operations and realized gains was in the black, rising from 1965's net loss of almost $16-million to a 1966 gain of $10.7-million.

But the growth has not been without problems—as evidenced by the losses through 1965, more stringent regulatory legislation enacted by the 89th Congress, concern over a change in SBA administration, and a "tight-money" market that has dried up many sources of SBIC borrowing.

Bernard L. Boutin, new administrator of SBA, apparently tracing previous program losses to a lack of adequate regulation enforcement, has welcomed new SBIC regulatory powers, called for a close audit of all SBICs, and indicated that "bad" SBICs will be phased out by next spring.

SBA has initiated 177 cases against regulation violators since Boutin took office last May. Boutin, convinced that $300,000 in private capital "is still too small," notes that most "small" SBICs are "in trouble."

SBA has established a $26-million loss reserve to cover SBICs which are not able to repay funds advanced them by the agency. The magnitude of the losses will not be known until the audits are completed.

Boutin, however, soothed many SBIC industry leaders by granting that "losses are inevitable in the SBIC program."

The SBA clamp-down, coupled with the pressures of hard economics, appears to be moving the industry toward a smaller, but more select cadre.

SBA TACKLES "WEEDING OUT"

SBA sees the possibility of only 300 or 350 active SBICs after the weeding out process. Reports on fiscal 1966 confirm the hard road ahead for SBICs with minimum financing.

Licensees with statutory capital under $325,000 recorded an average loss on invested capital of 2.3 per cent. Larger SBICs reflected average returns between 3.4 per cent and 4.4 per cent.

The industry is in the process of "getting to know" Boutin. But Strong believes much industry uncertainty regarding future SBA policies will be relieved at a national association meeting Nov. 28 in New Orleans.

Meanwhile, SBICs are jousting with the "tight money" market. While "tight money" appears to be bringing the industry more applicants, it also has restricted many SBIC borrowing sources.

As a result, Strong explains, SBICs are being more selective about loan applicants.

And over-selectivity flies in the pace of what many in the industry interpret as a greater SBA emphasis on venture-seeking and unsecurred lending.

Industry Future "Looks Great"

All in all, the future for the SBIC program "looks great" to Strong.

"A lot depends on the attitude of the SBA, and—of course—the repeal of the investment credit will have some depressing effect. But everything looks generally good."

Strong draws much of his optimism from W. Giles Mellen, economist for the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Mellon predicts a 70 per cent rise in the gross national product over the next decade and notes that smaller firms will need SBIC financing to participate in that growth.

SBICs, too, will find it harder to borrow and must seek more government support, Mellon warned.

The industry already is making its move on that front with a three-point program to provide SBIC incentives. The industry urges:

Creation of a Capital Bank for SBICs;

Clarification of existing tax laws to encourage increased private investments;

Increases in government funds made available to SBICs, authority for acquisition of propriety interests in unincorporated small businesses, and authority for intra-industry lending.

The SBA has assured the industry that it will present a package of incentive legislation at the next session of Congress.

Meanwhile, an industry that represents a unique blending of the federal and private sectors appears to be reaching a healthy level of stability, maturity, and profit.

Strong still finds it easy to decry the lack of knowledge which abounds regarding the industry.

And the SBA has yet to iron-out all the wrinkles in the program.

But when it comes to making business out of "impossible" loans—nothing succeeds like success.

TAX CREDIT FOR EXPENSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, for the past several years bills have been introduced in Congress to provide a tax credit for expenses incurred in the pursuit of higher education. This question will be considered again in the 90th Congress.

Although I defer to no Member of this body in my support for higher education, I have serious doubt whether an income tax credit is a preferable method for providing needed Federal assistance. In this connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a news item entitled "College Associations Oppose Tax Credits," published in the November 22, 1966, issue of the Arkansas Traveler at the University of Arkansas.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

College Associations Oppose Tax Credits

Washington, D.C.—College students and their parents were cautioned this week not to become unwitting supporters of a proposal that would lead to higher tuition fees across the country.

The warning came from the joint meeting of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and the Association of State Colleges and Universities.

In reaffirming their opposition to proposed federal income tax credit for educational expenses, the Associations urged the 90th Congress and citizens not to be deceived by the seeming attractiveness of the proposal.

The only way colleges could benefit from tax credit would be by hiking tuition, the associations noted, and this in turn would increase—not reduce the burden of college costs that many families now bear.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

Legislation to authorize the tax credits has been introduced at every session of Congress over the past several years, although it has yet to win majority support. In its most frequently cited form, the proposal would allow taxpayers to deduct up to $325 from their annual tax.

Proponents of the measure have sought to emphasize the financial relief it appears to imply for parents of college students. But the 300 publicly supported institutions represented at this week's meeting remain convinced that "tax credits would offer the most help to those who need it the least—while giving the least help, or none at all, to those who need it the most."

The associations noted, for example, that relatively high-income families paying tuition of $1500 or more a year could deduct as much as $325 from their tax bills, while low-income families paying little or no federal taxes would receive no benefits at all under the plan.

POOR HARD-PRESSED

These poorer families would be all-the-more hard-pressed to meet consequently higher college expenses, the association declared.

At the same time, they continued, the tax-credit idea has been advanced by some of its advocates as a simple method of bringing federal aid to the colleges without government stipulations on how the money should be spent.

The associations view this as a direct contradiction of the claim that tax credits would provide citizens with financial relief. NASULGC and ASCU maintain that the credits could not simultaneously aid both the college and the taxpayer.

COST $1 BILLION

Pointing out that the tax-credit approach would cost the U.S. Treasury at least 1 billion dollars in lost revenue during the first year alone, the associations warn that its adoption would likely preclude other forms of sorely-needed government aid to colleges for the foreseeable future. Knowing this, the college trustees would be unable to avoid imposing higher tuition fees as a primary source of additional funds.

And higher tuition would, at the least, off-set the "advantages" many families might realize from tax credits.

The associations also point to these objections:

Supporters of the tax-credit plan have conceded that it would by-pass Constitutional provisions against using public funds for discriminatory purposes. By raising tuition, all colleges and universities—whether they adhered to non-discriminatory policies or not—could receive the indirect government assistance that tax credits would provide.

MONEY RECOUPED

The money lost to the federal government through tax credits for college expenses would probably have to be recouped—no doubt through additional federal taxation.

The associations feel there are a number of affirmative ways by which federal funds, state tax dollars and private support can be used to halt the rising cost of higher education to the individual.

Increased support of existing national programs and new programs of institutional support offer sounder ways of providing assistance than tax credit. They feel, through the wise use of the billion dollars, the tax credit legislation would cost the Treasury each year "many dramatic and worthwhile accomplishments which could be achieved for public and private higher education," a spokesman for the associations noted.

WATER LEVELS IN LAKE FRANCIS CASE

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, during the past several months many South Dakotans have become highly concerned over wide fluctuations in the water level of Lake Francis Case. The lake is the reservoir behind Fort Randall Dam, one of four main-stem Missouri River dams constructed within South Dakota under the multipurpose Missouri River Basin project.

The South Dakota State Legislature during its current session has approved a concurrent resolution setting forth the problems generated by these variations and memorializing the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior to maintain a stabilized water level. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. Con. Res. No. 8

A concurrent resolution, memorializing the Congress of the United States to direct the Department of Interior and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to promptly determine and maintain a stabilized water level on Lake Francis Case

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein:

Whereas, among the expressed purposes for the construction of Fort Randall Dam and the resulting Reservoir (Lake Francis Case) were the following beneficial features: watersupply for recreational purposes, watersupply for irrigation purposes, watersupply for livestock production, and wetlands for waterfowl habitat and nesting; and

Whereas, because of the greatly fluctuating waterlevel, recreational facilities for boating and fishing have not been usable during the fall and early winter; and

Whereas, many commercial enterprises constructed to accommodate vacationers and other persons seeking outdoor recreation have been abandoned because the low waterlevel has made the recreational facilities unusable; and

Whereas, at low level, much hardship and loss is caused the farmers and ranchers, due to exposed silt left by the receiving waters; and

Whereas, the waterlevel is more constant in the other reservoirs along the Missouri River Development Area than in the Fort Randall Reservoir (Lake Francis Case); and

Whereas, the recreational and commercial potentials of Fort Randall Reservoir (Lake Francis Case) should receive equal consideration as is given to maintaining navigable waterlevels downstream: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate of the Forty-second Legislature of the State of South Dakota, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That the Congress of the United States, be, and is, memorialized to direct the Department of Interior and the United States Army Corps of Engineers to promptly determine and maintain a stabilized waterlevel on Lake Francis Case during the late fall and early winter months so that at no time will the waterlevel be so low as to expose the former islands to the extent that old roads and stumps are visible; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and the members of the South Dakota delegation to the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the Senate February 17, 1967.

Concurred in by the House of Representatives February 28, 1967.

Lem Overpeck,
President of the Senate.

Attest:

Niels P. Jensen,
Secretary of the Senate.
James D. Jelbert,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

Paul Inman,
Chief Clerk.

RECREATION DEVELOPMENT—BIG BUSINESS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it is probable that most Americans are unaware of the tremendous growth in outdoor recreation in this country, as well as of the leadership the National Grange has assumed in making recreation an integral part of rural family life.

"Recreation Development—Big Business," an article in the March issue of Grange, the official publication of the National Grange, describes these facets of outdoor recreation and points out how it has become a major industry.

The story also explains how farmers and nonmetropolitan residents can obtain aid in developing recreation projects and lists case studies of rural Americans who have capitalized on this assistance.

Grange is performing a meritorious service to the country by bringing these opportunities to the attention of its readers, and I should like to expand the readership to that of the Congressional Record, and accordingly ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Recreation Development—Big Business

The ol' swimmin' hole is being duded up, and splashing new swimming holes are blooming all through the countryside, as more and more American farmers discover a different kind of cash crop just begging to be harvested almost at their doorsteps. Moreover, there's an ever-growing demand for it in a constantly expanding market. It's something the processors haven't packaged yet, for it comes already wrapped in old fashioned, country-style fresh air. The modern name for it is *Outdoor Recreation*.

The possiblties inherent in expanded outdoor recreation are as broad as all outdoors itself. It can bring new economic life to rural communities as well as to individual farmers and landowners. It can relieve extreme overcrowding at existing commercial vacation resorts, providing additional convenient havens for harried urban dwellers. And thereby it can raise the general level of American physical fitness.

Nor is outdoor recreation by any means limited to swimming. It has been found that unsightly auto graveyards sometimes make splendid Little League baseball diamonds, when cleaned up. A half-acre of shrub growth where the bean patch used to be is just about the right size for a miniature golf course. Depending on the amount and the nature of the terrain, needy and not-so-needy farmers and landowners are learning to grow picnic areas, skeet-shooting and golf driving ranges, ski runs, and summer camps for boys and girls. Boating, sailing, tennis, badminton, volleyball, fishing, ice skating, archery and all those fun activities that are so hard to come by in a crowded city, spell opportunity for rural America.

Since 1962, when recreation became legally a "non-surplus" farm crop, the Congress has been including provisions for Federal assistance in the development of rural recreational enterprise in just about every possible piece of legislation it has passed. There are now no less than 67 separate Federal programs for recreational development at state and local levels, and 46 of them apply to private individuals or associations. All are listed in the Interior Department's Bureau of Outdoor Recreation pamphlet, "Federal Assistance in Outdoor Recreation," which may be obtained by sending 35 cents with a request to the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Among the aids available, of paramount interest to small towns and rural residents are the cash-money and technical assistance offered by the Department of Agriculture. These programs are by no means limited to farmers and farming. The Department of Agriculture today finds itself so involved to such an increasing extent with matters other than the purely agricultural that there is serious talk in Washington of adding "and Rural Affairs" to its formal name.

"Rural living has taken on a new meaning for hundreds of thousands of people who find these recreation centers added to the attractions of their communities," says Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman. "Home towns have more to offer (both) their young people and newcomers. We are making an intensive effort to help."

Accordingly, since Congress opened the door in 1962, USDA's Soil Conservation Service (SCS) has given technical assistance to almost 35,000 owners and operators for recreation enterprises. Nearly one out of 10 among them now relies on recreation as a main source of income. In all, SCS reported almost 3 million acres of rural land covered to wildlife and recreation uses, of which only about one-sixth was cropland. (Of course, that represents only a relatively small part of total SCS activities over the last 30 years.)

Before 1962, according to SCS spokesman Harper Simms, SCS tended toward caution in advising farmers to convert land to recreation uses. There were risky economic factors to be considered. And the widespread notion of traditional country hospitality has to be weighed against the cartoon-figure of the irate farmer threatening intruders with a shotgun. Making outdoor fun profitable helped to overcome such doubts.

Whereas SCS can offer only technical assistance, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) now includes recreation in the cost-sharing aspect of its Agricultural Conservation Program (ACP), which pays part of the cost to farmers carrying out needed conservation practices.

Also within ASCS is the newer Cropland Adjustment Program (CAP), under which farmers are compensated for shifting cropland to longterm conservation or recreation use, according to the value of the crops that normally would be raised. Higher rates this year reflect generally higher farm prices.

A special feature of CAP is assistance to state and local governments in acquiring cropland for community improvement. This is called the "Greenspan" phase of CAP, and it was applied for the first time less than a year ago with a grant to the village of Newark, N.Y., which bought 32 acres of mostly cropland for a municipal playground. Newark also rated matching funds under the ACP program for improvements to the tract.

Still experimental with ASCS, available only in a limited number of counties, is the Cropland Conversion Program (CCP), which differs from CAP in that it provides payments to help farmers convert cropland to profit-making new uses, including recreation, rather than to compensate them for loss of income as a result of taking land out of production.

A striking application of the pilot Cropland Conversion Program is about 350 acres of pure, clean water, 12 to 15 feet deep, a few miles from West Memphis, Ark. A few years ago, each of those acres yielded an average of 1,000 pounds of surplus cotton. Owners Louis and Frank Alpe restored the water that had been drained in the '20s and '30s, trucked in three quarters of a mile of sandy beach, bought some boats, set up a bait and snack shop, and they were in a new business. The Alpes are planning to build cottages for summer vacationers, but campers are welcome now. Fishing costs 50 cents and swimming is free. The brothers consider the lake "the nicest thing about our farm"—which totals 2,000 acres.

USDA's Farmers Home Administration can make loans up to $4 million to local public bodies and nonprofit organizations for construction of rural nonprofit recreation facilities. Individual farm owner-operators may borrow up to $35,000 in short-term credit or $60,000 in longterm credit for construction of profit-making recreational facilities, but only as a *supplemental* source of revenue. The individual borrower must remain as tenant or owner operating a family farm and must not use loan funds to convert the entire farm to recreation.

In the last four years, Farmers Home has extended almost a thousand loans amounting to more than $40 million for recreation facilities in small towns and open areas in 48 states and Puerto Rico. Most of this "supervised credit" went to nonprofit associations for municipal playgrounds, swimming pools, parks and so on. Almost $4 million was for individual farm-based recreation enterprises supplementing income from farming.

One example of the use of USDA help in partial conversion to recreation as a supplemental source of farm income is Walter L. Pace, of Henderson County, N. C., who found a truck crop and orchards an uncertain means of livelihood. He enlisted SCS technical help (along with state and county experts) to draw up some plans, obtained a $45,500 Farmers Home loan and received a $6,000 cost-share payment from ASCS for the construction of what is now the Bullseye Recreation Area near Saluda, 15 miles north of Hendersonville. His second full summer of operation last year netted $2,500 from recreation, to be added to his orchard production.

TRIBUTES CONTINUE TO IDAHO MEDAL OF HONOR WINNER

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on January 19 the President of the United States placed the Congressional Medal of Honor about the neck of Maj. Bernard F. Fisher, of Kuna, Idaho. It was a moving ceremony for everyone.

Since being awarded the Nation's supreme honor, Major Fisher has accumulated many other honors. Yesterday he addressed both chambers of the Idaho Legislature. He has been hailed by the Idaho press and the press of the Nation as well.

I just received my copy of Air Force and Space Digest magazine for March, which carried a full-color picture of Major Fisher on the cover. Inside were articles describing the award ceremony and the exploits that led up to it.

The magazine story relates that one questioner asked Major Fisher why he chose to risk his life with so little chance for survival. Major Fisher replied:

> If a man is down, you just don't leave him there.

This is an attitude that should have wider circulation in the world today. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article featuring Maj. Bernard F. Fisher, Medal of Honor winner from Idaho, published in Air Force and Space Digest magazine, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO MAJ. BERNARD F. FISHER, USAF: THE MEDAL OF HONOR

(By Laurence W. Zoeller)

In the East Room of the White House, on January 19, President Lyndon B. Johnson presented to Maj. Bernard F. Fisher the first Medal of Honor to be awarded an Air Force officer during the Vietnam War. At the ceremony was Lt. Col. Dafford W. Myers, the man whose life Major Fisher had saved in winning the nation's highest combat award. President Johnson stressed that "the action for which we salute [Major Fisher] today . . . did not involve taking a life. But it did involve saving a life."

The action took place during the battle for a small Special Forces camp at A Shau.

During the bitter, bloody two-day battle in March 1966, some 2,000 regular North Vietnamese troops besieged the twenty Special Forces troops and 375 South Vietnamese defenders of the fortified village. A Shau finally had to be evacuated, but in the process an estimated 800 enemy troops were killed by the defenders and 213 air strikes flown by USAF, US Marine Corps, US Navy, and Vietnamese Air Force aircraft.

During the morning of the second day of the battle, when the A Shau defenders had been driven into a single bunker in the northern corner of the triangular fort, three flights of A–1Es, Major Fisher among them, were holding the enemy off with strafing runs along the walls of the fort. Colonel (then Major) Myers asked for directions for his flight of A–1Es to the target. Fisher climbed through the one hole in the overcast, which was creating an 800-foot ceiling in the narrow canyon, and led Colonel Myer's flight to the fort.

Myers, on his third pass, was hit by .50-caliber machine-gun bullets, one of which went through his engine. The engine caught fire and, blinded by smoke, Myers was directed to a landing on the 1,800-foot A Shau runway by Major Fisher. He jumped from the burning plane and rolled into a ditch.

Major Fisher called for a rescue helicopter, but, taking into account the marginal weather, the probability that Colonel Myers was badly burned, and that his capture by the enemy was imminent, decided instead to attempt a landing on the short A Shau runway to rescue the downed pilot. The strip was strewn with oil drums, cans, and debris from the wrecked A–1E. In addition, it was full of holes from enemy mortar fire, making the chances of successfully landing a Skyraider slim.

Major Fisher tried a northern approach, but when he touched down through the blinding smoke he realized he couldn't stop in time and took off again. On the southern approach he made the landing and, dodging tire-puncturing debris, turned around in the brush at the end of the runway. He taxied back up the runway at top speed to avoid the withering enemy fire.

Spotting Colonel Myers about three-quarters of the way down the strip, he stopped and started to unstrap to go get Myers. Just as he was getting out, Myers reached Fisher's aircraft. Major Fisher pulled him headfirst into the Skyraider, turned around, and took off—flying at treetop level until he had gained enough speed to go up through the overcast. Minutes later they landed at Plei Ku. Crewmen later found nineteen bullet holes in the aircraft.

Major Fisher, who is forty years old, traveled from his new duty station, Hahn Air Base, Germany, with his wife and five sons to receive the Medal of Honor.

He entered the Air Force as a student officer in June 1951. He had previously served in the Navy V–6 program, from March 1945 to March 1946, and in the Air National Guard, from July 1947 to September 1950.

He served in Vietnam with the 1st Air Commando Squadron from July 1965 to June 1966. During that time the Major flew 200 combat sorties against the Viet Cong.

After the White House ceremony, during which President Johnson told guests that the Major was receiving the Medal "because of uncommon gallantry in the face of death", Major Fisher was asked why he had chosen to risk his own life in a rescue with so little apparent chance of success.

"I just felt real strong that I should do this," he said. "He's one of the family, you know. If a man is down, you just don't leave him there."

MEAT IMPORTS

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the people of South Dakota are deeply concerned about the current low prices of cattle and, consequently, about the importation of meat into this country. This statewide concern is reflected in House Concurrent Resolution No. 11, passed by the State legislature, requesting monthly instead of quarterly estimates of imports, a tightening of import restrictions, and the inclusion of any foreign meat bought by the Defense Department abroad in the import calculations.

I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 11

A concurrent resolution, citing the importance of the livestock industry and the effect of foreign meat imports on the South Dakota economy, requesting that estimated foreign meat imports be reported by the Secretary of Agriculture on a monthly basis rather than a quarterly basis, and the restrictions be imposed

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota, the Senate concurring therein:

Whereas, South Dakota is the most agricultural state in the nation, and

Whereas, the raising of livestock is the acknowledged backbone of the state's agricultural economy, and

Whereas, cattle number in South Dakota as of January 1 of this year were 4,238,000 head—the highest in the state's history, and

Whereas, the sale of livestock and livestock products in South Dakota during the past year exceeded $561 million and represented 71 percent of the state's total cash farm receipts, and

Whereas, the inventory of all livestock in South Dakota amounts to over $725 million, thus providing a high degree of tax support for local, county and state governments as well as school districts of South Dakota, and

Whereas, meat imports into the United States are nearing the point where it may be necessary to impose restrictions under provisions of the import legislation of 1964 (P.L. 88–482); and

Whereas, cattlemen of South Dakota can ill afford further imported meats other than provided for under existing law;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the South Dakota Forty-second Legislative Assembly requests our congressional delegation of Senators McGovern and Mundt and Representatives Berry and Reifel persuade the Secretary of Agriculture to issue estimates of foreign meat imports under P.L. 88–482 on a monthly basis hereafter, rather than quarterly, in order that allowable quantities will not be exceeded at any time.

Be it further resolved, that the State of South Dakota of the Forty-second Legislative Assembly respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to amend (Public Law 88–482) of 1964 giving more protection to the United States meat industry by lowering import limits and considering all meats purchased by the United States, including those meat purchases by the Department of Defense, as meat imports allowed under the quotas set up under Public Law 88–482.

Be it further resolved, that the State of South Dakota of the Forty-second Legislative Assembly respectfully urge the President of the United States to impose restrictions on foreign meat imports at or before the time that estimated meat imports reach the limits set in the import legislation of 1964.

Be it further resolved, that the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota transmit copies of this resolution to His Excellency, the President of the United States, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson; the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, the Honorable Orville Freeman; to the Honorable Karl Mundt and the Honorable George McGovern, United States Senators from South Dakota; the Honorable E. Y. Berry and the Honorable Ben Reifel, Representatives in Congress from the State of South Dakota, within ten days after the passage and approval of this resolution.

Adopted in the House of Representatives March 3, 1967.

Concurred in by the Senate March 9, 1967.

FORECASTING ERROR: ACHILLES HEEL OF NEW ECONOMICS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the basis of sound economic policy, whether it be taxing and spending or management of the Nation's credit, must be accurate, honest, comprehensive, and timely statistics.

Statistics are the bedrock necessity. But they are only the first leg of the 3-legged stool. A second leg requires a capacity to forecast the future based on the statistics. A third leg demands the wisdom to put appropriate policies into effect when the forecast clearly demands such policies.

In recent years our statistics have improved vastly, and they continue to improve, although they still have a long way to go. There is a growing agreement among economists on the fiscal and monetary policies appropriate if the forecast projects a sagging economy with rising unemployment, on the one hand, or a rapidly expanding economy with a shortage of manpower and productive facilities, on the other.

The weakness—the Achilles heel—of economic policy today is forecasting.

If the projection is wrong—if, for example, it predicts a rapidly expanding, tight economy, when the economy in fact sags and unemployment rises—then the policies are likely to be pernicious and destructive.

Just yesterday I placed in the Record an analysis by the National Bureau of Economic Research that showed that the most authoritative economic forecasts in recent years have been wrong and that this is especially true of the forecasts for periods of more than 2 or 3 months.

In today's New York Times, M. J. Rossant returns to the subject with a timely and critical analysis of the administration's current policy recommendations for a tax increase. Rossant refers to the poor showing by the administration in its predictions for the current quarter; then he writes:

> Forecasters are getting better. With more information about what is going on in the economy and more understanding about what makes it tick, their predictions should improve still more.
>
> But it will be a long time before forecasters are within reach of the kind of precision forecasting required to 'fine tune' the economy. And it is obviously unrealistic to make firm policy judgments on the basis of long-range assumptions, as the Administration is doing in continuing to ask for tax increases to combat inflation later this year.

Mr. President, this continued inability of economists to see clearly in that clouded crystal ball about the economy's future suggests again why it would be very wise for the Congress to postpone its decision on the proposed tax increase just as long as possible, until fall at the earliest, and then to make the decision based on what the hard facts of the economy reveal at that time without much reliance on what the crystal ball gazers tell us we can expect in 1968 or thereafter.

I ask unanimous consent that the article written by M. J. Rossant and published in today's New York Times be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Forecasting: A Flaw—Primitive State of Prognosticators' Art Hampering the "New Economics"

(By M. J. Rossant)

In saying that its request for restoration of the 7 per cent investment tax credit was planned all along, the Johnson Administration is coming close to suggesting that it knows just what is happening and what will happen to the economy.

There is reason to doubt this assurance. The decision to press for immediate restoration of the tax credit really exposes a serious flaw in the "new economics": its inability to forecast business developments with pinpoint accuracy.

This flaw undermines the key proposition of the "new economics," which is that appropriate and well-timed changes in spending, taxing or the supply of credit can produce permanent, noninflationary prosperity.

President Johnson took action specifically because business spending for new plant and equipment was not up to expectations. He is hoping that his tax relief will correct the mistake made in the Administration's forecast. But, now that the boom has definitely lost momentum, no one knows just what will happen next.

Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler and the Administration's "new economists" cannot, however, admit to doubts. They are supposed to be able to peer ahead, then twist the dials of monetary and fiscal policy to keep things going strong.

There is nothing wrong with the theory behind this concept. Given an accurate diagnosis of the economy, the policy makers should be able to prescribe the proper remedies for whatever may be ailing it.

But the Administration's forecasts have been far from accurate. Last year and again this year, its economists were off target, serving to complicate economic problems rather than cure them.

To be sure, the escalation in spending for Vietnam provided an alibi of sorts for economists in and out of Washington. But there is no such excuse for the poor showing so far this year or for some of the mistakes made prior to last year's spectacular failure.

It may be argued that the fault lies with the forecasting capabilities of the new economists and not with the "new economics."

Certainly there are a few visionaries who have been much more skilled than Washington's crystal ball gazers. Yet the state of the art is still too primitive to assure good results. Despite a wealth of statistical information and the application of computer technology, forecasters are still groping in the dark with their projections, often missing turning points altogether.

William F. Butler, the forecaster for the Chase Manhattan Bank, is willing to admit that forecasting is "the Achilles heel of the 'new economics'." He has observed that "until forecasts can be made with greater reliability than at present, attempts to use the tools of the 'new economics' as if they were micrometers can produce deeply damaging results."

His assessment is backed up by a National Bureau of Economic Research study on forecasts, which has found that most economists are not very good in their predictions, although they do better in short-term (three to six months) than in long-term forecasting.

This finding gives weight to recent assertions that the Administration should provide quarterly budget estimates and that the Council of Economic Advisers should revise their forecast at the same time.

But even quarterly forecasts can go wrong. After all, the Administration's projection for the current quarter, made public just two months ago, did not foresee a decline in investment spending and indicated that the slackening to date would be much milder than it is turning out to be.

Such a poor showing does not mean that forecasting is unnecessary. Forecasters are getting better. With more information about what is going on in the economy and more understanding about what makes it tick, their predictions should improve still more.

But it will be a long time before forecasters are within reach of the kind of precision forecasting required to "fine tune" the economy. And it is obviously unrealistic to make firm policy judgments on the basis of long-range assumptions, as the Administration is doing in continuing to ask for tax increases to combat inflation later this year.

WAR ON POVERTY MUST BE ESCALATED

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I applaud yesterday's message from the President of the United States to Congress on the needs of the millions of our fellow Americans who remain mired in poverty.

In the 2 years of its existence, the war on poverty has made significant inroads against this national affliction. It has given education to the illiterate, training and jobs to the jobless, and hope to those who have lived without hope.

Much more remains to be done before poverty is uprooted from the land, and America becomes in the truest sense the Nation of equal opportunity. It would be a national folly not to continue and strengthen the war on poverty. It would be both inhumane and dangerous to dash the hopes that have but so recently been raised. It is imperative that we not discard the progress that has so far been made, often and increasingly by the poor themselves.

I am particularly gratified by the stress the President has laid on a concentrated employment program.

> Economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not—

As the President says—

> reached thousands of men and women who live in the Nation's slums.

Two years ago I sponsored an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act to fund special projects to attack the poverty of the chronically unemployed. The projects funded under this amendment are accomplishing what might be called double rehabilitation: They are rehabilitating the public facilities of communities at the same time that they give training, hope—and jobs—to people who had little or no hope before. These projects will receive great encouragement in conjunction with other vital manpower programs if Congress takes the action that the President urges.

I am also pleased with the emphasis given by the President to the needs of the rural poor and with his intention of establishing in the Office of Economic Opportunity a new position of Assistant Director for Rural Affairs. The rural poor are less visible than their counterparts in the slums. But their needs are no less immediate or serious.

But none of these programs can be effective operating by itself in an organizational vacuum. As with the manpower and rural programs, the Nation's attack on poverty must be coordinated and interrelated through the existing mechanisms: The community action agency locally, stateside technical assistance agencies, and the Office of Economic Opportunity on the Federal level. The needs of the poor do not exist in neat, separate pigeonholes, and they do not lend themselves to arbitrary bureaucratic tables of organization.

If America is to achieve a Great Society, it is important that the President's requests of today receive this body's fullest support.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON THE LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Mr. SPARKMAN. President Johnson has sent us a message on his forthcoming Summit Conference in Punta del Este. He has outlined a new program for Latin America. He has asked us to help usher in a new dawn of hope for the entire hemisphere.

What are the promises of that new dawn of hope?

They are the promises of new and

thriving industries which give strength to nations and jobs to every man who wants to work.

They are the promises of a decent diet for every family.

They are the promises of victory over crippling and killing diseases.

They are the promises of a meaningful education for every child in the hemisphere.

They are the promises of roads and dams and flourishing farms.

And they are the promises of a new era of cooperation between nations—of trade and mutual self-help.

They are only promises now, and the stark reality of life in Latin America tells us how far we have to go. But, as the President stated, these promises are real—if we—both of the United States and of Latin America—but have the will and the vision to work for them.

> They are not empty visions.

He tells us—

> They are all within our reach. They will not be accomplished quickly or easily. But they are objectives worthy of the support of all our people.

I am hopeful that Congress will support the efforts of the President in furtherance of the Alliance for Progress.

There are many valid reasons why I support these efforts.

First, it is right and proper, for those who can do so, to lend assistance to our friends. Historically, the United States has followed the Judaic-Christian principle of helping our neighbors.

But it is more than charity; it is in our own interest to work for a more prosperous Latin America. Our own way of life in this constricting world will best be preserved when we have neighbors with viable economies and democratic governments which fulfill the basic needs of their people, as does our own Government. If such a community of friendly nations cannot be nurtured in this hemisphere, then it can never occur anywhere.

As a part of this concept, there is an important potential benefit to be gained by this country as well as Latin American countries, through the success of the Alliance for Progress: that is in the field of trade.

As the goals of the Alliance are achieved—and as the economies of our lesser developed neighbors become stronger and their people more affluent—their ability to buy more and more goods from the United States will increase geometrically. This lesson we have learned through experience in our dealings with Canada, Japan, and the Marshall plan countries.

Therefore, not only on behalf of the Latin American people who stand to benefit from the Alliance, but also on behalf of U.S. workingmen and businessmen, I wish the President the greatest success in this undertaking.

WHY SPENDING CUT SUITS PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION BETTER THAN A TAX INCREASE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the point is often made that if the economic outlook is too uncertain to warrant a tax increase because the effect on the economy might be pernicious, then the situation also should not warrant expenditure reduction, which would have the same economic effect.

The answer to this is that the President cannot—and most of us feel that he should not—have the power to cut or raise taxes at will. To do so requires an act of Congress, and the passage of such an act may take months or, as in the case of the big 1964 tax cut, years.

And if Congress should pass a tax increase to take effect this July, for instance, it would be extraordinarily difficult for Congress to reverse itself for at least a year and perhaps for a longer period in the event business continued to level off or turned down.

On the other hand, the Executive's control of spending is far more flexible. In December, for instance, the President announced that he intended to reduce spending by $3 billion in this fiscal year, not by any act of Congress but by stretching out or simply eliminating some of the spending for which Congress had already appropriated funds.

This action was instantaneous with the President's decision. Similarly, the President could, of course, speed up spending in the same areas and by far more than $3 billion if he felt that the economic situation warranted it. And this, too, he could do instantaneously without waiting for months or years for an act of Congress.

Secretary McNamara has given perhaps the most vivid example of how this can be done by his own handling of military inventories.

The Secretary has deliberately drawn down our military inventories very sharply in the past several months. He has explained that he intends to cushion any adverse effect on the economy of deescalation or negotiations in Vietnam by rebuilding our depleted military inventories during the period of deescalation.

This kind of fiscal policy action on the spending side to stabilize our economy is far more sensible, logical, and prompt in suiting action to what the economy calls for than the ponderous multimonth tax route.

This is why it is much more sensible for the President to follow a course of adjusting the impact of the Federal budget on the economy on the spending rather than on the taxing side.

This is why expenditure reduction would be more logical for the Federal Government, under present circumstances, than a tax increase.

Finally, a spending cut has this very decisive advantage over a tax increase in stemming inflation. The tax increase clearly adds to the cost of living for every taxpayer. In addition, the tax increase on corporations is passed on, at least in part, to the taxpayer, and the tax increase imposed on union members is likely to be pushed onto the employer in union negotiations, and employers in turn tend to push the tax onto the consumer in the form of higher prices.

On the other hand, the spending cut does not in any way add to anyone's cost of living; the easing in demand, which tends to reduce prices by this route, is not picked up by an increase in anyone's taxes.

Under present circumstances, with a cost-push inflation far more threatening than a demand-pull inflation, the advantage of reducing spending rather than increasing taxes deserves special weight.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, a few weeks ago, our Nation observed Brotherhood Week—with ceremonies, messages, and an increased dedication to our goal of equality for all people.

One of our fine Connecticut television stations—WNHC–TV in New Haven—contributed to the spirit of the week with a series of editorials which emphasized what is being done now to make true brotherhood a reality—not only in education or on the job, but in the human heart.

I salute WNHC–TV for its efforts, and ask unanimous consent that these editorials be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Feb. 19, and 20]

IT'S WHAT IS HAPPENING

". . . I believe brotherhood means more or less the Golden Rule . . ." ". . . think enough of everyone . . ." ". . . brotherhood, as far as I can see, they all take care of each other . . ." ". . . well, I guess, it all goes back to one world . . ." ". . . everybody should have equal opportunities . . ." ". . . brotherhood is love . . ."

Talk is easy . . . *do* something.

Do something . . . The National Conference of Christians and Jews tells us at the start of Brotherhood Week. In the words of its President, Sterling Brown, a week devoted to "eradicating the poison of racial prejudice".

As for *doing* something, our view is that Connecticut has taken some solid steps in the past year . . . and a lot more attention should be paid to them.

The equal rights drive has picked up a "catch-phrase". "It's What's Happening . . ." All right, we think things *are* happening. A Project Concern busing experiment in Hartford . . . new *ideas* like Brotherhood-In-Action . . . the Governor's major Human Rights Conference next month. In the week ahead, TV–8 will take a look at what *is* happening in Connecticut. Separate editorials each night will try to show that perhaps at last we *are* getting somewhere . . . and *doing* something.

[Feb. 21]

"PROJECT EQUALITY" AND "PLANS FOR PROGRESS" SALUTED

"To eradicate the poison of bigotry" . . . that is the National Conference of Christians and Jews guideline for this "Brotherhood Week". In separate editorials each day, TV–8 is looking at progress in Connecticut. The theme, it's what *is* happening.

What *needs* to happen is more than just law. Lots of laws exist. It is human attitudes which must change. Majority attitudes on education, employment, housing.

Among things that *are* happening is "Connecticut Project Equality". Fourteen state religious groups of all faiths are driving hard at employment problems. Also, Hartford's "Plans For Progress". Businesses join educators to provide "Living Witnesses". . . .

Minority-group employees who work toward keeping young people in school and improving chances of job success. These are just two of many efforts we'll talk about . . . and which need more public attention. Because they *mean* "Brotherhood". . . . ordinary people, working to change human attitudes.

[Feb. 22]

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IMPROVEMENT

You *do* have to be *taught* prejudice.

Our editorials this week are talking about what *is* happening in Connecticut. Above all else, of course, is *education* . . . a double edged sword: Preserving the natural spirit of brotherhood children are born with, and providing minority youngsters a truly equal education. In the view of the Connecticut Commission On Civil Rights, de facto segregated education cannot be considered *quality* education. Right now, the eyes of the nation are on Hartford's "Project Concern", a two-year experimental program. Thirty-three schools in 5 suburban towns are handling over 250 bussed-in students from the racially-imbalanced Hartford north end.

So far, results seem excellent. Absenteeism is unusually low. Parents of bussed children are vigorously taking part in P.T.A. and other involvement activity.

Now Farmington wants to take in 25 *more* youngsters next fall. Its school superintendent, John McDonough, said: "Our children are developing a comfortable working relationship with inner city children and adults, which will provide them with a valuable understanding later in life."

An editorial in *The Hartford Courant* commented, ". . . enough has been learned to make the zealous bigots who opposed bussing look pretty silly now . . . it is unfortunate some of the satellite towns around Hartford were not big enough to see the social possibilities . . . and became mired down in their own prejudices in voting against bussing." We first talked of "Project Concern" as it began, last fall, seeing it as a "Plan of Action", a challenge. True, a small step, a beginning. But to Farmington, Manchester, Simsbury, South Windsor and West Hartford goes credit . . . a challenge is being met.

[Feb. 23 and 24]

ACCENTING THE POSITIVES IN STATE BROTHERHOOD EFFORTS

This is the fourth in a series of "Brotherhood Week" editorials. The theme: Things *are* happening in Connecticut. Gains *are* being made. Attitudes *can* change. That is, when ordinary people bend to the effort.

More examples: "Brotherhood-In-Action." The Knights of Columbus, B'nai B'rith and Masonic Order . . . Three most diverse groups, certainly . . . have joined in an action program. For Connecticut, a first in the nation.

In Hartford, 100 U.S. education experts will meet next week . . . a meeting of minds on city education and racial imbalance. State P.T.A.'s have looked at their role in group relations, in institutes supported through a grant from The Sears Roebuck Foundation. They have heard words of challenge from school and Urban League officials.

We certainly *do* have a long way to go. We hear plenty of *negatives*. But these efforts . . . by education, government, businessmen . . . are a few *positive* things that must be accentuated.

[Feb. 24, 25, and 26]

THE REAL HUMAN CHALLENGE

Editorially, it has been a week for "accenting the positive". Just a *few* positives of an improving civil rights climate in Connecticut.

Saying "It's what *is* happening," we have looked at the Hartford bussing experiment . . . at state religious and P.T.A. leaders taking a strong role . . . at what some forward-thinking Hartford businessmen are doing with "Project Concern."

Just a handful of the things going on, of course. A great many ordinary people are working with energy and imagination. The success of the bussing experiment, for example should certainly not overshadow achievements of teachers *within* the Hartford system. The city and its teachers have poured new programs, funds and skill into racially-imbalanced schools. The same concern is there among a great many urban teachers and administrators in the state.

And not only educators. Governor Dempsey, in a first-in-the-nation step, has called a Human Rights Conference, carefully picking 500 to attend. They come from *every* walk of life, including the low-income urban. The conference program will not deal in platitudes . . . it will take a hard, searching look at *real* needs in the state.

Now, a final Brotherhood Week thought. Before anything is accomplished, a lot of negatives will have to be wiped out. Most of these negatives are in one place . . . people's minds. A lot of personal attitudes bear some real self-searching examination. That's all prejudice is . . . a human attitude.

Some suburban towns in the Hartford and New Haven areas, for example have resisted bussing-in proposals. The rationale? Just what it so often is: That these things must be "somebody else's" problem.

We don't see it any other way that this: Civil Rights, human rights, are in the keeping of every single human being. We just can't turn our back and pretend we don't see the problems.

In the most literal and reverent sense . . . there isn't one reason on God's earth why we'd better not *see*.

You know . . . it *is* what's *happening*.

NARC SALUTES CONGRESSMEN

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, President Bernard M. Fineson, of the National Association for Retarded Children, has very thoughtfully brought to my attention an article written by Dr. Elizabeth Boggs, chairman of the National Association for Retarded Children Governmental Affairs Committee, and published in the February 1967 issue of Children Limited.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NARC SALUTES CONGRESSMEN

(By Elizabeth Boggs, Ph.D)

(NOTE.—This article was written one week before the death of Representative John E. Fogarty on January 10th. It is printed as it was written.)

The year 1966 was one in which the initiative in federal legislation for the retarded passed from the Administration to key members of Congress. As indicated by the pictures on this page, leadership was found in both houses and in both parties.

It was found in quarters not customarily associated with efforts for the retarded, such as the Armed Services Committee. It was demonstrated by old friends of the cause, such as Senator Hill and Congressman Fogarty, and from new but very active friends such as Congressman Carey.

It came from the West Coast—Senator Morse; and the East Coast—Senators Javits, Robert F. Kennedy and Edward M. Kennedy; from the North—Senators Smith and Prouty; and from the South—Congressman Hébert. It came also from midcontinent—Senator Symington.

Many individuals contributed to Congressional accomplishments which were remarkable in a year when the war in Vietnam took precedence and when the President and Bureau of the Budget had elected to stand pat while the new appointed President's Committee on Mental Retardation organized itself for action.

But in a firmament full of stars, one constellation shone with special brilliance—the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which processed four of the six pieces of legislation described later. Each bill as it emerged bore the stamp of the Committee's special interest in the retarded or handicapped. Each bill as passed in the Senate did more for the retarded than the bill as originally introduced, even though none of them had benefits to the retarded as its prime purpose.

In recognition of these remarkable achievements, the NARC convention delegates in Kansas City last October passed an unprecedented resolution commending the Committee.

Even in its one defeat—the failure of the House to pass the mental retardation amendments to the Comprehensive Health Bill—the Senate leadership sounded a note of determination. Speaking on the floor of the Senate on October 18th, Senator Lister Hill deplored the action of the House, but added, "I want to assure the membership of the National Association for Retarded Children that we will recommend again next year the enactment of legislation to authorize grants for initiating and expanding services at facilities for the mentally retarded, and legislation to finance training and research in recreation for the mentally retarded and other handicapped children."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON REAFFIRMS HIS PLEDGES TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, recently the President of the United States returned to Howard University to reaffirm a pledge of equality which he had made to the American people. In his speech, President Johnson pledged not only equality before the law, but equality of opportunity—the chance to be equal in status, equal in expectations, equal in achievements.

The occasion was fitting—the 100th anniversary of Howard University, whose distinguished graduates number in the highest ranks of accomplishment of every sector of our society.

The President chose to repeat in part what he had said almost 2 years earlier at the same institution. It is not enough to create freedom by fiat. Victims of discrimination, the deprived, the disinherited of centuries must be given special help to take advantage of freedom's opportunities. For the Nation has now passed through several phases in the civil rights movement—from legal guarantees of equality to the expansion of equal opportunity in education, housing, jobs, public accommodations, and voting.

In recent years much has been done to open the door of American opportunity to those millions so long denied entry. The civil rights record and civil opportunities record of the Johnson administration stand as monuments to good will and faith in fellow man. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the President's March 2 remarks at Howard University, remarks which again eloquently and forcefully restate the commitment of a President and a people to human freedom in all its rich dimensions.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY, AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Dr. Nabrit, members of this distinguished faculty, distinguished alumni, students:

This day is for prayers of thanksgiving. It is a day for remembrance and wonder.

One hundred years ago, out of the embers of a terrible war, this University was born to serve a people who had been liberated from the "peculiar institution" of slavery.

Another Johnson—the 17th President of the United States—signed his name to a law establishing Howard University, in the District of Columbia, as "a university for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences." The first four students were white. They were the living witnesses to a faith in our human dignity that has united men and women of both races until this very hour.

But the purpose of those who founded Howard University was not merely to create one more institution of higher learning. It was to fulfill the promise of Abraham Lincoln that had been made four and a half long years before:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State . . . shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

Emancipation was a proclamation, but it was not a fact.

Howard University was created to help make the promise of the proclamation a fact of life.

I do not need to tell you that the purpose of the founders was not wholly achieved in their time—nor in the century that followed. Howard sent forth into the world trained teachers, doctors, artists, theologians, lawyers, and businessmen—but for millions, the promise of freedom remained unfulfilled. For them, the ordinary fact of life was enslavement—to poverty, to ignorance, to second-class citizenship.

In our time—nearly a century after the war that brought an end to official slavery—we have begun the long-delayed process of liberation. We have struck off most of the bonds of discrimination that bound the Negro to the tragic past. The fundamental rights of citizenship are his: to vote, to use public accommodations, to attend school, to seek a job, to receive hospital care—without discrimination because of color.

These rights had to be secured, not only to give life to Abraham Lincoln's proclamation, not only to render justice to Negro Americans, but because the conscience of humanity demanded that they be secured. They were not handed down from above, as a reward for good behavior. They were a legacy acquired by birth—and finally passed on to their rightful heirs.

Yet even they did not suffice. I came here twenty months ago, on an afternoon in June, to say *"Freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders as you please.*

"The task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chances as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness."

I have come back to Howard today to renew my commitment to that task, and to remind you and to tell you again *so long as I live, in public or private life, I shall never retract or retreat or amend that commitment.*

I have seen what can be done when hundreds of thousands of children are given a Head Start in life;

When 8 million others begin to receive a better education in elementary and secondary schools;

When millions of men can find work in a thriving economy;

When millions of older people have the haunting fear of medical costs lifted from them;

When young men and women are given the chance to take hold of their lives in Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps programs;

When those without skills can acquire them;

When nine million workers—the forgotten ones at the bottom of the economic ladder, the elevator operators, the charwomen, the waitresses—are assured a decent minimum wage for the first time this year.

I have seen these things happen, and much more. I do not want to and I never expect to turn back.

I know that millions of men and women—Negro and white—are still trapped in poverty, in dark city slums and depressed rural areas. I know that results are slow in coming from the best efforts men can make, for our adversaries—ignorance, discrimination, and the despairing conviction of failure—are old, well-entrenched, and tough.

But despite the shortcomings of what we have done so far, despite the stubbornness of the problems we face, I cannot bring myself today to bewail our fate. The last few years have convinced me that we have the will, the knowledge, and the resources—and the stubbornness, too—to remain dedicated to this task until it is accomplished.

It was less than 10 years ago as a Senator that I struggled through the night to pass the first Civil Rights Bill through the Congress in almost 85 years. It was a frail instrument indeed and we so recognized it—but it did pass. It was only the first. Seven years later as President, I signed into law a measure that had the power to change the conditions of life for Negro Americans. One year after that we opened the voting booths for good.

This is the work of less than ten years: four Civil Rights measures striking at the last chains of enslavement after we had waited almost a century. This was the task of every man and woman who worked, prayed, and legislated to bring it about.

Because we have come so far, I know and you know that we have the power to go further; to make the past ten years only a prologue, and the next ten years the time when the Negro in America can say at last "I am a free man." I believe it will be so. I shall bend my will to make it so.

It is not hard to feel this way, here at Howard.

This campus has been the home, and is the home today, of men and women who knew their mission in life was greater than service to themselves. Many of them have been my friends. Some of them have been called to the Federal service during my Presidency:

The great lawyer, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall;

Three, distinguished jurists, Judge Robinson of the Court of Appeals, Judge Bryant and Judge Waddy of the United States District Court;

Ambassador Patricia Harris;

Mr. Hobart Taylor, director of the Export-Import Bank;

Mr. Andrew F. Brimmer, member of the Federal Reserve Board;

Commissioner John Duncan, of the District of Columbia;

Mrs. Frankie Freeman, of the United States Civil Rights Commission;

And Dr. John Hope Franklin, of the Board of Foreign Scholarships.

These sons and daughters of Howard—together with Under Secretary Ralph Bunche of the United Nations, and Senator Ed Brooke of Massachusetts, whom, I am sorry to say, I did not appoint—are a testimony to Howard's maturity far more compelling than the passing of a hundred years.

For they represent the fruition of an ideal: *that as men become free themselves, they assume responsibility for the freedom and well-being of others, regardless of race.* These men and women are devoting themselves to the affairs of our nation. They are not devoting themselves to Negro problems alone, but rather to the problems of our entire society.

That is your challenge, you who follow them. For the work that lies ahead is demanding, and involves far too many lives in urgent need of help, to be parcelled out by race. Tomorrow's problems, which will be placed squarely in your hands, will not be divided into "Negro problems" and "white problems." There will be only human problems, and more than enough to go around.

I said at the beginning that this day is for prayers of thanksgiving, for remembrance, and wonder.

Our prayers are to the God who has strengthened the will of a grateful people. Our remembrance is of those who created and sustained this great University, and brought here thousands of young men and women from all over the world, and gave them the power to serve their fellow man.

Our wonder—our very great wonder—is for the human spirit, that having endured infinite wrongs, can yet hold to its faith in the dignity of life.

For one hundred years, that spirit has prevailed here at Howard University. May it always prevail.

ALASKA'S COMMERCE WITH JAPAN—A GRATIFYING DEVELOPMENT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, Alaska, the victim of unparalleled neglect and discrimination during its first 92 years under the Flag—the years of territorialism which Alaskans finally identified with colonialism—mobilized to get statehood to rectify this longstanding disadvantage. But we Alaskans still have to liquidate many of the enduring legacies of the long stepchildhood. We have begun to do so. One of the most striking manifestations of Alaska's constructive initiative has been undertaken by the Government and the people of the 49th State in establishing trade with Japan.

Japan requires many of the raw materials which Alaska can produce—lumber, fish, oil, coal, natural gas, and metallic minerals. For these, unfortunately, excepting fish, there is little or no market in the other 49 States which have always, of course, virtually monopolized the Alaska trade. And not only does Japan need these Alaskan products, but Alaska's geographical position, in many respects disadvantageous because of distance from our own domestic markets and long inadequate maritime transportation—virtually the only conduit for Alaska's freight—is favorable to Japanese trade. This trade, already substantial, though yet in its infancy and most promising for further expansion, represents an almost unique example of one State in the Union developing its own commerce with a foreign nation. It has all developed since statehood 8 years ago. It is a gratifying example of a new kind of pioneering.

The story is most admirably set forth in the February issue of Alaska Construction and Oil Report under the title, "Japan Discovers Alaska," written by Robert G. Knox, associate editor. It details what is going on and what lies ahead in this important and relatively new field of endeavor.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAPAN DISCOVERS ALASKA

(NOTE.—Alaska is one of the few regions in the world with untapped resources. The development projects in Alaska may not pay at the beginning. Unless we secure the Alaskan resources now, however, it will soon become difficult for us to advance into Alaska because the enterprises of the U.S. homeland and foreign countries will start their activities. So we must seize this only chance.)

(By Robert G. Knox, associate editor)

The words are those of a top official of the Japanese-owned Alaska Lumber and Pulp Company as quoted recently by the newspaper Nihon Keizai of Tokyo. The urgency expressed is evident in the top priority currently being given projects in Alaska by Japanese businessmen and industrialists and the philosophy appears to be that which is guiding this new advance into the 49th State.

For its part Alaska is literally welcoming the newly-arriving Japanese firms with open arms. The state maintains a special office in Tokyo to fan interest in Alaskan investment and very liberal tax incentives are offered to help make these investments attractive. To residents of other states this anxious wooing of foreign investment may seem strange. But Alaska is in the position of the girl who went to a dance and spent the entire evening as a wallflower. Now, finally, someone has asked her to dance.

Alaska's history as a territory and a state has been marked by an almost complete lack of sources of investment capital. Her resources have been regarded as too far away and too expensive to deevlop and American industry seemed to have the attitude that Alaska was a storehouse to be kept locked up against some possible future use. Now Japan is offering the needed key of capital and Alaska is eager to accept.

The state's present attitude would probably seem strange also to many Alaskans of thirty or forty years ago. Alaska is the only state which was actually invaded by Japanese armed forces during World War II and the Aleutians and Alaska mainland were part of an active theater of war from the landings at Kiska and Attu until late in the Pacific war. But even before this military move, back in the 1930's, Alaska fishermen were hollering long and loudly about invasions of their fishing grounds by Japanese fleets.

Even today a few doubts and fears are being expressed about too-close ties with any single foreign nation. But on the whole the new Japanese interest appears to be a golden opportunity for solid economic growth. The welcome mat is out and Alaska is doing everything in its power to increase Japan's already active interest.

While it has grown to the extent to attract attention in just recent months, this interest appears to really date back to the early 1950's. In those days Japan was starting to emerge from the immediate post-war era as one of the free world's great industrial powers. Its war-damaged industries had been rebuilt and expanded and they had a huge and ever-growing hunger for raw materials. Japan was busily scouting for every possible source and soon numerous Japanese business leaders, government officials, and members of trade missions were touring Alaska and eyeing its minerals, timber and fisheries resources.

The attractions of Alaska were easy to see: It was relatively close to Japan via the "great circle" North Pacific shipping routes; it appeared to have a huge supply of underdeveloped raw materials; and, unlike many other possible sources of supply, it had a stable political climate. In fact, an observer looking at these two dissimilar areas near the top of the globe would be struck by the thought that they have all of the natural attraction of complete opposites.

For instance:

Japan, an island nation with a tiny land area, has a huge and growing population, highly developed industry, and a scarcity of resources.

Alaska has a vast, underdeveloped land area, a tiny population, and an unknown wealth of resources.

But despite all of the looking and all of the attraction it was not until the start of the Soaring Sixties that the first real evidence appeared of possible future expansion of Japanese-Alaskan trade.

In January of 1960, Douglas MacArthur II, then U.S. ambassador to Japan, stopped in Anchorage while on his way to Washington to confer with the State Department about the new mutual security treaty between Japan and the United States. MacArthur took note of the possibilities of Japanese-Alaskan trade when he commented:

"As the years pass, it seems only reasonable to believe that the friendly bonds now existing between Alaska and Japan will grow even warmer than they are now.

"Because of their geographic proximity and the nature of their resources, Alaska and Japan should profit particularly through increasing trade and closer economic ties."

Less than a week before this prediction, that trade had taken its first real big step forward. The Mitsubishi Line's vessel Columbia Maru tied up at dock in Sitka and took abroad a cargo of significance because the pulp was the first produced by the newly-completed Sitka pulp mill, a $60 million dollar development by Japanese interests.

The Sitka plant was not the first pulp plant built in Alaska. The first, built at Ketchikan, was constructed by American interests. But the Sitka plant drew its importance from the fact it represented the first really substantial investment in Alaska development by Japanese sources. In fact, this plant and its satellite mills, constitute the single area to date—forest products—in which Japan's interest in Alaska has actually been translated into impressive trade figures of dollars and cents.

The entire daily capacity of the Sitka plant, some 500 tons, is exported to Japanese markets and the plant's annual production valued at $25 million makes up half of Alaska's total annual wood products production. The plant's output also accounts for just about 75 per cent of the state's total current foreign export.

Pulp is expected to continue to be an important export as Alaska's timber is particularly suitable for pulp production. Another big new opportunity which appears to be just opening up is as a supplier of pulpchips.

The University of Alaska's Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research said in a recent report that during the period from 1965 to 1975 Japan's total chip consumption is expected to just about double from 7,300 million board feet to 14,077 million but in the same period imports will skyrocket, from 182 million to 4,560 millions.

Production of wood chips has two big advantages: Like pulp and lumber, the chips meet the State of Alaska's primary processing requirements for export and in addition only a moderate-sized investment is required for a wood chip operation.

The Japanese combine which built the Sitka pulp plant has subsequently installed an active lumber mill operation at Wrangell. Now it also plans to install a chipping facility at Wrangell. In this new operation, waste from the sawmill would be converted into chips. Then the chip output—together with that from at least one other new chip mill planned in Southwest Alaska—would be utilized by the pulp plant at Sitka.

While all of the forest products developments to date have been in the Southeast, one group of Japanese firms announced plans two years ago to construct a large ship plant at a cost of some $4 million—at Homer on the Kenai Peninsula. The chips produced by this plant, in contrast to the operation in the Southeast, would be exported directly to Japan.

This Homer project was stalled last fall due primarily to the tight money situation which made it impossible to secure all of the necessary financing. However, there have been indications in recent weeks of renewed interest. It now appears likely the Japanese firms involved will go ahead with this first Southcentral Alaska wood-products operation although perhaps at a different location—such as Seward or Kodiak—where they would have greater assurance of the necessary supply of logs.

From the first shipload of pulp in 1960 to the reviving of plans for the new Southcentral chip mill, the forest products industry has seen quite a bit of actual, healthy investment by the Japanese and it appears to have all the prospects for more such investment during future years.

In most other resource fields the actual, initial Japanese investment is still in the future. In a few cases it may never come at all. One such which has been a particular disappointment is the coal industry. This is doubly ironic since coal was one of the very first Alaskan resources to catch Japan's eye and Japan has now more than ever before a fast-growing demand for import coal for use in its blossoming steel and chemical industries.

Alaska's coal fields have been investigated time and again over the recent years by interested Japanese companies. Unfortunately, what they have found is that much of the state's known coal deposits are not of the coking quality such as now in greatest demand. They had to add to that the drawbacks of high price and labor cost and a major lack of support facilities, particularly in transportation. Thus the decision has gone against Alaskan coal every time.

At present, Japan is concentrating on import of coal from the mainland United States and from Australia and has just recently made new commitments for Australian supply. It appears there is very little chance for use of the Alaskan coal at least in the near future.

The story has been much the same for most other minerals and while the reasons have not always been exactly the same the factors of high production costs—particularly labor costs—the remoteness of locations and difficulties of transportation have entered into negative decisions. Government regulations—such as the U.S. restrictions on export of copper ore as strategic commodities—have also played an apparent role.

While the Japanese have yet to invest actively in any minerals operations in Alaska the story just on the other side of the Canadian border is quite different. Here, in the Canadian north, cost factors are a bit more favorable and government regulations less stringent and British Columbia and the Yukon Territory currently have more than

20 mines producing or about to come into production for Japanese industry.

In contrast to this bleak picture for Alaska minerals, the field which down through the years has produced so much strife—high-seas fisheries—is also producing marked cooperation now between Alaska and Japan.

At the very same time last year that Alaskan fishermen were protesting what they described as new invasions of their fishing grounds by Japanese fleets—and talking of boycotts of Japanese products—Japanese freezer ships were called in by Alaska's governor to buy surplus fish that couldn't be handled by Alaskan canneries and Japanese and U.S. firms were negotiating joint purchase agreements for Alaskan canning facilities.

This trend toward joint operations has marked the Japanese entrance into the fisheries field in Alaska. While the Sitka pulp plant was strictly Japanese financed, owned and operated, three of Japan's largest fisheries firms have now made investments in Alaska, each in cooperation with American fish processing firms.

The Taiyo-Gyogyo (fishery) Company, one of Japan's major fishing and marine product companies, entered into a packing and canning venture more than a year ago with Peter Pan, a leading U.S. canning company headquartered in Seattle. A spokesman for Taiyo said recently the venture was "more successful than expected" and the first-year operation was expected to result in $11 million in sales with net profits amounting to approximately $700,000.

This Taiyo-Peter Pan project, named the Pacific Alaska Fishery Company, was established on a 50–50 basis with each partner raising an equal amount of the company's initial capital.

Another major Japanese fishery and marine product company, the Nichiro Gyogyo Company, announced last summer it had signed a contract to establish a joint venture for fish canning with the New England Fish Company. A new company, Oreka Pacific Packing, took over New England Fish Company's plant in Cordova to start operations last fall. A Nichiro spokesman said the new company planned to produce 100,000 to 160,000 cases of canned salmon and 90 to 150 tons of salmon roe during the initial year with expected sales totaling about $4 million annually.

Commenting on these joint Japanese-U.S. fisheries operations, a Tokyo newspaper explained the situation this way:

"The biggest problem in Japanese fisheries circles at present is how to secure sufficient supplies to meet the active demand for marine products. This internal situation lies behind the moves of the two Japanese fisheries enterprises. Also it does not escape our attention that not a few canneries in Alaska are on sale because capital in Alaska is flowing into other states of the United States in pursuit of higher profit due to the current economic prosperity."

Since then a third large Japanese fisheries firm—Nihon Suisan—has also been reported negotiating for the purchase of Alaskan processing plants.

While these initial operations have concentrated on salmon and the salmon roe by-product, entrance of the Japanese firms into the Alaskan industry should greatly enlarge types of harvest as there are markets in Japan for a much wider variety of seafood products than have been traditionally taken by U.S. fishermen. The University of Alaska's recent economic report on Japanese operations took note of this and commented:

"In many respects the big Japanese fisheries corporations are technically far in advance of their American counterparts. The full impact of Japanese participation in Alaska fisheries and processing is not yet clear, but if the intentions of these firms are fulfilled, the result will be the harvest of a greater diversity of species, and improvement in transportation and storage facilities, with an increase both in the number and the stability of employment in Alaska's fisheries and processing plants."

The Japanese joint fisheries operations appear to hold great promise for the future but as yet the actual dollar investment in Alaska is relatively small. The field which—aside from the Sitka pulp operation—has drawn the greatest amount of Japanese capital to date is the petroleum-petrochemical industry. It appears too that in a short time it will far outstrip the wood products industry.

First such project to get into the actual construction stage is the $15 million fertilizer plant being built near the Kenai gas fields. On completion in 1968 the plant will supply some 165,000 tons of urea fertilizer annually to Japan Gas-Chemical Company of Tokyo.

This firm is investing $7.5 million in the facility for the right to half of its output to sell in Japan and the Far East. The Japanese firm's partner in the venture, Collier Carbon and Chemical Company, will operate the plant and an adjoining $35 million ammonia facility. The complex will utilize the Kenai natural gas in producing the ammonia which, in turn, is combined with carbon dioxide to produce the urea.

An even larger project is envisioned in negotiations under way between the Tokyo Gas Company and five U.S. oil companies. They plan a $100 million natural gas liquefication facility—also to be built in the Kenai area—to produce fuel for Japanese markets. The preliminary agreement calls for 140 million cubic feet of gas a year to be liquefied at the plant and shipped to Japan in refrigerated tankers.

The American firms which are active in these negotiations include Marathon Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Skelly Oil, Sinclair Oil and Gas, and Pan American Petroleum.

Still a third petrochemical project—which would be the largest of all—has recently been reported in the preliminary discussion stages. Skelly Oil, Mitsubishi Trading Company and Japan Hydrogen Company are reported considering a joint venture to establish a 1,000-ton-a-day methanol plant near Kenai and according to Skelly the plant would be only one of three in a planned complex.

Skelly's company publication, The Diamond, indicated in its January-February issue, that plans are pretty definite. The magazine said:

". . . We have been hard at work for about two years now, and the prospects look good that Skelly will build a petrochemical complex in Alaska. It appears to be only a matter of time.

"What is the holdup? Market negotiations, for they take time. Nevertheless, three potential markets for petrochemicals exist at the moment." The Diamond listed these as:

1. Ammonia, used direct as fertilizer or as a feedstock in the manufacture of urea.
2. Urea, used in the manufacturer of fertilizer plastics and resins.
3. Methanol, an alcoholic chemical used to manufacture formaldehyde, which in turn is used in the manufacture of resins.

All three of these chemicals are made from natural gas and Skelly said their manufacture would require it to build three separate petrochemical plants which would be "perhaps the largest plants of their kind in the world."

While all of these petrochemical projects are developing from natural gas supplies which have been found by U.S. firms operating in Alaska, the latest development in the petroleum field is the formation of an Alaska-based Japanese firm to actually engage in exploration and production of oil and gas for export to Japan.

The new firm, **Alaskco U.S.A., Ltd.,** is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Alaska Petroleum Development Co., Ltd. of Japan. This parent firm was formed by a combination of Japanese industrial giants including Mitsubishi Oil Co., Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Sumitomo Metals, Fuji Iron and Steel, Yawata Iron and Steel, the Japanese Mail Steamship Co., Tokyo Gas Co., and Nippon Mining Company.

Although announcement of Alaskco's formation was made only this January, the new Japanese firm has reportedly already signed an agreement with Gulf Oil Corp., to conduct exploratory and producing operations for oil and gas in Alaska. Gulf would serve as operator for the joint Alaskan operations.

The Japanese firm is not thinking small. The Japan Economic Journal reported the initial capitalization of the parent Alaska Petroleum Development Co. was set at $2,780,000 which is to be raised within five years to $41 million.

These, then, have been the major developments in Japanese-Alaskan trade—from the start of construction of the Sitka pulp mill in the late 1950's to the more recent joint fisheries operators and now the brand new petrochemical and petroleum investments.

There have been two other smaller developments. One is in the livestock industry, where the Japanese have recently expressed some interest in imports of Alaskan beef and possible even reindeer and seal meat. Another is the tourist industry, where the lifting of Japanese currency restrictions within the next few years is expected to stimulate greatly the flow of Japanese tourists to Alaska, particularly on stopovers en route to and from Europe.

There is also the reverse side of the coin: Alaska imports of Japanese products. These are tiny even by the standards of Alaska's as yet small exports. But the value of imports from Japan through Alaskan ports did more than double from 1964 to 1965 although the dollar amount was only $2.2 million.

Principal import products include mainly construction materials such as pipe, fencing, reinforcing bars and nails. With the Japanese now entering into major projects, such as the petrochemical plants, which require extensive construction, this flow of materials could be expected to increase somewhat in coming years. Another factor would be that rising exports to Japan should create more favorable freight rates for a backhaul bringing Japanese products directly into Alaskan ports.

All these developments which appear to indicate a great future growth of trade between Alaska and the Japanese have drawn some small notes of caution. One such came just recently from Dr. Arlon R. Tussing, writing in a review of Japanese-Alaska trade, had this to say:

". . . Stable markets for Alaska's resources are almost as important as growing markets. Just as Japanese industry wants assured supplies of raw materials, insulated as much as possible from the vicissitudes of world market conditions and political crises, so Alaskans will benefit from similarly assured markets.

"The long-term contracts preferred by Japanese customers, and the direct involvement of raw material customers in Alaskan investments can be welcomed as a step toward this kind of stability.

"At the same time, there are obvious dangers to Alaska in becoming entirely dependent upon the fortunes of one nation's economy. Just as Japan's industry wants to distribute its crude materials sources among different countries, Alaska should seek to find markets in other countries as well as in Japan."

While such dangers undoubtedly do exist, at this stage of the game Japan's contribution to the state's economy seem to far outweigh them. Too, it appears now that one of the best ways for Alaska to obtain these markets in other countries is through the development of industry which is being aided by Japanese investment. For the present and immediate future at least most Alaskans would consider Japan by far the most likely candidate for their state's new partner in progress.

PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE DRAFT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on March 3, 1967, I made a speech at the University of South Carolina on the subject "What Do I Hear About Draft Law Changes?" I made this speech before the President's Commission reported on the draft and before President Johnson sent his message on the draft to the Congress. I am sure that many Senators and the people of my State of Oregon will find it interesting to compare the views on the draft which I expressed in my speech with those contained in the President's draft message and also contained in the report of his Draft Commission.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my speech of March 3, 1967, on the draft, delivered at the University of South Carolina be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT DO I HEAR ABOUT DRAFT LAW CHANGES?

(By Senator WAYNE MORSE at the University of South Carolina, Mar. 3, 1967)

I come here to speak to you on a subject very close to the future of many of you—the draft.

Today, many of you are subject to a pressure which decrees that if you lose your student deferment you stand a chance of losing your life—or at least two years out of your life—possibly in the jungles of South Vietnam.

This pressure in the midst of an undeclared war is something new in American life and its effect will not be charted for many years. But I am not a psychologist and so I cannot talk about the results of individual stresses and tensions caused by the draft. As a United States Senator, I wish to share with you my feelings about our nation's draft policy—where it stands now and in what direction it may be or should be heading.

The authority to induct draftees expires this June 30. If nothing were done in the meantime, the Selective Service System would effectively pass out of existence, to the great relief of many.

However, this will not be the case. It is almost certain the authority to maintain the Selective Service Act will be re-enacted in some form sometime before June 30.

I have not favored the draft as the most efficient way to recruit manpower for the Armed Forces. In 1963, when the draft law was last extended, I told the Congress:

"It is an astonishing thing to me that in a Pentagon building bulging with the so-called whiz kids and slide rule minds that pride themselves on industrial efficiency, that we must still stagger along with a rickety, wasteful, and completely unfair method of filling the ranks of the Army.

"Why, I ask Mr. McNamara, has not the same attention gone into the human components of your Department that apparently goes into your decisions relating to weapons systems? . . . Is it possible, Mr. Secretary, that manpower utilization has a low level of priority simply because with the draft in effect, it is possible to bring in however many men are needed without regard to efficiency?

"I think it is about time the Secretary of Defense provided some real 'work rules' for the Army in the interest of efficiency as well as in the interest of the young men who are now subject to the lottery of selective service.

"Since there is no opportunity to vote for a 2-year extension with a manpower review, I therefore cast my vote against another 4 years of selective service."

I think my remarks then are just as valid today.

And that is why I wish to suggest what I consider would be some improvements for the Selective Service System.

There have been ample surveys, reports, and commissions on the draft. Now it is time for Congress to digest them all and make the needed changes.

In light of the war in Vietnam, it is a certainly that a draft law will again be extended. I am sure many of you—at least the male segment of my audience—are familiar with the important provisions of the present law.

All young men between the ages of 18½ and 35 have a six-year obligation to serve in the Armed Forces. This obligation can be discharged in a number of ways:

One, of course, is by enlisting;

Another is to join a National Guard or Reserve Unit;

Yet another is to wait and be drafted.

But it is a fact, that of the two million or so men who annually register with the Selective Service System, plus the 18 million who are already registered and are under 35, only 343,481 were drafted in fiscal year 1966, even during the peak of the present war in Vietnam.

What happens to the rest?

About half a million of them enlisted. One reason young men enlist—and therefore are not drafted—is the pressure of the Selective Service. Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey freely admits that Draft Board pressure is responsible for many men enlisting in the Service. He sees this as a vital function of Selective Service.

But what of those who do not enlist? About 200,000 entered Reserve and National Guard units. For the rest, the answer is that magic word, "deferment."

There are deferments for education, for employment, for hardship, for family, for poor health, and so on.

According to one Congressman: "Your status in society in my district is now determined by what your draft status is. If you are 1–A, you are a nobody, you are one of those who happened to get caught because you didn't know any better. If you are not 1–A, you have status in society."

The problem of who gets deferments is central to nearly everybody's criticism of the draft. Yet, while the deferment practices of local Boards have been criticized from every direction as being biased, I do not think the basic system is wrong.

Some young men will always have to be deferred: because they are in school; because they are fathers; because they are in such poor health they are not physically qualified for service.

Presently young men are deferred by their local Boards, depending on local Board needs. Thus if your Board happens to have a surplus of draft eligible young men physically qualified and ready to serve, you as a student may be able to apply for, and receive, a II–S student deferment to continue your studies at graduate school and beyond.

On the other hand, you might find yourself in the situation of a young man I spoke to recently who told me the following story:

The young man, studying in the University of Oregon for his Master's Degree, was in school after working for two years. His local Board, in New York, had granted him a II–S to return to school. He went to the local Board in Eugene, where the University is located, about a routine inquiry and the clerk asked him:

"How old are you?"

"Twenty-three," he replied.

"And your draft status?" she asked.

"II–S," the young man told her.

"Do you know," she said, "that if you were registered here you would be drafted next month—graduate study or no graduate study."

This situation is unfortunately the case in too many parts of our country. Why? *Because there are no national standards for draft boards.* Therefore, a young man whose Board is in an area where the situation is "tight", faces a much harder time getting a *legitimate* deferment than a young man whose Board has a surplus of 1–A's.

I believe the new Selective Service Law should set up some system of national standards whereby this particular inequity would be evened out across the nation. Then all young men would be dealt with equitably.

There is another inequity, also related to deferments, which I believe should be corrected in the next Selective Service Act. This is the policy of the Selective Service System to draft the oldest men first, then proceed to the youngest. This works a hardship in several ways.

Say a young man goes to college, graduates and then decides to work for his Master's Degree. He also marries but does not choose to have a family for some time. When he receives his M.A. or M.S. diploma and begins working, he is in a most precarious situation. For unless he can join a Reserve or National Guard unit, or unless he wishes to enlist in the Service for three years, he is faced with the immediate prospect of induction. And unless the Army can in some way utilize his B.A. and M.A. skills, he is likely to waste two of the most productive years of his life before he can return to civilian status, pursue his career and settle down to a normal existence with his family.

Not even the military like this idea. They much prefer that younger men be drafted.

Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, told a House Armed Services Subcommittee last year that, "the most undesirable feature of the present selection procedure . . . from the military viewpoint and from the standpoint of the individual (is the fact that the older men are called first). Combat commanders prefer the younger age group and about eight out of ten volunteers are in the age group under 20."

Yet the Selective Service system stubbornly clings to its policy of drafting the oldest young men first.

Following are some reasons for this which General Hershey gave the House Armed Services Committee last year:

During periods of low calls, most registrants would be likely to go over age 25 without being called.

It would be a bad effect on recruiting since registrants who are over age 19 and 20 would feel they had escaped military service.

It is beneficial to the Armed Forces to have a number of men coming into the Armed Forces who are of a mature age with their training, experience and education.

We would lose the effect of channeling into essential activities, through the inducement of prospective deferment.

There might well be more complaints of inequity and uncertainty.

There are many in and out of Congress who question General Hershey's arguments in support of taking the oldest young men first. However, in my opinion, it is not a clearcut case on either side of the argument. Maybe it would be fairer to work out some ratio or proportionate formula. It has been suggested as a revision of the present system, that draft procedure work just in reverse and that the youngest—not the eldest be drafted first.

Those making that suggestion argue that it might be wise to give all young men entering the Selective Service system at 18 the following choice:

1. Immediately go into a class 1-A availability, subject to draft between their 19th and 20th birthdays (presumably when a young man has finished his high school education). And if not drafted during that year, be placed at the bottom of the next year's draft list, after all men in the new class of 19-year-olds.

2. The alternative would be to elect to continue on to college—with the *known understanding* that following graduation they would—for one year—be part of the 1-A pool of 19-year-olds. At the end of that year, they, too, would be dropped to the bottom of the list.

While this might not greatly change the situation as it stands, it would, however, relieve a great deal of the uncertainty among students. A recent National Student Association study on student stress showed that the draft contributes to the anxiety of almost all male college students—not because of fear of death or dislike of the service, but because, as the students put it, "we don't know what's going to happen to us".

The change probably would eliminate some of that uncertainty. A high school senior and his guidance counselor would better know "what's going to happen."

I believe there is much to be said toward encouraging high school students to consider completing their service before college. While not all young men might benefit from this, I would estimate that between a third and a half would benefit greatly from some sort of seasoning and maturing experience between high school and college. That this should take place in the Armed Forces is by no means certain, but it clearly points to the need for an educational moratorium of some sort which happens to coincide with the "young age class" idea for the draft.

A third reform which some argue is needed in the Selective Service law is the possibility of making some other form of service equivalent to that in the Armed Forces.

This idea of National Service has been much discussed. To some extent, it is implemented today; Peace Corps volunteers are not only granted deferments while serving in the Peace Corps, but in most cases are not drafted by their local boards after they have completed their two years abroad. Though even here, I might add, there is no uniformity of policy for some volunteers have been drafted after serving two years in the Peace Corps. This only illustrates the need for a uniform deferment system binding upon all Draft Boards.

It appears that there is increasing support for the proposal that the National Service concept should be written into the law. Instead of giving local boards discretion in granting deferments to returning Peace Corps volunteers, the volunteers would be given automatic deferments. The same would apply to VISTA workers.

Now whether the other new programs of National Service should be set up, like the CCC of the 30's is another matter. Where there are existing programs, such as VISTA and the Peace Corps and where young people volunteer and give two or more years of service to their country at a minimal pay it is argued by some that such service should be recognized as a draft equivalent and should be recognized by a permanent draft deferment. Some who take this position suggest that Peace Corps and VISTA services should be for 3 or 4 years instead of two if draft deferment is to be granted. Even then, to avoid turning those services into open draft dodging it is suggested that discretion should be left to a National Board for final determination in individual cases.

There are other suggested modifications of the draft law being advanced.

For one thing, automatic data processing equipment should be utilized by the Selective Service System to enable its operation to be carried out with the maximum efficiency.

General Hershey has said many times that computers and data processing equipment are incompatible with the autonomy and flexibility of local boards; that "we frankly have never been able to find where we could run a computerized system with the decentralized system that we have."

The value of a decentralized system with the local board autonomy and flexibility is that each registrant has the opportunity to describe his individual circumstances and problem to a group of men and women who are receptive and sympathetic because they are personally involved in the community.

It would be highly inappropriate to establish a highly mechanized Selective Service System that would meet draft calls with the "push of a button" in some inaccessible office in Washington.

But this is not to say, however, that computer and data processing techniques cannot be adapted to solve most of the administrative problems of the Selective Service System. It would minimize the paper-shuffling that now occupies the time of local boards so they can concentrate on their more important function of giving personal attention to the particular circumstances of those whom they have ordered for induction or are about to order for induction.

Such a system could relieve the "paper-jam" and reclassification procedures, the backlog of paperwork in the pipeline between local boards and Army induction centers, and the growing storage problem for files.

There is another reform being urged by some for the new Selective Service law. This concerns the right to counsel of registrants.

One of the vagaries of the present law is that persons appealing their classification to their local boards are not allowed representation of a lawyer.

A number of legal authorities have pointed out that Selective Service boards are more than administrative bodies—they are indeed quasi-judicial ones and in fact in one sense they have life and death power over individuals coming before them.

It is argued that in no other segment of our legal structure is a person called before a tribunal where he does not have the right to counsel guaranteed to him by the 5th, 6th, and 14th Amendments to the Constitution.

The Selective Service's answer to this is that the local board's appeal agent, who is in most cases an attorney, is also charged with upholding the rights of the registrants.

I do not believe any attorney can serve two masters. Either he works for the board, or he doesn't. Again, in no other area of our legal structure is the defendant forced to have the prosecutor as his attorney.

Therefore I believe there probably is some merit in the proposal that in re-writing the draft law we ought to give registrants appealing their classification the right to bring an attorney with them before their local board.

In conclusion, let me briefly review the major reforms that seem to be most commonly discussed these days in respect to the Selective Service Act:

1. There should be national deferment standards.

2. The youngest men, not the eldest, should be drafted first or a ratio formula between the youngest and oldest should be worked out.

3. Permanent deferments should be granted following equivalent or more extended service in VISTA, the Peace Corps, or similar programs.

4. Local and national Selective Service bureaucracies should be modernized through the use of automatic data processing equipment.

5. Registrants appealing their classification should be granted the right to counsel in appeal before their boards.

I have left for the last point in my discussion a very delicate, highly emotional but increasingly growing criticism of the application of the draft to a type of conscientious objector who does not qualify for deferment or some form of special government service because of religious objections to military service. There appears to be a large number of young men both in and out of college who allege that on moral grounds that they cannot agree to serve in this particular war because it is an undeclared war and therefore they consider it to be an unconstitutional and illegal one. Second they argue that they consider it to be an immoral and unjustifiable war. Based upon those beliefs and dictates of conscience they argue that the government should have no legal right to draft them. Some of them state that the government might have the right or be given the right to put them in some kind of non-military service but that it shouldn't have the right to draft them to kill other human beings when they as individuals believe as a matter of conscience the entire war is immoral.

It is of course difficult for those of us who are not driven by such compulsive pangs of conscience to fully understand the views toward military service of such individuals. However, I think we make a great mistake in reacting to them in anger or with charges that they are motivated by cowardice, a lack of patriotism, or selfish motives of seeking to dodge the draft. Probably some are. However in my Senate work I hear from many such young men who comprise a new type of conscientious objector. In almost all the cases I have counselled about, the young man concerned has been a troubled, serious, sincere young man who is suffering the pangs of mental, emotional and often physical suffering. As you know an increasing number of clergymen, psychologists and behaviour specialists are suggesting changes in the Selective Service Law to provide for some procedure that will consider the special problems of these individuals and which at the same time will not exempt them from a universal service act. I think it will take ten Solomons to solve this very difficult but very real problem. Certainly reacting vindictively by putting them in prison as assumed draft dodgers will not solve it. Such a response is much more glandular than cortical. Much more revengeful than humane.

Recently I wrote a letter to a young constituent of mine who wrote to me a heartrendering letter telling me at great length about his long wrestling match with his conscience and his decision to refuse as a matter of conscience to surrender to the draft and become a killed in an undeclared and unjustified war. I wrote the following letter to him:

"Mr. ———,
"*Portland, Oreg.*

"DEAR MR. ———: I want you to know that I appreciate very much receiving your frank and very personal letter. The truth of the matter is it fills me with a great deal of humility and in many ways simply stumps me for a reply. I say I find it difficult to reply because I am sure the advice that I may give you may not be at all helpful because my advice has to be based upon my responsibility of being completely objective as I see the dictates of objectivity which are involved in commenting on your problem.

On the other hand, from your standpoint the very problem which you present is colored by subjective factors and deep personal feelings, including the intangible forces of conscience, that no possible outsider can expect to be a very helpful adviser. However, for whatever my advice may be worth, here it is:

"1. You admit that from the standpoint of religious belief, you do not qualify as a conscientious objector. Therefore, you are not entitled under existing law to any exemption from serving in the military forces if you are inducted. I think it is clear from your letter that you are aware of that fact, but you seek to solve your personal dilemma as to whether you should violate the law and suffer the consequences.

"2. Although I think I appreciate the dilemma which your feelings of conscience present to you, nevertheless by advice is that you comply with the law. After all, we cannot maintain a system of government by law and order in this system of constitutional self-government of ours is individual citizens are to be allowed to decide what laws they are going to obey and what laws they are going to violate. Irrespective of the fact that I share your views with regard to the immorality, injustice and illegality of this war, the fact is the country is at war and all the legal processes are going to be used to implement the war. I recognize this even though, in my judgment, the war itself is unconstitutional because it is an undeclared war. Furthermore, I consider it is illegal from the standpoint of our violation of international treaties, such as the Geneva Treaty and the United Nations Charter.

"However, as a lawyer, I also recognize that there is no known legal procedure by which the legality of the war can be brought to a test before the United States Supreme Court and therefore, the argument of any of us that we believe the war to be illegal does not justify our violating existing statutes, such as the draft law, which are available to the Government in its prosecution of the war.

"3. In effect, what I have indicated above is that as citizens of this country, we are bound by its laws and if we don't like a given law, our recourse is not to violate the law but to seek to use the procedures of our democratic processes to try to change the law. It is true that at the present time those of us who oppose a given law involved in the prosecution of this war, such as the draft law, have little hope of changing it. Nevertheless, we should keep trying to change it, and I have been doing it as evidenced by the fact that I have voted against it the last two times it has been up for Congressional approval. Once it has been reenacted, it becomes part of our system of government by law, and I don't think any of us can condone its violation.

"4. I, too, wish that individuals who have your problems of conscience in respect to the war but who are not, in fact, conscientious objectors, could be considered as special cases for assignment to other government duties, such as the Peace Corps in which you are interested, or hospital units or some other non-combat duty. But I do not foresee any such change in the draft law in the immediate future.

"5. Therefore, the cold reality that faces you and others in your position is whether or not you should, in effect, do irreparable damage to your future opportunity to making a worthwhile contribution to society by violating the law and being sentenced to prison, as I am sure you will be sentenced for a period of years, using as justification for your violation of the law your conviction of conscience. In my judgment, such a course of action on your part has some of the attributes of self-punishment. It amounts to a form of self-punishment that I do not think you should subject yourself to. In one sense, I think it takes greater strength on your part to do what the law requires you to do. You can use that compliance as a basis for your continuing to influence people to join in trying to change those laws and legal procedures that need to be changed if we are going to stop our Government from substituting war-making for peace-keeping in settling international disputes. In my judgment, you can be more constructive in promoting the cause of peace by complying with the draft law, if you are inducted, and by continuing to make clear at all times your opposition to the war wherever you have an appropriate occasion for doing it.

"I well recognize that once you are inducted in the Army, for the duration of your military service, you will not be free to violate the rules of military conduct to which you will be just as obligated as, in my opinion, you are obligated to the civilian laws while you are a civilian. You can make a much stronger case once you are out of military service in support of changing our foreign policy from one of more war-making to one of peace-keeping that you can ever make as a person out of prison who seeks to use his demonstration of conscience which led him to violate the law as a platform for seeking a change in American foreign policy. I think you will have a better opportunity and be more effective in taking advantage of those opportunities of putting your ideals into practice as soon as you are out of military service than you will ever have as a person out of prison.

"Therefore, speaking only for myself, I wish to say that I think if I were in your position, I would place my citizenship responsibilities of obeying the law, even though I don't like the law, in the position of first importance and my personal feelings, even though they are feelings of conscience, in a secondary position. I would do that only because I think I could make a greater productive contribution with my life if I kept myself in a law-abiding position and continued to present my fellow citizens and my Government with the facts and arguments that I am convinced dictate that our foreign policy must be changed.

"Frankly, I am not one who believes that martyrdom really changes much. On the other hand, I am one who believes that if men and women keep themselves in a position where their fellow citizens cannot brand them with proof that they refuse to obey existing law, then they are in a much better position to help correct such existing evils as those confronting us in connection with this Vietnam war.

"I doubt very much if my advice can really be of help to you, but you certainly were entitled to receive it from me. I am sure you know I offer it to you out of a sincere respect for you and the struggle with your conscience that you are obviously under going through.

"I hope you will not decide upon a course of law violation, because if you do, I feel that in one sense, you will be destroying your potential for leading a much more productive life than you can possibly ever lead as one who follows a course of action of refusing to serve in the armed forces, if inducted, simply because he does not believe in the justification of the war being fought.

"With kindest personal regards,

"Sincerely,

"WAYNE MORSE."

What he will finally decide to do I don't know. However, he is only one of a very large number of young men these days who are suffering from dictates of conscience that are causing them to revolt inside of themselves as they wrestle with the question "Should I go forth to kill in a war that I think is all wrong."

The final point I wish to mention in this discussion of the draft law involves a rather delicate and, of course, controversial issue but nevertheless, one that I think should be mentioned in this lecture. One of the objections that many prospective draftees and their parents are heard to raise from time to time involves the failure on the part of the Administration to date to make greater use of the Reserves in fighting the war in Vietnam.

The question is raised, "Why should not the Reserves be called up in view of the stated purposes of the Reserves when the Reserve System was established?" Then, too, the argument is made by some that in view of the millions of dollars that the taxpayers have spent in supporting the Reserves over the years since World War II and Korean War, why should not at least some percentage of Reserve units be mobilized and called up for active duty in the Vietnam war? Why should most of the burden of active service in this war fall upon the shoulders of draftees and enlisted personnel?

These are questions to which I have not heard the answers from the Administration in any specific form. There has been some talk to the effect that the basic purpose of the Reserves is to be available for response to the defense of the country only in a great national military crisis when the very security of the country is involved. I am inclined to think such an explanation is an over-statement of the underlying purposes and objective need for the Reserve System at the time that Congress was asked to authorize it.

It is difficult to draw a clearcut line between and among national emergencies. If the situation in Southeast Asia really is as serious as the Administration has sought to describe it in its justification for conducting this underclared war, then the argument against calling up the Reserves on the ground that a national emergency isn't serious enough leaves much to be wanted in that argument.

On the other hand, there is no doubt about the fact that making extensive use of Reserve units would greatly disrupt our civilian economy in that it would take thousands of men out of established business, professions and other important occupations from the civilian economy and certainly to some degree thereby disrupt the productive power of the economy. Nevertheless, there is considerable merit to the argument of those in the country who are protesting the failure of the Administration to make any substantial use of the Reserves that placing the major burden of fighting the war on draftees and enlistees is not fair.

I do not feel that I am sufficiently informed on all on the facets of this problem to speak with any finality on it, but I do think that the Congress has a responsibility of giving more thorough consideration that it has to date.

Perhaps a fair and reasonable solution of this problem might be found in working out a ratio formula whereby a given proportion on Reserve units should be called up for active duty on a rotation basis. It is alleged by some critics of the foreign policy of the Administration in Vietnam that one reason the Administration has avoided calling up Reserve units in the political repercussions that would undoubtedly be stirred up within the body politic as a result of any decision to make extensive use of Reserve units. It is argued by such critics that then the Administration would soon discover at the community levels of the country there is a great deal of lukewarm support of the war among the masses of the people and even more disapproval of the Administration's policies in conducting this war.

I have tried in this lecture to give you a résumé of some of the positions on the draft law which I hear discussed among members of Congress and across the country these days.

I appreciate the fair and respectful hearing you have given to my views. Such a response is all one in my position in entitled to and I thank you very much.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the President's message to Congress on the Latin American summit meeting is a welcome blueprint for a farsighted agenda of hemispheric self-fulfillment.

Mr. Johnson reviews the encouraging accomplishments of the Alliance for Progress in the light of the sustaining objectives that its members will bring to Punta del Este.

The measure of progress attained in the 6 years since the Alliance was conceived is cited by Mr. Johnson as a heartening beginning.

The far-reaching programs of the first Punta del Este Conference have already transformed indifference into hope and dependence into self-help.

The peaceful revolution that has taken root among our neighbors illuminates the path that we—as partners in their progress—must now undertake.

The President has appropriately welcomed Latin American incentive for economic integration as the most revolutionary step since their independence.

It is a key to their second independence—the independence from deprivation and despair.

The successful Central American Common Market has set a precedent worthy of imitation and worthy also of U.S. support as proposed by the President.

I feel certain that Senators will agree with President Johnson that the investment to which we pledged ourselves in 1961 has more than earned our sustained support.

MARJORIE MERRIWEATHER POST

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, today one of America's most distinguished and successful women, Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, celebrates her 80th birthday. I think this is a fitting moment to review a few of the numerous accomplishments of this remarkable woman, who with boundless energy and grace, has devoted her life to making this country a better place in which to live.

Mrs. Post's life is in the highest traditions of the American free enterprise system. Her father, C. W. Post, who founded the Postum Co. and Post Toasties Cereal Co., which are now the General Foods Corp., prepared his young daughter to take over his cereal company by inviting her, from the age of 10, to sit in on company staff meetings. By the time she was 17, Marjorie Post was thoroughly familiar with the operations of her father's business. At the death of her father in 1914, she became the owner and operator of the company, which in later years, she expanded to include the manufacture of frozen food products, Jello, Maxwell House Coffee, Minute Tapioca, Baker's Chocolate, and many other items in daily use in the United States.

Her attitude toward this success was instilled by her father, who taught her that "money was to be used to help other people." Her philanthropy is celebrated, and has been honored by five nations and 30 associations.

In World War I, she financed and equipped the largest base hospital in France, which could accommodate 2,000 wounded. During World War II, she raised millions of dollars for Belgian relief. During the depression, she chaired the emergency unemployment drive in New York City, and was called New York's Angel of Mercy when she fed 1,000 people two hot meals a day through her contributions to the Salvation Army. Other beneficiaries of her generosity include the Smithsonian Institution, the National Symphony, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, Mount Vernon Junior College, and the C. W. Post College in New York.

Mrs. Post has done much to improve the quality of life here in Washington. She is now serving as a member of Mrs. Lyndon Johnson's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, but she has also endowed the Music for Young America concert series, which for the past 10 years has enabled young visitors to Washington to attend free summer concerts.

Mrs. Post's knowledge of the arts particularly—chinaware, tapestries, paintings—is such as to make her one of the world's great experts.

Finally, Mr. President, Marjorie Post personifies those qualities of American womanhood which we cherish—intelligence, beauty, sense of humor, generosity, keen judgment, great energy, and concern for the well-being of others. Mrs. Post, 80 years old, symbolizes the "all American girl." She always will.

Mr. President, an article in this Sunday's Washington Post describes the career of this remarkable and distinguished lady, and I ask that excerpts from it be printed in the RECORD. I also ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in this morning's Post and Mrs. Post's curriculum vitae be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Excerpt, article in Washington Post, Mar. 12, 1967]

A FLAIR FOR PHILANTHROPY: HER FORTUNE HAS SMILED ON MANY OTHERS

(By Dorothy McCardle)

Marjorie Merriweather Post has lived most of her four score years in settings usually reserved for royalty. But she regards her vast wealth primarily as a democratic tool to serve other people.

In a pre-anniversary interview (she will be 80 next Wednesday) she discussed her philosophy of wealth.

She was seated in the library at Hillwood, her 24-acre Washington estate which is a museum of her collections of 18th Century French and Imperial Russian art and furnishings.

She credits her father, the late Charles William Post, founder of the Postum Cereal Company fortune, with teaching her all she knows about making money and then putting it to work for others.

"My father taught me that if I ever regarded money as something to be worshipped or looked up to, I would never have a happy life," says Mrs. Post.

"To my father, money was to be used to help other people."

Quite obviously, Mrs. Post is in the utmost upper brackets of material wealth. Published estimates of the precise amount range from $100 to $250 million.

"When anybody's fortune passes the $100 million mark, it's like talking about outer space, and one loses track," says a Washington broker friend of Mrs. Post.

MONEY IS TO BE USED

Mrs. Post, herself, as one of the great philanthropists of her generation, dislikes discussing money. If you broach the subject, no matter how diplomatically, she replies a bit tartly:

"I am not the richest woman in the world. There are others better off than I am. The only difference is that I do more with mine. I put it to work."

She sums up her personal attitude toward great wealth this way: "Keep it moving, make it work, make it create, make it do good, and make it help in many hundreds of ways."

Then with a flash of the wit she has always shown toward the many-splendored luxury of her life, she adds:

"In other words, don't be a miser and sit and count the shekels."

Mrs. Post's philanthropies have been proclaimed by men and nations. Five foreign countries have decorated her—Luxembourg, Belgium (twice), the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and France which made her a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor.

Three schools have conferred honorary degrees upon her—Long Island University, D. Hobart & William Smith College, and Bucknell University.

And she has received more than 30 citations for her generosity to a wide variety of organizations, including the Smithsonian Institution, the National Symphony Orchestra, the Mount Vernon Seminary and Junior College (of which she is an alumna); the C. W. Post College at Long Island University (a memorial to her father); the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Salvation Army, ballet and opera and many more.

FRIENDS PLAN PARTY

Friends who recognize her extraordinary devotion to others are celebrating her birthday a day ahead of time. They are giving a party for her at the Sulgrave Club on Tuesday evening and will present her with a rare and expensive token of their admiration.

The gift, beamed to Mrs. Post's special interest in Russian antiquities, is a pair of Imperial Russian candelabra in lapis-lazuli with ormulu. It will be a unique addition to her hundreds of Russian treasures at Hillwood.

These friends are many of the same people who created "Friendship Walk" at Hillwood soon after Mrs. Post moved in. The "Walk" blossoms with many of her favorite plants.

On the night of her birthday, Mrs. Post expects her entire family, plus a few close friends, for an early dinner at Hillwood.

Her family includes her three daughters, their husbands, her seven grandchildren, and her 10 great-grandchildren.

After dinner, she will take her guests on to Constitution Hall for a special program in her honor by the National Symphony Orchestra. Three boxes will be specially garlanded with flowers for her party.

As the Orchestra's greatest benefactress, musicians and management are making an unusual effort to do her honor.

Leon Barzin, noted orchestra conductor and her son-in-law, is coming from Paris to conduct the program which will include some of Mrs. Post's musical favorites.

Mrs. Post's youngest daughter, Dina Merrill, the stage, screen, and TV star, is taking the night off from the play in which she is currently appearing, "A Warm Body" at its pre-Broadway run in New Jersey.

For decades, Marjorie Post has been regarded as one of the most beautiful and attractive women of her generation. Today, a decade past the Biblical score of years, she is slender, always exquisitely groomed, and walks with energy and a lithe, erect carriage.

Her friends attribute her youthfulness to a lifetime of good habits. She rarely touches alcohol, doesn't smoke, and is devoted to daily strenuous exercise. A growing deafness is her only concession to the years.

There is an elevator at Hillwood, but she prefers the staircase. She has a staff of expert gardeners at her various homes, but she enjoys the feel of a hoe and trowel in her own hands.

Dancing is her greatest joy. She is as expert in the folk rhythm of the square dance as she is graceful in a tango or a waltz.

Her weekly round and square dances at Mar-A-Lago, her winter home in Palm Beach, Fla., and at Camp Topridge, her summer home in the Adirondacks, are famous.

Her own clear skin owes a lot to the soap and water treatment it gets daily, plus a bedtime secret discovered by her biographer, Nettie Leitch Major.

Off and on for years, Mrs. Post has coddled her fresh complexion with an old-fashioned remedy better known for its internal than its external uses. Castor oil is her elixir of youth, occasionally applied at night.

FATHER INVENTED POSTUM

Mrs. Post was born in Springfield, Ill., on March 15, 1887. But, for the decade between the ages of 4 to 14 years—she lived in Battle Creek, Mich., where her father had gone to recoup his failing health. He wound up making his fortune.

He found health through Christian Science and its new attitude toward illness and a way to wealth through the invention of a coffee substitute, called Postum. He bought a farm and ran his business from a barn in the meadow.

C. W. Post raised his only child as if he expected her to grow up with the brains and executive ability of a son who would take over his business.

When Marjorie was still at the doll-playing stage, she would run over to her father's office after school in response to a note of invitation he had left her. She would sit quietly in a corner and listen gravely while he conducted a staff meeting on the affairs of his growing cereal company.

At the bedtime story hour, C. W. Post quizzed his daughter on what she had heard and explained what she didn't understand.

"I loved it," Mrs. Post recalls. "I wasn't 10 years old when I began to attend these meetings."

By the age of 17, when she graduated from Mount Vernon Seminary here in Washington, Marjorie Post knew every secret formula of the Postum Cereal Co. foods and how the factory machines operated, too.

After the death of her father in 1914, she became the owner and operator of the Postum Cereal Co. She was a 27-year-old wife and mother at the time.

The Post name adorned cereal boxes on most pantry shelves as schoolchildren munched their Post Toasties or their Grape-Nuts and as their parents sipped their morning Postum.

In the years ahead, Marjorie Post cannily expanded her company's place in the American food market far beyond the breakfast table.

MAGIC WORD WAS FROZEN

A frozen goose was destined to lay the golden egg for Mrs. Post's company.

The goose was served on board one of her yachts while she and her second husband, Ed Hutton, were tied up at Gloucester, Mass., for provisioning. It was so tender and had such an unusually good flavor that Mrs. Post immediately descended to the galley to ask the ship's chef about it.

The cook said he had bought the goose from a small plant on shore where the owner had the novel idea of freezing food fast for longtime preservation. The goose had been frozen for many months.

Mrs. Post insisted that she and Ed Hutton, who was on the board of directors of her company, go ashore and interview the plant owner. His name was Clarence Birdseye.

She was tremendously impressed by Birdseye's idea, but her husband wasn't. At that time—the year 1926—Birdseye and his Frosted Foods were on the verge of bankruptcy. The plant could have been picked up for a bargain two million dollars.

It was a good three years before Mrs. Post convinced her board of directors—and her husband—that investment in Birdseye was a good thing. In the meantime, Birdseye weathered the financial storms that had beset him. Three years later the Postum Cereal Co. had to pay him 10 times what he had originally asked to buy him out.

After the Postum Cereal Company took over Birdseye's Frosted Foods, the name of the company was changed to the General Foods Corporation.

The corporation kept adding other products such as Jello, Maxwell House Coffee, Minute Tapioca, Swan's Down Cake Flour, Baker's Chocolate, Sanka, etc.

But Mrs. Post's intuition about frosted foods and their quick and easy answer to the housewife's question about what to have for dinner brought the corporation astronomical dividends.

Mrs. Post did an astute salesmanship job for these new foods half way around the world when she accompanied her third husband, Ambassador Davies, to the American Embassy in Moscow in 1936.

She shipped 25 store-size freezer units of the new frosted foods to the embassy and served an all-frozen menu at her first embassy dinner party. The Russian guests scarcely touched their plates.

After dinner, the hostess discovered her guests were afraid of what they supposed to be "cold storage" products.

"Let me show you the difference between frosted foods and the old-fashioned cold storage dishes," she said, and led the way to the embassy basement. There the Soviet women lifted the packets from the freezers and examined them.

Their hostess was so persuasive that at the Davies' next dinner party, there were no leftovers.

A RETICENT GIVER

Mrs. Post dislikes talking about money. She is reticent about her philanthropies.

She skips over lightly her service to her own and other countries during two World Wars and her help to her fellow Americans during the depression years.

But it is now a matter of record that in World War I, she financed the largest base hospital in France, equipped it with 2000 beds.

In World War II, she helped to raise millions of dollars for Belgian Relief.

For the six years of depression, she fed 1000 people a day two hot meals in New York City under the personal anonymity of the Salvation Army. This was no bread-line, soup kitchen operation. She insisted that the hungry be seated at tables with table cloths.

A LOVE FOR MUSIC

She is prouder of what she has done for young people, probably, than of any of her other philanthropies.

She has a framed map at Hillwood, dotted with hundreds of towns from coast to coast where more than 100,000 teen-agers have been infected with her own great joy—her love of music. These are the boys and girls who come to Washington each summer and receive free tickets to the Music for Young America Concerts begun 10 years ago by Washington's National Symphony Orchestra.

She was at a meeting of the National Symphony board when this youth series was first proposed, and she quietly said she would be the angel for the concerts. All in all, she has given the National Symphony more than a million dollars.

[Editorial from the Washington Post,
Mar. 15, 1967]

Best Wishes

People who have seen Marjorie Merriweather Post lately or who looked at the color photograph of her in this newspaper last Sunday are unlikely to believe that she is celebrating her 80th birthday today. There is so much robust good health, vitality and charm about her beauty that one can hardly think of her as elderly at all. Although she is not a native Washingtonian, she belongs here by every test of affection and participation in the community's life.

Mrs. Post is what is known, at least in the vernacular, as an angel. She is the angel who, for a decade past, has picked up the check for the children's concerts of the National Symphony Orchestra. She is the angel who has helped, with quiet, steady generosity, to sustain the symphony and the opera and other local musical endeavors in all their normal activities. She has been an examplar of good deeds to the Boy Scouts. In short, she has been so cheerful and ready a patroness of so many good works in this community that all Washingtonians, we think, will want to join in expressing gratitude and congratulations to her on this happy birthday.

Mrs. Merriweather Post

Marjorie Merriweather Post was born March 5, 1887, Springfield, Illinois, daughter of Charles William and Ella (Merriweather) Post, both of whom were natives of Springfield. The family moved to Fort Worth, Texas, December 1887 where they resided until 1891 when they re-moved to Battle Creek, Michigan. Mr. Post was the inventor and founder of Postum Cereal Co., Ltd., products, (now General Foods Corp.). Marjorie Post spent her girlhood in Battle Creek, Washington, D.C. and in world travel.

Mrs. Merriweather Post has 7 grandchildren and 8 great-grandchildren.

Curriculum Vitae of Marjorie Merriweather Post

SCHOLASTIC

Elementary—Battle Creek, Michigan, public school. Mount Vernon Seminary and Junior College, 1904.

HONORARY DEGREES

Litt. D., Long Island University, 1955. LL. D. Hobart & William Smith College, 1958. L. H. D. Bucknell University, 1962.

EXECUTIVE

Owner & Operator, Postum Cereal Co., Ltd. (1914–1922). Member Board of Directors, General Foods Corporation (1936–1958). Director Emeritus, General Foods Corporation (1958–). First Alumna Trustee; First Life Trustee of Board, Mount Vernon Seminary. Member of Board of Executive Committee and Member of Board of Directors, National Symphony, Washington, D.C. Member of Board of Executive Committee, Washington Chapter, American Red Cross. Member of Board of National War Funds, Inc., World War II (1943–46). Chairman, National Women's Council, U.S. Flag Association, 1933. Member of Board of Directors, National Savings & Trust, Washington, D.C. 1959. Member of Advisory Committee, National Cultural Center (by President Eisenhower) 1959.

MEMBER

Member, Delegation to Washington to consult with Woodrow Wilson in 1917 to gain Women's Suffrage. Member of Council, Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D.C. Member, Fellows of Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia. Member, Board of Directors, Good Samaritan Hospital, Palm Beach, Florida. Fellow, American University, Department of Music. Member, Board of Directors, Washington National Ballet Foundation, Inc. Member, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, 1965.

CITATIONS

American Museum of Natural History. Life Member, 1923.

Award of Merit for "Figurehead Design," Yacht Sea Cloud, 1932 (Italy).

U.S. Navy for use of "Sea Cloud" World War II, awarded 1948.

American Symphony Orchestra League Award for sponsorship of "Music for Young America," presentation, Providence, R.I., 1956.

Washington Board of Trade Award for Music in Nation's Capital, 1957.

South Plains Council of Boy Scouts of America, in appreciation for gift of Scout Camp near Post, Texas, 1957.

The People of Garza County, Texas, Golden Jubilee Award, 1957.

American National Red Cross, Certificate of Appreciation, 1957.

District of Columbia Education Association, for notable services in the field of education, 1958.

American National Red Cross for services Fund Campaign, 1960.

National Society, Children American Revolution, for Practical Realism, 1960.

American National Red Cross, Volunteer Service Certificate for Staff Assistance Palm Beach County Chapter, Issued Washington, D.C., 1942.

C. W. Post College, Long Island, N.Y., Patroness & Benefactress, 1960.

Golden Anniversary Award, National Capital Area Council & Boy Scouts of America, 1960.

Federation of Women's Clubs for Philanthropic Achievement, 1958.

Variety Club, Tent #1, for interest in 7 Lively Arts, Pittsburgh, 1961.

American National Red Cross, in appreciation of Volunteer Service, 1962.

Life Member, Greater Southeast Community Hospital Foundation, 1962.

Trustees of Washington Ballet Guild, American Ballet Theatre, 1962.

Smithsonian Institution for the presentation of the Napoleon-Marie Louise Necklace, 1962.

American National Red Cross in appreciation for volunteer services in World War I, presented Washington, D.C., 1963.

Metropolitan Police Boys Club, Member of the Year, 1963.

National Federation of Music Clubs, Citation Award for contribution to Musical, Cultural and Artistic Life, Pittsburgh Conv., April 1963.

American Federation of Musicians for Distinguished Service in behalf of Live Music and Musicians, April 1963.

Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians & Jews, 1963.

Friends of American University award, "Patron" 1963–1964.

American National Red Cross, D.C. Chapter, for Loyalty & Devotion, 1964.

Honorary Fellow, Smithsonian Institution, 1964.

Honor List, National Society of Interior Designers, for Distinguished Design (International Award), May 1965.

Honorary Citizen of Florida, Resolution passed by Florida State Legislature, June 1965.

DECORATIONS BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Cross of Honor, Order of Adolph de Nassau, Luxembourg, 27 Nov. 1939.

Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, Belgium, 29 November 1939.

Commander of the Order of Juan Puablo Duarte, Dominican Republic, February 1946.

Officer of the Order of the Crown, Belgium, 28 June 1947.

Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, France, 7 April 1957.

Chevalier, Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil, 12 December 1958.

HEREDITARY SOCIETIES

Daughters of the American Revolution.
Vermont Society of the Colonial Dames.
Daughters of Founders & Patriots.

James Towne Society (Descendants of Founders).

Descendants of Colonial American Clergy.

The Daughters of the Barons of Runnemede.

Living Descendants of Blood Royal (in America) listed 1963.

World Nobility & Peerage, listed 1962.

Descendants of the Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London).

PHILANTHROPIES

Equipped No. 8 Base Hospital (2000) beds, Savenay, France, World War I.

Maintained food kitchens in the slums of New York, operated by Salvation Army, 1929–1935.

Vice Chairman, Emergency Unemployment Drive, N.Y. City (1929–1935).

Hon. Chairman, Parcels for Belgian Prisoners & Parcels for Belgium, 1940–44.

Benefactress, D.C. Chapter Boy Scouts of America, Building Fund, August 1955, Etc.

Sponsorship of "Music for Young America," since 1956.

Co-Participant with Post Division, General Foods Corporation (et al.) in building C. W. Post Athletic Field, Battle Creek, 1961.

Benefactress, "Merriweather Post" Boy Scout camp site, Woodrow Wilson Reservation, Lorton, Virginia.

Benefactress, C. W. Post College, Long Island University.

Private and personal educational and assistance funds.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I would like to take occasion to associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Maryland. I have known Mrs. Post for many, many years. She is a great lady in every sense of the word. While her late husband, my dear friend, Ambassador Joe Davies, was alive, I spent many happy times with them both. I am delighted that the junior Senator from Maryland, the grandson of Ambassador Joe Davies, has taken this occasion to call the Senate's attention to the contribution of Mrs. Post.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I would like to join with the distinguished Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] in his tribute to Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post on the occasion of her 80th birthday.

He speaks with the best knowledge of her qualities, for he is her grandson. But, I am one of the hundreds who have had the occasion to know her and to learn something of her outstanding contributions to every community in which she has lived, and to our country.

She has contributed to hundreds of worthwhile causes—charitable, educational, and the arts.

Her works shine out in her character, in her goodness, and in her face. She is young, on this birthday, and for her—life and its opportunities for good are still ahead.

VAST IMPROVEMENT IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in this morning's Washington Post, reporter Joseph Alsop writes of the vast improvements made in Vietnam as the result of the rollback of Vietcong forces. He tells of traveling roads until recently in Vietcong hands, of seeing beachbound traffic out of Saigon on a sunny Sunday morning, and of conversations with Americans and Vietnamese who attest to the immense progress made in recent months. It is a column which, perhaps, understates its case, in fact, because Mr. Alsop's journey to Phuhoi, which it relates, sounds like a trip through the countryside neighboring Washington almost as much as it sounds like what it is—a trip through a wartorn area beginning to show the signs of recovery.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Alsop's column be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Matter of Fact: Journey to Phuhoi

(By Joseph Alsop)

Longtan, Bienhoa Province, Vietnam.—"It's about back to where it was in 1963." The speaker was one of the wisest Americans in Vietnam, with a wearily long experience of the war here.

Although it will not sound wildly optimistic to the uninitiated, what he said was a claim of immense progress. It meant, in fact, that the Vietcong have now lost all the enormous, nearly fatal gains they made in the last catastrophic months of President Ngo Dinh Diem and in the even more catastrophic aftermath of poor Diem's fall and death.

It meant, too, that the Vietcong must now be suffering from all the grave morale and other difficulties that a major rollback causes for any guerrilla movement. No such progress had been visible six months ago. But the sole answer to an expression of surprise was a laconic, "Go see."

So two young foreign service officers took this reporter to see on a brilliant Sunday morning. The traffic out of Saigon called to mind the road to Jones Beach on a good weekend. It was much the same, too, for one of my companions explained that the road to the marvelous beach at Vungtau was now open for the use of all. They checked over half a dozen other major roads that had also opened in the last months.

The disappearance of the VC checkpoints, taxation stations and ambushes for holdup purposes, the abandonment of the old, continuous road sabotage where no taxes were to be collected, certainly seemed to mean rollback. So did the atmosphere at the Catlai Ferry, which used to be a quiet, watchful place because it was on the fringe.

With bougainvillea blooming in every shade of orange, salmon, rose-pink and magenta above the little shops, with the shops full of cheerful people taking a late breakfast, and with the waiting ferry passengers gossiping with all the sundry, Catlai was downright festive. One of the reasons lay in the answer to a visiting priest's question by one of the omnipresent Lambretta jitney drivers.

These men are pointers to the future. They now provide wonderfully cheap internal transport for the whole of South Vietnam; and their tricycle Lambrettas with jitney bodies superposed are one of several local inventions that suggest how skillfully the Vietnamese will come to terms with the modern world when they are left in peace to do so. The Lambretta drivers also know the countryside better than anyone. This one proclaimed with a grin: "No more VC since three months!"

He was exaggerating a bit, however, as we learned when we reached the headquarters of Nhontrach District. What he meant was that last December, as one of the first steps in the South Vietnamese army's newly assumed pacification role, a battalion of the 18th South Vietnamese Division had come into this district, with most somber but not final results for the VC.

Another result of this battalion's occupation of the big, very rich strongly VC controlled village of Phuhoi has been an entanglement of battalion, province, district and police responsibilities that resembles nothing so much as an octopus with noncooperating arms.

The new experiment has its sadly weak points, in fact, as we learned from the three Americans who are, so to say embraced in the arms of the octopus.

These are most impressive Negro officer, Maj. Edward Tompkins, who is a district adviser; young David Kenney of Washington, D.C., who represents the American civilian apparatus in the district, and the ARVN Battalion adviser, Capt. Horace Taylor.

They were frank about the problems, which were not small. But they were proud, too, of the progress already made, which has been very great, Maj. Tompkins began by pointing out that the VC reserve of active guerrillas in Nhontrach District had dropped by two thirds, from around 600 four months ago to 200 or less today.

"And they're mostly in the hamlets on the eastern fringe of the district where we haven't tried to dislodge the VC as yet," he said.

Then the districts tally of Chieu Hoi—defectors from the VC network—has abruptly risen from no more than two per month to just under 40 per month. And in Phuhoi village and all the rich rice plain round about, the population has more than doubled because of the new security provided by the government.

It remained to see Phuhoi village itself. The sights along the way were enough to justify the journey. At one moment, there was the drama of an American tractor blithely driven by a very young GI. It was stripping the jungle in great lumbering toboggan slides, from an almost perpendicular hillside which had once served as a favorite VC ambush point. There was a now lost VC rest and recreation camp on the ridge behind.

At another moment there was drama of the great church at Phuhoi, where Mass was said last Christmas Day for the first time in six years. And at another moment there was the wonderful spectacle of Phuhoi's jolly marketplace, filled with laughing people come to see a play that was to be put on by a troupe of itinerant actors.

In the end, young Kenney brought us to Longtan, always over roads that could not be traveled without heavy escort a few months ago. There was a flyspecked roadside restaurant that rather unexpectedly produced a delicious meal including ragout of wild boar.

There was much talk, by no means "Pollyannaish" yet soberly confident, about all the things remaining to be done.

And so one had gone and seen, as urged.

URANIUM MINE SAFETY

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, last year Congress passed the Federal Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Act. This body can thank the dedicated efforts of my able friend, the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], who was chairman of the subcommittee hearings; my friend and wise counselor on labor matters, the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who managed the bill on the floor; and the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], who has always showed great interest and remarkable understanding of the problems in this difficult and little-considered area.

As in all matters regarding safety, we never act too soon; but I had hopes that we were not acting too late. I was therefore disturbed to read in the Washington Post, of March 9, that there are miners who are incurably ill as a result of working in our uranium mines. The use of uranium is largely due to the work of the Atomic Energy Commission in promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy as well as its activities in helping to protect our Nation. For this reason, we should be especially vigilant in protecting our citizens from injury caused by radioactive matter.

I have today written the Secretary of the Interior, whose responsibility it is under the Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Act to promote health and safety in mines, to ask what action he has taken, or is about to take in regard to this problem. I will inform the Senate further when I receive his reply.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the Washington Post article of March 9, 1967, an editorial published in that newspaper on March 10, and my letter to Secretary Udall of March 10, 1967.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CANCER: URANIUM MINE OCCUPATIONAL HAZARD—HIDDEN CASUALTIES OF ATOM AGE EMERGE

(By J. V. Reistrup)

NUCLA, COLO., March 8.—This is probably the last spring John Morrill will ever see, because he is dying of lung cancer.

He is dying of lung cancer because he was a uranium miner.

The 56-year-old Morrill, who lives in this small community on the Western Slope of the Rockies with his wife Irene, is one of the hidden casualties of the atomic age, one of the dozens who have died or will die because they worked in underground uranium mines.

The Atomic Energy Commission has maintained controls over the later steps of producing fuel for nuclear bombs and power plants, but the Commission decided years ago that it did not have jurisdiction over the places where uranium is taken out of the ground.

Until the last few years, the states did not exercise much control either. A U.S. Public Health Service study indicates that more than half the men among 3000 studied have been overexposed to radiation in underground uranium mines.

The study group is a "pretty fair cross section" of the 10,000 men who have probably put in time in such mines, according to Duncan Holaday, chief of the Public Health Service occupational health field station at Salt Lake City.

"The only thing that has saved us from a real calamity is that many of these people work only two, three, four years" in underground uranium mines, Holaday said.

John Morrill may be the 50th or 51st miner to be recorded as dying of cancer because of exposure in the underground mines, depending on whose figures you take.

"There'll be more," said Holaday. "We haven't seen them all."

Dr. Victor E. Archer, physician at the Salt Lake field station who has headed the medical study of lung cancer among uranium miners, points out that it most often takes between 17 and 20 years between the start of mining and the start of lung cancer.

The peak of uranium production and the employment of miners in this country came in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

When lung cancer does appear, it is usually fatal.

Holaday, Dr. Archer and their colleagues say the cause is radon daughters in mines.

Radon gas is one of the links in the chain of radioactive decay as uranium turns bit by bit into lead. This gas breaks down into the forms called radon daughters, which are short-lived but deadly with alpha radiation.

If a man breathes moisture particles or dust bearing even tiny amounts of radon daughters, he is likely to keep a substantial portion in his system.

The effects are cumulative. The longer a man works in a mine with a high level of radon daughters, the more chance he will have of developing respiratory cancer.

The deadly effects of radon daughters have been known for decades in scientific literature.

Two mines in Central Europe have been worked since 1500—one at Joachimsthal, now in Czechoslovakia, and the other at Schneeberg, now in East Germany. They were mined first for silver, later for other minerals.

The mines had long been studied because of the high death rate of the men who worked them.

By the 1930s, it was estimated that as many as 70 per cent of the miners at Joachimsthal and Schneeberg had died of lung cancer. Further, it was established fairly clearly that radon daughters were to blame. But authorities were slow in making the link for uranium mines.

In 1949, Holaday went to the wooden, two-story World War II barracks near Salt Lake that still serve as the occupational health field station for 13 Western states. He became chief in 1955.

The field station began studies on the problem, sometimes dipping into funds meant to go to other purposes in order to do it.

The staff there developed detection equipment that could measure the amount of radon daughters in mines and gradually won acceptance, in principle if not in practice, of a maximum working level of radiation inside the mines that should not be exceeded.

The way to keep radiation down is through ventilation, the same means that other mine operators can use to keep silica dust down and thus save their miners from silicosis. Fans and ducts can keep radon daughters from congregating.

Since 1960, the five states that mine 90 per cent of the Nation's uranium—New Mexico, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Arizona—have been more active in keeping down the radiation levels within the mines, by monitoring them and closing down the worst offenders until better ventilation is provided.

Records show 39 per cent of the mines below the maximum working level for 1965, for example, and by 1966 the percentage rose to 44.

The majority are operating at above the working level, however, and in each year a couple of mines turned up with more than ten times the recommended maximum.

Theoretically, this means that a man working in one of these mines could receive more radiation in a single year than a man in a mine with adequate ventilation would receive in ten years.

Last year, Congress expressed its concern in the Federal Mine and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Act. This requires the Secretary of the Interior to develop and enforce health and safety standards and to approve or disapprove state plans to set standards.

In effect, this means that the states get a chance to set up adequate controls; if they are judged to have fallen short, the Federal Government can step in.

To help in drawing up the standards, the Interagency Federal Radiation Council has scheduled a staff meeting Thursday in Washington with representatives of the states, organized labor, industry and the Public Health Service.

"We do have people who are making an

earnest effort to solve their problems, get control," Holaday said, but "I think that eventually you run out of these people and you get down to people who are willing to compete on the basis of [reducing] health and safety.

The standards will come too late "for a lot of people," Holaday said. But there are predictions that by 1980 the growing popularity of nuclear power plants will call for twice as much yearly production as the previous record, he said, and the controls would protect miners during the next boom.

The small mines, or "dogholes," are the hardest to control. They may be operated by as few as two men, who lease the land from a big company and then sell their output to it. Often the men involved are not aware of the radon daughter hazard, and it may not be a big source of worry anyway.

"Somebody like that you are not going to find very interested in something that's going to happen 30 years from today if he isn't worried about a rock falling on his head today," Holaday said.

John Morrill used to be like that. He started uranium mining in about 1941 or 1942 and he mined most of the time until 1965, about ten years of that time in leased dogholes.

John Morrill tends to be fatalistic.

"If I hadn't been working in the mines, I might have been here a lot longer—maybe; I don't know." But then, he adds, he might have been killed in a car accident.

If he had it to do over again, would he go back in the mines?

"I probably would. I probably wouldn't have no better sense. That's the way I look at it.

"But I don't know if I'd go in the uranium mines or not. But if I was going in again, I'd have a lot more insurance."

Fatalism or not, there are some things John Morrill cannot understand about his case. He cannot see why the State is holding off on paying his claim for compensation insurance for a work-related illness. Colorado may be the only state that has paid such claims for uranium miners' lung cancer, but the money, generally about $12,000, usually goes to widows after the miner has died.

He does not understand his company, the Union Carbide Corp.

"Even the company fights it. I can't figure it out. Work for them all those years and they don't want to pay it."

John Morrill quit school at 15 back in Amesbury, Mass., and he does not understand the American system of adversary justice, which holds that truth can be served only by lawyers' firing barrages of briefs and affidavits and expert witnesses at each other.

He may not even know that Union Carbide has a good record in making sure its mines are ventilated now.

John Morrill also does not understand why cancer did not show up in physical examinations until it was too late.

But very few people know about John Morrill, or care what he thinks. It was hard to get directions to the house he rents in little Nucla even though he has lived here five years.

The problem of the uranium miners just has not caught on, "something like the Turks massacring the Armenians," health aide Holaday said. But let a little radioactive waste get into drinking water, Holaday added, and the public says: "That's me."

Bureaucratic Cancer

The Atomic Energy Commission in the 1950s was in such haste to buy uranium for bombs that it largely ignored the then-unknown radiation hazards to the miners. Some 50 miners have now died of radiation-induced lung cancer and perhaps 5000 more have suffered an over-exposure, according to Public Health Service estimates reported by J. V. Reistrup of this newspaper. Since it takes 10 years or so after over-exposure for lung cancer to mature, the final death toll cannot yet be known.

Meanwhile, despite some progress in ventilating the mines and taking other precautions, some 56 per cent of the mines operating in 1966 in the five chief uranium-producing states recorded radiation over the PHS's recommended "working level." And the United States Government is now only at the point of planning to "initiate" effective Federal controls.

The AEC says miners' health was not in its jurisdiction but in that of the states yet the AEC could have chosen to buy uranium only or first from safe mines, and it could have brought the matter urgently to the attention of Congress. The PHS had and has no important initiative or muscle; a dedicated local officer in Utah, Duncan Holaday, was forced to snitch funds for radiation studies from other projects. The states were too responsive to the mining companies. The companies and individual miners were out to dig uranium and sell it at a profit.

What an appalling performance all around. Every day the Federal Government now delays in solving this problem, another miner may get lung cancer.

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare,
March 10, 1967.

Hon. Stewart L. Udall,
Secretary of Interior,
Department of Interior,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: Last year the Congress passed and the President signed into law the Federal Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Act, which empowers you to develop and promulgate health and safety standards for the purpose of the protection of life, the promotion of health and safety, and the prevention of accidents in mines.

On March 9, 1967 the Washington Post ran a front-page story on lung cancer caused by working in uranium mines which disturbs me greatly. What is being done to eliminate such hazardous conditions? Is there anything further the Congress can do to insure that from this time forth uranium miners will be able to work in safety? Are you acting with sufficient incisiveness and dispatch to insure that regulations are being promptly promulgated and enforced?

I hope that you will give this matter your personal and prompt attention. Especially in an industry which has been fostered by the Federal government, we cannot stand idly by while the lives of our fellow citizens are endangered.

Sincerely,
Ralph W. Yarborough,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Labor.

SKIING IN THE TETONS OF WYOMING

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in this week's Life magazine, associate editor Frank Kappler writes of skiing in the Tetons of Wyoming, at the new and exciting Jackson Hole Ski area. If Mr. Kappler's ski review makes it sound exciting, that is because, in all truth, this is an exciting area, with the greatest vertical drop of any American ski run, served by the Nation's greatest aerial tramway. But we in Wyoming, while paying due respect to these manmade wonders, are apt to agree with Mr. Kappler that "the peak's the thing."

Mr. President, the Life article speaks pretty well for itself in stressing the accomplishment which the developers of Jackson Hole Ski area have achieved, working with incomparable mountains. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Ski Drama With a Big Third Act—Skiing in the Tetons

As a skier I have always wanted to review a mountain as a work of art. The usual critique of a ski mountain describes it in commercial terms—lift capacity, instructors' racing records, lodge facilities. This is like a theater critic reviewing the orange-drink concession at a new play. A true skier knows what is at the heart of his art. It's the mountain. The peak's the thing.

Other works of art engage at most one or two of the senses: a book's appeal is to the mind, a painting's to the eye. Musical theater pleases the eye and ear, a fine wine taste and smell. But skiing a high mountain is all of it: landscapes by the greatest of masters, sudden aroma of spruce, warm rocks, new snow, the vanilla taste of icy air sucked in fast, the cut of wind or kiss of sun on skin, the many sounds of music that mountains make. And if you're lucky, the sound of utter silence.

I have just attended a spectacular production at Jackson Hole, Wyo., west of the Continental Divide. It is a table-flat valley from whose western side erupt the jagged pinnacles of the Grand Tetons. It required a producer with big thoughts to turn a Teton into a skiing extravaganza, and Paul McCollister, a Californian, has done it. The nation's greatest aerial tramway lets skiers step out onto the 10,446-foot summit of Rendezvous Peak and then shoot down its slopes, via every combination of bowls, ridges and ravines, through miles of apparently bottomless high-altitude powder, to the valley floor. The drop is the greatest of any lift-served mountain in America.

For the skier who has caught the morning's first tram, when the big car is still silver with the night's frost, the snow fields that drop away on all sides are trackless. The danger of avalanches, which always exists when deep snows lie on steep open slopes, has been averted by a reveille barrage of 75-mm rifles, 105-mm mountain howitzers and some fixed charges which shook down every slope that might slide. (And shook this former mountain trooper out of his sleep reaching for the zipper of a nonexistent sleeping bag.)

You look down on six square miles of ski terrain. The massif is six and a half miles across, from the gigantic shoulder called Ship's Prow to the subpeak called Après Vous, where the beginner can find a slope to suit him. But the expert, like the theatergoer, must make a choice. What will it be, a poetry reading? A revue? A thriller? The crisp air suggests a thriller, and riding on wind-ridged hardpack toward Ship's Prow, in a counterclockwise swing, he drops instantly into the unbroken powder of Rendezvous Bowl—and Act One starts with a bang. The bowl is an almost treeless immensity whose headwall and sides are so steep that the shallowest of traverses within seconds produces breath-grabbing speeds.

Legs quivering, he shoots from the bottom of the bowl across the peak's forward scarp, riding a traversing lip a ski length wide with a rock wall to the left, thin air to the right. A sharp turn left and he emerges high on another almost vertical headwall, cutting across it on a catwalk—a mere horizontal path which the tracked vehicle called Sno-Cat makes where normal cats would sensibly refuse to set foot. He enters the mammoth bowl of a glacial cirque where he loses another half thousand feet of altitude linking turns down the untracked headwall, across the floor and down through another bowl. Now he is on the racecourse that you will see in next week's news of the Wild West Classic, the last meet of this year's World Cup circuit.

The set changes for Act Two but the breathtaking pace continues. He is still 8,000 feet up. The tops of Engelmann spruces and half-buried aspen groves slip by him, canted crazily; snow-steeped ridges dangle toward the valley like the legs of giants. At the foot of a drop like the outrun of a ski-jump he stops on a knoll and gulps for air, heart pounding. This must be the gnale. But a glance over the sheer side: the valley station and its cluster of chalets are still toy-sized. That pitch was just the second-act curtain.

Most mountains have a weak third act. Here, two thirds of the way down, where most runs start gentling off, this Teton continues to go down sheer. Hissing through powder still fluffy, the skier skins down the sides of spruce-pocked ridges between glacial ravines, onto the precipitous bald ridge, running almost to the valley station. This is the World Cup slalom course—and the last act curtain comes down on a proper Agatha Christie ending to this thriller.

U.S. VIETNAM POLICIES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on February 17, 1967, I made a speech at the University of New Mexico on the subject "U.S. Vietnam Policies." I ask unanimous consent that my speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. VIETNAM POLICIES

In this critical period of our country's history, the American people are not well informed about the facts concerning our foreign policy in Asia. Fiction, propaganda, concealment of behind-the-scene diplomatic and other activities of government officials, and a shroud of government secrecy have withheld from the American people the facts about our foreign policy to which they are entitled.

I plan to talk today about the early history leading to our involvement in the war in Asia. I do it in part because there are many who say it is no longer important as to how we became involved. They point out that because we are in and American troops are being wounded and killed in increasing numbers, we should escalate the war to whatever degree is necessary to force a surrender.

Their assumption, of course, is that a surrender will produce a peace. They forget that the historic sequences leading to U.S. involvement are well known in many capitals of the countries of the world, both communist and free. They forget also that a surrender table in Asia will never become a peace table but only a truce table. They refuse to face up to the advice of many authorities on Asia that forcing a surrender on American terms may very well end the major shooting for a time, while the resulting aggravated anti-American public opinion throughout Asia regroups and retrenches for the ultimate elimination of all American intervention in Asian affairs.

The historic sequences that produced our country's military involvement in Asia bears a direct cause-to-effect relationship to any settlement of the war. Those events are certain to influence the thinking of those who finally sit down to a negotiating table.

If that table is bilateral in nature with the U.S. and our co-combatants on one side of the table and the communists on the other, only a truce is likely to come forth because of the rigid positions solidified on each side according to their respective interpretations of those events.

If, on the other hand, the table is a tri-party table with the U.S. and our co-combatants on one side, the communists on the other, and at the head of the table the representatives of the non-combatant nations of the world calling the shots, so to speak, by presenting reasonable, equitable terms of settlement, then I believe that there can be hope for a peace settlement. I say "hope" provided the combatants on both sides are willing to recede from their historic mistakes. I think we have to admit that every nation in the world now has a vested stake in ending the Vietnam war. This should be obvious because if it is not soon ended, the escalation threatens to develop into an all-Asian war with Russia finally becoming involved. If that day should come, World War III is upon us.

It is my view that the U.S. has lost its right to insist upon a bilateral negotiating table. It is to be noted that the offers of the Administration to negotiate are based upon two premises which are unacceptable to our adversaries: first, that the negotiations should be bilateral in nature between the combatants, and second, that they shall be conducted on the condition precedent that there shall be acceptance by the enemy of the existence of two Vietnam governments—South as well as North.

The possibilities of successful negotiations of a peace treaty based upon those two premises are remote. It may very well be that a surrender truce on a bilateral basis can be forced upon the enemy if we kill more and more people, both military and civilians, while we continue our scorched-earth policy with increasing inhumanity. Of course, even this possibility depends on China's not coming into the war. We should not count on it.

HISTORY OF U.S. POLICY IN VIETNAM

One cannot review the history of American policy in Indochina, and later Vietnam, without concluding that the U.S. Government wanted France to stay there; and that when that failed, we took up where France left off.

We refused to sign the Geneva Agreement, which took France out of Indo China. Our refusal gave fair indication of our intention to stay on and carry out the French role there alone.

In ten years' time, we have effectively established a United States protectorate over South Vietnam. When our first choice of a local ruler proved totally inefficient, we encouraged his overthrow. I say "encouraged" because the extent of the American participation in the coup that overthrew Ngo Dinh Diem is still unknown. But it is widely known that not only were Americans in Saigon dissatisfied with the Diem government, but our officials also spread word that we would welcome a change in governments.

High administration officials said publicly that U.S. aid would be reduced unless the Diem government changed its policies. Ambassador Lodge told President Diem that he wanted his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, removed from his positions of office and influence. A resolution introduced in the Senate, with 22 co-sponsors, called for an end to U.S. aid unless the Diem government changed its policies of repression.

When the coup finally came, we quickly welcomed and recognized the new government headed by General Minh. We resumed the aid that had been suspended in order to put pressure on Diem.

It mattered little that 3 months later, another coup deposed General Minh, and installed General Khanh. The Diem, Minh, and Khanh regimes have all ruled South Vietnam only because of heavy financial backing by the United States. When we found one hopelessly incompetent, we have brought about a replacement.

South Vietnam has become a protectorate of the United States. We have made it one, in order to protect what we regard as American interests in Southeast Asia.

U.S. POLICY IN INDOCHINA

Our intentions in this respect are clear, from the history of the French withdrawal. I refer to the memoirs of Anthony Eden, who was British Foreign Secretary in 1954. His volume of memoirs covering this period is entitled "Full Circle."

By late 1953, a new American administration was in office, and the French position in Indochina had slipped still further. In December of 1953, the Vietminh, the Communist-led rebels against the French, had embarked on a new offensive, and Mr. Eden says of it:

"The new offensive was no doubt intended to show the ineffectiveness of the French guarantee to Laos in the recently concluded treaty. It may not have succeeded in this purpose, but it did serve to arouse concern for the future of the French military position. This concern, and fears of Chinese intervention, were becoming particularly acute in the United States. On December 29, Mr. Dulles told a press conference that in the event of an invasion of Indochina, the American reaction 'would not necessarily be confined to the particular theater chosen by the Communists for their operations'. On January 12, 1954, after proclaiming the doctrine of instant retaliation, Mr. Dulles gave warning that Chinese intervention would have 'grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina'. These admonitions did not seem to me on the mark. I did not believe that any Chinese intervention was imminent; there was no need for it. The Vietminh were doing well enough as it was. More practically, the view was already being canvassed in the American press that the United States should step in to help the French with sea and air power before the military situation deteriorated further."

Secretary Dulles set out to London to discuss an American proposal for a joint Allied intervention in Indochina. From what has been written and related about the position of the United States, Secretary Dulles and Admiral Radford were advocating prompt American intervention of any degree necessary to save the French position. President Eisenhower, whatever his personal views of its wisdom, wanted Congressional authorization and the participation of other countries. So Dulles and Radford both went to London to try to get participation from the British.

Mr. Eden writes that he summarized his own position in writing shortly before the Dulles visit. I quote the British Secretary:

"The U. S. proposal assumes that the threat of retaliation against China would cause her to withdraw aid from the Vietminh. This seems to me a fundamental weakness. There is a distinction between warning China that some specified further action will entail retaliation, which might be an effective deterrent, and calling upon her to desist from action in which she is already engaged. I cannot see what threat would be sufficiently potent to make China swallow so humiliating a rebuff as the abandonment of the Vietminh without any face-saving concession in return. If I am right in this view, the joint warning to China would have no effect, and the coalition would then have to withdraw ignominiously or else embark on warlike action against China.

"Neither blockade nor the bombing of China's internal and external communications, which the U. S. Government appear to have in mind, were considered by our Chiefs of Staff to be militarily effective when these were discussed in connection with Korea. They would, however, give China every excuse for invoking the Sino-Soviet Treaty, and might lead to a world war. Nor should we commit British forces to operations in Indochina."

About this time, American opinion was being explored by Vice President Nixon. In his famous speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in New York City on April 16, 1954, he spoke not for attribution. According to the account in the *New York Times* of April 17, he said that if the French stopped fighting in Indochina and the situation demanded it, the United States would have to send troops to fight the Communists.

"We must take the risk of putting American boys in the fighting" if there was no other way. Those were the words of Richard Nixon in 1954.

Sir Anthony Eden goes on in his memoirs to report on the famous Winston Churchill conference in London with John Foster Dulles in April, 1954. Eden writes:

"The Americans had therefore proposed that the United States and the United Kingdom Governments should give the French a joint assurance that they would join in the defense of Indochina, and that, as an earnest of this, they should be given immediate military assistance, including token British participation. I told the Prime Minister that I disagreed both with the American belief that such intervention could be effective and with the view that it could be limited to the use of air forces. I doubted whether intervention would have any substantial effect in rallying public opinion in Indochina, and I was certain that it would not be welcomed by nationalist opinion in Southeast Asia generally. Militarily, I did not believe that the limited measures contemplated by the United States could achieve substantial results; no military aid could be effective unless it included ground troops.

"Sir Winston summed up the position by saying that what we were being asked to do was to assist in misleading Congress into approving a military operation, which would in itself be ineffective, and might well bring the world to the verge of a major war.

"We agreed that we must therefore decline to give any undertaking of military assistance to the French and Indochina."

The Dulles mission failed. Dulles failed to draw the British into a U.S. plan to start a major military operation in Indochina.

THE GENEVA AGREEMENT

We cannot ignore that history. The failure of Dulles to get the British to go along in a war in Indochina of a different type—an Anglo-American war—must be carefully considered when we try to figure out why the United States did not sign the Geneva agreements.

It is my view that we did not sign the Geneva agreements because we did not intend to go along.

During the days of negotiations at Geneva, the tenor of American policy was set by the American General in Saigon who was supervising our military assistance program to the French. By that time our military assistance was paying for 80% of the war's cost. General O'Daniel was quoted by the *New York Times* of July 8, 1954, as saying:

"The war in Indochina can still be won without bringing in a single American soldier to fight. The Vietnamese have ample manpower and even today outnumber the enemy by 100,000 with superior firepower at least in the ratio of 2 to 1 and probably more. And we are ready to assist them in training an adequate national army for the security of their homeland."

But insofar as France was concerned, the war was over. The Geneva Agreement was entered into by France, China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and by representatives of the Indochinese states of Cambodia, Laos, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The United States and the representatives of the remnant of the French colonial government declined to sign the agreement. Specifically, President Eisenhower issued this statement at the conclusion of the conference:

"The United States has not been a belligerent in the war. . . . Accordingly, the United States has not itself been party to or bound by the decisions taken by the conference, but it is our hope that it will lead to the establishment of peace consistent with the rights and needs of the country concerned. The agreement contains features which we do not like, but a great deal depends on how they work in practice. The United States is issuing at Geneva a statement to the effect that it is not prepared to join in the Conference declaration, but as loyal members of the United Nations, we also say that, in compliance with the obligations and principles contained in Article 2 of the Charter, the United States will not use force to disturb the settlement. We also say that any renewal of Communist aggression would be viewed by us as a matter of grave concern."

The notion that the United States could finance much of the French war effort and then decline to sign the settlement on the ground that we were not a belligerent, whereas Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union were expected to sign and then to assume the responsibility for enforcing the agreement, is one of the great hypocrisies of our policy in Vietnam. It is not lost upon the rest of the world, even though most of the American people are unaware of it.

Nor did the Saigon government adhere to the agreement. It was now headed by Ngo Dinh Diem, a Vietnamese who sat out the war for independence. While in New York and Washington, he developed connections with high U.S. officials, particularly in the Central Intelligence Agency, who were of the opinion that he could still salvage a pro-Western government in the section of Vietnam that was assigned to the French for grouping of forces prior to withdrawal.

Yet the Geneva Agreement said of the division of Vietnam that the demarcation line at the 17th parallel was to serve no purpose other than the purpose of military regrouping of the hostile forces. Paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration of the Conference stated:

"The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Vietnam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

Paragraph 7 states:

"In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July 1956, under the supervision of the International Control Commission composed of representatives of the Member States of the International Supervisory Commission, referred to in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from 20 July 1955 onward."

Throughout the Agreement, the reference is not to North and South Vietnam as two countries or two governments, but two zones. Foreign military bases and military aid of any kind, other than replacement of equipment already there, was forbidden by the agreement throughout both zones.

U.S. CONTENTION OF AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH IGNORES HISTORICAL FACTS

I suppose that virtually the entire justification for the presence of 350,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam today rests on the contention that South Vietnam is the victim of "aggression from the North." This contention is repeated over and over again by the President, by the Secretary of State, and by all Administration spokesmen on the war. But this repetition always ignores the history of relations between the two zones.

For one thing, the State Department often refers to the 1962 report of the International Control Commission created by the Geneva Agreement and assigned to the policing of the Agreement. In 1962, the ICC found violations by North Vietnam. But our State Department never tells the American people about the violations by South Vietnam, in collusion with the United States, as early as 1956.

One current charge against North Vietnam is that its soldiers were left in the South in violation of the Agreement for the purpose of stirring up trouble in the future. But in February of 1955, the Control Commission found, and I quote:

"Despite difficulties of communication, frayed tempers due to eight years of strife, and differences in the degrees of effectiveness of administration in various parts of Vietnam, the provisions of the Agreement which are of a military or semi-military nature have on the whole been carried out according to the time schedule and directions given in the Agreement. . . . As regards prisoners of war and civilian internees, by and large, the parties have and are carrying out the directions under Article 21, and the bulk of the exchanges have been completed."

In its 1956 report, the ICC reported more difficulty with the Saigon government in carrying out its inspections than with the North Vietnamese regime. It reported that it was not allowed to conduct reconnaissance and control of airfields in South Vietnam. Various recommendations regarding release of civilian internees and prisoners of war and requests for notification of importation of war material and military personnel were not implemented. Under terms of the Agreement, the French were permitted to replace personnel and equipment, but not to increase it. Bernard Fall, perhaps the world's leading expert on modern Indochina, quotes an Indian member of the ICC as having seen U.S. warplanes being landed on an aircraft carrier in sight of Saigon's main thoroughfare and saying of it: "Yes, but officially we have not been informed of the presence of the aircraft carrier."

The 1956 report of the Commission concluded with these words:

"Neither party has fulfilled in their entirety these obligations. As has been revealed in the preceding paragraphs, the degree of cooperation given to the Commission by the two parties has not been the same. While the Commission has experienced difficulties in North Vietnam, the major part of its difficulties has arisen in South Vietnam."

By the time of its 1958 report, the Control Commission was complaining of failure of South Vietnam to notify it of U.S. military aid operations. Again in 1960, it recorded:

"It will be observed that while in North Vietnam the Commission continued to receive, in general, the necessary cooperation, it did not receive the required cooperation in regard to its decision to carry out a reconnaissance of the Bach Mai airfield. The Commission did not receive the required cooperation from the government of South Vietnam in the matter of removal of time notice restrictions on the movement of the mobile elements of the Commission's Fixed Teams, as mentioned in paragraph 45. The Commission, therefore, continues to be forced to restrict its supervision and control in South Vietnam to the extent permitted by the party."

By this time, the restoration of national unity through elections, north and south, had been completely frustrated not by Ho Chi Minh, who full expected to win such elections, but by the Saigon government and the United States, who expected to lose them. On July 16, 1955, the Saigon government announced its refusal to meet with representatives of the North to lay plans for the elections. It used these words:

"The National Government has emphasized time and time again the price it has paid for the defense of the unity of the country and of true democracy. We did not sign the Geneva Agreements. We are not bound in any way by these Agreements, signed against the will of the Vietnamese people. . . . The mission falls to us, the Nationalists, to accomplish the reunification of our country in conditions that are most democratic and most effective to guarantee our independence. The free world is with us. Of this we are certain. . . . To those who live above the 17th Parallel, I ask them to have confidence. With the agreement and the backing of the free world, the National Government will bring you independence in freedom."

Here again, the United States now makes much of the action taken in Hanoi in 1960 to organize a liberation movement in the South; but how many Americans know that, in 1956, Diem was promising to liberate the people of the North, meaning to unite Vietnam under *his* rule, and that in 1958, the Saigon government created the Committee for the Liberation of North Vietnam. By our standards, that would be enough to justify Communist nations in coming from all over the world to help North Vietnam put down an announced attempt on the part of the Saigon government to subvert North Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Agreement.

NATURE OF SOUTH VIETNAM GOVERNMENT

In a recent issue of the *New York Times*, its long-time correspondent in South Vietnam, Neil Sheehan, put forth some of the reasons for his disillusionment with our role in Vietnam. He arrived there in 1962, full, as he said, of confidence in the American purpose and chances of making South Vietnam a better country.

The burden of his article, which appeared in the *New York Times* of October 9, 1966, is to itemize the ways in which we have done no more than replace the French in Vietnam and the ways in which we are destroying much of that country and its people in the name of American security interests.

"It is the tragedy of Vietnam," he writes, "that what began as a war of independence from France developed, as a result of its Communist leadership, into a civil war. Attempts to describe the current war as a geographically based struggle between North and South Vietnam breaks down almost immediately when it is recalled the Premier Ky and several other important members of his government are North Vietnamese by birth, who fled south after the French defeat, while Pham Van Dong, the premier of North Vietnam, was born in the south. The war is, rather, a struggle between different elements of the Vietnamese people as a whole.

"The division of the country into two separate states at the 17th parallel in 1954 was a provisional arrangement ending one scene in the drama. Vietnam's larger political realities extended then and still extend now in both directions across the demarcation line. North Vietnam controls and supports with men and materials the Vietcong guerrillas in the South because the Vietcong leaders, although native Southerners, are members of the Vietnamese communist party and obey orders from the Politburo in Hanoi. In 1958, the late Ngo Dinh Diem organized a Committee for the Liberation of North Vietnam, and since 1960, the Saigon government, with American connivance and aid, has been smuggling saboteurs and commando teams into the North in a so-far vain effort to instigate a guerrilla movement among the Northern Catholics and mountain tribesmen. The opposing sides, in short, have never recognized the 17th parallel as a permanent boundary and have violated the frontier whenever it suited them."

In describing our so-called allies in the south, Sheehan writes of the Saigon government:

"Over the 13 years since 1953, the United States has supplanted France in Vietnam. Yet among the Vietnamese themselves, the two opposing sides have changed little. When France colonized the country in the 19th century, much of this native aristocracy of mandarins drawn from the merchant and landowning families became, in effect, colonial civil servants. During the first Indochina war, these Vietnamese, with a stake in the traditional society which a French presence would preserve, cooperated with France. Now the same Vietnamese, for identical reasons, cooperate with the United States. Air Vice Marshal Ky, the current premier of South Vietnam, was a French pilot. The Deputy premier, Lt. General Co, and other generals in the Saigon military junta, were officers or sergeants in the French colonial forces. Premier Ky and the earlier successors of Bao Dai have also promulgated rent-reduction and land-reform laws at the urging of American advisers eager for social progress. All of these measures have been sabotaged because the regimes were and are composed of men who are members of, or who are allied wtih, mandarin families that held title to properties they have no intention of renouncing. While there are some patriotic and decent individuals among them, most of the men who rule Saigon have, like the Bourbons, learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They seek to retain what privileges they have and to regain those they have lost."

Some of us who have followed events in Vietnam closely for the last ten years can confirm Sheehan's estimate of the so-called reform efforts. Periodically, there is great fanfare given to land and other economic reforms in South Vietnam. But the interesting thing is that we should have reformed the land ownership pattern several times over, if any of these plans had been carried out. A little less than a year ago, the President and Premier Key met in Honolulu, and out of that conference emerged new plans and new funds for land reform. Last fall, out of the Manila Conference, came a new pledge by Ky that land reform will be undertaken. As Sheehan puts it:

"Promises of land reform are solemnly reported in the American press and are apparently taken with some seriousness in official circles in Washington. I have often wondered why, since the promises are never carried out and the speeches made today are practically identical in content and phrasing to those made four years ago by some other government leaders.

"Most non-Communist Vietnamese," he writes, "are incapable, because of the values of the society in which they live, of looking beyond individual and family interests. Their overwhelming concern with 'me and my relatives' deprives the society of a social consciousness Americans take for granted in their own culture and fosters the corruption and nepotism that exist throughout the administration."

Our official efforts to depict the war in Vietnam as a case of aggression by the North against the South is also belied by the fact that the rebellion against Diem was well under way before Hanoi took a direct interest in it. No one has documented this period of the organization of the Vietcong movement better than Bernard Fall, now Professor of History at Howard University. Writing in *Foreign Affairs*, he relates:

'It is likewise very much open to question that the intervention of Hanoi was first evidenced by a terror campaign directed against small South Vietnamese officials. In actual fact, Diem began to become oppressive as early as January, 1956, when a concentration camp ordinance gave the regime almost unchecked power to deal with the opposition—and the non-Communist opposition, least inured to clandestine operations, was hit hardest.

"The decision by Diem to abolish elected village government in June, 1956, did the rest. The hated appointees became a prime target for local resentment and by March, 1958, over 400 had been murdered by guerrillas who indeed, harped on local issues and avoided preaching Marxist doctrine. When it is remembered that there were enough 'local issues' around to cause the South Vietnamese Army itself to try at least three times to murder Diem, it becomes understandable why South Vietnam appeared to Hanoi ripe for plucking."

The repetition of figures showing the number of officials assassinated by the Vietcong, dating back to the Diem government, for some reason seems to omit the murder of Diem himself, his brother, and others of his family, presumably because those who finally succeeded in getting rid of Diem were his own army and not the Vietcong.

In this same article, Fall also describes the individuals and factions that make up the Vietcong, who are not unknown and who are not regarded even by U.S. officials as more than 30% Communist.

"Their background," writes Fall, "shows the normal social background of Vietnamese leadership in general, from medical doctors and pharmacists, to lawyers and even army officers. And they have one remarkable common characteristic which thus far no Saigon government has been able to match: they are all from south of the seventeenth parallel.

"None of the foregoing," he concludes, "justifies Hanoi's claim that the NLF should be the sole legitimate voice of the South Vietnamese people. But nothing justifies the opposite claim, either, to the effect that without Hanoi's full support, the NLF would disappear into thin air like a desert mirage. The Vietcong organization must be treated as what it is—a political force in South Vietnam which cannot be simply blasted off the surface of the earth with B–52 saturation raids, or told to pack up and go into exile to North Vietnam."

PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE

The communique from the Manila Conference cannot afford much realistic hope either for peace or for the future of Vietnam. A key paragraph of the joint communique of October 25 states:

"In particular, they (the participating governments) declared that allied forces are in the Republic of Vietnam because that country is the object of aggression and its government requested support in the resistance of its people to aggression. They shall be withdrawn, after close consultation, as the other side withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides. Those forces will be withdrawn as soon as possible and not later than six months after the above conditions have been fulfilled."

The great paradox in this condition for peace lies first in its departure from our previous position that we would welcome a *mutual*, supervised withdrawal of outside forces from South Vietnam. Now, we require that all North Vietnamese—an estimated 35,000—would first have to withdraw and then, some six month later, the non-South Vietnamese, totalling nearly 400,000, would withdraw.

Second, we are also in the paradoxical position of having put several thousand troops into South Vietnam in order to keep its pro-Western government from falling to the local guerrillas, not to the North Vietnam infiltrators. Again in the words of Neil Sheehan:

"The United States can no longer make any pretense of fighting to safeguard South Vietnam's independence. The presence of 317,000 American troops in the country has made a mockery of its sovereignty and the military junta in Saigon would not last a week without American bayonets to protect it."

This judgment has been made by many reliable authorities on Vietnam, and by diplomatic correspondents, most recently by James Reston. He specifically pointed out that even without help from North Vietnam, the indigenous Southern Vietcong guerrillas had carried on their campaign against Saigon so successfully that large-scale American help had to be brought into the civil war within the South to keep Diem from toppling. It is no doubt intended to be an entirely rhetorical question as to whether U.S. forces could leave, even 6 months after the

Northern infiltrators withdrew. Clark Clifford, special assistant to the President, described this pledge as being aimed not at Hanoi as an inducement to end the war but at other Asian countries who fear we will stay forever in Vietnam.

There has never been any doubt that the military might of the United States could destroy as much of Vietnam, Southeast Asia, and China as we choose to destroy. But that would not insure the establishment of viable governments that will be pro-United States. Even in South Korea, 13 years after the end of the war, we support its government with financial aid, we arm and finance its army of 600,000 men, and on top of that we still keep 50,000 Americans there.

The prospect for Vietnam is the same, only more so. The government of South Vietnam has for 12 years been threatened, not by aggression from abroad but by unrest, dissatisfaction, and revolution at home. By "at home" I mean in South Vietnam as well as in the area encompassed by the two Vietnams.

The elections held in the South last September were to select an assembly to draw up a constitution. But the candidates who ran were all screened first by the government, and their campaign materials and media were furnished by the government. We understand quite well the showcase nature of this practice when we see it in Communist territories—like in North Vietnam. But when the technique is practiced in an American territory, we close our eyes to the implications and we label it "democracy" to make ourselves feel better about the acts we are committing. The elections in fact were a facade of a dictatorship arrangement to fool the people of South Vietnam, of the United States, and of the free world.

Conceivably, this assembly could emerge into a legislative body, or it could draw up a constitution that would have some meaning. But Diem governed South Vietnam in a bloody and repressive rule under a constitution. The constitution died with him. The question is not whether that territory has a paper constitution, but whether there are reforms going on within its society that will make a constitution meaningful.

The signs all point to a very long American occupation of South Vietnam. It will be long because we are there for reasons of American interests, and we will not find it possible to entrust those interests to anyone else, any more than we have been able to do in Germany, or Korea, or Japan. We keep U.S. soldiers by the thousands in those nations because we want them on the spot in case some threat to our interest arises. All these areas have been staked out as affecting the interests of the United States, and we intend to see that they are defended as we want them defended. This is true equally of Vietnam, and in fact, that is the reason we went in there in the first place.

Not until the United States stops trying to impose its political will upon the millions of Vietnamese, both South and North—who for years have been in rebellion against the Mandarin oligarchs now entrenched in South Vietnam under the protection of American guns—will there be any possibility of ending the civil war or any hope for permanent peace with resultant political self-determination for the people of these beleaguered countries.

Not until the American people reverse our government's foreign policy of seeking to implant an American foothold on the mainland of Asia behind the cloak of puppet dictatorships, will the civil strife subside in that war-torn area of the world, and reduce the growing hatred for the United States in increasing numbers of Asian regions.

Not until the American people make clear to our government, through the checking power of their ballots, that American military intervention in Asia must be brought to an end—just as the French people in 1954 made it clear to Mendez-France by their ballots that French blood-letting in the Indochina war must stop—will the United States regain its lost "face" throughout the world.

It is ironical that American advocates of an American war in Asia seek to rationalize our blood-letting by the lame excuse that we must continue to escalate the war until the enemy capitulates, otherwise the United States will lose "face." We have already lost our nation's "face" by covering it up with the ugly mask of Mars.

It will take volumes yet to be written by historians to tell the complete story of events that led up to this war. I have sought only to emphasize that altruism did not lead us into this war. Neither are we justified in this blood-letting because of fictitious references to national motivation based upon defense of freedom; to alleged commitments to a friendly nation; to a national obligation to stop "alleged" communist aggression; to defense-treaty obligation; to the violation of the Geneva Accords by North Vietnam with never a mention of our collaboration with South Vietnam in its many violations, along with North Vietnam, as found by the International Control Commission; nor to all of the rest of the weak excuses which the Administration has given for our being involved in this war which I consider to be an illegal, immoral, and completely unjustifiable American military intervention in Asia.

Whatever disagreements you may have with me, I am sure you will agree with me on one thing. I keep faith with my promise that I ask not for agreement but for thought.

You have given me all any public official is entitled to—a fair, respectful, and open-minded hearing for which I thank you very much.

U.S. WARMAKING IN VIETNAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on February 18, 1967, I delivered a speech at a public meeting in Los Alamos, N. Mex., on the subject "Moral Issues Raised by U.S. Warmaking in Southeast Asia." Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR WAYNE MORSE, PUBLIC MEETING, LOS ALAMOS, N. MEX., FEBRUARY 18, 1967

Out of events in Southeast Asia is surely coming a profound moral issue for the American people. It is the question of whether morality stops at the water's edge, of whether the Golden Rule of international affairs is really to "Do Unto Others Before They Can Do It To You."

Our dilemma was well put by a long-time correspondent in Vietnam, Neil Sheehan of The New York Times. He wrote recently in that publication of the extent to which the U.S. has only replaced France in the Vietnamese picture, using the same mandarin class as did the French to carry out our American national interests:

"Communist leadership of the anti-colonial movement led to the involvement of Vietnam in the larger context of the cold war and brought the intervention of the United States, first to aid the French and then to develop and support a non-Communist administration and army in the South. For its own strategic and political ends, the United States is thus protecting a non-Communist Vietnamese social structure that cannot defend itself and that perhaps does not deserve to be defended. Our responsibility for prolonging what is essentially a civil conflict may be one of the major reasons for the considerable amount of confusion, guilt and soul-searching among Americans over the Vietnam war."

Most of his article is the documentation of his belief that the small group of Vietnamese, many of them like General Ky from the North and not from the South, *all* the members of the military junta having fought with the French against the Vietminh, are incapable of bringing progressive government to South Vietnam. He finds the effects of war upon the peasants devastating, and quotes many of them as saying they were able to live with the Vietcong, but were compelled to flee from the bombing and artillery of American forces.

"An indication of what civilian casualties may be is given by the fact that American and other foreign medical teams working in three-quarters of the country's 43 provinces treat 2,000 civilian war-wounded each month. If one accepts the normal military ratio of one dead for two wounded, the monthly figure is 1,000 civilian dead a month. The number of wounded handled by the medical teams, I believe from my own observation, is merely a fraction of the total. The medical teams treat only those wounded who reach the hospitals in provincial capitals. There are undoubtedly many more who never get that far.

"It has been estimated that over the past decade about 20,000 persons have been assassinated by Communist terrorists. This is a gruesome total, but the annual average is a great deal lower than the probable yearly number of ordinary civilian victims of the war."

After estimating that 250,000 people have been killed there since 1957, Sheehan concludes:

"I wonder, when I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing on the streets of Saigon and the women and children with napalm burns lying on the hospital cots, whether the United States or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends. And I hope we will not, in the name of some anti-Communist crusade, do this again."

Yet he finds no alternative but to do what we can to reduce the impact of war upon civilians, keep on with what we are doing, and hope that somehow this tremendous display of military force will produce peace by means of sheer destruction. He believes this is true because "successive Administrations in Washington have carried the commitment in Vietnam to the point where it would be very difficult to prevent any precipitate retreat from degenerating into a rout. If the U.S. were to disengage from Vietnam under adverse conditions, I believe the resulting political and psychological shock waves might undermine our entire position in Southeast Asia."

The difficulty I find with this conclusion is the same as the difficulty I find with Administration justifications for the war. Are the psychological shock waves across Asia produced by our war policy less harmful than *any* possible alternatives? I think the answer to that must be NO. I do not want to disengage from Vietnam under adverse conditions, nor do I favor any precipitate withdrawal. But these are not the only alternatives.

None of the alternatives will be considered acceptable until Americans, and their government, face the possibility that war is not necessarily moral just because Americans engage in it. We hear over and over again, from high Administration sources and from many commentators, that the place to fight Communism is in Asia, lest we have to do it here. The possibility that *any* faction or nation in Asia, much less North Vietnam, would have the capacity or the desire to invade the United States is so remote, the statement that this is a real eventuality suggests a paranoid foreign policy. What we are doing in South Vietnam is using its territory and people in very much the same way the Germans used Belgium in World War I. Its territory afforded the best approach to

France, so neutrality treaties that stood in the way of the German armies were called mere scraps of paper. To us, South Vietnam affords ingress and egress to China, and we are over there to preempt it.

With the announcement of 405,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, aimed towards a total of 475,000, one must face the fact that for all practical purposes, we are occupying South Vietnam. The opportunities that were tentatively offered for negotiation in 1964 and 1965 were at the time dismissed by American spokesmen on the ground that there could be no negotiating until American forces had been built up to the point where we could negotiate "from a position of strength." Now that we have gained the "position of strength" that was so greatly valued, we are dismayed that North Vietnam does not seem to want to bargain from a position of weakness, and our officials ascribe to her all blame for continuation of the war.

DO WE WANT TO NEGOTIATE?

The Administration decision against a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam, in spite of growing domestic and foreign appeals that a cessation offers the only possibility of negotiations, may produce a serious doubt that this country has ever intended to negotiate. In the past, our "peace offensives" have been launched to the accompaniment of new military moves to widen or intensify the war. "Peace feelers" from Hanoi have been dismissed by the Secretary of State as lacking in sincerity. The theory of Ambassador Lodge that the war may end by enemy action petering out instead of by negotiation is increasingly appearing not to be his personal opinion, but the policy of the American government.

It must be kept in mind that a negotiated settlement implies a settlement for a good deal less than we have been claiming as our objective in South Vietnam. It is our objective to create stability behind a government where none existed. It is our objective to induce among the people of South Vietnam loyalty to a government that never commanded their loyalty or support.

This is the reason we have embarked on several of our particular military escalations. Helicopters piloted by Americans were sent into action in 1962 in order to bolster the morale of the Diem government. The bombing of the North, we are now told by the Secretary of Defense, never had much purpose other than to bolster the morale of the Ky government.

It is the internal logic of our government's position that we cannot negotiate when to do so would undo the things we have made war for in order to advance. Very likely none of the objectives we have established for South Vietnam could be achieved if the United States were to evacuate any large part of its military forces in less than ten years. A negotiated settlement implies that we might do that, or that Vietnam might be united as intended by the 1954 Geneva Agreement. Either contingency would mean a defeat for the announced purposes into which we have put 50,000 U.S. casualties and tens of billions of dollars.

So we have for nearly three years found the means of assuring that negotiations would not take place. We do not yet know whether the Vietcong and Hanoi are willing to negotiate because *we* have been unwilling to do the one thing that all sides, including U Thant, recognize as standing in the way of negotiations.

The bombing policy is defended as saving American lives. One has to wonder whether it is also responsible for the 100 American dead per week, the 1,000 dead South Vietnamese civilians per month, and all the other devastation of the war.

This is not to say that for a certainty, an unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam would lead to negotiations. Who can say that it will? But we can be sure that so long as it continues, there will be no negotiated end to the war in the foreseeable future.

HOW WE GOT WHERE WE ARE IN VIETNAM

No, we are not in South Vietnam for any altruistic reasons relating to democracy, for in Sheehan's words, the Ky regime in Saigon would not last a week if it were not held up by American bayonets.

Moreover, our pronouncement at the Manila conference, and subsequent elaborations by President Johnson, made it clear that we would not take our forces out of Vietnam until all violence there on the part of either North Vietnamese or Vietcong had ceased. The President used the word "ceased" over and over again. This is a departure from the policy stated by Ambassador Goldberg to the United Nations that we would welcome a *mutual*, supervised withdrawal by North Vietnam and Americans.

How we came to this situation is not a very respectable chapter in American foreign policy, either. In 1945, when the Japanese invaders were leaving Indochina, President Roosevelt rightly took the view that Indochina should not be restored to French colonialism. "France has bilked it for 100 years," he said. "Indochina deserves something better than that."

It was his desire that Indochina be made a trusteeship under the United Nations that was about to come into being, until it was ready for sovereign independence. What grief the world would have been saved, had the Roosevelt view prevailed.

But he died, and in the immediate postwar world, it became more important to establish our support and sympathy for the countries of western Europe we were trying to unite against the Soviet Union. So we submerged our best judgment of what was wise for Indochina into our paramount, immediate interest in seeing European morale and cohesion revived. We began aiding the French war to restore colonialism in Indochina. By 1954, we were financing 80% of that war and had put over $2 billion into it.

The 1945–46 opportunity to do justice and bring stability to that area was lost, but another opportunity presented itself in 1954, when the French left. Again, we had an opportunity to help establish a sovereignty in Indochina under self-government, as provided in the Geneva Agreement.

This time, we saw an immediate American interest at stake in Southeast Asia. We refused to sign the Geneva Agreement; we installed our favorite Vietnamese, Diem, as premier, although he had sat out the war for independence in the United States. He, too, refused to sign the Agreement and announced that South Vietnam would not be bound by it.

Although Article 19 of that Agreement states, and I quote: "The two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance," within two months of its signing, we made South Vietnam a protocol state of the Southeast Asia Defense Treaty, known as SEATO. The party referred to was the French Union, but France was a member of SEATO and was quite willing to pass on whatever was left of its position in Indochina to the United States.

We sabotaged the Geneva Agreement almost before the ink was dry. Yet the official breast-beating of the State Department seeks to leave the impression that we are in South Vietnam because the North violated the agreement and committed some form of aggression against the South.

I do not suggest that all analyses of the moral questions relating to our war in Vietnam uniformly conclude against it. But I do suggest that Americans in all walks of life do not like to think or hear about the moral issues involved in foreign policy, and we have so far failed just as many other great powers before us have failed to apply to our nation's policies abroad the standards we apply to our nation's domestic policies.

How can we say, in the light of 5,000 years of recorded history, that the character of a nation and a people is separate and distinct from the events that took place in their time? How can we think that the actions which tell us the nature and character of a man are any different from the actions which tell us the nature and character of the United States of America in our time?

Our official information services which put out headline figures stating that the Vietcong have by violence and terror killed 2,100 civilians in South Vetnam in the last three years, confirm indirectly Sheehan's estimate that American and South Vietnamese military action is killing around 1,000 *per month*. These figures mean that on the average, Vietcong terror kills 700 a year and American military power kills 12,000 in order to save the 700.

These are civilians within South Vietnam. These are the people we claim to be saving from the Vietcong.

Those who live in villages, and who our propaganda depicts as being guaranteed freedom of choice and opportunity by our efforts there, are having their villages systematically destroyed. The people and their portable belongings are herded onto helicopters, their huts put to the torch by flamethrowers, the site plowed under by bulldozers.

At a press conference in Washington on February 2, a former embassy official of South Vietnam, one of the many who have represented various South Vietnamese regimes here, said:

"I believe the military operation in the Iron Triangle has created a devastation which is not only physical, but devastation on the psychological and social level. . . . In Vietnam, when you take a man out of his home, especially a peasant, you take him out of his past, his present, and very surely his future. A man in Vietnam is born a part of the land. Remember the strategic hamlet program which was less disastrous but brought down President Diem's regime. Suppose you are a Vietnamese peasant, seeing all these huge bulldozers and planes devastating—would you see these people as benefactors?"

Saigon's former military attaché in Washington, said of the same operation:

"When you move 6,000 people out, they have no house, no medical care. They are not rich like you. They have a very small house. But they must spend their lives to build this house, and that house may be lived in by their grandparents and their parents. They are glad to have this house and normally they are not dependent on U.S. aid. They are dependent on the fish pond, the rice field, the trees. So they live with their land, for many thousands of years. But now when we move them, we ruin them. We burn everything. Now they become angry and more favorable with the Communists. And more, excuse me to say, I am very friendly with you, they become more anti-American."

Now they live in huge tents, several families to a tent, their few belongings piled on the floor of the communal shelter. Hoovervilles, or concentration camps, they are the American way of "pacification." They are villages that harbored or were taken over by the Vietcong, so in the classic tradition of an invading army, we destroy the village rather than rout out the enemy.

Most recently, we learn from the press that upon the killing of an American soldier by enemy gunfire, a cave, holding at least 100 people of mixed soldiery, women and children hostages, was sealed.

Can anyone deny that when the German armies in Europe did such things we called them atrocities?

It remains to be seen whether we shall escape the forecast of Mark Twain:

"There has never been a just one, never an honorable one—on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances. The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will—warily and cautiously—object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, 'It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it'. Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the antiwar audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war-cry and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."

Is it in keeping with our personal moral precepts to use the territory and lives of another people to advance what we think are the interests of the United States? This is a question separate even from the question of whether such a use is really in our interests at all.

But I do not think history sustains us in the view that it *is* in our interests to use others in this fashion. We profess much in the role of leader of the free world. We claim to stand for the best and noblest of human relationships. When we violate those professions by resort to armed force in violation of the United Nations Charter, in violation of the Geneva Agreement, and in defiance of the program put forward by Secretary General Thant at the United Nations, we do not match our professions with our actions.

The more we rely upon our overwhelming military power to achieve a security for American interests in Asia, the more we impress Asians not with the desirability of siding with us but with fear of our firepower. Creation of allies by fear has not been a goal of the United States, and I devoutly hope it will not become one. For the rising population and industrial power of China will give her an advantage in the arena of fear that will be increasingly difficult for the United States to match in Southeast Asia, if this is to be our choice of means in international competition.

We of the United States cannot escape our history any more than any other great nation can. We cannot escape the moral judgment of the world and posterity, and at the moment, that moral judgment is not in our favor.

FIRST LADY'S ADVENTURES IN LEARNING TRIP IS SIGNIFICANTLY WORTHWHILE AND HIGHLIGHTS 18 EDUCATION MEASURES PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNED INTO LAW; "PANCHO," HEADSTART FILM, PREMIERED

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the gracious and dedicated First Lady of the United States, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, completes today in Tennessee her significant 3-day "adventure in learning" trip into Appalachia. It is my privilege to review some of the events which preceded and occurred during her visit on Monday to West Virginia and on Tuesday to North Carolina.

Actually, the "adventure in learning" program began at the White House last Monday morning at the premiering of a film in which the "star" is Frank "Pancho" Mansera, a 7-year-old Mexican-American boy from Guadalupe, Calif. Pancho, who has been designated National Headstart Child of the Year, appears in the 24-minute color documentary film, "Pancho," sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and produced by Robert K. Sharpe Productions, Inc.

The film traces Pancho from the summer of 1965, when medical examinations in the Headstart program, in which he was enrolled, discovered the boy to be suffering from a severe glandular condition. Medical treatment was immediately undertaken, and a year later Pancho had grown an astonishing 5½ inches, and he had changed from a listless, unresponsive child to a cheerful, active little boy. He is now enrolled in kindergarten. To Jim Vestal, a photographer for the San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune, goes deserved credit for the dramatic picturization of the "Pancho Story" and of the lad's physical improvement and general progress. It is certainly a tribute to the Headstart program and to its validity and usefulness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, the remarks of Mrs. Johnson at the White House, when she noted:

> Our journey starts in this room with one small boy, . . . one of thousands of children who, because of Headstart, are getting a fair start in school, instead of being daily dulled by problems too big for a child to master alone.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Remarks of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at Beginning of "Adventure in Learning" Trip and Showing of "Pancho" Film, the White House, March 13, 1967

Friends: Today is an important one for me: important because of the premiere we will soon be seeing. But it is important also because it marks the beginning of a journey I am taking to some of the schoolrooms of this country—a journey that will take me during the next three days to West Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The map shows that this area—Appalachia—lies deep in the heart of the nation. It is no less deep in the heart and the thoughts of the President.

The map shows that Appalachia is 1200 miles long and 250 miles wide and some call it poor, but it should be measured, not in its shortage of material goods, but in its wealth of promise for the nation.

No one knows that promise better than the teachers of Appalachia for the great transformation of the region is taking place in their schoolrooms. Schools don't close their doors at 3:30 any more. Late into the night they are beaconlights to the community—teaching and enriching the lives of the people of all ages.

In visiting some of the classrooms of these three states, I will be glimpsing classrooms in every state where we are attacking old problems in new ways.

There is a great new fever for learning in this country, and a greater commitment by government to wipe out illiteracy than ever before. When you read the statistics in Washington, they are too hard to comprehend. By visiting the classroom, I can better understand the impact of one overwhelming statistic: one-third of our people are in school.

Our journey starts in this room this morning with one small boy. His name is Pancho and he is a movie star. He has come all the way from California to be here.

Pancho Mansera is six years old. You will see in this film, as the President and I have seen, that Pancho is more than a movie star. He is one of thousands of children, who, because of Head Start, are getting a *fair* start in school, instead of being daily dulled by problems too big for a child to master alone.

You in this room are literally the producers of this show. With thousands of other Head Start workers and volunteers, you have made the dramatic success story possible.

No one more than you who work in the 10,000 Head Start Centers throughout the country better understands the deeper meaning of this program for pre-school children. You have made the difference between what is and what might have been.

As you have discovered, Head Start is many things. It is a child looking for a chance to be somebody. It is his parents determined that he shall have that chance. It is a teacher and a teacher's aide, trained and caring, guiding the child's first steps on the road to knowledge; a doctor and a nurse, making sure his body is sturdy; a social worker showing the parents and child to sources of help.

Head Start is a crusade of individuals and organizations with special skills, and very special dedication, and we pay tribute to them all for all they have done. They will have the satisfaction of seeing the results of their efforts as demonstrated by one dramatic Head Start story.

It shows that Head Start tackles the problem at the most crucial age—when the difference for good or ill can be made, when the most can be done, when the investment in time and money brings the most telling results. Ideally, we would hope that Head Start could be applied for longer and to more children. That is why the President has proposed that the programs be extended to three-year-olds and that there must be "follow-through" in the early grades of school. But because you can't do everything, would you do nothing? I don't think Pancho would agree.

Pancho, thank you for coming to the White House to see a movie called "Pancho." To have a movie named for you is quite an honor even for a movie star, you know. I have never heard of a movie called "Spencer," or "Marlon," or "Kirk." But I think you especially deserve the honor for, as a star, you cast a bright light of promise for us all.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the tour of Mrs. Johnson included visits to outstanding examples of schoolrooms in Appalachia where local programs, with Federal impetus, have bolstered the education of citizens from kindergarten through college. Appropriately, she was accompanied by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John W. Gardner, whose Department administers the aid-to-education programs.

The trip concluded at Nashville with the First Lady's participation with President Johnson in a ceremony at The Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, commemorating the 200th anniversary of his birth and marking the issuance of a new Andrew Jackson stamp.

The month of March also is the 100th anniversary of the creation of the U.S. Office of Education, and the energetic First Lady, who has been anxious to have a firsthand look at the "people who represent the statistics" of educational growth, felt this week would be a particularly appropriate time for the journey.

Elizabeth Shelton's descriptive articles from Charleston, W. Va., March 13, and from Cullowhee, N.C., March 14, assure us that the First Lady's Adventure in Learning was successful, helpful, and informative both to Mrs. Johnson and her official party, but, also, to citizens in the communities visited. The diligent and capable Chief Executive and First Lady of my home State of West Virginia, Governor and Mrs. Hulett C. Smith, themselves Head Start enthusiasts and leaders, have told me that Mrs. Johnson's visit with them and fellow West Virginians was a truly worthwhile event.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks the Elizabeth Shelton dispatches to the Washington Post.

There being no objection the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 14, 1967]

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson Travels in Time—Southern Adventure

(By Elizabeth Shelton)

Charleston, W. Va., March 13.—Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson began her Adventure in Learning today by taking a visual trip into space and then turned back the clock to the 19th Century.

Both adventures took place in the Sunrise Cultural Center in the turn-of-the century stone home of a former West Virginia Governor, William A. McCorkle. The mansion, operated by The Sunrise Foundation, houses a space age planetarium, a museum of 19th Century stores and an art gallery. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides funds for the trips school children make to its facilities.

In the darkened planetarium the First Lady watched with Woodrow Wilson Junior High students as the stars crossed the heavens and the youngsters identified the constellations of Orion (the hunter) and Sirius (the dog.)

Mrs. Johnson, visiting the museum with a trio of junior high school girls, saw a livery stable, a book shop, a general store, a drug store and a typical kitchen of the 1880s and 1890s.

She chuckled at the general store's price list: butter at 20c a pound; eggs at 10c a doz; flour for $3.50 a barrel and 5 lbs. of sugar for 31c.

"You better bring your mothers and grandmothers down. It is a little distant in time for you all." Mrs. Johnson told the teenagers.

In the upstairs gallery, Mrs. Johnson inspected paintings and items loaned by Kanawha Valley residents.

Mrs. Johnson rested briefly at the governor's mansion in Charleston and then went on to the Glenwood Elementary School for a supper with parents which is part of the school program called, "Pupil Improvement Through Family Enrichment."

Twice a week parents come in the evening, including children not yet old enough to be in school.

Mrs. Johnson ate with the children and parents: chicken casserole, baked potato, green beans, tossed salad and pineapple upside down cake and hot rolls.

During dinner the entertainment featured a choir of the Job Corps, a Cha Cha number by Ann Lucas and her father James Lucas who is a professional dance instructor, and a tumbling act and the Stonewall Jackson High School Madrigal Singers who sang "Little Bird," and an impressive version of "Impossible Dream."

Mrs. Johnson said it was wonderful to meet all the boys and girls and mommies and daddies and teachers.

She sat by Jimmy Hildreth, 8, second grade, and Laura Paine, 4.

The little boy said, "You must be very rich."

Mrs. Johnson said, "I can say that we are well off. My husband has been working hard since he was 18 years old."

Laura only said "I ate my beans."

Then Mrs. Johnson dashed off to the airport and enplaned to Asheville where she was met by a crowd of 2000 people. On hand to greet her was Gov. Dan Moore and his wife.

Mrs. Johnson went along the fence shaking hands.

Some of the girls, held in mother's arms, handed her jonquils.

A little old lady said "you look younger," and Mrs. Johnson smiled.

The Moores brought her to the home of Thomas Wolfe, which his mother ran as a boarding house, called "Old Kentucky Home."

Mrs. Johnson roamed from room to room with Thomas's brother Fred who was explaining everything.

She looked at family portraits and said she knew who all the family were from reading his books. As she came out of the dining room, Mrs. Johnson quoted "The wind is rising and the river flows," saying "That lyrical beauty!"

Before enplaning for Charleston, W. Va., Mrs. Johnson was hostess at a film premiere in the East Room honoring six-year-old Pancho Mansera, National Head Start Child, from Guadalupe, Calif.

The Office of Economic Opportunity documentary shows Pancho's progress through Head Start from an obese, listless toddler, to an alert little boy eager to learn. "This is where I came in thirty years ago in Texas," President Johnson told OEO Director R. Sargeant Shiver as he entered the East Room.

The Chief Executive explained to the audience of Head Start workers that "I had my Pancho in my arms. I took him home to Johnson City to spend the summer."

The "Pancho" of his own days of teaching school for Mexican-Americans was "Juan Gonzalez," he said, and added that "now he is a successful businessman."

The President said Pancho Mansera's story shows that "things can be done if we just will do them and understand our brothers." He told Pancho, "You were a wonderful movie star."

Mrs. Johnson told the little boy that his performance in the movie put him ahead of "Spencer and Marlon and Kirk" because to have "a movie named for you is quite an honor."

Pancho gave the President an Easter card he had made of colored construction paper before coming to the White House with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Simon Mansera, to be overnight guests.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 15, 1967]

The Appalachia of Her Eye: 1,500 Miles Turn the Statistics Into People

(By Elizabeth Shelton)

Cullowhee, N.C., March 14.—Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, on the second day of a whirlwind 1500-mile tour of Appalachia, did what she had set out to do: meet "the flesh and blood statistics behind the 18 education bills my husband has signed into law."

Accompanied by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John Gardner, and Mrs. Dan Moore, wife of the North Carolina governor, Mrs. Johnson today trudged on foot to the home of a woodcutter, dedicated a new library, observed National Teachers Corps programs and met several hundred junior high and high school students of Canada Township, N.C.

At Western Carolina College this afternoon, Mrs. Johnson dedicated a new library wing, one of several new buildings rising on the mountain-ringed campus.

The First Lady told the 3600 students who packed the gymnasium for the ceremony that their new library is part of an exciting new story in America today. A library is no longer "cold storage," but a way of getting young people "hooked on books," she said.

New programs such as the Teacher Corps, federal funds for the new Hunter Library here and a new student loan program are all "in the old and honored American tradition," Mrs. Johnson told the college students.

A mountaineer's wife who has managed to keep six of her seven children in school was hostess in her three-room house in a hollow this morning to the wife of the President. Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson went a quarter of a mile up a mountain trail to accept the invitation of Mrs. Eldon Mathis to visit because "it would be pleasant for the children to meet you in person."

Mrs. Johnson and her party were met at the gate by Mr. and Mrs. Eldon Mathis, their seven children and Mrs. Mathis's mother, Minnie Alexander, age "over 80." Inside, in the Mathis living room, all who could, sat, and the rest stood as Mrs. Johnson chatted with Mrs. Mathis about the education of the children and the rattlesnakes around the family's beanpoles.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Mathis are in their 40's, but have a much older, work-worn look.

A veteran of World War II, who drove a halftrack in General George Patton's army in Europe, he makes $50.00 a week at his woodcutting trade.

Upon leaving, Mrs. Johnson gave the family a package of honey and preserves from the LBJ ranch and was told to "come back and see us again. You know you're welcome."

At Canada Township School, Mrs. Johnson had a chance to see the impact on the 50 square-mile scattered community of the Teachers Corps and of modern visual aids financed under federal and county funds.

After presenting Golden Apple pins to the instructing principal, Gertie Moss, who had accompanied her to the Mathis home, Mrs. Johnson gave lapel pins to the Teachers Corps interns and yellow pens with yellow roses and the inscription "Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson" to the entire school body of 105 first through eighth graders.

The Teacher Corpsmen, whose fate hangs in the balance of the $12 million supplemental request the President sent to Congress Monday, are John Reid, Willis Wellman and Frantz Whitmire, all West Carolinians.

REVIEW OF SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S BOOK

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the February 11 issue of the Saturday Review of Literature carried a review of Senator Fulbright's recent book "The Arrogance of Power."

As other Senators know, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations has made a penetrating analysis in this book of various facets of American foreign policy. This review is a further reminder of the debt which we owe to the articulate voice and the literate pen of the distinguished Senator from Arkansas. For his presence in the Senate, present and future generations of Americans will be thankful.

The review expresses the essence of

Senator Fulbright's thought. I feel that it should be called to the attention of the Congress and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the book review was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ADVICE AND DISSENT

(Note.—"The Arrogance of Power," by J. William Fulbright (Random House. 264 pp. Hardbound, $4.95. Paperback, $1.95), points out the widespread doubt that America has the moral and intellectual qualities necessary to employ her military and economic potentials wisely. Frank Altschul is chairman of the Committee on International Policy of the National Planning Association.)

(By Frank Altschul)

It is, if anything, an understatement to say there is an uneasy feeling throughout the land that many of the recent decisions taken by our government in the field of foreign policy have been ill-advised. This feeling often finds expression in open dissent, for which Senator J. William Fulbright in *The Arrogance of Power* eloquently supplies the rationale. In doing so he effectively disposes at the same time of the flippant charge of Nervous Nellyism.

In the course of a sober analysis of many aspects of our foreign policy, Mr. Fulbright focuses attention on our principal source of preoccupation—Vietnam. In his words, "the official war aims of the United States government, as I understand them, are to defeat what is regarded as North Vietnamese aggression, to demonstrate the futility of what the Communists call 'wars of national liberation,' and to create conditions under which the South Vietnamese people will be able freely to determine their own future." He does not doubt the "sincerity of the President" and his associates "in propounding these aims." What he does doubt, and doubts very much, "is the ability of the United States to achieve these aims by the means being used." Furthermore, he questions "the ability of the United States or any other Western nation to go into a small, alien, undeveloped Asian nation and create stability where there is chaos, the will to fight where there is defeatism, democracy where there is no tradition of it, and honest government where corruption is almost a way of life.

Senator Fulbright shares with many of his fellow citizens certain fundamental misgivings. Have the aims of our intervention, whether in the Dominican Republic, for example, or in Vietnam, been fairly presented to the American people? In regard to the Dominican Republic, he feels that "there is no doubt that the fear of Communism rather than danger to American lives" was the basic reason for intervention. About Vietnam he says, "when all the official rhetoric about aggression and the defense of freedom and the sanctity of our word has been cited and recited, we are still left with two essential reasons for our involvement in Vietnam: the view of Communism as an evil philosophy and the view of ourselves as God's avenging angels, whose sacred duty it is to combat evil philosophies."

It is the wisdom no less than the legality of pursuing this course as a sacred duty that Senator Fulbright challenges. He feels that in the formulation of policy we have not given sufficient weight to the changing aspects of Communism or the rising tide of nationalism. It was the aggressive character of Soviet imperialism, using Communism as a weapon, rather than the Communist ideology itself that threatened us in the aftermath of the Second World War. In Senator Fulbright's words, "a strong Communist state which poses a barrier to expansion by an aggressive Communist power may be more desirable from the viewpoint of American interests than a weak non-Communist state whose very weakness forms a vacuum which invites conquest or subversion." Implicit is the suggestion that a united Vietnam vigorously nationalist and historically strongly anti-Chinese in character might in the long run prove to be in accord with the true interests of the United States, even though tainted with a Communist ideology.

This is a conception clearly at variance with our alleged objectives. But are we not following a will-o'-the-wisp in our apparent determination to transform South Vietnam, which under the Geneva Accords was regarded merely as a temporary zone, into an independent nation when no such independent nation has previously existed? That such an attempt is an adventure in futility seems to be the Senator's view. And the cost of the effort is not limited to the tragic loss of American lives and the diversion of American resources that could be better employed elsewhere. There are collateral costs of great magnitude, described by Senator Fulbright as "Fallout." Because we have embarked upon a course of action which we would have criticized violently if pursued by others, we are today the subject of deep-seated criticism ourselves. Here we are paying a price of immeasurable proportions. Not only has the prospect of any détente with the Soviet Union been dimmed, but, no less important, our position of leadership in the free world and Asia as well is being seriously undermined. While no one questions our military and economic power, there is widespread doubt that we have the moral and intellectual qualities necessary to employ this power judiciously. We seem to have strayed a long way from "a decent respect for the opinion of mankind."

Under the heading "An Alternative for Vietnam" Senator Fulbright sets forth a program of eight points which, if followed, might lead us step by step out of the predicament in which we now find ourselves. No one, including Senator Fulbright, would presume to predict the outcome. Yet few would quarrel with the end he seeks—to bring peace and tranquillity to Vietnam, to substitute constructive endeavor for the devastation of continuing warfare, and finally to neutralize as much of Southeast Asia as is willing to accept the guarantee of neutralization.

This is a profound and stimulating book which the Administration could study to great advantage. In a chapter entitled "The Senate and the Senator" there is a revealing statement that should be noted: "There are still other areas in which I am proscribed from leadership or initiative by the strong preferences of my constituency." Possibly this will satisfy the many admirers of Senator Fulbright who have been critical of his attitude in regard to civil rights legislation. For had he followed in this domain the dictates of conscience rather than those of political expediency, the nation would in all likelihood have been deprived of his unique and enlightened contribution over the years to the discussion and formulation of American foreign policy.

LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE SEAS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, Edward W. Allen, chairman of the Law of the Sea Committee of the American Bar Association and recognized as a dean in the field of fisheries law, recently contributed an article to the February issue of the Fishermen's News which points clearly to the need for interest on the part of our fishing industry in those legal aspects of the seas.

As a member of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, and because of his prior service on numerous other commissions dealing with fisheries, Mr. Allen is alerting the industry to its need for interest in those legal principles which undoubtedly will be coming with the advent of increased study and use of the oceans.

Mr. Allen also cites the important recognition of the distinction between the territorial sea and fishery zones.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Allen's article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Fishermen's News, February 1967]

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND FISH

It is natural that fishermen and cannery operators should be thinking mostly about their own particular workings and consider international law even as it relates to fisheries, as some vague, faraway thing for diplomats and politicians to play with. In fact, however, it is something very real and exceedingly important to them.

As the salmon canners were reminded at their recent annual meeting, if it were not for the fishery treaty between Japan, Canada and this Country, the Japanese might move right in close to our shores to catch our salmon just as the Russians moved into the hake fishery off Grays Harbor and practically ruined the costly hake plant that had just been constructed.

Cordell Hull's famous message to Japan in the 1930's which induced Japan to withdraw her salmon fish boats from Bristol Bay, also the Truman Proclamation asserting rights to our offshore fisheries, were the result of private lawyers working with the Department of State on the international law problems involved.

Almost everyone has heard the words "territorial sea", that strip of ocean along a nation's coast that it actually owns and which the United States has for many years claimed could only be three miles wide and that this applied to fisheries as well as to navigation.

At the famous 1958 Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea the main effort of our Government was toward securing international agreement to hold the width of territorial seas down to three miles. The fishery representation from the Pacific Northwest did not oppose this as to navigation but wished separate consideration given to the protection of coastal fisheries as a wholly different matter. It was largely because opponents of coastal fishery protection succeeded in confusing these two ideas that both lost out.

Thereafter international lawyers continued to battle and finally in 1964 got their national lawyers' organization to adopt a resolution pointing out how unreasonable it was that just because the two ideas had been tied together for several centuries, they had to continue that way when in fact there was no necessary connection at all.

So when the 12-Mile Fishery Bill came up last Fall, then, for the first time in history, both the Navy and the Department of State recognized the distinction pointed out in the resolution. Inasmuch as the bill left the width of the territorial sea at three miles the Departments withdrew their objection to widening the control over coastal fisheries from three miles to twelve miles. This was real progress but should not stop there.

There now is great interest throughout the country in oceanography. The very word, old as it is, seems to have a public appeal. However, there is much new in knowledge about the subject. It not only continues to involve the age-old subjects of fisheries and navigation, but is also concerned with oil, hard minerals, in fact all natural resources of the oceans, their bottoms as well as their waters.

> These new features are arousing particular interest. This can be good but could be harmful if it should result in neglect of the old features, particularly of fisheries. Not only are new mechanical devices being devised, but new legal principles, at least new applications of principles are being developed. New treaties are being negotiated. These and old ones must be interpreted. Many of these will directly affect fisheries.
>
> There is grave danger that unless our Pacific Northwest fishermen and operators realize that these new international legal developments need careful attention the fishery interests of this area can suffer severely. It is no longer safe to ignore the legal aspects of the world's fishery problems any more than those of economics.—Edward W. Allen.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, educational television has struggled for many years to get off the ground. Problems with apathy, shoestring budgets, and inadequate facilities have never really allowed ETV to reach the hope we have long held for it. Thus, it is heartening, indeed, to find at long last a new attitude developing toward public television—an attitude stimulated by President Johnson following recent proposals from the Ford and Carnegie Foundations.

The subject is discussed in a concise forthright manner in two recent editorials. One was published in the New York Times of Saturday, March 4, 1967; the other in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Wednesday, March 1, 1967. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> [From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Mar. 1, 1967]
>
> ### The President Supports TV
>
> President Johnson's recommendation that Congress create a corporation for support of non-commercial television and radio supplies welcome backing for recent proposals from the Ford and Carnegie foundations. While stopping short of approving the proposal of his former assistant, McGeorge Bundy, now president of the Ford Foundation, for use of a domestic communications satellites system to provide and subsidize a network of educational television, the President urges a study of its possibilities as one of the first tasks for the corporation he suggests.
>
> Of further help will be the experiments by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which he said are about to begin, in using communications satellites for an educational television network. Further progress will be achieved if Congress accedes to the President's recommendation for congressional hearings on related issues of public policy.
>
> Whether the full scope of the Carnegie commission's proposal—which is broader than Mr. Bundy's—can be realized will depend on support of the proposed tax on television sets or some other means of raising comparable revenue. At this beginning stage the President's broad support of the corporation idea is a constructive impetus. We hope Congress is equally aware that our country has "only begun to grasp the great promise" of television, and equally concerned for that promise's fulfillment.

> [From the New York Times, Mar. 4, 1967]
>
> ### Television for the People
>
> President Johnson has responded swiftly and constructively to the proposals of the Carnegie Commission and the Ford Foundation for Federal action to spur the growth of educational television.
>
> In his message to Congress the President wisely steers clear of any attempt to preordain the shape of a noncommercial television system, the relative degree of responsibility to be allocated to network or individual stations or the sources of financial support.
>
> Instead, he proposes the establishment of a Corporation for Public Television, with fifteen board members to be appointed by the President but to operate free of Government control. By emphasizing that diversity is the key to effectiveness for the new medium, Mr. Johnson makes it plain that he puts at least as much stress on the development of strong community stations as he does on a central apparatus to rival the established networks.
>
> The $10-million grant the Ford Foundation has made available to finance "imaginative experiments" next fall in noncommercial network programs will provide a demonstration of the potentialities on the network side. The hope must be that some comparable source of private financing will be found soon for comparable experiments in originality and service by community TV stations.
>
> Out of such demonstrations can come valuable guides to the Johnson-proposed commission on the kind of interrelations that will best serve the end of "excellence within diversity" set forth so persuasively in the Carnegie report. The caliber of the commission's own members and, equally important, of its choice for executive director will determine how useful a contribution it makes to shaping intelligent public policy in a field of limitless possbilities for cultural enrichment and public enjoyment.

MIAMI, FLA., HERALD ENDORSES INTERSTATE LAND SALES FULL DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1967

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Miami, Fla., Herald has, over the years, taken a leading role in exposing unscrupulous real estate promoters who sell undeveloped land across State lines. Only last year Fred Fogarty, the Herald's real estate editor, testified at hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the need for additional consumer protection legislation in this area—both on the State and Federal levels.

I believe, therefore, that the Herald's editorial of March 1, 1967, entitled "It's Time United States Moved in on Piracy in Land Sales," will be of great interest to all Members of this body.

In its editorial which endorses the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act, the Herald declares that—

> Even in states that have passed laws to protect the public, such as Florida, the job is not getting done. As we have pointed out so often in this business of states' rights, what the states refuse to do, the federal government will do.

The Herald ends its editorial by stating:

> What Sen. Williams hopes to enact is a law patterned after the Securities Acts of 1933 and 1934 that brought a level of honesty to the stock market. Those laws offer the public protection through full and accurate information on which to make investment decisions.
>
> The Wall Street bucketshops have been outlawed. It is time to do the same with the land pirates.

I believe the Senate should have the benefit of the full text of this informative commentary; therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

> [From the Miami Herald, Mar. 1, 1967]
>
> ### It's Time United States Moved in on Piracy in Land Sales
>
> There are 28 states without legislation to deal with the land pirates who separate people from their money in exchange for a piece of unusable real estate in the middle of a swamp, a desert, a flood control area, the side of a mountain or a remote arid plateau.
>
> Yet even in states that have passed laws to protect the public, such as Florida, the job is not getting done. As we have pointed out so often in this business of states' rights, what the states refuse to do, the federal government will do.
>
> That is the reason for the hearings that opened yesterday on the proposed Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act. Spearheaded once again by Sen. Harrison Williams Jr. of New Jersey, this is an effort to establish effective authority over mail order land sales to protect both the buyer and the legitimate seller against loss and injury.
>
> Evidence of widespread misrepresentation has been obtained by the Senate's subcommittee on frauds affecting the elderly. It is the person looking for an idyllic retirement home who so often falls victim to the swamp peddler.
>
> And Florida, despite its Installment Land Sales Board, has more than its share of the sleazy types who promise a paradise in the sunshine and deliver an inaccessible or unusable tract of swampy wilderness.
>
> Certainly it is true that the Florida law demands that a property report be delivered to the purchaser. It is also true that many people put up a down payment despite availability of a report disclosing that the land is subject to flooding 80 per cent of the year, that drainage is not feasible, that mortgaging would be difficult.
>
> But what happens to the concept of property report disclosure when a bucketshop operation is set up and the customer is romanced by long-distance telephone with phony stories of oil discoveries and expected price increases? These are the sharp practices that Florida's law now countenances.
>
> What Sen. Williams hopes to enact is a law patterned after the Securities Acts of 1933 and 1934 that brought a level of honesty to the stock market. Those laws offer the public protection through full and accurate information on which to make investment decisions.
>
> The Wall Street bucketshops have been outlawed. It is time to do the same with the land pirates.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hollings in the chair). Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business, which will be stated.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. A Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D., 88th Cong., second sess.).

The Senate resumed the consideration of the convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on agreeing to executive reservation No. 2, offered by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and other Senators.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time to be taken out of this side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG].

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I rise to express opposition to the pending reservation and to any reservation that would indefinitely postpone or kill the Consular Treaty, which should be ratified by the Senate. I plead for ratification as I did some years back for the limited nuclear test ban treaty achieved by our late, great President John F. Kennedy, with the help of our present Ambassador at Large, Averill Harriman.

In his plea for ratification of the limited test ban treaty, President John F. Kennedy said:

> According to the ancient Chinese proverb, "A journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step." My fellow Americans, let us take that first step. Let us, if we can, get back from the shadows of war and seek out the way of peace. And if that journey is one thousand miles or even more, let history record that we in this land at this time took the first step.

Mr. President, we all recall that prior to ratification of this Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty there were many who gave out dire warnings that it would mean capitulation to the Russians, that it would be a threat to American security, that they would immediately violate it, and so forth. Now, we have heard similar arguments from those opposing ratification of the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union—from those maintaining that this treaty is not in the best interests of the United States. Very definitely this treaty is in the best interest of our country. In addition, we have all been subjected to a forceful blitz of propaganda attacking this proposed Consular Treaty, instigated by extremist rightwing groups such as the Liberty Lobby, the John Birch Society, and others of that ilk.

Mr. President, I doubt that there is one among us who would maintain that the limited nuclear test ban treaty has in any way endangered the security of the United States in the 3½ years it has been in effect. In fact, having reduced the dangers of radioactive fallout, it has been highly beneficial and reassuring to the people of the United States, as well as to people the world over. Similarly, we would all find 2 or 3 years from now—even 6 months from now—that the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union will also be of benefit to citizens of the United States.

Mr. President, some in this Chamber, realizing that they will be unable to prevent ratification of the treaty, have resorted to other means which would literally cancel the effectiveness of the treaty and in fact postpone its operation indefinitely. Such is the second reservation proposed by the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]. His reservation, which would literally postpone the treaty's becoming operative until the end of our involvement in the war in Vietnam, would mean, in effect, the destruction of the treaty. His argument, that it is more important to protect the 500,000 boys in Vietnam than to protect a few American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union, is a complete non sequitur. This treaty, whether it is ratified as submitted to the Senate or with such a reservation, would not in any way affect the conduct of the war in Vietnam. Very definitely, I feel that the Senator from South Dakota and those others who are using this kind of argument are appealing to irrational claims of the type which always flourish in time of war.

In the course of this debate some of those expressing vigorous opposition to our ratification of the Consular Convention have even asserted that the Russians have violated every treaty they have made with this country. Very definitely this is not true. Admittedly, while the cruel tyrant Stalin was dictator of the Soviet Union, he was constantly threatening aggression and violating agreements he made. The Soviet Union during his regime blockaded Berlin, posed a threat to Western Europe, and its leaders made belligerent statements and rattled their nuclear weapons. The two great Communist powers, China and the Soviet Union, seemed alined against the free world. That was many years ago. Stalin is no longer the dictator of the Soviet Union; yet, too many people think our foreign policy should be based today on what occurred 20 years ago following World War II.

Times have changed. The Soviet Union, now a "have" nation instead of a "have not" nation, is definitely veering toward capitalism. Russian leaders of the Kremlin appear to genuinely seek friendship with nations of the free world and they speak of coexistence instead of coannihilation. Along its 6,500-mile common border with Red China, the Soviet Union has been massing additional divisions of its troops. Bitterly hostile statements during recent months have come out of Peking denouncing the leaders of the Kremlin, and the antagonism between the Soviet Union and Communist China seems to be increasing and has been accompanied by violence and turbulence in some areas close to the common border. Also Premier Kosygin has repeatedly and violently denounced Communist leaders of mainland China.

Mr. President, in October 1964, I did not often find myself in agreement with the distinguished Senator from Arizona, Mr. Goldwater. However, I recall at that time he made what I consider to be a very wise statement when he stated that within 10 years, if the United States should be at war with Red China, the Soviet Union would be fighting as an ally on the side of the United States against Red China.

Obviously it would be a grave mistake were we to reject ratification of this Consular Treaty. Very definitely the negotiations for this treaty, which extended over a period of several years and were carefully and intelligently conducted by our officials, who proposed this treaty to Soviet leaders, should result in ratification. The Soviet Union is obligated under this treaty to commitments highly advantageous to the many thousands of American tourists who will be traveling each year in the Soviet Union. In that regard, only a few hundred Soviet citizens visit the United States annually. The total this year of American tourists visiting Russia may exceed 18,000. The total of nationals of the Soviet Union visiting our country this year will certainly be fewer than 2,000. This treaty is much more in our national interest than in the interest of the Soviet Union.

Patrick Henry, on a historic occasion, as recorded in our colonial history of which we are so proud, said:

> There is but one lamp by which my feet are guided. That is the lamp of experience. I know of no way to judge the future except by the past.

Concerning the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the facts are the Soviet Union has meticulously complied with its obligations. Since ratification of that treaty, there has never been a whisper of any alleged violation on the part of the Soviet Union. Surely there is every reason to believe that the provisions of this treaty will be respected and complied with.

It is interesting to note that at the recent parliamentary election in the Soviet Union, Vyacheslav Molotov, who was the internationally known spokesman for Stalin throughout his years of power, when he walked publicly in Moscow to the polling place where he and Nikita Khrushchev both voted, received no cheers, no greeting whatsoever from the assembled Russians but was looked on somewhat disdainfully by the citizens gathered to vote or to look at celebrities who were expected to vote. In the few years following the close of World War II, Molotov was the right-hand man and enforcer of the tyrannical Premier Josef Stalin.

The low regard that leaders of the free world held toward him at the time and in retrospect seems matched by the present low regard and in fact contempt of Russian citizens. At the same time Nikita Khrushchev, who became Premier of the Soviet Union a considerable number of years following the death of Stalin, was cheered and greeted enthusiastically and affectionately by thousands of Russian men and women. Former Premier Nikita Khrushchev appeared surprised and happy over the enthusiastic and most cordial greeting. According to newspaper reports he doffed his hat and said, "Let there be peace."

We take an important step toward world peace in ratification of this Consular treaty.

> Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war—

Wrote John Milton many years ago. It is even more true now than then. The great German poet, Frederic von Schiller, wrote:

> Peace is rarely denied to the peaceful.

Our late great President John F. Kennedy said:

> While maintaining our readiness for war, let us exhaust every avenue for peace. Let us always make clear our willingness to talk if talk will help and our readiness to fight if fight we must.

Mr. President, the benefits of this Consular Treaty are great. For us to ratify this treaty would be a small step forward on the "journey of 1,000 miles." To change or amend it with crippling reservations would indefinitely postpone it and in fact would prove to be a rejection of the treaty. Were we to do this it would be taking a step backward instead of forward on that 1,000-mile journey toward permanent peace.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. To whom will the time be charged?

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. On this side.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. I yield myself 10 minutes. Now that the Chamber is crowded, I think it is appropriate to make my remarks in opposition to the pending reservation. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, the reservation proposed by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota stipulates that instruments of ratification shall not be exchanged until the President determines and reports to Congress that it is no longer necessary to assign American forces to combat duties in South Vietnam, or that removing American forces from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance being furnished by the Soviet Union to North Vietnam.

Does the Senator from South Dakota really believe that the Soviets are so anxious to have the Consular Convention enter into force that they would be willing to reduce their support to North Vietnam? As I have pointed out before, we wanted the Consular Convention in the first place and we still want it—and want it now—because it provides for the increased protection of American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union. It is unrealistic, at best, to expect the Soviets to make a concession to us in order to obtain ratification of a treaty that we are more anxious to have than they are, and that appears to be more to our advantage than to theirs.

The obvious effect of this reservation would be to strain our relations with the Soviet Union still further. It is quite true that the Soviets are supplying military assistance to North Vietnam. North Vietnam is a socialist country, and thus an ideological ally of the Soviet Union. But it is also obvious that we are providing not only military assistance but also half a million men to our ally, South Vietnam; and our military assistance to South Vietnam predates Soviet assistance to North Vietnam, and is much greater.

The reservation is not designed to bring the war in Vietnam to an end. I only wish that it could. If it would, I would be the first to vote for it. But to pretend that there is the slightest chance that any action we take on the Consular Convention would have this result is, I think, either a delusion or a deception. Nor is the reservation intended to show the Soviets our concern over the situation in Vietnam—a concern that they know and understand very well. The purpose of this reservation is, purely and simply, to kill the treaty.

There are some in the Senate who want to kill the Consular Convention because they are opposed to ratifying this agreement with the Soviets—or any agreement with the Soviets—on the ground that such action will be regarded as a mark of confusion by our allies and as a confession of weakness by our enemies. I repeat at this point a paragraph from the statement made on the floor by the Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. FULBRIGHT], on March 7. He said:

> It is difficult for me to understand and accept the fact that there are some in the Senate who, given an opportunity to improve relations in some small way with the Soviet Union and of reducing the tensions that exist in our relations with that country, prefer that we not do so but that instead we keep relations frozen and tensions highly charged. I would certainly understand this attitude if it were motivated by an opposition to appeasement—that is, if this convention, or any of the East-West measures that I have mentioned represented a sacrifice to the Soviets designed to mollify them. But I cannot understand why any Senator would hesitate to seize an opportunity to voice his approval for an agreement with the Soviet Union which offers us certain benefits in protecting American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union which we sought in the first place. I do not see how ratifying such an agreement could be construed as a mark of confusion or a confession of weakness. On the contrary, if I were the leader of North Vietnam I would be concerned at any sign of a *rapprochement* between an ally on whom I depended heavily and my opponent, especially if my ally and my opponent were the two most powerful countries in the world. And if I were an ally of the United States it would worry me to see the United States spurn an opportunity to reduce the tensions which might, if they are not reduced, lead to a conflict in which I might become involved simply because I was an ally of one of the protagonists.

The United States and the Soviet Union are the two most powerful countries in the world. We must be able to regulate our normal affairs, as we have in the past 6 months by signing a Civil Air Transport Agreement and an agreement on fishing problems in the northeast part of the Pacific Ocean—both executive agreements, I should add. Surely our objective in our relations with the Soviet Union—or with any other state—should be to reduce the areas of disagreement and enlarge the areas of agreement—not to permit our disagreements to widen and to embrace every aspect of our relations with the other most powerful nation in the world today.

Mr. President, I understand that references were made yesterday, in response to the argument raised about affording protection to 18,000 Americans in the Soviet Union, in relation to the importance of protecting the 500,000 men in Vietnam, or adjacent to it, and a correlation was made between the 18,000 and the 500,000, and the effects that the convention might have on them.

What was not brought out yesterday was the point that the inclusion of a reservation tying the treaty to ending the hostilities in Vietnam, or even defeating the treaty, would not accelerate by 1 day the conclusion of the war in Vietnam.

I can only say that refusal to ratify this treaty or even to postpone its provisions and protections until the war in Vietnam is concluded would be simply a rejection of protection which, under the agreement now before the Senate, could be afforded to the projected 18,000 or more Americans who would be traveling in the Soviet Union this year, without improving the lot of one single person of the 500,000 now located in and around Vietnam.

Mr. President, in response to my request, I have also received another letter from the Secretary of State, relative to the pending reservation No. 2.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

The letter is dated March 14, and is addressed to me. It reads as follows:

> In response to your inquiry, I am pleased to give the viewpoint of the Department of State regarding a proposed reservation to the US-USSR Consular Convention now before the Senate.
>
> This reservation would provide that the Consular Convention would not enter in force until the President advises Congress that there is "no longer a need for U.S. Forces in Viet-Nam" or that any war material and arms the Soviet Union is furnishing to North Viet-Nam are "not delaying or preventing a return of U.S. troops" from Viet-Nam.
>
> This reservation would preclude or substantially delay the entry into force of the Consular Convention. We need the Convention now, and without delay, to secure some elementary rights of consular access and notification for American citizens present in the USSR.
>
> Soviet nationals already enjoy the protections of the U.S. Constitution and of our legal system in a free society, should they be accused of a crime. But under present Soviet law, arrested persons can be held incommunicado for nine months or more during investigation of a criminal charge. The Consular Convention contains major "due process" concessions by the USSR. It specifies that U.S. officials will be notified immediately (within 1–3 days) when an American citizen is arrested or detained in the USSR, and it stipulates that these officials will be allowed to visit the American without delay (within 2–4 days), and it provides that access will be allowed on a continuing basis thereafter. These features will become operative without the opening of consulates.
>
> As soon as this treaty is ratified and enters into force diplomatic officers now attached to our Embassy in Moscow who are notified to the Soviet Government as consular officers will have these important rights of notification and access, whether or not consulates are eventually opened as the result of separate negotiations.
>
> Please do not hesitate to call on me if I

can provide any further information or assistance.

So I would say in conclusion that we ought to separate the question of a consulate or consulates in both countries from the question of the protection of the projected 18,000 or more Americans who will visit the Soviet Union this year.

The right to establish consulates is not before the Senate. That is a prerogative of the executive branch, and if it is done it will be done on a determination by the President. But the question of protecting American citizens in the Soviet Union is before the Senate, and that is the important factor of this convention before us.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Who yields time?

Mr. **MUNDT**. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **MUNDT**. Mr. President, while the distinguished majority leader is still in the Chamber, I would like to comment on the statement he has just made, which statement represents very actively and vigorously, certainly, the administration's point of view on this treaty.

The first point the majority leader made was that the Soviets are not very anxious for this treaty and that therefore we could not utilize this reservation which is now before the Senate, executive reservation No. 2, as a tool in order to get from them certain concessions, because we want the treaty more than they do.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. The Senator is correct.

Mr. **MUNDT**. The point is made that we want the treaty more than they do and consequently there would be no inducement for them to conform with the terms of the reservation.

Mr. President, it is undoubtedly true that the immunity feature of this provision in the treaty is something which the Russians want and which we are not so desirous about. We are desirous of the other two aspects—notification and consulation. On the basis of that one unprecedented feature they want and insist upon, it was agreed at the conferences on the two features of notification and consultation that we want. But, there is something you and I know that they want more than anything we want, and something they want much more even than the immunity features of the treaty, and that is that they want the continuation and expansion of American exports to help shore up their staggering industrial economy.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **MUNDT**. I yield.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Personally, I think that American exports to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union could have a very good effect as far as we are concerned.

It is my understanding that the people in the Soviet Union are demanding more of their Government in the way of consumer goods.

Mr. **MUNDT**. The Senator is correct.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. And if we can help to accelerate that demand, I think that we could lay the groundwork for a shift away from communism and thereby a shift toward capitalism, which I think would be in our interest.

Mr. **MUNDT**. I just do not see the relationship between those two, but I quite agree with the facts involved, that the consuming groups in Russia are eager to have additional consumer goods, and their country is unable to provide them, in part because communism is not a good, efficient, and effective economic and productive system, and primarily because, while they have developed some fine equipment and some good production plants, they are utilizing them primarily for making war supplies—war supplies which are being sent to Vietnam, in part, and war supplies which are being erected and constructed in Russia in part because of the uneasy and distrustful feeling which exists in terms of potential war between their part of the world and ours.

It is war equipment which is very expensive and difficult to make—for example, their antiballistic system around Moscow—so costly, in fact, that we in this country are importuned by the administration to say: "We can't afford to build one here." However, they are building one there. They have other kinds of intricate missile defense establishments, perhaps not as effective as their antiballistic system around Moscow, but they have them around in other areas and communities of the U.S.S.R. as well.

That, of course, puts a strain on their economy and makes it more difficult for them to satisfy their consumer goods, and because their consumers are becoming restive and because they are becoming embittered about the fact that they lag behind so much of the rest of the civilized world, the pressure is on the politicians in the Kremlin to make more consumer goods available to the Russian people.

If we make them available now to the Russians, that is important to them. It is something that they want and insisted upon and something that they will endeavor to expand by means of the economic attachés who will come over with new the consulate or consulates.

We do have available in this reservation a diplomatic tool. We do have a negotiating wedge to use in saying to the Russians: "You want a treaty. We want a treaty. You want the immunity provision. This is advantageous to you, but if you want to have the economic trade attached to it you will have to curb or curtail your shipment of war supplies to Hanoi." And I hope the shipment of war supplies to Hanoi will be curbed. That is point No. 1.

This expectation is part of our reservation. It is something that we can use to get a concession from the Russians. And I think they can be induced, because I believe they desperately need this vast amount of exports that was opened up by President Johnson's Executive order of last October 12.

The Senator was correct when he said that we want the treaty. They want the immunity and we want the two features of notification and consultation.

Senators and constituents will have to weigh those two elements together to determine exactly who is getting the better of the deal; but in all events we get the right of notification and consultation for any of the 18,000 who might get in trouble over there—and they have averaged nine Americans per year. We get that and nothing else of importance to us.

I would relate those points to the fact that we have 500,000 Americans in Europe who are there in uniform and who are in big trouble in Vietnam because they are answering the call of the colors and responding courageously and bravely to the needs of the state.

I do not think, therefore, that it is either a delusion or a deception to believe that the reservation can help shorten the war. I think anything that can help slow down the shipment of equipment to the enemy in Vietnam—because they rely on these outside sources for their supplies—will tend to shorten the war.

I honestly believe that anything that makes it more probable, makes it more likely, makes it easier for the Russians to send war supplies to Vietnam will prolong the war. I cannot escape the conviction, because it seems to me as clear as the path to the country schoolhouse, that when we send supplies to the industrial economy of Russia, we free men, we free materials, we free machines to go into war production for their supply lines to Vietnam, whether we ship to them consumer goods or strictly nonconsumer goods.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **MUNDT**. I yield.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. I point out, as the Senator well knows, that we are not discussing a trade convention. The matter before us has nothing to do with trade, nothing to do with the shipment of goods, but, purely and simply, is concerned with the protection of American citizens who may be traveling in the Soviet Union. Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. **MUNDT**. The Senator from Montana would have to modify that statement a little before I could give my affirmation to it. We would have to ask why they want a consular office in this country, in the first place. They want a consular office in this country, in the first place—and we would have a consular office in Russia—because it helps to stimulate economic trade. That is written into the treaty.

As the Senator from Oregon pointed out yesterday, all consular offices function in large part to help stimulate economic exchange between the two countries. In peacetime this might be good, but in wartime it expands the casualty lists suffered by American troops in Vietnam.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. But this convention has nothing to do with the establishment of consulates either in the Soviet Union or in the United States. That, as I have attempted to indicate, is purely an executive function which the President can put into force at any time.

Furthermore, before a consulate will be established in this country—if one is ever established—the Secretary of State has indicated that he will discuss this matter with the Committee on Foreign

Relations, with the leadership on both sides of the Senate, with interested Senators, and with the chief municipal and State officers in any area where there is a possibility that a consulate will be established.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 5 minutes have expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MUNDT. That is a correct statement. I was in the room at the time of the hearing, when the Secretary made that statement, and I asked him this question:

> That is interesting. Does that mean that if a consular office is to be established, or several consular offices, and you consult with the members of the committee and with the leadership and they say, "No, we don't want one," does that mean that one will not be established?

He refused to agree to that. He said:

> No. This is a presidential power.

I believe we would be notified. I believe we would get about the same protection that an American traveler gets in Russia under this treaty. We get notification and consultation, but we do not have freedom of action, and I believe that is also in the record.

It is an executive function, it is a Presidential power, and the Secretary of State properly said that they would talk with us, they would consult with us they would notify us, but he would not agree to put a consular office in a community that did not want it or to establish one if the Senate did not approve of it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator asked the Secretary of State a question which no man who is charged with that responsibility could answer definitely.

Mr. MUNDT. He answered it honestly, and I believe definitively.

Mr. MANSFIELD. He recognized, as does the Senator from South Dakota, that it is a prerogative within the power of the Presidency itself. But it would be difficult for me to imagine any Secretary of State making suggestions as to what the procedure would be, if this convention is adopted, and then going against strongly expressed wishes on the part of a community or the State, the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, or the leadership of the Senate on both sides. The latter, of course, would make it a point to consult with the members of the respective parties represented in the Senate.

I assume that the Secretary of State was speaking in good faith when he said that if opposition did arise, it would be adhered to pretty strongly, and that no consulate, under any circumstances, would be put into any city where the opposition was strong enough to express itself and to make it feelings felt. I am sure the Senator from South Dakota feels the same way.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] brought that question up, speaking as a former Governor, as to what would happen if the Governor interposed an objection to a consular office. The Secretary dodged that one very neatly. He said that question posed a very serious constitutional question, and he did not know what the result would be.

I have to assume that they would pay some attention to a Governor, some attention to a mayor. It is a little difficult for me to imagine, but I have seen situations in which the Department of State ignored the expressed desires of the committee or the Congress.

It is much more difficult for me to imagine however that all we are engaged in is sort of a mock battle about consular offices that nobody expects to establish. It is true that no consular office is established by this legislation, but it is difficult for me to believe that we have been wallowing through this trough of debate and hearings and controversy for several months about consular offices which they do not intend to establish.

I believe we are all realistically aware than the plan is to open a consular office in Chicago, unless Mayor Daly or the Governor of Illinois should object, and then the Russians might or might not do it anyhow. And we expect to open one in Leningrad. Those are the realities of the matter.

The consular offices bring in economic attachés; and if new consular offices were opened they would bring in even more. I wish to relate the trade situation to the next point made by the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Referring again to what we were talking about, reference has been made to a query put to the Secretary of State by the distinguished senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], a former Governor of that State. Secretary Rusk's reply was as follows. First I shall read what Senator CARLSON said.

> Having served as a Governor myself, I am interested in knowing, if a Governor objected to the establishment of a consulate, what would happen?

That is what the Senator from South Dakota referred to.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Secretary Rusk said:

> Well, I wouldn't want to make a categorical commitment, Senator, because there are some constitutional issues involved in that that I am not prepared to abandon one way or the other, but I wouldn't think that we would press to put a consulate in a city that would find it unwelcome or a State that would find it unwelcome.

That is pretty strong language.

Mr. MUNDT. That is substantially the way I put it. I am surprised that my memory is so accurate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And excellent, as always.

Mr. MUNDT. The next point the majority leader made was in quoting the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]. I did not get the quotation exactly, but I am certain the majority leader will correct me if I am incorrect. I believe the majority leader made the point that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from Arkansas, said that if he were an ally of the United States, he would worry greatly if the United States did not seize every opportunity to make a closer connection or rapprochement with Russia.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Not exactly, but to bring about a reduction of tensions anywhere in the world, which would include the Soviet Union.

Mr. MUNDT. OK, reduction of tensions with the Soviet Union. I believe that all the world, and certainly the Senator from South Dakota, would like to bring about a reduction of tensions with the Soviet Union. Had I felt otherwise, I would not have suggested the exchange, in the Smith-Mundt Act of the 80th Congress, with personnel behind the Iron Curtain as well as in the free countries. Had I felt otherwise, I would not have supported the appropriation for the publication of "Amerikonski," the American magazine which is published and distributed in Russia, although unhappily it is not made available to as many of the ordinary citiens of Russia as we would like.

I also approve of such a quid pro quo.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McINTYRE in the chair). The Senator's 5 minutes have expired.

Mr. MUNDT. I believe they have a magazine called "Sputnik" they ship over here. I approve of those things as exchanges on a reciprocal basis.

If I were an ally of the United States however, Mr. President, living in Bangkok or in Seoul, or if I were an ally of the United States living in Saigon, or Manila, or in any of the other countries which are helping us in this war I would worry a great deal more about the fact that the United States is signing a treaty, which on the face of it, in the terms incorporated, and in the language of the President in presenting it to the Congress in the state of the Union message, links it directly with expanded wartime trade with Russia. That would worry me because I would be worrying that my sons from my country who are fighting side by side with American boys would get killed as ruthlessly and relentlessly by Soviet arms sent to North Vietnam as do American boys. That would worry me much more than a treaty reservation which has the possibility of reducing the flow of arms from Russia to Hanoi.

I am sorry that the majority leader was called from the Chamber. I was responding to his statement, and I wanted to do it in that fashion while he was present.

I shall reiterate a point that I made in the presence of the majority leader, point No. 5, because he brought it up in different terms. The point to which I refer involves the statistics of the situation which confronts us.

There are 18,000 Americans traveling annually in Russia. It is true that nine of them a year, on the average, have been getting into trouble. It is true that approximately 500,000 Americans are in Vietnam. The figures with which we are confronted are not in dispute. The question, it seems to me, is how we can best protect that group of Americans most worthy of protection in wartime, because I was born and brought up on history books which led me to believe then, and I believe now, that when our country is at war we should give every conceivable support to our men in uniform. That is one of the reasons why I have supported the President's conduct of the war much more vigorously and much more consistently than many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle.

I share the unhappiness of many of my colleagues about the unsatisfactory results, but I have not felt it to be incumbent upon me to tell the President, who is the Commander in Chief, when to bomb, whether to bomb, where to bomb, how to bomb, and what targets to hit and how often and how hard. I have gone along on the fact that we have to protect those boys fighting our battles in Vietnam.

I believe that by this reservation or, if necessary, if this reservation is not adopted, by some other reservation or resolution of understanding or with a rejection of the treaty, we can do something which will help bring the Soviets to the point where they will realize the "counterproductiveness"—to use the State Department term—of their sending military support to their allies in Hanoi.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I wish to read a United Press International dispatch which supports what the Senator from South Dakota has just said:

> SAIGON.—Communist guerrillas bombarded the giant U.S. airbase at Da Nang with Russian-made rockets today. Virtually instant American retaliation chased away the Viet Cong and limited damage in the second assault on the post in 17 days.
>
> U.S. spokesmen said the guerrillas fired 15 140-mm rockets in 74 seconds from launch pads set in brush on the Yen River banks seven miles southwest of the base.

The use of the Russian-made rockets, which were first introduced 17 days ago, made it possible for the Vietcong to mount an assault against our boys from a greater distance with greater ease. Otherwise they would have had to take their heavy mortars through the brush in order to get closer to do their evil work. Now, with sophisticated rockets they can operate from a greater distance with greater ease. This makes them more effective.

If the Soviets are as interested in building bridges as we are they could start by not sending these Russian-made rockets to the Vietcong, as well as many other things that they send.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. The Senator has given a vivid, graphic, and a current bit of information in complete support of my position that if the Senate wants to do something to try to shorten the war—and I cannot guarantee that is going to happen—and if we want to try even to do something to make it less possible for the North Vietnamese to prolong the war, we have that opportunity in this vote.

We would take that step in the form of a reservation which does not alter, change, or modify the treaty at all, except as to timing. We say to the Russians: "If you expect to continue these war-aiding imports from the U.S.A. and have a consular office over here with economic attachés drumming up new business and finding new imports which you would like to have, you are going to have to discontinue your shipments of war materials to Vietnam."

This rocket situation is in point, as well as the fact that the North Vietnam Communists get all of their petroleum from Russia. If that supply can be reduced it would shorten the war.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would most respectfully disagree with my distinguished colleague. I do not believe his reservation would shorten the war one day. I do not think it would save one American life in Vietnam. I feel that the adoption of the Senator's reservation would kill this treaty, and would thus remove from the 18,000 Americans that travel in the U.S.S.R. annually, the protections provided under this treaty.

The question before the Senate on the convention is not the 500,000 men in Vietnam or in its immediate vicinity, but it is the 18,000 Americans within the Soviet Union who are subject to Soviet law in a closed society.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from South Dakota would like to consider both groups of Americans, with special consideration however being given to the 500,000 in uniform. I realize that the 18,000 tourists also deserve protection.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Every American citizen deserves protection.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. But the Senator wants to bring in the question of exports from this country to the Soviet Union, and he has several times. That question has no connection with the convention before us, which is tied exclusively to only one stipulation, and that is the protection of Americans who will be traveling in the Soviet Union.

The distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] has mentioned that the Vietcong—not the North Vietnamese but the Vietcong—are using Russian-made rockets in attacks on the Marine airbase at Danang in the north.

I think that American bombers and other types of planes are using American made bombs and other types of weapons in the north. You have a two-way street, with the Soviet Union aiding a Socialist ally and the United States aiding a democratic ally in South Vietnam.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I wish to point out that I do not think the two situations are at all analogous. Let us remember that the United States does not choose this war as an instrument of national policy. We have been involved in four wars in this century, none of which we started, none of which we were prepared for, and each of which we entered into reluctantly.

Today in southeast Asia we are trying to bring an end to the war by convincing those who do adopt war as an instrument of national policy that war is too costly an implement of national policy to further employ. That is why we are there. We did not start this war; they did. Let them, by some overt act show us that they are prepared to reject war as an instrument of national policy; then, we can, perhaps, start building bridges of friendship, and I shall be the first to advocate it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The distinguished Senator from Texas mentioned the possibility, and I assume he was referring to the pending reservation, about "ending" the war shortly—and I put the word "ending" in quotation marks.

The distinguished Senator from South Dakota has also said more or less that the adoption of his reservation could possibly bring about a shortening of the war.

I am not a military expert. I was only a seaman second class in the Navy, a private in the Army, and a PFC in the Marines, but I do have a pretty active interest in the Far East and southeast Asia based on spending some time out there, based on being a professor of history, if I may use that term without being lynched—and I see one of my fellow professors rising——

Mr. TOWER. If there is to be a lynching party with the distinguished majority leader, I believe that it would have to include me, because I was a professor of political science.

Mr. MUNDT. Let us not discuss the lynching of college professors, because then I would get myself involved as well. [Laughter.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. I withdraw the reference.

Mr. President, it is my belief that those who think there is a cheap or easy way to bring an end to the war in Vietnam are very much mistaken.

It is true that we cannot and will not be defeated militarily. We will not withdraw. We will make every effort to bring this situation to an honorable conclusion. But, until that negotiating table is reached, we have a long, hard row ahead of us in South Vietnam alone. What we shall see—and I believe and I know that my remarks will be taken in the proper spirit because I am not an expert—will be a reversion from phase 3 of Mao Tse-tung's handbook on war to phase 2, which will mean a return to guerrilla tactics and a slowdown in the use of organizational units of any great size.

But there are discussions now—and all my information is obtained from the press—to the effect that we are contemplating a move into the Mekong Delta. I believe that articles appeared in the press which stated that elements of the 9th Infantry have been sent into the Mekong Delta area. If I am not mistaken, the identification was made because of a statement made by the distinguished Senator from Texas a month or so ago.

Mr. TOWER. If the Senator from Montana will yield at that point——

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. No; that was conjecture on the part of the New York Times. At that moment, the 9th Division was not established in the Delta. It was simply announced that I would visit the 9th Division and would also visit the Mekong Delta, and the New York Times put two and two together. I did not know myself where the 9th Division was at the time. I doubt that we are contemplating going into the delta. We are there, sir. The U.S. Navy has been there for some time patroling the river. I can speak with only slightly more knowledge than the Senator from Montana in that I am a mate, bo'sun's third class, in the U.S. Navy Reserve.

Mr. MUNDT. If I may interpolate there, for those who read the Record, the distinguished Senator from Texas has just about 1 week ago returned from Vietnam where he spent—how much time?

Mr. TOWER. One month in southeast Asia.

Mr. MUNDT. How long was the Senator in Vietnam?

Mr. TOWER. Six days.

Mr. MUNDT. Six days, looking at the situation firsthand around him. Within the last week, I heard the Senator make a very fine address on his observations there. They were most pertinent and informative, so that the Senator does speak with recent, firsthand knowledge of the situation in Vietnam.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would underscore that. The Senator from Texas has spent several weeks in Vietnam, and this is only one of many trips which he has made. However, I want to point out that all my information comes from the public prints, that in an indirect way the Senator from Texas was involved in my knowledge of the facts—and it is true—namely, that there are elements of the 9th Infantry in the Mekong Delta. They were sent there around the latter part of 1966 or the first part of this year. It is my belief that those elements have been increased in recent days and that there are Navy boats patroling the rivers and other waterways in the Mekong Delta; that if we are going to go into that area, it will be much more difficult than the fighting which has already taken place in the central highlands, and which is still continuing in the vicinity of the four northern provinces and the DMZ area.

What we have down there is about 25,000 miles of estuaries and waterways of various kinds.

What we have down there is the main strength of the Vietcong, organizational and otherwise.

What we have down there are people who do not look upon the Vietcong as Communists but as nationalists.

What we have down there is the reservoir from which the Vietcong elements draw their manpower to carry on activities in other parts of Vietnam.

The point I am getting to is this: In response to assumptions made by both the Senator from Texas and the Senator from South Dakota that the end of this war is not in sight, it is my belief that if things go as they are and we do not reach the negotiating table, we shall be in Vietnam and other parts of southeast Asia for many, many years to come.

All we have done is touch the frosting on the cake. We have not gotten down to bedrock—if I may be excused for mixing my metaphors—and the toughest days lie ahead. All one need do to corroborate that belief—and I am sure the Senator from Texas will agree with this statement—is to talk to the military men who will have to carry on the activities against guerrilla units; these military men will affirm that the guerrilla phase of the war is one attracting their greatest concern. That means that insofar as the Mekong area is concerned, much of the equipment used in the central and northern parts of Vietnam will not be usable because of the entirely different character of the terrain.

Thus, I do not look for a short ending to the war, I am sorry to say. I do not look for a cheap way out. I think that the solution is not a military one which we can accomplish, if only we are willing to pay the price—and it looks as if we are—but a political one by reaching, through negotiations, a settlement which will be honorable.

Mr. MUNDT. I share the Senator's apprehensions about the long continuation of this war. If we continue to follow existing policies certainly, if we continue to pursue existing practices, and if we continue to fight this war and conduct ourselves diplomatically and ship strategic supplies and material to the Russians for them to transship to Hanoi, I think it will be a long, long, bloody war indeed and our policies will be helping to prolong it.

Certainly, if I gave the majority leader any reason to feel that I thought adoption of the reservation would bring the war to an end, I was speaking with more hyperbole and enthusiasm than I ordinarly engage in.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I was trying to point out that I thought it would shorten the war.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is the word.

Mr. MUNDT. Not end the war, but shorten it. If, in fact, it would do something to bring on the guerrilla phase, with the kind of weaponry now being supplied by the Russians, such a guerrilla phase would not be nearly so effective in killing our boys as it is now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I wonder whether I could have a little of the Senator's time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from South Dakota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Let me interrupt the Senator to say that the guerrilla phase No. 2 would be most difficult.

Mr. MUNDT. I agree that it would be difficult.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Most difficult.

Mr. MUNDT. Most difficult, but perhaps not in terms of loss of human life. Our boys will not then be shot at with ground-to-ground rockets, there will be no Migs operating during guerrilla tactics, shooting at our flyers, or trying to shoot them out of the air. If the war is reduced to one of guerrilla tactics, in my opinion, even that would be some progress toward eventual peace.

The point I am trying to emphasize is that we are not doing anything to shorten the war when we propose to expand, not decrease, American exports to swell the arsenal of Russia supplying every sophisticated weapon being used by Hanoi to kill American boys in increasing numbers, supplying them with petroleum, and even with the boats, tanks, and trucks, needed for shipping supplies to the guerrillas for that aspect of the war.

I want to put the evidence in the Record, because I do not want to be accused of having invented the idea that there is a relation between the consular treaty and economic trade and economic policy—I have put it in before and I put it in again, because I get it from the President's state of the Union address which is his proposal to Congress for action that he would like to have occur—the President's statement:

> Tonight I now ask and urge the Congress to help in foreign and commercial trade policies.

Note what he is asking. He is asking us to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill, and by approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union.

There is the tie-in. There is the thing I would be worrying about if I were leading the Government of Thailand, which is betting its very existence on American arms in Vietnam. That would worry me as an ally if I were sitting in the President's seat in the Philippine Islands. If I were in any way, shape, or form wanting or desiring the American forces to win, I would be worried about the action we are taking here in the Senate of the United States unless we placed in the treaty a reservation which would give our diplomats a tool to help reduce, and I believe it could be used to help stop, the shipment of the flood of arms from Russia to Hanoi.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Actually, of course, what has happened in Vietnam, as the Senator from Montana has mentioned, is that the enemy has fallen back to phase 2, the small unit, guerrilla type of warfare. That is because we have been confronting the enemy in the main force. As a result we have turned the corner, because the enemy had entered into phase 3. It now has turned back to phase 2. They look to the time when they can once again get back to phase 3 in their attempts to wrest the country away from the Government of South Vietnam and its allies.

What we are now doing is the hard and bloody business of finding and seeking the Vietcong infrastructure, to capture and destroy it. It is true that the lines of communication were and are used to aid and send supplies into the delta and the highlands to face our forces. This is an important part of our operation. This type of operation was evidenced by Operation Cedar Falls and Operation Junction City. We find that we are hurting the Vietcong to the extent that they have serious manpower problems. The Vietcong main force units are now being replenished and replaced by the North Vietnamese. In other words, the Vietcong, in order to replenish its main force, must rely on the North Vietnamese Army, whose men are being sent south, and which, of course, have to be logistically supported. So it does not make sense to destroy the enemy's lines of communications within South Vietnam and not make attempts to destroy the enemy's lines of communications outside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. TOWER. May I have 2 additional minutes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator. I would like to get into this.

Mr. MUNDT. Make it 10 minutes, 5 minutes from each side.

Mr. TOWER. If we destroy the lines of communications within the country it means they are still receiving logistic support from outside if we do not destroy those lines of communications. Nobody has contended that it is going to be easy, but I think I am correct when I state that our field commanders think we are doing pretty well and that we have turned the corner——

Mr. MANSFIELD. Militarily?

Mr. TOWER. Militarily. And the only way we are going to be able to carry out more effectively our pacification programs is in that way. The people in the Mekong Delta are getting sick and tired of having the Vietcong extort taxes from them, take food away from them, take away their young men of 14 and 15 years of age and draft them into the Vietcong army. There is growing resentment against that activity in South Vietnam, which I think is bound to have benefit and favorable effects in our winning the people over in South Vietnam. At the same time that we are winning them over, we will be giving them a sense of nationality and developing leadership to further their social and economic development.

I think the Senator from South Dakota, in this reservation, is saying not that we do not want to build these bridges of friendship, but is saying, "Give us one overt sign that you want to bring about peace, that you reject war as an instrument of national policy, and show everybody that that is what you want."

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I had intended to go further into the debate, but I see that the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] wishes to enter into the debate, so I shall wait until a later time.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Tennesseee.

Mr. GORE. I merely wanted to call attention to the fact that the discussion in the Senate today with respect to the nature and character of the war in the delta, south of Saigon, illustrates that a great many people are now tempted greatly to oversimplify the character of the tragic conflict in Vietnam, to treat it as a war of aggression on the part of the North Vietnamese, and a war to resist aggression on the part of the United States.

As a matter of fact, as the Senator from Montana has cited, the war in the delta is civil in character. There is no substantial evidence, which I have heard, that North Vietnamese are in the delta in any substantial number.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I stand to be corrected, but my understanding is that there is no evidence of a single North Vietnamese organization within the delta. That is what I understand to be a 100-percent Vietcong operation.

Mr. TOWER. However, it is the Vietcong in the delta who are providing food and foodstuffs to feed the members of the army in the North and the enemy forces around Saigon, which must be logistically supplied.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; and furnish manpower in the north, as well.

Mr. TOWER. Yes.

Mr. GORE. If the Senator will yield further, this leads to the discussion of what the Vietcong are doing in the delta or elsewhere. I merely wanted to state that some people oversimplify this tragic conflict.

Of course there is aggression. There might be some debate as to who is the greater aggressor. There is no question that there is aggression. On the other hand, we tend to overlook the fact that the Vietcong are overwhelmingly indigenous in character and that, particularly in the delta, they resist the rule of the government now in power in Saigon. This, it seems to me, illustrates that the war is still, in considerable part, civil in character, and in which the United States has become a participant not only in resisting major units from North Vietnam, but has now taken over what was so recently to have been the duty and responsibility of the government of Saigon: the repression of the civil unrest and the civil war elements of the Vietcong, even in the delta.

So the situation is extremely complicated, and those who say that the signal for peace must come exclusively from Hanoi tend, to me, to oversimplify. Signals for peace must come from many sources—from Moscow, from Peking, from Hanoi, from the Vietcong, from the United States, and from other elements allied with us.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I hope the Senator from Tennessee did not get the impression that I was trying to oversimplify the situation. I have seen enough of Vietnam, having been there several times and having been all over the country, to know that there is no way to simplify it. There is no simple way to tell what is going on there. It is almost impossible for people to understand how we can enjoy military success when we do not have a Battle of the Bulge or a Battle of Waterloo—a battle which is obviously a military success. It is difficult to gage military success.

Mr. GORE. I agree.

Mr. TOWER. I hasten to assure the Senator from Tennessee that I, for one, do not believe that we are engaged in a simple struggle. However, the shift in emphasis between the military forces of the United States and of the Republic of Vietnam is this: The United States, with its mobility and its great firepower strength, will be used primarily to fight the main-forces engagements and to engage in dynamic types of operation—search and sweep, and that sort of thing; whereas the units of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam will stay in relatively fixed positions and will engage in antiguerrilla warfare, suppression, and pacification work in cooperation with our Armed Forces. We have not carved out the easiest job for the Army of Vietnam in the shift of emphasis.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What are the three South Vietnamese divisions, which have been there for years, doing to pacify or to sweep the Vietcong, which controls the delta?

Mr. TOWER. They have at least prevented its being taken over in its entirety by the Vietcong. We do control the biggest market center in the delta. It has been under the control of ARVN for some time. That is the city of Can Toh.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is the Senator from Texas of the belief that there is a tacit understanding between the South Vietnamese in the delta and the Vietcong, and that it has existed for years?

Mr. TOWER. It is not my belief that there is such a tacit understanding. If the distinguished Senator from Montana has evidence of it, I think he should present it to us, because it is something we should be aware of.

Mr. MANSFIELD. My information comes from the public prints.

Mr. TOWER. Then the Senator should not believe everything he reads in the newspapers.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do not.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I heard the comment made by the Senator from Tennessee that the question of aggression is one of doubt, and that it might well be said that the United States is the aggressor.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LAUSCHE. I yield.

Mr. GORE. I said aggression might be subject to debate. I did not say "it might well be said." I indicated that some people might say it.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does the Senator make the statement that the United States is the aggressor?

Mr. MANSFIELD. No, the Senator was just citing a hypothetical case.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Let the Senator speak for himself.

Mr. GORE. The Senator from Tennessee does not propose to permit the Senator from Ohio to put words in his mouth, and then be interrogated thereon. If I have a statement to make, I shall make it without the assistance of inquiry from the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. My position is that the North Vietnamese are the aggressors, and I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee whether he is, either expressly or impliedly, stating that the United States is the aggressor.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, in the first place, it is contrary to the rules of the Senate for one Senator, having the floor, to interrogate another Senator who has not the floor.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. GORE. I resent the Senator from Ohio undertaking to place in the mouth of the Senator from Tennessee statements which he did not make, and then proposing to ask him questions as if he had made such statements or intended so to state.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, if I am out of order, I will withdraw the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired. Who yields time?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield further?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I suggest to the majority leader that since this is mostly Democratic colloquy, he yield some time from his side of the aisle.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, only one investigation has been made about where the aggression has occurred. That was by the legal committee of the International Control Commission, consisting of Canada, Poland, and India, I believe. That investigation was made in 1962. The report of that commission is available. In substance, it states that the North Vietnamese, by infiltration, by the sending of troops from the north to the south, and by sending in infiltrators and subversive operators, invaded South Vietnam.

If there is any other actual finding in existence except the one I have described, I wish that one of the Senators on the floor would make a statement to that effect. I know of only one investigation, and that is the one of 1962. It was made by the Legal Committee of the Commission created by the Geneva accord of 1954, and its conclusion was that the North Vietnamese were sending infiltrators and others into South Vietnam——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 2 minutes have expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE (continuing). To create disorder, violence, and revolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield me 1 minute?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator from Tennessee needs no defense from me or from anyone else; but what the Senator from Tennessee was stating as a fact, in relation to the penetration now going on in the delta, was that it was by and large almost entirely, if not entirely, a Vietcong concentration, and had been so, not for years but for decades.

It appears to me—and my figures, again, are subject to correction—that as far as the forces opposed to us in that area are concerned, they number approximately 20 percent North Vietnamese and 80 percent South Vietnamese, most of whom, I suppose, would be considered Vietcong.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much time?

Mr. GORE. I would like 5 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I have the floor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield further to me on this matter?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I wish to answer one statement which the majority leader has made, before he leaves the floor. Could we do that, and then continue the colloquy?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield the Senator from Montana 1 additional minute.

Mr. MUNDT. I wanted to comment on the letter the majority leader received yesterday from the Secretary of State. I do not think it will be the only letter put into the RECORD today; there may be some more. But I want to keep up to date on them.

This one relates to the alleged advantages of notification and consultation. It says nothing about immunity, because that is the advantage bearing the imprimatur of the Russian bear. Those are the three elements which are involved in the treaty.

From that, the Secretary tries to build the importance of the treaty far beyond its actual merit. Mr. President, I submit that when I hear the State Department talk about this treaty, it certainly could be said that never has so much been claimed by so many for so few, on the basis of what is actually written into the language of the treaty.

Many Senators speak about this treaty with easy enthusiasm, alleging that it is going to free American prisoners when they get in jail. That is not so. It provides for notification and consultation only. They talk about the 18,000 persons who would be helped by it. That is not so. Nine individuals only, on the average, would be helped each year.

It seems to me, consequently, that we ought to weigh against these few advantages, so badly overclaimed, the actual merits of the treaty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

I wish to ask the majority leader, before he leaves the Chamber, about something he did not incorporate in his speech.

I am disturbed about what happened in the State Department yesterday. One of the arguments that has been used by some Senators, in private conversation and perhaps in public debate, is that this treaty is supposed to be a matter by which we can drive a wedge between the U.S.S.R. and Red China.

I think it might be good to drive such wedges, if that is possible. But I was disturbed when the same State Department people, who go around whispering in the ears of undecided Senators that they may become wedge builders by voting for the treaty, announced yesterday that the State Department had lifted all restrictions upon travel by U.S. citizens to Albania.

Mr. President, what is Albania? It is a Communist country, to be sure. The State Department's announcement pretty well knocks in the head the idea that you have to have American consulates to protect the American traveler, because we do not even recognize Albania, and have not recognized it for more than 20 years.

Albania is entirely outside the realm of diplomatic recognition, but this action does something else. It puts the State Department on the side of granting a favor to Albania, which is a Chinese member of the Communist bloc in Europe and not a Soviet member.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, we are being importuned to court the favor of the Russians by a treaty which means more trade with Moscow and, at the same time, conceding things to Albania, a country alined with China. This is a situation which tends to create dissidence instead of amity between the U.S.S.R. and the United States.

I am confused by the dexterity by which the State Department can argue every side of every issue and then come up with conclusions to serve their immediate purposes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Ban on Albania Travel Is Lifted," written by Bernard Gwertzman, and published in the Washington Evening Star of yesterday be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BAN ON ALBANIA TRAVEL IS LIFTED

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

The State Department today lifted all restrictions on travel by U.S. citizens to Albania.

At the same time, however, the department announced it was retaining its stand on travel to Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea and Red China. Travel to those areas is permitted only by special permission.

Carl Bartch, a State Department spokesman said ending of the travel prohibition to Communist Albania was not due to any changes in Albania but rather to a fresh interpretation of the new U.S. passport regulations that went into effect last year.

Under those regulations, the secretary of state each year must give reasons for any travel ban.

A full statement of the department's reasons for maintaining current restrictions will be listed in the Federal Register tomorrow, but Bartch summed up by saying travel was banned to North Vietnam because of armed hostilities there, and to North Korea, Cuba and Red China because "unrestricted travel to those countries would seriously impair the conduct of U.S. foreign affairs."

In practice, newsmen have had no difficulty having their passports approved for travel to restricted area. But except in rare instances, they have had great difficulty getting visas from those countries. In the last year, the department also has permitted scholars and others with legitimate reasons for travel to have their passports authorized.

Tiny Albania, an enclave in Eastern Europe, has been Communist since 1945 and has not had diplomatic relations with the

United States since 1948. It is isolated because it has very poor relations with neighboring Yugoslavia and in 1961 broke relations with the Soviet Union. It is Red China's closest ally in the world and relies on Peking to a great extent for economic aid.

Bartch would not elaborate on reasons for maintaining the restrictions on travel to the other countries, saying it is "spelled out" in the Federal Register.

The Johnson administration has been seeking to improve relations with Eastern Europe for several years and the lifting of travel restrictions to Albania could be regarded in this light.

Albania is a member of the Warsaw Pact, but has few ties with the other nations of Eastern Europe since her closest political friend is Red China.

The State Department's decision probably was based on the fact that there were few reasons not to lift the restrictions.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the distinguished and able senior Senator from Ohio, it seems to me, has just illustrated another tendency toward which so many people tend, and that is to interpret everything that our opposition in this war does as all bad and everything that the United States does as all good.

A great leader said a long time ago that war is hell. It is destructive. It is vicious. It is deadly.

I am not sure that an entirely unbiased observer—which I am not—would hold that there is no element of aggression involved when one nation, without a declaration of war against another, sails its ships off its harbors, off its shores, and bombs facilities and harbors and ports and, by mistake, destroys homes.

I am not sure that an entirely unbiased observer would hold that under all the circumstances the United States has any more moral or political or legal right to aid South Vietnam than other countries have to aid North Vietnam.

What we have in Vietnam is a confrontation of two aggressive cultures. I do not like to describe our culture as aggressive in terms of the ugly connotations usually attributed to aggression, but the facts are that our culture is Judeo-Christian in its concept and evangelical in its zeal, in its religious fervor, and in its political doctrine.

We believe in principles—and when I say "we," I include myself. We believe in the equality of man. We believe in freedom. We believe in self-determination, and we are willing to support our beliefs with our actions, and I applaud that.

When, as chairman of the African Affairs Subcommittee, I went to 15 countries in Africa, I found that the leaders in almost all those countries, if not all of them, had been educated in the mission schools largely supported by the Protestant and Catholic churches of the United States. I took great pride in that fact.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield an additional 5 minutes to the Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I took great pride in that fact. My own religious affiliation is the Missionary Baptist Church.

As a child I contributed my nickels and dimes and looked at the beautiful post cards depicting how the mission schools were bringing light and freedom and a better life to the people in distant and bereft lands. As a Senator I have supported many bills of foreign aid.

So, we have spread our culture. It has been a boon to mankind who have received it.

Not only has the United States done this, but so have our Western Allies.

But the shot heard round the world was fired in our country.

Democracy is still the most treasured and most revolutionary political precept known to man. I am proud of those precepts, and I take pride in the fact that it has appealed to the mankind of the world and that we have been aggressive in our culture, evangelical in our religion, generous with our resources, and, I think, noble in our impulses.

But, that neither means that we have always been perfect, nor that every other people on earth agree with the nobility and the perfection of our performance.

There is in the world another aggressive culture, having sort of a materialistic religion, which I reject and resist. But it, too, has zeal. And it, too, has spread.

Unfortunately, it has adopted war as an instrument of its spread. This we have not done, except that we have been drawn into conflict, and sometimes under circumstances subject to debate.

But however that may be, these two cultures are in confrontation in southeast Asia.

I hope that we can find a way to live in peace, because the centers of these two cultures now have the power almost to make the world uninhabitable.

I am not sure that it serves the cause of peace, however, to oversimplify the issue, to distort it, or to confuse the purposes and the motives and the effect of the conflict.

I only rose to suggest that the description of the war or the contest now underway in the delta south of Saigon illustrated that this war is no simple one of aggression on one side and resistance to aggression on the other.

It started with a large element of civil conflict, and it seemed to me—and it still seems to me—that the nature of the hostilities in the delta illustrate that it is still civil in considerable respects.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 5 minutes have expired.

Mr. GORE. I ask that I may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 5 additional minutes to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. GORE. Several Senators have been to Vietnam. I visited there once, some time ago. Perhaps duty should call me to return there to get a firsthand view. Others seem to have benefited therefrom. Perhaps the senior Senator from Ohio and I should undertake to gather firsthand information.

I humbly suggest, in conclusion, that the overwhelming challenge of mankind is to find means of living together without resort to war. Even a brush fire can be a tinder box. Even a brush fire anywhere can be the spark, the tinder box, to set underway a world conflagration out of which civilization itself might be destroyed.

There are now in place in the silos and on the submarines sufficient weapons which within a matter of minutes or hours, according to expert testimony to which I have listened recently, could destroy more than half of the people in the United States and more than half of the people in the Soviet Union—perhaps as much as two-thirds of either country—and perhaps render the remainder of the country ultimately uninhabitable. Yet, some people say that we should withhold nothing to crush our foe in Vietnam.

Surely, we could defeat North Vietnam. Within an hour or less, North Vietnam could be rendered uninhabitable—even by insects. So if we wish to go to this extent to bring peace to Vietnam, and if the silence of death is peace, it can be achieved in an hour.

But, Mr. President, can the situation be so simplified? My purpose today in injecting myself into this debate was not to get into a controversy, but to plead with Senators and with all my fellow Americans to resist the temptation of oversimplification of this very complicated conflict in southeast Asia.

True, as I have said, we could bring peace—the silence of peace, if the silence of death is peace—to Vietnam; but would that not unleash the powers of destruction upon a wider scale? Would that not isolate the United States, even if it did not stir wider conflagration, in the family of nations?

These things illustrate, it seems to me, the necessity of keeping in focus this tragic, this complicated, this tremendously involved war in which we are a participant. Perhaps if we would keep these diverse elements in focus and avoid oversimplification, avoid an emotional treatment of all that the other side does as bad and all that the United States does as entirely pure, not subject to question, a spirit of understanding might be facilitated. Perhaps this might facilitate a means of making the necessary compromises and understandings to achieve peace in Vietnam, which I would earnestly like to see.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like 5 or 7 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 7 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I recognize the deep sincerity of the Senator from Tennessee in attempting to work out a solution of the danger that exists to the world in South Vietnam. I respectfully state, however, that in my judgment our country has done everything conceivable to bring the shooting to an end, and to bring the participants in the trouble to the negotiating table. We have not failed. We have attempted, with all our might, to hold back and to induce Ho Chi Minh to sit down with us and negotiate an understanding that would bring the violence in South Vietnam to an end.

It was stated a moment ago, "Unfortunately, North Vietnam has adopted war as an instrument of its purpose to spread communism." I believe that is an accurate statement. North Vietnam wants to spread communism, even though war is necessary.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like to complete my statement.

Mr. GORE. I believe I said not only North Vietnam but also other Communist countries.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I believe that is the fact.

The Senator from Tennessee has stated that our efforts should be to find means of living together without resort to war. Mr. President, I would be base in the worst degree and unfaithful to truth if I were to state that my country has not tried to find means of living together with all the people of the world. Can it be said with integrity that the Communists have sought a similar objective? Everywhere they are trying to spread the domination of communism by whatever means are necessary, even to the extent of resorting to war.

Our country, through the President, has stated that in southeast Asia we are prepared to establish a banking institution that will provide financial help not only to South Vietnam but also to Communist North Vietnam. Can there be a more charitable and a more clear-cut purpose of trying to achieve peace than that program of the President? To the people of South Vietnam up to the end of 1964 the United States has provided $2.1 billion of economic aid.

I do not claim that everything our country does is right, but I do say, in the words of Decatur:

> Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

The war is going on. Ho Chi Minh refuses to go to the negotiating table.

Let us take a look at what might have been some of the reasons why he refuses to go to the negotiating table. In this Chamber—and I am not saying that the Senator from Tennessee made this statement—statements have been made that our country is the aggressor. I wish to repeat what I said 20 minutes ago: that the only agency that made an investigation of the true facts in South Vietnam reported that North Vietnam sent in its infiltrators and subversive operators to create violence in South Vietnam.

The Legal Committee of the International Control Commission consisting of representatives of the governments of Canada, Poland, and India in 1962 investigated and reported:

> There is evidence to show that arms, armed and unarmed personnel, munitions and other supplies have been sent from the Zone in the North to the Zone in the South with the objective of supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks, directed against the Armed Forces and Administration of the Zone in the South.
>
> There is evidence that the PAVN (People's Army of Viet Nam) has allowed the Zone in the North to be used for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in the Zone in the South, aimed at the overthrow of the Administration in the South.

Second. The statement was made, either on the floor of the Senate or in other places, that the United States has made prostitutes out of the women of South Vietnam. What does the world conclude when words of that character come from high echelon officials of the U.S. Government?

Third. Statements have been made that the United States desires to establish colonial domination over South Vietnam so as to exploit its human beings and its mineral resources. What good can South Vietnam do for the United States economically? Not a single bit of good. Yet, those are the words that have come out of this Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McIntyre in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Fourth. The charge has been made the United States is indulging in terrorism, taking the lives of innocent men, women, and children of South Vietnam. The statement was just made that the United States, by mistake, has destroyed the homes of innocent people in South Vietnam. That statement is true. But never can it be said that the United States by design, by plan, or by deliberation has taken the life of a single person, as far as I can understand, in South Vietnam.

North Vietnam, through its Ho Chi Minh troops and through the Vietcong, has adopted a plan to deliberately and designedly maim people and kill them. Yet the charge is made that the United States is the country that is promoting terrorism. I cannot stand by and listen to that type of argument without raising my voice.

Fifth. The argument is made that the United States is demanding unconditional surrender and that, therefore, Ho Chi Minh cannot go to the negotiating table. Let us take a look at the facts. Five times we have paused in the bombing, once for 37 days. On each occasion we continued the pause as an indication of our purpose to negotiate. On every occasion Ho Chi Minh adamantly stood by and never yielded for a moment. Our Government said, "We will quit the bombing; all we ask you to do, Ho Chi Minh, is to quit sending troops and military equipment into the South. If we quit bombing, we do not want you to use your military equipment to take the lives of American boys." Even that argument has fallen upon deaf ears.

Mr. President, my only purpose in making this presentation is to give expression to my honest judgment and not to stand silent while my country is being blackened and that of the Communists is being whitened. I would not be at ease at the end of the day if by silence I indicated my acquiescence in the denunciations that are repeatedly being made about what our country has tried to do.

We have sent, as I recall, more than $1 billion into South Vietnam, primarily to help those people. I wish to mention one further fact, and I would be delinquent if I did not do so.

Several months ago the statement was made that our Government was dressing its agents in Communist uniforms, and telling those agents to go out and rape South Vietnamese women and kill their men and their children for the purpose of putting the blame on the Communists.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield 2 additional minutes to me?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield 3 additional minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, that statement was picked up by Peking and Moscow and spread all over the world that a Member of the U.S. Congress had said that we, in that devious and deceptive way, were violating the honor and the bodies of the Vietnamese women and were destroying the lives of innocent men, women, and children.

Now to summarize: We are not the aggressors. We are not trying to prostitute the women of South Vietnam. We are not seeking colonial domination. We are not practicing terrorism. We are not demanding unconditional surrender. Those are my views, and I would be delinquent if I did not state them on the floor of the Senate.

I hold my friend the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] in the highest respect. I recognize that he is attempting to reach some avenue through which we may procure peace. I know that he understands, likewise, that I am seeking that same avenue.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield?

Mr. LAUSCHE. I yield.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator for his generous references. Perhaps if this exchange has served no other purpose, it has illustrated that both of us hold sincere views and that there is a great similarity, considering the objective and goal we have in mind.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes. Then I shall yield to the distinguished Senator from Texas, who wishes to make an address in connection with the pending reservation.

We have been for the last hour listening to an interesting colloquy, engaged in by three of my fellow members of the Committee on Foreign Relations who represent the Democratic Party. The division of opinion that has been manifested by them, the divided unity which exists, the acrimony, the criticism, and the uncertainty which have been expressing, all by able, diligent, and loyal Democratic members of the committee, are, in my opinion most significant signs of our times. But they are going to shrink into insignificance compared with the growing division of opinion throughout the country, among the people generally, among the parents of the boys in Vietnam and of the young men and women who confront the possibility of service there, and among the populace generally, if we do nothing different, in the whole war picture in Vietnam from continuing the same monotonous, bloody formula in which we have been engaged, with comparative futility, for 5 long years.

What is that formula? Draft boys. Draft men. Send them to fight in Vietnam. Send strategic materials and supplies to Russia. Send over 400 items, different in nature, to Russia to relieve its consumer economy and to strengthen its industrial complex. Do nothing to discourage the Russians from sending to Vietnam all of the modern weapons required to kill the boys whom we draft and send there, and to continue to escalate our casualty lists. In the main, that has been the formula, at least for the last 3 years, and increasingly since October 12 when the President by Executive order expanded our shipments of supplies to step up the capacity of Russia to supply additional armaments to our enemy in Vietnam. So I think we must try something different.

I am impressed by one statement the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] made, when he said that the signals for peace have to come from many sources. I quite agree. We have sent them out repeatedly from the United States. I regret that the President has not done it very adroitly, certainly not with effectiveness, although we should not criticize him for trying. Perhaps one cannot be effective under a situation where the punishment received by the North Vietnamese is probably not so large as the economic and military input they are receiving from their allies in Russia and China. But he is right when he says that a signal for peace could come from Moscow. This reservation might help promote that signal, because if this reservation should be attached, all we would need to shorten the war would be one telephone call from the men in charge of the Kremlin to the men in charge of the war in Hanoi. It could go something like this, to put it in American laymen's language:

"Hello, Ho. This is Kosygin talking. We are having a little trouble with our American friends. We are also having a lot of trouble keeping up our economy and manufacturing products as fast as we should like to. We must continue to get imports from the United States if we are going to utilize them in our economy and be able to supply you with the weapons you need in this war. Now we are all for you, please be assured, but self-preservation is the first law of nations, Ho. You know that. So we are going to have to taper off with our war supplies to you. As a matter of fact, we are going to have to cut them off entirely. We are breaking this news to you gently. Make the best deal you can and move soon because we are no longer going to be your arsenal for war supplies."

Mr. President, that is the kind of signal for peace that could come out of Moscow, evolving from this kind of reservation. That is the kind of signal for peace which would be effective and bring Ho Chi Minh to the negotiating table mighty fast. I hope that we do not miss the opportunity to advise the State Department of this experiment which we would like to have them undertake, with no possibility of hurting anyone but with a great possibility of shortening the war in Vietnam.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, would the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. It has been said that the Soviet Union has to supply aid to Ho Chi Minh so that Moscow can keep up its rivalry with Peking for influence in Hanoi. But, does it not occur to the Senator from South Dakota, regardless of how much help the Soviet Union sends to Hanoi, that the dominant influence there politically is now and by nature of things will be in the future Pekingese and not Muscovite?

Mr. MUNDT. Of course it will, because of the situation of geography, because of race, and because of culture. That is inevitable.

Mr. TOWER. Does it not occur to the Senator from South Dakota that the Soviets are aware of this and that, therefore, the only reasoning they could have is that perhaps they want to keep the United States bogged down and involved, wasting men, materiel, and money in pursuing the war in southeast Asia?

Mr. MUNDT. There is no question about it. What is it costing the Russians? They are short of many industrial supplies but they are getting them from this country and Hanoi thus gets the arms it needs—via the Soviet Union—the arms will then eventually be used against our American troops in Vietnam. There are 400 different items we now make available to Communist Russia, some of them on credit. There is, for example, this new automobile factory which is going to be set up in Russia, under Fiat management from Italy, in part with money borrowed from our American Export-Import Bank. Some of our exports will be exchanged for Russian imports which will drive down American raw material prices in our own economy, such as timber and furs, the importation of which will add to the price distress in this country for those products.

What are we really doing to induce the North Vietnamese Communists to come to the peace table?

Ho Chi Minh has a very good formula operating for him. Let us put ourselves in Ho Chi Minh's place, and we wonder why he has not answered any of the 36 suggestions for peace negotiation which President Johnson states he has sent out to him?

I believe that President Johnson is telling the truth on this report of his repeated calls for peace.

Will someone please indicate what we would have to do to make Ho Chi Minh come to the conference table, when the means of shipping him petroleum and materiel of war are shipped to him free from Moscow? This is good for Ho.

He impresses into service many of the soldiers for his army who are not even for him. He picks them up in the north. He takes them away from the peasants in the Delta area of the south. He has something pretty good going for him there. He is safe and free from bombing. His people are not subject to the kind of bombing that the people of Berlin, Munich, and other German cities got. Ho tells his people, "Don't worry. You are not going to get bombed as the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were in Japan."

We have got to induce him in some way to come to the conference table. We cannot do it unless we do something different from what we have been doing these past 5 war torn years. Lyndon Johnson could not do it in 36 tries. I say that Kosygin can do it in one effort with one telephone call: "Hello, Ho. The deal is all over, Ho. We have gotten ourselves in a bad spot. Our people want a little bit more of those consumer goods. They have had a taste of it and we cannot continue to utilize our labor force, our materials, and our machinery, to continue sending you all these war supplies. We are going to have to discontinue our assistance. Good luck, Ho, old fellow, but count us out."

We stand a chance to get the war over in that way if our President and his diplomats will use this reservation as a device for influencing Russia to cease its effective program of prolonging the Vietnamese war. That could shorten the war, Mr. President. That will shorten it, in my opinion. President Johnson, having failed 36 times in trying for peace under prevailing conditions, I suggest the Senate make at least this one attempt of its own to open up a new approach to peace.

The President can try for the 37th, the 38th, or the 39th time, but it is a maladroit system to seek peace by calling upon our enemy to come to the conference table while he thinks he is winning.

The other way I have just described seems to be a lot more realistic, positive, practical, and workable procedure since it will convince our enemy he cannot win because his war supplies from Russia have been shut off.

I think that Senators should vote to insist that we give our boys and our country that opportunity for peace and not deny it by saying, "No, we will just use the same old routine which, after 5 years, and 36 Presidential pleas, and 50,000 casualties, has brought no prospects for peace."

Today, the majority leader stated that the war in Vietnam could go on for many, many years. I am afraid he may be right. This reservation, however, provides a realistic opportunity to end it.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, if in fact, the ratification of this Consular Pact could be that illusive first step toward an end to our differences with the Soviets, that step which some felt was taken when administration-pressured, massive wheat shipments to Russia were agreed to, or again when we ratified the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, or more recently, when by Executive order of October 12, 1966, the shipment of some 400 new types of exports to Russia was authorized, if there were any concrete indication this could be that first step toward world peace, then I would take it unhesitatingly. But let us consider the facts.

Recent efforts by Soviet Russia to undermine freedom, in particular in Vietnam, need little documentation; they are well known to us all. Propagandawise, we are today labeled by the U.S.S.R. as an aggressor nation. World opinion mobilization against us is an ever current Soviet tactic. Massive shipments by Russia of arms and ammunition and all manner of military supplies now going into the North Vietnamese hands, are being deployed against our American and Allied troops this very moment.

Mr. President, if ratification were indeed that first step toward peace, the fact that the Soviets have generally never hesitated to disregard any or all parts of our agreements with them, when it was to their benefit to do so, might be overlooked.

Let us overlook almost all, Mr. President, if the adoption of this measure would end present hostilities. Or if we were yet in that cold war period, perhaps this treaty ratification would be in the best interests of world peace.

But from everything we can see, this is not that first step, and most certainly we are no longer in that cold war era. This is an extremely hot war era. The greatest number of American casualties suffered thus far in Vietnam in any 7-day period, occurred just last week.

The January 12, 1967, issue of the Reporter contained a very interesting and enlightening article by Albert Parry entitled "Soviet Aid to Vietnam."

The article made specific reference to reports by a Soviet newsman and pictures taken by Soviet camermen who recently accompanied Vietcong guerrilla units operating within 35 miles of Saigon.

> It is from reports like these—

Said Parry—

> that we get an impression of the growing Russian presence in Vietnam. The picture can be filled out by bits and pieces of information, some casual and scattered, yet significant, and the Soviet and other East European press; the monitored texts of the surprisingly frequent broadcasts on the subject emanating from sundry East European radio stations; and the reports on the topics reaching us from a wide range of non-Communist diplomats, soldiers, seamen, newsmen, travelers, and other observers in Southeast Asia. And one thing is clear: the Russians are stepping up their aid to Vietnam.

Despite the sheer logistics involved, the Russians are shipping tons and tons of military supplies via the 7,500-mile sea lanes from Eastern Europe. The Soviets themselves claimed not long ago that more than half the vessels entering the harbor of Haiphong were ships of Soviet registry.

I know, Mr. President, that on the day I left the fleet in the Gulf of Tonkin, where I was a visitor aboard the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* some 4 weeks ago, there were 12 ships in Haiphong, one of which was of Hong Kong registry one of which was of Chinese registry, and 10 of which were of Soviet registry.

Quoting further from the Reporter article, "Odessa-Mamma," as the Russians fondly call the port, is the foremost source of all this traffic. An English-language broadcast from Moscow to southern Asia on December 23, 1965, exulted:

> Odessa is the biggest port on the Black Sea. Its busiest route is the one leading to Haiphong. A constant caravan of big merchant ships is plying this lane.

Continuing with the article:

> In March 1966, in reply to Chinese charges that the Soviet help to Hanoi was all too scant, the Moscow leaders sent a confidential letter to all fraternal Communist parties. Carefully leaked out to the world at large via the East German Communists (who sent copies to their connections in Bonn), the letter stressed that in 1965 North Vietnam received from the Soviet Union arms and military equipment worth half a billion rubles ($555 million). The list included rocket installations and conventional anti-aircraft guns, MIGS and other planes, and tanks, coastal artillery, and small warships.
>
> Since the fall of 1965, the number of conventional anti-aircraft guns in North Vietnam has risen from fifteen hundred to at least five thousand; one unofficial estimate in Washington puts the figure at seven thousand.

Mr. President, I note at this point that North Vietnam has the most sophisticated air defense that any of our pilots has ever seen.

I continue to read:

> In the fall of 1965 there were only four North Vietnamese batteries firing SAMS. By early October, 1966, this number had risen to twenty-five or thirty, each with six launchers. There were then some 130 sites from which the batteries could operate; twenty per cent were occupied and active in any given time.

Mr. President, the Soviets are not merely supplying arms, ammunition, and other equipment. Extensive training programs within Russia both for North Vietnamese civilians and military personnel are an integral part of Soviet assistance, in addition to extensive technical assistance by Russian experts domiciled in North Vietnam.

I continue to read:

> The sheer numerical record is impressive. . . . On March 15, 1966, Radio Moscow boasted that at that time nearly three thousand young Vietnamese men and women were studying in the Soviet Union, and that while a total of 2,300 Soviet experts worked in North Vietnam in the years 1955–1964, some 4,500 Vietnamese experts had been trained in the Soviet colleges and universities by the spring of 1966.
>
> The most significant case in training involves the North Vietnamese air cadets now being taught by Soviet Air Force veterans to fly supersonic MIG–21 jets.

The Mig–21 is the hottest interceptor that the Soviets have. As a matter of fact, it is a very, very fine interceptor, and one that our own aircraft and our own pilots have great difficulty in dealing with.

I continue to read:

> One group of cadets succeeds another at graduation ceremonies . . . .
>
> . . . In mid-December western intelligence raised its unofficial estimate of the number of MIGS in Vietnam to 180 or even 200, the latest being some delta-winged MIG–21Cs and –21Ds.

Mr. President, other Communist nations besides Russia, of course, are aiding North Vietnam, with certainly a lot of urging, advice, and assistance from the Soviets.

I continue to read:

> Of the "people's democracies" contributing to Ho Chi Minh today, East Germany is probably the most active. Military aid . . . includes arms and electronic equipment especially made to stand up in tropical weather; also motorcycles and bicycles, so important for messenger service on North Vietnam's war-torn roads where automobiles cannot get through easily . . . .

I point out that bicycles are a very important war item for the North Vietnamese.

By extending the handlebar and placing a pole behind the seat and pushing it along the road, a North Vietnamese can carry 500 pounds of rice. It does not take very long to figure how many bicycles it will take to move a ton of rice down the Ho Chi Minh trail.

I continue to read:

> The major part of Ho Chi Minh's medical supplies seems to come from East Germany, and a hundred East German doctors are reported to be serving in North Vietnam. In addition to the eight hundred Russians reportedly already present in North Vietnam on air-defense missions, some East German officers and men are rumored to be employed in North Vietnam's missile training. In goods and capital aid not directly of the war-materiel kind, Ulbricht's government is thought to have delivered to Ho Chi Minh from June 1965 to October 1966, a total of $4 million worth. . . . Besides, regular commerce between East Germany and North Vietnam amounts to over a million dollars a year, consisting mostly of industrial wares going to North Vietnam and some food and consumer goods being sent to East Germany.

It is really interesting to note that with all of the hue and cry from some of our professional bleeding hearts in this country concerning how we are treating the North Vietnamese, it is interesting to note how the North Vietnamese are treating their own people.

They do not have enough food to eat, and yet they export their food in exchange for war material. I wonder why the bleeding hearts do not jump on them.

I continue to read:

> But the bloc's largest economic aid to and trade with Hanoi is, of course, extended by the Soviet Union. Gathered at a summit meeting in Moscow in mid-October 1966, the Soviet Union and its eight allies agreed to give about $1 billion worth of additional help to Hanoi in materiel and money, of which $800 million is to come from the U.S.S.R. The others' contributions are typified by the Polish pledge of $30 million. . . . Although precise figures are difficult to obtain, it is estimated that in the ten years through 1964, Soviet economic aid to North Vietnam totaled some $350 million. . . . Moscow's exports to North Vietnam rose from $47.6 million in 1964 to more than $74.8 million in 1965—this of course in addition to some $555 million worth of arms sent in 1965 alone. . . .
>
> In its German-language broadcast to Germany on June 21, 1965, Radio Moscow declared that of the funds that North Vietnam was then getting from socialist countries (including China), nearly half came from the Soviet Union. A third of this Soviet aid, the broadcast said, was given free of charge. Some fifty industrial enterprises had by then been built or rebuilt with Soviet technical aid. Such Soviet-assisted plants produced . . . about ninety per cent of its coal and

> more than half of its machine tools. The country's power, mining, engineering, and technical industries were all helped or run by the Russian donors and advisers.
>
> From other Soviet sources we learn that the economic division of the Soviet embassy in Hanoi is in charge of all this aid. . . . An economist staff member (of the Soviet embassy) supervises Soviet engineers and other experts who serve in the expansion of the Haiphong port, at the Hanoi machine-tool works, in the construction of a large refrigerating plant, at an electrical-supply factory, and at the coffee and tea plantations. It is claimed that the machine-tool plant, covering fourteen acres, is entirely fitted out with Soviet equipment.

I am hopeful that that machine-tool plant is one of the targets earmarked for destruction by our gallant Air Force.

I continue to read:

> Another staff member of the Embassy's economic division is in charge of other Soviet engineering crews busy in North Vietnam's mines, geological exploration for more minerals and metals, and projects aimed at the expansion of certain of the country's large industrial enterprises. . . .

The nation we are asked to sign this treaty with, Mr. President, is that nation, Soviet Russia, which has it within her power to end that war which has been responsible for the deaths of over 7,000 Americans and for the infliction of over 47,000 American casualties.

Let the Soviet Union bring North Vietnam to the conference table; let the Soviets discontinue their shipment of tons and tons of military supplies into North Vietnam and then let us consider this ratification.

In the colloquy between the distinguished Senator from South Dakota and me a few minutes ago, it was noted that what we are saying here is that we are not trying to preclude the establishment of bridges between East and West.

What we are trying to do here is simply to say: "By some overt deed or act, show us that you reject war as an instrument of national policy. Show us that you will not foment the takeover of government by military means."

If they want to sell communism on its own merits, I have no objection, because I do not think they can do so in any country that is relatively progressive and prosperous.

Indeed, there has been no establishment of Communist governments in this world without resort to military force.

I understand that some people in this country are concerned because the government in South Vietnam is not a popularly elected government in the sense that we understand popularly elected government.

I point out that there are no governments behind the Iron Curtain that are elected in the sense that we understand an elected government, either.

Mr. President, the opinion has been expressed, and rightly so, that we should be concerned with the protection and well-being of American tourists traveling in Russia. The opinion has also been expressed by many that vastly increased East-West trade will help bring an end to present differences.

Perhaps so, perhaps not. As I have pointed out, the Soviets will likely continue to harass, mistreat, even arrest and imprison our citizens whenever it suits Soviet propaganda purposes. In that connection, it is a little amusing that we are reluctant to allow Stalin's daughter to seek political asylum in this country because we are afraid it would upset our delicate relations with the Soviet Union. If some member of a highly placed American family defected to the Soviet Union, does anyone think the Russians would waste any time in parading that person in Red Square and making all possible propaganda capital out of the situation? Who is really serious about reducing tensions in the world?

And there is no assurance that increased trade will ease tensions.

While I am extremely concerned, as we all are, about the safety of our tourists, I believe that our primary concern should be for those American and South Vietnamese personnel and other Allied servicemen—the gallant Australians, the courageous Koreans, New Zealanders, and others—who are daily risking their lives in the cause of freedom, in order that Vietnam and other southeast Asia nations may determine by themselves, and for themselves, the form of government they and their peoples desire.

First things first, Mr. President. As I have stated, let Soviet Russia help bring this war in Vietnam to an end. Let them bring an end to the loss of American and allied lives. Let there be some tangible, meaningful move toward peace by the Soviets. Then let us consider this treaty.

My able and distinguished colleague, the Senator from South Dakota, has offered a reservation to deter implementation of the Consular Pact until peace or, in effect, concrete moves toward peace in Vietnam are forthcoming. It is a wise reservation, and I strongly urge its adoption.

If it were adopted, I believe I could reconsider my opposition to the ratification of this treaty. But unless this reservation is adopted, I cannot reconsider my opposition to the ratification of the treaty.

I cannot see why our gestures of friendship toward the Communist countries must always be unilateral. Can we not ask something in return? I do not believe it is too much to ask: "Stop killing our people with your weapons. Stop killing the people of South Vietnam with your weapons. Reject war as an instrument of national policy." The day the Communists reject war as an instrument of national policy, then we will in our time see no war, and perhaps we will see no war for generations to come.

Let us remember who started the war. Plainly, we are not the aggressor.

I listened to some debate today with respect to whether or not we are the aggressor. The clandestine infrastructure for the conduct of war in South Vietnam was created by Ho Chi Minh, with the aid of Peking, before the French had left southeast Asia. Do not think for one moment that everybody who opposed the French now opposes the established government in South Vietnam. I have been in the field with Vietnamese soldiers who won their battle spurs fighting against the French. They fought against the French because they wanted to create in Vietnam a climate in which they could determine and plot their own lives and their own destinies without outside interference. This they cannot do if a clandestine infrastructure, armed, possessed of main force units to fight, brings the people under complete subjugation. Then there will be no popular decisions. Then everything will be dictated from the top.

Let us in the Senate say today to the Soviet Union: "We desperately want to establish these bridges with you. But before we do so, give us some justification. Show us a little good faith. We will overlook the 50-some-odd treaty and convention commitments that you have breached with us. We will overlook the misrepresentations, the scrap paper treatment that you have given us in our sacred commitments to each other, if you will simply, by an overt act, show us that you desire to see a world at peace."

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and I ask unanimous consent that the time consumed thereby be charged to neither side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the Senate, I am about to make a unanimous-consent request.

I ask unanimous consent that, immediately following the disposition of the Mundt reservation No. 2, the reservation to be proposed by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] be made the pending business; that there be a time limitation of 1 hour, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. FULBRIGHT], or whomever he or they may designate.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I have spoken with Senator CURTIS, the author of the reservation. He shares with me the optimistic hope that my reservation will be adopted, in which event his reservation will be unnecessary. But if the fates go against us and my reservation is rejected, he will then offer his reservation immediately following; and if he can have that consideration, he is willing to get along with that amount of time, and we have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. TOWER. I ask unanimous consent that the time consumed not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We will take the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what constitutes business before the absence of another quorum can be suggested?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We have not had a completed quorum call today.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is it necessary that business intervene between two suggestions of the absence of a quorum?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senate completes the quorum call another quorum call would not be in order if a point of order were made.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, may we have a report on the time which has been consumed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota has 60 minutes remaining.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And the other side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Approximately 55 minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield 15 minutes to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 15 minutes.

RESERVATION POINTS UP THE "TIMING PROBLEM" OF CONSULAR TREATY

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the pending reservation to the proposed Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union provides that there will be no exchange of instruments—in other words, that the treaty will not take effect—until the President of the United States determines and advises the Congress as follows: First, either that it is no longer necessary for the United States to maintain its combat forces in South Vietnam—which, for all practical purposes would mean that the war in Vietnam is over—or, second, that the withdrawal of our combat forces from South Vietnam is not being prevented or delayed because of military assistance furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union.

It will, therefore, be seen that adoption of this reservation will not require renegotiation of the treaty with the Soviet Union, as would be the case of an amendment to the treaty, and that the only thing affected would be the time the treaty became operative. Once the President determines and advises the Congress that either of the two situations exists, the treaty would go into effect.

This reservation points up what I believe to be the principal problem with the treaty. Perhaps this problem can be made more clear by asking whether my colleagues would have voted for this treaty at the time of the Cuban missile crisis. I doubt that they would have, and the reason, of course, would have been that public opinion would have been incensed over such action at a time when the Soviet Union, directly or through its military assistance to Cuba, was posing a threat to the lives of many of our people.

I respectfully suggest that there is a great similarity to the timing of this resolution of ratification, with the Soviet Union furnishing over 95 percent of the petroleum and all of the sophisticated weapons used by North Vietnam against our troops and those of our allies. These weapons do not merely pose a threat, as was the case of the missiles in Cuba. They are actually killing and wounding our people; and the Soviet leaders have made it abundantly clear that they propose to continue to make this assistance available so that the killing and wounding of our people will go on.

While it is true that this is taking place 12,000 miles away, whereas Cuba is only 90 miles off our shores, I simply cannot see that the mileage has anything to do with the essential nature of the situation. The timing of the proposed ratification is, in my judgment, very bad.

What is the justification for ratifying this treaty? I believe the basic reason was given by Secretary of State Rusk when he said, as shown on page 41 of the hearings record:

> I think it is also important for us to try to find those points at which we can put relations on a more normal and peaceful basis wherever possible.

I am aware that there are some who say that the main reason for the treaty is to insure some measure of protection to the 18,000 U.S. citizens who travel in the Soviet Union. And it is true that upon ratification of the treaty by both the U.S. Senate and by the Soviet Presidium these tourists would be assured of notification going to our representatives of their imprisonment and of some visitation privileges by our representatives—although the extent of these visitations is somewhat nebulous. On the other hand, testimony of the Secretary on page 8 of the hearings record reveals that only about eight of our visitors to the Soviet Union per year have been detained; and it is in this context, rather than in the context of the total of 18,000 tourists, that I believe this feature of the treaty's ratification should be considered. Viewed in this light, it is apparent that the Secretary of State's point that we should put relations on a more normal and peaceful basis wherever possible looms as the principal and overriding reason for ratification.

May I say that I believe all Members of the Senate concur that we should strive to have more normal and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. But this does not mean that we should take this action at all times—during a Cuban missile crisis or during the war in Vietnam. There is a time for action and there may be a time when action might well cause reactions contrary to our national interest. The Secretary's point is well taken, but it does not at all meet the problem of the timing of ratification. It may be suggested that the timing is essential to our national security. I have checked this point out very carefully, Mr. President, and I can state without equivocation that whether this treaty is ratified now, 6 months from now, or 2 years from now will not have any material effect on our national security. In other words, there is no urgency at all for the ratification of this treaty. Indeed, even if it were ratified, we have been told by the proponents that it might not be for years that consulates would be established. No one has yet come forward with any reason or reasons why this treaty must be ratified now rather than, say, a year from now.

There has been much discussion about building bridges. I want it understood that I will not take a back seat to any Member of the Senate as far as concerns a desire to build the right bridges at the right time. I supported the cultural and scientific exchange program. I believe the exchange program, on a people-to-people basis, will provide a means for greater understanding between the peoples of our two countries. But at the same time that I say I will support building the right bridges at the right time, and it may well be that this particular treaty is a bridge—I do not know whether it is or not; no one really knows; we can all recognize its pluses and minuses—but assuming it is a bridge, that does not mean this is the time for it.

I remember the time of the proposed ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty in 1963, when it was heralded as a shaft of light in the darkness, when it was heralded as a step forward. I said, at the time I made my speech, that I would support ratification, but no one knew whether it was a shaft of light in the darkness or whether it was a step backward or a step forward. It would be years before we would know.

I invite the attention of the Senate to a statement I made within my statement on the nuclear test ban treaty ratification, in which I was pointing out that it seemed to me the ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty under those circumstances constituted an accommodation policy with the Soviet Union, whereas, in my judgment, history had shown that a policy of firmness was more effective than a policy of accommodation. I said at that time:

> I could be wrong when I say that a policy of firmness is the one to follow, rather than a policy of accommodation, and I hope I am. I do know that when we have followed a policy of firmness—as we did in Berlin and as we did during the briefly imposed Cuban blockade—it has worked. But if a majority of my colleagues in the Senate feel that we

> should follow a policy of accommodation and ratify the treaty without a meaningful first step by the Soviet Union first, then I will go along—with this clear understanding: I want to see a meaningful first step by the Soviet Union, clearly demonstrating a change in policy, before ratifying any amendments to this treaty or any other treaties with the Soviet Union affecting the security of our country.

The distinguished senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] stood on this floor a few days ago and said, "I want someone to show me one step—one meaningful step—the Soviet Union has taken toward a detente," and I do not think a single Senator rose to answer him.

I repeat those words. Since the ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty I have not seen a single step. As a matter of fact, I suggest our relations with the Soviet Union are worse today than they were at the time of the ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty. And I suggest that our relations with the Soviet Union may well be worse a year from now if we ratify this treaty at this particular time, because a psychological propaganda war will be waged by the Communist world and adopted by the Soviet Union as a result of the ratification of the treaty. I suggest it will weaken our position in the eyes of our allies and many neutral nations in the world if we, in the face of what is happening in South Vietnam today, ratify this treaty at this particular time.

There is another aspect to this question, and that is its impact on the morale of the over 400,000 men representing this country in Vietnam, not to mention the men from our allied countries. I know it is said that about 18,000 American citizens travel in the Soviet Union each year. I recently received a letter from a friend who was there last year. He said during his trip through Russia the train on which he was riding had been stopped. His party had been taking pictures. He said that for a few minutes there was anxiety, because they knew they might be thrown into a Soviet prison and it might be weeks or months before anybody would know about it.

He said:

> I hope you will see fit to vote for ratification of this treaty, so that these anxious moments will not be gone through by future tourists to the Soviet Union.

I have already pointed out that only an average of six persons a year have actually been detained, according to the Secretary of State. I am concerned about the anxious moments of our tourists in the Soviet Union, but I am much more concerned about the anxious moments and the morale of the more than 400,000 troops fighting in South Vietnam, who were ordered to go there, who did not go there voluntarily as our tourists go voluntarily to the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, when I left Vietnam a year ago, I said that after visiting the wounded in the hospitals and after talking to the troop leaders who have to write the letters home to the wives or parents of the boys who will not be coming back—"If we are going to make any mistakes, let us make a few mistakes on their side." If there is going to be an error about whether this treaty should be ratified now or a year from now, let us make a mistake in favor of the troops in South Vietnam.

There are some who say that the Soviet Union really wants to be the great catalyst for bringing peace to southeast Asia. Perhaps that is so. There may have been some statements to that effect.

But there have certainly been some statements not to that effect, Mr. Kosygin stated very bluntly that the Soviet Union was going to continue to furnish all the military support necessary for North Vietnam, that they were going to support fully the defeat of the "American imperialists" in South Vietnam. That does not sound to me as though they have any intentions of serving as a great peacemaking catalyst in the war in South Vietnam.

I might also point out that the policy of the Soviet Union has been, for a number of years, as announced at the time of Mr. Khrushchev's tenure in office, that the Soviet Union was going to wage an economic war with the United States, and it was going to win that economic war. Incidentally, they will continue to maintain military might, so that if necessary they can use military power to defeat us; but their first choice apparently is to defeat us on the economic front.

I ask, Mr. President, when the United States—the "enemy" according to Mr. Khrushchev and his successors on the economic front—is spending $20 to $30 billion a year on the war in Vietnam, with more than 400,000 of its finest men in South Vietnam, and the Soviet Union is spending only $1 or $2 billion, with none of its manpower being used, does it not seem that this is a pretty good trade off, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 15 minutes have expired.

Mr. MILLER. I yield myself an additional 5 minutes, Mr. President.

If in fact they are interested in defeating the United States on the economic front, I would say they will gain an advantage by continuing the war in Vietnam, rather than serving as the great peacemaking catalyst to bring it to an end. To me it is deeds that count, and not words. If the Soviet Union really wants to bring the war in Vietnam to an end, the best way to do that is to cease and desist from supplying the 96 percent of the petroleum and all the sophisticated weapons to North Vietnam. There are many of our military leaders who advise that if that were to happen, the war in Vietnam would come to a very quick end.

I think that we might do well to recognize that this treaty is desired by the Soviet Union. Statements have been made that the United States took the initiative on the treaty. We did take the initiative, but not on this particular treaty. We took the initiative on a consular treaty back in the Eisenhower years; but there was nothing said at that time about providing immunity from criminal prosecution of consular officers. On the contrary, we have the testimony in the record that this particular provision of immunity from criminal prosecution—the first ever to appear in a Consular Treaty—was inserted in this treaty during the negotiations at the instance of the Soviet Union, not at the instance of the United States. That is one very big reason why the Soviet Union wants this treaty.

I say that if they want the treaty, they should let us see a meaningful step on their part to bring the war in Vietnam to an end. If they do not wish to take that meaningful first step, Mr. President, I suggest that we are not going to get very far in meeting the objectives set forth by Secretary of State Rusk; namely, that we put relations on a more normal and peaceful basis whenever possible. Everyone wants to put those relations on a more normal and peaceful basis, but that will not arise because of ratification of this treaty, if the Soviet Union is not willing to take some steps to bring the war in Vietnam to an end.

There is much confusion in the country, Mr. President, regarding this administration's policy on Vietnam. I happen to be one of the many Senators, from both sides of the aisle, who have supported that policy from its inception. I voted for the Tonkin Gulf resolution, and I believe I knew what I was voting for at that time, even though there are some among us who voted for it, who now say they did not know what they were doing. My guess is that most of us knew well what we were doing.

But I am concerned that there is an apparent misunderstanding around the country, on the part of a good many people, over our policy in South Vietnam. One reason might well be inconsistent actions and statements on the part of the administration. Here we are, asked to ratify this consular treaty at the time the war in Vietnam is going on. The Secretary of State has come over and said that he thinks that this would be a plus, that it might be helpful in bringing about more normal and peaceful relationships; and yet you can pick up a publication from the Department of State, setting forth the Secretary's views and those of Gen. Maxwell Taylor, an administration witness, entitled "The Heart of the Problem," relating to the war in Vietnam, and find such statements as the following. I quote first some of Mr. Rusk's statements. On page 1 he says:

> But we are in Viet-Nam because the issues posed there are deeply intertwined with our own security and because the outcome of the struggle can profoundly affect the nature of the world in which we and our children will live.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. MILLER. Another 5 minutes, Mr. President.

If that is so, then since when are we entering into a Consular Treaty, a bilateral treaty, for the first time in recent years, with the chief supplier and equipper of the enemy in South Vietnam?

Secretary Rusk went on to say:

> What are our world security interests involved in the struggle in Viet-Nam? * * * We must recognize that what we are seeking to achieve in South Viet-Nam is part of a process that has continued for a long time—a process of preventing the expansion and extension of Communist domination by

> the use of force against the weaker nations on the perimeter of Communist power.
>
> This is the problem as it looks to us. Nor do the Communists themselves see the problem in isolation. They see the struggle in South Viet-Nam as part of a larger design for the steady extension of Communist power through force and threat.

Then further on he says:

> But the Communist world has returned to its demand for what it calls a "world revolution," a world of coercion in direct contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations. There may be differences within the Communist world about methods, and techniques, and leadership within the Communist world itself, but they share a common attachment to their "world revolution" and to its support through what they call "wars of liberation."

Then General Taylor had this to say:

> Kosygin told Mr. Reston in his interview of last December:
>
> "We believe that national liberation wars are just wars and they will continue as long as there is national oppression by imperialist powers."
>
> Before him, Khrushchev, in January 1961, had the following to say:
>
> "Now a word about national liberation wars. The armed struggle by the Vietnamese people or the war of the Algerian people serve as the latest example of such wars. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable. Can such wars flare up in the future? They can. The Communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank of peoples waging liberation struggles."

These statements were made in 1966, and I must say that people who read those statements by Secretary Rusk and General Taylor and agree with them—as I do—find it very difficult to reconcile them with the urgent request by the administration to ratify this treaty at this time.

Mr. President, I hope this reservation will be adopted. I hope that it will be adopted, because I think it will be good for the morale of more than 400,000 men from the Armed Forces and those who will be following them and those who are lying in the hospitals and the parents and the relatives of those who will not be coming back.

If the reservation is adopted, then I can conscientiously vote for this treaty. However, unless this reservation, or something very much like it, is accepted, then I regret very much that I cannot in good conscience vote for the ratification of the treaty.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I yield.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to commend the able Senator from Iowa for the magnificent address he has just delivered. I associate myself with his remarks on this subject.

The point the Senator made about the psychological effect, in my judgment, is a very important point.

If the United States, through the Senate, ratifies this treaty, it will indicate to the world that we can now trust the Communists, that we are willing to enter into an agreement with them and extend the hand of good friendship at the very time that they are providing munitions, armament, and equipment—90 percent of it—in Vietnam to kill our soldiers there.

Not only will it have a psychological effect from that standpoint, but I can also visualize that it will have a bad psychological effect on our men fighting in Vietnam.

I dare say that if a poll were taken today of the American soldiers in Vietnam, not 1 percent of them would favor the ratification of this treaty. I do not believe that 1 percent of them would want their Senators to vote for the treaty.

Mr. President, it is my firm judgment that, from a psychological standpoint, from the standpoint of affecting other nations in the world, it will mislead other nations as to our true intentions toward the Soviets, unless our Government has reached the point where it feels it can trust them. Sometimes I wonder if some in the Government have not reached that point. However, the people of America certainly have not. I believe that the people of America still feel that they cannot trust the Soviets.

A witness testified only last week before the Internal Security Subcommittee concerning Cuba. He testified about the missiles that are now in Cuba. We have eye witnesses to the fact that some of the missiles that were alleged to have been removed in 1962 have been brought back to Cuba.

I do not believe that the American people want to enter into this agreement at a time when Russia is furnishing all the equipment to fight the war and thus give the impression to our men over there that we are willing to enter into an agreement with the enemy that is supplying the armor and the weapons with which to kill them.

I commend the Senator for the fine speech he is making.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from South Carolina for his gracious comments.

Mr. President, I wish to point out another thing, and that concerns the attitude of the Soviet Union once this treaty is ratified at this particular time. Without the reservations, such as the one pending before us, it would indicate to the leaders in the Kremlin that they do not have to take a meaningful first step in order to obtain concessions from the United States.

I think it is about time for the United States to make it clear that, while we are ready, willing, and able to enter into better arrangements and better relations with the Soviet Union, if they want a treaty, then they had better be taking some meaningful first steps.

Mr. President, if we do not do that, this would mean that we are continuing to follow a policy of accommodation. All that I know and all that I have heard from those who are the most knowledgeable in handling communism and Communist aggression indicates that it is a policy of firmness and not belligerence—a policy of firmness and not accommodation—which works.

If there is someone who can show me that a policy of accommodation has worked, I would like to see his evidence.

I pointed out at the time I voted for the nuclear test ban treaty that I thought this would be in the area of an accommodation policy. I said I hoped that we would see some meaningful first steps follow afterward.

There have been none. There may have been some talk, but there have not been any meaningful first steps.

I regret very much that our relations today with the Soviet Union, especially as they concern the war in Vietnam, are worse than they were then. I hope that I am wrong. However, I suggest that if we do not let the Soviet Union know that we must have some meaningful first steps before we enter into these treaties, the relations will get worse and not better.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask unanimous consent that the time for the quorum not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. I yield 10 miuntes to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA].

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I support the reservation proposed by the Senator from South Dakota, of which I am a cosponsor, and which is to be voted upon shortly.

In the debate yesterday, and in the RECORD of the debate on earlier days, my attention has been called to, and I have been somewhat intrigued by, the opposition of the State Department to these reservations. The Department's objections are based on the ground that if the treaty were ratified, "reservations or understandings by the United States would give the U.S.S.R. an opportunity to qualify or interpret its own obligation under the treaty in ways that would deprive this country of the treaty's important benefits."

That statement appears in a letter signed by the Secretary of State.

In another letter, signed by the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, we have comment on the reservation proposed and voted upon yesterday, that the immediate consequence of an effort to adopt this reservation "would be to kill the convention."

Mr. President, I wonder how much different is the attitude of the so-called detente mentality which has developed, particularly in these last 4 years. We are supposed to have developed a detente, a relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. It has been said that the events of the detente have produced what one may call a detente mentality. This has become a dominant mentality, one which influences the bulwark of research and writings on this so-called relaxation of tensions.

At best, this mentality is a state of mind, which places above all other considerations the desire to resolve our differences with the Soviet Union, even if it would require fundamental concessions on our part to achieve that goal.

There is a body of opinion which now holds that any measure which our country takes to strengthen its security will damage further progress of this detente and, therefore, tend to encourage hardline leaders in the Kremlin. Thus, even in the field of national security the United States should refrain from taking action which would upset or provoke Soviet leadership.

According to the proponents of these theories, which are followed by the idea that we must develop interdependence with the Soviet Union so that it will move closer to the capitalistic policy and our country will move closer to the Communist policy—God forbid the day—we should give every assurance that the United States has peaceful intentions and that we do not intend to engage in aggressive activities against the Soviet Union.

Some of these proponents go so far as to argue that the United States must not engage in provocative actions of any kind which would serve as a deterrent to further development of peaceful and proper relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. These provocative actions to be refrained from would include the improvement and increase in the U.S. strategic superiority, even in the building of an antiballistic missile system.

Somehow it seems all right for the enemy to install such a system, but when we think in terms of installing similar weapons, or something that will protect our cities, we are dealing in undesirable action.

This is difficult logic to follow. One must wonder as to the position of the State Department in saying: "Oh, let us not adopt any reservations. Let us not provoke the other side because they might not agree to the treaty. Let us do what they say. Let us not disturb their peace of mind and the assurances we give them. Let Congress advise and consent to the treaty by agreeing to it, but not by giving our best judgment as to what should be added to or taken away from the context of the treaty."

I wonder if this is not pursuing the same line where we say, "Let us not engage in the business of provoking the other side." I think we have indulged in that obstreperous attitude far too long for the good of this country.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I was interested in the phrase "detente mentality" which the Senator used. It calls to mind that there used to be a little statement which was generally used around this country a few years ago that said: "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition."

I do not believe that a detente can evolve or flourish in an atmosphere in which the Russians pass the ammunition to Hanoi, and we do nothing but praise the Lord. Is that not correct?

Mr. HRUSKA. That is an unequal division of responsibility.

Mr. MUNDT. It looks as if we are going to get the sticky end of the deal. I can understand how they are able to shore up their economy to have bread and butter, arms to Hanoi, and an antiballistic missile system around Moscow that the Secretary of Defense has said we cannot afford to have in the United States.

It looks as if this is not as a detente should, which would be equality of relaxation between the two countries.

Mr. HRUSKA. I also wonder when there is a constant reaffirmation of the historic goals of the Soviet Union and the means whereby they expect to achieve them, which has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the world in the celebration of their 50th anniversary.

Why should we not be provoked, too, by the program they announced and declared, and have been following, in their Tricontinental Conference of January 1966? We have the right to be not only concerned, but provoked. We have the right to be provoked by the large military budget the Soviet Union announced only recently, which is caused by the help they have been extending to Vietnam. Of course, their help in Vietnam is something that sorely tried the passions of those considering this subject.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. Relative to a detente, I hold in my hand the daily report of foreign radio broadcasts, which are monitored in this country. The transcripts are made available to Senators who wish to read them from day to day. I believe the Senator will be interested in a radio broadcast emanating from Pravda on March 3, about the Vietnamese war and our part in it:

> The aggressors will not succeed in forcing them to their knees. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries will render them all necessary aid in their heroic struggle.

That does not sound like a detente to me, or a desire to decrease the supply of arms to Vietnam.

Mr. HRUSKA. The Senator is correct. His observation makes good sense.

Mr. President, in conclusion, this entire matter boils down to how one views the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement today. If the international Communist movement is truly undergoing deep and profound change and is now charting a course of cooperation with emphasis on peace rather than conflict, then those who argue the detente mentality for restraint on the part of the United States and ratification of this treaty are entirely correct. If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union has not undergone a meaningful change in long-range terms, vis-a-vis the world, and if it persists that its ultimate goal is victory over the United States and other non-Communist countries, then the decisions made in the spirit of the detente in such matters as ratification of this treaty are wrong and would endanger our national security in a most meaningful way.

The help extended militarily and economically by the Soviet Union to the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong has well been documented. It is there as a harsh fact. It is the elimination of that help before we implement this treaty that is the essence of the reservation which has been proposed by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota.

It is my hope that the Senate will approve that reservation, and the proposition that we should remove that element if this treaty is to be adopted and become effective.

Mr. President, there is another matter that we will get to later in the debate. For 180 years we have had these consular treaties and functions of consulates without the absolute criminal immunity, this treaty contains. Now, all of a sudden, we have to make that concession to the one and only country that is making it possible for the continuance of hostilities against 500,000 American boys that will be in Vietnam by the end of this year. The figure is now in excess of 400,000. That is what is difficult for those to understand who have studied this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. As a footnote to the examples the Senator has been giving, to put this detente mentality in its proper perspective, I invite the attention of Senators to page 12 of the committee report accompanying the Consular Convention's resolution of ratification in which are quoted some statements made in the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, Cuba, in January 1966, by the head of the Soviet delegation, Sharaf R. Rashidov, who said:

> The Soviet delegation came to this Conference to promote in every conceivable way the unity of anti-imperialist forces of the three continents so as to unfold on a still greater scale our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism headed by the U.S. capitalists.

The final declaration of the Conference read, in part:

> The Conference hereby proclaims that the primary task of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is to intensify the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and to win and consolidate national independence especially against the exploitation practiced by the Yankees. The merging of efforts will turn active solidarity on our continent into a new historical force of colossal dimensions.

I ask the Senator from Nebraska, is this not another example, and a recent one, of the lack of detente mentality on the part of the Soviet Union?

Mr. HRUSKA. There is no question about it. I think that is one of the methods by which the Soviet Union has expressly denied the existence of any change for the better in their relationships with us. Certainly, the pledge to continue to form training schools for sabotage and espionage, and for increasing their assistance to various wars of national liberation to which they have committed themselves in Havana is no evidence of that detente or relaxation of tensions, unless we want to lull ourselves into a false sense of security.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I now yield 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire, who is one of the coauthors of the pending reservation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr.

HOLLINGS in the chair). The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from South Dakota for yielding to me at this time. I have not taken much time in the debate and appreciate having this time.

Mr. President, in my opinion this reservation is of paramount importance. It goes to the very heart of my objections to the consular treaty. I do not wish to speak disparagingly or without due and careful regard to the importance of any international agreement, but I am compelled to feel that the importance of this treaty, in and of itself, has been greatly exaggerated and overestimated by both proponents and opponents.

To be sure, the matter of immunities from criminal prosecution given to consular officials and employees under this treaty can well be a matter of concern, but I do not feel it is a very dire matter. It is not of such importance as to make the treaty a menace to the safety of the United States.

The matter of bringing more Soviet spies and agents into this country has been talked about. But we live in an open society. Indeed, it would not be a subject of great amazement to me to learn that the Soviets knew more about our defense secrets, our defense establishment, and other facts about our country than the Congress.

Further, I would expect that in an exchange of consulates, American officials and personnel in such a consulate in the Soviet Union, or anywhere else, would be neither deaf nor blind. The matter of listening posts and the gathering of information could be a two-way street.

Then, of course, I have due regard to some of my colleagues who are concerned because they view this proposed treaty as an entering wedge or an opening gun for a long list of concessions, agreements, and treaties with the Soviet Union. These include East-West trade, the space treaty on military use of outer space, and various other suggestions that will undoubtedly, from time to time, come before the Senate.

But, after all, this is the treaty we are considering. There is no reason why we should not consider it alone without complicating it by trying to connect it with other proposals.

There is ground for apprehension that the history of Soviet disregard of solemn covenants and obligations over the past would make one less than confident that this convention, or agreements resulting under it, would be carried out faithfully and fully. That is why the Senator from New Hampshire is not greatly impressed by all the arguments of the proponents of ratification at this time to the effect that the treaty will throw a cloak of safety around Americans who are traveling, or who find themselves in the territory of the Soviet Union.

I doubt very much whether this treaty, or any agreements entered into under it, will change in any marked degree the dangers that might—I say "might"—be faced by Americans in the Soviet Union. While I join other Senators in the desire to protect the safety of every American citizen, wherever he may be, I must confess that I do not regard that as a subject of the deepest concern in this instance. Rather, I should say there are matters of greater concern than our trying to make more safe, more convenient, and easier the pathway of Americans who are traveling in the Soviet Union. Incidentally, these Americans are carrying American dollars into the Soviet Union, thus stimulating the economy there.

Now, while the matters that I have touched upon are matters of concern, I believe they have been greatly overemphasized. To me, the important point of consideration today, and of a subsequent day when we must all stand up and be counted on the ratification of this treaty, the matter that stands out, to the Senator from New Hampshire, is the timing of the convention. It is being proposed at a time, as has been said, and as we all know, when it is not a question of lessening tensions in a cold war, because we are no longer in a cold war—we are in a hot war.

I repeat what I said the other day in the Senate: Who is our adversary in this war? Ostensibly, it is the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. But there is not a Senator who does not know and who would not freely admit that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong could not conduct this contest more than a few weeks, at the most, without outside help and supplies.

Our adversary is not Red China—at least, not recently—because Red China has problems of its own. Our adversary is the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone. The Soviet Union alone has the power to stop this war and bring all of the combatants to the negotiation table within a very few days or, at the most, a couple of weeks.

All they have to do is shut off the missiles, the guns, the supplies, the oil, the trucks, and all the sophisticated weapons that they are furnishing. That is why I say the timing of this proposed treaty is so important.

There is also a psychological impact involved. It has been said on this floor that defeating this convention would not end the war or perhaps hasten the end of the war. It can be said equally that adopting and ratifying this treaty would not shorten the war or end the war.

I doubt very much if the Soviet Union really cares enough about this proposed treaty to allow its adoption and its ratification to materially change its attitude and its actions in the present conflict.

It has been said by many of the proponents of ratification at this time that we are the ones who are asking for the treaty. We are the ones who are pressing it. It has been asserted by those who are supporting it that the slightest variance in its terms will mean the Soviets will be released from an agreement they have entered into reluctantly and want to get out of.

If that fact is true, we are not going to hasten the end of the war by ratifying a treaty to which the Soviets, according to the supporters of the treaty, are so utterly indifferent.

The psychological impact is something to be reckoned with. I have served in the Congress for 20 years, and in the Senate for 12 years. I have never served on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House or the Foreign Relations Committee on the Senate, nor have I had the opportunity that Senators on that committee have enjoyed of having firsthand information. But many times during those years I have been one of those who have gone to the State Department and been briefed on international affairs.

I have in mind this afternoon, one day when several Senators—two of them still Members of the Senate—by request went there and had a long and personal conference with John Foster Dulles. I have never forgotten some of the things he said to us that day. One of the things that lingers in my memory, and that I am thinking about today, is when John Foster Dulles said: "Remember this. The Communist world, the Communists, and the Communist dictators, respect nothing but strength. There is no surer way to invite their aggression, there is no surer way to bring us to a conflict with them, or keep us in conflict with them than to grovel and crawl and beseech and beg in our endeavor to bring about good relations and peaceful relations. To them any such display means one thing. It means weakness, and the only thing they respect is strength."

It is hard for me to understand why, after the treaty has been delayed for 2½ years, it should be pressed at this time. There have been whispers. I guess we all know about them. I think we have all heard them. There have been whispers in the cloak rooms and in the corridors that there is some great gain to be brought about, which we do not know about and which cannot be disclosed to us. The implication is that if at this time we ratify the convention we can look for some softening in the attitude of the Soviets or some relaxation of their ruthless and relentless warfare against Americans in Vietnam.

In the first place, if they said so, I would hardly believe it. But if it were true that there had been any such communication on the part of the Soviet Union, I see no reason why it should not be disclosed to Members of the U.S. Senate, who, under their oaths of office, are compelled to vote either for or against ratification of this treaty.

I find it hard to believe that any one of my colleagues on either side of this aisle is not a perfectly safe repository for secrets or for classified information that is important to the safety of this Nation. I do not mean that we should all be given all the classified information, down to the smallest details, of our Defense Establishment. But I do say that when a Senator is compelled to vote for or against ratification of a treaty he has a right to have all the facts before him prior to the time he casts a vote on the treaty.

So I discount all these rumors and whispers that there is some great, deep, dark secret surrounding this convention at this time, involving something that we are going to gain but about which we cannot be told.

Discounting that, the question remains why now? I return to the point where I started—and I am nearly through, Mr. President. Why the timing? Why should we enter into this convention at this time? Why now when Soviet guns are killing our sons?

It is all right to talk about softening our relations with the Soviets. It is all right to talk about building bridges of friendship, and about the future. All of us hope for the time when the hostility that has separated this world into two armed camps shall cease, or at least be softened.

But you do not install a sprinkler system when your house is on fire. You do not renew your insurance coverage when your house is on fire. Those are things that you do in preparation for the future, but you do not do them, you cannot do them, and it is useless to attempt to do them, while the conflagration is going on.

That is why the Mundt reservation, to my mind, goes to the very heart of the problem before the Senate. If we are to ratify this treaty, let it be with the reservation—not the understanding, not the hope, not the suggestion, but the ironclad reservation—that it shall not take effect while the Soviets are pouring their arms, munitions, supplies, and oil into North Vietnam, and transporting them in their trucks and their vessels on to South Vietnam, for the purpose of killing the men whom we have drafted and sent to South Vietnam. Whether properly or improperly, our soldiers are there and we sent them there. There is not a Member of the Senate who does not share, to a degree, the responsibility, although obviously the executive branch of the Government bears the greatest responsibility.

This treaty, we have been told, is beneficial, but it is not vital. It is just a little overture, a little softening, a little thaw in the frost of misunderstanding.

If that is so, let it take effect when the fighting has ceased in South Vietnam, or when the President is satisfied that the Soviet Union has ceased to be our real adversary and antagonist there. It is just as simple as that.

I am quite sure I could have voted for this treaty 3 years ago, before we found ourselves in this death struggle. I am quite sure I could vote for this treaty if it is recommended after the shooting stops. But, Mr. President, I cannot vote for it today. That is why I say the timing is so important. That is why I say that the Mundt reservation goes to the very heart of the problem. And, while we are here to do our duty, and, Mr. President, I cannot imagine a greater stimulus, psychologically, a greater reassurance to our people and a greater declaration to the world—not just to our enemies, but to the world—than a vote of the U.S. Senate which says: "Yes, we are willing to open doors. We are willing to enter into agreements for consulates. We are willing to pave the way for people to travel back and forth between the Soviet Union and the United States. We are willing to increase trade. We are willing to go halfway, and more than halfway, in softening the hostilities. And we are even willing to take the first step by ratifying this treaty recommended by the President of the United States, through his State Department, provided, and repeat, provided, that the actual agreements under this treaty shall not be entered into, or take effect, until the hot war is over and the shooting stops in South Vietnam."

Mr. President, to me this particular reservation goes to the very heart of the question. I earnestly hope it will be adopted.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield to me?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the majority leader, and then 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty].

MODIFICATION OF UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the knowledge and concurrence of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], I ask unanimous consent that instead of 1 hour of debate, equally divided, being allowed on his reservation, there be a half hour.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—that will be satisfactory to me, because my reservation deals with matters we have discussed at some length.

I believe if Senators will remain in the Chamber, we can dispose of it rather quickly, without much delay.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is encouraging news.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, may I take 30 seconds to express my appreciation to the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire, a cosponsor of the reservation, for his very concise and compelling argument, and for bringing his clear-cut New England logic to bear on the discussion of this highly important reservation?

While we have enough Senators present, I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Spong in the chair). Who yields time?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I certainly feel that the arguments of the proponents of ratification outweigh those advanced by those opposed to it, and that certain advantages will accrue to the United States if ratification is approved—I might say without crippling reservations.

Mr. President, if looking to the future, we could hope for nothing more than these relatively minor benefits, I would lose little sleep whatever the outcome when the final vote is taken on ratification.

But to me, Mr. President, favorable action on this question might open up new vistas of major significance.

In the words of the late President Kennedy, though used in a different context of course, it could be "the first step in a journey of a thousand miles."

It could expedite an eventual breakthrough of the barrier of mutual distrust which characterizes the relationship of the United States and the Soviet Union.

But one might ask: Does the leopard change its spots? Does not the Soviet Union still embrace the concept of world communism? Is there not a seemingly constant ideological confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Obviously, the answer to the last two of these questions must be in the affirmative.

Why, then, do I feel that ratification might produce results far greater in scope and significance than those envisioned in the Consular Convention?

First, because I believe that anything which affords an opportunity for closer contacts between men or nations inevitably leads to a better understanding of differences and problems to be resolved.

Favorable action by the Senate on the Consular Convention could germinate the seeds of greater accord in the years ahead, and provide harvests of good will—perhaps sparse at first, but becoming more bountiful with the passage of time.

I referred earlier to the distrust with which the Soviet Union and the United States view each other. We think we have had every reason to question its actions and motives. Undoubtedly, its leaders have doubted our sincerity of purpose.

Throughout history national ambitions, fear, pride, internal and external tensions, and a willingness to engage in armed conflict have brought on wars which, fortunately, mankind has been able to endure.

But, Mr. President, except for the very youngest of us we are now living in a world vastly different from the one in which we were born. And our chief objective must be to prevent the destruction of man by the products of his own inventive genius.

I know that our leaders are fully cognizant of the inherent danger. I am certain, too, that the leaders in the Kremlin, pragmatists that they are, must realize that if the two most powerful nations existent are unable or unwilling to face up to problems of mutual concern, the future is indeed bleak for the people in the United States, for those living in the Soviet Union and, indeed, for all the inhabitants of a really very small world.

Mr. President, a few weeks ago I received a letter from a 10-year-old Vermont boy who indicated a desire to enter the Naval Academy at Annapolis. I read from my reply:

> I pray that long before you reach college age, the people in all nations and their leaders will have renounced war as a means of implementing national policy.
>
> Should this come to pass, neither would the Naval Academy nor the other service academies have need to train young men to fight and kill other young men.
>
> Instead, they can concentrate entirely on guidance in peaceful pursuits, and the huge sums now spent for instruments of mass destruction could be diverted to programs designed to bring about a fuller and richer life for all mankind.

Mr. President, if civilization is to be preserved, if the futures of our children and grandchildren are to be assured we must never wander from the road leading to lasting peace.

Perhaps, Mr. President, ratification of the Consular Convention without crippling reservations will help speed us on our way.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from California.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I also yield 2 minutes to the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I compliment the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire on a very clear and effective statement of the case.

I have listened in this Chamber with great attention for many days now to the advantages and the disadvantages and the possibilities and the practicability of this convention.

It seems that there is great agreement on many points. There is not the slightest question that every man in the Chamber wants to see peace, not only in Vietnam, but also throughout the world, but peace on the basis of freedom, to assure the right of self-determination of nations.

In my lifetime I have seen three wars based on this belief.

I can remember that at the time of the first war they said: "Might does not make right." I believed that then and I believe it now.

In the second war we were going to make the world free for democracy. When I say democracy, I mean government by our means, self-determination of the small nation, the rights of the individual, the right of free speech, the right of a free press, the right of standing and disagreeing, and the right of assembly.

These are the things that we mean when we say democracy.

Since that time we have seen the situation that existed in Korea. We talked then as we talk today about getting to the negotiating table as though that were the panacea, the end of everything.

I assure the Senators that it was not. In Korea we had more casualties after we went to the negotiating table than we had before.

We still have no peace treaty in Korea. They still continue to meet and negotiate. It is a question of desire. It is a question of intent. It is a question of character. It is a question of basic policy and honesty and dishonesty.

Let us assume that our friends across the world, the Russians, want peace. We know that we in America want peace. Then, let us very simply say: "How do we achieve it?"

We achieve it by stopping the fighting. The quickest way to do that is to shut off the supplies. The day the North Vietnamese stop fighting, I assure Senators, the President of the United States will order the American troops and the South Vietnamese troops to stop fighting.

I do not think there is anyone in this Chamber who questions that statement in the slightest degree.

One of the ways to be certain that the fighting will stop is to make certain that the combatants cannot be resupplied. As the Senator from New Hampshire so eloquently pointed out, if the supplies from Communist Russia were stopped, the war in Vietnam would stop sooner, I believe, than in 2 weeks. I believe that the war would be over in a week, or perhaps in 2 days. Then, please God, we could bring our boys home and get them out of there.

Let us accomplish that. I believe that it is the duty of the Senate to advise the President of the United States, and I hope that we will advise him in our judgment and in our opinion, after due consideration, that this consular treaty, this convention, should not be properly entered into while there is a shooting war going on in which we are involved.

I believe that the reservation suggested by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] should be included as a condition of this treaty. I truly believe that then this might bring about a cessation of the fighting in Vietnam and a quicker, more practical, and more soundly based approach to peace, both temporary and permanent.

I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hollings in the chair). Who yields time?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes of our combined time, if I may, after which I believe we will be ready to yield back the remainder of the time and proceed with the vote.

First, I should like to salute the Senator from California for a most persuasive and a most moving argument in favor of this reservation.

Second, so that the record may be complete, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point a letter which I addressed to Secretary Rusk on February 7, and his reply, which I received on February 15, verifying the fact officially from the Department of State that these war supplies we have been discussing are actually going from Russia to Hanoi.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

February 7, 1967.

Hon. Dean Rusk,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dean: In reading the January 30 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, I was disturbed when I read the article entitled "Russia: The Enemy in Vietnam?"

In this article, which was evidently written by an editor of *U.S. News & World Report* stationed in Saigon, there are statements made to the effect that it is the Russians who are furnishing the needed materials to the North Vietnamese which makes it possible for them to continue their war effort. Therefore, I am enclosing a copy of the article with this letter and would appreciate having your comments on it and the questions which I am setting forth below.

1. Is it true as stated that "It is the Russians, however, who are furnishing the real sinews for major and prolonged war." I would like to have any comments you care to make with regard to this statement.

2. Is it true that "The Russians now are investing close to 1 billion dollars a year in the war." Is this a correct figure or is it more or is it less?

3. Is it true that "Most of the trucks that move the needed supplies from North to South Vietnam, for example, come from Russia or her satellites." If it is true, I would appreciate any documentary evidence or figures on truck supplies which you could provide me.

4. Is it true that "Many of the automatic weapons that we capture from North Vietnamese troops are of Russian manufacture." I would like to have any statement or documentary evidence that you would have on this allegation.

5. Is it true that "Most of our plane losses have resulted from the use of Soviet Russia's antiaircraft guns, missiles or MIG jet fighters."

6. Is it true that "Soviet aid to North Vietnam trickled along at an average yearly rate of 35 million dollars until early in 1965, when, even before U.S. began bombing in the North, the Russians started moving in a big way—with SAM antiaircraft missiles, jet fighters, military vehicles, oil, other paraphernalia of war."

7. Is the statement true that "Almost 1,000 SAM's have been fired at U.S. Planes. These Soviet Missiles, launched by Russian-trained crews, have themselves destroyed 30 U.S. planes and contributed in a large measure to an over-all loss in the North of more than 460 U.S. planes." If the figure is different and larger or perhaps less, I would appreciate having any information which you would provide me.

8. Is the statement true that "Cost to the Russians in spent missiles: about 25 million dollars. Cost to the U.S. in planes alone: more than 1 billion dollars."

9. Is the statement true "The North Vietnamese landscape is also studded with conventional antiaircraft positions, about 6,000 in all. The original antiaircraft system was installed by the Chinese. Now bigger guns are coming in. They are Russian." I would appreciate having any additional comments you would care to make about this statement.

10. Is the statement true that "The North Vietnamese Air Force now consists of 75 to 100 fighter planes and a handful of light bombers supplied by the Soviet Union. About one fifth of the force are the most up-to-date MIG–21s; the remainder, MIG–15s and MIG–17s. The MIG's are replaced by the Russians as they are lost in the fighting." I would appreciate having any information on this statement which might supplement it and give me up-to-date information on your estimate of what might be plane support or any kind to the North Vietnamese from the Soviet Union.

11. Is the statement true that "There are upward of 2,000 Russian technicians working at air bases and at SAM sites. North Vietnamese pilots are trained in Russia and supervised by Soviet fliers when they return to Hanoi."

12. Is the statement true that "Within the past few months, the Russians have taught North Vietnamese to man approximately 350 SAM missiles and an estimated 3,000 antiaircraft guns."

13. Would you please comment on the statement "For the first time, Soviet helicopters are being spotted in North Vietnam. Russian cargo aircraft are also making an appearance."

14. Please advise me as to whether or not it is true that "The North Vietnamese war machine runs almost entirely on Russian oil. In the past 18 months, the Russians shipped in 300,000 metric tons." The statement goes on, "Last month alone, the Soviets shipped nearly 25,000 metric tons of gasoline and oil into Haiphong." Since this article is January 30th, that must refer to the month of December, 1966.

15. The article states that "The Russians use ships to transport 80 percent of their aid to North Vietnam." It further states that "All told, the Russians are said to be delivering 80,000 tons of goods a month to Hanoi." Is this statement factual and I would appreciate having any comments on it.

16. The article states that "The Soviet ships going to Haiphong carry not only civilian goods, as the Reds insist, but jet

aircraft, SAM's radar gear and antiaircraft guns." I would appreciate having your comments on this statement.

17. The article states that "Tonnage by sea from all sources—Russia, China, East Europe and non-Communist countries—was estimated at 2 million tons in 1966. Of that, the Russian share was estimated at half the total, Red China's about one fourth." I would appreciate any information which you could provide me as to the accuracy of that statement.

Thanking you for your kind consideration and assuring you I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience in response to the questions I have posed and any other comments which you might care to make about allegations and statements in this article, I am, with best wishes,

Cordially yours,

KARL E. MUNDT,
U.S. Senator.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington.

Hon. KARL E. MUNDT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MUNDT: Secretary Rusk has asked me to reply to your letter of February 7 concerning the article in *US News & World Report* on "Russia: The Enemy in Vietnam?" which discusses the effect of Soviet aid in supporting the North Vietnamese war effort.

It is correct, as the *US News & World Report* article indicates, that the USSR has over the past several years supplied North Vietnam with a modern air defense system, as well as other military equipment. In addition, the USSR continues to send North Vietnam a wide range of industrial and economic aid, including petroleum and motor vehicles. Although most of the Soviet aid goes to North Vietnam by sea, all available information indicates that almost all of the major military equipment, such as air defense equipment, has been and is being sent by rail across the Chinese mainland.

Although I am unable to answer in detail in an unclassified letter the specific questions you have raised about the details of Soviet aid, I would be pleased to arrange an oral briefing for you on these subjects.

Please let me know if the Department can be of any further assistance to you.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. MUNDT. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article which appeared in today's Washington Daily News, "Red Rockets Hit Danang Air Base," because some colloquy occurred with respect to that matter earlier today, when the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] brought this new development to our attention.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RED ROCKETS HIT DA NANG AIR BASE—QUICK RETALIATION LIMITS DAMAGE

SAIGON, March 15.—Communist guerrillas bombarded the giant U.S. airbase at Da Nang with Russian-made rockets today. Virtually instant American retaliation chased away the Viet Cong and limited damage in the second assault on the post in 17 days.

U.S. spokesmen said the guerrillas fired 15 140-mm spin-stabilized rockets in 74 seconds from launch pads set in brush on the Yen River banks seven miles southwest of the base, the keystone of American air power in South Vietnam's northernmost sector.

The rockets caused 16 American injuries, damaged three planes including a jet taking off to bomb North Vietnam and ignited fuel, grass and electrical fires, spokesmen said. They credited the immediate counterattack by Marine artillery and gunships for cutting off the assault with damage far below that of Feb. 27 when 12 Americans were killed and 32 wounded in a guerrilla rocket raid on the base.

None of the Americans hurt today was seriously injured.

INACCURACY

The fact the communists fired from the launchers' maximum distance told in their inaccuracy. All the blasts hit the runway area, far from the crowded barracks sector of the base which launches air raids against North Vietnam and funnels U.S. troops in and out of South Vietnam.

Two rocket rounds were duds. The Viet Cong left behind 23 launchers on the river bank so quickly did the Leathernecks hit back.

Later Marine search parties reported finding 10 more rocket launchers and 11 rounds of ammunition. They said the Viet Cong staged the attack 2000 yards from the spot they used for their Feb. 27 attack on the base.

After sealing off the base, the Marines unleashed their artillery. Their AC–47 Dragonships hopped up and, using 135 flares to light up the pre-dawn sky, sprayed 55,700 rounds of gatling-type minimgun shells at the communist positions.

The "unknown sized" Viet Cong force fled for the hills to the southwest with the Leathernecks in pursuit, spokesmen said.

One American who had a close escape was Capt. Curtis D. Ritchie, 30, of Clintonville, Wis., and Merced, Calif., pilot of a F4C Phantom jet just taking off for North Vietnam.

"We had just started to roll when we saw the first blast," he said. The sixth round ripped one of the Air Force plane's engines. The seventh exploded beneath the plane.

CLOSE CALL

Capt. Ritchie and copilot 1st Lt. Kenneth M. Stalling Jr. of Olive Branch, Miss., managed to steer their flaming plane into a landing barrier and hopped out. Capt. Ritchie sprained his left arm. Ground crewmen disarmed the Phantom's six 500-pound bombs.

The jet and two other damaged craft will be fit to fly shortly, spokesmen said.

Meanwhile, American troops reported killing at least 58 communists in fights along the Cambodian border 225 miles northeast of Saigon the past two days. U.S. troops in the Central Highlands killed 21 communists yesterday in two actions.

Mr. MUNDT. I conclude my presentation in behalf of this reservation, Mr. President, by urging Senators to approve it. For the very reason that the supporters of this treaty use as their single, solitary argument in support of the treaty: protecting Americans—which we all wish to do, as the majority leader has rightly said, anywhere they are.

Some of us believe, as honestly as we stand on the floor of the Senate, that the best way to protect Americans in uniform in Vietnam is to do something to shorten the war and to do something by our votes today to decrease, if possible, the supply of murderous modern weapons flowing into the hands of the enemy from Russia, at the very time our country is increasingly supplying the capacity of the industrial machine in Russia to produce those weapons.

The Americans we should want to protect first and most are the 500,000 servicemen who are in Vietnam. And why do I believe that this reservation will help protect them? Because I believe it will have far more appeal as an argument to the Government in Russia if we present to them the fact that this treaty, before it can become operative, must have some affirmative action on their part to curb or curtail or eliminate the shipment of arms to North Vietnam. I do not know how badly the Russians want the treaty. Sometimes the Department of State says we are the ones who want it. The next moment they argue that the Russians want it and this is the way to win friends in Moscow. I will buy it either way for the sake of this argument but even our State Department cannot have it both ways.

I do, however, know something the Russians do want: They want the exports of American supplies which we now are sending them. They need those supplies badly. We can thus argue with the Russians with a diplomatic tool. We would then have a compelling argument. We can say that this Consular Treaty cannot become operative and we, in good conscience, cannot continue to ship these supplies to Russia unless it curtails the huge shipments of war supplies it is sending to Hanoi. That kind of signal of peace from Moscow to Hanoi can end the war more quickly than any other signal that can be sent to Ho Chi Minh from any other capital of the world.

I plead with Senators, in their capacity to advise as well as to consent, to advise our Government that we would like it to make this effort at this time with the available tool which the adoption of this reservation would provide.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time of the Senator has expired.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF SOUTH KOREA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I should like at this time to ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair, for the purpose of receiving a distinguished visitor, the Prime Minister of South Korea. I make that motion.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none The Senate will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

RECESS

Thereupon, at 4:05 o'clock p.m., the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

During the recess of the Senate:

The **VICE PRESIDENT.** Members of the Senate, we are privileged today to have a most distinguished and welcome visitor from a great and friendly country.

I am happy and proud, on behalf of the U.S. Senate and our country, to present to the Members of the Senate and to our fellow citizens the Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, Hon. Il Kwon Chung; the distinguished Ambassador of Korea, Mr. Hyun Chul Kim; the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Chung Hoon Park; the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Sung Chul Hong; and our own Ambassador; James W. Symington.

[Applause, Senators rising.]

The Senate reconvened at 4 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m., when called to order by the Vice President.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. As in legislative session, pursuant to Public Law 86-42, the Chair appoints the following Senators to attend the 10th Canada-United States Interparliamentary Conference, to be held May 10-14, 1967, at Ottawa and Montreal, Canada: Aiken (chairman), Russell, Morse, Mansfield, Byrd of West Virginia, Mondale, Spong, Mundt, Jordan of Idaho, Griffin, Brooke, and Hatfield.

The Chair also appoints Senators Burdick and Hruska to attend the Stockholm Intellectual Property Conference, to be held at Stockholm, Sweden, June 12-July 14, 1967.

The Chair also appoints Senators Ralph Yarborough and Jacob Javits to attend the 20th Assembly of the World Health Organization, to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, on May 8-27, 1967.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964 (Ex. D, 88th Cong., second sess.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time has expired and the question is on the adoption or rejection of Executive Reservation No. 2 proposed by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] and other Senators.

The yeas and nays have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LAUSCHE (when his name was called). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon]. If he were present he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote I would vote "yea." I, therefore, withhold my vote.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan] are absent on official business.

I also anounce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon] is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan] is paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arkansas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Maryland would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusettts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 67, as follows:

[No. 60 Ex.]

YEAS—25

Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Cotton
Curtis
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Gruening
Hansen
Hill
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Miller
Mundt
Murphy
Russell
Smith
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—67

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Dominick
Ellender
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smathers
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—8

Brewster
Brooke
Cannon
Dirksen
Dodd
Lausche
McClellan
Scott

So Mr. Mundt's executive reservation No. 2 was rejected.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of Senators, there will be a vote not later than 30 minutes from now. I ask unanimous consent that following the reservation of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], there be a 10-minute allocation on the reservation to be offered by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Thurmond], this at his request, and that the time be equally divided between the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Senator from South Carolina.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Under the previous unanimous-consent agreement, the clerk will read the executive reservation No. 3 of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis].

The Legislative Clerk. Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that no exchange of instruments of ratification of this convention shall be entered into on behalf of the United States, and the Convention shall not enter into force, until the President, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, finds and reports to the Congress that the Soviet Union has ceased all military support and assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to North Vietnam".

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, for the benefit of all Senators, let me say that it is possible I will not use the entire 15 minutes at my disposal, realizing that Senators may have duties elsewhere. If this will help to arrange their schedules, I hope that it will.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my reservation No. 3.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. How much time is the Senator yielding himself?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I yield myself 7 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 7 minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, this reservation speaks for itself. It lies on the desk of each Senator. I invite the attention of Senators to its language. It is simple; it is understandable. I believe that it will not in anyway interfere with the operation of the treaty once it becomes effective.

The reservation provides that the treaty shall not become effective until the President, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, finds and reports to Congress that the Soviet Union has ceased all military support and assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to North Vietnam.

Mr. President, it would be my hope that this reservation will be adopted by the Senate. Without a doubt, the Senate is divided. There are some who believe that we should not trust the Soviet Union at all. There are others who believe that the treaty is worth while as a trial to see if someway, somehow, the Soviet Union is softening up and that a gesture before the world that the United States is willing to deal with them would further the cause of peace.

Mr. President, certainly the objective of a foreign policy for our Nation is threefold: one, to protect the interests of the United States; two, to maintain the peace; and, three, to establish peaceful interchange and commerce. Within that purview, I have offered this reservation. The Vietnam war is serious. Boys from my State and your State are laying down their lives in Vietnam for their country. They are being destroyed and are losing their lives because the North Vietnamese are supplied with equipment and material and assistance from the Soviet Union. If the assistance from the Soviet Union to North Vietnam were stopped, the war would be over tomorrow.

I ask those of you who feel that we can trust the Soviet Union sufficiently to enter into this treaty to try this: Say to the world, "Yes, we will deal with the Soviet Union. We will grant them the statute of negotiating a convention with it, so that the world will believe we trust it, if the Soviet Union will stop supplying North Vietnam."

Someone may say, "How about the United States agreeing not to supply South Korea or some other country?"

I pointed out, it is not comparable at all. Where on the face of the globe is the United States supplying weapons that are used to kill Russian soldiers?

We are not doing it. Russia is supplying materiel to kill American boys.

In the name of all our boys fighting in Vietnam, their parents and loved ones, I say let us use this opportunity to try to get the Soviet Union to cease supplying North Vietnam with materiel.

Mr. President, my reservation meets the objective of all members of this body. Whether we be classified as hawks or doves or as ideological birds somewhere in between, we are all dedicated to an end of the conflict in Vietnam. We all seek for this Nation, and for our friends and allies in southeast Asia an honorable conclusion of the conflict and, following it, a right of self-determination for those nations. We want for them a climate wherein they can chart their national course as free men making those voluntary choices which will fashion for them a completely acceptable way of life.

It is, of course, our hope that they will remain free and independent nations—that they will choose that course which will let them flourish and progress in an enlightened manner. That they can use their resources to bring to their peoples the fruits of industry, of education, of health and sanitation, of a better way of life for their young people and for generations yet to be born.

We are a party to this conflict because of our dedication to these principles. We are making great and costly sacrifices for this principle. It is proposed to build bridges for free nations to live together, to work together, to trade and to live with dignity in the world community.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 7 minutes have expired.

Mr. CURTIS. I yield myself 4 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 4 additional minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Let us not forget our purpose, this great burden of our involvement, this expenditure of men and material. Our purpose is to halt the encroachment and the extension of communism. Let us not forget that the quarrel within the Communist community today is for domination of southeast Asia. Whatever vacuum may have resulted from the internal troubles in China is fast being filled by a strong Rusrian move to dominate the Communist parties of southeast Asia. The Kremlin is no less conscious of China's stated purpose to dominate the nonwhite world than are we. Hence, it is the resources, the technology, and the manpower of the U.S.S.R. and her European satellites who are fueling the war machine of North Vietnam. It is proposed to build a bridge to Moscow. Moscow is building another bridge—from Moscow to southeast Asia. I see no essential difference in the domination of southeast Asia by Russian communism or by Chinese communism.

So I propose a reservation that is intensely practical—a reservation which puts us into the game with cards which the Kremlin can understand.

I propose to reserve a ratification of this treaty until such time that the President, in conjunction with our military leaders, can assure this nation that the Soviet Union has ceased all military support and related assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to North Vietnam. When this day comes the war will end. When this day comes, the nations of North and South Vietnam can get to the business of national government with full right of self determination. When this day comes, our allies in Thailand, in the Philippines, and even in Australia can free themselves of the specter of Communist encroachment.

My reservation will offend the sensibilities of some of my colleagues who want to see the dawning of sweetness and light, of civility and philanthropy in the Kremlin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The additional time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. I yield myself 1 minute more.

But it keeps faith with fact—with the fact that the munitions, the technical skills, and the supporting resources being transported into North Vietnam by the Kremlin are the sinews of North Vietnam's military machine.

Conversely, none of the manpower and the hardware of this Nation is today, or has been at any time, employed to kill or maim a single Russian. This is a fair request.

Let us accept the full weight of these facts as we vote on my reservation.

I urge the adoption of the reservation. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CURTIS. Briefly.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Nebraska knows that I am in sympathy with what I believe to be the basic intention behind his reservation. However, I point out that in preparing the reservation by the Senator from South Dakota and myself and others just voted on, we considered this aspect of Soviet assistance to North Vietnam, and we deliberately worded our provision to reflect the possibility that the Soviet Union might furnish military support and assistance to North Vietnam which would be intended and actually used only for its own defense, and would not be used for the prosecution of the war in South Vietnam.

The Senator's reservation is so broad that it would preclude the possibility of furnishing to North Vietnam, for example, some type of equipment that might be needed for its own defense, by its own militia.

Mr. CURTIS. It is sufficiently broad to end the war. On that I rest.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I fully recognize that it would end the war, but I do not think we need go as far as to cover all military assistance. We need go only as far as to specify military assistance which is delaying the withdrawal of our troops from South Vietnam.

I would like to be able to support the Senator's reservation, but since it is more than broad enough to cover the problem, I feel that I cannot do so. I want the Senator to know that I am in sympathy with what he is trying to do.

Mr. CURTIS. Sympathy will not adopt the reservation. And I wish to say that I cannot follow the Senator's play on words. The fact remains that basing it upon the removal of troops would afford—while some situation might conceivably arise where troops would be necessary there—an end to the war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska has only 1 minute remaining.

Mr. CURTIS. I repeat, the acceptance of the reservation would end the war.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, if I felt that the Senator's reservation would end the war, I would vote for it in a minute, and so would every Member of this body. There is no question about that. But this convention has nothing to do with the war.

The Senator's reservation is far more restrictive, as the Senator from Iowa has pointed out, than the reservation upon which we just voted. It says "that the Soviet Union has ceased all military support and assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to North Vietnam."

The Senator from South Dakota stood here, just a few hours ago, and said that consumer goods, and even food, could be considered military assistance. This reservation implies that they have got to call off all shipments of food, clothing, or consumer goods, before the treaty can be ratified.

I think the Soviets would be within their rights to come back and say, "Then you cannot offer military aid to Iran and Turkey."

True, the Iranians and the Turks are not killing Russians today, but, by our assistance, we are forcing the Russians to keep a strong counterforce at hand. The reason that we have built those forces up is to stop communistic aggression, and moves in that direction.

I trust that the Senator's reservation will be defeated; and I am sure it will be, because it certainly goes much further than the one on which we have just voted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it has been a long time since I have seen a reservation of this nature—if I ever have—proposed to a treaty.

I would call attention to lines 5, 6, and 7:

> The Convention shall not enter into force, until the President, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff—

What kind of government is this, civilian or military? The Senator from Nebraska stated that "This reservation may offend the sensibilities of some of my colleagues." Mr. President, it offends my sensibilities; because when the day comes that the Joint Chiefs of Staff must advise any President as to what he shall or shall not do on a civilian question, on that day I am walking out of this body.

Mr. President, I hope the reservation will be defeated.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

I do not think there is much to be added to what has been said. This reservation is very similar to the last reservation, which has just been defeated, although it is somewhat more restrictive. I do not see any necessity to repeat what has already been said, and what the Senate has accomplished in its vote of a few minutes ago. I can only repeat that this convention is not the proper vehicle for trying to bring pressure upon the Soviets. All of us would like to achieve the purpose of stopping the war in South Vietnam, but this is not the proper way to go about it.

Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time having been yielded back——

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, who yielded back my time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska has 1 minute remaining. The Chair tried to call the Senator's attention to it. The Chair will grant the Senator from Nebraska 1 minute. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

Mr. CURTIS. Very well. I did not realize that I had yielded my time for the distinguished Senator from Iowa to speak.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator wants more time, of course we will give it to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator desire?

Mr. CURTIS. I will take the 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. CURTIS. The fact remains, Mr. President, that we are about to put the stamp of approval upon the Soviet Union as a respectable Government that we can trust in a treaty, without asking them to quit supplying the guns and the instruments of death that are killing American boys. Explain it away any way you want to, that is the fact.

My reservation does not call for the Joint Chiefs of Staff to make decisions; they are merely to make a finding as to whose weapons our boys are facing. Then the President makes the decision.

I think the reservation is well understood.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the reservation of the Senator from Nebraska to the resolution of ratification.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea" and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 71, as follows:

[No. 61 Ex.]

YEAS—20

Byrd, Va.
Cotton
Curtis
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Hansen
Hill
Hollings
Hruska
McClellan
Mundt
Murphy
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—71

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Dominick
Ellender
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—9

Brewster
Brooke
Cannon
Dirksen
Dodd
Javits
Long, La.
Scott
Smathers

So Mr. Curtis' executive reservation No. 3 was rejected.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I send to the desk a reservation and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reservation will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> Before the period at the end of the resolution of ratification insert a comma add the following: "Subject to the reservation that nothing in this Convention shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the United States to safeguard its own security."

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it will not take more than 3 minutes to present my side of the reservation.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, when Congress, 20 years ago, approved a joint resolution authorizing the so-called headquarters agreement with the United Nations, granting certain rights, privileges, and immunities to the United Nations and its personnel, both Houses of the Congress approved a reservation which was designed to protect and preserve the immigration and internal security laws of the United States.

The language of this reservation was short and to the point. It reads:

> Nothing in this agreement shall be construed as in any way, diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the United States to safeguard its own security.

Mr. President, both Houses of the Congress thought that reservation necessary for the protection of the internal security of this country in connection with a grant of privileges and immunities to the United Nations and its quasi-diplomatic personnel. I say to my colleagues, nothing less can be considered as an effective safeguard of our internal security laws in connection with the grants of privileges and immunities which are embodied in the consular convention with the Soviet Union, now before the Senate.

Accordingly, I am proposing a reservation to the pending resolution of ratification which shall be in the same words which both Houses of the Congress approved in the joint resolution authorizing the so-called United Nations Headquarters agreement.

I therefore formally propose that the resolution of ratification of the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with a protocol relating thereto, signed at Moscow on June 1, 1964, be amended by inserting, immediately preceding the period at the end of such resolution, a comma and the following: "subject to the reservation that nothing in this convention shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the United States to safeguard its own security."

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 2 minutes to myself.

Mr. President, what the distinguished Senator from South Carolina refers to is an agreement with the United Nations, a multilateral agreement. This is a bilateral agreement, worked out between the representatives of two nations.

Nothing—nothing, I repeat—in the pending convention diminishes in any way, abridges in any way, or weakens in any way the right of the United States to safeguard its own security. That fact is apparent on the face of it.

Therefore, I urge the Senate to reject this reservation, and I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. THURMOND. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the reservation. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and

voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea," and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 68, as follows:

[No. 62 Ex.]

YEAS—24

Allott
Byrd, Va.
Cotton
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Griffin
Hansen
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
McClellan
Mundt
Murphy
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—68

Aiken
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Ellender
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—8

Brewster
Brooke
Cannon
Dirksen
Dodd
Javits
Long, La.
Scott

So Mr. Thurmond's executive reservation No. 4 was rejected.

Mrs. SMITH obtained the floor.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mrs. SMITH. I am happy to yield to the majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President the distinguished senior Senator from South Dakota and I indicated to the distinguished senior Senator from Maine that her proposal would be the last to be considered, although we were not empowered to undertake such a commitment for the entire Senate.

In line with that statement, I ask whether there are any more reservations, understandings, or any other proposals to be offered by any Senator to the pending convention.

If not, I would assume that our commitment has been honored, that this will be the last proposal to be considered prior to the disposition of the resolution of ratification to the convention.

Before the Senator from Maine offers her understanding and with the approval of the Senate, I would like to make a unanimous-consent request.

I believe, Mr. President, that we already have an agreement to come in at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

ORDER FOR VOTE ON CONVENTION NOT LATER THAN 3 P.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the pending convention not later than 4 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. HOLLAND and Mr. McCLELLAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, what is the time allotted by unanimous consent to the distinguished Senator from Maine for consideration of her understanding?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The time allotted for debate is 1 hour, to be equally divided, but all of that time will not be used because we can complete our presentation on this side in less than 10 minutes, and I am sure that the Senator from Maine can make her presentation in less than 15 minutes.

Mr. President, I wish to change the unanimous-consent agreement.

ORDER FOR CONVENING AT 9 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business this afternoon, it stand in adjournment until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning, and vote on the consular treaty not later than 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized for the purpose of asking a question.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I understand the proposal has now been revised to provide that we shall convene at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Mr. MANSFIELD. We shall vote on the Smith proposal tonight.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been a request for the yeas and nays?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator from Maine is going to ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. MUNDT. That would give us from 9 o'clock until 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon on the convention.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Not later than 3 o'clock.

Mr. MUNDT. Which would be 6 hours.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana desire to suggest a division of the time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Chair. The time is to be under the control of the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] and the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. Fulbright].

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the Senate should be advised that the matter might not run until 3 o'clock. They should be advised of the possibility of an earlier vote. The Senator from Montana had said the vote would be not later than 3 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

Ordered, That the Senate vote not later than 3:00 p.m. on Thursday, March 16, 1967, on the resolution of ratification of the treaty Executive D, 88th Congress, second session, a consular convention with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the debate to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt].

Mr. HOLLAND and Mrs. SMITH addressed the Chair.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may we have order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith] has the floor.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield to me in order that I may propound a question?

Mrs. SMITH. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I wish to find out whether or not the time after the vote on the understanding of the distinguished Senator from Maine is controlled and, if so, by whom? I shall need about 20 minutes in opposition to the convention.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Tonight?

Mr. HOLLAND. No.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The time for the debate on the convention will be controlled by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], equally. There will be 6 hours altogether beginning at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine is recognized.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Chair make a special effort to have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. Let us have order in the Chamber, so that we can hear the Senator from Maine.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, let us have a great deal of order.

EXECUTIVE UNDERSTANDING NO. 1

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I call up my executive understanding No. 1, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed executive understanding No. 1 will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> After the period at the end of the resolution of ratification add a new sentence as follows: "In giving its advice and consent to the ratification of this Convention, the Senate expresses its hope that before the United States consents to the opening by the Soviet Union of any consular establishment in the United States, an honorable conclusion will be achieved in the Vietnam conflict, whereby United States military forces will no longer be needed to perform combat duties in the defense of South Vietnam."

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I have proposed this understanding because I believe that many Members of the Senate are deeply concerned about the making of a treaty with a country that is providing the real backbone of the materiel and equipment for the aggressor North Vietnam and Vietcong forces that are killing American servicemen in Vietnam.

I believe that many Members of the Senate do not wish to kill the proposed Consular Treaty with Russia even though they are deeply concerned about the fact that Russia is providing the materiel and equipment that is being used not only to kill American servicemen but also greatly bolsters the refusal of North Vietnam to respond to the offers of the President of the United States for a peaceful negotiation of the end of the war in Vietnam.

This understanding provides an opportunity for the Members of the Senate to express themselves clearly on this point.

Let me stress that the understanding would not in any manner alter the Consular Treaty. It is not an amendment to the Consular Treaty. Consequently, its adoption would not necessitate a renegotiation of the treaty.

It is simply an amendment to the resolution of ratification—not an amendment to the Consular Treaty itself.

It is offered in the same spirit and manner, and for the same effect, as the Mansfield amendment to the 1967 military supplemental procurement bill, which was adopted on March 1, 1967, by a vote of 89 to 2.

The Mansfield amendment expressed congressional policy and in no manner affected the provision of the 1967 military supplemental procurement bill.

The Smith understanding proposes to express a sense and feeling by the Senate and in no manner will affect the status and terms of the Consular Treaty.

The Mansfield amendment was an expression of support for all efforts to an honorable negotiated peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war.

The Smith understanding is an expression of hope that before any Soviet Union consulate is opened in the United States there will be an end of the fighting in Vietnam.

I urge the Senate to adopt this understanding.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Arkansas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I believe that the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], the proposer of this understanding, is quite correct in saying that it does not try substantively to affect the consular agreement itself. What the language of the reservation does do, though, is to contain an implication which, in my opinion, could well be understood by the Russians, the other party to this treaty, to mean that they are solely responsible, or primarily responsible, for continuing the war in Vietnam.

The substance of the two reservations proposed by the Senator from South Dakota also tried to bring in the Vietnamese war and to suggest that his reservations could, if approved, bring pressure on the Soviet Union to do something about stopping the war in Vietnam.

I do not think that this treaty is a proper vehicle for seeking this ultimate purpose. It is true that an understanding does not require that the treaty be renegotiated. The effect of adoption of this understanding could be, however, if the Soviets interpret it, as I think they well might, as an admission on their part that they are responsible for continuing the war in Vietnam, a decision not to accept the implication. They would, therefore, simply refuse to ratify the treaty. It seems to me that they might be justified in taking such an attitude.

The subject of this understanding is irrelevant to the substance of the treaty.

I agree with the Senator from Maine, as I am sure all my colleagues do, that we would like to see an end to the war in South Vietnam. It has been announced recently in many statements, from various sources, that the Soviets too are interested in ending the war. One such statement was issued by their Premier, Mr. Kosygin, and also President Podgorny, saying that if we stopped the bombing, they believed that North Vietnam would be willing to negotiate. But aside from that, I know that the Russians would not admit they are responsible for the continuing war in Vietnam. Many people believe that they are interested in ending it, because they recognize the danger of any escalation.

I believe it would be very unfortunate to try to attach this understanding to our instrument of ratification.

I should like to yield to the majority leader because he has a letter from the Secretary of State addressed to him yesterday which elucidates, in the opinion of the State Department, the effect of this understanding. However, having voted as we have on the last three reservations, clearly evidencing a desire, I think, on the part of the Senate not to reject the treaty, to attach this understanding now, an understanding which could provide an excuse for the Soviets to decline to go forward with the treaty, would be most unfortunate. The Senate will have marched up the hill briskly, only to march down on the other side.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

I should like to ask that the Senator from Indiana may proceed for 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the American people are confused. It is quite easy to understand why there is such confusion.

It is the official position of the administration that we are fighting in Vietnam to resist Communist aggression from the north. The Russians, among other Communists, are supplying weapons and ammunition to North Vietnam for use against Americans.

At the same time, the administration is attempting to bridge the cold war gap with the Communists. One of these proposed bridges is the Consular Convention to which the Senate is now being asked to give its consent.

To the average American, this is inconsistency.

I believe that the understanding proposed by the senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] brings some measure of consistency that can be wholly and completely understood by the American public. It provides quite simply that the Senate hopes that our Government will wait until combat is finished in Vietnam before it allows the Soviet Government to open any consulates in the United States.

This clearly recognizes, then, that the Russians have an involvement in Vietnam. While this involvement is one only of materiel, its involvement is contrary to ours.

Yet, the Smith understanding does not prevent us from extending the hand of friendship in our own best interest.

Mr. President, I wish to emphasize that I support the Consular Convention and shall vote for its ratification because I believe it to be to our advantage. Of course, there is an advantage to the Soviet Union also. If there were not an advantage to them, their Government would be remiss to negotiate such an agreement.

The Consular Convention contains major concessions to our benefit. For one thing, the American tourists traveling in Russia will have protection in the event of arrest that would be somewhat similar to the rights of every American citizen and that are not now extended even to Russian citizens in their country. Americans would be assured that our Government representatives would be notified immediately and have the right to visit any American held in jail. These are new safeguards and benefits for Americans.

Our national interests will be forwarded by our new business office in the Soviet Union should these later be opened. Since 1964, France, Finland, Great Britain, Japan, and Italy have concluded similar consular conventions with Russia.

As to any danger to the United States from additional Soviet diplomats coming over here, I should like to clarify what this treaty does and does not do. It does not authorize any new consulate here or in the Soviet Union. It does not authorize any additional diplomats.

Any incoming diplomat can be screened or rejected now and this convention would not alter this situation one iota. The distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Hoover, has assured the President that his organization can handle any increased security threat that might be posed by any future opening of consulates in this country. Should any consulate be opened and pose a security threat, it could, of course, be closed down at once and the agreement ended.

I believe that the benefits to be derived by our Government for the protection of Americans traveling abroad are important. I believe that there are other obvious concrete benefits to us. I believe that we would at once demonstrate, in addition, our willingness to bridge the cold war gap. This is important to our long-term goal of peace.

In my view, then, the convention should be adopted and the senior Senator from Indiana will support it with his vote. To be consistent with our apparent position in Vietnam, the Smith understanding should also be adopted and the senior Senator from Indiana will cast his vote for that.

Since we here in the Senate clearly recognize that there is confusion among the people as to our goals by the apparent conflict between our course in Vietnam and our course in diplomacy and trade as exemplified by this convention, we should not leave both dangling with our disposition of the pending business.

On the contrary, Mr. President, disposition by this body of the Consular Convention gives new reason for a complete reappraisal of our national interests and our national goals and how these are being met.

It is, indeed, past time that our Government, through the administration and the Congress, reexamine our posture in Vietnam, in diplomacy, in our dealings with the Communist world and the free world. A clear, concise statement of our policy in these matters is overdue. It should now logically follow so that some of the confusion in the minds of Americans would be erased and new understanding and support substituted.

Mr. President, for that reason, I intend to support the understanding of the Senator from Maine.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from Maine yield to me to ask her a question?

Mrs. SMITH. I am very pleased to yield to the Senator from Vermont for that purpose.

Mr. AIKEN. Am I correctly informed that an organization known as the Liberty Lobby has taken a rather derogatory and adverse attitude toward the understanding proposed by the Senator from Maine?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, the Senator is correct.

Mr. AIKEN. I received a document from them this morning indicating that they thought very, very little of the Senator's proposal. I have not heard directly from the State Department, but does the Senator from Maine understand that the State Department also indicates an adverse and rather derogatory attitude toward her understanding?

Mrs. SMITH. That is my understanding.

Mr. AIKEN. Then may I ask the Senator my question: What miraculous powers does the Senator from Maine possess that teams the Liberty Lobby and the State Department in double harness? [Laughter.]

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Vermont for his comments. I wish I could answer his question.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are facing the last and most difficult step before the Senate proceeds to the issue of voting the pending convention up or down.

It is no easy task for anyone to go up against the distinguished senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH]. It is no easy task when she is buttressed by the utterances of the ranking Republican Member of this body, the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN].

It is no easy task when a private group and the State Department seem to combine for the purpose of opposing the distinguished Senator's proposal. But those are things we face in this body, and as one among my peers, I place myself in the position of standing in opposition to the understanding being proposed by the distinguished Senator from Maine.

May I say to my good friend from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], in response to another inquiry I have another letter from the Secretary of State relative to the proposal now before this body. The letter is dated March 14, and reads as follows:

> DEAR MR. MANSFIELD: I would like to comment on the "understanding" which I understand is proposed for incorporation in the Senate's Resolution of Ratification of the US–USSR Consular Convention. This expresses the hope of the Senate "that before the United States consents to the opening by the Soviet Union of any Consulate establishment in the United States, an honorable conclusion will be achieved in the Viet-Nam conflict, whereby the United States Military Forces will no longer be needed to perform combat duties in the defense of South Viet-Nam".
>
> I appreciate the sentiments which prompted this proposal, but I believe that practical and policy considerations argue strongly against its approval.
>
> As I have pointed out before, our national interest requires the earliest possible entry into force of this treaty. We need the protections it provides for American citizens—now. Any "understanding", reservation or amendment could easily kill it.
>
> It has been stated that this "understanding" has no legal effect, since it is neither a formal reservation nor an amendment, and accordingly the Soviet Union would have no reason to fail to ratify the Consular Convention. The fact is that the Soviet Union is carefully following the action of the Senate on this Convention. The Soviet Government would, of course, know about the "understanding". While we cannot predict with certainty their reaction, I do not feel we can afford to take action jeopardizing the earliest possible entry into force of the Convention.
>
> The purpose of this "understanding" is to delay the opening of a Soviet Consulate in the United States. I have already given assurances that we have not agreed upon the reciprocal opening of consulates with the Soviet Government, that we have no plans at present to do so and that we would consult with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Senate Leadership on both sides of the aisle, and other interested Senators before proposing any discussions with the the Soviet Government. In these consultations not only Viet-Nam but all other relevant aspects of the international situation would be considered. Should it be decided that the exchange of consulates was in the national interest, we would seek the advice of municipal officials of any city under discussion as a possible site for a Soviet Consulate.
>
> I believe that these assurances go further than the proposed "understanding", and that they also avoid the danger of killing the treaty through attaching "understandings" to it.
>
> I hope that after full consideration of this "understanding" the Senate will conclude, as I have, that it is not necessary in view of the assurances already given, and that it is undesirable in view of the danger that, like any reservation or understanding, it could kill the treaty.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> DEAN RUSK.

There is nothing more I can say.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 2 minutes?

Mrs. SMITH. I am glad to yield 2 minutes to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. Since the distinguished majority leader alluded to letter No. 6——

Mr. MANSFIELD. No. 3.

Mr. MUNDT. I thought it was six. Whatever it is, the Secretary of State certainly has a right to express himself. I am glad he did. But I rose primarily to congratulate the Senator from Maine for offering yet another version of an approach whereby the Senate may now exercise its constitutional right of advice, because this right is tremendously important. The so-called Mundt reservation, and the Curtis reservation together with the Smith reservation of understanding, or resolution of understanding, are all part of the fabric of whether or not the Senate wants to exercise its opportunity now, by one device or another to exercise its constitutional right of advice and to let our allies, and the American people, the Communist world and this administration know that we expect some effort to be made to slow down the steady and growing shipments of supplies by the Russians to North Vietnam.

I admire the Secretary of State, but I do not agree with his position that with the adoption of the Smith understanding the Soviets are not going to like it and they are going to raise their voices in dissent. I hope this Senate is not going to be influenced by Soviet reactions or that direct or indirect Soviet lobbying is not in any way involved in the bridge building that we may engage in. I hope this Senate will act on the basis of whether the treaty is good or not, whether it is good for America, and whether whatever decision we make is good for our boys overseas and its impact on the war and not be influenced by a Soviet smile or a scowl when they read about it in the newspaper the next day. I urge Senate support of the resolution offered by Senator SMITH.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield to me briefly?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I have heard with a great deal of interest and much respect the letter from the Secretary of State. I have high respect for him. He knows that, as I think Senators generally know the same thing. I have great respect for the distinguished majority leader, who read the letter. I want to say for one Senator, the Senator from Florida, that he does not agree at all with the statement in that letter that the assurances given in prior letters are now stronger than the expression of the hope contained in the understanding of the distinguished Senator from Maine, because there is nothing in the former letters, there is nothing in the expressions made to the Senator from Florida—and he has conferred with the representatives of the Department of State—or by any manner or means, that they do not intend to open consulate establishments with the Soviet people until after the cessation of the Vietnam conflict. They say they do not have any present proposal. They say they will take up subsequent proposals with the committee headed by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]. But they make no statement at all—of a hope or anticipation or commitment—that they will not open negotiations with the Soviet Union for the purpose of establishing consulates until the Vietnam conflict comes to an end.

I see no reason in the world why a Member of the Senate should not have the right to express a hope, an intention, an understanding, just as much as the Secretary of State or anyone else. Certainly this Senator claims the right and he thinks every other Senator should have that right.

The Senator from Florida agrees fully with the hope expressed in this understanding—and it is not a binding expression at all, but with the hope expressed—that there will be no commitment made, no negotiations opened looking to the opening of consulates in this country by the Soviet Union and in their country by us until the conflict between the free world and a large part of the Communist world comes to an end. That is the least we can say.

I voted against the reservations which went further, but I hope, in view of the popular feeling of the people in this matter, and in view of what I think is in the heart of every Senator, there will be no move toward further opening of consulates until the Vietnam conflict comes to an end. That is what the Senator from Maine says in her understanding, which I shall certainly support.

I thank the Senator from Maine for yielding to me.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, it is always difficult to be in opposition to the distinguished Senator from Maine.

I share with everyone else in this body great respect for her patriotism, her ability, and her integrity. But her proposed understanding, like the proposed reservations that were offered by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], place a heavy burden on all of us. All of us are deeply concerned about the war in Vietnam. But the proposals place us somewhat in the light of public opinion, as if we were not concerned, and as if in some way, by our opposition, we were actually encouraging conditions which would continue the war longer. If their adoption would shorten the war, I would support them, but we know their adoption would not shorten the war.

But I address my opposition to the understanding for two reasons: one is that the Senate, by voting down the reservation offered by the Senator from South Dakota, similar in its purpose to the understanding, has expressed its conviction that this convention offers benefit to the United States, even though the war in Vietnam is in progress. It is logical to say that if we had believed otherwise, we should have voted for the reservation of the Senator from South Dakota.

A legal question arises. Legal questions are not always interesting, but the effect of this understanding must be considered. It may be thought that only a proposed labeled reservation affects the operation of a convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 3 minutes have expired.

Mr. COOPER. I ask for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield the Senator from Kentucky 3 more minutes.

Mr. COOPER. But under international law this is not correct. A memorandum of the Committee on Foreign Relations prepared at the time the nuclear test ban treaty was adopted, pointed out that the use of the terms "reservation" or "understanding" is not definitive and controlling; that the real question is whether or not the proposal changes the contractual obligations of the parties, or changes, inhibits, or limits the application of the convention.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a memorandum prepared by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee on the treatymaking process be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

(See exhibit 1.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no objection, it was so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the purpose of entering into the convention is to make it operative. I do not say that the President could not ignore the understanding but in effect I think it would inhibit him from doing so until the end of the war in Vietnam. It would be a limitation upon the convention itself.

So I return to my original statement, that if we believe that there is something wrong about ratifying this convention, then we should vote it down. If, with our concern about the Vietnamese war—and we are concerned about it, as we all know—we believe that this convention stands in the way of a resolution of that conflict, we should have voted for the Mundt reservation.

But if we believe that this convention offers benefit to the United States and would have no adverse effect on the war, then we should vote down these reservations and understandings.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS STAFF MEMORANDUM ON THE ROLE OF THE SENATE IN THE TREATYMAKING PROCESS

Article II, section 2, clause 2, of the U.S. Constitution states that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

In performing this function, the Senate has several options. Normally, the procedure for unconditional approval of a treaty is by adoption of a resolution of advice and consent to ratification which, in the case of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, would read as follows:

"*Be it resolved* (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein*), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater, which was signed at Moscow on August 5, 1963, on behalf of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The Senate may, however, reject a treaty in toto, or stipulate conditions in the form of amendments, reservations, understandings, declarations, statements, interpretations, or statements in committee reports. For example, the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency was approved subject to an "interpretation and understanding." In that case, so that no uncertainty would exist as to whether the United States might be obligated by some future amendment that the Senate saw fit to reject, the resolution of ratification was approved "subject to the interpretation and understanding, which is hereby made a part and condition of the resolution of ratification, that (1) any amendment to the statute shall be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent, as in the case of the statute itself, and (2) the United States will not remain a member of the Agency in the event of an amendment to the statute being adopted to which the Senate by a formal vote shall refuse its advice and consent."

This "interpretation and understanding" in no way affected the international obligation of the United States. It was, however, made a part of the operating instrument of ratification and Presidential proclamation and circulated to the other parties to the treaty with the following statement: "The Government of the United States of America considers that the above statement and understanding pertains solely to U.S. constitutional procedures and is of purely domestic character."

The Senate also approved the NATO Status-of-Forces Agreement subject to an "understanding." Article III of that agreement provided that under certain conditions members of a military force were to be exempt from passport and visa regulations, from immigration inspection, and from regulations on the registration and control of aliens. The effect of article III on U.S. immigration laws was not entirely clear, and in order to remove all doubt about the matter and to make sure that the United States could take appropriate measures to protect its security, the following language was made part of the resolution of ratification:

"It is the understanding of the Senate, which understanding inheres in its advice and consent to the ratification of the agreement, that nothing in the agreement diminishes, abridges, or alters the right of the United States of America to safeguard its own security by excluding or removing persons whose presence in the United States is deemed prejudicial to its safety or security and that no person whose presence in the United States is deemed prejudicial to its safety or security shall be permitted to enter or remain in the United States."

This "understanding" was also included in the instrument of ratification and the Presidential proclamation which was circulated to the other parties to the agreement. Here again, however, it had no effect on the international obligation of the United States.

Another, and perhaps better known case involves the so-called Connally reservation to the compulsory jurisdiction clause of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. In that instance the Senate gave its advice and consent to the deposit by the President of a declaration under paragraph 2 of article 36 of the statute—the so-called optional clause. By accepting the optional clause, the United States agreed that in certain types of legal disputes it would recognize the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. However, in accepting that jurisdiction, the Senate stated that it did not apply to matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States. For technical reasons the Connally reservation is not viewed by all international lawyers as a true reservation; in fact, it was communicated to other parties and the obligation of other parties with respect to the United States is no greater than that assumed by the United States.

As a practical matter, if the Senate attaches a reservation to its resolution of advice and consent, the inference is that the contractual relationship is being changed. However, if the Senate uses language of understanding, the implication (but not necessarily the fact) is that the contractual arrangement is not being changed.

Irrespective of what term is used to describe a condition imposed on a treaty, however, the view of the U.S. Government is that the content or effect of the statement is of prime importance. If, despite the designation, the executive branch believes that the condition has the actual character and effect of a reservation, it would be so treated and thus would open the treaty to further negotiations. In this connection, the following extracts from a Department of State memorandum on the subject of "Depositary Practice in Relation to Reservations" which was submitted to the United Nations last year are relevant:

"It is understood by the U.S. Government that the term 'reservation' means according to general international usage, a formal declaration by a state, when signing, ratifying, or adhering to a treaty, which modifies or limits the substantive effect of one or more of the treaty provisions as between the reserving state and each of the other states parties to the treaty. A true reservation is a statement asserting specific conditions of a character which (if the reserving state becomes a party to the treaty) effectively qualify or modify the application of the treaty in the relations between the reserving state and other states parties to the treaty. If the statement does not effectually change in some way, either by expanding or diminishing the treaty provisions, the application of the treaty between the reserving state and other states parties thereto, then it is questionable whether it is a true reservation even though it may be designated a 'reservation.' The terms 'understanding,' 'declaration,' or 'statement' may be used to designate a statement which may or may not be a true reservation. More properly, 'understanding' is used to designate a statement when it is not intended to modify or limit any of the provisions of the treaty in its international operation, but is intended merely to clarify or explain or to deal with some matter incidental to the operation of the treaty in a manner other than a substantive reservation. Sometimes an understanding is no more than a statement of policies or principles or perhaps an indication of internal procedures for carrying out provisions of the treaty. The terms 'declaration' and 'statement' when used as the descriptive terms are used most often when it is considered essential or desirable to give notice of certain matters of policy or principle, but without any intention of derogating in any way from the substantive rights or obligations as stipulated in the treaty. As a general rule, it is considered necessary in the case of any instrument of ratification, adherence, or acceptance embodying any of the above-mentioned types of statement, that the other state or states concerned be notified thereof and be given an opportunity to comment. If the statement is designated a 'reservation' but is not a true reservation, the notification to the other state or states may be accompanied by an explanatory statement designed to emphasize the fact that no actual modification or limitation of the treaty provisions is intended.

* * * * *

"The U.S. Government as depositary does not, as a rule, consider it appropriate for reservations to be set forth merely in a letter or note accompanying an instrument of ratification, acceptance, adherence, or accession. If the instrument is to be qualified by a reservation, it is considered that the reservation should be embodied in the instrument itself. A declaration, understanding, or other statement not constituting an actual reservation may, of course, be set forth in an accompanying letter or note, the text thereof then being notified to interested states at the same time they are notified regarding the deposit of the formal instrument."

"One of the most authoritative statements on reservations appears in Charles Cheney Hyde's book, "International Law." Hyde states (vol. II, p. 1435): "A reservation to a treaty is a formal statement made by a prospective party for the purpose of creating a different relationship between that party and the other parties or prospective parties than would result should the reserving state accept the arrangement without having made such a statement. A more interpretative declaration made by a prospective party without such a design, and with a view merely to accentuate a common understanding, is not regarded as a reservation, unless another party or prospective party deems it to be productive of a different relationship between the state issuing the declaration and the other parties or prospective parties than would result were the declaration not made. In a word, whether an interpretative statement is to be regarded as a reservation and dealt with as such depends in practice upon the place which the states to which it is addressed are disposed to assign to it."

AMENDMENTS

A distinction should be made between an amendment and a reservation. The difference between the two is that an amendment, if it is accepted by the President and the other party or parties to the treaty, changes it for all parties, whereas a reservation limits only the obligation of the United States under the treaty, although a reservation may, in fact, be of such significance as to lead other parties to file similar reservations, to seek renegotiation of the treaty, or, indeed, to refuse to proceed with ratification.

To put it another way, the distinctions between the two "are not in the essential objects sought, but in the form taken by the qualified assent and in the notice or action called for from the other party to the agreement. As the contrast is ordinarily drawn, an amendment to a treaty is a textual change in the instrument itself by way of an addition, alteration, or excision; it makes a part of the identical contract to which the two governments are to give their assent in the exchange of ratifications. A reservation, on the other hand, is an interpretation or construction placed upon some portion of the instrument by the Senate, to indicate the understanding with which the United States enters into the agreement as to the obligations which this country is to assume." (Haynes, "The Senate of the United States," vol. II, pp. 617–18.)

SUMMARY

In summary, therefore, and in order of importance so far as the effect on other parties is concerned, the Senate might take the following steps to make its views known or to qualify its consent to ratification of a treaty:

1. The Senate may advise and consent to ratification, but make its views known in the committee report. This would have no more legal effect on the treaty than other negotiating background or than legislative history has on public laws.

2. The Senate may include in its resolution language expressing its understanding or interpretation. So long as this language does not substantively affect the terms or international obligations of the treaty, or relates solely to domestic matters, there would be no legal effect on the treaty. Under existing practice, however, the Executive would communicate such understandings or interpretations to the other parties for such reaction as they may take.

3. The Senate may include in its resolution language expressing its reservation. Normally reservation language would involve some change in the international obligations of the treaty and might affect its terms in such a significant manner as to require the Executive to communicate the terms of the reservation to other parties to the treaty, thus enabling them to take such action as they felt appropriate, including reservations of their own or even refusal to proceed with the treaty.

4. Finally, the Senate may amend the terms of the treaty itself. In this instance, there would be no question but that the treaty would need to be renegotiated.

Committee procedure

The Committee on Foreign Relations transacts business by a majority vote of a legal quorum (currently nine members). Once a legal quorum is established, it is presumed to be present, and thereafter oral or written proxies are valid for the purposes of voting. This procedure applies with respect to any treaty reservations or amendments considered by the committee. However, on the final question as to whether the committee shall agree to report favorably a particular resolution of ratification, an actual physical quorum of nine members must be present.

Senate procedure

The act of ratification for the United States is a Presidential act, but it may not be forthcoming unless the Senate has consented to it by the required two-thirds of the Senators present (which signifies two-thirds of a quorum), otherwise the consent rendered would not be that of the Senate as organized under the Constitution to do business (art. I, sec. 5, clause 1).

Insofar as Senate procedure is concerned, rule XXXVII states that when a treaty is reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations it shall, unless the Senate unanimously otherwise directs, lie 1 day for consideration. Amendments or reservations are subject to approval by a majority vote.

An amendment or reservation may be modified before any action is taken on it. They are not, however, subject to modification after adoption by the Senate. Moreover, an amendment or reservation which is substantially the same as one previously offered and rejected is not in order.

The decisions made must be reduced to the form of a resolution of ratification, with or without amendments or reservations, as the case may be, which must be proposed on a subsequent day, unless by unanimous consent the Senate determines otherwise. After the resolution of ratification is offered, amendments to the text of the treaty or the resolution of ratification are not in order.

On the final question to advise and consent to the ratification in the form agreed to, the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting shall be necessary to determine it in the affirmative; but all other motions and questions upon a treaty shall be decided by a majority vote, except a motion to postpone indefinitely, which shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds.

Mr. **Fulbright**. Mr. President, the following statement has been prepared by the Parliamentarian for guidance of the Senate during consideration of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty:

"NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

"(Procedure Under the Rule)

"The treaty is in the Committee of the Whole and shall be proceeded with by articles. This provision, however, may be

> waived by unanimous consent, and thus permit an amendment to be offered to any part of the treaty.
>
> "A majority vote is required for adoption of an amendment.
>
> "A motion to table an amendment would be in order.
>
> "Where there is no further debate or action to be taken in the Committee of the Whole, the proceedings are reported by the Presiding Officer to the Senate. If any amendment has been made, the Senate votes on concurrence therein. Further amendments are then in order.
>
> "Reservations are not in order while the treaty is being considered in the Committee of the Whole or in the Senate. They should be offered to the resolution of ratification.
>
> "When there is no further debate or amendment to be proposed, the next step would be the proposal of the resolution of ratification. It cannot, however, be proposed on that day except by unanimous consent. If any amendment has been made to the text of the treaty, it must be incorporated in the resolution of ratification.
>
> "After the resolution of ratification has been proposed, no amendment is in order except by unanimous consent. Reservations, however, are in order at that stage, and not before.
>
> "The vote on the question of agreeing to the resolution of ratification or on a motion to postpone indefinitely requires a two-thirds vote for adoption. All other motions and questions upon a treaty shall be decided by a majority vote."

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, on the question of the meaning of the word "understanding"?

Mr. COOPER. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. A committee print entitled "Background Information on the Committee on Foreign Relations," prepared by the committee staff, contained a paragraph which I think may have some bearing on the subject. It is found on page 21 of the document and reads as follows:

> The Senate may include in its resolution language expressing its "understanding" or "interpretation." So long as this language does not substantively affect the terms or international obligations of the treaty, or relates solely to domestic matters, there would be no legal effect on the treaty. Under existing practice, however, the executive would communicate such understandings or interpretations to the other parties.

Concerning reservations, it says:

> Irrespective of what term is used to describe a condition imposed on a treaty, however, the view of the U.S. Government when it serves as a depositary is that the *content* or *effect* of the statement is of prime importance. If, despite the designation, the executive branch believes that the condition has the actual character and effect of a reservation, it would be so treated and thus would open the treaty to further negotiation.

I think this means—and it is somewhat vague, that an understanding would be communicated to the other party one way or another. In this case, we would confront the Russians with the decision of whether to accept the implication contained in the language of this understanding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

I believe, of course, that the Russians do have an influence in Vietnam, but Vietnam is not directly involved here; and I think the effect of this understanding would be not that it would require renegotiation but that it would give the Soviets an excuse to fail to ratify the treaty.

So I come back to the question asked also by the Senator from Kentucky, do we want the treaty or do we not?

I think it would be very confusing to accept the understanding and then approve the treaty. It would be much more clearcut simply to say, "Table the treaty; this is no time to act on it; wait until the war is over." But the administration believes, and I believe, that this treaty is timely.

It happens that the last case of significance involving a man detained in Russia was that of an Arkansas citizen, a man whose name all Senators have heard, Mr. Wortham. I shall not dwell on the background of the matter; but just last week, I believe, in an unprecedented action, the Soviet Union reduced a sentence of 3 years' imprisonment on appeal and imposed instead a fine of 5,000 rubles.

There is a feeling that the fact that, on appeal, they reduced a sentence of 3 years' imprisonment to a fine of 5,000 rubles, indicated that they are willing, in the midst of a war to make some gesture toward reconciliation. I do not say it is related to this matter, but I would say it indicates a form of mutual, passive, deescalation of the heat in our cold war. I do not think the incident is unworthy of some thought.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 15 minutes remaining.

Mrs. SMITH. I thank the Chair. I yield myself such time as I may require for my few concluding words.

Mr. President, at the outset of my closing remarks, I acknowledge the very unique distinction I have—both the State Department and the Liberty Lobby are against me. No other Senator can make that statement. [Laughter.]

The opposition to this understanding seems to be based on expressions in letters of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State. The two letters of Assistant Secretary Macomber to the majority leader speak only with respect to the proposed reservations to the treaty. Consequently, they do not apply to the understanding amendment to the resolution of ratification.

However, the March 8, 1967, letter of the Secretary of State to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations groups amendments, reservations, and understandings together and makes no distinction between them. In that letter the Secretary of State charges that even an understanding could result in first, either the Soviet Government refusing to ratify the treaty; or second, the Soviet Government retaliating with its own qualifications or interpretations. His letter to the majority leader merely repeats this theme of opposition.

I fail to see how his charges are applicable to the understanding that I have offered. In the first place, the understanding has no effect whatsoever on the treaty or any of its provisions.

In the second place, the understanding merely expresses a hope of the Senate that peace will have been achieved in Vietnam before a Soviet consulate is opened in the United States.

Why would the Soviet Union find an expression of hope for peace in Vietnam to be offensive when the Soviet Union repeatedly professes its desire for peace in Vietnam and in that expression of desire for peace condemns the United States for not suspending bombing of North Vietnam?

Why would such an expression by the Senate be so offensive to the Soviet Union that it would refuse to ratify the treaty? If there is such a danger as this, then surely this treaty stands on very shaky ground and on a very frail reed.

For if the Soviet Union would use this understanding as a flimsy excuse to refuse to ratify the treaty, then I can only conclude that it is looking for an opportunity to refuse to ratify the treaty. It could just as easily take the excuse that a single Senator spoke or voted against the treaty, much less than that several Senators spoke against and voted against the treaty.

In fact, the Soviet Union could manufacture any excuse that it wanted to fabricate for refusing to ratify this treaty.

Are we to act in this body in such fear of the Soviet Union? Are we to tiptoe so softly that we do not even approve an understanding expressing a hope for peace—a hope that does not even have any effect on the treaty—lest we somehow, however slightly, do something the Soviet Union does not like—even a call for peace?

In the third place, in his letter of March 8, 1967, to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Secretary of State observes that:

> As soon as this treaty is ratified and enters into force, the benefits conferred by it will come into operation whether or not any consulates are opened in the Soviet Union or the United States. The Convention does not provide for the opening of consulates. Decisions on any such action are separate from the Convention; . . . there has been no agreement with the Soviet Government in the negotiations on the Consular Convention or otherwise, for the opening of any consulates in either country. We have no present plans for taking such action.

In view of these observations that this treaty does not provide for the opening of consulates, that no agreement exists for the opening of any consulates in either country, and that there are no present plans for opening any consulates—the understanding that I have offered all the more clearly does not affect the treaty—and negates any argument against the adoption of the understanding I have offered.

As to the second fear that the Secretary of State has raised—that the Soviet Government would be given an opportunity by any adopted understanding to retaliate with its own qualifications or interpretations—I simply do not see how such an argument applies to my proposed understanding which would not be attached to the treaty but only to the resolution of ratification and which would not have any effect on the treaty itself.

The plain truth is that we have no assurance that the Soviet Government will not make its own qualifications or interpretations even if this treaty is ratified.

If the Soviet Government finds this understanding that I have offered to be offensive because it expresses a hope for an end of the fighting in Vietnam before any Russian consulate is established in this country, then I can only conclude that it will be because the Soviet Government finds the plain truth to be offensive—for the plain truth is that it is the Soviet Government that provides the backbone of the materiel and equipment with which the aggressor in Vietnam wages the war and opposes a peaceful end to it.

My only comment on this is, that God forbid, that fear of the Soviet Union in the U.S. Senate has reached the point where we do not have the courage to recognize and proclaim the plain truth and adopt an expression of hope for peace on the basis of the recognition of that plain truth.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, does the Senator from Maine interpret her proposal in any way to be another version of the reservation proposed by the senior Senator from South Dakota?

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, the Senator from Maine is very pleased to say that she has no reference to the reservations at all.

It is simply a means for the U.S. Senators to express their own feelings. I am not asking for any reservations. I am not asking for anything to be attached to the treaty.

I simply want to have the world know that we still hope for peace.

Mr. AIKEN. And it is an expression of hope that the war in South Vietnam may come to an end.

Mrs. SMITH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mrs. SMITH. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I would join the Senator in accepting a resolution expressing that hope.

I do not think there is any question of interference or of fear here. But the effect of the understanding could well be the same as that of the reservations proposed by the Senator from South Dakota—the effect of killing the treaty.

The question is not interfering with the Soviet Union or fearing the Soviet Union. The question is simply: "Do we want a treaty?"

I do not think we are trying to threaten anybody. I think that if the understanding is designed to prevent ratification, or if it might have the effect of preventing ratification of the treaty, it would mean that the treaty would not come into being and none of its benefits would naturally become effective.

I certainly would join with the Senator in a resolution expressing our hope for an end of the war, but I do not wish to put it in the form of an understanding on this particular treaty because I think the treaty is in our interest. They would both be in our interest, but they ought to be handled separately.

Mrs. SMITH. I can only reply to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations that it seems to me I have been hearing a great deal for the past few days about any reservation, any amendment, or any understanding affecting the treaty to the extent that the Soviet Union would not sign it.

This is only an expression of hope. It does not require renegotiation of the treaty. It has nothing to do with the treaty.

It simply says to the world: "We are ready for peace. We are trying our best to work with the Soviet Union, but we do not want the world to think that we have given up the hope for peace."

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on the adoption or rejection of the understanding proposed by the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG].

If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea" and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS]. If present and voting, the Senator from South Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 38, nays 51, as follows:

[No. 63 Ex.]

YEAS—38

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bennett
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Cotton
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Gruening
Hansen
Hartke
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
McClellan
Miller
Montoya
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Russell
Smathers
Smith
Stennis
Talmadge
Tower
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—51

Bartlett
Bayh
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Case
Clark
Cooper
Ellender
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Harris
Hart
Hatfield
Hayden
Inouye
Jackson
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Morton
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—11

Brewster
Brooke
Cannon
Church
Dirksen
Dodd
Hickenlooper
Javits
Long, La.
Scott
Thurmond

So Mrs. SMITH's executive understanding was rejected.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, after considerable thought and careful study, I have decided to vote in favor of the pending Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union.

I am firmly convinced that ratification of this treaty is in the best interests of the United States. Were I not so convinced, I would of course, not vote for it. In spite of all the scare talk and the confusion, the treaty is basically designed to provide more legal protection for the 18,000 American citizens visiting Russia annually. I have no doubt but that the treaty will be of more benefit to the United States than to Russia. But both countries will benefit from this document which defines the legal ground rules under which their citizens shall be protected when visiting the other country.

The proposed treaty enjoys the strong bipartisan support of the leaders of both major political parties. It has been strongly endorsed by President Johnson and the majority leader of the Senate, Senator MANSFIELD. President Eisenhower, who first proposed the treaty to Soviet officials in 1959, said as recently as February 2, 1967,

> I have not changed my belief that such a convention is in our national interest; that it will not impair our national security; that it should enlarge our opportunities to learn more about the Soviet people, and that it is necessary to assure better protection for the many thousands of Americans who visit the Soviet Union each year.

The treaty now before us was reported favorably by the Foreign Relations Committee by a vote of 15 to 4. It is supported by the able and distinguished minority leader, Senator DIRKSEN, by the chairman of the Republican policy committee, Senator HICKENLOOPER, and by the former Republican national chairman, Senator MORTON. In addition, the 1964 Republican presidential candidate, Mr. Goldwater, has said that he supports the convention.

Since the various amendments or reservations would have the affect of killing or confusing the treaty, I have opposed these amendments.

Because of the great amount of public misunderstanding concerning exactly what this treaty contains, I ask unanimous consent that a clear description of its terms, which appears on pages 4 and 5 of the Foreign Relations Committee report, may be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

III. PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION

A. GENERAL PURPOSES

The convention regulates the consular affairs of each country in the territory of the other and the treatment to be accorded consular officials and employees. The convention covers such matters as the status of a consular establishment, the duties and functions of consular officers, and the rights, privileges, and immunities of the consular personnel of each country stationed in the territory of the other country.

The convention does not itself authorize the opening of consulates or specify the number of consulates which may be opened, but merely provides the legal framework for the activity of accredited consular officers whether attached to an Embassy or to consulates which might be opened as a result of separate negotiations.

B. NOTIFICATION AND ACCESS

The convention follows the pattern of other bilateral consular conventions to which the United States is a party except that the convention (which includes the protocol) contains two distinctive provisions relating to the protection of American citizens:

1. It obliges a receiving state to notify consular officers of a sending state of the arrest or detention of a national of the sending state within 1 to 3 days from the time of arrest or detention depending on conditions of communication.

2. It provides that consular officers of the sending state may visit and communicate with a national of the sending state who is under arrest or detained in custody by the receiving state within 2 to 4 days of the arrest or detention depending on his location and on a continuing basis thereafter.

C. UNRESTRICTED IMMUNITY FROM CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

The convention also states, for the first time in any consular agreement to which the United States is a party, that consular officers and employees of the sending state will be immune from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state.

This provision extends to consular officers and personnel the same unrestricted immunity from criminal prosecution that Embassy officers and employees now enjoy. In other consular conventions to which the United States is a party, the immunity granted consular officers and employees has generally been restricted to misdemeanors. The proposed convention extends the immunity to felonies.

D. SAFEGUARDS

The proposed convention contains certain provisions designed to afford protection against abuse of the measures regarding immunity from criminal prosecution. These provisions specify the right of the receiving state to declare consular officers *persona non grata* and consular employees unacceptable. The convention also states that all persons enjoying immunity from criminal jurisdiction are obliged to respect the laws and regulations of the receiving state, including traffic regulations.

The convention also contains a number of measures designed as safeguards against the danger of subversion. If, after ratification of the convention, the United States agrees to the opening of a Soviet consulate in the United States, the officers and employees of the consulate will be subject to the same visa screening and entry controls as officers and employees of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. They will also be subject to the same travel restrictions as those which apply to diplomatic personnel. As has already been noted, the convention also provides that consular officers and employees may be expelled.

E. TERMINATION

The convention may be terminated on 6-month notice by either party.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that certain carefully prepared materials which I received from Mr. Douglas MacArthur II, of the U.S. Department of State, explaining the proposed convention, may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 27, 1967.

DEAR SENATOR: There has been a good deal of misunderstanding about the US-Soviet Consular Convention which is now pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. To clear up such misunderstandings, we have issued a statement which I am enclosing in view of the general interest in this important matter.

The statement makes clear that the Consular Convention does not authorize, propose, suggest, provide for, or require the opening of a single United States Consulate in the Soviet Union, or a single Soviet Consulate in the United States. It does not permit the Soviets to send a single extra person to this country, nor does it let us send anyone to the Soviet Union.

What it does do is to provide that we will be notified of arrests of American citizens within one to three days, and allowed to see them within two to four days. As matters now stand, arrested persons can be held incommunicado until the investigation by the Soviet authorities is completed and this can take up to nine months or more. Last year we had 18,000 U.S. citizens visiting the Soviet Union and the number will increase. The Soviets, on the other hand, had only about 900 of their citizens visiting our country. We earnestly believe, therefore, that the balance of advantage in this Convention lies heavily with us and that it will give us the tools we need to protect American citizens traveling in the Soviet Union.

I also attach a more comprehensive but still brief statement on the purposes and effects of the Convention which I hope you will find useful. If you have any further questions about the Consular Convention, please don't hesitate to let me know as I would be glad to arrange a briefing on this matter for you.

Sincerely,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

[Excerpt from State Department press briefing, Jan. 25, 1967]

STATEMENT ON THE UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. CONSULAR CONVENTION

Following up on Secretary Rusk's testimony on the US-USSR Consular Convention before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 23, I would like to try to clear up a persistent misunderstanding about this agreement. And I might add that this misunderstanding is common among both opponents and supporters of ratification.

The Consular Convention does not authorize, propose, suggest, provide for, or require the opening of a single United States Consulate in the Soviet Union, or a single Soviet Consulate in the United States. It does not permit the Soviets to send a single extra person to this country, nor does it let us send anyone to the Soviet Union.

What it does do is to provide ground rules for the protection of American citizens in the Soviet Union, and Soviet citizens in the United States.

These ground rules, which represent major concessions by the Soviet Government, specify that we will be notified of the arrest of an American citizen within one to three days, and allowed to see him within two to four days. As a matter of routine, we grant these rights not only to Americans, but to all foreigners arrested in the United States. But, in the Soviet Union, even the Soviet citizens enjoy no such rights. They are held incommunicado until the investigation of the crime is completed; and this investigation can take nine months, or more.

These ground rules go into effect the minute the Treaty is ratified, without regard to the separate question of opening consulates. The officers attached to the Consular Section of our Embassy in Moscow will enjoy notification and access rights under this Treaty the moment both parties ratify it. Thus, tying the idea of opening consulates to the idea of approving this Convention confuses the issue. The issue is do we need better tools to help us protect Americans who get into trouble in the USSR. The answer is clearly yes.

THE UNITED STATES-SOVIET CONSULAR CONVENTION

We believe that ratification of the US-USSR Consular Convention is clearly in the national interest and, on balance, more valuable to the United States than to the Soviet Union. This Convention is part of our balanced strategy for peace, aimed at limiting the areas of disagreement in our relations with the USSR while we are resisting communist aggression wherever it occurs.

During the Eisenhower Administration, Secretary of State Christian Herter suggested to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko that a bilateral Consular Convention be negotiated and first drafts were exchanged. Negotiations were completed in 1964. President Johnson called for prompt Senate approval of this agreement in both his October 7, 1966 speech in New York and his January 10, 1967 State of the Union message.

This Convention will permit this Government to assist and protect more effectively the 18,000 or more American citizens who annually travel in the USSR. If a citizen of either country is detained or arrested, the Convention requires that the embassy or consulate of that citizen's country be notified within three days and that access to the prisoner by a consular official be granted within four days. These provisions will come into force when the treaty is ratified.

Without the protection of such an agreement, Americans have frequently been isolated in Soviet prisons for long periods and kept from contact with American Embassy consular officers. One, Newcomb Mott, died in Soviet hands under these circumstances.

The treaty does not provide for the opening of consulates. Approval of the Convention has no bearing on this question, since under the Constitution the President can agree to reciprocal opening of consulates in the U.S. and the USSR at any time.

There are no formal proposals or plans pending for the opening of separate consular offices of either country in the other. If at a later date it was decided to be appropriate to open one outside the respective capitals, it would be the subject of careful negotiation on a strict *quid-pro-quo* basis. Such an office would probably involve 10 to 15 Americans in the Soviet Union, with the Soviets permitted to send the same number here. In accordance with Secretary Rusk's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we would plan to consult that body and the state and local officials of the community to be affected, before concluding such an agreement. While, as noted, such an arrangement would be reciprocal, the fact that the Soviet Society is a closed one while the United States is open, and that the U.S. citizens needing service and protection while travelling in the Soviet Union far outnumber Soviet citizens with like needs in the U.S., indicate that the balance of advantage would be on our side.

This Convention gives full immunity from criminal jurisdiction to consular officers and employees of both countries. We would not send American officials or clerical employees to serve in the USSR without this protection. Since 1946, 31 Americans at our Embassy in Moscow have been expelled by the Soviets, most often on allegations of espionage. Without immunity consular employees could be jailed or suffer even harsher punishment on similar trumped-up charges. Furthermore, action against American consular personnel serving in the Soviet Union without diplomatic immunity could be a temptation to Soviet authorities whenever a Soviet citizen was arrested in this country for espionage. Other governments similarly protect their officials and clerical employees in the USSR; the British and the Japanese recently negotiated consular conventions with the Soviet Union containing immunity provisions modeled after those in the US-USSR agreement.

The opening of one Soviet consulate in the U.S. would not materially affect our internal security. The number of Soviet citizens now enjoying immunity, 452, would be increased by only 10 or 15 persons. We have the right under the treaty to screen the personnel of such an office before agreeing to their assignment. We are also authorized by the treaty to prevent them from travelling to sensitive areas in the country and to expel them if they prove to be undesirable. We could close a Soviet consulate in the U.S. whenever we wished, and we could cancel the Consular Convention on six month's notice.

UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. CONSULAR CONVENTION—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. *What was the historical origin of the Convention?*

When we first established relations with the USSR in 1933 an exchange of letters between President Roosevelt and Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov stated that it had been agreed that a consular convention would be negotiated "immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries." Other problems intervened, however, and negotiations were never begun.

It was President Eisenhower's proposal at the 1955 Geneva Summit Conference for "concrete steps" to lower "the barriers which now impede the opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world" and subsequent relaxation by the Bulganin-Khrushchev regime of tight Stalinist controls which led to greatly increased American travel to the USSR and to the realization that we needed to protect U. S. citizens by negotiating an explicit consular convention with the Soviet Union. At the Camp David talks in 1959, Secretary of State Christian Herter proposed such a treaty to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Drafts were exchanged in early 1960 but there was little further activity because of subsequent strains in US-Soviet relations until September 1963 when formal negotiations began in Moscow. After 8 months of hard negotiations, the Convention was signed on June 1, 1964 and submitted to the Senate by President Johnson on June 12, 1964.

2. *What is the basic purpose of the Convention?*

We need this treaty to secure rights for Americans in the Soviet Union that they do not now have. Under present Soviet law Soviet citizens and foreigners alike can be held incommunicado for nine months or more during investigation of a criminal charge. The Consular Convention contains major concessions by the USSR. It specifies that U.S. officials will be notified immediately (within 1–3 days) when an American citizen is arrested or detained in the USSR and it stipulates that these officials will have rights of visitation without delay (within 2–4 days) and on a continuing basis thereafter.

3. *Why do we need additional protection for American citizens?*

Because increasing numbers of them travel to the Soviet Union and the number which encounters difficulties rises proportionally. Between 1962 and 1966 the number of Americans travelling to the USSR rose by 50% to 18,000, while the number of Soviet travelers remained static at about 900 per year. Since the Convention was signed in 1964, more than 20 arrests or detentions of American citizens in the USSR have come to our attention. In none of these cases have we been notified of the incident or allowed to visit the American within a reasonable period and certainly not within the time limits specified in this treaty. Meanwhile, our own constitutional system and democratic society automatically provide Soviet travelers here with protections similar to those our travelers would obtain from the convention.

Without the protection of such an agreement, Americans have frequently been isolated in Soviet prisons for long periods and kept from contact with American Embassy consular officers. One, Newcomb Mott, died in Soviet hands under these circumstances. During periods of strained US-USSR relations such as the present Soviet treatment of Americans accused of violating their law is likely to be harsher than usual.

4. *Does the Convention provide for the opening of new Soviet consulates in the US?*

No. It does not authorize, propose, suggest, provide for or require the opening of a single US consulate in the USSR or a single Soviet consulate in the US. It does not permit the Soviets to send a single extra person to this country nor does it let us send anyone to the USSR. What it does do is to provide ground rules for the protection of American citizens in the USSR—ground rules which we badly need.

Under the Constitution, the President's approval is all that is needed to permit foreign governments to establish consulates in the US. Between 1934 and 1948 there were three Soviet consulates in the US and an American consulate in the USSR, though there was no US-USSR consular agreement in force.

5. *Why do we grant Soviet consular officers immunity from our criminal jurisdiction?*

Because we believe it is vital to have the same protection for American consular officers and clerical employees in the USSR. Since 1946, 31 Americans at our Embassy in Moscow have been expelled by the Soviets, most often on allegations of espionage. Without immunity our consular employees could be jailed or suffer even harsher punishment on similar trumped-up charges. Furthermore, action against American consular personnel serving in the USSR without immunity could be a temptation to Soviet authorities whenever a Soviet citizen is arrested in this country for espionage. Other governments similarly protect their officials and clerical employees in the USSR; the British and the Japanese recently negotiated consular conventions with the Soviet Union containing immunity provisions modeled after those in the US-USSR agreement.

6. *Is it right to extend this immunity to clerical employees as well?*

We believe that the American secretaries, file clerks and communications and administrative personnel whom we might send to a consulate in the USSR need and deserve the protection of immunity as much if not more than the consular officers. Clerical employees we would send to a consulate in the Soviet Union would often be young women and it would be both unfair and from a security point of view unwise to give them less protection than we give our experienced officers.

Of course, the Soviets would not be allowed to station a staff of Soviet nationals at a consulate in the US larger than the number of Americans we send to the USSR. If we send a staff of 10 to the USSR the Soviets may have a total of ten here.

7. *What is the prospect for the reciprocal opening of consular offices?*

There are no formal proposals or plans pending for the opening of separate consular offices of either country in the other. If at a later date it was decided to be appropriate to open one outside the respective capitals, it would be the subject of careful negotiation on a strict quid-pro-quo basis. Such an office would probably involve 10 to 15 Americans in the Soviet Union, with the Soviets permitted to send the same number here. In accordance with Secretary Rusk's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we would plan to consult that body and the state and local officials of the community to be affected, before concluding such an agreement. While, as noted, such an arrangement would be reciprocal, the fact that the Soviet society is a closed one while the United States is open, and that the U.S. citizens needing service and protection while travelling in the Soviet Union far outnumber Soviet citizens with like needs in the U.S., indicate that the balance of advantage would be on our side.

8. *If a Soviet consulate were eventually opened would it represent a threat to the security of the US?*

The opening of one Soviet consulate in the US would not materially affect our internal security. The number of Soviet citizens now enjoying immunity, 452, would be increased by only 10 or 15 persons. We have the right under the treaty to screen the personnel of such an office before agreeing to their assignment. We are also authorized by the treaty to prevent them from travelling to sensitive areas in the country and to expel them if they prove to be undesirable. We could close a Soviet consulate in the US whenever we wished, and we could cancel the Consular Convention on six month's notice. Both Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark and FBI Director Hoover have stated that 10 to 15 additional Soviet officials in this country would not place an undue burden on their organizations.

9. *What effect will the immunity provisions have on our agreements with other countries? Would immunities received by the Soviets be automatically extended under MFN clauses to other countries?*

We have 35 agreements in force with other countries which require us, on the basis of reciprocity, to extend most favored nation treatment to consular officers and occasionally consular employees. A recent survey shows that 27 of these countries have consular offices here with about 577 personnel. Should these countries agree to grant immunity from criminal jurisdiction to the 424 American consular officers and employees stationed there, we would have to extend the same treatment to their people here. All twenty-seven of these countries can be described as either friendly or neutral.

Our Embassies in these 27 countries were asked to estimate whether their host country would ask for most favored nation treatment—and give it to us in return. The replies indicated that at most 11 might make such requests, with 290 officers and employees. Assuming that we eventually decide to open a consulate in the USSR with

15 people, we would permit the opening of a Soviet consulate with 15 people here. In this case a total of 305 foreign consular officers and employees would be affected. This compares with the estimate of 9400 foreign diplomatic officers, members of their families and employees who now enjoy full diplomatic immunity in the US.

10. *What do other countries do about their consular relations with the USSR?*

Prior to the negotiation of the US–USSR convention the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria were the only non-communist countries which had consular treaties with the USSR. Neither of these treaties contained firm guarantees on notification and access similar to those in the US–USSR treaty.

Since 1964 the French, Finns, British, Japanese and Italians have negotiated consular conventions with the USSR. The British and Japanese conventions are modeled after the US treaty both in the guarantees on notification and access and in the immunities provision. Of the non-communist countries, India and Turkey have consulates in the USSR. Italy, Japan and Finland hope to open consulates soon.

11. *What effect does the Convention have on estate and tax matters in the US?*

The estate and tax provisions of this convention are the same as those in other consular conventions which the US has negotiated recently. The United States made no concessions about estates in this Convention. In the negotiations the Soviet Government attempted to obtain wide powers for its consular officials in the settlement of estates of American citizens where a Soviet citizen is a beneficiary, or in the settlement of estates of Soviet citizens who die in the United States. The Soviet Government did not obtain these powers.

The Convention provides that consuls can play a role in the settlement of estates *only if permissible under the existing applicable local law*. If the Convention is ratified, therefore, the laws of the individual states would continue, as they do now, to govern the extent to which a Soviet consul can play a part in the settlement of an estate.

This convention, like many others to which the US is a party, exempts the consular personnel of the sending state from Federal and State taxes with certain exceptions. Also, property used for a consulate or as residences for consular and diplomatic personnel would be exempt from real estate taxes. This is normal international practice.

12. *In view of the Soviet record of treaty violations, how can you make them observe this one? And what can be done if they don't?*

It is true that, particularly in the Stalin years, the Soviet Union violated a number of international agreements and treaties. A careful study of serious violations can be found in "Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations" prepared by the Department of State in 1961.

Despite its earlier record of repeated violations of international obligations, the Soviet Union is party to a number of multilateral and bilateral agreements which it has not been accused of violating. There may have been infractions of some of these agreements, but the Soviet Government can be said to have generally found it to be in its interest to live up to them. Among the most important of these agreements are the Austrian State Treaty (1955), the Antarctic Treaty (1959) and the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963).

Treaties between sovereign governments are negotiated on the basis of mutual self-interest, not as rewards for good behavior or as evidences of good faith. We believe there are areas where the US and Soviet interests coincide, though these areas must be carefully delineated and explored before arriving at any agreement. The Limited Test Ban Treaty, the Treaty on Outer Space which we have just signed, and the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons which is now under discussion are examples of agreements covering such areas. Each of these agreements either has built-in safeguards or is self-enforcing. The consular treaty is no exception—it is carefully drafted to provide full protection against abuse.

Should the Soviet Union violate the terms of this agreement we could suspend it or, with six months notice, terminate it. Should a Soviet consulate be opened in this country and should its personnel violate our laws or the standards of behavior we would expect, we could expel them or close the consulate.

13. *Does the Convention prejudice the position of subject peoples incorporated against their will into the Soviet Union?*

No, it does not. The United States Government has never recognized the forcible annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Ratification of this convention would in no way change our policy in this respect, nor would any subsequent opening of a consulate or demarcation of a consular district. Recognition of incorporation of states into the Soviet Union would require a positive statement or act by the United States. The convention contains no such statement and provides for no such act. It is United States policy to support the just aspirations of all peoples of the world and to look forward to the day when all will be able to express these aspirations freely. The ratification of this treaty will not change this policy—any more than did the signing of more than 105 other bilateral and multilateral agreements which we have entered into with the U.S.S.R.

Mr. McGOVERN. Finally, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a fine statement in support of the treaty by the American Veterans' Committee, which appears on page 261 of the Senate hearings, may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON EXECUTIVE D, 88TH CONGRESS, CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION BY THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

The American Veterans Committee, an organization of veterans of World War I, II, the Korean Conflict, and the Vietnam Conflict, favors the ratification of the consular convention between the United States and the Soviet Union and urges that the Senate give its consent.

We believe that the security of the United States will be enhanced by a normalization of relations in the Soviet Union such as is envisaged by this convention. The providing of machinery for the regular handling of matters affecting American citizens in the Soviet Union, with adequate protection for the American officials involved, appears to us a forward-looking step which follows naturally from the many efforts, public and private, for wider cultural and personal contact between Americans and Russians. Such efforts, particularly at a time of ideological disunity among communist nations, are important in breaking barriers to understanding.

The possible adverse effects to American interests which might be caused by the presence of Soviet consular officers in the United States or by an expansion in the number of Soviet visitors appear well within the capacity of American law enforcement authorities to contain and should not deter prompt ratification.

The years have shown that coexistence with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not only possible, but is also a necessity, if the world is to remain at peace. This must be our modus vivendi for the foreseeable future. Every step should be taken to enhance, improve, and expand the spheres of coexistence whether by more frequent cultural exchanges, increased travel by the United States citizens to the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, expanded trade beyond the Iron Curtain, or others. If we follow this policy and practice, we shall find the areas of agreement becoming wider and the differences, narrower. The inevitable result, where people meet people, is that the government of the Soviet Union will no longer be able to insulate the Russians from the ways of the free world and disregard the yearnings of the Russian citizenry—which we believe to be the same as ours—for a world at peace and for good will to other peoples of the earth.

Respectfully submitted.

ANDREW E. RICE,
Chairman, International Affairs Commission, American Veterans Committee (AVC, Inc.).

Mr. McGOVERN. I believe that these materials indicate accurately and fairly why the Consular Convention ought to be ratified. Not only that, they demonstrate clearly that the balance of advantage in this treaty lies not with the Soviet Union, but with the United States.

Mr. President, I would like to stress several points.

First, this treaty does not provide for the opening of consulates. Whether or not the convention is approved, the President still has the constitutional authority to agree to a reciprocal opening of consulates at any time.

Second, this convention will be of great value to the more than 18,000 Americans citizens who visit the Soviet Union annually. In this regard, I ask unanimous consent to include at this point in my remarks an excellent article by Richard Reston which recently appeared in the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CONSULAR TREATY FOR SAFER TRAVEL

(By Richard Reston)

MOSCOW.—On Oct. 31, 1963, a professor from Yale University disappeared while traveling in the Soviet Union. American diplomats in Moscow soon suspected something had gone wrong, but they could not be sure of the whereabouts of Prof. Frederick C. Barghoorn.

Later, the Embassy confirmed its worst suspicions, notably that Barghoorn was in the hands of Soviet authorities for alleged espionage activity. But, still there was no notification from the Soviet Foreign Ministry of any such detention or arrest. In fact, Barghoorn was held incommunicado for 13 days.

In response to heavy pressure from Washington, the professor was finally released and expelled from the Soviet Union on Nov. 14 of that same year.

The Barghoorn case might have been quite another story if a formal consular treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union had existed at the time. Indeed the events surrounding the Barghoorn incident deal with the heart of the Soviet-American consular convention now under discussion in Washington. That treaty, signed in June, 1964, but never ratified by the U.S. Senate, provides for official notification by either the Soviet Union or the United States within three days of the arrest or detention of one of its nationals.

It further specifies that official diplomatic representatives be given the right to visit and communicate with a detained citizen within four days of detention.

In short, the consular treaty that has stirred such controversy in Washington would provide for a far greater degree of protection for Americans traveling in the Soviet Union. The two countries have not had normal consular relations since 1948. Proper consular relations are becoming increasingly important as the number of Americans coming to this country continues to rise.

For example, it is estimated that some 18,000 U.S. tourists now visit the Soviet Union annually. Most of this travel, averaging between three and five days, comes between May and September, and the American tourist figure may go higher in 1967 as the Soviet Union celebrates the 50th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.

All of these American citizens could need U.S. consular assistance at one time or another. A final consular treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States would spell out the rights, duties and operation procedures of consuls, who look after non-diplomatic transactions of their citizens. It would extend not only general assistance and protection to Americans in the Soviet Union, but would also cover such other areas as notary rights, birth and marriage certificates, wills and travel documents. Proper consular service could provide American nationals with translation help, advice about domestic laws and assistance in personal and professional dealings with the Soviet government.

What is perhaps more important is that a new consular treaty might produce a more business like approach to some lesser Soviet-American transactions.

But the heart of the matter is more extensive protection for Americans in the Soviet Union. Similar conditions would of course apply to a smaller number of Soviet citizens traveling to the United States.

Since the Barghoorn case—perhaps because the consular treaty has been hanging fire since 1964—the Soviet government generally has been better on the question, at least, of official notification in the event of detention or arrest of American citizens. It is not to suggest that the situation is now perfect.

Only last month, two Americans, Ray Buel Wortham, 25, and Craddock Gilmore, 24, were tried in Leningrad for seemingly minor currency violations and the theft of a bronze bear.

The American Embassy in Moscow was able to assist these two almost from the beginning. Gilmore was fined one thousand dollars and released. Wortham, who was sentenced to three years in a labor camp, is now out on bail while his case is appealed to the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation.

If Wortham is finally convicted, there is no assurance that U.S. diplomats will be allowed further contact with him. With a consular treaty in existence, Wortham would have the right of contact with U.S. officials on a "continuing basis."

The point about such a treaty is that it may, if only slightly, diminish the politics of the cold war and, at the same time, provide Americans with a wider legal backdrop for travel in the Soviet Union.

Mr. McGOVERN. Third, the proposed Consular Convention is not a threat to our national security. Assurances have been given on this point by both Secretary of State Rusk and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. In a press conference on February 2, 1967, President Johnson said:

> There are presently 452 Soviet officials in the United States that have diplomatic immunity. So if an additional consulate were opened, and if another 10 were added to the 452, Mr. Hoover has assured me that this small increment would raise no problems which the FBI cannot effectively and efficiently deal with.

Fourth, under the terms of the treaty, we have the right to carefully screen consular personnel before agreeing to their assignment in our country. We can prevent them from traveling to sensitive areas within the United States, and can expel them if they prove undesirable. We can close a Soviet consulate in the United States whenever we wish, and we can cancel the Consular Convention on 6 months' notice. All of these safeguards are built into the treaty.

Fifth, this convention presents the United States with an opportunity to further widen the growing gap which exists between the Soviet Union and Communist China, at no real cost to ourselves. Its approval will mark one more step toward the destruction of what used to be a Communist monolith.

Mr. President, for all of these reasons I shall vote to ratify the United States-U.S.S.R. Consular Convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it was my understanding, in view of the question raised prior to the presentation of the understanding by the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], that there would be no further reservations, understandings, proposals, or whatnots, to cover every possible contingency, before the distinguished Senator from Maine submitted her proposal. No affirmative answer was made—no answer of any kind—when this question was raised before the Senate, so I would assume that the action just finished completes the consideration of the amendments, reservations, and understandings to the convention.

Mr. President, do I correctly understand that under the agreement entered into, the Senate will convene at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning and that the vote on the convention will take place not later than 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would hope that Senators who wish to speak tomorrow would get in touch with either the majority leader or the minority leader, so that we can make certain that every Senator who desires to speak will be given an opportunity to have as much time as he desires.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. KUCHEL. If there are no Senators who desire to consume the entire time from 9 o'clock in the morning until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, am I correct in understanding that the vote may come earlier than 3 o'clock tomorrow?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; there is that distinct possibility. It is the intention of the leadership to adjourn from tomorrow at the conclusion of business until noon on Monday.

It is my understanding, in talking with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services and the distinguished ranking minority member of that committee, the Senator from Maine, that it is anticipated that tomorrow the $12.2 billion Vietnam supplemental bill will be reported and brought up on Monday next.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, inasmuch as the Senator from South Dakota has been charged with parceling out time to those who oppose the treaty, if there are those in opposition who have not contacted me and who wish to speak, both Republican and Democratic Senators, we shall try to parcel the time equitably. Unless I know who wants to speak it will be difficult to make arrangements prior to the time that we shall vote.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I suggested that the time be allocated to the majority leader and the minority leader. I should have said that the time be allocated to the majority leader and the minority leader, or whomever they designate. The time on the majority side will be under the control of the chairman of the committee, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I understand that the vote may come before 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is a possibility; and I hope a good one.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there any likelihood that the vote would be before 12 o'clock noon tomorrow?

Mr. MANSFIELD. No.

Mr. CURTIS. I think it would be helpful to Senators to know that.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I give the Senator my assurance that the vote will not occur before noon.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the Senator.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION TOMORROW

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, all committees were permitted to meet during the session of the Senate tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate, in executive session, stand in adjournment until 9 o'clock a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, March 16, 1967, at 9 o'clock a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 15, 1967:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

John Joseph Gunther, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for the term expiring March 3, 1972 (reappointment).

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Social Security Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ROBERT WATKINS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Speaker, the President has proposed that social security benefits be increased by 20 percent—double what he proposed just before the 1966 elections.

A group in the U.S. Senate has topped even that—proposing increases that come closer to 50 percent—and that effort is being given strong support by certain lobbying groups.

However, we are told that no more than an 8-percent increase can be given now without increasing the social security tax rate which is already destined to rise until it reaches a total of 11.3 percent, or $745.80, per employee.

Personally, I feel very strongly that our elder citizens should receive every last penny that they can possibly be given through the social security system.

But, I cannot, in good conscience, support any social security tax increases at this time.

This, then, places me against the President's request, but in favor of increasing social security benefits by 8 percent, retroactive to January 1, 1967. I further favor a system whereby such benefits will rise automatically with rising prices, and allowing those on social security greater earning allowances.

The increase in social security taxes which went into effect January 1 is the 11th time these taxes have been raised since the system started in 1937. The startling thing is that the tax was not raised during the first 13 years—all 11 raises coming during the last 17 years.

When the system started in 1937 the tax was 2 percent—1 percent each on employer and employee on the first $3,000 of income, making the employee's tax $30. Starting with January 1, 1967, the tax had reached a total of 8.8 percent on the first $6,600 of wages, making an employee's tax $290.40. This means an increase of nearly 1,000 percent in 30 years.

U.S. News & World Report has estimated that the President's plan would require an immediate increase to 9.3 percent on $7,800, making an employee's tax $352.17.

And, we cannot, we must not forget, that for every cent of social security taxes paid by employees, the American employer must pay an equal sum.

As you know, the present law calls for periodic increases until we reach $372.90 per employee, and, of course, an equal amount from the employer. This present top would, of course, be increased proportionately if the President's plan is enacted.

I am sure that we all agree that even at the present rate, social security taxes are reaching the income tax levels of many families, I fear that the social security tax load cannot be greatly increased without inciting rebellion among the younger workers who stand to contribute more than they can ever take out of the system.

A study by the Tax Foundation Inc., of New York, shows that a 21-year-old just entering the social security system as a taxpayer will contribute $32,496 in taxes and accumulated interest over a 44-year work period, while based on a life expectancy of 13 years after retirement could only collect $19,704 in benefits.

I fully recognize that those who are suffering the most from the present Great Society inflationary spiral are those elder citizens subsisting on social security benefits and other pension forms. In the last 2 years basic social security benefits have fallen 7 percent behind the consumer price index.

This could be offset with an immediate 8-percent increase in benefits retroactive to January 1, an amount the Social Security Administration says can be given without a corresponding increase in taxes.

We can then protect the beneficiaries from future inflation by providing for automatic increases tied to rising prices.

This Congress should then undertake a series of fiscal policy reviews aimed at halting and ultimately reversing the inflationary spiral trend—making a dollar worth a dollar again.

When we do this we will have accomplished more for the beneficiaries of the social security system than any benefit increase can—and we will also be giving an economic lift to today's and tomorrow's wage earners.

Fino Introduces Bill to Make Funeral Expenses Tax Deductible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to allow former dependents of a deceased taxpayer to deduct the expenses of the funeral of the taxpayer from their Federal taxable income, provided that the taxpayer's estate has not already had such a deduction.

Nowadays, when a relative dies and a member of the family pays for the funeral expenses, the burden of those expenses is great, but the person paying them gets no tax deduction. I think that this is unfair. It often adds personal financial hardship to the misery of a death in the family.

The only way that relatives can get a kind of tax deduction for funeral expenses is when there is an estate which can deduct them from the year's taxable income. This benefit goes only to the wealthy. I am concerned with the poor family that scrapes together $500–$1,000 without any question of an estate lurking in the background. They deserve the deduction more. My bill would give a funeral expense deduction to any person who was a dependent of the taxpayer or a spouse.

The Kee Report: Crime Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is "Crime Control."

The newscast follows:

This is Jim Kee, bringing you the Kee Report.

At the request of the President, the Congress is now considering the adoption of a Federal program to combat one of the nation's most serious social problems. This problem is the growing incidence of crime, especially among our young people.

It will come as a shock to most good citizens to learn that the 15 year olds commit more serious crime than any other age group—that the crime rate is highest among those under 21—and that most burglaries are committed by youths under 18 years of age.

These figures reveal that there is a serious defect somewhere in our youth training program. It is traditional in our country that the primary responsibility for dealing with crime rests upon State and local governments. In view of this—someone may ask why a Federal program is needed to deal with the crime wave. The answer is that in this mechanical age, local and State police authorities would be overwhelmed without Federal and interstate cooperation.

The automobile provides fast transportation for the criminal as well as for the law-abiding citizen. This is merely one of the new tools which the present-day criminal has in his arsenal. In point of fact, the criminal's trade has been completely changed by these new mechanical tools. This is why the Federal Government must act.

This has happened before. A few decades ago, our nation was deeply alarmed by a wave of kidnaping for ransom, a crime wave brought to a head by the kidnaping and subsequent death of the Lindberg baby. The public demanded action. The result was a statute which made it a Federal offense to transport a kidnaped person across state lines. Today kidnaping has virtually disappeared as a quick money source for the criminal.

Bank robbing is more common today than it ever was before. But the old-time safe blower is out of style. The modern robber prefers a daytime stick-up using the automobile for a quick get-away.

The President has proposed that Congress enact a Safe Streets and Crime Control Act to help local authorities in their efforts to find the causes of crime and to apply the proper remedy. The Federal Government is in a strong position to help in this crusade.

This year the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover will complete 50 years of service to his country—over 40 of them as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When Mr. Hoover first assumed charge, the FBI was inefficient and, unfortunately, it was also corrupt. Under his direction, this agency has become a model police force completely free of scandal and perhaps unmatched in effectiveness by any police force at home or abroad.

Last year the FBI captured 15,000 fugitives and recovered more than 20,000 stolen cars. Just think of the help this gave local police authorities who lack the power to cross state lines in pursuing either criminals or stolen cars. In addition, evidence supplied by the FBI enabled Uncle Sam to collect nearly 300 million dollars in criminal fines—or more than enough to pay for the entire FBI operation.

This Federal agency has performed one more splendid service for our country. Under Mr. Hoover's able direction, the FBI has done a superb job in tracking down Communist agents. The help of this agency will be vital for the new anti-crime drive.

Thank you for listening.

Susan B. Anthony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am more than happy to join with my colleagues in commemorating two important events in the history of progress for women's rights in the United States. The first is the birthday of Susan B. Anthony, a leader in the effort to gain political equality for women which culminated in the adoption, in 1920, of the 19th amendment to the Constitution. The second is the 50th anniversary of the seating of the first woman in Congress. On March 4, 1917, Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, took her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, and thus became the first woman to serve in the greatest legislative body in the world. Both of these ladies will long be remembered for the part which they played in the history of progress for women's rights in the United States.

As a woman and a Member of the House of Representatives since 1950, I am proud to pay tribute to these ladies because it was by their initial efforts that equal rights for women was achieved.

Recently the pace for recognition of equal rights for women has been accelerated. We all owe recent Congresses a debt of gratitude for many of these changes, which have added to still further equality for women. The Equal Pay for Women Act, which was signed into law by the late President John F. Kennedy on June 10, 1963, was a most important step toward the more equitable treatment of women. I was most fortunate to have served as the presiding officer of the House of Representatives during the debate on that bill, and also to have been with President Kennedy when he signed this bill into law. Another milestone was the extension of the equal opportunity provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to prohibit discrimination based on sex. Much progress has been made and still more should be made in order to correct the inequities which still exist.

Recently I learned of a story of Susan B. Anthony which I will always remember and which I will attempt to relate as briefly as possible. I think it is pertinent to all who seek public office.

Susan Anthony had accepted an invitation to speak in a small town and, after a long journey through a heavy snowstorm to keep this commitment, she arrived at the station, where she was greeted by the stationmaster who told her that he was sure no one would attend the meeting to hear her speak. With his help, she proceeded to the town hall, where she was scheduled to give her address, and on arriving there, she found the janitor and his little son attempting to shovel a pathway into the hall. He, too, told her that no one would attend the meeting and that he would help her to her lodging. Susan Anthony went into the hall and gave her address, listened to by the janitor and his small son.

Many years later, that State passed the 19th amendment, granting women's suffrage, by only one vote. That vote was cast by the little boy who attended that meeting and, in his argument in the State legislature, he claimed that he had to vote for the rights of women, due to the courage of Susan B. Anthony and due to the fine address she gave on that cold, cold night.

Human Investment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. G. ROBERT WATKINS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with many of my colleagues in sponsoring the Human Investment Act of 1967. The present measure, an improved version of the Human Investment Act of 1965, has been widely discussed, both in Congress and in the press, so I do not need to again go into detail as to the purpose and scope of the bill.

It is apparent that existing government training programs, Federal, State, and local, while most meritorious in principle, cannot meet all expectations without sufficient job vacancy information. This bill gives an incentive to private employers to do their own training, or to assist present employees in getting such training, and thus avoids the problem of job placement faced by Government programs.

I sincerely hope that the Human Investment Act may receive bipartisan support. It represents investment in our own people, is designed to aid every working man and woman. What could be more important?

Devine Public Opinion Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, 30 days ago I mailed a public opinion poll to approximately 50,000 constituents in the 12th Congressional District of Ohio.

Tabulations have just been completed on 5,000 returns and are set forth below for the information of our colleagues.

My people continue to maintain a most active awareness of the problems facing our Nation and are most perceptive to the real issues and answers:

Public opinion poll

[In percent]

Do you favor:

1. Continuation of Great Society "war on poverty"?

Yes	18
No	80
No opinion	2

2. Six percent surtax to further finance Vietnam war?

Yes	19
No	78
No opinion	3

3. Increase in social security benefits?

a. If so, by what percent? Ten percent average.

Yes	44
No	48
No opinion	8

4. Raising limits on outside earnings for social security recipients to $3,000, or $5,000 average?

Yes	83
No	12
No opinion	5

5. Tax sharing program, returning funds to States without Federal controls?

Yes	74
No	17
No opinion	9

6. Replacing present draft system with lottery type?

Yes	25
No	53
No opinion	22

7. Continuing Vietnam efforts at present level?

Yes	10
No	88
No opinion	2
(a) If not, accelerate?	32.5
(b) Or, decelerate?	2.0
(c) Or, cease bombing altogether?	2.0
(d) Or, complete withdrawal now?	3.5
(e) Or, pursuing whatever steps necessary to win?	54.0
(f) Or, turn it over to the United Nations?	6.0

8. Mandatory retirement age for Federal judges?

a. If so, what age (70 years).

Yes	84
No	13
No opinion	3

Public opinion poll—Continued
[In percent]

9. Mandatory retirement age for Congressmen?

a. If so, what age (70 years).

Yes	73
No	20
No opinion	7

10. Supreme Court decisions by greater than a simple majority on constitutional questions?

Yes	80
No	13
No opinion	7

11. Reducing voting age by Federal law to 18 years?

Yes	30
No	59
No opinion	11

Sgt. William L. McMillion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, U.S. Senator ROBERT C. BYRD and I were privileged to attend with military officers and medical personnel a moving ceremony yesterday afternoon in the office of the commanding general of Walter Reed General Hospital.

Sgt. William L. McMillion, of Princeton, Mercer County, W. Va., was presented the Bronze Star with "V" Device, which is a recognition for bravery over and above the Bronze Star, by Brig. Gen. Philip Mallory.

The citation reads as follows:

HEADQUARTERS 25TH
INFANTRY DIVISION,
APO San Francisco, October 20, 1966.
General Orders No. 1274.

AWARD OF THE BRONZE STAR MEDAL
FOR HEROISM

1. TC 320. The following AWARDS are announced.

McMillion, William L., RA13807274, SGT E-5, Co B, 2nd Bn, 27th Inf, 25th Inf Div.

Awarded: Bronze Star Medal with "V" Device

Date action: 28 June 1966

Theater: Republic of Vietnam

Reason: For heroism in connection with military operations against a hostile force: Sergeant McMillion distinguished himself by heroic actions on 28 June 1966, in the Republic of Vietnam, while serving as a squad leader in Company B, 2nd Battalion, 27th Infantry. As elements of Company B swept through the dense tropical jungle, they discovered an extensive tunnel system which according to intelligence reports was believed to be the Viet Cong Headquarters for the area. Though well aware of the fact that in similar tunnel searches in the area two Americans had been killed, Sergeant McMillion volunteered to explore the underground fortifications, realizing that any intelligence obtained from a search would have tremendous bearing on the success of friendly operations in the area. Arming himself according to the existing conditions of the underground structure, he squeezed into the tunnel entrance with only a pistol and flashlight. Without hesitation, he advanced through the enemy's subterranean stronghold skillfully evading numerous antipersonnel devices cleverly interspersed throughout the enclosures of the tunnel system. In the course of his intensive search, Sergeant McMillion discovered valuable enemy documents and a sizable cache of equipment. His material accomplishment engendered by his outstanding courage and aggressiveness proved greatly detrimental to the insurgent effort in the area concerned. This outstanding display of aggressiveness, devotion to duty, and personal bravery is in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflects great credit upon himself, his unit, the 25th Infantry Division, and the United States Army.

Authority: By direction of the President under the provisions of Executive Order 11046, dated 24 August 1962, and USARV message 16695, 1 July 1966.

For the Commander:

THOMAS W. MELLEN,
Colonel, GS, Chief of Staff.

Official:

HERBERT L. FORSYTHE,
LTC, AGC, Adjutant General.

Sergeant McMillion is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Russell McMillion, of Princeton, W. Va. Following completion of his education in Fayetteville, Fayette County, W. Va., he entered the U.S. Army on January 7, 1963, and served in Germany before his assignment to the 25th Infantry Division in Vietnam during January 1966.

Nearly 3 months after his demonstrated bravery on September 19, 1966, at Zu Moy, Vietnam, this West Virginian of courage was severely wounded by shrapnel from an exploding mine. He was awarded the Purple Heart at the 3d Field Hospital, Saigon. He arrived at Walter Reed General Hospital on October 2, 1966.

Fortunately, due to superlative medical care, this devoted son of America continues to improve and will shortly join his family in West Virginia.

Mr. Speaker, I regret the fact that the eloquent words of U.S. Senator BYRD of West Virginia, spoken during this ceremony, were not recorded so they could be shared by the Members of the Congress.

This valued constituent deserves the gratitude of all of America for his courage, his bravery, his effective and substantial contribution to the freedom—the safety—the liberty of the younger and future generations of our Nation.

He cared more for the future of others than he cared for his own safety. We owe him a debt far beyond our ability to repay. I salute Sergeant McMillion.

The Ladies Help the Boys' Clubs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that a constituent, Mrs. Marinus de Nooyer, of Passaic, N.J., will be chairman of the woman's conference at the national convention of the Boys' Clubs of America. The convention will be held in Pittsburgh from May 1 to May 5.

"Pat" de Nooyer is serving her fourth term as president of the Woman's Committee of the Passaic Boys' Club, and well knows the great contribution that women can make to assist boys' clubs. As her Congressman, I congratulate her. I hope that her selection is the forerunner to the establishment of a national auxiliary in which dedicated ladies can play a valuable part in promoting the good work of boys' clubs.

Death of Don M. Sjostrom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, on January 6, 1967, Don M. Sjostrom, an Agency for International Development area operations officer engaged in refugee work, was killed in a sneak attack by North Vietnamese troops on the town of Kat Khang in Sam Neua province in northeast Laos. Sjostrom was directly responsible for the support of some 30,000 refugees, mostly hill tribesmen who have moved from Communist-held to Royal Laotian Government territory because of military action or for political reasons.

Most of Sam Neua, a mountainous province on the North Vietnamese border, is in Communist hands, and the numerous refugee sites served by the USAID refugee relief operation are surrounded by Communist Pathet Lao controlled territory. In directing relief operations, Sjostrom was required to oversee all resettlement activities and distributions of rations within his area. This involved frequent visits to sites located within war zones and thus constantly subject to enemy attack.

Sjostrom's unhesitant devotion to this difficult task which often exposed him to danger was a point of constant admiration among his fellow workers. One of his supervisors said:

> In his passing the Mission suffered a great loss; so did the refugees of Northern Laos; so did everyone who ever knew him.

In recognition of his contributions to the furtherance of United States and Laotian objectives in northern Laos, the mission has nominated Don Sjostrom for the Secretary's award and recommended that his name be inscribed on the plaque in the lobby of the Department of State.

Sjostrom, 26, was born in Everett, Wash. His parents now reside in Bothell, Wash. After graduation from the University of Washington in 1963, he served with the Peace Corps in Thailand for 2 years before joining AID in May 1965.

Don Sjostrom's dedication to helping his fellow man in Laos deserves our recognition and admiration. His work, now carried on by other devoted Americans, is an important, though too little recognized, part of our total effort to help assure freedom of choice and a better life for the people of Southeast Asia. This hero, and the others carrying out this vital work, must not go unsung.

Veterans' Pension Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following explanation of the veterans' pension bill reported by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs today:

EXPLANATION OF THE BILL

TITLE I

(1) A cost of living rate increase for all veterans alone, veterans with dependents, widows alone, widows with children, and children alone who are now receiving a pension under Public Law 86–211, as amended.

(2) A substantially greater increase for widows and widows with children in the lowest income categories (approximately 8½ percent).

(3) A $5 per month rate increase for Spanish-American and prior war widows.

(4) An increase of $5 per month in the "housebound" allowance under current law for veterans, from $35 to $40 per month.

(5) The creation of a new "housebound" rate of $100 per month for veterans under the old pension law.

(6) A special aid and attendance allowance of $50 per month for widows receiving pensions under Public Law 86–211, the old pension law, the Spanish-American War and prior wars, who are found in need of aid and attendance.

(7) Presumption of permanent and total disability for pension purposes on attainment of age 65.

(8) Presumption of need for regular aid and attendance for pensioners who are being furnished nursing care in public or private nursing homes.

(9) Reduction of the 5-year alternative marriage requirement for widows to 1 year (any period if there is a child born to the parties to the marriage). This liberalization also applies to the service-connected death programs.

(10) Exclusion of income for pension purposes of amounts equal to amounts paid by a wife for the last illness of the veteran prior to his death.

(11) Exclusion of income for pension purposes of amounts equal to amounts paid by a widow or a wife for the last illness and burial of the veteran's child.

(12) Exclusion of income for pension purposes (and for dependency and indemnity compensation for parents) of annuities under the retired serviceman's family protection plan (ch. 73, tittle 10, United States Code). For the purpose of determining eligibility of parents for dependency and indemnity compensation, the bill would also provide for the exclusion from consideration as income of pension payable under the provisions of title 38 of the United States Code as in effect on June 30, 1960 (the so-called "old pension law" in effect before enactment of Public Law 86–211).

(13) In the medical field, the furnishing of any type of therapeutic or rehabilitative device, medical equipment and supplies (except medicine) when medically indicated to pensioners entitled to pension based on need for regular aid and attendance unrelated to individual need for an invalid lift.

(14) Provides that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall pay in aid and attendance pension cases having service prior to World War I—namely, the Spanish-American and Indian wars—the higher rates as between those authorized in Public Law 86–211 and those specifically provided for those earlier wars when such action would be in the best interest of the veteran. These veterans are the oldest living veterans now on the pension rolls. Pension is paid to them on an entirely different basis than that applicable to veterans of World War I, World War II, and Korea. They do not have to meet income limits. They are not familiar with the process of completing the annual income questionnaire (required under Public Law 86–211) and because of their advanced ages, in many instances they do not fully understand the program which would be most beneficial to them. There are only two Indian war veterans (ages 95 and 100) living and there are 1,655 Spanish-American War veterans (average age 88) who might be involved in this authority.

TITLE II

The benefits provided by the bill in title II for those serving after August 5, 1964, are:

(1) An increase in service-connected disability compensation for veterans serving during this period from the present 80 percent of the wartime rates to full wartime rates, under all circumstances.

(2) Pension for non-service-connected disability and death for the veterans, their widows and children as currently provided for veterans of World War I and later war periods, and their widows and children. Entitlement to pension, however, would only be earned during the period of the Vietnam conflict.

(3) Burial allowance of $250 to cover the burial and funeral expenses of deceased individuals who had served during this period.

The benefits provided for those serving after January 31, 1955, are:

(4) Extension of the 2-year presumptive period for veterans who develop a psychosis within that period after discharge by providing them a service-connected status for purposes of medical and hospital treatment.

(5) Miscellaneous medical benefits such as authorizing payments to State homes for veterans of this period and the use of private contract beds in a Commonwealth or a possession for non-service-connected conditions. The same sort of care may be provided under contract in the Veterans' Memorial Hospital at Manila, Republic of the Philippines.

(6) The furnishing of drugs and medicines to aid and attendance pensioners. The bill also amends the law so that service-connected veterans receiving aid and attendance compensation shall be furnished drugs and medicines for non-service-connected conditions and to extend this benefit to pensioners under the old law who are so helpless or blind as to need the regular aid and attendance of another person. This is to be done by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs through his own resources or local groups in accordance with such contract arrangements as he may make. This provision conforms with the intent and purpose of two previously passed House bills of the 89th Congress—H.R. 11934, which passed the House on May 16, 1966; and H.R. 12723, which passed the House on August 31, 1966.

(7) Authorizes an allowance of $1,600 toward the purchase of an automobile for a veteran who, as a direct result of the performance of military duty, has lost or lost the use of one or both feet, one or both hands, or who has suffered permanent impairment of vision in both eyes as defined. Application is required for this benefit within 5 years after the date of discharge, within 3 years after sustaining the loss of sight or limbs regardless of date of discharge, or within 1 year from date entitlement to compensation for the disability is determined. There is a savings clause for individuals discharged or released prior to the bill's enactment. Similar benefits have previously been available to World War II and Korean conflict veterans.

TITLE III

(1) Section 301 would authorize the payment of the additional allowance for loss of certain members or organs, in addition to the basic rate of compensation. For example, a veteran with the loss of an eye and a hand may now receive only one allowance of $47 in addition to the basic rate of compensation based on the combined degree of disability. Enactment of the bill will authorize in such a case an allowance of $94 (two times $47) in addition to the basic rate. Under the amended bill, however, the total payment in any case may not exceed $400 and the loss of more than one creative organ would, for this purpose, be considered a single "loss." A bill identical to section 301 (H.R. 228) was reported by the committee in the 83d Congress and in the 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, and 89th Congresses, passed the House, but failed of passage in the Senate.

(2) Section 302 of the bill would assure the issuance of a burial flag under those circumstances where an individual dies while in service but his remains are either lost at sea, or are for some other reason not recovered. Burial flags are normally issued by the applicable service department when an individual dies while still in service. The authority for such action (10 U.S.C. 1482(a)), however, is limited to those cases where there are "remains," and thus no flag can be issued where the remains are not recovered. This apparent gap in the law was at one time bridged by the provisions of Public Law 187, 78th Congress, which authorized the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to issue a flag under such circumstances. By its own terms, such law terminated with the end of World War II, although its benefits were extended by Public Law 28, 82d Congress, to cover individuals who served in the Armed Forces during the Korean conflict (June 27, 1950, to January 31, 1955).

The bill reinstates the authority previously contained in Public Law 187, 78th Congress, and makes it applicable to persons who die during the period after January 31, 1955.

(3) Section 303 authorizes full benefit payments under Public Law 89–358 "to educationally disadvantaged veterans so they can complete high school without losing their eligibility for follow-on college benefits". Time spent in the pursuit of such a course would not be charged against the veteran's basic period of entitlement.

(4) Section 304 increases the rates of payment under Public Law 89–358, the Veteran's Readjustment Assistance Act, to $130 monthly for a veteran without dependents, $155 for a veteran with one dependent, and $175 for a veteran with two or more dependents, with proportionately smaller rates for individuals who are taking courses on a three-fourths, half-time, or cooperative basis.

(5) This proposal would amend the War Orphans Educational Assistance Program by increasing the period of time during which training may be taken. The present limits are between the ages of 18 and 23. The proposed legislation would extend this to age 26. This action is consistent with the provisions of the so-called Vietnam GI bill of rights, Public Law 89–358, which provides for an 8-year period in which a veteran must complete his education. There is no requirement, in Public Law 89–358, on the date in which he must initiate a course of study under this law, simply that he complete it within an 8-year period.

Representative Machen Opposes Burning at Kenilworth Dump

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had the privilege of testifying before a joint hearing by the Senate Subcommittees on Business and Commerce and Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety on the problem of stopping the open-air burning health menace at the Kenilworth dump. This is a vital problem to the governments and the residents of the District and of Prince Georges County and with unanimous consent, I include my testimony in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE HERVEY G. MACHEN, DEMOCRAT, OF MARYLAND, ON THE KENILWORTH DUMP, BEFORE TWO SENATE SUBCOMMITTEES, MARCH 14, 1967

I wish to express my gratitude to Senators Morse and Tydings and their distinguished colleagues for holding a full hearing into a matter of such significance to residents of the District and of Prince Georges County.

It only takes a situation like the open air burning at the Kenilworth Dump to dramatize the need for regional cooperation and action toward two problems that do not recognize state, county or city lines: Air pollution and waste disposal. And we are faced with both of these problems in dealing with the Kenilworth Dump.

It is unfortunate that these problems have reached the critical point. It is unfortunate that two important subcommittees of the Senate must devote their valuable time to hearings and consideration of these primarily local problems. And the most unfortunate aspect of the whole controversy, to me, is that we are trying to solve them in something of a vacuum because of the governmental relationships that are peculiar to the metropolitan area.

I believe that you gentlemen are in the position of mediating the differences of opinion in this controversy in order to arrive at a solution that is fair and equitable to the governments involved and to the residents of Prince Georges County and the District. We all know what the problems are and that they demand swift and reasonable remedy in order to relieve our citizens of the environmental menace emanating from the dump.

But how will it be done?

I would like to address my remarks at the proposal pending before the District Commissioners recommending a sanitary landfill on District property at Muirkirk as an alternative to Kenilworth's open air burning until the new incinerator is completed three to five years from now.

My initial reaction to the proposal was that if it became a reality, I wanted strict assurances that open air burning would not be transferred from the Kenilworth Dump to the Muirkirk sanitary landfill, and that upon opening of the new incinerator the sanitary landfill operation at Muirkirk would cease. On Feb. 6, 1967, I wrote to Walter N. Tobriner, president of the Board of District Commissioners, asking about this.

Commissioner Tobriner replied on Feb. 15, 1967, and assured me that in his words, "in the day-to-day operation of the proposed sanitary landfill itself there will be no burning." As to the question of closing the sanitary landfill after three years, he said that "I think there is no question of this because, if for no other reason, the capacity of the Muirkirk site will then have been exhausted." Mr. Chairman, at this point I will offer Commissioner Tobriner's letter for the record as Exhibit 1.

Mr. Chairman, recently I received a number of letters and a petition from residents of the Muirkirk-Beltsville-Vansville Heights area opposing the proposed sanitary landfill on the grounds of possible danger from trucks, a possible public nuisance, and the contention that property values would decline. In another letter to Commissioner Tobriner, on Feb. 24, 1967, I asked him to explore the possibility of using an abandoned gravel pit in the county as an alternative site for the proposed sanitary landfill. His reply is included at this point in the record as Exhibit 2.

Commissioner Tobriner, in his reply of March 10, 1967, limited his discussion of the possibility of using a gravel pit to the problems of acquisition. I realize how time-consuming acquisition would be and had in mind primarily a lease arrangement which would require only negotiations between the District Commissioners and the landowner. My purpose in asking the District Commissioners to consider using a gravel pit is that we do have a large number of them in Prince Georges County, they are already excavated and most of them are not in or near residential areas, thus eliminating the only objections I have heard to the sanitary landfill proposal.

However, I hope the door isn't closed on this possibility. I am hoping that the Commissioners will pursue it further. I feel that it would be a waste of good federal property in Muirkirk when there is other private property available that already has been defaced, and would probably be improved by a sanitary landfill.

Mr. Chairman, there are several legal points involved in this issue which I wanted cleared up before I reached a decision about the Muirkirk proposal. Briefly, they involve the rights of citizens of Prince Georges County to seek relief in the courts if the sanitary landfill became a public nuisance. Some time ago I was asked by an official of the Town of Cheverly to get a legal opinion on the possibility of the town seeking an injunction against the open air burning at Kenilworth Dump. At my request the American Law Division of the Library of Congress considered the question and forwarded an affirmative opinion, with the usual apprehensions. Briefly, the opinion stated that the question on seeking temporary injunctive relief from the courts turns on the Town of Cheverly establishing in effect, that the air pollution menace is the greater of two evils: the evil of the health hazard from accumulating refuse and the evil of air pollution from the burning of refuse.

At this point I would like to offer for the record the Library of Congress legal opinion as Exhibit 3.

The next legal question was propounded by the District Commissioners and the opinion was written by Charles Duncan, the Corporation Counsel. It was based on the assumption that the District received the necessary federal funds to proceed with the sanitary landfill at Muirkirk and the question of "Is there any legal impediment to the District's disposing of some of its refuse in the manner described above (sanitary landfill at Muirkirk)?"

Inasmuch as Mr. Duncan's answer is rather lengthy I shall just quote his conclusions. He said that:

"I therefore conclude that the District might be subject to being enjoined from engaging in the proposed refuse disposal operation if it should be determined to the satisfaction of a court that such operations are creating a nuisance, whether it be in the jurisdiction in which the landfill operation is carried on, in a jurisdiction through which the refuse is transported, or in the District. However, such a determination must be based on substantial evidence, and the injunction would only affect disposal operations to the extent necessary to alleviate the nuisance.

"I note, in passing, that I have been informed that present plans for this refuse disposal include transportation of the refuse in covered trucks over main truck routes and daily covering over of the refuse at the landfill, thereby reducing to a minimum the possibility of the creation of a nuisance. Under such circumstances, it would appear doubtful that a case could successfully be made out for an injunction on the basis of a nuisance having been created by the District of Columbia."

He finally concluded that, "on the basis of the foregoing, that there is no legal impediment to the disposal of refuse by the District of Columbia in a sanitary landfill in an adjoining jurisdiction. If, however, the operation should be found by the court to constitute a nuisance, there is the possibility that an injunction will lie against the District's disposing of its combustible refuse in this manner."

Mr. Chairman, I want to make it clear that I am not recommending that any legal action be taken against the District in this matter. I am citing these opinions in order to demonstrate that if the landfill operation is not carried out in a manner meeting the highest possible standards for protection of the public health and welfare in that area of the county, the homeowners in that area may have their rights protected through the possibility of court relief.

The third legal question deals with the acquisition of the Muirkirk site itself. This goes back to the District Appropriations Act of 1923, Public Law 67-457, which directed the President of the Board of Trustees of the National Training Schools for Girls to "purchase a tract of land of not more than one-hundred sixty acres, situated in the District of Columbia or in the State of Maryland or in the State of Virginia, as a site for the use of said school. . . . "The law said that the title to the tract would be in the name of the United States and it is at this time.

I asked the Comptroller General's office to give me an informal opinion about the legality of the District using this property as a sanitary landfill.

The Comptroller General's office replied that, because of short notice and lack of jurisdiction, it could not provide a thorough answer. The question, in large measure, rests on the language of the title itself, and I have not seen the title. The Comptroller General's office suggested that the question I raised would properly be one for the Attorney General to determine, and, in order to clear up any possible questions about the proposed use of the Muirkirk site I strongly recommend that the subcommittee and the District of Columbia government secure an opinion on this point. Nevertheless, I would like to insert in the record the informal statement of the Comptroller General's office as Exhibit 4.

Mr. Chairman, this about concludes my presentation, except for a statement of my position on the issue.

First and foremost, I feel that there has been a lack of communication and resultant misunderstanding between the District Government and the residents of the Muirkirk-Beltsville-Vansville Heights area on the proposed sanitary landfill. I strongly recommend that the District officials who are most knowledgeable about this proposal go directly to the homeowners of this section of Prince Georges County and give them candid and complete answers to their questions.

Secondly, I am convinced that the homeowners in the area will have their rights protected through the courts if a public nuisance results from this proposed operation. I believe that we all stand firmly opposed to the closing down of one public nuisance and health menace at the Kenilworth Dump in order to open another one at Muirkirk.

Third, I do believe that the District Commissioners are sincere in trying to do everything possible to make this proposed sanitary landfill an example for the region, and to avoid infringing on anyone's privacy, land values, and health and welfare in the Muirkirk area. They have assured me of no burning in the day-to-day operation; that the trucks will not disturb private homes and that the landfill itself will be shielded from public view by a thick borderline of trees; that the landfill itself has a short lifespan and that at its termination some consideration will be given to other public uses, possibly recreational.

However, before the District requests a supplemental appropriation for this project, I strongly recommend that it secure an opinion on its legal authority to use Muirkirk for this purpose and that a program of public information at the grass roots level be initiated immediately.

If these conditions are fulfilled properly and promptly I believe that we can move ahead to stop the open air burning menace at Kenilworth Dump and provide a temporary means—without treading on homeowners' rights—of disposing of refuse until the new incinerator is opened and an intelligent approach to waste disposal for the region is evolved.

Exhibit 1

Letter February 15, 1967, From Commissioner Tobriner to Representative Machen

Dear Mr. Machen: This is in further response to your letter of February 6, 1967, regarding the proposed sanitary landfill near Muirkirk, Maryland.

You asked several questions, the first of which was whether there will be burning of any nature at the proposed sanitary landfill. The sanitary landfill method of refuse disposal consists of compaction and burial of the materials. While there is no burning involved in this disposal, I have one reservation about giving the degree of assurance you have asked. This is that clearing of wooded areas of the site will be necessary on a few occasions, initially and as the fill advances, and, as you know, burning of brush, stumps and unmarketable trees is almost a necessity in this operation. Since burning of such clean vegetation is widely practiced by developers, is seldom objectionable at a reasonable distance from habitations and can be scheduled for suitable weather conditions, we would be most reluctant to agree to forego the economies which it would afford. I would emphasize, however, that with respect to the day to day operation of the proposed sanitary landfill itself there will be no burning.

Your second question concerned whether there is any way in which to shorten the estimated eight-month period, after funds become available, for organizing the landfill operation and stopping the Kenilworth burning. As indicated in the report, the eight-month period is estimated as the minimum possible for procuring the equipment, erecting the transfer station and making other preparations for use of the Muirkirk site.

The report also mentions a possibility of converting the present Kenilworth operation to a sanitary landfill for the interim period. Our engineers and the staff of the National Park Service are giving this idea further study to determine its feasibility. Preliminary data indicate that the remaining space at Kenilworth might, if utilized for a sanitary landfill as opposed to open burning, provide disposal of the required quantities of refuse for not much longer than eight months at best. This same space would be sufficient for three years or longer if the burning method is continued since this provides a volume reduction of some 85 percent.

For this reason, and because there is no alternate outlet for the refuse, the funding of the longer-range project, at Muirkirk or elsewhere, must be unquestionably assured before the Kenilworth operation may be converted to sanitary landfilling. This funding would require approval by the Congressional Appropriations Committee. In addition, the conversion would entail additional operating costs of approximately $6,100 per month which would have to be appropriated by the Congress before the conversion could be made.

Your third request is for solid assurance that upon completion of the new incinerator in three to five years the operation at Muirkirk would be closed down permanently. I think there is no question of this because, if for no other reason, the capacity of the Muirkirk site will then have been exhausted. Unfortunately, I am unable to say that the District will not need a sanitary landfill site after that because, as mentioned in the report, we must anticipate temporarily deactivating the four existing incinerators, one at a time, for rehabilitation to meet the new standards of air pollution control. It seems probable that, during such periods of reduced incinerator capacity, use of sanitary landfilling at some location will be necessary. We are hopeful that the current COG-sponsored regional studies of solid waste disposal will result in regional disposal facilities which by then will be available. If not, the District will need to search for another site.

I hope this gives you the information you wished. I regret the necessity for what may seem to be equivocation but, under the circumstances, there are no simple yes or no answers and I thought you would want the whole story.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Walter W. Tobriner,
President, Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Exhibit 2

Letter, March 10, 1967, From Commissioner Tobriner to Representative Machen

Dear Mr. Machen: Thank you for your letter of February 24, 1967, in which you suggested that the District look into the possibility of using an abandoned gravel pit for a proposed sanitary landfill instead of its site near Muirkirk, Maryland.

Your suggestion has much merit and we have considered it although we have not pursued the idea in depth thus far for a number of reasons, chief of which is that we have not been able to locate a specific site which met specifications for a good landfill operation and which appears available to us within a reasonable time at a cost competitive with the Muirkirk site. As you know this site is already owned by the District and can be used without additional outlay of funds for site acquisition. The costs of acquiring an acceptable site or sites in a metropolitan area within an economical haul distance are extremely high. Using any other site than District or federally owned property, unless, of course, it could be acquired at an extremely nominal cost, will add greatly to the already sizable costs of the proposed operation.

The time involved in acquiring such a site is also a sizeable obstacle. It is almost axiomatic to say that any proposed site for a waste disposal operation within economical haul distance of a large metropolitan area will receive opposition from some quarter, thereby, lengthening the probable time of acquisition. In this case, it is logical to assume that the period for stopping the burning at Kenilworth would be lengthened considerably beyond the currently estimated eight months to one year following authorization and availability of funds if negotiations for a site between the District and a private land holder should be undertaken. Even should an acceptable federally-owned site be located which otherwise met specifications, transfer of property could be very time-consuming.

I do not cite the above simply to raise objections to your suggestion for I believe you raise an excellent point. However, I want you to know some of the basic reasons why, with the great interest in stopping burning at Kenilworth, as soon as possible, our tentative selection has been the District's site near Muirkirk. Nevertheless, let me assure you that in line with the recommendation in the Preliminary Report of January 28, 1967, on Proposed Sanitary Landfill (copy of which I believe you have) which the Commissioners' approved in principle, we shall continue our studies to refine the landfill program and investigate all possible alternatives.

With best personal regards.

Walter N. Tobriner.

Exhibit 3

Opinion of Library of Congress, American Law Division, on Injunctive Relief for Town of Cheverly

Subject: Can the Incorporated Town of Cheverly, Md., File for Injunctive Relief To Enjoin the District of Columbia From the Open-air Burning of Trash at Its Kenilworth Dump?

As per our telephone conversation concerning the above problem, this is to advise you that under the provisions of D.C. Code § 1–102, the District of Columbia is constituted a body-corporate for municipal purposes with powers, among others, "to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded".

In consequence of this provision, it would appear that the incorporated town of Cheverly, Maryland, could file suit in the appropriate courts of the District of Columbia to enjoin the latter from the apparent nuisance of "open-air" trash burning at the Kenilworth dump, provided, however, that, under its corporate charter, the town of Cheverly, in turn, has a charter power to sue and be sued.

As to the burden of proof required, it is presumed that the basic action will be one for injunctive relief to restrain the operation of a public nuisance. In this context, and generally speaking, it would appear that on an application to the court for a preliminary injunction, the plaintiff must establish that the benefits which will accrue to him if the preliminary injunction is granted greatly exceed the hardships that will befall the defendant upon the granting thereof; otherwise, in balancing the hardships, if the hardships resulting to the defendant greatly exceed any benefits which will accrue to the plantiff from the granting of temporary relief, the courts will usually refrain from interfering with the defendants' operations until there can be had a full and complete hearing on the pleadings and proofs.

Upon a hearing of the application for the injunction to restrain a public nuisance, the central issue is whether or not a right is being invaded, i.e., questions concerning the presence of an actual injury and damages are not essential elements. In such a case, the injunction will issue upon a clear showing that the act or thing threatened would result in the invasion of a public right, no matter how slight.

In the establishment of these matters relating to the nuisance of open-air garbage burning, it must be noted that such operation is not a nuisance per se. To make it so, it should be shown and proven that said operation results in offensive odors, or smoke or gas which affects a populous district, or that there is danger of fire spreading to neighboring property. (*Moulton* v. *Fargo*, 39 N.D. 502, 167 N.W. 717; *Nashville* v. *Mason*, 137 Tenn. 169, 192 S.W. 915.)

As to the degree of effect upon the surrounding area that such elements of the nuisance must have, there appears to be no general rule affording a precise method of measurement. All that can apparently be said in this respect is that if the effect is slight the hardship to the plaintiff town of Cheverly must also be slight and the balance of the hardships involved would be weighted in favor of the defendant in the absence of substantial facts demonstrating the contrary.

Exhibit 4

Informal Opinion of Comptroller General's Office on Legal Use of Muirkirk Site for Sanitary Landfill

Question: May land located in Muirkirk, Maryland, which was originally acquired for use by the National Training School for Girls with title in the United States, be used by the D. C. Government for a sanitary fill?

In the act of February 28, 1923, 42 Stat. 1327, 1358, P. L. 67–427, there was appropriated $62,000 to enable the President of the Board of Trustees of the School to purchase land and construct buildings for the use of the National Training School for Girls. The act further provided that title to the land should be taken in the name of the United States; and that the Attorney General could acquire the land by condemnation if necessary, the costs thereof to be paid out of the $62,000.

This appropriation act was a D. C. Appropriation Act, composed of 60 percent D. C. revenues and 40 percent Federal funds (Federal payment to D. C.). Also, it could be that title to land was vested in Federal Government to avert a legal question in case condemnation was necessary.

Section 3–101, D. C. Code (Act of March 16, 1926, 44 Stat. 108) abolished Board of Trustees of National Training School (School) for Girls. Section 3–103 of the same Code created a Board of Public Welfare for the D. C. transferred to such Board all powers, authority and property, duties and obligations formerly vested in the Board of Trustees of the School.

Section 32–902 of the D. C. Code, as amended in 1926, provides, in effect, that upon the dissolution of the Board of Public Welfare, or if it should cease for a space of six months to maintain a training school for girls, all the property, real and personal (of the corporation) shall rest in the United States. It should be noted that section 32–309 is concerned with Training School within D. C.

Section 32–907 of the D.C. Code, provides that all provisions relating to National Training School for Boys (chapter 8 of title 32, D.C. Code) not inconsistent with provisions of chapter 9 of Code (Girls School provision) are for application to Girls School. Section 32–805 of D.C. Code provides that Board of Trustees of National Training School for Boys shall hold property in a trust for United States.

In 1939 Board of Trustees for Boys School was abolished and all its functions turned over to Department of Justice to be administered by Bureau of Prisons.

The D.C. Board of Public Welfare which administered the Girls School was abolished by Reorganization Order No. 58, as amended (issued in accordance with Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1952). Order No. 58 established under the direction and control of a D.C. Commissioner a Department of Public Welfare and transferred the functions of the former Board of Public Welfare to the Department.

We understand that the funds made available in the D.C. Appropriation Act of 1923, were used to acquire a site and construct buildings at Muirkirk, Maryland, for use as a Training School for Girls. Apparently at a later date the property was not needed for such a purpose. However, the appropriation act says nothing as to the use of the property if eventually not needed for a training school for girls.

Further, the Department of Public Welfare, the successor to the Board of Public Welfare (successor to the Board of Trustees) was never dissolved, nor are we in a position to state that the Department of Public Welfare has ceased to maintain a training school for girls (other than at Muirkirk) or a substitute for such a school.

Further, since legal title to the land at Muirkirk, is in the United States, it does not appear it is held in trust for the United States. However, since D.C. funds, in effect, were used to purchase the property, it may be argued that equitable title is in the D.C. and only bare legal title is in the United States.

In any event, an authoritative decision as to title or at least as to whether the D.C. may use the land for any purpose it wishes, would appear to be a question for the Attorney General to decide rather than this Office.

Address by Hon. James H. Scheuer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, much has been said lately about the prevalence of crime in our country—and great emphasis has been placed on the importance of modernized and coordinated law enforcement to help cope with this concerning problem.

Recently, my esteemed colleague and good friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Scheuer], addressed a national symposium of law enforcement science and technology at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago.

Because I have rarely seen so fine a definition of the crime situation and possibilities for its alleviation, I include Mr. Scheuer's address in the Record today:

Address of U.S. Representative James H. Scheuer, Democrat of New York, National Symposium of Law Enforcement Science and Technology, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill., March 9, 1967

I am delighted to have been asked to join the distinguished authorities on this program to discuss the role that the United States Congress and the Federal government can pay in advancing the frontiers of knowledge in the field of law enforcement, science and technology.

My interest in advancing the frontiers of knowledge in law enforcement technology is not an idle or academic one. I represent the Southwest Bronx of New York City, an area in which crime is a problem of the first magnitude. The yearly questionnaire which I send to all of my constituents has consistently reported crime as the single greatest concern of the residents of that area. Serious crime in the street, and the predictable protest meeting thereafter, have blighted the quality of life in my district.

Our knowledge of crime is skin deep. There are more unknowns than knowns—by far. But of one thing I am sure: mere application of more of the same—be it more men, more equipment, more police patrols, or whatever—is not likely to have a major impact on the problems of crime in our streets and in our local neighborhoods.

I am a strong advocate of major social welfare, education, anti-poverty programs, open housing legislation and the like. But we all recognize that these great programs, while indispensable preconditions for progress, alone cannot eliminate, and perhaps not even seriously retard, the spiraling increase of crime in the streets of our major urban areas.

What then is the answer? Well, it is undoubtedly all of the things that I have already suggested would be inadequate in themselves—increased police salaries, increased and updated law enforcement training programs, and increased efforts to eliminate poverty and discrimination throughout the nation.

But an even more important element in a truly comprehensive program lies in the reevaluation of our entire criminal justice system and in the injection of change, innovation and creativity into the prevention of crime in our streets. We must challenge all of our assumptions—our entire way of doing business, if we are to encourage progress and promote substantial change in the status quo.

I am disturbed to find a deep-seated current of fatalism and uninformed dismay in virtually every sector of our society about the problems of crime in America. This fatalistic acceptance of the inevitable permeates not only the public at large, but also police forces, correctional institutions, state and local governments, and to a large extent, even Congress itself.

Is it not time to throw off the shackles of negativism about crime in our streets and neighborhoods and face the problem from a twentieth century perspective? Cannot we forget the old cliches that crime will always be with us, that you can't make moral men out of mortal men, and start doing something about the serious increases in crime in our society—a problem that currently threatens our every way of life?

A major Federal effort to encourage research on new methods of preventing and controlling crime in America seems an indispensable first step in increasing public interest in, and large-scale support of, both technological and behavioral research into all facets of the crime problem.

Only the Federal government has the resources and the management coordinating capability to make a serious impact on crime through sophisticated and expensive innovation and research. Cities and states just cannot muster the resources or the highly professional management, scientific and technical manpower to do the job that must be done. Every program that has led major technological breakthrough in this century—whether it be the Manhattan Project, manned space-travel, or the supersonic transport—has been organized and financed by the Federal government.

In what form should assistance and encouragement be provided by the Federal government to the technological and behavioral researchers who are either currently working on the problems of crime prevention or who could be encouraged to work in this area if the resources, incentives, and organizing initiatives were made available on a large scale?

This support and encouragement, I believe, could best be dispensed through the creation of a National crime institute. I have worked for two years to create and encourage the development of such an institute in the national government, and am co-sponsoring in the 90th Congress with Senator Edward M. Kennedy, a bill to create a *National Institute of Criminal Justice*. I am convinced that it is the best potential vehicle for advancing the frontiers of knowledge in a whole host of fields which are directly related to crime prevention and control.

Under the provisions of my bill, this institute would conduct a survey of the existing programs and untouched areas of opportunity in the field of crime prevention and control, building on the sensitive, thoughtful and stimulating report of the President's National Crime Commission. It would be tragic to permit the Crime Commission's splendid report to follow the precedent of a myriad of Government reports and gather dust in the files without thorough follow-up, and continuing analysis of the problems which it delineates.

A second purpose of the National Institute of Criminal Justice would be to fund a large-scale research program to discover new and improved equipment and methods for crime control. This research would be both basic and applied in nature, and while most of it would probably initially be in the form of grants to universities and private corporations for projects related to their interests and capabilities, hopefully, in the near future, the National institute would begin gathering its own expertise and research personnel. These researchers would carry out a continuing basic research program into those areas where a vacuum exists and in which no one is working in our universities and corporations.

Still another purpose of the National Institute of Criminal Justice would be to support demonstration and training programs to insure that research findings and potential theoretical breakthroughs meet the test of the market place and are applied by the officer on the beat and the correctional officer in the prison. The demonstration stage is an important stage in any research process, for it enables the researcher to test his findings in a field situation, often in a series of field situations, none of them identical, but all relevant to sound evaluation and sophisticated refinement of new approaches and innovations.

As part of this support of demonstration and training programs, the National institute would make a thorough investigation of the possibility of developing new, nonprofessional careers across the nation in both law enforcement and corrections to meet the critical personnel shortage that is plaguing crime control agencies at the state, county and municipal levels of government.

I have been a principal advocate in the Congress of the necessity of investigating traditional career patterns to access the need and opportunity to develop new and better jobs for high school graduates and those with even less formal education in the areas of health, education, civil service, law enforcement, coorrections, and the like.

J. Douglas Grant, a participant in this symposium, has long since done the pioneering work in the correctional field, by advancing powerful evidence for the theory that our whole manpower approach in the field of corrections is outmoded and inadequate. His research and experience proves that nonprofessionals, indeed even ex-offenders, can often reach many ex-convicts who would ordinarily remain untouched by our traditional institutions and conventional methods of rehabilitation.

My bill provides for a thorough exploration of the full potential of police aides in the entire law enforcement field. A police aide system would provide us with substantial relief for our current police manpower shortage. New York has developed career programs for meter maids and school-crossing guards which after some initial skepticism is now recognized as successful by all concerned.

We will find that there are many responsibilities of the policeman that could be better handled by those with substantially different training, background, and abilities than that of the average police officer. As an obvious example, community relations aides can and do serve as a cultural bridge between the police and the deprived ghetto community.

My bill also provides that the National Institute would have an extension service, similar to the program of agricultural extension agents in the Department of Agriculture. This extension service would provide the Institute with a necessary and useful link with state and local law enforcement personnel.

Extension agents would distribute information and research findings in crime prevention and control to state and local law enforcement, courts, and correctional personnel in a position to apply the new knowledge sponsored and gathered by the institute. This would help keep the ever present "knowledge lag" problem to a minimum.

The extension service would also provide the National Institute of Criminal Justice theoreticians with a communications system which 'would keep them in daily—even hourly—touch with the practitioners of law and order in the precincts "where the action is." Thus, the Institute would be constantly tuned in on the practical needs of the law enforcement officer so that new problems could be promptly tackled and new solutions to daily problems could be sought, with the police officer, the judge, and the correctional officer constantly in mind.

The National Crime Commission has provided us with ample evidence of the need for immediate action by the Federal government in encouraging crime research. The Commission has pointed out, for example, that the Justice Department alone, among the cabinet-level departments of the national government, is virtually without a budget for research and development.

This situation is an absurdity, and must be corrected without delay. The Office of Law Enforcement Assistance has been a small but valuable step in the right direction. But the Federal government is still spending more on research on coal, on tooth decay, and on new uses of soybeans this year than it is spending on the entire budget of the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance.

While the Federal government supports nearly 300,000 scientists and engineers who are working to protect our country against foreign enemies, the number of research professionals supported by the Federal government who are working to protect our internal security against the ravages of crime in the street could be counted on the fingers of one's two hands.

The President has included in his Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill a provision for research. The provision is somewhat vague, however, and it specifies neither the instrument for carrying out a research program in the Federal government nor does it earmark funds specifically for the research sections of the program. Nevertheless, there is unquestionably room in the President's program for a National Institute of Criminal Justice.

The findings of the President's Crime Commission clearly encourages a research vehicle for the Department of Justice. It may be unfortunate that the recommendations of the Crime Commission for research suggests a confusingly high degree of institutional diversification.

But the report documents, beyond any doubt, that research is indispensable to a twentieth century blueprint for attacking crime in our streets.

There are many highly worthwhile and promising ideas for research which are outlined in the Crime Commission report. A National institute could encourage and support such recommendations as the metropolitan computer-assisted command and control system, the automatic fingerprint recognition system, and the use of regression analysis in solving crimes, which would probably be years in development if placed under the direction of our presently existing institutions at all levels.

The need is clear, but where do we go from here? You, the participants in this conference, are the professionals and the innovators in the area of crime prevention research. You and I know that crime in America is an enormously sensitive and difficult problem and that crime in the streets is the number one problem of many of our cities. You are only too well aware of the need for creativity and innovation in attacking crime. If we are to correct these deficiencies, if we are to marshal the resources to do the job, we must all take an interest and shoulder responsibility as respected professionals, practitioners, and citizen leaders in stimulating Congress to act on this need.

Research is neither an attractive nor a seductive legislative product. The products of research are not immediately dramatic nor romantic; they are distant, often negative, and generally hidden from the public eye. Research has to be carefully evaluated for its long-range potential and yield.

Politics, on the other hand, is a relatively short-run game, primarily concerned with the 'here and now.' The Administration and most of the members of Congress predictably will be more interested in programs that will have visible impact before the 1968 election.

The promotion of a National Institute of Criminal Justice is therefore, a cause that invites the concern and leadership of citizen leaders outside of Congress. Congressmen are most likely to respond to sophisticated programs such as this one, when they are encouraged by their constituents and by experts in related fields; in short when they are made aware of a need by sources outside the Federal bureaucracy.

The creation and continued growth of the National Institutes of Health is largely due to the role played by medical professionals in dramatizing both the need for support of medical research and the potential impact of large-scale Federal support for this research. I call on you, the professional researchers and administrators in crime control, to provide the same leadership for your area of need.

Passage of the National Institute of Criminal Justice is not beyond the realm of the possible in this session of Congress. Crime has finally received recognition as one of America's most serious domestic problems. This message from the streets and avenues of America has finally come over loud and clear.

Senator **Edward M. Kennedy** has risen to accept the challenge and is co-sponsoring this legislation in the Senate. Senator Kennedy and I have already added a number of co-sponsors in both the House and the Senate, and our co-sponsors are members of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Senate Judiciary Committee is considering our bill in addition to other crime bills in their hearings this week, and Chairman Celler has indicated that consideration will be given our bill by a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee in the near future.

I am encouraged that the outlook for passage of a bill to create a National crime institute in this Congress is bright, and I pledge to you that I will work unendingly to encourage meaningful, thoughtful Federal action on all fronts in the war against crime.

The right of freedom of movement for our urban population is at stake in this fight. The right of our citizens to freely walk the streets at night without fear is a precious and essential element in our inalienable American heritage. But securing that right is not a simple process. Over 100 years ago Dostoyevsky wrote that "with ready-made opinions one cannot judge of crime. Its philosophy is a little more complicated than people think."

I urge you to join with me to dismiss ready-made opinions, to search for new answers to old problems. I urge you to help Congress create the vehicle in the Federal government best designed to assist you professionals in making your maximum contribution to this great National effort.

Together we can take an important step forward to cure one of America's most crippling domestic ills, the sickness of crime in the streets.

Dedicated Service of General McDermott, USAFA, Dean of the Faculty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, April 1 marks the anniversary date of the U.S. Air Force Academy, the newest of our service schools. It was just 13 years ago that President Eisenhower on April 1, 1954, signed the bill to establish this noted school.

Within this short period, with the help, support, and understanding of Gen. J. P. McConnell and his predecessors, the U.S. Air Force Academy has achieved a most remarkable record of accomplishments in the academic world.

Great credit for these achievements due to the great Air Force officers who have served as Superintendents of the Academy, men like Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon, Lt. Gen. James E. Briggs, Lt. Gen. William S. Stone, Maj. Gen. Robert H. Warren, and Lt. Gen. Thomas S. Moorman, all contributors to the well-deserved success and high esteem which this school has achieved. Many dedicated people have played important roles in the growth and development of the Air Force Academy. However, it is almost unanimously agreed upon and widely recognized that a most conspicuous and unsurpassed contribution to the Academy has been made by a native son of Massachusetts, Brig. Gen. Robert F. McDermott, the Academy's first permanent professor and first permanent dean of the faculty, whose historic achievements are likened to those of another great military educator from Massachusetts, Gen. Sylvanus Thayer, the father of West Point.

I might say at this point, Mr. Speaker, that General McDermott takes particular pride in the fact that he received his appointment to West Point from you, and I know how closely you have followed his distinguished career after his graduation in 1943 from the U.S. Military Academy.

Like you, Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues in this House, especially those who have been fortunate enough to serve as members of the Board of Visitors, have been impressed with the great academic record of the U.S. Air Force Academy.

Such prominent national scholars as Dr. Samuel P. Huntington, professor of government at Harvard, Dr. John W. Masland, provost of Dartmouth, Dr. James W. Green, Jr., administrative vice president of the University of Arkansas, and Dr. Walter Wrigley, aeronautical engineering professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have commended the Academy for the quality of its academic programs.

Some of these marks of academic excellence are quite apparent. They include the outstanding records of the Academy's graduates in national competitive examinations, the great number of scholarships and fellowships won by Academy graduates, the superior research and publication record compiled by the academic faculty, and the exemplary conduct of Academy graduates in flying training schools, in combat, and in general service within the U.S. Air Force.

Further, Mr. Speaker, the Academy was the first undergraduate school in the country to establish a Department of Astronautics and the first service school authorized to award engineering degrees by the Engineering Council for Professional Development.

These accomplishments speak well for the efficacy of the academic programs designed by General McDermott as dean of the faculty and for the caliber and professional competency of the educators serving on the faculty. But praise and appreciation for General McDermott's outstanding work have come from the cadets as well. It is just a little less than a year ago that the Academy's Wing of Cadets presented General McDermott with a saber with this inscription: "To Brig. Gen. Robert F. McDermott—for 10 years and 2,900 graduates—thanks—from the Air Force Academy cadets."

This tribute to the general and endorsement of the Academy's academic programs by the cadets themselves, provided General McDermott with what he has described as undoubtedly the greatest thrill of his distinguished career. The 1966 graduating class, wishing thus to honor the dean before their departure from the Academy, elected to have the unprecedented moving and touching presentation ceremony at the annual dean's ball in mid-April.

The accolades which have come to General McDermott are the direct result of his progressive leadership in bringing very many far-reaching innovations to the U.S. Air Force Academy, in particular, and to military academy education in general.

General McDermott designed the "whole-man" selection system for admission to the Academy, a system that gives weighted recognition to the physical, athletic, moral, and leadership qualities of candidates, as well as to their academic potential and registered scholastic achievements.

The general takes just pride in the enrichment program which he designed and inaugurated into the curriculum in 1957 to permit each cadet to progress academically as rapidly as his natural aptitude and prior preparation permit. This pioneering program provides great incentives to each cadet to strive for excellence within his fullest capabilities in every endeavor which he undertakes.

General McDermott has also instituted a major's program as a complement to the enrichment program and a follow-on cooperative master's program with selected universities. The latter permits highly qualified cadets to pursue graduate-level work on the campus of a cooperating civilian university, completing a master's-level program in either International Affairs at Georgetown University, Astronautics at Purdue University, Management at University of California at Los Angeles, and Applied Mathematics at North Carolina State University.

This limited major's program was expanded in 1964 to the majors-for-all program, which now permits each cadet to build upon a well-balanced, prescribed curriculum through numerous courses in the social sciences and humanities as well as in the basic and engineering sciences. Thus, a cadet can now be graduated with a major in any one of 22 areas of concentration.

Mr. Speaker, these are only a few of the academic programs and practices which have brought wide acclaim to the U.S. Air Force Academy and General McDermott. A fighter pilot and operations officer in the European theater of operations in World War II, this outstanding airman-scholar has been awarded two honorary doctorate degrees, the Legion of Merit, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Bronze Star, the Air Medal with five Oak Leaf Clusters, the Commendation Medal, and the Air Force Association's Vandenberg Trophy for outstanding contributions to aerospace education.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that this Congress will affirm the pioneering innovations and brilliant achievements of General McDermott by approving at an early date a bill I am introducing to change his promotion status in recognition of his dedication and performance in the growth and development of the Air Force Academy.

General McDermott voluntarily relinquished opportunities for further promotion in exchange for the great challenge offered by the post of Dean of the Faculty, which by law is limited to the grade of Brigadier General.

The text of my bill is as follows:

H.R.—

A bill to authorize the President to promote Brigadier General Robert F. McDermott to the temporary grade of Major General

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the

President is authorized to promote Brigadier General Robert F. McDermott, Dean of the Faculty of the U.S. Air Force Academy, to the temporary grade of Major General, United States Air Force, and the Secretary of the Air Force is authorized to adjust, through administrative action, the date-of-grade of the said Robert F. McDermott, as Major General, so that he will remain junior in relative grade to any officer in the grade of major general who is Superintendent of the United States Air Force Academy.